

**ARMENIANS' RESPONSE TO THE CRUSADES<sup>1</sup>****Claude Mutafian***The foreign member of the National Academy of Sciences of republic of Armenia  
France****The arrival of the Crusade***

**I**n a Bull issued on October 13th 1584, Pope Gregory XIII declared: “A long time ago, when Christian princes and armies were on their way to recover the Holy Land, no nation, no people came to help them with men, horses, provisions, advices more promptly and more fervently than the Armenians; with all their forces and with the greatest bravery and faithfulness, they helped the Christians in these Holy Wars”<sup>i</sup>. This judgment shows the Armenians as mere auxiliaries of the Franks, and that is the way these relations have often been described. As we shall see, it is pretty far from the reality.

At the end of September 1097, the main body of the First Crusade, moving north-east along the northern slope of the TaurusRange towards Caeserea-in-Cappadocia, “entered the Land of the Armenians”<sup>ii</sup>. In fact, after the fall of the last kingdom in Greater Armenia (1045), many Armenian lords had left their homeland and migrated in the Byzantine provinces of Cappadocia, Cilicia and Euphratesis, where, since centuries, Armenians used to hold some fiefs under the suzerainty of the Greek Emperor. At the end of the XIth century, the Franks met this Armenian constellation. Each party found an interest in the other one. For the Franks, Armenians were local Christians, they could be helpful through their knowledge of the country and its population; as “heretics”, they were not to be too much trusted, but their hostility towards the Greeks was a common point. As for the Armenians, the new-comers were an additional element in the Levantine chess-board: they had just defeated the Seldjuk Turks of Anatolia and could be useful against the Greeks and the Moslems in order to realize the ultimate goal, the rebirth of the Armenian kingdom. Armenians had no interest in blindly siding with the Franks: being indigenous, they had to maintain relations with everyone. In such conditions, the attitude of the Armenians toward the Franks was necessarily two-sided. One reads that the Armenians “were delighted that the Christians had so bravely defeated and killed the Turks and Pagans, and [they] immediately surrendered themselves and their land to them”<sup>iii</sup>; a little bit later, during the siege of Antioch, “the [Armenian] princes who resided in the Taurus Mountains (...) sent whatever provisions were needed to the commander of the Franks”<sup>iv</sup>, but at the same time the Armenians living in the city used to come out and visit the Crusaders’ camp in order to “report back to the Turks in the city on what our men [the Franks] were saying and doing”<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Հոդվածն ընդունված է 14.10.13:

Հոդվածը տպագրության է երաշխավորել ԱրՊՀ պատմության ամբիոնը:

### *The “matrimonial diplomacy”*

The Holy City was taken in July 1099, and at the beginning of the XIIth century the Crusaders had founded four so-called “Latin States of the Levant”: from north to south, the county of Edessa, the principality of Antioch, the county of Tripoli and the kingdom of Jerusalem. Most of their rulers had to marry with the only local princesses who were both Christian and not Greek, the Armenian ones: this allowed the Armenians to carry out an efficient “matrimonial diplomacy”.

The county of Edessa was founded by Baldwin of Boulogne, who apparently answered a cry for help coming from the Armenian governor of the city, T'oros. The majority of the population was Armenian and gave a warm welcome to Baldwin, who naturally married an Armenian princess<sup>vi</sup>. When he moved to Jerusalem and became King Baldwin I, he did not need her any more, all the more as, Baldwin being homosexual, she could not bear him any descendants: he repudiated her. He was succeeded in Edessa by Baldwin of Bourcq, who also married an Armenian princess, Morfia<sup>vii</sup>; contrary to his predecessor, he made her queen of Jerusalem as soon as he became King Baldwin II in 1118. Five years later, he fell prisoner in the hands of a Muslim emir. Morfia, “being Armenian by birth”<sup>viii</sup>, organized a commando of Armenians disguised as monks in order to liberate him from his jail in Kharberd<sup>ix</sup>. Morfia bore Baldwin four daughters. Three of these “half-Armenian” princesses were to rule Crusader States: through marriage, Hodierna became countess of Tripoli and Alice<sup>x</sup> princess of Antioch, while the eldest, Melisende, was crowned queen of Jerusalem by her own right of succession<sup>xi</sup>; she remained in History as the most famous sovereign of the kingdom. She died in 1161, and according to the contemporary historian William, Archbishop of Tyre: “She was gifted with more wisdom and caution than it is usual for her sex” and she “had conducted with a remarkable strength the affairs of the kingdom during more than thirty years”<sup>xii</sup>.

