Settlement and Crusade in the Thirteenth Century

Multidisciplinary Studies of the Latin East

Crusades – Subsidia 15

Edited by
Gil Fishhof, Judith Bronstein
and Vardit R. Shotten-Hallel

Routledge

Settlement and Crusade in the Thirteenth Century

Settlement and Crusade in the Thirteenth Century sheds new light on formerly less explored aspects of the crusading movement and the Latin East during the thirteenth century.

In commemoration of the 800th anniversary of the construction of ʻAtlit Castle, a significant section of this volume is dedicated to the castle, which was one of the most impressive built in the Latin East. Scholarly debate has centred on the reasons behind the construction of the castle, its role in the defence of the Kingdom of Jerusalem during the thirteenth century, and its significance for the Templar order. The studies in this volume shed new light on diverse aspects of the site, including its cemetery and the surveys conducted there. Further chapters examine Cyprus during the thirteenth century, which under the Lusignan dynasty was an important centre of Latin settlement in the East, and a major trade centre. These chapters present new contributions regarding the complex visual culture which developed on the island, the relation between different social groups, and settlement patterns.

Adopting a multidisciplinary approach, this book will be of interest to scholars and students of the medieval period, as well as those interested in the Crusades, archaeology, material culture, and art history.

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Preface

This volume presents the fruits of a conference held at the University of Haifa in early 2018: 'The Latin East in the 13th Century, Institutions, Settlements, and Material Culture, commemorating the 800th anniversary of the construction of 'Atlit Castle'. Professor Adrian Boas was our partner in the organising committee of the conference, and we received the support of various departments and programmes at Haifa University, the Israel Antiquities Authority, and the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East. Over 60 scholars from Europe, America, and Israel presented papers relating to the theme of the conference.

The thirteenth century was a pivotal period in the history of the Latin East, characterised by great achievements alongside great adversities. This period began and terminated with two major disasters: at its beginning, the results of the Battle of Hattin; and towards its end, the fall of Acre and the collapse of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The need to cope with the devastating consequences of Hattin, to recover and reconstruct the kingdom, while also continuously engaging with its deterioration, resulted in intensive activity in every field, including battle techniques, castle construction, economy, and trade. The establishment of a Frankish presence and settlement in places like Cyprus (conquered by Richard the Lionheart in 1191 and later passed to the Lusignans) and the Morea (conquered by the Villehardouin family and others), became essential for the survival of the Frankish kingdom.

The present volume sheds light on some previously less explored aspects of the crusader movement and the Latin East in this fascinating period, offering a multidisciplinary approach and focusing on settlement, archaeology, material culture, maritime studies, history, and art history. To achieve its vast purpose, the book has brought together an international team of specialists in their respective fields, offering a wide range of viewpoints, from specific case studies discussing particular sites to the assessments of wider phenomena.

The book is arranged in five thematic sections. Opening the volume, the first section is dedicated to the complex social developments that took place in the Latin Kingdom in the aftermath of the Battle of Hattin, as well as to some of the developments in warfare and camp technologies in the thirteenth century. Heading this section is the contribution by Benjamin Z. Kedar, who presents a broad overview that compares the characteristics of the Second Kingdom of Jerusalem

with those of the First Kingdom, examining such aspects as the rhythm and duration of territorial expansion, demography and the ratio of Franks versus non-Franks, commerce, and the prominence of holy places. The next contribution, by Beatrice Saletti, which sheds light on the Italian presence and activity in Acre, focuses on a specific social phenomenon in the city – the Italian brotherhood of the Holy Spirit, about which very little is known apart from its statutes of 1216. The next two studies in this section offer innovative discussions of developments in maritime and warfare technologies. The contribution by Rafael Y. Lewis, Nimrod Getzov, and Ianir Milevski turns its attention to land warfare, and seeks to reveal developments in the layout and characteristics of encampments in the Latin East in light of new excavations at the Spring of Saforie; while the contribution by Pierre-Vincent Claverie focuses on naval warfare and engages with developments in both naval siege warfare and maritime logistics in the thirteenth century.

