

Shlomo Lotan

SOME CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT EMPEROR FREDERICK II
AND JERUSALEM

Professor Hubert Houben's significant studies have dealt with the political and military occurrences in the southern provinces of Italy, the Mediterranean Basin and the Latin East during the existence of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in the 12th and 13th centuries. Houben examines the activities of the religious military orders in these areas, especially the Teutonic Order, as well as the connections formed at that time with the prominent rulers of the medieval period, such as the Roman Emperor Frederick II¹.

Thus, this essay is devoted to one of the important aspects of the political activities of Emperor Frederick II in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and to his multifaceted reference to the Holy City of Jerusalem, a place which the Roman emperor visited in March 1229 at the height of the Sixth Crusade².

¹ For some major studies of Prof. Hubert Houben regarding the Emperor Frederick II and the Teutonic Order's political and military activities in the Mediterranean Basin, see: *L'Ordine Teutonico nel Mediterraneo. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio. Torre Alemanna (Cerignola) - Mesagne - Lecce, 16-18 ottobre 2003*, (ed.) H. HOUBEN, Galatina, Mario Congedo Editore, 2004; ID., *I cavalieri teutonici nel Mediterraneo orientale (secoli XII-XV)*, in *I Cavalieri teutonici tra Sicilia e Mediterraneo. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio, Agrigento 24-25 marzo 2006*, (ed.) A. GIUFFRIDA, H. HOUBEN, K. TOOMASPOEG, Galatina, Mario Congedo Editore, 2007, pp. 47-74; *L'Ordine Teutonico tra Mediterraneo e Baltico: incontri e scontri tra religioni, popoli e culture. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Bari - Lecce - Brindisi, 14-16 settembre 2006*, (ed.) H. HOUBEN, Galatina, Mario Congedo Editore, 2008; ID., *The Staufen Dynasty and the Teutonic Knights in the Eastern Mediterranean*, in *Crossroads between Latin Europe and the Near East: Corollaries of the Frankish Presence in the Eastern Mediterranean (12th-14th centuries)*, (ed.) S. LEDER, Würzburg 2011, pp. 179-189; ID., *Intercultural Communication: The Teutonic Knights in Palestine, Armenia and Cyprus*, in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean. Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, (eds.) A. D. BEIHAMMER, M. G. PARANI, C. D. SCHABEL, Leiden, Brill, 2008, pp. 139-157; ID., *Between Sicily and Jerusalem: The Teutonic Knights in the Mediterranean (Twelfth to Fifteenth Centuries)*, in *Islands and Military Orders, c. 1291-c. 1798*, (ed.) E. BUTTIGIEG, S. PHILLIPS, Farnham, Ashgate, 2013, pp. 155-163.

² J. PRAWER, *Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, Paris, Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1975, vol. II, pp. 198-213; M. BENVENISTI, *The crusaders in the Holy*

Much has been written about the crusade conducted by the Roman Emperor Frederick II in Jerusalem and in the Crusader Kingdom in the years 1228-1229³. Clearly a number of issues went wrong during this journey which became, among other things, a scene of wrestling between the Roman emperor and Pope Gregory IX, who boycotted the emperor⁴. In addition, a confrontation broke out between the Kingdom's settlers and the emperor which caused a crisis between the Crusader baronage and the military orders, who were torn between their loyalty to the pope and their desire to reclaim the Crusader Kingdom being threatened by the Muslim enemies⁵.

It seems that the Sixth Crusade had a number of unique characteristics different from other Crusade movements. In this campaign there was no fighting between the Muslims and the Christians, but rather a procedure of negotiations for the return of some territories in the Latin kingdom conquered by the Ayyubids at the end of the 12th Century⁶. The Crusaders, led by Emperor Frederick II, signed on February 18, 1229, a peace agreement (the Treaty of Jaffa) with the Ayyubid sultan, al-Malik al-Kamil,

Land, Jerusalem, Israel Universities Press, 1970, pp. 51-52; A. J. BOAS, *Return to the Holy City: Historical and Archaeological Sources on the Frankish Presence in Jerusalem between 1229 and 1244*, in *Tell in Gath. Studies in the History and Archeology of Israel. Essays in Honor of Aren M. Maeir*, (eds.) I. SHAI, J. R. CHADWICK, L. HITCHCOCK, A. DAGAN, C. MCKINNY, J. UZIEL, Münster, Zaphon, 2018, pp. 1028-1050.

