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THE WAR OF THE ARMENIAN SUCCESSION IN CILICIAN ARMENIA (1219-1222/1226?)

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In 1219, Lewon I's life came to an end. He was crowned king in a time when the power of the Crusader states was severely diminished by Saladin's attacks and the conquest of Jerusalem in 1187. While Outremer was in disarray, the Armenians from Cilicia were regarded as potential allies by the Holy See. In 1189, Clement III sent letters to the catholicos Grigor IV Tgha and the Rubenid prince Lewon II, asking them to get involved in the ongoing crusade that would fight for the liberation of the Holy Land¹. After his coronation in 1198, Lewon spent most of his reign fighting to place his great-nephew, Raymond-Ruben, on the throne of the Antiochene principality². As strong relations with the Holy See were a vital asset in this war, the letters exchanged between Lewon I and Innocent III indicate how the Armenian king skilfully used the matter regarding the union between the Catholic and Armenian churches to gain Rome's support³. Lewon won this war, albeit his victory was a bitter one. Soon after installing his great-nephew on the throne of Antioch, a quarrel broke

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¹ **A. Ter-Mikelean**, «Միջին դարերի կաթոլիկոսների ձգտումներն եկեղեցական խաղաղության համար» [“The efforts of medieval catholicos for ecclesiastic peace”], *Ararat*, 2, 1893, pp. 140-145. For the French translation of the letter sent to the catholicos, see **Leonce Alishan**, *Léon le Magnifique, premier roi de Sissouan ou de l'Arménocilie*, traduit par le **P. George Bayan**, Venise, St. Lazaire, 1888, pp. 162-165, n. 2. For a short analysis on this letter and its implications for the Armenians, see **Peter Hälfter**, *Das Papsttum und die Armenien im frühen und hohen Mittelalter*, Köln, Weiman, Wien, 1996, pp. 172-177.

² **David-Linus-Emanuel Neagu**, “The War of the Antiochene Succession. Lewon I's Game of Diplomacy”, *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, 57, 1-4/2019, pp. 221-250. See also **Azat Bozoyan**, «Անտիոքի դերը Լևոն Մեծագործի փառափալանության մեջ» [“Antioch's role in the Policy of Lewon the Magnificent”], *Banber Matenadarani*, 34, 2022, pp. 5-21.

³ There are several letters where Lewon I and the catholicos Grigor VI and Hovhannes VI insisted on acknowledging the primacy of the Holy See, see *Acta Innocentii PP. III (1198-1216)*, **Theodosius Haluščynskij** (ed.) (CICO II), Vatican, 1944, pp. 559, 565-568, 568-569, 586-587 (Henceforth: *Acta Innocentii PP. III*).

out between Lewon and Raymond-Ruben, and the Armenian king barely escaped from the city with help from the Templars⁴. Raymond-Ruben thought he could rule alone, without Lewon's support, but he was forced out of Antioch in 1219. All of Lewon's efforts were in vain, as the count of Tripoli, Bohemond IV, regained control over the Latin principality. One relevant aspect of this war for the present discussion is that Lewon can be considered accountable to a certain degree for the war of succession that started in Cilicia after his death. His desire to win the War of the Antiochene Succession led him to make decisions that opened the way to the Armenian throne for several pretenders: John of Brienne, Raymond-Ruben, and Zabel. Although Lewon made the nobles from Cilicia swear that they would recognize Zabel as his heir, things got complicated after his death, as we will see.

Besides analysing the pretenders to the Armenian throne and how this war unfolded, we will argue that this conflict can be considered a turning point for the relations between Cilicia and Rome. While Lewon was keen to maintain close connections with the Holy See, the ascension of the Het'umids to the Armenian throne will mark a change regarding the foreign policy of the Armenian kingdom. This change was influenced directly by Rome's involvement in this war and the developments that occurred on the political stage from Cilicia.

Lewon invested significant efforts in the War of the Antiochene Succession and used many political and diplomatic instruments, trying to gather as many allies as possible. One of the most important political tools was the matrimonial alliances⁵, and Natasha Hodgson characterized Lewon's attitude towards marriages "as aggressive as his expansionist activities elsewhere"⁶. After imprisoning Bohemond III of Antioch in 1193, a year later Lewon managed to conclude a matrimonial alliance between Ruben III's daughter, Alice, and the son of the Antiochene prince, Raymond, and the boy that was born out of this union was the heir of both Cilicia and Antioch⁷. Raymond-Ruben presented Lewon with an excuse to fight against

⁴ **Bar Hebraeus**, *The Chronography*, **E.A. Wallis Budge** (trans.), vol. I, London, 1932, p. 370 (Henceforth: **Bar Hebraeus**); **Claude Cahen**, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche*, Paris, 1940, p. 630; **Levon Ter-Petrosyan**, *Խաչակիրները և հայերը* [*The Crusaders and the Armenians*], vol. II, Yerevan, 2007, pp. 225-256.

⁵ For a survey of the marriages arranged by the Armenians from Cilicia, see **Claude Mutafian**, "La diplomatie matrimoniale de l'Arménie cilicienne", *Banber Matenadaran*, 21, 2014, pp. 79-88.

⁶ **Natasha Hodgson**, "Conflict and cohabitation: marriage and diplomacy between Latins and Cilician Armenians, c. 1097-1253", *The Crusades and the Near East*, ed. **Conor Kostick**, London, 2011, p. 95.

⁷ **Gérard Dédéyan**, *La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, Paris, 1980, pp. 68, 71-72 (Henceforth: **Smbat le connétable**); **Smbat Sparapet**, *Տարեգրք (Chronicle)*, ed. **Serobē Aglian**, Venice, 1956, p. 206-207 (Henceforth: **Smbat Sparapet**); "Annales de

Bohemond IV, count of Tripoli and Bohemond III's son, to extend his control over the Principality of Antioch. A double matrimonial alliance was concluded in 1210, when Lewon I married Sybilla, Amaury I's daughter, and Raymond-Ruben, Sybilla's sister⁸. At the beginning of the War of the Antiochene Succession, the Armenian king had strong connections with Innocent III. Still, after some Templar knights were wounded following an attack ordered by Lewon, the pope decided to adopt an intransigent stance towards the Armenians: the king was excommunicated⁹. Innocent also asked the king of Jerusalem, John of Brienne¹⁰, and the Latin patriarch of Antioch¹¹ to abide by this excommunication. In this context, the Armenian king understood that he had to establish close links with the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Therefore, he arranged a marriage between his older daughter, Rita/Stephanía, and John of Brienne¹². Towards the end of his reign in 1218, Lewon arranged another marriage between his daughter, Zabel, born in 1214, and Andrew, Prince of Halych, son of the Hungarian king, Andrew II¹³.

The Hungarian Matrimonial Project

It seems that Lewon's decision to marry Zabel to Andrew had not been planned, but instead was an opportunistic decision, dictated by Andrew II's presence in Cilicia. The Hungarian king did not spend much time in the East, where he arrived in the summer of 1217, and after only three months, he decided to return home. Instead of travelling by sea, as he had done on his way to Syria, Andrew chose to

Terre-Sainte", ed. **R. Röhrich**, **G. Raynaud**, *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, tom II, Paris, 1884, p. 434 (Henceforth: "Annales de Terre-Sainte"); "Chronique de Terre-Sainte", *Les Gestes des Chiprois. Recueil de chroniques françaises*, ed. **Gaston Raynaud**, Geneve, 1887, p. 15; *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le trésorier*, ed. **M.L. de Mas Latrie**, Paris, 1871, p. 321 (Henceforth: *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le trésorier*); *La continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184-1197)*, ed. **Margaret Ruth Morgan**, Paris, 1982, pp. 165-171; **Bar Hebraeus**, pp. 343-344; **Samuël Anets'i ew sharunakoghnerë**, *ժամանակագրություն (Chronicle)*, ed. **Karen Matevosyan**, Yerevan, 2014, p. 232 (Henceforth: **Samuël Anets'i**); **Mik'ayel Asori**, *ժամանակագրություն (Chronicle)*, Jerusalem, 1871, p. 501 (Henceforth: **Mik'ayel Asori**).

⁸ **Smbat le connétable**, pp. 86-87; **Smbat Sparapet**, p. 217; **Kirakos Gandzakets'i**, *Պատմություն Հայոց (History of Armenia)*, ed. **K.A. Melik-Ohanjanyan**, Yerevan, 1961, pp. 159-160 (Henceforth: **Kirakos Gandzakets'i**).

⁹ **Reinhold Röhrich**, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*, Oeniponti, 1894, doc. 851, p. 227 (Henceforth: *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*).

¹⁰ *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 216, p. 432; *Acta Innocentii PP. III*, pp. 404-405.

¹¹ *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 216, pp. 431-432; *Acta Innocentii PP. III*, pp. 404-405.

¹² **Smbat le connétable**, p. 89; **Smbat Sparapet**, p. 218-219.

¹³ **Smbat le connétable**, pp. 91-92; **Smbat Sparapet**, pp. 221-222; **Claude Mutafian**, *L'Arménie du Levant*, vol. I, Paris, 2012, p. 113.

follow the Pilgrim's Road. The king stopped in Tripoli to take part in the wedding of Bohemond IV, prince of Antioch, who married Melisende, half-sister of Hugh I of Cyprus. Then, he entered the Armenian kingdom, met with Lewon, and continued to travel towards Nicaea, where he concluded a matrimonial alliance between his eldest son, Bela, and Maria Laskarina, Theodor I Laskaris's daughter¹⁴. There might be several explanations for Lewon's decision to marry his daughter to Andrew, Prince of Halych.

One explanation is provided by a letter sent by Andrew II to Rome: Lewon wanted to protect his kingdom against the neighbouring Muslim rulers. Therefore, he arranged to marry his daughter to the son of the Hungarian king¹⁵. However, as Levon Ter-Petrosyan emphasized, it seems that Andrew II misinformed the pope regarding the details of this marriage: in another letter which Honorius III sent to the Hungarian ruler in March 1219 it is written that Andrew, Prince of Halych, will rule in Cilicia even if Zabel dies before the marriage is concluded¹⁶. In the first letter, the Hungarian ruler emphasized that the barons of the Armenian kingdom agreed to this matrimonial project, and they even took oaths to accept the authority of his son and, subsequently, of the latter's heirs¹⁷. Therefore, the royal court of the Armenian kingdom could not have agreed to such a condition, which could have led to serious troubles in the future. This only means that Andrew II added this stipulation without Lewon's knowledge¹⁸.

In 1213¹⁹, Lewon I concluded a marriage between Ruben III's daughter, Philippa, and Theodor I Laskaris²⁰. The marriage was annulled in 1215, and the

¹⁴ **Thomas C. Van Cleve**, "The Fifth Crusade", *A History of the Crusades*, ed. **Kenneth M. Setton**, vol. II, *The Later Crusades*, ed. **Robert Lee Wolff**, **Harry W. Hazard**, Madison, Milwaukee, and London, 1969, pp. 388-389, 393.

¹⁵ **Ghewond Alishan**, *Սիսուան (Sissouan)*, Venice, 1885, p. 513, n. 4: "Illustris enim Leo Rex Armeniae, ut nostrae gentis et suae glutinata in unum commercio ad confringendos vicinos atque juges Turcorum insultus, robustior existeret..."; **Levon Ter-Petrosyan**, *Խաչակիրները և հայերը [The Crusaders and the Armenians]*, vol. II, p. 238.

¹⁶ **Levon Ter-Petrosyan**, *Խաչակիրները և հայերը [The Crusaders and the Armenians]*, vol. II, p. 238. For Honorius's letter, see **Ghewond Alishan**, *Սիսուան (Sissouan)*, p. 513, n. 5.

