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THE SEIGNEURY OF BEIRUT IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY  
AND THE BRISEBARRE FAMILY OF  
BEIRUT-BLANCHEGARDE

Beirut in the Twelfth Century under the Crusaders  
Capture of the City

Beirut had been an important port, a commercial and industrial center of the Near East and a military center of some consequence for many centuries before the Crusaders were compelled to take an active interest in it. It was part of the territory captured by John Tzimisce in 976; after the withdrawal of Basil II in 995, Syria, left to its own devices, reverted in part to the Fatimids and in part to other groups of Moslems. By 1089, with the aid of its strong fleet, Egypt had managed to recapture all of the coastal towns of Syria from Ascalon north to Gibelet. Thus the Crusaders dealt with a Beirut which was under an Egyptian governor.

The Crusaders first saw Beirut in 1099 when, en route from Antioch to Jerusalem, they camped before the city May 18 on the banks of the Dog River (1). Reports of their military and marauding activities had reached the Egyptian governor so that he was extremely anxious to persuade them to move swiftly and peaceably out of his territory. His

(1) FULCHER OF CHARTRES, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. H. HAGENMEYER, Heidelberg, 1913, I, xxx, p. 10. — WILLIAM OF TYRE, *Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum*, dans *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Occidentaux I*, Paris, 1844, VII, xxii. — PETER TUDEBODE, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, dans *Rec. His. Crois. Occ.* III, Paris, 1866, XIII, xiii. — H. HAGENMEYER, *Chronologie de la première croisade*, dans *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, VII, Paris, 1899, p. 456, n° 373. This revises the date May 16 found in William of Tyre to May 18, 1099.

anxiety was not lessened, either, when the Boulognese and Flemish fleet under Guynemar anchored in the harbor (1). The governor sent out money and provisions and invited the Christians to « take what you please from the orchards, but leave us in peace (2). » Next day the Crusaders moved on, leaving, if we may judge by their general practice, the orchards sadly depleted.

The next year, 1100, Baldwin I learned the strategic value of Beirut when he faced a Moslem force at the pass of the Dog River. He had set out from Edessa with a force of two hundred knights and seven hundred sergeants when he had been informed of the death of Godfrey, and had by-passed the important Moslem cities up to this point (3). From Ridwan, sultan of Aleppo, he had sought and been granted safe passage through Ridwan's lands; Dukak of Damascus followed his brother's example. The by-passed towns had not been unfriendly, as evidenced by Tripoli, whose governor sent out bread, wine and mutton (4). The emir of Beirut, however, not being bound by the promises of either Ridwan or Dukak, prepared an ambush for Baldwin and his troops.

When Baldwin's advance guard reported the situation, the Christians feigned a retreat, drawing the Moslems out in force to a plain between the hills and the sea. Then Baldwin launched a sudden counter-attack which drove the Moslems in disorderly retreat through the pass back to the safety of the city's walls, leaving the pass completely undefended. The Christians were able to capture forty-five prisoners and a sizeable amount of booty from the battlefield before camping under the walls of the city. The emir sent out money and foodstuffs in an effort to buy off the Christians which proved entirely successful. Baldwin had neither the time nor the army for a prolonged siege of one city when an entire king-

(1) CAMILLE ENLART, *Monuments des Croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem*, Paris, 1925, p. 69.

(2) ALBERT OF AIX, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, dans *R.H.C.*, Occ. IV, Paris, 1879, V, xxxix, p. 458.

(3) *Li Estoire de Jerusalem et d'Antioche*, dans *R.H.C.*, Occ. V, Paris 1895, ch. XII.

(4) FULCHER, II, II and III. — *Li Estoire*, ch. XII.

dom awaited him (1). He and his troops left with the plunder and the prisoners, who were to prove valuable in the treaty negotiations which Baldwin subsequently entered into with Damascus.

With the establishment of the kingdom of Jerusalem as a political entity in a land where the westerners were surrounded by states whose friendliness was questionable, it was imperative that good will be obtained whenever possible from neighbors, even though they were Moslem. Baldwin was also anxious to fill the slender royal treasury. Following the battle of the Dog River Pass and its successful conclusion for the Christians, an opportunity arose to answer partially both of these needs; an ambassador arrived from Damascus to ransom those prisoners who were still alive in the Tower of David. The terms for their release was the payment of over 50,000 gold besants; following these arrangements the prisoners were released (2).

It became increasingly evident, however, that Baldwin could not allow Beirut to remain in Moslem hands; Moslem control of the Dog River Pass was a serious threat to communications between the northern and southern Crusader states and the port facilities of the stronghold meant the possibility of the inhabitants launching attacks supported by Egypt into Christian territory. After taking Caesarea in 1101, Baldwin I had to consume valuable time in going with his army to assure safe passage through the Dog River Pass for a contingent of the Crusade of 1101, including William of Aquitaine, Stephen of Blois, Stephen of Burgundy, Godfrey of Vendome, Hugh de Lusignan and many others. Baldwin arrived at the pass on February 18, 1102, and had to wait eighteen days, or until March 8, 1102, for the new arrivals to appear. They left together the next day for Jaffa (3).

A variant account of this episode is found in the Moslem chronicles. According to them, Baldwin made a determined

(1) FULCHER, II, II and III; *Li Estoire*, ch. XII; WILLIAM OF TYRE, X, VI. — CAFARI DE CASCHIFELONE, G. NUNZISIS, *De liberatione civitatum Orientis*, dans *R.H.C.*, Occ. V, Paris, 1895, ch. XII.

(2) ALBERT OF AIX, VII, LIII.

(3) FULCHER, II, XVII; WILLIAM OF TYRE, X, XIX; *Chronologie* p. 149.

attempt to take Beirut during those eighteen days, but failed because he did not have the necessary fleet to stop naval aid from Egypt. Before leaving the area, the Christians were apparently able to impose further tribute on the city (1).

In 1109 Egypt made an effort to aid the coastal towns and populations of Syria which belonged to her and were dependant upon her for support. The principal aim of the naval expedition which she sent out at this time and which included a large number of troops, many vessels and much equipment and provisions, was to help Tortosa, but it arrived at Tyre on July 12, eight days after the fall of Tortosa. The secondary aim was then carried out: to strengthen Egypt's towns in Syria. During the rest of the summer the Egyptians distributed provisions to Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, etc. All of these cities requested that the fleet remain to increase their strength against the Franks: Egypt, however, could spare neither the men nor the material to give much aid to her Syrian possessions, so the fleet departed, leaving the Syrians to their own resources in the face of the still militarily dominant Franks (2).

By 1110, Baldwin was ready militarily to make a determined attempt to take Beirut. In launching his attack, he used his own troops, transient knights who were in the Holy Land, and a large contingent from Tripoli (3). In addition, the Christian forces included a small fleet made up of ships wintering in Jerusalem and some belonging to the Pisans. An effective naval operation, however, was possible only with the later arrival of a larger Genoese fleet. After the heavy winter rains were over in February, Baldwin's forces joined at Beirut with those of Bertram St. Gilles, Count of Tripoli (4), who had come by sea with the Pisans (4). A

(1) IBN AL ATYR, *Kamel-Attevarykh*, dans *R.H.C.*, Orientaux I, part I, Paris, 1887, p. 213. — H. A. R. GIBB, trans. and ed., *The Damascus Chronicle*, p. 91.

(2) WILLIAM OF TYRE, XI, XIII.

(3) Bertram de St. Gilles, son of Raymond of Toulouse, had come to the Holy Land in 1109 to take over the fief left by his father. (J. RICHARD, *Le Comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie toulousaine*, Paris, 1945, p. 5; R. GROUSSET, *Histoire des Croisades*, 3 vols., Paris, 1934, vol. 1, p. 352).

(4) FULCHER, II, XLII; WILLIAM OF TYRE, XI, XIII; ALBERT OF

smaller third force was led by Joscelin de Courtenay, lord of Tell-Basher, who came to the attack in return for assistance against the emir Mawdud, who was in Mesopotamia on orders from the sultan to expulse Djaouli of Mosul, and who was now threatening Joscelin's territory.

The Pisan and Jerusalemite ships managed both to block the Moslem ships already in Beirut harbor and to prevent hoped for aid from Acre and Tyre (1). Baldwin's small navy was not able, however, to withstand an attack from an Egyptian fleet of nineteen vessels which was hurriedly sent to the relief of the city with a regiment of soldiers and many supplies after the siege had been under way for about two months. The Moslems defeated the Frankish fleet stationed at the mouth of the harbor and captured some ships (2).

On land the Franks made use of the extensive pine forests around Beirut to construct scaling ladders, towers and siege machines. They were able to direct incessant bombardment against the city's strong fortifications as well as to carry out destructive forays into the vineyards and orchards of the surrounding countryside. The defenders of Beirut managed to destroy one of Baldwin's towers, but he and St. Gilles promptly constructed two more (3). Little actual progress was made, however, until the arrival of the Genoese fleet.

Baldwin recognized the need of greater sea power when the Egyptian fleet broke through his blockade so easily; he managed, with promises of valuable commercial privileges, to secure the aid of forty Genoese ships filled with fighting men which were then at St. Simon, the port of the city of Antioch (4). When they arrived a concerted attack was made on Beirut, and, according to the Moslem chroniclers at least,

AIX, XI, XXVII; ABOU'L-MEHACEN YOUSSEUF, *Du Nodjoum ezzahireh*, dans *R.H.C.*, Orient. III, Paris, 1884, p. 539; *Historia Nicaena vel Antiochena*, dans *R.H.C.*, Occ. V, Paris, 1895, ch. LXXIII, p. 181, *Historia Gotfridi*, dans *R.H.C.*, Occ. V, IV, XVII.

(1) WILLIAM OF TYRE, XI, XIII.

(2) *Damascus Chronicle*, p. 100; ABOU'L MEHACEN, p. 539.

(3) *Damascus Chronicle*, pp. 94-100; ALBERT OF AIX, XI, XV; WILLIAM OF TYRE, XI, XIII; FULCHER, II, XLII.

(4) ABOU'L MEHACEN, p. 539; *Damascus Chronicle*, p. 100.

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it was the hardest fighting that the Christians had encountered in the Holy Land up to that time. During the battle the commander of the Egyptian fleet was killed, while the emir of Beirut tried to escape to Cyprus with his officials. Albert of Aix says that they made good their escape <sup>(1)</sup>, while the *Damascus Chronicle* states that they were captured by the Franks, brought back and put to death <sup>(2)</sup>.

Beirut was taken by assault May 13, 1110. A delegation of citizens received Baldwin's promise that those who left peaceably would be spared. Of those who remained within the walls, however, 20,000 were reported to have been slain by Bertram's followers and the Pisans before Baldwin could restrain them <sup>(3)</sup>. The city was given over to plunder, but little of its purported wealth could be found because the citizens had either cast it into a huge bonfire in the middle of the city or had sent it secretly to Cyprus. What was left was taken by the Christians, while the inhabitants who remained were made slaves or prisoners <sup>(4)</sup>. The many Melchite, Jacobite and Morinite Christians who were in the city lost no time in joining the Frankish forces <sup>(5)</sup>; indeed, it is more than probable that they had assisted from within and were instrumental in finding what treasure remained.

In the nature of an anticlimax for those who had defended Beirut so bravely, word came after its fall that Egypt had sent a detachment of three hundred horsemen to their aid. This cavalry regiment, unfortunately, was met by the Franks before it reached Beirut and was attacked with great success. The Egyptians either fled to the hills or were killed <sup>(6)</sup>. In Beirut itself, Baldwin spent two weeks arranging for the government of the city and the whole seignury, then went

(1) ALBERT OF AIX, XI, xvii.

(2) *Damascus Chronicle*, p. 100.

(3) FULCHER, II, xlii; ALBERT OF AIX, XI, xvii; WILLIAM OF TYRE, XI, xiii.

(4) *Damascus Chronicle*, p. 100; ALBERT OF AIX, XI, xvii.

