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**THE ACQUISITION OF THE LANDED ESTATES  
OF THE HOSPITALLERS  
IN THE LATIN EAST, 1099-1291**

**by**

**Paul L. Sidelko**

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
Graduate Department of History  
University of Toronto

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## **-- ABSTRACT --**

### **The Acquisition of the Landed Estates of the Hospitallers in the Latin East, 1099-1291**

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**Doctor of Philosophy, 1998  
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During the period of the Crusades (1099-1291), the Knights of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, or Hospitallers, developed into one of the largest institutional landholders in the Latin East and Europe. This thesis examines the acquisition policy of the Order and documents the chronological and geographical distribution of its rural properties in the Latin East. In addition to land, the Hospital also acquired fortresses, houses, and other edifices, as well as rights to people, animals, water, and vines. This thesis profiles the individuals and families who transferred property to the Order and discusses the relationship between benefactor and recipient. An additional area of exploration is the administration of these lands and the people who inhabited them.

As a monastic order, the Hospital largely acquired its landed estates through pious donations made by benefactors in return for spiritual rewards. These donations were augmented by strategic purchases, which demonstrate clearly that the Order actively pursued properties with the intention to consolidate land and to develop contiguous estates. The charters also suggest that rural settlement was more extensive than has previously been assumed.

As settlers, the Hospitallers came into contact with the native population. The evidence presented in this thesis indicates that the Order developed strong ties with many Syrian Christians, but maintained a distance from most Muslims. It is also

suggested that the Franks employed a system of land tenure which had many parallels with that practiced in parts of Europe.

The primary sources used in this thesis are the charters of the archive of the Hospitallers, of which nearly 600 related to the Latin East have been transcribed and edited by Delaville le Roulx in *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1100 - 1310)*. For ease of recall and reference, the charters have been coded and entered into a relational database according to person, property, and type of transfer. These documents have been supplemented by the charters of other property-holding institutions in the Latin East, as well as various Latin and Arabic chronicles of the Crusading period.

*For my parents -*

*to whom I owe more  
than I could ever repay*

## **-- ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS --**

It is a pleasure to have the opportunity to express my thanks to those who have contributed to the completion of this thesis. My deepest gratitude is due to Professor Michael Gervers whose steadfast support and gentle encouragement have guided my graduate career. I have been inspired by Professor Albertine Jwaideh, who generously shared with me her vast knowledge of the Islamic and Arab worlds. Professor Andrew Watson and Professor Linda Northrup patiently read several drafts of this thesis and provided thoughtful and informed criticism. Professor James Powell of Syracuse University served as the external examiner and made many helpful comments. Professor Joseph Goering sat on the the defence committee and facilitated the completion of the degree. Dr. Megan Armstrong kindly read this thesis in a final draft. I owe a special thanks to Mrs. Gillian Long, manager of the DEEDS Project, for every kindness she has shown me over the years.

Primary research in the archives of the Knights of St. John was carried out as an A. J. Heckman scholar at the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library at St. John's University (Minnesota) in Summer 1996. I am thankful to Dr. Theresa Vann and Dr. Eric Hollas, O.S.B. for the opportunity to study there. I would also like to acknowledge the substantial financial support provided by the Province of Ontario, the School of Graduate Studies, and the Department of History in the University of Toronto.

**-- Note on Transliteration --**

For the transliteration of Arabic terms and proper nouns, I have followed the system of the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. Although I have attempted to follow this system in the identification of Arabic names of Crusader locations whenever possible, there are instances in which the source for an identification has not followed the same system and I have been unable to locate an Arabic source from which to make the transliteration. I have not used transliteration for the names of individuals, places, and terms which are commonly found in western sources (e.g., Saladin, Damascus, Mamluk, Abbasid), unless they are included in titles or quotations from sources which do use transliteration. In such cases, I have copied the particular author's transliteration.

## -- ABBREVIATIONS --

<i>AOL</i>	<i>Archives de l'Orient latin</i>
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>CEHE</i>	<i>Cambridge Economic History of Europe</i>
<i>CGOH</i>	<i>Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>EcHR</i>	<i>Economic History Review</i>
<i>EI</i>	<i>Encyclopedia of Islam</i>
<i>EI<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>Encyclopedia of Islam, new edition</i>
<i>Flaran 7</i>	<i>Les Revenus de la Terre, complant, champart, métayage, en Europe occidentale (IX<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)</i>
<i>HOC</i>	<i>History of the Crusades</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of the Social and Economic History of the Orient</i>
<i>Josaphat</i>	<i>Chartes de Terre Sainte provenant de Notre-Dame de Josaphat</i>
<i>RHC, Arm.</i>	<i>Receuil des historiens des Croisades, arméniens</i>
<i>RHC, Lois</i>	<i>Receuil des historiens des Croisades, Lois</i>
<i>RHC, Occ.</i>	<i>Receuil des historiens des Croisades, occidentaux</i>
<i>RHC, Or.</i>	<i>Receuil des historiens des Croisades, orientaux</i>
<i>ROL</i>	<i>Revue de l'Orient latin</i>
<i>RRH</i>	<i>Regesta Regni Hiersolymitani</i>
<i>Sépulcre</i>	<i>Le Cartulaire de l'église du Chapitre du Saint Sépulcre de Jérusalem</i>
<i>Tafel-Thomas</i>	<i>Urkunden zur ältesten Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig</i>
<i>Teut.</i>	<i>Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici</i>
<i>ZDPV</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>

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## -- INTRODUCTION --

The Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem was founded sometime before the First Crusade (1096-99) as a hospice serving pilgrims during their sojourn in the Holy Land.<sup>1</sup> In 1113, the Order received its charter and was taken under the exclusive protection of the Pope. Sometime before 1153, under its second master, Raymond du Puy, the Order received its rule. As members of a religious order, the brethren of the Hospital took vows of chastity, obedience, and poverty. Throughout the Crusading period, the Hospitallers continued to fulfill their role as providers of shelter, medical assistance, and charity to the poor, even as their involvement in military activities grew.

As members of a military order, they also took on the duties of armed knights. In 1136, the Order was given possession of Bethgibelin, a village which also had a considerable fortress, but the charter does not explicitly mention that the Order also acquired the castle.<sup>2</sup> The fortress of Crac des Chevaliers and three others were acquired by the Hospitallers in 1142, they were offered the guardianship of two others in 1157, and they purchased two more in 1163. These acquisitions do imply a military capability, but they are not conclusive evidence that the brethren themselves were armed. There is a possibility that paid knights, not members of the Order, performed the necessary military activities until 1179.<sup>3</sup> With the possession of a number of fortresses and defensive positions and several hundred knights, they shared the dominant role in the military defense of the Crusader states with their rivals the Templars, founded c. 1119. Despite its military activities, the Order's

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<sup>1</sup>Details of the foundations of the Order are contained in J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050-1310*, London, 1967, pp. 32-59; and R. Hiestand, "Die Anfänge der Johanniter," *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, ed. J. Fleckenstein and M. Hellman, Sigmarigen, 1980, 31-80.

<sup>2</sup>See J. Delaville le Roulx, *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1100 - 1310)*, 4 vols., Paris, 1894-1906, vol. 1, #116. Hereafter: CGOH. An earlier grant of 1128 of the property Kalensue is listed in the *Inventaire* as a castle, CGOH #83, but the following document (CGOH #84) explicitly states that this property is a *casal*.

<sup>3</sup>Mayer states that paid mercenaries were employed until a papal order dated 1179 integrated these knights into the Order. H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham, 2nd. ed., New York, 1986, p. 79.

property was largely acquired through donations and purchases, not conquest. With its varied portfolio of properties and its dual character as a military order and institutional landowner, the Hospital exercised considerable influence in almost every aspect of the Latin East.

From its formation the Latin East was divided into four militarily and politically interdependent states. The greatest of these states in terms of territory and prestige was the Kingdom of Jerusalem, whose kings, after the loss of Jerusalem in 1187, ruled the Holy City in name only from their seat of government in Acre. The Principality of Antioch, which endured under Bohemond (d. 1111) and his successors until 1268, enjoyed a great deal of political independence from the Kingdom of Jerusalem, especially in the thirteenth century. The County of Tripoli, founded by the descendants of the Count of Toulouse, Raymond of St. Gilles, was an area in which the Hospitallers had a vast amount of property and established an autonomous lordship. Finally, the County of Edessa, founded by Baldwin of Boulogne in 1098, was lost to the forces of Zengi in 1144; references to properties within its borders are correspondingly limited. Within the borders of these four principalities, the Franks settled amongst a population that was predominantly Arab, with Greek, Jewish, and Armenian minorities.

It has long been remarked by historians that Arabic sources contemporary with the First Crusade took little note of the arrival of the Franks. While the Crusades are seen as a pivotal development in the history of Medieval Europe, to the Arabs of Syria and Palestine, the Crusaders were merely another invading force bent on territorial conquest.<sup>4</sup> Three decades before the arrival from the west of the first Crusaders in Antioch in 1097, the region of northern Syria had been invaded from the east by Turkish warriors known as the Seljuks, who adhered to the Sunni

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<sup>4</sup>An examination of the Middle East during the Crusades, which incorporates the Franks into the political and social environment of the Muslims, can be found in P. M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades: the Near East from the eleventh century to 1517*, New York, 1987.

doctrine of Islam. From the end of the tenth century, the Arab Shi'ite caliphate of the Fatimids, established in Egypt with the support of North African Berber troops, began a push to seize control of Palestine and southern Syria.

The gains made by the Seljuks in the north and the Fatimids in the south came at the expense of the Byzantines, the successors to the Roman Empire, who, emboldened by the recapture of Antioch, were struggling to reassert control over the territories lost to the Arab invasions of the seventh century. These advances ended with the defeat of the Byzantine army and the capture of its leader, the Emperor Romanus Diogenes, by the Turkish forces of Alp Arslan at the Battle of Manzikert in 1071. Following the defeat, Byzantine defenses collapsed and the Seljuks, who had previously retreated back east after their raids, now settled permanently in the lands of Rūm . Antioch was once again in Muslim hands when Bohemond took it in 1098, ostensibly under a pledge to return the city to Byzantine suzerainty. In 1099, when the triumphant Franks realized their dream of placing Jerusalem once again in Christian hands, it had only the year previously been captured from the Turks by the Fatimids. A Seljuk governor ruled in Damascus, but the Fatimids were in control in Acre and Tyre. It was into this mix of religious divisions and regional ambitions that the Crusaders made their appearance in Syria and Palestine at the end of the eleventh century.

The arrival of the Franks in the eastern Mediterranean during the First Crusade was not without precedent. Under the leadership of Roger and Robert Guiscard, the Normans had seized control of Sicily from the Arabs and taken over Byzantine territory in southern Italy.<sup>5</sup> In 1071, when the Byzantines suffered defeat at Manzikert, Robert Guiscard captured Bari, the Byzantine capital in Italy. Shortly after the ascension of Alexius Comnenus in 1081 ended a decade of civil war, Robert launched a series of raids on the eastern shores of the Empire.

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<sup>5</sup>See D. Matthew, *Norman Kingdom of Sicily*, New York, 1992, pp. 17-8.

Although these raids had little lasting effect and Robert was forced to return to Italy to secure his rule, he left his son Bohemond to continue harassing the coastline. Bohemond himself returned to Italy in 1083, but his territorial ambitions in the east were not yet satisfied. To make matters worse, these raids were carried out with the support of Pope Gregory VII, who sought the submission of the Greek church to the authority of Rome. Pressed by the threat of the Sunni Seljuks to the east, the Shi'ite Fatimids to the south, and the Norman adventurers to the west, Alexius found himself in a desperate search for allies. In the end, he threw his lot in with the papacy in Rome and, with his famous appeal to Urban II in 1095, facilitated the entry of the Franks into the Holy Land.

The religious zeal of the earliest Crusaders has justifiably received a great deal of attention from medieval chroniclers and modern historians. Yet one cannot ignore the fact that religious loyalties were frequently overwhelmed by military necessities and regional politics. Foremost among these considerations in the minds of the Turks in Syria was the desirability of using the Franks as buffers against attacks from Fatimid Egypt. The Seljuk princes Ridwan and Dukak, who ruled in Aleppo and Damascus respectively, sought alliances with the Franks against the Fatimids and their Turkish rivals in Syria. In 1108, a battle took place which pitted Ridwan and Tancred against Baldwin of Edessa and Chavli Saqaveh, the ruler of Mosul.<sup>6</sup> For these reasons, historians have described Muslim relations with the Franks as characterized by a general indifference to religious affiliations.<sup>7</sup>

Such indifference also characterized the attitude of the Assassins, an Ismā'ili sect, whose arrival in Syria at the beginning of the twelfth century brought an aspect of volatility to an already complicated situation. Their assassination policy was clearly one of religious non-discrimination. Their quarrels with the Fatimids

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<sup>6</sup>C. Cahen, "The Turkish Invasion: the Selchūkids," *HOC*, v. 1, p. 173; Mayer, *Crusades*, p. 67.

<sup>7</sup>B. Lewis, "The Ismā'ilites and the Assassins," *HOC*, v. 1, p. 119.

led to the killing of the caliph al-Amir in 1130. Their alliance around 1148 with Raymond of Antioch against Nur al-Din did not prevent the assassination a few years later of Raymond II of Tripoli.<sup>8</sup> Two unsuccessful attempts on the life of Saladin in 1175 and 1176 were followed by the murder of Conrad of Montferrat in 1192, perhaps at the request of Saladin or Richard the Lion Heart.<sup>9</sup> In the thirteenth century, their vengeance seems to have been exclusively directed at the Franks, with the assassination of Raymond, son of Bohemond IV of Antioch in 1213, and of Philip of Montfort in 1270, as well as an unsuccessful attempt on the life of Edward of England in 1272. Before their eradication at the hands of the Mamluk Sultan Baybars in 1273, the Assassins were known to have been paying tribute to the Templars and the Hospitallers, to the latter perhaps as early as 1226.<sup>10</sup>

These alliances, which emerged and dissolved according to changes in the political and military situation, largely derived from the struggle for control of Syria and Egypt. Once established in Syria and Palestine, the Franks sought to extend their dominion into Egypt. While historians now view the repeated crusades to Egypt in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as folly, they were in fact strategically sound, if tactically inept. The Crusaders understood that without control of Egypt, security in Syria could never be obtained. From the Muslim viewpoint, it was the genius of Nur al-Din to envisage a unified government over the two regions.

Once Nur al-Din's goal was achieved by Saladin in 1174, the petty squabbles among regional chieftains and the resulting alliances with the Franks were replaced with a sense of the religious duty to rid the land of the infidel.<sup>11</sup> The Sunni/Shi'ite split was resolved by the destruction of the Fatimid caliphate and the

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<sup>8</sup>H. A. R. Gibb, "The Career of Nūr ad-Dīn," *HOC*, v. 1, p. 535. cf. the date of c. 1130 given by Lewis, "The Ismā'ilites and the Assassins," p. 120.

<sup>9</sup>Lewis, "The Ismā'ilites and the Assassins," pp. 123-4.

<sup>10</sup>Lewis, "The Ismā'ilites and the Assassins," pp. 130-1.

<sup>11</sup>On these matters, see especially E. Sivan, *L'Islam et les Croisades: idéologie et propagande dans les réactions musulmanes aux croisades*, Paris, 1968; N. Elisséef, *Nūr ad-Dīn: un grand prince musulman de Syrie au temps des croisades (511-569 H. / 1118-1174)*, 3 vols., Damascus, 1967; M. C. Lyons and D. E. P. Jackson, *Saladin: the Politics of the Holy War*, Cambridge, 1982.

murder of the young caliph in Cairo on the order of Saladin. Serious political and religious divisions between Egypt and Syria no longer existed. Faced with this united Muslim front, the Franks suffered devastating losses; their survival in the Latin East was safeguarded only by the arrival of Richard the Lion Heart in 1191 and the death of Saladin in 1193.

Saladin's death marked the return of divided government, as the Ayyubid dynasty gradually dissolved.<sup>12</sup> Initially, the unity of Saladin's empire was upheld by his brother al-Adil, but upon his death in 1218, rule in Egypt, Syria and Palestine, and Mesopotamia was divided between his three sons. The heirs to the Ayyubid Empire struggled among themselves for control of Cairo, Damascus, Mosul, and Aleppo. The Franks were once again able to exploit regional rivalries to their advantage. Foremost among the diplomatic victories of the thirteenth century was the treaty negotiated by Emperor Frederick II. Playing off the divisions which had arisen among the Ayyubids, Frederick was able to secure from al-Kamil the return, not only of Jerusalem, but of much of the territory which had been lost to Saladin. The treaty did not win the support of al-Kamil's Ayyubid rivals in Syria. On the Frankish side, the triumphal entry of a Christian ruler into Jerusalem did not cause much rejoicing in Rome, where Frederick had been excommunicated, or in Acre, as many factions among the Franks did not support the Imperial cause.

The death of al-Kamil in 1238 led to the establishment of rival rulers in Cairo and Damascus and created a growing rift between the supporters of a pro-Egyptian policy and a pro-Damascene one among the Franks.<sup>13</sup> The Hospital took up the cause of the Egyptian alliance which had been negotiated by Frederick II, while the Templars supported the negotiations with Damascus pursued by Theobald of Champagne. Minor skirmishes among the respective allies ensued over the next few years. The dispute was brought to an end when Egyptian forces, joined with

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<sup>12</sup>See R. S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols: the Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193-1260*, Albany, 1977.

<sup>13</sup>For these events, see Riley-Smith, *Knights*, pp. 173-83.

Khawarzmian Turks, defeated a combined army of Frankish and Damascene troops at Gaza in 1244, and captured Jerusalem. As a result, Syria came once again under Egyptian control. After the second loss of Jerusalem, the Franks retained little control over the southern region of the Latin East.

The second loss of Jerusalem had few repercussions in the northern region of the Crusader states, where, in the thirteenth century, the rulers of the principality of Antioch had pursued a political and military policy largely independent of the government in Acre. The continuous pressure on Antioch emanating from the Byzantine Empire evaporated following the sack of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204 and the creation of a Latin Empire in Byzantium, which lasted until 1261. The traditional rivalry between the prince of Antioch and the count of Tripoli was also resolved when Bohemond IV, son of Prince Bohemond III, was named count of Tripoli after the death of Raymond III in 1187.

The ascension of Bohemond IV as prince of Antioch set the stage for a new conflict with the growing power of the Catholic Kingdom of Armenia, whose ruler Leo II, a loyal adherent to the Church in Rome, began to exert his influence in the region. When Raymond Rupin, the offspring of a marriage alliance between Raymond, the eldest son of Bohemond III, and Alice, niece of Leo II, staked his claim to the principality of Antioch after the death of Bohemond III in 1201, he was eventually openly supported by the Hospitallers. During the two decades of civil war which followed, Bohemond sought an alliance with the Muslim prince of Aleppo, while Raymond Rupin cultivated the support of the Egyptian al-Adil. Although Raymond Rupin was able to seize Antioch in 1216, his support among the populace was so weak that by 1219, Bohemond IV was recognized as the rightful prince of Antioch. The dispute between Armenia and Antioch was not finally settled until 1254, when Bohemond VI married the daughter of the Armenian King Hethoum, effectively submitting the affairs of Antioch to the discretion of Armenia.

This settlement was to have great implications for future events in the region, as a new invasion force was arriving from the east.

Although a minor sideshow in the affairs of the vast empire created by Genghis Khan, the Crusader states were significantly effected by the Mongol invasions. The appearance of the Mongols on the eastern borders of Europe and in northern Syria caused enormous devastation in the lives of the inhabitants, but it also created a flurry of diplomatic activity among church and government leaders, who envisioned a Christian-Mongol alliance against the Muslim powers in Egypt and Syria.<sup>14</sup> Despite the dispatch of several high-ranking missions to the Mongols from the Pope and St. Louis of France, an agreement suitable to both parties was never reached. An alliance was formed, however, between Armenia and the Mongols, which resulted in combined attacks against Aleppo and Damascus. These attacks did not go unnoticed in Egypt.

As the Mongols appeared on the scene, the political situation in Egypt took a dramatic turn. Following their victory over the Franks at Mansura in 1249, a cadre of military slaves, or Mamluks, who formed the personal bodyguard of the Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb (1240-9), began to encroach upon the power of the Ayyubid sultanate. When al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's successor, Tūrānshāh, favored his own guards over the Mamluks, he was killed in 1250 and replaced by a series of puppet rulers.<sup>15</sup> In 1259, a Mamluk faction placed one of their leaders, Qutuz, on the throne.<sup>16</sup> These acts brought about another division between Syria and Egypt and set the stage for a

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<sup>14</sup>The diplomatic relations between Europe and the Mongol Empire are discussed in various articles by J. Richard collected in *Orient et Occident au moyen âge: contacts et relations*, London, 1976; *Les relations entre l'Orient et l'Occident au moyen âge*, London, 1977; *Croisés, missionnaires, et voyageurs*, London, 1983; see also D. Sinor, *Inner Asia and its contacts with Medieval Europe*, London, 1977. The reports of three embassies to the Mongols can be found in *The Mongol Mission*, ed. C. Dawson, London, 1955; *The Mission of William Rubruck*, trans. P. Jackson, London, 1990; *Historia Tartarorum*, ed. J. Richard, Paris, 1965. For the Mongols in general, see D. Morgan, *The Mongols*, New York, 1986.

<sup>15</sup>See R. Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: the Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250-1382*, London, 1986, pp. 26-7. The level of actual control which the Mamluks had over the Sultanate is debatable. According to one author, by 1251, Mamluk rule in Egypt met no more Ayyubid challenges. See A. Levanoni, "The Mamluks' Ascent to Power in Egypt," *Studia Islamica*, 72 (1990), 121-44, at p. 142.

<sup>16</sup>See P. M. Holt, "Mamlūks," *ET*<sup>2</sup>, v. 6, Leiden, 1991, 321-31, at p. 321.

battle with the Mongols over control of the region. When the planned alliance between the Crusaders and the Mongols failed to materialize, the Crusaders in Acre, mindful of their situation with regard to Egypt, opted to stay neutral in the imminent battle between the Egyptians and the Mongols.<sup>17</sup>

When the opposing forces met at the battle of Ayn Jalut in 1260, the Mamluks won a minor victory, which effectively, if not immediately, eliminated the Mongol threat to the region.<sup>18</sup> The victory also sealed the fate of the Franks in the Latin East. Having gained control of the Mamluk sultanate after the murder of Qutuz, Baybars began to eliminate Ayyubid power in Syria and to eradicate the Crusader presence in the Latin East.<sup>19</sup> Over the next two decades, until his death in 1277, Baybars systematically reduced the territory under Crusader control through a series of battles, sieges, and advantageous treaties to a small enclave between Haifa and Laodicea.<sup>20</sup> It was left to his successors, Qalawun and al-Ashraf Khalil, to put an end to the Frankish settlement on the shores of the eastern Mediterranean by 1291.

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Over the nearly two centuries that the Franks settled in the Latin East, the Hospitallers acquired their estates through active promotion of their roles as a monastic institution and a military organization. As with religious institutions in Europe, gifts to the Hospital were made in order to secure spiritual benefits for the benefactor and his or her family. In contrast to the situation in Europe, the realities of the Latin East meant that castles and fortresses were frequently placed in the

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<sup>17</sup>For a brilliant examination of these events, see P. Jackson, "The Crisis of the Holy Land in 1260," *EHR*, 95 (1980), 481-513. The author argues that internal struggles within the Mongol Empire contributed more to the retreat of the Mongols from the area than the Mamluk military victories.

<sup>18</sup>Mamluk-Mongol relations are examined in R. Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: the Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260-1281*, New York, 1995.

<sup>19</sup>A recent biography of Baybars is P. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century*, trans. P. M. Holt, New York, 1992.

<sup>20</sup>The texts of these treaties between the Mamluks and the Crusaders are analyzed in P. M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, Leiden, 1995, based on a series of earlier articles, some of which are cited below and in the bibliography. See also, the two treaties included in *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, trans. F. Gabrielli, Eng. trans. E. J. Costello, Los Angeles, 1969, pp. 323-33.

care of the knights of the Hospital. The military nature of the Crusades and the threat to the Frankish settlement in the Latin East often rendered the possession of property by the Hospitallers ephemeral and tenuous, an aspect of Frankish land tenure which is demonstrated repeatedly in the following chapters. Nevertheless, the Hospitallers acquired an impressive collection of estates in the Latin East.

The acquisition of the landed estates of the Hospitallers throughout Europe and the eastern Mediterranean is documented in the voluminous archives of the Order located in Malta.<sup>21</sup> There are two modern editions which contain a selection of charters from the archives of the Order. The earliest of these, *Codice diplomatico del sacro militare ordine Gerosolimitano oggi di Malta*, edited by Paoli, was published in 1733-7. The larger and more complete *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1100 - 1310)* was published in four volumes by Delaville le Roulx in 1894-1906.<sup>22</sup> It contains over 4000 charters from the archive in Malta and elsewhere, of which more than 600 charters relate to the Latin East. These charters form the basis of the present study. Most of them are deeds which record property transfers to the Hospital from almost all levels of Frankish society. Other charters provide details on property disputes and accords among ecclesiastical organizations and military orders in the Latin East. There are also a number of papal bulls concerning the affairs of the Order and letters from the Grand Masters of the Hospital relaying events in the Latin East to high-ranking officials in Europe.

The *Cartulaire général* also contains summaries of 378 lost charters related to Hospitaller activities in the Latin East preserved in an inventory compiled

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<sup>21</sup> A comprehensive microfilm collection of the archive is being compiled at the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library at St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota. The archive has been catalogued by A. Z. Gabaretta and G. Mizzi, *Catalogue of the Records of the Order of St. John in the Royal Malta Library*, 13 vols., Malta, 1964-76.

<sup>22</sup> Discussion of the history of the archive and editions of cartularies can be found in *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter, Archivberichte und Texte*, ed. R. Hiestand, Göttingen, 1972, pp. 13-38. Some details on Delaville le Roulx are included on pp. 34-5, and Raybaud on pp. 49-50.

around 1745 by Jean Raybaud, an archivist of the Order in S. Gilles, France.<sup>23</sup>

Many of the descriptions of the missing charters contain tantalizing clues to some of the major issues discussed in the present thesis, especially with regard to the transfer of land, and to coinage and taxation. But, as the following chapters will show, Raybaud's *Inventaire* is frequently inaccurate, decidedly incomplete, and frustratingly imprecise. The descriptions provided must therefore be used with caution and circumspection.

The need for ease of recall and ready reference of the abundant documentation of the *Cartulaire général* has required the construction of a relational database management system (RDBMS) using FOXPRO 2.5 for Macintosh.<sup>24</sup> The charters have been coded and entered into the following tables: DOCUMENT - providing information on the nature of the document (e.g., sale, lease, purchase, grant, confirmation) and assigning a unique identifying number; PERSON - providing information on the donor/seller (e.g., sex, age, occupation, residence); PROPERTY - providing information on the property transaction (e.g., type of land, measure, units, value in money, name). The database has proven to be a valuable reference tool in the writing of the thesis and has enabled the information contained in the charters to be sorted, searched, queried, and subjected to limited quantitative analysis.

Comparative analysis for the acquisition of property can be made with the cartularies of several other ecclesiastical and secular organizations established in the Latin East. These include documents pertaining to the holdings of the Teutonic Knights, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Abbey of Our Lady of Josaphat, the

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<sup>23</sup> The inventory has also been published, with a fascinating introduction speculating on the provenance and disappearance of the charters by Delaville Le Roulx, "Inventaire de pièces de Terre Sainte de l'ordre de l'Hôpital," ed. J. Delaville le Roulx, *ROL*, 3 (1895), 36-106.

<sup>24</sup> The DEEDS Project, under the direction of Michael Gervers at the University of Toronto, has compiled a dataset of over 1200 charters related to the property of the Hospitallers in Essex, England. M. Gervers, G. Long, M. McCulloch, "The DEEDS Database of Mediaeval Charters: Design and coding for the RDBMS Oracle 5", *History and Computing* (1984), 1-11.

Venetian colony at Tyre, and the Abbey of Mt. Thabor, which was amalgamated with the Hospital in 1255.<sup>25</sup> It is greatly lamented that the archive of Templar properties in the Latin East has been lost.<sup>26</sup>

The evidence for land acquisition and administration contained in the substantial number of surviving charters can be supplemented by material gleaned from the writings of medieval chroniclers and historians. Such material cannot, however, be used without caution. Perhaps the most dangerous trap into which medievalists often fall is to make broad generalizations from unique and fragmentary statements contained in these writings. Given their nature, such a tendency is often unavoidable when dealing with rural property. Chroniclers of the Crusades were mainly concerned with accounts of the military battles of knights and the political ambitions of lords and rulers. What evidence we gather about rural life is therefore taken only from incidental and contextual reference. There exists no account of rural settlement or agricultural production from sources written during the Crusades. As a result, these chronicles will prove of limited use for a study of these subjects.<sup>27</sup>

The abundance of Latin charter stands in marked contrast to the limits of Arabic sources. Compilations of land deeds and charters from the Muslim lands in Syria and Palestine during the Crusader period have not survived. That is not to say that land registers and deeds were not recorded in the Muslim chancery.

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<sup>25</sup>Besides CGOH, the major collections of documents relating to Frankish settlement in the Latin East are: *Le Cartulaire de l'église du Chapitre du Saint Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, ed. G. Bresc-Boutier, Paris, 1984. Note: This is an updated edition of *Cartulaire de l'église du Saint-Sépulcre*, ed. E. de Rozière, Paris, 1894. Hereafter: *Sépulcre*; *Chartes de Terre Sainte provenant de Notre-Dame de Josaphat*, ed. F. Delaborde, Paris, 1880. Hereafter: *Josaphat*; *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, ed. R. Röhrich, Innsbruck, 1893-1904. Hereafter: *RRH*; *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, ed. A. Strelkhe, Berlin, 1869 (rpt. 1972). Hereafter: *Teut.*; *Urkunden zur ältesten Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, ed. G. Tafel and G. Thomas, Vienna, 1857. Hereafter: *Tafel-Thomas*.

<sup>26</sup>According to R. Hiestand, the destruction of the archive most probably occurred during the Turkish attack on Cyprus in 1571. See *Archivalische Zeitschrift* (1980), cited in M. Barber, *The New Knighthood*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 310-13. For properties within Europe, see *Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple*, ed. Marquis d'Albon, Paris, 1913.

<sup>27</sup>The most important works have been compiled and edited, with French translation, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades, Occidentaux*, 5 vols., Paris, 1844-95. Hereafter: *RHC, Occ.*

Indeed, there are references to such recordings dating from the period, but apparently not one is extant.<sup>28</sup> Chronicles and travelogues written by Arabs during the Crusading interlude have survived in abundance. But as with their western counterparts, these sources need to be used with extreme circumspection.<sup>29</sup> There is no better justification for this caveat than the historical exaggerations which have been perpetuated in the name of Ibn Jubayr.<sup>30</sup>

Legal treatises on taxation and rent by Muslim jurists provide a glimpse into the nature of Muslim administration before the arrival of the Crusaders and can therefore tell us about its survival in the Latin East. But these sources are not without deficiencies. Foremost is the indeterminate gap between theory and practice. With the current state of historical investigation, it is sometimes difficult to ascertain the extent to which these normative writings reflect daily reality.<sup>31</sup> A second important difficulty is one of regional variation. Islamic law was uniform, but in an empire which stretched from central Asia to western Spain, it is hard to generalize and to apply the administrative practices of the heart of Abbasid Iraq to Fatimid Egypt.

In order to evaluate the nature of land practices under the Franks, it is necessary to examine the system of land tenure which the Crusaders brought with them. The documentation for this study is readily available in the various

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<sup>28</sup>For example, Abu'l-Fidā' writes of a tax register kept by Zengi in Aleppo in the year 1137/8. See the extract in *Receuil des historiens des Croisades, Orientaux.*, v. 1, Paris, 1872, p. 23. Hereafter: *RHC, Or.* The discovery of an important collection of medieval Mamluk documents in Jerusalem was announced in 1978. The collection contained several hundred complete documents and fragments, some of which concerned real estate transactions. See L. S. Northrup and A. Abul-Hajj, "A Collection of Medieval Arabic Documents in the Islamic Museum at the Ḥaram al-Sharīf, *Arabica*, 5 (1978), 283-91; D. P. Little, "The Significance of the Ḥaram Documents for the Study of Medieval Islamic History," *Der Islam*, 57 (1980), 189-219. Another large collection of pre-Ottoman Islamic documents from Syria is discussed in J. Sourdel-Thomine and D. Sourdel, "Nouveaux documents sur l'histoire religieuse et sociale de Damas au Moyen Âge," *Revue des Études islamiques*, 32 (1964), 2-3; and J. Sourdel-Thomine and D. Sourdel, "Trois actes de vente damascains du début du IV<sup>e</sup>/X<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 8 (1965), 164-85. Hereafter: *JESHO*.

<sup>29</sup>Many important works have been compiled and edited, with French translation, in *RHC, Or.*

<sup>30</sup>See below, Ch. 4.

<sup>31</sup>In an examination of documents related to sales of slaves, a high degree of conformity has been established between legal theory and practice. See D. P. Little, "Six Fourteenth Century Purchase Deeds for Slaves from al-Ḥaram Ash-Sharīf," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 131 (1981), 297-337.

cartularies of ecclesiastical and secular institutions in Europe, especially those of northern and southern France. Joshua Prawer has drawn particular attention to the colonization activities of the Crusaders which drew upon French precedents for their organization.<sup>32</sup> Colonization schemes, whether instituted by ecclesiastical organizations such as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Hospitallers, or by secular lords such as King Baldwin of Jerusalem, sought to settle European colonists on lands in the Latin East according to traditions quite similar to those in France. These schemes were quite rare in comparison to the typical rural settlement which relied upon native Muslim or Syrian Christian cultivators. Taken together, these sources - Latin and Arabic, European and Islamic - provide the means for an analysis of the economic activities of the Hospitallers in the Latin East.

No study of the Hospitallers during the Crusades can be made without vigorous consultation of *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1350-1310*, written by Jonathan Riley-Smith in 1967. His study is comprehensive and covers the varied activities of the Order. The greater part of the volume is concerned with institutional affairs and hierarchical structures. There is an informative map of Hospitaller holdings in the appendix; Chapter 14 is devoted to the Order as land-owners. There is, however, no precise and detailed analysis of its acquisition policy. This thesis is written, in part, to fill that gap.

It has only been in recent decades that the rural and urban settlements of the Crusader states in Syria and Palestine have received serious study. Such consideration has led to a new appraisal of the nature and extent of the acculturation and segregation resulting from Frankish settlement in Syria and Palestine which differs from previous views.

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<sup>32</sup>J. Prawer, "Colonization activities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 29 (1951), 1063-1118.

French scholarship of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reflects to a great extent the thought processes of nationalistic writers active during France's imperial adventures in Syria and Lebanon.<sup>33</sup> One of these authors, E. G. Rey, in *Les Colonies franques*, asserts that the Crusades are "plus intéressants pour quiconque d'entre nous n'est pas indifférent aux destinées de son pays."<sup>34</sup> To a large extent, the aims of Imperial France, like those of England, were driven by an ideology which asserted the benefits of colonial rule for the subjected peoples. Suprisingly, given the success of their country's colonial enterprise in the Middle East and the stationing there of educated officers of the government, English writers of the nineteenth century produced few memorable works on the Crusades to the Holy Land -- that were non-fiction.

Their French counterparts took a more cultural view of the people and their relationship to the land under the Franks. They portray a Franco-Syrian society during the Crusades, in which the subjugated Muslims enjoyed decent living conditions under their Frankish rulers. Indeed, following Ibn Jubayr, they argue that their lot was much better than that of their co-religionists under Muslim rule. Moreover, the conquering Franks were seen to have assimilated the customs and traditions of their new homeland. The writings of Fulcher of Chartres and William of Tyre are often cited, with their descriptions of Franks adopting native dress, foods, and manners.<sup>35</sup>

This view of cultural and social integration continued until the appearance of R.C. Smail's, *Crusading Warfare* (1956). In his study of the military history of the Latin East until the end of the Third Crusade, Smail challenged such evidence put

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<sup>33</sup>The major works include, E.G. Rey, *Essai sur la domination française en Syrie durant le moyen âge*, Paris, 1866; E.G. Rey, *Les Colonies franques*, Paris, 1883; L. Madelin, "La Syrie franque," *Revue des deux mondes*, 38 (1917), 314-58; L. Madelin, *L'expansion française; de la Syrie au Rhin*, Paris, 1918; R. Grousset, *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem*, 3 vols., Paris, 1934-36.

<sup>34</sup>Rey, *Colonies franques*, ii.

<sup>35</sup>Especially the famous passage of Fulcher, *Historia hierosolymitana*, in *RHC, Occ.*, v. 3, p. 468, beginning: "For we who were westerners, have now become orientals..."

forward by proponents of “la nation franco-syrienne” as “superficial and of limited value.”<sup>36</sup> In Smail’s opinion the evidence provided by western chroniclers such as Fulcher, as well as by Muslim observers such as Usamah ibn Munqidh and Ibn Jubayr, takes into account only the instances of friendly interaction and natural curiosity about a foreign culture, almost exclusively exhibited between men of a particular social standing.<sup>37</sup> What has been left out of the picture, Smail asserts in the remainder of his study, is that the real relations between the Franks and the Muslims were based on warfare and the actions of the hostile armies of two militant societies. The present study accepts this premise, but examines another aspect - the economic activities of the Hospitallers, focusing on the acquisition and administration of the land which came under their control.

Following Smail, the Israeli historian Joshua Prawer developed the notion of the divided and segregated nature of Frankish rule in the Latin East and put forth the still debated thesis that the Crusades represent the first movement of the European colonial experience.<sup>38</sup> In contrast to the positive interpretation of colonialism espoused by the earlier French writers, by Prawer’s time colonialism and imperialism had acquired a negative connotation. In Prawer’s view, the Franks established a society in which the conquerors existed in a separate sphere from their subjects, while still maintaining territorial sovereignty and economic control of the native population. Prawer concluded that in essence the Latin East constituted an apartheid society.<sup>39</sup> Prawer’s conception of a segregated nature of the Latin East

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<sup>36</sup>This phrase was put forth by Grousset, *Histoire des croisades*, v. 1, p. 287; R.C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, Cambridge, 1956, p. 43.

<sup>37</sup>*An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades. Memoirs of Usamah ibn Munqidh*, trans. P. K. Hitti, New York, 1929; *Rihlat Ibn Jubayr*, ed. R. Hayn-Nassar, Cairo, 1992; English translation in Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, trans. R. J. C. Broadhurst, London, 1952.

<sup>38</sup>J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*, London 1972, especially Ch. 18. (Published in New York as *The Crusaders’ Kingdom*). A revision and translation of *Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, tr. G. Nahon and rev. by author, 2 vols., Paris, 1969-70; 2nd. ed., 1975. The contemporary situation in Israel was presumably not far from the author’s mind, but his writing contains no allusion to it. See the lively debate between Prawer and other leading historians of the Crusades in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B.Z. Kedar, Jerusalem, 1982, 341-66.

<sup>39</sup>Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 524.

has been largely accepted if not confirmed by the scholarship of Claude Cahen, Jean Richard, B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer, and Jonathan Riley-Smith. Together, these historians have presented the accepted view of the Latin East as a settlement in which the ruling elite of Frankish knights, lords, and clergy lived in the fortified towns of Acre, Jerusalem, Tyre, and Antioch as *rentiers*, drawing revenues from their rural holdings, which were cultivated by their majority Muslim and Syrian Christian subjects, with whom they had little contact and left largely to live as they had under their previous Muslim lords. It has since become accepted that there was an almost complete absence of rural settlement by the Franks, no seigneurial demesne, and very little demand for labor services or *corvée*. While these conclusions cannot be entirely discarded, an examination of the documentation reveals more evidence for rural settlement, demesne land, and labor services than has been previously acknowledged.

In the last few years, the view put forth by Prawer and his school has begun to be challenged with re-interpretations of existing documentary evidence and new archaeological excavations.<sup>40</sup> Ronnie Ellenblum has spent the last decade conducting field research in the rural settlements of the Franks in the Latin East. He has published two short articles in which he challenges the prevailing view that rural settlement was not very extensive by identifying the remains of over 200 Frankish manor houses and farms.<sup>41</sup> Many of these settlements had been identified

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<sup>40</sup>Archaeological investigations within Israel have produced a good deal of Crusader remains, but until recently, rural settlements have been neglected in favor of fortifications and churches. An excellent, highly accessible overview can be found in M. Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem, 1970. See also R. Fedden and J. Thomson, *Crusader Castles*, London, 1957; W. Müller-Weiner, *Castles of the Crusaders*, London, 1966; T.E. Lawrence, *Crusader Castles*, new ed., Oxford, 1988; H. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, New York, 1988; D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: a corpus*, New York, 1993; D. Pringle, *The Red Tower: settlement in the plain of Sharon at the time of the Crusaders and Mamluks*, London, 1986; for an examination of colonial rural settlement, see D. Pringle, "Magna Mahumeria (al-Bira): the Archaeology of a Frankish New Town in Palestine," *Crusade and Settlement, Papers read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, ed. P. Edbury, Cardiff, 1985, 147-68.

<sup>41</sup>R. Ellenblum, "Construction Methods in Frankish Rural Settlements," *Horns of Haṭṭīn*, 168-89; "Settlement and Society formation in Crusader Palestine," *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, ed. T. Levy, London, 1995, 503-11. The publication of Ellenblum's *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* occurred too late for the work to be included in the present thesis.

by Meron Benvenisti in 1970, but his adherence to the “unequivocal conclusion of the historians” led him to hesitate to define them as manor houses, despite the fact that all the evidence pointed to that conclusion.<sup>42</sup>

Instances of *casalia* in the environs of urban centers and in rural areas of the Latin East allow us to document the areas of settlement by the Franks. Castles and fortresses and their date of acquisition reflect an Order with a military posture as early as 1136, when it acquired property at Bethgibelin; and continued to receive at least ten more fortified sites in the twelfth century. According to Prawer, *gastinae* or wastelands reveal the limits of Crusader settlement in the country and the lack of labor to work the land, but it may be suggested that they show us merely an alternative use of land. Their main characteristic is that they were not inhabited; the towns and villages near to them were, however. The existence of *gastinae* is evidence of the Frankish settlers who named it, let it lie fallow, grazed, or otherwise exploited it. Taken together, the hundreds of documents recording donations and sales to the Hospital provide some evidence for the rural settlement of the Order in the Latin East.

Because Riley-Smith's work serves as the standard against which contrary findings concerning the acquisition and administration of land by the Hospitallers will be measured, it is worth reviewing its major conclusions here. Riley-Smith has argued that the Order acquired landed wealth through the generosity of its benefactors. Half were eleemosynary gifts, with most of the grants made in the twelfth century, while an increase in renting is noticeable after 1175. The greater expansion of property took place before 1187. The holdings of the Order were concentrated between Hebron and Ascalon, west of Jerusalem and the Sea of Galilee, and the lands pertaining to the fortresses of Crac des Chevaliers, Margat, and Rugia. There is little evidence of success at extending these borders or buying

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<sup>42</sup>Benvenisti, *Crusaders in the Holy Land*, p. 233.

out small properties enclosed by them. As a result, Riley-Smith concludes that the Hospital possessed a large number of scattered properties. The only lands directly exploited by the Order were a few vineyards, olive groves, fields of sugarcane, and gardens. In this respect, the Hospitallers used the same methods of administration as their neighbors: on the whole they left their properties alone. Although the settlement plans of the Order at Bethgibelin are acknowledged for their similarity to French colonising projects, Riley-Smith draws attention to the major distinctions between Frankish and European land administration. He argues that there was little sign of the change from services to fixed rents that was a feature of their estates in Europe. In addition, he invokes two fundamental characteristics which distinguish between the management of the estates of the Order in Europe and in Syria. In the East there was more distant supervision, absentee *rentiers* rather than manorial lords and the preference was for produce rather than cash, indicated by the prevalence of *champart* contracts and crop specialisation.

A more focused analysis of the subject and a close reading of the texts concerning the acquisition and management of the Order's landed property lead to three conclusions which differ from those reached by Riley-Smith. First, numerous documents from the *Cartulaire général* indicate that the Hospital pursued a deliberate policy of consolidation and expansion, which frequently coordinated acquisitions by purchases and donations. Second, the Hospitallers constructed estates, centered in the lordships of Caesarea, Acre, Nazareth, Tiberias, and Tripoli, in some instances replacing the local officials and assuming direct supervision of the property. Third, a comprehensive examination of the properties transferred to the Order by the nobility and gentry provides some evidence that the habitation of the countryside was more extensive than previously assumed.

The focus of the present thesis is an analysis of the acquisition policy and land administration of the Order. The following chapters attempt to address two

main questions: 1) How did the Order acquire its property in the Latin East? and 2) How did the Order administer this property and the inhabitants who cultivated it? Land was acquired by the Order through two main methods, donation and purchase. Donations, which comprised the larger share of the Order's acquisitions, are examined in Chapter 1, while Chapter 2 discusses the smaller number of properties gained through purchase. In both chapters, several instances are identified in which the Order negotiated for donations and pursued strategic purchases in an attempt to consolidate its holdings. The Order expended a great deal of money in these purchases, which played a significant role in the monetary economy of the Latin East. The coins and moneys of account used in these transactions are analyzed in the appendix. Chapter 3 profiles the persons who donated or sold land to the Order and determines the relative contributions which members of the nobility, gentry, and the church made to it through donations and sales. The conclusions emphasize the importance of relations with the families of several lordships, especially Caesarea, Tripoli, and the Ibelins.

Chapter 4 examines the administration of the properties acquired by the Order and the people settled on them. The major issue addressed here is the distribution of the cultivators throughout the lands of the Order and their religious and ethnic identities - Muslims, Syrian Christians, and Franks. This is very difficult terrain because the available evidence is meager and often ambiguous. Nevertheless, the charters of the archives of the Hospital provide a few important details which can be used to determine some demographic aspects of the Latin East. The chapter concludes with an evaluation of the survival under the Franks of two aspects of Muslim administration. This examination is based primarily on evidence found in Latin charters; a thorough study of Muslim land administration has not been undertaken. The evidence found in the charters has been used by some scholars to support the argument for the survival of a specific type of Muslim

taxation and some local officials during the Crusader period. Instead of attributing the nature of Frankish rural administration to the survival of the Muslim system, it is suggested that a better model may be found in the land tenure which developed in parts of Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The scope of this study is narrowly focused on the rural properties of the Hospitallers. The Order also had substantial urban holdings and a strong presence within the towns of Jerusalem, Acre, Tyre, and Tripoli, which are not considered. Although other Crusader cartularies have been consulted, no attempt will be made to provide a thorough comparison with the economic activities of these institutions. As a military-monastic order, the Hospital differed in many respects from the governmental and ecclesiastical institutions and lay personages which held land in the Latin East. Along with the Templars, the Hospitallers were indisputably the wealthiest, most powerful and influential landholders. Since the Templar archive has been lost, it is not possible to carry out a comparative analysis of a similarly organized and endowed military-monastic institution. It is intended, however, that the conclusions reached in this study should serve to illuminate further the settler society established by the Franks in the Latin East.

## -- CHAPTER ONE --

### **Properties acquired through donation**

Over 100 charters from the *Cartulaire général* record donations to the Order in the Latin East. They were made in almost every decade of the two centuries in which the Franks settled there, although two and one-half times as many occur in the twelfth century as in the thirteenth century. Donated lands were accepted in all the regions under Frankish control, but the Hospitallers made special efforts to acquire donations in areas where they wished to develop contiguous or closely located estates. Properties ranged in size from fortresses and villages with large populations (some of which were under Muslim control), to tiny gardens, vineyards, waste land, pasturage, and single parcels of cultivated land. Most donations were eleemosynary gifts, that is made in return for prayers for the souls of the donor and his or her family, but there is considerable variation in the terms and conditions under which the grants were made. This chapter examines the donation of rural property including transfers with regard to date, property type, and geographical distribution.

#### ***Chronological distribution of donations***

The first recorded donation of rural property to the Order took place as early as 1099, when Godfrey of Bouillon granted it *casal* Hessilia.<sup>1</sup> Other donations of land, including ten *casalia*, were confirmed by Baldwin I, King of Jerusalem, on 28 September 1110.<sup>2</sup> In 1112, he issued a more general confirmation of all lands held by the Order in the Kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> An earlier donation may have been made around the same time, although the only datable evidence in the charter is a reference to the reign of King Baldwin. If the reference were to Baldwin I, it would give

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<sup>1</sup>CGOH #1.

<sup>2</sup>CGOH #20.

<sup>3</sup>CGOH #28.

an end date of 1119, or 1131 for Baldwin II.<sup>4</sup> After 1110, there is a constant stream of gifts to the Order in every decade of the twelfth century. By 1153, Pope Eugene III could confirm the donation of over thirty properties made to it.<sup>5</sup>

A large donation of properties *en bloc* was made prior to 1136 and another in 1168.<sup>6</sup> These donations were directly related to the military situation in the Latin East. When the Order was granted possession of the fortress of Bethgibelin and its adjacent territory in 1136, the transfer was part of a defensive policy to control the southern regions of the Kingdom of Jerusalem against Muslim attacks from Egypt as well as an offensive plan to capture the fortress of Ascalon. Much of the land granted in 1168 by Bohemond III, Prince of Antioch, located on both sides of the Orontes River, was in Muslim hands, and the donation was clearly intended to encourage the conquest of the northeastern region of the Crusader states. By this time, the Order had definitely become involved in the military affairs of the Latin East. In 1168, the Order was also promised the rents of ten properties in Egypt by King Amalric in return for its support of his planned invasion. With the failure of the invasion, the revenues were never acquired.<sup>7</sup>

The transfer of land near Ascalon in 1136 and in Egypt in 1168 are two examples of a pattern in which property was granted to the Order contingent upon military conquest. But the military importance of such donations should not obscure the fact that rural properties were acquired largely through donation and purchase, not conquest. Moreover, these territories served primarily an agricultural purpose, supplying crops and revenues for the Order.

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<sup>4</sup>CGOH #7.

<sup>5</sup>CGOH #217. The list of properties in the Latin East included Becciafaba, Belforte, castellum Bovonis, Ramora, Giaffa, Mirabel, Tre Ponti, Benguarnito, Boffavento, Calemthone, Calosia, Cacho, the dues (*obedientia*) of Caesarea, Altafia, the dues of Naples and Delin, Cafamarda and casal de Monte, Nayn and Tabaria, the dues of Cayphas, of Acri and Gibessa, Cozetto, Syri, Saetti, Beirut, Tripoli, Mount Peregrin, Arci, Coliato, Rafania with all its appurtenances in the county of Tripoli, Stamborgo, the dues of Antioch, Assa, and Femia with its appurtenances, and Bersabee.

<sup>6</sup>CGOH #116, #391.

<sup>7</sup>CGOH #402.

It can be stated definitely that the decades of the mid-twelfth century were the most active period of acquisition for the Order; it was not to be matched after 1180. According to surviving documentation, donations dwindled in the years preceding the conquests of Saladin. With the exception of the grant of a single garden in 1189 and a road in 1191, there are no donations recorded between 1184 and 1193 exclusively.<sup>8</sup> In fact, no substantial property is known to have been given to the Order after 1182, when the Order received *casal* Rogia, under the reserve of one-half the fruits.<sup>9</sup> The number of donations in previous years had been high, however; a count from the records of the *Cartulaire général* indicates that at the arrival of the Third Crusade in 1191, the Order had acquired approximately 250 properties throughout the Latin East.

The record for the thirteenth century reveals a substantially reduced number of donations. This lower count is no doubt due to the decreasing amount of land in Frankish hands. Although donations resumed in the decade after the Third Crusade and the recapture of Acre, the number of properties acquired from 1194 to 1274 went no higher than 100.

Of this number, nearly one-half derived from the acquisition by the Order of Mount Thabor and its possessions. Recognizing the growing threat of the Muslims and the inability of the monastery to defend its property, the Order petitioned the pope to transfer the rights over the land to the Hospital. Pope Alexander's response specifically addresses these concerns.<sup>10</sup> In his letter to the Order, Alexander states that the monastery had been destroyed by the infidel and that there was no hope that it might be repaired by the abbots and monks, or any chance that it might be retaken

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<sup>8</sup>CGOH #871, #906.

<sup>9</sup>CGOH #623. The city of Chamel (Homs) was in Muslim hands when rights to it were donated to the Order by Raymond III in 1184. CGOH #676. The possession of *casal* Aldefie, which the Hospital had acquired before 1153, was confirmed in 1197. CGOH #217, #1002.

<sup>10</sup>CGOH #2726. A confirmation is made in #2829, which copies the bull of Eugenius III, dated 1146, listing the possessions of the monastery. See also #2831 and #2832.

from the Muslims.<sup>11</sup> For these reasons, Alexander consented to the Order's request and transferred the rights to the monastery and its holdings. As the charters indicate, many of these possessions acquired by the Order were in the hands of the Muslims. The Order made a pledge to place forty knights at the main fortress in the territory, suggesting that it remained under Frankish control. It also took possession of at least nine *casalia*, but many of the transferred properties were likely never occupied by the Order.

A second large donation of property *en bloc* in the thirteenth century was also motivated by military circumstances. In 1243, Frederick II handed over the defense of the fortress at Ascalon to the Order and promised to compensate the Hospitallers for their expenses.<sup>12</sup> In the following year, after the defeat of the Franks at the battle of La Forbie, an Egyptian force laid siege to the city, which fell in 1247.<sup>13</sup> In 1246, at the request of the Order, Pope Innocent IV demanded that the archbishops of Nicosia and Limossa secure the reimbursment for the Hospital of money expended in the maintenance of the fortress.<sup>14</sup> In February, 1252, again at the request of the Order, Innocent IV directed the archbishop of Tyre to ensure that the successors of Frederick, who died in 1250, should reimburse the Order for its expenses.<sup>15</sup> In March of 1252, Frederick's heir, Conrad IV, confirmed the Order's claims to Ascalon, following a privilege he received from his father.<sup>16</sup> Finally, over a decade later, after protracted negotiations, John of Ibelin, count of Jaffa and Ascalon, handed over to the Order a substantial amount of property in repayment for the expenses incurred by the Order in defense of the fortress. This transfer was made in two separate, but

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<sup>11</sup>CGOH #2726. "Sane petitio vestra nobis exhibita continebat quod monasterium, quod in Monte Thabor fuit olim constructum, propter guerrarum discrimina destructum est ab inimicis nominis Christi, nec speraretur quod ab abbate ac monachis ejusdem monasterii valeat reparari. Verum, cum sit non modicum dubitandum ne Sarraceni locum predictum Montis Thabor, quem detinent occupatum, muniant in obprobrium et discrimen non modicum fidei christiane, nobis humiliter supplicastis ut providere super hoc paterna sollicitudine curaremeus."

<sup>12</sup>CGOH #2301, #2308, #2319, #2320.

<sup>13</sup>S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1951-4, v. 3, pp. 226-30.

<sup>14</sup>CGOH #2394.

<sup>15</sup>CGOH #2587.

<sup>16</sup>CGOH #2590.

related charters, dated 1257. The first charter of John, dated January, records the grant to the Order of 650 *charruées* of land in his seigneurie of Ascalon.<sup>17</sup> It specifically stipulates that this gift released him and his heirs from all costs and expenses which accrued to the Order in the defense and maintenance of the fortress. Nevertheless, one month later, in February of that year, John further assigned rights to fourteen *casalia* in Ascalon to the Order. He reserved, however, his rights of the road and over any peasants born within two years of the return of the territories through truce to the Franks. This clause indicates that the Order was not in fact able to take possession of the property at the time of its transfer. Indeed, there is no evidence to suggest that the lands ever returned to Frankish hands.<sup>18</sup>

These two large donations of property at Mount Thabor and at Ascalon were, then, probably acquired by the Order largely in deed only, except for the nine *casalia* for which there is a record of possession. If we subtract these fifty-two *casalia* and miscellaneous tracts of land from the donations of the thirteenth century, their number is significantly reduced to forty-two, amounting to approximately one-seventh of the total documented for the twelfth century.

Several years pass in the thirteenth century without any grants of land being made to the Order. In particular, there are no donations of any kind recorded for the years 1217 to 1231. From 1229 until 1244, when Jerusalem was once again in Frankish hands, there is only one recorded donation of a *casal*. Sales of land to the Order were similarly limited in number. The scarcity of donations to the Hospitallers is quite surprising as truces negotiated with the Muslims restored relative peace and security to the region and placed a good deal of land back under Frankish control. The truce of Richard of Cornwall in 1241 stipulated the return to the Franks of territory west of Jerusalem, north of Jaffa, and south of Bethgibelin, as well as the environs of

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<sup>17</sup>CGOH #2845. The caption incorrectly states the number of *charruées* at 150. See also #2810, #2816, #2817.

<sup>18</sup>G. Beyer, "Die Kreuzfahrergebiete Südwestpalästinas," *Beiträge zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde* (previously *ZDPV*), 67 (1950), 148-92, at p. 166; and its suite, 68 (1951), 249-81, at p. 272.

Beirut and Sidon, including the villages and fortresses of Belfort, Kaukab, Castrum Novum, Scandelion, Lydda, Toron, Tiberias, Rama, Safed, Nazareth, Mount Thabor, Ascalon, Bethlehem, Bethania and others.<sup>19</sup> Most of this territory, excluding Ascalon, Hebron, Nablus, and Bethsan, was captured by the Khwarizmian Turks and the Egyptians in 1244.<sup>20</sup> The last donation of land to the Order occurred in 1274, seventeen years before the loss of Acre in 1291 and the fall of the Latin East. The lengthy gap between the two dates demonstrates the inability of the Franks to hold land and conduct their affairs as usual under the relentless attacks of the Mamluks during the last three decades of the Latin East.<sup>21</sup>

The limits of territory still in Christian hands are described in a letter from the Hospitaller Grand Master Hugh Revel to the prior of St. Gilles in France dated 1268/9. His letter states that no revenues were received from anywhere in the Kingdom of Jerusalem and nothing from outside the walls of Acre, with the exception of Herito which was under truce and produced only a small amount of revenue. The demands of the defense of the city of Antioch and its inhabitants strained the resources of the Order. All the territorial appurtenances of Crac des Chevaliers, Margat, and Belda were gone and nothing remained except for these fortresses, from which the sustenance of over 10,000 people and 300 brothers was provided by the Order.<sup>22</sup> The plains of Armenia no longer supplied any food as pestilence and fear of the Mamluks had driven the people from the land. So stretched were the resources of the Franks that the fortress at Caesarea fell after a siege of two days. Safed lasted sixteen and Belfort, which the Order expected could withstand a siege of one year's

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<sup>19</sup>See the letter of Richard of Cornwall in Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, ed. H. R. Luard (Rolls Series, 57), 7 vols., London, 1872-83, v. 4, pp. 141-3.

<sup>20</sup>Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, v. 4, p. 290.

<sup>21</sup>CGOH #3526. Note that the last donation of any property was a house adjoining that of the Order in Acre in 1281.

<sup>22</sup>Belda or Beaude was a small castle and tower in the lordship of Margat. See Rey, *Colonies franques*, p. 332.

duration, was captured in four days, as was Antioch. Only Arsur remained, and after a siege of forty days, it too fell.

Examining the chronological distribution of property donated to the Order, the contrast between the donation of property received in the twelfth century and the expenditure of money in the thirteenth is striking. (Table 1.1) In the twelfth century approximately 250 properties were acquired by the Order through more than fifty individual donations. On paper, the number for the thirteenth century approaches 100, but as has been shown more than two-thirds of these properties were given *en bloc* in two major transactions, those belonging to the monastery of Mount Thabor in Galilee and the casalia in Ascalon granted by John of Ibelin. Many of these remained under Muslim control and were never physically possessed by the Order. The language of these charters indicates that the transfers were specifically made because the donors did not have the resources to maintain and to defend the territory properly. There are also several indications that the Hospital initiated the transfer of property, such as the monasteries of Mount Thabor and S. Lazarus in Bethany, by emphasizing its military and financial resources. Such circumstances explain how the Order acquired a large percentage of its property in the thirteenth century. In the twenty-year period between 1251 and 1271, the Hospitallers expended large sums of money to acquire rights to land which were under threat of capture by the Muslims.

TABLE 1.1 - DONATIONS OF PROPERTY BY DECADE

YEAR	TOTAL NUMBER OF DONATED PROPERTIES (RURAL) INCLUDED IN CHARTERS	TOTAL NUMBER OF CHARTERS RECORDING DONATIONS (EXCLUDING CONFIRMATIONS OF EXTANT DONATIONS)	CHARTER NUMBER FROM CGOH RECORDING DONATIONS
1100-1109	4	1	7 <sup>1</sup>
1110-1119	41	2	20, 45
1120-1129	39	3	74, 77 <sup>2</sup> , 79, 82 <sup>3</sup> , 83 <sup>4</sup> , 84,
1130-1139	37	10	90, 94, 97, 103, 104, 107, 11 126, 127, 128

1140-1149	25 <sup>5</sup>	7	137, 144, 150, 153, 158, 167 183
1150-1159	24	8	191, 198, 199, 207, 219, 223 231, 258
1160-1169	39	14	284, 286, 288, 301, 302, 313 327, 328, 340, 341, 390, 391 397, 402 <sup>6</sup> , 411
1170-1179	28	10	417, 457, 458, 459, 496 <sup>7</sup> , 497 519, 532, 543, 546, 551
1180-1189	13	9	576, 579, 589, 596, 613, 623 676, 763, 871
1190-1199	6	6	906, 938, 954, 966, 1002, 1003
1200-1209	10	6	1146, 1215, 1251, 1262, 1270 1313
1210-1219	12	6	1344, 1349, 1350 <sup>8</sup> , 1355 <sup>9</sup> , 1356 1442 <sup>10</sup> , 1462, 1593
1220-1229	0	0	N/A
1230-1239	6	5	1993, 2003 <sup>11</sup> , 2069, 2129, 2129 2224
1240-1249	2	2	2301 <sup>12</sup> , 2330, 2331 <sup>13</sup> , 2492
1250-1259	65 <sup>14</sup>	6	2714, 2721, 2722, 2829, 2841 2853
1260-1269	2	2	2949, 3021
1270-1279	1	1	3409 <sup>15</sup> , 3526

<sup>1</sup>Dating is doubtful.

<sup>2</sup>Confirmation of #74.

<sup>3</sup>Confirmation of #79.

<sup>4</sup>Donation also included in #84.

<sup>5</sup>#153 includes an indeterminate number of properties; #158 includes three properties; #183 may include confirmations of previously granted properties.

<sup>6</sup>Donation of lands in Egypt likely never acquired; excluded from count.

<sup>7</sup>See note above for #402.

<sup>8</sup>Confirmation of #1344

<sup>9</sup>Confirmation of #1262.

<sup>10</sup>Confirmation of #1262.

<sup>11</sup>Confirmation of #1593.

<sup>12</sup>Granted the guardianship of castle by Frederick II; not counted as donation.

<sup>13</sup>Confirmation of #2330.

<sup>14</sup>This large number comes from the acquisition of Mount Thabor and its forty-seven listed properties, many of which were in the hands of the Muslims (#2829), and from the grant of fourteen properties by John of Ibelin, count of Jaffa and Ascalon (#2853).

<sup>15</sup>Confirmation of #1993.

## *Donations by type of property*

### *Casalia*

The most common unit of property recorded in the *Cartulaire général* is called a *casal*, pl. *casalia*. There are also several examples of *villae*.<sup>23</sup> The *casal* is a settlement location with an administrative centre or perhaps a manor, other subordinate houses, and accompanying agricultural land.<sup>24</sup> The *casal* is comprised of *carrucae*, also known by its two variants, the Latin *carrucata* or the French *charruée*.<sup>25</sup> The paucity of evidence does not make it possible to determine precisely how many *carrucae* were contained in a *casal*. Two charters, however, provide some information. Four *casalia* in Nazareth had a total of 200 *charruées* of land, giving an average of fifty per *casal*.<sup>26</sup> This figure corresponds well to the approximate average of forty-six, derived from the 650 *charruées* contained in the fourteen *casalia* given to the Order in Ascalon.<sup>27</sup>

The central importance of the *casal* in the topographical organization of the Crusader states is clearly indicated by the large number of references to it in the documentary evidence. Over the two centuries of Frankish rule in the Latin East, the Order was granted at least 190 villages or rural settlements, of which forty-seven were acquired at Mount Thabor in 1255 and fourteen in Ascalon in 1257. In 1136, a confirmation by King Fulk of Jerusalem records the donation to the Order, at the king's request, of ten *casalia* in Bethgibelin by Hugh of St. Abraham.<sup>28</sup> To this gift, Fulk added four more of his own *casalia*. In 1168, Bohemond III, prince of Antioch, gave the Order twenty-two properties in the territory of Antioch, of which two are

<sup>23</sup>See for example, CGOH #79, #82.

<sup>24</sup>The term *villa* is most commonly found in Latin documents and *ville* in French documents throughout the Middle Ages; in Galicia, however, after the middle of the eleventh century, *villa* is increasingly replaced by *casal*. See M. L. Rios Rodriguez, "Les redevances à part de fruits dans les *casales* de la Galice" *Les Revenus de la Terre, complant, champart, métayage, en Europe occidentale (IX<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, (Centre culturel de l'abbaye de Flaran, 7) Gap, 1987, 193-200. Hereafter: *Flaran* 7. The continuator of William of Tyre writes, "les villes champestres que l'en apele casius," *Guillaume de Tyr et ses continuateurs*, ed., M. Paulin, 2 vols., Paris, 1879-80, v. 2, p. 451.

<sup>25</sup>In Europe, there was a distinction between *carruca* and *carrucata*. See R. Grand, *L'agriculture au moyen âge: de la fin de l'empire Romain au xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1950, p. 79.

<sup>26</sup>CGOH #2748.

<sup>27</sup>CGOH #2845.

<sup>28</sup>CGOH #116.

specifically identified as *casalia*. Those not specifically identified are, however, named and it is reasonable to assume that they were developed settlements or villages.

Other than these donations *en bloc*, the Order acquired *casalia* individually or in limited numbers. In two instances, five *casalia* were given by a single donor in one grant - in 1174, Reynald, lord of Margat, and in 1216/17, by Bertrand of Gibelet (Biblos).<sup>29</sup> Every other charter records transfers of fewer than four *casalia*. The low number of multiple donations can be attributed to the limited land resources of lesser lords. Nevertheless, as will be shown, the pattern of acquisition practiced by the Order relied heavily on donations and sales of property from these landholders of limited means.

### ***Fortresses and castles***

Most donations of fortresses and castles occurred in the twelfth century, a clear reflection of the Franks' reliance upon the Hospitallers for the defense of the Latin East. Although valued primarily for defensive and military purposes, fortresses and castles, like *casalia*, entailed considerable amounts of land. The Order received through donation fifteen properties which are specifically identified in the charters as castles, *castra*, or *castella*.<sup>30</sup> They are sometimes transferred as appendages to cities, but fortresses and castles also controlled large tracts of adjacent land. For example, the donation of the fortress at Bethgibelin to the Order in 1136 included ten dependent *casalia*, each one precisely named in the charter.<sup>31</sup> Sometimes, the accompanying lands are not specifically defined or quantified. The donation made to the Order by

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<sup>29</sup>CGOH #457, #1462.

<sup>30</sup>Because many towns and villages in the possession of the Order also contained fortresses and defensive buildings, the number of fortresses was undoubtedly higher than that given above. Riley-Smith counts fifty-six fortresses and castles held by the Order at one time or another. Some were little more than towers. Eleven were held for only a short time. While admitting the difficulty of determining such numbers, he estimates that in 1180. the Order held twenty-five strongholds, and in 1244, twenty-nine. See Riley-Smith, *Knights*, p. 136.

<sup>31</sup>CGOH #116. In the charter, the fortress is never explicitly identified, but can it be doubted that the transfer of the fortress was at the heart of the matter?

Raymond II, count of Tripoli, in 1142, included Crac des Chevaliers and several other fortresses, but their dependent lands are only vaguely described as appurtenances.<sup>32</sup> According to the document as edited by Delaville le Roulx, the transfer also included a lake (*lac*) and a *felitium* (?), which Raymond bought from Gilbert de Podio Laurenti and his wife, Dagolth, for 1000 besants. *Lac* and *Felis* are in fact the names of fortresses.<sup>33</sup>

In two instances, the available evidence suggests that the Hospitallers declined or were unable to take possession of fortresses entrusted to them. In 1157, Baldwin III, king of Jerusalem, confirmed the transfer of half of two castles - Banyas and Novi - granted by Humphrey of Toron, constable of the kingdom, in return for aiding in their maintenance and defense. There is other evidence which states that the Order declined the offer.<sup>34</sup> In the second example, it has been suggested that possession was never confirmed by the lord. A document, provisionally dated to 1170, records the donation by Amalric, king of Jerusalem and procurator of the county of Tripoli, of castel Archas and castel Gibelacar.<sup>35</sup> The document states that both castles had been destroyed by earthquakes, and that, once restored, the Order would hold them with all rights and jurisdiction.

In 1177, Raymond III, count of Tripoli, confirmed the possession by the Order of Castrum Rubrum, but the charter does not note who made the original donation.<sup>36</sup> In the following year, Raymond of Monetolieu and his unnamed brothers ceded their rights to this property, which they note had been purchased from them by Raymond III for 400 besants.<sup>37</sup> Three years later, in 1180, Raymond granted the Order the fortress of Tubania, located just north-east of Crac des Chevaliers.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>CGOH #144.

<sup>33</sup>Richard has identified Lac as Tell Kalakh. See J. Richard, *Le comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie toulousaine (1102-1187)*, Paris, 1945, p. 2 and p. 63. See also Riley-Smith, *Knights*, pp. 55, 69, n. 2, 131.

<sup>34</sup>CGOH #258. See below, pp. 79-80.

<sup>35</sup>CGOH #411. See below, pp. 99-100.

<sup>36</sup>CGOH #519.

<sup>37</sup>CGOH #549.

<sup>38</sup>CGOH #585.

Towers guarding towns and strategic passes were scattered throughout the Latin East and the Hospital acquired many of them. The Order received a tower at Kerak from Maurice, lord of Montreal, in 1152.<sup>39</sup> The transfer of several properties to the Order by Bohemond III, Prince of Antioch in 1168, included castellum de Lacoba, as well as a tower pertaining to casal S. Egidius.<sup>40</sup> The Order received another tower, Lacomedia, in 1174.<sup>41</sup> The charter states that the donation included land belonging to the tower which extended to the sea of Galilee.

As with *casalia*, donations of fortresses and castles declined in number in the thirteenth century, during which time, besides Ascalon, there are only three donations recorded in the *Cartulaire général*. They are all located in the region of Armenia. In 1210, Raymond Rupin, Prince of Antioch, confirmed an earlier donation, dated 1207, in which he granted the Order the city of Gibel or Gabul.<sup>42</sup> The confirmation, however, also records the transfer of castellum Vetule, which was not included in the original donation. In a subsequent confirmation, dated 1215, castellum Vetule, here identified as de la Veille, is noted as a pertinence of the city.<sup>43</sup> This donation is repeated by Raymond Rupin, probably in 1218.<sup>44</sup> Other fortresses were acquired under similar circumstances in 1210. Leon II, king of Armenia granted the Order the city of Seleph, with its two castles, Castellum Novum and Camardesium.<sup>45</sup> The Order held the lands from 1210 to 1226.<sup>46</sup> The circumstances of the transfer are discussed more fully below. Here we may note that they were given to the Hospitallers by Raymond Rupin and Leo in return for support in their war against Bohemond IV. As has been noted, the Order undertook the defense and maintenance of the fortress at Ascalon in 1243,

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<sup>39</sup>CGOH #207.

<sup>40</sup>CGOH #391.

<sup>41</sup>CGOH #459.

<sup>42</sup>CGOH #1262; a confirmation is requested by Raymond Rupin #1263, #1355.

<sup>43</sup>CGOH #1442.

<sup>44</sup>CGOH #1606.

<sup>45</sup>CGOH #1350. This grant is announced to Pope Innocent III in April 1210, CGOH #1344, and confirmed by the Pope in August 1210, CGOH #1351.

<sup>46</sup>Riley-Smith, *Knights*, p. 432.

but the arrangement was temporary and not intended as a proper donation. In any event, the fortress was almost immediately put under siege by the Egyptians and lost within four years.

The donations of fortresses provide an indication of the military posture of the Order. The transfer in 1136 of Bethgibelin to the Order has often been seen as the first evidence of the militarisation of the Hospital.<sup>47</sup> Crac des Chevaliers, the most formidable of Crusader fortresses, was acquired through donation in 1142 or 1144.<sup>48</sup> Despite the heavy cost in supply and maintenance, the Order continued to receive fortresses and castles. Although expensive to maintain, they usually held substantial attached property and, in some instances, provided considerable revenue in rent and produce. *Casalia* and castles were the major units of property in the Latin East, but donations to the Order were also made in a variety of smaller units of lesser value, such as the *gastina*.

### ***Gastinae***

The word *gastina* is said to be formed from the Latin *vastus* and the old French *guaste*.<sup>49</sup> It has also been identified as an exact translation of the Arabic term *khirbah*, meaning "laid waste" or "ruined."<sup>50</sup> Prawer has equated the *gastina* with

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<sup>47</sup>This is a matter of considerable importance to historians of the Military Orders and one whose solution appears intractable. Riley-Smith and Forey have argued for the involvement of the Order in the military affairs of Syria as early as the mid-1130s. Others, such as Gervers, prefer a later date, following the fall of Edessa in 1141. It has been suggested that until quite late in the twelfth century, the Order relied on paid mercenaries and much of the debate revolves around the date when the actual brethren of the Order took up arms. See Riley-Smith, *Knights*, pp. 52-60; A. J. Forey, "The Militarisation of the Hospital of St. John," *Studia Monastica*, 26 (1984), 75-89; M. Gervers, "Donations to the Hospitallers in England in the wake of the Second Crusade," *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. M. Gervers, New York, 1994, 155-61.