¹⁷ **Ghewond Alishan**, *Սիսուան (Sissouan)*, p. 513, n. 4: "juxta plenum suorum Baronum consensum atque juramentum in perpetuum jurisdictionem eidem filio nostro et suis heredibus, subjugavit".

¹⁸ **Levon Ter-Petrosyan**, *Խաչակիրները և հայերը [The Crusaders and the Armenians]*, vol. II, p. 238.

¹⁹ The child who resulted from this marriage was eight years old in 1221. Therefore, he had been born around 1213. See **George Akropolites**, *The History*, **Ruth Macrides** (trans.), Oxford, 2007, pp. 150-151, n. 5; **Smbat le connétable**, p. 92, n. 12.

²⁰ **George Akropolites**, p. 148. According to Byzantine canon law, the emperor was not allowed to marry a heretical princess, see **D.M. Nicol**, "Mixed Marriages in Byzantium in the Thirteenth Century", *Studies in Church History*, 1, 1964, p. 160.

emperor divorced Philippa a year later²¹ and concluded another matrimonial alliance with the Latin Empire of Constantinople, which brought him more benefits²². Theodor's wife, Maria of Courtenay, had a sister, Yolanda, who had already married Andrew II²³. The emperor of Nicaea continued to consolidate his links with the Latins. He negotiated another matrimonial alliance, this time between his daughter Eudokia and Bela, Andrew II's son, the future king Bela IV²⁴. In this context, by marrying Zabel to Andrew, Prince of Halych, Lewon would have strengthened his ties with the Latins and, indirectly, with the Empire of Nicaea, especially against the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum.

Lewon could have decided to marry Zabel to Andrew, Prince of Halych, to avoid a possible war of succession²⁵. In this context, a marriage that would bring a foreigner to rule Cilicia could be considered a better option than choosing a local prince as Zabel's future husband. This hypothesis could be further developed if we consider the existence of various factions in Cilicia, which Lewon controlled. The primary sources lead us to believe that he ruled with an iron hand. Soon after being crowned king, Lewon imprisoned Het'um Heghi and released him only after he agreed to become a monk²⁶. The Het'umid prince stayed loyal to the king: he was dispatched to Otto VI to ask for a royal crown for Raymond-Ruben²⁷, and he translated into Armenian two historical works brought from Germany to Cilicia²⁸. Smbat Sparapet and Kirakos Gandzakets'i present possible explanations for Lewon's attack on Het'um Heghi²⁹. According to Smbat, "Lewon avait présent à l'esprit les méfaits des Lambruniens qui étaient entrés en lutte contre les chrétiens

²¹ George Akropolites, p. 148; **Smbat le connétable**, p. 92, n. 12.

²² Michael Angold, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople, 1205-1261: Marriage Strategies", *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. Judith Herrin, Guillaume Saint-Guillain, Farnham, 2011, pp. 50-51.

²³ Ibidem.

²⁴ Ibidem, p. 52.

²⁵ Claude Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, vol. I, p. 113.

²⁶ **Smbat le connétable**, p. 81; **Smbat Sparapet**, p. 211. The author of a colophon written in 1205 bemoaned Het'um Heghi's imprisonment and the occupation of Lambron by Lewon: «Ի շորորդումն ամի գրկելոյ եղբար սորա Հեթմոյ աստուածասէր և բարեպաշտ իշխանի, և մեր և բովանդակ զարմից մեռոց, ի սեպհական բնակութենէ մերմէ, ի դղեկն Լամբ[ր]ան կոչեցելոյ», A. Matevosyan, *Հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ ԺԳ դար* [*Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 13th c.*], Yerevan, 1984, p. 52.

²⁷ **Smbat le connétable**, p. 87; **Smbat Sparapet**, p. 217.

²⁸ Gevorg Ter-Vardanian, "La littérature des milieux unificateurs (XIIe-XVe siècle)", *Arménie entre Orient et Occident*, ed. Raymond Kevorkian, Paris, 1996, p. 63.

²⁹ Gérard Dédéyan has convincingly argued that Smbat Sparapet is not the author of either of the three manuscripts of the Chronicle preserved in the archives from Ējmiatsin or Venice (see **Smbat le connétable**, pp. 17-26). However, as most historians still refer to the author of this historical work as "Smbat Sparapet," I also use this name in the present paper.

de Cilicie et contre la famille des Rubēniens”³⁰. Kirakos noted that Het‘um wanted to rebel against Lewon. Therefore, the king imprisoned him and captured the fortress of Lambron. As a warning for the future rulers of Cilicia, he wrote the following words: “Do not give this [fortress] to any other prince, but let it be only under the king’s authority, for it is said that their lords are always rebellious due to its strength”³¹. However, Het‘um Heghi was not the only prince who had to deal with Lewon’s violent behaviour. The two T‘ornikian brothers, Het‘um and Shahnshah, were killed most likely because Alice, Ruben III’s daughter and Het‘um’s wife, had to be married to Raymond, Bohemond III’s son. Therefore, the two T‘ornikians had to be eliminated to fulfill Lewon’s plan of uniting Cilicia and Antioch³². We can also add the case of Henri *Sebastos* and his sons, whom the Armenian king imprisoned without a proper reason³³. Also, a certain prince named Gorg, Mleh’s illegitimate son, was killed around 1210 because he was perceived as a threat to Raymond-Ruben, who, at that time, was Lewon I’s heir³⁴. Although the Armenian medieval historians and chroniclers could find various explanations for Lewon’s acts, it seems that he had the habit of eliminating any possible threat to the crown and making sure that everyone accepted, willingly or not, his authority. I did not find any primary sources that would talk openly about various factions inside Cilicia, but they may have existed. Maybe Lewon understood that the country could plunge into war between various pretenders, so he decided that a foreign prince would be a suitable partner for Zabel. However, this matrimonial project did not materialise, as Andrew II found a better match for his son, this time with a Russian princess³⁵.

The Regency

Before his death, Lewon organized a regency for his daughter, Zabel, who was still a child³⁶. There are various opinions regarding the members of this regency. Mik‘ayel Chamchcan noted that Lewon appointed the catholicos Yovhannēs VI

³⁰ *Smbat le connétable*, p. 81.

³¹ *Kirakos Gandzakets‘i*, p. 286: «Ո՛հ եւ տալ զնա այլ ումեք իշխանին, բայց միայն արհունի լիցի, զի հանապազ, ասէ, տեարքն նորա ապստամբ են լեալ վասն ամրութեանն». As Het‘um Heghi had convinced Bohemond III to attack Ruben III in 1185 (*Samuel Anets‘i*, p. 226-227), probably Lewon understood that as long as the Het‘umid prince controls the fortress of Lambron, he could pose a real threat to the newly founded Armenian monarchy.

³² *Smbat le connétable*, pp. 69-70; *Smbat Sparapet*, p. 205.

³³ *Smbat le connétable*, p. 85; *Smbat Sparapet*, p. 215.

³⁴ *Smbat le connétable*, p. 87; *Smbat Sparapet*, p. 216.

³⁵ *Engel Pál, The Realms of St. Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895-1526, Tamás Pálosfalvi* (trans.), London and New York, 2011, p. 91.

³⁶ Zabel was five years old when Lewon died, see *Claude Mutafian, L’Arménie du Levant*, vol. I, p. 114.

Ssets'i, Adam of Gaston, and Kostandin the Constable as Zabel's guardians³⁷. Ghewond Alishan also shared this opinion³⁸. Both historians slightly emphasize that the catholicos had a certain degree of primacy above Adam and Kostandin³⁹, an opinion that is motivated, most likely, by the idea that Yovhannēs Ssets'i could preserve the balance of power in the event of a conflict between the princes. Maghak'ia Ormanean also wrote that this regency was formed by three members: the catholicos, Kostandin the Constable, and Adam of Gaston⁴⁰. Levon Ter-Petrosyan has a different opinion on this matter: Lewon appointed Adam as regent, while the catholicos and the other nobles, including Kostandin the Constable, took an oath to be loyal to Zabel and take care of her⁴¹. According to Claude Mutafian, Adam was the main regent, eventually assisted by the catholicos⁴². Davit Tinoyan wrote that due to the enmity between Adam of Gaston and Kostandin the Constable, Lewon I decided to entrust the regency to both, so that neither could dominate the other⁴³.

³⁷ **Mik'ayel Chamchean**, *Պատմութիւն հայոց* [*History of Armenia*], vol. III, Venice, 1786, p. 192.

³⁸ **Ghewond Alishan**, *Սիսուան* (*Sissouan*), pp. 523-524.

³⁹ Mik'ayel Chamchean placed the catholicos at the head of the regency: «Կոչեալ ապա Լևոնի անդ զդուստր իւր զԶապէլ՝ յանձն արար զնա ի ձեռս կաթողիկոսին, եւ ի ձեռս երկոց երեւելի իշխանաց. որոց մին կոչիւր Սիրադան կամ Ատան պալլ. եւ միւսն Կոստանդին աւագ պատոն գոնդստապլ՝ տէր բարձրերոյոյ ազգական Լևոնի յազգէ ռոբինեանց», **Mik'ayel Chamchean**, *Պատմութիւն հայոց* [*History of Armenia*], p. 192. Ghewond Alishan noted that Lewon entrusted the catholicos with the mission of leading the regency: «յանձն առնէր և հայրապետին Յովհաննոս՝ հայրաբար առաջնորդել ամենեցուն՝ ի կարևոր յայնմ ժամանակին», **Ghewond Alishan**, *Սիսուան* (*Sissouan*), pp. 523-524.

⁴⁰ **Maghak'ia Ormanean**, *Ազգապատում* [*History of the Armenian Nation*], vol. I, Constantinople, 1912, p. 1592.

⁴¹ **Levon Ter-Petrosyan**, *Խաչակիրները և հայերը* [*The Crusaders and the Armenians*], pp. 239-241.

⁴² **Claude Mutafian**, *L'Arménie du Levant*, vol. I, p. 114.

⁴³ **Davit Tinoyan**, «Կոստանդին Բարձրերոյցու արծառակալումը և մասնակցությունը Կիլիկիայում ընդհատված 1220-ական թթ. զահակալական պայքարում» [“The Enthronement of Kostandin Bardzrberdts'i and His Participation in the Struggle for the Throne in the 1220s”], *Պատմության հարցեր 3. Տարեգիրք՝ Անհատը պատմության հոլովույթում II* [*Problems of History 3. Eminent Actors of History II*], 2016, pp. 76-77. According to Tinoyan, the divergences between the two nobles had political roots, but the war with the Seljuks from 1217 could have played a significant role. According to the Ējmiatsin manuscript of Smbat Sparapet's *Chronicle*, Kostandin of Paperon was captured by the Seljuks because Adam could not come to his aid, as the lord of Gaston was also fighting against the enemies and could not abandon his post, see “Chronique du Royaume de la Petite Arménie”, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Document arméniennes*, ed. **Édouard Dulaurier**, tom I, Paris, 1869, pp. 644-645 (Henceforth: “Chronique du Royaume de la Petite Arménie”). In the Venice manuscript, Kostandin the Constable was captured by the Seljuks due to the works of a traitor, see **Smbat**

The primary sources also disagree about the individuals who constituted the regency. Firstly, we will begin analyzing the Armenian chronicles and histories. According to Smbat Sparapet, Lewon named Adam of Gaston as his daughter's regent and entrusted the *bailli* (Kostandin the Constable), the catholicos, and the other nobles to care for Zabel⁴⁴. Kirakos Gandzakets'i wrote that Lewon entrusted his daughter to the catholicos, and to the grandest nobles from Cilicia, Kostandin (the constable), the king's relative, and Adam of Gaston, who was a Chalcedonian⁴⁵. One of the continuators of Samuel Anets'i's *History* (M1899) mentioned that Adam was appointed as *bailli* by Lewon, and together with the catholicos, they had to take care of Zabel⁴⁶. At the same time, according to another manuscript (E 3701), after the king's death, Cilicia was ruled by princes⁴⁷. Smbat Sparapet and Kirakos Gandzakets'i described Zabel's regency as composed of Adam and the catholicos, while the other nobles could have played quite an active role in tutoring the young heiress, whereas Vahram Rabuni depicted this episode from another perspective. In his *Rhymed History of the Rubenids*, the Armenian philosopher and historian mentioned that Lewon named Adam as *bailli* and appointed him as Zabel's tutor. Kostandin the Constable became *bailli* and regent for the young heiress only after Adam was assassinated⁴⁸. The continuator and translator of Michael the Syrian's

le connétable, p. 92. Although Adam is not named, perhaps he was the one who was perceived as a traitor.

