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Hospitaller Castles and Fortifications in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1136-1291

**Castelos e fortificações do Hospital no Reino de Jerusalém,
1136-1291**

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents a historical and archaeological overview of the castles and other fortifications built and occupied by the Order of the Hospital of St John in the Kingdom of Jerusalem between 1136, when the order acquired the castle of Bayt Jibrīn, and the final Mamluk siege of Acre in 1291, during which it defended a section of the city walls. Topics discussed include the order's contribution to the defence of towns and cities in which they were not the sole or even the major property owner, as well as their own construction and possession of a range of other fortifications from major castles to lesser structures, including towers and *maisons fortes*. In each case, equal attention is paid to the buildings themselves and to the administrative system of bailiffs and castellans through which they were managed and operated. As the military situation became ever more precarious during the 13th century, the order also took over and briefly held three major castles, whose owners were unable to defend them: Ascalon between 1241 and 1247, Mount Tabor between 1255 and 1263, and Arsūf between 1261 and 1265.

Keywords: Hospitallers; Kingdom of Jerusalem; fortifications; castles; castellans.

RESUMO

Este artigo apresenta um panorama histórico e arqueológico dos castelos e outras fortificações, construídos e ocupados pela Ordem do Hospital de São João no Reino de Jerusalém, entre 1136, quando a ordem adquiriu o castelo de Bayt Jibrīn, e o último cerco mameluco de Acre em 1291, durante o qual defendeu uma parte das muralhas da cidade. Os tópicos discutidos incluem o contributo da ordem para a defesa de vilas e cidades, nas quais ela não era a única, nem mesmo a principal proprietária, bem como a construção e posse de uma série de outras fortificações, desde castelos importantes a estruturas menores, incluindo torres e casas-fortes. Para cada caso, foi dada idêntica atenção aos edifícios e à estrutura administrativa de bailias e castelhanias, através dos quais eram geridas e exploradas. À medida que a situação militar se tornava cada vez mais precária, durante o século XIII, a ordem também assumiu e manteve, por curto período, três castelos principais cujos proprietários não podiam defendê-los: Ascalon entre 1241 e 1247, Monte Tabor entre 1255 e 1263 e Arsūf entre 1261 e 1265.

Palavras-chave: Hospitalários; Reino de Jerusalém; fortificações; castelos; castelhanias.



Introduction¹

From the time of its beginnings in eleventh-century Jerusalem and its recognition as an order of the church by Pope Paschal II in 1113, the main purpose of the Hospital of St John was to care for the sick poor visiting Jerusalem. By the mid 1120s, however, partly in imitation of the Templars, the order was already beginning to assume military functions and to attract knights into its brotherhood. The order's military activities soon extended beyond merely protecting its own property or providing sergeant service, as some other ecclesiastical institutions continued to do². Instead, like the Templars, the order began to play an active part in the defence of the kingdom of Jerusalem and of the neighbouring Christian states to the north. In 1136, King Fulk granted the Hospital the newly built castle of Bayt Jibrīn, one of a ring of castles encircling Muslim-held Ascalon. In due course, the Hospitallers developed a network of greater and lesser fortified centres, fulfilling both military and administrative functions.

¹ Abbreviations used: *AI* – PRAWER, Joshua; BENVENISTI, Meron – “Palestine under the Crusaders”. In AMIRAN, David H.K. *et al.* (eds.) – *Atlas of Israel*, Jerusalem–Amsterdam: Survey of Israel, Ministry of Labor/Elsevier Publishing, 1970, sheet IX/10; *CCCM* – *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*, Turnhout:Brepols, 1966-; *CH* – *Cartulaire générale de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310)*. 4 vols. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894-1906; *DRHC* – *Documents relatifs à l'Histoire des Croisades*. Paris, 1946-; *HA/ESI* – *Hadashot Askheologiot: Excavations and Surveys in Israel*; *NEAEHL* – *New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*. Ed. E. Stern. 5 vols. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society & Carta, 1993-2008; *PG* – Palestine Grid; *RHC HOcc* – *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux*. 5 vols. Paris: Imprimerie royale: Imprimerie impériale: Imprimerie nationale, 1844-1895; *RHC Hor* – *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens orientaux*. 5 vols. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1872-1906; *RRH* – *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*. Ed. R. Röhrich. Innsbruck: Libraria academica Wagneriana, 1893; *RRH Ad* – *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani: Additamentum*. Ed. R. Röhrich. Innsbruck: Libraria academica Wagneriana, 1904; *RS* – *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Rolls Series). 99 vols. London, 1858-1897; *TOT* – *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici ex Tabularii Regii Berolinensis Codice Potissimum*. Ed. E. Strehlike, Berlin: Weidmann, 1869. Reprinted with Preface by H.E. Mayer. Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1975; *ULKJ* – *Die Urkunden der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem = MGH Diplomata Regum Latinorum Hierosolymitanorum*. Ed. H.E. Mayer, 4 vols. Hanover, 2010; *ZDPV* – *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*.

² The lay brothers of the Benedictine abbey on Mount Tabor in 1163, for example, included Radulph de Turcopolis (*CH* 2, pp. 904-905, “Chartes du Mont Tabor”, n.º 13; *RRH*, pp. 102-103, n.º 389), while the list of military service due from bishops and religious houses dating from the 1180s preserved in JOHN OF IBELIN's law book (*Livre*, ed. Edbury, p. 615; cf. EDBURY, Peter W. – *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997, pp. 127-141, 199-200) sets the obligation of the abbot at 100 sergeants (cf. PRINGLE, Denys – *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*. 4 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993-2009, vol. 2, p. 66).

This paper is concerned with the building works associated with the Hospitallers' military activities. As a result of the integrated functional organization of the order, however, it is often hard to draw a clear distinction between military and non-military buildings, or even to make a rigid functional classification of them. A castle, for example, might serve a number of military functions, from protecting travellers on the highway to serving as a garrison for troops and contributing to the general defence of the realm; but castles could also – and usually did – serve in other ways as secure centres for administering estates and collecting revenues to support the Hospital's charitable works, for encouraging Frankish and indigenous Christian settlement of the surrounding lands, and (more especially in the north) for exercising lordship and the administration of justice. Below them in the settlement hierarchy were numbers of smaller fortified towers and other buildings established in agricultural villages or protecting mills, sugar factories or other rural installations. The castles were normally commanded by castellans, who also acted as conventual bailiffs, administering the order's estates in the region; but exactly how the lower-order sites were managed and who lived in them is often not at all clear. Some appear to have been managed by brother knights, who appear in charters designated by the place where they were stationed; but in other cases it is possible that the occupiers would have been secular estate managers or stewards. The late Jonathan Riley-Smith calculated that at one time or another the Hospitallers would have held 56 strongpoints in Syria and Palestine, 11 of them only for short periods. In 1180, they may have been holding 25, and in 1244 perhaps 29, though most of these would have been relatively small³.

Contributions to town defence

In addition to the contribution that the Hospitallers made to the defence of the kingdom through the castles and centres that they managed on their own account, they also contributed to the defence of cities and in some cases castles held by other parties⁴.

³ RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan – *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant, c.1070-1309*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, p. 90.

⁴ See RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan – *The Knights Hospitaller*, pp. 90, 260 n.º 84; cf. PRINGLE, Denys – “The Military Orders in the Cities of the Holy Land”. In CARRAZ, Damien (ed.) – *Les Ordres militaires dans la Ville médiévale (1100-1350)*. Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise-Pascal, 2013, pp. 79-95.

In Jerusalem there are a number of indications that, like the Templars, the Hospitallers may have held a sector of the walls to maintain and defend. A rental of c.1157-1163, for example, includes an item of half a bezant paid annually by a woman, perhaps an anchoress, living inside the city wall in the Belcaire district on Mount Sion in the south-western part of the city⁵. In 1178, the Hospital possessed two houses next to the same wall near the 'new gate' leading to the church of Mount Sion.⁶ William of Tyre also records that after part of the city walls collapsed in 1178, the secular and ecclesiastical authorities agreed to allocate a certain amount of money each year for repairs⁷. This may account for the mention in a contemporary account of the siege of August 1187 of a "new tower, which had been built by the brothers of the Hospital"⁸.

In 1152 Maurice, lord of Montreal, granted the Hospital various rights and properties in Transjordan, and in Karak "a certain tower which is to the left as one enters the gate of the castle, and the barbican that is between the two walls extending from that tower as far as the tower of St Mary"⁹. It has previously been suggested that the barbican in question might perhaps have been a predecessor of the Mamluk lower ward on the western side of the castle, in which Paul Deschamps claimed to have detected some traces of earlier Frankish work¹⁰. A much likelier explanation, however, and one that tallies more convincingly with the topographical indications, is that the grant concerned the castle's north-eastern tower and a double wall that ran south from it up to a tower adjoining the east end of the castle

⁵ PAOLI, Sebastiano (ed.) – *Codice diplomatico del sacro militare ordine gerosolimitano oggi di Malta*. 2 vols. Lucca: Marescandoli, 1733-37, vol. 1, pp. 235-236, n.º 190; PRINGLE, Denys – "A Rental of Hospitaller Properties in Twelfth-Century Jerusalem". In EDGINGTON, Susan B.; NICHOLSON Helen J. (eds.) – *Deeds Done Beyond the Sea: Essays on William of Tyre, Cyprus and the Military Orders presented to Peter Edbury*. (Crusades-Subsidia 6). Farnham: Ashgate, 2014, pp. 181-196, at p. 184, p. 192, p. 195; *RRH*, pp. 127-128, n.º 483.

⁶ *CH* 1, p. 366, n.ºs. 537-538; *RRH*, p. 148, n.ºs. 558-559.

⁷ WILLIAM OF TYRE – *Chronicon* 21.14 (25). Ed. R.B.C. Huygens, *CCCM* 63-63a. Turnhout: Brepols, 1986, p. 996.

⁸ RÖHRICHT, Reinold – *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*. Berlin: Weidmann 1874, vol. 1, p. 191; cf. PRINGLE, Denys – "Review of R. Hillenbrand and S. Auld (eds), *Ayyubid Jerusalem: The Holy City in Context 1187-1250*". *Levant* 43/2 (2011), pp. 213-215.

⁹ *CH* 1, p. 160, n.º. 207; *RRH*, p. 71, n.º 279; RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan – *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c.1050-1310. History of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem*, vol. 1. London: Macmillan, 1967, p. 56.

¹⁰ PRINGLE, Denys – *The Churches*, vol. 1, pp. 286-287; vol. 2, pp. 310-311; cf. DESCHAMPS, Paul – *Les Châteaux des croisés en Terre-Sainte*. Vol. 2. *La défense du Royaume de Jérusalem. Étude historique, géographique et monumentale* (text + album). Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1939, p. 87.

chapel (**Fig. 1**)¹¹. Like the church of St Mary in al-Shawbak (Montreal), whose entitlement to tithes within the lordship is mentioned in the same document, this chapel would most likely have been served by canons of the *Templum Domini*, who appear to have had charge of the Latin ecclesiastical establishment in the lordship before the appointment of a bishop of Karak in 1167¹². A canon of the *Templum Domini*, Assenard, appears among the witnesses to the charter and, although the chaplain, Reinard, who was responsible for drafting it, is not similarly identified, it seems likely that he too was a canon and that the tower of St Mary represented the canons' residence next to the chapel of the same dedication. Maurice's grant was reconfirmed in 1177 by Renaud de Châtillon, lord of Montreal and Hebron, with the words, "in Karak (Petra) a house (*domus*) with its appurtenances (*pertinentia*), as was given to the Hospital [by Maurice]", suggesting that the arrangement with the Hospitallers was still in operation at that time¹³. The unstated implication of both charters is that the grantors' expectation was that the Hospitallers would play their part in maintaining and defending the parts of the castle entrusted to them.

¹¹ MAYER, Hans Eberhard – *Die Kreuzfahrerherrschaft Montréal (Šöbak): Jordanien im 12. Jahrhundert*. Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 14. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1990, p. 227.

¹² MAYER, Hans Eberhard – *Die Kreuzfahrerherrschaft Montréal*, pp. 221–228, 281–283; cf. PRINGLE, Denys – *The Churches*, vol. 1, pp. 286–287; vol. 2, pp. 309–311; SINIBALDI, Micaela – "Karak Castle in the Lordship of Transjordan: Observations on the Chronology of the Crusader-period Fortress". In EDBURY, Peter; PRINGLE, Denys; MAJOR, Balázs (eds.) – *Bridge of Civilizations: The Near East and Europe c. 1100-1300*. Oxford: Archeopress, 2019, pp. 97–114, at pp. 106–112.