<sup>48</sup>The date of acquisition has shifted back and forth between these two years. It hinges on the number of the indiction and the dates of the chancellor of the count attesting to the donation. Delaville le Roulx and Röhrich chose the earlier, while Richard, in 1946, argued for the later. See the errata slip in the beginning of Richard, *Le comté de Tripoli*, and pp. 62-3. See also Riley-Smith, *Knights*, pp. 55-6; C. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des Croisades*, Paris, 1940, p. 511. Richard has since settled upon a range between the two. See J. Richard, "Cum omni raisagio montanee ... à propos de la cession du Crac aux Hospitallers," *Itinéraires d'Orient, Hommages à Claude Cahen*, ed. R. Curiel and R. Gyselen, (Res Orientales vol. VI) Bures-sur-Yvette, 1994, 187-93.

<sup>49</sup>J. Prawer, "Étude de quelques problèmes agraires et sociaux d'une seigneurie croisée au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Byzantion*, 22 (1952), 5-61; 23 (1953), 143-70, at p. 31; J. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, Oxford, 1980, pp. 161-5.

<sup>50</sup> See Benvenisti, *Crusaders in the Holy Land*, p. 216.

pasture, whose enjoyment, if not ownership, was held in common by the village.<sup>51</sup> Thus, these land parcels are presumed to have been waste lands or pastures. A summary in the *Inventaire* speaks of a sale of “gastine ou pasturage,” but we do not know if he was copying verbatim from the original or adding his own interpretation.<sup>52</sup>

The status of a *gastina* could change over time. One charter contains the line, “... infra vero hos terminos continentur gastinae, que olim fuerunt casalia... ,” suggesting that the land had once been settled and under cultivation, but was no longer so.<sup>53</sup> In another instance, the Order received a property in the city of Antioch itself which is identified as *gastina vetere*; presumably it had since been inhabited and incorporated into the city.<sup>54</sup> Another *gastina*, called Ubin, was granted to the Hospitallers in 1155 in order to build a *casal* and a cistern.<sup>55</sup>

The cartulary evidence also indicates that *gastinae* contained cultivated land. It has been suggested that some of the *gastinae* were cultivated lands lying between the main village and more distant *carrucae* and worked by peasants as they traveled between the two points, but there is little evidence to support such a scenario.<sup>56</sup> Three charters provide evidence that *gastinae* did contain cultivated lands. One charter from the *Cartulaire général* states that a *gastina* contained a tower, buildings, vineyards, and *terra gasta*.<sup>57</sup> In this instance, we see evidence of more than just waste or pasture land and a probable indication that this *gastina* at least functioned in many ways and was not in ruins. In another example of cultivated land in a *gastina*, we read of two

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<sup>51</sup>Prawer, “Étude de quelques problèmes,” pp. 34-6.

<sup>52</sup>CGOH #1473.

<sup>53</sup> CGOH #621.

<sup>54</sup>CGOH #966. This *gastina* is referred to in an earlier charter of Bohemond III, dated 1168. See CGOH #390.

<sup>55</sup>CGOH #763.

<sup>56</sup>See Benvenisti, *Crusaders in the Holy Land*, p.217; and J. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174-1277*, London, 1973, p.44. See the discussion and additional citations in Prawer, “Colonization activities,” p. 1085; C. Cahen, “Notes sur l’histoire des Croisades et de l’orient latin, II: Le régime rural syrien au temps de la domination franque,” *Bulletin de la Faculté des lettres de l’Université de Strasbourg*, 29 (1951), 286-310; Riley-Smith, *Knights*, p. 434.

<sup>57</sup>CGOH #367.

*carrucae* in *gastina* Putei.<sup>58</sup> A third instance, an exchange of land in 1185, included one *carruca* of land, free and frank, in a *gastina*.<sup>59</sup>

In the *Cartulaire général*, *gastinae* identified by name were commonly donated as separate properties; more rarely as dependences of *casalia*. This observation is in contrast to the accepted view that *gastinae* were always appendages and dependences of the *casal*, and that the limits of the *casal* were the limits of the *gastina*.<sup>60</sup> Of the ten *gastinae* recorded among the donations to the Order, eight were transferred independently of a *casal*, while two were expressly connected to a *casal* which was simultaneously donated to the Order.<sup>61</sup> Moreover, eight *gastinae* are identified by specific names.<sup>62</sup> Their transfers independent of other property and their names are indications of the importance they held as landed property.

The acquisition through donation of *gastina* follows the chronological pattern of other property - seven date from the twelfth century and three from the thirteenth. In 1134, Adelice, wife of Bohemond II, prince of Antioch, gave the Order a *gastina*, called Bessilis, and two *charruées* of land in the vicinity of Gibelet.<sup>63</sup> In that same year, the Order received another *gastina*, Begudel, as a grant from Jocelyn II, count of Edessa.<sup>64</sup> The possessions of the Order confirmed by Raymond, prince of Antioch in 1149, included a *gastina* called Aganir.<sup>65</sup> The grant of *casalia* Corveis (Qarfiş) and Tyron to the Order by Reynald II of Margat in 1174, also included *gastina* de Meois, although not as a dependent property.<sup>66</sup> In 1177, Reynald de Châtillon confirmed possession by the Order of a *gastina* called Hable, which was attached to *casal*

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<sup>58</sup>CGOH #198.

<sup>59</sup>CGOH #754.

<sup>60</sup>Prawer, "Étude de quelques problèmes," p. 33. It should be noted that countless *gastinae* remained unnamed and were transferred along with named and unnamed *casalia*.

<sup>61</sup>Independent transfers: CGOH #103, #107, #183, #457, #763, #1215, #1993; dependent: CGOH #521, #1993.

<sup>62</sup>Names are given to *gastinae* in CGOH #103, #107, #183, #457, #521, #763, #1215, #1593; these *gastinae* and their locations are discussed in greater detail below.

<sup>63</sup>CGOH #103.

<sup>64</sup>CGOH #107.

<sup>65</sup>CGOH #183.

<sup>66</sup>CGOH #457.

Canzil.<sup>67</sup> In 1194, Bohemond III, prince of Antioch, confirmed the possession by the Order of the former *gastina* located within the city of Antioch.<sup>68</sup> In the same year, the Order acquired land which was said to contain an unspecified number of *gastinae*.<sup>69</sup>

Of the three *gastinae* donated to the Order in the thirteenth century, two were partial grants. In 1205, Bohemond IV, prince of Antioch, granted the Order one-half of *gastina* de Caphar Mamel, also called La Vacherie, a name which suggests that it was pasture.<sup>70</sup> Another half of a *gastina*, called Sellorie, was granted to the Order by John Nicephore and confirmed by Raymond Rupin, prince of Antioch, in 1217.<sup>71</sup> Finally, the donation of *casal* Tortiafa, in the land of Toron, made by Alice, princess of Antioch in 1231 included a dependent *gastina*, which is unnamed.<sup>72</sup>

*Gastinae* were an important type of rural property in the Latin East. Their exact definition is difficult to ascertain, but they may be differentiated from *casalia* in that they were not fully cultivated. Rather, they were exploited as pasturage and meadows, and in a few instances, some may have contained vineyards and arable land. Their most important distinction is that they were uninhabited. A document from 1256 lists *gastines deshabitees* in *casal Imbert*.<sup>73</sup> Prawer has gone so far as to see the prevalence of *gastinae* in the charters as evidence of the desolation and depopulation of the countryside under the Franks.<sup>74</sup>

Like *casalia*, there are many that remain unnamed. The formularies in the charters indicate that many unnamed *gastinae* were attached to *casalia*. But in examining the named *gastinae*, it is equally clear that some had a value and standing independent of any nearby *casalia* and were donated as such. There is no way to

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<sup>67</sup>CGOH #521.

<sup>68</sup>CGOH #966.

<sup>69</sup>CGOH #954.

<sup>70</sup>CGOH #1215.

<sup>71</sup>CGOH #1593.

<sup>72</sup>CGOH #1993.

<sup>73</sup>Rey, *Recherches géographiques et historiques sur la domination des Latins en Orient*, Paris, 1877, p. 38.

<sup>74</sup>Prawer, "Colonization activities," p. 1085.

determine the size of a typical *gastina*. With smaller pieces of land, however, there is better evidence for measurements and parcel size.

### ***Miscellaneous parcels of land***

The Order received approximately seventy-seven parcels of land through donation, more than it did through purchase. These gifts of land varied widely in number, measurement, and use. Some are merely plots of land in a large area under cultivation; they are identified as *carrucae*, *carrucatae*, *charruées*, and also *modi* or *modiatae*. Others are of a more indeterminate measure, called *peciae*, *parte*, or simply *terrae*. Still other examples are conceivably quite substantial in size - *campus*, *pratum*, *predium*, and in one instance, *locus*. There were several donations of gardens and orchards, usually urban properties, which are indicative of the importance of cultivating fruits and vegetables. Vineyards, of course, were also commonly donated; these will be considered separately below.

Specific measurements were often used to define the amount of land to be transferred. The most common was the *carruca*, or *carruga*, and its French equivalent *charruée*, as noted above. The terms are used in this context as the amount of land which a laborer could cultivate with a plow-team.<sup>75</sup> The size of the *carruca* differed from place to place according to the quality and fertility of the soil. A mountainous terrain would have a smaller *carruca* than that of a flat, accessible plot. In general, it was about thirty-five hectares.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>75</sup>In the cartulary of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, land is measured "tantum terre quantum quatuor paria boum poterunt excolere de anno ad annum." Sépulcre, #28.

<sup>76</sup>For a more detailed discussion of the various land measurements found in the Latin East, see Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, pp. 370-3; Prawer, "Étude de quelques problèmes," pp. 26-30; and Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, pp. 157-60. His estimate is a revision of thirty hectares put forth by Rey, "Colonies franques," p. 242. Both are based on Teut. #31. Cf. the measurement in England, which ranged in size from 80 to 120 to 360 acres. M. Gervers, "Pro defensione Terre Sancte: the Development and Exploitation of the Hospitallers' Landed Estates in Essex," *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. M. Barber, London, 1994, 3-20, at p. 6, n. 8.

There are several examples of the terms found in the *Cartulaire général*. In 1131, Walter Granier, lord of Caesarea and Sidon, confirmed the gift of two *carrucae* of land made by his father and two *carrucae* given by H. Lumbardus, with the consent of Walter's father.<sup>77</sup> In addition, Walter conceded two *carrucae* of land in Cafarsalem and two adjoining *carrucae* of land. In 1133, Hugh, lord of Caesarea confirmed the gift of ten *carrucae* of land for sowing and lying fallow ("ad serendum et garetandum").<sup>78</sup> In 1180, the Order was given two *carrucae* of land in Rama by Balian, lord of Rama, and his wife, Marie.<sup>79</sup> A charter of Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem, dated 1207, records that the Order received four *carrucae* of land in *casal* Geschale from Alice, daughter of Turgin.<sup>80</sup> In 1207 or 1208, Hugh's daughter, Julienne, with the assent of her husband, Aymari de Leyron, gave to the Order a house which had three *carrucae francesi* on its eastern side.<sup>81</sup>

The term *francesi* in the Frankish cartularies has been interpreted as denoting "frank" land, that is "free" from service. Prawer assumes that it is synonymous with the term *libera*.<sup>82</sup> In a document from the cartulary of the Teutonic Knights, King Baldwin II gave the tithe, which he received from *carrucae*, which were free (*liberae*).<sup>83</sup> In the charter of Julienne and Aymari, I would suggest that the term *francesi* refers instead to "French." We see evidence of this in a charter of 1255, where the name of a *casal* is given in French (*franceis*), but the *casal* itself is given freely (*franchement*). In this manner, the term is used as a quantitative measure of land based on a French model which differed in size from the typical Frankish *charruée*. We have noted above that the Frankish *charruée* was approximately thirty-five hectares. In Normandy,

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<sup>77</sup>CGOH #94.

<sup>78</sup>CGOH #97. It is argued that the term *garet*, derived from the Latin *vervactum*, signified land left fallow or uncultivated. See Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 372; Prawer, "Étude de quelques problèmes," pp. 43, 53-4; Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, pp. 169-71 and 177.

<sup>79</sup>CGOH #576.

<sup>80</sup>CGOH #1276.

<sup>81</sup>CGOH #1250.

<sup>82</sup>Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 376.

<sup>83</sup>Teut. #15. See also #120.

however, the *charruée* was equivalent to sixty acres.<sup>84</sup> Although the *carrucae francesi* cannot definitely be identified with that of Normandy, it does denote that the land is of a different measurement.

Three examples of *charruées* occur in the *Inventaire*, written in eighteenth-century French. In 1134, Adelice, wife of Bohemond II, prince of Antioch, gave the Order two *charruées* of land in the vicinity of Gibelet, and in 1186, the Grand Master of the Order, Roger de Molins, confirmed a donation of two *charruées* of land.<sup>85</sup> In 1265, Eschive, princess of Tiberias and Galilee, gave the Order 200 *charruées* of land as a replacement for some *casalia* she claimed in the territory of Mount Thabor.<sup>86</sup> It may be assumed that Raybaud employed *charruée* for the Latin *carruca*, but the term is found as well in an original text, in 1257, which refers to 650 *charruées* of land donated by John of Ibelin.<sup>87</sup> These *charruées* were expressly measured as an amount of land sown by four *guarellles* of grain and four of fallow (*garet*).<sup>88</sup> These last two donations of 200 and 650 *charruées* are exceptional. The large amount of land could only have come from a great lord, such as a member of the Ibelin family or the lady of Tiberias and princess of Galilee. As we have seen, all other donations were comprised of fewer than ten *carrucae*. But such small donations did not derive exclusively from the lesser nobility or gentry. As will be shown, great lords also made small donations.<sup>89</sup>

Other methods were also used to measure property. In an early charter, dated sometime before 1119, the Order received, among other items, two *modiatae* of

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<sup>84</sup>M. Mignet, *Templiers et Hospitaliers en Normandie*, (Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques), Paris, 1995, p. 28.

<sup>85</sup>CGOH #103, #786.

<sup>86</sup>CGOH #3116.

<sup>87</sup>CGOH #2845.

<sup>88</sup>According to Marsilius Georgius, a thirteenth century Venetian official at Tyre, one *guarelle* was equivalent to three *modii*, or approximately 270 liters. See Tafel-Thomas, v. 2, p. 377. For *garet*, see above n. 78.

<sup>89</sup>See the discussion in M. Gervers "Les exploitations rurales des Hospitaliers en Angleterre au Moyen Age: le cas de l'Essex," *Les Ordres Militaires, la vie rurale et le peuplement en Europe occidentale (xiii<sup>e</sup>-xviii<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, (Centre culturel de l'abbaye de Flaran, 6) Gap, 1984, 121-41, at p. 123; and *The Cartulary of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in England, Secunda Camera, Essex*, ed. M. Gervers, Oxford, 1982, liii-lxxx.

cultivable land and two *modiatae* of vines.<sup>90</sup> The term is used to measure the amount of land being donated, that is land sufficient to produce two *modiatae* of grain and two *modiatae* of grapes or perhaps, wine, in a liquid measure.<sup>91</sup> In a sale discussed more fully in the following chapter, Hugh, son of Bertrand of Gibelet, sold to the Order land in Tripoli measured as fifteen *paraillées*.<sup>92</sup> This charter contains the unique use of the term in the Latin East, although Richard has found other references in Provençal France.<sup>93</sup> Here it was measured on land for raising sugar-cane.<sup>94</sup>

In 1163, Baldwin, lord of Marasius, with the assent of his wife, Agatha, and their heirs gave the Order *locus Platta*.<sup>95</sup> The property is measured as "the lands of two leagues in radius, and from all parts of the place whatever waste lands, groves, and rivers within two leagues of my fiefs or those of my men."<sup>96</sup>

A unique way to measure property donated to the Order is contained in a charter of Eschive, lady of Tiberias, in 1174.<sup>97</sup> She granted land belonging to the tower of Lacomedia, measured from it to the sea of Galilee, and all things from its shore "as far as a man is able to throw a small stone of a weight of twenty besants into the sea."<sup>98</sup>

With such measurements, settlements of boundaries usually relied on custom and tradition, rather than survey. In 1180, Baldwin IV settled a dispute in which he gave the Order possession of a property between Beirut and the tower of Rohard of Cabor.<sup>99</sup> The document states that Rohard had unjustly seized this land for his own

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<sup>90</sup>CGOH #7.

<sup>91</sup>For a discussion of these measurements, see Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, p. 174; J. Prawer, "Le muid royal de St. Jean d'Acre et les mesures arabes contemporaines," *Byzantion*, 22 (1952), 58-61.

<sup>92</sup>CGOH #2915.

<sup>93</sup>J. Richard, "Le comté de Tripoli dans les chartes du fonds des Porcellet," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 130 (1972), 339-82, at p. 363.

<sup>94</sup>J. Richard, *Le chartrier de Sainte-Marie-Latine et l'établissement de Raymond Saint-Gilles à Mont-Pélerin, Mélanges Louis Halphen*, Paris, 1951, p. 612.

<sup>95</sup>CGOH #313.

<sup>96</sup>"cum divisio duarum leugarum circumquaque, et ex omni parte loci ejusdem quomodocumque sint terre vastine, nemora et flumina, infra duas leugas mei vel meorum feodatorum."

<sup>97</sup>CGOH #459.

<sup>98</sup>"quantum potest jactare vir lapidem parvum in mare, lapidem scilicet ponderis xx bisanciorum."

<sup>99</sup>CGOH #579.

use. In order to settle the dispute between the Order and Rohard and to determine the boundaries of the land in question, Baldwin sent Joscelyn, his uncle and seneschal, and brethren of the Order, to walk the land and to assign boundaries. Having done this, Rohard dropped his claims to the land and admitted that he had no rights there. Another dispute arising between the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and a lord Robert at Magna Mahumeria was settled by recourse to the judgment of an old Muslim who knew the borders and divisions of the land.<sup>100</sup> A similar reliance upon the customary measures is seen in the donation of a field whose boundaries were measured according to the native Christians.<sup>101</sup>

Other measurements of donated land are much more vague. For example, a confirmation of Baldwin II, dated 1129, records that the Order held four *parte* of land in a place called Beccafaba.<sup>102</sup> The Order also received several “pieces” of land. Instances include the grant of a *pecia terre* by Baldwin of Mirabel in 1165 and *dues pieces de terre* by John of Montfort in 1271.<sup>103</sup> In 1178, Amalric, viscount of Nablus, followed up the sale of *casal* Seleth to the Order for 2800 besants by donating a *petia terre* adjoining Seleth.<sup>104</sup>

Often, properties are merely identified as “lands,” which were of indeterminate size. As examples, we may cite small plots, such as the land between a vineyard and another plot of land, given by Maurice, lord of Montreal, in 1152 and the piece of land next to their garden at Cacho, given by Hugh, lord of Caesarea, in 1154.<sup>105</sup> In addition, the Order was given land once held by Ralph of the Hospital as a gift from Barisan, constable of Jaffa in 1126.<sup>106</sup> A charter of Baldwin IV, dated 1176, confirms the donation to the Order of land near *casal* S. Egidius, by Robert, lord of this *casal*.<sup>107</sup> In

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<sup>100</sup>Sépulcre, #121.

<sup>101</sup>CGOH #150.

<sup>102</sup>CGOH #84.

<sup>103</sup>CGOH #340, #3409. See also #1250.

<sup>104</sup>CGOH #531, #532.

<sup>105</sup>CGOH #207, confirmed in #521; #223.

<sup>106</sup>CGOH #74; grant repeated by Hugh du Puiset, prince of Jaffa, 27 June 1126, #77.

<sup>107</sup>CGOH #498.

1193, the Order acquired some land near the walls of the city of Acre through a donation of Henry of Champagne, with the consent of his wife, Isabelle.<sup>108</sup>

In other instances, the properties were clearly more substantial, such as the land near Jaffa given to the Order by Henry of Champagne in 1194.<sup>109</sup> It contained two towers, houses and several *gastinae*. A charter of Raymond III, dated 1181, records a donation of land to the Order and lists its borders.<sup>110</sup> As will be seen in the geographic discussion of property in Tripoli, these boundaries were quite extensive. Other donations specified as *terre*, which were in fact quite large, are found in the confirmation, in 1237, by Balian, lord of Sidon, of the gift of his father, Reynald, and his uncle, Gerard, of land outside the town.<sup>111</sup>

Some lands, while small in measure, were combined to produce holdings which were contiguous or concentrated in one region. This is an acquisition pattern which we will see followed repeatedly by the Hospitallers. In the plains of Acre, the dates of the charters and the locations of the properties given by several knights and their wives in 1255 leave little doubt that the Order initiated the donations and consolidated property.<sup>112</sup> Five years later, in 1260, these lands at Acre were again augmented.<sup>113</sup>

Another donation of land, made by Hugh of Gibelet, Raymond, his brother, and Hugh, his son, in 1174 also contained very precise delineations which allow us to identify another example of consolidation.<sup>114</sup> The land was located in *casal* Bechestin in the territory of Mount Pelerin and is called "Jardinum de la Nonua." According to the charter, it bordered the land of the Hospital on two sides.

In other charters, the vague descriptions give only a rough idea of the measurements of the lands donated, but the general location of the property is often

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<sup>108</sup>CGOH #938.

<sup>109</sup>CGOH #954.

<sup>110</sup>CGOH #595.

<sup>111</sup>CGOH #2160.

<sup>112</sup>CGOH #2714, #2721, #2722.

<sup>113</sup>CGOH #2949.

<sup>114</sup>CGOH #458.

specified in the charter. When it is not, it is reasonable to assume that the land being given was located in the general vicinity of the donor's residence. The confirmation of Baldwin I, king of Jerusalem, dated 1110, lists a number of miscellaneous parcels of land which belong to the Order, including unspecified lands in Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Acre.<sup>115</sup> In addition, the document records the donation of lands next to *casal* Cacho, held by the Order, given by Eustache. The Order also held lands (*terrae*) beyond the bridge at Mount Pelerin through a donation by Bertrand and Raymond of Tripoli.<sup>116</sup> In 1178, Raymond III, count of Tripoli, with the consent of his wife, Eschive, gave the Order more land in the suburbs of Tripoli.<sup>117</sup> In some year before 1139, Peter of Burgairolles and his wife, Jordane, with the consent of Roger, constable of Tripoli, gave the Order an unidentified piece of land.<sup>118</sup> In 1138, Adelaide, the widow of Bohemond II, prince of Antioch, confirmed the Order's possession of an unspecified piece of land, most likely in Antioch, which had been given by a woman named Grarinot.<sup>119</sup> In a charter dated 1126, Hugh II, prince of Jaffa, with the consent of his wife, Emma, confirmed the donation of land in Jaffa held by Ralph of the Hospital before his death.<sup>120</sup> A charter of Hugh, lord of Rama, dated provisionally between 1160-65, confirmed the donations of unspecified lands and gardens made to the Order by his father and mother.<sup>121</sup> The donation made by Reynald II, lord of Margat, with the consent of his wife, Agnes, and their sons, Amalric and Bertrand, in 1165 included several unspecified pieces of land.<sup>122</sup> In 1262, another grant of Sibille, of a land called "la Pie," near Antioch, was confirmed by Bohemond VI.<sup>123</sup> In addition, the *Inventaire* contains many indiscriminate references to *pièce* and *terre*.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>115</sup>CGOH #20.

<sup>116</sup>CGOH #79; confirmed in #82.

<sup>117</sup>CGOH #543.

<sup>118</sup>CGOH #128.

<sup>119</sup>CGOH #126.

<sup>120</sup>CGOH #77.

<sup>121</sup>CGOH #286.

<sup>122</sup>CGOH #341.

<sup>123</sup>CGOH #3021.

<sup>124</sup>CGOH #126, #128, #543, #938, #1038.

Collectively, these parcels of land appear to be scattered indiscriminately throughout the Latin East and at first glance suggest that the Order accepted land wherever it was given. For the most part, they are, in fact, located in regions in which the Hospital had a considerable amount of property. In the cases of the lands in Acre, next to Cacho, and beyond the bridge at Mount Pelerin, we can state definitely that these bordered land in the possession of the Order and thus contributed to the consolidation of their estates in the areas. The donations of lands in the county of Jaffa and the lordship of Margat added to the substantial amount of property which the Hospitallers had in these locations. The regions of Antioch and Tripoli, in which the Order received several of these unspecified lands, were also areas in which it had a large amount of property. It must be concluded, therefore, that, while some properties acquired were scattered and their donations made indiscriminately, the Hospitallers actively sought out the transfer of land in regions in which they already held property.

Other terms for land donated to the Order are more descriptive than quantitatively precise. The charter recording the gift to the Order of a hospital at Mount Pelerin by Pons, count of Tripoli in 1126 confirmed the possession of a field (*campus*) before the city of Tripoli.<sup>125</sup> The confirmation of Walter Granier, lord of Caesarea and Sidon, dated 1131, included two small farms (*curtile*) attached to homes in Caesarea, given by Walter's father, Eustache.<sup>126</sup> A charter of John of Montfort, lord of Tyre and Toron, dated 1271, also records the donation to the Order of a *cortil* at Toron.<sup>127</sup> The property which the Order received in 1174, through the donation of Hugh, lord of Gibelet (Biblius), Raymond, his brother, and Hugh, his son, adjoined the land of the Order, which was part field (*campus*) and part meadow (*pratum*).<sup>128</sup> The Order also received a meadow in front of *casal* Tyron from the grant of Reynald of

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<sup>125</sup>CGOH #79; confirmed in #82.

<sup>126</sup>CGOH #94. According to the dictionary of Du Cange, *curtile* is land which is considered larger than a garden, perhaps an orchard or farm.

<sup>127</sup>CGOH #3409.

<sup>128</sup>CGOH #458.

Margat in 1174.<sup>129</sup> In 1163, Baldwin, lord of Mirabel, confirmed the donation of Balisan, his father, and Heloise, his mother, of, in Raybaud's terms, a "tenement" located in Mirabel.<sup>130</sup> We have also seen above the donation of a tower with a substantial portion of land.<sup>131</sup> Such descriptions suggest the variety of agricultural activity carried out by the Hospitallers and indicate that even properties such as meadows and single fields were valued as donations. Donations of such small parcels were not limited to the lesser nobility and gentry. In fact, all the examples cited here were donations made by the greatest lords of the Latin East.

The Order also received donations of gardens, many of which were within towns and villages. The confirmation made by Raymond II, count of Tripoli, in 1142, records the donation of a garden within the walls of Margat, once held by Walter of Margat and his wife Gisla.<sup>132</sup> Raymond III's successor, Bohemond IV, in 1189, gave the Order a garden, called "Gloriette," which had once belonged to the mother of Raymond III.<sup>133</sup> The Order also had a garden at Archas.<sup>134</sup> Reynald of Châtillon and his wife, Stephanie, donated a small garden for planting herbs and a land partly planted and partly unplanted ("partim plantatam, partim non plantatam"). A confirmation of Hugh, lord of Rama, dated 1164-68, with the consent of his wife, Agnes, countess of Jaffa, and his brothers, Baldwin and Balian, records the donation to the Order of unspecified lands and gardens made by his parents.<sup>135</sup> In 1235, Trigaud, chamberlain of Raymond I, prince of Antioch, gave the Order a garden between those of the patriarch and the church of S. Simon.<sup>136</sup> Once again, these minor pieces of property were donated by great lords, suggesting the high value attached to meadows and

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<sup>129</sup>CGOH #457.

<sup>130</sup>CGOH #327.

<sup>131</sup>CGOH #459.

<sup>132</sup>CGOH #144.

<sup>133</sup>CGOH #871.

<sup>134</sup>CGOH #82.

<sup>135</sup>CGOH #328.

<sup>136</sup>CGOH #127.

gardens. These properties were typically not donations made by lesser lords and gentry.

### ***Vineyards***

Grape vines were in abundance in the Latin East. Although grape growing was certainly not unknown in the region, its cultivation was expanded under the Franks. The land was particularly well-suited for grape cultivation and the Order benefitted from the donation of more than eight vineyards and three plots of land suitable for planting vines. The Order recognized several donations of Raymond II, Count of Tripoli in 1151, including a vineyard in *casal* Cendina.<sup>137</sup> According to a confirmation of Baldwin III, king of Jerusalem, two vineyards were given to the Order in the territory of Toron by Guy de Scandelion.<sup>138</sup> The later charter of 1128, which more fully enumerates these gifts also confirms the Order's possession of a vineyard next to the cemetery of the church of S. John in Mount Pelerin, a vineyard at Archas, a vineyard at Crac, and a vineyard at Kafaracha, which produced one hundred jars of wine.<sup>139</sup> With the exception of Kafaracha, the Hospital is known to have possessed additional properties in these regions.

Lands were also given in order to develop or expand vineyards. In 1152, Maurice, lord of Montreal gave the Order several properties, including a piece of land, situated between the vineyard of Seguin and the land of William Asini, for planting vines and another piece of land, next to the vineyard of John Castellan, at the divide between the main road and Maurice's own vineyard.<sup>140</sup> In 1162, Baldwin of Ibelin gave the Order a land near its vineyard in an unspecified location.<sup>141</sup> In 1165, Baldwin of

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<sup>137</sup>CGOH #199.

<sup>138</sup>CGOH #258.

<sup>139</sup>CGOH #82.

<sup>140</sup>CGOH #207; conf. CGOH #521.

<sup>141</sup>CGOH #301.

Mirabel gave the Order a piece of land for planting vineyards.<sup>142</sup> The land lay next to the vineyard of the Order in the territory of Mirabel. The charter states that Baldwin also granted the Order all the rights he had on the vineyard which was given by Menard and his wife, and the adjoining vineyard which was given by Hubert Patriarch. In 1235, Sibille de Sourdevaux gave the Order seigneurial rights over the vineyards in her land outside the gate of S. Paul, perhaps in Acre or Antioch, along with all the cultivable land there in return for the maintenance of a priest to say mass for her soul.<sup>143</sup> In 1248, Hugh de la Chapelle, knight, and Marie, his wife, with the consent of their son, Reynald, gave the Order a vineyard near Valenia, which adjoined that of the Order.<sup>144</sup>

Besides the several examples of donations which consolidated vineyards possessed by the Hospital, it is also evident that vineyards were not isolated. Rather they were located in villages and regions in which the Order had other properties. If they wished, the Hospitallers were therefore able to exploit these vineyards directly or through their tenants in the area. There was not a need to rent out the vineyards.

## ***Water***

The exploitation of cultivable lands, vineyards, and gardens in the Latin East required a secure and steady supply of water. There are several charters in the *Cartulaire général* which provide details on the provisioning and sharing of water resources. Sometimes these mention the transfer of water as nondescript appurtenances in formularies, such as that found in the donation of property in Castrum Rubrum in 1178.<sup>145</sup> On other occasions, bodies of water, or portions thereof, were transferred. For example, Eschive of Tiberias gave the Order rights on the Sea

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<sup>142</sup>CGOH #340.

<sup>143</sup>CGOH #2129.

<sup>144</sup>CGOH #2492.

<sup>145</sup>CGOH #549.

of Galilee in 1174.<sup>146</sup> The same year, the Order rented out the river at Amos to Amalric, king of Jerusalem.<sup>147</sup> In the 1270s, the Order acquired from the lord of Tyre and Toron, rights to water in the city of Tyre, as well as irrigation privileges for its gardens in *casalia* located outside the city.<sup>148</sup> In 1256, Bohemond VI gave the Order a concession of water, called a *tual*, the size of which was indicated on the charter itself, to irrigate their garden of Gloriette in Tripoli, as well as a tenth of the fish taken from the pond (*étang*) in front of the garden.<sup>149</sup> Several concessions of eels were also bought by or donated to the Order and fishing rights were granted on Lake Homs and the Sea of Galilee.<sup>150</sup> The Order also granted rights to the inhabitants of Kalensue (Qalansuwa) to water their beasts.<sup>151</sup>

Of great importance to the Order were rights on rivers for the transportation of goods and the operation of mills. In 1152, the Order received the right to transport its goods free from customs and dues on the Dead Sea from the lord of Montreal.<sup>152</sup> In an accord with the Templars in 1233, the Hospitallers granted them rights of movement on water within the vicinity of Gibel and Margat.<sup>153</sup> In 1235, the two Orders settled a dispute over the use of water flowing from a spring in the region of Acre, where they both operated mills.<sup>154</sup> The Hospital claimed that the Temple had blocked the flow of water from the spring at Recordane to a mill of the Hospital.<sup>155</sup> In a compromise agreement, the Hospital agreed to allow the Temple to raise the level of the water up to a mark it made on a mill of the Hospital. Both parties agreed to allow passage of boats on the water and to repair any damage done by them. The operation of the mills

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<sup>146</sup>CGOH #459.

<sup>147</sup>CGOH #454.

<sup>148</sup>CGOH #3346; confirmation in CGOH #3393; #3408.

<sup>149</sup>CGOH #2801.

<sup>150</sup>CGOH #655.

<sup>151</sup>CGOH #510.

<sup>152</sup>CGOH #207.

<sup>153</sup>CGOH #2058.

<sup>154</sup>CGOH #2120.

<sup>155</sup>CGOH #2107. Holt has identified the mill at Recordane as the "new mill" mentioned in a treaty between Baybars and the Hospital in 1267. See P. M. Holt, "Mamluk-Frankish Diplomatic Relations in the Reign of Baybars (658-76/1260-77)," *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 32 (1988), 180-95, at pp. 188-9; Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, p. 36.

at Three Bridges also involved access to significant sources of water.<sup>156</sup> When the Hospitallers purchased *casal* Chasteillon from the lord and lady of Caesarea in 1255, they were specifically entitled in the charter to take water from the nearby river to irrigate their lands, by constructing a dam or reservoir (*escluse*) or by any other means, but they were expressly forbidden to use the water to operate mills.<sup>157</sup>

Also important was access to canals and channels to irrigate crops in the county of Tripoli, where the production of sugar cane, a notoriously thirsty crop, was concentrated. In May, 1274, Bartholomew of Gibelet reached two agreements with the Order over water rights in the County of Tripoli. The first charter concerned the river Artusce (Nahr al-Barid), a tributary of which fed a canal irrigating the fields held by the Order near Bafanie.<sup>158</sup> In the agreement, the Order held the right to the water from Sunday at noon to Wednesday at midnight, at which point Bartholomew would have its use. Bartholomew undertook the cost of maintenance of the stream and canal from the division of Bafanie and Maucommin until Artusce, while the cost of maintenance beyond this point was paid in common by Bartholomew and the Order. The Order was responsible for keeping a “sergent” on guard there throughout the year. The second charter concerns the rights to water used to irrigate lands in the plains of Tripoli, which had previously been given by Hugh of Gibelet. In 1248, the Order agreed to cede this right to Hugh’s grandson, Bartholomew, in exchange for an annual payment of 30 besants of Tripoli taken from *casalia* Sebronie and Maharbon, which Bartholomew held in fief from the Order. In case of default, payment would be taken from *casal* Bacarcasse, also held from the Order.<sup>159</sup>

Donations to the Order were not limited to real estate and property. There was value attached to water as well. The importance of water in the economy of the Latin

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<sup>156</sup>CGOH #97, #2274.

<sup>157</sup> Malta, National Library, Archive 5, #48 (CGOH #2725).

<sup>158</sup>For this property, which was acquired in 1206, see CGOH #1231; J. Richard, “Le comté de Tripoli dans les chartes du fonds des Porcellet,” pp. 364-5 and docs. #4 and #5.

<sup>159</sup>CGOH #2915.

East is evident in the specific provisions of the charters which record donations of water and the terms of accords which regulate its use in matters of transportation, irrigation, and hydraulic power.

### ***Buildings (rural)***

The Order received mills, ovens, and baths, which provided a source of revenue in money and in kind. Most of these were in the larger cities of Jerusalem, Antioch and Acre, but some were located in smaller towns and villages.<sup>160</sup> It had several mills in Lo Camel, a number of properties in Rafania, including mills, an oven, and a bath, as well as an oven at Jaffa and a bath at Laodicea.<sup>161</sup> The Order also received the mill of Three Bridges (*Trius Pontius*) from Godfrey de Parentea and his wife; the gift was confirmed by Hugh, lord of Jaffa, in 1133.<sup>162</sup> Presumably the revenues from these mills were shared for over a century, as the Hospitallers purchased the other half of them from John of Ibelin, lord of Arsur in 1244.<sup>163</sup> The settlement of a dispute between the Templars and the Hospitallers over two unidentified mills was reached on 9 July 1262 and 19 December 1262.

The Order possessed at least fifty houses and other properties within the main cities of the Latin East - Acre, Tyre, Tripoli, Antioch, and Jerusalem. As these are urban areas, they will not be considered fully here. The Order also had houses and buildings in smaller towns and villages, fifteen of which were donated to the Order. As with all other types of properties, the vast majority were acquired in the twelfth century. Although most of these buildings were houses, there are instances of churches, hospitals, palaces, and stores or boutiques (*statio*), as well as mills and ovens. One of the first donations made to the Order was the Church of S. Romani,

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<sup>160</sup>For urban donations, see CGOH #20, #170.

<sup>161</sup>CGOH #20, #82, #280.

<sup>162</sup>CGOH #97.

<sup>163</sup>CGOH #2274

granted sometime before 1119 by William Alpherici and his family.<sup>164</sup> The appendages of the church included *virgultes*, vineyards, and unspecified lands. The grant also included a hospital, located in *casal* Turbascellus. The Order also received the hospital of Mount Pelerin in 1128 from Pons, Count of Tripoli, which included several villages.<sup>165</sup> Another church was donated to the Order in 1143 by William, Patriarch of Jerusalem.<sup>166</sup> The church was situated in a field called Acheldemach, which served as a cemetery for pilgrims, and included all the land of the field as divided by the natives of old.<sup>167</sup>

Donations of houses were more common and often included some plot of land or garden attached to the house. For example, in 1207 or 1208, Julienne of Caesarea gave to the Order the house of Robert Hohais, which had once belonged to George, a knight; it was located between Cafarlet and the *casal* of Roger of Chastellion.<sup>168</sup> Attached to the house were three *carrucae* and two *pecie* of land, with woods, fields, and water. In *casal* Cacho, the Order received several houses with their appendages and farms.<sup>169</sup>

Houses were also given without any specified attachments. For example, the Order held several houses at *casal* Archas, one at *casal* Felicium, and two at Crac des Chevaliers from the gift of Pons, Count of Tripoli, in 1128.<sup>170</sup> The donation of houses in the city of Rafania is also confirmed in this charter. A house at Laodicea was given to the Order by Princess Alice of Antioch in 1134.<sup>171</sup> The Order acquired several houses in Castellum Album belonging to Armensenda, Lady of Castro Novo, and those of

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<sup>164</sup>CGOH #7. Another grant of a property called S. Romani was made by Jocelyn de Courtney, Count of Edessa in 1134, who claimed the transfer was made by his father, with the consent of King Baldwin II and Francis, Archbishop of Tulupe in Edessa. For this archbishopric, see Rey, *Colonies franques*, pp. 302, 322.

<sup>165</sup>CGOH #82.

<sup>166</sup>CGOH #150.

<sup>167</sup>"ab antiquis Surianis ... divisa."

<sup>168</sup>CGOH #1250; these lands are also discussed in the section on miscellaneous property.

<sup>169</sup>CGOH #94.

<sup>170</sup>CGOH #82.

<sup>171</sup>CGOH #103. It is described in the *Inventaire* as "à la Liche," that is at Laodicea.

Rigaud, who left them to the Order upon his death.<sup>172</sup> The Order also acknowledged the receipt of several houses in the suburbs (*burgo*) of Tripoli, which were given by Raymond II, Count of Tripoli. The Order received a house from Maurice, lord of Montreal, located between his own house and that of the viscount of Nablus, presumably in Montreal.<sup>173</sup> Also, in 1157, the Order received houses once belonging to Lady Albehere of Toron.<sup>174</sup>

Although no specific figures can be determined, buildings were undoubtedly major sources of revenue for the Hospitallers. Mills and ovens also provided revenues in compulsory fees. While there are very few instances in the charters of the Order renting out land or other property, it was commonly done with houses and stores. The Hospital would not have used these houses as residences for its brethren, especially in the larger cities of Antioch, Acre, Jerusalem, and Tripoli, where the Order had a central house. In the smaller towns and *casalia*, houses may have served as temporary lodging for the brothers charged with local administration or as residences for their agents. Many of these buildings and houses were acquired along with pieces of land, courtyards, and gardens, which added to their value and provided additional revenue.

## ***People***

Transfers to the Order of people or the rights to their revenue and taxation are also recorded in the charters, most often as donations by members of the gentry. The majority take place in the first half of the twelfth century. In 1110, Baldwin I confirmed the transfer of at least eighteen unnamed *villani* in Nazareth, Tiberias, Caesarea, Lydda, Rama, Bethsan, Hebron, and Jericho.<sup>175</sup> With the exception of three

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<sup>172</sup>CGOH #199.

<sup>173</sup>CGOH #207.

<sup>174</sup>CGOH #258.

<sup>175</sup>CGOH #20; repeated by Baldwin III in 1154. CGOH #225. They are not included in the confirmation of Baldwin II in 1128. CGOH #84. Three of these *villani*, given to the Order in Nazareth, were specifically

*villani* given by the bishop of Nazareth and an indeterminate number given by some knights of the lord of Caesarea, all of these *villani* were given by donors with no distinctive social standing. They were certainly not lords and it may be the case with many of them that *villani* were the only type of property they had available to donate. Two other examples from the *Cartulaire général* of *villani* as a favored donation of knights and gentry can be cited. In 1128, Pons of Tripoli gave permission for his men to give one *villan* from each fief to the Order, or more, with his consent.<sup>176</sup> Sometime prior to 1139, Peter of Burgairolles and his wife, Jordane, gave the Order an individual, identified in the *Inventaire* as a “serf” named Saccus.<sup>177</sup>

Typically people were generically included as appurtenances in the transfer of *casalia* donated to or purchased by the Order.<sup>178</sup> The sale of Margat in 1186 specifically included all knights, men, and villains.<sup>179</sup> Inhabitants were also reserved by the donor. Raymond of Gibelet exempted Thomas and his unnamed brother from the appurtenances of *casal* Messarkun, which he had donated to the Order.<sup>180</sup> John, lord of Bethsan, specifically retained possession of the *rustici* of *casal* Assera when he sold it to the Hospital.<sup>181</sup>

Men were also transferred with their families and all the property they possessed. One of the *villains* in the confirmation of 1110 is noted as rich (*divite*) and several others appear to have lands and houses. The donation made by William Alpherici before 1119 included an unnamed man with his wife and children, as well as the house they possessed.<sup>182</sup> In 1152, Maurice, lord of Montreal, gave the Order a Syrian named Caissardus, son of Tamin, with all his parents and progeny.<sup>183</sup> In 1175,

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noted in the exemption from the tithe in the diocese of Nazareth, granted to the Order in 1125, by Bernard, the bishop of Nazareth. CGOH #71.

<sup>176</sup>CGOH #82.

<sup>177</sup>CGOH #128.

<sup>178</sup>For example, see CGOH #296, #582.

<sup>179</sup>CGOH #783.

<sup>180</sup>CGOH #782.

<sup>181</sup>CGOH #180.

<sup>182</sup>CGOH #7.

<sup>183</sup>“cum omni parentela sua et omni projenie sua,” CGOH #207.

Baldwin, lord of Rama, gave the Order possession of a certain John Syrian, formerly of the cistern at Caffer, identified as having a sty in his eye, stating that all of his present and future offspring would remain under the power of the Order in perpetuity.<sup>184</sup>

In three charters issued by Bohemond III, craftsmen and professionals living in urban areas were also donated to the Order. In 1175, he gave the Order a Syrian named Bon Messor, who resided in the city of Gibelet, along with his children and a Jew living in Laodicea, called Garinus by the Latins.<sup>185</sup> Bohemond III followed up this grant in 1183 with the donation of eighteen tradesmen and one priest living in Laodicea. The men are divided along ethnic identities: six Greeks, two with children; five Armenians, none with children; seven Jews, none with children. Each is named and in most instances, occupations are identified. In the list of jobs are mason (*cementarius*), tailor (*costurer*), bootmaker (*corveser*), butcher (*carnifex*), baker (*furner*), smith (*faber*), and *archer*. Appended to this list is one Hugh Straigot. In 1194, Bohemond III handed over to the Order a notary, identified as George, son of Vassilius, son of Uardus.<sup>186</sup>

Donations of Bedouins are found in two charters from 1160 and 1180, the first from Baldwin II and the second from Baldwin III.<sup>187</sup> The grant of Baldwin II stipulates that the Order may acquire fifty tents of Bedouins, as long as they have never been under the control of the King or any of his men. The charter of Baldwin III allows for 100 tents of Bedouins at Belvoir, gathered from any foreign place they are found, but limited to those who have never been subject to royal control. Given that the Bedouins were semi-nomadic, it is unlikely that they provided the Order with the rent or revenue of cultivators. Indeed, chroniclers of the thirteenth and fourteenth

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<sup>184</sup>CGOH #470.

<sup>185</sup>CGOH #472.

<sup>186</sup>CGOH #966.

<sup>187</sup>CGOH #296, #582. Baldwin III retained his Bedouins not born in Montreal, when he ceded Transjordan to Philip of Nablus in 1161. See Teut. #3. From an accord of 1179, it is known that the Templars possessed Bedouins as well (CGOH #558).

centuries write that Bedouins were not cultivators, but devoted themselves to feeding flocks and camels.<sup>188</sup> It may be assumed, then, that they were subject to some form of grazing tax or payment in kind and perhaps required to provide transportation. Burchard also informs us that they were brave warriors, so perhaps they were required to perform military service for the Order. They were also not regarded as an indiscriminate and anonymous mass. In the next chapter, a sale of Bedouins is examined, in which several hundred are identified by name and clan.

Through these transfers, the Order acquired the power over the individual, and often his family and his possessions, as well as the dues, rents, and revenues he owed to his lord.<sup>189</sup> Thus by exempting Thomas and his brother from the appurtenances of *casal* Messarkun, Raymond of Gibelet was keeping them and their labor and revenues within his jurisdiction. The use of the terms *villani* and “serf” implies a servile status, whereby the lord would be able to exact labor services as well as rents. Such a definition is more problematic with respect to the craftsmen who lived in Laodicea and the notary called George, who were probably not serfs. It is unclear whether possession of them would entail a right to labor in addition to taxes on their income. Control over Bedouins was certainly hard to achieve, but they were likely to have been, in theory at least, subject to some form of pasturage or grazing fee. The high number of people transferred is an indication that this kind of donation was valued by the Hospital.

From *casalia* to Bedouins, the variety of property donated to the Order is remarkable. *Casalia* were the most commonly transferred unit, nearly two hundred, and along with the fifteen or so castles, represented the largest and most valuable parcels of land. Meadows and fields were highly valued and, judging from the charter evidence, were donated exclusively by the higher nobility. The miscellaneous units

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<sup>188</sup>Burchard of Mt. Sion (c. 1280), *A description of the Holy Land*, tr. A. Stewart, Palestine Pilgrim Texts Society, v. 12, London, 1896, pp. 104-5; and Ludolph von Suchen (c. 1350), Palestine Pilgrim Text Society, v. 12, p. 90.

<sup>189</sup>Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, p. 207.

donated by great lords and lesser nobility, although relatively smaller in size, were still of great importance. The Order accumulated a large amount of property through these miscellaneous grants. Some of these were scattered and it seems clear that the Order was prepared to take land wherever it was located, no matter how isolated it was. For example, the unspecified land given outside the town of Sidon was not in a region in which the Order held much other property. On the other hand, the five individual gifts made outside Acre in 1255 were insignificant, but as a whole, they placed a large portion of contiguous or neighboring land in Acre under the control of the Order. Moreover, the acquisitions appear to have been orchestrated by the Hospital. The concentration of holdings by the Hospitallers and the patterns of acquisition, including attempts of consolidation, will become more apparent as we examine the geographical distribution of properties.

Donations of property other than land were also received by the Order. Houses were rented out and provided income, as did mills and ovens. Water was also highly valued as a donation as it supplied transportation, food, irrigation, and hydraulic power. Rights to its usage were strictly regulated in the stipulations of the charters. Accords between the Hospital and other parties were necessary to resolve disputes over access to water. Finally, although the exact nature of the transfer is not clear, we have seen that the donation to the Order of rural *villani*, urban craftsmen, professionals, and Bedouins was a common occurrence.

TABLE 1.2 - DISTRIBUTION OF DONATIONS BY PROPERTY TYPE

TYPE OF PROPERTY	APPROXIMATE NUMBER OF PROPERTIES DONATED
CASAL/VILLA/CIVITAS	190 <sup>1</sup>
CASTRUM/CASTELLUM/FORTRESS	15 <sup>2</sup>
GASTINA/WASTELAND	9 <sup>3</sup>
MISC. PARCELS OF LAND	77 <sup>4</sup>
BUILDINGS (RURAL)	15

PEOPLE

43 and 150 tents of Bedouin

<sup>1</sup>Includes donation of partial rights (#457, #1313) and an unspecified number (#153)<sup>2</sup>Includes partial rights<sup>3</sup>Includes partial rights<sup>4</sup>Parcels containing multiple units are counted as one (e.g. two *charruées*)***Geographical distribution of donations******Kingdom Of Jerusalem -******Jerusalem***

The *Cartulaire général* contains very few donations of *casalia* near the city of Jerusalem. This absence can be attributed in part to the tight land market around the city, as mentioned in a charter which is discussed in the next chapter. There is some evidence for the possession of several *casalia* in the region, but in many instances their exact locations are unknown. *Casal* Bethtamis, whose location is unknown, was given by the viscount of Jerusalem, Eustache Granier, sometime before 1110. It might be assumed to be in the lordship of Caesarea, which Eustache held from 1101, but there is a settlement called Beitellamus (Ar. Bayt al-Umm Mūsa), located east of the city of Jerusalem, which must be considered a possibility.<sup>190</sup> In 1147, Baldwin III, King of Jerusalem, gave the Order *casal* Altum.<sup>191</sup> Furthermore, he transferred to the Order the possession of two unnamed *casalia* in the vicinity of Altum in exchange for the *casalia* in the land of Sueth, which Gumfredus de Turre David and Ida, his wife, had given to the Order. The location of Altum is unknown.

Other property possessed in the region by the Hospital are recorded in a few charters. It is known that the church and lands in Acheldemach given to the Order in 1143 by William, Patriarch of Jerusalem, were located just south of Jerusalem.<sup>192</sup> It

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<sup>190</sup>CGOH #20.<sup>191</sup>CGOH #175.<sup>192</sup>CGOH #150.

is also known that the Order held *casal* Bethaanina, located just north of Jerusalem, because, in 1157, it gave the tithe from the property to the abbey of S. Lazarus of Bethany in exchange for a vineyard in which the Order received a tithe. In a charter, dated 1163-69, it is recorded that the Order possessed the fortresses of Emmaus, Aqua Belie, Belvoir, Saltus Muratus, and Bellmont, but, with the exception of Emmaus, there is no record in the *Cartulaire général* of how and when they were acquired.<sup>193</sup> It will become evident as we continue to look at the possessions of the Hospital in the Latin East that the area around Jerusalem was not a region in which it acquired a large amount of property.

Two charters record donations of small parcels of land. In 1110, Baldwin I, king of Jerusalem, donated unspecified lands in Jerusalem and a garden belonging to Anfredus the priest.<sup>194</sup> In 1167, the Order acquired through exchange land in Jerusalem, whose boundaries are clearly delineated in the document.<sup>195</sup> A confirmation of Baldwin II, dated 1129, records that the Order held four *partes* of land in a place called Beccafaba, in the territory of Jerusalem, which Godfrey of Parentea donated, along with a garden and well next to the tower of David and at least five houses in the city of Jerusalem.<sup>196</sup> Beccafaba could possibly be Bethafava (Ar. Bayt Safafa), located just southwest of the city. A confirmation of 1176 records that the Order received land in *casal* Egidius from Robert, lord of the *casal*.<sup>197</sup> One additional charter records that in 1198, Amalric, king of Jerusalem and Cyprus, confirmed, with the consent of his wife, Isabelle, the possession of several unspecified properties by the Order.<sup>198</sup>

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<sup>193</sup>CGOH #309. The fortress and *casal* at Emmaus is discussed in the next chapter. See also G. Beyer "Die Kreuzfahrergebiete von Jerusalem und S. Abraham (Hebron)," *ZDPV*, 65 (1942) 165-211, at pp. 180-1. Hereafter "Jerusalem und S. Abraham."

<sup>194</sup>CGOH #20.

<sup>195</sup>CGOH #376.

<sup>196</sup>CGOH #84. For another donation of Godfrey, see CGOH #97.

<sup>197</sup>CGOH #498. Robert also leased land to the Order in Jerusalem. See below, Ch. 2, p. 127.

<sup>198</sup>CGOH #1038.

In 1256, Pope Alexander IV granted the Order the monastery of S. Lazarus of Bethany, located just southeast of the city of Jerusalem.<sup>199</sup> As with the monastery of Mount Thabor, the Order had petitioned the papacy for the donation; the Pope consented, noting that its maintenance would require labors which the monastery was unable to perform. Again, as with many of the possessions of Mount Thabor, much of the rural property was in the hands of the Muslims. Indeed, when in 1259, the Order, represented by John, preceptor of Tyre, was put in possession of the property of the monastery by the prior of S. Lawrence of the Genoese of Tyre, it was only a house located before the canal (*conductum*) of the city of Tyre.<sup>200</sup> A similar charter exists for the possessions of the monastery in the city and diocese of Tripoli, but it does not identify any specific properties.<sup>201</sup> Nevertheless, the Order recognized that Philippa, the prioress of the monastery, would enjoy the fruits of the property for her lifetime.<sup>202</sup>

Although Jerusalem was the capital of the Latin Kingdom until its loss in 1187, there is very little evidence in the *Cartulaire général* that the Order pursued the acquisition of property in the region. We know that it held four fortresses, several *casalia*, and some scattered parcels of land in the area, but very few charters record these donations. Even when Jerusalem was returned to Frankish hands in 1229 according to the treaty of Frederick II, there are no recorded donations to the Order of property in the region. Because the Order did pursue the acquisition of land in other regions, it must be concluded that, owing to the scarcity of available land in Jerusalem, it was not able to do so or that it declined to do so as a matter of policy.

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<sup>199</sup>CGOH #2781. Repeated in 1261 by Urban IV, who had been patriarch of Jerusalem at the time of the original transfer, CGOH #2993.

<sup>200</sup>CGOH #2925.

<sup>201</sup>CGOH #2927. The charter refers to letters of Eustor, bishop of Tiberias, and J., abbot of S. Samuel of Acre, indicating that the monastery also held property in Tortosa, Valenia, and Gibelet.

<sup>202</sup>CGOH #2929.

### ***Jaffa/Lyddā/Rama/Ibelin/Mirabel***

The acquisition of a substantial amount of property by the Hospitallers occurred in a series of donations by the lords of these fortresses and towns. Taken together, they are examples of the strong ties which the Order established with one of the most prominent dynasties of the Latin East, the Ibelins, which lasted over decades and through successive generations. The charter of Baldwin II, dated 1129, confirmed the Order's possession of two *casalia* in the territory of Lydda. One of which, Gendas, lay just north of the city; the other, Bethiben, remains unlocated. Both properties were granted by Hugh of Rama with the consent of Hugh, lord of Jaffa.<sup>203</sup> Hugh, lord of Jaffa, also gave the Order *casal* Bulbus, northeast of Jaffa and west of Mirabel, in 1133.<sup>204</sup>

The Order also acquired considerable properties and important rights in the region of Jaffa, including contiguous farmland, mills, and access to water. In a charter dated 1126, Hugh II, prince of Jaffa, with the consent of his wife, Emma, confirmed the land in Jaffa held by Radulfus of the Hospital before his death.<sup>205</sup> Another charter of Hugh II, dated 1133, confirmed the gift of an island (*tota insula*) and ten *carrucae* of land to the Order by Godfrey of Parentei and his wife.<sup>206</sup> This "island" was a wedge of land surrounded by the Loges river (Ar. *Nahr al-'Awja* or "crooked river") and its tributary (*Nahr Abu Lajja*).<sup>207</sup> This same river also flowed by the mills of the Order at Three Bridges.

After these donations, the Order received only one additional grant of property in the county of Jaffa. By 1181, the county of Jaffa had come into the hands of Guy de Lusignan, who made no recorded donations to the Order. Jaffa was lost to Saladin

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<sup>203</sup>CGOH #84. Note, however, that Hugh of Rama is merely an inhabitant of Rama and not Hugh, lord of Rama, who is discussed below. See H. E. Mayer, "The Origins of the Lordships of Ramla and Lydda in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Speculum*, 60 (1985), 537-552, at p. 548.

<sup>204</sup>CGOH #97.

<sup>205</sup>CGOH #77.

<sup>206</sup>CGOH #97.

<sup>207</sup>G. Beyer, "Die Kreuzfahrergebiete Südwestpalästinas," p. 185.

after the battle of Tiberias and the castle there was dismantled. In 1192, it returned to Christian hands, along with Ascalon. Richard the Lion Heart then rebuilt the fortifications at Jaffa.<sup>208</sup> Possession then passed to Guy's brother, Geoffrey, who in turn, gave it to another brother, Amalric. When Amalric became king of Cyprus, he ceded the county to Henry of Champagne. In 1194, Henry, identified in the charter as Count of Trecensis, with the consent of his wife, Isabelle, gave the Order land next to the castle of Jaffa.<sup>209</sup> The charter specifies that this land contained two towers, as well as houses and *gastinae*, and describes one side of the land as lying adjacent to the tower of the Hospital. Shortly after this transaction, Amalric bought Jaffa back from Henry, under the condition that it remain a part of the dowry of Henry's daughter Alice, who had married Amalric's son, Hugh. In 1197, the city was attacked by the Muslims; after Henry asked for assistance, Amalric gave the governance to Reynald Barlais. In the thirteenth century, the county of Jaffa was in the possession of Walter, count of Brienne and Champagne, who died in captivity in 1251. The following year, Jaffa was fortified by St. Louis, as was Caesarea. Walter was succeeded as count by John of Ibelin (d. 1266), who also made gifts to the Order in his capacity as ruler of Ascalon. Jaffa fell to the Muslims in 1268.

Donations were also made to the Order in the region of Rama or Ramla, which had been a prosperous and heavily populated city in the eleventh century and served as the capital of southern Palestine. Earthquakes struck the area in 1033 and again in 1067, when over 20,000 people were reported killed. When the Crusaders arrived in 1099, the city was deserted. The city fell to Saladin after the battle of Hattin and was divided between the Muslim and Christian forces according to a treaty of 1192. By 1205, the Franks were in complete control of the area until its capture by Baybars in 1268.<sup>210</sup> Property in the region, although interrupted for more than a decade, was

<sup>208</sup>See DuCange, *Les Familles d'Outremer*, ed. E. G. Rey, Paris, 1869, pp. 338-52; Beyer "Die Kreuzfahrergebiete Südwestpalästinas," p. 164.

<sup>209</sup>CGOH #954.

<sup>210</sup>For information on the town, see Benvenisti, *Crusaders in the Holy Land*, pp. 167-72.

conceivably held by the Order for most of the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth century.

A charter of Hugh, lord of Rama, dated provisionally between 1160-65, confirmed the donations of unspecified lands and gardens made to the Order by his father and mother.<sup>211</sup> A confirmation of Hugh, lord of Rama, dated between 1164-68, with the consent of his wife, Agnes, countess of Jaffa, and his brothers, Baldwin and Balian, records the additional donation to the Order of unspecified lands and gardens made by his parents.<sup>212</sup> In 1162, Baldwin gave the Order a land near its vineyard in an unspecified location.<sup>213</sup> In 1180, Balian, then lord of Rama, and his wife, Marie, Queen of Jerusalem, gave to the Order, with the consent of his brother, Baldwin, two *carrucae* of land in front of the city of Rama.<sup>214</sup>

Other lands were acquired within the lordship of Mirabel.<sup>215</sup> A castle had been constructed there sometime in the first half of the twelfth century. Benvenisti has described it as an "urban-agricultural settlement," much of it in the hands of the Hospital. In 1152, the constable of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, Manasses of Hierges, who had married Balian's widow, Helvis, is noted as being besieged in the castle of Mirabel by Baldwin III who had risen against his mother Queen Melisende.<sup>216</sup> After its capture in 1187, Saladin ordered the castle razed, but it was evidently still standing in 1192.<sup>217</sup> In the treaty of 1192, Mirabel was not returned to Frankish hands and appears to have remained Muslim property.

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<sup>211</sup>CGOH #286.

<sup>212</sup>CGOH #328.

<sup>213</sup>CGOH #301.

<sup>214</sup>CGOH #576.

<sup>215</sup>The territories of the lordship are described and placed on a map by D. Pringle, "The Castle and Lordship of Mirabel," *Montjoie. Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, ed. B. Z. Kedar, J. Riley-Smith, R. Hiestand, Brookfield, VT, 1997, 91-112.

<sup>216</sup>Pringle, "Castle and Lordship of Mirabel," pp. 95-6; William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum*, CM 63, Turnhout, 1986, bk. 17, ch. 14; Mayer, *Crusades*, pp. 110-11. For the career of Manasses of Hierges, see H. E. Mayer, "Manasses of Hierges in East and West," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 66 (1988), 757-66.

<sup>217</sup>Benvenisti, *Crusaders in the Holy Land*, pp. 194-6; Pringle, "The Castle and Lordship of Mirabel," pp. 99-100; Beyrer, "Die Kreuzfahrergebiete Südwestpalästinas," p. 171.

In 1158 or 1159, Hugh of Ibelin, with the consent of his mother, Alvisé, and of his brothers, Baldwin and Barisan, ceded possession of a land between the mills of Mirabel and the land of “L’epine” (*Spina*) and renounced all disputes which his father had with the Order.<sup>218</sup> Beyer has suggested that the name “Spina” is a descriptive term and that it in fact signifies territory near a forest which contained some type of thorny bush.<sup>219</sup> In 1163, Baldwin, lord of Mirabel, confirmed the donation of Balisan, his father, and Heloise, his mother, of a tenement located in Mirabel.<sup>220</sup> In 1165, Baldwin of Mirabel gave the Order a piece of land in Mirabel for planting vineyards, which was next to a vineyard of the Order.<sup>221</sup> Baldwin also granted the Order all the rights he had on two adjoining vineyards.

Through the donations of members of the house of Ibelin, in their capacity as lords of Jaffa, Rama, and Mirabel, the Hospital acquired a variety of parcels of land, including defensive positions, mills, contiguous and scattered farm land, access to rivers, and vineyards. With the exception of the three *casalia* given by Hugh of Rama and Hugh of Jaffa, the Hospitallers did not receive any properties which may be identified as estates. Many of the lords of Jaffa, Rama, and Ibelin also held rights to territories in the southern region of the Latin East at Ascalon, where they continued the Ibelin tradition of donating property to the Order.

### ***Ascalon***

Although the city of Ascalon was not captured until 1153, the Franks held almost all of the surrounding territory by 1104.<sup>222</sup> Much of the region was entrusted to

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<sup>218</sup>CGOH #263.

<sup>219</sup>Beyer, “Die Kreuzfahrergebiete Südwestpalästinas,” pp. 189-92; William of Tyre also mentions pine forests near Beirut. William of Tyre, bk. 11, ch. 13; Rey, *Colonies franques*, p. 238. While historians have placed an emphasis on agricultural land, forestry products must have also been an important resource for the Franks, especially in the construction of houses, mills, and bridges.

<sup>220</sup>CGOH #327.

<sup>221</sup>CGOH #340.

<sup>222</sup>Benvenisti, *Crusaders in the Holy Land*, p. 115. For identifications, see Beyer, “Jerusalem und S. Abraham,” p. 185.

the Order; there are a number of recorded donations, including at least nineteen *casalia*. Because of the constant skirmishes between the Franks and the Muslims, it may be unwarranted to assume that these properties always remained under the firm control of the Order throughout the twelfth century. In the thirteenth century, as well, the difficulties of the defense of the region against the Muslims makes the actual possession of donated properties doubtful. Reflecting this precarious situation, some charters recording donations contain explicit references to defensive security, breaking with traditional, formulaic expressions of piety.

Donations to the Hospital in the region began within the first decade of the foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and ended with the substantial rights ceded by John of Ibelin in 1256/7. The confirmation of Baldwin I, in 1110, records that Hugh de Puzath gave the Hospital *casal* Melius, an unidentified location in Ascalon. The Order acquired more property in Ascalon in 1126, when the constable of Jaffa, Barisan, granted *casal* Algie, located just south of the city of Ascalon, with the consent of Hugh, lord of Jaffa, and Emma, his wife<sup>223</sup>

In 1126, Hugh, lord of Jaffa, recorded a grant to the Order of one unnamed *casal* from the three best in the city (“de tribus melioribus civitatis”). This may very well be the same property given in the grant of the constable Barisan. Hugh gave the property to the Order so that the nearby city of Ascalon might be captured by the Franks (“ut Deus civitatem rebellem Ascalonem tradat in manus christianorum”) - an act which would appear unwarranted if the Order had not yet adopted a military stance. Moreover, possession of the *casal* and other territory is assumed in the future tense (“que in proprietate sua evenerint”).<sup>224</sup>

In 1155, Amalric, count of Ascalon, and brother to Baldwin III, exchanged four *casalia*, Bethtafé, Habde, Bethamamin, and Faluge, for three unnamed *casalia* which

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<sup>223</sup>CGOH #74.

<sup>224</sup>CGOH #77.

the Order had in Ascalon.<sup>225</sup> The four named *casalia* lay mid-way between the city of Ascalon and Bethgibelin. The reasons for this exchange are not entirely clear, but it was certainly related to the recent capture of the city of Ascalon. In 1165, Amalric, having become king of Jerusalem, granted the Order *casal* Semma, vulgarly called the *casal* of the bishop, “as divided and measured by William and other of my men with the brothers of the Hospital in the exchange of Faluge.”<sup>226</sup> Also, in 1158, Amalric, count of Ascalon, confirmed the donation by Heloise to the Order of the fruits of several unidentified *casalia* for six years.<sup>227</sup> In 1238, Marie of Jaffa, wife of lord Guy de l’Alnai, announced that she had given the Order half of her possessions which she had and would acquire in Jaffa and Ascalon.<sup>228</sup>

In 1256/57, the Order received a large grant of properties in Ascalon from John of Ibelin, count of Jaffa and Ascalon and lord of Rama.<sup>229</sup> This transfer was connected to an earlier one dated January 1256/57, in which the Order received 650 *charruées* of land in Ascalon as repayment for their expenses in the defense of the city.<sup>230</sup> The later charter lists fourteen *casalia*. The ones which have been identified lie some distance south from the properties acquired in the twelfth century. These were apparently transferred in theory only. Matthew of Paris writes, however, that the Order held territory in Gaza from 1243-1246, although no record of this possession exists in the *Cartulaire général*.<sup>231</sup>

More than in any other region in the Latin East, with the exception of the northeastern region of Tripoli, donations to the Hospital in Ascalon were motivated

<sup>225</sup>CGOH #232; for identifications, see Beyer, “Jerusalem und S. Abraham,” pp. 185-6.

<sup>226</sup>CGOH #344. The text reads “secundum quod distincte et divide sunt a Guillelmo et ceteris meis hominibus cum fratribus Hospitalis in cambium Faluge.”

<sup>227</sup>CGOH #265.

<sup>228</sup>CGOH #2212.

<sup>229</sup>CGOH #2853. As Mayer has pointed out, the charter as edited by Delaville le Roulx is missing one page of text. H. E. Mayer, “The double county of Jaffa and Ascalon,” *Crusade and Settlement*, 181-190, at n. 40. See also Beyer, “Jerusalem und S. Abraham,” pp. 185-6.

<sup>230</sup>CGOH #2845. They are Malaques, Saarethe, Heleiquat, Zeite, Amouhde, Elgedeide, Phetora, Semsem, Camsa, Beitderas la seconde, Elroeiheb, Agelen el Hayet, Agelen el Ahssas, and Beze.

<sup>231</sup>Beyer, “Die Kreuzfahrergebiete Südwestpalästinas,” p. 176; Matthew of Paris, *Chronica maiora*, v. 4, p. 343.

primarily by military considerations. These considerations were expressed in the charter of Hugh, lord of Jaffa, in 1126, when he states that he made the grant so that the city of Ascalon would be placed in Christian hands. Although the precise reasons are unstated, it may be assumed that the exchange of properties made between the Order and Baldwin III also took place for military purposes. In the thirteenth century, the Hospital received rights to 650 *charruées* of land in fourteen *casalia* as compensation for their military expenses in the defense of the fortress of Ascalon. With the exception of the fortress, the properties which came into the possession of the Order in the region were *casalia* and farm lands.

### ***S. Abraham/Hebron/Bethgibelin***

This region was the site of a colonial settlement known as Bethgibelin, established by the Hospitallers after 1136. Although lost in 1187, it later returned to the possession of the Order in the thirteenth century. The lordship of S. Abraham was first held by an individual named Rohart as early as 1107. Later, Walter Bahomet held it in fief from Baldwin I. A man named Baldwin appears as lord of S. Abraham in two acts of Baldwin II in 1120 and 1128. By 1136, it was in the hands of a certain Hugh. The castle was returned to the King of Jerusalem and given by Baldwin III to Philippe de Milly, lord of Nablus, along with lordship over Crac and Montreal in exchange for a *casal* at Nablus.<sup>232</sup> It was captured by Saladin in 1187 and the castle was subsequently destroyed. In a list compiled in 1239, S. Abraham was said to be in Muslim hands.<sup>233</sup> In a treaty of 1240, it was returned to the Order, only to be taken again by the Mamluks in 1247.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>232</sup>DuCange, *Familles*, p. 424.

<sup>233</sup>P. Deschamps, "Études sur un texte latin énumérant les possessions musulmanes dans le royaume de Jérusalem vers l'année 1239," *Syria*, 23 (1942-3), 86-104.

<sup>234</sup>Benvenisti, *Crusaders in the Holy Land*, pp. 120-1.

The possession of fourteen *casalia* attached to the important fortress of Bethgibelin by the Order is confirmed in a charter of King Fulk in 1136.<sup>235</sup> Ten of these were given to the Order, at the King's request, by Hugh of S. Abraham, along with the donation of Bethgibelin.<sup>236</sup> Another document of 1144 records an additional grant by Hugh of S. Abraham of three unidentified *casalia*.<sup>237</sup> These donations comprised one of the largest and most important concentrations of property held by the Hospitallers. Under the lordship of the Order, Bethgibelin became the site of a successful and well-documented plan to settle Europeans in the Latin East, which has been extensively studied by Prawer.<sup>238</sup>

### ***Montreal/Outrejordan***

Through the donations of the lords of Montreal in the twelfth century, the Order acquired several properties, including four *casalia* and a *gastina*, in the remote area east of the Dead Sea, known as Outrejordan or Transjordan. During the Middle Ages, this region was known for the production of sugar cane.<sup>239</sup> The territory was lost to the forces of Saladin after the battle of Hattin and apparently never recovered.

In 1152, the Order was granted two *casalia* by Maurice, lord of Montreal.<sup>240</sup> The first is named Benisalem, and the second Cansir, in the land of Kerak in Moab. Benisalem remains unidentified; Cansir lay just east of the Dead Sea and south of Kerak. The possession of the properties by the Order was confirmed by Reynald de Châtillon in 1177.<sup>241</sup> In 1155, Reynald de Châtillon confirmed the donation by Adelina,

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<sup>235</sup>CGOH #116.

<sup>236</sup>Their names and locations are: Beithsur and aliud Beithsur, both located mid-way between Ascalon and Bethlehem, as was Bothme; de Irnachar, de Irrasin, Charroubete, Deirelcobebe, and Hale encircled Bethgibelin; Meimes was located mid-way on the road between Hebron and Bethlehem; the tenth, Helhtawahin, has not been precisely located, but it too must have been in the immediate vicinity of Bethgibelin.

<sup>237</sup>CGOH #156.

<sup>238</sup>Prawer, "Colonisation activities," pp. 1087-95. See also G. Beyer, "Jerusalem und S. Abraham," pp. 171-3 and pp. 183-5.

<sup>239</sup>Rey, *Recherches*, p. 8.

<sup>240</sup>CGOH #207.

<sup>241</sup>CGOH #521.

the widow of Tostannus Parvus, of *casal* Soloria.<sup>242</sup> The confirmation of the possessions of the Order given by Reynald de Châtillon in 1177 included a *gastina* called Hable, which was attached to the Order's *casal* Cansir, described here as lying in the land of Petra.<sup>243</sup> The donation of *casal* Hara, by two brothers, Joseph and John, sons of Saba, the Georgian, is dated c. 1160.<sup>244</sup> The *casal* was given to Saba by Baldwin II (r. 1120-1131). Although not precisely identified, it is described in the *Inventaire* as lying in the plains of Mont S. Moses, which would place it just east of the northern edge of the Dead Sea.

The donation of Maurice, lord of Montreal, in 1152, included several smaller properties - a piece of land, situated between the vineyard of Seguin and the land of William Asini, for planting vines and another piece of land, next to the vineyard of John Castellan, at the divide between the main road and Maurice's own vineyard.<sup>245</sup> In their confirmation, Reynald and Stephanie added to these gifts a small garden for planting herbs and a land partly planted and partly unplanted.<sup>246</sup>

The possessions of the Order in the lordship of Montreal represent most of what historians have identified as property in the Transjordan during the Frankish occupation. Given its remote location and strategic unimportance relative to Egypt and northern Syria, the *casalia* Benisalem, Cansir, Soloria, and Hara may have been the only villages in the region besides Montreal. If this was the case, the Hospital would have had a great deal of autonomy in the area.

## **Acre**

The number of donations of *casalia* made to the Order in Acre in the twelfth century is at first glance rather slight. The value of these properties only becomes

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<sup>242</sup>CGOH #231.

<sup>243</sup>CGOH #521.

<sup>244</sup>CGOH #284.

<sup>245</sup>CGOH #207.