⁴⁴ **Smbat le connétable**, p. 93; **Smbat Sparapet**, p. 222: «դնէր և դաստիարակս տղային իւրոյ զմեծ իշխանն Սիրատան, որ էր տէր բազում բերդից և գաւառաց, ի Սելեկիոյ մինչեւ մերն ի Կալօնօրօս, որ անուամբ նորա կոչի մինչեւ ցայսօր՝ աշխարհ Սիրատնայ: Եւ էր սա աստիճանաւ սենեսկալ Հայոց, որում յանձն առնէր թագաւորն զդուստրն իւր, հանդերձ պալլիւն, Յոհաննոս հայրապետին և իշխանացն ամենեցուն»». As Levon Ter-Petrosyan argued, there is only one way to understand this paragraph from Smbat's *Chronicle*: Lewon named Adam as regent, while the catholicos and the other nobles took an oath to be loyal to Zabel. A regency formed by all the nobles from Cilicia would be an anomaly, see **Levon Ter-Petrosyan**, *հաշակիւնները և հայերը* [*The Crusaders and the Armenians*], p. 241.

⁴⁵ **Kirakos Gandzakets'i**, p. 187: «Եւ ետ զնա ի ձեռս կաթողիկոսին և երկու մեծամեծ իշխանացն Կոստանդնի ազգականին իւրոյ, և սիր Ատանայ, որ էր Հոռոմ դաւանութեամբ».

⁴⁶ **Samuēl Anets'i**, pp. 239-240: «[...] դնէ պալլ Հայոց իշխան մի որում անուն էր Սիր Ադան՝ Հոռոմ դաւանութեամբ: Զդուստրն իւր ի նա յանձնէ եւ ի կաթողիկոսն տէր Յովհաննէս եւ ինքն փոխի առ Քրիստոս».

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 240: «Մեռանի թագաւորն Լեւոն, եւ Բ ամ իշխանն տիրէն»». Those two manuscripts were written later, the first in the second half of the 17th century and the second in the 18th century. Therefore, their authors could have used other histories and chronicles as sources to write about the events of the 13th century.

⁴⁸ **Vahram Rabuni**, *Ռտանաւոր Պատմութիւն Ռուբենեաց* [*History of the Rubenids in Verse*], ed. **K.V. Shahnazarean**, Paris, 1859, p. 217: «Յորում վանխան կենացն եկեալ / Զիշխանսն առ ինքն ժողովեալ / ԶԱտան իշխան մի պալլ եղեալ / Զդուստր իւր ի նա յաւանդ տուեալ / Ինքն ի Քրիստոս փոխադարձեալ [...] Ապա Ատանն եղև սպանեալ/Եւ Կոստանդին ըն պալլ

chronicle, Vardan Arewelts'i, wrote that Lewon left Zabel in Adam's hands, who was supposed to marry her to the son of the Hungarian king. The lord of Gaston, a Chalcedonian, wanted to assume power in the Armenian kingdom; however, the Assassins killed him as a punishment for his ambition⁴⁹. Only now did Kostandin the Constable become Zabel's regent⁵⁰. In the end, Het'um Patmich' also mentioned that after Lewon's death, Adam became the *bailli* of the kingdom. After a short time, the Assassins killed him, and Kostandin the Constable assumed his position as regent⁵¹.

The Latin chroniclers wrote about Zabel's regency from a different perspective. In the French translation and continuation of William of Tyre, we can read that Lewon left Adam as Zabel's regent. However, the lord of Gaston was killed by the Assassins and was replaced by Kostandin the Constable, whom some considered the main suspect in the case of Adam's death⁵². Another essential primary source for the war of the Armenian succession is Bar Hebraeus's *Chronography*. The Syrian historian wrote that the Armenian king entrusted Adam of Gaston with the mission to care for Zabel. After the death of the first bailli, this position was occupied by Kostandin the Constable⁵³. Thus, although the Armenian sources tried to offer as few details as possible regarding Adam's death and, in general, this war, the foreign chroniclers filled this void and often provided a much clearer picture of what happened in Cilicia between 1219 and 1226.

Smbat Sparapet could have insisted on presenting his father as a member of the regency to smooth up the transition from Lewon I to Het'um I. After Lewon's death and as co-regent for Zabel, Kostandin could have played an essential role in the kingdom's affairs. Therefore, he was not just a prince from Cilicia who took advantage of the war of succession that broke out in 1219. Undoubtedly, Kostandin

նստեալ/Որ արալիմ էր ազգ եղեալ / Զդուստր նորին առ ինքն առեալ»». See also **Vahram d'Edesse**, "Chronique rimée des rois de la petite Arménie", *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Document arméniennes*, ed. **Édouard Dulaurier**, tom I, Paris, 1869, p. 514 (Henceforth: **Vahram d'Edesse**).

⁴⁹ **Mik'ayel Asori**, p. 505. In this case, the Armenian continuator and translator emphasized the causal relation between Adam's religious choice and his ambitions: «[...] զի դեռ երախայ էր, որոյ նենգել Ատնին ըստ բնական ատելութեանն Յունաց ընդ ազգիս Հայոց, քանզի Հոռոմ էր ազգաւ, խորհէր ի միտս յինքն առնուլ զիշխանութիւնն».

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 517.

⁵¹ **Het'um Patmich'**, «Պատմութիւն ազգին Ռուբինեանց» ["History of the Rubenids, How they Ascended the Cilician Throne"], *Մանր ժամանակագրութիւններ XIII-XVII դդ.* [*Minor Chronicles, 13th-18th cc.*], ed. **V.A. Hakobyan**, vol. II, Yerevan, 1956, p. 104 (Henceforth: **Het'um Patmich'**).

⁵² "L'Estoire de Eracles empereur et la conquest de la terre d'Oltre mer", ed. **Arthur Beugnot**, **A. Langlois**, *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, vol. II, Paris, 1859, p. 347.

⁵³ **Bar Hebraeus**, pp. 375-376, 379-80.

was one of the grandest nobles from the Armenian kingdom⁵⁴. However, Smbat's account seems to contradict all the other chronicles and histories that mention only Adam as Zabel's regent. Thus, we may assume that Smbat altered various episodes regarding this war of succession to portray his father flawlessly. In Kirakos's case, explaining why he mentioned a regency of three members is difficult. As the author noted, until Lewon I's reign, he used other sources to write his history, while from that moment on he relied on eyewitness accounts⁵⁵. In this context, it is difficult to explain why Kirakos presented the regency in such a manner. Claude Mutaftian noted⁵⁶ that one of the most essential accounts that mention Adam's appointment as Zabel's regent is a colophon from 1221, published by Anna Sirinian⁵⁷. It is written that the lord of Gaston was entrusted to protect Lewon's daughter⁵⁸. As some sources noted⁵⁹, most likely the catholicos also played an essential role in tutoring Zabel. At the same time, Kostandin the Constable did not seem to hold any official position regarding the regency of Lewon's daughter.

Adam of Gaston was Zabel's first regent. Samvel Grigoryan argued that there were a few reasons that determined the Armenian king to appoint the lord of Gaston as his daughter's tutor, including the relationship between them: Adam was, perhaps, the most powerful noble in Cilicia, but, most importantly, the lord of Gaston was Lewon's cousin⁶⁰. The Armenian sources did not mention the connection between

⁵⁴ Since 1210, Kostandin appears as constable in Cilicia, see **Victor Langlois**, *Le trésor des chartes d'Arménie*, Venice, 1863, p. 116, 123, 125, 134, 136.

⁵⁵ See **Kirakos Gandzakets'i**, p. 154. As Levon Ter-Petrosyan noted, Kirakos could have used Smbat Sparapet's chronicle as a primary source, which could explain the presence of similar information in the works of these two historians, see **Levon Ter-Petrosyan**, *Խաչակիրները և հայերը* [*The Crusaders and the Armenians*], p. 241.

⁵⁶ **Claude Mutaftian**, *L'Arménie du Levant*, vol. I, p. 114.

⁵⁷ **Anna Sirinian**, "Da Drazark a Roma: una pagina di storia ciliciana nel colofone del manoscritto Arch. Cap. S. Pietro B 77", *Dall'Italia e dall'Armenia, Studi in onore di Gabriella Uluhogian*, ed. **Valentina Calzolari**, **Anna Sirinian**, **Boghos Lewon Zekiyan**, Bologna, 2004, pp. 68-95.

⁵⁸ Ibidem, p. 74: «[...] եւ զի չէ նորա որդի / որ լինէր ժառանգ այսմ աշխարհի / Ապա աղջիկ մի իւր ցանկալի / տղա գոյով եւթն ամի / գոր եղ ժառանգ այսմ արօռի / եւ էր իշխան մի իւր սիրելի / որո անունն Ատոմ ի[ւր] նանայի / ազգաւ էր հայկազնի / բայց հաւատովն յոյն. ընդ ժողովոյն Քաղկեդոնի / զմա եղ իւր պալլի / եւ տեսուչ տղաոյն որ ասացի». There is another colophon which mentions Adam as Zabel's regent, albeit a later one, written in 1286, see **A. S. Matevosyan**, *Հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ ժԳ դար* [*Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 13th c.*], p. 587.

⁵⁹ **Smbat le connétable**, p. 93; **Smbat Sparapet**, p. 222; **Kirakos Gandzakets'i**, p. 187; **Samuël Anets'i**, pp. 239-240.

⁶⁰ **Samvel Grigoryan**, "The lineage of Adam (Siratan), regent for Zabel, Queen of Armenia", *Élites chrétiennes et formes du pouvoir. (XIII^e-XV^e siècle)*, ed. **Marie-Anna Chevalier**, **Isabelle Ortega**, Paris, 2017, pp. 227-232.

Adam and Lewon. The most plausible reason would be that their authors (Smbat Sparapet, Kirakos Gandzakets'i, Vardan Arewelts'i, or Vahram Rabuni) had a close relationship with Het'um I and Kostandin the Constable, therefore they wanted to depict the latter in the best possible way⁶¹. Many sources mentioned that Adam was a Chalcedonian Christian⁶², but without explaining the importance of this aspect: the Armenian continuator and translator of Michael the Syrian's chronicle is the only one who made a connection between Adam's religious options, his ambitions to rule in Cilicia and his assassination, which was regarded as a punishment.