### *Armenian disaster in Euphratesis*

Soon after having called Baldwin of Boulogne, T'oros of Edessa was murdered<sup>xiii</sup>. In fact, within the two first decades of the XIIth century, all the Armenian rulers of Euphratesis, the stronghold of the Armenian presence in the Levant, had been either removed or murdered by the Franks. The Armenian contemporary historian Matt'eos Ufhayec'i gives a very moving description of this hecatomb<sup>xiv</sup>, which put an end to any Armenian hope in that area. These hopes moved westward, towards Cilicia, where two rival dynasties had survived in their strongholds of the Taurus Mountains: the Rubenids in Vahka and the Hethumids in Lambron. They drew the lesson of the Euphratesis disaster: “Do not trust the Franks!”

### *Cilicia between Rubenids and Normans*

The Cilician plain is a triangle protected by the Mediterranean Sea to the south, the Amanus Range, which separates it from Syria to the east, and the formidable

Taurus Mountains, allowing the communications with Asia Minor practically only through one pass, the famous Cilician Gates. The Amanus is more easily negotiable, so that, as soon as they founded their principality to the east of the range, the Norman princes of Antioch made territorial claims on Cilicia, which were to generate future conflicts with the Byzantine emperors, who were still the official masters of that land, as well as with the Armenian Rubenid dynasty, whose aim was also to control it<sup>xv</sup>. At the beginning of the century, the Rubenid prince T'oros I (1100-1129) managed to avoid any dispute with the princes of Antioch, who were de facto master of the Cilician plain and had created Latin bishoprics in the two main cities, Tarsus and Mamistra<sup>xvi</sup>. T'oros even fought side by side with Prince Roger and his help was decisive in the capture of 'Azâz in 1118<sup>xvii</sup>. He also kept friendly relations with Edessa, giving his sister in marriage to the third count, Joscelin I<sup>xviii</sup>. Facing the Greeks, T'oros succeeded in the conquest of the important stronghold of Anazarba<sup>xix</sup>, which became a kind of first Rubenid capital in Cilicia.

The relations between Normans and Rubenids dilapidated when Lewon I succeeded his brother T'oros. Lewon cultivated friendly relations with his brother-in-law Joscelin of Edessa, but open hostility broke out with the ambitious new prince of Antioch, Bohemond II<sup>xx</sup>, who planned the military occupation of Cilicia. At the same time a Turkish army entered Cilicia, and Lewon was clever enough to make the two invaders fight each other; Bohemond was killed in 1130<sup>xxi</sup>. Lewon was now free to launch the conquest of the whole Cilician plain, which he carried through successfully in 1135<sup>xxii</sup>. He tried to materialize this great achievement by proclaiming himself king<sup>xxiii</sup>. The following events proved that it was too early for the rebirth of an Armenian kingdom. Lewon was soon treacherously captured by Raymond of Poitiers, next prince of Antioch, who had to let him free pretty quickly<sup>xxiv</sup>: the Byzantine imperial army was announced, threatening both princes.

### ***Byzantine rule over Cilicia***

Leading an important army, Emperor John II Comnenus restored in 1137/38 Byzantine authority over Cilicia and Antioch. Lewon was taken prisoner and sent to Constantinople, where he died<sup>xxv</sup>: the achievements of the two Rubenid brothers seemed definitely destroyed. During nearly four decades Cilicia remained under direct Byzantine rule through a governor representing the emperor. As usual in Armenian history during the absence of temporal power, the Armenian leadership over Cilicia shifted to the spiritual power, represented by the Pahlawunis, descendants of the famous scholar GrigorMagistros; that dynasty held the catholicossate all along the XIIth century.