<sup>246</sup>CGOH #521.

apparent in the thirteenth century, when the Order began to consolidate land through strategic purchases. According to the charters of the *Cartulaire général*, the Hospitallers did possess a good deal of real estate and houses within the city. The cartulary evidence under consideration in this study indicates that the Order was given limited territory around the city proper, but only three of these donations can be identified as *casalia*. Northeast of the city of Acre, *casal* Coketum was given by Barda Armenus and his unnamed wife.<sup>247</sup> Due east of the city, *casal* Beroeht was granted by Queen Melisende to the Order in 1150.<sup>248</sup> Another document, provisionally dated by Delaville le Roulx to 1171, records an exchange between the Order and Bernard, abbot of the monastery of Mount Olives.<sup>249</sup> The monastery gave the Order *casal* Cafran, which had been donated by the prince of Galilee; in return the Order turned over to the monastery nine houses, two stores, and an orchard (*voltis*) which it had in the city of Jerusalem - all with a total annual rent of 130 *besants*. Riley-Smith has no reference to *casal* Cafran; Delaville le Roulx identifies it as Kafr Anan, to the southwest of Safed, northwest of Lake Tiberias, east of Acre.<sup>250</sup> In 1146, the Order received a mill and an attached piece of land from Rotgo, second bishop of Acre of the Latins.<sup>251</sup> In 1193, the Order acquired some land near the walls of the city of Acre through a donation of Henry of Champagne, with the consent of his wife, Isabelle.<sup>252</sup>

We can identify evidence of active negotiation by the Order to acquire property in Acre by examining the date of donation and the location of land. In 1255, the Order received land in the plains before the city of Acre from a grant of John Marraim, knight.<sup>253</sup> The charter delineates the land as follows: from the east, it borders *casal* de la Hadia, which is held by lord Roland Antelmi; from the south, it adjoins the lands of

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<sup>247</sup>CGOH #84.

<sup>248</sup>CGOH #191.

<sup>249</sup>CGOH #422.

<sup>250</sup>CGOH, v. 4, p. 420.

<sup>251</sup>CGOH #167.

<sup>252</sup>CGOH #938.

<sup>253</sup>CGOH #2714.

the Temple; from the west, it borders the land of John Coste; and from the north, it borders the public road, at the foot of the tower of Saladin.<sup>254</sup> The document states that after the drawing up of the charter, the Order, represented by Hugh Revel, grand preceptor of Acre, took possession of the land from John. The Order received additional property adjoining this land through a grant by John Coste and his wife, Joy, on March 19, 1255.<sup>255</sup> The borders are delineated as follows: on the east is the land of the Order, once held by John Marraim; on the south the land of the Temple; on the west is the land of the commune of the Genoese; and on the north the road which leads to Safed and S. George.<sup>256</sup> The Order received more land at Acre on that same date when Guy and Nicholas of Ronay, knights of Acre, with the assent of their mother Agnes, widow of Guy of Ronay, gave some houses and land outside the walls of Acre, near *Nahr-Kaisarîa*, or *flumen Mortuum*.<sup>257</sup> These lands at Acre were again augmented through a donation by John Grifus, knight of Acre, and his wife, Agatha, daughter of George of Vienna.<sup>258</sup> John and Agatha gave the Order all that they possessed in Acre, specifically at Mount Musard, before the tower of Columberius, which, according to Rey, was the postal center of the Hospitallers, who, copying the Muslim custom, used pigeons and doves to deliver messages.<sup>259</sup> More land was acquired in Acre, specifically in the area called Rabattum, through a donation of John Laleman, lord of Caesarea, in 1255.<sup>260</sup> These many donations, although limited

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<sup>254</sup>For the location of these properties in relation to the topography of Acre, see E. G. Rey, "Supplément à l'étude sur la topographie de la ville d'Acre au XIIIe siècle," *Mémoires de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*, 49 (1888), 1-18, at pp. 15-6; and R. Frankel, "Topographical Notes on the Territory of Acre in the Crusading Period," *Israel Exploration Journal*, 38 (1988), 249-72.

<sup>255</sup>CGOH #2721.

<sup>256</sup>CGOH, v. 2, p. 775, n. 1. Rare stones marking the boundaries of the Hospital and the Genoese have been discovered and discussed by R. Frankel, "Three Crusader Boundary Stones from Kibbutz Shomrat," *Israel Exploration Journal*, 30 (1980), 199-201.

<sup>257</sup>CGOH #2722. The mills which were subject to the dispute between the Templars and the Hospitallers were located in this region. See E. G. Rey, "Supplément à l'étude," p. 11.

<sup>258</sup>CGOH #2949.

<sup>259</sup>E. G. Rey, "Étude sur la topographie de la ville d'Acre au XIIIe siècle," *Mémoires de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*, 39 (1878), 115-45, at p. 143. For the suburb of Mount Musard, see D. Jacoby, "Montmusard, suburb of Crusader Acre: The first stage of its development," *Outremer. Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer*, ed. B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer, and R. C. Smail, Jerusalem, 1982, 205-19.

<sup>260</sup>CGOH #2732. This transfer is more closely examined in Ch. 2.

individually, show that the Order consolidated a small amount of property in the environs of Acre, without possessing a large number of *casalia* or villages. These holdings were considerably expanded through purchases in the thirteenth century. Finally we may note that in 1237, King Henry of Cyprus affirmed that Agnes de la Baume had given the Order half of her possessions in Mount Carmel and elsewhere as a heritage from her uncle Jocelyn de la Moussa.<sup>261</sup>

### ***Caesarea/Cacho***

The acquisition by the Hospitallers of substantial property in the region was a result of the stability of the lordship under the descendants of Eustache Granier, who maintained excellent relations with the Order until the end of Frankish rule in Caesarea in 1265. As with the lords of Jaffa and Mirabel and other members of the Ibelin family, the language of these donations demonstrates the importance of family relations for the acquisition of property by the Hospital.

Transfers of property to the Hospital in the lordship of Caesarea began sometime before 1110 and continued until the middle of the thirteenth century. The first donation is recorded in the confirmation of Baldwin I in 1110. Eustache, viscount of Jerusalem and lord of Caesarea, gave an unidentified *casal* in his lordship of Caesarea.<sup>262</sup> The possessions of the Order confirmed by a charter of Walter, lord of Caesarea and Sidon in 1129, included two *casalia*. The first of which, Aldefie, located on the coastal road between Caesarea and Cayphas, and identified as a grant from Walter's father Eustache, may be that which was unnamed in a previous charter.<sup>263</sup> This grant was confirmed in 1197, by Julienne, lady of Caesarea, with the consent of her husband, Aymar, noting that the grant was made by her brother Walter, former

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<sup>261</sup>CGOH #2163.

<sup>262</sup>CGOH #20.

<sup>263</sup>CGOH #94, #74. See also G. Beyer, "Das Gebiet der Kreuzfahrerherrschaft Caesarea in Palästina," ZDPV, 59 (1936), 1-91, at p. 23. Hereafter, "Caesarea."

lord of Caesarea, on his deathbed.<sup>264</sup> The other property, named Calumzum, is not explicitly called a *casal*, but as it is named and does include appurtenances, it may be assumed that it is a developed location. This is most likely *casal* Kalensue (Qalansuwa), on the road leading south out of Cacho (Qāqūn), which was given by Geoffrey of Flaiaco, John of Bethsan, and John's brother, Hugh, in 1129. This property is identified in an earlier charter from the *Inventaire* as a fortress.<sup>265</sup> Kalensue was captured by Saladin in 1187, but returned to the Franks in the treaty of 1192. It finally fell to Baybars in 1265.<sup>266</sup>

Despite the confirmation of the Order's possession of Aldefie in 1197, there is a charter which records that in 1163, the Order gave Hugh, lord of Caesarea, *casal* Aldefie in exchange for two *casalia* - Zafaira and Abeiria.<sup>267</sup> Aldefie, as noted above, was located north of Caesarea, on the coastal road to Cayphas; Abeiria lay further inland, southeast of Aldefie. Riley-Smith has identified a *casal* Zefaira, but it lies east of Lake Tiberias, quite some distance from the other two properties and not within the lordship of Caesarea. I suspect that this third *casal* in question may be Sabarum, located just north of Abeiria and east of Aldefie. In fact, it appears in a document of the Holy Sepulchre, dated 1166, as belonging to the Hospital.<sup>268</sup> Delaville le Roulx suggests Sarafend, just north of Caesarea, although I have found no further reference to such a property.<sup>269</sup> It is likely that, as with Kalensue, Aldefie was returned to the Hospital in the treaty of 1192, after which its possession was not contested by Julienne of Caesarea.

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<sup>264</sup>CGOH #1002.

<sup>265</sup>CGOH #84. A nineteenth-century British archaeological survey has identified a tower in this location, but documentary evidence records that it was built by the Templars around 1191. Cited in S. Dar and J. Mintzker, "Qāqūn, Turris Rubra and Montdidier: Three Crusader Sites in 'Emeq Hēfer," *ZDPV*, 103 (1987), 192-213, at p. 195.

<sup>266</sup>Benvenisti, *Crusaders in the Holy Land*, p. 198.

<sup>267</sup>CGOH #316.

<sup>268</sup>Sépulcre, #139.

<sup>269</sup>CGOH, v. 4, p. 694.

The Order amassed a considerable block of properties in and around Cacho (Qāqūn). This fact makes it unlikely that the Templars had the permanent possession of the fortress located in the town.<sup>270</sup> The confirmation of Baldwin I, King of Jerusalem, dated 1110, records the donation by Eustache of lands next to *casal* Cacho.<sup>271</sup> The donations of additional lands in Cacho are recorded in a confirmation of Walter Granier, lord of Caesarea and Sidon, dated 1131.<sup>272</sup> These include two small farms (*curtile*) attached to homes in Caesarea, given by Walter's father, Eustache, as well as homes and curtiles in Cacho, one of which was given by Walter's viscount, Walter, and another which was bought by lord Walter from a certain Alan. Also in Cacho, Walter confirmed the gift of two *carrucae* of land made by his father and two *carrucae* given by H. Lombardus, with the consent of Walter's father. In addition, Walter conceded two *carrucae* of land in Cafarsalem and two adjoining *carrucae* of land "a principio terre Rambaldi, que laboratur in Maresco, sicut itur ad flumen." It appears from the text that Delaville le Roulx has misread the word *maresco* as a proper place name, when in fact it simply denotes a swamp or marsh (Fr. *marécage*).<sup>273</sup> It is noteworthy, however, that the land is described as being worked, although perhaps not very profitably. Indeed, Walter stipulated that if these latter lands should prove deficient for cultivation, the Order may take better land in Sabulone, to the measure of four *carrucae*. Again, Delaville le Roulx has mistaken a designation of sand or dunes (Fr. *sable*) for a proper place name. In 1154, Hugh, lord of Caesarea, gave the Order a piece of land next to their garden at Cacho, where the Syrians came to grind their flour.<sup>274</sup>

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<sup>270</sup>Rey, *Colonies franques*, p. 419; cf. Benvenisti, *Crusaders in the Holy Land*, p. 199; S. Tibble, *Monarchy and Lordship in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford, 1989, p. 142. See also William of Tyre, bk. 12, ch. 21; Fulcher of Chartres, bk. 3, ch. 18.

<sup>271</sup>CGOH #20.

<sup>272</sup>CGOH #94.

<sup>273</sup>Cf. Rey, *Colonies franques*, p. 419; Beyer, "Caesarea," p. 46; William of Tyre, bk. 22, ch. 20.

<sup>274</sup>CGOH #223.

According to these charters, the Hospital had within Cacho four *carrucae*, several houses, orchards or small farms, and a garden with attached land, as well as land adjoining Cacho. In the neighboring *casal* Cafarsalem, the Order possessed four contiguous *carrucae*. All of these were donations made by the first three lords of Caesarea, Eustache, Walter, and Hugh, with the exception of two *carrucae* in Cafarsalem given by H. Lumbardus and a house in Cacho given by Walter, the viscount of Caesarea. Both of these gifts had the consent of the lord of Caesarea.

The strong relationship which the Order had with the lords of Caesarea continued into the thirteenth century. In 1207 or 1208, Hugh's daughter, Julienne, with the assent of her husband, Aymari de Leyron, gave to the Order the house of Robert Hohais, which once belonged to George, a knight.<sup>275</sup> The house was located between Cafarlet and *casal* Rogerii de Chasteillon and had three *carrucae* of land *francesiis* on its eastern side, which belonged to *casal* Cafarlet.<sup>276</sup>

The Order went on to acquire much more property in Caesarea in the thirteenth century which would augment many of the lands gained through donation in the twelfth century. These later acquisitions were made through financial transactions.

### ***Nablus***

This town was located inland between Jaffa and Caesarea. The Order had a variety of property in the region, especially in the twelfth century. With these acquisitions, we see two aspects of the acquisition policy of the Hospitallers. The first is a consolidation of property at *casal* Seleth. But within the same region, we also see the isolated grants of a piece of land and a *casal*, which were apparently at some distance from the other holdings of the Order. Between Cacho and the town of Nablus

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<sup>275</sup>CGOH #1250.

<sup>276</sup>For the possession of *casal* Cafarlet, see the discussion in Ch. 2.

to the south, the Order acquired through donation a few parcels of land in one of its *casalia*. In 1178, Amalric, viscount of Nablus, followed up his sale of *casal* Seleth to the Order for 2800 *besants* by donating a piece of land which adjoined *casal* Seleth and *casal* Lathara, which was also held by the Order.<sup>277</sup> Amalric specifically stated that he made this gift to the Order so that it may have this piece of land “*prefatis casalibus collaterem.*”

The Order was also granted property south of Nablus. A charter of Baldwin IV, dated 1176, confirmed the donation to the Order of a piece of land near *casal* S. Gilles, by Robert, lord of this *casal*.<sup>278</sup> In 1244, the Order received *casal* Esckas, south of Nablus, from John of Rocherouge, whose wife, Douce, had received it from lord Renier Hostiarius, who in turn held it from King Guy of Jerusalem.<sup>279</sup>

### ***Nazareth/Tiberias/Galilee***

By far, the largest number of donations was made in this region near the Sea of Galilee. Donations of property here were almost exclusively *casalia* and were concentrated in the area southwest of Tiberias. The majority of *casalia* were acquired through the transfer of the monastery of Mount Thabor, which will be considered separately. There were at least ten *casalia* donated to the Order which were not included in the transfer of Mount Thabor. Several of these properties were donated by members of the royalty and nobility of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. In 1110, Baldwin confirmed the grant of *casal* Hessilia in the lordship of Galilee by Godfrey of Bouillon and made his own donation of two *casalia* - Bethafava to the north of Bethlehem and Montana, which remains unlocated.<sup>280</sup> In 1165, Walter, prince of Galilee, donated

<sup>277</sup>CGOH #531, #532, conf. #550.; see also Beyer, “Neapolis und sein Gebiet in der Kreuzfahrerzeit,” *ZDPV*, 63 (1940), 155-209, at p. 165. Hereafter “Neapolis.” Lathara and Tare are the same *casal*. It was given by Baldwin II (1118-1131). See Beyer, “Neapolis,” pp. 183-4.

<sup>278</sup>CGOH #498.

<sup>279</sup>CGOH #2330. Only the witness list is printed. The donation is confirmed by Thomas d’Acquino, bailiff of the Kingdom of Jerusalem under Frederick II. CGOH #2331.

<sup>280</sup>CGOH #20.

*casalia* Delehaoa and Desaut to the Order.<sup>281</sup> The possession of these properties was confirmed by Walter in a charter dated 1168.<sup>282</sup>

An apparently quite substantial parcel of land and water was also acquired by the Order in this region. In 1174, Eschive, lady of Tiberias, and Hugh, her son, gave the Order a tower, which, as the document states, the Saracens call *Lacomedia*, situated bewteen Parva Palmeria and Tiberias, and all of its land which extends to the sea of Galilee, as well as rights in the water.<sup>283</sup> The document exempts from the donation the land which is worked by *Suliani*, probably an error for *Suriani*.

Besides these royal and noble grants, the remaining donations came from individuals and families who were of lesser prominence. The charter of King Baldwin I in 1110 confirmed the donation of *casal* Capharmazre, east of Nazareth and south of Mount Thabor, from Arnold Loferencus. On the other side of the Sea of Galilee, the Order acquired *casal* Sussia, from Walter Baffumeth and *casal* Dirberham, just south of Sussia, from Peter de Lens before 1110.<sup>284</sup> Southwest of Nazareth, the Order acquired *casal* Jebethza, through the donation of one half by Airaldus Barba, and the other half by Aldeburgis, identified as the sister of Lambert Cambiatoris. In 1160, Hugh of Besans granted the Order *casal* Bugaea, with the consent of Geurmond, lord of Tiberias, and Walter, prince of Galilee.<sup>285</sup> The number of donations made by individuals of modest status in the region is in marked contrast to the lordship of Caesarea, where most were made by the lords.

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<sup>281</sup>CGOH #345.

<sup>282</sup>CGOH #398; see also G. Beyer, "Die Kreuzfahrergebiete Akko und Galilaea," *ZDPV*, 67 (1944-5), 183-260, at pp. 228-9. Hereafter "Akko und Galilaea."

<sup>283</sup>CGOH #459.

<sup>284</sup>CGOH #20.

<sup>285</sup>CGOH #288.

## ***Mount Thabor***

In 1256, a number of properties once belonging to the monastery of Mount Thabor were transferred to the Order by Pope Alexander IV.<sup>286</sup> Possession of many of these forty-seven *casalia* was in title only as the land had been captured by the Turks and much of the monastery's holdings had been destroyed. They are identified by name in the attached bull of Eugene III, dated 1146.<sup>287</sup> Another charter of 1255 does indicate that the Order took corporeal possession of nine *casalia* belonging to Mount Thabor situated between Lake Tiberias and *casal* Robert to the west and assigned them to various *rāīs* for holding, working, and maintaining ("tenendum, laborandum, et custodiendum").<sup>288</sup> The *casalia* are Jubeil, Casta, Cafarsset, Saronie, Demie, Sisara, Lubie, Erbel, and Egdis, of which five can be identified in the list of Eugenius III from 1146.<sup>289</sup> Although possession of this territory was under intense pressure by the Mamluks in the 1250s and 1260s, there is evidence that the Hospital was able to take actual possession of at least one-fifth of the properties to which it held a claim.

The Order's possession of the estates of the monastery of Mount Thabor was not only challenged by the Muslims. In 1265, Eschive, princess of Tiberias and Galilee, transferred several unspecified *casalia* to the Order in replacement for *casalia* Lubie, Seger, Quepsenne, Orbel, Damie, Beitegon, Hordzi, and Harousse, which she held, but which the Order claimed as the possessions of Mount Thabor.<sup>290</sup> At an earlier date, when William of Chateaufort was Grand Master (1241-1258), Philip of Montfort, lord of Tyre, the late John of Ibelin, lord of Beirut, and the late John of

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<sup>286</sup>CGOH #2829. The monastery itself was handed over to the Order by Alexander IV in April, 1255. CGOH #2726. In 1263, Henry, archbishop of Nazareth, renounced jurisdiction over the monastery. CGOH #3053.

<sup>287</sup>Boria, Damia, Saronia, Capharfet, Lubia, Seiera, Casta, Capharkemen, Messa, Messchia, Mangana, Capharmeç a, Caphartamera, Endor, Maluph, Cara, Nurith, Sulem, Effule, Eumesera, Naim, Erbeth, Caimum in terra Accon, Capharsuma in terra Sur, Defurchaim, Alme ad turonem Sapeth, Alme in terra Bellinas, Neeme in terra Sueth, Avara, Hytar, Elleeram, Peteras, Arche, Leletap, Capharsalia in terra de Grosso Villano, Aningene, Settip, Eusenias, Sesia, Elgor, Çepherra in terra Auram, Avi in terra Betanie, Zeta, Alcoram, Metaan, Hecdex, Sane, Boria villa, and unspecified others.

<sup>288</sup>CGOH #2747.

<sup>289</sup>The Templars renounced their claims to Cafarsset in 1262.

<sup>290</sup>CGOH #3116.

Ibelin, lord of Arsur, had ordered her to give the Order 200 *charruées* of land as compensation. These lands were taken by the Mamluks in 1262.<sup>291</sup>

Despite the threats to their properties from internal and external forces, the Hospitallers' aggressive pursuit of the territories belonging to the monastery at Mount Thabor produced partially successful results.

### ***Tyre/Toron/Banyas***

The Order held few substantial properties in this northern region of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, but it did have an extensive collection of smaller properties in the lordship of Tyre. The Hospital had two vineyards in the territory of Toron given by Guy de Scandelion before 1154, but most of its other properties were received in the thirteenth century.<sup>292</sup>

The Order was also offered rights to two important defensive positions. One of these, Banyas, had been a fortified city in pre-Crusader times. In 1126, it was in the possession of the Assassins, who, after a massacre of their forces in Damascus, turned it over to the Franks in 1129.<sup>293</sup> Under the Franks, the fortifications were strengthened, but it was still captured by an army from Damascus in 1132. As a result of the Frankish-Damascene alliance of 1140, the castle was returned to the Franks. The castle provided the Franks with a launching ground for raids on Damascus, but it also became a target of attack by the Muslims, especially after Damascus was taken by Nur al-Din in 1154. Under increasing pressure from Damascus, according to William of Tyre, its protection was entrusted to the Order. It appears, however, that the Hospitallers refused the donation.

A confirmation of Baldwin III, King of Jerusalem, dated 1157, records the transfer of half of two castles - Banyas and Chateauneuf (Hunin) - granted by

<sup>291</sup>Beyer, "Akko und Galilaea," p. 224.

<sup>292</sup>CGOH #258.

<sup>293</sup>Benvenisti, *Crusaders in the Holy Land*, pp. 148-52.

Humphrey of Toron, constable of the kingdom, with the consent of his son Humphrey and his unnamed daughters.<sup>294</sup> Humphrey had married the daughter of Renier Brus, who had been given possession of the region in 1129. The gift of half of Banyas was made with the additional consent of Walter of Beirut, who held it in fief, and his brothers Guy and Bernard. When a convoy of Hospitallers travelling to the castle was ambushed and slaughtered by Nur al-Din, the Order withdrew from the agreement.<sup>295</sup> The castle withstood two sieges in 1157 until finally succumbing to an attack by Nur al-Din in 1164, while Humphrey was on campaign in Egypt. Chateauneuf was taken in 1167 and razed. It was rebuilt by the Franks in 1178 and retaken by the Ayyubids shortly after the battle of Hattin in December 1187. According to Ibn Jubayr, the region continued to be cultivated by Franks and Muslims, who divided the crops and animals between them.<sup>296</sup> It was again destroyed in 1222, but returned to the Franks by the treaty of 1240. It was finally captured by Baybars in 1266 and rebuilt in 1267.

Several charters of the thirteenth century recording the acquisition of property in the region supply further evidence of consolidation by the Hospitallers. In 1231 Princess Alice of Antioch donated *casal* Tortiafa and an unnamed *gastina* in the land of Toron.<sup>297</sup> Its exact location is unknown, but it lies north of Toron, just east of Tyre.<sup>298</sup> Its possession by the Order was confirmed much later in 1271 by John of Montfort, lord of Tyre and Toron and the grandson of the princess.<sup>299</sup> An exchange of landed property in the region is recorded in a charter, dated 1269, by Philip of Montfort, lord of Tyre, in which Philip gave the Order *casal* Maron, in the lordship of Tyre, along with a house in the city of Tyre and water rights in the city.<sup>300</sup> Maron lies east of the city of Tyre, north of Toron, and west of Chateauneuf.<sup>301</sup> The charter

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<sup>294</sup>CGOH #258.

<sup>295</sup>Riley-Smith, *Knights*, pp. 72-3.

<sup>296</sup>*Rihlat Ibn Jubayr*, pp. 382-3; *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, pp. 316-7.

<sup>297</sup>CGOH #1993.

<sup>298</sup>CGOH #1993.

<sup>299</sup>CGOH #3409.

<sup>300</sup>CGOH #3346; confirmation in CGOH #3393.

<sup>301</sup>According to the treaty between Acre and Qalawun in 1283, Maron, as well as Scandelion, became a

delineates its borders as joining *casal* d'Andrecife, the land of *casal* de Forciafe, and the land of *gastina* de Niha. In return for these donations, the Order placed a gate before the house of the Order in the city of Tyre under the control of Philip. If we identify *casal* de Forciafe with *casal* Tortiafa, we can see once again evidence for deliberate consolidation of holdings by the Hospital. Because it is an exchange, we may surmise that the Hospitallers actively bargained for this *casal* in order to consolidate their holdings. For his part, Philip, as lord of Tyre, sought to exert greater control in the city by commanding one of its gates.

The two charters of 1271 issued by John, lord of Tyre, confirmed several additional possessions of the Order in Tyre. The first charter lists in some detail *casal* Migedel and its *gastina* Theyre; *casal* Tor; unspecified mills and their appendages; two gardens, one called Massoque and the other Grant Jardin; a piece of land before the latter garden; a piece of land between Mosserie and Raissemon; a piece of land below that of S. Paul and adjoining that of the garden of the lord of Sidon; a piece of land where there was the vineyard called Lac, along with the lake; a piece of land near the lake; another piece of land where there was a vineyard; a large piece of land behind the gardens of Hasie; and rights to direct into Grant Jardin the water which flows from the sugar cane fields of the lord to the sea and to direct water from the conduit leading from the spring of Ss. Peter and Paul into the land near the gardens of Hasie, excepting that used for the mills, gardens and orchards of the lord.<sup>302</sup> The second charter of John of Montfort, lord of Tyre and Toron, dated 1271, which confirmed the grant of Alice, princess of Antioch, of *casal* Torciafé, also records the donation to the Order of a *curtile* and two pieces of land at Toron.<sup>303</sup>

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condominium, meaning its revenues were shared between the Order and Baybars. See D. Barag, "A new source concerning the ultimate borders of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Israel Exploration Fund*, 29 (1979), 197-217, at p. 200; Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, p. 75.

<sup>302</sup>CGOH #3408.

<sup>303</sup>CGOH #3409.

The Templars and the Hospitallers reached a settlement over a certain *casal* Alme. On 18 December 1262, the Temple declared that it had returned possession of Alme, in which the Hospital claimed rights, to John of Montfort, lord of Toron, and had agreed not to retake possession, under various condition, until the dispute was settled in the court of the church or in the court of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>304</sup> The outcome of the lawsuit remains unknown. In 1222, a settlement was reached under the arbitration of the papal legate, Pelagius, bishop of Albano, between the Order and the Church of the Holy Sepulcre, over unspecified land in Tyre.<sup>305</sup> As with the dispute over Gibel between the Hospital and the Temple, the settlement was reached by dividing the property under dispute in half.

In the region of Tyre and Toron, the Hospitallers declined the donation of half the rights to two fortresses in 1157, apparently because they lacked the manpower to properly defend the castles against the impending attack of Nur al-Din, but the stipulation that only half of the fortresses were to be granted might have offended the Order's sense of autonomy. In the thirteenth century, the Order developed good relations with the lords of Tyre and received two contiguous *casalia*, Maron and Tortiafa; two other *casalia* and an attached *gastina*; mills, gardens, lands, and water rights. All of these possessions were grants made by the lords of Tyre and Toron; none came from lesser lords or gentry.

### ***Beirut/Sidon***

Although the Hospital acquired a substantial amount of land through purchase in the thirteenth century from Julian, lord of Sidon, only two charters in the *Cartulaire général* record the donation of property to the Order in this northern region; both are minor transfers of land. The Order received possession of a piece of land

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<sup>304</sup>CGOH #3044.

<sup>305</sup>CGOH #1754.

between Beirut and the tower of Rohard of Cabor as part of a settlement reached by Baldwin IV in 1180.<sup>306</sup> In 1237, Balian, lord of Sidon, confirmed the gift of his father, Reynald, and his uncle, Gerard, of a gate near the town of Sidon, a gate before the wall and land outside the town, as well as all the fore-wall from the tower of Baldwin until the sea.<sup>307</sup>

In an accord reached between the Hospital and the Temple in 1262, the Hospital apparently exchanged a manor house it had in Sidon with one belonging to the Temple and ceded all other possessions it had in that city and in Beaufort. The Hospital also gave up its claim to a fine of 10,000 silver marks owed by the Temple and Julian, the former lord of Sidon and Beaufort, for infractions concerning these properties.

### ***Principality Of Antioch - Antioch***

The Hospital acquired a tremendous amount of territory in the principality of Antioch through a donation of multiple properties and many smaller donations. Most of these transfers took place in the twelfth century. The charters indicate that some of the rulers and lords of the principality of Antioch were generous donors to the Order, but there were also a number of donations from lesser landholders. A confirmation of Roger, prince of Antioch in 1118 records the donation of several *casalia* - three unidentified ones given to the Order by Prince Bohemond, as well as three unnamed *casalia* given by three lesser men - one in the territory of Harenc, near Antioch, given by Roger de Florentia; another in the territory of Delthio, given by Rotbert; and the third in the land of Capharta, a donation of Bonable.<sup>308</sup> In 1131, *casal*

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<sup>306</sup>CGOH #579.

<sup>307</sup>CGOH #2160. According to the *Inventaire*, the area was intended "pour leur servir d'aire."

<sup>308</sup>CGOH #45.

Betefan, in the lordship of Corris, located in the principality of Antioch was given by Baldwin of Corris.<sup>309</sup> A confirmation by Raymond, prince of Antioch, in 1149 lists several of the possessions of the Order in the principality.<sup>310</sup> The *casalia* identified include three just outside the city of Antioch: Assis, Urgan, and Melessin, the last a gift of Bohemond. In the territory of Harenc, the Order held *casal* Balilas, perhaps the unnamed *casal* given by Roger de Florentia; in the land of Aronie, *casal* Churar; in Turbassel in the county of Edessa, *casal* Cizenburg, given by Baldwin II in 1141; two *casalia* in Tilium, Gadir and Ubre; in the territory of Mamistre, *casal* Sarata; and in Cafardam, *casal* Muserac.

More property was granted to the Order by Bohemond, prince of Antioch, perhaps in the year 1168.<sup>311</sup> Unlike the donations of Crac des Chevaliers and those made in Margat, these properties were scattered throughout the principality and did not constitute a centralized core. (See Map 3) There are nineteen properties identified by name, many with substantial appurtenances. For example, Rochefort included an abbey, Gloriette a spring, and Femia (Afāmiyah) had a lake. As well, Bokebeis (Abū Qubais) was given along with *casal* de Pailes and its appurtenances. The other *casal*, that of S. Egidius, was given with the tower of Belda.<sup>312</sup>

Two donations were made in the southern region of the principality of Antioch. In 1168, a donation was made of *casal* Avotha, in the territory of Laodicea, by Peter, abbot of S. Paul of Antioch, and Leo, prior.<sup>313</sup> In 1170, the Order was granted *casal* Tricheria by Roger, lord of Saone, with the consent of his wife Avicie and his two brothers, Garenton and Joscelyn.<sup>314</sup> Bohemond III confirmed this gift in 1175 and

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<sup>309</sup>CGOH #90.

<sup>310</sup>CGOH #183.

<sup>311</sup>CGOH #391.

<sup>312</sup>The Order may have alienated S. Egidius as there is a charter, dated 1175, issued by Baldwin, identified as the lord of *casal* S. Egidius, confirming the sale of houses and vineyards in the *casal* to the Holy Sepulchre by the abbey of Mount Thabor, in which there is no reference to the interests of the Order. RRH #531; Sépulcre #160. The remaining properties included in the sale were Cava, Levonia, Tala, Bachfela, Gaigon, Rogie, Arcicant, Farmith, Logis, Berssaphut, Totomota, and castellum Lacoba.

<sup>313</sup>CGOH #397.

<sup>314</sup>CGOH #417.

added all his rights in the property.<sup>315</sup> This gift of *casal* Tricheria by Roger and another, *casal* Homedinum, created a dispute between the Order and the archbishop of Femia. In 1175, an accord was reached between the two parties by Amalric, the patriarch of Antioch, whereby the Order rescinded its claim to Homedinum and the church of Femia relinquished all rights to Tricheria.<sup>316</sup> This property did not remain in the possession of the Hospitallers. In a document of 1280, an individual named Agrimont of Besan is identified as lord of Tricheria. He ordered several men to go to Acre to retrieve a charter placed in the archive of the Order, which contained a bull from Innocent IV, confirming to his father, Amalric de Besan, the donation of this property by Frederick II.<sup>317</sup>

The Order also acquired a number of properties far north in the principality and in the kingdom of Armenia which were connected to the war between Bohemond IV and Raymond Rupin for the principality of Antioch. In 1207, Raymond Rupin, Prince of Antioch, gave the Order the city of Gibel, with its appurtenances.<sup>318</sup> The donation of Castellum Vetula was made by Raymond in 1210.<sup>319</sup> In the same year, King Leo II of Armenia (1187-1219) made a donation to the Order of Laranda, if it should be captured from the Muslims.<sup>320</sup> The city lay some distance west of Tarsus in Armenia. Leo also granted the Order the city of Seleph, with its two castles, Castellum Novum and Camardesium. The Order held the lands from 1210 to 1226, when it sold the property to the Armenian ruler, Constantine, who later became a *confrater* of the Order.<sup>321</sup> In 1233, the Order was given *casal* Gouvaira, presumably in Armenia.<sup>322</sup>

The donation of the city of Gibel to the Hospitallers by Raymond Rupin was a source of tension, not only with Bohemond IV, but also with the Templars. It was

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<sup>315</sup>CGOH #472.

<sup>316</sup>CGOH #474.

<sup>317</sup>CGOH #3715. Receipt of this charter is recorded in CGOH #3716.

<sup>318</sup>CGOH #1262.

<sup>319</sup>CGOH #1355.

<sup>320</sup>CGOH #1349.

<sup>321</sup>Riley-Smith, *Knights*, p. 160 and 432. See below in the discussion of confraternities, pp. 103-9.

<sup>322</sup>CGOH #2069.

settled by the papal legate Pelagius, bishop of Albano, at Acre in 1221.<sup>323</sup> This territory had been lost to the Muslims in 1220, and besides a brief reoccupation in 1231, and again in 1261, remained out of Crusader hands. As a result, these disputes were largely on theoretical grounds. The Hospital claimed that it held the property from the grant of Raymond Rupin, while the Temple claimed possession through the donation of Bohemond IV.<sup>324</sup> The settlement of the dispute was straightforward: the property was divided in half. Presumably this meant the total revenue as no reference is made to borders or territorial markings. All other donations and grants in the territory made by parties other than Bohemond and Raymond Rupin were exempted.

Gibel was once again the subject of an accord, this time in 1233, reached by another papal legate, Albert, patriarch of Antioch.<sup>325</sup> The Hospital had negotiated a truce with the sultan of Aleppo over the city, which gave its possession to the Muslims, except for some land held by the Hospital near the river Belne. The Temple agreed to abide by the treaty and to share half of the tribute which the Hospital received as a result for the duration of the truce. After the expiration of the truce the Temple was to receive Gibel and its lands, according to what was known to pertain to the Hospital in the contract, in return for an annual payment to the Hospital of 1100 saracen besants. Referring to Saone, the parties were not obligated to support one another in war if they had a truce with this city, but the Hospital was obligated to aid the Temple with expenses if it made war with Gibel, according to a separate treaty signed previously between the Orders. If the city should fall into Frankish hands, it was to be divided according to the agreement of 1221. In 1267, the Orders also reached an accord concerning the borders of Gibel and Margat.<sup>326</sup>

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<sup>323</sup>CGOH #1739.

<sup>324</sup>See Riley-Smith, *Knights*, pp. 445-6; and Cahen, *Syrie*, pp. 629-30 and 642.

<sup>325</sup>CGOH #2058.

<sup>326</sup>CGOH #3239.

One piece of property is of particular interest as an example of the effort by the Hospital to acquire consolidated land. In 1206, the Order acknowledged that Bohemond IV had restored its land before Befania and agreed to return it to him if the heirs of its former owner, William Porcelet, upon reaching majority, should demand it.<sup>327</sup> The exact location of the land is unknown. The Order probably valued the property quite highly, as according to the description provided in the document, it bordered land of the Order and was enclosed at the south by the river Gerol and by the river Veteri at the west and the north. The borders were marked by four stones.

The Order was also granted several *gastinae* and *carrucae*. In 1134, a document records the gift of Alice, wife of Bohemond II, prince of Antioch, of a *gastina*, called Bessilis, and two *carrucae* of land in the vicinity of Gibelet on the coast south of Laodicea.<sup>328</sup> The possessions of the Order, confirmed by Raymond, prince of Antioch in 1149, included a *gastina*, called Aganir, before Tilium; both locations remain unidentified.<sup>329</sup> In 1151, a dispute arose over two *carrucae* in *gastina* Putei, which lands had been given to the Order by the sons of Radulf Boer, but unjustly seized by Alice, princess of Antioch and given to Garnerio de Bourg, who then restored them to the Order.<sup>330</sup> In 1194, Bohemond III, prince of Antioch, confirmed the possession of the Order of a former *gastina*, located within the city of Antioch.<sup>331</sup> The *gastina* was attached to the Order's house in the city and enclosed by its walls ("a suo clauditur muri"). In 1205, Bohemond IV, prince of Antioch, granted the Order one-half of *gastina* de Caphar Mamel, also called La Vacherie, provisionally located in the territory of Laodicea.<sup>332</sup> Another half of a *gastina* was granted to the Order by John Nicephore and confirmed by Raymond Rupin, prince of Antioch, in 1217; the *gastina*

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<sup>327</sup>CGOH #1231; Richard, "Le comté de Tripoli dans les chartes du fonds des Porcellet," p. 351.

<sup>328</sup>CGOH #103.

<sup>329</sup>CGOH #183.

<sup>330</sup>CGOH #198.

<sup>331</sup>CGOH #966.

<sup>332</sup>CGOH #1215.

is called Sellorie, presumably located in the principality of Antioch.<sup>333</sup> This donation was confirmed by Bohemond IV, prince of Antioch, in 1231.<sup>334</sup>

The Order also acquired some scattered, small pieces of property. In 1138, Alice, the widow of Bohemond II, prince of Antioch, confirmed the Order's possession of an unspecified land, most likely in Antioch, which had been given by a woman named Grarinot.<sup>335</sup> In the same year, Trigaud, chamberlain of Raymond I, prince of Antioch, gave the Order a garden between those of the patriarch and the church of S. Simon.<sup>336</sup> In 1235, Sibille de Sourdevaux, noted as the widow of Aymari de Leyron, gave the Order seigneurial rights over the vineyards in her land outside the gate of S. Paul, along with all the cultivable land.<sup>337</sup> And in 1262, a grant of a land called la Pie, near Antioch, by another Sibille was confirmed by Bohemond VI.<sup>338</sup>

Two donations to the Hospital were made not in land but in revenues from land. In 1220, Aymari de Leyron, widower of Julienne, lady of Caesarea, with Sibille, his wife, daughter of Walter de Lector, gave the Order 2000 besants, which they took from Place des Toiles, called Sochelbet in Arabic, in Gibel.<sup>339</sup> In 1236, Sibille, then widowed, confirmed the donation.<sup>340</sup> The Order was granted an annual payment of twenty besants of Antioch taken from *casal* Gédéide by Isabelle, widow of Bohemond III, in 1216. This payment was confirmed by Raymond Rupin.<sup>341</sup>

Donations to the Hospital in the Principality of Antioch were extensive and came from a variety of sources, from the ruling princes to lesser nobles and members of the gentry. Of the princes of Antioch, there are records of donations made by Bohemond I, Roger, Raymond, Bohemond III, as well as Bohemond IV and his rival

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<sup>333</sup>CGOH #1593.

<sup>334</sup>CGOH #2003.

<sup>335</sup>CGOH #126.

<sup>336</sup>CGOH #127.

<sup>337</sup>CGOH #2129.

<sup>338</sup>CGOH #3021.

<sup>339</sup>CGOH #1684.

<sup>340</sup>CGOH #2143.

<sup>341</sup>CGOH #1491.

Raymond Rupin.<sup>342</sup> Princess Alice made a gift of lands in Gibelet and confirmed the possession of some unspecified land, but there is no recorded donation by her husband, Bohemond II. Despite these gifts, Alice was embroiled in a dispute with the Hospital over land in a *gastina*. These donors are discussed in greater detail in Ch. 4. More is also said about the relationship between the Hospitallers and Bohemond III and Bohemond IV in the following chapters. At this point, we may note that the good relations which the Order enjoyed with Bohemond III were not continued with his successors.

Donated properties were located throughout the principality and it is not possible to identify any particular area where the Order concentrated its holdings, with the exception of the disputed lands before Befania. The largest block of properties the Order acquired in Antioch were the nineteen *casalia* and other territories donated by Bohemond III in 1168. The Order was granted at least fifteen additional *casalia* from a variety of donors, as well as several *gastinae* and *carrucae*. The acquisition by the Order of properties, mainly fortresses, in the far north of Antioch and the kingdom of Armenia was a direct result of the Hospital's support of Bohemond IV's rival for the principality, Raymond Rupin, in the civil war of 1202-16.

### ***Margat (al-Marqab)***

Along with Crac des Chevaliers, the fortress at Margat (al-Marqab) was one of the most important possessions of the Hospital in the northern principalities of the Latin East. The fortress itself remained under Hospitaller control until 1285, but according to the terms of a treaty signed in 1271, its territory became a condominium (*munāṣafa*).<sup>343</sup> The chronology of the cartulary evidence suggests that the Hospitallers began accumulating property in the region several decades before they acquired the

<sup>342</sup>For the lives and careers of these men, see DuCange, *Familles*, pp. 177-210.

<sup>343</sup>Holt, "Mamluk-Frankish Diplomatic Relations in the Reign of Baybars," p. 193; Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, p. 51. See above, n. 301.

fortress at Margat. In these transactions we see a systematic, perhaps deliberate, encroachment upon the territory of the lordship through donations and sales to the Order. The gradual acquisition of the lordship of Margat was carried out with the cooperation of its lords, who continued to benefit from their donations and sales for many decades, once again indicating the importance of developing strong ties with families and subsequent generations.

The first mention of a Hospitaller possession in Margat is contained in the confirmation made by Raymond II, count of Tripoli, in 1142, which records the donation of a garden within the walls of Margat, once held by Walter of Margat and his wife Gisla.<sup>344</sup> In 1165, Reynald, lord of Margat, with the consent of his wife and sons, donated *casal* Tyron and the *casal* "of the bishop."<sup>345</sup> In 1174, Reynald II, lord of Margat, added to the possessions given to the Order by his father by granting several parcels of land.<sup>346</sup> He granted two *casalia*, one of which, Tyron, had been granted previously; the other was Corveis, to the north of the city of Margat. The donation also included *gastina* de Meois, located due east of Maraclea and south of Margat.

The charter of Reynald II also describes the relatively complex possession of four other *casalia* whose revenues were shared among the Order and other parties. Reynald confirmed the gift of three-quarters of the revenues of *casal* Meserafe, which was granted by Abdelmessie, the *ra'is* of Margat, whose son, George, retained the remaining quarter.<sup>347</sup> The document also confirms the gift of a third share of three *casalia* - Beluse, Archamie, and Cordie - made to the Order by Martin of Nazareth.

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<sup>344</sup>CGOH #144.

<sup>345</sup>CGOH #341. A similar *casal* is recorded in a donation of the same year by Amalric, King of Jerusalem, which refers to *casal Semma, quod vulgus casale Episcopi appellat*, but its location near Ascalon precludes consideration that this is the same *casal*. See CGOH #344

<sup>346</sup>CGOH #457.

<sup>347</sup>Abdelmessie and his property are mentioned in the truce signed between the Order and Baybars in 1267. The safety of the property is guaranteed. It is identified in the treaty as al-Mushayriqa and, according to the treaty, was mortgaged. See Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, pp. 39-40; cf. Barag, "A new source," p. 205, where a village with the same name is listed as a possession of the Franks in Acre.

In 1178, Reynald made a further donation, granting to the Order his rights on *casal* Bearida, with the consent of Bohemond of Antioch.<sup>348</sup> This act was followed by a similar donation in 1181, in which Reynald handed over his rights to *casal* Astalorin.<sup>349</sup> Shortly before he transferred ownership of Margat to the Order, Reynald granted *gastina* Ubin to the Order for the express purpose of building a settlement there.<sup>350</sup> This property lay east of the town of Valenia and north of Margat.

In 1186, the Order confirmed to a certain Clarisse, the donation of several unidentified *casalia* and other goods by Reynald to Martin of Nazareth in exchange for a knight and a *turcopole*.<sup>351</sup> These may very well have been the three *casalia* donated to the Hospital by Martin a decade earlier. In 1208, the Order was granted half of *casal* Blanc, in the lordship of Margat, by Otto, count of Hinneberch, and his wife, Beatrice, the daughter of the late Jocelyn III, count of Edessa.<sup>352</sup>

The archives of the Order contain a document recording an exchange of property in the lordship of Margat in 1155. The summary from the *Inventaire* states that Reynald II, lord of Margat, and Agnes, his wife, exchanged *casal* Blanc and the fortress Ericium with William de Redos for *casal* Anodesim and the fortress of Malavans.<sup>353</sup> This is the most likely reading for the wording of the entry is ambiguous and confusing. Indeed, Riley-Smith appears to assume that *casal* Blanc, fortress Ericium, and *casal* Anodesim all came under the control of the Hospitallers when they took possession of the lordship of Margat in 1186; he makes no reference at all to the fortress Malavans.<sup>354</sup> It is not inconceivable that all four fortresses were acquired by the Order when they received the lordship of Margat from Bertrand Mazoir in 1186,

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<sup>348</sup>CGOH #546.

<sup>349</sup>CGOH #613.

<sup>350</sup>CGOH #763.

<sup>351</sup>CGOH #787. The *turcoples* were horsemen with light armour, some of whom were probably archers. They were created by the Franks in response to the challenge posed by Turkish warfare. By the early thirteenth century, the Hospital had a special official known as the *turcoplier*, who commanded these forces. See Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, pp. 340-1; Riley-Smith, *Knights*, pp. 280, 325.

<sup>352</sup>CGOH #1313.

<sup>353</sup>CGOH #201. The *Inventaire* erroneously identifies Reynald as Raymond. For a genealogy of the lords of Margat, see DuCange, *Familles*, pp. 391-6.

<sup>354</sup>Riley-Smith, *Knights*, p. 131 and map in appendix.

and hence, took possession of the charter of the exchange as well. However, in the case of *casal* Blanc, we see that half of it was given to the Hospital as late as 1208.

Smaller properties were also donated in the territory of Margat, often with the aim of consolidation. The donation made in 1165 by Reynald II, lord of Margat, included several unspecified pieces of land.<sup>355</sup> Another charter of Reynald II, dated 1174, granted the Order a garden before the gate of the Hospital at Valenia, and a field (*pratum*) before *casal* Tyron. In 1248, Hugh de la Chapelle, knight, and Marie, his wife, with the consent of their son, Reynald, gave the Order a vineyard near Valenia, which adjoined that of the Order.<sup>356</sup> We see in this series of transfers a gradual and deliberate acquisition of property in the lordship of Margat. This was not by any means a hostile takeover, as the lords of Margat consented to the donations made by their subjects and contributed donations of their own. Furthermore, this may not be characterized as an exclusive enclave of the Hospital, as Reynald III made a donation to the Templars of half of *castellum* Brahın, as well as *casalia* Albot, Talaore, Besenem, and Soebe in 1178.<sup>357</sup>

Because this chapter deals exclusively with donations, complete details concerning the transfer of Margat, which was acquired by the Order at an annual rent to the lord of Margat and with a substantial payment to Bohemond III and his sons, are reserved for the chapter on purchases. Nevertheless, it is evident that donations provided a foundation upon which the sale to the Order was made. Over forty years before the fortress was acquired in 1186, the Order began to receive properties within Margat and its immediate vicinity. These donations came not only from the lords of Margat, Reynald and his son, Reynald II, but also from the *ra'ıs* of Margat and his son. By developing a tradition of donating property to the Order, Reynald and Reynald II paved the way for the sale of the lordship by their successor Bertrand. We can

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<sup>355</sup>CGOH #341.

<sup>356</sup>CGOH #2492.

<sup>357</sup>RRH #568.

compare this gradual acquisition with the rather more rapid and immediate assumption of the fortresses of Crac des Chevaliers, Bochee, Felis, and Lac in the County of Tripoli in 1142 or 1144, and the multiple properties acquired from Bohemond III in 1168.

### ***County Of Tripoli -***

Along with the lordships of Jaffa and Ascalon, Caesarea and the region of Nazareth and the Sea of Galilee, the Hospitallers had a concentration of property in the County of Tripoli, located at Mount Pelerin on the coast and in the northern region of the Latin East. The possessions of the Order in the county of Tripoli included at least twenty *casalia*. Donations in the County of Tripoli reflected the military character of the Hospital more clearly than in any other region. As with the lords of Caesarea and the lords of Mirabel, Rama, and Jaffa, the Hospitallers forged strong ties with the counts of Tripoli, which lasted for several generations. These ties also facilitated the Order's acquisition of property from lesser lords and members of the gentry in the county, especially with the lords of Crac des Chevaliers, Bochee, Felis, and Lac.

### ***Tripoli/Mount Pelerin***

The donation of twelve properties including the fortress at Mount Pelerin and a field before the city of Tripoli were confirmed in a charter of Pons, count of Tripoli in 1126, and a later one dated 1128.<sup>358</sup> These properties are not specifically identified as *casalia*, but as *villae*; the distinction is most likely insignificant as they appear to be

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<sup>358</sup>CGOH #79, #82. The *villae* were Misdelia, Bahanni, Cornonius, Coliath, Aroath, Cendiana, Apia, Sicca; Durcarbe, Baho, Theledehep, in the land of Rafania, and Cartamare. The fortress Coliath was acquired before 1105; destroyed by al-Adil in 1207-8, and rebuilt in 1266, shortly before its capture by Baybars. See Riley-Smith, *Knights*, p. 136; *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders, selections from the Tārīkh al-Duwal wa'l-Mulūk of Ibn al-Furāt*, ed. and trans. U and M.C. Lyons, and introd. and notes, J. Riley-Smith, 2 vols. Cambridge, 1971, v. 2, pp. 85 and 211.

developed locations, with cultivable land and appurtenances. They were given by Bertrand, father of Pons, and are further identified as of the rights (*juris*) of the hospital at Mount Pelerin, which Pons and his wife Cecilia, with the consent of Raymond II, gave to the Order. The charter of 1126 also confirms the donation of lands before the bridge of Mount Pelerin made by Pons' father, Bertrand, and his uncle, Raymond, and the charter of 1128 confirms the Order's possession of a vineyard in Mount Pelerin.

The Order acquired additional property at Mount Pelerin through the donation of a member of the gentry. In 1168, Douce, wife of Hugh of Lusignan, confirmed the donation which her brother, Bertrand Milonis, made of several unidentified houses at Mount Pelerin.<sup>359</sup> This is presumably the same Bertrand whose *casal* and tower were donated by Raymond III in 1177, as mentioned below.

The Order had property in the area near Mount Pelerin and the city of Tripoli. The unidentified land given to the Hospital by Peter of Burgairolles and his wife, Jordane, with the consent of Roger, constable of Tripoli, sometime before 1139, may have been located near the city of Tripoli.<sup>360</sup> In 1174, Hugh, lord of Gibelet, Raymond, his brother, and Hugh, his son, gave the Order a property, which is called *Jardinum de la Nonua*, located in the territory of *casal* Bechestin; this donation was confirmed by Raymond III.<sup>361</sup> The descriptions of its borders provide evidence of consolidation of land as it adjoined the meadows and fields of the Order. The Order also possessed a church at Nephin, its tithe, and three unnamed *casalia*, which Pope Innocent III declared it detained illegally and required it to return to the Church of Tripoli in 1198.<sup>362</sup> The Hospitallers had done so by the following year.<sup>363</sup>

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<sup>359</sup>CGOH #389, iv, *bis*.

<sup>360</sup>CGOH #128.

<sup>361</sup>CGOH #448.

<sup>362</sup>CGOH #1006.

<sup>363</sup>CGOH #1054.

### ***Crac des Chevaliers (Ḥiṣn al-Akrād )***

The properties at Mount Pelerin and the city of Tripoli were augmented by those which the Order acquired in other regions of the County of Tripoli. In 1142 or 1144, the Order acquired the rights to several fortresses and properties on the eastern frontiers of the County of Tripoli through a grant by Count Raymond II, which has been said to mark the establishment of the Order's autonomy in the region.<sup>364</sup> This donation included rights to three locations - Rafania, Mount Ferrandus (Ba'rīn), and Mardabech - which are not specifically referred to as *casalia*, but are noted as having appurtenances and attached feudal privileges and fishing rights on the lake of Homs. The grant also included the fortresses Crac des Chevaliers (Ḥiṣn al-Akrād), castellum Bochee, Felis and Lac.

It is clear that the military threat posed by Zengi prompted the donations in this territory, although the Order had a presence in the area as early as 1126.<sup>365</sup> The fortress located at Mount Ferrandus and the town of Rafania had fallen in 1137, while Mardabech appears to have remained in Frankish hands.<sup>366</sup> Raymond and the leading officials of the county took deliberate steps to transfer these properties to the Order. In exchange for Crac des Chevaliers and castellum Bochee, Raymond acknowledged that he gave the lord William, his wife, Adelaide, and their son Bertrand Hughnis, the "cavea Davidis Siri cum omni raisagio Montanee," and the fief of *Ponti Willelmi*, which consisted of two *caballarias* and 600 besants.<sup>367</sup> Of this money 200 was given by Raymond, 200 by his barons, and 200 by the church of Tripoli. As well, Raymond bought the fortresses of Felis and Lac from Gilbert Podiolaurenti and his wife, Dagolth, for 1000 besants. The relatively low amount of compensation accepted by

<sup>364</sup>CGOH #144. See above, n. 48.

<sup>365</sup>According to the confirmations of 1126 and 1128, the Hospital had unspecified lands in Rafania and a vineyard at Crac des Chevaliers.

<sup>366</sup>Richard, *Le comté de Tripoli*, p. 63.

<sup>367</sup>For a discussion of this exchange and the meaning of *cavea* and the *raisagium*, see Richard, "Cum omni raisagio montanee," pp. 188-92. See also Ch. 4.

these two parties is a sure acknowledgement of the dangerous and helpless situation which they faced.

According to the terms of the donation, the Order effectively replaced Raymond II and his successors as the lord of the territory. They owed no feudal service and held full jurisdiction and rights over its inhabitants. Raymond also acknowledged the military independence of the Order by agreeing not to demand a division of spoils from combat unless he participated in the battle and not to make treaties with the Muslims without the advice and consent of the Order. From this donation in 1142 or 1144, the Order went on to amass a solid block of property which stretched from Rafania in the north to Gibelacar in the south, Chamel to the east and Coliath to the west.

Donations to the Hospital were continued by the successors to Raymond II. Many of these were fortresses which bolstered the military presence of the Hospitallers in the region. In 1177, Raymond III, count of Tripoli, confirmed the possession of castle Rubea and also granted *casal* Turris Bertranii Milonis, in the *vadimonio* of lord Reynard.<sup>368</sup> The territory of castle Rubea, which lay just south of Tortosa, was quite substantial. In 1178, Raymond III, count of Tripoli, with the consent of his wife, Eschive, gave the Order a piece of land in the suburbs of Tripoli.<sup>369</sup> Two years later, in 1180, Raymond granted the Order the fortress of Tubania, located just north-east of Crac des Chevaliers.<sup>370</sup> In 1181, Raymond III made another donation of land to the Order.<sup>371</sup> The document delineates the borders of this territory as follows: from the foot of the mountains at which castellum Melechin lies up to *cavea* de Memboa, and from the *cavea*, a right line which extends to the river called Fers (Orontes), and from this river to Bochee, from there up to castellum Tubania.

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<sup>368</sup>CGOH #519.

<sup>369</sup>CGOH #543.

<sup>370</sup>CGOH #585. This property is recorded as being sold to the Order in 1204. CGOH #1198. See below, Ch. 2, p. 175.

<sup>371</sup>CGOH #595.

The land was quite substantial, and by the designated borders of Bochee and Tubania, we can see that it adjoined two properties held by the Order. Raymond further stipulated that the river banks of the Orontes would be held in common between him and the Order and anything of use located there would be shared. The Hospital retained control of territory on the western bank of the Orontes until the signing of a treaty with Baybars in 1267, when it was declared a condominium and its revenues were shared.<sup>372</sup>

The Order carried out a quasi-exchange of *casalia* with Raymond de Tribus Clavibus in 1185, with the consent of Raymond III, count of Tripoli.<sup>373</sup> In the charter, Raymond de Tribus Clavibus confirmed an earlier sale by his mother of *terre* Galife and *casal* Aieslo. These territories lay just east of Crac des Chevaliers. In return, the Order gave Raymond several properties and payments, including two *casalia*, Fauda and Sumessa, with all their appurtenances, except for the service to the Hospital according to the customs of Tripoli (“salvo servicio Hospitalis secundum consuetudines terre Tripolis”). In addition Raymond received a *gastina*, called Corcois, and one *carruca* of land, free and frank, in the *gastina*. Finally, as a *confrater* of the Order, Raymond was to receive a lifetime rent of measures of grain and wine. Upon his death, these payments would revert to the Order, but the properties were to remain with Raymond’s heirs.

The counts of Tripoli made many donations to the Order on generous terms as incentive for the Hospitallers to conquer territory held by the Muslims. A charter of Raymond III, count of Tripoli, dated 1184, records a donation to the Order of Chamel, identified as a *civitas*, with all its appurtenances, including *casalia* and *vastinae* and lands across the river.<sup>374</sup> Chamel was the Muslim city of Homs, never taken into Frankish hands; thus, most of these rights and revenues were in deed only, although

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<sup>372</sup>Holt, “Mamluk-Frankish Relations,” p. 189.

<sup>373</sup>CGOH #754.

<sup>374</sup>CGOH #676.

the Franks did maintain a presence on the western bank of the Orontes. This grant was made by Raymond as a *confrater* of the Hospital, and as such, he reserved the revenues of the city for his lifetime. The grant was confirmed twice by Raymond in 1186; on the second occasion he renounced the revenue, perhaps as an added incentive to the Order.<sup>375</sup>

In 1189, Raymond III's successor, Bohemond IV, gave the Order a garden, called Gloriete, which had once belonged to the mother of Raymond III.<sup>376</sup> This was one of the last donations made by a count of Tripoli before disputes with the Hospital overshadowed the tradition of good relations which had been established between the two parties.<sup>377</sup>

Two donations can be identified with William of Maraclea. A *casal* called Siroba was given to the Order in 1176, by Reynard, lord of Nephin, and his brothers, William of Maraclea and Raymond; this *casal* had previously been granted by their father.<sup>378</sup> In 1180, William of Maraclea, with the consent of his wife, Beatrice, and his son, Melior, gave the Order three *casalia*, Marmoniza, Erbenambra, and Lebeizar, which are identified as of the pertinence of Lo Camel, located just north of Crac des Chevaliers.<sup>379</sup>

Two important transfers were made by noble women, perhaps indirectly related to the military situation which influenced so many of the transfers of property to the Order in the county of Tripoli. A charter of the Grand Master of the Hospital, Raymond du Puy, dated 1151, acknowledges that the Order acquired houses at Chastel Blanc (Şāfithā) and two *casalia*, Kaffarique and Fellara, from lady Armensenda of Castro Novo.<sup>380</sup> Although no price is given, the use of the verb

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<sup>375</sup>CGOH #801; repeated #804.

<sup>376</sup>CGOH #871.

<sup>377</sup>Bohemond made a later donation in 1205 as Prince of Antioch. CGOH #1215.

<sup>378</sup>CGOH #503.

<sup>379</sup>CGOH #589.

<sup>380</sup>CGOH #199. The charter also records the grant of houses in the suburbs of Chastel Blanc, *casal* Cendina, and nearby gardens by Raymond, count of Tripoli, and houses in Chastel Blanc given by the late Rigaud. The identification of Kaffarique (Kfarrikha, 4 km. north or Kfarrich 15 k. south) is suggested

“comparavit” suggests that this was most likely a sale. Based on similarities in dates, locations, and witnesses, Richard has associated the transfer of Armensenda with that made by another lady, Flandina, and suggests that both had been widowed recently in battles with Nur al-Din.<sup>381</sup>

The donations made by Flandina involved properties at Archas (‘Arqā), a location in which the Hospitallers developed important interests. According to Ibn al-Furāt, land in the region was very fertile and largely given over to sugarcane production.<sup>382</sup> From the confirmation of 1128 we know that the Order already had a vineyard and garden at Archas. In 1151, Flandina gave the Order all the houses she held at Archas, along with a garden and half of the village of Teileliout from her demesne and the other half which was held in fief from her by William of Grillon.<sup>383</sup> In addition she gave *casal* Bucofou, two-thirds in her demesne and one-third held by the same William. Three other *casalia* in the mountains of Archas were also transferred, Jabriel (Gebraïl or Joubraïl, caza d’Akkar, s. of Archas), Bebeniz (Bazbina, s. of Archas), and Eiolaz (Eilat). She also transferred other homes and a garden at Archas and a *casal* in the mountains called Bethmellas (Bayt Mellat, s.e of Archas), which William held in fief. She stipulated that William should hold these lands from the Order as he held them from her. Richard suggests that this was an act of confraternity, but aside from the appearance that this gift represented the totality of the possessions of the donor, there is no formulaic expression associated with an act of confraternity, examples of which are discussed more fully below.

Later in the twelfth century, the Hospital was offered additional property in Archas as a result of military circumstances. A document, provisionally dated to

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by Richard, “Le comté de Tripoli dans les chartes du fonds des Porcellet,” p. 342, n. 2, except for Sendyané, (Sinndanié Qûbine, 5 km. north of Safitha or Sinndania Rharbiyé, 5 k. east of Kfarrich; Sendyané, north of Gibelacar) made by Rey and Röhricht, cited in R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris, 1927, p. 94.

<sup>381</sup>Richard “Le comté de Tripoli dans les chartes du fonds des Porcellet,” pp. 342-3.

<sup>382</sup>See Ayyubids, *Mamlukes and Crusaders*, v. 2, pp. 45 and 85.

<sup>383</sup>Richard, “Le comté de Tripoli dans les chartes du fonds des Porcellet,” pp. 366-8.

1170, records the donation by Amalric, king of Jerusalem (d. 1174) and procurator of the county of Tripoli during Raymond's captivity in Aleppo, of the fortresses at Archas and Gibelacar.<sup>384</sup> According to Ibn al-Furāt, Archas had a strong fortress at the centre of the town. The fortress at Archas had once belonged to William Jordan, nephew and initial successor to Raymond of Toulouse, as settlement to a dispute with Raymond's son, Bertrand. It came into the patrimony of the counts of Tripoli upon William Jordan's death. The territory of Archas fell to Nur al-Din in 1171, but was apparently recaptured soon after, or perhaps after the death of Saladin in 1194. Amalric's charter states that both castles had been destroyed by earthquakes, and that, once restored, the Order would hold them with all rights and jurisdiction. It has been suggested that the Order was never able to restore these fortresses and that after his release in 1174 ownership remained with the count of Tripoli, who never confirmed the donation.<sup>385</sup> The fortress at Archas was retaken by the Muslims in 1261, then recaptured by the Franks, before its final loss in 1266.

The last recorded donation to the Order in the County of Tripoli took place in January 1274/75, when Guy of Gibelet granted *casal* Maouf, whose location remains unidentified. Between 1275 and 1277, proposals were made between the Order and Bohemond VII regarding an exchange of properties known as Jume and Arcel.<sup>386</sup> No location is provided, but as Bernard de Porte Clare, commander of the knights at Crac des Chevaliers, is involved in the negotiations, we may safely assume they were located in the vicinity.

Military considerations were in the forefront of donations to the Order in the County of Tripoli to a degree greater than anywhere else in the Latin East. They played a direct role in the acquisition by the Hospital of the fortresses of Crac des

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<sup>384</sup>CGOH #411.

<sup>385</sup>Richard, *Le comté de Tripoli*, pp. 64-5. A confirmation of the possession of the Order in Tripoli by Raymond, dated 1174, indeed makes no mention of the two fortresses, but it should be noted that it lists no property by name. CGOH #467.

<sup>386</sup>CGOH #3571.

Chevaliers, Bochee, Felis, and Lac, among many others. As the charters make clear, fortresses in the region were handed over to the Order to secure their defense against attacks by the Muslims, but rights to cities and other territories also were promised as incentives for new conquests by the knights of the Hospital. In 1170, King Amalric of Jerusalem hoped to protect the county in the absence of its ruler by requesting that the Hospitallers take possession of the damaged fortresses at Archas and Gibelacar and rebuild them. And if Richard is correct, the Hospital acquired substantial properties in the regions of Archas and Chastel Blanc from two ladies who had lost their husbands in battles with Nur al-Din.

Relationships with the rulers of the County of Tripoli also had a decisive influence on donations to the Order. Strong ties with the Hospital began with Raymond, count of Toulouse, in the first decade of the twelfth century and continued until the beginning of the thirteenth. They were especially strengthened under Raymond II, who donated to the Order several important fortresses and properties and facilitated the donation by others of many more. Raymond III bestowed an even greater significance to his donations when he became a *confrater* of the Order.

The adversarial relations between the Order and the counts of Tripoli in the thirteenth century stand in stark distinction to the benevolence shown to the Hospitallers in the twelfth century. When Bohemond IV added the title of Prince of Antioch to that of Count of Tripoli, the Hospitallers supported Raymond Rupin, a rival claimant to Antioch. As a result, the Order received several donations from Raymond Rupin, while those from Bohemond IV, who eventually emerged victorious in 1219, were greatly diminished. The record of his successors is one of arbitrated disputes and broken accords with the Hospital, only occasionally punctuated by acts of reconciliation. The mutual reliance and amicable relations upon which the County of Tripoli was established is in marked contrast to the competing interests and hostile disputes with which it was concluded.

### ***County Of Edessa***

The County of Edessa, founded by Baldwin of Boulogne in 1098, was lost to the Franks in 1144. Because of this short history and its remote location, this was not a region in which the Order acquired much property. According to a confirmation by Joscelin II, count of Edessa, to settle a dispute with the Order in 1141, Baldwin II had granted the Hospital *casal* Cizenburg, located just south of Turbessel, to the west of the Euphrates river.<sup>387</sup> In 1143, the Order received *gastina* Begudel, as a grant from Jocelyn II, count of Edessa. The property was not attached to a *casal*, and was perhaps located in the vicinity of Turbessel.<sup>388</sup>

### ***Unlocated***

For the sake of completeness, the various donations of land and property which cannot be identified or located are listed here. The location of one of the earliest gifts of land - the Church of S. Romani, two *modiatae* of cultivable land, two *modiatae* of vines, and a garden - made by William Alpherici, his wife, Nengeltada, and their son, Arnold, sometime before 1119 has not been identified.<sup>389</sup> As well, in 1143, Walter of Dom Reyer gave several unnamed *casalia* in an unidentified location.<sup>390</sup> In 1156, the Order exchanged unidentified vineyards with a certain Agnes, wife of Robert of Frandols.<sup>391</sup> In 1174, another exchange of unidentified vineyards was made between the Order and Sybille, the abbess of the monastery of S. Anne of Jerusalem.<sup>392</sup> The Order shared *casal* Corrosie with a certain Amalric, who received the property, along

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<sup>387</sup>CGOH #137. This property is also recorded in a confirmation of Raymond, prince of Antioch, in 1149. CGOH #183.

<sup>388</sup>CGOH #107.

<sup>389</sup>CGOH #7.

<sup>390</sup>CGOH #153.

<sup>391</sup>CGOH #241.

<sup>392</sup>CGOH #456.

with *casalia* Noortha and Suyjac, from his sister Stephanie Daillant and her mother Agnes in 1186.<sup>393</sup>

In 1281, George, monk of the monastery of S. Benedict of Albaresio, ceded all the rights he claimed in the monastery, which had been given by the monks and abbot, “as much for his maintenance as for other reasons.”<sup>394</sup> In a separate charter of the same date, George, acknowledged the receipt of a one-time payment of forty saracen besants for his maintenance and renounced all other claims in recognition of the good deeds done for him by the Order, promising not to demand anything more in the future.<sup>395</sup>

### ***Donations through acts of confraternity***

The donation of the city of Gibel and the fortress of Vetula was made to the Order by Raymond Rupin in 1207 and 1210 “as a brother and associate and a participant in prayers” (*in fratrem et socium et orationum participem*).<sup>396</sup> He associated himself with the Order through an act of confraternity, as did many other members of the nobility in the Latin East, such as Bohemond III, Raymond III, and two lords of Caesarea.<sup>397</sup> They were joined by many individuals and families from amongst the lesser nobility and gentry, some of them of apparently modest means. Acts of confraternity typically included a donation of property to the Order, but the

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<sup>393</sup>CGOH #804, iv, *bis*.

<sup>394</sup>CGOH #3764.

<sup>395</sup>CGOH #3765.

<sup>396</sup>CGOH #1262, #1355. The transfer is repeated in yet another charter of Raymond, dated 1215. CGOH #1442. The city and the castle were only handed over to the Order in 1218. See above, p. 85.

<sup>397</sup>For a brief examination of confraternity and the Order of St. John, see Riley-Smith, *Knights*, pp. 242-6. Various examples in the Hospitaller archives include CGOH, #22, #210, #386, #444, #469, #551, #948, #988, #1114, #1617, #1740. For confraternities as an urban communal movement, see J. Riley-Smith, “A note on confraternities,” *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 44 (1971), 301-305; J. Richard, “La Confrérie des ‘Mosserins’ d’Acre et les marchands de Mossoul au XIII siècle,” *L’Orient syrien*, 11 (1966), 451-460; J. Prawer, *Estates, Communities and the Constitution of the Latin Kingdom* (Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities: Proceedings, II, 6; Jerusalem, 1966).

other conditions of association entailed a mutual spiritual commitment, which was not always commensurate with the size of the donated property.

According to a rule of the Order c. 1239, confraternity was open only to *prodome*, or gentlemen, although many *confratres* were not from the nobility.<sup>398</sup> Upon the request of the *confrater*, the Master assembled the brothers, the *confrater* came forward and, hands on the Gospels, promised that from then on, the Order and brethren had power over all things and that he would defend it against all malefactors and guard the goods of the house. The candidate swore that if he wished to enter a religious order, it would only be the Hospital; if he did not wish to enter any order, he could choose burial in the cemetery of the Hospital. In recognition of his attachment to the Order, he was to present a gift to the house every year on the feast of St. John. For example, upon becoming *confratres* of the Order in 1250, George and Theodore of Laodicea pledged to give two besants a year “pro recognitione fraternitatis.”<sup>399</sup> Likewise, in recognition of his association with the Order in 1193, Bohemond III, Prince of Antioch, stated that he would give 500 eels to the Order every year.<sup>400</sup>

One distinctive and significant characteristic of a *confrater* for our purposes is the existence of a corrody. Riley-Smith has defined this feature as “a commitment by the Order to maintain a person for life, with fixed allowances of food and clothing, in exchange for a transfer of property to the Hospital or for services that the beneficiary has rendered.”<sup>401</sup> The benefit was mutual. The Order received rights to property, usually upon the donor’s death and the donor received a means of support. For example, the donation of *casal* Betheras, by Constance, countess of S. Gilles, in 1178/9, was exchanged for a lifetime rent of 500 besants paid by the Order and her burial in the cemetery of the Hospital.<sup>402</sup>

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<sup>398</sup>CGOH #2213, n. 122.

<sup>399</sup>CGOH #2545.

<sup>400</sup>CGOH #948.

<sup>401</sup>Riley-Smith, *Knights*, p. 245.

<sup>402</sup>CGOH #551; conf. #557.

Although assumed typical, specific reference to a corrody in an act of confraternity is usually not the case. A large number of documents contain nothing more than a donation of body and soul, while others include a donation of property or rights, but no reference to a lifetime payment in return.<sup>403</sup> The *confratres* George and Theodore pledged half their goods to the Order upon their deaths, but received no support during their lifetimes in exchange.<sup>404</sup> The same is the case with Bohemond III, who pledged his arms and armor upon his death, but received nothing explicit in return.<sup>405</sup> Another donation without a corrody was that of *casal* Digegia, given by Christiana, the daughter of the late Roger of Cayphas, in 1201 and confirmed by Rohard, who also identified himself as a *confrater* of the Order.<sup>406</sup> The charter does not specify a lifetime rent for the donor; the property is given in full and perpetual alms.

In another act of confraternity by a female donor, recorded in a charter dated 1207 or 1208, Julienne, the lady of Caesarea, gave *casal* Pharaon et Seingibis, and as a *consoror*, chose her burial site in the cemetery of the Hospital.<sup>407</sup> That same month, she and her husband, Aymari de Leyron, had given the Order a house with various pieces of land.<sup>408</sup> Her husband is noted as the marshall of the Order in a document dated ten years later, suggesting they both had associated themselves with the Order.<sup>409</sup> As with Christiana, there was no mention of a lifetime rent to be derived from the revenues of the property.

In 1212, Guy of Gibelet granted a number of properties and privileges as he entered into confraternity with the Order.<sup>410</sup> Among these gifts, made with the consent of his wife Alice, Guy transferred *casal* Betzaal, whose exact location in the lordship of Gibelet remains unidentified. Again, there is no mention of a life-time rent.

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<sup>403</sup> For example, CGOH, #210, #988, #1114, #1617.

<sup>404</sup> CGOH #1740.

<sup>405</sup> CGOH #948.

<sup>406</sup> CGOH #1146.

<sup>407</sup> CGOH #1251.

<sup>408</sup> CGOH #1250.

<sup>409</sup> CGOH #1462.

<sup>410</sup> CGOH #1372.

In 1221, the pilgrim Henry, count of Rodez, pledged half his goods in confraternity without any exchange except burial rights, but as he was ill at Acre, it may be assumed that a lifetime rent might have been considered unnecessary.

Alternatively, the *confrater* could reserve a lifetime payment for himself from the property donated to the Order. The donation of Chamel by Raymond III, count of Tripoli, in 1184, reserved the revenues of the city for his lifetime<sup>411</sup> Only upon his death, would it revert fully to the Order. A similar arrangement, without any explicit mention of confraternity, was made by Reynald, lord of Margat, when he granted the Order *casal* Rogie, under the reservation of half of its revenues until his death, at which time it passed into the complete possession of the Hospital.<sup>412</sup> As well, in 1201, the Genoese merchant, Marinus Mazuc, in becoming a *confrater*, entrusted the Order with four stores in Acre, from which he retained its revenues in his lifetime, less one silver mark, which went to the Order each year.<sup>413</sup> Presumably, these gifts reverted wholly to the Order upon his death. When ill in 1264, Saliba, a citizen of Acre, made his will, leaving a house worth 475 saracen besants, and declared Stephen of Meses, grand preceptor of the Order, his heir and executor.<sup>414</sup> And although Saliba made monetary provisions for his funeral should he die from his illness, he did not explicitly declare his decision to be buried in the cemetery of the Order. In an act of 1279, Bertinus de Hodye left his body and goods to the Order as an eleemosynary gift, but made no explicit claim of confraternity.<sup>415</sup>

A document of 1185 suggests that as a *confrater* of the Order, Raymond of Tribus Clavibus made no donation to the Order. Rather, it appears that he merely confirmed the sale of *terre* Galife and *casal* Aieslo - which his mother had sold to the

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<sup>411</sup>CGOH #676; the grant was confirmed by Raymond in 1186, CGOH #681.