³ S. RUNCIMAN, *A History of the Crusades*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1954, vol. III, pp. 186-192; J. RICHARD, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Amsterdam, North Holland Pub., 1979, vol. II, pp. 232-235; H. E. MAYER, *The Crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1988, pp. 228-238; C. TYERMAN, *God's War, A New History of the Crusades*, Cambridge (Mass.), Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006, pp. 747-755.

⁴ B. WEILER, *Gregory IX, Frederick II, and the Liberation of the Holy Land*, in *The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History*, (ed.) R. N. SWANSON, Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2000, pp. 197-198; L. ROSS, *Frederick II: Tyrant or Benefactor of the Latin East?*, in «Al Masāq», XV-2 (2003), p. 154.

⁵ A. FOREY, *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1992, pp. 212-215; H. NICHOLSON, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders 1128-1291*, Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1995, pp. 25-27.

⁶ *L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur et la Conqueste de la Terre d'Outremer*, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Occidentaux* [RHC Occ.], Paris, Impr. royale, 1859, vol. II, pp. 373-374; J. M. POWELL, *Frederick II and the Muslims: The Making of an Historical Tradition*, in *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of Robert I. Burns*, (ed.) L. J. SIMON, Leiden, Brill, 1995, vol. I, pp. 263-264.

for a period of more than ten years and as part of this agreement received territories in the Galilee, including Nazareth, Hunin and Toron-Tibnin as well as territories between Jaffa and Bethlehem, including the major quarters in the holy city of Jerusalem⁷. These were all moved to Crusader rule without the Temple Mount with its Muslim religious monuments, which were left to the Ayyubids⁸. (Fig. 1: Map of the Latin kingdom).

The culmination of the journey was the arrival of the Frederick II in Jerusalem. The emperor made a pilgrimage to the holy city, accompanied by his warriors and the brethren of the Teutonic Order – his benefactors who supported him in Southern Italy as well as during his expedition in the Mediterranean basin on his way to the Latin kingdom⁹. The Roman emperor entered Jerusalem accompanied by his army on March

⁷ *Coronatio Hierosolimitana 1229*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Constitutiones et Acta Publica Imperatorum et Regum*, (ed.) L. WEILAND, Hannover, Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1896, vol. II, no. 121, p. 162: «Et dum de restitutione Terre Sancte tractaretur, dominus Iesus Christus sua solita providential ita ordinavit, quod soldanus restituit domino imperatori et christianis civitatem sanctam Ierusalem cum suis tenimentis...»; no. 122, p. 165: «soldanus Babylonie restituit nobis civitatem sanctam Ierusalem, locum videlicet ubi pedes Christi steterunt, locum etiam ubi veri adoratores in spiritu et veritate Patrem partum adorant»; *Epistola imperatoris Frederici ad regem Anglorum*, in *Matthew Paris, Chronica majora*, ed. H. R. LUARD, London, Longman, 1872-1883, vol. III [Rolls Series 57], p. 174: «Praeterea restituta est nobis civitas Beethleem, et tota terra media inter Jerusalem et civitatem ipsam, civitas Nazareth, cum tota terra media inter Achon et ipsam civitatem, tota terra Turonis, quae largissima est et ampla et valde commoda Christianis...»; J. L. A. HUIILLARD-BRÉHOLLES, *Historia Diplomatica Frederici Secundi*, Turin, Erasmo, 1963, vol. III, p. 92.