In commemoration of the 800th anniversary of the construction of ʻAtlit Castle, the next section is dedicated to the castle itself, which was one of the most magnificent built in the Latin East. Scholarly discussion has debated the reasons behind its construction, its role in the defence of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the thirteenth century, its significance for the Templar order, for pilgrimage and more. The studies in this section shed new light on diverse aspects of the site, such as practices of incarceration in the castle and the surveys conducted there. Helen J. Nicholson opens the section with an overview of the history of the castle, examining a vast range of sources regarding its construction and span of activity, including contemporaneous letters, commentaries, histories, pilgrims' accounts, and Templar regulations. Vardit R. Shotten-Hallel then analyses the various historical testimonies for the construction of the castle, and discusses them in detail, particularly the discrepancies between them. They are examined in light of the archaeological surveys and findings. The next contribution, by Yvonne Friedman, focuses on incarceration in the thirteenth century and underlines the function of ʻAtlit Castle as a central prison for the Templar order. The contribution by Yves Gleize concludes this section with a discussion of new archaeological data on the medieval cemetery of ʻAtlit.

The third section of the volume is dedicated to Cyprus, which in the thirteenth century, under the Lusignan dynasty, was an important centre of Latin settlement in the East and a major trade centre. The chapters in this section present new contributions to questions regarding the complex visual culture that developed on the island and its settlement patterns. The first contribution, by Michalis Olympios, provides a broad-scale analytic overview of the art-historical developments on the island in the thirteenth century, concentrating on the history of thirteenth-century Gothic architecture in Cyprus in particular, and within the Latin East in general. In doing so, Olympios rejects earlier Francocentric assessments of the emergence of the Gothic in the eastern Mediterranean, suggesting instead a historiographical model that stresses the reception and adaptation of the Gothic style at both the regional and the local levels.

The next three studies in this section turn their attention to specific places, individuals, and phenomena, which in turn demonstrate the complexities of life

and society in Cyprus in the thirteenth century. The study by Nicholas Coureas focuses on thirteenth-century Limassol, examining the city in regard to such aspects as its place within crusader campaigns in the eastern Mediterranean, the traders it attracted, and its importance for Western settlers. The study by Geoffrey Meyer-Fernandez focuses on a fascinating sociological, demographic, and art-historical phenomenon: the migration of newcomers and refugees from the Holy Land to Cyprus, which became particularly numerous in the second half of the thirteenth century, following the loss of Christian-held cities in Syria and Palestine to the Muslims. This migration also included artists and craftspeople, who introduced changes to the artistic production on the island. The last study in this section, by Stephen Donnachie, is dedicated to the reign of Aimery de Lusignan (1197–1205), whose rule has not previously been the focus of extensive research. Donnachie analyses the ways in which Aimery sought to distinguish his rule from that of his brother's disastrous reign, and how he endeavoured to resolve peacefully the lingering political disputes from that earlier reign.

Moving from the realms of social, military, or material developments towards literary and textual traditions, the fourth section of the volume engages with the many types of documents and literary works created in (or about) the Latin East in the thirteenth century: from charters to chronicles and to epic poems.

The study by Thomas W. Smith explores a collection of 54 Fifth Crusade charters, previously overlooked. Smith identifies the forgeries within this group, opening them up for further research. The second study in this section, by Carol Sweetenham, analyses the evolution of literary traditions of the depiction of the First Crusade. She argues that the defeat at Hattin brought a new urgency to the need to communicate the example set by the First Crusade and encouraged new accounts in the vernacular, in both prose and poetry. Offering an analysis of these accounts through the lens of translation, the author examines the ways in which these sources reveal the changing views on the Crusade, as well as the development of translation in portraying historical events.

The fifth and final section of the volume looks at the Latin East from the perspective of, and in correlation to, developments in the West in the thirteenth century, focusing on both the intricate network of connections between East and West, as well as offering case examples of economic, political, and architectural developments in the West that shed light on such connections.

The study by Karl Borchardt focuses on the castle that was begun in 1275 by Fr. Henry of Boxberg in Biebelried, a few kilometres east of Würzburg. This was an almost quadratic new castle with bossed walls and at least one small round tower in one of the corners. The construction formed part of the thirteenth-century Hospitaller territorialisation in Franconia. Borchardt's detailed study examines the intricate history of this building and of the Boxberg dynasty, including the possibility that the connections between Fr. Henry of Boxberg and Fr. Henry of Fürstenberg (1259–1262), magnus preceptor of the Hospitaller convent at Acre, may explain the characteristics of the new Biebelried castle.

