

, in Francesco
Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades* (Berkeley: University
of California Press, 1969),

CHAPTER TWO

The bloodless Crusade of Frederick II, a diplomatic skirmish that was one episode in the rivalry of the Ayyubid princes who were al-'Adil's heirs, has left interesting traces in the Muslim histories of the epoch. Here the main sources are Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzi, himself a witness of and participant in the Muslim reaction to the surrendering of Jerusalem to the Hohenstaufen, and Ibn Wasil, who did not know Frederick personally, but was later ambassador to Manfred in southern Italy and has left personal and lively, if not always accurate, details of the Hohenstaufen's phil-Islamic tendencies. The impressions of those who were close to the Emperor during his visit to Jerusalem and saw his pro-Islamic bias in political matters and his religious scepticism and scorn would, if they had been known in Europe, have received a warm welcome as support for the Vaican-inspired anti-Frederick polemic then current. A comprehensive example of this is to be found among Frederick's diplomatic correspondence, in two letters in Arabic sent by him, shortly after his return to Italy, to a friend of his, an amir at the Ayyubid court. These have been preserved for us by an unknown eastern chronicler. Beneath the Arabic rhetoric, certainly the work of an Arab secretary, concrete historical references reveal the awareness of his imperial dignity and the fierce animosity to the Pope that are so clearly to be seen in the rest of his public utterances.

THE ARRIVAL AT ACRE OF THE EMPEROR FREDERICK, KING OF THE FRANKS

(IBN WASIL, FO. 119V-252r)¹

In 625/1228 the Emperor Frederick arrived in Acre with a great company of Germans and other Franks. We have already described how the amir Fakhr ad-Din, the son of the Shaikh ash-Shuyūkh, was sent to the King-Emperor from the Sultan

¹ The pages of the Paris MS. are in the wrong order here and elsewhere.

al-Malik al-Kamil. This was in the time of al-Malik al-Mu'azzam.¹ The idea of the approaches made to the Emperor, the King of the Franks, and of his invitation, was to create difficulties for al-Malik al-Mu'azzam and prevent his availing himself of the help offered to him by the Sultan Jalāl ad-Din ibn 'Alā' ad-Din Khwarizmshāh and Muzaffar ad-Din of Arbela, in his quarrel with al-Kamil and al-Malik al-Ashraf.

The Emperor made his preparations, and arrived with his army on the coast of Syria in the same year and disembarked at Acre. A great number of Franks had preceded him there but they could not move off for fear of al-Malik al-Mu'azzam and so they were waiting for their leader the Emperor. This word means in the Frankish language 'the King of the Princes'. His kingdom consisted of the island of Sicily, and Apulia and Lombardy in the Long Country (Italy).² It is the author, Jamāl ad-Din ibn Wasil, who speaks: I saw these parts when I was sent as ambassador of the Sultan al-Malik az-Zahir Rukn ad-Din Baibars, of blessed memory, to the Emperor's son, Manfred by name. The Emperor was a Frankish King, distinguished and gifted, a student of philosophy, logic and medicine and a friend to Muslims, for his original home was Sicily, where he was educated. He, his father and his grandfather were Kings of the island, but its inhabitants were mostly Muslims.

When the Emperor reached Acre, al-Malik al-Kamil found him an embarrassment, for his brother al-Malik al-Mu'azzam, who was the reason why he had asked Frederick for help, had died, and al-Kamil had no further need of the Emperor. Nor

¹ The ruler of Damascus and al-Kamil's brother, whom we have already met flying to his brother's aid against the Franks at Damietta. After this relations between them deteriorated, and it was the tension between them, caused by Jalāl ad-Din the Sultan of Khwarizm, and the amir of Arbela, that had led al-Kamil to approach Frederick.

² The author was perhaps confusing 'Lombardy' and 'Longobardy', which according to the Arabic system of place-names in use at the time refer respectively to the region lying N.W. of the Capitanata (now Lucania) and the Murge (N.W. of the present Foggia), and the coastal region of 'Apulia'. In Frederick's Arabic titles both names appear, as will be seen in a letter translated below.

was it possible to turn him away and attack him because of the terms of the earlier agreement, and because this would have led him to lose the goals on which his heart was set at the time. He therefore made a treaty with Frederick and treated him with great friendship. What followed will be told later, God willing. . . . The Emperor settled at Acre and messengers came and went between him and al-Malik al-Kamil until the end of the year.

JERUSALEM IS HANDED OVER TO THE FRANKS

(IBN WASIL, FO. 253 r-v, 1201-1211)

Then followed the negotiations between al-Malik al-Kamil and the Emperor of which the object had been fixed earlier when al-Kamil and the Emperor first met, before the death of al-Malik al-Mu'azzam. The Frankish King refused to return home except on the conditions laid down, which included the surrender of Jerusalem and of part of the area conquered by Saladin,¹ whereas al-Malik al-Kamil was by no means prepared to yield him these territories. It was finally agreed that he should have Jerusalem on condition that he did not attempt to rebuild the walls, that nothing outside it should be held by the Franks, and that all the other villages within its province should be Muslim, with a Muslim governor resident at al-Bira, actually in the province of Jerusalem. The sacred precincts of the city, with the Dome of the Rock and the Masjid al-Aqsa were to remain in Muslim hands, and the Franks were simply to have the right to visit them, while their administration remained in the hands of those already employed in it, and Muslim worship

¹ Frederick was recalling the offer made by al-Kamil in 1220 to the Crusaders at Damietta (see above) to surrender Palestine. To the Emperor the Papal Legate Pelagius becomes, by a natural process, 'my representative, the chief of my servants. And you owe me now no less than you were prepared to offer him' (*Tarikh Mansuri*, 32, Magrizi, 228-29).