Why did Adam die at the hands of the Assassins? As Davit Tinoyan emphasized, Kostandin the Constable most likely ordered this assassination⁶³. The main argument supporting this idea is a paragraph written by one of Samuel Anets'i's continuators: "and after some days, Sir Adan was killed through the counsel of the princes"⁶⁴. This means it was a collective decision, but we can suspect Kostandin had a hand in this affair. None of the sources points to Kostandin as the culprit in Adam's killing. Levon Ter-Petrosyan wrote that the Armenian sources did not want to spoil Kostandin's image. Therefore, he was presented as well as possible⁶⁵. Thus, we cannot find any information in the primary sources that could indicate that the constable was behind the regent's assassination. However, we can compare Adam's killing with the death of Conrad of Montferrat.

On 28 April 1192, two Assassins killed Conrad of Montferrat in Tyre. Historians have tried to find various individuals who could have been behind Conrad's death: Sinan, the leader of the Nizari Isma'ili sect, Saladin, the Ayyubid sultan, or Richard I the Lionheart, the English king⁶⁶. Patrick A. Williams pointed to

⁶¹ Ibidem, pp. 241-244; **Levon Ter-Petrosyan**, *Խաչակիրները և հայերը* [*The Crusaders and the Armenians*], p. 253.

⁶² **Kirakos Gandzakets'i**, p. 187; **Samuēl Anets'i**, p. 239; **Mik'ayel Asori**, p. 505; **Anna Sirinian**, "Da Drazark a Roma", pp. 74-75. According to Samvel Grigoryan, the Armenian historians avoided connecting Adam, a Chalcedonian, to Lewon, see **Samvel Grigoryan**, "The lineage of Adam (Siratan)", p. 242. It is worth mentioning also how Vardan Arewelts'i, as the continuator and translator of Michael the Syrian's chronicle, emphasized that Lewon I died as an orthodox (i.e. Armenian Apostolic) Christian: «[...] հանգեաւ ի Քրիստոս բարի անուամբ և ողորպիսո հաւատող կենցաղակարեալ», **Mik'ayel Asori**, p. 505.

⁶³ **Davit Tinoyan**, «Կոստանդին Բարձրբերդտոս արքունակալումը» ("The enthronement of Kostandin Bardzrberdts'i"), p. 77. See also **Samvel Grigoryan**, "The lineage of Adam (Siratan)", p. 228.

⁶⁴ **Samuēl Anets'i**, p. 239: «Ապա յետ ատուց ինչ Սիր Ադանն սպանեալ եղև խորհրդով իշխանացն».

⁶⁵ **Levon Ter-Petrosyan**, *Խաչակիրները և հայերը* [*The Crusaders and the Armenians*], p. 253.

⁶⁶ **Steven Runciman**, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. III, *The Kingdom of Acre and the Later Crusades*, New York, 1995, pp. 64-65; **Nasseh Ahmad Mirza**, *Syrian Ismailism. The Ever Living Line of the Imamate, AD 1100-1260*, London and New York, 1997, pp. 36-37.

another possible culprit, Henry of Champagne, arguing that to find the man behind Conrad's assassination, historians should look at the person who got the most out of it. After Conrad's death, the count of Champagne married Isabella of Jerusalem and was acknowledged by the nobles from Tyre as the proper successor to the throne of Jerusalem after Conrad⁶⁷. If we apply the same methodology here, we may conclude that the person who made the most out of Adam's assassination was Kostandin the Constable, who became Zabel's regent⁶⁸. And, later, he also managed to place his son Het'um on the Armenian throne, which could also mean that he played an essential role in the fall of Philip of Antioch, Zabel's future husband and king of Cilicia.

The War

The first pretenders to Lewon's throne were John of Brienne and his wife, Rita. The king of Jerusalem had a dispute with Pelagius, papal legate and leader of the Fifth Crusade. John wanted to govern Damietta as part of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Still, faced with Pelagius's opposition, he left the crusade and travelled to Cilicia, hoping to place his wife, Rita, on the Armenian throne. However, the barons of the Armenian kingdom did not want to accept him. His wife and child died around the same time; thus, John returned to Acre as his plans of ruling in Cilicia were no longer justified⁶⁹. Honorius III supported John's plan to place his wife on the Armenian

⁶⁷ **Patrick A. William**, "The Assassination of Conrad of Montferrat: Another Suspect?", *Traditio*, 26, 1970, pp. 387-389.

⁶⁸ "Chronique du Royaume de la Petite Arménie", pp. 645-646; **Samuël Anets'i**, p. 239; **Vahram Rabuni**, p. 217; **Vahram d'Edesse**, pp. 513-514; **Mik'ayel Asori**, p. 515; **Het'um Patmich'**, p. 104; **Bar Hebraeus**, p. 379. It is important to note here that the word *payl* referred to the French *baillie*, meaning that this was a dignity meant to replace the king in his absence, see **Claude Mutaftian**, *L'Arménie du Levant*, vol. I, p. 433; **Hrach'eay Achařean**, *Հայերէն արմատական բառարան* [Armenian Etymological Dictionary], tom. IV, Yerevan, 1979, p. 17. For the lack of this title among the nobles from Cilicia who appeared as witnesses in various documents issued by Lewon I, see **Victor Langlois**, *Le trésor des chartes d'Arménie*, p. 116, 123, 125, 133, 136. This means that, most likely, there were not two regents for Zabel, as only one could have been *bailli*. Even in a regency made up of Adam of Gaston and Kostandin the constable, the former would enjoy a greater degree of authority than the latter due to his office.

⁶⁹ **Thomas C. Van Cleve**, "The Fifth Crusade", pp. 420-421; **Oliver of Paderborn**, "The capture of Damietta", *Crusade and Christendom. Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291*, ed. **Jessalyn Bird**, **Edward Peters**, **James M. Powell**, Philadelphia, 2013, pp. 197-199 (Henceforth: **Oliver of Paderborn**); **Oliver Scholasticus**, "Historia Damiatina", ed. **Dr. Hoogeweg**, *Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, tom. CCII, Tübingen, 1894, pp. 248-250 (Henceforth: **Oliver Scholasticus**).

throne⁷⁰, but as soon as Rita died, the pope forbade the king of Jerusalem from fulfilling his plans through war⁷¹. It is obvious why the Holy See hoped that John and his wife would rule Cilicia: the king of Jerusalem was a Catholic, and he could unite the Latin and Armenian kingdoms. However, Honorius did not want to encourage John to wage war against the Armenians while the crusaders were still fighting in Egypt. Therefore, he commanded the king to abandon his plan. As the pope had acknowledged previously, John's actions were motivated by the need to enforce Rita's right to inherit the Armenian throne; therefore, when the latter died, the king could not fight against the Armenians as his actions would not be legitimate anymore. Father Ghewond Alishan mentioned that in 1220 the Armenians also wrote a letter to Honorius III about Lewon's wish to have Zabel acknowledged as his rightful heir.⁷² I could not find this letter, but in case it existed, it marked a critical moment, because the Armenians felt the need to inform the pope about Lewon's wishes and, most likely, to convince the Holy See to stop John of Brienne from waging war against the Armenians.

Who was the pretender to the Armenian throne? John of Brienne, or Rita? Ghewond Alishan⁷³, Maghak'ia Ormanean⁷⁴, Levon Ter-Petrosyan⁷⁵, and Davit Tinoyan⁷⁶ named the king of Jerusalem the primary pretender. At the same time, Claude Mutaftian⁷⁷ wrote that it was Rita who tried to conquer the Armenian throne with the help of her husband. Lewon's daughter, not John of Brienne, could claim Cilicia, and the latter could only be king consort. The Armenian sources are silent on this topic. Still, from Honorius's letter and the writings of Latin authors, we understand that it was John who wanted to use his wife's claim to be able to rule in Cilicia. Curiously, Honorius III supported John of Brienne's attempt to seize the

⁷⁰ **Petrus Pressutti**, *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, tom. I, Rome, 1888, p. 385, doc. 2320 (Henceforth: *Regesta Honorii Papae III*); **Pierre-Vincent Claverie**, *Honorius III et l'Orient (1216-1227)*. *Étude et publication de sources inédites des Archives vaticanes (ASV)*, Leiden, Boston, 2013, p. 355-356.

⁷¹ *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, p. 433, doc. 2610; **Thomas C. Van Cleve**, "The Fifth Crusade", pp. 103-104; **Pierre-Vincent Claverie**, *Honorius III et l'Orient (1216-1227)*, pp. 358-359. It is necessary to mention that Honorius considered the Armenians as part of a family of Christians from Outremer, which was under his authority: "[...] ipsos Armenos, aut quoslibet alios Christianos, sed studeas ut tota Christianitas ultramarina in unitate consistat". Therefore, the pope did not want to disturb the Armenians in any way.

⁷² **Ghewond Alishan**, *Սիսուան (Sissouan)*, p. 525.

⁷³ Ibidem.

⁷⁴ **Maghak'ia Ormanean**, *Ազգապատում [History of the Armenian Nation]*, vol. 1, p. 1595.

⁷⁵ **Levon Ter-Petrosyan**, *Խաչակիրները և հայերը [The Crusaders and the Armenians]*, p. 242.

⁷⁶ **Davit Tinoyan**, «Կոստանդին Բարձրբերդցու արքայաւանդը» ("The enthronement of Kostandin Bardzrberdts'i"), pp. 79-80.

⁷⁷ **Claude Mutaftian**, *L'Arménie du Levant*, vol. I, p. 115.

Armenian throne. Raymond-Ruben had been crowned *iunior rex* in Cilicia 1210⁷⁸, and the pope knew that the former prince of Antioch was supposed to inherit the Armenian throne⁷⁹.

In August 1220, Honorius III commanded John of Brienne not to attempt to conquer the Armenian throne by force. A few months later, in December, the pope dispatched a letter to Pelagius, asking him to investigate Raymond-Ruben's claim to the Armenian throne⁸⁰. If the king of Jerusalem failed in acquiring the support of the Armenian barons, the situation would be different for Lewon I's great-nephew: he managed to secure the aid of some of the greatest barons from Cilicia and, eventually, would fight against Kostandin the Constable, Zabel's regent.

Raymond-Ruben embodied Lewon I's hopes of uniting Cilicia and Antioch. The Armenian king invested much effort into placing his great-nephew on the throne of the Latin principality, and, for a short time, it seemed that his plan was fulfilled: in 1216 Raymond-Ruben became the ruler of Antioch. The young prince enjoyed the support of some Latin nobles from the principality⁸¹ and, most importantly, of the Holy See: both Innocent III and Honorius III addressed Raymond-Ruben as *princeps Antiochenus*⁸². At the same time, Bohemond IV appeared in papal documents only as *comes Tripolitanus*⁸³. In 1217, Honorius III informed Pelagius that Raymond-Ruben and his family were under the protection of the Holy See⁸⁴. He also instructed the Hospitallers and the Templars to be faithful to the new prince of Antioch⁸⁵, and encouraged Lewon I to support his great-nephew as successor of the Armenian crown⁸⁶. Besides the support of the Holy See, Raymond-Ruben had also other

⁷⁸ **Smbat le connétable**, p. 87; **Smbat Sparapet**, p. 217; **Wilbrandus de Oldenburg**, "Peregrinatio", *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor*, ed. **J.C.M. Laurent**, Leipzig, 1864, pp. 174, 178.

⁷⁹ *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, tom. I, p. 118, doc. 677.

⁸⁰ *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, tom. I, p. 476, doc. 2876; **Pierre-Vincent Claverie**, *Honorius III et l'Orient*, p. 362.