The study by Damien Carraz is devoted to the important Hospitaller priory of Saint Gilles in the years c.1260–c.1300. Carraz examines the human, material,

and financial contributions of the Provençal commanderies for the defence of the Latin East through the transfer of goods and individuals, as evidenced in the charters. As the author suggests, the fall of Acre in 1291 did not put an end to these endeavours, as many brethren of the priory of Saint Gilles were still prepared to make the journey overseas.

Moving to the Iberian Peninsula, Maria Bonet and Julia Pavón analyse the way in which the Holy Land was perceived by the people, dignitaries, and intellectuals in the Crown of Aragon and Navarre in the thirteenth century, by examining three main and interconnected issues: first, the changing attitudes to the Templars and the Hospitallers, who were considered to be a priori the most direct representatives of the Holy Land; second, the role of the Holy Land in the consolidation of the figures of the Aragonese and Navarrese kings who would lead the Crusades; and third, the presence of the Aragonese and Navarrese in the conflicts that took place in the crusader states, both as members of the military orders and as combatants sent to give support to their leaders' commitments.

The fourth study in this section, by Miha Kosi, examines one of the most prestigious crusading dynasties in the West – that of the Babenberg Dukes of Austria. It was during the Fifth Crusade that Duke Leopold VI of Austria gave the Knights Templar 50 marks of gold to build their new castle in 'Atlit. Kosi examines the remarkable crusading activities of members of this dynasty, beginning with the legendary participation of a female member, Ita (who joined the ill-fated expedition of 1101), as well as those of later members throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The last study in this section, by Shlomo Lotan, focuses on one of the most important leaders of the Teutonic order in the middle of the thirteenth century: Eberhard of Sayn, the Grand Commander who succeeded to reinforce the order's troops in the Latin East as well as in their provinces in northern Europe and the Baltic region. The study examines, among others, Eberhard's success in rehabilitating the Teutonic institutions in the second half of the thirteenth century in Acre and the Upper Galilee.

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Above all, we thank all of our colleague authors who agreed to share their fascinating research with us at the conference and for this book. Finally, we thank the series editors and staff at Routledge, for their professional work and kind help during the process of producing this book, and particularly Christoph T. Maier, Stewart Beale, and Chris Mathews.

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Karl Borchardt works as a senior researcher at Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Munich, and has been teaching medieval history at the University of Würzburg, Germany. He has published on the Knights Hospitaller, on other military-religious orders and on regional history. Among his recent papers is "Vogtei und Schutz bei den geistlichen Ritterorden des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts," in: *Kirchenvogtei und adlige Herrschaftsbildung im europäischen Mittelalter, ed. Kurt Andermann and Enno Bünz* (Vorträge und Forschungen 86, 2019), 87–139. Forthcoming is his edition *Documents Concerning Central Europe from the Hospital's Rhodian Archives, 1314–1428* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2021).

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de Manosque pour les années 1283 à 1290 (2015) and *Images et ornements autour des ordres militaires au Moyen Âge: culture visuelle et culte des saints* (2016). In 2020, his thesis *L'ordre du Temple dans la basse vallée du Rhône* (2005) was republished in a new edition and he released *Un commandeur ordinaire? Bérenger Monge et le gouvernement des hospitaliers provençaux au* XIIIe *siècle* with Brepols editions. He is also secretary of the *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* (http://cahiersdefanjeaux.com).

Pierre-Vincent Claverie, PhD 2004, published five books and 75 studies about the Latin East and the military orders. Over the last few years he has been working for the Cyprus Research Centre. His latest book deals with the relationship between northern Catalonia and the Levant in the second half of the fourteenth century: *Les notules pour Chypre et le Levant des notaires perpignanais, Bernat Pastor et Jaume Molines (1368–1408)* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2019).