⁸ HUIILLARD-BRÉHOLLES, *Historia Diplomatica Frederici Secundi*, vol. III, p. 96: «...ut peregrine de cetero processum liberum habeant ad sepulcrum Domini et securum inde regressum, excepto videlicet quod cum Saraceni in quadam veneratione maxima Templum habeant et illuc secundum ritum eorum ad orandum (a) in modum Saracenorum peregrinorum accedant»; S. SCHEIN, *Between Mount Moriah and the Holy Sepulchre: The Changing Traditions of the Temple Mount in the Central Middle Ages*, in «Traditio» L (1984), pp. 179-181.

⁹ M-L. FAVREAU-LILIE, *L'Ordine Teutonico in Terrasanta (1198-1291)*, in *L'Ordine Teutonico nel Mediterraneo. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio Torre Alemanna (Cerignola) - Mesagne - Lecce, 16-18 ottobre 2003*, (ed.) H. HOUBEN, Galatina, Mario Congedo Editore, 2004, pp. 63-64; H. HOUBEN, *The Staufien Dynasty and the Teutonic Knights in the Eastern Mediterranean*, in *Crossroads between Latin Europe and the Near East: Corollaries of the Frankish Presence in the Eastern Mediterranean (12th-14th centuries)*, (ed.) S. LEDER, Würzburg, Ergon, 2011, p. 182; *Ibid*, *Between Sicily and Jerusalem: The Teutonic Knights in the Mediterranean (Twelfth to Fifteenth Centuries)*, in *Islands and Military Orders, c. 1291-c. 1798*, (eds.) E. BUTTIGIEG, S. PHILLIPS, Farnham, Ashgate, 2013, pp. 157-158.

17, 1229, and passed through its main structures and streets¹⁰. The next day, the emperor held a coronation ceremony in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the presence of a small group of his faithful allies. The ceremony was conducted by the Teutonic Grand Master, Hermann of Salza, who translated his words from Latin into German¹¹. The rest of the attendants gathered outside the church gates and throughout Jerusalem. At the same time, the pope's envoy, the patriarch of Jerusalem, Gerold of Lausanne, wrote defiant words of criticism against the Frederick II to the pope's Curia, speaking against the expelled emperor's journey¹².

The Teutonic Order, as one of the major supporters of the Roman emperor on his Crusade in the Latin East, received land donations from Frederick II, properties and main structures in the inner city of Jerusalem. The Teutonic Order had to guard the Citadel (the Tower of David), one of the major strategic points in the city, and the former Royal Palace located close to the Church of St. Thomas. The German warriors also joined in the city's defense, and participated in the rehabilitation of the city walls and some of its gates, due to the mass destruction which occurred in the time of the Ayyubid ruler al-Mu'azzam Isa (1176-1227)¹³.

¹⁰ E. KANTOROWICZ, *Frederick the Second 1194-1250*, New York, Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1957, pp. 197-203; T. C. VAN CLEVE, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen Immutator Mundi*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1972, pp. 222-226; D. ABULAFIA, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor*, London, A. Lane, 1988, pp. 185-188.

¹¹ HULLIARD-BRÉHOLLES, *Historia Diplomatica Frederici Secundi*, vol. III, p. 100: «... divitibus quoque ac pauperibus, proposuit coram omnibus manifeste verba subscripta et nobis injunxit ut verba sua ipsi latine et theutonice exponeremus»; U. ARNOLD, *Die Staufer und der Deutsche Orden*, in *Medieval Spirituality in Scandinavia and Europe: A Collection of Essays in Honour of Tore Nyberg*, (eds.) L. BISGAARD, C. S. JENSEN, J. LIND, Odense, Odense University Press, 2001, pp. 147-148; B. HECHELHAMMER, *Kreuzzug und Herrschaft unter Friedrich II. Handlungsräume von Kreuzzugspolitik (1215-1230)*, Ostfildern, Thorbecke Jan Verlag, 2004 [Mittelalter-Forschungen 13], pp. 296-306.

¹² *Epistola Geroldi patriarchae Jerosolimitani*, in *Matthew Paris, Chronica majora*, vol. III, pp. 179-182; J. M. POWELL, *Patriarch Gerold and Frederick II: The Matthew Paris Letter*, in «Journal of Medieval History», XXV-1 (1999), pp. 19-26; *Letters from the East. Crusades, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12-13th Centuries*, (trans.) M. BARBER, K. BATH, Farnham, Ashgate, 2010, pp. 127-133; R. ALLINGTON, *New Saladins: Spiritual Crusading and the Typology of Crusading Enemies*, in «Al Masāq» XXXIV-1 (2022), pp. 78-80.

¹³ *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici ex tabularii regii Berolinensis codice potissimum*, (ed.) E. STREHLKE, Berlin, Weidmann, 1869, no. 69 (1229), p. 55: «in civitate sua Ierusalem domum quondam Balduini Regis sitam in ruga Armeniorum prope ecclesiam s. Thomae...»; H. PRUTZ, *Die Besitzungen des Deutschen Ordens im Heligen Land*, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1877, p. 36; G. J. WIGHTMAN, *The Walls of Jerusalem. From the Canaanites to the Mam-*

Hermann of Salza, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, wrote to Pope Gregory IX regarding the Crusade's achievement, mentioning that through the treaty's directions the Christians were allowed to rebuild Jerusalem's walls and towers and renew the Christian dominance in the holy city¹⁴.

The emperor's journey to Jerusalem was also described in several medieval chronicles, including Muslim ones. It is worth noting the description provided by Ibn Wasil (1208-1298), who said that the emperor visited Jerusalem accompanied by the Qadi of Nablus. He toured the Temple Mount compound, even entering the Al-Aqsa Mosque (*Templum Salomonis*), a place that left a great impression on him. When the emperor came across a Christian clergyman who wanted to enter the mosque he erupted in anger and forbade it. On the night of the emperor's stay in Jerusalem, the Qadi demanded that the Muslim prayers not call the public as usual, so as not to interfere with the emperor's rest. When he woke up in the morning in the former Hospitaller compound, located close to the Holy Sepulchre, surprised that he did not hear the muezzin's call, the emperor learned that this was the Qadi's demand so as not to disturb him¹⁵. There is no doubt that this was a different view of the Christian ruler at that time in the medieval period.

This visit of Jerusalem, however short it was, left a great impression among the Crusaders and even among the historians of our time, who addressed the historical, spiritual and political implications of the em-

luks, Sydney, Meditarch, 1993, pp. 284-285, S. LOTAN, *Jerusalem in the Traditions of the Teutonic Military Order – Symbolism and Uniqueness*, in «Zapiski Historyczne», LXXV-4 (2010), pp. 14-16.

¹⁴ HULLARD-BRÉHOLLES, *Historia Diplomatica Frederici Secundi*, vol. III, p. 92; H. KLUGER, *Hochmeister Hermann von Salza und Kaiser Friedrich II. Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, Marburg, N.G. Elwert, 1987 [Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 37], pp. 86-95; N. E. MORTON, *The Teutonic Knights and the Holy Land 1190-1291*, The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2009, pp. 60-72.

¹⁵ Ibn Wāsil, *Mufarrij al kurūb fi akhbār Banī Ayyūb*, (eds.) J. AL-SHAYYĀL, H. AL-RABĪ, S. ASHŪR, vol. I-V, Cairo, Wizārat al-Thaqāfah, 1953-1977, pp. 244-245; F. GABRIELI, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969, pp. 269-273; K. HIRSCHLER, *Ibn Wāsil: An Ayyūbid Perspective on Frankish Lordships and Crusades*, in *Medieval Muslim Historians and the Franks in the Levant. The Muslim World in the Age of the Crusades*, Leiden, Brill, 2014, vol. II, p. 159; *Crusade and Christendom. Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre*, (eds.) J. BIRD, E. PETERS, J. M. POWELL, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013, pp. 255-258.

peror's journey to Jerusalem¹⁶. (Fig 2: Map of Jerusalem). But how can we assess Frederick's attitude towards Jerusalem, the city whose sites he surveyed, and whose return to Christian hands was one of his achievements in the Sixth Crusade. Did Jerusalem leave a mark on the emperor's writings and thoughts?