<sup>412</sup>CGOH #623; see also #391, #457. This property had been granted previously to the Order in a charter of Bohemond, prince of Antioch, in 1168.

<sup>413</sup>CGOH #1145.

<sup>414</sup>CGOH #3105. In 1267, the daughter of Saliba, Haternie, and her husband, Peter, dropped their claims on Saliba's estate. CGOH #3263.

<sup>415</sup>CGOH #3706.

Order at an unnamed date and for an unnamed price. In an unusual condition for an act of confraternity, in return for this confirmation, the Order gave Raymond several properties and payments, including *casalia* Fauda and Sumessa. In addition Raymond received a *gastina*, called Corcois, and one *carruca* of land, free and frank, in the *gastina*. The only indication that this is an act of confraternity is that Raymond was to receive a lifetime rent of measures of grain and wine. Upon his death these payments reverted to the Order, but the properties remained with Raymond's heirs - again an unusual feature for an act of confraternity; typically they too would revert to the Order.

In another unusual instance of confraternity, dated 1173, the Order granted the monastery of S. George, located at Bethgibelin, to Meletus, the Syrian archbishop of Gaza and Bethgibelin.<sup>416</sup> Meletus held the property for his life; upon his death, it reverted to the Order, along with all additions and improvements made under his governance, which would be considered eleemosynary gifts for the health of his soul and remission of his sins. Although the Order alienated a property, in the end, the act of confraternity is not different from others; it bestowed a benefice upon the Order following the death of the *confrater*.

When John Laleman and his wife Marguerite declared themselves *confratres* of the Order in 1255, they made no donation of property and received no lifetime rent or payment.<sup>417</sup> Instead they promised to aid and support the Order and its property as if it were their own. They also established an arbitration procedure in case disputes arose between them.

Other properties acquired by the Order through acts of confraternity included that of Naharia, identified in various documents as a *casal* and a *gastina*. A charter of 1166, in which the estate of the deceased Peter Gay, including *Naharia*, is sold, contains the information that the purchaser, Bartholomew de Moissac, had been

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<sup>416</sup>CGOH #443.

<sup>417</sup>CGOH #2738.

“elegerat in socium” by the Hospital and that the property would be held by the two parties “in equal proportions through a division by half.”<sup>418</sup> In 1233, in another act of confraternity, Constantine, lord of Lambron and regent of the kingdom of Armenia, granted the Order *casal* Gouvaira, presumably in Armenia.<sup>419</sup>

Confraternity was a ritualized method by which the Order acquired property. These are not straightforward donations; as we have seen there are a number of special conditions and terms for these transfers, often requiring remuneration by the Order to the donor in the form of a life-time rent or the reservation of revenue from the property. *Confratres* of the Order included great lords such as Count Raymond III of Tripoli, Prince Bohemond III of Antioch, and the lords of Caesarea, as well as lesser nobles such as Raymond de Tribus Clavibus and gentlemen like Bartholomew Moissac, the brothers Theodore and George of Laodicea, and the burgher of Acre, Saliba. (Table 1.3)

Properties acquired by the Order through acts of confraternity were often quite substantial, including the transfer of Gibel and castle Vetula, rights to Chamel, should it be captured, and at least six *casalia*. Most of the properties coming from individuals of modest means, such as the house given by Saliba, the burgher of Acre, and the small farm at Jerusalem entrusted by Hodiarde, widow of Otto of Verdun, were themselves quite modest. Even the bequests by the greater lords were of limited value, especially in comparison to donations made on other occasions. Bohemond III gave his arms and armor, as well as 500 eels - quite a small bequest when one considers his previous grants to the Order in 1168 and 1186. John Laleman and Marguerite, the lord and lady of Caesarea, and two of the greatest benefactors of the Hospital, gave no property at all when they made their declaration of confraternity. Moreover, with the exception of Gibel and *casal Rogie*, granted by Reynald of Margat, no gift was especially significant for the Hospitallers or a property which one might

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<sup>418</sup>CGOH #367.

<sup>419</sup>CGOH #2069.

assume they particularly desired. Confraternity was not a useful or efficient method for the Order to gain property and in fact, with corrodies and lifetime rents, it involved the Order in lifetime financial commitments to its brothers and sisters. Rather than territorial gain, the importance of confraternity lay in the symbolic ritual of sealing the mutual dependence and reliance between the Order and some of its most generous benefactors.

TABLE 1.3 Property in the Latin East acquired by Order through act of confraternity

NAME	DATE	CARTULARY NUMBER	TYPE OF PROPERTY	CONDITIONS OF CONFRATERNITY
Maurin	1152	210	N/A	Body and soul
Bartholomew de Moissac	1166 or before	367	<i>Casal Naharia</i> and attached properties	Hospital shares half of property
Gisle; her son, Peter	1172	432	House in Jerusalem	N/A
Meletus, archbishop of Gaza and Beit-Gibelin	1173	443	Monastery of S. George	Reverts to Order upon his death; Order acquired all improvements and additions
Hodiarde, widow of Otto of Verdun	1173	444	<i>Courtil</i> at Jerusalem	Sold for 740 besants
Constance, Countess of S. Gilles	1178/79	551	<i>Casal Betheras</i>	Lifetime rent of 500 besants; burial in cemetery of Order
Raymond III, Count of Tripoli	1181	596	Territory near Orontes River	Banks of river to be shared equally
Reynald, Lord of Margat	1182	623	<i>Casal Rogie</i>	No explicit mention of confraternity; reserves half of the revenues during his life; if he joins any order, Hospital will take full possession
Raymond III, Count of Tripoli	1184	676	<i>Civitas Chamel</i>	Reserves revenues for life; later ceded

Raymond de Tribus Clavibus	1185	754	Confirmation of previously sale of <i>terre Galife</i> and <i>casal Aieslo</i>	Raymond makes no donation; he receives <i>casalia Fauda</i> and <i>Sumessa</i> ; <i>gastina Corcois</i> ; and lifetime rent; properties remain with heirs, not Order
Bohemond III, Prince of Antioch	1193	948	various arms and armaments	If enters orders, only Hospital; burial in cemetery of Hospital if not buried in church of St. Peter in Antioch; yearly pledge of 500 eels
Marinus Mazuc	1201	1145	Four stores at Acre	Reserves revenues during lifetime; annual payment of one silver mark
Christiana, daughter of Roger of Cayphas; with consent of Rohard, Lord of Cayphas	1201	1146	<i>Casal Digegia</i>	n/a
Julienne, Lady of Cesarea; (Aymari, her husband)	1207/8	1251 (see also 1250)	<i>Casal Pharaon et Seingibis</i>	Chooses burial in cemetery of Order; if enters orders, will be Hospital
Raymond Rupin	1207 and 1210	1262, 1355, 1442	city of Gibel and the fortress of Vetula	<i>in fratrem et socium et orationum participem.</i>
Guy, Lord of Gibelet	1212	1372	Rent of 1000 besants; houses; <i>casal Betzaal</i> ; exemption from toll and custom payments	n/a
Henry, Count of Rodez	1221/2	1740, 1760	Nothing in Latin East	Burial in cemetery of Order
Constantine, Lord of Lambron, and his father	1233	2069	<i>Casal Gouvaira</i>	Goods placed under protection of Order
Theodore and George of Laodicea	1250	2545	Half of unspecified estate, if they die without heirs; one share, if they have heirs	Two besants a year in recognition of confraternity

John Laleman, lord of Caesarea; Marguerite, his wife	1255	2738	No property	Protection clause
Saliba, burgher of Acre	1264	3105	house in the <i>burgo</i> of the Temple worth 475 saracen besants	Leaves bequests in will
Jacques de Lamedelée	1265	3194	makes will	burial in cemetary of Order; GM is one ezeutor of estate
Betrinus de Hoyde	1279	3706	goods and body	no explicit reference to confraternity

### ***Conclusion***

Donations were the means by which the Order of the Hospital of S. John of Jerusalem acquired the majority of its properties in the Latin East. Because the foundation of its hospital in Jerusalem predated the arrival of the First Crusade, it was already a well-known charitable organization when the Latin East was established at the end of the eleventh century. As a result, it immediately benefitted from pious gifts and bequests from the landholding class of Crusaders. By 1110, when Baldwin I issued a confirmation of the possessions of the Order in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, it had acquired nine *casalia*, more than eighteen *villani*, and numerous lands, houses, mills, and ovens in Jerusalem, Nablus, Ascalon, Rama, Lydda, Jericho, and S. Abraham. By 1153, the number of *casalia* approached thirty, along with numerous other rights in various lordships. Similar growth and development was seen in the principality of Antioch and the county of Tripoli.

Once the Order established itself as a military force, whether through the employment of mercenaries and auxillaries or by arming the brethren of the Hospital, it began to undertake the maintenance and manning of many of the fortresses and castles which covered the Latin East. Because of the vague descriptions of the

charters and the confusion of the chronicles, as well as the vagaries of battles and sieges, it is very difficult to arrive at any precise number of fortresses and defensive buildings which the Order occupied and impossible to determine the duration of its occupation. To go by Riley-Smith's estimates, the number was around twenty-five at any one time, although the donations of property explicitly called castles in the charters did not reach many more than fifteen. Nevertheless, the adoption of a military stance proved the key to the acquisition of Hospitaller properties.

Donations of fortresses and castles to the Order were concentrated on the frontiers of the Latin East, in the eastern regions of the county of Tripoli, the northern area of the principality of Antioch, and the southern borders with Egypt, especially at Ascalon. The Order also possessed several fortresses around the city of Jerusalem, but when these were acquired and from whom is not precisely known. In the county of Tripoli, the Order developed into an autonomous entity, exerting direct rule over a solid block of fortresses and the lands they commanded, while still maintaining especially close and amicable relations with the rulers of the county. The situation in Antioch was somewhat different as donations there were much more scattered and the Order does not appear to have established an extended estate, even around its stronghold of Margat. Its relations with the rulers of Antioch were not always harmonious, and by the thirteenth century became downright hostile. The complete picture of acquisitions in Tripoli and Antioch will not be able to be drawn until we look at the purchases which the Order made in the regions.

In the southern frontiers of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Order relied almost exclusively on donations in assembling its defensive and offensive bases. The desire to capture the city and fortress of Ascalon was foremost in the minds of the rulers of Jerusalem. The coordinated donations of Bethgibelin and the surrounding properties to the Order by King Fulk and the lord of S. Abraham in 1136 reflect this state of mind. The Franks already occupied most of the land in the area, but it would take

another twenty years and the combined efforts of the Templars at Gaza before Ascalon would fall. In the thirteenth century, as the fortunes of the Franks had reversed and they had fallen back on the defensive, Ascalon was entrusted to the Order by Frederick II in 1243.

The tremendous expense of the maintenance of Ascalon, which, despite the best efforts of its defenders, did not withstand the Muslim siege of 1247, became a lament of the Hospitallers, who demanded compensation. The situation was indicative of a major problem with donations of fortresses and castles: they were not profitable. Indeed the acquisition of castles in the first half of the twelfth century left the Order in deep debt and led to the resignation of its Grand Master, Gibert d'Assailly, in 1169.<sup>420</sup> Again, the complete story remains to be told in the following chapters, when the amount of money expended by the Order, especially in the thirteenth century, is revealed. For now, it will suffice to remark that donations were meant to benefit the recipient and provide a source of wealth and income. The fortresses that the Order acquired were, by all appearances, severely depleting its resources, not enhancing them.

Although the rules of the Hospital required their estates in Europe to send one-third of revenues to the Latin East, the Order remained dependent upon land in Syria and Palestine to supply them with produce and crops. Instances in which the Order alienated land in exchange for rent are very rare. Instead, they preferred to farm it themselves or let it out to tenants in return for a share in the harvest. The acquisition of agricultural land was, therefore, especially important. It was too important to assume that the Hospitallers would turn down a donation of land because of its remote or isolated location, but also too important to think that they did not seek out donations of land with an eye for consolidation and the development and enlargements of estates. Purchases of land played a key role here, but we have also seen several

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<sup>420</sup>Riley-Smith, *Knights*, pp. 69-73.

examples of consolidation through donation. These examples lead us to conclude that the Order often initiated or actively negotiated for a piece of property based on its proximity to that which it already possessed.

This consolidation was, of course, the case in Tripoli and Ascalon, where it commanded huge expanses of territory, but the most convincing evidence for deliberate consolidation of property occurred in the regions of Acre and Caesarea. These efforts were by no means on a large scale. In Acre, the Hospitallers acquired several parcels of contiguous and closely located lands from five knights and their families in the productive plains to the east of the city. Two of these acquisitions took place on the same date, and another one a month earlier. Two more donations took place later that year. All of the donated properties were located in areas in which the Hospital had other land. Caesarea was another region in which the Order acquired a substantial amount of land through donations. From as early as 1110, it established a presence in *casal* Cacho which it would increase through additional donations and purchases throughout the twelfth century. In addition to consolidating property within Cacho, it also expanded outside its boundaries, acquiring Kalensue, Aldefie, and Cafarlet, the last two of which it also alienated at a later time.

There are also numerous examples of consolidation of property through the accumulation of smaller parcels of land, vineyards, and gardens. Amalric, viscount of Jerusalem, gave the Order land which adjoined its *casal* Seleth, stating that he did so in order that it may have land next to its property. Land called "Jardinum de la Nonua," given by members of a family in Gibelet, also bordered property of the Order on two sides. The same was frequently the case with vineyards. Even when the lands donated were not contiguous, they were usually located in areas in which the Order held property. How the Order augmented these and additional properties through purchase will be discussed further in the following chapter. One point can be made

here: these acquisitions could not be accomplished without careful planning, initiative, and active negotiation by the Order.

To accomplish these consolidations and to amass land in general the Hospital needed to establish good relations with potential donors and to maintain and continue them once established. It was especially adept at this task. The duration of the tradition of donations which the Order maintained with the lords of Caesarea, Tripoli, and the members of the Ibelin family is remarkable and the benefits which arose from such long-standing ties are reflected in the number of properties which the Order acquired over the years. With only two exceptions, every lord of Caesarea made some form of donation to the Order from before 1110 until 1255. Julienne and John Laleman stand out among the many generous rulers of Caesarea from whom the Order acquired the bulk of their estates in the lordship. The trust and reliance which developed between the Hospital and the counts of Tripoli up to Raymond III led to the creation of a vast lordship in the eastern frontier which was intended to secure the area from Muslim attacks. The early princes of Antioch, especially Bohemond III, also bestowed great beneficence upon the Order. The contrasting situation which developed in Antioch and Tripoli in the thirteenth century, with its legal battles and armed conflict, and subsequent diminution of donations demonstrates the effects of a failure to maintain a harmonious state of cooperation and interdependence.

Having control over their sizable kingdoms and principalities, the rulers of the Latin East were in a position to dispense a great quantity of property, but in many ways their donations matched those made by the lesser nobility and gentry. The grants of many of these lesser individuals are not recorded in charters of their own, but in the confirmations made by their lords and rulers. The confirmations of the rulers of Antioch are filled with donations by lesser lords and gentry. Donations made by the rulers of Nazareth and Tiberias were plentiful, but their number is small in comparison with the list of individual donations made by those of modest means and

status. Even important possessions like Crac des Chevaliers and the properties in S. Abraham were donated by lesser lords.

Conversely, smaller properties and parcels of land were not the exclusive gifts of those of more modest means; many gifts of vineyards, gardens, fields, and meadows came from the higher nobility. There is no correlation between the wealth and social status of the donor and the value or size of property donated to the Order. The absence of a connection between the status of the donor and the size of the donation is also apparent in the act of confraternity, in which the Order welcomed the association of lay brothers and sisters from all elements of the property-holding classes, including burghers and tradesmen.

Donations enabled the Hospitallers to carry out their mandate of fighting for the faith and caring for the sick. They also allowed the Order to develop into arguably the largest and most powerful landlord in the Latin East. With land came wealth. Remuneration for benefactors came in the form of spiritual dividends - forgiveness for sins and salvation for the soul. For many donors, these rewards were sufficient compensation for the loss of revenue which resulted from alienating land. Yet even the most enthusiastic donor sometimes needed a financial incentive.

## -- CHAPTER TWO --

### **Properties acquired through purchase**

Purchasing land was the main way by which the Hospitallers augmented property acquired through donation. The fact that the Order was willing to expend money in order to obtain a specific piece of land is a clear indication that an acquisition policy was in place. Military needs and strategic considerations played the dominant role in the acquisition of fortresses and defensive buildings. In the twelfth century, the numerous donations of castles, towers, and fortified towns were supplemented by occasional purchases. Far fewer fortresses were acquired in the thirteenth century. At that time, as the financial fortunes of the Frankish lords began to dim along with their military ones, the military orders bailed out a number of lords at great expense, with the Hospitallers undertaking the maintenance of Ascalon in 1243 and renting the town and fortress of Arsur in 1260.

With respect to agricultural land, one of the main tenets of the acquisition policy was to consolidate land and to establish contiguous or clustered estates and properties. Numerous examples of this policy in action can be seen in the Latin East, especially in the regions of Caesarea and Acre, where the Hospitallers purchased *casalia* and *gastinae* adjacent to those which they already possessed or where they bought smaller, miscellaneous pieces of land to complete their holdings in a *casal*. In such cases, we can assume that the Order actively engaged the sellers in negotiations to acquire the property. Indeed, in a few charters, we can identify explicit evidence for such initiatives. In other cases where the property in question was isolated and apparently not contiguous to land held by the Hospital, the property may still have been valued for its agricultural production.

Consolidation of property was not always possible or strictly pursued as a matter of policy. In the region of S. Abraham/Hebron, where the Order acquired a

number of properties through donation, there does not appear to have been an effort to expand or complement these holdings through buying adjoining land. This lack of effort may have resulted from a deliberate decision by the Hospitallers to devote their financial resources elsewhere, or as was the case with the region surrounding Jerusalem, it may simply reflect a scarcity of land available for purchase.

Other factors also came into play, most often financial or military difficulties connected more immediately with the concerns of the sellers. The circumstances of settlement in the Latin East required not only a military commitment on behalf of the Franks, but a financial one as well. Numerous charters provide evidence for an increasing reliance upon the Hospital as a source of funds, in the form of loans or purchases, when military threat prevented or interrupted cultivation and caused a loss of revenue. Faced with the increasing expense of maintaining their fortifications, the lords were forced to sell. There are very few instances of these scenarios before the conquests of Saladin. In the thirteenth century, however, as demonstrated by the cases of Julian, lord of Sidon, and John of Ibelin, lord of Arsur, the Hospitallers, as well as the Templars and the Teutonic Knights, expended hundreds of thousands of besants in an effort to alleviate the financial difficulties of the Frankish nobility. Such an effort sometimes resulted in the dubious acquisition at inflated prices of land which was in possession of the Muslims or in imminent danger of capture. Although the treaties of Frederick II in 1229, Richard of Cornwall in the 1240s and later truces returned sufficient land to the Franks to allow for exploitation and to awaken in some regions a market in land dormant since the reconquest of Acre, in many instances the material benefits of these acquisitions to the Hospital in terms of revenues and rents are highly questionable.

In contrast, sales of land to the Hospital certainly provided financial benefits to the seller. Moreover, sales were considered acts of charity which, like donations, bestowed spiritual rewards upon the benefactor. When William of Maraclea and his

wife Beatrice sold the fortress they held and the adjacent valley to the Hospital for the modest sum of 1400 besants, they stated that they did it not just for the money (“non solum pro supradicto precio hoc fecimus”), but also for the common cause of Christianity and to receive the prayers and blessings of the house.<sup>1</sup> So strong was the desire of the lord and lady of Maraclea to avoid the suggestion of financial gain by selling property, that the donation of an unattached *casal* was separated from this sale, although it was recorded in the same charter.

Others followed a more discreet approach to selling land. When John of Ibelin, lord of Arsur, transferred mills and adjacent land in his lordship to the Order in 1244, he used the terminology of donation, including the formularies of the redemption of his soul and that of his parents and giving the land in “pure and perpetual alms.” It is only at the end of the document, and with no explicit connection to the transfer, that John notes that he received 3000 besants from the Order.<sup>2</sup> The connection was more straightforward when he sold the Order two pieces adjoining its estate in Acre.<sup>3</sup> In this case, the transfer is referred to as a gift (“don et aumosne”) for which John received 2000 saracen besants. There was also the method of Hugh, lord of Caesarea, who accepted the money to strengthen and reinforce (“firmior et robustior”) the grant.<sup>4</sup> In several examples, the records of transfers combined donations and sales. When Raymond, lord of Gibelet, son of William Embriacus, gave the Order *casal* Messarkun, the charter states, “vendidi atque donavi,” although no sale price is mentioned.<sup>5</sup> A confirmation of the transfer of half of *gastina* Sellorie refers to “le don et la vente,” but again no sale price is given.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>CGOH #782. See also CGOH #2593, which the *Inventaire* describes as a donation.

<sup>2</sup>CGOH #2274. The record of the confirmation of this transfer made by John's brother, Balian, lord of Beirut, in the *Inventaire* refers to it as a donation. CGOH #2277. Similiar terminology is used in CGOH #2353.

<sup>3</sup>CGOH #2753.

<sup>4</sup>CGOH #350.

<sup>5</sup>CGOH #782.

<sup>6</sup>CGOH #2003; a conf. of #1593; *Inventaire*.

The distinction between a sale and a donation is an issue raised in many charters examined in this chapter, especially in the complex circumstances surrounding the transfer of *casal* 'Arrâbe. Sometimes the problem cannot be resolved. For the moment, it can be concluded that the ambiguity between sales and donations reflected a medieval attitude which had not yet reconciled charitable or spiritual acts with financial gain. Such customs can be found during this period in Europe as well.<sup>7</sup>

For the purposes of this chapter, a purchase or sale is defined as a transaction in which money is exchanged for land, in the form of a one-time payment or an annual rent. With very few exceptions, the use of the word sale implies that an individual or party sold land to the Order, while the use of the word purchase implies that the Order bought property from an individual or party. The main unit of money used in the purchase of land by the Hospitallers was the gold besant and the various imitations of Islamic dinars minted by the Franks beginning in the mid-twelfth century, which are called here saracen besants. An examination of the coinage in use in purchases of land and property in the Latin East and their approximate relative values can be found in an appendix at the end of this thesis.

Like the earlier chapter on donations, this chapter examines rural properties which can be identified as *casalia*, *gastinae*, fortresses, miscellaneous parcels of land, and people. Many of the confirmations or notifications of these sales supply missing or variant information on the nature of the property and its price, as do additional documents in the archive of the Order which are not included in the *Cartulaire général*. Because more detailed descriptions and definitions of property types are provided in the chapter on donations, only a table and brief summary of purchases

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<sup>7</sup>The presentation of sales in the guise of donations is commonly remarked in scholarship on charitable donations. For England, see Susan Wood, *English monasteries and their patrons in the thirteenth century*, London, 1955, p. 134; Bennett D. Hill, *English Cistercian Monasteries and their patrons in the twelfth century*, Chicago, 1968, p. 57; Sandra Raban, *The Estates of Thorny and Crowland: a study in medieval monastic land tenure*, (Cambridge University, Department of Land Economy occasional papers #7), Cambridge, 1977, pp. 62-3. For the nature of donations to the Hospitallers and the Templars in Normandy, see Miguet, *Templiers et Hospitaliers en Normandie*, pp. 31-7.

according to property type is provided below (Table 2.1). For comparative purposes and in order to demonstrate the relative strengths and weaknesses of the holdings of the Order in particular regions of the Latin East, the examination of property acquired by the Order is organized by geographic distribution, as was done with donations. In this way, instances in which the Order followed a policy of acquiring land in a particular area for strategic reasons or in order to consolidate its holdings can be more easily highlighted.

Purchases of land were concentrated in the environs of Caesarea, Acre, and Tripoli. In these regions, we see the most direct evidence for land consolidation and estate development. In addition, the Order acquired a large amount of coastal property between Tripoli and Laodicea with the purchase of the fortress of Margat and the town of Valenia in 1186. The extensive holdings of the Hospitallers in Ascalon and around Mount Thabor were gained through donation and are discussed in Ch. 1. Ascalon is one of a few areas where the Order acquired considerable property through donation, but which have no recorded sales. There are no areas, however, which had few or no donations, but contained a large number of sales.

### ***Casalia***

There are twenty-eight documents in the *Cartulaire général* which record the sale of properties specifically identified as *casalia*. These sales are dated between 1135 and 1268; the total number of *casalia* purchased by the Order is forty-five, of which eighteen were acquired through the purchase of Margat in 1186 (Table 2.1).<sup>8</sup> The range of prices paid for various landed properties, identified as *casalia* in the *Cartulaire général* is extraordinarily wide, from a low of 180 besants for *casal* Betherias, purchased in 1136, to 24,000 saracen besants for *casal* Robert bought in

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<sup>8</sup>This count does not include the documents pertaining to confirmation or other actions upon the same *casal*. For example, CGOH #388 is a confirmation of the sale recorded in #371, and thus was not counted.

1254, with an average value somewhere between 3-5000 besants.<sup>9</sup> Fluctuations in currency no doubt played a role in such variations. Sales of *casalia* by the Hospital to other parties did not take place, although alienation of *casalia* and various properties by other means was not uncommon.

### ***Gastinae***

The market value of *gastinae* was, not unexpectedly, much more limited in scale than that of *casalia*. The *Cartulaire général* records only four purchases, but each includes noteworthy details about the land market. Only one sale was made for a *gastina* alone, without an accompanying *casal*; this one, identified as Dandenit, was purchased by the Commander of the Order in 1216 for a notably high 1700 saracen besants.<sup>10</sup> Two other documents note the purchase of *gastinae* along with *casalia*, which is in contrast to the pattern in transfers through donation. A disguised sale in 1166 included the purchase of two *gastinae*, located in *casal* Hadedun, along with other lands and rights, for 2000 besants.<sup>11</sup> A sale recorded in 1257 specifies six *gastinae* Bothma, Ecfareisson, Karbet el Ezairac, Ecfardebess, Bedagon el Hammem, and Toreille el Sefargelis, which are included with three *casalia*, all in the territory of Sidon, for 5000 saracen besants.<sup>12</sup>

As noted in the chapter on donations, some significance must have been attached to those *gastinae* which are identified by name and whose borders are clearly delineated. Purchases of *gastinae* only serve to confirm this importance. In some instances, *gastinae* appear to contribute to the high price paid for the property. Indeed, in at least one example, a *gastina* on its own commanded a price comparable

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<sup>9</sup>CGOH #118, #2688.

<sup>10</sup>CGOH #1473; in Antioch, but its location is unidentified.

<sup>11</sup>CGOH #350.

<sup>12</sup>CGOH #2852.

to a *casal*. If *gastinae* were simply wasteland, they were frequently highly valued wasteland.<sup>13</sup>

### ***Fortresses and defensive positions***

In the twelfth century, several lesser lords and gentry, male and female, engaged in financial transactions in which they surrendered to the Hospital their claims to their patches of land and fortified buildings for modest sums. The Order purchased the fortress Eixserc in Tortosa, along with valle de Luchen and *casal* Nubia, in 1163 from William de Maraclea and his wife Beatrice for 1400 besants.<sup>14</sup> In 1181, the Order purchased castle Lath in the County of Tripoli from Bernard de Magdalo and his wife Marie for 1500 besants.<sup>15</sup> In 1168, a charter of Walter, lord of Tiberias and prince of Galilee, confirms that the Order acquired *castrum* Coquet, called "Bellvear," from Ivo Velos, also for 1400 besants.<sup>16</sup> It fell to Saladin by 1188, but was recaptured by the Order and held until 1247.<sup>17</sup> The Order is also said to have possessed a castle at Forbelet, acquired after Belvoir or Coquet.<sup>18</sup> A property known as Turris salinarum was part of a purchase of a *casal* in 1182. A major acquisition of frontier fortresses took place in 1186, when the Order acquired Margat, Cademois, Laicas, Malaicas, and Popos in return for an annual rent of 2200 saracen besants.<sup>19</sup>

### ***Miscellaneous parcels of land***

The acquisition policy of the Hospitallers did not exclude the purchase of smaller parcels of land and miscellaneous properties. Sometimes these lesser pieces of land were included in the purchases of more considerable properties, as is the case

<sup>13</sup>See for example, CGOH #350, #754.

<sup>14</sup>CGOH #317.

<sup>15</sup>CGOH #608.

<sup>16</sup>CGOH #398.

<sup>17</sup>Tibbles, *Lordship and Monarchy*, p. 165.

<sup>18</sup>*Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. L. de Mas Latrie, Paris, 1871, p. 61.

<sup>19</sup>CGOH #783.

with the purchases of *casal* Boutourafig, *casal* S. Marie, Margat, and *casal* Caphaer.<sup>20</sup> In almost all instances, it is possible to locate such properties within or adjacent to territory held by the Order, strongly indicating that an effort was made to consolidate its holdings. Several examples can be cited. A piece of land was purchased in the Order's *casal* Manueth in 1278 for 50 saracen besants and a piece of land specifically noted as being next to the land of the Hospital in Tyre was purchased from Lady Beliorna for 70 besants in 1149 or 1150.<sup>21</sup> A piece of land contiguous to the lands of the Order in St. Stephen's was sold by Eustachius and his family for 500 besants in 1163.<sup>22</sup> Another example of consolidation took place in 1146, when the master of the Order at Tyre, Gilbert, bought a piece of land, which was next to the land of the Order, from Peter Barata, son of Walter of Tiberias, for 23 besants and two measures of corn.<sup>23</sup> Also in 1146, the Order purchased additional land at Cacho, with a house and "area" next to the communal cistern for 800 besants from Walter, lord of Caesarea.<sup>24</sup> An undescribed piece of land in Emmaus, a property of the Hospitallers located just east of Jerusalem, was sold to the Order by Robert for an annual rent of 500 besants in 1150.<sup>25</sup> In another instance of miscellaneous land being purchased to extend property under their control, the Hospitallers purchased half of a "heritage" in 1252 from Raymonde, wife of Nicole de Messan, which she had been given by Isabelle de Conches for 500 saracen besants. The Order already possessed the other half.<sup>26</sup>

Although the purchase price for these smaller parcels of land is much lower than that of the larger and more considerable *casalia* and *gastinae*, on occasion higher prices were paid and may be attributed to a desire of the Hospitallers to consolidate

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<sup>20</sup>CGOH #2915, #371, #783, and #487.

<sup>21</sup>CGOH #3679, #184.

<sup>22</sup>CGOH #312.

<sup>23</sup>CGOH #166.

<sup>24</sup>CGOH #168. Peter is also witness to the sale of *casal* Artabec in 1135. See CGOH #115.

<sup>25</sup>CGOH #202

<sup>26</sup>CGOH #2600. The phrase "heritage" has been connected by Mayer with "tenure en bourgeoisie" and described as "the principal legal institution under which free, non-noble Franks held property predominantly consisting of real estate within or near towns or Frankish settlements." Mayer, *Crusades*, n. 78 (p. 305).

land. For example, two pieces of land in the plains of Acre were sold to the Order in 1255 by John of Ibelin, lord of Arsur, for 2000 saracen besants at the weight of Acre, a price which is comparable to a *casal*.<sup>27</sup> The inflated price cannot be attributed entirely to the inherent value of the land. Indeed, we know that around the same time the Order was acquiring several tracts of land in Acre through donation. Previously, in 1244, the Order gave John of Ibelin 3000 besants for half of the mills and adjacent land located at Three Bridges.<sup>28</sup> Like many of the transactions of the thirteenth century, the purchase price is quite high. Again it is possible to ascribe such inflated values to an effort to consolidate property. According to the document, the Order already possessed the other half of the mills and through this purchase was able to acquire the entire property.

In other examples, prices for these various parcels of land are often in the hundreds of besants. Three *carrucae* of land, one “area,” and a house in Acre were bought by the Preceptor of Acre for 600 saracen besants.<sup>29</sup> The relatively higher price of 760 besants paid by the Order for an orchard can be ascribed to its location in Jerusalem, bordering a garden of the Hospital.<sup>30</sup> Presumably, the several lands, including vineyards and gardens, sold to the Order by John Lombardo in 1174 for 800 besants were located in an area in less demand than that of the environs of Jerusalem.<sup>31</sup> In Tripoli, a single garden was purchased by the Order from William Fort in 1178 for 200 saracen besants.<sup>32</sup> In 1145, the Order purchased a piece of land near the unidentified Bechefere for 500 besants from Agnes, wife of Eustache Coffel.<sup>33</sup> On one occasion, the price of land is strikingly low. In the only example of a piece of land being sold by the Order, Trimond, the Commander in Tripoli, sold five pieces of land for

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<sup>27</sup>CGOH #2753.

<sup>28</sup>CGOH #2274.

<sup>29</sup>CGOH #2353.

<sup>30</sup>CGOH #444.

<sup>31</sup>CGOH #463.

<sup>32</sup>CGOH #529.

<sup>33</sup>CGOH #161.

only 50 saracen besants.<sup>34</sup> It appears, however, that the Hospital received in addition to the money some type of labor service from the buyer, Bolos, son of John Rays.<sup>35</sup>

## ***People***

In 1178, King Baldwin IV confirmed the sale to the Order of 103 tents of Bedouins by Amalric, viscount of Nablus.<sup>36</sup> The figure of 5500 besants recorded in the confirmation included the price of *casal* Seleth, which Amalric had sold to the Order for 2800 besants.<sup>37</sup> Thus, the price for the Bedouins was 2700 besants. The sale also included any heirs of the Bedouins who might come at any time into Christian lands from Muslim territory. The document lists the names of all 103 male Bedouins, each comprising a tent, organized by clan name. It is a long list and particularly impressive in that it indicates a great measure of control over the Bedouins and intensive knowledge of their family structure.

In contrast to the numerous examples of donations, there are no recorded sales of rural workers or urban craftsmen in the *Cartulaire général*, although *villani* were considered appurtenances of *casalia* sold to the Order.

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<sup>34</sup>CGOH #932. See the comments on besants and besants saracenatus in the appendix.

<sup>35</sup>CGOH #932. The text from the *Inventaire* reads: "Vente faite ... de cinq pièces de terre pour le prix de 50 besans Sarrasinois, et sous des redevances de *journées des beuf*..." I am unconvinced, given the context, that *journées des beuf* is an example of the common European land measurement, cited in Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, p. 157. Cf. Sépulcre, #52 and #53, which mention "jornatas de terre" and "joranatis de terre."

<sup>36</sup>CGOH #550.

<sup>37</sup>For the sale of Seleth, see #531.

## ***Geographical distribution of properties***

### ***Kingdom Of Jerusalem -***

#### ***Jerusalem -***

Jerusalem was of course the preferred residence for many Crusaders who settled in the Latin East. Because of the high demand and limited supply, the Hospitallers were unable to purchase much property in Jerusalem and its environs, although it is known that they possessed four fortresses in the area. They rented land in one of these, *casal* Emmaus, and entered into a purchase agreement for another *casal* near Kalensue. As we have seen, donations to the Order in the region were likewise limited.

Complex rental agreements were the basis for the acquisition of two properties in the region of Jerusalem. Sometime before 1141, Robert of S. Egidius and his wife, Odula, entered into an agreement with the Order, with the approval of Roard, the viscount of Jerusalem and his wife, Gille, and King Fulk and his wife Melisende, whereby Robert and Odula gave the Order the land they held at Emmaus ('Amwas) from the fief of Roard and Gille. This land included several unidentified *casalia*. In return, the Order paid an annual rent of 500 besants, half due at Easter and the other at All Saints.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, the agreement stated that if Robert and Odula should choose to grant or sell up to 100 besants of the rent to the Order, Roard and Gille gave their consent. Also, in the event that the land should revert to Roard, 100 besants would be given to the Order in alms, with the remaining 400 to be paid in rent. In that same year, 1152, the Order bought land in Emmaus which was held by Helvide, widow of Roger Bathnos.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>CGOH #139; conf. #173, which states that Robert's wife is named Odula. It also includes a donation of 200 besants by Robert to the Order. The terms of the donation were changed in 1150 to stipulate payment four times a year: 200 besants at Easter, and 100 each on the feast of St. John's, All Saints, and Christmas. See CGOH #192 and #202.

<sup>39</sup>CGOH #208.

Subsequent to this agreement, the Order agreed to render half the tithe on oil, beans, chick peas, lentils, peas, other legumes, vines, and olives to Peter, the prior, and the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>40</sup> The Order retained all other things which they grew there for the maintenance of their chapels and churches. The agreement also states that half the tithe should also be rendered to the Holy Sepulchre from lands and *casalia* which the Order held in the mountains adjacent to Emmaus.<sup>41</sup> Finally, the agreement stipulates that if the Order should give any of this land over for farming to Christians or Saracens, half the tithe should be paid to the Holy Sepulchre from any revenues in rents or money.

The rental agreement by which the Order held *casal* Emmaus from Robert and Odula led to the acquisition of another *casal* in the region. In 1151 or 1152, Robert and Odula ceded to the Order 100 besants from the 200 due at Easter for the land at Emmaus, reducing the annual rent to 400 besants.<sup>42</sup> In return for the reduction of 100 besants and at the urging of Robert and Odula, the Order agreed to buy *casal* Teira, located next to Kalensue, from Pisellus of *casal* S. Egidius, and his son, Dudo, for 1000 besants. Pisellus and Dudo held the land in fief from Walter Maledoctus and his wife Melisende, who gave their consent to the sale. Walter further agreed not to seek any service from the Order for this fief. In return, he received 400 besants from Robert and the service of Dodo as his man, who was also given an annual payment of 250 besants. Under these conditions, Pisellus and his wife, Arsen, along with Dudo and his wife, Agnes, and his other son John, agreed to sell *casal* Teira to the Order for 1000 besants. Having concluded this purchase, the Order then handed over the *casal* to Robert and Odula and their heirs. The Order then stipulated that should a dispute arise in the future over the 100 besants, which could not be resolved by Robert and

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<sup>40</sup>CGOH #140.

<sup>41</sup>These are named Huldre, de Porcel, de Gaufrido Agulle, de Anshetino, de Bachelor, and de Girardo Bocher. They appear to be named after particular individuals.

<sup>42</sup>CGOH #202.

his heirs, the Order could then retake *casal* Teira and pay the 400 besants to whomever should hold the *casal*.

It is likely that the competition for land in Jerusalem led to these complex arrangements in which property was not acquired outright by the Hospital, but was rented out at an annual payment, with the lord preserving ownership or dominion over the land.

Another example of complicated arrangements and scarce land is seen in a charter dated to the 1160s. Bela III, duke of Hungary, identified in the document only as A., had transferred 10,000 besants to the Hospital in order to purchase land near Jerusalem to benefit the poor, with the surplus intended to sustain prayers for the donor.<sup>43</sup> In the charter, Grand Master Gilbert d'Assailly asserted that there were few lands for sale to be found in Jerusalem ("verum quia terras venales prope Jerusalem minime invenire potuimus.") Instead, the Order used the funds to purchase a palace and four houses in Acre, as well as an orchard and a *casal* outside the city, for 11,000 saracen besants, taken from the 10,000 besants which Bela had transferred.<sup>44</sup> These properties carried an annual rent of 1100 besants. As this was not the intended purpose of the money, Gilbert engaged in some negotiation in order to placate Bela. He states that if the duke and his wife should sojourn in the Holy Land, the Hospital would put at their disposal four of its properties in Jerusalem - the fortress Emmaus (Qaryat al-'Inab), Aqua Bella (Khirbat Iqbāla), Belveer (Qaṣṭal), and Saltus Muratus (Qalūniyya?) with all their appurtenances.<sup>45</sup> Alternatively, they could have the properties purchased in Acre. Upon their departure or death, the property would revert to the Order. There is no evidence that Bela ever made the trip.

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<sup>43</sup>CGOH #309; according to Delaville le Roulx, Bela succeeded his brother Stephen as King in 1172 and died in 1196.

<sup>44</sup>The saracen besants was worth approximately two-thirds less than the besant. For more details, see the appendix.

<sup>45</sup>For these identifications and an archaeological description of Aqua Bella, see D. Pringle, "Aqua Bella: The Interpretation of a Crusader Courtyard Building," *The Horns of Hattin*, 147-67. It must be remarked, however, that as the above discussion demonstrates, the document in question is not as simple or straight-forward as Pringle presumes in this article.

Only three other documents record the sales to the Order in Jerusalem, all of which are minor pieces of property. One of these, the purchase of land in Emmaus by the Order from Helvide, widow of Roger Bathnos, has already been noted.<sup>46</sup> In 1173, the sale of a *curtile* is made to the Order by Audiarde, the widow of Otto of Verdun, for 740 besants.<sup>47</sup> Its proximity to the city of Jerusalem limits its potential size, but it was substantial enough to include a lake identified as Germani and a garden next to the Hospital. It was located between the road which leads to Bethlehem and the road which leads to Acheldemach. The confirmation of this sale by King Amalric in 1174, as recorded in the *Inventaire*, refers to a *casal* under the Tower of David. Given its proximity to the city itself, this was most likely a small fruit-producing property, not a village.<sup>48</sup>

In 1173, the Hospital ceded a house and “terra vacua” in a curtile of Belveer to Arion Jacobinus for an annual rent, the total amount of which is obscured in the charter, but a payment at the feast of S. John was presumably four besants.<sup>49</sup>

Although there was a bit more activity in purchases of land in Jerusalem and its environs than was seen in donations, the evidence indicates that this was not an area in which the Order was able to effect any consolidation of land or to implement a deliberate policy of negotiation for land. As the charter of Gilbert d’Assailly indicates, this failure was most likely due to the keen competition for land in the region. It is likely that the property which the Hospitallers are known to have, but for which no record of acquisition exists, came into their possession at an early date. Later acquisitions by the Order are characterized by quite complex financial transactions.

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<sup>46</sup>CGOH #208.

<sup>47</sup>CGOH #444.

<sup>48</sup>CGOH #455.

<sup>49</sup>CGOH #450

***Jaffa/Lydda/Rama/Ibelin/Mirabel -***

The Order acquired a large number of properties in the region through the donations of its lords, but they made significant sales to the Order as well. The document concerning the purchase agreement with Bela, duke of Hungary, indicated that little land was to be found for sale in the territory of Jerusalem. Around the same time (1167), the Order purchased *casal* S. Marie, from Baldwin of Mirabel for 3000 besants. The lands of S. Mary of Bethlehem within the territory were exempted from the sale. This price is rather high and perhaps supports the claim of the Hospitallers that land in Jerusalem was scarce and would therefore be bought at a premium. In addition to the purchase price, Baldwin and his heirs were to receive an annual rent of 200 besants in perpetuity. The *casal* is said to border the fortress Beaufort, which should be identified with Bellfort, a fortress of the Order which fell to Baybars in 1268.<sup>50</sup> In 1174, Baldwin IV confirmed that Baldwin, lord of Rama, had renounced this rent in exchange for a payment of 1700 saracen besants.<sup>51</sup>

In 1175, Baldwin, lord of Rama, sold the Order *casal* Caphaer, with the consent of his wife and their daughters, Eschive and Stephanie.<sup>52</sup> The inventory record of their confirmation of the same year sets the price at 400 besants, while the record of the confirmation of Baldwin IV refers to a price of 4000 besants.<sup>53</sup> *Casal* Caphaer may be *casal* Kaffreherre or Casreherre, from which the second tithe was given to the Order in 1166.<sup>54</sup> The church of Lydda held the first. In 1176, Josbertus, the Grand Master of the Order, directed the revenues of *casal* S. Marie and *casal* Caphaer to

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<sup>50</sup>CGOH #371, 388. Another fortress known as Beaufort was located north-east of Tyre.

<sup>51</sup>CGOH #468.

<sup>52</sup>CGOH #487.

<sup>53</sup>CGOH #488, #489.

<sup>54</sup>CGOH #59, #354. According to Pringle, "[t]he identification of *Kaffreherre* with Kafr Haris (Grid ref. 163.169), made by J. Prawer and M. Benvenisti ('Palestine of the Crusaders,' *Atlas of Israel* (Jerusalem/Amsterdam 1970), sheet IX/10), seems implausible as Kafr Haris lay in the territory of Nablus and not in the diocese of Lydda as the document implies... ." He suggests instead the possibility that it was Kafr al-Dik. See Pringle, "The Castle and Lordship of Mirabel," pp. 92-3, n. 17.

assure the supply of white bread for the sick at the Hospital in Jerusalem.<sup>55</sup> Given the previous indications of the scarcity of land in this area, the higher figure of 4000 besants would appear more accurate. A comparable price of 3000 besants is recorded for the 1181 purchase from Hugh of Flanders of *casal* Chola, directly south of Mirabel.<sup>56</sup>

The three purchases of *casalia* which the Hospital made in this region, while not a very high number, supplemented the numerous donations which it received. Two of these sales were made in 1175 and 1176 by Baldwin, lord of Rama. In 1162, he made one recorded donation to the Order, a piece of land near its vineyard. The majority of donations occurred before 1163. Although the documents are too few in number to draw any definite conclusions, it may be suggested that the Order began to purchase property in the region when donations dried up. Baldwin was also involved in sales to the Order in the neighboring region of Ascalon.

### ***Blanchegarde***

In 1252/3, the Order received two *casalia* Capharbole and Labores from Raoul of Beirut, lord of Blanchegarde, for which they gave him 7000 besants.<sup>57</sup> No other information about these properties is known.

### ***Ascalon***

There is no record that the Order purchased coastal property near Ascalon. A charter of Baldwin, lord of Rama, dated 1176, confirms the purchase of *casal* Bethduras by Constance, countess of St. Gilles and daughter of King Louis VII of

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<sup>55</sup>CGOH #494.

<sup>56</sup>CGOH #603.

<sup>57</sup>CGOH #2593. *Inventaire*.

France, from John Arrabit for 5800 besants.<sup>58</sup> The *casal* was held from King Baldwin by Baldwin, lord of Rama, and held in turn from him by his brother Balian, who was lord to John Arrabit. Baldwin, lord of Rama, reserved the *scribanagium* of George de Betheri, who one year later sold it to Constance for 250 besants.<sup>59</sup> Upon the sale, Constance granted the right of cultivation to the Christian inhabitants of the *casal* under payment of one-quarter of the fruits of the harvest.<sup>60</sup> In 1178/9, upon becoming a *confrater* of the Order, Constance granted *casal* Bethduras to the Hospital in return for an annual rent of 500 besants as long as she remained in the East.<sup>61</sup>

### ***Arsur (Arsūf)***

The acquisition of the lordship of the town and fortress of Arsur was one of many transfers of property to the military orders in the 1250s and 1260s. Like Mount Thabor, Sidon, and the properties at Ascalon, its transfer to the Hospital can be related directly to military concerns and expenses. Arsur had been captured by Saladin in the summer of 1187, and was the site of a famous victory by the Franks under Richard I in 1191. In the treaty of 1192, it was restored to the Franks.

In the thirteenth century, possession of the lordship changed hands several times. When John of Ibelin (the Old) married Melisende, the heiress of Arsur, his family took possession of the property. His heir, John of Ibelin, fortified the walls in 1240. After his death in 1260, his son Balian, found the maintenance of the stronghold too onerous. He then transferred possession to the Order, which set about fortifying it, especially by constructing a wall around the new development.<sup>62</sup> In 1261, the annual payment of 1000 saracen besants was exchanged for a payment of 4000

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<sup>58</sup>CGOH #491, #495.

<sup>59</sup>CGOH #516, #517, #518.

<sup>60</sup>CGOH #491.

<sup>61</sup>CGOH #551.

<sup>62</sup>Benvenisti, *Crusaders in the Holy Land*, pp. 132-33.

besants.<sup>63</sup> In a separate charter, Balian listed the rents and services which individual tenants owed to the lord. These range from payments in money and kind to military service.<sup>64</sup> In a charter dated by Delaville le Roulx from 1263 to 1269, the Order acknowledged that it rented the town and lordship of Arsur from Balian of Ibelin for 4000 saracen besants, obtaining all rights thereof except the revenues Balian received at Acre and the besants from land in Nablus, given by King Henry.<sup>65</sup> Unlike its situation in the County of Tripoli, the Order also owed feudal service to Balian.

In 1269, Hugh, king of Jerusalem and Cyprus, confirmed that Balian, lord of Arsur, had granted the Order an annual payment of 700 saracen besants to be taken from the lordship of Arsur, or from *casal* Loges.<sup>66</sup> When the territory should return to Christian hands, a party of three men, one from the Order, one from the lord of Arsur, and one chosen by both parties, or if there were disagreement, by the King or the patriarch of Jerusalem, would appraise the value of *casal* Loges. If they found that the land, in a typical year, was worth more than 700 saracen besants, the surplus would be attached to the nearest *casal* held by the lord of Arsur. If they valued the land at less than 700 saracen besants, they would attach sufficient land from the nearest *casal* held by the lord of Arsur to make up the difference.

The payment of 700 saracen besants was intended to compensate the Order for the expenses involved in its payment of 4000 saracen besants for the lordship of Arsur, which Balian then renounced that same year. The territory had been lost to the Muslims in 1265. This document reflects that the parties agreed that the Order should no longer be responsible for the payment. However, according to Burchard of Mount Sion, the Order was still paying the lord of Arsur 38,000 gold besants in 1283.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>63</sup>CGOH #2972.

<sup>64</sup>CGOH #2985.

<sup>65</sup>CGOH #3047.

<sup>66</sup>CGOH #3323. Note that Mayer claims that Hugh tried to cancel the sale of Arsur to the Order. See Mayer, *Crusades*, p. 284.

<sup>67</sup>Burchard of Mt. Sion, p. 94.

### ***S. Abraham/Hebron***

The Hospital had a number of *casalia* in this region, but all were acquired through donation.

### ***Montreal/Outrejordan***

The Hospitallers relied exclusively on donations for their property holdings in this region. There are no recorded sales to the Order in the *Cartulaire général*.

### ***Acre***

Four aspects of the acquisition policy of the Order are displayed in Acre, some of which can be seen in other areas of the Latin East. First is that the exclusive reliance on donations in the twelfth century, especially the first half, is replaced by an increasing recourse to purchase in the thirteenth century. A second, related practice is to consolidate land which was acquired by donation in the twelfth century by purchasing adjacent land in the thirteenth century. A third aspect, specific to Acre, is to combine purchases of property with donations made at the same time in order to consolidate or accumulate land. A fourth tactic, which is confirmed by a similar practice in Cacho, is to purchase the house and accompanying land of the lord's agent in the territory which is being consolidated, thereby asserting direct control of the property.

With the exception of the relative locations of the unidentified *casalia* in Acre purchased by the Order in 1210 from Philip and John (the Old) of Ibelin for 9000 besants, every other sale to the Order of rural land in Acre recorded in the *Cartulaire général* can be connected with a consolidation of its property.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>68</sup>CGOH #1346.

In 1212, the Order purchased *casal* Manueth, located inland north of Acre, just south-west of Montfort, for 2000 silver marks from King John of Jerusalem.<sup>69</sup> In 1231, the sale of a fief in *casal* Manueth (“feodum suum, quod habebat apud Manuetum”) is made by Nicholas, son of the daughter of Sayt Scribe, “pro utilitate et necessitate sua” for 1600 saracen besants.<sup>70</sup> The grandfather of the seller appears, by name, to be a lesser Syrian official and it is possible that he was the local official in charge of the administration of the *casal*.<sup>71</sup> The purchase of his “fief,” which presumably meant his house and attached lands, may signify that the Order was assuming the direct administration of the *casal*. It warranted a high price because the Order was consolidating territory in the *casal* and by this time, had established an important agricultural depot on the property, including a large storehouse and a mill.<sup>72</sup> In 1251, Nicholas of Manueth declared, in the presence of John of Ibelin, lord of Arsuf, that he had sold his goods, unspecified, to the Order, for an unspecified price, and had relinquished his longstanding claims against the Order.<sup>73</sup> In the sale of *casal* Imbert and other properties to the Teutonic Knights in 1261, John of Ibelin, lord of Beirut, exempted two *charruées françoises*, which he had donated to the Order and which adjoined their lands at Manueth.<sup>74</sup> As late as 1278, the Order was still acquiring property adjoining Manueth, when it purchased land from John Mamistra for fifty saracen besants.<sup>75</sup>

Another consolidation of property took place in 1245, when John of Ronay, the preceptor of the Order, bought three *carrucae* of land, an “area,” and a house at *casal* Album from John and Simon of Treucis, with the assent of their mother Agnes, for

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<sup>69</sup>CGOH #1383. *Inventaire*. The French reads “marcs d’argent.” The possession of Manueth by the Hospitallers was confirmed in the treaty signed with Qalawun in 1283. See Barag, “A new source,” p. 203.

<sup>70</sup>CGOH #1996.

<sup>71</sup> A Sayt appears in a charter of the Teutonic Knights, dated 1183, holding a “scribaniam ... et drugumanagium.” See Teut. #116.

<sup>72</sup>Benvenisti, *Crusaders in the Holy Land*, pp. 229-30.

<sup>73</sup>CGOH #2576, #2577.

<sup>74</sup>Teut. #119; Rey, *Recherches*, p. 41.

<sup>75</sup>CGOH #3400.

600 saracen besants.<sup>76</sup> According to the charter, on the east, this property bordered Coketum, a *casal* which the Order had received as a donation from Barda Armenus sometime before 1129, and on the south, more land belonging to the Order.<sup>77</sup> On the two other sides, it bordered land of the Temple and S. Samuel and S. Thomas. With this purchase, the Order added land to that which it had received in donation in the twelfth century. It augmented this property in 1149, when Queen Melisende, with the consent of her son, King Baldwin, agreed to give the Order land on the right side of the road which leads from Acre to *casal* Album Camerarii in exchange for some baths and houses at Acre.<sup>78</sup> The land is said to be bordered on one side by the lands of the aforementioned *casal* Album Camerarii. Furthermore, for reasons which are related to the purchase of the fief of Sayt Scribe in Manueth and are explained more fully in an example of consolidation in Cacho, the purchase of several *carrucae* of land, an “area” and a house from two individuals of apparently modest means may be an indication that the Order was assuming direct control of the property.

A third instance of consolidation took place in 1253, when the treasurer of the Order, Joseph de Cauci, bought *casal* Damor, near Acre, from John Laleman, lord of Caesarea, for the extremely high price of 12,000 saracen besants of Acre.<sup>79</sup> From the east, it bordered Cabor, to the west, *casal* Toron dame Joiette, and to the north, Beroeht, all three belonging to the Hospital.<sup>80</sup> Cabor was a recent acquisition of the

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<sup>76</sup>CGOH #2353.

<sup>77</sup>Coketum should not be confused with the Hospitaller fortress of Coquet or Belvoir in the Jordan Valley. Tibble, *Lordship and Monarchy*, p. 165; D. Pringle, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem - An Archaeological Gazetteer*, Cambridge, 1997, pp. 32-3; Rey, *Colonies franques*, pp. 436-7.

<sup>78</sup>CGOH #180.

<sup>79</sup>CGOH #2661. *Inventaire*. An indemnity clause in the document stipulated that John would pay 16,000 sarracen besants of Acre if the Order could not take possession of the property. This money was to come from the revenues of *casal* Cafresur. Tibble has suggested that these arrangements were a disguised loan, whereby the Order gave John 12,000 besants and would be repaid 16,000 after several years. Tibble, *Lordship and Monarchy*, p. 81. Damor, Beroeht, and Toron are listed as Frankish possessions in the treaty of 1283 signed with Qalawun. See Barag, “A new source,” p. 205

<sup>80</sup>*Casal* Cabor had once been a property of the Templars. A papal document of 1238 indicates that at some point it had come into the possession of the Hospitallers, CGOH #2199. See also the brief examination of the property by P. Edbury, “The Cartulaire de Manosque: a grant to the Templars in Latin Syria and a Charter of King Hugh I of Cyprus,” *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, LI (1978), pp. 174-81. See also Beyer, “Akko und Galilaea,” p. 202.

Order, while Beroeht had been donated by Queen Melisende in 1150. To the south the property also bordered Tartura, belonging to the Templars. The high price paid for the property can best be attributed to the fact that with its acquisition the Order had amassed a solid block of four *casalia* in the fertile plains of Acre.<sup>81</sup> The acquisition of property adjacent to the Temple also created problems between the two Orders. On 31 May 1262, the Temple renounced in favor of the Hospital all rights over *casal* Cabor.<sup>82</sup> In return, the Hospital renounced claims to the seigneurie of Caymont, located south of Acre, as well as *casal* la Feve, and *casal* Damor.

Two years after the sale of *casal* Damor in 1253, John Laleman transferred all his property, including lands, houses, a mill, an oven, unspecified buildings, rights of entry and exit, and ways paved and unpaved in an area of Acre called Rabattum.<sup>83</sup> Although the transfer is worded as a donation, it did impose a considerable expense upon the Hospital. In return for the properties, the Order was required to pay for the maintenance of six priests and to continue an annual life-time payment of 600 saracen besants to Isabelle of Adelone, which the lord of Caesarea was accustomed to do. As a result, this "donation" transferred an annual payment of 695 saracen besants from John to the Order.<sup>84</sup>

A fourth instance of consolidation is found in the purchase by the Order of two pieces of land in the plains of Acre from John of Ibelin, lord of Arsur, in August, 1255. The larger piece of land bordered land of the Genoese and the Temple, while the

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<sup>81</sup>Burchard of Mount Sion writes (p. 9), "This plain [of Acre] is more than two leagues wide in some parts, and in some parts less; it is very fertile, both in ploughed land and in meadows, vineyards, and gardens, wherein grow diverse sorts of fruits."

<sup>82</sup>CGOH #3028.

<sup>83</sup>CGOH #2732.

<sup>84</sup>Forty saracen besants for the maintenance of a priest in the church of S. Nicholas in the cemetery of Acre; another forty for a priest in the chapel of S. Mary in the church of the Holy Cross at Acre; and if Jerusalem should be retaken by the Christians, another forty for a priest at the altar of S. Peter in the Holy Sepulchre. In addition the Order was required to expend twenty sarracen besants annually, ten to the priests of the church of the Holy Cross at Acre, five to the priests of the church of the Holy Sepulchre and five to the church of S. Nicholas in the cemetery of Acre, just as the lord of Caesarea was accustomed to do. The payment to Isabelle of Adelone was customarily taken from a house at Rabattum and another at Acre. See the note of Delaville le Roulx for this charter, citing entry #260 in the *Inventaire*.

smaller piece of land is described as bordering land of the Temple and of the Order.<sup>85</sup> It will be recalled that in February and March of 1255, five knights and their wives donated land in Acre to the Order. The donation of John Coste and his wife, Joy, included land that was contiguous to that granted previously by John Marraim. The borders given in those grants are similar to those provided in the sale of John of Ibelin, that is adjacent to land of the Genoese, land of the Temple, and land of the Hospital. The date and locations of these transfers are too similar to be coincidental and, along with the considerable price of 2000 besants, suggest that the Order deliberately sought to consolidate land at this time.

Furthermore, it would seem that this consolidation did not go unnoticed by the government of Acre. In the charter recording his sale to the Order, John of Ibelin stipulated that if the Order were not able to take possession of the property because of the objection of the King of Jerusalem, or if it were to lose the property in a court decision, he would return the 2000 besants to the Order. Formulaic promises by the donor or seller to safeguard property against any other claims were not unusual, but it is rare to read specific references to the objections by royal authority or the court at Acre. When the acquisitions by the Order in the region are considered together, they represent a significant consolidation of property and assumption of control that was a potential concern to the other governing authorities in Acre. The Order must have been aware of the cause for concern and insisted on this clause in order to protect its investment in case of confiscation.

In a final example of consolidation, in 1274, John Anselm, Pisan and citizen of Acre, in his capacity as guardian of Helen, daughter of the Pisan Stephen of Tersan, along with several unnamed men, promised Bernard, identified as the *casalier* of the houses of the Order, to abide by the convention he had made with the Order regarding

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<sup>85</sup>CGOH #2753.

a piece of land and house, located next to a house of the Order, which he had sold to the Order at an undisclosed date and price.<sup>86</sup>

The Hospitallers also enjoyed the revenues of a substantial *casal* just north of Acre without taking actual possession of the property. Around 1263, the Order received an annual payment of 11,000 besants taken from *casal* Imbert.<sup>87</sup> This property had been transferred to the Teutonic Knights by John II, lord of Ibelin-Beirut, in 1261 in return for an annual payment of 11,000 besants. In further need of money to pay for his ransom from captivity, he borrowed 16,000 besants from his cousin, Julian of Sidon, who in turn borrowed 10,000 from the Hospitallers. This loan was eventually repaid by transferring the rent John received from the Teutonic Knights for *casal* Imbert to the Hospitallers.

The acquisitions in Acre are excellent examples of the way in which the Order used donations and purchases to accumulate and consolidate land in a particular area. Donations which appear insignificant and haphazard when made in the twelfth century take on strategic importance through selective purchases of surrounding *casalia* in the thirteenth century. In a different manner, the dates and locations of otherwise unspecified land in the plains of Acre strongly suggest that the Order implemented an aggressive policy of acquiring property through donation and purchases in 1255. The *casalia* which were contiguous to one another formed part of a much larger collection of properties in the region of Acre which stretched from Manueth in the north to Cabor in the south. Their accumulation was not the result of transfers *en bloc* as seen at Mount Thabor and in Ascalon, but represented a deliberate and gradual strategy which must have involved active negotiation and the cultivation of good relations with the donors and sellers.

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<sup>86</sup>CGOH #3557.

<sup>87</sup>For these "shady dealings," including forgery of charters by the Teutonic Knights, see Mayer, *Crusades*, pp. 278-9; H.E. Mayer, "Das Siegelwesen in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten" *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische klasse*, n.f. 83 (1978), p. 95; H. E. Mayer, *Marseilles Levantehandel und ein akkonenisches Fälscheratelier des 13-Jahrhundert*, Tübingen, 1972, p. 170. The relevant charters are Teut., #119-122. No charter in CGOH refers to this property or payment.

The importance of strong ties with the leading families and lesser gentry of the Latin East is readily apparent in Acre. The name of Ibelin is found repeatedly in the charters recording sales to the Order in Acre in the thirteenth century, just as it was in the donations in Jaffa and Ascalon in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Philip and John of Ibelin sold, at a price of 9000 besants, several valuable *casalia* to the Order in 1210. John of Ibelin, lord of Arsuf, contributed to the Order's consolidation of property when he sold two pieces of land in Acre and was present when Nicholas dropped his claims to property in Manuth. Julian, lord of Sidon, who sold most of his property to the military orders for a large sum of money in the 1250s and 1260s, also received a loan of 10,000 besants from the Hospitallers, which was repaid by assigning the revenues of a substantial *casal* to them. John of Ronay, the preceptor of the Order, who purchased property in *casal* Album in 1245, may have been related to the knights, Guy and Nicholas of Ronay, and their mother, Agnes, who donated land to the Order in Acre in 1255. It was the sale of *casal* Damor by John Laleman, the lord of Caesarea, in 1253, which enabled the Hospital to amass a block of contiguous *casalia*. Two years later, he sold the Order all he had in a neighborhood in Acre. Further evidence of the strong ties between the lords of Caesarea and the Order and the consolidation of land can be seen in the purchases in the lordship of Caesarea.

### ***Caesarea/Cacho***

The Hospitallers made a concerted effort to consolidate property in this region. As with Acre, it is possible to identify a strategic motivation with nearly every purchase and donation. Unlike Acre, purchases began in the first half of the twelfth century. The first recorded purchase of rural property was made in 1135 in the lordship of Caesarea, when *casal* Arthabec was sold to the Order by a knight identified as Isimbard for 500 besants.<sup>88</sup> In recognition of their consent, Walter, lord of

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<sup>88</sup>CGOH #115. See also Beyer, "Caesarea," p. 44.

Caesarea, was given 150 besants and Arnulf de Haynis, identified as the lord of Isimbard, received sixty besants - a premium of 40 percent on the purchase price, which presumably the Order as buyer paid. Although the source of this payment is not indicated in this document, a later record of sale of 1163 clearly notes a similar payment of "sixty besants which the aforesaid master ... to the aforesaid Beatrice, my wife, since she consented to the sale."<sup>89</sup> The sale of 1135 states that *casal* Arthabec is located in the territory of Caesarea and delineates its borders. The *casal* Kalensue lay to the east, Calodie to the south, the castle of Roger Lombard to the west and *casal* Latine to the north. The neighboring *casal* Kalensue had come into the Hospitallers' possession in 1128, through a donation made by Geoffrey de Flujeac.<sup>90</sup> Calodie was in the possession of the Order by 1153, creating a strong Hospitaller military presence in Caesarea.<sup>91</sup> At 500 besants, the purchase price was remarkably low given its strategic importance to the Order.

The Order acquired more property in the area with the purchase of *casal* Betherias from Walter, lord of Caesarea, for 180 besants in 1136.<sup>92</sup> This property lay to the north of Kalensue, to the east of the road to Cayphas. The Order made another purchase in 1166, when it bought *casal* Hadedun from Hugh, lord of Caesarea, for 2000 besants.<sup>93</sup> This document is recorded in terms of a donation, although 2000 besants is clearly being exchanged for land. The sale included two unnamed *gastinae* and their appurtenances, whose borders are clearly and directly marked, as well as a yard or orchard (*curtile*) and "the salt of the land of Gervase with as much land in which salt can be made, and a house for residents can be built."<sup>94</sup> 2000 besants is a

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<sup>89</sup>CGOH #317. "LX bisantiis quos idem magister prenomatus [of the Hospital] predicte Beatrici mee uxori ... emendo, quia venditionem fieri concessit."

<sup>90</sup>CGOH #83 and #84.

<sup>91</sup>The disposition of the fortress belonging to Roger or the *casal* called Latine is unknown. See below, n. 113.

<sup>92</sup>CGOH #118.

<sup>93</sup>CGOH #350.

<sup>94</sup>"saltum terris Gervasii cum tantundem terre in qua sal plenarie possit fieri, et domus incolarum edificari."

rather substantial sum and one must assume that the inclusion of two well-defined *gastinae* placed a great deal of valuable land, proximate to the city of Caesarea, under the control of the Order. Moreover, the provisioning of land for a residential dwelling is particularly striking, as it may be evidence of the settlement of the Franks in the countryside.

Further proof of a Hospitaller presence in the countryside is found in *casal* Cacho, where the Hospitallers possessed a significant amount of agricultural property and where they sought to establish control of the local administration. In 1146, the Order bought from Walter, lord of Caesarea, land in Cacho, with a house and “area” next to the communal cistern for 800 besants. The deed of sale states that Walter had previously purchased this property for 200 besants from Peter, *drugoman* of Cacho.<sup>95</sup> This is a significant detail as the purchase of the house and yard of the *drugoman* could be indicative of the Order’s assumption of direct rule in the area.<sup>96</sup> It also corroborates the suggestion of a similar process carried out in *casal* Album and *casal* Manueth in Acre. There is no indication that this property or that in Acre was assigned to another *drugoman* or *raʿīs*.

A document of 1168 concerning dowry negotiations between Adam and the unnamed daughter of William Grifon indicates that the Order also rented out lands at Cacho to Petronilla, daughter of Porcellus of Jerusalem, and her son Adam.<sup>97</sup> William had provided as dowry for his daughter 300 besants taken from a store in Jerusalem rented by the Order. Owing to great need, Petronilla and Adam had requested that this store be given as a eleemosynary gift to the Order for 360 besants and that the dowry of 300 besants be given as well for lands and homes which Petronilla and Adam

<sup>95</sup>CGOH #168. For the office of *drugoman*, see the discussion in Ch. 4.

<sup>96</sup>It is not clear how much direct control the Hospital would have had over the entire *casal*, as the lord of Caesarea apparently maintained a presence in Cacho. In the sale of *casal* Album in 1255, John Laleman claimed *casal* Cacho as his own. CGOH #2353. As well, in charters of 1161 and 1165, there are references to a viscount of Cacho. RRH #373, CGOH #470. Nevertheless, it could have directly administered its substantial lands within the *casal*.

<sup>97</sup>CGOH, iv, #372, *bis*.

held from the Order in Cacho. These properties were to be possessed in the future by the bride according to the agreement reached among all the parties.

The Hospital purchased *casal* Moyen, near Kalensue, from John, lord of Arsur, for 3000 besants sometime before 1176.<sup>98</sup> A few years later, in 1182, the Order purchased a *casal*, vulgarly called Galilea, from Walter, lord of Caesarea, for 5000 besants.<sup>99</sup> As with the purchase of *casal* Hadedun in 1166, the relatively high price of 5000 besants probably reflects the large amount of land included in the purchase, notably as *gastinae*. Among these lands are *gastinae*, which were once *casalia*, namely *casal* Gedida, Meagr, Rubeum, Gastina Fontis, and Laasina. The Order maintained possession of *casal* Galilea for some time as its borders with an adjacent *casal*, Davie, belonging to the monastery of S. Anne of Acre were disputed in 1256.<sup>100</sup> This is the last in a series of purchases of *casalia* in the territory of Caesarea by the Order before the conquests of Saladin in the 1180's. Taken together, and with the numerous donations, these transactions reflect a substantial accumulation of property in the territory of Caesarea.

In 1212, the Order acquired *casal* Turcame, as well as several houses at Acre and Tyre, as surety for a loan of 2000 saracen besants and 110 measures of barley and 60 measures of wheat made to Aymari de Leyron and Julienne of Caesarea.<sup>101</sup> Presumably, the *casal* was returned to Julienne and Aymari when the loan was paid off, although there is no record that this was done. We have more direct evidence that a second loan was indeed paid off. In 1213, Aymari and Julienne again pledged lands as surety for a loan.<sup>102</sup> The Order acquired rights to three *casalia* - Cafarlet, Samarita, and Bubalorum - with their *rusticii* and their appurtenances, except their own *carrucae* and labor services, whether *angaria* or *presenti*. Here we see a reference

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<sup>98</sup>CGOH #497. He was the second lord of Arsur, whose sister, Melisende married John of Ibelin. See DuCange, *Familles*, p. 222.

<sup>99</sup>CGOH #621; conf. #645.

<sup>100</sup>CGOH #2826.

<sup>101</sup>CGOH #1400. It was later alienated by the Order. See CGOH #2661.

<sup>102</sup>CGOH #1414.

to the existence of demesne land and of labor services.<sup>103</sup> Should the *casalia* not render 1000 besants, Aymari and Julienne would pledge their property up to the amount of the loan. Upon repayment of the loan, the territories were returned to their possession. According to the *Chronicle of Eracles*, Cafarlet was sold by John, lord of Caesarea, to the Hospitallers in 1232 for 16,000 besants.<sup>104</sup> Tibble has attributed the increase in value - from one-third of a guarantee for a loan of 1000 to the sale price of 16,000 saracen besants - to the construction of a small castle on the property between 1213 and 1232.<sup>105</sup> Beyer has raised doubts about the accuracy of the continuator of William of Tyre in attributing the sale to the Hospital.<sup>106</sup> Indeed, we see later that the possession of Cafarlet had passed to the Templars by 1255, but there is no reason why the Hospitallers could not have transferred the property to them.<sup>107</sup> In an agreement of 1262, the Hospitallers ceded to the Templars the three *carrucae* of land which they held in Cafarlet. In return the Temple withdrew all claims to possessions in Margat and Valenia, as well as a manor house in Sidon, and *casal Cafarsset*.<sup>108</sup>

In 1236, the Order reached an agreement with the abbey of S. Mary of the Latins concerning *casalia* Mondisder and Tour Rouge, whereby the abbey agreed to uphold its obligations and to place the Order in possession of these properties, which were being detained by the Temple.<sup>109</sup> The abbey had been granted the properties by papal decree in 1158, but by 1187, they had passed to the Templars. At some point

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<sup>103</sup>For other examples of *angaria*, see S  pulcre, #42, #45, #62, #135, #136, #146. For another reference to demesne land, see the charter of the sale of *casal* Imbert published by Rey, *Recherches*, pp. 38-40. It is not included in Teut.

<sup>104</sup>*Eracles*, p. 398.

<sup>105</sup>Tibble, *Lordship and Monarchy*, pp. 144-5; Benvenisti, *Crusaders in the Holy Land*, p. 189.

<sup>106</sup>Beyer, "Caesarea," p. 21.

<sup>107</sup>CGOH #2725, #3029.

<sup>108</sup>Cafarsset had been acquired with Mount Thabor and was one of the properties of which the Order took corporeal possession. See above, Ch. 1, p. 78.

<sup>109</sup>CGOH #2141; see also #2142.

thereafter, the Hospital had acquired a claim to them.<sup>110</sup> The accord of 1236 suggests that this claim was not recognized.

In 1248, the Order entered into a lease agreement with the abbey of S. Marie Latine, whereby the Order acquired Mondisder and Tour Rouge, as well as the possessions of the abbey in *casal* Cacho. In return, the Order paid an annual rent of 800 saracen besants of Acre.<sup>111</sup> The payment was to be made in times of peace and war, in good harvests or bad, as long as the cities of Acre and Tyre remained in Christian hands. A fine of fifty besants was due in the event of late payment and the tithe was due to the church of Caesarea from all *casalia*, *gastinae*, and other lands, except those which the Order cultivated with its own labor or at its own expense. The document also states that the lease was renewable after twenty-five years. This agreement was renewed in 1267 under the same terms, six years before the renewal date given in the previous document.<sup>112</sup>

John Laleman, lord of Caesarea, also sold land to the Order in Caesarea at the same time as he did in Acre. As in Acre, the purchase resulted in the consolidation of land under the control of the Hospital. In 1255, John Laleman, lord of Caesarea, and his wife Marguerite, sold *casal* Chatillon, called Meseraa in Arabic, for 5000 saracen besants of Acre.<sup>113</sup> From the east, the property bordered Aldefie, which is identified as a property of the Hospital; to the west it led to the sea; to the north a *casal* of the Temple, Cafarlet; to the south, the river Saluh. The Hospitallers had acquired Aldefie from the lord of Caesarea sometime before 1129, but in 1163 had returned it to Lord Hugh. At some unknown time they reacquired it.

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<sup>110</sup>Dar and Mintzker, "Qāqūn, Turris Rubea and Montdidier," p. 195. Beyer, "Caesarea," pp. 43-5.

<sup>111</sup>CGOH #2482.

<sup>112</sup>CGOH #3283.

<sup>113</sup>CGOH #2725. The price provided by Delaville le Roulx in his caption is 50 besants. The text is not printed in full, but the original charter (Malta, National Library, Archive 5, no. 48) clearly records the price as 5000 saracen besants. Note that this is not *castellum* Roger the Lombard, as identified by Tibble, *Lordship and Monarchy*, pp. 132 and 139. See above, n. 91.

The Hospitallers evidently made a proactive effort to acquire additional land in Caesarea as, in the same year, they obtained a promise from John Laleman and his wife, Marguerite, that they would have preference over all others to buy a property called in the *Inventaire* “Moulin Rout” should they or their heirs decide to sell it.<sup>114</sup>

The Order pursued a policy of acquisition in Caesarea similar to that carried out in Acre, with the exception that purchases made to supplement donations began in the twelfth century. The Order received donations of houses, lands, and gardens in Cacho from Eustache sometime before 1110 and from Walter and Walter’s viscount in 1131. They added to these possessions by purchasing the house of the *drugoman* and its adjacent lands in 1146 and by leasing the property of the abbey of S. Marie Latine in Cacho in 1248. As well, the donation of *casal* Kalensue, made in 1128, was augmented by the purchase of the adjacent *casal* Arthabec in 1135 and another adjacent *casal* Calodie in 1153. When the Hospital purchased *casal* Chatillon from John Laleman in 1255, it once again had in its possession *casal* Aldefie, which it had first acquired before 1110.

Relations with the lords of Caesarea were crucial in the acquisition of Hospitaller property in the region. The good relations which the Order enjoyed with the lords of Caesarea from Walter to Hugh in the twelfth century to Julienne and her husband Aymari de Leyron and John Laleman and his wife Marguerite in the thirteenth proved crucial to the acquisition of property in the region. In turn, the loans which the Order made to Julienne and Aymari and the purchases which it made from John Laleman and Marguerite in Caesarea and Acre provided financial aid to these lords and ladies.

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<sup>114</sup>CGOH #2731.

## ***Nablus***

The purchase of *casal* Seleth in Nablus from Amalric, viscount of Nablus, for 2800 besants and his subsequent donation of an adjoining piece of land has been noted in the previous chapter as an example of consolidation in the region. The use of a donation to consolidate land acquired previously in a sale is a reversal of the typical practice.

A confirmation by Raymond, count of Tripoli, records the sale to the Order of three *casalia* in the land of Nablus for 1000 besants by Walter, viscount of Tiberias.<sup>115</sup> The first, Azatil, has been located south-west of Bethsan, some distance north of Nablus. The other two, Eincanephis and Einchalem are located even farther away, south of Nazareth.<sup>116</sup> Given their remote location, it is puzzling why they were placed within the boundaries of Nablus.<sup>117</sup> The confirmation by Raymond, count of Tripoli, was given in his capacity as lord of Tiberias, acquired through his marriage to Eschive, widow of Walter, prince of Galilee and Tiberias.<sup>118</sup> Her son, Hugh, noted as an *adolescens* by William of Tyre in 1178, consented to the sale.<sup>119</sup>

The Bedouins which Amalric sold to the Hospital were also located in this region.

## ***Nazareth/Tiberias/Galilee***

In contrast to Acre, the lordship of Galilee was lost to the Franks for more than fifty years after the battle of Hattin, and was regained by treaty only in 1241.<sup>120</sup> Apparently, the Franks were able to retain possession of some of this region even

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<sup>115</sup>RRH #583.

<sup>116</sup>The "ein" is suggestive of the Arabic word for spring. Beyer, "Neapolis," p. 186, n. 12.

<sup>117</sup>Tibble has located them in the principality of Galilee. See *Lordship and Monarchy*, p. 160. See also Beyer, "Neapolis," p. 186 and Beyer, "Caesarea," pp. 38, 47.

<sup>118</sup>DuCange, *Familles*, p. 483

<sup>119</sup>William of Tyre, bk. 21, ch. 29.

<sup>120</sup>Beyer, "Akko und Galilea," p. 215.

after the disasters of 1244, which did not deter the Order from expending considerable sums of money to consolidate property in the area.

In 1254, the Hospitallers bought *casal* Robert, known in Arabic as Cafrequenne, from Julian, lord of Sidon, and his wife, Femia. The price of 24,000 saracen besants of Acre is the highest paid by the Order for a *casal*.<sup>121</sup> The deed of transfer and the related charter of possession provide some unique details which suggest several reasons for the high price. The property lay between the regions of Nazareth and Tiberius. It was an extensive piece of territory. To the east, it bordered Quepsene and *gastina* de Jubeil; from the south, *casal* de Ayn-Meher and Raine; from the west, Saforie and Romete and Romene, and to the north *casal* de Tourran. Two of these *casalia*, Romete and Romene, were later leased to the Order by the archbishop of Nazareth, suggesting that the Hospital intended to consolidate the property, perhaps at the time it purchased *casal* Robert. These factors, no doubt, placed a premium on the value of the property.

The ritual of the verbal process of possession signifies the importance accorded to the transfer as well. Julian and William of Chastelneuf, the Grand Master of the Order, accompanied by a number of great men of the Kingdom, including Lord Philip Chamberlain, John of Ibelin, lord of Arsuf and constable of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, Gerard Pinkignim, Raoul, lord of Blanchegarde, Walter Aleman, Jacob Vitalis, and Raoul Aleman, went to *casal* Robert, where the *raïs* and another man of the *casal* presented Julian with silver dirhems and olives drawn from the property. When Julian took these items, the Grand Master stated that Julian no longer had any rights or jurisdiction to the property. Julian agreed and handed over the items. Then the *raïs* and the men of the village, through an interpreter, swore an oath and made homage to the Order (“assertentes ea libenter facere, super ensem nudum, computato eis per interpretem juramento juxta eorum consuetudinem, juraverunt, et fidelitatem ac

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<sup>121</sup>CGOH #2688; the verbal process of possession is recorded in #2693.

homagium fecerunt dicto magistro, recipienti pro se et fratribus dicte domus”). Later that day, the Master rode his horse through the village, dismounted and entered one of the finer houses, stood and sat, and opened and shut the door; then he received branches and leaves of the trees of the *casal*. This is a unique description in the *Cartulaire général* of the ritual of corporeal possession and although we may be assured that such ceremonies were performed on other occasions, it was in this instance alone deemed of such importance as to be recorded.<sup>122</sup>

An indication of the revenues generated from *casal* Robert is provided in the documentation of the dispute which the Order had with the archbishop of Nazareth over the tithes of the property. In 1261, the Order requested that Julian, lord of Sidon, certify the sale against the claims of the archbishop.<sup>123</sup> An accord between the two parties over the disputed property was reached in 1263, according to which the Archbishopric agreed to give up its rights to the tithe at *casal* Robert in return for a *curia* in Acre, a payment of 4000 saracen besants of Acre, and an annual payment of 400 saracen besants.<sup>124</sup> Given that the tithe was typically one-tenth of the total revenue, it is not unwarranted to assume that the payment of 400 besants was compensation for the tithe and that annual revenues were around 4000 besants.<sup>125</sup>

After the purchase of *casal* Robert in 1254, the Hospital set about to acquire the adjacent property. In 1255, the Order agreed to rent from Henry, archbishop of Nazareth, *casalia* Cafreezeir, Cane Galilee, Romete, and Romene in his diocese of Nazareth, with a total of 200 *charruées* of land.<sup>126</sup> The original lease was to last ten years. The rent paid varied according to time - in the first year, it was 1300 saracen

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<sup>122</sup>Corporeal possession is noted in the acquisition of properties at Mount Thabor, but not described. CGOH #2747.

<sup>123</sup>CGOH #2995.

<sup>124</sup>CGOH #3051. The accord was later annulled by the Order and the archbishop in 1271. See CGOH #3414.

<sup>125</sup>Cf. Rey, *Colonies franques*, p. 439, who assumes an annual revenue of 400 saracen besants, unreasonably low given what we know of the property.

<sup>126</sup>CGOH #2748.

besants of Acre; the second, 1800 saracen besants; from the third year until the end of the lease, the amount increased to 2300 saracen besants. In 1258, the two parties reached an agreement concerning the 200 *charruées* from these *casalia*, here specified in the land of *Bathos*, which the Order had pledged to the archbishop.<sup>127</sup> One year later, in October 1259, the lease was extended to fifty years, at a constant rent of 2000 saracen besants, half payable in March and the other half in October, at which time Henry took the Order under his special protection.<sup>128</sup>

Although no mention of the reason for the lease is provided in the first charter, the later agreement explicitly states that the transfer is made on account of the hostile attacks of the Muslims and the discords which arose among the Muslim cultivators of the villages, as well as the great expense required for maintenance and defense. Recognizing these factors, the agreement further stipulated that if the land in the Order's possession should fall below the threshold of 170 *aratra*, the rental payment was to be proportionally reduced.<sup>129</sup> Furthermore, if the amount of land should fall below 100, all rents and revenues collected were to be split between the Order and the Church of Nazareth.

The second agreement of 1259 indicates that many more properties had been leased to the Order than had been listed in that of 1255. In 1259, Henry agreed to the request of Henry Teutonic, preceptor of the Order in Acre, that if the *casalia* which he leased to the Order, here numbered at nineteen, did not, in the first year, reach 14,000 saracen besants, he would make up half the difference. Furthermore, if the Grand Master objected to this arrangement made with Henry Teutonic, he would agree to make up all the difference.<sup>130</sup> As Map 2 indicates, these properties leased from the church of Nazareth were located near Mount Thabor, which was acquired in 1256. It

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<sup>127</sup>CGOH #2907.

<sup>128</sup>CGOH #2934.

<sup>129</sup>*Aratrum*, like *carruca*, was equivalent to the amount of land which could be worked by a plough in one year. For other examples, see Josaphat, #4 and #8.

<sup>130</sup>CGOH #2936.

is evident that the Order made a deliberate effort to lay claim to most of the territory in the region between Nazareth and Tiberius.

The Order acquired one-quarter of the revenues of *casal* 'Arrābe up to 5000 besants from an agreement with the Teutonic Knights dated 1240.<sup>131</sup> Because the lordship of this property is closely connected to the heirs of the lordship of Margat, it is discussed in that section.

Property was also purchased from lesser lords and members of the gentry. A confirmation by Walter, lord of Tiberias and prince of Galilee, dated 1168, records the sale of several properties to the Order.<sup>132</sup> Lord Gormundus and his heirs sold Ioberium, not specifically listed as a *casal*, but having appurtenances and divisions, to the Order for 1000 besants. Other properties named Losserin and *casal* Cherio, with their appurtenances, were bought from Simon Cheveron and his heirs for a total of 1300 besants. Baldwin Gazella and his heirs sold Hubeleth, again not explicitly identified as a *casal*, but containing appurtenances and divisions, for 1000 besants. It also purchased the important fortress at Coquet or Belvoir from Ivo Velos for 1400 besants.<sup>133</sup>

The Hospital acquired many properties in the region through donations, purchases, and rent. The purchase of *casal* Robert from Julian, lord of Sidon, in 1254 and the rental of four others from the church of Nazareth in 1255 and another nineteen by 1259 were three of the many transfers to the Hospital of property vulnerable to attacks by the Muslims. Despite the precarious status of these lands, their high purchase price and considerable tithe payment indicate that they continued to be profitable to the Order.

The charter recording the purchase of *casal* Robert includes a unique description of the ritual of corporeal possession which provides some indication of the

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<sup>131</sup>CGOH #2245; Teut. #89.

<sup>132</sup>CGOH #398.

<sup>133</sup>In 1259, Henry, the archbishop of Nazareth, exempted the Order from the payment of the tithe at Belvoir and the twentieth on barley, broad beans, chick peas, lentils, wine, and oil. CGOH #2937.

importance attached to the property and important details of its lord and inhabitants, including the presence of a *raʿīs*, an interpreter, and the swearing of an oath to the new lord by the men of the village. The record of a tithe dispute makes an estimate of its revenues possible, which were large enough to justify the high price it commanded.

Although the rulers of Sidon, Galilee, and Tiberias were actively engaged in transfers to the Order, many of the donations and sales in the area were acquired from lesser lords and individuals of modest social stature. In their only appearances in the *Cartulaire général*, Gormundus, Simon Cheveron, and Baldwin Gazella made modest sales to the Order. The addition of Arnold Loferencus, Walter Baffumeth, Peter de Lens, Airaldus Barba, Aldeburgis, and Hugh of Besans as donors made Nazareth and Tiberias the region in which lesser lords and members of the gentry played the greatest role in the acquisition of land by the Order in the Latin East.

The extent of the involvement of individuals of modest means and social stature as seen in sales made to the Order is enhanced by a similar number of occurrences in donations. The acquisition of the Hospitaller estates and properties in Nazareth and Tiberias was far more dependent on the participation of lesser lords and members of the gentry than in any other region

### ***Mount Thabor***

We have seen that the Order acquired rights to a large number of properties belonging to the monastery of Mount Thabor by papal decree in 1256. In order to augment its holdings in the region, the Hospital leased a number of surrounding properties in the mid-1250s.

### ***Bethsan***

In 1149, Queen Melisende consented to the sale of *casal* Assera to the Order for an undisclosed price by John, lord of Bethsan.<sup>134</sup> All its appurtenances were included except for the *rustici* of the *casal*, whom John retained in his own possession.

### ***Tyre/Toron***

No recorded sales.

### ***Beirut/Sidon***

Donations did not play an important role in the acquisition of property in Sidon, but the Order made an important purchase in the region. Julian followed up his momentous sale to the Order of *casal* Robert in 1254, by selling three *casalia* and six *gastinae* in the land of Sidon for 5000 saracen besants in 1257 or 1258.<sup>135</sup> All the properties were listed by name, including the six *gastinae*. The *casalia* are Maroenie in clym Essoma, and Haanouf and Daraye both in clym el Karroub. Later that year, Julian gave the Order permission to buy unspecified *casalia* and lands in his lordship for a rent of 1000 saracen besants, under the condition that this only deprive him of the service of one knight.<sup>136</sup> In 1266, Julian remitted to the Order a rent of forty besants, taken from unspecified goods in the town of Sidon, for the maintenance of a priest in the church of S. John, which had been bequeathed in the will of his mother, Marguerite.<sup>137</sup>

In contrast to the limited purchases made by the Order in Sidon, Julian sold most of his assets to the Teutonic Knights at this time.<sup>138</sup> These sales are perhaps

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<sup>134</sup>CGOH #180.

<sup>135</sup>CGOH #2852.

<sup>136</sup>CGOH #2856.

<sup>137</sup>CGOH #3231.

<sup>138</sup>See Teut. # 103, #108-11, #114-5, #117-8.

best connected to the financial straits of the lord of Sidon and not to any territorial ambitions which the Orders had. As we have suggested, the Hospital had previously demonstrated little interest in acquiring property in Sidon. Much as the military orders increasingly bore the military burdens of the Frankish lords, it would appear that they began to shoulder the financial burden as well.

### ***Principality Of Antioch***

#### ***Antioch -***

The Hospital acquired much of its property in the city and principality of Antioch through quite complex financial transactions, including debts, loans, wedding dowries, and other payments. One property in particular, Naharia, involved the Order in a complicated series of court cases and competing claims which continued for over a century. The acquisition of Margat by the Order concerned annual payments which were made to several generations of heirs to the lordship of Margat. Financial relations with the princes of Antioch, especially Bohemond III, Bohemond IV, and Raymond Rupin, were also rather complicated and came at great cost to the Hospital.

In the confirmation of the sale of Margat to the Order in 1186, Bohemond III reserved *casal* Assenem and houses at Antioch, given by Bertrand's father Reynald II, an oven given by Jubino, and the land of Gereneis, but he ceded a list of over thirty additional properties, including four fortresses (Cademois, Laicas, Malaicas, and Popos), seventeen *casalia*, three abbeys, and various other lands.<sup>139</sup> For these properties, the Hospital paid a total of 10,000 saracen besants, of which Bohemond had 8,000 and his sons, Raymond and Bohemond, 1000 each. These territories were spread throughout the territory of Antioch.

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<sup>139</sup>The remaining properties are rights at Bokelbais, Belne, Fassia, Cimas, abbey of Mount Parlerius, *villa* Russa, Farang, Come, Kaynun, Alus, abbey of S. Gregory, Rogia, Belmesyn, Besselemon, Luzin, *cavea* Belmys, Casnapor, Colcas, Corconais, Meunsarac, Potama, Panegeregan, Andesin, abbey of S. Maria, Bodolerie, half of Gorrosie, Mastabe.

We have noted the many donations which Raymond Rupin and Leo III made to the Order in northern Antioch and Armenia in an effort to receive the support of the Order in their war with Bohemond IV for control of Antioch. Leo also needed the support of the Order in arranging a marriage for his daughter.

In 1214, a document records the transfer of *casal* Vaner to the Order by Leo III.<sup>140</sup> The *casal*, situated in the territory of Melon, is said to contain other *casalia*, *gastinae*, other cultivated and uncultivated lands, and appurtenances, just as Vassilius, marshal of Antioch, had once held it. Leo gave the Order rights to do with the land as it wished, in addition to two fishing ponds, Corvim and Saabras, which he had already given. The deed is worded as a donation, but in fact, the Order gave Leo 10,000 saracen besants, ostensibly on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter Stephanie to King John of Brienne.

In a related document of the same date, Leo transferred the rights to the lands of Giguierius, including nine *casalia*, and other rights and privileges of selling and buying for two years.<sup>141</sup> These properties and privileges were given to the Order as surety for a loan of 20,000 saracen besants of Acre to provide for the dowry of his daughter ("pro supplendo matrimonio dilecte mee filie"). The Order held these rights until the loan was repaid, of which act there is no record. Taken together these two documents indicate that the Order transferred 30,000 besants to the King of Armenia for which they acquired ten *casalia*, nine of which appear to have been possessed only on a temporary basis.

The dispute which arose in Antioch between the Order and Bohemond IV in the first two decades of the thirteenth century continued with his successors. By 1226, Bohemond had been excommunicated and at the request of the Order, Pope Honorius III ordered the bishops of Tortosa and Valenia to excommunicate anyone who

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<sup>140</sup>CGOH #1426.

<sup>141</sup>CGOH #1427. The *casalia* are Abbaessa, Agnyas, Nigrinum, Lacrat, Iugmarzeban, Gardessiam, Iucuteman, Iugmelic, Keniz, as well as the gate of Calamella and Giguierius.

associated with him.<sup>142</sup> In 1231, the papal legate, Gerald de Lausanne, patriarch of Jerusalem, arranged a settlement between the two parties whereby the Order renounced all privileges and donations made by Raymond Rupin, except Gibel and castle Vetula.<sup>143</sup> In return Bohemond agreed to make two annual payments to the Order, one of 873 besants of Antioch and another of 316 besants of Tripoli. In two related charters of the same date, Bohemond assigned these payments to the Order, declaring that the payment of 873 besants of Antioch should come from the customs dues of Antioch, and failing that from other fees due the prince in Antioch.<sup>144</sup> The payment of 316 besants of Tripoli should come from the market of Tripoli, and failing that from other resources in Tripoli.<sup>145</sup>

In 1256, Henry, the uncle of Bohemond VI of Antioch, and the principal lords of his court promised that the prince would uphold the unspecified agreement he reached with the Order and would obey the judgment arbitration under a penalty of 1000 silver marks.<sup>146</sup> Apparently, peace between the two parties was upheld, when, in the same year, Bohemond VI, declaring his affection for the Order and for its Grand Commander, Hugh Revel, gave the Order a concession of water to irrigate their garden of Gloriette in Tripoli, as well as a tenth of the fish taken from the pond in front of the garden.<sup>147</sup> Later that year, Bohemond VI renounced all claims and grievances which he had against the Order.<sup>148</sup>

Arbitration between the two parties still continued in 1257, however, when Bohemond and the Order agreed to replace William, lord of Bothron, with Henry, lord of Gibelet, as the third arbiter in their dispute.<sup>149</sup> On 19 April 1259, Bohemond VI

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<sup>142</sup>CGOH #1834, #1837; #1849, iv, *bis*; #1851, iv, *bis*; #1854, iv, *bis*.

<sup>143</sup>CGOH #2000.

<sup>144</sup>CGOH #2001.

<sup>145</sup>CGOH #2002.

<sup>146</sup>CGOH #2796.

<sup>147</sup>CGOH #2801. This garden had been acquired by the Order from Bohemond IV in 1189. CGOH #871.

<sup>148</sup>CGOH #2807.

<sup>149</sup>CGOH #2857.

relinquished all claims for damage which he suffered since peace had been established between him and the Order.<sup>150</sup> Two days later, Bohemond and the Order reached an agreement whereby perpetual peace between the two parties was declared; unspecified houses, lands, and *casalia* detained by Bohemond were restored to the Order; an annual payment of 2000 eels was promised to the Order; arbitrators were nominated to decide the customs of the Order at Antioch; and the Order received freedom to buy and sell in Bohemond's territories.<sup>151</sup> In 1262, Bohemond and the Order once again declared that they would accept arbitration to settle the disputes between them, under a penalty of 1000 besants of Tripoli.<sup>152</sup> On the same day, Bohemond consented to the donation of land called La Pie in Antioch and, in a separate charter, he relinquished claims he had to unspecified possessions of the Order, specifically reserving half of the lordship of Laodicea.<sup>153</sup>

Between 1275 and 1277, negotiations were conducted between Bohemond VII and the Order concerning an exchange of the territories of Jume and Arcel.<sup>154</sup> In 1276, Bohemond VII agreed to pay the arrears of 9000 besants from an annual payment of 3000 besants which his father Bohemond VI owed for several unspecified *casalia*.<sup>155</sup> Another accord was reached between the two parties in 1277, over the fortifications which Bohemond VI had built on the foundations of the house of the Order in Tripoli.<sup>156</sup> Despite these ongoing disputes with the Order, we see in 1278 Bohemond VII accepting Nicholas Lorgne, Grand Master of the Hospital, as an arbitrator in his dispute with Paul, bishop of Tortosa.<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>150</sup>CGOH #2916.

<sup>151</sup>CGOH #2917.

<sup>152</sup>CGOH #3020.

<sup>153</sup>CGOH #3021, #3022.

<sup>154</sup>CGOH #3571.

<sup>155</sup>CGOH #3595.

<sup>156</sup>CGOH #3621.

<sup>157</sup>CGOH #3673.

Other financial transactions which led to the acquisition of property or disputes over property are similarly more complicated than typical sales. In 1175, Bohemond III granted the Order the *predium* which is called S. Egidius, near Gibelet, in order to pay off a debt of 4000 besants.<sup>158</sup> The transfer to the Order of *casal* Messarkun by Raymond of Gibelet in 1186 is described ambiguously in the charter as a sale and a donation, although no price is given.<sup>159</sup> In 1202, the Order reached an accord, details of which are not provided, with the heirs of Geoffrey Boucher, over the revenues of *casal* Asa. The Order had bought the rights to this *casal* from Reynald of Châtillon, in his capacity as prince of Antioch, for 300 besants.<sup>160</sup> A charter of Bohemond III, prince of Antioch, dated 1191, indicates that Aubert, preceptor of the Order in Antioch, had purchased the *hereditas* of Theodore and the other Theodore, Bohemond's men, and their relatives. The *hereditas* is further identified as the church of S. Theodore; the price of the sale and its date are not recorded.<sup>161</sup>

In 1152, William Martin and his wife gave the Order an unnamed *casal* and a *gastina* at Laodicea for an annual rent of 100 besants at the value of 34 deniers per besant.<sup>162</sup>

An act of confraternity involved the Order in a series of transactions over a parcel of land known as Naharia, which has not been precisely located, but lay near "Pons Ferri," spanning the Orontes river in the principality of Antioch. Its possession can be traced through various transfers and claims for over a century from 1161 to 1265. As this series of charters illustrates a number of issues concerning the land market in the Latin East, it is worth describing it in some detail.

A document in the *Cartulaire général* records that in 1166, a disgruntled group of creditors came into the court of Bohemond III, prince of Antioch, seeking payment

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<sup>158</sup>CGOH #475.

<sup>159</sup>CGOH #782.

<sup>160</sup>CGOH #1158.

<sup>161</sup>CGOH #906.

<sup>162</sup>CGOH #209. For the value of this money, see the appendix.

of the unpaid debts of one Peter Gay.<sup>163</sup> Peter had died and left an insolvent estate. The document states “the debt was of such quantity that it could not be paid in furnishings and furniture,” so the court took the unusual step of initiating the liquidation by auction of the deceased’s real property. This sale was announced throughout the city of Antioch for several days so that whoever wished to pay more than 3200 besants would come forward. One gentleman, whom the document identifies as Bartholomew de Moissac, offered the substantial sum of 6200 besants, an increase of 3000 besants upon the initial offering. Having made the highest offer, he was granted the estate.

Of the 6200 besants put up by Bartholomew, 3200 were distributed by the decree of the court to satisfy the claims of the creditors. A stipulation is made that from the 3000 besants which the purchaser had added to the sale, “that debt alone was paid which Bartholomew had rendered and set right from his own goods on behalf of Peter Gay, namely 1777 saracen besants.” It would appear, then, that there was yet another unpaid debt which Peter Gay left upon his death. It was given separate notice because the amount was rendered in saracen besants - a recent introduction in Jerusalem and even less familiar in Antioch. Indications are that it had a lower value than the besant, leaving a remainder of at least 1500 besants, which presumably went to Peter’s heirs, who later initiated a claim to the property.

What did 6200 besants buy in the way of real estate in twelfth-century Antioch? The first property described is the *gastina* of S. Basil. In addition to the *gastina*, the estate contained an unspecified piece of land, bordered on the west by a small river and on the east by three vineyards. The last two items, the piece of land and the three vineyards, are stated to have belonged to Peter Gay. The *gastina*, however, was held from the estates of Michael Magnus, George Raiz and Theodore, the notary of the duke, that being, according to the witness list, the duke of Antioch,

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<sup>163</sup>CGOH #367.

William Baufre.<sup>164</sup> For this *gastina*, Peter Gay paid a total rent, called a *dimos*, of eight besants annually, four to Michael, two to George and two to Theodore. In purchasing the estate, Bartholomew assumed this liability and committed to continue its payment every year. These properties, a *gastina* held at rent and a piece of land, containing towers and buildings, waste land, and three vineyards, were offered at 3200 besants and purchased for 6200.

Did Bartholomew make a good deal? Although we know that the property carried a relatively small annual rent of eight besants, there is no indication of incoming revenues from the piece of land and the vineyards once belonging to Peter Gay. At a price of 6200 besants, we may assume that this purchase was not at all exceptional, and might constitute a reasonable investment. But there are a few further complications and expenses to be considered.

In addition to this document, there is another deed of sale, dated three years earlier in 1163, in which Peter Gay purchased *casal* Naharia in the territory of Antioch from Adam, prior of the church of S. Abraham at Hebron, located far from Antioch in the Kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>165</sup> The document states that this property was situated at 'Pons Farfaris' on the road from Antioch. According to William of Tyre, this appellation is incorrect - the area is correctly known as "Pons Ferri," spanning the Orontes river, six or seven miles from Antioch, where King Baldwin had rebuilt a fortress in 1161.<sup>166</sup> The price was 150 besants and Peter and his heirs agreed to pay an annual rent of sixteen saracen besants to the church of Hebron. Also included in the purchase were two houses located in Antioch and the rent received from the unnamed widow as well as the one and only heir of William Hostiarius, an undisclosed

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<sup>164</sup>The dukes of Antioch were originally Byzantine officials, although perhaps by this period, they were no longer appointed by the Emperor. See DuCange, *Familles*, pp. 173-6

<sup>165</sup>*Les Archives, la bibliothèque, et le trésor de l'ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem à Malte*, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, Paris, 1883, pp. 97-9.

<sup>166</sup>William of Tyre, bk. 18, ch. 32. See also, Riley-Smith, *Knights*, p. 504.

amount previously paid to the church and now stipulated to be paid to Peter and his heirs. There is no mention of the other territories from the sale of 1166.

Is this the same property as in the first document? We can answer that question with some certainty only by examining a third document, this one also originating from the court of Bohemond III in Antioch.<sup>167</sup> In 1177, that is a decade after the purchase of Peter's estate by Bartholomew de Moissac, a quitclaim was registered by Peter's heirs - his son Salvagius, his daughter Millesent, and her husband Stephan - over the property called Naharia; interestingly enough, this *casal* is now referred to as a *gastina*, but whether this indicates a shift from cultivated to uncultivated land cannot be said. However, a later document of 1265 indicates that it had once again become a *casal* although it was not being farmed.<sup>168</sup> In any event, this document of 1177 sets the location, "ad pontem Ferri" as William of Tyre has suggested, although there is no mention of the two houses at Antioch or the rent received from the widow and heir of William Hostiarius. As well, the *gastina* held from Michael Magnus, George Raiz, and Theodore is indentified in the document of 1177, as it is in the document of 1166, but not in the document of 1163.

By a comparison of the property description included in the three documents, we can establish that the property under discussion, called Naharia, which was identified as a *gastina* and a *casal*, was located in the territory of Antioch and clearly included vineyards, an unspecified piece of land, and waste land or pasturage, with the possession of the two houses in Antioch remaining unclear. It was sold to Peter Gay by the church of Hebron in 1163 for 150 besants, acquired by Bartholomew de Moissac in 1166 for 6200 besants (nearly forty times the original sale price!) and became the subject of a dispute brought to the court of Antioch in 1177.

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<sup>167</sup>CGOH, #522.

<sup>168</sup>CGOH, #3120. Cf. the comments of Riley-Smith, *Knights*, p. 435.

Through Peter Gay's act of confraternity, the deeds to his estate came into the possession of the Hospitallers. As we have seen, however, the possession of these documents did not prevent the heirs of Peter Gay from making their claims in the court of Antioch. The document of 1177 describes a quitclaim rendered to the Hospital by the son, daughter, and son-in-law of Peter Gay. Clearly, the Hospitallers were able to use these documents in their possession to establish their claim to the disputed property. But it came at a price of 1000 besants, which was handed over to the heirs by the Hospital in exchange for their quitclaim. There is also a sentence contained in the document which provides a revealing glimpse into the use of charters in the settlement of property disputes during the period. Besides the usual concession that they or their successors will not make a claim or quarrel at any other time or in any other way, the charter stipulates that the heirs, "have handed over to the Hospital all privileges and any other documents which they may be able to bring up again in the case." Apparently, the heirs possessed their own documents which they had used unsuccessfully to establish their own claim to the *casal*.

And, unfortunately for the Hospital, the heirs of Peter Gay were not the only ones who hoped to hold on to Naharia. In 1265, over 100 years after Peter Gay bought the property from the Church of Hebron, the Hospital was engaged in another dispute with the bishop of Hebron over the same site. One of the factors in this dispute may be the fact that Peter Gay had himself been a *confrater* of the church of Hebron, achieving the status of brother and participant in its prayers and benefices and committing himself and his heirs to an annual payment of sixteen saracen besants. In addition, the deed of sale of 1163 stated that if Peter and his heirs wished to sell the properties, they would offer them to the church which would be able to have them at the same price as any others. This may have been the basis for the claim of the Church of Hebron against the possession of Naharia by the Order. In buying the estate and then handing it over to the Order in confraternity, Bartholomew's actions

precluded the Church from its option to purchase the property. The somewhat unusual circumstances of the settlement of the estate of Peter Gay might not have allowed the church at distant Hebron to pursue its claim.

According to a confirmation of Pope Clement IV in December, 1265, an accord was reached between the Hospital and the church of Hebron, whereby the church renounced all claims to *casal* Naharia in return for an annual payment of seventy gold saracen besants.<sup>169</sup> Once again, the Hospital was able to defend its rights to the property, but only through a payment to secure the settlement. In fact, at this point, the lands in dispute were under Muslim control. The document states that the terms of the agreement would come into effect only when the territories of Antioch were in Christian hands and under cultivation. Three years later, in 1268, the city of Antioch, captured by the forces of the First Crusade in 1099 and held continuously under Frankish control, was lost to the Muslims, putting an end to the property disputes over Naharia.

Beyond the circumstances of the settlement of Peter Gay's estate, this case shows the use and limitation of charters in claiming possession of land in the Latin East. The Hospital acquired the deeds to the property in question and used them successfully to defend its rights, but on two occasions possession of these deeds was not sufficient to secure the property - payment was required to settle rival claims.

These documents also display prominently the difficulty of carrying out an analysis of land values and property descriptions in the Latin East. Naharia is described variously as a *casal* containing *gastinae*, or merely a *gastina*, or as a *casal*, which as we have seen in the thirteenth century, was not under cultivation. The descriptions of property in the documents under examination clearly refer to the same location, but they are by no means consistent in the enumeration of their possessions and appurtenances. Details of rents and revenues that appear in one

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<sup>169</sup>CGOH # 3197.

document are not mentioned in others. For example the rent owed by the widow and heir of William Hostiaris on two houses in the city of Antioch are described as part of the estate purchased by Peter Gay from the church of Hebron in 1163, but are entirely absent from the description in the charter by which Bartholomew de Moissac and the Hospital bought the very same estate four years later upon Peter Gay's death. The sale price of the land first purchased by Peter Gay was 150 besants, only to be offered at a minimum price of 3200 besants and bought at 6200 some three years later. Although no mention is made of the revenues from the land, the Hospital clearly valued it enough to buy off the claims of Peter's heirs for 1000 besants and, 100 years later, to agree to pay the church of Hebron seventy besants annually for land that had been uncultivated for years, perhaps decades.

### ***Margat***

Along with Crac des Chevaliers, the fortress at Margat comprised one of the most extensive landholdings of the Order. Both were transferred to the Order because of the threat posed by the Muslims and the inability of the lord to maintain and to defend them. In contrast to the acquisition of Crac des Chevaliers and its environs, which was carried out largely through donation, Margat and its adjacent property was purchased or rented by the Order. Moreover, the obligations of the Hospital to the heirs of the lordship of Margat were honored into the thirteenth century, amounting to almost 160,000 besants over the period from its acquisition in 1186 to the cessation of payment in 1266. The transfer of Crac des Chevaliers, on the other hand, came at no cost or financial burden to the Hospitallers. Indeed, in giving up his rights to the fortress and territory, the lord of Crac des Chevaliers and Bochee received 600 besants and another lordship from Count Raymond of Tripoli, after which he and his heirs are never heard from again. While Raymond freely confirmed the transfer, the

confirmation of possession of Margat and other properties by Prince Bohemond of Antioch cost the Hospital 10,000 besants.

The earliest purchase of land in the territory of Margat directly involved an individual brother of the Order. In 1178, the Order purchased *casal* Beaude from Thomas Robert for 1500 besants and an annual rent of 200 besants taken from houses in Laodicea and Antioch. In this arrangement, the *casal* was to be held specifically by a brother of the Order, Nicholas, and would only revert to the Order upon his death.<sup>170</sup> A similar arrangement was made with regard to the 1181 purchase of *casal* Astanori for 2000 besants from Reynald of Margat, in which brother Nicholas was to hold the property in his power so that neither the Master of the Hospital, nor the Chapter, nor any other mortal would be able to take it from him.<sup>171</sup> Only upon his death or his decision to alienate willingly it would the property pass to the Order. Another charter recording this sale states that Reynald received 2000 besants and that his wife, Zacharia Castellán, received 100 besants, presumably for her consent.<sup>172</sup> Later that year, in confirming the sale, Bohemond added land extending from the house of Coste until the road before the baths of the Order, facing the sea near the house of the Jews.<sup>173</sup> Further land was acquired when in 1206, the Order, through Aymari de Pax, chastellan of Margat, purchased for 200 saracen besants all the fiefs which Simon, son of Baldwin of Rome, held in the land of the castle of Margat.<sup>174</sup>

The complex series of transactions in which the Order took possession of the fortress of Margat and much of its adjacent land is detailed in a confirmation of Prince Bohemond III of Antioch, dated 1186.<sup>175</sup> The lord of Margat, Bertrand, was forced to

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<sup>170</sup>CGOH #545.

<sup>171</sup>CGOH #613. "Tali siquidem conditione quod, quamdiu frater Nicholaus vixerit et voluerit, casale prenommatum in potestate sua habeat et teneat, quod magister magnus Hospitalis, neque capitulum ejus, neque mortalis aliquis illud a fratre Nicholao violenter auferre valeat." CGOH #614 is conf.

<sup>172</sup>CGOH #595, iv, *bis*.

<sup>173</sup>CGOH #624, iv, *bis*.

<sup>174</sup>CGOH #1232.

<sup>175</sup>CGOH #783.

sell the property to the Order because of the great expense and the threat of neighboring, hostile Muslims. The transfer included the nearby city of Valenia and all its inhabitants and appurtenances, as well as another fortress, Brahym. There was no one-time purchase price; rather the Order agreed to give Bertrand an annual payment of 2200 saracen besants. This payment was effectively reduced to 2000 saracen besants when Reynald, son of Bertrand, lord of Margat, bequeathed the Order a rent of 200 saracen besants on the day of his death. Bertrand, his daughter, Agnes, and her husband Aimery Barlais consented to this bequest in 1217.

The family and heirs of Agnes and Aimery Barlais were directly involved in several negotiations with the Order over Margat and other properties. The father of Aimery, Reynald Barlais, was a knight from Poitiers who settled in Cyprus. In 1197, he was assigned, at the request of Aimery, king of Cyprus, (later that year, King of Jerusalem), the defense of the county of Jaffa by Henry, count of Champagne. According to the *Continuator of William of Tyre*, he handled the job badly and the castle and town of Jaffa were lost to the Muslims.<sup>176</sup> Reynald married Isabelle le Roux, the daughter of Philip Rufus and Stephanie of Bethsan. Philip had been granted the *casalia* 'Arrâbe and Zekanin by King Aimery, thus establishing the claim to the title lord of 'Arrâbe by Aimery Barlais in the thirteenth century, to which we shall return below.<sup>177</sup> Upon Reynald's death, Isabelle married Bertrand of Porcellet.<sup>178</sup> It was their son, Aimery, who married Agnes, the daughter of Bertrand, lord of Margat, sometime prior to 1217.

In 1224, Aimery was appointed bailiff of the Kingdom of Jerusalem by Alice, wife of the late King Hugh of Cyprus, who ruled as regent for her son Henry I.<sup>179</sup> Faced

<sup>176</sup>*La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184-1197)*, ed. M. R. Morgan, Paris, 1982, pp. 190-3. See also DuCange, *Familles*, p. 346.

<sup>177</sup>J. Richard, "Le comté de Tripoli dans les chartes du fonds des Porcellet," p. 342; J. LaMonte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge, MA, 1932, pp. 145-6. See also Beyer, "Akko und Galilaea," pp. 200-1.

<sup>178</sup>Richard, "Le comté de Tripoli dans les chartes du fonds des Porcellet," p. 352; *Gestes de Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud., Geneva, 1887, p. 88.

<sup>179</sup>*Gestes des Chiprois*, pp. 31-7; J. Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, pp. 192-3; S. Runciman, *Crusades*, vol. 3,

with opposition from the Ibelins and their supporters, he fled to Tripoli, but upon the arrival of Frederick II, he was returned as one of five baillifs of Cyprus. In 1232, he was sent on a mission to Frederick II by Richard Filangieri, marshall of the Emperor. During his absence, he was declared a rebel by King Henry I of Cyprus, who ordered the confiscation of his estates.<sup>180</sup> Although he spent the rest of his life in obscurity until he is noted as dead in a charter of his son, John Barlais, in 1236, his family's status on the mainland was retained and the annual payment for Margat was continued.<sup>181</sup>

In 1239, Aimery's widow, Agnes, with the consent of her son, John Barlais, granted an annual payment of 500 besants to be taken from the 2000 besants paid by the Order to her other son Reynald Barlais.<sup>182</sup> A year later, in 1240, Agnes and Reynald declared that if they were able to recover the fief of Tripoli, they would return to the Order the grant of 500 besants which the Hospital had made to them, and renounce it as long as they held the fief.<sup>183</sup> Given the similar amount, it would appear that this "donation" by the Order was related to the payment transferred to Reynald Barlais the previous year. But according to the charter of 1239, the Order was not making a gift of additional money; it was merely consenting to a diversion of 500 besants to Reynald. The amount it paid to the family would remain at 2000 besants.

The phrasing of the document of 1240 is then quite puzzling. Why was this diversion considered a gift and why would the 500 besants be said to be returned to the Order? We have only the summary as recorded in the *Inventaire*, which is typically imprecise and unreliable. Perhaps a likely explanation is that John, as eldest and heir to the lordship of Margat, consented to a payment to his younger brother Reynald in 1239. This payment would cease if Reynald were able to secure a "fief" of

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pp. 180, 183, 192, 194.

<sup>180</sup>DuCange, *Familles*, p. 518; Mayer, *Crusades*, p. 163.

<sup>181</sup>Teut. #81.

<sup>182</sup>CGOH #2223; Delaville le Roulx suggests that the identification by Raybaud of John as son of Amalric Barlais is in error, but their relation is clearly established in the charters of the Teutonic Knights.

<sup>183</sup>CGOH #2249

his own in Tripoli, though the property they had in mind remained unspecified. Unlike the reduction in rent made by Reynald, brother of Agnes, on his deathbed, the Order would continue to pay its accustomed rent regardless of the outcome of these plans.

Another puzzle in these documents is that no mention is made of two other supposed sons of Aimery and Agnes, who later appear in several charters related to the possession of *casal* 'Arrābe. Two of these, Aimery and Amalric are discussed below; another Barlais, Hugh, held the *casalia* Bocombre and Remesca, perhaps also acquired with Margat, from the Order in 1254.<sup>184</sup>

In 1234, Isabelle of Bethsan and her second husband, Bertrand Porcellet, sold ("vendidimus et de bona et gratuita voluntate in perpetuum quitavimus") *casal* 'Arrābe along with its three *gastinae* Berhenne, Mizera, and Miscalim, to the Teutonic Knights for 3600 saracen besants.<sup>185</sup> In the confirmation by Richard Filangerius, bailiff of the Kingdom of Jerusalem under Frederick II, *casal* Zechania is included in the transfer, which is here recorded as a sale and an eleemosynary gift.<sup>186</sup> The same is the case with the confirmation made by John Barlais in 1236.<sup>187</sup> The confirmation by Bohemond IV, of the same date, likewise refers to the "la vente e le don d'aumoine," but only mentions *casal* 'Arrābe.<sup>188</sup>

Mayer has concluded that *casal* 'Arrābe designated the entire territory being transferred and that the usage of both terms is due to the fact that Zechania was given and that 'Arrābe and the three *gastinae* were sold.<sup>189</sup> This explanation does not accord, however, with the circumstances of other charters in the *Cartulaire général* where transfers of property are recorded as gifts and sales. For example, when Raymond, lord of Gibelet, gave the Order *casal* Messarkun, the document states,

<sup>184</sup>CGOH #2670; Riley-Smith, *Knights*, p. 438.

<sup>185</sup>Teut. #77. For the identification of these properties, see H. E. Mayer, "Die Kreuzfahrerherrschaft 'Arrābe," *ZDPV* 93 (1977) 198-212, at p. 200. Hereafter, "'Arrābe."

<sup>186</sup>Teut. #78.

<sup>187</sup>Teut. #81.

<sup>188</sup>Teut. #82.

<sup>189</sup>Mayer, "'Arrābe," p. 203.

“vendidi atque donavi.”<sup>190</sup> In another instance, a confirmation of the transfer of half of *gastina* Sellorie refers to “le don et la vente.”<sup>191</sup> In both examples, there is no indication that one property or one part of property is being sold while another is being granted. Mayer may be correct that in the original sale *casal* ‘Arrābe represented the entire complex of property, but an explanation which better corresponds to the circumstances is that the donor and perhaps the recipient wished to emphasize the pious nature of the transfer while not obscuring the legal fact that money had changed hands.

We may be more assured in assuming that John Barlais, in giving his consent to the sale made by his grandmother Isabelle, was releasing any claims he had as heir to the property and that even though the properties were located in the principality of Galilee, Bohemond’s confirmation was required as he was the lord of John Barlais and Bertrand Porcellet. John’s younger brother, Reynald, was also preoccupied with affairs in Tripoli, where we see him below as the tutor to the young heir to the lordship of Maraclea.<sup>192</sup> There were however, two other brothers who pressed their claim to the properties.

Around 1250, Aimery Barlais, son of Aimery, appeared before King Henry of Cyprus and made a claim against the Teutonic Knights’ possession of *casalia* ‘Arrābe and Zechania. When the Knights, citing their rights to ecclesiastical jurisdiction alone, refused to appear before the king’s court, Henry decided in favor of Aimery and issued a charter of possession. With this authorization in hand, Aimery proceeded to occupy the properties by force of arms.<sup>193</sup> When the Teutonic Knights appealed the case to the papal court, they argued that the properties were gifts in alms, and, hence, subject to ecclesiastical jurisdiction and that the decree of the king had no force. They

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<sup>190</sup>CGOH #782

<sup>191</sup>CGOH #2003; a conf. of #1593; *Inventaire*.

<sup>192</sup>CGOH #2280. See below, p. 180.

<sup>193</sup>Teut. #106, #107; Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, p. 189.

also claimed to have suffered a loss of revenue due to Aimery's occupation, equivalent to 10,000 silver marks. On 19 February 1254, the papal judge, Ottobono, found for the Teutonic Knights and ordered Aimery to return the properties to the Order, to pay compensation of 3000 besants for every year which he occupied the properties, and to pay court costs of 100 *livres provencaux*.

While these court deliberations were going on, another Barlais brother, Amalric, had reached an accord with the Teutonic Knights, dated 6 June 1253.<sup>194</sup> Mayer discusses the confusion in the sources over these two brothers, whose similar names have led some to believe that they were the same individual or two brothers with the same name.<sup>195</sup> He also argues that both brothers appeared before King Henry of Cyprus, although only Aimery is mentioned by name.<sup>196</sup>

In the agreement reached with the Teutonic Knights in 1253, Amalric promised to buy the disputed properties for 25,000 saracen besants of Acre. The payments stretched over six years, 5,000 in the first year and 4,000 in each of the next five.

In 1240, the Hospitallers had also made an accord with the Teutonic Knights concerning *casal* 'Arrābe, in which the Teutonic Knights agreed to render one-quarter of the revenues of the property to the Order up to 5000 besants, the amount for which this *casal* had been pledged to the Hospital.<sup>197</sup> The Teutonic Knights appointed a bailiff for the property who would see to the fair accounting and division of the revenues. The Hospital promised, as far as they were able, to aid the Teutonic Knights against anyone who attacked the property.

The agreement of 1253 included similar stipulations, whereby the payment was to be made from the revenues of the properties and Amalric appointed a bailiff,

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<sup>194</sup>Rey, *Recherches*, pp. 29-36.

<sup>195</sup>A similar confusion exists with Kings Amalric and Aimery. See Mayer, "‘Arrābe," p. 205, n. 20, and p. 206; see also Mayer, *Crusades*, n. 124, p. 315.

<sup>196</sup>Mayer, "‘Arrābe," p. 206.

<sup>197</sup>CGOH #2245; Teut. #89.

who was not to be a member of the Templars or the Hospitallers. This agreement met with the approval of the Hospital, as brother Conrad de Minerla was present when the accord was reached. We may suppose that the papal judgment of 1254 rendered this agreement void, as further negotiations reveal that Amalric continued to pursue the lordship of 'Arrābe.

Later developments in the thirteenth century reconnect the dispute over 'Arrābe with the acquisition of Margat in the previous century. On 3 March 1266, Raoul of Beirut, lord of Blanchegarde, resold to his cousin Amalric Barlais, for 6000 saracen besants of Acre, an annual rent of 400 saracen besants, taken from the 2000 besants which the Order paid for Margat. Previously, Amalric had sold this rent to Raoul at an undisclosed price. The reasons for the original sale and the resale are not provided in the charter.<sup>198</sup> Raoul was related to Amalric through his aunt, Raymonde, who was the mother of Amalric's mother, Agnes.<sup>199</sup>

On the same date in 1266, in a separate charter, Amalric Barlais acknowledged that he had borrowed 14,400 besants from the Order to fund his purchase of *casal* 'Arrābe. The document states, however, that this purchase was to be made, not from the Teutonic Knights, but from the Templars. The circumstances of the transfer of *casal* 'Arrābe from the Teutonic Knights to the Templars are not known. As surety for the loan, he returned to the Hospital the annual rent of 2000 besants from Margat.<sup>200</sup> In November of that year, Amalric, identifying himself as lord of 'Arrābe, remitted eighty-four saracen besants from this annual rent.<sup>201</sup> Thirty-two years after Isabelle sold the property, the lordship of 'Arrābe returned to the Barlais family, although at the cost of the rent which it received from the Hospitallers

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<sup>198</sup>CGOH #3213; see also p. 132, where the 1252 sale of two *casalia* by Raoul for 7000 besants is mentioned.

<sup>199</sup>DuCange, *Familles*, p. 243. Note that Rey has incorrectly identified this Amalric with his father, Aimery.

<sup>200</sup>CGOH #3214. In *Crusades*, p. 163, Mayer has erroneously identified the date of this transaction at 1226. The date of 1266 is correct in the same author's, "'Arrābe," p. 211.

<sup>201</sup>CGOH #3236.

for Margat. This cost was quite high for a lordship like 'Arrābe, which given the territorial gains being made monthly by Baybars during the 1260's, was probably enjoyed in title alone.

As the act of confraternity with the Order by Peter Gay brought the Hospitallers into a prolonged conflict over Naharia, the acquisition of Margat involved them in the affairs of the heirs of the former lord of Margat and claims to the lordship of *casal* 'Arrābe. These were complex and intricate situations which concerned finances, insolvent estates, personal and institutional relationships, rival claims to property, and titles. These two properties were not the only concerns which the Order had in the Principality of Antioch. Other financial issues characterized much of the Order's acquisition of property in the region. The Order received property in repayment of debt and as guarantees for loans, as it did in other regions, but it also made large payments to Leo III under unique circumstances.

Financial deals and relations with Bohemond III were extremely important. The acquisition of Margat in 1186 from its lord Bertrand also involved the transfer of over thirty-one villages and four fortresses from Bohemond III in return for a payment of 10,000 besants. This sale had been preceded by a donation by Bohemond of nineteen properties in 1168. Together, these transactions placed a tremendous amount of territory in the Principality of Antioch under control of the Order, but it does not appear that it was successful in further consolidating estates or amassing contiguous lands as it was in Acre, Caesarea, and Tripoli.

### ***County Of Tripoli***

#### ***Tripoli -***

There is no evidence in the charters that the properties acquired in the donation of Mount Pelerin and the region of Crac des Chevaliers were expanded through purchases by the Order. It did take ostensibly temporary possession of

property in Tripoli and Crac des Chevaliers as surety for loans it made. In contrast to the relationship with Bohemond III, the Order did not purchase any substantial territory from the Counts of Tripoli, relying instead on donations for its acquisitions. The poor relations between Bohemond IV and the Order also played a role in the financial affairs of the Hospital in the County of Tripoli.

The two donations made by William of Maraclea in 1176 and 1180 were preceded by a sale in 1163 in the territory of Tortosa, when the Order bought the fortress Eixserc, along with the valley of Luchen and *casal* Nubia, from William and his wife Beatrice for 1400 besants.<sup>202</sup> This price might be considered reasonable for a *casal*, but quite low for the added properties, including the fortress. Dominion over a natural pass such as the valley of Luchen would be of considerable strategic value in the defense of the fortress. Presumably, the land would also have been under cultivation, contributing to its value. However, their location just to the west of Rafania and Montferrand meant that they were under threat of attack from the Muslims.

The Order acquired more property in the County of Tripoli with the purchase of land called Galife and Aieslo from the mother of Raymond de Tribus Clavibus prior to 1185.<sup>203</sup> These lands are not specifically called *casalia* and no price or date of sale are given. They are located just west of Crac des Chevaliers and south of Castellum Album. As noted in the previous chapter, Raymond later confirmed this sale in exchange for two *casalia* Faudum and Sumessa, *gastina* Corcois and a *carruca* of land in the same *gastina*.<sup>204</sup> This is an act of confraternity, and although Raymond received some form of property in exchange for the confirmation, he in fact pledged that it would return to the Order at the end of his life. As the case of Peter Gay

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<sup>202</sup>CGOH #317.

<sup>203</sup>CGOH #754.

<sup>204</sup>They are not identified by Riley-Smith, p. 495.

demonstrates, all that Raymond gave to the Order was the quittance of his claims as heir against the Order for the property it bought from a parent.

The Order took possession of a *casal* held by Raymond, count of Tripoli, in 1187, not as a result of purchase or donation, but rather as pledge for a loan of 3000 besants made to Raymond by the Order.<sup>205</sup> We have seen several instances of property being used as surety for loans made by the Hospitallers. It is worth noting that no record was made indicating that a loan was repaid and the property returned. We might assume that in some instances, the properties remained with the Order.

As with transactions in other regions of the Latin East, records of sales and acquisitions do not resume until the first decades of the thirteenth century. In 1204, a property called Tuban, not specifically called a *casal*, but having appurtenances, was sold to the Order by Girardus de Ham, constable of Tripoli, and his wife Maria for 2100 saracen besants.<sup>206</sup> It appears that this was the same property which was donated by Raymond III in 1180.<sup>207</sup> This may be another example of a property which was alienated by the Order, and then reacquired at a later date.

We may also note an exceptional occasion in which the Order alienated property. In 1202, the Order rented out the castles of Bocombre and Remesque, located just south of the city of Tripoli, to Helen, daughter of Hugh de Buissarra, for 300 besants, which was used to support two knights.<sup>208</sup> These castles had once belonged to the lords of Margat, and were, therefore, probably transferred along with the rest of the lordship in 1186. In 1203, Bohemond IV remitted this maintenance fee to the Order, suggesting that it in turn owed the knights' service to him.<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>205</sup>CGOH #830.

<sup>206</sup>CGOH #1198.

<sup>207</sup>CGOH #585. See above, Ch. 1, p. 96.

<sup>208</sup>CGOH #1156. *Inventaire*.

<sup>209</sup>CGOH #1174. *Inventaire*.

In 1254, the Order retook possession of *casalia* Bocombre and Remesque.<sup>210</sup> Apparently the lease agreement with Helen had expired as these properties had been held from the Order by Hugh of Barlais. Hugh and the Order reached an agreement whereby Hugh would relinquish possession of Remesque (no further mention is made of Bocombre) to the Order for twelve years, in lieu of paying the annual service of 300 besants of Tripoli. If the *casal* did not produce 300 besants, Hugh would make up the difference. Furthermore, if Hugh should die and his heir after him, the service due from the *casalia* would double, to the upkeep of two knights instead of one. The document stipulates that John of Bubie, chastelain of Margat, assumed possession for the Order in March 1254.

Possession of the two *casalia* later passed into the hands of Walter of Beloy, under the customary service of two knights. Between 1278 and 1284, the Order had repossessed Remesque, releasing Walter from the service; Walter, however, retained control of Bocombre.<sup>211</sup> In 1277, Paul, bishop of Tripoli, agreed to remit the tithe on *casal* Remesque, fifty *pareillées* of land in the plains of Tripoli, and the garden of Pulcelles, in return for an annual rent of sixty besants.<sup>212</sup>

In the thirteenth century, the Hospital became involved in the financial affairs of a family in Gibelet concerning a *casal* and adjacent land, rights to which were transferred to the Order on three separate occasions. In 1216/17, Bertrand of Gibelet donated *casal* Boutourafig, along with three others, Baqueer, Quasse, and Gabronie to the Hospital.<sup>213</sup> Later, in 1259, Hugh, grandson of Bertrand of Gibelet, sold to the Order *casal* Boutourafig and fifteen *paraillées* of land in the Koura valley of Tripoli ("in

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<sup>210</sup>CGOH #2670.

<sup>211</sup>CGOH #3684.

<sup>212</sup>CGOH #3628.

<sup>213</sup>CGOH #1462. The *Inventaire* identifies him as the lord of Gibelet, but, in 1212, the lord of Gibelet was Bertrand's nephew, Guy, who became a *confrater* of the Order. His son and successor was Henry, the father of Guy II, the last lord of Gibelet. See DuCange, *Familles*, pp. 323-24; Richard, "Le comté de Tripoli dans les chartes du fonds des Porcellet," p. 360, n. 2. See also doc. #2 in the same article, where in 1209, the father of Bertrand, William of Porcellet, with the consent of his wife and his sons, gave the Order rights over *casal* Malcomin, which entailed service of a knight for half a year.

core de Triple”).<sup>214</sup> These lands were purchased for 5000 besants of Tripoli. A *charruée* of land and its villains belonging to the Templars were specifically exempted. Then, five years later, in 1264, Hugh is again recorded as selling *casal* Boutourafig and fifteen *paraillées* of land to the Order for 12,000 saracen besants.<sup>215</sup> In 1274, Bartholomew of Gibelet reissued the charter of his grandfather Hugh.<sup>216</sup> From the text of this document, the tremendous increase in the price of the property over five years can be attributed to the great debt which Hugh was in and the need to raise funds in order to pay interest to his creditors.<sup>217</sup>

One possible explanation for the two recorded sales of the same *casal* and the parcels of land is that the Order acquired the land in 1216/17, alienated it sometime thereafter, repurchased it in 1259, again alienated it thereafter and finally repurchased it in 1264. This situation may have been the case, but it is difficult to ascertain the motivation of the Order in carrying out these transactions. Richard states that the donation of 1216 was limited to the transfer to the Order of the “service” owed by the holder of the property and that the actual transfer of the *casal* was made only in 1259.<sup>218</sup> The fact that Bartholomew reissued in full the text of his grandfather’s charter of 1264 suggests that there was some discord between the two parties over the property. Indeed, two other charters issued the same month by Bartholomew settle disputes with the Order over water rights in the area. We may reasonably associate this reissue with an acceptance on Bartholomew’s behalf of the legitimate possession of the property by the Order. Indeed, the clauses whereby Bartholomew promises to uphold the transfer are unusually lengthy and emphatic.

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<sup>214</sup>CGOH #2915. For the identification of the location, see R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique*, p. 86. It is likely that these fifteen *paraillées* of land were part of the tithe agreement with the bishop of Tripoli in 1274 noted above.

<sup>215</sup>CGOH #3106. *Inventaire*.

<sup>216</sup>J. Richard, “Le comté de Tripoli dans les chartes du fonds des Porcellet,” pp. 377-82. This Bartholomew also reached an accord with the Order over water rights in the area. See above, Ch. 1, pp. 52-3.

<sup>217</sup>“je fusse moult chargiez de dete, laquele je ne pooie paier se je ne vendisse ou alienasse de mes biens por ce que je n’avoie meuble de quei je me peusse aquiter de la devant dite dete, por eschiver le damage des usures que il me convenoit a paier a ceaus a qui je devoie.”

<sup>218</sup>Richard, “Le comté de Tripoli dans les chartes du fonds des Porcellet,” p. 360.

Moreover, they reaffirm the imposition of a penalty equal to double the sale price for non-compliance as contained in the charter of Hugh from 1264. These strongly worded terms in turn suggest that a dispute was raised over the original sale of 1259 and that Bartholomew, pressed by debts, negotiated additional money in return for dropping his claims. Finally, Bartholomew renounced all claims he may have had on another fifteen *paraillées* of land in Tripoli, sold to the Order by Raymond of Gibelet.<sup>219</sup>

The cartulary evidence concerning *casal* Boutourafig and other land in Gibelet presents some definite problems and contradictions. It does appear probable, however, that the financial constraints detailed in the charter of 1264 forced Hugh to demand from the Order more money than he had received in the original sale of 1259. That sale, in turn, may have been prompted by a demand for money in recognition of the grant which Hugh's grandfather, Bertrand, made to the Order in 1216/17. As we have seen in the case of Naharia, it was certainly not unknown for the Order to buy off claims by heirs to property which its records indicate that it possessed legally and legitimately. In the Principality of Antioch, there was surely no shortage of disputes over property acquired by the Order.

The troublesome relations between the Order and Bohemond IV also involved the lordships of Maraclea (Maraqīya) and Lo Camel. According to the *Lignages d'Outremer*, Bohemond IV had disinherited the heir, Reynald, son of Melior, lord of Maraclea, and had given the lordship to John of Ravendal, who was married to Reynald's sister, Agnes.<sup>220</sup> In 1198, the Order purchased the rights to the lordship from Bohemond IV for 6000 saracen besants and the forgiveness of a debt of 300 besants owed to the Order.<sup>221</sup> Shortly after the rights were handed over, Bohemond

<sup>219</sup>There is no record of this sale in CGOH. This was land devoted to the cultivation of sugar-cane. See J. Richard, *Le Chartier de Sainte-Marie-Latine et l'établissement de Saint-Gilles à Mount-Pélerin, Mélanges Louis Halphen*, Paris, 1951, p. 612.

<sup>220</sup>*Les Lignages d'Outremer, RHC, Lois*, v. 2, p. 467. See also J. Richard, "Les Comtes de Tripoli et leurs vassaux sous la dynastie antiochénienne," *Crusade and Settlement*, pp. 213-24. See DuCange, *Familles*, pp. 385-7, where John is identified by DuCange as Pierre.

<sup>221</sup>CGOH #1085.

IV, fearing attack by the Assassins, requested that the Order return to him the lordship over Maraclea and Lo Camel for his lifetime.<sup>222</sup> According to the terms of the charter, if the Hospitallers were able to gain the consent of the legitimate heirs to the properties while Bohemond was still living, they would be returned to the Order.<sup>223</sup> If the heir agreed, the Order was to compensate Bohemond, within one month, by paying the 6000 saracen besants and forgiving the debt of 300 besants recorded in the original agreement. Otherwise, they would revert to the Order upon Bohemond's death. Apparently Bohemond IV kept Maraclea and Lo Camel all his life and the property was not handed over even after his death in 1233, as the Hospitallers later demanded it from Bohemond V.

In 1233, two years after the settlement of the dispute between Bohemond IV and the Order over the donations in Antioch made by Raymond Rupin, Pope Gregory IX ordered Bartholomew, bishop of Valenia, to settle the dispute between the Order and Bohemond V over Maraclea.<sup>224</sup> When Bohemond did not properly respond to the summons of the legate in this dispute, possession of the castle was handed over to the Order in November, 1234, and a hearing for damages done by Bohemond to the Order was set for the following January.<sup>225</sup> An indication of the bitter rivalry between the two parties is that, in 1236, Pope Gregory IX demanded that the Hospital discontinue its alliance with the Assassins against the prince of Antioch.<sup>226</sup>

In November, 1241, the papal legate, Albert, finally promulgated an accord between the two parties.<sup>227</sup> In a long and complex agreement, the Order agreed essentially to renounce all its claims to the lordship of Maraclea and Lo Camel in favour of Bohemond V. In return Bohemond agreed to make an annual payment of

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<sup>222</sup>CGOH #1096.

<sup>223</sup>Cf. Riley-Smith, *Knights*, pp. 452-3.

<sup>224</sup>CGOH #2071.

<sup>225</sup>CGOH #2094.

<sup>226</sup>CGOH #2149.

<sup>227</sup>CGOH #2280.

1300 saracen besants of the weight of Acre. In case of default, payment was to be made from a succession of resources in Tripoli, as in the agreement of 1231 with Bohemond IV. Bohemond agreed to invest Melior, son of Agnes and John of Ravendel, with all the rights and privileges which his father held when he made fealty to the Order for Maraclea. Reynald Barlais was appointed bailiff to the heir in his minority and pledged fealty to Bohemond. When the heir reached the age of majority, stated here as fifteen, he was able to decide whether he wished to retain fealty to Bohemond or switch it to the Order. At stake in this decision were the privileges which the lordship of Maraclea had at Tripoli, namely an annual payment of 1500 besants, 400 jars of wine and *casal* Tolee. In the event that the heir chose fealty to the Order, Bohemond was to receive these privileges, as well as 1000 besants each year to be taken from the 1500 due at Tripoli. If he chose fealty to Bohemond, the 1000 besants would go to Reynald and Agnes and their heirs. The decision of the heir is not recorded.

It is known from Arabic sources, however, that during the reign of Baybars, Maraclea came under the possession of a man named Bartholomew, who was not related to the Ravendal family. When the fortress was captured by the Mamluks between 1269 and 1271, this Bartholomew fled to the Mongol court in Tabríz, where Baybars reportedly had him assassinated. But in 1279 or 1280, Bartholomew returned to Maraclea under the patronage of the Hospitallers, who apparently set about constructing a new castle on the coast. Although the 1281 treaty between Bohemond VIII and Qalawun refers to Maraclea in Muslim possession, other Arabic sources note that Maraclea was again in Crusader hands when it was besieged by Qalawun in 1285. It was handed over only after Bohemond bribed the lord into surrendering it.<sup>228</sup>

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<sup>228</sup>See R. Irwin, "The Mamlūk conquest of the County of Tripoli," *Crusade and Settlement*, pp. 246-50; for the identification of Bartholomew, see Richard, "Les comtes de Tripoli," *Crusade and Settlement*, p. 223, n. 52.

### ***Crac Des Chevaliers***

In contrast to the complex financial negotiations and rent agreements involved in the acquisition of property in Margat, there is no evidence from the twelfth century that the Order actively engaged in buying property in the region of Crac des Chevaliers and its surrounding fortresses. It relied instead on the donations of Raymond II in 1142 or 1144 for its initial acquisition of Crac des Chevaliers and other fortresses. In 1180 and 1181, it received additional donations of property in the immediate area from Raymond III. The evidence for the thirteenth century indicates only limited financial activity in the area. In an act of 1215, Baldwin, bishop of Tortosa, declared that he received a loan of 1500 saracen besants from the Order.<sup>229</sup> As surety for the loan, he pledged *casal* Deterre, which is located between *casalia* Medel, Gastum, and Ethere in the territory of Crac des Chevaliers. Upon the repayment of the loan, the property reverted to the church of Tortosa. Only one property was held at rent. In 1265, Clement IV confirmed that the Order held *casal* Sikania, located in the territory of Crac des Chevaliers, from the bishop and chapter of the church of Bethlehem at an annual rent of 500 besants of Tripoli at the weight of Tripoli, to be paid during peace or war, in good harvests or famine.<sup>230</sup>

Otherwise, financial transactions were limited to a dispute over tithes. When, in 1263, Crac des Chevaliers was transferred to the diocese of Tortosa, a dispute arose over the tithe paid by the Order to the bishop of Tortosa. In 1267, the papal legate, William, patriarch of Jerusalem, rendered a decision on the matter whereby the Order would pay the church of Tortosa 1000 saracen besants for all the tithes of Crac des Chevaliers. Later that year, the bishop agreed to convert this sum to 1000 besants of Tripoli, effectively reducing the payment owed by the Order. He also

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<sup>229</sup>CGOH #1440.

<sup>230</sup>CGOH #3198.

acknowledged that the Order had paid 1500 saracen besants to the church, which represented payments due for the past seventeen years.<sup>231</sup>

While Counts Raymond II and Raymond III were strongly connected to donations to the Order in Tripoli, there is little evidence for their involvement in its purchases in the county. As for lesser lords in the county, William of Maraclea made an important sale in 1163 which was followed by two donations, placing five *casalia* and a strategic valley under the control of the Order. In the thirteenth century, the Hospitallers also became embroiled in a dispute with Bohemond IV and his successors over the lordship of Maraclea. What is perhaps most noteworthy about the purchases of the Hospital in Tripoli and the region of Crac des Chevaliers is the absence of evidence for an effort to consolidate land by strategically purchasing properties. Nevertheless, the Order did amass a considerable block of property in the northeastern region of the County of Tripoli.

### ***County Of Edessa***

No recorded sales.

### ***Unlocated***

In 1174, the Order gave a *casal* and river at Amos to Amalric, king of Jerusalem, in return for an annual rent of 230 *besants*, taken from houses which the King had at Nablus.<sup>232</sup> Riley-Smith makes no reference to this property, but Delaville le Roulx identifies it as Wadi al-Amaz, flowing from another river to the south of the Dead Sea.<sup>233</sup> This is one of a few examples of a substantial property being rented out by the Hospital.

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<sup>231</sup>CGOH #3093, #3278, #3282, #3307.

<sup>232</sup>CGOH #454.

<sup>233</sup>CGOH, v. 4, pp. 374-5.

A document of 1179 records that William Rufus, former viscount of Ascalon, sold to the Order for 1000 besants for a period of five years, the harvests of two *casalia* Coquebel and Mordefro.<sup>234</sup>

Sometime between 1177 and 1187, the Order acquired *casal* Adrie for one year from Sibille, the abbess of the monastery of S. Anne, for twenty-five besants.<sup>235</sup>

A *gastina* identified as Dandenit, was purchased by the Commander of the Order in 1216 for a notably high 1700 saracen besants.<sup>236</sup>

### ***Conclusion***

By expending money in the acquisition of property, the Hospitallers placed a value on land beyond that which it accorded to a donation. Any institution would prefer to take gifts in charity with no expectation of compensation beyond the spiritual benefits bestowed upon the doer of a good deed. For the Hospital, this was the ideal, but not always the practice. A purchase indicated that the Order wanted property, which, perhaps due to the hesitation of the landholder, it was not able to acquire in donation. A financial incentive often allowed the reluctant donor to become a willing seller. For the Order, acquisitions of property through purchase had to be designed in order to guarantee a return on the investment.

As a rule, acquisitions of fortresses and castles did not provide this return. The costs of supplying a castle with food, men, and arms were too high. A prolonged siege was always a threat. If the siege was successful, the fortress was lost. An unsuccessful siege still left the population decimated, the fortress near collapse and the surrounding countryside devastated. Fortifications had to be rebuilt and the land

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<sup>234</sup>CGOH #573. The back of the charter states: Transcriptum de b M mutuatis Guilermo Ruffo, olim vicecomiti Ascalone, super messes casalium suorum percipiendas per V annos per V messes.

<sup>235</sup>CGOH #511.

<sup>236</sup>CGOH #1473; its location is unidentified.

rehabilitated. The Order continued to assume these responsibilities, but there is very little evidence that it purchased any fortresses after 1186.

The most efficient way to secure a return on investment in the case of agricultural land in the Latin East was to develop estates and to amass contiguous or closely located lands. This practice allowed the Order to extract from the land in an efficient manner what it needed most - produce and crops. With centralized estates, sowings and harvests were more carefully supervised, labor was better administered, and transportation requirements were reduced. To a degree, the Hospital was successful in this task.

As we have seen, donations of land were often coordinated to produce these estates. Purchases were used to complete or augment them. This practice is most evident in Acre and Caesarea. In Acre, every purchase made by the Order can be connected with a consolidation of property, with the exception of one sale. And if more were known of the details of this exception, in which nine *casalia* were purchased for 9000 besants, it is possible that it would also provide evidence for consolidation. In the other examples, we see evidence of the Order buying *casal* Manueth and then making a subsequent purchase and receiving a donation of land adjoining that which they had previously acquired. In the plains of Acre, the Order coordinated donations and sales so that it acquired within the same year several contiguous or closely located pieces of prime agricultural real estate near its headquarters in the city of Acre. According to a stipulation in one charter, there was some concern that the King or the city authorities might object to a transaction that would place a large amount of property under the control of the Order. In another example, the time span between acquisitions was much longer. The donation of *casal* Beroeht was made by Queen Melisende in 1150, while the adjacent *casalia* were not acquired until the mid-thirteenth century. As in most real estate transactions, timing and location were everything.

Similar practices of consolidation can be cited in Caesarea, where the Order began to acquire property as early as 1110. Again, nearly every purchase and donation effected a consolidation of property. With the acquisition of *casal* Calodie in 1153, the Order had established a block of properties which was bordered by *casal* Kalensue to the east, and Arthabec to the south, both bought in 1135. Additional purchases of *casalia* Hadedun, Moyen, Galilea, Cafarlet, and Meseraa created other blocks of land closely located or contiguous to that which had been acquired through donation. In *casal* Cacho, the Order was successful in consolidating land within a *casal* where other institutions and individuals maintained a presence. In purchasing the house and accompanying land of the former *drugoman* in 1146, it is possible that the Hospital established some form of administrative rule over the *casal*.

The purchase of *casal* Robert in Nazareth reveals many details about the land market and acquisition of property in the Latin East. The most remarkable of which is the sale price of 24,000 saracen besants which the Order gave Julian of Sidon in 1254. From all indications, the price was justified. It bordered two *casalia* which the Order leased from the Church of Nazareth and lay amidst a number of other properties which the Order would acquire over the next five years, including the possessions of the monastery of Mount Thabor. Indeed, given the active campaign which the Order directed at the Pope and the Church of Nazareth in order to secure the rights to these properties, one might speculate that *casal* Robert was purchased with an eye to its potential location in a grand complex of properties which the Order was plotting to acquire in the region. The returns on the investment began immediately. Based on a tithe agreement which it reached with the Church of Nazareth, we can estimate its annual revenues at 4000 besants. While we have no other figures from other *casalia* to use as a comparison, the sale price could have been conceivably paid off within six years. Finally, the vivid details of the ceremony

by which the Order took possession of the property further emphasize the importance of the purchase to the acquisition policy of the Hospital.

Consolidation of land and estate development through purchase was clearly a goal of the Order, but it was not always achieved or pursued to the exclusion of other options. In areas such as Ascalon, S. Abraham, Montreal, and Tyre, where the Order accumulated a number of properties through donations, it was unable or perhaps disinclined to make any purchases. In Jerusalem, armed and ready to buy land with a donation of 10,000 besants from the Duke of Hungary, the Hospital discovered that there was little land for sale. In contrast, the Order purchased a large quantity of land in the Principality of Antioch, most spectacularly over thirty-one named settlements for 10,000 besants from Bohemond III in 1186, who also used the opportunity to confirm the purchase of the fortress at Margat for an annual rent of 2200 besants. Yet for all these acquisitions, there is little evidence that contiguous estates were developed. Likewise, the donations of Mount Pelerin and Crac des Chevaliers by the lords and counts of Tripoli were not expanded or augmented by purchase. Judging by the close locations of these properties, it may be the case that such efforts were unnecessary. The counts of Tripoli, especially Raymond II and Raymond III were great donors to the Order and facilitated donations made by their subjects. Perhaps the extent of these donations made purchases superfluous.