(5) BAUDRILLART, DE MEYER et VAN CAUWENBERGH, *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, vol. VIII, Paris, 1935, « Beyrouth, » col. 1302.

(6) *Damascus Chronicle*, p. 101.

on to besiege Sidon. This siege, however, was abandoned upon the promise of 6,000 dinars annual tribute, and the Christian capture of Sidon was postponed until December 5, 1110 <sup>(1)</sup>.

Egypt made a hasty attempt to recapture Beirut in 1110 with an army sent up in a large fleet. This fleet of galleys, biremes and triremes was evidently one of the best equipped of its time, but, because it lacked sufficient infantry, the Christian people of Beirut were able to withstand its initial assault. Then the fleet settled down to a blockade of the harbor; this lasted but a short time, for a group of Christian ships was spied sailing down to Jerusalem. Three were from Flanders and Antwerp and came bearing pilgrims to worship. The fourth was a Byzantine trader who had cast in his lot with the pilgrims for greater protection in uncertain waters. The Egyptians left Beirut immediately, found the pilgrim ships too swift for capture, but overtook the heavily laden Byzantine merchant whose cargo proved rich spoils <sup>(2)</sup>.

In arranging for the government of Beirut, Baldwin proceeded along lines already established in the kingdom. The seignury of the fief and the surrounding territory was entrusted as a fief to Fulk de Guisnes <sup>(3)</sup>. Fulk, a younger son of Baldwin I, fourth count of Guisnes in Picardy, had come to the East on the First Crusade, apparently with Baldwin of Edessa <sup>(4)</sup>.

Lambert of Ardres, local historian of Guisnes and Ardres, noted that « Fulconem in terra promissionis comitem apud Baruth, ibique de num sepultum <sup>(5)</sup>. » This statement does away with any supposition that Fulk might have died after returning to Europe. In Ardres and Guisnes he appears

(1) WILLIAM OF TYRE, XI, xiv.

(2) ALBERT OF AIX, XI, xxvii.

(3) CH. MOELLER, *Les Flamands du Ternois au Royaume de Jérusalem*, in *Mélanges Paul Fredericq*, Brussels, 1904, p. 190.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 190.

(5) LAMBERT OF ARDRES, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium et Ardensium dominorum ab a. 800-1203 or The Chronicle of Guisnes and Ardres in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, Hanover, 1879, vol. XXIV, p. 575.

on three documents; in 1084 he consented with his Brothers Manasses, Wido and Hugh to privileges given by his father to the monastery at Ardres; in 1097 he witnessed a document for the same monastery; and in c. 1117 Fulk and Wido witnessed privileges to the monastery of St. Leonard in the suburbs of Guisnes<sup>(1)</sup>. If this last document is correctly dated, Fulk must have returned to his home at least once after receiving Beirut, then journeyed back to the Holy Land and died soon after. On the other hand, the document has been dated only c. 1117 and might be dated twenty years too late, as the second document is definitely from 1097 and this third might have come from the same year.

Nothing is known definitely of Fulk's activities as lord of Beirut, of his descendants, if any, or when he died. It is probable, however, that under him the boundaries of the seigneurie were established; in the north the Nahr al-Qalb, or Dog River, which also separated the principality of Jerusalem from the county of Tripoli; in the south, the Damour River; in the east, the crest of the Lebanon mountains<sup>(2)</sup>. The subdivisions of the fief which are found under Fulk and his successors are: le Toron de Ahmit (el Ahmed), Beirut, Mont Glainen (probably Deir el Kalaah), Juin, (Djouni), Maus (Ain Maous), La Ros (Ras or Cape of Beirut) Senefil (Sin el Fil), and Slaudie<sup>(3)</sup>. The lord of Beirut owed service to the king of twenty-one knights<sup>(4)</sup> and possessed the three rights of *Cour, coins et justice*<sup>(5)</sup>, but no seal of a lord of Beirut prior to the thirteenth century has been found<sup>(6)</sup>. Of the courts, one of the most important for this thriving industrial and maritime center was the Court of Burgesses. In the very early years Frankish law was brought into Beirut and trading was rapidly revived by the Christians

(1) *Ibid.*, note 1, p. 575.

(2) E. G. REY, *Les Colonies Franques en Syrie*, Paris, 1883, p. 521.

(3) *Ibid.*, pp. 521-524.

(4) COUNT BRUGNOT, *Les Assises de Jérusalem*, dans *R.H.C. Lois*, 2 vols., Paris, 1841-43, vol. I, ch. CCLXXI.

(5) *Assises*, ch. CCLXX.

(6) Cf. SCHLUMBERGER-CHALANDON - BLANCHET, *Sigillographie de l'Orient latin*, Paris, 1943, p. 40.

and Moslems together. Indeed, cordial relations were early established with the native inhabitants, especially with the Gharbs who were located near the city<sup>(1)</sup>.

It is evident that Fulk de Guisnes was dead before 1125, because in that year another lord of Beirut appears in the person of Gautier Brisebarre. There is no known connecting link between the Brisebarres and Fulk de Guisnes; it is probable that Fulk died without heirs and that the fief went back into royal domain for a time, and was later granted by Baldwin II to a favorite of his. Baldwin showed, indeed, a certain solicitude for his protegee in building the new fortress of Mont Glainen, or Mont Glavianus, in the hills of Beirut about six miles from the city in October, 1125<sup>(2)</sup>.

(1) The Gharb emirs were exceedingly anxious to maintain a friendly truce with the Franks so that their lives, rich lands and olive groves might remain undisturbed; at the same time they were careful to maintain an appearance of loyalty to Damascus. (PÈRE H. LAMMENS, *La Syrie*, vol. I, Beyrouth, 1921, p. 12). This double effort at loyalty was not uniformly successful because both sides had reason to doubt the steadfastness of the tribe. It is possible that the Gharbs were those Saracens spoken of by Fulcher who, before 1125, were unwilling to pay taxes to the Franks, and who were induced to cooperate only after six of their headmen had been arrested (FULCHER, III, XLV). At an early date, however, the emirs became liege men of the lord of Beirut for the small fortress of Monaitra in the northeastern part of the seigneurie and for Beaufort in the middle. (SALIH IBN YAHYA, *Histoire de Beyrouth et des Bohtar Emirs d'al Gharb*, pub. and annot. by P. L. Cheikho, Beyrouth, 1902). In payment they gave military service and acted as guides in the mountains. The Gharbs were usually somewhat mistrusted by both Beirut and Damascus. Once many of them were lured to the citadel of Beirut and imprisoned there while Frankish knights went out to rid the fief of as many malcontents as they could find within the tribe. (LAMMENS, *La Syrie*, I, p. 12).

(2) FULCHER, III, XLV. « Hunc montem Glavianum vocant, a digladiando, quia ibi rei digladiabantur, qui apud Berittum damnandi judicabantur. »

It is probable that Baldwin was keeping a watchful eye on the seigneurie and trying to assure ample protection for the new family interests as well as providing a place where judicial combats could be held.

### The Brisebarres of Beirut and Blanchegarde

The Brisebarre genealogy is almost hopelessly confused in the writings of the period. One chief source is the *Lignages d'Outremer* (1), composed in Cyprus in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which seems to be quite inaccurate on the early lords of Beirut. Modern studies have only partially clarified the subject. When Ludolph von Suchem was writing in the fourteenth century he said of their descendants in Blanchegarde,

In these parts is a large and noble tribe of Christians, called « of Blanchegarde », for this was their castle; but where their parents were born before the recovery of the Holy Land no man knows, and I have often been asked by them whether there were any people in my country who said they had relations in those parts, or who bore their arms on their shields (2). »

This ignorance of the early days would certainly seem to be the position of the authors of the *Lignages d'Outremer* who hypothecate as the founder of the house a certain Pierre who appears nowhere outside the pages of the *Lignages*. By causing Pierre to be the founder of the family, they totally ignore the Brisebarres who are found from 1125 to 1148 in documents and narratives.

According to the *Lignages*, chapter XX:

Pierre fu seignor de Baruth, et le rei li dona Domas, kuant il esteit devant, et le mist en saisine de partie de la terre et des jardins qui sont devant la ville. Et celui Pierre ot quatre fiz: Gautier, Gui, Bernart et Hue, et deus filles, Marie et Beatris. Hue morut sanz heirs, et Bernart aussi. Il avint que le rei Johan tint court, ne sai por quel plait; mais quant un sien cousin parloit grocement de ciaux dou pays, si que

(1) *Les Lignages d'Outremer*, in *Assises de Jerusalem*, II, pp. 435-474, Paris, 1843.

(2) LUDOLPH VON SUCHEM, *Description of the Holy Land*, trans. by A. Stewart, London, 1895, p. 52.

Bernart de Baruth li respondi, et celui le desmenti; ensi que Bernart l'ocist devant le rei en la court, et s'en parti et s'en ala a Triple, qu'il ne trouva qui l'arestast ne osast metre main sur lui. Gui si u baron de Julienne la dame de Cesaire; et apres Gui laditte Juliene espousa Aymar de Lavan, et ot un fiz qui ot non Rogier. Cestui Rogier avoit une niece qui avoit non Agnes; si fu feme de Gille de Baruth, mere de cestui Raou. Et Gautier si ot eme une dame qui esteit niece de Eschive la dame de Tabarie, et orent quatre filles et un fiz. Le fiz ot non Gille, et fu pere de cestui Raou de Baruth que l'on apelle de la Blanche Garde; et la grant fille Reimonde si fu feme de Bertran seignor dou Marguat, et orrent un fiz et deus filles; Renaut et Biatrix et Agnes. Biatrix morut sanz heir, et Agnes fu feme de Haymeri Barlais; et orent cinq fiz et une fille, qui fu feme de Gui de Ybelin conestable de Chypre, mere de ces enfanz. Et cestui Gautier vendi Baruth, et par tel achaison, que il et ces deus freres furent pris en Payenisme et se rechaterent de grant raeson; et lor mere si paia grant partie, et elle demorra en ostage et les delivra; et il devoient avant, car il estoient grans despenceors. Et quant il vint de prison, il ne trouva que on ne li prsetast; car l'on dit que le rei ot prie et defendu que on ne li prestat; por ce que il vendist Baruth. Et il ne vost laisser sa mere; si fina a la reyne Ysabiau en tel maniere, qu'il lor dona Baruth, et il li donerent la Blanche Garde en eschange, et besanz aussi, de quei il pais sa dette et delivra sa mere; et elle ne vesqu' apres ce que elle fu delivre que un mois. Et la reyne Ysabiau et son baron donerent Barut a son frere Johan de Ybellin: ce fus le premier seignor de Baruth de iaus de Ybelin. Et l'autre fille si fu feme de Guillaume Porcelet... Et la petite fille Eschive fu mariee a Jocelin de Gibelet, et orent cestui Renier seignor d'Avogore. Et Orable, la quatre fille, si fu feme d'Estace de Neuilles, ayeulle de cestui seignor de Quevides, mere de sa mere.