⁸¹ For the nobles who left Antioch and moved to Cilicia, see **Smbat Sparapet**, p. 211; **Smbat le connétable**, p. 81. In a letter dispatched to Rome by the papal legate Soffredus, cardinal of Santa Prassede, we can read that these nobles had sworn an oath of fealty to Raymond-Ruben and did not want to break it as Antioch was occupied by Bohemond IV. See *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III by an Anonymous Author*, ed. and trans. **James M. Powell**, Washington D.C., 2004, p. 221.

⁸² See *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, tom. I, pp. 118, 476.

⁸³ See *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 215, pp. 698-699; tom. 216, pp. 18-19, 54-56, 510, 792-793; *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*, pp. 214, 215, 225.

⁸⁴ *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, tom. I, p. 118, doc. 675; **Pierre-Vincent Claverie**, *Honorius III et l'Orient*, p. 305.

⁸⁵ *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, tom. I, p. 118, doc. 676; **Pierre-Vincent Claverie**, *Honorius III et l'Orient*, pp. 306-307.

⁸⁶ *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, tom. I, p. 118, doc. 677; **Pierre-Vincent Claverie**, *Honorius III et l'Orient*, pp. 307-308.

advantages: he had been baptized as a Catholic by the archbishop of Mainz, Conrad, in 1198⁸⁷, had been crowned as *iunior rex* in 1210⁸⁸, and in the same year he married Helvis of Cyprus, Aimery I's daughter⁸⁹. We can also add a strong relationship with the Hospitallers through the donations that Raymond-Ruben, as prince of Antioch, made to the Order⁹⁰ and that he had been acknowledged both as his father's⁹¹ and Lewon I's heir⁹².

Raymond-Ruben was ousted from Antioch by Bohemond IV in 1219 and hoped that Lewon I would forgive him for the conflict between them in 1216. Therefore, he travelled to Cilicia. However, the Armenian king did not want to forgive his great-nephew. Having lost both the Principality of Antioch and the Armenian kingdom, Raymond-Ruben had nothing left to do but travel to Damietta. There, he asked Pelagius to help him recover Antioch and Cilicia. The legate gave him troops, and Raymond-Ruben came to Cilicia⁹³. He landed in Korykos and secured Vahram the marshal's support⁹⁴. However, the lord of Korykos would not help Raymond-Ruben for free: he demanded to marry his mother, Alice, Ruben III's daughter and widow of the deceased Raymond of Antioch⁹⁵. Many other nobles sided with Raymond-Ruben: Joscelin, Vahram's brother⁹⁶, and Lewon of Kapan and Kersak⁹⁷; Lewon,

⁸⁷ See *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 214, p. 1005; *Acta Innocentii PP. III*, p. 560; *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, pp. 211.

⁸⁸ See **Wilbrandus de Oldenburg**, "Peregrinatio", p. 178.

⁸⁹ **Smbat le connétable**, pp. 86-87; **Smbat Sparapet**, p. 217; **Kirakos Gandzakets'i**, pp. 159-160. See also **Claude Mutafian**, "La diplomatie matrimoniale de l'Arménie cilicienne", pp. 82-83.

⁹⁰ See **Victor Langlois**, *Le trésor des chartes d'Arménie*, pp. 130-136. According to Marie-Anna Chevalier, Lewon I made donations to the Hospitallers to reward them for their political support, see **Marie-Anna Chevalier**, "L'ordre de l'hôpital et la défense de l'Arménie : Enjeux d'une présence et moyens mis en œuvre", *La Méditerranée des Arméniens XII^e-XV^e siècle*, ed. **Claude Mutafian**, Paris, 2014, p. 55. Based on Marie-Anna Chevalier's idea, we may assume that Raymond-Ruben also made donations to the Hospitallers in exchange for their political support.

⁹¹ *Acta Innocentii PP. III*, p. 557.

⁹² **Smbat Sparapet**, p. 216; **Smbat le connétable**, pp. 86-87.

⁹³ "L'Estoire de Eracles empereur et la conquest de la terre d'Outre mer", p. 347. See also **Bar Hebraeus**, p. 371.

⁹⁴ **Vahram Rabuni**, p. 217; **Vahram d'Edesse**, pp. 513-514; **Mik'ayel Asori**, p. 515-516; **Karen Matevosyan**, *Հեթում պատմիչ Կորիկոսցին և նրա ժամանակագրությունը* [*Historian Het'um of Korikos and His Chronicle*], Yerevan, 2011, p. 50; **Het'um Patmich'**, p. 104; **Bar Hebraeus**, p. 380.

⁹⁵ **Het'um Patmich'**, p. 104; **Bar Hebraeus**, p. 380.

⁹⁶ See **Victor Langlois**, *Le trésor des chartes d'Arménie*, p. 123: "[...] Vaaram marescalcus, Jozulinus frater ejus [...]"; p. 125: "[...] Iozulinus, frater marescalci [...]".

⁹⁷ **Mik'ayel Asori**, p. 517

another brother of Vahram and lord of Berdkan and Mōkhrstin⁹⁸. Raymond-Ruben and his allies moved to Tarsus, occupied the city, and gathered the support of other nobles from there⁹⁹. They also occupied Adana and moved towards Msis, but were intercepted by Kostandin the Constable, who defeated them. Raymond-Ruben retreated with the remnants of his army to Tarsus and asked Pelagius and the Hospitallers to send help¹⁰⁰. However, the reinforcements arrived too late: Kostandin entered the city and imprisoned Raymod-Ruben, Vahram of Korikos, and their allies¹⁰¹.

Raymond-Ruben's war weakened Cilicia. According to a colophon written in Tarsus in 1221, many regions and churches were destroyed because some nobles broke their oath to Lewon regarding Zabel's acceptance as heiress¹⁰². In another colophon, from 1222, we can read that Raymond-Ruben's enterprise encouraged the Seljuks to profit from this situation and conquer some territories from Cilicia¹⁰³. Some Armenian sources insisted that Kostandin the Constable had only a few troops, while Raymond-Ruben's army numbered around 5000 soldiers¹⁰⁴. However, in the French continuation of William of Tyre, we read that Kostandin had a great army at his disposal¹⁰⁵. According to Oliver of Paderborn, after the fights against the Seljuks, Cilicia's army was reduced to about 20,000 troops¹⁰⁶. It is very difficult, if not

⁹⁸ **Het'um Patmich'**, p. 104.

⁹⁹ Among other nobles, **Het'um Patmich'** named two families that supported Raymond-Ruben: **Mōlewonts'k'** and **Aplhasnank'**, see **Het'um Patmich'**, p. 104.

¹⁰⁰ "L'Estoire de Eracles empereur et la conquest de la terre d'Outre mer", p. 347.

¹⁰¹ **Smbat Sparapet**, pp. 223-224; **Smbat le connétable**, pp. 94-95; **Vahram Rabuni**, pp. 217-218; **Vahram d'Edesse**, pp. 513-514; **Mik'ayel Asori**, p. 517; **Het'um Patmich'**, p. 104; **Bar Hebraeus**, p. 380; **Oliver of Paderborn**, pp. 198-199; **Oliver Scolasticus**, p. 250. In another chronicle, **Het'um Patmich'** presented this episode in a brief manner, see **Karen Matevosyan**, *Հեթում պատմիչ Կորիկոսցին* [*Historian Het'um of Korikos*], p. 50: «Պարոն Վահրամ մարաշախտն Հայոց եւ այլ իշխանն կամեցան պարոնցնել Հայոց զօրքն բրինձն, եւ պայլն Հայոց Կոստանդին կոտորեաց զնոսա մերձ ի Մսիս եւ կալալ զբրինձն զօրքնն եւ զիշխանսն ի Բաղն Տարսուս».

¹⁰² **A. S. Matevosyan**, *Հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ ժԳ դար* [*Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 13th c.*], p. 124. Although Zabel is not mentioned explicitly, it is most likely that the "oath" mentioned in this colophon is the one the nobles had taken while Lewon was on his deathbed, namely to accept Zabel as his successor.

¹⁰³ *Ibidem*, p. 129. The author of the colophon wrote that the Muslims from all around entered Cilicia, while Oliver of Paderborn noted that it was the Seljuks who took advantage of the weakness of the Armenian kingdom, see **Oliver of Paderborn**, p. 222; **Oliver Scholasticus**, p. 279.

¹⁰⁴ **Smbat Sparapet**, p. 223; **Smbat le connétable**, p. 94.

¹⁰⁵ "L'Estoire de Eracles empereur et la conquest de la terre d'Outre mer", p. 347: "Constans, qui estoit bail, trova moult de gent qui se tindrent a lui, dont il assembla grant ost et asseja Rupin deden Torso".

¹⁰⁶ **Oliver of Paderborn**, p. 222.

impossible, to check these numbers. In this context, Raymond-Ṭuben's army does not seem so big. However, it would have been challenging for Kostandin to be victorious with only a bunch of soldiers. As many Armenian historians from the 13th century had close connections with Het'um I and his family, naturally they wanted to portray Kostandin the Constable as good as possible¹⁰⁷, therefore they insisted that the latter had commanded only a few troops against Raymond-Ṭuben to exacerbate the greatness of his deeds and to present him as the saviour of the Armenian kingdom.

Raymond-Ṭuben's capacity for gathering as many allies as possible, including crusaders and Hospitallers, could indicate a significant discontent among the nobility from Cilicia towards Kostandin the Constable, and also that Honorius III wanted to see a Catholic on the Armenian throne. According to the colophon written in 1221 and published by Anna Sirinian, Vahram of Korykos was Adam of Gaston's father-in-law¹⁰⁸. Therefore, after Lewon's death, the three greatest nobles from Cilicia jousted for power. Adam was the first eliminated, while Vahram seized the opportunity of Raymond-Ṭuben's claim on the Armenian throne to fight his opponent, Kostandin the Constable¹⁰⁹. Also, as Claude Mutaḡian noted, Lewon of Kapan was one of the leaders of the Armenian troops who fought against the Seljuks in 1216, while Vahram's brother, Joscelin of T'ıl, was sent by Lewon I to Hungary on a diplomatic mission in 1218¹¹⁰. Therefore, if John of Brienne failed to convince the Armenian barons to support his and his wife's claim to the Armenian throne, Raymond-Ṭuben gathered supporters among some of Cilicia's highest-ranking and most powerful nobles.

In his book *Honorius III et l'Orient*, Pierre-Vincent Claverie analysed the interests of the Holy See regarding Cilicia and argued that Honorius III and Pelagius were very concerned about Raymond-Ṭuben's fate. Both the pope and his legate invested significant efforts in supporting his campaign in Cilicia, and in the event of a victory, Pelagius would have crowned him king of Armenia and prince of Antioch¹¹¹. It is not difficult to understand why the Holy See was so preoccupied with the war of succession in Cilicia. The answer can be found in Honorius III's

¹⁰⁷ **Levon Ter-Petrosyan**, *Խաչակիրները և հայերը* [*The Crusaders and the Armenians*], vol. II, p. 253; **Samvel Grigoryan**, "The lineage of Adam (Siratan)", pp. 241-242.

¹⁰⁸ **Anna Sirinian**, "Da Drazark a Roma", pp. 74-77; **Claude Mutaḡian**, *L'Arménie du Levant*, vol. I, p. 114; **Samvel Grigoryan**, "The lineage of Adam (Siratan)", p. 229.

¹⁰⁹ In the privilege given to the Genoese by Lewon I in 1215 some areas are excluded from this agreement, namely those belonging to Adam of Gaston, Vahram of Korykos, and the gorge of Kaban, which was under the control of Leo of Kapan. See **Victor Langlois**, *Le trésor des chartes d'Arménie*, pp. 126-127. This may indicate that these nobles enjoyed a certain amount of power in convincing Lewon to exempt them from this agreement.