Since 1113, the supreme patriarch was Grigor III Pahlawuni, assisted by his brother, NersēsŠnorhali, who was to succeed him in 1166. Facing Greek rule, the Pahlawunis turned to a Latin alliance, seeking reconciliation with the Latin Church: the relations were pretty bad between these two Churches, partly because of the claims of suzerainty over the Armenian Church put forward by the Latin patriarchate of Antioch. Grigor III traveled to Jerusalem, where he participated to

the 1141 synod concerning precisely the titular of Antioch. He was welcomed with all honors<sup>xxvi</sup>, and most probably met the half-Armenian Queen Melisende. Since the building of the actual cathedral of St. James is ascribed to that period, one may suppose that it was a common decision of these two exceptional personalities<sup>xxvii</sup>.

In 1144, Edessa was taken by Zengî, and soon after, in 1151, the whole county disappeared. NersēsŠnorhali composed an elegy lamenting the fall of Edessa<sup>xxviii</sup>, but the Pahlawunis took advantage of it: on the eve of the fall of the county, while Count Joscelin II, nephew of Lewon I, was prisoner, they negotiated with his wife the acquisition of the formidable fortress of Híomklay<sup>xxix</sup>, overhanging the Euphrates. Until 1292, during nearly one century and a half, Híomklay was to remain the seat of the Armenian catholicossate.

In the middle of the XIIth century, T´oros II, son of Lewon I, managed to leave Constantinople, where he had been sent as a captive together with his father. Playing a subtle diplomatic game between the claims of Antioch and those of the Byzantine authorities, he succeeded in reasserting Rubenid power over Cilicia<sup>xxx</sup>. Emperor Manuel I Comnenus urged successively the SeldjukRûm sultan and Prince Reginald of Antioch to attack him, but T´oros resisted. In 1158, Manuel decided to launch a new Byzantine expedition on Cilicia<sup>xxxi</sup>. He reasserted formal Byzantine power on Cilicia and Antioch, but as soon as his army withdrew the Armenian prince was able to restore the former situation<sup>xxxii</sup>.

### *The “armenization” of Cilicia*

Since the Greek threat was still present in the early 1160s, the political situation suggested an alliance with the Latin East. In 1164, T´oros got involved in the Christian common front against the powerful emir Nûr al-Dîn; although he objected to the choice of the moment, he did participate in the battle of Hârim, with ended in a disaster<sup>xxxiii</sup>. Nevertheless, he remained faithful to his alliance, visited Jerusalem and even proposed to King Amalric the installation of Armenian settlers in order to change the demographic ratios in the kingdom<sup>xxxiv</sup>.

T´oros II died in 1168, leaving a strong Armenian power system over Cilicia. His work was to be brought to achievement by his brother and successor Mleh, but through a totally different policy. Mleh chose a particularly daring alliance with Emir Nûr al-Dîn against both Byzantine and Crusaders. With the help of Muslim troops, he confronted the Latins<sup>xxxv</sup> and put an end to Greek power in Cilicia<sup>xxxvi</sup>. Mleh had married a niece of catholicosNersēsŠnorhali, and while he was fighting the Greeks, his uncle was carrying on an ecumenical dialogue with Byzantine authorities<sup>xxxvii</sup>. This clever diplomacy proved efficient: at the death of Nûr al-Dîn, in 1174, Cilicia had become definitely “armenized”<sup>xxxviii</sup>. The following year, Mleh was put to death by Armenian seigneurs<sup>xxxix</sup> because of his rough methods and his alliance “against nature”: apart from one exception<sup>xl</sup>, all the Armenian sources curse him<sup>xli</sup>, and modern scholars repeat one after the other that Mleh converted to Islam<sup>xlii</sup>, which is totally wrong.

One year after his assassination, the Byzantine defeat at Myriocephalum in front of the Seldjuks of Rûm definitively averted any Greek claim away from Cilicia: the Rubenids' only Christian rivals were now the Franks.