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Abbreviations

AOL	*Archives de l'Orient latin*
Autour	*Autour de la Première Croisade. Actes du colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, Clermont-Ferrand, 22–25 juin 1995, ed. Michel Balard (Paris, 1996).
Cart Hosp	*Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, 1100–1310*, ed. Joseph Delaville Le Roulx, 4 vols. (Paris, 1884–1906).
Cart St Sép	*Le Cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem*, ed. Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades, 15 (Paris, 1984).
Cart Tem	*Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple 1119?–1150. Recueil des chartes et des bulles relatives à l'ordre du Temple*, ed. Guigues A.M.J.A. Marquis d'Albon (Paris, 1913).
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis.
Crusades, ed. Setton	*A History of the Crusades*, general ed. Kenneth M. Setton, 2nd ed., 6 vols. (Madison, 1969–89).
Crusade Sources	*The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. John France and William G. Zajac (Aldershot, 1998).
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.
Horns	*The Horns of Hattin*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar (Jerusalem and London, 1992).

Jacques de Vitry, *Cinquième Croisade*	Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres de la Cinquième Croisade,* ed. Robert B. C. Huygens, translation by G. Duchet-Suchaux (Leiden, 1998).
Johns 1932	Johns, Cedric N., "Excavations at Pilgrims' Castle, 'Atlît (1932): The Ancient Tell and the Outer Defences of the Castle," *QDAP* 1 (1932): 111–129.
Johns 1933	"Excavations at 'Atlit (1930–1) The South-Eastern Cemetery," *QDAP* 2 (1933): 41–104.
Johns 1934	"Medieval Slip-Ware from Pilgrims' Castle, 'Atlit (1930–31)," *QDAP* 3 (1934): 136–144, 145–164.
Johns 1935	"Excavations at Pilgrims' Castle, 'Atlit (1931–2): An Unfinished Church in the Suburb," *QDAP* 4 (1935): 122–137.
Johns 1936	"Excavations at Pilgrim's Castle, 'Athlit (1932–1933): Stables at the Southwest of the Suburb," *QDAP* 5 (1936): 31–60.
Johns 1937	"Excavations at Pilgrims' Castle, 'Atlit (1933): Cremated Burials of Phoenician Origin," *QDAP* 6 (1937): 121–152.
Johns 1947	*Guide to Atlit* [repr. 1997], (Jerusalem [Aldershot], 1947).
Johns, ed. Pringle, 1997	Pilgrims' Castle ('Atlit) David's Tower (Jerusalem) and Qal'at ar-Rabad ('Ajlun), ed. Denys Pringle (Aldershot, 1997).
Kreuzfahrerstaaten	*Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten als multikulturelle Gesellschaft. Einwanderer und Minderheiten im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Hans Eberhard Mayer with Elisabeth Müller-Luckner, Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien 3 (Munich, 1997).
Mansi, *Concilia*	Giovanni D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio*, 31 vols. (Florence and Venice, 1758–98).
Mayer and Sode, *Die Siegel*	Hans Eberhard Mayer and Claudia Sode, *Die Siegel der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem* (Wiesbaden, 2014).
Mayer, *Urkunden*	Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Die Urkunden der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem, (Diplomata regum Latinorum*

	Hierosolymitanorum), Altfranzösische Texte erstellt von Jean Richard, vol.1 (Hannover, 2010).
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
MO, 1	*The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm Barber (Aldershot, 1994).
MO, 2	*The Military Orders*, 2, *Welfare and Warfare*, ed. Helen Nicholson (Aldershot, 1998).
MO, *3*	*The Military Orders*, 3, *History and Heritage*, ed. Victor Mallia-Milanes (Aldershot, 2008).
MO, *4*	*The Military Orders*, 4, *On Land and By Sea*, ed. Judy Upton-Ward (Aldershot, 2008).
MO, *5*	*The Military Orders*, 5, *Politics and Power*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Aldershot, 2012).
MO, *6*	*The Military Orders*, 6, *Culture and Conflict in the Mediterranean World*, ed. Mike Carr and Jochen Schenk (London, 2017).
Montjoie	*Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Jonathan Riley-Smith, and Rudolf Hiestand (Aldershot, 1997).
Oliver Scholasticus, "Briefe"	Oliver Scholasticus, *"Briefe" in Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, späterem bischofs von Paderborn und cardinal-bischofs von S. Sabina, Oliverus,* ed. Hermann Hoogeweg (Tübingen, 1894).
Oliver Scholasticus, "Historia Damiatina"	Oliver Scholasticus,*"Historia Damiatina," in Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, späterem bischofs von Paderborn und cardinal-bischofs von S. Sabina, Oliverus,* ed. Hermann Hoogeweg (Tübingen, 1894).
OMCTH	Ordines Militares, Colloquia Torunensia Historica
Outremer	*Outremer. Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem*