¹³ *Pace* PRINGLE, Denys – *The Churches*, vol. 1, p. 288.



Fig. 1 – Karak Castle: view looking N along the E wall. The Hospitallers’ barbican would have extended from near the tower in the centre of the wall to the now largely demolished NE corner-tower beyond it (© DP 2017).

In 1157, Humphrey II of Toron (Tibnīn) granted the Hospitallers half of the town of Bāniyās, which had formerly been part of the fief of Walter of Beirut¹⁴. According to William of Tyre, Humphrey’s reason was that he was unable to defend Bāniyās without assistance. The terms were that the Hospitallers were to have half of the city and its dependencies (*civitas et suburbani*) in return for bearing half the expense of defending it. On 26 April, however, as the relief convoy and its escort of knights and footsoldiers approached the city, they fell into an ambush prepared by Nūr al-Dīn’s brother, Nuṣrat al-Dīn Amīr-Mīrān. Most of the escort were killed or taken prisoner and all the provisions lost. Following this the Hospitallers withdrew from their agreement with the constable¹⁵. The city was attacked twice more by Nūr al-Dīn the same year before falling to him in 1164¹⁶. Humphrey of Toron’s initial grant had also

¹⁴ WILLIAM OF TYRE – *Chronicon* 18.12, ed. Robert B.C. Huygens, p. 826. The grant was confirmed by Baldwin III on 4 October 1157: *CH* 1, pp. 195-196, n^o. 258; *ULKJ* 1, pp. 450-452, n^o. 244; *RRH*, pp. 83-84, n^o. 325; cf. PRINGLE, Denys – *The Churches*, vol. 1, p. 108.

¹⁵ WILLIAM OF TYRE – *Chronicon* 18.12, ed. Robert B.C. Huygens, pp. 826-827; IBN AL-QALĀNISĪ – “Dhayl Ta’rīkh Dimashq”. In *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*. Extracts trans. H.A.R. Gibb, London: Luzac, 1932, pp. 330-332.

¹⁶ WILLIAM OF TYRE – *Chronicon* 18.12-15, 19.10, ed. Robert B.C. Huygens, pp. 826-833, pp. 876-877; IBN AL-QALĀNISĪ – “Dhayl Ta’rīkh Dimashq”, pp. 333-335.

included half of *Castellum Novum*, or Hūnīn, presumably on the same terms;¹⁷ but this arrangement also seems to have been abandoned when the Hospitallers gave up Bāniyās, as there is no further mention of it.

In 1162, the Hospitallers received from Gerald, lord of Sidon, two gates in the wall and fore-wall of Sidon respectively and the entire fore-wall from Baldwin's Tower to the Sea Tower¹⁸. This grant probably comprised the entire southern wall of the city between the Land Castle (**Fig. 2**) and the sea, along with the gate and barbican facing Tyre, which are also referred to in other charters¹⁹. The grant was confirmed by Balian, lord of Sidon, in May 1237²⁰. In 1262, however, two years after the sale of the lordship of Sidon to the Templars, the Hospital passed all its possessions in the city to the Templars²¹.



Fig. 2 – Sidon: the Land Castle, occupying the site of the Roman theatre. This was probably Baldwin's Tower, which marked the E end of the Hospitallers' barbican in 1162 (© DP 1998).

¹⁷ *CH* 1, pp. 195-196, n.º 258; *ULKJ* 1, pp. 450-452, n.º. 244; *RRH*, pp. 83-84, n.º 325.

¹⁸ *CH* 1, p. 218, n.º 302; *RRH Ad*, p. 22, n.º 376b.

¹⁹ PRINGLE, Denys – *The Churches*, vol. 2, pp. 322-323; cf. RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan – *The Knights of St. John*, p. 130.

²⁰ *CH* 2, p. 510, n.º 2160; *RRH Ad*, p. 66, n.º 1076a; RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan – *The Knights Hospitaller*, p. 260 n.º 84.

²¹ *CH* 3, pp. 31-33, n.º 3029; *RRH*, pp. 344-345, n.º 1319; PRINGLE, Denys – *The Churches*, vol. 2, pp. 322-323.

In the 12th century the Hospitallers also seem to have contributed to the defence of Ascalon, where they gave their name to a tower which Bahā' al-Dīn describes as “a vast tower, overlooking the sea, like an impregnable fortress”. This was so strongly built that when Saladin ordered its demolition in September 1191, it had to be packed with timber and left to burn for over two days before pickaxes would have any effect on it²². This tower may have formed part of a sector of the town walls that the Hospitallers had inherited from the Spanish order of Mountjoy at the time of the return of the head of that order, Roderic, to Aragon around 1180, before its amalgamation with the hospital of the Holy Redeemer in Teruel in 1188²³. The sector had been granted to the order of Mountjoy between Christmas 1176 and 30 June 1177 by Sibylla, countess of Ascalon, no doubt on the understanding that the order would maintain and defend it. The sector included: “the Tower of the Maidens in the town of Ascalon, and the garden below the tower, and two other towers on the walls of the same town between the previously mentioned tower and the church of St Mary, and another one towards the sea on the other side of the Tower of the Maidens”²⁴. This grant was confirmed in similar terms by Pope Alexander III on 15 May 1180²⁵. The stretch of wall concerned would therefore have comprised four mural towers and the intervening curtain walls between the sea and the unlocated church of St Mary. It probably lay on the south side of the city, with its westernmost tower close to and overlooking the sea²⁶.

²² BAHĀ' AL-DĪN IBN SHADDĀD – “Al-Nawādir al-Sultāniyya wa'l-Maḥāsin al-Yūsufiyya”. In *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin*. Trans. D.S. Richards. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002, p. 180.

²³ On the Order of Mountjoy, see DELAVILLE LE ROULX, Joseph – “L'ordre de Montjoie”; FOREY, Alan John – “The Order of Mountjoy”. *Speculum* 46 (1971), pp. 250-266; PRINGLE, Denys – *The Churches*, vol. 2, pp. 43-45; PRINGLE, Denys; KEDAR, Benjamin Z. – “The Site of the House of St Mary of Mountjoy, near Jerusalem”. *Revue biblique* 129/3 (2022), pp.392-407.

²⁴ *ULKJ* 2, pp. 843-845, n.º 493 (here trans. DP); *RRH*, p. 147, n.º 553; cf. PAOLI, Sebastiano (ed.) – *Codice diplomatico*, vol. 1, p. 63, n.º 63.

²⁵ HIESTAND, Rudolf (ed.) – *Vorarbeiten zum Oriens Pontificius 2: Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter*. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-Hist., Klasse, series 3, 135. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1984, pp. 309-312, n.º 122; pp. 315-319, n.º 125; DELAVILLE LE ROULX, Joseph – “L'ordre de Montjoie”, pp. 51-54, n.º 1; *RRH Ad*, p. 37, n.º 594a.

²⁶ PRINGLE, Denys – *The Churches*, vol. 1, p. 64; PRINGLE, Denys – “The Survey of the Walls of Ashkelon”. In HOFFMAN, Tracy Lynn (ed.) – *Ashkelon 8: The Islamic and Crusader Periods*. University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns, 2019, pp. 97-221, at p. 109, p. 113, pp. 140-142, p. 211, p. 219. In the mid 19th century the Tower of the Maidens was identified as a ruined tower on the SW side of the enceinte: see GUÉRIN, Victor – *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine*. 1: *Judée*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1868-1869, vol. 2, p. 148.

In 1194, Count Henry of Champagne granted the Hospitallers the possession of an entire quarter in Jaffa between the town wall facing the sea on the north and west and the castle on the south, including two towers – one of them named the Tower of the Hospital – on the town wall and right of access to the harbour²⁷. In 1207/8 and 1240 there is mention of a bailiff of Jaffa, whom Riley-Smith suggests may have had charge of what remained of the 12th century bailiwick of *Spina*²⁸. In Tyre, sometime between 1198 and 1205, Aimery of Lusignan and Queen Isabella also granted the Hospitallers a gate in the city wall behind their house. Although this faced south on to the sea and was not therefore part of the land wall, it must still have been of some potential economic or military significance, for in June 1270 the Hospital accepted a grant of the village of *Maron* (Marūn al-Ra's) and other rights in return for agreeing to wall it up²⁹.

During the 13th century, the Hospitallers made a significant contribution to the defence of the walls of Acre. In 1192 and 1194, King Guy and Henry of Champagne respectively had granted them a block of land for their new headquarters inside the north wall of the city, between the Tower of the Hospital beside Our Lady's Gate on the east and St John's Gate on the west, with permission to fortify the latter, though with a royal gatekeeper to control access in and out of it. The grant also included the barbican and outer wall in front of it³⁰. Following the enclosure of the Montmusard suburb by a double wall by 1212³¹, this part of the old north wall would have lost much of its defensive importance; even so, in 1235, the Hospitallers acquired more of it to the west, including the New Gate, which had formerly been called the Tower

²⁷ *CH* 1, p. 603, n.^o 954; *ULKJ* 2, pp. 944-947, n.^o 572; *RRH*, pp. 189-190, n.^o 709; cf. PRINGLE, Denys – *The Churches*, vol. 1, p. 271; RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan – *The Knights Hospitaller*, p. 260 n.^o 84.

²⁸ *CH* 2, pp. 64-65, n.^{os} 1250-1251 (Feb 1207 or 1208, Galfridus/Gefridus bailiff of Jaffa); pp. 574-575, n.^o 2245 (*frater Geraudus preceptor domus Hospitalis in Joppen*); RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan – *The Knights Hospitaller*, p. 179. On *Spina*, see below.

²⁹ *ULKJ* 2, pp. 1012-1013, n.^o *624; *RRH*, pp. 356-357, n.^o 1366; cf. *CH* 3, pp. 202-203, n.^o 3346; p. 222, n.^o 3393; *ULKJ* 3, pp. 1251-1252, n.^o *714; *RRH*, pp. 336-337, n.^o 1286; *RRH Ad*, p. 92, n.^o 1374b; CHÉHAB, Maurice – *Tyr à l'époque des croisades 2: Histoire sociale, économique et religieuse*. Paris: A. Maisonneuve, 1979, pp. 533-536; PRINGLE, Denys – *The Churches*, vol. 4, p. 208.

³⁰ PRINGLE, Denys – *The Churches*, vol. 4, pp. 83-84.

³¹ WILBRAND OF OLDENBURG – "Itinerarium". In PRINGLE, Denys (ed.) – "Wilbrand of Oldenburg's Journey to Syria, Lesser Armenia, Cyprus, and the Holy Land (1211-1212): A New Edition". *Crusades* 11 (2012), pp. 109-137, at pp. 116-117. WILBRAND OF OLDENBURG – "Itinerarium". In PRINGLE, Denys – *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187-1291*. Crusade Texts in Translation 23. Trans. Denys Pringle. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012, pp. 61-94, at p. 62; cf. PRINGLE, Denys – "Town Defences", pp. 82-84.

of the Prison³². In 1193, however, Henry of Champagne had also granted them part of the east wall, from the Gate of Geoffrey le Tor northwards to the gate-tower of St Nicolas, including the outer wall, the barbican or lists between the two walls, and land outside the outer wall³³. Doubtless, like the Teutonic Order, who were given the sector north of this, they would have been expected to maintain and defend it³⁴. By 1217, however, following the construction of the new walls around Montmusard, the Hospitallers appear to have relinquished this sector to the Germans and were granted instead the southern sector of the wall of Montmusard between the Gate of Evil Step (*Malpas*) and the Gate of St Antony. It was through this gate and the Hospitallers' garden in front of it that Riccardo Filanghieri secretly entered and left the city in 1242³⁵. This sector, marked *custodia hospitalis* or *hospitalariorum* on the Vesconte maps of Acre (c.1320), was defended during the Mamluk siege of 1291 by the Hospitallers and the knights of the associated Spanish confraternity of St James³⁶.