« Pierre was the lord of Beirut, and the King gave him Damascus, when he was before it, and put him in seizin of some of the land and the gardens which were around the city. And this Pierre had four sons: Gautier, Guy, Bernard and Hugh, and two daughters, Marie and Beatrice. Hugh died without heirs and Bernard also. It happened that King

John held court, I know not for what plea ; but when one of his relatives spoke harshly of this fair land, Bernard of Beirut answered him, and was flatly contradicted. After which Bernard killed him before the king in his court, and left there and went to Tripoli, where he would find no one to arrest him or dare to raise a hand against him. Guy was the husband of Juliana, the lady of Caesarea ; (1) and after Guy the said Juliana married Aymar de Leiron, and had a son who was named Roger. This Roger had a niece (2) who was named Agnes, who was the wife of Gilles de Beirut, and the mother of the present Raoul. And Gautier had as wife a lady who was the niece of the lady of Tiberias Eschive, and had four daughters and a son. The son was named Gilles and was the father of the present Raoul de Beirut whom one calls of Blanchegarde ; and the eldest daughter Raymonde was the wife of Bertram, lord of Margat, and had a son and two daughters ; Renaut and Beatrice and Agnes. Beatrice died without heirs, and Agnes was the wife of Aymery Barlais and had five sons and a daughter, who was the wife of Guy d'Ibelin (3), constable of Cyprus, mother of the present childred. And this Gauthier sold Beirut, because he and his two

(1) Ch. IX of the *Lignages* : « Baldwin d'Ibelin, lord of Rama, married Marie, who had four brothers : Gautier, the lord of Beirut, and Guy, the lord of Caesarea by his wife, and Bernard and Hugh. They had also another sister, who was the wife of John le Tor, lord of Manuet. After the death of the said Baldwin, the said Marie had two husbands : one was William of Tiberias, and the other was Gerard de Ham, from whom were the lady of Py and the constable of Tripoli. »

Ch. XVIII : « William, the second son of Eschive, lady of Tiberias and William de Buris, married Marie, the daughter of Pierre of Beirut, and they had a daughter who was named Eschive and she married Hugh Sans Avoir, the lord of Puy. »

(2) Ch. XIX : « Juliana has as husband Guy of Beirut, brother of Gautier, lord of Beirut, and they had two sons and two daughters : Gautier who was lord of Caesarea and constable of Cyprus... and Bernard had no heirs. And the eldest daughter, Isabelle, was the wife of Renaut the chamberlain of the kingdom and the brother of Rohart, lord of Caifas... and the youngest daughter was Bertec. »

(3) The variant reading of this says : « and this Aymar was the godson of Renaut the chamberlain, and he had a niece, »

brothers were taken prisoners by the Saracens and purchased their freedom with a large ransom ; and their mother paid a large part of it, and she went as a hostage and delivered them ; and they had to do the aforesaid, because they were great spendthrifts. And when he came from prison, he found no one who would lend him money ; for they said that the king had requested and forbidden that any one lend to him, so he sold Beirut. And he could not free his mother ; so it came about that he gave Beirut to Queen Isabelle, and she gave him Blanchegarde in return, and besants also, with which he paid his debt and delivered his mother ; and she lived only one month after she was freed. And Queen Isabelle and her husband gave Beirut to her brother John d'Ibelin ; he was the first lord of Beirut of the house of Ibelin. And the other daughter was the wife of William Porcelet... and the younger daughter Eschive was married to Jocelin de Gibelet, and had the present Renier, lord of Avegore. And Orable, the fourth daughter, was the wife of Eustace de Neuvelles, grandmother of the present lord of Quevides, mother of his mother ».

Chapter XXI of the *Lignages* tells more of this family of Brisebarres :

« Pierre fu sire de Baruth, et epousa feme, et ot quatre fiz et deus filles : Gautier, Gui, Bernart et Hue, Marie et Beatrix. Gui et Bernart morurent, Hue espousa Juliene, la dame de Cesaie, come vous aves oy ; Gautier espousa Agnes, la niese de Eschive la dame de Tabarie, come a este dite. Cestui Gautier eschangea avec le roy Baruth pour la Blanche Garde, et ot un fis et quatre filles : Gile, Ralmonde, Marguerite, Eschive et Orable. Gile espousa Agnes de Leiron qui estoit d'outremer, et orent un fis qui ot nom Raoul de la Blanche Garde, qui espousa Isabelle, la fille au seignor de Caifas, et orent quatre fiz et quatre filles : Gautier, Thomas, Johan et Nicole, Estephanie, Agnes, Marie et Aalis. Gautier espousa Agnes, la fille Johan de Flouri mareschal de Tabarie, et orent un fils et une fille, Raoul et Isabeua ; Estephanie epousa Gautier Julien ; Agnes espousa Thomas le seignor de Sesaie, com vous aves oy ; Marie esposa Balian de Lanelee ; Aalis esposa Bertelet de Garnier, un Pisan ; Raimonde,



l'aînée fille Gautier de Baruth, esposa Bertran le seignor dou Margat; Marguerite, l'autre seur, esposa Guillemain Porcelet, et orent trois fis et une fille: Renaut, Bertran, Hue et Marie. Les trois fis morurent sans heirs, et Marie esposa Lienart de Baphe... Eschive, l'autre fille Gautier de Baruth, esposa Jocelin de Gibelet le seignor d'Avegore, et orent deus fis et deus filles: Renaut et Phelippe qui fu tue; et leurs seurs, l'une esposa Oste Potier, et l'autre Simonde Naveles. Marie, la fille Pierre de Baruth, qui esposa Guillaume de Tabarie, esposa Girart de Han, conestable de Chipre, et orent un fis et une fille, Thomas et Agnes. Thomas fu conestable de Triple, et esposa la fille Julian de Ravendel de Maraclee et moru sans heirs; Agnes esposa Hue de Giblet, seignor de Bemedin.»

« Pierre was the lord of Beirut, and married a wife, and had four sons and two daughters: Gautier, Guy, Bernard and Hugh, Marie and Beatrice. Guy and Bernard died, Hugh married Juliana, the lady of Caesarea, as you have heard; Gautier married Agnes, the niece of Eschive, the lady of Tiberias, as has been said. This Gautier, who exchanged with the king Beirut for Blanchegarde, had a son and four daughters: Gilles, Raymonde, Marguerite, Eschive and Orable. Gilles married Agnes de Leiron, who came from overseas, and had a son who was named Raoul of Blanchegarde, who married Isabelle, the daughter of the lord of Caifas, and they had four sons and four daughters: Gautier, Thomas, John and Nicholas, Stephanie, Agnes, Marie and Alice. Gautier married Agnes, the daughter of John der Flouri, marshal of Tiberias, and had a son and a daughter, Raoul and Isabelle; Stephanie married Gautier Julian; Agnes married Thomas the lord of Caesarea, as you have heard; Marie married Balian of Lancee; Alice married Bertelet de Garnier, a Pisan; Raymonde, the eldest daughter of Gautier of Beirut, married Bertram the lord of Margat; Marguerite, the other sister, married William Porcelet, and had three sons and a daughter: Renaut, Bertram, Hugh and Marie. The three sons died without heirs, and Marie married Lienart de Baphe... Eschive, the other daughter of Gautier of Beirut married Hugh de Giblet, lord of Avegore, and had two sons, and two daughters: Renaut and Philip who were killed;

and their sisters, one of whom married Oste Potier and the other. Simon de Naveles. Marie, the daughter of Pierre of Beirut, who had married William of Tiberias, married Gerard of Ham, constable of Cyprus, and had a son and a daughter, Thomas and Agnes. Thomas was the constable of Tripoli, and married the daughter of Julian de Ravendel de Maraclee, and died without heirs; Agnes married Hugh de Giblet, lord of Besmedin.»

The main difficulty in these accounts from the *Lignages* centers in the person of Pierre. Rey, who recognized the difficulties in accepting the *Lignages*, made several attempts to correct this genealogy: once in the *Familles d'Outre Mer* (1), and finally in *Les Seigneurs de Barut* (2), which was more correct. But even his final form does not appear to be entirely satisfactory, although he discarded Pierre of Beirut as non-existent. Pierre appears no place in documents or sources of Outremer other than the *Lignages* and seems to represent a case of mistaken identity for Guy II, who is known to have been lord of Beirut at that time.

Rey first suggested that Guy and Gautier, who signed as of Beirut from 1125 to 1148 or even later, were brothers and co-lords of the seignury (3). Later he revised this to postulate a succession of (4):

1. Gautier I Brisebarre, 1125-1127
2. Guy I, 1127-1156
3. Gautier II, c. 1157-1166
4. Gautier III, 1166 - c.1179, then to Montreal and then to Blanchegarde
5. Gilles, appears 1210
6. Raoul, appears 1252.

(1) E. G. REY, *Les Familles d'Outremer du Du Cange*, dans *Documents inédits Hist. France*, Paris, 1869, pp. 326-330.

(2) E. G. REY, *Les Seigneurs de Barut*, in *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, IV, Paris, 1896, pp. 12-18.

(3) *Familles*, p. 330.

(4) *Les Seigneurs de Barut*, pp. 12-18.

The Count de Mas Latrie meanwhile had gone over the material and had suggested a succession of <sup>(1)</sup>:

1. Fulk
2. Gautier and Guy
3. Pierre
4. Gautier and Guy.

There the matter rested until 1943 when J. L. Lamonte published a revised list in which he postulates a succession of <sup>(2)</sup>:

1. Fulk, 1110
2. Gautier I, 1125-1126
3. Guy I, 1138-1156
4. Gautier II, 1157-1164
5. Gautier III, 1165-1166, Montreal 1168, Blanche-garde, 1168-1179
6. Gilles, 1198-1210
7. Raoul, 1252-1263
8. Gautier IV, without dates
9. Thomas, c. 1298.

René Grousset accepted La Monte's reconstruction in his *L'Empire du Levant*, published in 1946 <sup>(3)</sup>.

However, further study of the documents suggests that a more correct succession would be:

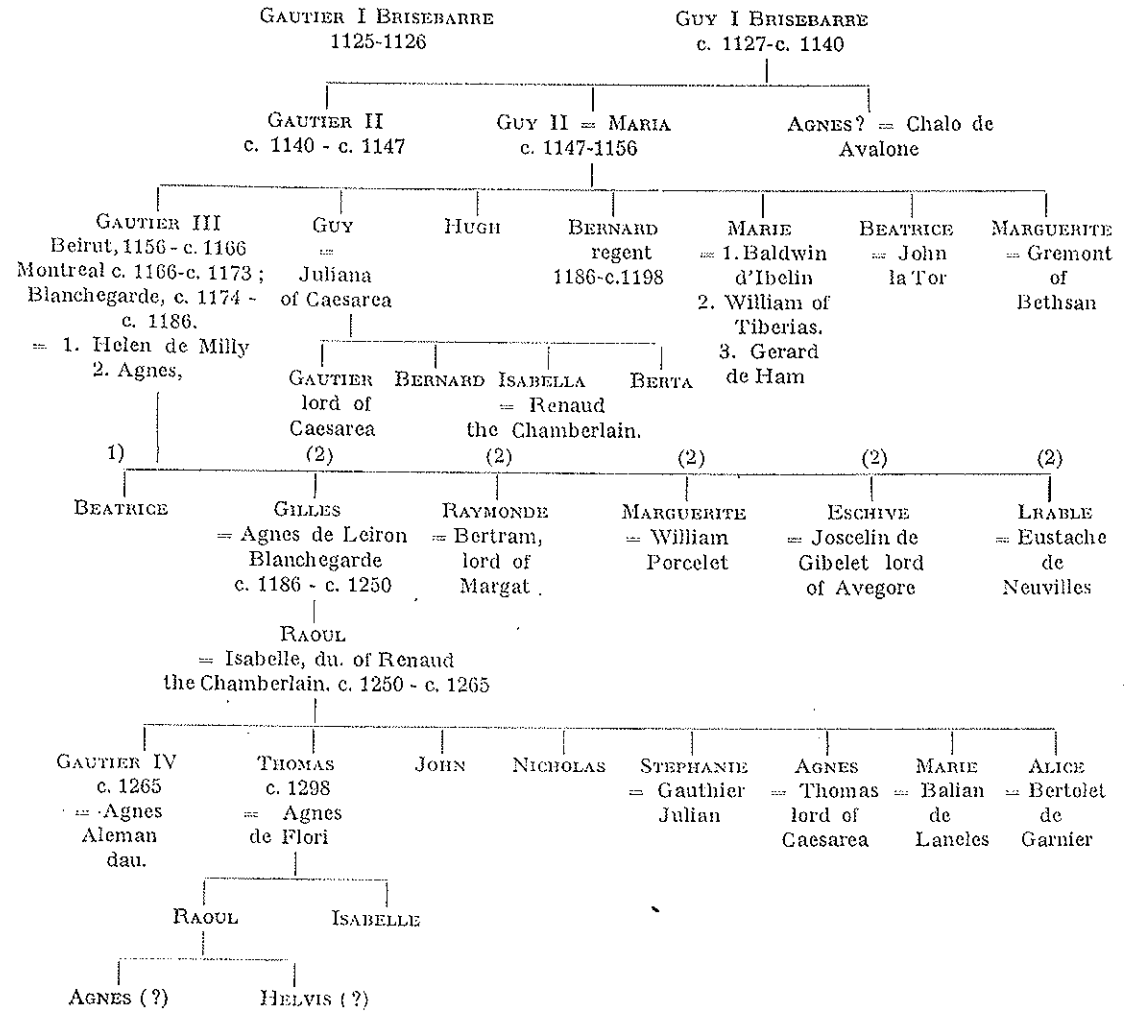
1. Fulk, 1110
2. Gautier I, 1125-1126
3. Guy I, c. 1127 - c. 1140
4. Gautier II, c. 1140 - c. 1144
5. Guy II, c. 1147 - 1156
6. Gautier III, 1157 - c. 1166, then to Montreal until c. 1173, then the final move to Blanche-garde 1174-1179/1187

(1) His work was never published and remains only in notes in Paris, Bib. Nat. *Miss. fonds français*, 6794.