If the acquisition of property in Acre and Caesarea can be characterized by the success in consolidation which the Order enjoyed and that in Tripoli by the beneficial donations brought about by harmonious relations with Raymond II and Raymond III, the situation in the Principality of Antioch is remarkable for the prevalence of complex financial arrangements and legal disputes. Through an act of confraternity with a citizen of Acre named Bartholomew de Moissac, the Order became entrenched in a legal battle which spanned a century and involved a bankrupt estate, dissatisfied creditors, a property auction in the court of Antioch, rival claims from the heirs of the

deceased and the church of S. Hebron, and ultimately a papal declaration. All of these affairs were centered on a property in an imprecisely known location and of amorphous qualities called Naharia. In the end, after almost one hundred years of legal wrangling, the Order secured rights to the property in 1265 at an annual rent of seventy gold besants. Unfortunately, it was then in Muslim hands and probably remained so.

The acquisition of the fortress of Margat in 1186 came at a cost of 2200 besants per year. In 1266, the Order was still making this payment to the former lords of Margat. Moreover, by virtue of this payment, the Hospital became involved in a number of financial negotiations, eventually supporting the ambitions of one of the heirs to Margat, to whom it loaned 14,400 besants so that he could acquire title to a lordship which in all likelihood was no longer in Christian hands.

Complicated financial arrangements and property disputes were the norm in the relations between the Order and Bohemond IV and his successors. After the Hospitallers supported Bohemond IV's rival in the battle for control of Antioch, the two parties entered into a long series of negotiations over the possessions of the Order in the Principality of Antioch. The charters provide great detail on the disputes and proposed settlements but little evidence that peace between the two parties was ever fully established. In 1231, the Order agreed to return to Bohemond IV most of the properties it received from Raymond Rupin in exchange for an annual payment of just over 1000 saracen besants of Acre and Tripoli. In 1234, Bohemond V agreed to compensate the Order for the loss of the lordship of Maraclea. Nevertheless, the disputes continued into the 1260s under Bohemond VI. As late as 1277, nine years after the loss of Antioch, a charter records the two parties still in negotiation.

The Hospital also rented or leased land, although this was not a common practice. The two major examples are Margat and its adjacent territories, and the town and lordship of Arsur. Margat was acquired in 1186 at an annual payment of

2200 besants, which the charters indicate the Order continued to pay into the mid-thirteenth century. The lordship of Arsur was acquired from Balian in 1260. Initially the rent was 1000 saracen besants, but in the following year, it was increased to 4000 besants. Apparently, the Order lost the property to the Muslims soon after, as later charters record that the lord of Arsur began to make payments to the Order in compensation for its loss.

A more successful venture was the lease agreement which the Order entered into with the church of Nazareth in the 1250s. In 1255, the lease agreement was limited to four *casalia* at an annual rent which gradually increased over three years to 2300 besants. In 1259, the number of *casalia* leased to the Order was nineteen, with an income guaranteed by the Church of Nazareth at 14,000 besants. The charters also record that the Order rented land at Emmaus in Jerusalem for 500 besants and an unnamed *casal* at Laodicea and a *gastina* for 100 besants. For one year it rented *casal* Adrie from the abbess of the monastery of S. Anne, for twenty-five besants.<sup>237</sup>

The Order also rented out property, but these were mostly urban houses and stores. Because the Hospital valued crops and produce highly, there are only a few exceptional cases where it let out rural property at a money rent. In 1202, it rented two castles in Tripoli for 300 besants and in 1174 a *casal* and river at Amos was rented to Amalric, king of Jerusalem, in return for an annual payment of 230 besants. As a general rule, the charter evidence strongly suggests that the Order preferred to acquire land for a one-time payment rather than an annual payment, and that it chose to work its land itself or farm it out in return for a share in the harvest rather than a money payment.

When a purpose can be ascertained, purchases of land were made in two situations. The first was when the Order wished to consolidate land it had acquired through previous donations or purchases. Examples of this situation occur

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<sup>237</sup>CGOH #511.

throughout the twelfth and thirteenth century. Payment was used as an incentive for the lord to sell the desired land to the Order. The second situation was more common in the late twelfth and mid-thirteenth century, when the viability of the Latin East was at serious risk. The Order frequently assumed control of property that was under threat of a Muslim attack or had already endured one. Payment to the lord was intended here as compensation for the loss of revenue which he had suffered.

TABLE 2.1 - SUMMARY OF CASALIA PURCHASED BY THE ORDER, 1135-1264

YEAR	REGION*	NAME	PRICE	CARTULARY #
1135	KJ	ARTHABEC	500 BESANTS	0115
1136	KJ	BETHERIAS	180 BESANTS	0118
1163	CT	NUBIA	NO PRICE GIVEN	0317
1166	KJ	IN HADEDUN	2000 BESANTS	0350
1167	KJ	IN S. MARIE	NO PRICE GIVEN	0371
1174	KJ	UNNAMED	NO PRICE GIVEN	0455
1175	KJ	CAPHAER	400/4000 BESANTS	0487
1176	KJ	BETHDURAS	5800 BESANTS	0495
1176	KJ	CASAL MOYEN	3000 BESANTS	0497
1178	KJ	SELETH	2800 BESANTS	0531
1178	PA	BEAUDE	1500 BESANTS	0545
1181	KJ	CHOLE	3000 BESANTS	0603
1181	PA	ASTANORUS	2000 BESANTS	0614
1182	KJ	GALILEA	5000 BESANTS	0621
1186	PA	BELNE	10,000 BESANTS	0783
1186	PA	FASSIA	INCLUDED ABOVE	0783
1186	PA	CIMAS	INCLUDED ABOVE	0783
1186	PA	FARANG	INCLUDED ABOVE	0783
1186	PA	COME	INCLUDED ABOVE	0783
1186	PA	KAYNON	INCLUDED ABOVE	0783
1186	PA	ALUS	INCLUDED ABOVE	0783

1186	PA	BELMESYN	INCLUDED ABOVE	0783
1186	PA	BESSELEMON	INCLUDED ABOVE	0783
1186	PA	LUZIN	INCLUDED ABOVE	0783
1186	PA	CASNAPOR	INCLUDED ABOVE	0783
1186	PA	COLCAS	INCLUDED ABOVE	0783
1186	PA	CORCONAI	INCLUDED ABOVE	0783
1186	PA	ANDESIN	INCLUDED ABOVE	0783
1186	PA	BODOLERIE	INCLUDED ABOVE	0783
1186	PA	GORROSIE	INCLUDED ABOVE	0783
1186	PA	MASTABE	INCLUDED ABOVE	0783
1210	KJ	IN ACRE	9000 BESANTS	1346
1212	KJ	MANUETH	2000 SILVER MARKS	1383
1253	KJ	DAMOR	12,000 SARACEN BESANTS OF ACRE	2661
1254	KJ	ROBERT/ CAFREQUENNE	24,000 SARACEN BESANTS	2688
1255	KJ	CHATILLON/ MESERAA	5000 SARACEN BESANTS OF ACRE	2725
1257	KJ	MAROENIE	5000 SARACEN BESANTS OF ACRE	2852
1257	KJ	HAANOUF	INCLUDED ABOVE	2852
1257	KJ	DARAYE	INCLUDED ABOVE	2852
1259	CT	BOUTOURAFIG	5000 BESANTS OF TRIPOLI	2915
1264	CT	BOTRAFIS	12,000 SARACEN BESANTS	3106

\* KJ=KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM; CT=COUNTY OF TRIPOLI; PA=PRINCIPALITY OF ANTIOCH

## -- CHAPTER THREE --

### Donors and Sellers

Donations and sales to the Hospitallers in the Latin East are described as pious acts. These gifts of property were dedicated, not to a military organization and not for the defense of the Holy Land, but to an organization which was devoted to the poor. The charitable tone of the donations is no doubt a reflection of the origins of the Order as a hospital devoted to the care of pilgrims and the sick. This idea is expressed in many charters. For example, when Baldwin, bishop of Beirut, gave the Order a house in Jerusalem, the charter states, "I make this gift to the poor." Twice more it invokes the "prayers of the poor."<sup>1</sup> Eschive, lady of Tiberias, and her son, Hugh, made their donation to the sickly of the house of the Hospital of St. John.<sup>2</sup> Sales of property to the Hospital also use similar terminology.<sup>3</sup>

Emphasis on the charitable status of the Order was retained even after it had definitively assumed a military stance. As the statutes of the Hospital in 1182 imply, fighting was considered an extension of the pious works of the monks.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, transferring defensive fortifications was also a pious act. For example, in 1177, when Raymond III, count of Tripoli, confirmed the possession of *Castrum Rubrum* and granted *casal Turris Bertrani Milonis* to the Order, he gave them to "the poor of Christ of the holy house of the Hospital of Jerusalem."<sup>5</sup> The same sentiment is expressed in the donation of the fortress *Vetule* by Raymond Rupin, prince of Antioch, in 1210.<sup>6</sup>

Some donors do attest to the necessity of transferring property to the Order for defensive purposes and due to the excessive cost of maintenance, especially in the

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<sup>1</sup>CGOH #100.

<sup>2</sup>CGOH #459.

<sup>3</sup>See for example, CGOH #317.

<sup>4</sup>CGOH #212; Riley-Smith, *Knights*, p. 55.

<sup>5</sup>CGOH #519.

<sup>6</sup>CGOH #1355.

thirteenth century, but typically the language of the charters does not address any specific circumstances prompting the transfer. Even with the transfer by papal order of the monastery of Mount Thabor and its possessions to the Hospitallers in 1255, there is no formulaic expression of the military nature of the Order or its ability to defend territory. Despite the spiritual benefits assigned by the Church for taking up the Cross, physically or through proxy, and the emphasis it placed on salvation through fighting, the language of donations to the Hospital never evolved from expressions of charity and benefitting the poor.

In return for these charitable gifts, the donors expected to receive spiritual benefits - forgiveness for their sins or salvation for their souls, and quite often, that of their parents, ancestors, and successors. Many of the charters contain formularies which express these ideas. For example, when Hugh, lord of Jaffa, with the assent of his wife, Emma, granted the Order *casal* Bulbus and confirmed the possession of some mills, he did so explicitly “pro remissione peccatorum meorum.”<sup>7</sup> In another instance, Stephanie, daughter of Good John, gave the Order some houses at Jerusalem, not for the remission of sins, but rather “pro remedio anime nostre et parentum nostrorum.”<sup>8</sup> Alexander, son of Bernard Scutiferus, with his wife, Murielle, and their heirs, made a gift of some mills at Antioch to the Order both for the souls of their parents and for the remission of their sins.<sup>9</sup> In another variation, Walter of Sourdevaux, his wife Sibille, and their heirs made their gift of a palace at Laodicea for the love of God and for their health, as well as that of their ancestors.<sup>10</sup> Finally, when Bohemond VI granted a concession of water and fish to the Order in Tripoli in 1256, he did so, not only for his soul and that of his ancestors, but also for the great devotion which he had for the Order and the great love which he had for its Grand Master,

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<sup>7</sup>CGOH #97.

<sup>8</sup>CGOH #2127.

<sup>9</sup>CGOH #222.

<sup>10</sup>CGOH #109.

William of Chateau Neuf.<sup>11</sup> This despite years of enmity between the Hospitallers and the princes of Antioch. In all of these examples, the donors or sellers expected to receive some form of spiritual compensation in return for their gifts.

As has been seen, however, there was often ambiguity in the terms of a sale and a donation of a property, which reflected a tension between money and piety in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As suggested above, many of the charters of sales to the Order were structured in such terms to express the pious intentions of the seller, stressing the spiritual benefits which accrued just as in a donation, while also recording for legal and administrative purposes the amount of money that changed hands. Piety and money were not mutually exclusive, but there is a distinction to be drawn between donations and sales.

It is likely that, in most instances, donations of certain properties were initiated by the Hospital. This was clearly the case not only in the transfers of fortresses in Tripoli and Antioch and in the possessions of the monastery of Mount Thabor, but also with the donations of agricultural land made in the plains of Acre and the lordship of Caesarea. In other places where the Hospital did not have a concentration of property, such as in Beirut, or with the transfer of isolated properties in Antioch, the Order may have been a passive recipient of donations.

In contrast, purchases required a corporate decision by the Order to expend money for a certain property, whether the sale was initiated by the seller or the Hospital. For this reason, one can be more assured in assigning a strategy or policy of acquisition in instances when the Hospital purchased a certain type of property or one in a specific region. In the same manner, it is also possible to assign motive to the seller beyond pious or charitable intentions.

Donors and sellers alienated property with the consent of their lord or ruler, from whom the land was ultimately held. This consent is usually clearly expressed in

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<sup>11</sup>CGOH #2801.

the charter recording the transfer or in a later confirmation. The rulers of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and the leading houses of Antioch and Tripoli exercised from the start their right to give consent and confirmation to the transfer of territory within their dominion to the Hospital. The act was performed to princely financial advantage in Antioch, where Bohemond III received a large amount of money for the transfer of Margat and associated properties, and through a more fraternal spirit in the case of Crac des Chevaliers in Tripoli, where it appears that Raymond III spent considerable sums of his own money. In transfers of smaller properties by lesser individuals, the confirmation of the lord is often the only evidence we have that the transfer took place. Cartulary evidence suggests when consent was received, but not when it was withheld.

The charters also record the consent of husbands, wives, and heirs. This act was intended to forestall any future attempt to invalidate the donation or sale and to reclaim the property. According to legal tradition, the age of majority was fifteen years old, at which point an individual could alienate property under his jurisdiction. In practice, the age at which an heir could give his consent to the alienation of property by his parents was perhaps as early as eight years.<sup>12</sup> Despite these safeguards, there were often challenges to the rightful possession of property by the Order.

Women had a hand in the disposition of property, although men typically held the primary place in the charters which record transfers of property to the Hospital. In most cases, the act of donating is attributed singularly to the man alone, with the woman giving her consent as wife, mother, or daughter. For example, in 1135, Walter of Sourdevaux alone is recorded as granting a palace at Laodicea, with his wife, Sibille, merely giving her consent.<sup>13</sup> The charter states that Walter had received the palace from King Baldwin II, suggesting that it was his alone to give. In another instance, a

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<sup>12</sup>See H. E. Mayer, "Carving up Crusaders: The Early Ibelins and Ramlas," *Outremer*, 101-18, at p. 103, n. 12.

<sup>13</sup>CGOH #109.

woman named Douce held *casal* Esckas as a sub-vassal of King Guy of Lusignan. It was her husband, John of Rocherouge, however, who donated it to the Order in 1244.<sup>14</sup>

Sometimes the language is more inclusive, as when Balian, lord of Nablus, and his wife Marie, the dowager queen of Jersualem, are both recorded grammatically as giving land near Rama in 1180.<sup>15</sup> The same is the case with Robert and his wife, Odula, when together they gave the Order land at Emmaus.<sup>16</sup> Taking the matter further, when the possession of *Castrum Rubrum* and *casal* Turris Bertranii Milonis was confirmed in 1177 by Raymond III and his wife, Eschive, the document states that these gifts were made by Raymond and his wife equally (“*pariterque mea conjux Eschiva comitissa*”).<sup>17</sup> The situation could also be reversed, however, as when Julienne, lady of Caesarea, made the confirmation and her husband, Aymari, who held his title of Lord of Caesarea from his wife, gave his assent.<sup>18</sup>

It was not uncommon for women to transfer property independently, especially for noble wives, widows, and heiresses. The donation of *casal* Tortiafa, in the land of Toron, was made in 1231 by Princess Alice of Antioch, who was the widow of Prince Raymond II of Antioch (d. 1197).<sup>19</sup> In 1174, Eschive, lady of Tiberias, widow of Walter of S. Omar, took primary place in making a donation together with her son, Hugh.<sup>20</sup> It is noteworthy that her second husband, Raymond II, Count of Tripoli, whom she married the previous year and with whom she made several later donations, is not mentioned in this charter.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>CGOH #2330. The text is not printed so it is not clear if Douce was still alive. The caption does not refer to her as being deceased.

<sup>15</sup>CGOH #576.

<sup>16</sup>CGOH #192.

<sup>17</sup>CGOH #519.

<sup>18</sup>CGOH #1002. He also served as marshall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and after Julienne's death, entered the Order and became its marshall. Richard, “Le comté de Tripoli dans les chartes du fonds des Porcellet,” p. 370, n. 2; *Eracles, RHC, Occ.*, v. 2, p. 347; Cahen, *Syrie du nord*, pp. 539 and 544; J. Richard, *Le royaume latin de Jérusalem*, Paris, 1953, pp. 207 and 209.

<sup>19</sup>CGOH #1993. She was the mother of Raymond Rupin.

<sup>20</sup>CGOH #459. Apparently Hugh, who was lord of Tiberias when it was taken by Saladin in 1187, had not yet reached the age of majority in 1174. See DuCange, *Familles*, p. 455.

<sup>21</sup>See above, n. 17.

Other donations by noble women appear to be efforts to assert their position in power. During the troubles which arose over the succession to Baldwin II, two donations to the Order were made by participants in the battle. In 1134, another Princess Alice of Antioch, widow of Bohemond II (d. 1131), donated a house at Laodicea and land near Gibelet to the Order.<sup>22</sup> At the time of the donation, Alice, the daughter of the late King Baldwin II, was trying to take control of Antioch in her own name.<sup>23</sup> She had been in exile in Laodicea and shortly after making the donation of the house there, she went to Antioch to make an unsuccessful bid for the principality.<sup>24</sup> It is tempting to connect the donation with a bid for the support of the Hospital. Moreover, her sister, Queen Melisende, made a donation to the Order at a time when she was also attempting to assert her authority. The charter, dated 1150, is at pains to display unity, providing the consent of her sons, King Baldwin and Amalric, but by all accounts the relationship between the queen and her son the king was deeply disturbed.<sup>25</sup> It is not unreasonable to assume that these powerful women used gifts of property as incentives to win the support of the Hospital, just as their male counterparts did.

Women from among the lesser nobility and those with minor landholdings also made independent donations and sales to the Hospital (Table 3.1). Most of these transfers were made by widows. Of these women, Flandina and Armesenda of Castro Nova made the most substantial transfers, consisting of two *casalia* by Armensenda and six *casalia*, several houses, and demesne lands by Flandina. It has been suggested that these transfers were made by widows whose husbands had died in the campaign against Nur al-Din. This appears to be a reasonable explanation. Although Armensenda is not identified as a widow, the consent of her three daughters is given,

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<sup>22</sup>CGOH #103. For a confirmation by Alice, see n. 33

<sup>23</sup>In 1135, she consented to the gift of Walter de Sourdevaux as his "dominae." CGOH #109.

<sup>24</sup>See Mayer, *Crusades*, pp. 82-5.

<sup>25</sup>William of Tyre, bk. 17, chs. 13-14; Mayer, *Crusades*, pp. 108-11.

but not that of her husband. To this list of widows from the campaigns of Nur al-Din one might also add Adelina, widow of Tostannus Parva, who is recorded as giving the Order *casal* Soloriam in 1155.<sup>26</sup>

Beyond what is contained in the charters, very little is known of the other women who donated or sold land to the Hospital. Two of them are identified as widows. Helvide, widow of Roger Bathnos, sold the Order land in Emmaus in 1152 and Sibille of Sourdevaux, widow of Aymari de Leyron, transferred to the Hospital her “direct seignuerie” over vineyards and cultivable lands near S. Paul in 1235.<sup>27</sup>

Four other women are identified as wives, but it is unclear whether their husbands were still living at the time of the transfer. Agnes, identified as the wife of Eustache Coffel, sold the Order land near Bechefere in 1145.<sup>28</sup> Beliorna, wife of Robert of Scandelion, sold a piece of land next to the Order in Tyre in 1149/50.<sup>29</sup> Her sons Isaac and Roland are recorded as giving their consent. Raymonde, wife of Nicole de Messan, sold the Order half of an estate of which it already had the other half.<sup>30</sup> It is not inconceivable that this “heritage” had been bequeathed to the Order by her late husband, and Raymonde was completing the donation. Marie of Jaffa, who gave the Order half of her present and future possessions in Jaffa and Ascalon is identified as the wife of lord Guy de l’Alnai.<sup>31</sup> Typically, a female donor is identified as a widow or reference is made to her “late” husband, but that is not the case in these charters. Therefore, the possibility that these women were acting independently of their husbands must be left open.

Other women transferred property with no reference to husbands, living or dead. Aldeburgis, who gave half of *casal* Jebethza in Nazareth, is identified only as the

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<sup>26</sup>CGOH #231.

<sup>27</sup>CGOH #208, #2129. *Inventaire*. Sibille’s late husband, Aymari de Leyron, was the nephew of Aymari de Leyron, Lord of Caesarea and marshall of the Order. See above n. 18. See also *Continuator of William of Tyre*, bk. 32, ch. 15.

<sup>28</sup>CGOH #161.

<sup>29</sup>CGOH #184.

<sup>30</sup>CGOH #2600. *Inventaire*.

<sup>31</sup>CGOH #2212. *Inventaire*.

sister of Lambert Cabiatoris in a confirmation of Baldwin II in 1129.<sup>32</sup> The man who gave the other half, Airaldus Barba, is not mentioned as a relative. A confirmation by Alice, widow of Bohemond II, in 1138, records the donation of a piece of land made by a woman named Grarinot, with no husband mentioned.<sup>33</sup> Sibille, who gave the Order a piece of land called la Pie in Antioch, is identified only as the daughter of Walter of Sourdevaux. Agnes de la Baume affirmed in 1237 that she had given the Order half of her possessions in Mount Carmel and elsewhere which she inherited from her uncle Jocelyn de la Moussa.<sup>34</sup> The *Inventaire* states that she made the declaration in the presence of King Henry of Cyprus, but there is no mention of the presence of a husband at the ceremony. Finally, Alice, daughter of Turgin, was most likely entering or had entered a religious order. Her donation of land and rents to the Order in 1207 was certified by Albert, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and witnessed by Guy, the archdeacon of Caesarea.<sup>35</sup> There is no mention of a husband or children, only a generic reference to heirs and provisions should she die intestate.

Acts of confraternity also served as a method by which women could dispose of land independently of a male relative, although they are usually identified with reference to a husband or father. For example, Christiana, who gave the Order *casal* Digegia in 1201 with the consent of her lord Roard of Cayphas, is identified as the daughter of the late Roger of Cayphas. Hodiarde, who sold a garden in Jerusalem to the Order was the widow of Otto of Verdun. In her act of confraternity, Constance identifies herself as Countess of S. Gilles, daughter of the late Louis VII of France and sister of the reigning Louis, but makes no mention of a husband.

It was common practice for women to consent to the transfer of property by their husbands, sons, or fathers. Widowhood was the typical status in which women

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<sup>32</sup>CGOH #84.

<sup>33</sup>CGOH #126. *Inventaire*.

<sup>34</sup>CGOH #2163.

<sup>35</sup>CGOH #1276.

could alienate land independently, subject to the usual conditions of receiving the consent of their heirs and the confirmation of their lords. There does not appear to have been any particular restrictions on unmarried women as donors or sellers of property. A few noble women such as Melisende of Jerusalem, Alice of Antioch, Eschive of Tiberias, and Julienne of Caesarea transferred property to the Order in their own right.

A mix of status and rank is found among male donors and sellers to the Order (Table 3.2). There are the lesser lords Baldwin, lord of Mares; Roger, lord of Saone; Reynard, lord of Nephin, and Guy de Scandelion, as well as knights and members of the gentry.<sup>36</sup> There are over sixty donations from those of apparently moderate means and lesser birth, such as Airaldus and Arnold Loferencus, who donated their rights over certain *casalia*. The series of donations of land outside Acre in 1255 were made by men identified as knights. Also worth noting is the grant of Joseph and John, the native Christian sons of Saba the Georgian, who held *casal* Hara from Baldwin II. Perhaps the most interesting donor is Abdelmessie, the *ra'īs*, or village chief, who, as one of many other donors in the charter, granted three-quarters of his revenues at *casal* Meserafe in Margat. His name (Servant of the Messiah) indicates that he was a Christian. As a local official, Abdelmessie probably had access to a larger plot of land than other villagers from which to bestow donations.

The table shows that these smaller landholders, nobility or gentry, typically made no more than one gift. There are several individuals who made two separate donations, William of Maraclea, Godfrey of Parentae, and Hugh and Bartholomew of Gibelet. Of these individuals, William made a quite substantial donation of four

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<sup>36</sup>Guy de Scandelion was lord of a castle between Tyre and Acre built by Baldwin I in 1117, in order to besiege Tyre. It was called Scandelion after Alexander the Great, who had founded a city on the site. See DuCange, *Familles*, pp. 427-30. See also M. Favreau, "Die Kreuzfahrerherrschaft 'Scandelion' (Iskanderūne), *ZDPV*, 93 (1977), 12-29.

*casalia*, one with his brothers and three on his own, while Godfrey donated parcels of land in Jerusalem and Jaffa.<sup>37</sup>

Of the sales and donations made to the Order in sixty-six charters by over seventy-five men and their relatives, more than thirty were *casalia* or fortresses, some of which, like Kalensue, Coketum, and Eixserc, were quite substantial. As has been shown, the donation of land and an island near Jaffa by Godfrey of Parentei represented a very large portion of property. The same may be said for some of the other parcels of land, which are not fully described in the charters, such as the parts of land at Beccafaba given by Godfrey of Parentei and the lands, vineyards, and gardens given by John Lombardo. Although these men and their families presumably did not have estates to rival those of the members of the higher nobility, in many cases, the donations and sales which they made to the Order were of a caliber similar to those made by greater lords.

Among the greater lords of the Latin East, the most generous donors to the Order were the twelfth-century counts of Tripoli, the successors to Raymond, count of Toulouse. Raymond did not live to lead the capture of Tripoli in 1109, but he did construct a nearby fortress at Mount Pelerin, where he died in 1105. Because of the late capture of Tripoli, donations there lagged behind the grants of the princes of Antioch and the kings of Jerusalem and their families, which can be dated to the first decade of the eleventh century.<sup>38</sup>

The Order took possession of the hospital at Mount Pelerin and adjacent lands in a remarkable series of donations and transfers of property by the Counts of Tripoli which began before 1112 and lasted until 1187. Twelve properties, including villages, vineyards and lands, were granted to the Order by Bertrand (d. 1112), son of Raymond I, and were confirmed by his son and successor Pons (d. 1136), count of

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<sup>37</sup>It has been suggested that William's gift of three *casalia* was made in order to pay the ransom of his son, who had been captured by the Muslims in 1179, but this seems unlikely as no money is recorded changing hands. Richard, *Le comté de Tripoli*, p. 65, n. 4.

<sup>38</sup>CGOH #79, #82.

Tripoli. They are identified as of the rights of the hospital at Mount Pelerin, which Pons and his wife Cecilia, with the consent of their son Raymond II (d. 1152), gave to the Order.

In 1142, Raymond II, having succeeded his father as count of Tripoli, gave the Order eleven additional properties, including three towns or villages and, most significantly, his rights to Crac des Chevaliers, the greatest of the fortresses of the Hospital.<sup>39</sup> This was not a simple donation of property in the donor's possession. Rather, the document indicates that Raymond had purchased these properties, most likely with the intention of then donating them to the Order. Records of such negotiations are unusual and suggest that Raymond actively intervened in acquiring these important properties for the Order. He followed this transfer with an additional donation in 1151 of *casal* Cendina, several houses, and a vineyard.<sup>40</sup> At this point, there is not a single record in the *Cartulaire général* of a sale to the Hospital by the counts of Tripoli.

Financial concerns rose to the fore under Raymond III (d. 1187) and replaced the purely charitable nature of previous transfers to the Order. Raymond had been captured by Nur al-Din in 1164. He remained in captivity in Aleppo until 1173 or 1174, when the Hospital raised the greater share of his ransom of 80,000 besants.<sup>41</sup> Upon his release, he donated several substantial properties to add to the Hospital's already formidable holdings in the region. In 1177, Raymond III confirmed the possession of *castrum* Rubrum and also granted *casal* Turris Bertranii Milonis, with its substantial appendages.<sup>42</sup> In 1178, Raymond III gave the Order a substantial piece of land in the suburbs of Tripoli.<sup>43</sup> Two years later, in 1180, Raymond III

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<sup>39</sup>CGOH #144.

<sup>40</sup>CGOH #199.

<sup>41</sup>M. W. Baldwin, *Raymond III of Tripolis and the fall of Jerusalem*, Princeton, 1936, pp. 15 and 142; Runciman, *Crusades*, v. 1, p. 395.

<sup>42</sup>CGOH #519.

<sup>43</sup>CGOH #543.

granted the Order the fortress of Tubania, in the vicinity of Crac des Chevaliers.<sup>44</sup> In 1181, Raymond III made another donation of land to the Order.<sup>45</sup> In 1184, he ceded rights to the city of *Chamel* (Muslim-held Homs), with all its appurtenances.<sup>46</sup>

Raymond III was a *confrater* of the Hospital, and as such, he reserved the revenues of the city for his lifetime.<sup>47</sup> This grant was confirmed by Raymond in 1186, perhaps as a prelude or enticement to an attack on the city.<sup>48</sup>

Raymond III's financial reliance upon the Hospital was no doubt behind many of these grants, which comprised a substantial transfer of territory to the Order. Upon his death in 1187, Raymond III left a debt to the Order which it recorded at 37,000 besants. The debt was acknowledged and honored that year by Bohemond III of Antioch, who assigned the Hospital an annual rent of 1000 besants taken from the customs of Acre.<sup>49</sup>

According to the dictates of Raymond III, upon his death, the county of Tripoli was to pass into the hands of Raymond, son of Bohemond III, prince of Antioch. Bohemond III had two sons by his first wife, Orgueilleuse, Raymond and Bohemond IV. When Bohemond III instead bestowed the county upon his other, younger son Bohemond IV, conflicting interests in land and politics contributed to a growing rift between the Order and Bohemond IV of Antioch. At first, relations appear to have continued as normal. In 1189, Bohemond IV (d. 1233) had given the Order a garden, called Gloriette, which had once belonged to the mother of Raymond III. In 1205, he granted the Order one-half of *gastina* de Caphar Mamel, also called La Vacherie, provisionally located in the territory of Laodicea.<sup>50</sup> Months later, the Order was supporting a rival in a civil war for control of Antioch.

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<sup>44</sup>CGOH #585.

<sup>45</sup>CGOH #595.

<sup>46</sup>CGOH #676.

<sup>47</sup>Raymond was also a *confrater* of the church of S. Lazarus of Jerusalem, to whom he granted a rent of twenty besants in 1185. RRH #645.

<sup>48</sup>CGOH #801.

<sup>49</sup>CGOH #1031; The assignment was duly confirmed by King Aimery, CGOH #1032.

<sup>50</sup>CGOH #871, #1215

Raymond, the disenfranchised son of Bohemond III, died in 1197. He had married Alice, the daughter of Rupin, prince of Armenia, with whom he had a son, Raymond Rupin. Bohemond III declared Rupin the heir to Antioch, while Bohemond IV held the county of Tripoli. Bohemond raised troops, with the support of the Templars and the Hospitallers, and marched successfully against Rupin.<sup>51</sup> According to a letter of Innocent III, dated 1205, when Bohemond IV was declared prince of Antioch, the Templars remained with him; the Hospitallers, along with Patriarch Armand, took the side of Rupin.<sup>52</sup> In this year, Bohemond IV made his final donation to the Order, ending the long association between the Order and the counts of Tripoli; over the next decade, a new alliance was formed with Rupin, in which donations made to the Order had distinctly military purposes.

The donations of the Prince of Antioch, Raymond Rupin, and his great-uncle Leo II, King of Armenia, in the thirteenth century were tied to this civil war and tellingly consist of fortresses and defensive positions.<sup>53</sup> With the support of the Order, Rupin took control of Antioch and was crowned prince in 1205. As a result of their alliance, Raymond Rupin gave the Order Gibel in 1207. By 1208, the population of Antioch had revolted and Bohemond IV was re-installed in the city. Rupin made an additional donation of fortress Vetula in 1210.<sup>54</sup> In the same year, Raymond Rupin's great uncle, King Leo II of Armenia, made a donation to the Order of Laranda, under the control of the Muslims.<sup>55</sup> Leo also granted the Order Seleph, with its two castles, Castellum Novum and Camardesium. All these donations were fortresses. In 1216, Leo and Rupin were finally able to take the city of Antioch, but three years later, Bohemond defeated them and ruled Antioch until 1233.

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<sup>51</sup>DuCange, *Familles*, p. 200.

<sup>52</sup>See "Inter occupationes diversas" *Acta Innocentii III (1198-1216)*, ed. T. Haluscynskyj, 1964, #90, pp. 315-7.

<sup>53</sup>For the events of this period, see Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, pp. 590-635; H. E. Mayer, *Crusades*, pp. 252-3.

<sup>54</sup>CGOH #1262, #1355.

<sup>55</sup>CGOH #1349.

The opposing interests of the Order and Bohemond IV generated by the civil war in Antioch continued into the following years. Brief periods of peace were established. In 1231, the Order agreed to return to Bohemond IV the properties which it received from Raymond Rupin for an annual payment. In turn, Bohemond IV confirmed a gift of half of a *gastina* in 1231.<sup>56</sup> But, in 1234, Bohemond V (d. 1251) disputed property in Maraclea given to the Order by Bartholomew of the church of Valenia. After several years of negotiation, Albert, patriarch of Antioch, returned the property to Bohemond in 1241, in exchange for an annual rent to the Hospital of 1300 besants.<sup>57</sup>

Previous to these disputes, transfers to the Order by the princes of Antioch were plentiful. Grants were begun by the founder of the principality of Antioch, Bohemond I (d. 1111). In 1118, Roger (r. 1112-19), nephew of Tancred and regent of the principality for Bohemond II (r. 1126-30), confirmed the donation of three unidentified *casalia* given to the Order by Prince Bohemond I.<sup>58</sup> *Casal* Melessin was another gift of Bohemond, noted in a confirmation by Raymond (d. 1149), prince of Antioch, in 1149.<sup>59</sup> It should be noted, however, that the rulers who made these confirmations, as well as Bohemond II, made no recorded donations of their own. The Order bought only one *casal* from Reynald of Châtillon, in his capacity as Prince of Antioch.<sup>60</sup>

In 1168, Bohemond III (1163-1201) made a large donation of nineteen properties, including *casalia*, an abbey, a tower, and a fortress.<sup>61</sup> In 1175, he granted the Order land near Gibelet, in order to pay off a debt of 4000 besants.<sup>62</sup> In the confirmation of the sale of Margat, Bohemond transferred thirty-one additional

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<sup>56</sup>CGOH #2003

<sup>57</sup>CGOH #2270; see the disputes in 1256 and 1262.

<sup>58</sup>CGOH #45.

<sup>59</sup>CGOH #183.

<sup>60</sup>CGOH #1158.

<sup>61</sup>CGOH #391.

<sup>62</sup>CGOH #475.

properties, including four fortresses, Cademois, Laicas, Malaicas, and Popos, seventeen *casalia*, three abbeys, and various other lands. For these properties, the Hospital paid a total of 10,000 saracen besants to Bohemond and his heirs.

Transfers of land to the Order by the rulers of Jerusalem were less often motivated by financial concerns and more embroiled in legal and military entanglements. Of the forty-eight properties confirmed by Baldwin I (r. 1100-1118) in 1110, fifteen are noted as grants by Baldwin or his brother and predecessor, Godfrey (d. 1100), but only three are *casalia*. Godfrey is recorded as having donated *casal* Hessilia and Baldwin two *casalia*, three unspecified lands and numerous houses in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Nablus and Acre, as well as a garden.<sup>63</sup> The record of donations of their successors is as unimpressive. In 1136, King Fulk (r. 1131-43) gave the Order four *casalia* near Bethgibelin.<sup>64</sup> The donation of *casal* Beroeht by Queen Melisende in 1150 has already been noted. In 1147, her son Baldwin III (r. 1143-63) gave the Order *casal* Altum and transferred the possession of two *casalia* to the Order in exchange for unnumbered *casalia* it held.<sup>65</sup>

The brother and successor of Baldwin III, Amalric, was more extensively involved in transfers of property to the Order. In 1155, as count of Ascalon, Amalric exchanged four *casalia* for three unnamed *casalia* held by the Order in Ascalon.<sup>66</sup> In 1165, Amalric, having become king of Jerusalem, granted the Order *casal* Semma.<sup>67</sup> Acting in his capacity as procurator of the County of Tripoli in 1170, Amalric granted the Order two fortresses destroyed by earthquakes in Tripoli, Archas and Gibelacar.<sup>68</sup> In 1173, he confirmed the donation of unspecified possessions to the Order by John, lord of Arsur.<sup>69</sup> In 1174, the Order gave a *casal* and river at Amos to Amalric, king of

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<sup>63</sup>CGOH #20.

<sup>64</sup>CGOH #116.

<sup>65</sup>CGOH #175.

<sup>66</sup>CGOH #232.

<sup>67</sup>CGOH #344.

<sup>68</sup>CGOH #411.

<sup>69</sup>CGOH #451.

Jerusalem, in return for an annual rent of 230 besants.<sup>70</sup> Although it turned out to be more an extravagant folly than a realistic donation, Amalric also pledged an extraordinary 150,000 besants in revenue from eleven towns in Egypt in return for the support of 500 knights and 500 turcoples in his planned campaign in Egypt.<sup>71</sup> After 1177, there are no further donations recorded by the kings of Jerusalem. Although there are numerous confirmations of donations made by these rulers, it is clear that the accumulation of properties by the Order did not rely extensively on the grants of the kings of Jerusalem.

The only sale took place in 1212, when the Order purchased *casal* Manueth, located inland north of Acre, just south-west of Montfort, for 2000 silver marks from King John of Jerusalem.<sup>72</sup>

Although many leaders of Europe such as Frederick Barbarossa, Richard the Lion Heart, and St. Louis went on Crusade to the Holy Land, there are only two recorded donations of property to the Order made by a great European lord on Crusade. We have already noted the unusual terms in which Bela III, duke of Hungary, transferred 10,000 besants to the Hospital for the purpose of purchasing land in Jerusalem. In 1193, the Order acquired some land near the walls of the city of Acre through a donation of Henry of Champagne, the successor to Guy of Lusignan, who ruled as "Lord of the Kingdom" by virtue of his wife, Isabelle, the widow of Conrad of Montferrat, until replaced by Amalric in 1197.<sup>73</sup> Henry made another donation in 1194, when he granted the Order property at Jaffa.<sup>74</sup> As has been seen, the Emperor Frederick II transferred the defense of Ascalon to the Order, but this was not a proper donation.

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<sup>70</sup>CGOH #454.

<sup>71</sup>CGOH #402, #409.

<sup>72</sup>CGOH #1383. *Inventaire*.

<sup>73</sup>CGOH #938. See Mayer, *Crusades*, pp. 247-8.

<sup>74</sup>CGOH #954.

The rulers of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Tripoli created vassal states which, due to their territory and military fortifications, bestowed great power on the lords who controlled them. First in importance as donors to the Order were the various family members and unrelated individuals who held the major lordship of Jaffa and Ascalon. The county of Jaffa had been created out of the royal demesne sometime between 1108-10 and was originally under the control of Hugh of Le Puiset until his revolt against King Fulk in 1133 or 1134.<sup>75</sup> In his capacity as count, Hugh confirmed the possession of property by the Order of two *casalia* donated by Hugh, lord of Rama; land in Jaffa held by Radulfus of the Hospital before his death; and land given to the Order by Godfrey of Parentei and his wife. In addition, he granted three *casalia* of his own, in Jaffa and in Ascalon.<sup>76</sup> As noted above, in 1126 Hugh gave one property in Ascalon to the Order so that the nearby city of Ascalon might be captured by the Franks.<sup>77</sup>

Other donations and sales in this area were made to the Order by members of the Ibelin family in their capacity as lords of Rama and Mirabel. The house of Ibelin was created in 1141 by King Fulk, when he gave the castle at Ibelin he had recently constructed to Balian or Barisan, who had served as constable of Jaffa from 1115 and contributed arms to the King during the revolt of Hugh le Puiset in 1134.<sup>78</sup> By 1137-38, Balian married Helvis, the daughter of Baldwin, lord of Rama.<sup>79</sup> Upon the death of her father in 1138, Helvis became ruler of Rama until 1143, when her brother, Renier, came of age. Upon his death between 1146 and 1148, the lordship passed again to Helvis and Balian.

Helvis and Balian had three sons, Hugh, Baldwin, and Balian, who continued the Ibelin tradition of grants to the Order. Giving their consent to a charter of their

<sup>75</sup>See H. E. Mayer, "The Origins of the County of Jaffa," *Israel Exploration Journal*, 35 (1985), 35-45.

<sup>76</sup>CGOH #20, #77, #97.

<sup>77</sup>CGOH #77.

<sup>78</sup>For the construction of Ibelin, see William of Tyre, bk. 15, ch. 24. For the house of Ibelin, see Mayer, "Carving up Crusaders," pp. 101-18.

<sup>79</sup>Mayer, "Carving up Crusaders," p. 108.

father Balian in 1122, Hugh is named as lord of Rama and Baldwin as lord of Mirabel, while the third son, Balian, carried no title.<sup>80</sup> In 1158 or 1159, Hugh, lord of Rama, with the consent of his mother, Helvis, and his brothers, Baldwin and Balian, ceded land before the mills of Mirabel and the land of Spina to the Order as a settlement of a dispute which the Order had with his father, Balian. Before his capture by the Muslims in 1164, Hugh confirmed the donations of unspecified lands and gardens made to the Order by his father and mother.<sup>81</sup> In 1162, Baldwin of Ibelin, lord of Mirabel, gave the Order land near its vineyard in an unspecified location and in 1163, he confirmed a grant of land in Mirabel made by his father and mother.<sup>82</sup>

Baldwin succeeded his brother Hugh as lord of Rama and remained lord of Mirabel, in which capacity he confirmed in 1163 the donation of Balian, his father, and Heloise, his mother, of a tenement located in Mirabel. Two years later, he gave the Order a piece of land for planting vineyards.<sup>83</sup> In 1167, Baldwin of Mirabel later sold *casal* S. Marie to the Hospital for 3000 besants and an anual rent of 200 besants.<sup>84</sup> In 1174, King Baldwin IV confirmed that Baldwin, lord of Rama, had renounced this rent in exchange for a payment of 1700 saracen besants.<sup>85</sup> In 1175, Baldwin, lord of Rama, sold the Order *casal* Caphaer, with the consent of his wife and their daughters, Eschive and Stephanie.<sup>86</sup>

In 1180, Balian, then lord of Rama, and his wife, Marie, Queen of Jerusalem, gave to the Order, with the consent of his brother, Baldwin, two *carrucae* of land

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<sup>80</sup>CGOH #59. Mayer has identified this document as a forgery, claiming that it was drawn up around 1166, when Baldwin issued an ostensible confirmation of his father's grant to the Hospital of S. George and when the Order acquired the hospital. His argument for forgery is most convincingly based on the assumption that Balian or Barisan, who consented to the grant of his father Balian in the charter of 1122, could not have possibly have been born at that date. See Mayer, "Carving up Crusaders," pp. 110-18. The later confirmation is #354.

<sup>81</sup>CGOH #286, #328.

<sup>82</sup>CGOH #301; #327.

<sup>83</sup>CGOH #327, #340, #371, #470, #487-490.

<sup>84</sup>CGOH #371.

<sup>85</sup>CGOH #468.

<sup>86</sup>CGOH #487.

before the city of Rama.<sup>87</sup> After the death of Thomas, Baldwin's son and successor, Balian II, became lord of Ibelin. The lordship was captured and its castle burned by the Muslims in 1187; after 1193, it was taken from the Muslims and the lordship passed into the hands of Walter, lord of Caesarea, who was married to Marguerite, daughter of Balian II. Her brothers, John and Philip, continued the line of the house of Ibelin into the thirteenth century.

In 1210, the Order purchased several unnamed *casalia* in the region of Acre from Philip and John (the old) of Ibelin, with the consent of Marie de Montferrat and Alice, wife of Philip, for 9000 besants.<sup>88</sup> John of Ibelin (d. 1266), son of Philip and Alice, count of Jaffa and Ascalon and lord of Rama, ceded a great deal of land and property in 1256/57, which was intended as compensation for the expenses which the Order incurred in the defense of the city of Ascalon in 1247.<sup>89</sup>

In the thirteenth century, the Hospital acquired property in several regions of Acre and Arsur from the house of Ibelin. John of Ibelin, lord of Arsur, sold the Order two pieces of land in the plains of Acre in 1255.<sup>90</sup> His successor as lord of Arsur, Balian, rented this lordship to the Order for 4000 saracen besants sometime around 1263, and later ceded an annual payment of 700 besants from property which remained to him near Arsur in compensation for the loss of Arsur in 1265.<sup>91</sup>

As the most prominent noble family in the Latin East, it should not be surprising to see the Ibelins involved in the affairs of the Hospital. Nevertheless, the amount of property acquired by the Order in the regions ruled by scions of the family is remarkable. The ties between the Ibelin family and the Hospital were closest in the mid-twelfth century when each successive lord of Mirabel, Rama, Jaffa, and Ascalon placed a considerable quantity of his territory under the control of the Order. As the

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<sup>87</sup>CGOH #576.

<sup>88</sup>CGOH #1346.

<sup>89</sup>CGOH #2853, #2845. This man was the author of the *Assisses*; he should not be confused with his cousin, John of Ibelin, lord of Arsur. See DuCange, *Familles*, pp. 223, 232, 348, and 350.

<sup>90</sup>CGOH #2753.

<sup>91</sup>CGOH #3047, #3323.

family grew and expanded beyond its traditional home at Ibelin, donations and sales to the Order began to occur in many other regions of the Latin East, including Arsur, Beirut, and Acre.

The Hospitallers developed a relationship with the lords of Caesarea, which enabled the Order to create an administrative center in the region. Grants to the Order began before 1110, with Eustache, viscount of Jerusalem and lord of Caesarea.<sup>92</sup> Eustache was married to Emma; after his death in 1123, she married Hugh II de Puiset, count of Jaffa. Their son and successor as lord of Caesarea, Walter, was also lord of Sidon. He married Julienne in 1131. In 1129, Walter confirmed the Order's possession of two *casalia*.<sup>93</sup> Walter sold the Order *casal* Betherias in 1136 and lands at Cacho in 1146.<sup>94</sup> Along with his son, Eustache, Walter also consented to the sale of his fief of *casal* Assera, which was transferred to the Order by John, lord of Bethsan, in 1149.<sup>95</sup>

Walter's son, Hugh, is noted as giving consent to the gift of *casal* Beroeht by Queen Melisende in 1150. By 1154, he signed charters as Lord of Caesarea and in 1166 he sold *casal* Hadedun along with several appurtenances to the Order for 2000 besants.<sup>96</sup> In 1163 this Hugh, lord of Caesarea, exchanged property with the Order.<sup>97</sup>

Eustache, Walter, and Hugh furthered the establishment of a Hospitaller estate centered at *casal* Cacho, giving the Order a good deal of property in that location, including homes, farms, and gardens.<sup>98</sup> With his wife, Isabelle, whom he married in 1155, Hugh had two children, Walter II and Julienne. In 1182, the Order purchased *casal* Galilea from Walter II for 5000 besants.<sup>99</sup> Walter II died between

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<sup>92</sup>CGOH #20.

<sup>93</sup>CGOH #94. See also CGOH #74.

<sup>94</sup>CGOH #118, #168.

<sup>95</sup>CGOH #180.

<sup>96</sup>CGOH #350.

<sup>97</sup>CGOH #316.

<sup>98</sup>CGOH #20, #94, #223.

<sup>99</sup>CGOH #621; conf. #645.

1186 and 1189, during which time Caesarea was captured by Saladin. After its return by treaty in 1192, it was given to the brother of Guy de Lusignan. By 1197, the lordship of Caesarea was back in the hands of a female descendant of Eustache Garnier, Julienne, sister of Walter II. Julienne was first married to Guy of Beirut, with whom she had four children, including her successor, Walter III. By 1193, she married her second husband, Aymari. We have seen that in 1212 and in 1213, they pledged the rights to four *casalia* and several houses as surety for two loans totalling 3000 besants and 110 muids of barley and 60 muids of wheat.<sup>100</sup> Julienne died in 1219, at which time the title of lord of Caesarea passed out of Aymari's hands to Walter III. The last recorded gift of the family was in 1207 or 1208, when Julienne, with the assent of Aymari de Leyron, gave to the Order the house of Robert Hohais.<sup>101</sup>

After this donation of 1207/8, there are no donations or sales recorded in the *Cartulaire général* by Walter III or his son and successor John. However, it was noted in the previous chapter that, according to the *Continuator of William of Tyre*, John, lord of Caesarea, may have sold *casal* Cafarlet to the Order in 1232.<sup>102</sup> John Laleman, lord of Caesarea by virtue of his wife Marguerite, daughter of John, lord of Caesarea, was responsible for the consolidation of a large amount of property belonging to the Order in Acre through a series of sales in 1253 and 1255, which amounted to close to 18,000 saracen besants.<sup>103</sup>

The relationship between the lords of Caesarea is remarkable not only for its duration, lasting over 150 years, but also for its continuity and the extent of property handed over to the Order. With the exception of Walter III, there is evidence for a sale or donation made by every lord of Caesarea. Moreover, most of the acquisitions made

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<sup>100</sup>CGOH #1400.

<sup>101</sup>CGOH #1250.

<sup>102</sup>*Eracles*, p. 398.

<sup>103</sup>CGOH #2661, *Inventaire*; #2732, #2725, and #2731.

by the Hospital in Caesarea, including those at Cacho, came directly from the lords of Caesarea.

Several titled officials of these major states and lordships also made a few important donations and sales to the Order. Eustache Granier was the viscount of Jerusalem as well as lord of Caesarea. Balian, the constable of Jaffa, granted *casal* Algie in 1126.<sup>104</sup> In 1138, Trigaud, the chamberlain of the prince of Antioch, gave the Order a garden in Antioch.<sup>105</sup> In 1157, Humphrey of Toron, constable of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, transferred half of two castles.<sup>106</sup> In 1178, Amalric, the future King of Jerusalem, sold *casal* Seleth to the Order in his capacity as viscount of Nablus.<sup>107</sup> Walter, viscount of Tiberias, sold *casalia* Azatil, Eincheitem, and Eincanephis, in Nablus for 1000 besants.<sup>108</sup> In 1204, Girardus de Ham, constable of Tripoli, and his wife, Maria, sold a property called Tuban to the Order for 2100 saracen besants.<sup>109</sup>

The rulers of the lesser lordships of Hebron, Montreal, and Gibelet made donations to the Order, but not to the extent of those made by the greater lords of Jaffa, Ascalon, and Caesarea. The confirmation of King Baldwin I, dated 1110, records the donation of *casal* Sussia by Walter Bafomet, lord of S. Abraham. In 1136, Hugh of S. Abraham gave the Order ten *casalia* attached to the important fortress of Bethgibelin.<sup>110</sup> In 1144, Hugh of S. Abraham gave an additional three unidentified *casalia*.<sup>111</sup> Maurice, lord of Montreal, gave the Order two *casalia* and a few vineyards

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<sup>104</sup>CGOH #74.

<sup>105</sup>CGOH #127.

<sup>106</sup>CGOH #258.

<sup>107</sup>CGOH #531.

<sup>108</sup>RRH #583.

<sup>109</sup>CGOH #1198.

<sup>110</sup>CGOH #116. See also CGOH #20. He also served as a witness to the confirmation by Baldwin I, who invested him with the lordship of S. Abraham. See DuCange, *Familles*, p. 264, 424. Albert of Aix calls him "Mahumet," but makes no additional comment on his origins. See Albert of Aix, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, *RHC, occ.*, v. 4, p. 646 (bk. 10, ch. 33).

<sup>111</sup>CGOH #156.

in 1152.<sup>112</sup> In 1177, Maurice's successor as lord of Montreal, Reynald and his wife Stephanie, confirmed this gift and donated a small garden of their own.<sup>113</sup>

The lords of Gibelet made two donations to the Order. The lordship of Gibelet was first held in 1108 by Hugh, son of a Genoese nobleman who was at the siege of Jerusalem in 1099, William L'Embriac or Ebriacus.<sup>114</sup> In 1174, three descendants of Hugh - Hugh II, lord of Gibelet (d. 1184); his brother, Raymond; and Hugh's son, Hugh III (d. 1196) - made a donation of *Jardinum de la Nonua* located in *casal* Bechestin, in the county of Tripoli.<sup>115</sup> The son of Hugh III and his successor as lord of Gibelet, Guy, became a confrater of the Order in 1212. His grandson and successor as lord of Gibelet, Guy II, granted the Order the unlocated *casal* Maouf in 1274/5.<sup>116</sup> In 1274, Guy II drew up his will, in which he placed all his property under the protection of the Order.<sup>117</sup>

Some isolated transfers of land by lords of the Latin East may also be noted. In 1149, Queen Melisende, consented to the sale of *casal* Assera to the Order for an undisclosed price by John, lord of Bethsan, with the consent of Hugh of Bethsan.<sup>118</sup> In 1165, Walter, prince of Galilee, donated two *casalia* to the Order, whose possession he confirmed in 1168.<sup>119</sup> In 1252/3, the Order received *casalia* Capharbole and Labores from Raoul of Beirut, lord of Blanchegarde, for which they gave him 7000 besants.<sup>120</sup> Philip of Montfort, lord of Tyre, engaged in an exchange of landed property with the

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<sup>112</sup>CGOH #207.

<sup>113</sup>CGOH #521.

<sup>114</sup>For the lords of Gibelet, see Ducange, *Familles*, pp. 316-27; William of Tyre, 400, 508-9; see also the references to William I Embriaco in the First Crusade and Hugh I Embriaco in the Crusade of Bertrand of St. Gilles in 1108-9 in Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, London, 1997, pp. 225, 242. See also the other "lords" of Gibelet in the discussion of *casal Boutrafig* in Ch. 2.

<sup>115</sup>CGOH #448.

<sup>116</sup>CGOH #3526.

<sup>117</sup>CGOH #3550.

<sup>118</sup>CGOH #180; confirmation by Baldwin III in #225.

<sup>119</sup>CGOH #345, #398.

<sup>120</sup>CGOH #2593.

Order in 1269.<sup>121</sup> John of Montfort, lord of Tyre and Toron, gave the Order a *curtile* and two pieces of land at Toron in 1271.<sup>122</sup>

By far, the most significant transfers to the Order by a lesser lord were those made by the lords of Margat, Reynald, Reynald II, and Bertrand. The elder Reynald was given possession of the lordship by King Fulk, after the death of Bohemond II, whose daughter, Constance, was married to Reynald. Reynald died in 1160. In 1165, Reynald II, lord of Margat (d. 1186), began a series of land transfers which would result in the Order acquiring an impressive collection of properties in the lordship of Margat.<sup>123</sup> In 1174, Reynald II, lord of Margat, added to the possessions given to the Order by his father, by granting two *casalia* and a *gastina* outright, along with a garden and a field, and arranging to share the revenue of four others.<sup>124</sup> In 1178, Reynald made a further donation of his rights on *casal* Bearida, with the consent of Bohemond of Antioch.<sup>125</sup> This act was followed by a similar donation in 1181, in which Reynald handed over his rights to *casal* Astalorin.<sup>126</sup> In 1185, Reynald granted, with the consent of his son Bertrand, and his wife, Bermonde, *gastina* Ubin, so that the Order could build a *casal* and a cistern there. Through these donations, made because of an inability to defend and maintain the territory, the Order had already acquired a substantial amount of property when it purchased the fortress of Margat in 1186 from Bertrand (d. 1217), the son and heir of Reynald II.

The transfers of land made to the Hospital by the lords of Tripoli, Caesarea, Ibelin, Margat, and Gibelet demonstrate the importance of family structure to the development of the estates of the Order. Donations and sales made by the members of the house of Ibelin began as early as 1122 and continued until the mid-1260s. The

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<sup>121</sup>CGOH #3346.

<sup>122</sup>CGOH #3409.

<sup>123</sup>CGOH #341.

<sup>124</sup>CGOH #457.

<sup>125</sup>CGOH #546.

<sup>126</sup>CGOH #613.

Hospital maintained its financial obligations with the lords of Margat from 1186 until 1266. The relationship between the lords of Caesarea was characterized by amicable negotiations which transferred land through purchase and donation, as well as loans and other financial transactions. The collection of charters from these regions shows that initial transfers made by ancestors were frequently augmented by descendants in solidarity with the Order. Such sustained relationships cannot be discerned with the lesser lords and gentry who transferred land and property to the Hospitallers.

Donations from lesser lords and landholders of more modest means were, with only a few exceptions, singular occurrences. Even those individuals who became *confratres* of the Order do not demonstrate the long-term associations that are seen with Raymond III, Bohemond III, and Julienne and Aymari of Caesarea. Nevertheless, the size of their donations are frequently on a par with those made by the greater lords of the Latin East. Moreover, the high number of their sales and gifts constituted a large proportion of the property accumulated by the Order. The property which they transferred to the Order is evidence for the extent of Frankish settlement in the rural areas of the Latin East.

TABLE 3.1 - SALES AND DONATIONS BY WOMEN

SELLER/ DONOR	DATE OF SALE (S), GRANT (G) OR CONFIRM- ATION (C)	PROPERTY	LOCATION	REGION	PRICE	CART #
Aldeburgis, sister of Lambert Cambiatoris	1129 (C)	half of <i>casal</i> <i>Jebethza</i>	Nazareth	KJ	N/A	#84
Princess Alice of Antioch	1134 (G)	house and land	Laodicea; Gibelet	PA	N/A	#103
Grarinot	1138 (C)	land	?	PA	N/A	#126

Agnes, wife of Eustache Coffel	1145 (S)	land near <i>Bechefere</i>	?	?	500 besants	#161
Queen Melisende	1149 (G)	land	Acre	KJ	exchange for baths and houses in city	#180
Queen Melisende	1150 (G)	<i>casal</i> Beroeht	Acre	KJ	N/A	#191
Beliorna, wife of Robert Scandelion; Isaac and Roland, her sons	1149/50 (S)	piece of land next to Order	Tyre	KJ	70 besants	#184
Flandina	1151 (G)	houses, garden and village <i>Teileliout</i> at <i>Archas</i> ; <i>casalia</i> <i>Jabriel</i> , <i>Bebeniz</i> , <i>Elionaz</i> ; fief of William Grillon: houses at <i>Archas</i> , garden, <i>casal</i> <i>Bethmellas</i>	<i>Archas</i>	CT	N/A	Richard, "Porcellet," #1
Armensenda of Castro Nova	1151 (C)	<i>casalia</i> <i>Kafferique</i> and <i>Fellara</i>	Tripoli	CT	N/A	#199
Helvide, widow of Roger Bathnos	1152 (S)	land	Emmaus	KJ	N/A	#208
Adelina, widow of Tostannus Parvus	1155 (C)	<i>casal</i> <i>Soloriam</i>	nr. Aleppo	PA	N/A	#231
Eschive, lady of Tiberias, Hugh, her son	1174 (G)	tower <i>Lacomedia</i>	Tiberias	KJ	N/A	#459
Alice, daughter of Turgin	1207 (G)	four <i>carrucate</i> ; houses	<i>casal</i> <i>Geschale</i>	KJ	N/A	#1276
Princess Alice of Antioch, widow of Raymond II	1231 (G)	<i>casal</i> Tortiafa	Toron	KJ	N/A	#1993

Sibille de Sourdevaux, widow of Aymari de Leyron	1235 (G)	seigneurial rights over vineyards and lands	S. Paul	PA	N/A	#2129
Marie of Jaffa, wife of Guy de l'Alnai	1238 (G)	half of property	Jaffa and Ascalon	KJ	N/A	#2212
Agnes de la Baume	1237 (G)	half of <i>heritage</i> from uncle, Jocelyn de la Moussa	Mount Carmel	KJ	N/A	#2163
Raymonde, wife of Nicole de Messan	1252 (S)	1/2 of heritage (Order held other 1/2)	?	?	150 besants	#2600
Sibille, daughter of Walter of Sourdevaux	1262 (C)	<i>la Pie</i>	Antioch	PA	N/A	#3021

TABLE 3.2 - DONATIONS AND SALES MADE TO THE ORDER BY MINOR LORDS, KNIGHTS AND GENTRY

DONOR/SELLER	DATE OF GRANT (G), SALE (S) OR CONFIRMATION (C)	PROPERTY	LOCATION	REGION	PRICE	CART #
Arnold Loferencus	1110 (C)	<i>casal Capharmazre</i>	Nazareth	KJ	N/A	#20
Peter de Lens	1110 (C)	<i>casal Dirberham</i>	Galilee	KJ	N/A	#20
Airaldus Barba	1110 (C)	half of <i>casal Jebethza</i>	Nazareth	KJ	N/A	#20
Roger de Florentia	1118 (C)	unnamed	Harenc	PA	N/A	#45
Bonable	1118 (C)	unnamed	Capharta	PA	N/A	#45
Rotbert	1118 (C)	unnamed	Delthio	PA	N/A	#45
William Alpherici	before 1119 (G)	Church of S. Romani; land; vineyards; garden	?	?	N/A	#7
Godfrey of Parentea	1129 (C)	Four <i>partes</i> of land	<i>Beccafaba</i>	KJ	N/A	#84

Geoffrey of Flaiaco, John of Bethsam, Hugh, brother of John	1129 (G)	<i>casal Kalensue</i>	Caesarea	KJ	N/A	#84
Barda Armenus; unnamed wife	1129 (G)	<i>casal Coketum</i>	Acre	KJ	N/A	#84
Baldwin of Corris	1131 (G)	<i>casal Betefan</i>	Corris	PA	N/A	#90
H. Lombardus	1131 (C)	<i>two carrugas</i>	Cacho	KJ	N/A	#94
Godfrey of Parantei	1133 (C)	<i>insula</i> and ten <i>carrucate</i>	Jaffa	KJ	N/A	#97
Hysimbardus	1135 (C)	<i>casal Arthabec</i>	Caesarea	KJ	500 besants	#115
Peter of Burgairolles and wife Jordane	before 1139 (G)	land	Tripoli	CT	N/A	#128
Walter of Dom Reyer	1143 (G)	unnamed <i>casalia</i>	?	?	N/A	#153
Gumfredus de Turre David and wife Ida	before 1147 (G)	unnamed <i>casalia</i>	Sueth	KJ	N/A	#175
Peter Barata, son of Walter of Tiberias	1146 (S)	piece of land next to that of Order	Tyre	KJ	23 besants; two <i>modiorum</i> of corn	#166
John, lord of Bethsan	1149 (S)	<i>casal Assera</i>	Bethsan	KJ	N/A	#180
sons of Radulf Boer	before 1151 (G)	<i>two carrucae</i>	<i>gastina Putei</i>	PA	N/A	#198
Robert	1151/2 (S)	piece of land	<i>Emmaus</i>	KJ	500 besants	#202
Guy de Scandalion	1157 (C)	two vineyards	Toron	KJ	N/A	#258
Joseph and John, sons of Saba the Georgian	c. 1160 (G)	<i>casal Hara</i>	Mount S. Moses	KJ	N/A	#284

Hugh of Bethsan	1160 (G)	<i>casal Bugaea</i>	Galilee	KJ	N/A	#288
Eustachius and family	1163 (S)	piece of land next to that of Order	<i>S. Stephen's</i>	?	500 besants	#312
Baldwin, lord of Mares	1163 (G)	<i>locus Platta</i>	Mares ?	PA	N/A	#313
William of Maraclea; his wife, Beatrice	1163 (S)	fortress <i>Eixserc</i>	Tortosa	CT	1400 besants	#317
Menard; his unnamed wife	1165 (G)	vineyard	Mirabel	KJ	N/A	#340
Hubert Patriarch	1165 (G)	vineyard	Mirabel	KJ	N/A	#340
Gormundus	1168 (C)	<i>Ioberium</i>	?	KJ	1000 besants	#398
Baldwin Gazella; heirs	1168 (C)	<i>Hubeleth</i>	?	KJ	1000 besants	#398
Simon Cheveron	1168 (C)	<i>Losserin; casal Cherio</i>	?	KJ	1300 besants	#398
Ivo Velos	1186 (C)	<i>castrum Coquet</i> , called <i>Belvear</i>	Tiberias/Galilee	KJ	1400 besants	#398
Roger, lord of Saone	1170 (G)	<i>casal Tricheria</i>	?	PA	N/A	#417
Abdelmessie, <i>ra'is</i> of Margat	1174 (C)	three-quarters of revenues of <i>casal Meserafe</i>	Margat	CT	N/A	#457
Martin of Nazareth	1174 (C)	one-third of <i>casalia Beluse, Archamie, and Cordie</i>	Margat ?	CT	N/A	#457
John Lombardo	1174 (S)	lands; vineyards; gardens	?	KJ	800 besants	#463
John of Arsur	before 1176 (S)	<i>casal Moyen</i>	Caesarea	KJ	3000 besants	#497
Robert of S. Gilles	1176 (C)	land	<i>casal S. Gilles</i>	KJ	N/A	#498

Raynard, lord of Nephin; William of Maraclea, his brother; Raymond, his brother	1176 (G)	<i>casal Siroba</i>	?	CT	N/A	#503
William Fort	1178 (S)	garden	Tripoli	CT	200 saracen besants	#529
Thomas Robert	1178 (S)	<i>casal Beaude</i>	Margat	CT	1500 besants; annual rent of 200 besants taken from houses in Laodicea and Acre	#545
William of Maraclea	1180 (G)	<i>casalia Marmoniza, Erbenambra, and Lebeizar</i>	<i>Chamel</i>	CT	N/A	#589
Hugh of Flanders	1181 (S)	<i>casal Chola</i>	Mirabel	KJ	3000 besants	#603
Bernard de Magdalo; his wife, Marie	1181 (S)	castle <i>Lath</i>	?	CT	1500 besants	#608
Raymond of Gibelet	1186 (G/S)	<i>casal Messarkun</i>	Antioch	PA	N/A	#782
Theodore and the other Theodore, men of Bohemond III	1191 (C)	heritage; church of S. Theodore	Antioch	PA	N/A	#906
Simon, son of Baldwin of Rome	1206 (S)	fiefs	Margat	CT	200 saracen besants	#1232
Otto, count of Hinneberch; Beatrice, his wife	1208 (G)	half of <i>casal Blanc</i>	Margat	CT	N/A	#1313

William Porcelet; Laurette, his wife; Bertrand and Hugues, his sons	1209 (G)	rights on <i>Malcomin</i> , having the service of one knight for one-half year	nr. <i>Artusce</i>	CT	N/A	Richard, "Porcelet," #2
Jeffrey Tolard	1216 (S)	<i>gastina Dandenit</i>	?	?	1700 saracen besants	#1473
John Nicephore	1217 (G)	half of <i>gastina Sellorie</i>	?	PA	N/A	#1593
Nicholas, grandson of Sayt Scribe	1231 (S)	fief	<i>casal Manueth</i>	KJ	1600 saracen besants	#1996
John of Rocherouge	1244 (G)	<i>casal Esckas</i>	Nablus	KJ	N/A	#2330
John and Simon, knights; Agatha of Treucis	1245 (S)	three <i>carrucae</i> ; "area"; house	<i>casal Album</i>	KJ	600 saracen besants	#2353
Hugh de la Chapelle; Marie, his wife	1248 (G)	vineyard	Valenia	CT	N/A	#2492
Hugh of Gibelet, son of Bertrand; Marie Porcelet, his wife; Bertrand, his son	1248 (G)	rent of 50 besants of Tripoli taken from <i>casal Boutrafiche</i>	Tripoli	CT	N/A	Richard, "Porcelet," #3
Nicholas of Manueth	1251 (S)	unspecified goods; quitclaim	Manueth	KJ	N/A	#2576
Raymond of Gibelet	c. 1253 (S)	<i>pareillées</i> of land before Tripoli	Tripoli	CT	N/A	Richard, "Porcelet," #6
John Marraim, knight	1255 (G)	land	Acre	KJ	N/A	#2714
John Coste; his wife, Joy	1255 (G)	land	Acre	KJ	N/A	#2721
Guy and Nicholas de Ronay, knights	1255 (G)	land; houses	Acre	KJ	N/A	#2722

John Grifus; his wife, Agatha	1255 (G)	land	Acre	KJ	N/A	#2949
Hugh, son of Bertrand of Gibelet	1259 (S)	<i>casal Boutourafig; fifteen paraillées</i> of land and field of the house; except property of Templars <sup>1</sup>	Tripoli	CT	5000 besants of Tripoli	#2915
Hugh of Gibelet	1264 (S)	<i>casal Boutourafig; fifteen paraillées</i>	Tripoli	CT	12,000 saracen besants	#3106; Richard, "Porcelet," #6
Bartholomew of Gibelet, son of Bertrand of Gibelet	1274 (G)	water rights between <i>Bafania</i> and <i>Maucomin</i>	nr. <i>Artusce</i> , Tripoli	CT	N/A	Richard, "Porcelet," #4
Bartholomew of Gibelet, son of Bertrand of Gibelet, grandson of Hugh of Gibelet	1274 (EX)	gives rent of 30 besants of Tripoli for water rights	rent from <i>casalia Sebronie</i> and <i>Maharbon</i> ; water for land before Tripoli	CT	N/A	Richard, "Porcelet," #5
John of Mamistra	1278 (S)	piece of land	<i>casal Manueth</i>	KJ	50 saracen besants	#3679

## **-- CHAPTER FOUR --**

### **Native Inhabitants and Local Administration**

The charters of the *Cartulaire général* and the other Crusader cartularies provide much more information about the Frankish settlers in the Latin East and their economic activities than they do about the daily lives and labors of the native inhabitants. Nevertheless, there are numerous charters in which reference is made to the native inhabitants. Typically, such references are peripheral to the issue at hand and generic in content, as when a place is identified as near the mill where the Syrians came to grind flour or when borders are described according to native custom. On other occasions, as in the case of transfers of rights over human beings, names and occupations are assigned, which provide more detailed and substantial evidence about the inhabitants and their relations to the Franks. In a few, relatively rare instances, native Syrians transferred property to the Order or were given governance over property as agents (*ra'is* or *drugoman*) of the Hospital.

This chapter examines the makeup of the indigenous population in Frankish society as revealed in the charters of the Hospital and the other organizations which had property in the Latin East. It also discusses the role played by native inhabitants in the local administration of the properties held by the Hospitallers and others and evaluates the extent to which two aspects of Muslim taxation survived under Frankish rule. It must be emphasized that the scope of this discussion is limited to the evidence contained in the Latin charters. Because these charters primarily served to record land transactions among the Franks, the force of any arguments which can be made about native inhabitants and local administration is severely restricted. This is, of course, especially the case with Muslims, who would not have donated or sold property to Catholic religious institutions. In contrast, the lives of Syrian Christians were much more integrated into Frankish society than were

those of Muslims, not only as benefactors of the Order, but also as neighbors, agents, and tenants.

### *Native Inhabitants -*

While the evidence from the Crusader cartularies does not contradict the commonly held assumption that the population living under Frankish control was predominantly Muslim, it does little to support it.<sup>1</sup> The *Cartulaire général* contains only a few references to Muslim cultivators, called *Sarraceni*, under Frankish rule.<sup>2</sup> One is from Jerusalem and another from Antioch. An accord of 1141 with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre over the tithes of *casal* Emmaus requires that the Church should receive half the tithe on rents from lands which the Hospital farms out to Christians or Saracens.<sup>3</sup> In the charter ratifying the sale of Margat to the Hospital in 1186, Prince Bohemond of Antioch stipulates that if any of his Saracens or his men should come into the lands of Valenia or Margat, the Order should return them according to the custom of the land.<sup>4</sup> In both examples, the references to Muslims are generic and apply as well to Christians.

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<sup>1</sup>Benvenisti, *Crusaders in the Holy Land*, p. 17; Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, p. 201. Reliable figures for the urban and rural population in the Latin East are notoriously hard to come by. See Benvenisti, *Crusader in the Holy Land*, p. 27; J. C. Russell, "The Population of the Crusader States," *HOC*, v. 5, pp. 295-314. J. C. Russell, "Demographic Factors of the Crusades," *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades*, ed. V. P. Goss (Studies in Medieval Culture, 21) Kalamazoo, 1986, pp. 53-8. Cf. Mayer, *Crusades*, n. 79, p. 306.

<sup>2</sup>There are a few other examples of Muslims. A letter to the Grand Prior in England from the Grand Master in Acre dated 1201 states that a young saracen shepherd boy came before a crowd and began to preach the word of Christ, after which 2000 pagans converted to Christianity and received baptism and circumcision. CGOH #1131. The names of two individuals in the CGOH suggest a Muslim derivation. In a document of 1149, the wife of Barutel is identified as Sarracena. She was presumably a native Muslim who was baptized and converted to Christianity sometime before her marriage to Barutel. CGOH #183. Also, the man who donated *casal* Sussia to the Order sometime before 1110 is identified as Walter "Baffumeth." CGOH #20. See above, Ch. 3, n. 110. With regard to the term *Sarraceni*, see J. Riley-Smith, "Some Lesser Officials in Latin Syria," *EHR*, 87 (1972), 1-26, at p. 2, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup>CGOH #140.

<sup>4</sup>"si villani mei, qui sint Sarraceni vel hominum meorum sint, vel forte venerint in territorio Valeni et Margati, seu in predictis aliis tenementis, fratres Hospitalis reddent nobis eos juxta assisiam et consuetudinem terre," CGOH #783.