Castles

According to William of Tyre, Bayt Jibrīn (PG 140.112) was built by King Fulk as the first of a planned ring of castles to contain Muslim raiding from Ascalon. It was sited in the ruined city of Eleutheropolis, which the Franks mistakenly identified as Beer-sheba³⁷, and initially consisted of "a fortress (*presidium*) strongly fortified with an insuperable wall, outworks and a ditch as well as towers"³⁸. When it was finished, Fulk granted the castle to the Hospital. In his confirmation of this grant between September and December 1136 he also added ten *casalia* given by Hugh (II), the castellan of Hebron, and another four granted directly by the king himself, all of them located in the royal domain of Hebron³⁹. Around 1150, Usāma ibn Munqidh took part in an Ascalonite raid on Bayt Jibrīn, where the Egyptians succeeded in

³² PRINGLE, Denys – *The Churches*, vol. 4, pp. 84-5.

³³ CH 1, p. 594, n.º 938; ULKJ 2, pp. 949-950, n.º *574; RRH Ad, p. 48, n.º 716a.

³⁴ PRINGLE, Denys – *The Churches*, vol. 4, p. 90; PRINGLE, Denys – "Town Defences", pp. 82-83, pp. 99-100.

³⁵ PHILIP OF NOVARA (Filippo da Novara) – *Guerra di Federico II in Oriente (1223-1242)*, §126 (222). Ed. and Italian trans. S. Melani. Naples: Liguori, 1994, p. 222; PRINGLE, Denys – *The Churches*, vol. 4, p. 85.

³⁶ PRINGLE, Denys – *The Churches*, vol. 4, p. 90, fig. 1, pl. V.

³⁷ The Arabic name is derived from the Aramaic Beth Geborīm, 'house of great men': PALMER, Edward Henry – *The Survey of Western Palestine: Arabic and English Name Lists*. London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1881, p. 365.

³⁸ WILLIAM OF TYRE – *Chronicon* 24.22, ed. Robert B.C. Huygens, p. 660.

³⁹ CH 1, pp. 97-98, n.º 116; ULKJ 1, pp. 310-314, n.º 115; RRH, pp. 40-41, n.º. 164.

burning the Franks' newly harvested grain but were beaten off by other Franks assembling from nearby fortresses⁴⁰. Egyptian raiding did not end with the fall of Ascalon in 1153 and another attack is recorded in 1158⁴¹. Civilians were evidently already settling in Bayt Jibrīn before 1153, and by 1160 they had been granted a *charte de peuplement* by the Hospitaller master, Raymond du Puy, which was reconfirmed in 1168 and again after 1177⁴². An un-named castellan is mentioned in 1155⁴³, another named Aimo in 1168⁴⁴, and a third, Garnier of Nāblus, between 1173 and 1175⁴⁵. Although in theory Bayt Jibrīn was ceded to the Franks between 1240 and 1244⁴⁶, there is little evidence for the castle's reoccupation or for any revival of its castellany⁴⁷.

Excavation of the castle from the 1980s onwards, albeit still mostly unpublished, has revealed that the first phase consisted of a *quadriburgium*, some 50 m square with solid turrets at the corners (**Fig. 3**), built over the remains of a Roman bath building. This lay just inside a corner of the late Roman city wall, which formed the north and western sides of an outer enceinte measuring some 170 m east-west by 125 m

⁴⁰ USĀMA IBN MUNQĪDH – *The Book of Contemplation: Islam and the Crusades*. Trans. with introduction and notes by P.M. Cobb. London: Penguin, 2008, pp. 25-26.

⁴¹ IBN MUYASSAR – “Akhbar Miṣr (Annales d'Égypte)”. In *RHC HOr* 3. Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1884, p. 472.

⁴² *CH* 1, pp. 272-273, n.º 399 (1168); p. 350, n.º 509 (1177-); *RRH*, pp. 119-120, n.º 457 (1168); RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan – *The Knights of St. John*, pp. 436-437; PRAWER, Joshua – *Crusader Institutions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980, pp. 120-124. Note, however, that the ‘custom of Lydda-Ramla’ (*consuetudo Lithde quam alio nomine vocamus Ramas*) that is mentioned in 1168 was most probably no more than a convention applying to the division of the spoils of war: see PRINGLE, Denys – *The Churches*, vol. 2, pp. 183-184.

⁴³ BURGTÖF, Jochen – *The Central Convent of the Hospitallers and Templars: History, Organization, and Personnel (1099/1120-1310)*. Leiden: Brill, 2008, p. 52 (Manosque, fol. 287' 29X).

⁴⁴ *CH* 1, pp. 272-273, n.º 399; *RRH*, pp. 119-120, n.º 457. Another un-named castellan is mentioned in 1171-72, in a document referring to 1169: *CH* 1, pp. 276-279, n.º 403; *RRH*, pp. 126-127, n.º 480; HIESTAND, Rudolf – *Vorarbeiten zum Oriens Pontificius* 2, pp. 222-227, n.º 19; cf. DELAVILLE LE ROULX, Joseph – *Les Hospitaliers*, p. 432.

⁴⁵ *CH* 1, pp. 306-308, n.º 443 (1173); pp. 318-319, n.º 464 (1174); pp. 321-323, n.º 469 (1175); pp. 323-324, n.º 471 (1175); DELAVILLE LE ROULX, Joseph – “Inventaire de pièces de Terre Sainte de l'ordre de l'Hôpital”. *Revue de l'Orient latin* 3 (1895), pp. 36-106, at p. 59, n.º 103 (1174); DELAVILLE LE ROULX, Joseph – *Les Hospitaliers*, p. 432 (1173-5); *RRH*, p. 132, n.º 502 (1173); pp. 136-137, n.º 516 (1174); p. 143, n.º 535 (1175); p. 142, n.º 532 (1175).

⁴⁶ KHAMISY, Rabei G.; PRINGLE, Denys – “Richard of Cornwall's Treaty with Egypt, 1241”. In MENACHE, S. et al. (eds) – *Crusading and Trading between West and East: Studies in Honour of David Jacoby*. Crusades-Subsidia 12. London-New York: Routledge, 2019, pp. 54-84, at pp. 61-62, p. 69, p. 75, table A, fig. 5.2.

⁴⁷ RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan – *The Knights of St. John*, p. 429. On the role of Hospitaller castellans in the East, see PRINGLE, Denys – “The Role of Castellans in the Latin East”. In FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina Ferreira (ed.) – *Castelos das Ordens Militares: Actas de Encontro Internacional*. Lisboa: Direção-Geral do Património Cultural, 2013, vol. 2, pp. 183-204, at pp. 193-194.

north–south. It also enclosed the remains of the Roman amphitheatre, which was progressively dismantled for building material as the castle took shape. In a secondary period outer walls, towers and moats were added and the interior was divided into two. In a final Frankish phase, which the excavators date after 1153, the military character of the castle was to some extent compromised by the construction of dwellings, stables and store-rooms in the outer ward and the erection of a conventual church, which doubtless also served the needs of the parish. This was built against the south side of the inner ward and was linked to its refectory at ground level and most probably to the dormitory at first-floor level⁴⁸.



Fig. 3 – Bayt Jibrin (Bethgibelin): the W side of the four-towered castle granted by King Fulk to the Hospital in 1136 (© DP 2002).

⁴⁸ On the castle as a whole, see: KLONER, Amos; COHEN, Miriam – “The Crusader Fortress at Beth Guvrin”. *Qadmoniot* 33/1 (2000), pp. 32-39 [in Hebrew]; COHEN, Michael – “The Fortification of the Fortress of Gybelin”. In FAUCHERRE, Nicolas; MESQUI, Jean; PROUTEAU, Nicolas (eds.) – *La fortification au temps des croisades: Actes du colloque de Parthenay*. Rennes: Presse Universitaire de Rennes, 2004, pp. 67-76; PRINGLE, Denys – *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: An Archaeological Gazetteer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 27 n.º 32. On the church, see: PRINGLE, Denys – *The Churches*, vol. 1, pp. 95-101; vol. 4, pp. 250-256; PECHURO, Alexander; KLONER, Amos; COHEN, Michael – “Sculptural Fragments of the Furniture from the Crusader Church at Beth Guvrin”. *Levant* 43/1 (2011), pp. 51-77.

The site of the castle of Belmont corresponds with that of the ruined village of Şūba (PG 162.132), west of Jerusalem, which from the 12th century onwards was identified (incorrectly) with biblical Modein, the burial place of the Maccabees. It lay within an estate in the *terra Emaus*, centred on Abu Ghosh (Qaryat al-‘Inab, PG 160.134), which the Hospitallers identified as biblical Emmaus and already possessed by 1141, when they reached an agreement with the patriarch over the payment of tithes. William de Bellomonte, who assisted the preceptor and treasurer of the Hospital in a financial transaction in Jerusalem in 1157, would probably have been the castellan⁴⁹; An un-named castellan is also referred to in 1169⁵⁰; and in April 1186 the castellan was Bernard de Asinaria⁵¹; who probably succeeded Brother Bartholomew, who is mentioned as *bajulus Emaus* in February of the same year⁵². In 1187, the castle fell to Saladin, who is alleged to have ordered its demolition in 1191⁵³. Apart from a cache of three English short-cross pennies (1180×1247)⁵⁴, which possibly reached Belmont during the Third Crusade or when the area returned to Frankish control between 1229 and 1244, there is no evidence of Frankish reoccupation and until 1948 the site was occupied by a village⁵⁵.

⁴⁹ CH 1, pp. 188-189, n.º 249; RRH, p. 85, n.º 329.

⁵⁰ HIESTAND, Rudolf – *Vorarbeiten zum Oriens Pontificius* 2, pp. 222-227, n.º 19; CH 1, pp. 276-279, n.º 403; RRH, pp. 126-127, n.º 480.

⁵¹ CH 1, pp. 502-503, n.º 803; RRH, p. 173, n.º 651; DELAVILLE LE ROULX, Joseph – *Les Hospitaliers*, p. 432.

⁵² CH 1, pp. 491-496, n.º 783.

⁵³ AMBROISE – “Estoire de la guerre sainte”. Line 6848. In A. AILES, A.; BARBER, M. (ed. and trans.) – *The History of the Holy War*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003, vol. 1 (text), p. 111; vol. 2 (trans.), p. 124; *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, 4.23. Ed. W. Stubbs, in RS 38.1. London, 1864, p. 280. Trans. H.J. Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*. Crusade Texts in Translation 1. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997, p. 261.

⁵⁴ METCALF, Michael – “The Coins and Tokens”. In HARPER, Richard-P.; PRINGLE, Denys – *Belmont Castle: The Excavation of a Crusader Stronghold in the Kingdom of Jerusalem*. British Academy Monographs in Archaeology 10. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 81-86, at p. 81.

⁵⁵ On the history of the castle and its estate, see HARPER, Richard-P.; PRINGLE, Denys – *Belmont Castle*, pp. 13-20, pp. 215-219; PRINGLE, Denys – “Il castello di Belmonte e la proprietà ospedaliera della *Terra di Emmaus* nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme”. *Schola Salernitana – Annali* 11 (2006), pp. 167-184.

Excavation by the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem between 1986 and 1989 revealed that the earliest phase of the castle consisted of a *maison forte*, or manor house, constructed on the summit of the hill and remarkably similar in plan to another, also Hospitaller, standing in the valley below it at Aqua Bella (Khirbat ‘Iqbalā, PG 162.133) (**Fig. 4**). It seems likely that the builders of these and another known as Shaykh Ibrahim (PG 162.132), lying a hundred metres south of the castle, were previous tenants rather than the Hospitallers themselves. At any rate, whereas the manor house at Aqua Bella was subsequently converted into what appears to have been a monastic infirmary, by the insertion of an apse and chancel screen into its hall, the one at Belmont was instead developed into a castle by adding a polygonal outer enceinte with an external talus and gatehouse on the south-east, enclosing vaulted ranges including stables⁵⁶.



Fig. 4 – Aqua Bella (Kh. ‘Iqbalā): a Frankish manor house, converted into a monastic infirmary by the Hospitallers after c.1140 (© DP 2013).

⁵⁶ HARPER, Richard-P.; PRINGLE, Denys – *Belmont Castle*, pp. 43-79, pp. 195-215; PRINGLE, Denys – *Secular Buildings*, p. 96, n.º 207, fig. 53; PRINGLE, Denys – “Belmont Castle (Şuba)”. *NEAEHL* 5, pp. 1602-1604.