(2) *Bulletin of the International Commission of Historical Science*, 47, vol. XII, pt. 2, January, 1943.

(3) RENÉ GROUSSET, *L'Empire du Levant*, Paris, 1946, p. 330.

BRISEBARRE LORDS OF BEIRUT AND BLANCHEGARDE



7. Bernard, regent for Gilles, 1186 - c. 1198
8. Gilles, c. 1186 - 1220/1250
9. Raoul, c. 1250 - c. 1265
10. Gautier IV, c. 1265
11. Thomas, c. 1298.

## GAUTIER I, 1125-1227

Gautier I Brisebarre, first of the family to be lord of Beirut, was active in the year 1125 and 1126 when he witnessed four documents in the kingdom. The first was the confirmation by Baldwin II of the treaty by Gormund with the Venetians which on May 2, 1125, was signed at Acre before an almost complete curia of lords ecclesiastical and lay. On this occasion Gautier used his full name and title: Gautier Brisebarre, lord of Beirut <sup>(1)</sup>. He was present at Tyre during the same year when Baldwin gave casale Derina to the church <sup>(2)</sup>. In January, 1126, Gautier made his last appearance on documents when, at Jaffa he witnessed deeds of Barisan, the constable of Jaffa, and of Hugh of Jaffa and his wife Emma to the Hospitallers. In these Gautier was accompanied by his brother Guy <sup>(3)</sup>.

During 1126 Egypt sent out another fleet of ships, twenty-four this time, to attack the coastal cities of Syria or to seize any Christian ships they could surprise. By the time they had reached Beirut their water had become exhausted and they landed near the city to replenish their supplies. The people of Beirut gathered together, sent for reinforcements from neighboring towns and managed to kill over a hundred of the Egyptians and drive off the rest <sup>(4)</sup>.

(1) TAFEL-THOMAS, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, Vienna, 1856-57, 3 vols., vol. I, pp. 90-94, 41.

(2) LOIS-BEUGNOT II, p. 488, 9; ROZIERE, *Cartulaire de l'Église du St. Sépulchre de Jérusalem*, Paris, 1849, pp. 56-57, 30; Reg. 109. R. ROEHRICHT, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, Innsbruck, 1893, with *Additamentum*, 1904, 105.

(3) J. DELAVILLE LE ROULX, *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de St. Jean de Jérusalem*, 4 vols., Paris, 1894-1904, I, 74 and 77; *Regesta*, 112 and 113.

(4) WILLIAM OF TYRE, XIII, XX; FULCHER, III, LVI.

## Guy I, 1127-1140

Gautier I apparently left no children, because he was succeeded by his brother Guy in either 1126 or 1127<sup>(1)</sup>. Gautier does not appear after January 1126 and Guy was sufficiently important in the kingdom to be referred to as one of the chief men of Baldwin II<sup>(2)</sup> when he was sent with William de Buris and the master of the Temple to the court of Louis VI of France to place before that monarch the delicate problem of finding a suitable husband for the heiress to the throne of Jerusalem, the princess Melissende. Her husband would eventually succeed to the throne. Louis' choice was Fulk V, count of Anjou, who accepted the proposal and accompanied the ambassadors back to Acre in the spring of 1129<sup>(3)</sup>.

By 1132 Guy's activities as the lord of Beirut were the cause of a small flurry of military activity between the Damascenes and the Christians. Taj-al-Muluk-Buri sultan of Damascus, had concluded an agreement with his brother of Ba'albek, cutting short hostilities there, when some Damascene merchants complained that the lord of Beirut had appropriated some rather valuable bales of linen which were passing through his port. An inconclusive, if lengthy, exchange of letters brought no satisfaction to the Moslem, so the resentful al-Muluk prepared to force a settlement of some kind from the Franks<sup>(4)</sup>. He died suddenly, but his son, Shamus-al-Muluk, successfully led an army against Banyas and captured that town, which was under the lord of Beirut, on December 11, 1132. A temporary truce the next year, however, was concluded at the request of the Damascenes and Banyas was restored<sup>(5)</sup>. There is no record of any reprimand to Guy for bringing about strained relations with the Damascenes at this time.

(1) *Les Seigneurs de Barut*, p. 13.

(2) WILLIAM OF TYRE, XIV, II.

(3) WILLIAM OF TYRE, XII, XXIV; Josephe CHARTRON, *L'Anjou de 1109 à 1151*, Paris, pp. 226-227.

(4) *Damascus Chronicle*, p. 216.

(5) WILLIAM OF TYRE, XIV, XIX.

Guy I remained one of Fulk's close associates when the latter inherited the throne of Jerusalem at the death of Baldwin II. During Zangi's attacks in 1137, Guy was one of the great lords of the realm who took refuge in the fortress of Montferrand along with Fulk<sup>(1)</sup>. The besieged army appealed for aid to the lords of Antioch and Edessa and to the patriarch of Jerusalem, but a truce had been arranged and a treaty signed before the delayed relief arrived. Guy was with Fulk and Melissende the next year in Jerusalem when he witnessed a confirmation by Fulk on February 5, 1138<sup>(2)</sup>, and last appeared assenting to the confirmation by Raymond of Tripoli and his wife Hodierna of December, 1140<sup>(3)</sup>.

The identity of Guy's wife is unknown as she appears neither on documents nor in narratives of the time. His children were Gautier and Guy, who inherited the seignury in turn. A daughter might possibly be that Agnes of Beirut, the wife of Chalo of Avalone, who is not found in the *Lignages*, but who appears in a document of 1167<sup>(4)</sup>.

## GAUTIER II, c. 1140 - c. 1144

In 1144, on a confirmation of the privileges and rights of the church and orders by Baldwin III, there appears among the barons, after Joscelin de Courtenay and before Rohard the vicomte, Gautier of Beirut<sup>(5)</sup>. This was one of the great meetings of the curia and was attended by the chief lords of the kingdom. A Gautier of Beirut had appeared before this in 1134 without title, witnessing a confirmation by Princess Alice of Laodicea of a gift to the Hospitallers<sup>(6)</sup>,

(1) WILLIAM OF TYRE, XIV, XXVI.

(2) ROZIERE, pp. 60-65 § 33; LOIS-BEUGNOT II, pp. 494-497 § 17; *Regesta*, § 174.

(3) ROZIERE, pp. 186-187 § 94; LOIS-BEUGNOT II, pp. 505-506 § 24; *Regesta* § 198. Guy's position in this last document is admittedly in the midst of a group of the clergy, but there seems to be no doubt of his identity.

(4) *D. Cart.* I, § 374; *Regesta* § 434 c.

(5) LOIS-BEUGNOT II, pp. 507-509 § 26; ROZIERE, pp. 110-113 § 56; *Regesta* § 226. Lois-Beugnot lists Gallerius Berithensis fourth in the baronial witnesses, with the year 1143 instead of 1144.

(6) *Regesta* § 150.

and we may assume that this was the same person. In January, 1156, and April, 1169, a Gautier of Beirut appears as a brother of the Temple<sup>(1)</sup>. On August 6, 1163, he leaves no doubt of his identity by witnessing among the brothers of the Temple as Gautier Brisebarre<sup>(2)</sup>. He last appears on March 16, 1169, with the title of Preceptor of the Temple<sup>(3)</sup>.

From the admission of Gautier of Beirut among the barons in 1144, it would seem necessary to admit him as the lord of Beirut at that date, and we should advance the hypothesis that this Gautier was the second of that name to hold Beirut and that he gave up his fief in favor of his brother Guy to join the Templars. Certainly his presence in 1144 would show that the Guy of 1127-1140 was not the same as the Guy who appears from 1148 to 1156 with the title; it helps to emphasize the idea that Guy I, who was important enough to be sent upon a mission to France in 1127, would scarcely be active enough in 1148 to be promised the city of Damascus. Gautier II was undoubtedly lord of Beirut in 1144 and then for some unknown reason resigned the lordship.

#### Guy II, c. 1147 - 1156

Guy II, brother of Gautier II and younger son of Guy I, inherited Beirut sometime between 1144 and 1147. In the latter year he was one of the first lay lords to witness a confirmation of Hospitaller lands by Baldwin III and his mother Melissende<sup>(4)</sup>. Then Guy came into much greater prominence as a leading noble of the kingdom during the troubled years of the Second Crusade. He was one of the great lay nobles of Jerusalem participating in the Council of Acre, May, 1148, when plans for attacking Damascus were drawn up<sup>(5)</sup>.

(1) LOIS-BEUGNOT II, pp. 518-520 § 35; ROZIERE, pp. 110-113; § 56; *Regesta* § 299. A great group of brothers, seemingly a full curia, witnessed an act of Baldwin III. — ROZIERE, pp. 117-120, § 59; MIGNÉ, pp. 1154-1156 § 59; *Regesta* § 300. ROZIERE, pp. 124-127, § 62; MIGNÉ, pp. 1159-1160; § 62; *Regesta*, § 301.

(2) DELAVILLE LE ROULX, *Docum.*, p. 12 § 3; *Regesta* § 381.

(3) *D. Cart.* I, pp. 112-115 § 29; *Reg.* § 462. Transaction between the bishop of Valona and Knights Templar of Tortosa.

(4) *D. Cart.* I, § 175; *Reg.* § 245.

(5) WILLIAM OF TYRE, XVII, 1.

If the *Lignages* is right in its assertion that « Pierre of Beirut » was promised Damascus on its capture, then Guy II was undoubtedly meant, for he was lord of Beirut at the time. This promise, found in no western report, would help to explain the lack of cooperation between the eastern and the western forces, because some of the western leaders, among them Thierry of Flanders, were rumored to desire any lands that the Crusaders might capture<sup>(1)</sup>.

Following the failure of the Second Crusade, the kingdom was torn by internal strife when Baldwin III determined to take over his inheritance from the rule of his mother and her cousin Manasses. Guy of Beirut was apparently one of the nobles consistently behind Baldwin in his revolt against Melissende and Manasses, and could very well have been one of those who renounced their nominal oaths to Melissende as queen and holder of Jerusalem when Baldwin advanced on the capital in 1152<sup>(2)</sup>. During this unfortunate civil war, Nureddin captured the count of Edessa and then proceeded to attack both Edessa and Antioch. In response to Baldwin's call, the king's men, with Humphrey the constable and Guy of Beirut as leaders, followed the king to Tripoli and then on to Antioch, but the queen's men failed to appear<sup>(3)</sup>. At Antioch Baldwin and his advisors agreed that what remained of Edessa should be turned over to the emperor Manuel, and then made preparations to evacuate all of the inhabitants of the land who wanted to stay under the rule of the kingdom of Jerusalem<sup>(4)</sup>.