We may assume that the pressures of the campaign and the Christian conspiracies, together with the verbal attacks against the emperor, created very strong feelings in the Roman emperor. It is known that he wanted to end his journey as quickly as possible and return to Europe immediately after his visit to Jerusalem¹⁷. Frederick II sailed back to Italy in early May of 1229, a few weeks after his coronation in Jerusalem. This was following a number of dramatic events he had experienced at the end of his journey, including an attempt of the Templars, to harm him during his stay in the region of Jerusalem by imprisoning him for a short time in their fortress in 'Atlit (Château Pèlerin). Later, before the emperor's departure from Outremer at the beginning of May, 1229, the Templars confronted the emperor's troops in the streets of Acre¹⁸.

¹⁶ T. MASTNAK, *Crusading Peace: Christendom, the Muslim World, and Western Political Order*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2002, pp. 148-152; H. TAKAYAMA, *Frederick II's Crusade: An Example of Christian-Muslim Diplomacy*, in «Mediterranean Historical Review», XXV-2 (2010), pp. 174-175; L. POUZET, *De la paix armée à la négociation et à ses ambiguïtés. L'accord de Jaffa (1229/626) entre Frédéric II et al-Malik al-Kamil*, in *Chrétiens et Musulmans au Temps des Croisades*, (eds.) L. POUZET, L. BOISSET, Beyrouth, Presses de l'Université Saint-Joseph, 2007, pp. 96-98; Y. FRIEDMAN, *Peacemaking, Perceptions and Practices in the Medieval Latin East*, in *The Crusades and the Near East*, ed. C. KOSTICK London, Routledge, 2011, pp. 238-239.

¹⁷ T. C. VAN CLEVE, *The Crusade of Frederick II*, in *The History of the Crusades, The Later Crusades, 1189-1311*, vol. 2, (eds.) R. L. WOLFF, H. W. HAZARD, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1969, pp. 458-461; R. HIESTAND, *Friedrich II und der Kreuzzug*, in *Friedrich II. Tagung des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom im Gedenkjahr 1994* (eds.) A. ESCH, N. KAMP, Tübingen, Max Niemeyer, 1996 [Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom 85], pp. 128-149.

¹⁸ *De superbia et invidia Templariorum et Hospitaliariorum*, in *Matthew Paris, Chronica majora*, vol. III, pp. 177-178: «His autem sic Deo dispensante ordinatis, invidente antiquo seminatore scismatum et discordiarum Sathana incolae terrae, praecipue Templarii et Hospitalarii, in videntes factis imperatoris, sumpserunt cornua ex odio Papali. Audierunt enim, quod jam Papa imperium hostiliter invaserat. Volentes igitur Omnia magnalia haec eis ascribe, qui a tota Christianitate tot proventus recipiunt, et ad solummodo Terram Sanctam defendendam tantos redditus inglutiant et quasi in voraginem baratri demergunt, significaverunt subdole ac proditiose Soldano Babiloniae, quod imperator proposuit adire flumen ubi Christus baptizatus...»; S. MENACHE, *Rewriting the History of the Templars According to Matthew Paris*, in *Cross Cultural Convergences in the*

Despite all these crucial events, it seems that the holy city of Jerusalem touched the Roman emperor. This claim can be linked to a series of letters and documents from that time, a selection of which is consulted below, and which can be used to examine the emperor's attitude towards the city of Jerusalem during the period when it was ruled by the Christians in the years 1229-1244. As early as 1239, Frederick II described in a letter to delegates at the Church Conference in the city of Lyon the difficulties that had arisen in the Latin kingdom and in Jerusalem which were under Ayyubid attack. At that time al-Malik al-Nasir Da'ud blockaded Jerusalem and demolished parts of its fortifications, including the citadel¹⁹. The emperor detailed the suffering he had experienced in the kingdom, and the negative way in which its people and nobles received his commissioner, Filangieri. Many of the Crusader settlers and leadership opposed the commissioner's activities, refused to accept his rule, and did not cooperate with him. Frederick II's feelings were of great frustration, without any ability to improve the deteriorating political and military situation in *Outremer*²⁰.