The third major castle to be established by the Hospitallers in the kingdom of Jerusalem was Belvoir (PG 199.222). Walter of Tiberias's confirmation of the sale of this to the Hospital for 1,400 bezants by Ivo Velos, issued in April 1168, described it as *castrum de Coquet, quod vulgariter Belvear nuncupatur, cum suis divisis et pertinentiis*⁵⁷, making it clear that a castle of some kind already existed. The concentric castle that the Hospitallers built over the next twenty years is discussed elsewhere in this volume, so there is no need to say much about it here. After the castle's surrender to Saladin on 5 January 1189⁵⁸, however, it was repaired and continued to be garrisoned for another thirty years until 1219, when it was demolished by al-Mu'azzam 'Īsā⁵⁹. Although the area was returned to Frankish hands between 1241 and 1263 and the Hospital reached an agreement with the archbishop of Nazareth over its tithes on 25 October 1259⁶⁰, there does not appear to be any evidence to indicate that it was ever reoccupied or refortified. Indeed, the late 13th century writer Ibn Shaddād says explicitly that it was not⁶¹.

⁵⁷ CH 1, pp. 271-272, n.º 398; RRH, pp. 116-117, n.º 448.

⁵⁸ ABŪ SHĀMĀ – “Le livre des deux jardins”. Ed. and trans. Barbier de Meynard. In *RHC HOR* 4-5. Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1879 and 1895. In *RHC HOR* 4, pp. 344-349, p. 384, pp. 386-392; BAHĀ' AL-DĪN IBN SHADDĀD – *Al-Nawādir al-Sultāniyya*, trans. D.S. Richards, p. 28, pp. 79-p. 80, p. 88, p. 89, p. 247; IBN AL-ATHĪR – “al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rikh”. In *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period*, 3 vols. Trans. D.S. Richards. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006-2008, vol. 2, pp. 338-339, p. 344, pp. 355-356; 'IMĀD AL-DĪN AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ – “*al-Faḥ al-Qussī fī'l-Faḥ al-Qudsī*”. In *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin*. Trans. H. Massé. In *DRHC* 10. Paris: P. Geuthner, for the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1972, p. 76, pp. 81-82, p. 104, p. 109, p. 112, p. 147, pp. 150-153; AL-MAQRĪZĪ – *A History of the Ayyūbid Sultans of Egypt*. Trans. R.J.C. Broadhurst. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1980, p. 87; LE STRANGE, Guy – *Palestine under the Moslems: A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from A.D. 650 to 1500*. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1890, p. 483 (quoting Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*).

⁵⁹ ABŪ SHĀMĀ – “Le livre des deux jardins”. In *RHC HOR* 5, pp. 87-88, p. 91, p. 125; BAHĀ' AL-DĪN IBN SHADDĀD – *Al-Nawādir al-Sultāniyya*, trans. D.S. Richards, p. 197, p. 236; IBN AL-FURĀT – “Ta'rikh al-Duwal wa'l-Mulūk”. In *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*. Ed. and trans. U. Lyons and M.C. Lyons. Cambridge: Heffers, 1971, vol. 1, p. 75 (text); vol. 2, p. 61 (trans.); 'IMĀD AL-DĪN – *al-Faḥ al-Qussī*, trans. Massé, p. 397; AL-MAKĪN IBN AL-'AMĪD – “Chronique des Ayyoubides (602-658/1205-6-1259-60)”. Trans. A.-M. Eddé and F. Micheau. In *DRHC* 16. Paris: Geuthner, for the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1994, p. 19; AL-MAQRĪZĪ – *A History of the Ayyūbid Sultans of Egypt*, trans. Broadhurst, p. 105, p. 138. It is not entirely clear whether the assertion by IBN AL-ATHĪR (*al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rikh*, vol. 3, p. 158) that Malik al-'Ādil demolished the castle in 1212-13 (609 H) is an erroneous reference to Mu'azzam 'Īsā's demolition in 1219 or refers to an earlier slighting.

⁶⁰ CH 2, p. 883, n.º 2937; DELAVILLE LE ROULX, Joseph – “Inventaire”, p. 96, n.º 318; RRH Ad, p. 82, n.º 1281a.

⁶¹ IBN SHADDĀD AL-HALIBĪ, 'Izz al-Dīn – *al-A'laq al-Khaṭira fī Dhikr Umarā' al-Shām wa'l-Jazīra*, 2.2: *Tārikh Lubnān, al-Urdunn wa-Filasṭīn*. Ed. S. al-Dahhān. Damascus, 1962, vol. 2.2, p. 161. I am grateful to Dr Rabei Khamisy for this reference.

The earliest castellan of Belvoir to be mentioned, in 1173, is Oldinus (Rollant)⁶², who in 1165-66 had been preceptor of *Spina*⁶³. He was followed by Alebaudus, *castellanus Belviderii* in 1184⁶⁴, and Monterius, *castellanus de Belveeir* in April 1185⁶⁵. Among the witnesses to the sale of Margat castle to the Hospital on 1 February 1186 was Brother Hermann, a former castellan of Crac des Chevaliers⁶⁶, who is described in the charter as *tunc temporis Betanhie bajulus*⁶⁷. It is usually assumed that this official was commander or bailiff of Bethany, between Jerusalem and Jericho⁶⁸. From 1138, however, Bethany had been in the possession of the Benedictine nuns of St Lazarus and it is difficult to see how a Hospitaller commandery could have been accommodated there at the same time⁶⁹. Bayt Ḥanīnā, another village near Jerusalem that is also referred to as *Betania*, seems no more plausible, as it had been granted to the nearby Premonstratensian abbey of St Samuel on Mount Joy, also in the reign of Fulk (1131-43)⁷⁰. A likelier identification is Baysān (Bet She'an, PG 197.211), ancient Scythopolis and the former metropolitan see of Galilee, which is referred to in Frankish sources variously as *Bethsan*, *Baisan*, *Beisan* and *Bezan*, but also as *Bethan* and *Bethania*. In 1103, for example, Pope Paschal II confirmed to the abbey of Mount Tabor four villages *in terra Bettanie (or Bethanie)*⁷¹. Gustav Beyer took this to refer to *Batanaea*, the ancient name for the region east of the Jawlān in Transjordan, which in medieval times gave its name to

⁶² CH 1, pp. 306-308, n.º 443; RRH, p. 132, n.º 502; DELAVILLE LE ROULX, Joseph – *Les Hospitaliers*, p. 432.

⁶³ CH 1, pp. 238-239, n.º 240; p. 245, n.º 354; RRH, p. 109, n.º 419; p. 110, n.º 423. On *Spina*, see below.

⁶⁴ CH 1, pp. 445-446, n.º 663; RRH, p. 169, n.º 640; DELAVILLE LE ROULX, Joseph – *Les Hospitaliers*, p. 432.

⁶⁵ CH 1, pp. 479-480, n.º 754; RRH, p. 169, n.º 642; DELAVILLE LE ROULX, Joseph – *Les Hospitaliers*, p. 432.

⁶⁶ CH 1, pp. 445-6, n.º 663 (1184); pp. 479-80, n.º 754 (1185); RRH, p. 169, n.º 640 (1184); pp. 169-170, n.º 642 (1185); cf. DELAVILLE LE ROULX, Joseph – *Les Hospitaliers*, p. 432.

⁶⁷ CH 1, pp. 491-496, n.º 783.

⁶⁸ DELAVILLE LE ROULX, Joseph – *Les Hospitaliers*, p. 432; RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan – *The Knights of St. John*, p. 429; RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan – *The Knights Hospitaller*, p. 179.

⁶⁹ On the abbey of St Lazarus, see MAYER, Hans Eberhard – *Bistümer, Kloster und Stifter in Königreich Jerusalem*. Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica 26. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1977, pp. 372-402; PRINGLE, Denys, *The Churches*, vol. 1, pp. 122-137.

⁷⁰ ULKJ 2, pp. 773-776, n.º 453; MAYER, Hans Eberhard – "St. Samuel auf dem Freudenberge und sein Bisitz nach eunem unbekanntem Diplom König Balduins V". *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 44 (1964), pp. 35-71, at p. 57, p. 68.

⁷¹ HIESTAND, Rudolf (ed.) – *Vorarbeiten zum Oriens Pontificius 3: Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-Hist., Klasse, series 3, 136. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1985, pp. 92-99, n.º 5; CH 2, pp. 826-827, n.º 2832 (1256); p. 892, 'Chartes du Mont-Thabor', n.º. 2; RRH, pp. 6-7, n.º. 39. The grant was reconfirmed by Pope Eugenius III in March 1146: HIESTAND, Rudolf – *Vorarbeiten zum Oriens Pontificius 3*, pp. 187-190, n.º 61.

al-Bathaniyya, a district of Damascus⁷². Two or possibly three of the four listed villages, however, appear to have been located west of the Jordan between Tiberias and Baysān, albeit not necessarily in what later became the lordship of Baysān itself⁷³. In 1173, King Amalric also granted two villages *in partibus Bethan*, Shaykh Rihāb (*Rehap*, PG 197.206) and Bardala (*Ardelle*, PG 195.199), along with their *villani* and sugar plantations, to the German Hospital in Jerusalem⁷⁴. These also lay on the west bank of the Jordan, just south of Baysān. In 1186, following the death of Adam of Baysān leaving only minors as heirs, the lordship would have been in the wardship of Hugh, son of Hugh lord of Byblos (Gibelin), who in November 1179 had leased it for seven years to Joscelin, former count of Edessa, for 600 bezants annually⁷⁵. In 1183, however, the town of Baysān, which William of Tyre describes as no more than a castle and small township surrounded by marshes, was abandoned by its few remaining inhabitants just before being sacked by Saladin⁷⁶. There is no evidence that the Hospitallers subsequently had any role in administering the lordship or even that they themselves possessed any land in Baysān itself, although they had acquired al-Zarra'a (*Assera*, *Adera*, PG 199.203) within the lordship in 1149⁷⁷. It seems quite possible, however, that just as the bailiff of Emmaus, named in the same document, may be identified as the castellan of Belmont, the bailiff of Baysān was none other than the castellan of Belvoir, in both cases a more familiar biblical name being substituted for one that was less easily recognizable.

⁷² BEYER, Gustav – “Die Kreuzfahrergebiete Akko und Galilaea”, pp. 222-223; LE STRANGE, Guy – *Palestine under the Moslems*, pp. 32-34, pp. 39-41, p. 383.

⁷³ The *casalia* (with identifications proposed by DUSSAUD, René – *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 4. Paris, 1927, pp. 388-389, followed by RHEINHEIMER, Martin – *Das Kreuzfahrerfürstentum Galiläa*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1990, pp. 278-283) are as follows: *Alcotaim* (*Alcotain*) (al-Quṭṭayn, unlocated), *Hecdix* (Khirbat al-Kidīsh, PG 202.237), *Menan* (al-Manāra, PG 201.240), and *Zera* (Mazra'a, unlocated, though *AI* suggests Shaykh Abū Za'arūra, PG 201.234). On the lordship of Baysān, see TIBBLE, Steven – *Monarchy and Lordships in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1099-1291*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989, pp. 36-37, p. 65, pp. 67-69, p. 73, pp. 101-103, pp. 107-108, p. 137, p. 179.

⁷⁴ *TOT*, pp. 7-8, n.º 6; *ULKJ* 2, pp. 617-619, n.º †354; *RRH*, pp. 130-131, n.º 496 (1173); cf. *RRH*, pp. 12-13, n.º 57 (1110); pp. 74-75, n.º 293 (1154).

⁷⁵ *TOT*, p. 12, n.º 12; *RRH*, pp. 156-157, n.º 588; LA MONTE, John L.; DOWNS, Norton – “The Lords of Bethsan in the Kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus”. *Medievalia et Humanistica* 6 (1950), pp. 57-75, at pp. 63-64; TIBBLE, Steven – *Monarchy and Lordships*, p. 37.

⁷⁶ WILLIAM OF TYRE – *Chronicon* 22.27 (26), ed. Robert B.C. Huygens, pp. 1051-1052.

⁷⁷ *ULKJ* 1, pp. 351-354, n.º 175; pp. 369-370, n.º 185 (1154); p. 405, n.º 218; pp. 424-427, n.º 232 (1154); 2, p. 506, n.º 280 (1154); cf. *CH* 1, pp. 140-141; pp. 173, n.º 225 (1154); *RRH*, pp. 64-65, n.º 256; pp. 74-75, n.º 293.