### *Towards the foundation of a kingdom*

Mleh was succeeded by his nephew, Ṛubēn. Confronted with two major Muslim dangers, the mighty Seldjuks of Rûm to the north and the rising power of Saladin, master of Egypt and also, soon, of continental Syria, he naturally tried to revert to Crusader alliance, and married a Frankish princess<sup>xliii</sup>. The dialogue with Rome was reactivated, and Catholicos Grigor IV Tlay exchanged letters with Pope Lucius III in 1184<sup>xliiv</sup>. Nevertheless, the bone of contention with Antioch was still vivid. Urged by the rival Hethumid dynasty, Prince Bohemond III treacherously invited Ṛubēn in 1185 and captured him; the intervention of Lewon, brother of Ṛubēn, forced him to free his prisoner<sup>xliv</sup>.

In 1187, Lewon II succeeded his brother and followed the same political line. He authorized the restoration of the Latin sees of Tarsus and Mamistra, which had been suppressed during Byzantine occupation<sup>xlvi</sup>. Despite strong opposition from Greater Armenia's prelates, but in agreement with Nersēs Lambronac'i, archbishop of Tarsus, he did not hesitate to accelerate the process of "latinization", adopting western structures and vocabulary<sup>xlvii</sup>.

The very year of Lewon's accession to power, Jerusalem was stormed by Saladin. Soon after, Frankish Syria was practically destroyed. Catholicos Grigor IV Tlay wrote a long elegy<sup>xlviii</sup>, nearly four decades after his uncle's lamentation on the fall of Edessa. Nevertheless, the loss of the Holy City had positive consequences for Cilician Armenia, because it gave rise to the Third Crusade, for which Pope Clement III asked for Armenian help<sup>xlix</sup>. Leading the English component, King Richard the Lionhearted conquered Cyprus on the Greeks and, for want of Jerusalem, succeeded in recuperating a coastal strip which became a new "kingdom of Jerusalem", but without the HolyCity; its capital was Acre.

The German component traveled by land, and when Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa approached Cilicia in 1190 the Armenians sent him ambassadors, proposing to help the Crusader army; the emperor, for his part, promised a royal crown<sup>l</sup>. At the same time, and in order to maintain relations with Saladin in case of a Crusader defeat, the catholicos kept the sultan informed<sup>li</sup>. Unfortunately, Frederick drowned in Western Cilicia in June 1190. Four years later, Lewon II sent a delegation in Italy by the new emperor, Henry VI, reminding him to fulfill his father's promise<sup>lii</sup>.

In the mean time, Lewon was to deal with the eternal Antioch problem. Around 1188, he had married a niece of Bohemond III's first wife<sup>liii</sup>, but this move did not solve the problem. A few years later, when Saladin abandoned the strategic castle of Baŕras, commanding the southern Amanus pass, Lewon took possession of it. It is there that in 1193 he avenged his brother by capturing the prince of Antioch<sup>liv</sup>. Henry of Champagne, king of Jerusalem, found an arrangement according to which

Raymond, elder son and heir of Bohemond, would marry Lewon's niece Alice, with the condition that an eventual son would rule over both Antioch and Cilicia; soon after, in 1198, following the death of his father, was born<sup>lv</sup>.

In 1197, Emperor Henry VI sent two crowns to the Levant. Cyprus had finally been handled to Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem dethroned in 1187; in 1197 his brother was crowned King Amalric I<sup>lvi</sup>. A few months later, in January 1198, Prince Lewon II became Lewon I, king of Armenia, recognized as such by both emperors, Byzantine and German<sup>lvii</sup>. Having simulated the acceptance of Roman conditions<sup>lviii</sup>, he was also acknowledged by Pope Innocent III<sup>lix</sup>.

### ***The war of succession of Antioch***

The death of Bohemond III in 1201 revived the Antioch problem. According to the convention, his grand-son Raymond-Rouben was to rule over an Antioch-Cilicia united State; as he was still a baby, his rights were defended by his great-uncle King Lewon. In front of him stood another pretender, his uncle the count of Tripoli, younger son of Bohemond III, who seized the power in Antioch under the name of Bohemond IV<sup>lx</sup>. He was de facto ruling over an Antioch-Tripoli united State.