During 1151, when Guy had just returned with Baldwin from the north, another large Egyptian fleet began to attack cities and shipping along the coast. Among the places attacked was Beirut, which is recorded as bravely fighting off the Egyptians<sup>(5)</sup>. The attacks failed largely, however, be-

(1) *Ibid.*, XVII, 1; see also CH. VERLINDEN, *Les Empereurs Belges de Constantinople*, Bruxelles, 1935, p. 38.

(2) WILLIAM OF TYRE, XVII, XIV.

(3) *Ibid.*, XVII, XV.

(4) *Ibid.*, XVII, XVI; F. CHALANDON, *Les Comnènes*, Paris, 1912, pp. 424-431.

(5) D'IBN MOYESSER, *R.H.C.*, Orient. III, Paris, 1884, p. 470.

BYZANTION XIX. — 11.

cause Nurreddin was too preoccupied with Damascus to cooperate in a joint attack upon the Latin states. Frankish action against Egypt came on January 25, 1153, when Baldwin III held a council before Ascalon in which Guy of Beirut took part; they decided to do away with the constant menace of this Egyptian outpost on the southern frontier<sup>(1)</sup>. After a siege of more than five months the Christians were successful; Ascalon fell in August, 1153, and the besiegers were free to return to their homes.

Guy continued to appear with Baldwin at Acre during the next few years. In 1154 he witnessed a general confirmation of Hospitaller lands<sup>(2)</sup>; in 1155 he witnessed another general confirmation of privileges<sup>(3)</sup>; on June 7, 1156, he appears for the last time as a witness of Baldwin's confirmation of the lands of the Hospitallers<sup>(4)</sup>. Guy II apparently died at the end of 1156 or the beginning of 1157 as there was a new lord of Beirut in 1157. During the decade or more that he was lord of Beirut, Guy II was one of the most influential of the advisors of the young king; his life was spent on affairs of the kingdom, following Baldwin on his military campaigns and in civil affairs. Little time was left for his own fief, although repeated attempts of capture by Egypt menaced its peace. A naval attack aimed specifically at Beirut was made in 1156 at the end of Guy's rule. The expedition marked the end of a treaty between the Franks and Salih ibn Rozzik, vizier of Egypt<sup>(5)</sup>. At Beirut the Egyptians met a Frankish fleet, took prisoners and booty and then went on its marauding way to other cities and colonies of the Franks.

The *Lignages*, as we have seen, attribute to Pierre, who was certainly Guy II, four sons and two daughters: Gautier, Guy, Bernard and Hugh, Marie and Beatrice. His wife would seem to have been a Marie, since a document of August 16,

(1) WILLIAM OF TYRE, XVII, XXI.

(2) D. *Cart* I, pp. 172-173 § 225; *Reg.* § 293.

(3) ROZIERE, pp. 97-101 § 53; LOIS-BEUGNOT II, pp. 516-8 § 34; *Reg.* § 70.

(4) D. *Cart.* I, pp. 183-4 § 244; LOIS-BEUGNOT I, p. 404; *Reg.* § 321.

(5) D'IBN MOYESSER, p. 471.

1164, is one in which Marie, lady of Beirut, gave to the Order of St. Lazare of Jerusalem ten besants annually from the casale of Musecaqui for her own soul and the souls of her living sons and daughters<sup>(1)</sup>. Her husband is not mentioned, so was presumably Guy, who had died before that date. Marie was thus the lady of Beirut who, according to the *Lignages*, went among the Saracens as hostage for her sons and who died shortly after her release.

It was under Guy II that the Brisebarre house rose to its greatest heights in the Latin kingdom. He made such a great impression on his own time that the later writers of the *Lignages*, although they were ignorant of his given name, remembered his fame and saw in him the founder of the house. With his passing the fortunes of the house started a slow, almost imperceptible at first, but steady decline into the comparative obscurity which enveloped his descendants in the next century.

Marie, the eldest daughter of Guy II, has been the cause of some confusion on the subject of her marriages. According to the *Lignages*, she was the third wife of her first husband, Baldwin d'IBelin, son of Balian I and brother of Hugh of Rama<sup>(2)</sup>. Her second husband was William of Tiberias, the second son of Eschive, lady of Tiberias, and William de Buris; by this marriage she had a daughter Eschive, who married the lord of Puy, a certain Hugh. Her third husband was Gerard de Ham, constable, not of Cyprus, but of Tripoli, by whom she had a son Thomas and a daughter Agnes<sup>(3)</sup>.

Rey rejects completely this last marriage to Gerard de Ham<sup>(4)</sup>. However, a document of December, 1204, is a grant to the Hospitallers by Gerard de Ham, constable of Tripoli, with his wife Marie and « the consent of Eschive, daughter of the said Marie and William of Tiberias, and of Agnes, daughter of the said Gerard<sup>(5)</sup>. » This seems to prove

(1) CUMTE DU MARSY, *Fragment d'un cartulaire de l'ordre de Saint Lazare en Terre Sainte*, in *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, II B Paris, 1884, p. 141 § 23; *Regesta* § 401.

(2) *Lignages*, ch. IX.

(3) *Lignages*, ch. IX, XX, XXI, XXXI.

(4) *Les Seigneurs de Barut*, pp. 14-15.

(5) D. *Cart.* II, pp. 42-43 § 1198.

that Marie, who had been the wife of William of Tiberias, was later married to Gerard de Ham. There is no reason to doubt, then, the *Lignages* in this instance. Gerard was later married to another Marie, the daughter of Renier, constable of Tripoli, who survived him. She was the mother of Thomas, who succeeded as constable (?). The reference to Agnes as the daughter of Gerard and not of Gerard and Marie might indicate a previous marriage for Gerard; on the other hand, she could have been the daughter of Marie as the *Lignages* indicates and the wording of the document was made so as to distinguish her position from that of Eschive.

Beatrice, the second daughter of Guy II, married John le Tor, lord of Manuet (?). They had a son Geoffrey and two daughters, Marguerite and Marie. A third daughter of Guy II might have been Marguerite, wife of Gremont de Bethsan, whose children were André, Gautier, Philip, Richent, Isabelle and Stéphanie. The confusion about Marguerite's relationship results from the fact that she is not mentioned in either chapter XX or XXI of the *Lignages*, but chapter XXX ends thus: « and Agnès, the sister of Gautier, was the wife of John le Tor. and Marguerite was the wife of Gremont, the lord of Bethsan. » Chapter XXVII on the Bethsans is even more specific: « Gautier, the other son of Gremont de Bethsan and Marguerite, the sister of Gautier of Beirut ». Thus it is difficult to refuse her a place among the daughters of Guy I.

(1) COMTE DU MARSY, *Documents concernant les Seigneurs de Ham, Connétables de Tripoli (1227-1228)*, in *Archives de l'Orient Latin* III, pp. 158-163, § 5, p. 162, *Reg.* § 993. Oct. 1, 1228. A confirmation by Marie, daughter of the late Renier, constable of Tripoli, and wife of Gerard de Ham and mother of Thomas, constable of Tripoli, and with the consent of Beatrice, wife of Thomas, the sale of certain lands of Thomas to Blanche of Castille.

This, along with the other document, proves that Gerard was married to at least two Marias.

(2) *Lignages*, ch. XXXI, refers to her as Agnes.

## GAUTIER III, 1157 - c. 1186

Gautier III, the eldest son of Guy II, was the lord of Beirut by 1157 and was the last of the Brisebarre family to hold that seignery. His rule was ushered in by the great earthquake of 1157 (1), and change and catastrophes appear almost normal to him during the rest of his life. He first appears as lord of Beirut on October 4, 1157, when, with his brothers Guy and Bernard, he authorized Humphrey II of Toron to give to the Hospital of St. John a half of Banyas, which belonged to the seignery of Beirut (2). July 26, 1160, he witnessed a confirmation by Baldwin III of the rights and privileges of the Holy Sepulchre (3); November 29, 1160, he witnessed a grant to the Hospital by Baldwin (4); and in the same year he witnessed a transaction between Bertrand, the master of the Temple, and Amaury, the Patriarch, and the brothers of the Holy Sepulchre (5). July 4, 1161, he witnessed a particularly interesting transaction between Baldwin III and Philip de Milly; Philip was later to be Gautier's father-in-law, and this document dealt with the transference of the seignery of Napoluse to the king for that of Krak and Montreal, which Gautier later held for a short time (6). From these documents it is apparent that Gautier inherited a part of his father's place among the councillors of the king, because he was almost constantly in attendance.

In the following year there occurred at Beirut one of the saddest events for the kingdom of Jerusalem up to that time. When the prince of Antioch was captured in 1160, Baldwin III had gone to that territory to help the princess Constance and later to arrange with Emperor Manuel for Princess Ma-

(1) ABOU'L MEHACEN, pp. 508-9.

(2) PAOLI I, p. 36 § 34; *Regesta*, § 325.

(3) ROZIERE, pp. 102-7 § 54; LOIS-BEUGNOT II, p. 521 § 36; *Reg.* § 354.

(4) PAOLI I, pp. 37-8 § 36; LOIS-BEUGNOT I, p. 404, n.; *Reg.* § 355.

(5) ROZIERE, pp. 150-2, § 75; MIGNE, p. 1163-4 § 75; *Reg.* § 364.

(6) E. STREHLKE, *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonicæ*, Berlin, 1869, pp. 3-5 § 3; *Reg.* § 366.



rie's marriage. Toward the end of 1161, Baldwin, taken suddenly ill, moved south and died at Beirut on February 10, 1162 (1). The death of this able king at the age of 32 was a blow to union and cooperation within the kingdom, for it was some time before his brother Amaury could override the opposition which had developed within the volatile baronial party. Gautier of Beirut and his brothers were not with Amaury as constantly as they had been with Baldwin.

From a document of March 18, 1164, we have the first evidence of the Brisebarre's great interest in the order of St. Lazare. On that date Gautier III gave to the order one half of a vineyard at Beirut and evidenced his willingness some future date to renounce the world and be admitted as a brother (2). This did not mean, of course, that Gautier was seriously contemplating much a renunciation; most gentlemen of his time, place and station became patrons of some order. His mother's gift to St. Lazare was made in August shortly after this.

During 1164 Gautier and his brothers Guy and Bernard took part in the military campaigns in Syria. While Amaury was leading his expedition in Egypt, Nurredin was obtaining great successes near Antioch. Among the men of rank captured by him were the Brisebarres. Nurredin demanded a large ransom for them; so large, in fact, that it was arranged for their mother Marie to go as hostage for them while the young nobles tried to raise the amount. Their reputations as spendthrifts who were always in debt were perhaps responsible for the extraordinary steps which Gautier was finally compelled to take; in an involved transaction about 1166 Beirut was returned to the royal domain, Gautier received a large sum of money and perhaps the promise of the fortress of Blanchegarde eight miles from Ascalon --- all of this through the good offices of the queen because Amaury, from the *Lignages*, seems to have mistrusted the young Brisebarres'

(1) WILLIAM OF TYRE, XVIII, XXXII.

(2) AOL IIB, p. 139 § 21; Reg. § 395.

abilities to manage their own affairs (3). As a sequel to the affair, Marie died a month after her release from the Saracens.

Although Beirut passed from the Brisebarres at this time, the later careers of Gautier III, his brothers and their descendants are worth following. Gautier did not assume the lordship of Blanchegarde until 1174 (4); he went from Beirut first to Montreal. On November 18, 1168, Gautier, lord of Montreal, showed a continuing interest in the order of St. Lazare by giving it an income of forty besants annually to be derived from the money he received from the exchange of Beirut (5). The gift refers to his dead wife Helene, to his daughter Beatrice and to his brother Guy. From this it appears that he married Helene de Milly, although the *Lignages* mentions for her only one marriage, that with a nephew of the lord of Tiberias who had a difference of opinion with the king and left the kingdom. This could scarcely be Gautier. Helene was the daughter of Philip de Milly, lord of Krac and Montreal. Rey conjectures that Philip gave the fief of Montreal to Gautier in exchange for Gautier's relinquishment of his rights to Banyas in favor of Humphrey de Toron, husband of Philip's other daughter, Stephanie (6). Neither the marriage to Helene nor the existence of Beatrice is mentioned in the *Lignages*, and both were probably short-lived. Gautier's tenure of Montreal evidently expired with his wife and daughter, because that fief was held by Stephanie and Miles de Plancy by 1174 (7). By 1177 it was in the possession of Renaud de Châtillon.