¹¹⁰ **Claude Mutaḡian**, *L'Arménie du Levant*, vol. I, p. 115.

¹¹¹ **Pierre-Vincent Claverie**, *Honorius III et l'Orient*, p. 98.

correspondence with Pelagius or John of Brienne. In a letter from 16 December 1220 addressed to the papal legate, Raymond-Ruben is named “crucesignatus, princeps Antiochie”¹¹². To these, we can add that Lewon’s great-nephew was a Catholic, married to a Latin princess, and we can understand that the Holy See regarded Cilicia as a kingdom which could have played a crucial role in the reconquest of Jerusalem. As Pierre-Vincent Claverie underlined, “le sort de la «terre rougie par le sang du Christ» était un sujet d’inquiétude constant pour Honorius III, qui ne pouvait se résoudre à voir la cite de Jérusalem occupée durablement par les musulmans”¹¹³. After the Crusaders conquered Damietta, the Ayyubid sultan of Damascus, al-Mu‘azzam, attacked various Christian territories from Syria, conquered the city of Caesarea, and destroyed the Templar castle of Safita¹¹⁴. In August 1220, Honorius commanded John of Brienne to abandon his plans for Cilicia and focus on the Crusader states, as his actions could cause more harm to the Christians¹¹⁵. Therefore, the Holy See wanted this war to finish as fast as possible and hoped that Raymond-Ruben would be crowned king in Cilicia.

Although Raymond-Ruben was captured and died in prison, Honorius III continued caring for his mother, Alice, Ruben III’s daughter, who came to enjoy Pelagius’s protection¹¹⁶. Kostandin the Constable emerged victorious from this confrontation: if Raymond-Ruben had won the war, the Het‘umid prince could have lost his influence in Cilicia¹¹⁷. For the moment, it seemed that everything worked well for him. As Bar Hebraeus noted, Kostandin probably thought the nobles would ask him to place one of his sons on the Armenian throne¹¹⁸. However, his plan was not fulfilled.

In the Armenian continuation and translation of Michael the Syrian’s history, we can read that after Raymond-Ruben’s death, the barons from Cilicia did not agree on who should become king¹¹⁹. As Maghak‘ia Ormanean noted, it is most likely that Kostandin had already tried several times to convince the nobles that one of his

¹¹² Ibidem, p. 362; *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, tom. I, p. 476, doc. 2876.

¹¹³ Pierre-Vincent Claverie, *Honorius III et l’Orient*, p. 93.

¹¹⁴ Thomas C. Van Cleve, *The Fifth Crusade*, p. 422; Oliver of Paderborn, p. 195.

¹¹⁵ Pierre-Vincent Claverie, *Honorius III et l’Orient*, p. 97.

¹¹⁶ Ibidem, pp. 98-99, 376.

¹¹⁷ Speaking about Raymond-Ruben’s planned consecration at the hand of the papal legate, Pelagius, Pierre-Vincent Claverie noted that if it had happened, Kostandin’s authority could have suffered a blow, see Pierre-Vincent Claverie, *Honorius III et l’Orient*, p. 98.

¹¹⁸ Bar Hebraeus, p. 380.

¹¹⁹ Mik‘ayel Asori, p. 517. See also A. S. Matevosyan, Հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ ժԳ դար [Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 13th c.], p. 129: «[...] զի քազաւոր ոչ գոյր, և իշխանսն անհրճազանդ իւրեանց[...]».

family members could ascend the throne but failed to gather enough support¹²⁰. It is worth mentioning that the constable extended his influence over the catholicosial see. After Yohvannes VI Ssets'i died in 1221, Kostandin the Constable managed to impose his candidate, Kostandin Bardzrberdts'i, on the catholicosial see, although his brother-in-law, Kostandin Lambronats'i, supported another candidate, Grigor Skewrats'i¹²¹.

As the barons could not decide who would marry Zabel and implicitly become king, the solution came in the person of Philip of Antioch, one of Bohemond IV's sons¹²². Lewon I spent most of his reign fighting against Bohemond IV, only to have his daughter married to Philip of Antioch in 1222. What were the reasons that stood behind this decision? A colophon from 1222 could indicate that the divergences between the barons could be solved by crowning a foreign prince¹²³. In the Venice manuscript of Smbat Sparapet's chronicle, it is written that the barons decided to conclude this marriage because Andrew II's son did not come to Cilicia¹²⁴. In the other manuscript, from Ējmiatsin, Kostandin the Constable played the most important role in Philip's choosing as king: he asked the barons and clerics to decide Zabel's future¹²⁵. In some continuations of Samuel Anets'i's chronicle, we can read

¹²⁰ **Maghak'ia Ormanean**, *Աղգապատում* [History of the Armenian Nation], vol. 2, p. 1603. See also **Davit Tinoyan**, «Կոստանդին Բարձրբերդցու արքայակալումը» ("The enthronement of Kostandin Bardzrberdts'i"), p. 80.

¹²¹ **Smbat Sparapet**, p. 224-225; **Smbat le connétable**, p. 95; **Kirakos Gandzakets'i**, pp. 190-191; **Mik'ayel Asori**, p. 516. Vardan Arewelts'i underlined that Kostandin I did not become catholicos because he had blood connections with the ruling elite, a powerful family, or enjoyed great wealth, see **Robert W. Thomson**, "The Historical Compilation of Vardan Arewelc'i", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 43, 1989, p. 213. Vardan's need to provide us with explanations regarding Kostandin's ascension to the catholicosial see could be interpreted as the exact opposite of what the Armenian historian wanted to do: the catholicos enjoyed a great deal of support from Kostandin the constable, but also from other barons.

¹²² **A. S. Matevosyan**, *Հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ ժԳ դար* [Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 13th c.], p. 129, 133; **Smbat Sparapet**, p. 225; **Smbat le connétable**, pp. 95-96; "Chronique du Royaume de la Petite Arménie", p. 647; **Kirakos Gandzakets'i**, pp. 188-189; **Samuel Anets'i**, pp. 240-241; **Mik'ayel Asori**, p. 517; **Karen Matevosyan**, *Հեթում պատմիչ Կորիկոսյան* [Historian Het'um of Korikos], p. 80; **Het'um Patmich'**, p. 104; **Nerses Palients'**, «Հայոց թագավորների և իշխանների կարգը» ["The Order of Armenian Kings and Princes"], *Մանր ժամանակագրություններ XIII-XVIII դդ.* [Minor Chronicles, 13th-18th cc.], ed. **V. A. Hakobyan**, vol. II, Yerevan, 1956, p. 205; "Annales de Terre-Sainte", pp. 437-438; *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi*, ed. **René de Mas Latrie**, vol. I, Paris, 1891, p. 115; "L'Estoire de Eracles empereur et la conquest de la terre d'Outre mer", p. 348; **Bar Hebraeus**, p. 380.

¹²³ **A. S. Matevosyan**, *Հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ ժԳ դար* [Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 13th c.], p. 129.

¹²⁴ **Smbat Sparapet**, p. 225; **Smbat le connétable**, pp. 95-96.

¹²⁵ "Chronique du Royaume de la Petite Arménie", p. 647.

that Lewon did not have a son. Therefore, the barons married her to Philip¹²⁶. Vardan Arewelts'i wrote in the continuation of Michael the Syrian's history that the barons did not reach an agreement regarding Zabel's husband. Therefore, they decided to marry her to Philip¹²⁷. Het'um Patmich' only mentioned that the barons discussed marrying Zabel to Philip and agreed to act accordingly¹²⁸. In *L'estoire de Eracles empereur*, we read that Kostandin mediated this matrimonial alliance¹²⁹.

Besides the reasons presented by the primary sources, historians have also found other motives behind the barons' decision to conclude a marriage between Zabel and Philip. Ghewond Alishan argued that it was determined, willingly or not, by the logic of the Armenian diplomacy, following in Lewon I's footsteps: to unite against common enemies, like the Muslims. After all, at the beginning of his reign as prince, Lewon also married an Antiochene princess¹³⁰. Maghak'ia Ormanean¹³¹ and Claude Cahen also shared this opinion. The French historian wrote that this matrimonial alliance was concluded due to the danger posed by the Seljuks. Kaykubad I conquered the fortress of Kalonoros and the whole province of Isauria. Therefore, the barons from Cilicia decided to ally with the Principality of Antioch against the Sultanate of Rum¹³². Pierre-Vincent Claverie viewed the marriage between Zabel and Philip as a means to end the conflicts between the barons from Cilicia¹³³. If we combine the information from primary sources and the analyses of modern historians, we understand that several factors stood behind Zabel's marriage to Philip: the lack of unity among the barons and the impossibility of finding a suitable husband among the Armenian princes; the necessity to find an ally that would help the Armenians to contain the danger posed by the Seljuks.

There is little information about Philip's reign, as most sources were interested in portraying him as badly as possible to justify Kostandin's and Hethum's ascension to power¹³⁴. Soon after his coronation, the Armenians repelled an attack of the

¹²⁶ Samuel Anets'i, p. 241.

¹²⁷ Mik'ayel Asori, p. 517.

¹²⁸ Het'um Patmich', p. 104.

¹²⁹ "L'Estoire de Eracles empereur et la conquest de la terre d'Outre mer", pp. 347-348.

¹³⁰ Ghewond Alishan, *Սիսուան* (Sissouan), p. 527.

¹³¹ Maghak'ia Ormanean, *Աղգապատում* [History of the Armenian Nation], vol. 2, p. 1603.

¹³² Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du nord a l'epoque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche*, Paris, 1940, p. 632. Levon Ter-Petrosyan agrees with Claude Cahen's explanation, see Levon Ter-Petrosyan, *Խաչակիրները և հայերը* [The Crusaders and the Armenians], vol. II, p. 248. Oliver of Paderborn also emphasized that the conflicts between the barons weakened the kingdom and encouraged the Seljuks to launch a campaign into Cilicia, see Oliver of Paderborn, p. 222; Oliver Scholasticus, p. 279.

¹³³ Pierre-Vincent Claverie, *Honorius III et l'Orient*, p. 99.

¹³⁴ See Levon Ter-Petrosyan, *Խաչակիրները և հայերը* [The Crusaders and the Armenians], vol. II, p. 253. For example, Philip's name was erased from a manuscript copied in 1223, as a

Seljuks with Bohemond IV's aid¹³⁵. Thus, the strategy of crowning a Latin as king in Cilicia proved successful for the moment. Although Philip ruled for two or three years, his only memory preserved in Armenian sources was how he attempted to steer the kingdom towards a path of Latinisation. However, according to some colophons written during Philip's reign, life returned to its normal pace and peace was restored¹³⁶. In another colophon from 1223, he is named "the great king Philip"¹³⁷, which may indicate that not everyone was against the new monarch. However, the manuscript of a gospel was written in Tarsus, in the year 1225, "during the rule of our God-loving and pious prince of princes and Armenian constable Kostandin, nephew of the Armenian king Lewon"¹³⁸. Therefore, in 1225, Philip was no longer the ruler of the Armenian kingdom¹³⁹. Some historians thought that Kostandin remained in power, as guardian for the young couple, given that Philip was eighteen, while Zabel was only eleven¹⁴⁰. He could have continued to lead the regency until the king became an adult, but after that point, he was indeed removed from power. Some primary sources mentioned that he was reinstated as *bailli* after Philip's death¹⁴¹. There could be another possibility: according to the customs in force in Cilicia, a man would become an adult only when he reached twenty years old¹⁴²; among the accusations brought against Philip, there was one according to

punishment for his actions against the Armenians, see **Khachik Harutyunyan**, *Հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարանները* [*Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts*, Yerevan, 2019, pp. 191-192].

¹³⁵ **Oliver of Paderborn**, p. 223; **Oliver Scholasticus**, pp. 279-280.

¹³⁶ **A. S. Matevosyan**, *Հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ ժԳ դար* [*Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 13th c.*], p. 129: «զի թագաւոր ոչ գոյր, և իշխանսն անհրնազանդ իւրեանց, մինչ Աստուած կամեցաւ և թագաւոր ետ, և սակաւ մի խաղաղացաւ յայս դառն ամբս».

¹³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 139: «[...] ի ժամանակս մեծի արքային Փիլիպպոսի».

¹³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 144: «ի յիշխանութեանս աստուածասէր և բարեպաշտ իշխանաց իշխանիս մերոյ և սպարապետիս Հայոց Կոստանդեայ քեռորդոյ թագաւորին Հայոց Լեւոնի».

¹³⁹ Philip's imprisonment is dated either in 1224 or 1225, see **Samuel Anets'i**, pp. 240-241; **Mik'ayel Asori**, pp. 517-518; **Karen Matevosyan**, *Հեթում պատմիչ Կորիկոսցին* [*Historian Het'um of Korikos*], p. 50; "Annales de Terre-Sainte", pp. 437-438.

¹⁴⁰ See **Davit Tinoyan**, «Կոստանդին Բարձրբերդցու արձուակալումը» ("The enthronement of Kostandin Bardzrberdts'i"), p. 82. Maghak'ia Ormeanean wrote that the lord of Paperon continued to lead the regency until Philip was twenty years old, see **Maghak'ia Ormeanean**, *Ազգապատում* [*History of the Armenian Nation*], vol. 2, p. 1604.

¹⁴¹ "La chronique du royaume de la petite Arménie", p. 648. Curiously, only this source mentions Kostandin's reinstatement as *bailli*. A possible explanation would be that Philip did not manage to remove Kostandin from this office, as he was captured before doing so.

¹⁴² **Levon Ter-Petrosyan**, *Խաչակիրները և հայերը* [*The Crusaders and the Armenians*], vol. II, p. 255, n.3.

which the Latin king despised the Armenian barons¹⁴³. It is only a mere supposition, but what if, despite his vows to respect the Armenians¹⁴⁴, Philip did not accept the custom regarding the age when a man would become an adult and decided to rule all by himself soon after assuming the Armenian crown? The only argument supporting this idea would be two colophons from 1222-1223, where only Philip is mentioned¹⁴⁵. For example, Kostandin the Constable appears alongside Het'um in some colophons¹⁴⁶, and we know, as Levon Ter-Petrosyan argued¹⁴⁷, that the *bailli* was the actual ruler in Cilicia after 1226¹⁴⁸. In this case, it is possible that soon after becoming king, Philip removed Kostandin from his position as regent and tried to rule all by himself.

From all the accusations brought against Philip, it seems that his desire to surround himself with Latin advisers, diminish the power of the Armenian barons (Kostandin the Constable included), and send parts of the royal treasure to Antioch were the leading causes of his fall and death. As in Raymond-Ruben's case, Kostandin the Constable took matters into his own hands. With the help of his cousin, Geoffrey of Servandikar, and Trdat, the *proximos*, the constable captured the king in Tell-Hamdun and imprisoned him in the fortress of Bardzrberd¹⁴⁹. Bohemond wanted to free his son, therefore he asked the pope for permission to attack Cilicia, and even concluded an alliance with the Seljuks of Rum, but his plan failed.

¹⁴³ **Levon Ter-Petrosyan**, *Խաչակիրները և հայերը* [*The Crusaders and the Armenians*], vol. II, p. 250. According to a letter discovered only in 2007, Philip sent Lewon's crown to Antioch. From there, it was stored in the castle of Montfort, which was under the control of the Teutonic Knights. It was Conrad IV who asked the Teutonic Knights to return the crown to the Armenians, see **Peter Halfter**, "La couronne d'Arménie: un document récemment découvert illustrant les relations entre l'empereur Frédéric II et le roi Hét'oum I^{er}", *Les Méditerranée des Arméniens XII^e-XV^e siècle*, ed. **Claude Mutafian**, Paris, 2014, pp. 101-120.

¹⁴⁴ **Claude Mutafian**, *L'Arménie du Levant*, vol. I, p. 116.

¹⁴⁵ **A. S. Matevosyan**, *Հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ ժԳ դար* [*Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 13th c.*], p. 133, 139.

¹⁴⁶ Ibidem, p. 198, 201, 236.

¹⁴⁷ **Levon Ter-Petrosyan**, *Խաչակիրները և հայերը* [*The Crusaders and the Armenians*], vol. II, pp. 255-256.

¹⁴⁸ See, for example, how Kirakos Gandzakets'i portrayed *Kostandin the Constable* as the source of all goodness in Cilicia, see **Kirakos Gandzakets'i**, p. 190.

¹⁴⁹ For a list of these accusations, see **Levon Ter-Petrosyan**, *Խաչակիրները և հայերը* [*The Crusaders and the Armenians*], vol. II, p. 250. For Philip's capture, imprisonment, and death, see **Het'um Patmich'**, pp. 104-105; **Mik'ayel Asori**, pp. 517-518. Foreign historians also mentioned Philip's actions against the Armenian barons, see **Bar Hebraeus**, pp. 380-381. Ibn al-Athir noted that the Armenians feared the Franks would take over Cilicia, **Ibn al-Athir**, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kamil fi'l-Ta'rikh*, trans. **D.S. Richards**, part 3, London and New York, 2016, pp. 279-280 (Henceforth: **Ibn al-Athir**).

Honorius III commanded the prince of Antioch not to attack the Armenians¹⁵⁰. As Pierre-Vincent Claverie emphasized, the pope did not want to get involved in the conflict between Bohemond IV and the Armenians, as he considered the prince of Antioch to be illegitimate and an enemy of the church¹⁵¹. Therefore, without the support of the Holy See and facing also an alliance between Armenians and the Ayyubids of Aleppo¹⁵², Bohemond had to accept his son's death and refrain from attacking Cilicia.

After all these fights for the Armenian crown, Kostandin the Constable finally emerged victorious. However, as Levon Ter-Petrosyan pointed out, he still had to convince the barons of Cilicia to accept his son as king. Kostandin wanted to place Het'um on the throne, not Smbat, because the former was still only ten years old, so his father could still concentrate his power in his hands. The barons understood that Kostandin would be the actual ruler of Cilicia; therefore, at least initially, they opposed him, but after the constable spent a great deal of energy convincing them to accept his proposition, they finally gave in. Het'um was married to Zabel and crowned king¹⁵³. The marriage was problematic, as the young heiress was forced to marry the Het'umid prince. Although Zabel resisted Kostandin and attempted twice to flee from Sis¹⁵⁴, she eventually accepted her fate¹⁵⁵.

Conclusions

As “father of the king” (*թագաւորահայր*), Kostandin continued to rule the kingdom in the name of his son and his daughter-in-law. The first step of Kostandin's plan to bring the Het'umids on the Armenian throne was to eliminate Adam of Gaston. Then, he managed to defeat Raymond-Ruben and his allies, placed Kostandin Bardzrberdts'i on the catholicos' see and, in the end, proved to the Armenian barons that a foreign prince was not suitable for them¹⁵⁶. Kostandin put his sons in the highest royal offices to ensure that no one would be able to contest

¹⁵⁰ Mik'ayel Asori, p. 518; Ibn al-Athir, pp. 279-280.

¹⁵¹ Pierre-Vincent Claverie, *Honorius III et l'Orient*, pp. 99-100.

¹⁵² Ibn al-Athir, p. 280.

¹⁵³ Levon Ter-Petrosyan, *Խաչակիրները և հայերը* [*The Crusaders and the Armenians*], vol. II, pp. 254-255.

¹⁵⁴ “La chronique du royaume de la petite Arménie”, p. 648; Smbat Sparapet, p. 226; A. S. Matevosyan, *Հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ ժԳ դար* [*Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 13th c.*], p. 166; Bar Hebraeus, pp. 381, 389-390.

¹⁵⁵ According to Bar Hebraeus, it took Zabel 10 years to accept her fate, see Bar Hebraeus, p. 390.

¹⁵⁶ Davit Tinoyan argued that the *bailli* and the catholicos left Philip to do all these lousy things that led to his deposition, because they wanted to convince the barons that it was dangerous to place a foreigner on the Armenian throne, Davit Tinoyan, p. 82.

his authority¹⁵⁷. And also, as some of the sources emphasize, he pressured the barons to obey him¹⁵⁸. Somehow, Kostandin acted as Lewon had done: both of them controlled the church, subdued the nobles, and eliminated any possible competitor¹⁵⁹. However, there is one fundamental difference between them: Lewon sought foreign support to become king. Of course, he did so because he had to receive a crown. Nevertheless, if we analyse Lewon's correspondence with Innocent III during the war of the Antiochene Succession¹⁶⁰, we would see how he insisted on accepting the primacy of the Holy See to get Innocent III's support against Bohemond IV. On the other hand, Kostandin did not seek the Holy See's or anyone else's support. It is also worth mentioning that Honorius III did not congratulate Het'um on being crowned king, as the pope's plan to see a Catholic king in Cilicia was not fulfilled. Therefore, the war of the Armenian succession and the involvement of the Holy See in Armenian affairs could be considered the beginning of a period when relations between Rome and Cilicia started to grow cold. In the Ējmiatsin manuscript of Smbat Sparapet's chronicle, we can read that after Het'um I's coronation, the Armenians cultivated good relations with Rome, the German Empire, and the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum¹⁶¹. This could only mean that the connections with the Holy See were broken at some point in the past. And indeed, in 1224, Honorius III asked the bishops who were suffragans of the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem to contribute to the return of the bishops of Tarsus and Mamistra to their sees¹⁶². Almost two years later, the pope asked Kostandin the Constable to reinstate the archbishop of Tarsus in his see¹⁶³. Some historians have considered that the lack of a strong relationship with Rome

¹⁵⁷ **Kirakos Gandzakets'i**, p. 190.

¹⁵⁸ **Vahram Rabuni**, p. 217: «Զայն որ ժառանգ էր մնացեալ / Զապէլ անուն վերաձայնեալ / Որոյ իշխանին հնազանդեալ / Երդմամբ պարոն ըզնա եղեալ»; **Vahram d'Edesse**, pp. 513-514; **Kirakos Gandzakets'i**, p. 190: «Իսկ մեծ իշխանն Կոստանդին իբրև առ զիշխանութիւնն քաղաւորութեանն որդոյ իւրում Հեթում, զամենայն հոգս արքայութեան յանձն առեալ իմաստաբար կարգաւորէր. զկէսն հնազանդէր սիրով, և զոչ հնազանդսն բառնայր ի միշոյ՝ զոմանս փախստական առնելով և զայլս մահուամբ».

¹⁵⁹ As we discussed earlier, Lewon made sure that no one would contest his power and made sure that everything would go according to his plans: Het'um Heghi was forced to become a monk; the T'ornikian brothers, Shahnshah and Het'um were killed because the latter's wife, Alice, Ruben III's daughter, was supposed to marry Raymond of Antioch.

¹⁶⁰ See note 3.

¹⁶¹ "La chronique du royaume de la petite Arménie", p. 648. Kirakos noted that Kostandin of Papeçon cultivated and maintained good relations with the Seljuks and the neighbouring rulers, see **Kirakos Gandzakets'i**, p. 190.

¹⁶² **Pierre-Vincent Clavierie**, *Honorius III et l'Orient*, pp. 401-402; *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, tom. II, p. 290, doc. 5222.

¹⁶³ **Pierre-Vincent Clavierie**, *Honorius III et l'Orient*, pp. 462-463; *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, tom. II, p. 440, doc. 6027.

was caused by a century-old anti-Latin tradition of the Het'umids¹⁶⁴. However, it is unlikely that Kostandin regarded politics from a confessional point of view. Lewon maintained good relations with the West, especially with Rome, because he had two objectives: to become king and to place his great-nephew on the throne of Antioch. Kostandin had different goals: to crown his son as king and to keep his family in power. We can also add to these the Seljuk threat. Therefore, Rome was no longer necessary for the constable. Instead, the connections with the pope could have weakened his grip on power. Het'um I was crowned king by the catholicos, not by a Latin bishop¹⁶⁵, and the Armenian medieval historians emphasized that in Cilicia, confessionalization played an important role¹⁶⁶, albeit only on a rhetorical basis, as individuals belonging to various confessions continued to live unhindered and in harmony¹⁶⁷. His actions against the archbishop of Tarsus and Mamistra were not

¹⁶⁴ **Claude Mutaftian**, *L'Arménie du Levant*, vol. I, p. 120. For Steven Runciman, Kostandin's actions represented an evolution from his ancestors' pro-Byzantine diplomacy to his nationalistic programme against the Latinization of Cilicia, see **Steven Runciman**, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. III, p. 171.

¹⁶⁵ There were two ceremonies during Lewon's coronation in 1198: one according to the Latin rite and performed by Conrad, archbishop of Mainz, and another one led by the catholicos Grigor VI Apirat, which followed the Armenian traditions, see **Maghak'ia Ormanean**, *Ազգապատմութիւն [History of the Armenian Nation]*, vol. I, pp. 1546-1547; **Sirarpie Der Nersessian**, "The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia", *A History of the Crusades*, ed. **Kenneth M. Setton**, vol. II, *The Later Crusades*, ed. **Robert Lee Wolff**, **Harry W. Hazard**, Madison, Milwaukee, London, 1969, p. 648; **Claude Mutaftian**, *L'Arménie du Levant*, vol. I, p. 98. Conrad's role in Lewon's coronation is noted in a letter dispatched by Grigor VI to Rome in 1199: "[...] sapiens et sublimis archiepiscopus Maguntinus, qui nobis attulit ex parte Dei, et ex parte sublimitatis Ecclesiae Romanae, et ex parte magni imperatoris Romanorum, sublimem coronam et coronavit regem nostrum Leonem, et nobis reddidit coronam, quam nos perdidimus a longo tempore", *Acta Innocentii PP. III*, p. 554. Some Armenian sources mention that the Catholicos crowned Lewon, see **A. S. Matevosyan**, *Հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ ե-ժԺ դդ. [Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 5th-12th cc.]*, Yerevan, 1988, p. 293; **Samuel Anets'i**, p. 233.

¹⁶⁶ Andrew II's son had to be baptised according to the Armenian rite to be able to marry Zabel, see **Mik'ayel Asori**, p. 505. A part of the agreement between the Armenian nobles and Bohemond IV stipulated that his son, Philip, would adopt the Armenian faith to marry Zabel, see "La chronique du royaume de la petite Arménie", p. 647. During his coronation, Lewon I had to swear an oath to protect the Armenian Church and its clerics, see **Ghewond Alishan**, *Սիսուան (Sissouan)*, p. 548, n. 473; **Abraham Terian**, "Church-State Relations at the Dawn of Kingship in Cilician Armenia", *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies*, 13, 2003-2004, pp. 10-11. See also **Peter Cowe**, "The Inauguration of the Cilician Coronation Rite and Royal Ideology", *Armenian Review*, vol. XLV, 4/1992, p. 54.

¹⁶⁷ As Samvel Grigoryan argued, some branches of the Het'umid family belonged to the Greek Church, while others to the Armenian Apostolic Church. However, the members of these families had close relationships with each other despite their confessional options, see **Samvel Grigoryan**, "The lineage of Adam (Siratan)", p. 238.

motivated by their confession but by their support for Philip of Antioch. Thus, their expulsion was dictated solely by political reasons. Cilicia was faced with a powerful enemy against whom Rome could not provide the Armenians with any help: the Seljuks. In this context, Kostandin realized that the foreign policy had to be changed to contain the Seljuk threat. As the Holy See and the West generally could not help the Armenians fighting against the Sultanate of Rum, Kostandin sought a new ally: the Empire of Nicaea¹⁶⁸.

Officially, the war of the Armenian succession ended in 1222, when Philip married Zabel and became king. However, some of the Armenian medieval historians would disagree. Peace was re-established only when Kostandin ousted Philip from Cilicia and placed his son on the Armenian throne¹⁶⁹. Therefore, a foreign ruler could not take care of Cilicia and its inhabitants. Unlike the situation from 1198, when the bishops from Cilicia had to accept the union with Rome¹⁷⁰, Kirakos Gandzakets'i, Smbat Sparapet, Vardan Arewelts'i, or Vahram Rabuni were no longer open to another compromise. As Davit Tinoyan emphasized, Philip's reign was used by Kostandin the Constable and the catholicos Kostandin I to convince the barons that a foreign ruler was not an option for Cilicia. Although what Kostandin the Constable did was, actually, an usurpation¹⁷¹ and he made sure that he would be able to control the kingdom even after Het'um would become king¹⁷², Kirakos viewed the appointment of Het'um's brothers in the most highest offices of Cilicia not as a means to consolidate the Het'umids' grip on power, but as part of the process which brought peace back to Cilicia¹⁷³.

¹⁶⁸ For the negotiations between the Armenian kingdom and the Empire of Nicaea, see **Hrach' Bartikyan**, «Հայ-բյուզանդական եկեղեցական հարաբերությունները» [“Armenian-Byzantine Ecclesiastical Relations”], *Gandzasar*, VII, 2002, pp. 53-55; **Azat Bozoyan**, “The Evidence of the Byzantine Sources”, *Cilician Armenia in the Perceptions of Adjacent Political Entities*, ed. **Azat Bozoyan**, Yerevan, 2019, pp. 59-62. For the negotiations that took place between 1247-1248, see **Kirakos Gandzakets'i**, p. 365.

¹⁶⁹ **Kirakos Gandzakets'i**, p. 190; **Smbat Sparapet**, p. 225; **Smbat le connétable**, p. 96.

¹⁷⁰ Lewon I had to convince the Armenian bishops from Cilicia to accept Celestine III's demands in exchange for the royal crown, see **Kirakos Gandzakets'i**, pp. 156-157.

¹⁷¹ **Samvel Grigoryan**, “The lineage of Adam (Siratan)”, p. 226.

¹⁷² **Levon Ter-Petrosyan**, *Խաչակիրները և հայերը* [The Crusaders and the Armenians], vol. II, pp. 254-255.

¹⁷³ See **Kirakos Gandzakets'i**, p. 190.

ԴԱՎԻԹ-ԼԻՆՈՒՄ ՆԵԱԳՈՒ

ԿԻԼԻԿՅԱՆ ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆՈՒՄ ԻՐԱՎԱՀԱՉՈՐԴՈՒԹՅԱՆ
ՀԱՄԱՐ ՄՂՎՈՂ ՊԱՏԵՐԱԶՄԸ (1219-1222/1226)

Բանալի բառեր՝ Կիլիկիա, Կոստանդին Գունդստաբլ, Հոնորիոս Գ, պատերազմ
իրավահաջորդության համար, ժան դը Բրիեն, Ռուբեն-Ռայմոնդ,
Հեթում Ա, Զաբել:

Հոգվածը նվիրված է Կիլիկիայի հայկական թագավորության իրավահաջորդության համար մղված պատերազմի զանազան կողմերի՝ Կիլիկիայում Լևոն Ա-ի մահից հետո քաղաքական իրավիճակին, հայոց աթոռի հավակնորդներին և Հռոմի մասնակցությանն այս պատերազմին: 1219-ից մինչև 1226 թ. շատ կարևոր փոփոխություններ տեղի ունեցան Կիլիկիայում, որոնցից ամենակարևորը Հեթումյանների իշխանության գալն էր: Սույն ուսումնասիրությունն առնչվում է Կոստանդին Գունդստաբլի՝ իր որդիներից մեկին հայոց աթոռի նստեցնելու ծրագրին: Կոստանդինի առաջին քայլը Սիր Ատանի սպանությունն էր: Հետո, նա հաղթեց Ռայմոնդ-Ռուբենին և գահընկեց արեց Փիլիպպոս թագավորին: Ի վերջո, 1226 թ. Կոստանդինի որդին՝ Հեթումը, թագավոր դարձավ: Կոստանդինի իշխանության գալու ծրագիրը նույնական էր Լևոնի ծրագրի հետ՝ ենթարկել Կիլիկիայի իշխաններին և իր ազդեցությունը տարածել կաթողիկոսի աթոռի վրա: Ի տարբերություն Լևոնի, որն իր թագավորելու տարիների մեծ մասը պատերազմել էր Բոհեմունդի դեմ և ամրապնդել իր կապերը Հռոմի հետ, Կոստանդինը ձգտում էր համագործակցել տեղական խաղաղողների հետ. Հոնորիոս Գ-ն աջակցել էր ոչ թե Կոստանդինին, այլ Ռայմոնդ-Ռուբենին և Կիլիկիան ուներ նոր թշնամի՝ սելջուկ-թուրքերը, որոնց դեմ պայքարում Հռոմի պապերը ոչ մի կերպ չէին կարող օգնել: Հեթում Ա-ի գահակալումը 1226 թ. նշանավորեց կիլիկյան արտաքին քաղաքականության փոփոխություն. թագավորն ու նրա հայրը նոր դաշնակիցներ էին փնտրում Ռումի սուլթանության դեմ, ինչպես նիկիայի թագավարությունն էր:

ДАВИД-ЛИНУС НЕАГУ

**ВОЙНА ЗА ПРАВО НАСЛЕДОВАНИЯ В КИЛИКИЙСКОЙ
АРМЕНИИ (1219-1222/1226?)**

Ключевые слова: Киликия, Константин Коннетабль, Гонорий III, война за наследование, Жан де Бриенн, Раймонд-Рубен, Хетум I, Забел.

Статья посвящена разным аспектам войны за право наследования в Киликийской Армении: политической ситуации после смерти Левона I, претендентам на армянский трон и участию Рима в этой войне. С 1219 по 1226 год в Киликии произошло много изменений, самым важным из которых был захват власти Хетумидами. Данное исследование касается программы Константина Коннетабля посадить одного из своих сыновей на армянский престол. Первым шагом Константина было убийство сира Адама. Затем он победил Раймонда-Рубена и сверг с престола царя Филиппа. Наконец в 1226 году воцарился сын Константина Хетум. Программа прихода к власти Константина была идентична программе Левона – подчинить киликийских князей и распространить свое влияние на престол католикоса. В отличие от Левона, который большую часть своего царствования воевал с Боэмундом и укреплял связи с Римом, Константин стремился к сотрудничеству с местными игроками. Гонорий III поддержал не Константина, а Раймонда-Рубена и у Киликии появился новый враг, турки-сельджуки, в борьбе против которых римские папы никак не могли помочь. Воцарение Хетума I в 1226 году ознаменовало поворот в киликийской внешней политике: царь и его отец искали новых союзников, таких, как Никейское царство, против Румского султаната.