References to Muslim cultivators found in other sources are similarly non-specific.<sup>5</sup> A charter in the possession of the Teutonic Knights concerning an exchange of properties in 1161 between King Baldwin III and Philip of Nablus includes all the Syrian and Saracen villains on both sides of the Jordan River.<sup>6</sup> In a confirmation of the properties of the Abbey of Our Lady of Josaphat, Pope Alexander IV states that the abbey should receive the entire rent from infidel *rustici*.<sup>7</sup> In this case, the term *Sarraceni* is not even used, and may refer to those of other religions or even Christian sects. Only in one instance is a Muslim referred to with some detail. In a charter of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, recourse was had to an old Muslim, called Lame Foot, in order to settle a boundary dispute.<sup>8</sup> It is interesting to note that the disputed land was at Magna Mahumeria, where the Church of the Holy Sepulchre instituted a colonization policy to settle Europeans.<sup>9</sup>

Chronicle and narrative sources provide evidence for a large Muslim presence in the countryside at Tyre and at Nablus. In his travels in the Middle East in 1183/4, Ibn Jubayr one day passed through Tibnīn (Toron), in the region of Tyre, where he remarked that the villages and farms of the coastal cities controlled by the Franks were inhabited by Muslims. Later that same day, he stopped at a farm a short distance from Acre, which a Muslim *ra'īs* supervised for his Frankish lord. Although he was displeased with conditions in Acre, he considered the life of Muslims in Tyre to

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<sup>5</sup>The legal codes for the Latin East make reference to the application of laws to Muslims, but these deal more with urban than rural affairs. In the Frankish cities, Muslims had their own courts of justice, as did the native Christians. *Assisses de la Cour des Bourgeois*, RHC, Lois, v. 2, p. 54. These courts were established by Godfrey of Bouillon, *Assisses de la Cour des Bourgeois*, p. 26. See also Wilbrand of Oldenburg in *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor*, J. C. M. Laurent, Leipzig, 1873, p. 172. According to the legalist John of Ibelin, Jews and Muslims were able to bear witness and provide testimony in Frankish courts. *Liure de Jean d'Ibelin*, RHC, Lois, v. 1, p. 98. There were legal provisions for punishment of assault by Muslims on Christians. *Assisses de la Cour des Bourgeois*, p. 173. Baldwin II issued laws banning concubinage and sexual relations between Muslims and Franks. *Assisses de la Cour des Bourgeois*, p. 144, n. a. The statutes of the Hospital prohibit consorting with Muslims or travel in Muslim lands, under penalty of expulsion from the Order. CGOH #2213, statutes #35, #54. In all of these laws, there is very little reference to the affairs of rural justice, which rested with the lord of the village or lordship.

<sup>6</sup>"cum omnibus villanis Surianis sive Sarracenis, ubicunque sint cis Iordanem vel citra," Teut. #3.

<sup>7</sup>Josaphat, #64. See also #21, #27, #28, #31, #49.

<sup>8</sup>Sépulcre #121. He is called "pedes tortus."

<sup>9</sup>For this settlement, see below, pp. 249-50.

be relatively peaceful and pleasant.<sup>10</sup> In addition, 'Imād ad-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī also comments on the large population of Muslims living at Nablus before the conquests of Saladin, noting, like Ibn Jubayr, that the Muslims had accommodated quite well to living under Frankish rule.<sup>11</sup>

On the other hand, there are several indications that relations between Muslims and their Frankish lords were far more hostile than the accounts by Ibn Jubayr and 'Imād ad-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī would suggest, and that Muslims were driven off lands captured by the Franks. For example, around the middle of the twelfth century in Nablus, bad treatment at the hands of the Franks led to the flight of Muslim cultivators to the security of Damascus. Once there, they set up an organization to facilitate the escape of other Muslims from Frankish lands.<sup>12</sup> Also, in 1135, the Muslim inhabitants of Ma'ara and Kafr Tāb, on the Orontes river near Femia (Afāmiyah), petitioned Nur al-Din to return to their possession land which he had recently recaptured from the Franks, indicating that they too had fled or were forced from their lands after conquest by the Franks.<sup>13</sup>

The attitude of Muslims who remained on Frankish lands apparently could be quite aggressive. William of Tyre writes that in 1100, immediately after the establishment of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the suburbs of the cities under Frankish control were populated by Muslims and infidels who attacked Christians on the public roads and refused to cultivate their fields in an effort to starve the Franks to death.<sup>14</sup> As well, the transfer to the Order of several properties in Nazareth by the Archbishop in 1254 was prompted, according to the charter, not by the actions of Muslim armies, but by the discords and hostilities which arose among the Muslim cultivators.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>*Rihlat Ibn Jubayr*, pp. 382-3; *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, pp. 316-7.

<sup>11</sup>See n. 81 below.

<sup>12</sup>E. Sivan, "Réfugiés syro-palestiniens au temps des croisades," *Revue des études islamiques*, 35 (1967), 135-47.

<sup>13</sup>Abu'l-Fidā' in *RHC, Or.*, v. 1, p. 23. See the Introduction, n. 28.

<sup>14</sup>William of Tyre, bk. 9, ch. 19.

<sup>15</sup>CGOH #2934.

From these accounts, one must consider the possibility that after the First Crusade, the Muslim presence in some areas of the countryside under Frankish control declined to an extent, either through forcible expulsion by the Franks, in a process similar to that carried out in Jerusalem, or by voluntary emigration to lands under Muslim control.<sup>16</sup> This was not a process restricted to the period of Frankish victories in the first half of the twelfth century. Indeed there are a few papal orders from the early thirteenth century which direct the Hospitallers to develop settlements in deserted areas which were formerly under Muslim control, suggesting that the population had fled, been killed, or was forcibly removed.<sup>17</sup> Of course, the accounts of Ibn Jubayr and 'Imād ad-Dīn, as well as the Hospitaller charter noting the troubles at Nazareth, make it clear that many Muslims remained on Frankish lands, specifically in Tyre and Nablus in the mid-twelfth century and Nazareth in the mid-thirteenth century.

Within the small group of charters concerned with the native inhabitants under Frankish rule, the references to Muslims are outnumbered by those to Syrian Christians, who are called *Suriani*. Moreover, while references to Saracens are usually general and peripheral, references to Syrian Christians are typically quite specific, suggesting a more intimate and direct involvement with the Franks. The higher number of references to Syrian Christians than to Muslims in the charters of the Franks may corroborate the intriguing thesis recently put forth by the Israeli archaeologist and historian Ronnie Ellenblum that Frankish settlement, following a stratification dating from the era of Byzantine control, took place mainly in areas

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<sup>16</sup> At Sidon in 1110, Tyre in 1124, and in Antioch under Tancred, the Muslim cultivators were given the option to remain under Frankish rule. See B. Kedar, "Muslims of the Frankish Levant," *Muslims under Latin Rule*, ed. J. Powell, Princeton, 1990, 135-74, at pp. 146-7.

<sup>17</sup> In 1207, Innocent III authorized the Hospitallers to build villages, churches, and cemeteries in deserted places located in the confines of the Muslims and in 1217 Honorius III authorized development on lands taken from the Muslims. CGOH #1247, #1528. They were exempted from paying the tithe on these lands, #1573. Further authorization on building churches, #1867.

where Syrian Christians were a large minority or majority of the population and that they avoided those areas with a large Muslim population.<sup>18</sup>

The specific examples of native Christians in the *Cartulaire général* include many over whom the Franks held rights. Raymond of Gibelet retained possession of Thomas and his unnamed brother when he donated *casal* Messarkun to the Order.<sup>19</sup> Count William of Tripoli was accustomed to receiving dues on the beasts of the *Suriani* who worked the lands in the *villae* of Mount Pelerin.<sup>20</sup> Many were transferred to the Order, such as John Syrian, formerly of the cistern at Caffer, and all his present and future offspring; a serf named Saccus; and a Syrian named Caissardus, with his family and offspring.<sup>21</sup> The confirmations of the possessions of the Order by Baldwin I in 1110 and Baldwin III in 1154 record the transfer of at least eighteen *villani* in Nazareth, Tiberias, Caesarea, Rama, Lydda, Hebron, Jericho, and Bethsan. Since their names and religious affiliations are not given, it is not possible to make any definite identifications.<sup>22</sup>

In another example, a dispute arose between Queen Melisende and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre over thirty villains in three *casalia*, ten of whom, from Kalendria and Ramethes, are identified as *Suriani*, while twenty from Bethsurie are simply called *villani*. However, the names of several of the men from this last group, such as Nasser, Hasem, and Mahmut, appear to be Muslim.<sup>23</sup>

The cartulary evidence also provides some indications that the Franks possessed lands which were populated by Syrian Christians or which bordered those that were. For example, a church and field belonging to the Order at Acheldemach, was divided according to the borders of the old Syrians (“ab antiquis Surianis ...

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<sup>18</sup>Ellenblum, “Settlement and Society,” pp. 503-11.

<sup>19</sup>CGOH #782.

<sup>20</sup>CGOH #79.

<sup>21</sup>CGOH #470; #128; “cum omni parentela sua et omni projenie sua,” CGOH #207.

<sup>22</sup>CGOH #20, #225. These gifts are not listed in the confirmation of Baldwin II, dated 1129. CGOH #84. Other references to unspecified *villani* are found in CGOH #7, #71, and #82.

<sup>23</sup>Sépulcre, #36, #40.

divisa").<sup>24</sup> Land given to the Order at Cacho was identified as the place where the Syrians came to grind their flour.<sup>25</sup> When Eschive, lady of Tiberias, and Hugh, her son, gave the Order land near the sea of Galilee, they exempted that which was worked by *Suriani*.<sup>26</sup> Land near Acre which was given in exchange to the Order by King Baldwin, was bordered on one side by the lands of the *Suriani*.<sup>27</sup>

Evidence of the possession by native Christians of lands under Frankish rule is also provided in several charters which record donations or sales to the Hospital. The Order bought a fief in *casal* Manueth held by Nicholas, grandson of Sayt Scribe, who was most likely a native Christian, as were Abdelmessie, the *ra'īs* of Margat, who gave the Order three-quarters of the revenues of *casal* Meserafe, and his son, George, who retained the other quarter. The Order also had a vineyard in *casal* Cendina, which once belonged to Hassan Riserius, who may have been a Syrian Christian.<sup>28</sup> Around 1183, Guy, count of Jaffa and Ascalon and his wife, Sibille, bought the houses and lands belonging to their scribe, George, and his wife, Saragie, which were located in *casal* Geschale.<sup>29</sup> The Order also rented a house and land in Jerusalem to a man named Arion Jacobinus, clearly a Syrian Christian.<sup>30</sup>

Other landholders were not Syrian, but belonged to some other Christian sect. John and Joseph, sons of Saba, were Georgians who gave the Order *casal* Hara.<sup>31</sup> The name of Barda Armenus, who transferred *casal* Coketum to the Hospital sometime before 1129, may have been an Armenian.<sup>32</sup>

Although the numbers of charters containing references to both groups is by no means large, it is clear that native Christians lived a life integrated with Frankish

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<sup>24</sup>CGOH #150.

<sup>25</sup>CGOH #223.

<sup>26</sup>CGOH #459.

<sup>27</sup>CGOH #180.

<sup>28</sup>CGOH #199.

<sup>29</sup>CGOH #1276, n. 1.

<sup>30</sup>CGOH #450.

<sup>31</sup>CGOH #1996, #457, #284.

<sup>32</sup>CGOH #84.

society in the Latin East, not only as cultivators of Frankish lands and inhabitants of neighboring property, but as landholders in their own right. Their predominance in the charter evidence can be explained partially by the fact that Muslims were not benefactors of Catholic institutions. Yet even references to Muslim cultivators in the charters are few and nondescript. Moreover, with the exceptions of Ibn Jubayr and ʿImād ad-Dīn, their attitude towards the Franks as contained in the documentary evidence is characterized by hostility and resentment. Even Ibn Jubayr states that it is an insult to Islam that Muslims should live under Frankish control. One might assume that the Franks felt as uneasy as Ibn Jubayr with the situation and sought when possible to remove them from lands which came within their dominion.

### *Local Administration*

Native Christians and Muslims also served as local agents for the Frankish lord. There was a variety of familiar Latin names given to these positions, including *prepositus*, *dispensator*, *scriba*, and *bailius*, while the terms for two officials, the *raʿīs* and the *drugoman* were derived from Arabic titles. Some aspects of these latter two offices were adapted by the Frankish lords from the existing Muslim administration, but their duties had significant similarities to European practices. The office of the *drugoman* was usually filled by a Frank; the *raʿīs* was usually a Muslim or native Christian.<sup>33</sup>

The *raʿīs* is a traditional name of the village headman in the Arab world. From the charters of the Hospitallers, it is clear that there could be several *raʿīs* for one village ("quod casale concessit ... raiciis Messor, Brahym, et Bennor"), but usually there was just one.<sup>34</sup> The appearance of several *raʿīs* in one village might suggest

<sup>33</sup>Riley-Smith calculates from the surviving names that fourteen or sixteen out of twenty-five *drugomani* were Latins. J. Riley-Smith, "The Survival in Latin Palestine of Muslim Administration," *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades*, ed., P. M. Holt. Warminster, 1977, 9-22, at p.11.

<sup>34</sup>CGOH, #2747; Tafel-Thomas, p.374: "Haec sunt nomina rusticorum: Rays Sade, Rays Haindoule, Rays Meged, Meiram, Braym, etc."

that the title was merely honorific, attributed to men of standing in the village, rather than denoting the holder of a unique and specified office. Although the office could be inherited, the *raʿīs* served only as long as it pleased his lord (“quamdiu placuerit magistro et fratribus dicte domus”). Despite his position of importance in a *casal*, the *raʿīs* was still regarded as a villain and was selected from among them.<sup>35</sup> On Hospitaller lands, the *raʿīs* was responsible for maintaining, protecting, and working (“tenendum, custodiendum, et laborandum”) the village. An exceptional case was the *raisagium* “of the mountains” given to William as compensation for the transfer of Crac des Chevaliers.

The duties and responsibilities of the *raʿīs* were remarkably similar to the common European official known as the reeve.<sup>36</sup> According to Walter of Henley, the reeve was the official representative of the villains and was responsible for their well-being.<sup>37</sup> Like the *raʿīs*, he could be selected by the lord or nominated by the peasants and approved by the lord. He also served at the lord’s pleasure, on a year-to-year basis that could become heritable. He directed work in the fields and supervised the harvest. On smaller manors, he would also be responsible for collecting rents and rendering accounts, although this task was usually performed by the steward. In return for his services, the reeve received various payments and privileges similar to those enjoyed by the *raʿīs* in the Latin East, including a larger house and extra arable land.

Whereas the *raʿīs* was the representative of the cultivators, the *drugoman* seems to have been more closely aligned with the interests of the lord. This is most likely the reason why he was typically a Latin, while the *raʿīs* was a Muslim or Syrian

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<sup>35</sup>See note above, where they are referred to as *rusticorum*; cf. C. Cahen, “Notes,” p.307: “... contrairement aux paysans de son *raisagium*, il est un homme libre ...”

<sup>36</sup>Richard equates him with the “maire” of Western Europe. Richard, “*Cum omni raisagio montanee*,” p. 190.

<sup>37</sup>H. Bennet, *Life on the English Manor*, Cambridge, 1937, pp. 155-77; T. Pluckett, *The Medieval Bailiff*, London, 1954, pp. 6-7; G. Homans, *English Villagers of the Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge, MA, 1942, p. 299.

Christian. There is no charter that mentions both a *raʿīs* and a *drugoman* in the same village. A charter of Baldwin IV, dated 1173, describes the privileges of the *drugomanagium* of Cabor, Turon, and Coket, which Barute purchased from Rohard for the substantial sum of 225 besants.<sup>38</sup>

... namely that each villain of these *casalia* will give from every *carrucae* of his land one measure of corn and one of barley; you will also have from common land and the dues of the villains, two measures of corn and two of barley. Moreover, when you are present at a *casal*, the villains will feed you and your horse. When you are outside the *casalia* with your lord, he will supply you with a horse; if you should lose your horse in the service of your lord, he will pay you fifteen besants. In addition, when the lord and villains acquire one hundred measures in common revenue, you will subsequently receive from the common revenue six measures; a proportional share if the amount is less.

Whereas the *raʿīs* was a villain, the *drugoman* enjoyed a free status and was responsible for collecting the lord's share in the harvest. We have seen that in the case of Cacho, the *drugoman* had a house and land in the *casal*. The Hospital also purchased similar property in Manueth from the grandson of a man known as Sayt Scribe. The office of *scriba* was common in the royal administration and bureaucracies of the cities of the Latin East, but it must have also been a rural position. Riley-Smith has tried to draw a clear distinction between the duties of the *drugoman* and those of the rural *scriba*, but the evidence is simply too fragmented to support his argument.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>CGOH #480. "videlicet quod unusquisque villanorum horum casalium, de singulis carrucatis terre sue, dabit tibi unum modium frumenti, et unum ordeī; hababis etiam pro unaquaque carruca, de communi domini et villanorum annona, duos manipulos frumenti, et duos ordeī. Preterea cum fueris in uno istorum casalium, villani providebunt tibi et equitature tue victualia. Cum vero fueris extra casalia cum domino tuo, ipse solummodo equitature tue dabit prebendam; et si perdideris equitaturam tuam in servitio domini tui, ipse tibi pro ea reddet quindecim bizancios. Insuper, quando dominus et villani communiter acceperint de annona centum modios, tu postea accipies de communi sex modios, et sic de paucioribus secundum proporcionem."

<sup>39</sup>Riley-Smith, "Lesser officials," p. 19.

The titles *drugoman* and *scriba* suggest that these officials would have been translators and scribes.<sup>40</sup> There is very little foundation for assuming, as Riley-Smith does, that the responsibilities of the *drugoman* in the Latin charters had any connection to the *mutarjim*, whose duty was to interpret for non-Arabic speakers called before the *qadi*, or Muslim judge.<sup>41</sup> He concludes that the *scribae* collected the lord's revenues from the villages, while the *drugoman* was responsible for the administration of justice. Such a division is not supported by the evidence. The description of the *drugomanagium* provided by the Hospitaller document specifies that the *drugoman* received his payment from a share in the harvest, which was the lord's revenue from the cultivators. If the *drugoman* was responsible for administering the lord's justice, then it would be expected that his payment would be derived from a share in the judicial fines and *banal* fees exacted from the inhabitants.<sup>42</sup> In the Frankish charters, there is no indication of the holder fulfilling any judicial duties, nor any evidence that the *drugoman* had a clearly defined duty to act as a translator between the Frankish lord and his native villains, although it would have undoubtedly proven useful. In fact, if the majority of the *drugomani* were Franks, it would be very surprising if, as a requirement for office, many of them knew any Arabic at all. Prawer concludes that it seems doubtful if a *drugoman* of Frankish origin who became the hereditary possessor of the office functioned as an "interpreter."<sup>43</sup>

In the Latin charters, very few of the local officials are referred to by Arabic titles.<sup>44</sup> At Tyre, the lord's agent was known as *prepositus*, while *intepres* is more

<sup>40</sup>In some charters, these officials are called by the Latin "interpres." See CGOH #28, #2693; Josaphat, #9.

<sup>41</sup>Riley-Smith, "Lesser officials," p. 15., citing E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*, 2nd. ed. rev., Leiden, 1960, p. 258. See also Riley-Smith, "Survival," p. 11.

<sup>42</sup>G. Duby, *Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West*, trans. C. Postan, Columbia, SC, 1968, pp. 229-30.

<sup>43</sup>Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 369.

<sup>44</sup>With regard to *ra'is*, Riley-Smith makes the point that "the fragmentary nature of the evidence demonstrates their insignificance as far as the Franks were concerned." Riley-Smith, "Lesser officials," p. 9.

commonly found than *drugoman*.<sup>45</sup> On the lands of the Holy Sepulchre at Mahumeria, the cultivators were supervised by an official known as a *dispensator*. This official, appointed by the church canons, was endowed with the extraordinary power to remove cultivators from their fields for negligence. A charter of the Holy Sepulchre explains this procedure:<sup>46</sup>

If any of these men of the aforesaid vineyard should cultivate his part badly, the dispensator of Mahumeria, along with four or five sworn witnesses, shall go to him and show him the badly cultivated vine, and if he does not wish to make amends, he will pay one-half of a silver mark, and be given another vine. If any of these men wish to receive land for planting a vine, it will not be permitted unless it is on the lands of the Holy Sepulchre.

According to this charter, then, the *dispensator* also held a monopoly on cultivators at Mahumeria, requiring that they work only on lands of the Holy Sepulchre. Prawer has noted that this practice was not unknown in Europe at this period.<sup>47</sup> It would appear that on these lands of the Holy Sepulchre there was no survival of Muslim administration.

During the thirteenth century, the military orders developed an office which had responsibility for administering the *casalia* belonging to them. This official, known as the *casalier*, appears as a witness in one Hospitaller document, dated 1273, where he is identified as “fratre Reginaldo, casalario Hospitalis predicto (i.e. Acre).”<sup>48</sup> There is no further information on his duties or responsibilities, nor are there any other references to the office in the *Cartulaire général*.

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<sup>45</sup>Tafel-Thomas, p. 380.

<sup>46</sup>Sépulcre, n.136. “Et si aliquis horum hominum de supradictis vineis partem suam male coluerit, dispensator Mahumerie, adiunctis sibi quatuor vel quinque idoneis testibus, ad eum veniet, et male cultam vineam ostendet, et si noluerit emendare, dimidiam marcham argenti reddet, et altera vinea dabitur. Si aliquis autem virorum istorum terram ad plantandam vineam accipere voluerit, nisi licebit, nisi in terra Sancti Sepulcri.”

<sup>47</sup>Prawer, “Colonization Activities,” p.1101.

<sup>48</sup>CGOH, #3514.

The office is also found within the hierarchy of the Templars. The Rule of the Order contains two clauses related to the office of the *casalier*.<sup>49</sup> The first involves the requisition of animals. The second clause provides no more precise information about the duties of the office. It states only that the *casaliers* ought to have two beasts, a squire and the same portion of barley as the master; if they are able, they should give one brother four *deniers*; and they may have a sling for mounting their horse when they ride. It would appear from these vague references that the *casalier* was most probably a non-fighting sergeant, whose responsibilities were administrative, rather than military.<sup>50</sup>

Another reference to the *casalier* is found in the description written by the Templar of Tyre of the loss of the Templar castle of Safed in 1266.<sup>51</sup> According to the account, a sergeant brother of the Temple, “Leon ‘Cazelier’ des cazaus de Safet” negotiated the surrender of the castle to the forces of Baybars under a guarantee of safe-passage for all the inhabitants, which was subsequently not upheld by the Muslims. Safed was a massive complex, with a fighting force of over 2,000 men, built at a cost of 1,100,000 saracen besants. Presumably, the *casalier* had responsibility for the more than 260 dependent *casalia* and the activities of the 10,000 men who inhabited them.<sup>52</sup> The supervisory nature of this office and the degree of interaction with the native populace is unknown, but as with the *drugoman* and the *scriba*, his knowledge of Arabic, though probably not a requirement for office, assisted him in carrying out his duties.

We have seen, then, that there were officials known as *prepositus*, *interpres*, *bailius* and *dispensator*, and that at some time in the development of the hierarchy of the military orders, the office of *casalier* appeared. The positions of the *drugoman* and

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<sup>49</sup>*La règle des templiers*, ed. L. Daillez, Nice, 1977, paras. 135, 181.

<sup>50</sup>For the distinction between knights, armed sergeants, and non-military sergeants, see A. Forey, *The Military Orders*, Toronto, 1993, pp. 176, *passim*; Barber, *New Knighthood*, pp. 190-3.

<sup>51</sup>*Les gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud, p. 180.

<sup>52</sup>Barber, *New Knighthood*, p. 166.

*raʿīs* were by no means the only or most common supervisory offices in the Latin East. Moreover, while it must be recognized that the title of *drugoman* does indeed come from an Arabic word meaning interpreter, there is no evidence in the charters that the officials holding such a title performed any work of interpretation in the administration of the lord's justice. On the contrary, their work was mainly concerned with supervising the lord's lands and collecting the rents at harvest time. The officials in the Latin East responsible for supervising the work of the cultivators in their lord's *casalia* had duties similar in scope to officials in Europe, whether they were designated by an Arabic or a Latin title.

### *Rent and taxation*

In the Frankish charters, there are a few, scattered references to the types of rents and taxes collected on rural property. Most of these were commonly found in parts of Europe as well. A case has been made that the Franks also adopted two Arabic forms of taxation known as *kharaḥ* and *jizya*. The evidence for this argument is quite inconclusive, however. Moreover, as was the case with the local officials, tenure arrangements have a great similarity with European practices. Before looking at their appearance in the charters of the Franks, it is necessary to examine briefly their origins under Islam.

Regional variations within the vast cultural and geographic borders of the Islamic world, especially between Arabia proper, Iraq, and Iran on the one hand, and Egypt and Syria on the other, prohibit any neat and clean discussion of taxation. In his study of taxation in early Islam, Dennett makes this point very clearly, "There was no system of *kharaḥ* or *jizya*. It is impossible to name a single Muslim jurist or historian who unmistakably asserts that there was uniformity of practice throughout

the Arab Empire. In fact, all the evidence points the other way."<sup>53</sup> Nonetheless, some basic generalizations can be made. The two fundamental forms of Islamic taxation are the *kharāj*, a tax levied on the land, paid by the cultivator to the state and the *jizya*, a capitation or poll-tax paid by *dhimmis*, subject peoples who had not converted to Islam after the conquest.<sup>54</sup> In Egypt and Syria, these were mostly Christians and Jews, who were regarded as *'ahl al-kitāb*, or people of the book.

Some authors, following Cahen, claim the word *kharāj* derives from the Greek, via Syriac, and was adapted from the Byzantines and Sasanians by the Arabs after the conquests.<sup>55</sup> Cahen further asserts that the inhabitants in Syria paid the same tax under the Muslims and that the Byzantine methods of assessment continued. There is evidence from the *Chronicle of John* (mid-seventh c.) that this was indeed the case, at least in early Islamic Egypt.<sup>56</sup> In contrast, Dennett cites an anonymous chronicler of 1234 to the effect that after the conquest of Syria the caliph ordered his generals to allow the conquered inhabitants to live according to their laws and customs "which they held before our time, but to pay tribute according to your rules."<sup>57</sup> Whatever its origins, the tax developed further within the Islamic context.

According to Muslim jurists, during the period of the Arab conquests in the seventh and eighth centuries, the *kharāj* was initially levied on the lands of non-Muslims which had not been surrendered to the Islamic *'umma*. However, as more and more cultivators became Muslim and, thus, were subject to the less onerous *'ushr*, revenues paid to the Islamic treasury began to shrink. In response, the Abbasid

<sup>53</sup>D. Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam*, Cambridge, 1950, p. 11.

<sup>54</sup>C. Cahen, "Dhimma," *EI*<sup>2</sup>. v. 2. Leiden, 1965, 227-31.

<sup>55</sup>C. Cahen, "Kharāj," *EI*<sup>2</sup>. v. 4, pt. 2. Leiden, 1973, 1030-4., at p. 1030; cf. R. Cooper, "The Assessment and Collection of Kharāj Tax in Medieval Egypt," *JAOS*, 96 (1976), 365-82, at p. 365; C. E. Bosworth, "Abū 'Abdallāh al-Khawārazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art," *JESHO*, 12 (1969), 113-64, at p. 130; W. Henning, assigns an Aramaic etymology, "Arabisch harāg." *Orientalia*, 4 (1935), 291-3. F. Løkkegaard, opts for a Persian derivation, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period, with special reference to circumstances in Iraq*, Copenhagen, 1950, p. 125.

<sup>56</sup>K. Morimoto, *Fiscal Administration of Egypt in the Early Islamic Period*, Kyoto, 1981, p. 40.

<sup>57</sup>Dennett, "Conversion," pp. 59-60. Cf. the translation found in *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles*, trans. A. Palmer, et al., Liverpool, 1993, p. 145.

caliph al-Saffāh decreed that *kharaḥ* would be extracted from these specified lands, whether the cultivator became a Muslim or not.<sup>58</sup> According to the schools of law, the *'ushr* was a tenth of the produce or harvest, while the *kharaḥ* might vary from one-fifth to two-thirds, often as much as one-half.<sup>59</sup> The tax was assessed upon the village collectively and not upon the individual land parcels.<sup>60</sup>

Technically, the *kharaḥ* should be distinguished from the second tax, the *jizya*, a head-tax levied on non-Muslims, or *dhimmis*, in return for protection. In Egypt under the Umayyads, *jizya* was used to denote the poll tax, while *jizya arḍ* was used for the land tax.<sup>61</sup> *Kharaḥ* was not used at all. Under the Abbasids a specialization of terminology arose, in which *kharaḥ* was applied exclusively to the land tax, while *jizya* denoted the head-tax.<sup>62</sup> Under the rule of the Seljuk Turks, in the lands formerly held by the Byzantines, most lands were considered state property; therefore there was no *kharaḥ*, although taxes in the form of share-cropping were paid by the non-Muslim cultivators, along with the capitation tax, all under the term *jizya*, while the term *kharaḥ* came to denote the head tax. The reversal of the common usage of these terms lasted into Ottoman times and has continued to cause confusion among recent historians.<sup>63</sup>

*Jizya* was to be exacted only upon adult, able-bodied men and not upon women, children, the elderly, invalids, slaves and the mentally insane.<sup>64</sup> Rates differed from region to region, but in general a typical assessment was one or two dinars per head. In Egypt, the amount was based on the total population of the village, with the understanding that this amount would be divided among the inhabitants in such a

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<sup>58</sup>Morimoto, *Fiscal Administration*, p. 222.

<sup>59</sup>See Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation*, p. 72.

<sup>60</sup>Cahen, "Kharādj," p. 1031.

<sup>61</sup>Morimoto, *Fiscal Administration*, p. 136.

<sup>62</sup>Cahen, "Djizya," pp. 559-60.

<sup>63</sup>See J. Bowring, *Report on the Commercial Statistics of Syria*, London, 1840, (rpt. 1972), pp. 112, 118, 123; J. Richard, *Le Royaume latin de Jerusalem*, Paris, 1953, p. 123.

<sup>64</sup>Cahen, "Djizya," p. 561.

way that the wealthier paid a larger proportion than the indigent.<sup>65</sup> Conversion to Islam freed the inhabitant from the *jizya*, but he then became subject to the *zakāt*.

The *kharāj* and the *jizya*, then, represent the two main forms of tax revenue derived from non-Muslims, with *zakāt* and *‘ushr* exacted upon the followers of Islam. For our purposes, the *kharāj* and *‘ushr* may be regarded as taxes upon land or produce, while the *jizya* and *zakāt* are payments based on income. With an understanding of these general notions of Islamic taxation, let us now turn to their appearance in the Frankish charters.

A few charters indicate that the basic rent paid by the villains for their parcels of land was the *carragium*, also known as the *terraticum* or *terrarium*.<sup>66</sup> Most authors have seen these terms as either a corruption (*carragium*) or a Latin synonym (*terraticum*, *terrarium*) of the *kharāj*, and have argued that it continued to be collected from cultivators under Frankish lordship.<sup>67</sup>

With regard to the term *carragium*, the assumption of a direct connection to the Arabic *kharāj* is especially troublesome; there are too many possibilities to assure any definitive conclusions. The problem is largely a linguistic one, but a few suggestions may be proposed. To begin with, the term *carragium* may just as well be formed from the Anglo-French *caruage* or *carruga*, misleadingly similar in appearance to *kharāj*, but deriving its meaning from the Latin *carruca* or chariot, later plough.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>65</sup>Cahen, "Djizya," p. 560.

<sup>66</sup>The examples I have identified: Sépulcre, #120, 121 - *terraticum*; CGOH, #399 - *terrarium*; Teut., #57 - *terraciis*; the term *terraticum* is also found in Norman Sicily; see for example, L. R. Ménager, *Regesta des actes des ducs normands d'italie (1046-1127)*, 1981, pp. 54, 121, 201, 217; see also Matthew, *Norman Kingdom of Sicily*, p. 239.

<sup>67</sup>See Cahen, "Notes," p.300: "C'est cet impot proportionnel sur les récoltes qui est désignée selon les textes tantôt sous le nom occidental de terrage, tantôt sous le nom original de carragium, c'est à dire kharadj;" and J. Præwer, *Crusaders' Kingdom*, p.375: "Under cover of the Latin name [terraticum], we suspect an earlier Moslem tax, the kharaj ..."; J. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174-1277*, London, 1973, pp. 44-5. G. Ostrogorsky has taken a similar view with regard to the establishment of the Latin Empire of Constantinople in 1204, "[the Crusaders] found that they were completely familiar with existing conditions, which they could take over without much alteration." Ostrogorsky, G. "Agrarian conditions in the Byzantine Empire in the Middle Ages." *CEHE*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. v. 1. Cambridge, 1966, 205-34, at p. 216.

<sup>68</sup>See J. Round and W. Stevenson, "Notes and Documents," *EHR*, 4 (1889), 105-10, at pp.108-10.

As noted in Ch. 1, this word serves as the basis for the Frankish land term *carruca*, meaning plough-land. In fact, the *carruca* is sometimes called *caruge* in the charters.<sup>69</sup>

Rather than a land tax, it is possible in some cases that the term *carragium* is not synonymous with *terragium*, but rather indicates a carriage service or a toll on carts, most likely charged when bringing the harvest to the lord's curia. This is the definition provided by Latham under the entries for *carriagium* (c. 1160) and *carragium* (c. 1170).<sup>70</sup> *Carregium* is also found as a variant spelling under the entry for *carreda* in DuCange, who provides a similar definition of a fee for carriage. Indeed, this appears to be the sense in which the word is used in a Templar document from Arles of 1142.<sup>71</sup> In this document, reference is repeatedly made to *carreig*, for example, "lo carreig xii deneirs raimondegz." Surely this money payment found in France is not at all related to *kharaġ*, but rather, most probably to a fee for carriage or transportation of the harvest from the fields to the lord or his agent. Such a fee is often found in medieval Europe.<sup>72</sup> A perhaps similar payment is indicated in a document from the *Cartulaire général*, which transfers the right of two "bêtes de charge."<sup>73</sup>

In particular, the account of the occurrence of *kharaġ* in the Frankish charters identified by Riley-Smith in his book on feudal administration in the Kingdom of Jerusalem requires detailed re-examination.<sup>74</sup> It must be kept in mind that variations in spelling make a precise definition impossible, so that any conclusions must remain tentative. The first charter, dated 1193, concerns the dispute over tithes at Margat

<sup>69</sup>See for example, Tafel-Thomas, p. 371.

<sup>70</sup>R. Latham, *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*. London, 1975- .

<sup>71</sup>*Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple*, ed. Marquis d'Albon, Oxford, 1913, pp. 183-5.

<sup>72</sup>See for example, the many references, especially #684 and 901, in the index to the *Cartulary of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in England, secunda camera*, ed. M. Gervers, Oxford, 1982. Also called *portagium*, see Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 376. Other examples can be found in a document dated 1164-76 from Dublin in *British Borough Charters*, ed. A. Ballard, Cambridge, 1913, p. 184; and in Normandy during the reign of Henry II in a confirmation of exemption to the abbey of Saint-Evroul "ab omnibus consuetudinibus et theloneis et taillis et auxiliis et carragiis, muragiis, et escuagiis, avenagiis, et fossatis, et omnibus aliis districtionibus ...," *Recueil des actes de Henri II*, ed. L. Delisle and E. Berger, II, Paris, 1920, p. 71.

<sup>73</sup>CGOH #1097, *Inventaire*.

<sup>74</sup>Riley-Smith, "Feudal nobility," pp. 44; 252, n. 58.

between the Hospital and the church at Valenia.<sup>75</sup> The Hospital agrees to hand over to the church the tithe held “in casalibus et redditibus ab eisdem exeuntibus, caraggiis, pactis, ...”. This is the most credible evidence for a reference to *kharaġ* because it is included among two other terms which refer to contracts for payments of rent. The other examples are less persuasive.

The second charter, also from the Hospital, dated 1238, contains the following lines: “Preterea cum antedicti magister et fratres, pro vicesima de caragiis casalis ejusdem, quinque tantum bizantios exvolant eidem, et rationem illorum, qui recipiunt, ad majorem solutionem ei prestande vicesime teneantur secundum quantitatem receptorum, exhiberi sibi postulavit eandem.”<sup>76</sup> It may be the case, as suggested above, that, as used here, the term *caragiis* could just as plausibly be a spelling variation of *carruca*, the land measurement commonly found in the charters of the Latin East, and with a number of variant spellings, e.g. *carrega* (Hosp. # 3018), *carrugas* (Hosp. # 94), *caruge* (Tafel-Thomas, p. 371.), as well as *carruc[cagio]* and *carrugag[iis]* from two English documents, dated 1199-1200.<sup>77</sup> It is noteworthy that Du Cange contains an entry for *charuagium*, which carries the following definition, “terra quae caruca seu aratro colitur.” Such a meaning for this word would fit in context just as nicely as an adaptation of *kharaġ*. It is also important to note that this document is issued under the name of Pope Gregory IX at the Lateran. It certainly casts some doubt on the authenticity of *caragiis* as a Muslim term if it originates in the chancery of the Pope.

In the third example cited by Riley-Smith, the French variation *karrage* appears in a Hospitaller document dated 1139, recorded in the *Inventaire*. The summary reads, “Donation faite à l’Hôpital de Hierusalem par Raymond I, prince d’Antioche, ... de six besans et demy censuels et neuf écus de karrage, qu’il prenoit sur

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<sup>75</sup>CGOH #941.

<sup>76</sup>CGOH #2199.

<sup>77</sup>See *Rotuli Chartarum*, pp. 2a, 15b, 47b. cited in Round and Stevenson, “Notes and documents,” p. 105-8.

le jardin que Trigaud avoit donné à l'ordre ... ." Without the text itself, the details of this document are too vague to allow for more than speculation. There is no indication as to the size of the garden or what was grown in it. There are no prohibitions against the levelling of *kharaḥ* on fruit trees, but it should be noted that this is a money payment and not a portion of the harvest. This fact makes this item an anomaly even among the rare, scattered documents under discussion here.

The fourth example, from the cartulary of the Teutonic Knights, dated 1257, is more detailed, but by no means definitive in its description of a settlement between the bishop of Acre and the Teutonic Knights over a wide range of payments and dues.<sup>78</sup> It contains the following statement: "Et debent solvere dictam quintam decimam de vino suarum vinearum et de charagiis et de oleo suorum villanorum de tanto quantum inde recipiunt et de suomet oleo, de computagio caprarum, de apibus, et de exeniis villanorum suorum ... ." The exact meaning of the term "charagiis" is debatable, and its placement in the text is perplexing. If it is indeed a reference to *kharaḥ*, it would seem unnecessary to include it among payments of wine and oil, since a portion of these goods would constitute a payment of *kharaḥ*. The charter continues to list a variety of goods and animals, including she-goats, bees, geese, eggs, and cheese. The contents of this listing allows for the possibility that the word *charagiis* may refer to another product, namely the carob nut. The tree was quite common in Syria and its fruit was valued by the inhabitants. Its inclusion can be considered here because its French variant is *carrouge*, which when rendered into Latin may have taken the form displayed in this charter.<sup>79</sup>

The fifth document, a charter concerning the Order of S. Lazarus makes no mention of *kharaḥ*, despite Riley-Smith's assertions to the contrary.<sup>80</sup> Rather than

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<sup>78</sup>Teut. #112.

<sup>79</sup>See P. Monet, *Inventaire des deus langues françoise et latine*, Geneva, rpt. 1973.

<sup>80</sup>"Fragment d'un cartulaire de l'ordre de Saint-Lazare en Terre Sainte," *AOL*, 2 (1884), #112, pp. 129-30.

*kharaḥ*, it refers to *cavage*, a capitation or head tax, which was a common feature of European lordship.<sup>81</sup>

Riley-Smith also cites the travel account of Ibn Jubayr as an instance in which the word *kharaḥ* is found, when he remarks that the inhabitants of a village outside Acre paid half their harvest as rent to their Frankish lord. It should be noted, however, that an examination of the passage in Arabic clearly shows that he does not use the term *kharaḥ*. Rather, he writes only that *nisf*, or half, of the harvest is collected as tax. A variant manuscript reading gives *thulth*, that is, a third.<sup>82</sup>

The various suggestions provided in this examination demonstrate that no consistent and definitive explanation can be provided for the exact meaning and usage of the term (or more likely terms) contained in these charters. But this is perhaps the point to be made. There is little support within these scattered and ambiguous references to conclude that the Muslim *kharaḥ* survived under Frankish rule. Even if these terms do indeed represent adaptations of the word *kharaḥ*, it is crucial to understand that the appearance of an Arabic term for taxation in Crusader documents does not prove that Arabic taxation practices survived. The validity of this point is further proved by the presence of European practices in Frankish rural administration.

That the Latin terms *terrage* and its variants appear in charters from the Latin East is not surprising because these terms have a long tradition in parts of Europe. *Terragium* and *terraticum*, in contrast to *carragium*, correspond nicely with the kind of rent payment which historians have found in the Latin East, that is, rent

<sup>81</sup>Duby, *Rural Economy*, pp. 222, 224.

<sup>82</sup>*Rihlat Ibn Jubayr*, p. 383. Cf. Riley-Smith, "Lesser Officials," p. 13, n. 1. D. S. Richards has identified a passage from 'Imād ad-Dīn al-Isfahānī, which, given a translation different from that found in *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin*, tends to support the view that the daily lives of the Muslim inhabitants changed little under Crusader rule. Richards' translation states: "The villagers of the Nablus area and the majority of its inhabitants were Muslims and had accommodated themselves to living as subjects of the Franks (litt. were strung or threaded onto the thread of the subject people with the Franks) who annually collected from them a tax levy (qarar), and changed not a single law or cult practice of theirs." As Richards notes, qarar as "tribute, levy" has no direct evidence, but the verb form qarrara is common in the sense of "impose a levy." In any case, there is here no mention of kharaj or djizya in a specific or general usage. See D. S. Richards, "Notes," *Arabica*, 25 (1978), 203-4.

paid in the form of a share in the harvest.<sup>83</sup> According to DuCange, the earliest mention of *terraticum* is in a charter of Emperor Ludwig II in 869. *Terrage* is first contained in a charter of Count Otto in 1030. In western France, *terrage* appears between 1030 and 1060, but given the long time before they are written into text, they could have appeared before 1000.<sup>84</sup> In this region, the proportional rates vary from one-seventh to one-third of the harvest, but almost two-thirds of the references are to a rate of one-fourth of the harvest.<sup>85</sup>

It is possible as well in certain cases that several redevances are imposed upon the same land, so that when combined with the tithe at one-tenth, the rate of one-fourth is raised to one-third. On lands subject to the tithe, *terrage* was taken from what was left of the crop after the tithe had been deducted.<sup>86</sup>

In Provence, a similar arrangement is found under the name *facherie*, a contract by which the lord concedes land for a fixed term against the payment of a quarter, third, or half of the harvest. Four acts from the *Cartulaire de St. Thomas de Trinquetaille* between 1190-1198 contain the term, one of which states that the amount charged by the Templars was one-fourth.<sup>87</sup> Similar rates are found in the south-west of France, where rents on vineyards are usually fixed at one-fourth and other crops at one-third.<sup>88</sup>

Germany provides an abundance of similar examples, where the introduction of share-cropping or *métayage* is related to the abandonment of direct exploitation. This point will become extremely important when examining the extent of demesne land in

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<sup>83</sup>F. L. Ganshof and Adriaan Verhulst, "Medieval Agrarian Society in its Prime: ¶I. France, The Low Countries, and Western Germany," *CEHE*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. v. 1. Cambridge, 1966, 291-339, at p. 312; and G. Duby, *Rural Economy*, p. 217. Some specific examples may be found in *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de St.-Victor de Marseille*, ed. M. Guérard, Paris, 1857, #163 (d. 817); 174 (d. 1001); 189 (d. 1030); 160 (1069); *Cartulaire de Sainte-Croix d'Orléans*, ed. J. Thillier and E. Jarry, Paris, 1906, #28 (d. 1171); 153 (d. 1171).

<sup>84</sup>M. Le Mené, "Les redevances à part de fruits dans l'ouest de la France au Moyen Age," *Flaran* 7, p. 13.

<sup>85</sup>Le Mené, "Les redevances à part de fruits," p. 18.

<sup>86</sup>For European practice on tithe, see B.H. Slicher van Bath, *The Agrarian History of Western Europe, A.D. 500-1850*, London, 1963.

<sup>87</sup>*Cartulaire de St. Thomas de Trinquetaille*, ed. P. A. Amargier, Gap, 1972, pp. 119, 175, 179, 180.

<sup>88</sup>G. and M. Sicard, "Redevances à part de fruits et métayage dans le sud-ouest de la France au Moyen Age," *Flaran* 7, 61-74, at pp. 63-7. See also R. Grand, *Le contrat de complant depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris, 1917.

the Crusader settlements in the Latin East. *Métayage* is a form of cultivation in which the lord provides the land as well as a part or whole of investments such as seeds, tools, plough and plough-team.<sup>89</sup> In contrast, *tenure à champart* or *terrage* requires the tenant to put up all the expenses and equipment and assume all the risks. The lord invests nothing, so he receives a comparatively smaller portion of the harvest, often one-eighth to one-sixteenth.

Share-cropping is also found throughout Germany, except in the colonized regions of the east, where only fixed rents are found. For vineyards, the rate was typically one-fourth to one-half of the harvest. For cereals, one-half or one-third, depending on the crop, the more precious, such as autumn wheat requiring a higher proportion from the cultivator.<sup>90</sup> It is worth noting that in the Cistercian rules of 1134 in Germany, *métayage* is expressly forbidden, but the prohibition could not withstand the movement to this form of revenue exaction by the lord. Two centuries later, in the county of Wurtemberg in 1380, the ratio of land in direct exploitation to that under *métayage* stood at 1:36, from a ratio of 1:4 thirty years earlier.<sup>91</sup> Such examples from Europe indicate that the origin and nature of rent under the Franks in the Latin East is more solidly based on a European system than in the survival of Muslim administration and the *kharaḥ*.<sup>92</sup>

Moreover, by looking more closely at the nature of the *kharaḥ*, the arguments for its survival become even less persuasive. The *kharaḥ* is a tax levied on the land, paid to the state.<sup>93</sup> This designation, it is important to note, immediately distinguishes

<sup>89</sup>G. Sivéry, "Les tenures à part de fruits et le métayage dans le nord de la France et les Pays-Bas (jusqu'au début du xvie siècle)," *Flaran* 7, 27-42, at p. 30.

<sup>90</sup>K.-H. Spiess, "Teilpacht (métayage) et teilbauverträge (baux à part de fruits) en Allemagne occidentale au Moyen Age et aux temps modernes," *Flaran* 7, 119-44, at p. 124.

<sup>91</sup>Spiess, "Teilpacht," p. 136.

<sup>92</sup>Sharecropping was a common arrangement in the Islamic Middle East as well, where it was known as *muqāsama* and *muzārāa*. See B. Johansen, *Islamic Law on Land Tax and Rent*, London, 1988, pp. 9, 15-17. Because they do not appear in the Latin charters, they are not considered here. Johansen (pp. 80-1) also follows Cahen in asserting the practical equivalence of tax and rent, especially with regard to the *iqṭā'*.

<sup>93</sup>A. Watson has characterized the Muslim doctrine of state ownership of land as a "fiction" to which legal and religious authorities sometimes paid "lip-service." Such doctrine, he continues, "had almost no practical application." See *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World*, Cambridge, 1984, p. 112.

the *kharāj* from the Latin arrangement, which was a payment made to the lord. Cahen has argued that the privatization of tax-collecting under the feudal regime of the Franks negated the distinction between *terrage* as a private rent and *kharāj* as a public tax.<sup>94</sup> Such a distinction might have been lost on the worker forced to make the payment, but the shift has a profound theoretical resonance.<sup>95</sup> It is difficult to make an argument for the survival of an institution when the very foundations upon which it is built have been swept away. Once the public nature of a tax is changed into a private rent, how can it be said to survive in anything but name? And as has been shown, even the survival of the term can be called into question.

A similar argument may be made with regard to the survival of the Muslim *jizya*. It has been argued recently by some scholars that the Franks took over the Muslim practice of exacting a head-tax, only instead of imposing it on *dhimmi*s, it was now collected from Muslims.<sup>96</sup> In this case, the writings of Ibn Jubayr do explicitly refer to the head-tax on Muslim inhabitants of Frankish lands as *jizya*, but such limited evidence certainly does not warrant the conclusions of LaMonte that it represented one of the chief revenues taken by the kings of Jerusalem.<sup>97</sup> Again, the argument being made for survival of the *jizya* is refuted by the fact that the tax as administered by the Muslims was specifically intended for non-Muslims who were *dhimmi*s. How can it then be said to survive when its fundamental nature and purpose have been removed?

The Franks did not simply adopt this method of taxation; rather they introduced their own, indigenous system which shared similarities with that practiced

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<sup>94</sup>C. Cahen, "La Féodalité et les institutions politiques de l'orient latin," *Oriente ed occidente nel Medio Evo*, Rome, 1957, p. 184.

<sup>95</sup>See the debate between Chris Wickham and Halil Berktaý over the existence of feudalism under the Ottomans. C. Wickham, "The Uniqueness of the East," *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 12 (1985), 166-96; H. Berktaý, "The Feudalism Debate: the Turkish End," *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 14 (1987), 291-333. See also J. Haldon, *The State and the Tributary Mode of Production*, London, 1993, p. 75.

<sup>96</sup>J. Richard, *Le Royaume latin de Jérusalem*, p. 123, which refers to this tax as *kharāj*; C. Cahen assumes a similar transformation in Sicily, where the Normans imposed the *jizya* on Muslims and Jews. C. Cahen, *Le régime féodal de l'Italie normande*, Paris, 1940

<sup>97</sup>J. LaMonte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge, MA, 1932, p. 175.

in the lands they conquered. Indeed, as with rent in the form of a share of the harvest, the head-tax was a common institution in medieval Europe; its appearances throughout England and the continent are too abundant to list. Duby has identified *chevage* as early as the tenth century and speculates that it was an even more ancient practice.<sup>98</sup> Certainly, it was well-known in the Roman Empire and early Byzantium. Like the *jizya*, *chevage* was considered a payment indicative of subjection, but in Europe it was not based on religion.

Again an important distinction between the two regimes must be made both in theory and in practice. All Muslim jurists and their legal traditions agree that *jizya* is to be collected only from able-bodied adult males who are not Muslims. It is true that the evidence of Ibn Jubayr indicates that under Crusader rule, the head-tax was now levied on the Muslims, but contrary to Islamic law, on females as well as males. Moreover, the document from Cyprus in 1210 indicates that the *chevage* was collected from Christian cultivators, as well as Muslims.<sup>99</sup> The administration of such taxation more clearly resembles European than Islamic practice.

By paying the head-tax, the Muslim and perhaps the Syrian Christian cultivators were exempt from the tithe. Several papal decrees related to the possessions of the Abbey of Our Lady of Josaphat indicate that revenues derived from “rusticii infidelii” were to be kept in total by the abbey, that is to say, the tithe would not be taken from these rents.<sup>100</sup> As well, it appears that the proposal of Thoros, king of Armenia, to settle 30,000 Christians in Palestine in the 1160s was scuttled when the Church insisted on collecting the tithe from these new cultivators, although it was not being collected from the Muslims.<sup>101</sup> A papal confirmation concerning the possessions of the Abbey of Our Lady of Josaphat contains the

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<sup>98</sup>See above, n. 80.

<sup>99</sup>Syrian and Greek Christians, as well as Muslims and Jews paid poll tax. Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 219.

<sup>100</sup>*Josaphat*, #21, #27-8, #31, #49.

<sup>101</sup>*Ernoul*, pp. 27-30, and *Guillaume de Tyr et ses continuaturs*, v. 2, pp. 289-91.

phrase: "aliisque decimis bonorum hominum latinorum," suggesting that only Latin Christians paid the tithe there as well.<sup>102</sup>

In Europe, the tithe represented a major form of revenue for religious orders; the situation was no different in the Latin East.<sup>103</sup> The charters are filled with the disputes between various religious and lay organizations over claims to the tithe on produce and lands.<sup>104</sup> As we have seen, in Islamic law, there is a parallel to the tithe, known as the *zakāt*. It was usually levied at ten per cent of income including food harvests, fruits, grapes, and nuts, cattle and animals, and sometimes gold and silver and other merchandise.<sup>105</sup> This practice in both societies has its origins in Judaic tradition and was adapted and institutionalized by the Christian church and the Islamic theocracy. According to the direction of Muhammad, it is incumbent upon all Muslims who meet a minimum level of wealth. Until the time of Abū Bakr in 632-34 A.D., the tax was usually given to the recipients directly from the hand of the benefactor. According to tradition, in addition to the destitute, recipients included parents, relatives, orphans, travellers, beggars, and slaves. The reforms of Abū Bakr made the tax a regular institution, which required payment to the state treasury for distribution. Only Muslims paid *zakāt*. Payment of the *jizya* by *dhimmis* exempted them from this payment, which depending on the wealth of the cultivator, probably resulted in a lower rate. In practice, the collection of the tax was often difficult and evasion widespread. In some cases, the secular tax on land, known as '*ushr*', replaced the *zakāt*. On a superficial level, this tax appears quite similar to the European tithe, but there were significant theoretical and practical differences. In Islamic administration, the *zakāt* as well as '*ushr*' was collected by the state in the name of the

<sup>102</sup> *Josaphat*, #31.

<sup>103</sup> For the history of the tithe in Europe, see the two works by P. Viard, *Histoire de la dîme ecclésiastique principalement en France jusqu'au Décret de Gratian*, Dijon, 1909; and *Histoire de la dîme ecclésiastique dans le royaume de France aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, Paris, 1912; a more recent, but narrowly focused work is G. Constable, *Monastic tithes from their origins to the twelfth century*, Cambridge, 1964.

<sup>104</sup> See Riley-Smith, *Knights*, pp. 440-4 for more discussion of tithe disputes amongst the Franks themselves.

<sup>105</sup> See J. Schacht, "Zakāt," *EI*, v. 4, pt. 2. Leiden, 1934, 1202-5.

Muslim community. *Zakāt* was often used for military and political purposes, in addition to poor relief. Such features provide a stark contrast to the collection and distribution of the European tithe, where the tenth was claimed and collected in the name of the Church by various religious communities.

Rent as paid in a share of the harvest was not the only feature of European land tenure which was found in the Latin East. Often, as in Tuscany, these dues were accompanied by gifts to the lord such as chicken, eggs, and cheese.<sup>106</sup> There are several examples, such as those concerning the Venetians at Tyre, of these gifts in the Latin East, as well.<sup>107</sup> Here too it is difficult to find any evidence for the survival of the Muslim system.

It is as hard to follow other conclusions that the Franks did not introduce any features of feudal Europe into the Latin East.<sup>108</sup> One need only look at the Hospitaller settlement at Bethgibelin to see a clear example of a European form of settlement.<sup>109</sup> Prawer has studied this colonisation custom extensively. He has concluded that the number of the earliest settlers, around 1153, was thirty-two families, numbering between 100 and 150 people. All of them were Franks and the majority were newcomers from Europe. Their terms of settlement stipulated that they were obliged to pay the annual *terragium* on crops and fruits. Here is an example of cultivators, none of them Muslim or Syrian Christians, settled according to a European custom, who paid a proportion of their harvest to their lord as rent. Here too did the *kharaḥ* survive?

We may ask the same question of another settlement founded by the canons of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on lands given to them by Godfrey of Bouillon.<sup>110</sup> Magna Mahumeria (al-Bira) established a custom of settlement which was copied

<sup>106</sup>See T. Byres, "Historical perspectives on sharecropping," *Sharecropping and Sharecroppers*, ed. T. Byres, London, 1983, 7-40.

<sup>107</sup>See for example, Tafel-Thomas, p. 371.

<sup>108</sup>See Cahen's comments to this effect in "La féodalité," p. 184.

<sup>109</sup>See J. Prawer, "Colonization activities," pp. 1087-95.

<sup>110</sup>See J. Prawer, "Colonization activities," pp. 1095-1103.

throughout the twelfth century until the territorial gains of Saladin in the 1180s. The terms of settlement are clearly laid out along European lines. The Frankish settlers, about 150 families at the most, were mainly involved in viticulture, although there were a number of craftsmen and artisans as well. As at Bethgibelin, land was granted against a share of the harvest, *terraticum*, in this case, ranging from one-third to one-half. Prawer has also identified grants of land which he associates with a variation of the *champart* or *complant* contract, known as *medietaria*.<sup>111</sup> At Mahumeria, the contract stipulates that the lands are held in perpetuity and heritable against a payment of one-half. If the cultivator wishes to sell the land, then he is obliged to return half the price to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre. In this settlement custom, as in that of Bethgibelin, there is not a trace of Muslim survival. The sharecropping arrangements were elements of European origin.

One of the main arguments against the introduction of European forms of land tenure assumes the almost total absence of demesne land in the Latin East.<sup>112</sup> As we have seen, this absence was not as absolute as has been assumed. Yet even so, the lack of demesne is not a convincing proof that a European system was not imposed. For security and cultural considerations, some Frankish lords were *rentiers*, residing in the cities and not on their lands. At first glance, one may assume that the absentee lord was merely following the Muslim custom. After all, the Middle East in the Middle Ages was largely an urban society, centred around the great cities of Cairo, Baghdad, and Damascus. Europe at this period, on the contrary, was a predominantly rural society, centred around the great manors in the countryside, where the lord lived directly off the produce of his estates. Thus, it would have been natural for the Crusaders in the Latin East to attempt to impose their manorial customs in place of the native Muslim customs, and to introduce the demesne and its accompanying

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<sup>111</sup>The term *medietaria* often used in a generic sense, referring to the work shared by the tenant and the lord and not necessarily designating a split of one-half to each party. R. Grand, *L'agriculture*, p. 133, n.2.

<sup>112</sup>See ultimately Cahen, "Notes," p. 297.

labor services. That this effort did not succeed is seen as proof that the Islamic land tenure system survived. Such a view, however, does not take into account the evolution of the European system during this period.

Although it is suggested in the present thesis that the denial of the existence of demesne land and direct exploitation is unfounded, there is no reason to take the opposite view that rural settlement by the Franks was the overwhelming rule, not the exception. When analyzing the features of Frankish lordship, there are grounds for suggesting that the supposed lack of demesne land and feudal services in the Latin East may in fact derive from contemporary developments in the feudal system of Europe, where there was a movement at this same period away from demesne land and towards the elimination of services. In England and France, especially, the elimination of demesne land took place under three specific conditions: 1) shortage of labor; 2) difficulty of cultivating newly acquired or remote territory; 3) preference of lords to reside in cities for comfort, security, and convenience.<sup>113</sup> These were precisely the conditions which most historians believe to have obtained in the Latin East.<sup>114</sup> Because of the scarcity and reluctance of Muslim workers and the difficulty in encouraging European peasants to settle abroad, labor was in short supply. This short supply made it difficult to exact the labor services necessary to maintain a demesne. Moreover, the political and military instability of the Crusader states made travel to, and residence in, the rural areas impractical and dangerous. This situation,

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<sup>113</sup>Duby, *Rural Economy*, pp.198-204.

<sup>114</sup>Ellenblum argues that the assumption that the Franks did not settle in the countryside and only collected a share in crops "is not based on documentary or archaeological sources and is in no way accurate." In his field research, Ellenblum has identified the remains of more than 200 rural sites settled by the Franks. These usually took one of two forms, both commonly found in Europe: rural *burgi* attached to fortified castles and *maisons fortes*, located in remote areas and organized around the manor for agricultural exploitation, including pathways to the fields and extensive irrigation. Ellenblum uses the large numbers of these settlements to refute the prevailing view that the Franks created a largely, if not exclusively, urban society of rentiers and absentee landlords who lived off the share of the harvest which they extracted in kind from their predominantly Muslim subjects. Although these conclusions call for further elaboration and research, they suggest that the Crusaders were much more involved in rural settlement and administration than has previously been assumed. See Ellenblum, "Settlement," p. 506.

which was typical of the Latin East in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, became increasingly more common in Europe over time.

The lack of demesne land and the shortage of labor also reduced the demand for *corvée*, or labor services required from the peasants by the lord. There is a parallel in colonization activities in eastern Europe. For German colonists in eastern and central Europe, labor services were exceptional, amounting to only a few days per year.<sup>115</sup> In fact, the first German colonists had no work to do for their lord. In much the same way, in the Latin East, labor services were not common. Rather than concluding that the Franks conformed to the indigenous pattern of rents and services, it is equally plausible that the Franks responded to the labor shortage and impracticability of living on their lands in a manner similar to that which their counterparts in Europe had begun to follow by the twelfth century and would increasingly follow in the next two centuries.

### *Conclusion -*

Any attempt to clarify the activities of the native inhabitants and the practices of local administration under Frankish rule is limited by the scarcity of detailed and reliable documentation. Nevertheless, the charters of the *Cartulaire général* and other Crusader collections suggest several conclusions which may be corroborated by archaeological and documentary evidence. First among these is the presence of native Christians in Frankish lands, acting not only as cultivators, but as holders of land in Frankish lordships and in neighboring lands. On several occasions, they donated or sold land to the Hospitallers. The number and detail of these references can be contrasted instructively with references to Muslim inhabitants,

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<sup>115</sup>See H. Aubin, "Medieval Agrarian Society in its Prime: ¶VII. The lands east of the Elbe and German Colonization eastwards," *CEHE*. v. 1, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Cambridge, 1966, 449-86; J. Blum, "Rise of Serfdom in Eastern Europe," in *American Historical Review*, 62, 1957, p.815.

which are comparatively few in number and vague in detail. Such an imbalance, when combined with other evidence from Latin and Arabic sources, leads one to consider the possibility that the number of Muslims who remained on Frankish lands has been overestimated. Although the charters do not provide direct corroboration of the theory that the Franks, as a matter of policy, settled in areas that were predominantly inhabited by native Christians, they do imply some support for the idea. Moreover, papal orders contained in the *Cartulaire général* indicate that lands taken from Muslims were deserted before settlement by the Franks. Along with the evidence of hostility between Frankish lords and Muslim subjects, such documentation suggests that it was a policy of the Franks to remove the Muslim population from some lands which they conquered.

With regard to the survival of Muslim administration in the Latin East, it has been suggested that the adaptation of the names of Arabic offices and titles does not necessarily indicate a survival of their functions. When examining the role that officials such as the *raʾīs*, *drugoman*, and *scriba* played in the Latin East, significant parallels can be found in parts of European society which in some instances outweigh the elements of Muslim administration. While the *raʾīs* continued the traditional role as village headman within some Frankish *casalia*, the offices of the *drugoman* and *scriba* can be connected to counterparts in Europe. Similar connections between Frankish and European rental arrangements can also be established, which, in my opinion, outweigh arguments made in support of a substantive survival of *kharaj* under the Franks.

The picture that emerges from an examination of the native inhabitants and local administration in the Latin East is one of a society that, in its governance of the Muslim population, erected barriers to prevent penetration by the culture and civilization which surrounded it. These barriers were manifest not only in the physical construction of walls and the fortification of castles, but also in the Franks' attitude

to the local population, which was in many ways hostile, segregationist and, in its settlement and land development policies, devoted to maintaining a Christian presence in the Holy Land.

## -- CONCLUSION --

### *The Acquisition of Property -*

The military nature of the Hospital and the circumstances of its settlement in the Latin East distinguished it from other monastic organizations in medieval Europe. In many ways, donations and sales to the Order and its own estate development reflected its unique nature. As a military order, the Knights of the Hospital of S. John of Jerusalem had to contend with the implications of settling in a region which was conquered by force of arms and subject to attack by hostile troops. Warfare and its effects on population and property were by no means unknown phenomena in Europe, but the inherent presence of armed conflict in the Latin East made land acquisition and estate development a decidedly more troublesome endeavor. Possession of land was always precarious and frequently ephemeral; agricultural productivity was never assured.

The presence of armed brethren within the Order set the Hospital apart from other monastic organizations in Europe. The development of military orders, in which individuals who took vows of chastity and obedience also wielded swords and wore armor, was unprecedented in the centuries-old traditions of European religious institutions. Many adherents to these traditions never reconciled themselves to the innovation of combining prayer with fighting. Yet the military orders became favored organizations among the populace, to which the explosive growth of their chapters and estates in Europe bears witness. It is impossible to imagine the Hospitallers would have gained their power and wealth if they had refrained from adopting a military stance and continued only to minister to the poor and the sick.

Once they had taken on the burden of defending with arms the Catholic presence in the Holy Land, the Hospitallers did not abandon their original mandate of providing assistance to the poor and the sick. There is no account, however, of the

amount of money and resources expended in these efforts. What is known about the charitable activities of the Order from the charters is contained in fragments and clauses, such as the dedication of the harvest of one *casal* for supplying bread for the sick and the administrative regulations in the statutes of the Order related to its charitable enterprise. At the same time when the Hospital was acquiring fortresses and planning campaigns, a traveller in the Latin East in the 1160s, John of Würzburg, reported on the care of the sick by the Order in its hospitals in Acre, Tripoli, and Antioch.<sup>1</sup>

Even after assuming these military duties, perhaps as early as 1136, the Hospital continued to be regarded as a charitable institution. The retention of its original mandate is evident in the charters recording the donations and sales made to the Order, which invariably dedicate gifts to the care of the sick and invoke the prayers of the poor. Although the language of some donations alludes to the military circumstances which motivated the transfer of property to the Order, there is not one instance in the *Cartulaire général* of a formulaic expression of the spiritual benefits which accrue from a donation intended to fight the infidel or defend by arms the Catholic presence in the Holy Land.

Donations of property to the Order were repaid with spiritual benefits, primarily by providing remission for the sins and salvation for the souls of the donor and his or her family and ancestors. In this respect, the Hospital functioned as any other monastic institution. There was no special consideration given to the military services which the Order may have been able to provide to the donor in return. Moreover, sales made to the Order, in which land was exchanged for money, provided spiritual benefits to the seller equivalent to those enjoyed by donors.

Despite the equivalency in spiritual rewards between donations and sales to the Order, there was considerable ambiguity and apparent hesitation in expressing

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<sup>1</sup>See J. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina*, Paris, 1844-55, vol. CLV, p. 1085, cited in Forey, *Military Orders*, p. 126.

the fact that money was being exchanged for land. It was considered inappropriate that the benefits of what was ostensibly an act of charity should be of a material nature. This ambiguity was typically displayed by language in the charter which referred to a sale as a donation in alms. Later in the charter, the amount of money received by the seller was recorded in such a way as to distance the financial transaction from the charitable act. In this way, the eleemosynary aspect of the transfer could be emphasized, while still recording the financial information for legal and administrative purposes. One can imagine that in some instances, sales of land were written as donations, with the amount of money expended being recorded in a separate document.<sup>2</sup> Such ambivalence between donations and sales was not unique to the Latin East, and as I have suggested, seems to reflect a reluctance common in medieval Europe to acknowledge the intrusion of financial concerns into spiritual affairs.

Nevertheless, donations in which there is no indication of remuneration beyond the spiritual were the predominant method whereby the Hospital acquired its property in the Latin East. Over 100 charters record the donation of at least 250 properties of various size, quality, and value. Of these, *casalia*, or villages, made up the majority of gifts. Smaller parcels of land within these *casalia* were also donated, as were *gastinae*, or uninhabited wastelands, pastures, meadows, fields, gardens, and vineyards. Buildings and structures such as houses, stores, churches, mills, ovens, and baths came into the possession of the Order. Most of the houses were in urban areas, which were usually rented out by the Order in return for an annual payment in besants. Mills, ovens, and baths were found in rural areas as well, and provided revenues through user fees paid in money or kind.

The responsibility to maintain and man fortifications used in the defense of the Latin East came with the assumption of military duties by the Order. The acquisition

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<sup>2</sup>This was the practice of John II, lord of Beirut, in his dealings with the Teutonic Knights. See above, Ch. 2, p. 140.

of fortresses was a particular challenge to the military orders, which was unknown to monastic organizations in Europe. Unlike other donations of property which had the intended effect of generating income for the institution, donations of castles, fortresses, and towers required the Hospital to expend a great deal of its financial and human resources, apparently almost to the point of bankruptcy in the 1160s and considerable fiscal distress in the 1240s. Nevertheless, these castles and fortresses provided the Hospital with the foundation upon which all their other properties depended.

According to the frequency of their appearance in the charters of the *Cartulaire général*, rights to water used for transportation, irrigation, power, and fishing were of tremendous importance to the livelihood of the Order. Donations of water were accordingly highly valued by the Hospitallers. Conditions for the use of water were highly regulated in the charters and claims to its rights were diligently pursued in negotiations and accords.

One of the more interesting types of donations to the Order was human beings. There is evidence not only of the transfer to the Hospital of rights over at least twenty individuals and their families known as *villani*, who were usually rural inhabitants and farmers, but in two instances, urban tradesmen and professionals. These included tailors, carpenters, masons, cobblers, and notaries. The extent of the Hospitallers rights over these individuals cannot be definitively established, but they undoubtedly included claims to taxation, rents, customary payments, and labor. The question of control over the Bedouins who were transferred to the Order is more elusive, but presumably entailed a right to collect grazing fees, and perhaps to exact transportation duties, a head tax, and maybe military service.

Every type of property acquired by donation was also purchased by the Order, with the exception of *villani*, who were, however, included as appurtenances in sales of land. The number of sales to the Hospital was much lower than that of donations,

but they served an important purpose in facilitating the acquisition of property that could not be acquired by donation. Most likely, in the twelfth century, money was needed to overcome the reluctance of a potential donor to give up a source of revenue and to secure for the Order a piece of property which it valued. In the thirteenth century, as the threat of capture by the Muslims became imminent for more and more territory, purchases appear to have been made by the Hospital in order to rescue the landholder from financial and physical destruction. In other words, purchases and other financial transactions became an extension of the charitable activities of the Order.

Prices paid for *casalia* ranged from 180 besants to 24,000 saracen besants, with an average around 3000-5000 besants. Fortresses were also purchased, at prices comparable to a *casal*. However, because of the great expense required in maintaining them, only a few were acquired by purchase, most within the first two-thirds of the twelfth century. Several hundred besants was a typical price for individual *gastinae* and parcels of land. Lower prices were paid for gardens and vineyards. Occasionally, prices were strikingly higher. For example, one *gastina* fetched a price of 1700 besants, two pieces of land in Acre went for 2000 besants, and a garden in Tripoli was bought for 200 besants. Information, such as size, quality of soil, crop production, and annual revenues, which would make possible a comparative analysis of prices, is lacking in the charters. In some instances, however, the value accorded to a parcel of land can be attributed to its location in a particular region or to its proximity to other Hospitaller properties.

A main purpose of the present study is to demonstrate the existence of a deliberate land acquisition policy of the Hospital and to identify instances in which aspects of this policy were implemented. One avenue of investigation has been to look for efforts at land consolidation and estate development. Documentation of this effort has been found in the environs of Acre, in the lordship of Caesarea, and in the region

between Tiberias and Galilee. While there is considerable difference in the type of properties in these regions and their methods of acquisition, all served a predominantly agricultural purpose and were not valued for their defensive or strategic qualities.

The consolidation of land in Acre is demonstrated in two separate areas. The first, located in the plains of Acre, depended upon the accumulation of small parcels of land and was achieved within the same year through a combination of donations made by a group of knights and purchases made from two high-ranking lords. The second instance of land consolidation in Acre was made up of *casalia* which were acquired over two centuries through purchase and donation. Collectively, these *casalia* covered a vast amount of territory in the region of Acre, some, but not all of it, contiguous.

Successful attempts at consolidation of land, which combined the strategic application of donations and sales, are also evident in the lordship of Caesarea. As with Acre, every purchase made by the Order in Caesarea can be connected with a consolidation of territory. On a large scale, a block of three *casalia* was assembled within a decade, suggesting a deliberate and aggressive policy of acquisition. Another block of adjacent *casalia* in Caesarea was established over a longer span of time and included property that was alienated by the Order. The fact that the Hospital was willing to alienate and give up claims to land should not be seen as an indication of the lack of importance assigned to the consolidation of land, but rather to a strategic plan to acquire a stronger presence in other areas.

In Cacho, Manueth, and Album, the charters provide evidence that the Hospital may have purchased the residence of the local official with the intention of assuming some form of direct control over the property. Because there is no record that the property was reassigned to others, it may be assumed that an official of the Order undertook the administration. It is particularly significant that these

purchases were made in areas in which a deliberate attempt at consolidation can be documented and where, in cases, archaeological evidence has uncovered the existence of manor houses and storage facilities.

In other areas, the Order accumulated property, which while not necessarily contiguous, still constituted a considerable proportion of the region. In addition to Caesarea and Acre, the Order had a concentration of possessions in Ascalon and S. Abraham, as well as Mount Thabor and Tiberias. For the most part, the properties in these areas were accumulated *en bloc* through donation and the cartulary evidence shows no attempt to expand them through purchase. The main exception was the purchase of *casal* Robert for 24,000 saracen besants in 1254. This purchase was tied in with the later lease of two adjacent *casalia* and seventeen other surrounding ones, as well as the proposed assumption of the rights to the property of the monastery of Mount Thabor. Unlike Acre and Caesarea, the properties in Ascalon, S. Abraham, and Mount Thabor were acquired by the Order under circumstances which were demonstrably motivated by military affairs.

The Order acquired its territories in S. Abraham through the donation of the fortress of Bethgibelin and the *casalia* surrounding it through a combined donation of King Fulk of Jerusalem and Hugh of S. Abraham in 1136 and 1144. This donation probably marked the beginning of the militarization of the Order and can be connected with the effort to capture the fortress and city of Ascalon and to secure the southern border of the Kingdom of Jerusalem from attack by Egypt. In this effort, the Franks were largely successful. Ascalon fell in 1155 and the Hospital established an important settlement at Bethgibelin.

Military considerations led to the acquisition of other property in the thirteenth century, but as a defensive, not an offensive measure. The cartulary evidence is clear that the Order actively campaigned for the transfer of property in Ascalon and Mount Thabor. The Hospital acquired fourteen *casalia* in Ascalon in 1256/7 as compensation

from the lord of Ascalon for its expenses in the unsuccessful effort to retain possession of the fortress of Ascalon in 1247. It acquired rights to the properties of the monastery of Mount Thabor by promoting its ability to retake and defend the territory against Muslim attack. It is doubtful whether the Hospital was able to occupy more than one-quarter of the properties of Mount Thabor or many of those to which it acquired rights in Ascalon.