Crusader Period. Essays presented to Aryeh Grabois on his sixty-fifth Birthday, (eds.) M. GOODICH, S. MENACHE, S. SCHEIN, New York, Peter Lang, 1999, pp. 197-198; Regarding the Templars' clash with Frederick II in 'Atlit and Acre, see: *Chronique d'Ernoult et de Bernard le Trésorier*, (ed.) L. MAS LATRIE, Paris, J. Renouard, 1871, pp. 462-463; Filippo de Novara, *Guerra di Federico II in Oriente (1223-1242)*, (ed.) S. MELANI, Naples, Liguori, 1994, pp. 276-277; W. STÜRNER, *Friedrich II*, Darmstadt, Primus-Verlag, 2000, vol II, p. 166; J. BURGTORF, *The central convent of Hospitallers and Templars. History, Organization and Personnel (1099/1120-1310)*, Leiden, Brill, 2008, pp. 123-124; H. NICHOLSON, *The Templars and 'Atlit*, in *Settlement and Crusade in the Thirteenth Century. Multidisciplinary Studies of the Latin East*, (eds.) G. FISHHOF, J. BRONSTEIN, V. SHOTTEN-HALLEL, Abingdon, Routledge, 2021, pp. 75-76; M-A. CHEVALIER, *The Templars and the Rulers of the Christian East, Collaboration or conflict of interest?*, in *The Templars. The Rise, Fall and Legacy of the Military Religious Order*, (eds.) J. BURGTORF, S. LOTAN, E. MAL-LORQUÍ-RUSCALLEDA, Abingdon, Routledge, 2021, pp. 65-67.

¹⁹ *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century. The Rothelin Continuation of the History of William of Tyre with part of the Eracles or Acre Text*, (trans.) J. SHIERLY, Aldershot, Ashgate, 1999, p. 40; P. JACKSON, *The Crusades of 1239-41 and their aftermath*, in «Bulletin of the School of Oriental African Studies», L (1987), p. 39; R. ELLENBLUM, *Frankish Castles, Muslim Castles, and the Medieval Citadel of Jerusalem*, in *In Laudem Hierosolymitani. Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar*, (eds.) I. SHAGRIR, R. ELLENBLUM, J. RILEY-SMITH, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2007, pp. 106-107.

²⁰ HULLIARD-BRÉHOLLES, *Historia Diplomatica Frederici Secundi*, vol. V-1, p. 361: «Nichilominus tamen ut communis voti supplicamus honeste defectum, mandamus et precipimus per litteras nostras R. (a) Filiangerio regni Ierosolymitani ballivo ... et in-super hominibus Accon indulte sibi gratie ac favoris ingratis, inferentibus eidem filio

In the years 1239-1241, following the *Baron's Crusade*, the Latin kingdom knew a few years of calm. In a series of political moves and agreements with the Ayyubids, several territories were returned to the kingdom. Areas in the Upper Galilee and its main cities, Safed and Tiberias, were added again to the Crusader Kingdom. Places such as Ascalon and Beit Giblin in the southern parts of the kingdom, as well as several villages in the vicinity of Jerusalem, were also reinstated. This was following the journey of Richard of Cornwall (1240-1241), who knew how to operate among the rival Ayyubid forces and bring about achievements in expanding the kingdom²¹.

Richard of Cornwall was Emperor Frederick II's brother-in-law who married the English nobleman's sister, Isabella, in 1235. On his way back to England in 1241, the duke visited the Roman emperor in southern Italy and reviewed for him his Crusade's achievements. The bonds formed between the Christian leaders led to a partnership of destiny between them, as they understood the political and military complexity in the Latin East²².

The achievements of the journey and the sense of success soon gave way to a sense of inaction and disappointment. In 1244, the Khwarizmians, Turkish nomad tribes, attacked first the local population in Damascus and then the Galilee and the Jordan valley to the south. The state of the Crusader Kingdom deteriorated. The warriors climbed the mountains towards Jerusalem. Then about six thousand Christians fled from the city and its environs and turned to the lowlands, to the Crusader strongholds in the Mediterranean coastal cities. On their way,

nostro de reliqua terra manifestam violentiam et injustam»; D. JACOBY, *The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Collapse of Hohenstaufen Power in the Levant*, in «Dumbarton Oaks Papers», XL (1986), pp. 84-85.