Another castle that the Hospitallers held in the kingdom of Jerusalem before 1187 was that known as the Castle of St Job, just south of Jinīn. This was also referred to in 1156 as *Castellum Beleismum* and may be identified with Khirbat Bal'āma (biblical Jibleam, Belemōth, PG 177.205), situated at the border of the lordship of Nāblus with the principality of Galilee, where the road south from Jinīn to Sebaste entered the Sahl 'Arrāba, known to medieval writers as the Plain of Dothan⁷⁸. It was here that Guy of Lusignan and Raymond of Tripoli were reconciled in 1187, following the disastrous battle with the Muslims at the Springs of the Cresson. The account in the *Chronique d'Ernoul* specifies that this castle belonged to the Hospitallers.⁷⁹ The remains, sited on a largely natural tell to the west of the road, consist of a tower some 8 m square standing in the south wall of a rectangular enclosure, some 60 m east–west by 40 m north–south, with rows of rooms along the eastern and western sides. On the east side of the mound beside the road remains of a chapel stand over a barrel-vault some 3 m wide, leading to a spring known as that of St Job (Bi'ir al-Sinjīb)⁸⁰. There is no record of any estate or castellan attached to the castle, though it is possible that it functioned merely a road-station for pilgrims and other travellers, administered from the order's hospital in Nāblus⁸¹.

Lesser sites, towers and *maisons fortes*

As already indicated, the rural properties of the Hospital were generally grouped into estates or bailiwicks, administered by officials, who are referred to variously as bailiffs, commanders, preceptors or – if based in a castle – castellans. Among the properties forming part of the estate granted to the Hospital along with the castle of

⁷⁸ CH 1, pp. 183-184, n.º 244; RRH, p. 82, n.º 321; cf. JOHN OF WÜRZBURG – *Descriptio Locorum Terrae Sanctae*. Ed. R.B.C. Huygens, in *Peregrinationes Tres*, pp. 78-141. CCCM 139. Turnhout: Brepols, 1994, p. 83.

⁷⁹ *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*. Ed. L. de Mas Latrie. Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 1871, p. 98, p. 153; cf. "La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184-1197)". Ed. M.R. Morgan. In DRHC 14. Paris: P. Geuthner, for the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1982, p. 42; "L'Estoire de Eracles empereur et la conquete de la Terre d'Outremer", 23.29 Ed. RHC HOcc 1-2. Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1844, 1859, RHC HOcc 2, p. 45; *Libellus de Expugnatione*, ed. J. Stevenson, p. 217, p. 232.

⁸⁰ TAHA, Hamdan – "Excavation of the Water Tunnel at Khirbat Belameh, 1996-1997". In MATTHIAE, Paolo; et al. (eds.) – *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, Rome, May 18th-23rd 1998*. Rome: Università degli studi di Roma "La Sapienza", Dipartimento di scienze storiche, archeologiche e antropologiche dell'antichità, 2000, pp. 1587-1613; PRINGLE, Denys – *The Churches*, vol. 1, pp. 106-107; vol. 4, pp. 257-258; PRINGLE, Denys – *Secular Buildings*, pp. 29-30.

⁸¹ On which see PRINGLE, Denys – *The Churches*, vol. 2, pp. 104-107.

Bayt Jibrīn in 1136 was *Bayt Sūr* (Bethsura), between Hebron and Bethlehem, where there are still remains of a Frankish tower (Burj al-Sūr, PG 159.110)⁸². Sites dependent on Belmont Castle include the church and estate centre at *Abu Ghosh* (Qaryat al-‘Ināb, Emmaus, PG 160.134) and the manor house or infirmary building at *Aqua Bella* (Khirbat ‘Iqbalā, PG 162.133), neither of which could be described as primarily a military work, despite their basic defensibility⁸³. The fortified site of *al-Taiyiba* (medieval ‘Afarbalā, Forbelet, PG 174.151), however, which seems to have depended on Belvoir Castle and whose remains include a tower some 26 m square (**Fig. 5**), has a more obviously defensive character⁸⁴. William of Tyre described the place in 1182-3 simply as a *vicus* or *locus*⁸⁵. but Arabic accounts refer to it as a *ḥiṣn* or fortress⁸⁶. Although recent archaeological work in the vicinity of the tower has done much to extend our understanding of the settlement from the Byzantine period to late Ottoman times, the precise nature and extent of the Frankish fortifications has still to be determined⁸⁷.

⁸² PRINGLE, Denys – *Secular Buildings*, p. 41, pl. XXIX.

⁸³ PRINGLE, Denys – *The Churches*, vol. 1, pp. 7-17, pp. 239-250.

⁸⁴ PRINGLE, Denys – *Secular Buildings*, p. 104, fig. 2f, pl. CIII.

⁸⁵ WILLIAM OF TYRE – *Chronicon* 22.17 (16), 22.27 (26), ed. Robert B.C. Huygens, p. 1032, p. 1052.

⁸⁶ BAHĀ’ AL-DĪN IBN SHADDĀD – *Al-Nawādir al-Sulṭaniyya*, trans. D.S. Richards, p. 62, p. 80, p. 247; ‘IMĀD AL-DĪN – *al-Fath al-Qussī*, trans. Massé, pp. 81-82, p. 99; ABŪ SHĀMĀ – “Le livre des deux jardins”. In *RHC HOr* 4, pp. 221-222, p. 246, p. 303, pp. 344-345; cf. PRINGLE, Denys – *Secular Buildings*, p. 104, fig. 2f, pl. CIII.

⁸⁷ For reports on recent work, see COVELLO-PARAN, Karen; TEPPER, Yotam – “Et-Taiyiba”. *HA/ESI* [Online] 120 (2008). [Accessed 25 October 2021]. Available at http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/reports_eng.aspx?id=114; ABU ZIDAN, Fikri – “Et-Taiyiba”. *HA/ESI* [Online] 123 (2011). [Accessed 25 October 2021]. Available at http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/reports_eng.aspx?id=118; TEPPER, Yotam; COVELLO-PARAN, Karen – “Et-Taiyiba”. *HA/ESI* [Online] 124 (2012). [Accessed 25 October 2021]. Available at http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/reports_eng.aspx?id=119; TEPPER, Yotam – “Et-Taiyiba, Survey”. *HA/ESI* [Online] 124 (2012). [Accessed on 25 October 2021]. Available at http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/reports_eng.aspx?id=119; ATRASH, Walid – “Et-Taiyiba”. *HA/ESI* [Online] 127 (2015). [Accessed 25 October 2021]. Available at http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/reports_eng.aspx?id=122; DALALI-AMOS, Edna – “Et-Taiyiba”. *HA/ESI* [Online] 128 (2016). [Accessed 25 October 2021]. Available at http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/reports_eng.aspx?id=124.



Fig. 5 – Al-Taiyiba (medieval ‘Afarbalā, Forbelet): inside face of the S wall of the Hospitaller tower (© DP 2015).

Around Jerusalem Hospitaller estates would have been managed by the grand commander and around Tyre and Acre by their respective regional commanders⁸⁸. Near Jerusalem, such properties would have included the village of Bayt Şafafa (*Bethafava*, PG 160.128), which Baldwin I gave to the Hospital sometime before September 1110. Here there still stand the remains of a two-storey tower, some 18.2 by 13.7 m, at one time associated with a rectangular enclosure wall with an outer *talus*, enclosing vaulted structures⁸⁹. Just outside Tyre, the village of Burj al-Shamālī (PG 172.126) contains a tower linked to a barrel-vault (**Figs. 6-7**), which may perhaps be *la Tor de l’Ospital* that was among the ten *casalia* conceded to Margaret, lady of Tyre, by Sultan al-Manşūr Qalāwūn in 1285⁹⁰. Sites in the territory of Acre

⁸⁸ RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan – *The Knights Hospitaller*, pp. 179-180.

⁸⁹ CH 1, pp. 21-22, n.º 29; pp. 172-173, n.º 225 (1154); *ULKJ* 1, pp. 165-168, n.º 42; pp. 424-427, n.º 232 (1154); *RRH*, pp. 12-13, n.º 57; pp. 74-75, n.º 293 (1154); PRINGLE, Denys – *Secular Buildings*, pp. 28-29, pl. XVI.

⁹⁰ TAFEL, Gottlieb Lucas Friedrich; THOMAS, Georg Martin (eds.) – *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte Venedigs*. Vienna: Hof- und Staatsdruckereia, 1856-1857, vol. 3, pp. 398-400, n.º 392; HOLT, Peter Malcolm – *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260-1290): Treaties of Baybars and Qalāwūn with Christian Rulers*. Islamic History and Civilization, Studies and Texts 12. Leiden: Brill, 1995, p. 112 (Burj al-Isbitār); cf. PRINGLE, Denys – *Secular Buildings*, p. 41. However, DUSSAUD, René – *Topographie*, pp. 32-33, identifies this site with Burj al-Raḥīb, between ‘Ayn Abū ‘Abdalla and Badias.

would have included the mill of Kurdāna, of which only fragmentary remains survive (PG 1610.2501)⁹¹, and the estate centre and sugar mill of Manawāt (Ḥorvat Manot, PG 164.271)⁹², whose fief the Hospitallers purchased from Nicolas, grandson of Sait the Scribe, for 1,400 bezants in September 1231⁹³, having previously acquired the rights there belonging to John of Brienne and Maria la Marquise in April 1212⁹⁴, and those of Beatrice of Hennenberg, daughter of Joscelin III of Courtenay, in January 1218⁹⁵.



Fig. 6 – Burj al-Shamālī, near Tyre: the vault from the NW (© DP 1998).

⁹¹ SHAKED, Idit – “Identifying the Medieval Flour Mills at Doq and Recordane”. *Cathedra* 98 (2000), pp. 61-72, 172* [in Hebrew, with English summary]; BOAS, Adrian J. – *Archaeology of the Military Orders. A survey of the urban centres, rural settlement and castles of the Military Orders in the Latin East (c. 1120-1291)*. London-New York: Routledge, 2006, pp. 83-85, p. 86, p. 250, fig. 18. This should not be confused with the surviving mill at Khirbat Kurdāna (PG 1608.1502), which has now been shown to be the Templar mill of Da‘ūq (Doc): see BOAS, Adrian J. – *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, pp. 86-87, pp. 240-241, fig. 19; cf. PRINGLE, Denys – *Secular Buildings*, p. 47, pp. 62-64, fig. 33, pls LV-LVIII.

⁹² FRANKEL, Rafael – “Topographical Notes on the Territory of Acre in the Crusader Period”. *Israel Exploration Journal* 38 (1988), pp. 249-272, at pp. 257-258, p. 260; FRANKEL, Rafael; GETZOV, Nimrod – *Map of Akhziv (1): Map of Ḥanita (2)*. Archaeological Survey of Israel. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 1997, pp. 106*-107*, pp. 184-189; PRINGLE, Denys – *Secular Buildings*, pp. 69-70, pls LXVI-LXVII; BOAS, Adrian J. – *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, pp. 85-86, p. 93, p. 201, p. 246.

⁹³ *CH* 2, pp. 424-425, n.º 1996; p. 716, n.º 2576 (1251); *ULKJ* 3, pp. 1359-1361, n.º 783; pp. 1389-1390, n.º *798 (1251); *RRH*, p. 268, n.º 1027; *RRH Ad*, p. 73, n.º 1198a (1251).

⁹⁴ *ULKJ* 3, pp. 1019-1020, n.º *627; *CH* 2, p. 141, n.º 1383; DELAVILLE LE ROULX, Joseph – “Inventaire”, pp. 36-106, p. 77, n.º 206; *RRH Ad*, p. 56, n.º 858a.

⁹⁵ *CH* 2, pp. 206-207, n.º 1526; *ULKJ* 3, pp. 1034-1036, n.º 635; pp. 1033-1034, n.º *634; *RRH*, p. 240, n.º 892.

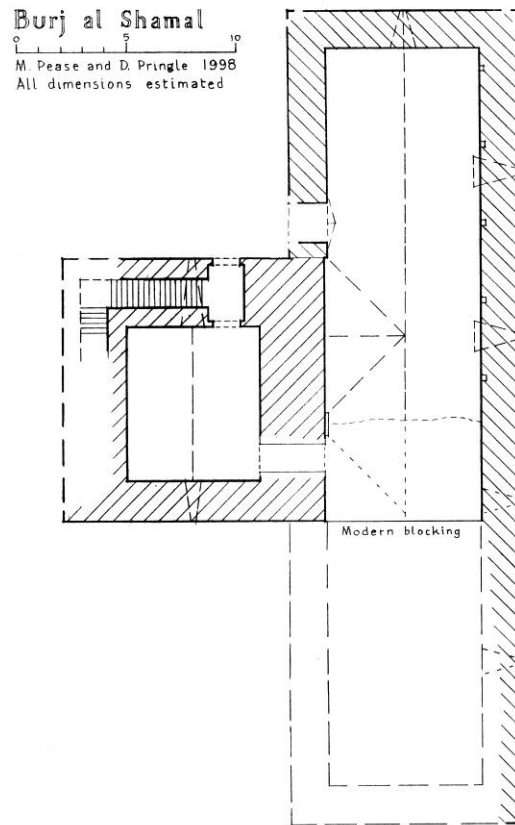


Fig. 7 – Burj al-Shamālī: sketch plan of the tower and vault (© drawn by Matthew Pease).