(1) Beirut was attached to Andronicus Comnenus in 1167 by Amaury. (WILLIAM OF TYRE, XX, II).

(2) A certain Arnulf appears as the castellan of Blanchegarde from 1165 to 1178. He can perhaps be identified with that Arnulf who witnessed documents in 1156 and 1160 (Reg. § 299 § 365) as the vicomte of Jerusalem.

(3) AOL IIB, § 24; Reg. § 454.

(4) AOL, IV, p. 14.

(5) STREHLKE § 8; Reg. § 517. Miles de Plancy was killed by Gautier sometime after 1173. (*Brevis regni Ierosolymitani historia*, dans *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, vol. XXXVIII, Hannover, 1863, p. 51.

Amaury confirmed at Acre the annual gift of forty besants which Gautier of Blanchegarde gave from the sale of Beirut to St. Lazare « where Gautier stays » (1). The date of the confirmation was February 24, 1174. Gautier had not yet, however, permanently retired, because he made various appearances during the next five years on documents of Amaury I and Baldwin IV. In 1177 he was with Amaury at Jerusalem (2); in 1178 at Vadum Jacob (3); and October 22, 1179, made his last appearance on a document of Baldwin IV at Acre (4). In this last he was accompanied by his brother Guy. It was evidently after his removal from Montreal that Gautier contracted the marriage attributed to him in the *Lignages*, that with Agnes, the niece of Eschive, the lady of Tiberias. Their children were Gilles, evidently a minor at the death of his father, and four daughters: 1) Raymonde, who married Bertram, lord of Margat, and had a son Renaud and two daughters, Beatrice and Agnes; 2) Marguerite, who married William Porcelet and had three sons, Renaud, Bertram and Hugh and a daughter Marie; 3) Ezchive, who married Joscelin de Giblet, lord of Avegore, and had two sons, Renaud and Philip, and two daughters; 4) Oracle, who married Eustache de Neuville.

Although Gautier vanishes after 1179, it is probable that he stayed at Blanchegarde instead of attending the king for several years. The next lord of Blanchegarde did not appear before 1186, and then it was Bernard, apparently acting in the capacity of regent for his nephew.

#### GUY BRISEBARRE

Guy, the second son of Guy II of Beirut, first appears when he consented with his brothers, Gautier and Bernard, to the confirmation by Baldwin III of the gift of half of Banyas

(1) *A.O.L.* II, B, p. a45-6 § 26; *Reg.* § 512. — *Reg.* § 496: a spurious act attributed to Amaury I and dated March 26, 1173, has Gautier, without title, witnessing a sale to the Teutonic Knights.

(2) STREHLKE, p. 9 § 8; *Reg.* § 548.

(3) *D. Cart.* I, pp. 372-3 § 550; *Reg.* § 562.

(4) STREHLKE, pp. 11-12 § 11.

to the Hospitallers on October 4, 1147 (1). In 1159 he witnessed a document of Geoffrey le Tort as Guido de Barrito, *puer*, signing directly after Humphrey de Toron (2). Guy was captured, along with his brothers, by the Saracens about 1164 and after his release he accompanied his older brother to Montreal, where, in November, 1168, he assented to the grant to St. Lazare. In October 1179, he witnessed a document of Baldwin IV at Acre (3). Probably sometime after his return from captivity he married Juliana, sister of Gautier of Caesarea and eventual heiress of that fief. In 1182 Guy appeared as her husband in a grant made to the Hospitallers by her brother Gautier (4).

Although Guy died before Juliana inherited her brother's estate, his son Gautier became the lord of Caesarea in 1216 (5). The other children of Guy and Juliana were Bernard of Beirut, who died without heirs, Isabelle, who married Renaud the chamberlain, and Berte.

#### BERNARD, LORD OF BLANCHEGARDE, c. 1187 - c. 1198

Bernard, the third son of Guy II, also appears on the document of 1157 and also accompanied his brothers into captivity. On January 4, 1164, he witnessed a confirmation by Gerard, lord of Sidon (6). The story is told of Bernard of Beirut in the *Lignages* that he quarreled with a relative of King John during one of the sessions of the king's court, killed his opponent in a judicial duel and then fled to Tripoli. This raises several problems because of the time element.

(1) *D. Cart.* I, pp. 195-6 § 2598; *Reg.* § 325.

(2) *A.O.L.* II B. § 17; *Reg.* § 339.

(3) STREHLKE, pp. 11-12; § 11; *Reg.* § 387.

(4) *D. Cart.* I, pp. 421-2 § 621; *Reg.* § 619.

(5) Juliana was married to her second husband, Aymar de Leiron by 1197. (*Reg.* § 736). After her death Aymar entered the Temple and Gautier, already constable of Cyprus, was lord of Caesarea in 1216. (*D. Cart.* II, p. 185 § 1462; *Reg.* § 885a). For a fuller account of this family, see: J. L. LA MONTE, *The Lords of Caesarea in the Period of the Crusades*, in *Speculum*, XXIII, Cambridge, 1947, p. 154.

(6) *R.O.L.*, VII, p. 145 § 36; *Reg.* § 393a.

As he was captured with his brothers in 1164 by the Saracens, the date of his birth was undoubtedly before 1150. Bernard was therefore over sixty when he fought the duel. There were several other ways of interpreting the account; the name given to the king might be a mistake and an earlier king be meant; or the incident in the *Lignages* may have been an interpolation actually referring to the Bernard of Beirut who was the second son of Guy of Beirut and Juliana of Caesarea.

It is unlikely that Bernard was lord of Blanchegarde in his own right when he appeared with the title in 1186 (1). At that time he was probably acting as regent for his nephew Gilles, the son of Gautier III and Agnes.

#### HUGH

Hugh, the fourth son of Guy II, is found only in the *Lignages*. He never appears on documents with his three brothers, who showed remarkable family solidarity. Apparently Hugh died in early childhood.

#### BLANCHEGARDE

Blanchegarde, the new home of the Brisebarres, was one of a series of Forts, including Beersheba and Ibelin, which were built by King Fulk to stop or reduce raids which the Ascalonites made into Latin territory (2). Noted for its strong construction, consisting of hewn stone and four towers, Blanchegarde was located in the county of Jaffa in the foothills on the Wadi Dahr at the edge of the sea plain, just eight miles from Ascalon, where it guarded the Valley of Mimosas. In the building of this stronghold about 1140 the king, patriarch, nobles and prelates all gave money and effort (3). For many years it rested under Fulk's and his successors' own protection; the king supplied food, weapons and guardians of proved ability and loyalty. Blanchegarde became a center of resistance against Ascalonite raids and of

(1) D. *Cart.* IV, pp. 265-6 § 804.

(2) WILLIAM OF TYRE, XV, xxv.

(3) *Ibid.*, XV, xxv.

offensive in carrying the raids back into Egyptian held territory. Within a few years there were various satellite villages plus the city of Gaza within the sphere of its influence.

This fortress did not remain long in the possession of the Brisebarres; in 1187, following the disastrous battle of Hattin, Saladin made a complete sweep of the great fortresses of southern Jerusalem; Blanchegarde fell with the rest (1). In September, 1191, its fortifications were ordered destroyed by Saladin, who then evidently reconsidered his precipitous action and reinforced the castle with a troop of three hundred Turks in December, just before Richard of England made his first foray against it (2). On April 22, 1192, Richard seized and garrisoned what remained of the castle in order to round out his pattern of consolidating the Ascalon area (3). Richard returned to the area several times, using Blanchegarde as one of his bases against Saladin.

#### GILLES DE BEIRUT OF BLANCHEGARDE, c. 1198 - 1220/1250

No member of the Beirut-Blanchegarde family appears between 1186, when Bernard witnessed as lord of Blanchegarde, and 1198, when Gilles is found on a document. During the interim affairs had moved swiftly in the kingdom; the great war with Saladin, the Third Crusade and the series of kings from over the seas had combined to produce lasting changes in the powerful families of Syria and advisors to the king. The Brisebarres never regained a position of extreme prominence in councils, although they remained to the end among the nobles of the kingdom, liegemen of the king, and married into the more powerful families.

Gilles de Beirut of Blanchegarde, son of Gautier III and

(1) ROGER OF HOVEDEN, II, pp. 346-7.

(2) HUBERT and LA MONTE, trans. and ed., AMBROISE, *The Crusade of Richard Lion Heart*, in *Record of Civilization*, XXIV, New York, 1941, ch. VI, p. 272.

(3) E. J. KING, *The Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land*, London, 1931, p. 153. — LIONEL LONDON, *The Itinerary of King Richard I*, Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, New Series, vol. XIII, London, 1935, p. 62.

Agnes, was undoubtedly the G. de Berito who witnessed a confirmation by Aymeri and Isabelle in October, 1198 (1). Röhricht expands the G. to Guillelmus, as seems to be his habit when faced with an unexpanded G. of Beirut, but gives no reason for so doing. As it happens, the only Guillelmus of Beirut appears in 1220 and then seems to be a copyist's mistake for Gilles. On the assumption that Gilles was a minor during his uncle's regency in 1186, he would be old enough in 1198 to assume some place among the nobles. In 1210 he assisted at the coronation of John de Brienne at Acre (2), and then disappears until 1217 when, in October, he witnessed a confirmation by John (3). Gilles emerges more definitely in 1220 during John's crusade to Egypt. In March he witnessed an agreement between King John and the Teutonic Knights at Damietta (4); May 30 he witnessed a sale by John to the same knights (5). That same day a Guillelmus de Beryto witnessed a land transfer by Otto, count of Hennembec, to the Teutonic Knights also (6). It is probable that this was Gilles and a mistake was made by the clerk or copyist. Gilles is a comparatively unusual name, and it is not at all surprising to find Gilles and Guillelmus used interchangeably for the same person. In writing signatures, Gilles could easily be mistaken for an abbreviation for Guillelmus, the more frequently encountered name. The document in question has other mistakes that can be blamed only upon the scribe or copyist. Following Gilles' name is « Rohardus de Caypha, camerarius, frater ejus ». Rohard was certainly not the brother of Gilles. It had been the custom for Rohard to appear with Gilles on other documents without any mention of relationship.

(1) MAS LATRIE, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, Paris, 1853, vol. II, pp. 24-5; RÖHRICHT, *Reg.*, 747.

(2) *L'Estoire de Raclès empereur et de la conquête de la terre d'Oulremer*, dans *R.H.C., Occidentaux II*, Paris, 1849, III.

(3) *D. Cart. II*, pp. 206-07 § 1526; *Reg.* 892. *A.O.L. II B*, p. 166 § 2; *Reg.* § 930.

(4) STREHLKE, pp. 43-44 § 52; *Reg.* § 934.

(5) STREHLKE, pp. 42-43 § 51; *Reg.* § 933.

(6) *Assises*, vol. II, p. 246.

According to the *Lignages*, Gilles married Agnes de Leiron, niece of Aymar, and had a son Raoul. Throughout the period after 1220 there is no act of Gilles recorded, nor is he ever mentioned by the chroniclers after the coronation in 1210. He evidently lived the life of a small noble who attended the king only on rare occasions. As there is no record of his death at Damietta, he probably lived out his remaining years in comparative obscurity.

RAOUL DE BEIRUT OF BLANCHEGARDE  
c. 1250 - c. 1265

Raoul, the son of Gilles and Agnes de Leiron, first appears in 1250, so that a thirty years gap exists between the last known act of his father and Raoul's initial appearance as a noble of the realm. In 1250 John d'Belin, lord of Arsur and bailli of the kingdom of Jerusalem for Henry of Cyprus met the High Court at Acre. All of the liegemen of the King were called, and mentioned rather prominently is Raoul of Beirut, without the title of Blanchegarde (1).