The “War of succession of Antioch” was to last nearly two decades<sup>lxi</sup>, involving two fancy coalitions<sup>lxii</sup>. on Lewon's side stood the Hospitallers and the Ayyubid sultan of Egypt, al-‘Adil, Saladin's brother, while Saladin's son al-Zâhir, emir of Aleppo, supported Bohemond, together with the Rûm sultan and the Templars. The Templars had a precise reason to oppose Lewon: his refusal to hand to them the castle of Bafras, which they used to own before Saladin's conquest. The position of Pope Innocent III was ambiguous: strange as it may seem, he personally preferred the “heretic” Armenian king to the catholic Frankish prince, whom he used to call simply “count of Tripoli”<sup>lxiii</sup>. Moreover, Bohemond was in conflict with the Latin patriarch of Antioch, who was soon to excommunicate him. Nevertheless, Innocent III could not accept to leave Bafras in the hands of Lewon, at the expense of the Templars<sup>lxiv</sup>.

While the pope was trying to settle the quarrel through negotiations, Lewon laid siege to Antioch in 1203, but he was forced to raise it because of the threat of Aleppine intervention<sup>lxv</sup>. Until 1210, he kept good relations with Rome, and strengthen his position through diplomatic matrimonial links with the powerful dynasty of Lusignan, ruler of Cyprus: he repudiated his wife in order to marry Sibylla, daughter of King Amalric<sup>lxvi</sup>, and arranged the union of another daughter of the king with Raymond-Rouben, “official heir of his kingdom”<sup>lxvii</sup>.

In 1211, Lewon was planning an attack on the Templars' possessions. That was too much for the pope, who pronounced his excommunication<sup>lxviii</sup>. As reprisals, Lewon had expelled the two Latin bishops from Cilicia, confiscated Latin estates and goods, and welcomed the Greek Church<sup>lxix</sup>. Two years later, Innocent gave up and lifted the sanction<sup>lxx</sup>. Lewon intensified his attacks over Antioch, and finally captured the city at the beginning of 1216<sup>lxxi</sup>. The new pope, Honorius III, accepted

the enthronization of Raymond-Rouben in Antioch<sup>lxxii</sup>. Lewon seemed to have reached his goal, but within three years everything collapsed: while trying to get rid of the king's influence, young Raymond-Rouben clashed with him, and at the same time his rule in Antioch alienated the citizens from him. Bohemond IV was able to restore his power in 1219<sup>lxxiii</sup>.

### *The first Frankish king of Armenia*

Lewon I died in 1219. He had no son and two daughters, one from each marriage. He appointed as his successor the younger one, Zapēl, born in 1214<sup>lxxiv</sup>, but the elder one, who was queen of Jerusalem through her marriage with King John of Brienne, claimed the throne together with her husband<sup>lxxv</sup>, and Raymond-Rouben continued to consider himself as the legitimate heir<sup>lxxvi</sup>, legally appointed by the late king before he changed his mind. Finally Zapēl was crowned and, in order to put an end to the Antioch dispute, the regency council married her to Philip, son of Bohemond IV<sup>lxxvii</sup>. This “first Latin king of Armenia” proved very awkward, he provoked nationalist reactions among Armenian nobility by carrying out an openly Latin policy instead of trying to adapt himself to local customs. In 1225, Philip was put under arrest and probably murdered in jail<sup>lxxviii</sup>. Honorius III protested, and the regent's reaction was similar to that of Lewon a dozen of years earlier: confiscation of property and expulsion of Latin prelates<sup>lxxix</sup>. Once more the pope had to give up and forget the affair.

### *The advent of the Hethumid dynasty*

The regent, Constantine, was from a secondary branch of the Hethumid dynasty, based in the castle of Papefōn. He convinced the council to marry the widow Zapēl to one of his own sons, Het'um, and in 1226 the kingship passed to the Hethumid dynasty<sup>lxxx</sup>, traditionally close to Byzantium. Relations with the Franks loosened for a while, and even passed through a crisis in 1238 for two reasons: the Latin Church denounced the royal marriage as inbreeding and the Latin patriarch of Antioch raised again the eternal problem of the submission of the Armenian Church to his see. In front of Armenian protests, the papacy had once more to withdraw<sup>lxxxi</sup>.