Military considerations were also behind the establishment of the Hospitaller presence at Margat in the Principality of Antioch and at Crac des Chevaliers in the eastern frontier of the County of Tripoli. As in the southern region of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the twelfth century, the transfer of important fortresses and large amounts of territory was used by the rulers of the region as incentives to launch offensives against the Muslims and to defend the region against counter-attacks. Despite these similarities in motivation, the method of acquisition of the fortress and territory of Margat and that of Crac des Chevaliers stand in marked contrast to each other.

Crac des Chevaliers and three surrounding fortresses were granted to the Order by Raymond II in 1142 or 1144, after he and his leading officials had bought out the rights of the current lords. According to the available evidence, the Hospital assumed none of the financial obligations involved in the transfer. Moreover, there is no evidence that the Order actively engaged in buying property or securing donations in the area before 1142. In 1182, Raymond III added another fortress which adjoined property of the Order. Even in the thirteenth century, there is limited financial activity by the Order in the region, involving mainly loans and tithe disputes. Rather than gradually accumulating territory and striving to assert its rights in the area among other competing interests, the Order was granted Crac des Chevaliers and a large block of territory along with what amounted to complete control and autonomy on the eastern frontier of the County of Tripoli. From the mid-twelfth century there

was no cause for the Order to acquire smaller pieces of land and to buy up *casalia* because it already controlled the area.

In contrast, the acquisition of Margat was accompanied by long-term financial obligations, competing land claims, and complex settlements. Unlike the rapid transfer of control of Crac des Chevaliers in 1142 or 1144, there was a gradual and deliberate accumulation of property in Margat which began in 1165. Purchases of fortresses and property were made by the Order in 1178 and 1181, and culminated in the acquisition of the fortress of Margat in 1186 for an annual payment of 2200 besants to Bertrand, the lord of Margat. Whereas the lord of Crac des Chevaliers was given 1000 besants and compensatory land by Raymond II to relinquish his claim, the heirs to the lordship of Margat continued to receive their annual payment from the Order until 1266. The Hospital had to contend with rival claims of the Templars to property in Margat and Valenia, which were not dropped until 1262. There is no evidence of similar disputes at Crac des Chevaliers. The Hospital commanded a formidable presence in Antioch, but it was constantly challenged by the competing interests of the Templars and the Princes of Antioch.

Most of the other property acquired by the Order in the Principality of Antioch, although extensive, was scattered and isolated. The Hospital received nineteen properties by a donation of Bohemond III in 1168 and purchased more than thirty-one from Bohemond III for 10,000 besants in 1186, yet there is no evidence that the Order was able to consolidate any of its territory or to develop any contiguous estates as it had done in Caesarea and Acre or to establish dominion over a large stretch of territory as it had done in the County of Tripoli.

While the accumulation of territory in the County of Tripoli was greatly facilitated by its rulers and accomplished with little problem or animosity, the possession of property in Antioch entailed a considerable financial burden and participation in long-term legal battles such as those waged over Naharia with the

Church of S. Abraham and the heirs of Peter Gay, and over Margat with the Templars. The Hospital also became involved in the civil war in Antioch in the early thirteenth century, which resulted in on-going disputes with the princes of Antioch for many decades. The differing experiences of the Order in these two territories, as well as in Caesarea and Tiberias, can be attributed largely to its relationship with their rulers.

A key component of the acquisition policy of the Hospital was its ability to develop amicable bonds of mutual reliance and accommodation with some of the leading families of the Latin East. When these ties could be maintained and extended over generations, as in Caesarea, Tripoli in the twelfth century, and with the various branches of the Ibelins, the Order was the recipient of a profitable stream of donations and sales of property. When relations broke down, as they did with the successors to Bohemond IV in Antioch and Tripoli or were never firmly established, as was the case with the Kings of Jerusalem after Amalric (d. 1174), donations and sales made to the Order dwindled or ceased altogether. In Antioch, the good relations which the Hospital enjoyed with Bohemond III were followed by antagonism and bitter feelings. After the loss of Jerusalem, the needs of the Order in the Kingdom of Jerusalem were met with benign neglect, which was undoubtedly connected to the loss of territory under royal control and the corresponding diminution of royal authority.

The territorial benefits of establishing long-term relations with a leading family of the Latin East are best demonstrated in the case of the lords of Caesarea. From the establishment of the lordship under Eustache Granier sometime before 1110 to its loss in 1265, every lord of Caesarea made a donation or sale to the Order, with only one exception. The donations, sales, and confirmations issued by Walter, lord of Caesarea, enabled the Order to lay the foundation from which it developed its considerable estates in the lordship. A mutually beneficial relationship in terms of

land and money was made with two female heirs to the lordship, Julienne and Marguerite, along with their husbands Aymari de Leyron and John Laleman. In addition to an important donation in Cafarlet, Julienne and Aymari pledged lands to the Hospital as surety for loans amounting to several thousand besants. John Laleman and Marguerite made sales to the Order in Caesarea and Acre, for which they received almost 18,000 besants. In addition, all these individuals entered into confraternity with the Order. The Hospital could not successfully have implemented its acquisition policy in Caesarea without the support of the rulers of the lordship.

Whereas the Order depended almost exclusively upon the counts of Tripoli and, to a lesser extent, the lords of Caesarea for donations and sales of property in these areas, elsewhere a larger proportion of land transfers came from lesser lords and members of the gentry. In the area between Nazareth and Tiberias, the Hospital received lands in donation and sales from more than ten individuals who were lesser lords or landholders of modest social standing. In contrast to the spectacular sale of *casal* Robert by Julian, lord of Sidon, and the numerous properties rented to the Order by the church of Nazareth, most of these sales and donations consisted of single *casalia* or smaller parcels of lands. With only a few exceptions, these sales and donations marked the only appearance of these individuals in the *Cartulaire général*. In other cases, men such as John and Hugh of Bethsan, Godfrey of Parentea, William of Maraclea, made multiple transfers of property to the Order, some of which, such as the land in Jaffa given by Godfrey and *casal* Kalensue by John, Hugh and Geoffrey, were substantial pieces of property, on a par with many donations and sales made by greater lords.

By comparing the property transfers made to the Order by the higher nobility on one side, and lesser lords and gentry on the other, it can be concluded generally that there was no correlation between socio-economic status and the size of property donated to the Order. Even great lords like Eustache of Caesarea made donations of

gardens, small farms, and houses. There is a definite connection, however, between social status and the number of transfers made, with the greater lords capable of making multiple donations and sales and lesser lords and modest landholders only single transfers. As a result of the limited capacity for families of lesser lordships and those with modest landholdings to make more than one donation or sale, one does not see the Order establishing generational ties with them.

The acquisition policy of the Hospitallers in the Latin East was dependent upon the motivations and interests of the donors and sellers and upon the strategic position and location of the property being transferred. When the land was in an area that was under direct threat from the Muslims, as was the case in the eastern frontier of Tripoli, the southern borders of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and the region between Nazareth and Tiberias, the motivation of donor or seller was closely related to the location of the property. For reasons of personal safety and protection of property it was in his best interest to donate or sell his land to the Order. The expense involved in the assumption of the military defense of these regions was only partially offset by the revenues generated from the considerable amount of territory placed under Hospitaller control. When the land was in an area which enjoyed a relatively more secure status, as in the case of Acre and Caesarea, it was in the interests of the Order to acquire property suitable for its agricultural enterprise. In such areas, the Order met with reasonable success in achieving its goals of establishing contiguous property and developing estates through a coordinated application of donations, purchases, exchanges, and accords.

The Hospitallers depended in this effort upon the good will and generosity of great lords and lesser individuals, whom they rewarded with military protection and spiritual and financial benefits. By combining the charitable duties of the monastic tradition with the military services of the knight, the Hospital contributed to the development of a new institution which was particularly well-suited to the demands

and goals of the Crusading enterprise. As a charitable institution it acquired lands, as a military organization it defended them, and as an agricultural enterprise it farmed them.

*The Administration of Property -*

Once property was acquired, the Order began to exploit it to suit its needs. First and foremost among these needs were crops and produce to feed the brethren and to provide alms to the poor. As a rule the Hospital did not lease out property, preferring to work the land with its own labor or to farm it out in return for a share of the harvest. Although houses and buildings in urban areas were frequently rented out, there is very little evidence of the Order receiving fixed money rents in exchange for rural land. This observation fits in well with the establishment of contiguous lands and estates in Acre and Caesarea, and the concentration of property in Ascalon, S. Abraham, Nazareth, Tiberias, and Tripoli, where the Order could supervise its estates. Although it was not the preferred method, renting lands for money was another way for the Order to contribute to this centralization, the lordships of Margat, Arsuf, and the lands rented from the church of Nazareth being the important instances of the practice.

The absence of money rents is somewhat more surprising in the remote *casalia* and fortresses it possessed in Antioch, Armenia, and Transjordan, where transportation of harvests and supplies, not to mention supervision, were undoubtedly more problematic. In these areas, it might have been considered more efficient to rent the lands out for money and leave the tenants to deal with the farming, as was the practice of the Hospital in Europe. Nevertheless, money received from the West and local demands for produce seemed to have outweighed such considerations of efficiency. Moreover, the bureaucracy of the Order, with its offices of castellans and casaliers, also may have allowed for closer supervision of its remote

properties and its military resources may have been able to meet the demands of transporting harvests and supplies over long distances.

Instead of money rents, the Order received from its tenants a share in the harvest, typically amounting to one-fourth or one-third. These sharecropping arrangements are evident throughout the Latin East, in areas controlled by other military orders, religious institutions, or secular lords, and settled by native inhabitants or Frankish colonists. In examining the evidence from the charters of Europe and the Latin East, it has been suggested that the collection of agricultural revenue had more in common with the European practice which the Franks brought with them than it did with the survival of the Muslim *kharāj*. If some variation of the Arabic word for a land-tax crept into the documents of the Franks, it was only because they were already quite familiar with the concept of extracting rent in the form of a share of the harvest. Had these arrangements not been commonly known in Europe, this argument would have been much harder to make.

In a similar way, to find officials with titles derived from Arabic, such as *drugoman*, carrying out duties similar to those in Europe does not constitute a survival of Muslim administration. Real survival would be demonstrated by the existence of Arabic officials performing duties which were previously unknown to the Franks. Of that, we have no evidence. Furthermore, to take the position of the *ra'īs* and the general nature of its role in Muslim society, and see something more than a village head is overstating the case for survival. In the documents of the Franks the duties performed by the official in the Latin East are quite similar to those carried out by the reeve and perhaps the bailiff on estates in Europe.

Frankish land tenure in the Latin East has long been characterized by the absentee landlord, the lack of demesne land, and the consequent absence of labor services. While it is certainly true that there is not an abundance of evidence of demesne land and labor services in the charters, they are not as silent on the matter

as has been assumed. In the charters of the Hospital, there are explicit references to land in Tripoli being given from the demesne of Flandina in Teileliout and Bucofou. Aymari and Julienne of Caesarea exempted their own *carrucae* and the labor services which they received from their peasants when they transferred the rights to Cafarlet, Samarita, and Bubalorum to the Order. Presumably they had additional *carrucae* and labor services in other *casalia* which they possessed. The church of Nazareth agreed not to collect the tithe on lands in its diocese which the Hospitallers cultivated with their own hands or that of their men. Again, if they had such lands in Nazareth, it is reasonable to assume that they had them elsewhere, even if they are not referred to in the charters.

There is further suggestion of the existence of demesne land found in the contiguous lands created by the Hospital in the plains of Acre. Having carefully and deliberately acquired them from their previous owners, it is unwarranted to assume that they were then rented out. Moreover, by buying out the property of the local officials in *casalia* Cacho and Album, where the Order had acquired a substantial number of *carrucae*, there is evidence for the installation of direct control over its land. In Manueth, the Order had purchased the entire *casal* outright and then bought out the "fief" of a native official there, suggesting again that the Hospital would assume direct administration of its land. These few examples are not cause, by themselves, to overturn completely the assumptions of a generation of historical scholarship, but they should lead us to reassess the situation in order to accommodate the possibility that there were more demesne land and labor services in the Latin East than has been previously assumed.

The image of the absentee landlord, living in the city off the rents collected by his local agents from his rural properties, has also been ingrained in historical scholarship for half a century. This paradigm has been accepted despite the existence of archaeological remains of hundreds of manor houses and residential buildings in the

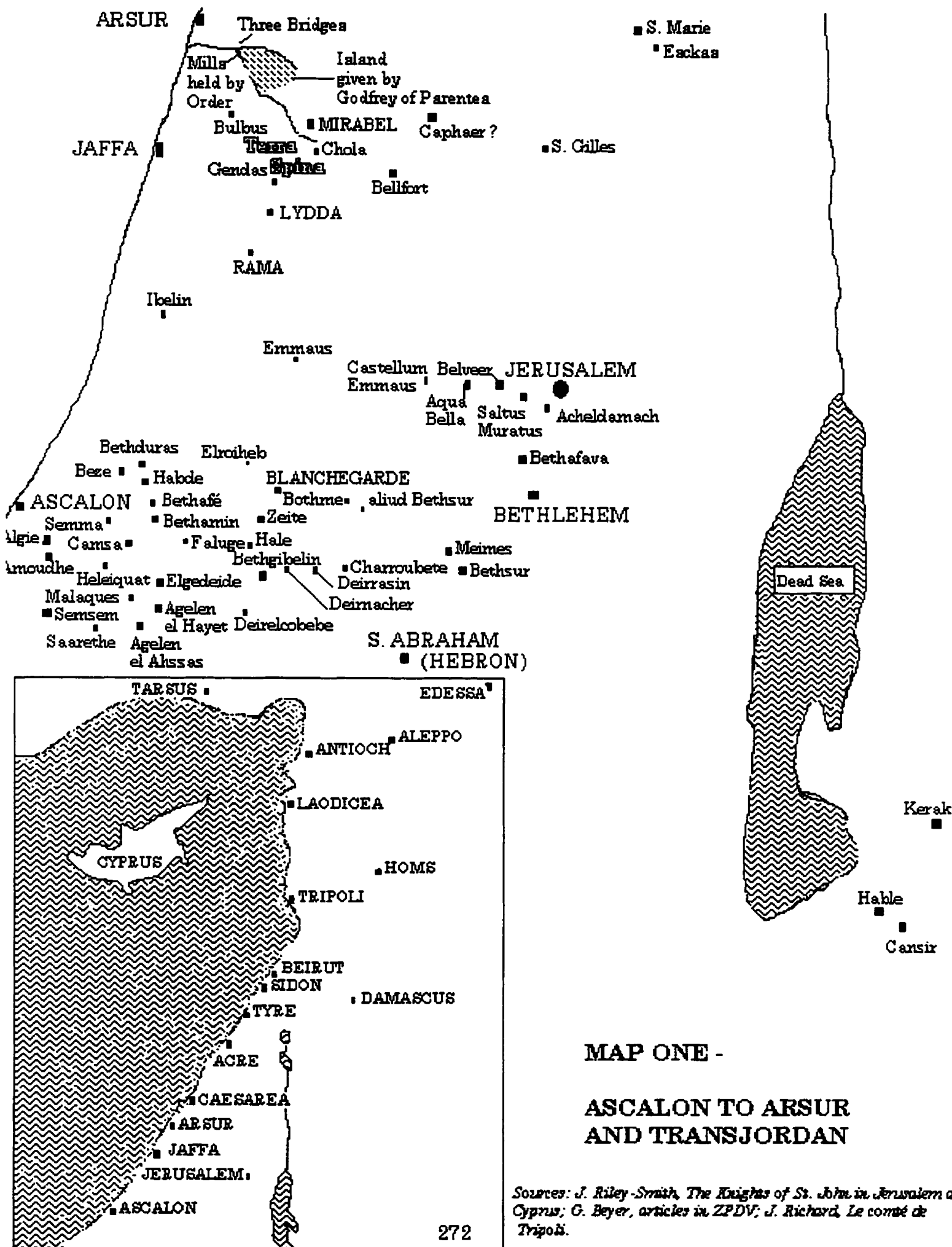
Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. The assumption has been that these were the residences of the local officials and village headmen who supervised and administered the lands of the Frankish lords. Again, the assumption is based on the failure of the sources to provide evidence that the Franks resided in these houses on their *casalia*. It must be said as well, however, that the charters provide no evidence that they lived exclusively in the cities. There is certainly room for other possibilities.

This study has focused on the acquisition of property by the Hospital and its relations with the Frankish settlers who donated and sold land to the Order, based on the collection of charters contained in the archives and collected in the *Cartulaire général*. Because of the great fame which the Crusades generated in medieval European society and the attention placed on their leaders, it has been comparatively easy to find information in other sources about the lives of the rulers and great lords of the Latin East. In contrast, aside from what is contained in the charters themselves, very little is known about the individuals from the lower ranks of the landholding classes. It is possible that among the hundreds of individuals of modest social standing appearing in the entries of the *Cartulaire général* there were an indeterminate number who actually resided on the lands which they donated, sold, traded, or exchanged with the Order and that Frankish settlement in the countryside was indeed less negligible than has been previously assumed.

An interpretation of the social and economic history of the Latin East is dictated by what the sources reveal. It is curious to speak of the scarcity of evidence in a collection of documents which numbers in the thousands and is augmented by hundreds more in the cartularies of other institutions related to Frankish settlement in the Latin East. Yet while full of information on some matters, there can be no doubt that on others these documents are incomplete, erratic, or silent.

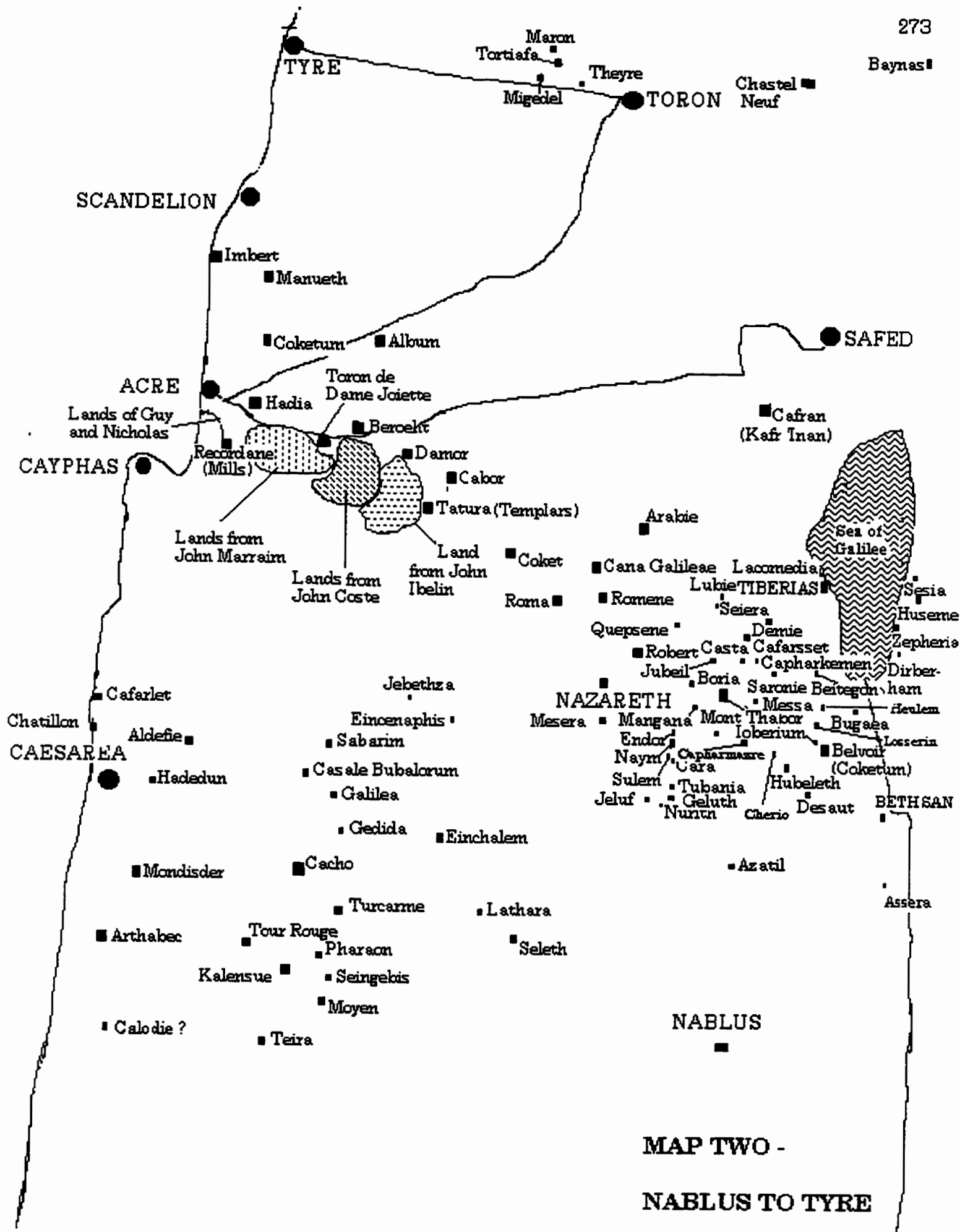
Arguments from silence often tell us what we want to hear. If the charters fail to mention whether a donor resided in the manor house on the property he has

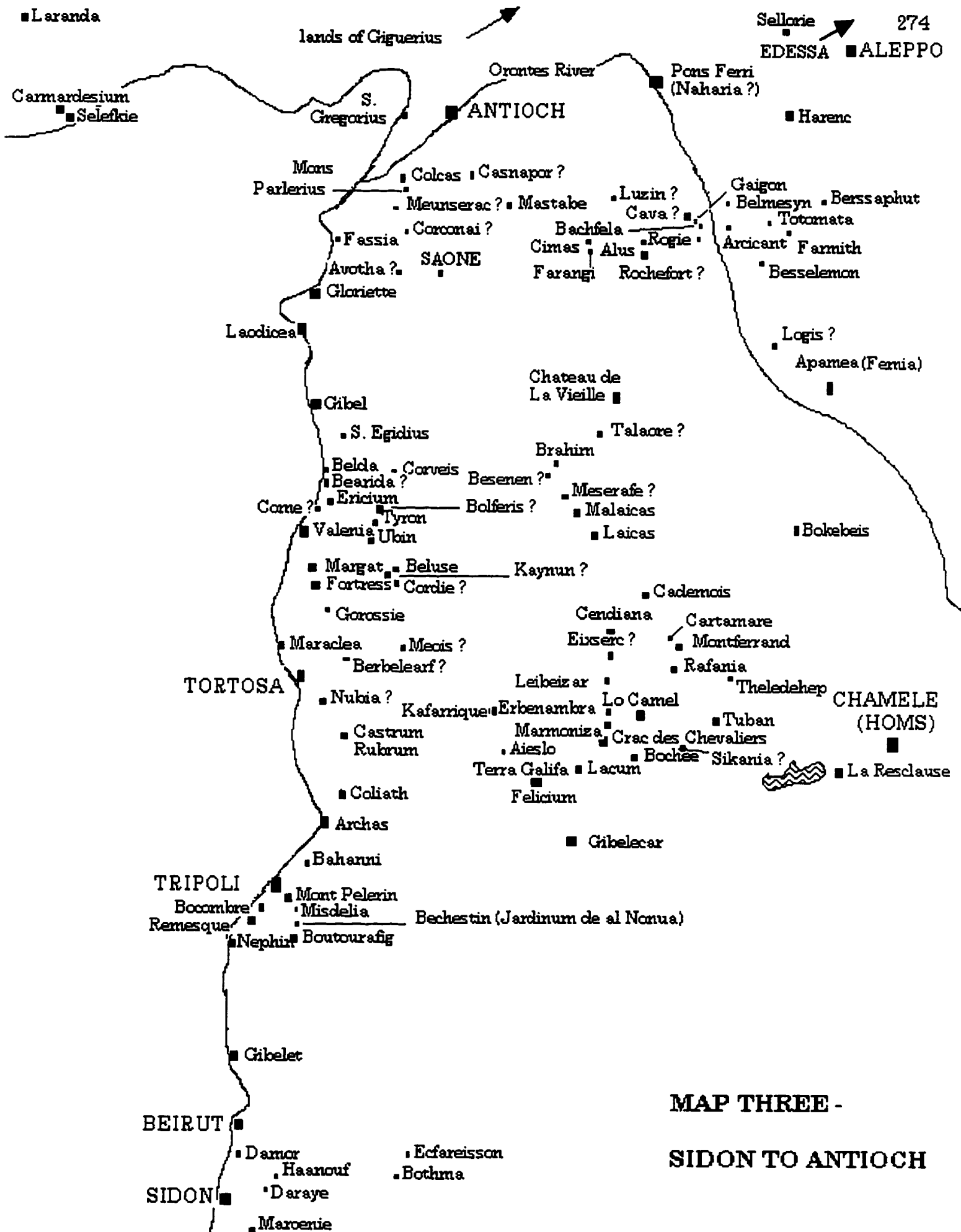
donated to the Order, must it follow that he lived in Jerusalem? If a lord exempts the labor service owed to him in a *casal* in Caesarea which he transferred to the Order, is it not possible that other lords also had labor services elsewhere, even if the word is found only a few other times in the charters? If the Hospitallers could develop consolidated estates in Acre through the deliberate employment of donations and purchases, is it not permissible to assume that they created an estate that they farmed with their own labor, and that they might have done so elsewhere? To ask such questions is not to demand too much from the sources or to speculate without foundation, but to reassess the accepted interpretation with an ear for new voices emerging from the silence.



MAP ONE -  
ASCALON TO ARSUR  
AND TRANSJORDAN

Sources: J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus*; G. Beyer, articles in ZPDV; J. Richard, *Le comté de Tripoli*.





## -- APPENDIX --

### Coins and Moneys of Account Used in Purchases of Property in the Latin East

Land transactions in the *Cartulaire général* are almost exclusively calculated in gold coins called besants.<sup>1</sup> The documentary evidence suggests that there were at least five different gold coins in use in the land market: the besant as it appears unspecified and its four variations - the saracen besant, the besant of Acre, the besant of Tripoli, and the besant of Antioch. The use of the term besant in the *Cartulaire général* refers indiscriminately to the Byzantine solidus or the Islamic dinar, a heavier and often finer coin, whereas besant modified by "saracenatus" (*nom.*) is reserved for the lighter-weight, imitative coin minted by the Franks, which is sometimes more specifically identified as that of Acre, Tripoli, and Antioch.

Prawer has suggested that there were enough genuine Fatimid coins in circulation during the first decades of the Crusader conquest to obviate the need for a new denomination.<sup>2</sup> These are presumed to be dinars. The term besant, however, is clearly a reference to Byzantium, whose coins were also assuredly in circulation in the northern regions of the Latin East. The first Crusaders carried Byzantine coins with them when they settled in other regions of the Latin East. The Fatimid dinar, although a valued coin, was not the "dollar" of the Mediterranean, as the Greek solidus and nomisma has been called.<sup>3</sup> As used in the *Cartulaire général*, the simple besant indicates the Islamic coin or the Byzantine coin; the charters do not designate between the two. There is evidence, however, to show that after several decades of

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<sup>1</sup>For a general introduction to coins of the Crusaders, see the fine catalogue produced by D. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Latin East*, Oxford, 1995, an update of *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East*, Oxford, 1983. A much older work is G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin*, 2 vols., Paris, 1878, reprt. Graz, 1954; *Supplement*, Paris, 1882. See also the various articles in *Coinage in the Latin East*, ed. P. Edbury and D. Metcalf, Oxford, 1980, and the chapter by Metcalf and Bates in *HOC*, vol. 5, ch. 6, 421-82. J. Prawer has some comments and further references in *Latin Kingdom*, pp. 382-91. Two earlier essays are also useful: L. Blancard, *Le besant d'or sarrazines*, Marseilles, 1880, and H. Lavoix, *Monnaies à légendes arabes frappées en syrie par les croisés*, Paris, 1877.

<sup>2</sup>Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 389.

<sup>3</sup>C. Cipolla, *Money, prices, and civilization*, Ann Arbor, 1956.

using these coins, the Franks began to mint their own imitations of the Islamic dinar, which are designated "saracenus" or a variant in the charters. I shall refer to them as the saracen besant.<sup>4</sup>

According to the frequency of their usage in the *Cartulaire général*, by the thirteenth century, the saracen besants minted by the Franks began to replace the Islamic and Greek gold coins which had been in circulation in the eastern Mediterranean at the arrival of the Crusaders.

The saracen besants were imitations made by the Franks of the Islamic dinar, a gold coin with a legal weight of 4.25 grams, struck by two Fatimid caliphs. The besant minted in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem at Acre and perhaps Tyre was based on the dinar of al-Amir (1101-1130), while the besant of Tripoli was modeled on that of al-Mustansir (1036-1094). The absence of a European standard or model for a gold coin in the early twelfth century obliged the Franks to use a Muslim or Byzantine model if they were to mint gold coins acceptable in the regional economy. It has been argued that Europe had no gold coin until Frederick II issued the *Augustale* in 1231 for circulation in Sicily, which has been connected by one author with a Byzantine standard.<sup>5</sup> On the European mainland, Florence and Genoa minted gold coins in 1252 and Venice in 1284.<sup>6</sup> Such assertions ignore the fact that the Norman leader Roger II minted gold coins imitative of an Islamic coin in Sicily as early as the mid-twelfth century and that the Lombards on the Amalfi coast did so as early as the third quarter of the tenth century.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>The Franks may have minted coins as early as 1124. Ibn-Khallikan writes that coins continued to be struck in the name of al-Amir for three years after Tyre was captured by the Crusaders in 1124, but there is no numismatic evidence to support this claim. Metcalf, 1995, p. 46; Ibn Khallikan, *Biographical Dictionary*, trans. and ed. M de Slane, Paris, 1843-71, III, p. 456. It has been suggested that a *suri dinar* was minted until 1190-92 in Tyre. See Metcalf and Bates 1989, p. 444. See also the comments of Irwin (p. 91), "The supply of money and the direction of trade in thirteenth-century Syria," Metcalf and Edbury, 73-104.

<sup>5</sup>M. Hendy, *Coinage and money in the Byzantine Empire (1081-1261)*, Dumbarton Oaks, 1969, p. 16.

<sup>6</sup>See P. Grierson, "Origin of the *grosso* and of gold coinage in Italy," *Numismatichy Sbornik*, 12 (1971-72), 33-48; R. S. Lopez "Back to Gold, 1252" *EHR*, 9 (1956), 219-40.

<sup>7</sup>P. Balog and J. Yvon, "Monnaies à légendes arabes de l'Orient latin," *Revue numismatique*, 6th ser., I (1958), 133-68. at p. 137, n. 2; see below n. 63.

Even before this point, however, gold coinage was known in medieval Europe. According to traditional accounts, after an absence of some centuries, Byzantine gold coinage reappeared in Italy and France in the eighth and ninth centuries. It was joined by gold coins or dinars minted by the more recently established Islamic Empire. The Islamic dinar was known in Europe as *mancusus*; its presence in Europe peaked between the eleventh and mid-thirteenth centuries; and it came from Islamic Spain and Africa, not the Middle East.<sup>8</sup> Because of the predominant position of silver, they were not used for commercial purposes in Europe.

The Islamic dinar was itself based upon the standard Byzantine coin, the *nomisma*, known also by Latin writers as *solidus*, struck in many varieties throughout the centuries. From the time of Constantine I (306-337) until the reign of Michael IV (1034-41), it had a weight of 24 carats or 4.5 g and was known as *nomisma histamenon*. Another gold coin of lesser weight was introduced in the reign of Nicephoros Phocas (963-9), which was known as the *nomisma tetarteron*, and has been seen by some authors as an attempt to conform with the weight of the Fatimid dinar.<sup>9</sup> Over the centuries, the *nomisma* was increasingly debased, especially after the defeat at Manzikert in 1071, reaching a low of eight carats of gold under Nicephoras III Botaniates (1078-81). In 1092, his successor as Emperor, Alexius I (1081-1118) instituted a dramatic reform of the coinage, doing away with the *nomisma* and introducing a new coin, the *hyperperon*, which while having a higher gold content than those minted by his immediate predecessors, did not reach the almost pure gold fineness of the coins minted before the reign of Michael IV.

A variation of the *nomisma*, known as the *michaelitos*, appears in at least two instances related to the Franks in the twelfth century. William of Tyre writes on two

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<sup>8</sup>See J. Duplessy, "Monnaies arabes en Europe occidentale du viii<sup>e</sup> au xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue numismatique*, 18 (1956), 101-20.

<sup>9</sup>P. Grierson, "Nomisma, tetartèron et dinar: un plaidoyer pour Nicéphore Phocas," *Revue belge de Numismatique*, 100 (1954), 75-84. See the same author's comments in *Byzantine Coins*, Berkeley, 1982, pp. 196-7.

occasions of this coin; in both instances its popular circulation is emphasized. First, William records that in 1109, Baldwin of Edessa sold some knights for 30,000 *michaelitos*, a gold coin which was commonly used in commercial transactions. Second, William notes that the payment for the ransom of King Baldwin in 1124, was 100,000 *michaelitos*, which held prominence in this region in commercial and mercantile affairs.<sup>10</sup> According to Anna Comnena, in 1108, in the Treaty of Devol, Alexius agreed to an annual payment to Bohemond of Antioch of 200 *nomisma* of the Emperor Michael.<sup>11</sup> This coin has been attributed on the one hand to Michael IV (1034-41) or Michael V (1041-2), and on the other to Michael VII (1071-78).

Why would Alexius agree to a payment to Bohemond in *michaeli* instead of the reformed *hyperperon*? Grierson, following Hendy, suggests that the *hyperperon* of Alexius, at an average of twenty and one-half carats, was identical in gold content to the *michaeli* in circulation in southern Italy. As a result, the treaty merely used a term with which Bohemond was familiar. Anna took it to refer to the coin of Michael IV, when in fact, it was the *hyperperon* which was being employed.<sup>12</sup> Morrison has countered this argument, however, by pointing out that the coins of Michael VII were, at a lower fineness of sixteen carats, identical in gold content to the *tari*, a coin minted by the Norman rulers of Sicily, presumably also familiar to Bohemond. Morrison favors Michael VII for other reasons.<sup>13</sup> She assumes that the reforms of Alexius I were felt only in the interior of the Empire, and that the *michelois* remained in circulation in formerly Byzantine lands, such as Italy. Borrowing a phrase from Grierson, she attributes this to "peripheral survival," where a coin falls into disuse in its country of issue, but continues to circulate on the periphery. Bohemond, the ruler

<sup>10</sup>William of Tyre, bk. 11, ch. 11; bk. 13, ch. 15.

<sup>11</sup>Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, bk. 3, ch. 10. Cited in Hendy, *Coinage*, p. 47.

<sup>12</sup>Grierson, *Byzantine coins*, p. 217.

<sup>13</sup>C. Morrison, "Le michaelaton et les noms de monnaies à la fin du xi<sup>e</sup> siècle" reprinted in *Monnaie et finances à Byzance: analyses, technique*, Variorum, 1994, pp. 366-74. Her reading of a word in the Greek text of Anna Comnena suggests an immediate predecessor to Alexius, which corresponds to Michael VII, but which would be difficult to apply to Michael IV or V.

of former Byzantine provinces in Italy, would have been familiar with the *michaeli* and for this reason, would have specifically requested payment in this coinage.

In response to this attribution, it must be noted that the coinage of Michael VII had a lower fineness, from sixteen to thirteen carats of gold. Indeed, from 1042 until 1081, the gold content of the *nomisma* was periodically reduced, from eighteen carats under Constantine IX (1042-55) to sixteen and then thirteen or fourteen under Michael VII, to a low of eight carats under Nicephoras III Botaniates (1078-81).<sup>14</sup> Throughout this series of debasements, the *nomisma* retained its standard weight of 24 carats.<sup>15</sup> Thus, the coins of Michael VII would not have been held in any esteem. For these reasons, the attribution of the coins used in the ransom of Bohemond to the earlier reigns of Michael IV or Michael V, when the coinage still retained a high gold content is much more plausible.<sup>16</sup>

Islamic and Byzantine coins circulated more widely in large measure to the Crusading movement and the rise of Italian shipping. The Europeans were clearly familiar with them, yet the cartularies of the Franks used the Latinized term *besant* to refer not to any specific coin, but to gold coins in general.<sup>17</sup> In the *Cartulaire général*, the practice is to refer indiscriminately to the gold coinage of Islam and Byzantium.<sup>18</sup> The absence of distinctive terms for the two coins in the charters of the Hospitallers, as well as other Frankish institutions, may be attributed to a reluctance to acknowledge the circulation of Muslim money, but it does not indicate that Muslim money was not legal tender and that the Greek *nomisma* was the only coin of the

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<sup>14</sup>P. Grierson, "The debasement of the bezant in the eleventh century," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 47 (1954), 382-6. Despite this debasement, it has been suggested that the Byzantine government continued to make payments in new coins, but demanded payment using the full gold weight of 24 carats as a money of account. In other words, a debt of one *nomisma* (at a theoretical value of 24 carats of gold) would require payment of two *nomismata*, if they had a gold content of 12 carats.

<sup>15</sup>Hendy, *Coinage*, p. 6.

<sup>16</sup>Hendy, *Coinage*, p. 47.

<sup>17</sup>See the entry in DuCange for *byzantii saracenati*.

<sup>18</sup>Cf. J. Porteus, "Crusader coinage with Greek and Latin Inscriptions," *HOC*, v. 6, p. 362, which argues that the Franks used the term *saracen besant* at first to refer to the Islamic dinar; at a later date, when they minted imitative coins, they employed the same term. I do not believe the evidence supports this conclusion.

realm. The minting of coins imitative of Fatimid dinars is strong proof that Muslim coins were valued in the Latin East.

A document written in Acre, dated 1161, contains the first reference to the saracen besant; it also clearly distinguishes the besant of the Crusader states from the besant (*perperos*) of the Byzantine Empire.<sup>19</sup> The document records the quitclaim of a payment rendered as "bisancios aureos saracenatos de moneta regis ducentos decam pensates." This amount was given to Romanus Mayranus by Marcus Fuscarenus, under the stipulation that it was to be repaid at Constantinople in the amount of "bisancios aureos perperos pensantes ducentos septuaginta." Because this document is likely a loan, a rate of interest would be applied; it would therefore be unwarranted to apply a rate of exchange between 270 besants "saracenatos" and 210 besants "perperos." The wording used in the document provides no positive confirmation that the coins called "saracenatos" were in fact minted by the king, presumably of Jerusalem. Indeed, it is possible that these were Muslim coins, minted by the sultans of Iconium.<sup>20</sup>

Another document of 1165 refers to "bisancios auri saracenatos novos et veteres," which, it has been argued, distinguishes between Frankish besants (*novos*) and Muslim dinar (*veteres*) respectively.<sup>21</sup> According to Lavoix, the imitative coin minted by the Franks is the besant "saracenatus"; in contrast, the besant "saracenus" is the Arab dinar.<sup>22</sup> He cites two examples of the besant "saracenus." The first is that of Raymond d'Aguilliers, "quindecim millia aureos saracенаe monetae." The second is from Jacques de Vitry, "iste portant vexillum coram eo,

<sup>19</sup>R. Morozzo della Rocca and A. Lombardo, eds. *Documenti del commercio veneziane nei secoli XI-XIII* (Regesta chartarum Italiae, XXVIII [1940]), I, 152 (# 167).

<sup>20</sup>See the dictionary of DuCange, *byzantii saracenati*, *saracenicis*.

<sup>21</sup>Metcalf, 1995, pp. 45-6. Note that this is a change from his earlier opinion that *novos* refers to coins of 80% fineness, while *veteres* refers to those of higher fineness. See Metcalf and Bates, 1989, p. 443. Metcalf also suggests another reduction from 80% to 68% fineness probably occurred after the conquests of Saladin.

<sup>22</sup>Lavoix, *Monnaies*, pp. 46-51, cites Strehlke, p. 5 (1168); p. 6 (1169); p. 7 (1173); p. 67 (1236); pp. 36, 70; Paoli, p. 92 (1204); p. 104 (1214); p. 175 (1262); p. 121 besant of Antioch; pp. 122, 139, 183, besant of Tripoli.

quando equitant in expeditione. Cui unusquisque fratrum singulis annis pro certo redditu dignitatis suae transmittit mille saracenos."<sup>23</sup> Note that in both examples cited by Lavoix, there is no use of the term besant. Indeed, there is no instance of besant paired with "saracenos" in any of the Frankish cartularies. As the language of some documents in the *Cartulaire général* changed to Old French beginning in 1231, there are references to "besanz saracenaz" but the Latin is consistently some variation of the term "saracenatus."<sup>24</sup> In comparing these documents, there is little evidence to support an argument that there was any coin in the documentary evidence known as a besant "sarracenus."

A linguistic distinction is more instructive. Lavoix argues that the grammatical rendering of the modifier indicates that the coin has been transformed, in other words, that it has been "saracenized" or made saracen-like. In contrast, the term "saracenus" would suggest only a simple adjective, namely a saracen coin. As has been shown, there are in fact no references to besant "saracenos," but there are numerous examples of besant "saracenatus." This suggestion is well attested in the cartulary evidence.

There is no documentary evidence for the two terms "besant" and "saracenos" used together to identify the Islamic dinar, but the besant "saracenatus" as used in the *Cartulaire général* is frequently distinguished from the simple besant. The two terms appear several times in the same document, in which there is a clear distinction between the two coins. For example, a charter of A., duc of Hungary, dated 1163-69, transfers 10,000 gold besants to the Hospital to purchase land near Jerusalem.<sup>25</sup> The document further stipulates that a palace, four horses, an orchard, and a casal were purchased "precio xi milia bizantiorum Sarracenatorum de prefata pecunia." What is the discrepancy between the two values? Are 10,000 besants of

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<sup>23</sup>LaVoix, *Monnaies*, pp. 46-51.

<sup>24</sup>CGOH, #2478, #3282, #2581.

<sup>25</sup>CGOH, #309.

such high value that 11,000 saracen besants can be taken from them? If Yvon and Balog's estimate that the saracen besant was equal to 2/3 of the Fatimid besant is correct, the equivalent of 10,000 besants would be 13,300 saracen besants, from which the 11,000 saracen besants could be subtracted.<sup>26</sup> There can be no doubt that two coins were involved in this transaction.

Scribes did sometimes fail to keep a strict distinction. Two documents record the transfer of a rental payment and its confirmation in Tyre. The confirmation by King Amalric and his wife Isabel in 1198 renders the payment as 1000 saracen besants, but the original assignment by Bohemond, count of Tripoli, records the same figure simply in besants.<sup>27</sup> Another pattern occurs frequently in individual documents when the second reference of an amount previously recorded in saracen besants is abbreviated to besants. It is usually clear that the coinage trading hands is the same. But a will of 1264 listing thirty-nine individual legacies includes payments in besants and saracen besants, in such a manner that scribal error or indiscriminate use of the terms is not an acceptable explanation.<sup>28</sup>

In the *Cartulaire général*, the saracen besant appears first in the document cited above in 1163-69, as well as in a document of 1163, when a property is purchased which carried an annual rent of sixteen saracen besants.<sup>29</sup> A charter of 1168 concerning the same property records a sale at auction in order to pay a debt of 1,777 saracen besants.<sup>30</sup> The term next appears in 1174, when an annual rent of 200 besants is purchased for 1700 saracen besants.<sup>31</sup> References are seen more

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<sup>26</sup>Balog and Yvon, "Monnaies à légendes arabes," p. 136; A. Ehrenkreutz, "The Crisis of the dinar in the Egypt of Saladin," *JAOS*, 76 (1956), 178-84, at pp. 179-80; A. Ehrenkreutz, "The Standard of Fineness of Gold Coins Circulating in Egypt at the Time of the Crusades," *JAOS*, 74 (1954), 162-6, at p. 163.

<sup>27</sup>CGOH, #1031, 1032.

<sup>28</sup>CGOH, #3105; another document of 1280 concerning a loan from the Teutonic Knights to Agnes de Scandelion juxtaposes 17000 saracen besants and 460 besants. See Rey, *Recherches*, p. 54.

<sup>29</sup>*Les Archives, la bibliothèque, et le trésor de l'ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem à Malte*, ed. J. Delaville le Roulx, Paris, 1883, pp. 97-9.

<sup>30</sup>CGOH #367.

<sup>31</sup>CGOH #468.

frequently after 1191, with the largest number from the period 1251-1270.<sup>32</sup>

Nevertheless, throughout the period, the besant appears more often in the *Cartulaire général* than does the saracen besant. This frequency is in contrast with the cartulary of the Teutonic Knights, in which the saracen besant appears three times more often than the besant, after its first appearance in 1168.<sup>33</sup>

TABLE 1 - FREQUENCY OF BESANTS AND SARACEN BESANTS IN *CARTULAIRE GÉNÉRAL*

DECADE	OCCURRENCES OF BESANTS	OCCURRENCES OF SARACEN BESANTS*
1160-1170	30	3
1171-1180	48	2
1181-1190	12	1
1191-1200	3	3
1201-1210	6	6
1211-1220	3	4
1221-1230	0	0
1231-1240	1	1
1241-1250	4	1
1251-1260	11	10
1261-1270	33	19
1271-1280	1	2
1281-1290	0	1

\*These calculations include references to the besants of Tripoli and Antioch

The earliest issue of the imitative besant minted at Acre/Tyre has been dated to Baldwin II (1118-31) or Baldwin III (1143-63); none have been found for the reigns of Godfrey, Baldwin I, or Fulk, although there are examples of gold pieces struck in the names of the early kings of Jerusalem.<sup>34</sup> The first appearances in the *Cartulaire général* and the *Tabulae Theutonici* - 1163, 1163-69, 1168, and 1174 - and in other sources - 1161 and 1165 - would suggest a later date, most likely in the reign of Baldwin III. The first occurrences of the saracen besant in the *Cartulaire général* involve sales of land in the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Principality of Antioch, but

<sup>32</sup>CGOH #932, #1032, #1085, #1176, #1198, #1232, #1473, #1579, #1605, #1996, #2280, #2581, #2600, #2661, #2688, #2737, #2753, #2852, #2856, #2972, #3105, #3106, #3213, #3236, #3514, #3679, #3765, #4084 refer to saracen besants.

<sup>33</sup>It first appears in Teut., #4

<sup>34</sup>Metcalfe and Bates, 1989, p.439, argue for a date before the reign of Baldwin III, that is before 1143. He later suggests a range from 1104-42, p. 442. For gold pieces, see Porteus, "Crusader coinage," p. 375.

two later transactions recorded in saracen besants - in 1178 and 1192 - take place in the county of Tripoli.<sup>35</sup> These instances might suggest that in addition to the King of Jerusalem, the Princes of Antioch and the Counts of Tripoli were also minting coins which were imitative of the Muslim dinar as early as the second or third quarter of the twelfth century. The numismatic evidence provides some confirmation of the existence of coins minted outside the Kingdom of Jerusalem at this early date.<sup>36</sup>

Documentary evidence for besants which are specifically identified with the county of Tripoli, however, does not appear until the thirteenth century. They first appear in the *Cartulaire général* as a rent of 316 besants *tripolis* transferred to the Order by Bohemond IV in 1231. A charter of 1267 provides some indication of the relative value of the two currencies.<sup>37</sup> The bishop of Tortosa lowered the rent of the Hospital from 1000 saracen besants to 1000 besant *Tripolatos*. Although no exact exchange value can be assigned to the two currencies, the saracen besant, minted in Acre contained more gold than the coin of Tripoli. Calculations derived from the Statute of Marseilles in 1228 indicate that the Acre besant contained 1/5 to 1/7 more gold than the besant of Tripoli.<sup>38</sup> A treatise by Zibaldone da Canal, written c. 1266-89, refers to besant of Jerusalem as a money of account, 1/8 more, or 3 carats, than the Tripoli besant.<sup>39</sup>

Consider though that two documents describing the sale of the same piece of property six years apart suggest a quite different exchange rate. In 1259, Hugh Gibelet sold casal *Boutourafig* and fifteen parcels of land to the Order for 5000 besants of Tripoli. Six years later, in 1264, the sale price of the same two parcels of

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<sup>35</sup>CGOH #468 and #620 are sales in the kingdom of Jerusalem; #529 and #932 are in the county of Tripoli.

<sup>36</sup>Metcalf, 1995, p. 50 concludes that gold besants from the County of Tripoli are contemporaneous with the earliest issues of gold besants from the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

<sup>37</sup>CGOH, #3283.

<sup>38</sup>Blancard, *Le besant d'or*, p. 187. Metcalf concurs, but notes that the *besant tripolitanus* was heavier on average, Metcalf, 1989, p. 451.

<sup>39</sup>Metcalf, 1995, p. 149. R. Irwin has also concluded that the Tyre besant is not a money of account, because it does not actually simplify one's account and provide a fixed yardstick of value. "Supply of money," pp. 91-2.

land between the same parties is recorded as 12,000 saracen besants.<sup>40</sup> If we assume that the sale has merely been recorded twice, but in different currencies, five years later, a ratio of 2.4 saracen besants to one besant of Tripoli is suggested. This comparison contradicts the previous document by suggesting that the Tripoli besant is of higher value than that of Acre. The exchange rate is unrealistically high considering the 1/5 to 1/7 difference in weight and fineness between the two coins. In Ch. 2, the financial circumstances which distorted the relative value of the coinage used in this transaction are illuminated with additional charters not found in the *Cartulaire général*. I note here only that it is unlikely that this is the same sale recorded in two different currencies. Rather, it appears that after selling the property in 1259, the seller demanded more money in exchange for a release of his claims.

As we have seen, the besant is divided into twenty-four carats or karoubles.<sup>41</sup> Both the Acre and Tripoli besant have a theoretical gold content of twelve carats, but the Acre coin has a weight of eighteen carats and the Tripoli coin, nineteen.<sup>42</sup> It has been asserted that almost all surviving besants from the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem are of 80% or 66% gold.<sup>43</sup> Metcalf has suggested three series of Frankish imitative besants minted at Acre/Tyre. He dates the first sometime between 1104 and 1142, but as we have seen, the charter evidence suggests a date after 1160. A small group of coins provisionally dated to this period includes two kinds - one type ranges from 91% to 97.4% fineness, the other from 82.5% to 88.1%. The second series is dated to the mid-twelfth century, probably in the 1160's and has a reduction in fineness to 80%. The third series is further reduced to 68% fineness and has been dated to the internal disorder of the Crusader states after the conquests of Saladin c.

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<sup>40</sup>CGOH, #2915, #3106.

<sup>41</sup>This measurement is confirmed as well for the dinar by Ibn Jubayr, RHC, vol. 3, p. 447. But note that Abū Shamā writes that *kartas* (Ar. *qirats*) were valued in the marketplace at 60-67 per dinar. See RHC, Or., vol. 4, pp.32-3.

<sup>42</sup>Metcalf, 1995, p. 151.

<sup>43</sup>Metcalf, 1995, pp.43-4.

1186-92.<sup>44</sup> The new series of Christianized coins after 1250 maintained the same low fineness of the previous series, 62.4% to 68.7%.<sup>45</sup>

Exceptional coins from Tripoli have a higher gold content, ranging from 87% to a high of 97% gold.<sup>46</sup> Like the Acre besant, their fineness later declined to a range of 57% to 67%.<sup>47</sup> But this comparison is not borne out by the documentary evidence, which suggests that the Acre besant is more highly valued, when its weight is unknown. The later Tripoli besant weighed an average of 3.27 grams, down slightly from 3.58 grams as an average weight for the earlier Acre coin.<sup>48</sup> All of these weights are substantially lower than the legal standard of 4.25 grams.

The existence of a fourth coin minted at Antioch is indicated by three charters. The first is from 1177, when Bohemond III records a payment by the Order of 1000 "bisancios Antiochenos."<sup>49</sup> Two entries in the *Inventaire* record the transfer of "besants d'Antioche" in 1205 and 1216.<sup>50</sup> At the time, Bohemond IV, the prince of Antioch, styled himself count of Tripoli as well; it has been suggested that, as there is no evidence for a mint in Antioch, these besants were minted in Tripoli. Note, however, that the first document referring to besants of Antioch is dated 1177, a time when the prince of Antioch was not in control of Tripoli. In this case there is no compelling reason to assume that Bohemond III did not mint his own coins at Antioch. It must be acknowledged, however, that there are no extant gold coins demonstrably minted at Antioch. Metcalf has suggested that besants were not in fact minted at Antioch; rather, the coins were used there, but merely weighed to an official standard set by authorities in Antioch.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>Metcalf and Bates, 1989, pp. 442-3.

<sup>45</sup>Metcalf and Bates, 1989, p. 447.

<sup>46</sup>Metcalf, 1995, p. 150; Metcalf and Bates, 1989, p. 449.

<sup>47</sup>Metcalf and Bates, 1989, p. 451.

<sup>48</sup>Blancard, *Le besant d'or*, pp. 179-80.

<sup>49</sup>CGOH #522.

<sup>50</sup>CGOH #1215, #1491

<sup>51</sup>Metcalf, 1995, p. 43.

Coins which were imitative of the Muslim dinar continued to be minted until the middle of the thirteenth century. In the spring of 1250, Odo, bishop of Chateauroux traveled to Syria in the company of St. Louis. His report to Innocent IV on the circulation among the Franks of coins imitative of Islamic currency, containing the name of Muhammad and the *hijra* year, prompted a papal ban on the practice in 1251. In response, the Franks began to mint the new series of coins in Tripoli, imitative of the earlier dinar of al-Mustansir, but which contained Christian proclamations of faith and dating written in Arabic. It is assumed that these coins were minted from 1251-1258, and remained in circulation for several decades afterward.<sup>52</sup> Until 1251, they were minted with Arabic inscriptions and the Muslim *hijra* date in Acre as well.

The mint was the monopoly of the ruler, which was enforced in practice in the case of gold coins. A twelfth-century law, perhaps of Baldwin III, threatened vassals with confiscation of their fiefs for minting their own coins or forging imitations. There is no literary or numismatic evidence that any Frankish lord, other than the King of Jerusalem, the Prince of Antioch, and the Count of Tripoli, minted gold coins. There are numerous examples of base metal coins minted by nobles in Jaffa, Sidon, Beirut, Toron, and Tyre, especially after the reign of Baldwin V (d. 1186).<sup>53</sup> The only surviving coins are copper billons used to fill the need for small-change in the marketplace.<sup>54</sup> There has been speculation as well that certain surviving coins were issued by the Military Orders, although there is no evidence of this in the *Cartulaire général*.<sup>55</sup> But all these examples are of base metal coins, not gold.

<sup>52</sup>The letter is quoted in Lavoix, *Monnaies*, pp. 52-3. Irwin, "Supply of money," p. 89.

<sup>53</sup>Metcalf, 1983, p. 24. See, however, the comments of J. Porteus, "Crusader coinage," p. 382: "There was no wholesale usurpation of the royal monopoly of minting. A strict examination of the baronial coinage reduces issuing baronies to three - Beirut, Tyre, and Sidon."

<sup>54</sup>See P. Edbury, "The Baronial Coinage of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," Metcalf and Edbury, 1980, p. 66.

<sup>55</sup>See the various notes in *Numismatic Circular*, vols. 74-76; also cited in part in Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 390.

The motivation behind minting these imitative coins and their commercial uses has been a subject of historical controversy. Writing in the nineteenth century, Lavoix suggested that the Frankish rulers struck these imitation coins because they had become so well-integrated with the subject Muslims that they needed a common coin to use in trade. As a result, the imitation coins were used for external trade while Latin and Greek coinage was reserved for internal commerce.<sup>56</sup> This view, however, does not explain the preponderance of saracen besants in the land transactions within the Crusader states. More recently, Metcalf has suggested that the imitative besants minted by the kings of Jerusalem were not used as an international currency, but rather were intended for use within the Kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>57</sup> But it is clear from Arabic sources that saracen besants were introduced into Islamic lands through tribute, ransom, and trade. For example, Ibn al-Athir and Baha al-Din refer to the 'Suri dinar' or saracen besant as the denomination for ransom money and grain prices. We may assume that Islamic dinars flowed in a European direction as well. Unless these coins were directly converted to bullion and reminted, they continued to circulate among the Muslims and the Franks.

Ehrenkreutz has suggested that the minting and circulation of imitative coins of a much lower fineness than the Fatimid coin suggests that the Franks were practicing a form of economic subversion.<sup>58</sup> However, the earliest imitations were readily discernable from the Islamic originals. In addition to containing a different alloy, the weight of the Frankish besant rarely rose over 4 g., lower than those of the Muslim coin. The difference in alloy was readily apparent.<sup>59</sup> The coinage, therefore, was intended to stand on its own, and to be comparatively exchanged with the Muslim

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<sup>56</sup>H. Lavoix, *Monnaies*, pp. 42-6.

<sup>57</sup>Metcalf, 1995, pp. 43-4; an opinion shared by Irwin, "Supply of Money," pp. 92-3.

<sup>58</sup>A. Ehrenkreutz, "Arabic dinars struck by the Crusaders: a Case of Ignorance or of Economic Subversion?," *JESHO*, 7 (1964), 167-82. This conclusion has been rejected by other historians. The author has recently reasserted his claim. See A. Ehrenkreutz, "Crusader Imitation Dinars - once again," *Itinéraires d'Orient Hommages à Claude Cahen*, Bures-sur-Yvette, 1994, 111-8.

<sup>59</sup>Metcalf and Bates, 1989, p. 440.

coinage according to its weight and fineness. This was not a case of economic sabotage.

Imitations of Muslim coins were not innovations of the Franks. In Sicily under the reign of Roger II (1130-54), gold coins known as *tari* were struck which were imitative of the Islamic coinage of Sicily. These coins contained approximately sixteen carats of gold.<sup>60</sup> Portuguese and Spanish kings also minted imitations of coins of the Almoravids (al Marbutin), an eleventh century dynasty in Muslim Spain.<sup>61</sup> This coin was known in the markets of Europe and also appears in the *Cartulaire général* in a document of 1167, in which several pieces of land, houses and mills in Acre were purchased by the Order for 200 *marbutinos* from Chalo of Avalon and his wife, Agnes of Beirut.<sup>62</sup> As well, as noted above, it has been suggested that the introduction of the *nomisma tetarteron* in the tenth century was an attempt to conform to the weight of the Fatimid dinar in an effort to increase the circulation of the coin. In all these examples, there is no evidence of economic subversion or foul play. Rather, they appear to have been an attempt to mint a coin under the control of a Christian authority, enjoying the economic and political benefits that accrued with control of the mint, but which, at the same time, produced a coin acceptable to Muslims, Greeks and Europeans in commercial transactions. It is entirely reasonable to assume that the imitative coins of the Franks were minted with these motivations.

The besant in the *Cartulaire général* and elsewhere also served as a money of account. According to Spufford, money of account is "a monetary unit which does not exist as a material object but is used in accounts, the actual payments being made in other units."<sup>63</sup> H. Van Werveke has written that money of account is always tied to the existence of an actual coin - there is no example of a money of account independent from a metallic coin. Between 1278 and 1285, Nicholas Lorgne, the

<sup>60</sup>Matthew, *Norman Kingdom of Sicily*, p. 241; R. Lopez, "Back to gold - 1952," pp. 227-9.

<sup>61</sup>Duplessy, "Monnaies arabes," p. 112.

<sup>62</sup>CGOH #374; this sale was confirmed by Hugo Chatinus and his wife Lora in 1167.

<sup>63</sup>P. Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange*, 1986, from glossary. See also, *CEHE*, vol. 2, pp. 839-51.

Grand Master of the Order, requested that Edward I repay a loan of 254 saracen besants owed to Abraham, the money changer of the Order in Acre. No exchange rate for payment is listed, but we can be sure the debt was not paid from saracen besants in Edward's treasury.<sup>64</sup>

The evidence from the *Cartulaire général* overwhelmingly suggests that the besants of Tripoli and Acre were actual coins, although they may have been valued by weight as well. Cippolla has asserted that most of the Mediterranean population at this period had dealings only in silver dirhams of a low quality and had very little need or occasion to exchange gold.<sup>65</sup> Again, much of the evidence would indicate otherwise. It has been estimated that during the Crusading period, between 5 and 10 metric tonnes of silver were minted into coins, with the bulk of the bullion coming from Europe, enough to invigorate the use of silver in the economy.<sup>66</sup> As for gold, the Geniza documents from the Jewish community in Egypt in the eleventh and twelfth centuries studied by Goitein contain marriage contracts of even the poorest people which are measured in dinars. As well, the amounts for small loans and sale prices of low quality housing are expressed in dinars, not silver or copper coins. Goitein notes that in some cases these are money of account, but in most contracts, the amount of the bridal gift, however small, was handed over in complete and full weight gold pieces.<sup>67</sup> Evidence from Frankish documents also support these conclusions. Edbury has identified an article from *Livre des Assisses del Cour des Bourgeois*, c. 1240-44 or 1260, which indicates that loans and other payments were to be paid in actual coin, gold or silver, and not calculated in money of account. He further suggests that payment was made by actually counting out coins rather than weighing them out in bullion.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>64</sup>CGOH #3653, iv, *bis*.

<sup>65</sup>Cippolla, *Money, prices and civilization*, pp. 34-5.

<sup>66</sup>Metcalf and Bates, 1989, p. 433.

<sup>67</sup>S.D. Goitein, "The exchange rate of Gold and Silver Money in Fatimid and Ayyubid Times" *JESHO*, 8, (1965), 1-46.

<sup>68</sup>Metcalf and Edbury, 1980 pp. 124-5.

Nevertheless, a loan from the Hospitallers to the Patriarch in Jerusalem in 1256 was made in the amount of 150 ounces of gold, with no reference to a coin.<sup>69</sup> Irwin has acknowledged that some Muslim coins, notably the silver dirham introduced by Saladin, are known to have been used by count, but most metals used in transactions during this period were weighed out. It has been claimed that no Islamic gold coinage was exchanged by count in the period 1092-1420 and that payment of a certain number of dinars meant the transfer of that many units of weight - the number of coins was of no importance.<sup>70</sup>

Usage in the Frankish cartularies of terms such as "ad rectum pondus Accon" and "au peis d'Acre," clearly indicate that the saracen besant is the actual coin being exchanged, whether by weight or by count, and is not merely or always a money of account.<sup>71</sup> One document, in particular, recording the accord reached between the Order and the Archbishopric of Nazareth over the tithe from casal Robert states that the Archbishopric received "in pecunia numerata, bisanciorum auri Sarracenatorum quatuor milia, bene ponderatorum ad rectum pondus Accon" while refusing those besants "non numeratorum, non receptorum et non bene ponderatorum."<sup>72</sup>

The evidence to calculate some values relative to European coins is available, but it does not afford a consistent rate of exchange. According to Joinville, when St. Louis and his army were captured on campaign in Egypt in 1250, the ransom was set at one million saracen besants, but paid in *livre tournois* at the rate of 2 besants per *livre*.<sup>73</sup> In 1279, Charles of Anjou repaid to the Order in Sicily 500 ounces of gold or 1250 *livres tournois* for a loan of 3300 saracen besants made at Acre. The exchange rate of the document states that at 50 *sous* per ounce, 3300 saracen besants is worth

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<sup>69</sup>CGOH #2785.

<sup>70</sup>Metcalf and Bates, 1989, p 423, n. 3.

<sup>71</sup>CGOH, #2482, #2748, #2852, #2915, #2934, #3051. See also the comments of Cipolla, *Money, prices and civilization*, p. 39.

<sup>72</sup>CGOH #3051. Similar terms are found in CGOH #1996.

<sup>73</sup>Joinville, *Chronicles of the Cruades*, trans. M. R. B. Shaw, London, 1963, pp. 249-50.

1250 *livres tournois*, or the equivalent of 500 ounces.<sup>74</sup> This gives us a slightly higher rate of 2.64 besants to the *livre*. At the time of the First Crusade, Raymond d'Aguilers wrote that the besant was equivalent to eight or nine *solidi* or *sou*.<sup>75</sup> If one can assume that the *sou* was a *franc*, these figures match well with the sale price recorded when Cyprus was sold to the Templars for 100,000 besants of Acre, which is estimated at the equivalent of 866,000 *francs*.<sup>76</sup>

Other currency denominations appear in the *Cartulaire général* for a very few land purchases or rent payments, including 2000 silver marks for the purchase of *casal Manueth* in 1212.<sup>77</sup> The charters testify to the high circulation of silver in the Latin East. Payments of 1400 silver marks, as well as 2700 *livres* of gold of Provence, were made to the Hospital and the Temple, by order of Innocent III in 1208 and 1209.<sup>78</sup> The will of Philip Augustus (d. 1223) in 1222 stipulates payments of over 150,000 silver marks to King John of Brienne and the Templars and Hospitallers.<sup>79</sup> As well, a series of documents in 1221 and 1225 records grants of 1700 silver marks for the defense of Crac des Chevaliers and Margat made by the Kings of Hungary from their salt mines.<sup>80</sup> Also, an accord reached between the Hospital and the Templars in 1221 over possession of the city of *Gibel* carried a penalty for non-compliance of 5000 silver marks and another accord of 1233 carried a penalty of

<sup>74</sup>CGOH #3701. Other charters of the Hospital provide further exchange figures. In 1238, two merchants of Marseilles acknowledged that they received eighty-one "livres quatorze sous de royaux coronats, employés en deux balles de canevas, trois besants and seize carats de besants d'Acre nets de droits" which they carried to Syria on the *Faucon*, a ship of the Order, CGOH #2195, iv, *bis*. In 1242, another merchant received forty livres de royaux coronats, employés en cent soixante besants d'Acre, to be carried to Syria on the *S. John*, a ship of the Order. CGOH #2300, iv, *bis*. In 1244, a merchant received "drap" worth twenty-six livres de royaux coronats, et deux cent soixante-dix-sept besants et demi Sarrazinas d'Acre, valant soixante-quatorze livres" which he was charged to carry to Acre on the *Griffon*, a ship of the Order. CGOH #2330, iv, *bis*.

<sup>75</sup>Raymond d'Aguilers, trans. J.H. and L.L. Hill, Philadelphia, 1968, p. 91.

<sup>76</sup>Blancard, *Le besant d'or*, p. 187.

<sup>77</sup>CGOH #1383. A payment in marks alone is recorded in CGOH #2789. An entry from the *Inventaire* refers puzzlingly to a transfer in 1139: "Donation faite à l'Hopital de Hierusalem par Raymond I, prince d'Antioche [...] de six besans et demy censuels et neuf écus de karrage, qu'il prenoit sur le jardin que Trigaud avoit donné à l'ordre." CGOH #129. Presumably the reference to an "écu" is an eighteenth-century convention of Raybaud.

<sup>78</sup>CGOH #1306, #1328. The gold coins had been deposited with the Temple, perhaps in Paris, and thus may not have actually been dispensed in the Holy Land.

<sup>79</sup>CGOH, #1755.

<sup>80</sup>CGOH, #1591, #1602, #1603, #1803.

1000 silver marks.<sup>81</sup> The Order also received a rent of two silver marks from unspecified houses which it granted to lady Gille in 1231.<sup>82</sup>

At Antioch, Raymond of Poitiers issued silver coins shortly after his marriage to Constance in 1136.<sup>83</sup> A loan to Leopold VI, duke of Autriche and Styrie, by the Order at the siege of Damietta is made in the amount of 2000 marks of the weight of Acre, suggesting a minting there as well. Silver marks are used as payment in two property transactions in the Hospitaller cartulary. The first is an annual payment of one silver mark to the Order in an act of confraternity from 1201.<sup>84</sup> The second involves 2000 silver marks as the purchase price for *casal* Manueth, acquired by the Order from the King of Jerusalem, John of Brienne, in 1212.<sup>85</sup> These acts suggest that silver coins, minted within and without the Latin East, were also in circulation as late as the thirteenth century.

When the Crusaders arrived in Syria, there was little silver coinage in circulation.<sup>86</sup> Metcalf and Bates have argued that for the first century of Frankish rule, silver pennies or *deniers* carried from Western Europe were used because the remaining Islamic dirhams were worn and debased. Silver was the standard metal in Western Europe during the Middle Ages called the *mark* and the *denier*, the German and French equivalent to the English penny, weighing between 1 and 2 grams. The silver coinage was known as the dirham, after the Greek *drachma*, and had a technical weight of 3 grams, equivalent to 1/12th of the dinar and the solidus or *sou*.<sup>87</sup> It has been suggested that the besant of Acre was worth at least 120 *deniers*.<sup>88</sup> However, a charter from 1152 sets the rent from a piece of land at 100 besants, at

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<sup>81</sup>CGOH #1739, #2058

<sup>82</sup>CGOH #1990

<sup>83</sup>Porteus, "Crusader coinage," p. 371.

<sup>84</sup>CGOH, #1145.

<sup>85</sup>CGOH, #1383. Beyer, citing Prutz, has claimed 1 besant = 64 marks. Beyer, "Caesarea," p. 21, n. 6; H. Prutz, *Die geistlichen Ritterorden*, 1908, p. 422.

<sup>86</sup>For the shifting balance of gold and silver supplies between Europe and the Middle East during this period, see A. Watson, "Back to Gold - and Silver," *EcHR*, 2nd ser., 20 (1967), 1-17.

<sup>87</sup>Cahen, *Syrie du nord*, p. 470.

<sup>88</sup>Metcalf and Edbury, 1980, p. 5.

the value of 34 *deniers* each.<sup>89</sup> Cahen has suggested that this document does not refer to the ordinary *denier*, but rather to a smaller silver coin, such as one minted by Raymond, valued at one-quarter of a *dirhem*, or a twentieth of a legal dinar.<sup>90</sup> These exchange figures, however, are difficult to reconcile. Rather than concluding that it is the *denier* that is atypical, one should consider that it is the besant which is not standard. It would appear more likely that the coin referred to is a besant cut into quarters. Such cut-gold pieces are quite common in the Crusaders states, perhaps used by pilgrims to make small offerings at various religious sites.<sup>91</sup> The more likely possibility is that this is a reference to the Arabic coin known as the *rabiah*, or quarter, that is one-quarter of a dinar.<sup>92</sup> As the besant is valued at 120 *deniers*, a quarter-besant or *rabiah* would be equivalent to 30 *deniers*.

Unlike the Frankish saracen besant, it has been argued, imitative silver coins were meant to circulate indistinguishably along with their Ayyubid counterpart, as they closely resembled their model and turn up mixed in hordes.<sup>93</sup> In the 1170's, Saladin introduced a new good weight, fine quality silver coin.<sup>94</sup> These coins and later series became accepted throughout territories under Ayyubid control. In 1216, the Franks began to mint imitative dirhams in three series. Two imitate Ayyubid coins, much like the saracen besant. These coins appeared perhaps as early as 1243-4.<sup>95</sup> The third, like the post-prohibition besant, was modeled on the Islamic coin, but carried Christian inscriptions written in Arabic. These coins appear in 1251 and 1253, but their minting ceased soon after. Until the issues c. 1245, the Frankish dirhams were virtually indistinguishable from their prototypes except by date. In

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<sup>89</sup>CGOH, #209. Metcalf and Bates, 1989, p. 433, have written that the exchange rate during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries was between thirty-five and forty monetary dirhams per dinar.

<sup>90</sup>Cahen, *Syrie du nord*, p. 470.

<sup>91</sup>Metcalf, 1995, pp. 107-116. See also the plates for examples.

<sup>92</sup>See William of Tyre, bk. 22, ch. 24, l. 52. See also P. Grierson "Origins," p. 41.

<sup>93</sup>Metcalf and Bates, 1989, p. 468.

<sup>94</sup>Metcalf and Bates 1989, pp. 457-8. Cf. the argument that in 1186, Saladin issued a *dirham* called the *nasiri*, of which the silver content was no more than 50%. M. Chehab, *Tyr à l'époque des croisades*, Paris, 1979, p. 463.

<sup>95</sup>Irwin, "Supply of money," p. 90.

fact, they are often found in hoards mixed with Muslim coins, something that never occurs with besants. It has been concluded, then, that the new Christian dirhams were minted only in 1251 because they were not accepted as Muslim coins. In 1260, Abu Shamah writes, Damascus was inundated by base Frankish dirhams reportedly containing only 15% silver. They were soon prohibited and exchanged for current coin of Damascus, at a steep discount.<sup>96</sup> Such evidence indicates that we cannot accept Metcalf's argument that dirhams would be used by Franks for exchange - "not, to be sure, for the transactions of daily life in the marketplace, but in large commercial dealings."<sup>97</sup> In fact, that is the only place where we see them.

To return to the subject of purchases of property by the Hospitallers, we can conclude that land transactions in the *Cartulaire général* are expressed in gold coinage known as besants. In a few instances, other gold coinage, the *marbutinos*, and silver marcs are also used in purchases of land by the Order and in other financial transactions, including payment of ransom. The cartulary evidence indicates then that there were as many as five besants in circulation: the Muslim dinar and the Greek *nomisma*, the besant identified as "saracenatus," minted at Acre and Tyre, the besant minted at Tripoli, and at Antioch. The unmodified term besant is used to refer indiscriminately to the Byzantine or Muslim gold coin. The coin designated by the use of "besant" and some form of "saracenatus" should be identified with the imitative Muslim coins minted by the Franks, which I have called "saracen besants." The besant from Acre appears in charters in 1163-9 and 1174; that specifically identified as from Tripoli as early as 1231. The date for the besant of Acre is two to three decades later than that derived from numismatic evidence, while the besants from Tripoli have been dated by numismatic evidence c. 1150-1166, almost a century earlier than their appearance in the documentary evidence.<sup>98</sup> From the frequency of

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<sup>96</sup>Metcalf and Bates, 1989, p. 471.

<sup>97</sup>Metcalf and Bates, 1989, p. 458.

<sup>98</sup>See above ns. 37-8.

occurrence in the Frankish charters, it appears that by the mid-thirteenth century, the number of Islamic and Byzantine gold coins in circulation in the Latin East was declining and being replaced by the imitations minted by the Franks. With regard to comparative weights and values, the saracen besant minted at Acre was worth approximately  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the Fatimid dinar, the besant of Tripoli  $\frac{1}{8}$  to  $\frac{1}{5}$  less than that of Acre. The imitative coins reflect an attempt to establish economic authority within the political borders of the Latin East and acceptance in the regional economy. The weight and exchange value of the Frankish coin relative to that of the Byzantine and Muslim gold coins precisely reflects the political and social standing of the Franks in the Eastern Mediterranean - of limited value, but commanding acceptance.

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