In the twelfth century, the Hospitallers possessed some houses in Caesarea and very likely a church⁹⁶, but it is uncertain whether their extensive land holdings in the lordship were administered from there or from outlying *casalia*⁹⁷. One possible location for a commandery in the south of the lordship was Qalansuwa (Calansue, PG 148.187), a *casale* granted to the Hospital by the knight Geoffrey of Flujeac in April 1128⁹⁸. However, it appears that the lords of Caesarea retained control of the place, since a viscount, Peter de Fossato, and a *dominus* Paganus de Calenzun are recorded in 1166⁹⁹, and Frankish settlers were living there during the time when

⁹⁶ PRINGLE, Denys – *The Churches*, vol. 1, p. 180.

⁹⁷ Cf. RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan – *The Knights Hospitaller*, p. 179; RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan – *The Knights of St. John*, p. 429 n.º 4.

⁹⁸ CH 1, pp. 78-79, n.ºs 83-84; pp. 83-84, n.º 94 (1131); ULKJ 1, pp. 259-261, n.º *104; pp. 270-273, n.º 111 (1129); pp. 424-427, n.º 232 (1154); RRH, p. 32, n.º 130; p. 35, n.º 139; RRH Ad, pp. 9-10, n.º 121a.

⁹⁹ CH 1, pp. 243-244, n.º 350; RRH, p. 111, n.º 426.

Raymond du Puy was master (1125-58)¹⁰⁰. Potential Hospitaller commanders of Qalansuwa include Gerard, or Gerald (1131-35), and Simon (1207/8)¹⁰¹. The architectural remains include an early tower, a large eight-bayed two-storey hall building (now the mosque) (**Fig. 8**) and various vaults set around a central open space. It is difficult to tell, however, which of these buildings belonged to the Hospitallers and which to the lords of Caesarea¹⁰².



Fig. 8 – Qalansuwa: two-storey Frankish hall, from the SE
(© DP during survey with Peter E. Leach in 1983).

¹⁰⁰ *CH* 1, p. 350, n.º 510 (1177/87); *RRH Ad*, p. 34, n.º 554b; PRINGLE, Denys – *The Red Tower (al-Burj al-Ahmar): Settlement in the Plain of Sharon at the Time of the Crusaders and Mamluks, A.D. 1099-1516*, London: British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 1986, pp. 41-43; PRINGLE, Denys – *Secular Buildings*, pp. 77-78, fig. 40, pl. LXXVIII.

¹⁰¹ *CH* 1, pp. 83-84, n.º 94 (Gerardus de Calumzum, Sept. 1131); p. 97, n.º 115 (Geraldus Kalensue); 2, pp. 64-65, n.ºs 1250-51 (Frater Symon de Calenchum/Calanchun, Feb 1207/8); pp. 78-79, n.º 1276 (frater Simon de Calenson, Dec. 1207); *RRH*, p. 35, n.º 139; p. 39, n.º 159; pp. 219-220, n.ºs 818-819; p. 221, n.º 824; PRINGLE, Denys – *The Red Tower*, pp. 42-43; RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan – *The Knights Hospitaller*, p. 179; RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan – *The Knights of St. John*, p. 429, n.º 4.

¹⁰² PRINGLE, Denys – *The Red Tower*, pp. 43-56, figs. 10-14, pls. X-XXI; PRINGLE, Denys – *Secular Buildings*, pp. 77-78, fig. 40, pl. LXXVIII.

In the 12th century, the lords of Caesarea also had a viscount and dragoman in Qāqūn (PG 149.196), where a castle already existed by May 1123¹⁰³. By September 1110, the Hospitallers possessed lands and villeins there and when Walter Garnier issued a confirmation of all their possessions in the lordship in September 1131 they also had some houses. The mention among the witnesses to the latter document of a Hospitaller brother named Aldebrandus Chaco suggests that by that time they may also have been using the village as an administrative centre¹⁰⁴. The Hospitallers continued to acquire properties in the area and by 1189 were leasing from the abbey of St Mary Latin two other villages with existing small castles, Madd al-Dayr (Montdidier, PG 141.196) and Burj al-Aḥmar (Turrus Rubea, Turrus Latinae, PG 145.191), as well as further land in Qāqūn. During the period of Saladin's conquest and the Third Crusade, these properties came into the hands of the Templars, but although the abbey undertook to restore them to the Hospital in May 1236, it appears that the lease was not finally reinstated until August 1248¹⁰⁵. Both castles consisted of a tower set within an enclosure, though it remains uncertain what, if anything, the Hospitallers themselves may have contributed to them¹⁰⁶.

In the northern part of the lordship of Caesarea, the Umayyad fort at Kafar Lām (Cafarlet, Ha-Bonim, PG 140.226) was briefly in Hospitaller possession in the 13th century, being pledged to the order in 1213 and finally sold to it in 1232; but in 1255 it was acquired by the Templars and would have been taken by Baybars a decade later. Excavations in 1999 indicate that in the Frankish period the fort's interior was occupied by village houses but that a small chapel was built against the outer face of the west wall sometime in the 13th century, though who was responsible for it is unclear¹⁰⁷. To the south of this, Burj al-Maliḥ (al-Mallūḥa, Turrus Salinarum, PG

¹⁰³ PRINGLE, Denys – *The Red Tower*, pp. 58-60, pp. 63-70.

¹⁰⁴ *CH* 1, p. 21, n.º 20 (1110); pp. 83-84, n.º 94 (1131); *ULKJ* 1, pp. 165-168, n.º 42 (1110); *RRH*, pp. 12-13, n.º 57; p. 35, n.º 139; PRINGLE, Denys – *The Red Tower*, pp. 59-60.

¹⁰⁵ *CH* 1, p. 559, n.º 879 (1189); 2, p. 501, n.º 2141 (1236); pp. 673-675, n.º 2482 (1248); *RRH*, p. 306, n.º 1164; *RRH Ad*, pp. 46-47, n.º 682a; p. 66, n.º 1072a; PRINGLE, Denys – *The Red Tower*, pp. 59-60.

¹⁰⁶ On Madd al-Dayr and Burj al-Aḥmar, see PRINGLE, Denys – *The Red Tower*, p. 29, pp. 37-39, pp. 83-194; PRINGLE, Denys – *Secular Buildings*, pp. 38-39, p. 67; PRINGLE, Denys – “Burj al-Aḥmar (The Red Tower)”. *NEAEHL* 5 (2008), pp. 1654-1655.

¹⁰⁷ PRINGLE, Denys – *The Churches*, vol. 4, pp. 241-245, figs. 20-21, pls CXV-CXVI; PRINGLE, Denys – *Secular Buildings*, pp. 58-59, fig. 31; BARBÉ, Hervé; LEHRER, Yoav; AVISSAR, Miriam – “Ha-Bonim”. *HA/ESI* 114 (2002), pp. 30-33, pp. 34-38, figs. 45-51; BARBÉ, Hervé; LEHRER, Yoav; AVISSAR, Miriam – “Ha-Bonim”. *NEAEHL* 5 (2008), pp. 1753-1755.

141.216), which Hugh, lord of Caesarea had granted the Hospital between c.1154 and 1168, was destroyed by Baybars in 1265¹⁰⁸. There was another tower at Khirbat al-Mazra‘a (le Meseraa, casale Rogerii de Chasteillon, PG 143.222), which John Lalaman, lord of Caesarea, sold to the Hospitallers in 1255; but this village would have been theirs for no more than a decade¹⁰⁹.

Riley-Smith suggested Qalqīliyya (PG 146.177), in the lordship of Arsūf, as another possible location for a small Hospitaller castle¹¹⁰; but there are no structural remains of the Frankish period nor any evidence that the Hospital even owned property there. Sometime before 1168, Bartholomew, the lord of the town or village (*ville dominus*), granted some property in Qalqīliyya to the Holy Sepulchre¹¹¹; but Geoffrey (Gaufridus) *de Qualquelia*, who witnessed a Hospitaller charter in April 1168, appears to have been a vassal of John, lord of Arsūf, rather than a member of the order¹¹², as was his descendent John *de Cauquellie*, who was listed as such in 1241 and 1261¹¹³. On the other hand, Brother Hugh *de Calcalia*, who is mentioned in witness lists between 1181 and 1185¹¹⁴, was certainly a Hospitaller; but in view of the lack of any other Hospitaller connection with Qalqīliyya, his name more likely reflects his family origins than an administrative position.

To the south of the lordship of Arsūf, the Hospitallers had another commandery at *Spina*, administering their estates in the northern part of the county of Jaffa and the lordship of Mirabel. A preceptor of *Spina* named Oldinus Rollant witnessed grants by Baldwin of Mirabel to the Hospital in 1165 and 1166; by 1173 he was castellan

¹⁰⁸ CH 1, pp. 421-422, n.º 621; DELAVILLE LE ROULX, Joseph – “Inventaire”, p. 67, n.º 147; RRH, p. 164, n.º 619; PRINGLE, Denys – *The Red Tower*, pp. 24-25; PRINGLE, Denys – *Secular Buildings*, p. 41.

¹⁰⁹ CH 2, p. 776, n.º 2725 (1255); RRH, pp. 324-325, n.º 1233; cf. CH 2, p. 64, n.º 1250 (1207/8); RRH, pp. 219-220, n.º 818; PRINGLE, Denys – *Secular Buildings*, pp. 70-71.

¹¹⁰ RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan – *The Knights Hospitaller*, p. 260, n.º 91.

¹¹¹ BRESC-BAUTIER, Geneviève (ed.) – *Le Cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem*. DRHC 15. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1984, pp. 283-287, n.º 146; HIESTAND, Rudolf – *Vorarbeiten zum Oriens Pontificius* 3, p. 253, n.º 95; RRH, p. 115, n.º 444.

¹¹² CH 1, pp. 271-272, n.º 398; RRH, pp. 116-17, n.º 448; RRH Ad, p. 69, n.º 1100.

¹¹³ CH 2, pp. 590-591, n.º 2274 (1241); 3, pp. 6-7, n.º 2985 (1261); RRH, p. 286, n.º 1100 (1241); p. 341, n.º 1302 (1261).

¹¹⁴ CH 1, p. 412, n.º 603 (Frater Hugo de Calcalia, 1181); pp. 445-446, n.º 663 (frater Hugo de Qualquelia, 1184); pp. 479-480, n.º 754 (frater Ugo de Cauchelia, April 1185); RRH, p. 162, n.º 611; p. 169, n.º 640; pp. 169-170, n.º 642.

of Belvoir¹¹⁵. Brother Raynald, *bajulus Spine*, witnessed Bohemond III of Antioch's ratification of the granting of Valania and Margat to the Hospital on 1 February 1186¹¹⁶. The precise location of *Spina* is uncertain. The only clue is a charter of 25 January 1158/59, by which Hugh of Ibelin ceded to the Hospital some land located between the mills of Mirabel and the land of *Spina*¹¹⁷. Gustav Beyer identified these mills with those whose remains still survive at al-Mirr (Maḥmūdiyya, PG 142.168)¹¹⁸ on the Nahr al-ʿAwjāʾ (River Yarqon) below Ra's al-ʿAyn and suggested three possible identifications for *Spina* itself: Fajja (Fijja, PG 140.166), Nabī Thārī (PG 143.163) and Khirbat Shaʿīra (PG 140.164)¹¹⁹. None of these names, however, appears to have any connection with the word *spina*, meaning 'thorn' or 'thistle', the Arabic equivalent of which, *shawk*¹²⁰, is found in place names such as Shuwayka (PG 153.193), a village near Ṭulkarm¹²¹. The medieval name for Nabī Thārī is unknown, the present Arabic one evidently being derived from a *maqām* built on the site in late Mamluk to early Ottoman times¹²². Excavations around this between 1996 and 2000, however, revealed extensive remains of buildings of the Abbasid, Frankish and Mamluk periods¹²³. This evidence, as well as its situation on the main road

¹¹⁵ CH 1, pp. 238-239, n.º 340 (1165); p. 245, n.º 354 (1166); RRH, p. 109, n.º 419; p. 110, n.º 423; DELAVILLE LE ROULX, Joseph – *Les Hospitaliers*, pp. 432-433.

¹¹⁶ CH 1, pp. 491-496, n.º 783; RRH, pp. 171-172, n.º 649.

¹¹⁷ CH 1, p. 199, n.º 263; RRH, p. 85, n.º. 330; PRINGLE, Denys – *Secular Buildings*, pp. 9293, fig. 1. Note that Röhrich's misleading translation of "les moulins de Mirabel" in RRH as "molendina desubter Mirabellum" has been widely followed in the literature.

¹¹⁸ PRINGLE, Denys – *Secular Buildings*, p. 72; PRINGLE, Denys – "Sites in the Crusader Lordships of Ramla, Lydda and Mirabel". In PETERSEN, Andrew; PRINGLE, Denys (eds) – *Ramla, City of Muslim Palestine, 715-1917: Studies in History, Archaeology and Architecture*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2021, pp. 286-93", p. 291; BOAS, Adrian J. – *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, p. 74, p. 199, fig. 14; PETERSEN, Andrew – *A Gazetteer of Buildings in Muslim Palestine (Part I)*. British Academy Monographs in Archaeology 12. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 222-223, pl. 235.

¹¹⁹ BEYER, Gustav – "Die Kreuzfahrergebiete Südwestpalästinas". ZDPV 68 (1951), pp. 148-281, at p. 191; cf. pp. 189-192, p. 249, p. 254.

¹²⁰ "Thorn": *shawk* (colloquial *shawka*), plural *ashwāk* (colloquial *shuwāk*); "thorny": *shawkī*, *shawik*, or *shā'ik* (colloquial *shawk*).

¹²¹ Crusader *Socque, Soeta*, PG 153.193 (PRINGLE, Denys – *The Red Tower*, p. 71). The SWP name lists also include two *khurayb* and a *wādī* (PALMER, Edward Henry – *The Survey of Western Palestine: Arabic and English Name Lists*, p. 120, p. 311, p. 431), besides Tall al-Shawk (p. 169). Another site closer to hand kindly suggested to me by Dr Shukri Arraf is Qurnat al-Shawk, south of Bayt Amīn, east of Jaljūliyya; however, this is still quite far from the mills of Mirabel.

¹²² MAYER, Leo Ary; PINKERFELD, Jacob – *Some Principal Muslim Religious Buildings in Israel*. Jerusalem: Committee for the Preservation of Muslim Religious Buildings, Ministry of Religious Affairs, 1950, pp. 34-36, figs. 22-25; PETERSEN, Andrew – *A Gazetteer of Buildings in Muslim Palestine*, pp. 232-233, figs 82- 83, pls. 250-251.

¹²³ VITTO, Fanny; OFER, Semadar – "Horbat She'eri (en-Nabī Thari)". HA/ESI 109 (1999), pp. 74-75; NEGEV, Avraham; GIBSON, Shimon (eds.) – *Archaeological Encyclopedia of the Holy Land*, revised edition. New York-London: Continuum, 2001, p. 358.

between Ra's al-ʿAyn and Lydda, make Nabī Thārī a prime candidate to identify with *Spina*, though conclusive proof is still lacking¹²⁴.

Whatever the exact location of *Spina* may have been, its dependencies would doubtless have also included the mills further down the ʿAwjāʾ at al-Ḥaddar. These were known as the Mills of the Three Bridges (PG 134.168), because it was there that the Jaffa to Jaljūliyya and Arsūf to Ra's al-ʿAyn roads crossed the confluence of the ʿAwjāʾ with the Nahr Abū Lajja and Nahr al-Ashkar. The mills and the “island” between the rivers were granted to the Hospitallers by Hugh of Jaffa in 1133¹²⁵; and in 1241, John III of Arsūf sold them the adjacent northern area lying within his lordship¹²⁶. These mills remained in use until 1918, and some remains of them still survive¹²⁷.

The village of Qūla (Chula, Cole, PG 145.160), south of Mirabel, was purchased by the Hospital from Hugh of Flanders for 3,000 bezants in September 1181¹²⁸. A set of regulations drawn up soon afterwards for the operation of the Hospital in Jerusalem lists *le casal Cole* among six *casalia*, including ʿAbūd, specializing in producing foodstuffs for the sick¹²⁹. The surviving remains in Qūla include part of a tower (17 × 12.8 m) and an adjacent barrel-vaulted building associated with a cistern¹³⁰.

¹²⁴ See also PRINGLE, Denys – “Sites in the Crusader Lordships of Ramla, Lydda and Mirabel”, pp. 291-293.

¹²⁵ CH 1, pp. 86-87, n.º 97 (1133); pp. 166-168, n.º 217 (1153); RRH, p. 37, n.º 147; RRH Ad, pp. 18-19, n.º 280b.

¹²⁶ CH 2, pp. 590-591, n.º 2274; p. 592, n.º 2277; RRH, p. 286, n.º 1100.

¹²⁷ CLERMONT-GANNEAU, Charles – “Les trois ponts, Jorgilia and le Toron de la fille de Comar”. In CLERMONT-GANNEAU, Charles – *Études d'Archéologie orientales*. Paris: E. Bouillon, 1880-1895, vol. 1, pp. 192-196; BOAS, Adrian J. – *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, p. 74, p. 199; PRINGLE, Denys – *Secular Buildings*, p. 49; PETERSEN, Andrew – *A Gazetteer of Buildings in Muslim Palestine*, pp. 141-143, fig. 39, pls. 103-106.

¹²⁸ CH 1, p. 412, n.º 603; pp. 413-414, n.º 607; ULKJ 2, pp. 720-722, n.º 424; 785-6, n.º *459; DELAVILLE LE ROULX, Joseph – “Inventaire”, p. 96, n.º 142; RRH, p. 160, n.º 603; p. 162, n.º 611.

¹²⁹ EDGINGTON, Susan B. – “Administrative regulations for the Hospital of St. John in Jerusalem dating from the 1180s”. *Crusades* 4 (2005), pp. 21-37, at pp. 26-27; cf. LUTTRELL, Anthony – “The Hospitallers' early written records”. In FRANCE, John; ZAJAC, William G. (eds) – *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, London: Ashgate, 1998, pp. 135-154, at p. 140.

¹³⁰ PRINGLE, Denys – *The Red Tower*, pp. 21-22, fig. 7; PRINGLE, Denys – *Secular Buildings*, p. 87, fig. 47; BOAS, Adrian J. – *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, p. 81, p. 238; BENVENISTI, Meron – *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*. Jerusalem: Israel Universities Press, 1970, pp. 227-229, p. 276.

A confirmation of privileges granted to the Hospital by Pope Eugenius III in January 1153 includes a place called *Belforte*¹³¹. When the Hospitallers acquired the village of ‘Abūd (PG 156.158) from Baldwin of Mirabel in 1167, it was described as *casale quod appellatur S. Mariae, contiguum territorium Bellifortis*¹³². This has allowed *Belforte* to be identified with the present-day village of Dayr Abū Mash‘al (PG 156.156), where remains of a walled enclosure some 45 m square but of uncertain date were noted in the 19th century at the highest part of the site (**Fig. 9**)¹³³. On 29 April 1166, Baldwin of Mirabel also confirmed his grant to the Hospitallers for their hospital in Nāblus of various properties and rights within his lordship, including the second tithes from Mirabel, Sūsiyya, *Marescalcia* (Dayr Abū Mash‘al?)¹³⁴, *Casreherre* (Kafr al-Dīk?) and Rantiyya (*Rentie*, PG 142.161); however, although a Frankish-period vault or *bawbariyya* still survives in Rantiyya, it is unlikely to have belonged to the Hospitallers, as there is no evidence that they possessed any land there¹³⁵. Riley-Smith plausibly suggests that in the 13th century what remained of the estates of *Spina* would have been administered by the commander of Jaffa¹³⁶.

¹³¹ CH 1, pp. 166-168, n.º 217; HIESTAND, Rudolf – *Vorarbeiten zum Oriens Pontificius* 2, pp. 210-212, n.º 7; RRH Ad, pp. 18-19, n.º 280b.

¹³² CH 1, pp. 254-255, n.º 371; RRH, p. 113, n.º 433.

¹³³ GUÉRIN, Victor – *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine*. Vol. 2. *Samarie*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1874-75, pp. 118-119; Conder and Kitchener 1882, vol. 2, p. 290, p. 310; PRINGLE, Denys – *Secular Buildings*, p. 46; PRINGLE, Denys – “Sites in the Crusader Lordships of Ramla, Lydda and Mirabel”, pp. 290-291; RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan – *The Knights Hospitaller*, p. 34, p. 243 n.º 44.

¹³⁴ *Marescalcia* (meaning the ‘office of marshal’ or ‘marshalcy’, the ‘care of horses’ or a ‘stable’) was possibly an alternative Frankish name for Dayr Abū Mash‘al, the Arabic meaning of which is “monastery of the father of (the) torch” or “cresset”. There were at least two other places in the kingdom called *Marescalcia*: a village, now Khirbat Maskana (PG 188.243), near Ḥiṭṭīn; and a castle in the Jordan Valley, possibly to be identified as Qarn Sarbaṭa (PG 193.166).

¹³⁵ CH 1, p. 245, n.º 354; RRH, p. 110, n.º 423; BENVENISTI, Meron – “Bovaria – babriyya: A Frankish residue on the Map of Palestine”. In KEDAR, Benjamin Zeev; MAYER, Hans Eberhard; SMAIL, Raimund Charles (eds.) – *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem, presented to Joshua Praver*. Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1982, pp. 130-152, at pp. 144-145, figs. 14-15; PRINGLE, Denys – *Secular Buildings*, p. 90; PRINGLE, Denys – “The Castle and Lordship of Mirabel”, in KEDAR, Benjamin Z.; RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan; HIESTAND, Rudolf (eds.) – *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*. Aldershot/Brookfield: Ashgate, 1997, pp. 91-112, at pp. 92-93, fig. 1.

¹³⁶ RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan – *The Knights Hospitaller*, p. 179.

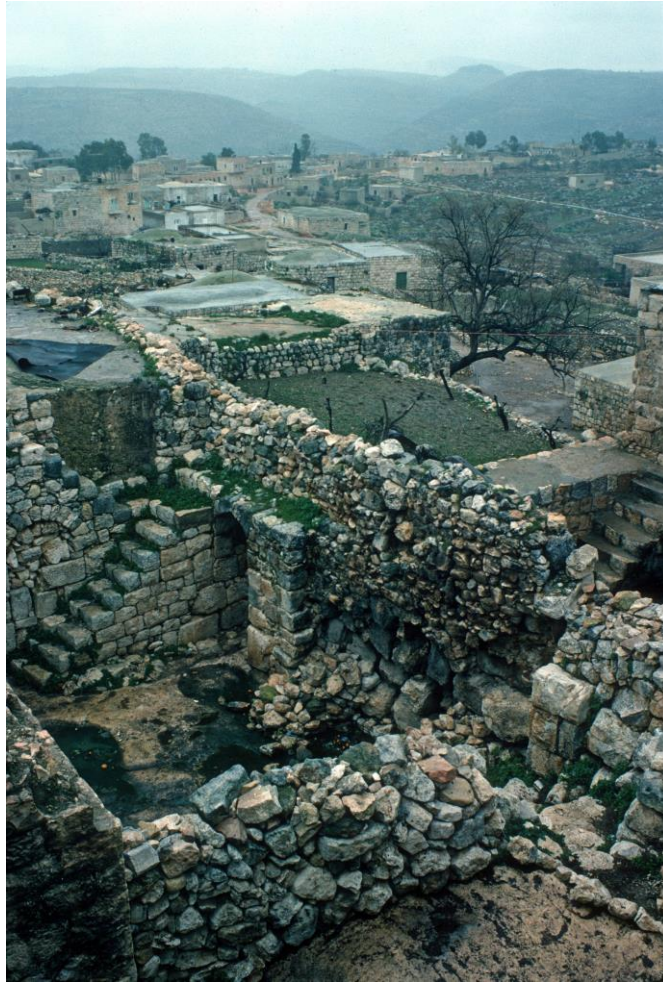


Fig. 9 – Dayr Abū Mash‘al (Belforte): village and fortification, which belonged to the Hospital by 1153 (© DP 1980).

The final years of the Kingdom

In the final decades of the kingdom of Jerusalem the Hospitallers were sometimes granted entire castles and lordships that no-one else was able or prepared to take on. In April 1244, for example, they were handed the newly built castle in Ascalon by the emperor Frederick II's bailiff, Thomas of Acerra. Construction of this had been started in the summer of 1240 by Tibald, king of Navarre and count of Champagne, and Hugh IV, duke of Burgundy, and was brought to completion by Richard, earl of Cornwall, in April 1241. According to Richard's own account, it was built of ashlar reinforced with cut-up marble columns and included high towers and outworks, enclosed by a double wall and ditch. Archaeological research shows that it lay in the north-western corner of the city, with the town wall on the north and the sea cliffs on the west. Under the terms of the agreement, the Hospitallers were to do their best

to hold and defend the castle, on the understanding that the emperor would reimburse their expenses, whether or not they were successful. As things turned out the castle was besieged by the Ayyubids from October 1246 and was taken by storm almost exactly a year later in October 1247. For the next ten years, the Hospitallers doggedly pursued their claim for compensation from the new count of Jaffa and Ascalon, John of Ibelin, but apparently without any success¹³⁷.

Mount Tabor in Galilee had been ceded to the Franks in 1241 and was confirmed in Christian hands in 1255¹³⁸. On 1 April 1255, Pope Alexander IV granted the Benedictine abbey and its estates to the Hospitallers, on the understanding that so long as peace held they would build there a fortress within ten years, garrisoned by forty knights¹³⁹. The intention here was clearly to recommission the Ayyubid fortress that had been built around the abbey in 1212 and slighted by al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā in 1218¹⁴⁰. By end of June 1255, Mount Tabor was already in the Hospitallers’ hands and their castellan, Jocelmus of Tornell, was taking formal possession of nearby villages¹⁴¹. There is no mention of any garrison, but if the castle had been built and garrisoned with a similar proportion of knights to other ranks to that applied by the Templars at Safad in 1260, the 40 knights stipulated by the pope would imply an intended total garrison of around 1,360, including some 24 sergeants, 40 turcopoliers, 240 archers, 656 workmen and 320 slaves or impressed workers¹⁴². In May 1256, three of the former monks of Mount Tabor wrote to Pope

¹³⁷ PRINGLE, Denys – “The Survey of the Walls of Ashkelon”, pp. 116-124, pp. 190-193, pp. 220-221, figs. 19.11, 19.148-149. This supersedes PRINGLE, Denys – “King Richard I and the Walls of Ascalon”. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 116 (1984), pp. 133-147.

¹³⁸ MATTHEW PARIS – *Chronica Majora*. Ed. H.R. Luard, in *RS* 57.1-7. London, 1872-83, vol. 2, p. 142; PRAWER, Joshua – *Histoire du royaume Latin de Jérusalem*. Trans. G. Nahon. 2nd edition, 2 vols, Paris: CNRS, 1975, vol. 2, p. 286, p. 452.

¹³⁹ ALEXANDER IV – *Les Registres d’Alexandre IV*. Ed. C. Bourel de la Roncière *et al.* Paris: Fontemoing, 1902-59, vol. 1, pp. 83-84, n.º 311; p. 102, n.º 344; *CH* 2, p. 777, n.º 2726; cf. pp. 778-779, n.º 2729; pp. 817-818, n.º 2813 (1256); vol. 3, pp. 66-67, n.º 2053 (1263); *RRH*, p. 324, n.º 1230; *Chronicon de Lanercost 1201-1346*. Ed. J. Stevenson, Maitland Club, vol. 46. Edinburgh, 1839, p. 61.

¹⁴⁰ PRINGLE, Denys – *The Churches*, vol. 2, pp. 66-77; BATTISTA, Antonio; BAGATTI, Bellarmino – *La Fortezza saracena di Monte Tabor (A.H. 609-15; A.D. 1212-18)*. Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Collectio Minor 18. Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1976.

¹⁴¹ *CH* 2, p. 784, n.ºs 2739-2740; pp. 786-787, n.º 2747; *RRH*, pp. 325-326, n.º 1237; *RRH Ad*, p. 76, n.º 12138. Jocelmus is also mentioned in charters of October 1259: *CH* 2, pp. 880-883, n.º 2934-2936; *RRH*, p. 335, n.ºs 1280-1282; DELAVILLE LE ROULX, Joseph – *Les Hospitaliers*, p. 433.

¹⁴² *De constructione castri Saphet, Construction et fonctions d’un château fort franc en Terre-Sainte*. Ed. Robert B.C. Huygens. Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Company, 1981, p. 185. For a discussion of the relative sizes of Frankish garrisons in the 13th century, see MARSHALL, Christopher – *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192-1291*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp. 111-121.

Alexander IV, commending to him the efforts that the Hospitallers were making and noting that, although the site had not yet been fortified, it was already garrisoned by a quantity of armed knights, as were some of its *casalia*, the divine offices were once again being celebrated there and every day it was being visited by pilgrims¹⁴³. There is no evidence, however, that any of its fortifications were actually rebuilt before Baybars destroyed the church and monastery in April 1263¹⁴⁴.

In 1261, Balian of Ibelin, lord of Arsūf, leased to the Hospital for an annual rent of 4,000 bezants the castle and city of Arsūf, as well as the part of the lordship directly dependent on it, including responsibility for the performance of knight service¹⁴⁵. A list of the vassals who owed Balian service and what the Hospital was obliged to pay them was drawn up on 1 May 1261¹⁴⁶. The castle dated initially from the 12th century and was sited on the cliff edge at the northern end of the site (**Fig. 10**); but its defences had been completely overhauled by John of Ibelin, lord of Arsūf, from 1241 onwards¹⁴⁷. The new works included a twin-towered gatehouse with a portcullis and timber doors, which projected from the leading edge of a polygonal curtain wall with rounded mural towers, enclosing the earlier domestic part of the castle, including a new rib-vaulted first-floor chapel. The curtain was enclosed by an apron wall with rounded bastions rising from the bottom of a deep wide counterscarped ditch crossed by a timber bridge. When built in the 1240s and

¹⁴³ CH 2, pp. 815-817, n.º 2811; RRH, p. 328, n.º 1249.

¹⁴⁴ RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan – *The Knights of St. John*, p. 415, pp. 427-428, p. 430; PRINGLE, Denys – *The Churches*, vol. 2, p. 68; KHAMISY, Rabei G. – “The Mount Tabor Territory under Frankish Control”. In SINIBALDI, Micaela *et al.* – *Crusader Landscapes in the Medieval Levant: The Archaeology and History of the Latin East*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2016, pp. 39-53, p. 46.

¹⁴⁵ CH 3, pp. 1-2, n.º 2972; pp. 60-61, n.º 3047; pp. 74-75, n.º 2071 (1263); RRH, p. 343, n.º 1313; RRH Ad, p. 85, n.º 1313a; *L'Estoire se Eracles*, 24.4, in RHC HOcc 2, p. 446; *Annales de Terre Sainte*. In RÖHRICHT, R.; RAYNAUD, G. (eds.) – *Archives de l'Orient latin 2.2* (1884), p. 450; ed. “Annales de Terre Sainte”. In EDBURY, P.W. (ed.) – In “A New Text of the *Annales de Terre Sainte*”. In SHAGHRIR, I.; ELLENBLUM, R.; RILEY-SMITH, J. (eds.) – *In Laudem Hierosolymitani: Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007, p. 157.

¹⁴⁶ CH 3, pp. 6-7, n.º 2985; RRH, p. 241, n.º 1302.

¹⁴⁷ PHILIP OF NOVARA – *Guerra*, §124 (220), ed. Melani, pp. 220-221; “Annales de Terre Sainte”. In RÖHRICHT, R.; RAYNAUD, G. (eds.), p. 440; “Annales de Terre Sainte”. In EDBURY, P.W. (ed.), p. 153; TAL, Oren; ROLL, Israel – “Arsur: The Site, Settlement and Crusader Castle, and the Material Manifestation of their Destruction”. In TAL, Oren (ed.) – *The Last Supper at Apollonia: The Final Days of the Crusader Castle in Herzliya*. Tel Aviv: Eretz Israel Museum, 2011, pp. 8-51 (English section), pp. 10-79 (Hebrew section), at p. 18 (English section).

1250s, this would have been a very up-to-date design by European standards¹⁴⁸. The recent excavations by the late Israel Roll and Oren Tal have shown what preparations the Hospitallers made for the siege. They included adding a tower to the south-east corner of the town wall and constructing earthen ramparts supporting a 15 m wide fighting platform behind the south wall of the town¹⁴⁹. In the castle the south-east tower was partly dismantled to allow easier access to the outer wall overlooking the moat and the chapel was reinforced, taluses being added to the two corners facing the courtyard. Other changes, such as modifications to the interior of the gatehouse and the adaptation of parts of the castle for food storage and cooking were concerned more with the domestic needs of the hugely augmented garrison than with improving its physical defensibility. The siege lasted from mid March to 29 April 1265, after which the castle was demolished¹⁵⁰. The Hospitallers' lease, however, was only finally terminated in 1269¹⁵¹. Thus was lost the Hospitallers' last major castle in the Kingdom of Jerusalem and their last major house outside Acre and Tyre.

¹⁴⁸ TAL, Oren; ROLL, Israel – “Arsur”, pp. 21-35 (English section). Overall the plan is remarkable similar to that of Kildrummy Castle, Aberdeenshire, as completed around the end of the 13th century: see SIMPSON, William Douglas – *Kildrummy and Glenbuchat Castles, Aberdeenshire*. 2nd edition. Edinburgh: HMSO, 1965; CRUDEN, Stewart – *The Scottish Castle*. 3rd edition. Edinburgh: Spurbooks, 1981, pp. 72-78; TABRAHAM, Christopher – *Kildrummy Castle*. Edinburgh: HMSO, 1986. For general discussion of twin-towered gates in the West, see: EWART, Gordon; *et al.* – “There is a castle in the west ...”: Dundonald Castle Excavations 1986-93”. *Scottish Archaeological Journal* 26/1-2 (2004), pp. 130-140; MESQUI, Jean – *Châteaux et enceintes de la France médiévale: De la défense à la résidence*. Vol. 1. *Les organes de la défense*. 2nd edition, Paris: Picard, 2013, pp. 318-335.

¹⁴⁹ Hospitaller building works on the outer walls is also reported on by Arabic accounts of the siege: see IBN AL-FURĀT – “Ta’rikh al-Duwal wa’l-Mulūk”, vol. 1, p. 65 (text); vol. 2, p. 54 (trans.); AMITAI, Reuven – “The Conquest of Arsūf by Baybars: Political and Military Aspects”. *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9/1 (2005), pp. 61-83, at p. 68.

¹⁵⁰ TAL, Oren; ROLL, Israel – “Arsur”, pp. 35-48 (English section); cf. IBN AL-FURĀT – *Ta’rikh al-Duwal wa’l-Mulūk*, vol. 1, pp. 91-97 (text); vol. 2, pp. 73-78 (trans.).

¹⁵¹ *CH* 3, pp. 192-193, n.º 3326; *RRH*, p. 357, n.º 1371; cf. *CH* 3, pp. 190-192, n.º 3323; *RRH*, p. 357, n.º 1370. According to Marino SANUDO (*Liber Secretorum*, 3.4.2, ed. J. Bongars, p. 246), after its loss the Templars (*sic*) continued to pay the lord of Arsūf 28,000 bezants annually.



Fig. 10 – Arsuf: the castle destroyed by Sultan Baybars in April 1265 (© DP 2009).

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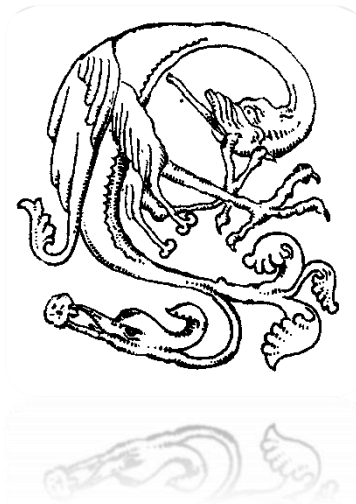
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