On the accession of King Het'um I, three Crusader States remained in the Levant: the principality of Antioch-Tripoli and the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus. Acre was far from Cilicia. Antioch remained hostile until the intervention of King Louis IX of France in 1248<sup>lxxxii</sup>, and the restoration of friendly relations was sealed by the marriage of Prince Bohemond VI to a daughter of King Het'um<sup>lxxxiii</sup>. Reduced in size and strength, Antioch became little by little a kind of appendix of the kingdom of Armenia, until its end in 1268.

Anyway, during the XIIIth century, the stronghold of Armeno-Crusader alliance remained Cyprus, dominated by two families, the Lusignan, who held the kingship, and the Ibelin, who controlled the responsibility offices. Their matrimonial unions with the Hethumides are countless. At the end of the 1230s, King Henry I of

Cyprus, widow, married a sister of Het‘um<sup>lxxxiv</sup>, while another sister became the wife of the powerful count of Jaffa, John of Ibelin<sup>lxxxv</sup>. Later on, the king of Armenia gave the hand of two of his daughters to other Ibelin princes, sons of two first cousins of John<sup>lxxxvi</sup>.

### *The Mongol factor*

In 1248, Smbat constable, the king’s elder brother, sent to “Henry (...) king of Cyprus and (...) his sister Emeline (...) queen of Cyprus, and the noble seigneur John of Ibelin, my beloved brother, and the noble lady my beloved sister Marie”<sup>lxxxvii</sup> a letter from Samarqand, on his way to the Mongol capital, Karakorum. Nearly three decades before, indeed, a new element had appeared on the Near Eastern stage, the Mongols. In 1243, they inflicted a crushing defeat to the Seldjuk Turks of Rûm<sup>lxxxviii</sup>, who represented the main danger for the kingdom of Armenia. King Het‘um I immediately understood that the Mongol alliance was the right choice<sup>lxxxix</sup>, he sent his brother to the Great Khan, and a few years later he himself undertook the journey<sup>xc</sup>.

The Franks did not make the same analysis, although the Mongols were rather tolerant towards Christianity and at that time strong enemies of Islam. In 1258, Hulagu, founder of the Mongol Ilkhanate of Persia, sacked Baghdad and put an end to the Abbasid Caliphate, before conquering Northern Syria together with King Het‘um<sup>xc</sup>. At that time, a new dynasty had seized the power in Egypt, the Mameluks, who opposed Mongol power in recently conquered Syria. Misunderstanding the real danger, the Franks authorized them to cross Acre territory<sup>xcii</sup>. In September 1260, the Mongols suffered their first defeat, which allowed the Mameluks to become masters of non-Frankish Syria<sup>xciii</sup>. Less than a decade later, in 1268, Antioch fell into their hands: Crusader possessions were reduced to Tripoli, Acre and Cyprus.

### *Ecclesiastical relations*

These divergences concerning the Mongols did not help to improve relations between Crusaders and Armenians in the Levant. In the 1260s, thanks to Het‘um’s acute policy, the kingdom of Armenia had become the most powerful of the Christian States in the area. In 1262, the papal legate summoned in Acre Catholicos Constantine I. The head of the Armenian Church refused to go in person, and sent as his delegate Mxit‘ar Skewrac‘i, a doctor well-known for his strong anti-catholic positions. The meeting seems to have been stormy, and the Armenian did not hesitate to cast bold accusations concerning the pretensions of Rome to universality: “Wherefrom does the Roman Church held the power to judge other apostolic sees without submitting herself to their judgment?”<sup>xciv</sup>. The Armenian Church was in a position of power and had no reason to make any concession. Later on, in 1274, King Lewon II, son and successor to Het‘um, and Catholicos Yakob I did not comply with the invitation to attend the Council of Lyons (1274)<sup>xcv</sup>, one of the goal of which was the organization of a new Crusade.