	Presented to Joshua Prawer, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Hans E. Mayer and Raymond C. Smail (Jerusalem, 1982).
PG	Patrologia Graeca
PL	Patrologia Latina
QDAP	*Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*
QSGDO	Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens
RHC	*Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*
Oc	*Historiens occidentaux*
Or	*Historiens orientaux*
RIS	Rerum Italicarum Scriptores
RRH	Reinhold Röhricht, comp., *Regesta regni hierosolymitani* (Innsbruck, 1894).
RRH Add	Reinhold Röhricht, comp., *Additamentum* (Innsbruck, 1904).
RRR	*Revised Regesta regni hierosolymitani*
RS	Rolls Series
WT	William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. Robert B.C. Huygens, CCCM 63–63A (Turnhout, 1986).

Part 1

The Latin Kingdom in the thirteenth century

1 On some characteristics of the Second Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1191–1291

Benjamin Z. Kedar

In this chapter, I attempt to draw up a balance sheet of the Second Kingdom of Jerusalem, or the Kingdom of Acre, that existed between 1191 and 1291. I shall start with politics, external and internal; these are the issues on which the major histories of the Crusades, written in recent decades, tend to concentrate on when dealing with the Frankish presence in Syria-Palestine during this period. Then I shall turn to the issues of demography, commerce, and holy places, which have received little attention in these historical works, although occasionally one encounters some perceptive observations on them.

The recounting, in these major histories of the Crusades, of the external political developments tends to be narrative, with few attempts at generalisations, or at comparisons with the First Kingdom of Jerusalem of the years 1099–1187. My attempt to generalise and compare will focus on a crucial issue of external politics, namely the expansion of the area under Christian control.

When we focus on this issue from a comparative perspective, several salient features come to the fore. The first is the rhythm of territorial expansion. During the First Kingdom, successful territorial expansion took place from the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 to the conquest of Ascalon in 1153, that is for 54 years. Successful territorial expansion in the times of the Second Kingdom took place over 50 years, from the conquest of Acre in 1191 to the recovery of most of Palestine in 1240–1241. Are we justified therefore to speak of a 54-year-long-expansion during the First Kingdom as against a 50-year-long one during the Second? No – because numbers can be misleading. When we take a closer look, we realise that territorial expansion of the First Kingdom was rapid – it was largely over by 1115, when King Baldwin I took possession of southern Transjordan; only the two coastal towns of Tyre and Ascalon remained in Muslim hands, until 1124 and 1153, respectively. The territorial expansion of the Second Kingdom, on the other hand, was very gradual, and took place mainly in the fourth and fifth decades of its existence.[1] For almost 40 years, from 1191 to 1229 to be exact, the kingdom was largely limited to a strip along the coast. Then came the acquisition of most of Jerusalem in 1229 and of much of Palestine in 1240–1241.

The second salient feature is the role of crusaders versus that of locals in territorial expansion. While local Frankish forces under the King of Jerusalem played the leading role in the territorial expansion of the First Kingdom, occasionally acting without any outside help, expansion during the Second Kingdom was

primarily achieved by crusaders from Europe. The Third Crusade re-established Christian rule along the coast from Tyre to Jaffa. The German Crusade of 1197 led to the conquest of the coast all the way to Beirut. The efforts of the crusaders who, in 1204, chose to fight on the "Second Front" of the Fourth Crusade, led to a truce under whose terms the Christians recaptured Jaffa, gained full control over Ramleh and Lydda, and, in the north, recovered Nazareth.[2] Frederick II's crusade of 1228–1229 acquired for the kingdom most of Jerusalem and all of Bethlehem, as well as the road from Ramleh to Jerusalem, and in the north, the area of Toron (Tibnin) east of Tyre. Finally, the Crusades of Thibaut of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall brought about the acquisition, in 1240–1241, of most of Palestine, with the exception of the regions of Nablus, Hebron, and Gaza.[3]

This preponderance of crusaders from Europe in the expansion of the Second Kingdom was largely matched by their crucial role in fortifying its coastal castles and towns, a role recently highlighted by Christopher Tyerman. Crusaders fortified ʿAtlit and Caesarea in 1217–1218, Caesarea, Sidon, and the castle of Jaffa in 1228–1229, Ascalon in 1240–1241, Acre, Caesarea, and Jaffa in 1250–1254, and Acre in 1271–1272; in addition, Bishop Benoît of Alignan of Marseille pressed in 1240 for rebuilding the inland castle of Safed.[4] In other words, the fortification of ʿAtlit, the eighth centennial of which has brought us here together, should be regarded as an illustration of a pattern. True, some local magnates did undertake works of fortification, like Jean of Ibelin who in 1241 began to fortify the castle of Arsur,[5] and Eudes of Montbéliard, Prince of Galilee, who about the same time refortified the citadel of Tiberias;[6] and surely the military orders engaged in fortification. Yet the situation was markedly different from that in the First Kingdom, when locals initiated almost all fortification works. The construction of Latrun Castle in the 1130s by Count Rodrigo González of Toledo appears to be the only such work initiated, during the First Kingdom, by a visitor from abroad.[7]

The third feature of the Second Kingdom's expansion is the prominent role of crusader diplomacy in it. While in the First Kingdom, territorial growth resulted from military victories, during the Second Kingdom successful negotiations brought about the most important territorial gains. Frederick II in 1229, Thibaut IV of Champagne in 1240, and Richard of Cornwall in 1241 – all three of them, crusaders from abroad who spent a short time in Outremer – deftly took advantage of tensions, rivalries, and conflicts among Ayyubid rulers and extricated significant territorial concessions from them. These achievements may be compared with the failure, in the times of the First Kingdom, of King Amaury's attempt to take advantage of inter-Muslim rivalry and secure the control of Egypt – an attempt that not only failed but also triggered Saladin's rise to eminence. The achievements of Frederick II, Thibaut of Champagne, and Richard of Cornwall may be also compared to the one major attempt of the local Franks to exploit inter-Ayyubid rivalries: the Frankish alliance with as-Sālih Ismāʿīl of Damascus, an-Nāsir Dawūd of Kerak, and al-Mansūr Ibrāhīm of Homs against the sultan of Egypt, as-Sālih Ayyūb, the alliance that led to the crushing defeat of the Franks at La Forbie on 17 October 1244.[8]

The fourth feature of the Second Kingdom's expansion is its short-lived nature. In the First Kingdom, the conquered territories remained in Frankish hands, with few exceptions, down to 1187; on the other hand, the major gains of 1229, 1240, and 1241 were ephemeral. Jerusalem and Bethlehem reverted to Muslim rule 15 years after Emperor Frederick's agreement with al-Malik al-Kāmil; Ascalon, obtained by Thibaut of Champagne in 1240 and Tiberias, gained by Richard of Cornwall a year later, fell to the Muslims as early as 1247. Of the acquisitions of 1240–1241, only the castles of Safed and Beaufort held out longer, the first until 1266, the second until 1268.

The fifth feature is the absence of any further territorial expansion after 1241, and an increasingly accelerated shrinkage instead: the final loss of Jerusalem and Bethlehem in 1244, the loss of Tiberias and Ascalon in 1247, the gradual conquest by the Mamluks of the kingdom's remainder from the 1260s onward. Also, the alliance that led to the defeat at La Forbie marked the last significant Christian attempt to ally with one regional power against another. Sixteen years later, when the era's most important battle on Palestine's soil took place, that is, the Battle of ʿAyn Jalūt in September 1260, in which the Mamluks defeated the Mongols – the Franks chose to remain neutral, although the battle took place only about 30 miles southeast of Acre. Indeed, it appears that after 1244 a gloomy mood began to pervade Frankish Outremer: as early as 1248, a charter drawn up at Acre envisaged the following scenarios – the loss of the entire kingdom of Jerusalem with the exception of Acre or Tyre; the loss of the kingdom as well as of one or both of these two cities.[9] Consequently, I propose to divide the history of the Second Kingdom of Jerusalem into two sub-periods: 1191 to 1244, and 1244 to 1291, with the final fall of Jerusalem and the defeat at La Forbie, both in 1244, marking the watershed between the two sub-periods.