During the next few years Raoul was a participant in the growing trend in the Holy Land to sell lands to the military orders who were in a better condition to defend the territory against the Moslems. March 18, 1253, as lord of Blanchegarde, he sold to the Hospitallers the casales of Labores and Capharbole for 7000 besants (2). June 6, 1253, he witnessed a sale made by Amaury Barlais (3); February 11, 1254, again at Acre, which was apparently his principal residence by that time, he witnessed a document of John Mairrain, knight of Acre (4); and on September 22, 1254, he was present at the sale of a casale by Julian, lord of Sidon, to the Hospitallers (5). On all of the documents where Raoul is found he uses the title of lord of Blanchegarde, a title which his father never employed.

(1) *D. Cart. II*, pp. 723 § 3593; *Reg.* § 1198c.

(2) *REV.*, pp. 29-36; *Reg.* § 1206.

(3) *D. Cart. II*, p. 772 § 2714; *Reg.* § 1212.

(4) *D. Cart. II*, pp. 764-6 § 2693.

(5) *D. Cart. III*, pp. 135-6 § 3213; *Reg.* § 1324.

The final document of Raoul was a sale made to Amaury Barlais before the High Court of Acre on March 3, 1265. For 6000 gold besants he turned over an annual income of 400 besants to his cousin (1). This is the last known act of Raoul, and, indeed, the last known act of any of the family until the middle of the next century.

Raoul married Isabelle, the daughter of Renaud the chamberlain, and had four sons and four daughters: Gautier IV, Thomas, John, Nicholas, Alice, Stephanie, Agnes and Marie. Gautier IV married Agnes, the daughter of Huy Alemand, and had a daughter whose name is not given in the *Lignages* and so presumably did not inherit after her father. Thomas, the second son, married Agnes, the daughter of John de Flori, marshal of Tiberias, and had a son Raoul and a daughter Isabelle. Thomas apparently succeeded his brother to the title after the family moved to Cyprus following the fall of the kingdom of Jerusalem in 1291. Probably his granddaughters were the ones who held the title in 1346. On May of that year Agnes and Helvis, the ladies of Blanchegarde, witnessed the putting in seizin of Isabelle de Quevides in Cyprus of the lands held by her late niece (2).

#### BEIRUT FROM 1166 TO 1205

From 1166, when Gautier III gave up his fief of Beirut, until 1205, when John d'Ibelin appears with the title of Lord of Beirut, the seigneury of Beirut was in and out of the royal domain, being a time « in partibus infidelium » and for a time held by transient lords. It was first conferred by Amaury upon Andronicus Comnenus in 1167 (3). The king of Jerusalem had married Marie Comnena before his expedition into Egypt and upon his return had found her relative Andronicus firmly established in the court. Andronicus at that time found the kingdom of Jerusalem more congenial than Byzantium where he was in temporary disfavor. Andro-

(1) LOIS-BEUGNOT, *Assises*, II, p. 389 § 29.

(2) WILLIAM OF TYRE, XX, II.

(3) CH. DIEHL, *Figures Byzantines*, Paris, 1908, vol. II, p. 107.

nicus' tenure of Beirut, however, was more nominal than actual, for during the short time he was lord of Beirut he spent most of his time in Acre with his niece Theodora, widow of Baldwin III. During the year 1167 Andronicus and Theodora set out ostensibly for an inspection of his fief, but ended their journey in Damascus under the protection of Nurredin (1). Beirut was again returned to the royal domain.

During the decade of 1170-1180 Saladin made his tentative plans for the conquest of the Latin Kingdom. The Moslems were not ready, however, until the 1180's to launch effective attacks. In June, 1179, Saladin's navy lay off the city of Beirut for several days, but no attack was made; according to William of Tyre, the commanders respected Saladin's treaty with Baldwin IV (2). It is probable that they also realized that a bombardment or water siege would be relatively valueless without land troops to back them up.

Saladin spent his time and efforts following the death of Nurredin in 1174 in extending his control from Egypt over Mosul, Aleppo, Damascus and much of Syria. During this period he was as anxious as the Franks to maintain peaceful relations with the Latins in order to consolidate a Moslem empire even larger than Nurredin's; in 1180 he signed a two years truce with the Christians to insure no attack from that quarter. Saladin used the time to strengthen his power; the Latins drifted into civil war and disunity.

Beirut became a definite focal point in Saladin's strategy early in his consideration of the ports of the kingdom; it would be a splendid base of supplies and operations from which to attack the rest of Palestine and it would divide the kingdom north and south as it had done after the First Crusade. Accordingly, Saladin's plan of operations in July and August of 1182, when the truce expired, was to draw the Christians away from the area of Beirut and then attack the port by land and sea. Egyptian cavalry came up to threaten Gaza, Ascalon, Daron and the cities of the interior; the feint

(1) WILLIAM OF TYRE, XXII, III.

(2) WILLIAM OF TYRE, XXII, XVII and XVIII.

proved almost successful because the Christian forces concentrated themselves at Sephoria <sup>(1)</sup>, the strategic center of Galilee, following an inconclusive engagement with the Moslems near the fortress of Belvoir.

In proceeding directly against Beirut, Saladin ordered his brother Saphadin to bring up from Alexandria a navy of thirty large ships while Saladin himself led his troops up the valley of Baccar, from whence the land siege of Beirut would commence. On August 1, 1182, Beirut was invested by land and sea, while the Christian forces she needed for support were at Sephoria. The garrison within the city managed to send messages to Baldwin which brought a quick decision on the part of the king and his nobles to move toward Beirut and save this strategic port of the kingdom if at all possible. Their efforts were seconded by the ports of Acre and Tyre which produced thirty-three ships within a week to counter Saphadin's navy.

In many ways, except for its outcome, Saladin's first siege of Beirut was reminiscent of the siege carried out by Baldwin I: the territory around the city was again devastated, the orchards and vineyards suffering great destruction and the walls and towers being damaged. Saladin knew, however, that his forces were not strong enough to carry the city by assault before relief arrived, and, rather than suffer a military defeat, he ordered the withdrawal of his army and navy when he heard of the advance of Baldwin's forces. The Christian army made sure of the safety of Beirut, then reassembled at Sephoria to meet any further attack by Saladin, while the navy returned to Acre and Tyre.

Saladin's retreat from Beirut enabled him to return to Damascus where he continued his long range plan for uniting all of Syria before taking any decisive steps against the Latin <sup>(2)</sup>. At Damascus he signed a treaty with Modafferd-Dib, governor of Harran, and obtained his support <sup>(3)</sup>.

(1) *Ibid.*, XXII, xvii and xviii; ABOU 'L-FEDA, p. 51; IBN AL ATYR, p. 653; BEHA ED DIN, *The Life of Saladin*, 1137-1193, trans., P.P.T.S., London, 1897, pp. 81-82.

(2) IBN AL ATYR, p. 654.

(3) BEHA ED DIN, p. 82.

The kingdom, on the other hand, proceeded with its disastrous division and was on the threshold of a civil war in which Beirut was a chief bone of contention.

In Jerusalem Baldwin the Leper was ending his days in an atmosphere of intrigue and power politics which seems incomprehensible in view of Saladin's very evident preparations to take over the land. Many of the barons would not trust Guy de Lusignan, husband of Baldwin's eldest sister Sibyl, and insisted that for the good of the kingdom the succession be immediately settled upon the child Baldwin, son of Sibyl by her first husband. Baldwin IV endeavoured, with all of the strength left to him, to assure the peaceful succession of his nephew by his act at the Council of Acre in 1184 <sup>(1)</sup>.

The regent of the kingdom for Baldwin V was to be Raymond, count of Tripoli, who was to hold the position for ten years, or until Baldwin V should come of age. Because his new position would necessarily entail additional expenses, Raymond was granted the city of Beirut and its revenues during that period. The person of Baldwin V was to be entrusted to his maternal great-uncle, Joscelin III, titular count of Edessa and seneschal of the kingdom. The royal castles and fortresses within the kingdom were to be garrisoned by the Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller. In spite of these elaborate arrangements, however, the succession was not peaceful. Baldwin V died within a few months, Joscelin seized Beirut and garrisoned it with his own men, then sent his niece Sibyl with her husband Guy to Jerusalem to claim the crown which her son had worn so briefly <sup>(2)</sup>.

Raymond of Tripoli, who was then at Tiberias, refused to accept Guy's coronation or to cooperate with him in the defense of the realm. Besides his natural distrust of the new sovereigns, Raymond was resentful about the seizure of Beirut, which had been promised to him. One of his first acts, and

(1) For the history of the development of the parties in Jerusalem, see: MARSHALL BALDWIN, *Count Raymond III of Tripolis*, Princeton, 1936.

(2) BALDWIN'S *Count Raymond III* tells well the whole story of Raymond's career and importance in the Latin Kingdom during these tragic years.

one which caused many Christians to distrust him later, was to ally with Saladin when he heard that Guy had called out the rest of the kingdom to march against him. Open warfare seemed unavoidable, with the various antagonistic elements within Jerusalem lining up on either side, until Balaïn d'Ibelian persuaded Guy to send ambassadors to treat with the ousted regent (1). Raymond had already stated that the price of his homage would be the restoration of Beirut, a price which Guy was for long unwilling to pay. However, Guy's ambassadors to Raymond were empowered to offer even this, but the mission soon became involved in the opening of a war. As they entered Raymond's territory near Tiberias, they met Saladin's sons with some troops, joined battle and precipitated the final war with Saladin. Raymond joined the Christians and no more is heard of his claim to Beirut.

Saladin's long planned conquest began with every advantage for the Moslems; they were finally united, the Christians were divided and quarreling for power. Even at the decisive battle of Hattin on July 4, 1187, leadership among the Latins was miserably vacillating and Saladin gained the complete victory which made it possible for his troops to make an almost complete sweep of the Latin Kingdom in a few months. Cities were left powerless to defend themselves because so many knights and soldiers had been killed or captured at Hattin. July 29, Sidon fell; the day after that Saladin was again at the gates of Beirut. This time the inhabitants who were left in the city tried to defend themselves as vigorously as in 1182, but the old help was not forthcoming and the city fell August 6, 1187 (2).

Saladin granted the citizens his usual safeguard for their lives and possessions and many left to swell the crowds of refugees in Tyre. Charge of the castle of Beirut was entrusted to Sanjaq el Sultani, while the city was given to Saïfeddin ali ibn Achmed el Mashtoob, an important emir. The most

(1) *Eracles*, XXIII, xvii.

(2) ABOU'L FEDA, p. 57; IBN AL ATYR, p. 693; BEHA ED DIN, pp. 116-117.

famous Turkish governor, however, was the next one, Es el din Usamah ibn Monquedh (3).

Saladin now held Beirut and other ports, but his possession of the seacoast was not entirely peaceful. He must constantly be on guard either to maintain his hold or to make it impossible for the Franks to defend these places if they succeeded in recapturing them. In 1190 Saladin received intelligence of the emperor Frederick Barbarossa's approach into Asia Minor with his contingent of the Third Crusade. The news caused Saladin to order the destruction of many fortifications, including those of Beirut (2). With the passing of Barbarossa, however, Saladin decided to rebuild the defenses of the Syrian towns.

Beirut now began to attract Western interest comparable to that it had achieved with the Moslems as one of the most important towns of Syria. The writers of Western Europe included as a matter of course bits of information relating to the city. Arnold of Lubeck might have been misinformed when he wrote that, « As the kings of Jerusalem had the custom of receiving in the city of Beirut the royal crown, so Saladin, having taken it, was also crowned there, and was afterwards known as the king of Jerusalem because of it. », but he does reflect western appreciation of Beirut's importance in the Holy Land (3).