²¹ *De gloriosa pace et treugis inter Christianos et Sarracenos per comitem Ricardum captis*, in Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, vol. IV, pp. 138-144; S. PAINTER, *The Crusade of Theobald of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall, 1239-1241*, in *A History of the Crusades: The Later Crusades, 1189-1311*, (eds.) R. L. WOLFF, H.W. HAZARD, Philadelphia, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1962, vol. II, pp. 475-484; M. LOWER, *The Baron's Crusade: A Call to Arms and Its Consequences*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005, pp. 169-177; P. JACKSON, *The Crusades of 1239-41 and Their Aftermath*, in «Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies», XXX-1 (1987), pp. 42-48; D. PRINGLE, R. G. KHAMISY, *Richard of Cornwall's Treaty with Egypt, 1241*, in *Crusading and Trading between West and East. Studies in Honour of David Jacoby*, (eds.) S. MENACHE, B. Z. KEDAR, M. BALARD, Abingdon, Routledge, 2019, pp. 57-66.

²² N. DENHOLM-YOUNG, *Richard of Cornwall*, Oxford, B. Blackwell, 1947, pp. 30, 43-44; LOWER, *The Baron's Crusade. A Call to Arms and its Consequences*, pp. 158-168.

most of them were massacred by Muslims who ambushed them on the mountain roads. Only about 300 Christians were finally able to escape this massacre²³.

After the Khwarizmians infiltrated Jerusalem, on August 23, 1244, the warriors stormed the Christian holy sites. They broke into the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and many members of the Eastern Christian community who defended the tomb and held religious ceremonies there were killed in that holy place. The rebels reached the nearby area, the tombs of the Crusader kings, smashed the glorious tombstones and scattered the bones. From there they continued on their way south towards the Church of Mount Zion destroying the sacred buildings of Christianity and places of worship therein²⁴.

After a short time, Frederick II learned of the loss of the city of Jerusalem and the defeat in battle within the realm of the Latin kingdom. The emperor addressed a letter to his brother-in-law, Duke Richard of Cornwall, expressing the shock and suffering he felt with the loss of Jerusalem²⁵. In a letter from the beginning of 1245, the emperor dramatically described his emotions to Richard of Cornwall. In his lament, Frederick II stated that Jerusalem was destroyed, the Holy Sepulchre was damaged. A great disaster occurred and the suffering of the Christians were terrible²⁶.

²³ *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr de 1229 à 1261, dite du manuscrit de Rothelin*, in RHC Occ., vol. II, p. 563; *Chronica de Mailros*, (ed.) J. STEVENSON, Edinburgh, The Bannatyne Club, 1835, pp. 158-163; C. CAHEN, *The Turks in Iran and Anatolia before the Mongol Invasions*, in *A History of the Crusades: The Later Crusades, 1189-1311*, (eds.) R. L. WOLFF, H. W. HAZARD, Philadelphia, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1962, pp. 670-674.

²⁴ *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 63-64; D. PRINGLE, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007, vol. III, pp. 32-34, 268; I. BERKOVICH, *Templars, Franks, Syrians and the Double Pact of 1244*, in *The Military Orders, Politics and Power*, (ed.) P. EDBURY, Farnham, Ashgate, 2012, vol. V, pp. 86-88.

²⁵ HULLARD-BRÉHOLLES, *Historia Diplomatica Frederici Secundi*, vol. VI-1, p. 237: «...quod tota regni Hierosolymitani terra quam christiani possederant trans Jordanem, retentis sibi villis et montanis aliquibus, christianis restituta'... Quo superveniente, perfide gentis metu, de civitate Hierosolymitana...sepulchro Domini violato, quod fuerat fidei Christiane visibile nutrimentum».