### *The beginning of Armenian decline*

The end of the XIIIth century marked the fall of Frankish Syria: the Mameluks took Tripoli in 1289 and Acre in 1291. The only remaining Crusader State was the kingdom of Cyprus. Unfortunately for the kingdom of Armenia, the same period corresponded to the weakening of Mongol alliance. Moreover the Ilkhans of Persia, ruling over a Muslim population, were sooner or later doomed to embrace Islam. Effectively, it is what Ghazan did on his accession to the throne (1295)<sup>xcvi</sup>, although he remained a faithful ally of Armenia against the Mameluks. He even defeated them at Homs in December 1299, but this victory was to be short-lived<sup>xcii</sup>.

Het'um II, who fought personally at Homs<sup>xcviii</sup>, had succeeded his father Lewon II in 1289. The situation of Armenia was dramatic in front of the Mameluks, who stormed the catholicossal seat, Hromklay, in 1292<sup>xcix</sup>, provoking its translation to Sis. The end of Frankish Syria in 1291 left Cyprus as the unique local ally. Intermarriages with the Lusignan dynasty went on: Amalric of Tyre, son of King Hugh III, took as wife Zabēl, sister of Het'um II<sup>c</sup>, while one of the latter's brothers, T'oros, married a daughter of the same king of Cyprus<sup>ci</sup>.

### *Growing catholic influence*

At the beginning of his reign, Het'um II became a Franciscan<sup>cii</sup>: a symbolic gesture, which marked the beginning of the decline of the kingdom. The Cyprus alliance was not sufficient, so that the Armenian authorities had to seek from now on European help, which depended on papal approval. During most of the XIVth century onwards, the papacy remained a French affair, with its new seat in Avignon. The French popes appeared to be particularly uncompromising; they used to answer every cry for help by conditions imposing the submission of the Armenian Church. Kings and catholicos were generally ready to accept them, but this was not the case of the majority of Armenians, and especially of the famous monasteries and universities of Greater Armenia<sup>ciii</sup>. Tensions intensified in the kingdom, arriving sometimes to the verge of civil war, particularly after the 1330s, when Dominicans founded an order of catholic Armenians, called "Unitors", openly devoted to proselytism<sup>civ</sup>; such a move exasperated the so-called "nationalist" faction.

### *The agony of the last kingdom of Armenia*

The assassination of Het'um II by the Mongol governor in 1307 sealed the end of any Mongol protection<sup>cv</sup>. He was succeeded by his brother Ōšin. Meanwhile, relations with Cyprus also deteriorated. In 1306, Amalric of Tyre overthrew his brother King Henry II of Cyprus and seized the power<sup>cvi</sup>. Armenian participation, in particular through his wife Zabēl, sister of Het'um II and Ōšin, is probable, and opened the first period of crisis between the two kingdoms. Henry II was sent prisoner in Cilicia. He only recovered his throne after the assassination of Amalric in 1310. Zabēl and her children were allowed to take refuge at her brother's court<sup>cvi</sup>. Nevertheless, the crisis was not resolved before the 1320s<sup>cvi</sup>.

The agony of the kingdom is out of our scope. Let us just mention the two Lusignan kings of Armenia. When King Lewon IV, son and successor of Ōšin, died childless, he transmitted the crown to his first cousin Guy, son of Amalric and Zabēl<sup>cxix</sup>. Guy's latinophile policy led to his assassination in 1344<sup>cx</sup>. Later on, when the throne was again vacant in 1373, Guy's nephew, Lewon, was called for the succession. He was crowned as Lewon V in 1374<sup>cxii</sup>, and less than a year later, in April 1375, the Mameluks stormed Sis<sup>cxii</sup>, sealing the end of the last Armenian kingdom in History.