In 1188, when Saladin's offensive halted, the Christian holdings in Syria had been reduced to the city of Tyre, held firmly by Conrad de Montferrat. Even at that critical point dissension within the Christian ranks was bitter, Conrad refusing to allow King Guy even to enter his city. Guy with his supporters accordingly went down to Acre, where they began the long siege which became the heart of the Third Crusade. Saladin marshalled his forces to aid the garrison at Acre, which was in need not only of reinforcements, but

(1) YAHYA, *Histoire de Beirut*, pp. 34-35.

(2) *Eracles*, XXV, ii; WILBRAND OF OLDENBORG, in J.C.M. LAURENT, *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quatuor*, Leipzig, 1873, I, v.

(3) ARNOLD OF LUBECK, *Chronica Savorum*, in *Mon. Ger. His., Script.*, vol. XXI, pp. 100-250, V, III and IV.

of food and supplies. At that time the Moslem governor of Beirut was the famous Usamah, who has called himself one of Saladin's most trusted advisors and councillors<sup>(1)</sup>.

Usamah responded to Saladin's initial request by sending a large vessel of supplies and men from Beirut in 1190. In order to assure safety for the ship the Moslems disguised it as Christian, with a cross hung and pigs on the deck. The strategy worked and the Moslems in Acre were strengthened<sup>(2)</sup>. Regular service from Beirut to Acre was, however, made more difficult as the siege progressed and more participants, both on land and by sea, of the Third Crusade appeared in the vicinity. Once Usamah sent a fleet of galleys equipped with soldiers which battled the Frankish ships fiercely before landing<sup>(3)</sup>. Another time, in June, 1191, a large ship from Beirut was unfortunate enough to reach Acre just as the English crusaders under Richard I were entering the harbor. The ship was apparently one of the largest maintained by the Moslems and had been carefully fitted out with emirs, soldiers, armaments and phials containing Greek fire and about two hundred serpents. The battle which ensued could have only one ending with the Moslems so outnumbered; at the end the Moslem captain, refusing to allow his ship to be captured, had great holes torn in the bottom so that it would sink. Most of the men aboard were lost<sup>(4)</sup>.

During the siege of Acre Beirut, although lost to the Franks, remained politically useful as a means of inducing Conrad de Montferrat to cooperate with the Crusaders and

(1) USAMAH IBN-MUNQUIDH, *An Arab Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades*, trans. and ed., P. K. HETTI, N. Y., 1929, p. 11.

(2) BEHA ED DIN, p. 204; IBN AL ATYR, p. 29.

(3) IBN AL ATYR, p. 42.

(4) AMBROISE, pp. 109-114, has the most vivid account of this battle, being particularly impressed by the serpents, which were to be hurled into the Christian camp. Other accounts, which differ in some details, are to be found in: *Itinerarium*, pp. 205-6; RALPH OF DICETO II, pp. 93-4; BEHA ED DIN, pp. 249-50, IBN AL ATYR, pp. 42-3; ROGER OF HOVEDEN III, p. 112, *Eracles*, p. 169.

lend them his military assistance. Conrad arrived at Acre in the spring of 1190 and signified his entire willingness to join the siege if he were not only confirmed in his possession of Tyre, but granted title to Beirut and Sidon as well. Before this was done the political scene among the Franks shifted violently; Queen Sibyl and her children died, leaving Guy in an anomalous position. Sibyl's younger sister Isabelle was persuaded to agree to an annulment of her marriage with Humphrey de Toron and to marry Conrad. With this was inaugurated a contest between Guy and Conrad which eventually split completely the rest of the Latins on the problem of which should be king. On July 27 and 28, 1191, an agreement was reached which tried to settle the question: Conrad, as husband of Isabelle, was to succeed Guy, the revenues of the realm were to be partitioned and Conrad was to receive, besides Tyre, the ports of Sidon and Beirut upon their recapture<sup>(1)</sup>. Conrad evidently believed in playing safe; in November, 1191, when negotiating with Saladin to discover if it would be profitable to change sides, he asked virtually the same terms for himself<sup>(2)</sup>. As it happened, Conrad never became lord of Beirut, as the Assassins killed him on April 28, 1192<sup>(3)</sup>.

The treaty discussions between Saladin and Richard in 1192 which resulted in the treaty of Ramla in September also included some discussion of the status of Beirut. The Christians wanted the city returned, the Moslems seemed for a time to consider this possibility if the citadel would be demolished and never rebuilt<sup>(4)</sup>. Nothing came of this, however, and the peace which was finally agreed upon contained no mention of the return of Beirut. After the treaty Saladin made a comprehensive inspection tour of his frontiers in Syria, stopping at such important spots as Naplouse, Tiberias, Sidon, Toron and Beirut. In all of these fortifications were ordered to be strengthened as Saladin foresaw

(1) GROUSSET, *Histoire*, III, p. 58.

(2) AMBROISE, p. 334.

(3) AMBROISE, p. 331; BEHA ED DIN, p. 330.

(4) IBN AL ATYR, p. 64; BEHA ED DIN, 327.



future Christian attempts to expand in the Holy Land despite the treaty. At Beirut Saladin held a court and received Bohemond III of Antioch, who came attended by fourteen nobles. The interview between the two opposing leaders was accomplished with great formalities and the exchange of costly gifts. Saladin was apparently so impressed with the forthright and courageous bearing of the Frank that he indulged in one of his typical gestures: Bohemond was given one-half of the revenues of the county of Antioch, which the Moslems then held, and was dismissed in peace (1). This was the last great court held by Saladin in Palestine; from Beirut he returned to Damascus where he died shortly thereafter.

Following the death of Saladin and the consequent loosening of a great central power among the Moslems, the Franks were able to push their reconquest of various portions of Syria. The reconquest of Beirut illustrates how the Christians were able to utilize the conflicts which arose between them and the Moslems and among the Moslems themselves to good advantage. The authors of the day stressed different reasons why the attack on Beirut came when it did, but the most important factor seems to lie in the divisions which had come about within Islam after 1193, when Saladin's empire was divided among his sons and brother.

Usamah continued as emir of Beirut after the death of Saladin. The old truce between Richard and Saladin had been renewed between Henry of Champagne, the third husband of Queen Isabelle, and El Malik el Aziz, Saladin's son who had inherited Egypt (2). There existed also a truce between the Christians and Saphadin, Saladin's brother, who had extended his rule to Damascus in July, 1196. Usamah seems to have held both of these treaties in small favor, deciding to wreak as much damage as possible on the Franks who passed his port. His power within the city was almost absolute; both of the Moslem sultans who might have restrai-

(1) IBN AL ATYR, p. 67; BAR-HEBRAEUS, pp. 340-1; REY, *Colonies Franques*, p. 13.

(2) IBN AL ATYR, p. 85.

ned him were far away and busy with other matters. Usamah sent out galleys to intercept and waylay Christians who were passing in their ships down the coast of Syria, thus seriously disrupting at times communication between the Byzantine Empire and Syrian ports, and between the European trading cities and Syria. Official complaints filed at Damascus and Cairo did nothing to alleviate the situation which had developed serious aspects by 1196. The Franks made it one of the bases for their plea to Europe at that time to send more aid to capture Beirut.

In 1197 from the Holy Roman Empire came the German crusaders who thought of themselves as merely the advance guard of a great crusade to be led by that prince of planners, Henry VI. Troops arrived in Cyprus under the dukes of Saxony and Brabant and under Conrad, bishop of Wurtzburg and chancellor of the Empire. War had already broken out on a small scale in Syria between Saphadin and the Franks. Saphadin took Jaffa, the Franks besieged Toron (1). At that juncture Henry of Champagne died and the war came to an uneasy halt until Isabelle's fourth husband, Aymeri de Lusignan, king of Cyprus and now of Jerusalem, decided to carry on with the newly arrived German troops (2).

The chief advocate of the thrust against Beirut was John d'Ibelin, half-brother of Isabelle, constable of the kingdom and one of the strongest leaders of Syria in spite of his youth. His arguments for not allowing the city to remain in Moslem hands were virtually the same as those advanced by the Franks in 1110: Beirut was a wedge between Jerusalem and Tripoli, it was a base for offensive action and Moslem ships from the port were preying on Frankish ships. Saphadin and his nephew El Aziz of Egypt combined their forces when they learned of the Frankish plans which aimed at Beirut. A

(1) BAR-HEBRAEUS, p. 346, gives a resume of events that is too condensed: Saphadin took Jaffa, the Franks besieged Toron; in return for Toron, the Moslems gave up Beirut. The reconquest was not as casual as this would lead one to believe.

(2) *Eracles*, XXVII, vi. Henry of Champagne died September 10 1197, and Isabelle married Aymeri a short time after that. He was the choice of the barons of Jerusalem (Grousset, III, pp. 150-2).

detachment of their Ayubids reached the city on October 21, 1197, intending to demolish the fortifications there so that, if Beirut fell to the Christians, Moslems would have a better chance of retaking it later. Usamah objected to this procedure, ousted the newcomers and announced that he would take over the defense of his city (1).

The Christian army, including the German crusaders, was made up chiefly of Cypriot and Syrian forces. It gathered on the mainland at Acre and moved up past Tyre and Sidon (2) towards Beirut while the Saracens left Beirut to meet them and force a battle outside the city. On October 22, 1197, the forces met and Saphadin was so badly defeated that he and his army retreated towards Damascus, while the Christians found themselves again before Beirut the next day.

When the Moslems left the city, a Christian shipwright with the aid of two Christian captives had been able to close the gates of the city against any Moslem re-entry, holding the citadel for the Christians who were reported to be nearby. When their co-religionists arrived they were surprised to find the city theirs without a struggle and all Moslem officials gone (3). Usamah and his government had carefully packed up during the night and escaped to Egypt, where Usamah was immediately involved in court intrigues to do away with El Aziz's administration there (4).

After taking Beirut the Crusaders marched up to Gibelet. Its capture meant that the kingdom now held a continuous coastline between Tripoli and the county of Jerusalem, from Jaffa to Tortosa. They then moved on to besiege Toron again while Moslem reinforcements from Egypt, Jerusalem and Naplouse hastened to join Saphadin after Beirut fell (5). It

(1) IBN AL ATYR, p. 88.

(2) Sidon was taken without opposition. Its fortifications were left in ruins by the Moslems. (*Eracles*, XXVII, 111).

(3) *Eracles*, XXVII, VI-IX; YAHYA, pp. 38-39. Usamah incurred the wrath of the people and the damnation of the poets for his action.

(4) IBN AL ATYR, p. 89.

(5) ABOU'L FEDA, p. 74.

was about this time, February, 1198, that the German crusaders heard of the death of Henry VI and drifted out of the Holy War. They had helped to capture Beirut and Sidon, had strengthened the kingdom and found their most lasting contribution in setting up a third military order, the Teutonic Knights, to rival the two great ones already in existence. The abrupt end of this incipient crusade caused Innocent III much concern; in August, 1198, he addressed a letter to the archbishop of Narbonne and all other Christians, pointing out the recapture of Beirut by the Christians and asking for a vigorous prosecution of the Crusade (1).

El Aziz was forced to give up his campaign against the Franks and return to Egypt in October, 1198, to deal with his emirs who were plotting to overthrow his agents of government. Saphadin exchanged peace messages with the Franks, finally agreeing to a treaty which left Beirut and Sidon in Christian hands (2).

Beirut did not long remain in the royal domain this time. Isabelle was anxious to grant it to her half-brother, John d'Ibelin, who was already, as lord of Ibelin, Rama and Arsur, one of the most powerful men in the realm. The grant was made by Isabelle and Aymeri, however, only after John had given up the constablership of the kingdom (3). From this time on the history of Beirut in the crusading period merges with the interests of the house of Ibelin.

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(1) MIGNE, *Op. Innoc.*, I, pp. 308-312 § 336; POTTHAST § 347; *Reg.* § 741.

(2) IBN AL ATYR, p. 89; *Eracles*, p. 228.

(3) J. L. LA MONTE, *John d'Ibelin*, in *Byzantion*, vol. XII, Brussels, 1937, p. 424.