It is worthwhile to note that, unlike the Franks of Acre, King Hetoum I of Armenian Cilicia chose to enter into an alliance with the Mongols already in 1254. In January 1260, his troops and those of his son-in-law Bohemond VI of Antioch joined the Mongols in massacring the Muslims of Aleppo.[10] Two months later, when the Mongols conquered Damascus, Bohemond ordered to chant the Mass "of the Franks" and ring bells within the city's Great Mosque; as for the other mosques of Damascus, he turned them into stables and ordered to spill wine and smear fresh and salted bits of pork on their walls.[11] It is symptomatic that of the authors of the major histories of the Crusades written in recent decades, only Joshua Prawer mentions these Christian acts of desecration.[12] Others chose to disregard them; for instance, Jonathan Riley-Smith merely reports that Bohemond VI "entered Damascus with the Mongol army in March 1260."[13]

Let us turn now to the internal politics of the Second Kingdom. In the past, this issue has been the subject of much analysis: suffice it to mention the discussion of the communal movement, started by Joshua Prawer's paper of 1966, or Jonathan Riley-Smith's book on the kingdom's nobility, published in 1973.[14] Yet in recent decades, this problematique has not attracted much attention, and I daresay that it might be worthwhile to take it up again. After all, the issue is perhaps almost

as important as gender, pilgrims' itineraries, or possibly even the incessantly discussed relationships among the chronicles of the First Crusade.

The consensual view about the Second Kingdom's internal politics emphasises the lack of dynastic stability, absentee kings, the struggle of the Frankish nobility against Emperor Frederick II, the rising power of the Italian communes and the struggles and bouts of warfare among them, the ascendancy of the military orders and the rivalry among them – all this bringing about a disintegration that made territorial units sign separate truces with the Mamluk sultans, and that finally led to the fall of Acre. This consensual view is well founded. Yet I believe that the implicit or explicit contrast between the sturdiness of the First Kingdom and the frailty of the Second Kingdom should not be overstressed. The First Kingdom had its succession crises, from the coup d'état in 1118 by which the Montlhéry family placed its candidate on the throne, to the awkward, contested coronation of Guy of Lusignan in 1186. The First Kingdom witnessed also the revolt of Hugues of Le Puiset, Count of Jaffa, against King Foulques of Anjou in 1134, and the struggle between Foulques' widow, Melisende, and her son Baldwin III in 1152, at the height of which the son dislodged the mother from Nablus and besieged her in Jerusalem's citadel. As for the Italian communes, an anonymous author who describes the First Kingdom at its zenith, observes that the Pisans, Genoese, and Venetians are of great use for the realm, excelling in naval warfare and commerce as they do; yet he goes on to state that they are exempted from all tribute, live according to their own laws, and that the Saracens profit from the discord among them.[15] Thus, the traits that characterise the Italian communes in the Second Kingdom are already distinctly perceivable in the First. Finally, I doubt that during the First Kingdom there came into being "une véritable nation," the nation of Jerusalemite Franks, and that the period 1187–1231 witnessed the beginning of a process of "dénationalisation."[16] This view, first put forward by Jean Richard in 1953, has been endorsed more recently by Hans Eberhard Mayer, who specifies that this process was boosted by foreign bodies (*Fremdkörper*) that catered to the particular interests of the nations to which they belonged, namely, the Italian communes who put first the economic advantage of their home towns, and the Teutonic Knights who acted on behalf of the Hohenstaufens.[17] But was there really "une nation hiérosolymitaine" during the First Kingdom? Can we speak, in general, of nationhood in the twelfth century? Richard believed that the bulk of the Frankish population did not originate in the same area in the West: the nobility, he assumed, mostly came from northern France, while the bourgeoisie hailed from Provence. Consequently he claimed that the fact that most Jerusalemites were either French or Provençals facilitated the birth of the new Jerusalemite nation – and went on to state that this new nation amounted to a prefiguration of the France that was to arise centuries later out of the fusion of the French of the north and the Provençals of the Midi![18] Well, the term "prefiguration" tends to serve in historical studies as an elastic band that precariously holds together quite disparate objects. I believe that instead of positing a twelfth-century Frankish nation de-nationalised after 1187, we should stress the critical dependence of the Second Kingdom on outside assistance. We have noted already the major role