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 254-255: «Fredericus, Dei gratia Romanorum imperator semper augustus, Hierusalem et Sicilie rex, Richardi comiti Cornubie, dilecto sororio suo... Vox in Rhama audita est, ploratus et ululatus multus, vox illa quam nostre presaga tristitie fama pretulerat, vox illa quam nuper adverse fortune proprietatis que nunquam venit sola

Thus, the Roman emperor detailed the suffering of Jerusalem and the sorrow he felt with the loss of the holy city he had visited. He then went on to describe the defeat in battle in the south of the kingdom, probably at La Forbie, the loss of settlements and the huge number of casualties, among whom he noted many of the knights, members of the military orders and clerics, who were killed or injured in *Outremer*²⁷.

It seems that the end of this chapter of Christian rule in Jerusalem, a chapter that began with the arrival of Emperor Frederick II at the city gates in March 1229, and continued until its loss in August 1244, arose in the emperor special feelings. The emperor disliked the political situation in the Crusader Kingdom, the Crusader nobility, and their attitude towards his leadership and his representatives in the kingdom. Frederick II knew how to describe the city's suffering, its buildings and the condition of its people, and above all the agony of its final loss to Christianity in the Middle Ages.

mortalibus, nostris auditibus repromisit. Fuerunt nempe quamplura tempestatis future tonitrua, in circuitu Hierusalem tot Christi fidelium cruenta perditio, ipsius sepulchri dominici luctuosa dispersio, postremo nostris abominanda temporibus sancte destructio civitatis coruscationes hujusmodi non in rorem et imbrem tenuem, sed in calamitatis nostre diluvium celi nubibus exposuit».

²⁷ *Cronica Fratris Salimbene di Adam*, ed. O. HOLDER-EGGER, Hannover, Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1905-1913 [Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores, 32], p. 177: «Insuper, quod peius est, XVI milia Francorum et tantus numerus aliorum, qui pro Christo sanguinem proprium effuderunt». Regarding the number of the military order's casualties, see: *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr de 1229 à 1261*, p. 564: «la fin li nostre ne porent soffrir cele grant planté de mescreanz, ainz furent desconfist en tel maniere que des frerez del Temple n'en eschapa, que xxxvi Templierz, et des Hospitalierz jusqu'à xxvi et iii frerez de l'Ospital Nostre Dame des Alemanz»; Ibn al-Furat, *Selections from the Tarikh al-Duwal wa'l-Muluk*, in *Ayyubids, Mamluks and Crusaders*, (ed.) U. LYON, M. C. LYONS, with an introduction by J. RILEY-SMITH, Cambridge, W. Heffer, 1971, p. 173; S. LOTAN, *The Battle of La Forbie and Its Aftermath – Re-examination of the Military Orders' Involvement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in the Mid-Thirteenth Century*, in «Ordines Militares: Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders», XVII (2012), pp. 57-59.



Figure 1: The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem - mid 13th century. (Shlomo Lotan)

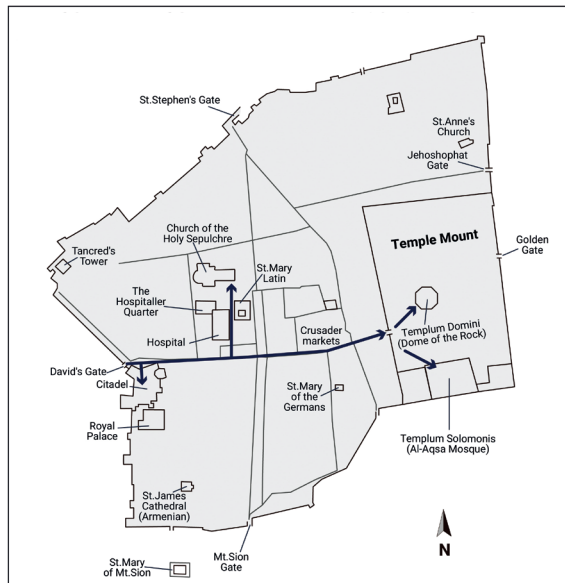


Figure 2: Map of the Journey of the Roman Emperor - Frederick II in Jerusalem (March 1229). (Shlomo Lotan)

