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*CARVING UP CRUSADERS: THE EARLY IBELINS
AND RAMLAS*

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CARVING UP CRUSADERS: THE EARLY IBELINS AND RAMLAS

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In 1965 Count W.H. Rüd't de Collenberg¹ published a genealogy of the early generations of the house of Ibelin, later the most important feudal clan in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. As the early Ibelins were already of great importance in the kingdom, their genealogy commands the interest of the crusading historian. Rüd't de Collenberg revised the family's genealogy as established by Ducange-Rey.² I accepted his findings at first, but later expressed reservations,³ on which I now should like to elaborate. Two of his main points are in need of correction, and this will lead us back to Ducange-Rey: (1) that the founder of the family, Barisan-le-Vieux, Constable of Jaffa, must be split into two different Barisans succeeding one another in direct sequence; (2) that a whole additional generation must be inserted into the genealogy of the Lords of Ramla after Baldwin I of Ramla. This argument still seemed to be convincing to me in 1972. In order to understand its linkage with the Ibelin genealogy, one must remember that a Barisan of Ibelin (the second one according to Rüd't de Collenberg) married Helvis, daughter of, and heir to, Baldwin I of Ramla, indeed a match of considerable importance for the rising Ibelin family.

The first contention (p. 452 f.) is easy to refute. Rüd't de Collenberg deduced from RRH no. 135 that Barisan-le-Vieux was dead by the end of September

1 Weyprecht H. Rüd't de Collenberg, "Les premiers Ibelins," *Moyen Age* 71 (1965), 433-474.

2 *Les familles d'Outremer de Du Cange*, ed. Emmanuel G. Rey (Paris, 1869), pp. 360-379, with genealogical tree p. 375.

3 Cf. my review in *Deutsches Archiv* 22 (1966), 316 and my "Studies in the History of Queen Melisende," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972), 119, n. 49f. Even then I regarded one of his conclusions which I now wish to disprove as "undoubtedly correct."

1145. In this charter Patriarch William I of Jerusalem, who died on 27 September 1145,⁴ confirmed the statutes of the hospital of the Saviour founded by abbot Hugh of St. Mary of the Valley of Josaphat with the help of a confraternity.

Nomina vero illorum, qui se primitus in hac confraternitate miserunt, sunt hec: domnus Balduinus rex primus et domnus Bernardus episcopus de Nazareth, Guillelmus de Buris, Guido de Miliaco, Goscelinus domnus de Tiberiade, domnus Balianus et ceteri plures, qui mortui sunt.

Combining the full printed version with Röhrich's abstract, Rüdts de Collenberg (p. 453) quoted this text in a fashion which never existed except in his own imagination:

Balduini I (Rex), Guillelmi de Buris, Guidonis de Miliaco, Joscellini de Tiberiadis, Baliani et aliorum benefactorum mortuorum et ceteri plures qui mortui sunt.

By *his* insertion of the phrase *et aliorum benefactorum mortuorum* he was led to believe that all benefactors named in the confirmation by Patriarch William were dead, when William issued his charter some time during his term of office (after 27 September 1130—27 September 1145). In fact, because he assumed all benefactors to have been dead at the time of issue, he dated RRH no. 135 in the early 1140s, because William of Buris was still alive in early 1141 (RRH no. 201). If all benefactors listed were dead by 1145, this applied also to the *domnus Balianus* who is no doubt Barisan-le-Vieux. But it is this assumption by Rüdts de Collenberg which is wrong, and to which he was led by doubling the word *mortuus*. The only time it occurs is in the phrase *et ceteri plures, qui mortui sunt*. The relative clause clearly does not apply to all benefactors, but only to the *ceteri plures* whose names were no longer known because they had joined the confraternity in its early days but were long since deceased. This difficulty removed, we regain the old familiar Barisan-le-Vieux who was in the Holy Land before 1115 and was constable of Jaffa by this year (RRH no. 80), represented Jaffa at the Council of Nablus in 1120,⁵ staked a claim together with Hugh of Jaffa in 1123 and 1126 for adding Ascalon to the county,⁶ held fiefs from Hugh of Jaffa outside the county in 1127 which later reverted to the crown,⁷ returned his fiefs in the county to the count when he led the Jaffa

4 WT, 16.17, p. 733. Rudolf Hiestand, "Chronologisches zur Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem um 1130," *Deutsches Archiv* 26 (1970), 229.

5 RRH nos. 89.90. Mayer, *Bistümer*, p. 145.

6 RRH nos. 102a.112.113. Mayer, *Bistümer*, pp. 137-156, 169f.

7 RRH no. 120. Mayer, *Bistümer*, pp. 143-145.

vassals into the king's camp during Hugh's revolt in 1134,⁸ was enfeoffed in 1141 with the name-giving castle of Ibelin, took part in the great war council at Acre in 1148⁹ and is mentioned alive for the last time in RRH no. 262 of early 1150.¹⁰ Most likely still in the same year, his widow Helvis of Ramla married the kingdom's constable Manasses of Hierges.¹¹ By that time, but certainly not by 1145, as supposed by Rüdte de Collenberg, the formidable Barisan-le-Vieux, founder of the house of Ibelin, constable of Jaffa and first lord of Ibelin, was dead. By 1145 he was still very much alive. Only the *ceteri plures* who, together with Barisan, had founded the confraternity at Josaphat were dead by 1145.

Rüdte de Collenberg (p. 452 f.) adduced another argument in favour of his splitting poor Barisan in the middle. His first and his second Barisan were both married to a woman called Helvis. Rüdte de Collenberg clearly saw the improbability of having two Barisans, father and son, being both married to a Helvis. Yet he found this conclusion inescapable on account of RRH no. 100 of 1122, which shows a Barisan, Constable of Jaffa (Rüdte de Collenberg's Barisan I), to have been married to a woman named Helvis and having two sons named Hugh and Baldwin. That they were his sons is not expressly said in RRH no. 100, where they appear as giving their consent to Barisan's charter, but is proven by the confirmation RRH no. 423 and by RRH no. 252 of 1148, one of the cornerstones for the genealogy of the early Ibelins, as Rüdte de Collenberg clearly recognized. As they could give their consent, they both were apparently at least 8 years old.¹² Their brother Barisan the Younger could not give his

8 Ibid., p. 145. I argued for this date rather than 1132 in Mayer, "Queen Melisende," p. 104 f. Jean Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Amsterdam, 1979), p. 96, remains unconvinced, but cf. p. 155, n. 22,24.

9 WT, 17.1, p. 759.

10 For the date of this charter see Mayer, "Queen Melisende," p. 138.

11 Ibid., p. 155.

12 The *venia aetatis* for males was reached with 15; cf. Mayer, "Queen Melisende," pp. 112-114. But Rudolf Hiestand, "Zwei unbekannte Diplome der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem aus Lucca," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 50 (1971), p. 28 n. 93, observed with his usual scholarly acumen that, perhaps, a limited legal competence, allowing a male to give consents, may have been attained at the age of eight, because it is at this age that the consent of the later King Baldwin III begins to appear. I expressed some reservations in "Queen Melisende," p. 112, n. 35, because Amalric I did not begin to give his consent until he was 10 or 11 years old. But his consents were definitely also a political matter. But already in 1972 I felt that Hiestand's line of thought should be pursued. I must now fully come over to his side, as otherwise the problem of Helvis's sons would be unsolvable. When using the age of eight in the following pages, this is, of course, an approximative figure, arrived at only by observation but without any definite statement in the sources to this effect. In reading Rüdte de Collenberg's article, one must bear in mind that he felt that full majority had to be attained by males before they could give their consent. This is certainly contradicted by both Baldwin III and Amalric I.

consent in 1155, because he was *infra annos*, but had reached the age of eight in 1158, when he did give his consent (RRH nos. 299.332). Disregarding the problem of when legal competence for consents started, if two sons Hugh and Baldwin were alive by 1122, they should have been born, at the latest, in 1121 and 1122. If their mother Helvis is supposed to have been 17 years old, when she gave birth to Hugh not later than 1121, she herself would have been born not later than 1104. This would have made her 47 years old when she married the Constable Manasses in 1150. But from him Helvis still had two daughters, the older one of whom cannot have been born later than late 1150 or early 1151,¹³ because in the spring of 1152 Manasses was exiled for ever from the kingdom. The younger one would have been born in 1152, when Helvis was at least 49—if her sons Hugh and Baldwin had been born just preceding RRH no. 100. If this was *not* the case, then Helvis would have been well over 50 when she had her last two daughters. There is a clear biological improbability, nay impossibility, here which Rüd̄t de Collenberg clearly saw. He resolved it by also splitting Helvis of Ramla into two women, an older one of uncertain extraction (wife of Rüd̄t de Collenberg's Barisan I, Constable of Jaffa) and a second one, daughter of the Lord of Ramla (wife of Rüd̄t de Collenberg's Barisan II) (p. 454). Disregarding Rüd̄t de Collenberg's argument as to the age of Helvis, because he assumes that consents could only be given after having come of age at 15, or rather adapting his argument to a limited degree of legal competence reached at 8, we get the following picture: Hugh and Baldwin, both sons of Barisan of Ibelin and Helvis of Ramla, gave their consent in 1148 (RRH no. 252). Both were therefore at least 8 years old. Consequently they were not born later than 1139 (Hugh) and 1140 (Baldwin). Then Hugh would possibly have been only 14 years old when participating in the siege of Ascalon in 1153,¹⁴ but it was by no means uncommon that adolescents of this age were already engaged in warfare. King Baldwin III was still a minor, i.e. under 15, when he crushed a revolt in Oultrejourdain in 1144.¹⁵ If Helvis of Ramla was about 17 when she gave birth to Hugh, she cannot have been born later than 1122. She could still have had daughters in 1151 and 1152, respectively, being then 30 or slightly above.

It seems sound if Rüd̄t de Collenberg (p. 455) reverses the order of the two marriages of the mother of this (second) Helvis (of Ramla). Twice the 14th century *Lignages d'Outremer*¹⁶ assert that her mother was a Flemish woman

13 Ibid., p. 155.

14 WT, 17.21, p. 796.

15 Mayer, "Queen Melisende," p. 117.

16 *Lignages d'Outremer* 14, 26, RHC Lois 2:452, 462.

called Stephanie who *first* married Guy of Milly, founder of another famous *lignage* of the Latin East, and *then* took Baldwin of Ramla for a second husband after Guy's death. But Rüd't de Collenberg pointed out that before 1115 Guy had made a donation to Josaphat for his soul and that of his wife Elisabeth (RRH no. 80).¹⁷ His silent inference is that Elisabeth had died between 1115 and 1120. Guy of Milly lived on to ca. 1126, when he is last mentioned in January (RRH nos. 112.113). Baldwin of Ramla, on the other hand, so far disappeared from sight in 1120, when he was a participant in the Council of Nablus of 23 January 1120 and a witness to a royal charter of 31 January 1120 (RRH nos. 89.90). This would make it impossible that Stephanie should have married first Guy, living up to ca. 1126, and then Baldwin, who seemingly died ca. 1120. Rüd't de Collenberg's reversal seems to make sense: Guy's first wife Elisabeth died not too long after 1115. He then married Stephanie. If she was also married to Baldwin of Ramla, she must have been married to him before 1120, as she could not have married him, as the *Lignages* have us believe, after 1126, when he was long dead. But, reversely, if Baldwin of Ramla really died very soon after the end of January 1120, Guy of Milly, then a widower, could have married the widow of this powerful vassal.

But Rüd't de Collenberg's reversal has a serious shortcoming. Stephanie and Guy of Milly had three well-known sons: Philip, Henry and Guy of Milly, of whom the first rose to be Lord of Oultrejourdain and Master of the Knights Templar. His brother Guy, however, is consistently called *Guido Francigena* in the charters. He had still been born in France, before his father came to the Holy Land, where he makes his first appearance in 1108 (RRH no. 52). This observation reverses Rüd't de Collenberg's reversal. As undoubtedly Philip, Henry and Guy *Francigena* were sons of Stephanie and Guy of Milly, since they are repeatedly called uncles of Hugh of Ibelin-Ramla (RRH nos. 299.332), and as Guy *Francigena* was born before 1108, the marriage of their parents must necessarily have preceded the one between their mother and Baldwin of Ramla. In this case we must extend the life of Baldwin of Ramla, which is easy enough to do. His supposed year of death, 1120,¹⁸ rests only on the fact that in 1122 in RRH no. 100 his successor (and son, according to Rüd't de Collenberg) Hugh makes his first appearance, already as Lord of Ramla. We shall show RRH no.

17 Rüd't de Collenberg is, however, quite wrong in asserting that this Elisabeth was no longer mentioned in RRH no. 90, confirming RRH no. 80.

18 It was still accepted by Marie Luise Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae domus militiae Templi Hierosolymitani magistri*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Phil.-Hist. Klasse 3. Folge 86 (Göttingen, 1974), p. 77, n. 12, in her fine biography of Philip of Nablus, and by Hans E. Mayer, *Das Siegelwesen in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten*, Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Neue Folge 83 (Munich, 1978), p. 47.

100 to be a forgery. With Hugh removed, a Baldwin of Ramla appears in 1136 and 1138 (RRH nos. 164.174.181) in the king's entourage among the barons or lords. William of Tyre¹⁹ closes the case: In 1137 Baldwin of Ramla was *de regni proceribus* who retreated with the king into the castle of Montferrand and advised him in council.

The older Guy of Milly, then, was the first husband of Stephanie of Flanders. Their son Guy *Francigena* was born before 1108, ca. 1106. And now the difficulties begin. First of all, if he was the youngest son, as the *Lignages*²⁰ seem to say, then Philip of Nablus and Henry the Buffalo, his brother, were born even earlier, Philip ca. 1100. If his mother was then 17, she would have been born in 1083 and would have been already 43 years old, when her first husband died in 1126 and when she could have married Baldwin of Ramla, from whom she still had two children. This is not altogether impossible. But it is not certain that Philip was the oldest son.²¹ As so much emphasis was placed on Guy

19 WT, 14.26, p. 645.

20 *Lignages d'Outremer* 14, RHC Lois 2:452. At least, he is called the third son, although Philip and Henry are not called the first and the second, but rather "one" and "another one" of three. Philip may have been listed first because he rose to the greatest prominence, while Guy, who died without offspring, was of little interest to the author of a genealogical source.

21 Philip succeeded in his father's fief in Samaria, and his brothers held rear-fiefs from him (RRH no. 366). This does not necessarily mean that he was the oldest son, because RRH no. 366 concerns almost only the family's holdings in Samaria, but not their very considerable feudal tenure in Galilee: (a) the fief which Philip had received from Rohard, former châtelain and viscount of Jerusalem, who went to Nablus with Queen Melisende after her downfall in 1152 and later called himself Rohard of Nablus. He was probably the father-in-law of Philip of Milly, better known as Philip of Nablus; cf. Bulst-Thiele, *Templi magistri*, p. 78; (b) the fief which Philip had received from his father Guy of Milly, who held money fiefs and land fiefs in Samaria (RRH no. 422a); (c) the fief which Guy *Francigena* had received from Rohard and later on held from Philip, obviously in Samaria and obviously a small fief, as a *Gui de Naples* (Guy *Francigena* much rather than his wealthy father Guy of Milly) owed one knight's service (*Livre de Jean d'Idelin* 271, RHC Lois 1:424); (d) the fief which Henry the Buffalo, also one of the Milly brothers, held from Philip, obviously also in Samaria, because Henry retained his very large holdings in Galilee up to his death in or about 1165, i.e. beyond RRH no. 366 of 1161. On his Galilean possessions see Hans E. Mayer, "Die Seigneurie de Joscelin und der Deutsche Orden," *Ritterorden*, pp. 182-187; (e) the fief of Geoffroy Le Tort as he had held it from Philip. This and (f) Maron were both in Galilee. On the fief of Geoffroy Le Tort see last Marie-Luise Favreau, "Die Kreuzfahrerberrschaft Scandalion (Iskanderûne)," *ZDPV* 93 (1977), 22f. It is quite clear that at the time of RRH no. 366 Henry the Buffalo was already a crown vassal for his Galilean holdings (now or later mainly centred around St. George de Lebaene and Bouquiau, not far from Acre), because RRH no. 366 made no provision for a transfer of his service (for his Samaritan fief) from Philip to the king, whereas Guy *Francigena* and Geoffroy Le Tort only now became crown vassals, since such a transfer was expressly provided for. From the obvious exclusion of Lebaene and Bouquiau from RRH no. 366 we must conclude that old Guy of Milly's possessions had been divided after his death in the way provided for in case of several fiefs going to several sons: The sons chose individual fiefs from

Francigena having been born in France, his two brothers apparently were born in Palestine. Philip may have been the youngest and may have been the head of the family because he was the ablest. It should be remembered that both his brothers predeceased him. Sight is lost of Guy *Francigena* and Henry the Buffalo in 1165 (RRH nos. 412.422a), whereas Philip lived on to 1171.²² If Guy was the oldest son, his mother's birthdate could be changed to ca. 1089, in which case she would have been only 37 when her first husband died in 1126.

But the real trouble comes with the two children she had from Baldwin of Ramla, Renier and Helvis. Renier was at least 8 years old when he witnessed a charter in 1141 (RRH no. 201). He was, therefore, not born later than 1133, when his mother was ca. 44. This is also still possible. Although genealogical trees are normally so arranged as to show Renier as the older of the two children, this is by no means certain. Helvis may have been the first-born. If her mother remarried immediately after Guy of Milly's death in 1126 (he is last mentioned in January), then with much luck Helvis could still have been born in the same year, but it is not very probable. But we have established (*supra*, p. 104) that she cannot have been born later than 1122, because she had Hugh of Ibelin-Ramla not later than 1139. Had she been born in 1126, for which there is no great probability, then she would have been only 13 when she had Hugh (and younger, if born later). While I have made a case for a woman of 13 giving birth,²³ one should preferably not multiply these cases. Yet one must either assume that her mother Stephanie not only remarried immediately upon the death of her first husband and also got immediately pregnant by him and that, furthermore, Helvis had her first child at the age of 13, or else assume that

their father's inheritance successively, according to their age. The oldest one had the first choice. Not before all heirs had chosen individual fiefs was there to be a partition of further fiefs remaining of the inheritance (*Livre au Roi* 28, RHC Lois 1:634; *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin* 148, RHC Lois 1:224). It may well have been that Henry the Buffalo chose Lebaene, in a fertile Galilean valley, before Philip had a choice. It could also have been that Guy *Francigena* chose Lebaene, if he predeceased his brother Henry. In this case he would also have been a crown vassal already before 1161. We do not know at what time Henry the Buffalo acquired Lebaene. We only know that he held it when he died ca. 1165 and when his inheritance gave rise to much legal dispute. Attention should be paid with regard to this problem to the fact that the *Lignages d'Outremer* (16, RHC Lois 2:454) have a chapter heading: *Ci devise et parole des hoirs de Guy le François*, but then the chapter opens with the statement that Guy le François = Guy *Francigena* died without heirs. In fact the complete chapter treats exclusively the succession not of Guy, but of his brother Henry the Buffalo. This might indicate that Lebaene came first to Guy and then to Henry. Philip would not have entered a claim, because by 1165 he had the much larger lordship of Oultrejourdain.

²² WT, 20.22, p. 981.

²³ Hans E. Mayer, "Ibelin versus Ibelin: The Struggle for the Regency of Jerusalem 1253-1258," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 122 (1978), 47.

Stephanie's second marriage took place earlier than 1126, in other words that she remarried while her first husband was alive. This would necessitate the assumption that her first marriage was annulled. I find both options uncomfortable, but prefer the second over the first. Guy of Milly's "first" wife Elisabeth in RRH nos. 80.90 of 1115-20 must in any case be regarded as a misnomer for Stephanie. If Stephanie married Baldwin of Ramla in ca. 1121/22, Helvis could have been born in 1122 and could have had Hugh of Ibelin-Ramla in ca. 1139, so that he could have given consent in 1148 together with his brother Baldwin (born ca. 1140). The attraction of such a theory, which is based on an annulment of her first marriage to Guy of Milly, lies in the fact that Helvis of Ramla would have married Barisan-le-Vieux ca. 1137/38, when her father's life was coming to a close (*supra*, p. 106)²⁴ and when she was becoming a very desirable match, being about 15 years old and heiress to Ramla. It would also explain why her third son Barisan the Younger was not mentioned at all in RRH no. 252 of 1148. He was still *infra annos*, i.e. under the age required for consents in 1155, but could give his consent in 1158 (RRH nos. 299.332). If he was 8 in 1158, he was 5 in 1155 and had not yet been born in 1148.

Under this theory, Stephanie of Flanders could not have had any children from Guy of Milly after 1121/22. If Philip of Milly-Nablus was born about 1120, he would have been 18 when he made his first appearance in 1138 (RRH no. 174), 24 when he led a military expedition to Edessa in late 1144, 41 when he became Lord of Oultrejoudain in 1161 (RRH no. 366), 49 when he became Master of the Knights Templar in 1169, and 51 when he died ca. 1171. This is all possible, but he may well have been somewhat older. Dissolving Stephanie's first marriage ca. 1121/22 is, perhaps, not very good methodology, but it is surely better than reversing, with Rüd't de Collenberg, her mother's two marriages and letting her first marry Baldwin of Ramla and then Guy of Milly, as this is absolutely impossible, since Guy died in 1126 and Baldwin was still living in 1138—unless the marriage with Baldwin was dissolved before he died, and then we would be in the same position as we are when we retain the traditional sequence of the two marriages.

If it is already *prima vista* improbable that there were two Barisans married to two Helvises in direct succession, there are two more objections which Rüd't de Collenberg chose not to see. First of all, his first Barisan, after all the famous Constable of Jaffa and formidable founder of the house of Ibelin, would have married a Helvis who was an *inconnue*. This is very unlikely in a

24 If it is true that Helvis was married off not by her father but by her half-brother Philip of Nablus (*Lignages d'Outremer* 14, RHC Lois 2:453), then the marriage should still be placed in 1138 or very early in 1139 and Helvis would have had to become pregnant very quickly.

family which, at all times, placed great importance on concluding marriages which would accelerate the family's rise to the top. Also, Rüd't de Collenberg, precisely because he splits Barisan into two persons, must necessarily make Hugh of Ibelin-Ramla, Baldwin of Ibelin-Mirabel and Barisan the Younger sons of his Barisan II (p. 458), as this is established by RRH nos. 252.299. He also gives Baldwin of Ramla two sons, Hugh and Baldwin, because he must somewhere place Hugh, Lord of Ramla, and his brother Baldwin, Lord of Mirabel, mentioned in RRH no. 100 of 1122. His chief foundation for this assumption is that Hugh is styled Lord of Ramla.²⁵ But RRH no. 100 was not issued by Baldwin I of Ramla, who has so far been presumed to have been dead for two years, but who was really still very much alive (*supra*, p. 106). It was issued by the Constable Barisan of Jaffa, Rüd't de Collenberg's Barisan I. As, according to Rüd't de Collenberg, this Barisan never married into the Ramla family at all, whereas his Barisan II, supposed son of Barisan I, did so only ca. 1130 (p. 454, but cf. *supra* p. 107), one fails to see why a Lord of Ramla and his brother should have consented to a charter of Barisan I in 1122—unless they were *his* sons. Even within the wrong genealogical system of Rüd't de Collenberg one cannot escape the conclusion that Barisan I had not only a son Barisan II, but also two sons Hugh (of Ramla) and Baldwin (of Mirabel). But so did Barisan II! If we start from Rüd't de Collenberg's position, we arrive at two Barisans being married to two Helvises and both having three sons named Hugh, Baldwin and Barisan.

25 There is a Hugh of Ramla who appears in 1126 and 1129 (RRH nos. 112.113.130). He is listed in the last of these charters after the viscount of Jerusalem, which indicates a not very high rank, but in the first two charters he is, after all, listed before the older Guy of Milly. Yet he cannot have been a son of Baldwin I of Ramla, who had only two children, Helvis and Renier. Nor can he have been a son of Barisan-le-Vieux, because his son Hugh of Ibelin-Ramla was not born until ca. 1139 (*supra*, p. 104). Nor can he have been a Lord of Ramla, because Baldwin I was alive until 1138. We could simply ignore him in this paper, but we should like to call the reader's attention to the fact that he gave two villages in the territory of Lydda to the Hospital of St. John in Jerusalem with the consent of his lord Count Hugh of Jaffa (RRH nos. 130.293). Now in RRH no. 105 of 1125, there occurs an enigmatic Lord of Lydda, where in the early days the bishop of Ramla-Lydda had held the position of a *seigneur*. This Lord of Lydda presented considerable difficulties already to the scribes who transmitted RRH no. 105. The original is lost. Two individual copies of the 12th and 13th centuries do not give a name at all, but simply let a Lord of Lydda witness the document. The two copies in the *Libri Pactorum* of Venice (late 13th and 14th centuries) call him Guy, whereas an otherwise not very good copy of the 13th century in the oldest manuscript of the Venetian statutes (Bibl. Marciana no. 3198) as well as a 17th century copy in the Bibl. Ambrosiana in Milan (A 141 inf.) call him Hugh. There may have been a short-lived attempt to create a lordship of Lydda as distinct from the lordship of Ramla which, technically speaking, was not yet a lordship, although Baldwin I carried on like a lord and had his own seal (Mayer, *Siegelwesen*, p. 47). This Hugh/Guy, Lord of Lydda, may have come from the town (not the family) of Ramla and may have taken his name with him into RRH nos. 112.113.130.

This is impossible. And indeed RRH no. 100 is the great stumbling-block in establishing the genealogy of the early Ibelins. Another experienced genealogist became confused by this charter. In a footnote, to which Rüdts de Collenberg once makes a fleeting reference, calling for considerable detective work in locating it, La Monte²⁶ confuses the matter beyond recognition, because he did not come to grips with RRH no. 100. He is still on seemingly safe ground when he states that Baldwin, brother of Hugh of Ramla, was the first known Lord of Mirabel and held it in 1122 (RRH no. 100). But then he goes on to say that, after Hugh's death, his brother Baldwin received Ramla as well and ruled there until 1138 (still correct) and that *he* married Stephanie, widow of Guy de Milly, and had by her Renier and Helvis. He confuses the Baldwin of Mirabel mentioned in RRH no. 100 with his grandfather Baldwin I of Ramla. Consequently, he arrives in his text at a startling conclusion: that Helvis of Ramla, wife of Barisan-le-Vieux, had an uncle called Hugh of Ramla and a father called Baldwin of Mirabel. In reality they were both her sons.

As the reader will by now be thoroughly confused, I reproduce on the adjacent page three genealogical tables, no. 1 being the traditional genealogy, no. 2 being La Monte's version, no. 3 being Rüdts de Collenberg's "revision." I must at the same time ask the reader to bear in mind that the traditional tree will be proven to be the correct one.

It will be noted that in the genealogical tree of Table 2 Hugh of Ramla and Baldwin of Mirabel are duplicated and that Barisan the Younger is not mentioned, because La Monte no longer knew whether to make him a son of Baldwin I of Ramla or of Barisan-le-Vieux!

Without RRH no. 100, the traditional tree (Table 1) would emerge very simply. As here is obviously the difficulty, we shall now look closer at this charter to show that the duplication of Hugh of Ramla and Baldwin of Mirabel in the trees of Tables 2 and 3 must be eliminated. The charter's authenticity has never been disputed, although it contains a number of irregularities. Admittedly it is not bad in style, but the oddities begin with the transmission. Today, there is no original, but only a mid-thirteenth century *inspeximus* drawn up by Adam, archdeacon of Acre (well attested in the 1250s), and by a prior of the Holy Sepulchre who occurs only here and styles himself strangely *J. abbas* (instead of *prior sancti Sepulchri*). The title of *consul* given to "count" Hugh of Jaffa is certainly unique in the Holy Land, but it could reflect aspirations on

26 John L. La Monte, "The Lords of Le Puiset on the Crusades," *Speculum* 17 (1942), 116 n. 8. Rüdts de Collenberg, "Premiers Ibelins," p. 438, n. 33, referred to La Monte, "op. cit." n. 5 (*sic*, and without a page number), but had listed five works by La Monte p. 433!

Table 1 (traditional)

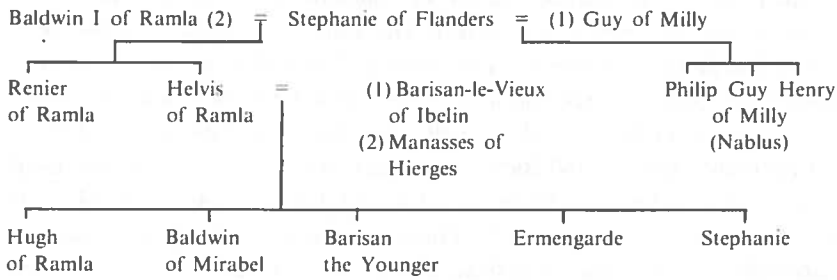


Table 2 (La Monte)

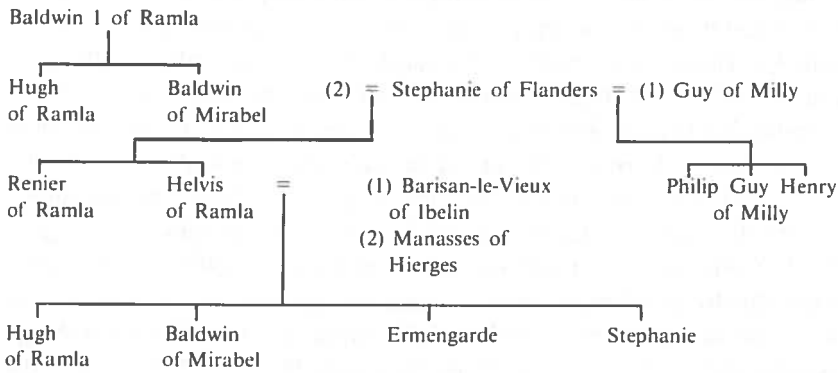
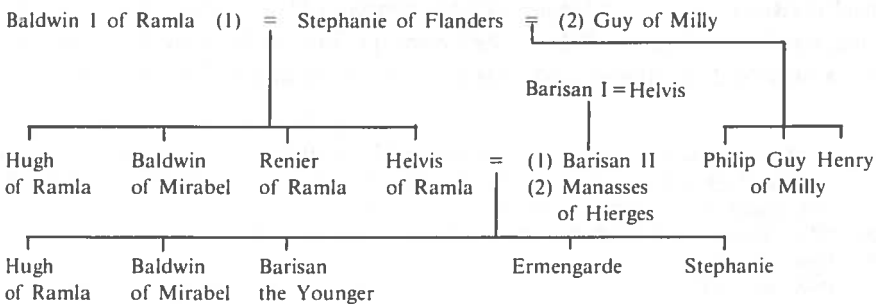


Table 3 (Rüdt de Collenberg)



part of the count to gain a semi-independent position²⁷ and it did have an illustrious precedent in France, the *consul Andegavorum* in the charters of the counts of Anjou. The date is not correct. The indiction 8 ought to be corrected to 15, the *epacta* 11 is correct, the *concurrentes* 5 should have been 6 for 1122. Hiestand²⁸ correctly rejected the idea of Delaville Le Roulx that the charter ought to be dated 1160, in which case all other elements of its date would be in perfect harmony. But in 1160 Barisan-le-Vieux, who issued it, was long dead. RRH no. 100 is a donation to the royal hospital of St. John in Nablus, the history of which was elucidated by Hiestand.²⁹ But the hospital is called a *cutocothroffium*. The scribe must have thought of something evidently Greek, but what this was, remains unclear. That it was meant to be a corruption of *ptochotrofeion*, a poor-house, was an ingenious thought of Delaville Le Roulx, which Hiestand³⁰ passed on to his readers with cautious reserve. While it does fit the institution, one does not see how, palaeographically or otherwise, one could become the other. There is definitely something strange about it.

But the real proof of a forgery is the consent of a *Balianus*, a synonym for Barisan. The charter was issued by Barisan-le-Vieux, Constable of Jaffa, with the consent of his lord Hugh, "consul" of Jaffa, and the king and founder of the hospital, Baldwin II. This is perfectly in order. It was made for the salvation of the soul of Barisan-le-Vieux, of his ancestors (we wish we knew who they were) and of his wife Helvis. Consents are given by Hugh, Lord of Ramla, and his brother Baldwin, Lord of Mirabel. This is only possible, if one splits Barisan-le-Vieux into two different persons, as Rüdte de Collenberg did. If we paste this divided gentleman together again, it is impossible, because his wife Helvis of Ramla was not born until ca. 1122 (*supra*, p. 104) and his sons Hugh and Baldwin from this marriage perforce even later. Helvis of Ramla and Hugh and Baldwin of Ibelin cannot make an appearance in a document of 1122. But, quite apart from that, Barisan-le-Vieux and Helvis had a third son, Barisan the Younger. Nobody else but he can be the *Balianus* consenting to RRH no. 100. He is not expressly called the brother of Hugh and Baldwin, but that he was is apparent from the confirmation of RRH no. 100 issued by Baldwin of Mirabel in 1166 (RRH no. 423) and made with the consent of his brother Hugh of Ibelin (-Ramla) and his brother Balian (the Younger). Barisan the Younger, however, was 8 years old or older in 1158, was under 8 in 1155 and had not been born yet

27 So Mayer, "Queen Melisende," p. 108 where RRH no. 100 was, however, still accepted as genuine. Even without it, I believe that the rest of the evidence still supports my conclusions with regard to the aspirations of the Count of Jaffa.

28 "Zwei Diplome aus Lucca," p. 18, n. 47.

29 *Ibid.*, pp. 17-25.

30 *Ibid.*, pp. 23 f.

in 1148 (RRH nos. 332.299.252). Like his brothers Hugh and Baldwin of Ibelin, he could not possibly consent to a charter of 1122. Even if *infra annos* in RRH no. 299 were to mean "younger than 15," Barisan the Younger would not have been alive in 1122. Even Rüd̄t de Collenberg did not know what to do with him. While he made his two brothers in RRH no. 100 sons of Baldwin I of Ramla, he did not dare do this to Barisan the Younger. He mentions him once (p. 438) as having "signed" a document together with the Constable Barisan in 1122, but he does not refer the reader to RRH no. 100, although the reference is obviously to it, but cites La Monte in a way which is very hard to locate and the location of which reveals that La Monte there carefully avoided all reference to Barisan the Younger.³¹ Rüd̄t de Collenberg seems to link him with the very old knight Bīran, born in 1106, who lived in Bethlehem in 1173 and entered the cave at Hebron with his father in 1119, after the discovery of the tombs of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. This report by al-Harawī³² is obviously wrong, if Bīran is to be equalled with Barisan the Younger, who had not yet been born in 1148.

If RRH no. 100 is a forgery, *cui bono*? It is of an unusual content, giving to the hospital at Nablus the *redecimatio* of all grain and vegetables in Mirabel and four other villages. What this means becomes clear in the confirmation of 1166 (RRH no. 423): *quoniam episcopus Sancti Georgii recipit primam decimam et hospitale secundam*. In other words, Mirabel was taxed twice for the ecclesiastical tithe. Baldwin of Mirabel first had to give one tenth of his income from Mirabel to the bishop of Lydda, then another tenth to the Knights of St. John, since 1166 the owners of the hospital of Nablus.³³ The normal arrangement

31 *Supra*, n. 26 and p. 110.

32 *Guide des lieux de pèlerinage*, trans. by Janine Sourdel-Thomine (Damascus, 1957), pp. 73 f.

33 Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States. The Secular Church* (London, 1980), pp. 146, n. 1, and 148 has argued that this is to be understood to mean that the bishop received the tithe of the big summer harvest (of winter crops), while the hospital received the tithe on the poor winter harvest (of summer crops, sown in March and harvested in the fall), if I interpret him correctly. Surely the much bigger harvest was that of winter crops (including all grain), sown in November and harvested in April or May. On the rotation of winter and summer crops and on the difference in yield see Joshua Prawer, "Étude de quelques problèmes d'une seigneurie croisée au XIII^e siècle," *Byzantion* 22 (1952), 47= (with more conviction) *idem*, *Crusader Institutions*, p. 171 f. Hamilton's solution for the difficult problem of the *redecimatio* is ingenious but I am not convinced. Hamilton is certainly correct in his assumption that generally both harvests were tithed, because this is self-evident. But it should not be proven from RRH nos. 100. 423, which record an unusual arrangement. Since RRH no. 100 is a forgery, the Hospitallers would have been much wiser to forge themselves a charter entitling them to the *medietatem decime*, that is one half of the total tithe collected, as this was the usual arrangement when a bishop had to split a tithe with another religious corporation. For a *redecimatio* there is only one parallel known to me in the Holy Land (RRH no. 279), when

would have been a splitting of the ecclesiastical tithing between the two. But the bishop of Lydda may have been reluctant to do so, because the canons of the Holy Sepulchre in the church of St. Peter in Jaffa had the right to the ecclesiastical tithing in the whole county of Jaffa, of which Ramla, Mirabel and Ibelin were rear-fiefs.³⁴ Only two years after the confirmation of 1166, there was a conflict between the canons in Jaffa and the Knights of St. John, who were prohibited from adding a second church to the one they already had there.³⁵ We have no doubt that the *redecimatio* of Mirabel was not granted until 1166. In the already complicated tithing situation in the county of Jaffa, this boded ill. The Knights of St. John were probably well advised to forge for themselves a charter which threw their right to a *redecimatio* forward to 1122 and ascribed it to the formidable Barisan-le-Vieux. Baldwin of Mirabel could easily afford such generosity, because where he did grant the *redecimatio*, i.e. between Mirabel and Nablus, he had increased in the late 1150s corporal punishment for the Muslims in order to levy four times the head-tax customary in the country.³⁶

RRH no. 100 of 1122 is forged. With its removal, the genealogy of the early Ibelins becomes simple. Baldwin I of Ramla (d. ca. 1138) had a son Renier and a daughter Helvis, who married Barisan-le-Vieux, Constable of Jaffa. Her half-brother Philip of Milly (Nablus) may have had a hand in this. The *Lignages d'Outremer*³⁷ assert that at this time Helvis was Lady of Ramla. This seems to be at first another of many wrong statements contained in this fourteenth-century source, because RRH no. 252 shows Helvis's husband Barisan-le-Vieux to have succeeded her brother Renier in the lordship of Ramla. But this charter also stresses in an unusual way Barisan's right to Ramla: *Ego itaque Barisanus et Hugo ac Balduinus filii mei ex honore prefato successores eius* (scil. of Renier). This was not customary. Normally the new lord issued charters, and if anybody disputed his rights, then this was a case for the courts. The phrase hints at difficulties having occurred in the succession of

the lord of Oultrejourdain granted to the Hospitallers *post decimationem beate Marie* the tithing of all his booty or other income taken from the Saracens. Here the booty is without a doubt taxed at 20% rather than at 10%, and the remainder of the lord's income subject to double taxation cannot refer to his share in the Saracen crops, not only because it was hardly possible to account separately his income deriving from their crops (to be taxed at 20%) and that deriving from the crops of Franks or Syro-Christians (to be taxed at 10%), but also because the Saracens living in this area were nomadic Bedouins not given to agriculture.

34 Mayer, *Bistümer*, pp. 122 f.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 203.

36 Emmanuel Sivan, "Réfugiés syro-palestiniens au temps des croisades," *Revue des Etudes islamiques* 35 (1967), 137-139.

37 c. 14, RHC Lois 2:453.

Baldwin I of Ramla. A glance at the charters reveals that, in fact, Baldwin was first succeeded by his daughter Helvis, then by his son Renier. In February 1138 Baldwin himself had last attested a charter (RRH no. 174). By 4 December he was dead, because RRH no. 179 issued by King Fulk was attested, after the clerics but before the male lay witnesses, by the countess Hodierna of Tripolis (a daughter of King Baldwin II) and one *Halvisa*.³⁸ In 1142 a *domina Haloidis* was witness to a grant by King Fulk (RRH no. 210). Hiestand,³⁹ with regard to King Baldwin's daughter Melisende witnessing RRH nos. 121.137a of ca. 1129, insisted already that it was most unusual that women appeared among the witnesses of royal charters. In Melisende's case he explained this correctly as being due to her position as heiress to the throne. Fulk exercised in Jerusalem a *Samtherrschaft*, in which he and Queen Melisende ruled jointly, and both had a claim to the kingdom.⁴⁰ If Melisende, therefore, could inherit the kingdom jointly with her husband Fulk, it is clear that Helvis not only could not be prevented from inheriting Ramla from her father during the reign of King Fulk but had to be admitted as a witness in her capacity as Lady of Ramla. This is not to say that Helvis and Barisan-le-Vieux also had a *Samtherrschaft* in Ramla. He carefully avoided at all times the title of a Lord of Ramla, although he must have run the Ramla affairs at least with regard to the military service owed to the crown. But unlike Fulk who had, or at least claimed, the position of an heir to the Kingdom of Jerusalem together with his wife and was therefore much more than Prince-Consort, Barisan seems to have had the position of a consort in Ramla. Possibly Barisan's reluctance to emerge openly as Lord of Ramla had to do with the original law, which prohibited a vassal from accumulating more than one fief in his hands. This had been changed by ca. 1150, but we do not know exactly when the change occurred.⁴¹

Helvis's rule in Ramla did not remain uncontested. Her brother Renier entered a successful claim when he came of age. This was a different degree of legal competence than that of possibly eight years allowing to give consents. For males this majority, when they could claim their inheritance, was fixed at

38 A variant reading is *Alois*.

39 "Zwei Diplome aus Lucca," p. 27.

40 Hans E. Mayer, "Das Pontifikale von Tyrus und die Krönung der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 21 (1967), 165-167; Hiestand, "Zwei Diplome aus Lucca," pp. 26-31; Mayer, "Queen Melisende," pp. 98-114.

41 Joshua Prawer, "La noblesse et le régime féodal du royaume latin de Jérusalem," *Moyen Age* 65 (1959), 56 = idem, *Crusader Institutions*, pp. 25 f. Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem 1174-1277* (London, 1973), pp. 11 f.

15, for women at 12.⁴² In 1141 a *Ramatensis Rainerius* witnesses a charter of Patriarch William of Jerusalem (RRH no. 201). That he was identical with Renier of Ramla is shown by RRH no. 244 of February 1146, concerning the same business and having an almost identical list of witnesses, among them *de baronibus... Rainerius Rametensis*. He also witnessed prominently, after Barisan-le-Vieux, RRH no. 226 of 1144. As Helvis was still Lady of Ramla in 1142 (RRH no. 210), Renier must have reached his majority in 1143 or 1144, which means that he was born in 1128 or 1129. He then entered a claim for the Lordship of Ramla, which was successful, as we learn from RRH no. 252 of 1148, when he had already died but was recognized by Barisan-le-Vieux as having been his predecessor in Ramla. I do not believe that the change from Helvis to Renier had anything to do with King Fulk's death in November 1143, because his widow Melisende continued to rule without much interference from her son at first. Rather, Renier's claim was based on the principle that a son, provided that he could perform military service, took precedence over all daughters in inheriting a fief.⁴³ A man like Barisan-le-Vieux could see this coming and act in time. Not that he could prevent it. But he could claim compensation for the loss which would be sustained by his wife, if Ramla went to her brother. Although we do not know the exact year in which King Fulk built the castle of Ibelin in the south-west, William of Tyre⁴⁴ places it shortly before his death; 1141 is a conventional and approximate date, probably not far from the truth. Barisan was an old and trusted follower of the king, who had decided in the king's favour the rebellion of the count of Jaffa. But the king was not at absolute liberty to assign Ibelin to whomsoever he wished. He was advised on this in council, and if Barisan argued that his wife had been deprived, or would soon be deprived, of Ramla, here was an obvious compensation, especially as the importance of Ramla had rested in the fact that it had to break the tides of Muslim attacks from Ascalon against Jaffa, Jerusalem and the road between. This rôle was now taken on by the newly built castles of Ibelin, Blanchegarde and Bethgibelin further south.

Later, fortune smiled on the Ibelins. While they had and held Ibelin, they also got Ramla back, after Renier had died between 1146 and 1148, apparently childless.⁴⁵ In 1148 Barisan-le-Vieux was running the affairs of Ramla, carrying

42 *Supra*, n. 12 and *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin* 171, RHC Lois 1:263 f. and *Abrégé des Assises des bourgeois* 23, RHC Lois 2:254.

43 Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, pp. 15, 128 f.

44 WT, 15.24, p. 696 f.

45 Rüdts de Collenberg (p. 457) gives him a son Baldwin alive in 1153, about whom he has already forgotten on p. 461 in the genealogical tree there. The reference is obviously to a Baldwin of Ramla in RRH no. 283 who, however, was nothing more than a vassal of the Prince of Galilee, witnessing one of his charters.

out last dispositions of Renier, who had died before he had been able to issue a charter about them (RRH no. 252). By that time Barisan had three children from Helvis: Ermengarde, Hugh and Baldwin. Later on they had Barisan the Younger (*supra*, p. 112 f.) and Stephanie who was still *infra annos* in 1158 but had come of age in 1160 (RRH nos. 332.360). Ermengarde rose to be Lady of Tiberias (RRH no. 299), probably by virtue of a marriage with Elinard of Tiberias. Hugh was the first of the family to call himself after the castle of Ibelin (RRH no. 291 of 1152). He was also the first of the Ibelins to call himself Lord of Ramla (RRH nos. 358.360 of 1160), but he did not do so until after his mother's death who is last mentioned alive in 1158 (RRH no. 335). In 1163 he married Agnes of Courtenay, the divorced wife of King Amalric I and the *femme fatale* of the Latin Orient.⁴⁶ He is last heard of in 1169, when he was about to make a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela (RRH no. 472), a typically grandiose Ibelin gesture. His brother Baldwin of Ibelin was Lord of Mirabel since ca. 1156⁴⁷ and is first styled so in 1162 (RRH no. 370b). As such he was under the close supervision of his elder brother in Ramla.⁴⁸ He himself appears as Lord of Ramla in 1171 (RRH no. 492) after his brother's death. There was a rumour that in 1177, having left his wife, he aspired to the hand of Princess Sybil, sister of King Baldwin IV, widow of the marquis William of Montferrat and possible heiress of the throne of Jerusalem.⁴⁹ The foundation for this may rest in the fact that when Sybil brought the crown of Jerusalem in 1186 to her second husband Guy of Lusignan, Baldwin refused to do homage to him, entrusted his fief to his brother Barisan the Younger and went to Antioch, where we find him in 1186 (RRH no. 649, although this probably precedes the *coup d'état* of October 1186 in Jerusalem). Barisan the Younger in 1177 married Maria Comnena, widow of King Amalric I, and thereby gained control of her dowry Nablus which, in fact although not in theory, he elevated to the position of a lordship.⁵⁰ In 1187 he became the defender of Jerusalem and disappears from sight in 1193 (RRH no. 716).

With RRH no. 100 having been eliminated as an authentic charter, there must be three alterations to the genealogies and history of Outremer: (1) The lifetime of Baldwin I of Ramla, father of Helvis and father-in-law of Barisan-le-Vieux, must be extended to 1138; (2) the succession of the Lords of Ramla must be: (a) Baldwin I, ca. 1110-1138; (b) his daughter Helvis of Ramla,

46 For the date see Mayer, *Siegelwesen*, p. 51.

47 Sivan, "Réfugiés," p. 138 n. 3.

48 Mayer, *Siegelwesen*, pp. 50 ff.

49 Ernoul, p. 33.

50 Mayer, *Siegelwesen*, p. 53.

1138-1143/44; (c) his son Renier of Ramla, 1143/44-1146/48; (d) Helvis of Ramla again, now being definitely represented by her husband Barisan-le-Vieux and later by her and Barisan's son Hugh of Ibelin, 1146/48-1158/60; (e) this same Hugh of Ibelin-Ramla, 1160-1169/71, but running Ramla's affairs since the death of Barisan-le-Vieux ca. 1150; (f) his brother Baldwin of Ibelin-Mirabel, 1169/71-1186; (g) their brother Barisan the Younger, 1186-1187; (3) the traditional genealogy of the early Ibelins and Ramlas must remain valid. Neither is there room for two Helvises or for two Barisans, nor may Hugh and Baldwin of Ibelin be split into Hugh and Baldwin of Ramla and Hugh and Baldwin of Ibelin, respectively. All these beautiful damsels and gallant knights of great renown must be pieced together again into one Helvis of Ramla, one Barisan-le-Vieux, one Hugh of Ibelin-Ramla and one Baldwin of Ibelin-Mirabel (later of Ramla).

Requiescant in pace nunc et in saecula saeculorum!