### Conclusion

Armenians' response to Crusaders has been stamped by relations of power. After the two first decades of the XIIth century, the Armenian princes understood at their expense that the new-comers were no more "natural allies" than others. The Rubenid princes have been clever enough to use them in order to create a kingdom, in spite of the rivalry with Antioch. After them, the powerful first Hethumid kings of the XIIIth century were able to lead independent policies, particularly after sealing the Mongol alliance. Relations with the Crusaders appeared to be secondary to them. The fall of Frankish Syria at the end of the century coincided with the weakening of Mongol protection. During the XIVth century, Armenian authorities turned their hopes towards Europe, but the intransigence of the papacy created civil conflicts in the kingdom, thus accelerating its decline. The only remnant of the Crusades was the Lusignankingdom of Cyprus, a close ally to Armenia except for a single brief crisis. The last king of Armenia was a Lusignan scion.

### References

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- <sup>ii</sup>Louis Bréhier (ed. and French transl.), *Histoire anonyme de la première croisade*, Paris, 1964, p. 60; Carol Sweetenham (transl.), *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade*, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, Aldershot, GB, 2005, p. 116.
- <sup>iii</sup>Sweetenham, *op. cit.*, p. 118.
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- <sup>cii</sup> Golubovich, *op. cit.*, §§ 99, 109, pp. 328-339, 360; Hayeren *Jeřagreri* Hiřatakaraner, *ŽG d.*, *op. cit.*, nos 567, 573, pp. 698, 705; *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, *op. cit.*, pp. 283, 302, 305; *Lignages d'Outremer*, *op. cit.*, p. 92; Claude Mutafian, « Franciscains et Arméniens (XIIIe-XIVe siècle) », *Studia Orientalia Christiana, Collectanea* 32 (1999), Le Caire-Jérusalem, pp. 247-252.
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- <sup>cix</sup> Dardel, *op. cit.*, ch. 25-26, p. 21.
- <sup>cx</sup> Dardel, *op. cit.*, ch. 35, 39, pp. 27, 30; Samuēli K'ahanayi, *op. cit.*, p. 168.
- <sup>cx</sup> Dardel, *op. cit.*, ch. 81-82, pp. 65-66.
- <sup>cxii</sup> Hayeren *Jeřagreri* Hiřatakaraner, *ŽD d.*, *op. cit.*, nos. 635-636, p. 516; Dardel, *op. cit.*, ch. 108-109, pp. 83-85; Aliřan, Sissouan, *op. cit.*, pp. 260-261.

**Ответ армян крестоносцам**  
Клод Мутафян  
**Резюме**

Первоисточники свидетельствуют, что в осуществлении своих программ на Востоке крестоносцам содействовали только армяне. Крестоносцы же, создав свои королевства на Востоке, начали бороться против армян. Поняв новую ситуацию, Рубениды в 20-х годах 12-го века изменили свое отношение к крестоносцам, пытаясь на этот раз использовать их для укрепления своей власти. Эта политика была продолжена и при Хетумидах. Под давлением мусульманских эмиратов Хетумиды, а затем Лусиняны пытались получить поддержку римского Папы, что углубило возникшие в крае противоречия. Это и стало причиной падения Киликийской Армении.

**Հայերի պատասխանը խաչակիրներին**  
Կլոդ Մուտաֆյան  
**Ամփոփում**

Սկզբնաղբյուրները վկայում են, որ արևելքում իրենց ծրագրերի իրագործման համար խաչակիրներին աջակցում էին միայն հայերը: Խաչակիրները, արևելքում ստեղծելով իրենց թագավորությունները, սկսեցին պայքարել հայերի դեմ: Ռուբինյանները, հասկանալով նոր կացությունը, 12-րդ դարի առաջին երկու տասնամյակներից հետո փոխեցին իրենց վերաբերմունքը խաչակիրների նկատմամբ՝ այս անգամ փորձելով նրանց օգտագործել իրենց իշխանությունը ամրապնդելու համար: Այդ քաղաքականությունը շարունակվեց նաև Հեթումյանների ժամանակ: Մահմեդական ամիրայությունների ճնշման տակ Հեթումյանները, այնուհետև Լուսինյանները փորձեցին ստանալ Պապի աջակցությունը, որը խորացրեց երկրում ծայր առած հակասությունները: Դա էլ պատճառ դարձավ Կիլիկյան Հայաստանի անկման համար: