

ORDINES MILITARES
COLLOQUIA TORUNENSIA HISTORICA
Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders

vol. XVII (2012)



Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika
Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu
Toruń 2012

EDITORIAL BOARD

Roman Czaja, Editor in Chief, Nicolaus Copernicus University Toruń
Jürgen Sarnowsky, Editor in Chief, University of Hamburg

Jochen Burgtorf, California State University
Sylvain Gouguenheim, École Normale Supérieure Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Lyon
Hubert Houben, Università del Salento Lecce
Alan V. Murray, University of Leeds
Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, Assistant Editor, Nicolaus Copernicus University Toruń

REVIEWERS:

Darius von Guettner, School of Historical and Philosophical Studies, University of Melbourne
Sławomir Józwiak, Institute of History and Archival Sciences, Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń
Tomasz Jurek, Institute of History of Polish Academy of Sciences
Juhan Kreem, City Archives of Tallinn
Johannes A. Mol, Institute for History, University Leiden
Maria Starnawska, Institute of History, Jan Długosz University in Częstochowa
Sławomir Zonnenberg, Institute of History and International Relationships, Kazimierz Wielki University in Bydgoszcz

ADDRESS OF EDITORIAL OFFICE:

Instytut Historii i Archiwistyki UMK, ul. Gagarina 9
87-100 Toruń
e-mail: rc@umk.pl
juergen.sarnowsky@uni-hamburg.de

Subscriptions orders should be addressed to:
books@umk.pl

Printed in Poland

© Copyright by Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika
© Copyright by Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu
Toruń 2012

ISSN 0867-2008

NICOLAUS COPERNICUS UNIVERSITY PRESS

EDITORIAL OFFICE: ul. Gagarina 5, 87-100 Toruń

tel. (0) 56 611 42 95, fax (0) 56 611 47 05

e-mail: wydawnictwo@umk.pl

DISTRIBUTION: ul. Reja 25, 87-100 Toruń

tel./fax (0) 56 611 42 38

e-mail: books@umk.pl

www.wydawnictwoumk.pl

First edition

Print: Nicolaus Copernicus University Press
ul. Gagarina 5, 87-100 Toruń

CONTENTS

I. STUDIES AND ARTICLES FROM THE 16TH ORDINES MILITARES CONFERENCE

<i>Philippe Josserand</i> (Nantes) Grenze(n) und geistliche Ritterorden in der lateinischen Welt des Mittelalters	7
<i>Damien Carraz</i> (Clermont-Ferrand) <i>Sub eiusdem pacis et treugue Dei defensione</i> . Die Ritterorden und der Frieden in Südfrankreich im 12. Jahrhundert	17
<i>Alan Forey</i> (Kirtlington) The Participation of the Military Orders in Truces with Muslims in the Holy Land and Spain during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries	41
<i>Shlomo Lotan</i> (Ramat-Gan) The Battle of La Forbie (1244) and its Aftermath – Re-examination of the Military Orders’ Involvement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in the mid-Thirteenth Century	53
<i>Jürgen Sarnowsky</i> (Hamburg) Die Ritterorden und der Krieg von St. Sabas	69
<i>Pierre Bonneaud</i> (Uzès) Negotiation and warfare: The Hospitallers of Rhodes around and after the Fall of Constantinople (1426–1480)	81
<i>Helen J. Nicholson</i> (Cardiff) The Hospitallers’ and Templars’ involvement in warfare on the frontiers of the British Isles in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries	105

II. OTHER STUDIES

- László Pószán* (Debrecen)
Der Deutsche Orden im mittelalterlichen Ungarn 123
- Christian Vogel* (Saarbrücken)
Meisterwahlen in den mittelalterlichen Ritterorden – Johanniter, Templer
und Deutscher Orden im Vergleich 137

III. MISCELLANEOUS AND OTHER MATERIALS

- Paweł A. Jeziorski* (Toruń)
Das Verzeichnis der von Hochmeister Ludwig von Erlichshausen
Begnadigten. Eine Quelle zur Geschichte der hochmeisterlichen
Landrundreise in den Jahren 1450–1451 157

IV. BOOK REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES

- Documents Concerning Cyprus from the Hospital's Rhodian Archives: 1409–1459*,
ed. Karl Borchardt, Anthony Luttrell, Ekhard Schöffler (*Jürgen Sarnowsky*) 203
- Zsolt Hunyadi, *The Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary c. 1150–
–1387* (*Gábor Bradács*) 204
- Bernhart Jähmig, Verfassung und Verwaltung des Deutschen Ordens und seiner
Herrschaft in Livland (*Piotr Oliński*) 206
- Máté Molnár, *A templomos lovagrend alkonya* (*Ádám Debreczeni*) 208
- Nicholas Edward Morton, *The Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land 1190–1291*
(*Krzysztof Kwiatkowski*) 211
- Anat Peled, *Sugar in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. A Crusader Technology between
East and West* (*Shlomo Lotan*) 213
- Jürgen Sarnowsky, *Die Templer* (*Maria Starnawska*) 215
- Jürgen Sarnowsky, *Die Johanniter. Ein geistlicher Ritterorden in Mittelalter und
Neuzeit* (*Krzysztof Kwiatkowski*) 217
- Magdalena Satora, *Sprawa templariuszy w dyplomacji zachodnioeuropejskiej 1307–
–1312* (*Piotr Oliński*) 221
- Tannenberg – Grunwald – Žalgiris 1410. Krieg und Frieden im späten Mittelalter*,
hrsg. v. Werner Paravicini, Rimvydas Petrauskas, Grischa Vercamer (*Krzysztof
Kwiatkowski*) 222



SHLOMO LOTAN (Ramat-Gan)

THE BATTLE OF LA FORBIE (1244)
AND ITS AFTERMATH – RE-EXAMINATION
OF THE MILITARY ORDERS' INVOLVEMENT
IN THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM
IN THE MID-THIRTEENTH CENTURY

During its two hundred years of existence, the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem had known periods of prosperity as well as periods of warfare. Notable amongst these is the famous battle in which Jerusalem was captured in 1099, at the end of the First Crusade¹, and the Battle of Hattin, which decided the fate of the first Kingdom in 1187 and led to the downfall of most crusader strongholds.² Another such significant event was the conquest of Acre in 1291, during

¹ For the sources about the First Crusade and the conquest of Jerusalem see: *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. R. Hill, London 1962, caps 38–39; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana (1095–1127)*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg 1913; *Le “Liber” de Raymond d’Aguilers*, in: *Documents relatifs à l’histoire des croisades*, vol. 9, ed. J. H. Hill, L. L. Hill, Paris 1969; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the journey to Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. S. B. Edgington, Oxford 2007; J. Prawer, *The Jerusalem the Crusades Captured: a Contribution of the Medieval Topography of the City*, in: *Crusade and Settlement. Papers read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and presented to R. C. Smail*, ed. P. W. Edbury, Cardiff 1985, pp. 1–16; B. Z. Kedar, *The Jerusalem Massacre of July 1099 in the Western Historiography of the Crusades*, *Crusades* 3 (2004), pp. 15–75; J. France, *The Destruction of Jerusalem and the First Crusade*, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 47 (1996), pp. 1–17.

² *Chronique d’Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. L. Mas Latrie, Paris 1871, pp. 167–171; P. W. Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation*, Aldershot 1996; P. Herde, *Die Kämpfe bei den Hornern von Hittin and der Untergang des Kreuzritterheeres (3. and 4. Juli 1187). Eine historisch-topographische Studie*, *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche und Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 61 (1966), pp. 1–50; J. Prawer, *The battle of Hattin*, in: *Crusader Institutions*, Oxford 1980, pp. 484–500; B. Z. Kedar, *The Battle of Hattin Revisited*, in: *The Horns of Hattin: Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Society*

which the kingdom's *de facto* capital fell, despite its considerable fortifications.³ Yet another, almost forgotten, is the Battle of La Forbie (Forbia – Hirbiya) of 1244, which took place between Ascalon and Gaza.

The Battle of La Forbie, which took place on October 17th 1244, is referred to as the greatest setback since Hattin.⁴ Despite the defeat in the battlefield and the death of many nobles, warriors and clergymen, including thousands of knights from the Military Orders, modern crusader research seems by and large to have overlooked it. This might be attributed to the surprising survival of the Latin Kingdom after its colossal defeat in this battle and the delayed exit of the next Crusade sent to the rescue of the Latin East. This Crusade, The Seventh Crusade, captured researchers' interest because of its political and military influence on the Latin East. Led by King Louis IX (Saint Louis), it left France four years after this battle and eventually ended up in Egypt, far away from the Holy Land. Yet ultimately, after its end in 1250, it arrived in the Latin Kingdom and assisted in the rehabilitation of its main strongholds as well as improving its military situation which remained strong until the final downfall of the Latin Kingdom in 1291.

To date, there is no complete, reliable answer as to what happened in the Latin Kingdom in second half of the 1240s. How did the kingdom's leaders cope with the battlefield defeat? How did the settlements survive? Above all, what was the Military Orders' contribution to the kingdom's stability after the chaos following the battle?

of the Crusades and the Latin East, ed. B. Z. Kedar, Jerusalem 1992, pp. 190–207; M. Ehrlich, *The Battle of Hattin: A Chronicle of a Defeat Foretold?*, *Journal of Medieval Military History* 5 (2007), pp. 16–32.

³ *Excidii Aconis Gestorum Collectio. Magister Thadeus Civis Neapolitanus, Ystoria de Desolatione et Conculcatione Civitatis Aconensis et Tocivs Terre Sancte*, in: *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*, vol. 202, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, with contributions by A. Forey and D. C. Nicolle, Turnhout 2004; *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243–1314), la caduta degli stati crociati nel racconto di un testimone oculare*, ed. L. Minervini, Napoli 2000, no. 253–272 (489–508), pp. 206–226; E. J. King, *The Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land*, London 1931, pp. 301–302; E. Stickel, *Der Fall von Akkon. Untersuchungen zum Abklingen des Kreuzzugsgedankens am ende des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Bern–Frankfurt 1975; D. P. Little, *The Fall of 'Akkā in 690/1291: The Muslim Version*, in: *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization, in Honor of Professor David Ayalon*, ed. M. Sharon, Leiden 1986, pp. 159–181; S. Schein, *Babylon and Jerusalem: The Fall of Acre 1291–1995*, in: *From Clermont to Jerusalem, The Crusades and Crusader Societies 1095–1500. Selected Proceedings of International Medieval Congress University of Leeds 10–13 July 1995*, ed. A. V. Murray, Turnhout 1998, pp. 141–150; M.-L. Favreau-Lilie, *The Military Orders and the Escape of the Christian Population from the Holy Land in 1291*, *Journal of Medieval History* 19 (1993), pp. 201–227.

⁴ H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham, Oxford 1988, p. 259.

These questions have been emphasized by the new archaeological excavations done in the coastal settlements of the Latin Kingdom, as well as by recent historical and geographical research. These studies have contributed to our understanding of the period's historical complexities and changed our view of events within the Latin Kingdom. This fresh view is discussed in the present essay.

In the early 1240s the Latin Kingdom had experienced prosperity unknown since before the Battle of Hattin in 1187. Following the Barons' Crusade (led by the nobles Theobald of Champagne and Richard, Earl of Cornwall) and the movement of large forces from Europe into the Latin East, the political power and position of the Ayyubid leadership vis-a-vis the Latin Kingdom had waned.⁵ Despite the Crusaders' defeat in the Battle of Gaza (on the fields of Beit Hanun) in 1239, the Ayyubid leaders in Egypt and Damascus realized that they would need the Crusaders as allies when fighting each other. The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem was a wedge between the two entities, so that confrontations between the Muslims (Saracens) had to take the Crusader forces into consideration.⁶ The Crusader leaders tried to take advantage of the situation by strengthening their kingdom and attempting to take back territory and strongholds previously lost, including the northern fortifications such as Beaufort, Thoron, Safad, Tiberias and Belvoir, as well as the southern ones such as Beit Gibelin and Ascalon.⁷ This achievement was not considered significant at the time, mainly due to the Crusader leaders' hasty departure from the Latin East back to Europe, as well as Crusader disunity. The remaining forces were divided without one powerful leader acceptable by all – the nobility, the Church and the Military Orders.⁸

In the absence of such a leader and the lack of a clear military strategy, the various factions in the Latin Kingdom acted independently. This was particularly noticeable in the rivalry which developed between the leading Military Orders,

⁵ S. Painter, *The Crusade of Theobald of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall, 1239–1241*, in: *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 2: *The Later Crusades, 1189–1311*, ed. R. L. Wolff, H. W. Hazard, Philadelphia 1962, pp. 475–484; C. Tyerman, *God's War. A New History of the Crusades*, Cambridge 2006, pp. 760–769.

⁶ *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr de 1229 à 1261, dite du manuscrit de Rothelin*, in: *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Occidentaux* (henceforth: RHC Hist. Occ.), vol. 2, Paris 1859, pp. 543–544; M. Lower, *The Barons' Crusade. A Call to Arms and its Consequences*, Philadelphia 2005, pp. 169–173.

⁷ P. Jackson, *The Crusades of 1239–41 and their aftermath*, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 30 (1987), 1, pp. 42–48.

⁸ M. N. Hardwicke, *The Crusader States, 1192–1243*, in: *A History of the Crusades* (as n. 5), vol. 2, pp. 550–553; M. L. Bulst-Thiele, *Zur Geschichte der Ritterorden und des Königreichs Jerusalem im 13. Jahrhundert bis zur Schlacht bei La Forbie am 17. Okt. 1244*, *Deutsches Archiv* 22 (1966), pp. 202–210; Jackson, *The Crusades of 1239–41* (as n. 7), pp. 50–52.

i.e. the Templars and the Hospitallers. The Teutonic Order supported the Hospitallers and Emperor Frederick II and their alliance with the Egyptian Ayyubid leadership, which in turn led to a clash with members of the Templar Order who supported the alliance with the Damascus Ayyubid. This northern alliance was also strengthened by influential aristocratic families in the kingdom led by the Ibelin family.⁹ The Templars received generous donations of land west of the Jordan River from the Damascus leaders, and also succeeded in bringing back Christianity to all parts of Jerusalem, including the Temple Mount.¹⁰ This achievement changed the political situation in the region, undermining the Jaffa Treaty of 1229 between the Egyptian Sultan al-Kāmil and Emperor Frederick II.¹¹

The strengthening of the Templars and the new agreement with the Damascus Ayyubid relevant to all Crusader institutions threatened the Egyptians. To overcome this threat from the north the Egyptians turned to the Khwarizmian nomad tribes which had invaded Syria, arrived from the northeast and raided the Latin Kingdom. They conquered the area of Safad, Tiberias, the Jordan Valley and the mountains of Samaria.¹² Finally, the tribes stormed Jerusalem in August of 1244, inflicting much destruction. The Churches of the holy city were desecrated driving many to escape, and more than 5,000 of the remaining population were

⁹ S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 3, Cambridge 1954, pp. 219–224; J. Prawer, *Military Orders and Crusader Politics in the Second half of the XIIIth Century*, in: *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, ed. J. Fleckenstein, M. Hellmann (Vorträge und Forschungen 26), Sigmaringen 1980, pp. 220–223; H. J. Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders, 1128–1291*, Leicester 1995, p. 123; D. Jacoby, *The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Collapse of Hohenstaufen Power in the Levant*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 40 (1987), p. 86; J. N. Claster, *Sacred Violence, The European Crusades to the Middle East, 1095–1396*, Toronto 2009, pp. 240–241.

¹⁰ *Letter of Armand de Pierregort to Robert of Sandford*, in: Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. H. R. Luard (Rolls Series 57), vol. 4, London 1872–1883, pp. 288–291; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrīj al kurūb fī akhbār banī Ayyūb*, ed. G. Shayyāl et al., Cairo 1953, vol. 5, pp. 330–333; *Letter from the East. Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12th–13th Centuries*, trans. M. Barber, K. Bath, Farnham 2010, pp. 140–142.

¹¹ *Historia Diplomatica Frederici Secundi*, ed. J. L. A. Huillard-Bréholles, vol. 3, Turin 1963, pp. 85–90; J. M. Powell, *Frederick II and the Muslim: the Making of an Historiographical Tradition*, in: *Iberia and the Mediterranean world of the Middle ages. Studies in honor of Robert I. Burns*, ed. L. J. Simon, Leiden 1995, pp. 266–269; L. Pouzet, *De la paix armée à la négociation et à ses ambiguïtés. L'accord de Jaffa (1229/626) entre Frédéric II et al-Malik al-Kamil*, in: *Chrétiens et Musulmans au Temps des Croisades*, ed. L. Pouzet, L. Boisset, Beyrouth 2007, pp. 96–98.

¹² C. Cahen, *The Turks in Iran and Anatolia before the Mongol Invasions*, in: *A History of the Crusades* (as n. 8), vol. 2, pp. 670–674; R. S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, Albany 1977, pp. 273–275; K. E. Lupprian, *Papst Innocenz IV, und die Ayyubiden Diplomatische Beziehungen von 1244 bis 1247*, in: *Das Heilige Land im Mittelalter. Begegnungsraum zwischen Orient und Okzident*, ed. W. Fischer, J. Schneider, Neustadt/Aisch 1982, pp. 78–79.

slaughtered.¹³ The Kingdom was terrorized, causing people to withdraw inside the settlement walls. At this point, the Crusaders and their allies in Damascus had no choice but to prepare for a final confrontation with the Egyptian Ayyubid and their allies, the Khwarizmians tribes.¹⁴

The Egyptian forces and their allies, the Khwarizmians tribes, gathered north of Gaza. They expected the arrival of the Crusaders and their Syrians allies, who had assembled in the coastal area of Acre, and then regrouped in Jaffa and Ascalon. The Crusader troops along with their Damascus and Homs allies first stayed in Acre, where the Muslim leaders entered the Crusader city and were received as guests in the Templar palace.¹⁵ At the beginning of October the massive army turned south towards Jaffa, the place set for final military discussions,¹⁶ later continuing further south to Ascalon, which was the southernmost point of crusader presence before Egypt. Ascalon was rebuilt in 1240 by Richard of Cornwall, and in 1243 Emperor Frederick II had assigned its defence to the Hospitallers who held this position until 1247. It is in this fortress that the Crusaders and their Muslim allies organized their forces before leaving for the battlefield in Gaza.¹⁷ It seems that Ascalon's narrow fortifications did not allow for a long stay, forcing the Crusader and Muslim armies to move southward towards Gaza. The next day,

¹³ *Chronica de Mailros*, ed. J. Stevenson, Edinburgh 1835, pp. 158–163; Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora* (as n. 10), vol. 4, pp. 299–300, 306–307, 340–341; B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, London 1980, pp. 263–264; S. Menache, *Rewriting the History of the Templars According to Matthew Paris*, in: *Cross Cultural Convergences in the Crusader period. Essays Presented to Aryeh Grabios on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. S. Menache, S. Schein, New York 1999, pp. 201–202.

¹⁴ G. A. Campbell, *The Knights Templars. Their Rise and Fall*, London 1937, pp. 165–166; J. Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol. 2, Amsterdam 1979, pp. 333–334; C. Marshall, *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192–1291*, Cambridge 1992, pp. 45–46.

¹⁵ *Letter of Frederick II to Richard of Cornwall*, in: Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora* (as n. 10), vol. 4, pp. 302–303: [...] *infra claustra domorum Templi praedictos Soldanos et suos, cum alacritate promposa, receptos, superstitions suas cum invocatione Machometi et luxus saeculares facere Templarii paterentur.*

¹⁶ *L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur et la Conqueste de la Terre d'Outremer*, in: RHC Hist. Occ., vol. 2, pp. 427–431.

¹⁷ *Historia Diplomatica Frederici Secundi* (as n. 11), vol. 6/2, pp. 116–117: *Fridericus, Dei gratia Romanorum imperator semper augustus, Jherusalem et Sicilie rex. Notum facimus universes quod accedens ad presentiam nostrum frater Gotfirdus Balianus pro parte venerabilis magistri et fratrum hospitalis Sancti Johannis Hierosolimitani nostrorum fidelium, nostre celsitudini supplicavit ut castrum Ascalone cum pertinentiis suis eorum cure et custodie committere dignaremur, et utiles et necessaries expensas quas faciunt pro custodia castrum ejusdem, restitui mandaremus eisdem.* About the Fortifications of Ascalon see: D. Pringle, *King Richard I and the Walls of Ascalon*, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 116 (1984), pp. 143–146.

October 17th, the massive armies clashed near the village of Hirbyia (Forbyia), and the anticipated battle commenced.¹⁸

The large Crusader forces and their allies were divided into three sections. The Crusaders took the western flank while the two other wings were manned by the forces from Damascus and Homs.¹⁹ The Crusader attack on the Egyptian army continued till evening, when the remaining Muslim forces gathered at the centre of the battlefield. Fighting ceased at sundown and resumed early the next morning with a combined attack of the Egyptian army and the Khwarizmian tribes on the Muslim army, forcing it to withdraw. Panic and disorder spread through the Muslim forces, which were then pushed back northwards, leaving behind many dead and wounded.²⁰ This left the Crusader forces on their own in the battlefield. They tried to regroup and retain some semblance of order, but this was not possible in light of repeated Egyptian attacks. Many started to retreat north, towards Ascalon, leaving behind the wounded and dead on the battlefield. Among those retreating was the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Robert of Nantes, who was badly wounded during the battle and had to withdraw to Ascalon. The Patriarch, who had witnessed the disaster, described it a few days later in his urgent letter to the Church representatives in France and England, calling for assistance and military aid.²¹

Many of those who remained in the battlefield had surrendered to the Muslims, including the leaders of the Crusader army led by William de Châteauneuf, the Hospitaller Grand Master and the noble Walter de Brienne, lord of Jaffa.²² Walter de Brienne was captured by the Khwarizmians who took him to Jaffa where he was tortured against the walls of the city. The Khwarizmians offered to release

¹⁸ I. Berkovich, *The Battle of Forbie and the Second Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem*, *The Journal of Military History* 75 (2011), 1, pp. 9–44.

¹⁹ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Sibt, Mir'at al-Zaman fi Ta'rikh al-A'yan*, vol. 2, Hyderabad 1952, pp. 745–746.

²⁰ *Cronica Fratris Salimbene di Adam*, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, vol. 32, ed. O. Holder-Egger, Hannover 1905–1913, pp. 176–177; *Letter of Frederick II* (as n. 15), pp. 303–304; *Eracles* (as n. 16), p. 429.

²¹ *Letter to the Prelates of France and England*, in: Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora* (as n. 10), vol. 4, pp. 337–344, about the Patriarch escape from the battlefield see p. 342: *Nos vero patriarcha, in quos, nostris peccatis exigentibus, omnis calamitas supervenit, indigni a Domino martyrio deputati, evasimus semivivi, apud Ascalonam cum nobilibus viris, constabulario Acconensi, Philippo de Monteforti, militibus et peditibus, qui evaserunt de bello, receptaculum capientes*; about the despair calls for military aid and supply see *ibid.*, pp. 342–343.

²² About the description of the Hospitaller Magister see: *Letter of William of Châteauneuf to M. of Marly*, in: Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora* (as n. 10), vol. 4, pp. 307–311; *Letter to the Prelates of France and England* (as n. 21), p. 342: *Magister vero Hospitalis et comes Galterus de Brena cum multis aliis capti in Babiloniam sunt deducti*; *Eracles* (as n. 15), pp. 429–430; K. Polejowski, *The Counts of Brienne and the Military Orders in the Thirteenth Century*, in: *The Military orders*, vol. 5: *Politics and Power*, ed. P. Edbury, Farnham 2012, pp. 285–295.

him in return for the city's surrender, but were refused by the Crusader leader and the city's inhabitants. Consequently the wounded noble was taken to Egypt, where he remained in captivity till his death several months later.²³

Medieval sources reveal how zealous the Military Orders were. Their members tried to penetrate through to the centre of the battle zone and attack the Muslim forces, failing and suffering enormous losses. The Templars lost 312 fighters, left with only 33 survivors. The Hospitallers lost 325 with 26 survivors. The loss of the Teutonic Order amounted to 400 knights and only three survivors.²⁴ The Teutonic Marshall Conrad von Nassau disappeared in the course of the battle and his fate remains unknown; he is assumed to have been killed in the course of the battle.²⁵ All members of the Leper Order and the Order of Saint Lazarus were killed.²⁶

The remaining Crusader fighters surrendered. The prisoners, including the Hospitaller and the Templar Grand Masters, were taken in chains to Egypt and remained in captivity until their release by Saint Louis at the end of the Seventh Crusade.²⁷ This was one of the harshest and most disastrous defeats in Crusader history. Medieval sources estimate the number of Christian casualties to have been more than 16,000, in addition to 25,000 Muslim warriors.²⁸

²³ Jean de Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. J. Monfrin, Paris 1995, no. 536, 538, p. 464; C. Smith, *Martyrdom and Crusading in the Thirteenth Century: Remembering the Dead of Louis IX's Crusades*, *Al Masāq* 15 (2003), 2, p. 191; P. Mitchell, *The Torture of Military Captives in the Crusades to the Medieval Middle East*, in: *Noble Ideals and Bloody Realities, Warfare in the Middle Ages*, ed. N. Christie, M. Yazigi, Leiden 2006, p. 103.

²⁴ *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr* (as n. 6), p. 564: [...] *la fin li nostre ne porent soffrir cele grant planté de mescreanz, ainz furent desconfist en tel maniere que des frerez del Temple n'en eschapa, que xxxvi Templierz, et des Hospitalierz jusqu'à xxvi et iii frerez de l'Ospital Nostre Dame des Alemanz*; Ibn al-Furat, *Selections from the Tarikh al-Duwal wa'l-Muluk*, in: *Ayyubids, Mameluks and Crusades*, ed. and trans. U. a. M. C. Lyons, with an introduction by J. S. C. Riley-Smith, vol. 2, Cambridge 1971, p. 173; *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani 1097–1291*, ed. R. Röhricht, Innsbruck 1893, no. 1125 (1244): [...] *christianos vero apud Gazam fugatos esse*.

²⁵ Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora* (as n. 10), vol. 4, p. 342: [...] *et praeceptore Sanctae Mariae Teutonicorum [...] cum non apparuerint, plurimum dubitatur utrum adhuc in bello obierint [...]*; N. E. Morton, *The Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land 1190–1291*, Woodbridge 2009, pp. 166, 204.

²⁶ R. Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem (1100–1291)*, Innsbruck 1898 (repr.: Amsterdam 1966), p. 865; M. Barber, *The Order of Saint Lazarus and the Crusaders*, *Catholic Historical Review* 80 (1994), p. 449.

²⁷ *Letter of William of Châteauneuf* (as n. 22), pp. 310–311; J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1100–1310)*, vol. 2, Paris 1897, No. 2339 (1244), p. 622; No. 2340 (1244), p. 622; Ibn Wāṣil (as n. 10), vol. 5, pp. 336–339; J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus 1050–1310*, London 1967, pp. 180–182, 276.

²⁸ *Cronica Fratris Salimbene* (as n. 20), p. 177: *Insuper, quod peius est, XVI milia Francorum et*

Following this battle the Egyptians could have destroyed the Latin Kingdom, determining once and for all the balance of power in the region, but instead they chose to advance their forces to the kingdom's southern border, while the Khwarizmians retreated to its eastern area, attacking mainly southern coastal settlements such as Ascalon and Jaffa.²⁹

Researchers agree that the period after the La Forbie loss was devoted to Crusader convergence, based on fear and anxiety due to preceding events. It was a period of weakness and stagnation, with fearful anticipation of what the future might bring. It seems that this was also true for the Military Orders which lost most of their forces in the battlefield, therefore urgently needing new recruits from Europe to rebuild their strength and status.³⁰ Surviving documents pertaining to the Hospitallers' and Teutonic Orders' acquisitions and their activities in the Latin Kingdom substantiate this. Clearly the Military Orders and their institutions were unable to expand their activities in the region to match their economic and military situation before the crucial battle.³¹

In 1245 the Hospitallers acquired an estate just north of Acre on the boundary of the Galilee Mountains known as Casal Album, close to the village of Coquet. This plot of land was in the midst of an area belonging to the other Military Orders, the Templars and the Order of Saint Thomas.³² The Hospitallers strengthened

tantus numerus aliorum, qui pro Christo sanguinem proprium effuderunt [...] in quorum numero errant plusquam XXV milia Saracenorum [...].

²⁹ *Letter to the Prelates of France and England* (as n. 21), pp. 343–344; J. Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, T. II, Paris 1975, pp. 313–315.

³⁰ J. Bronstein, *The Hospitallers and the Holy Land. Financing the Latin East 1187–1274*, Woodbridge 2005, pp. 138–139; E. Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading 1095–1274*, Oxford 1985, p. 180; J. Riley-Smith, *Templars and Hospitallers as Professed Religious in the Holy Land*, Notre Dame 2010, p. 26.

³¹ K. Forstreuter, *Der Deutsche Orden am Mittelmeer* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 2 (henceforth: QSGDO)), Bonn 1967, pp. 26–27; Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights* (as n. 9), pp. 42–44; Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John* (as n. 27), pp. 182–183.

³² *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers* (as n. 27), vol. 2, No. 2353 (1245), pp. 627–628: [...] *Deo et beato Johanni Baptiste, ac pauperibus infirmis sancte domus Hospitalis Jerosolimitani, in manibus videlicet fratris Joannis de Ronay, preceptoris generalis ejusdem domus, vices magistri gerentis, tres carrucatas terre, et aream unam, et domum unam quas habemus apud Casale Album, quod est situm in plano Acon, juxta viam que vadit apud Coquetum, casale Hospitalis. Prenominate vero terre sunt mete parte siquidem orientis coheret terre predicti casalis Coquet Hospitalis, in parte vero occidentis per longum continuator terre domus Templi et terre S. Thome, ex parte vero meridei adheret alteri terre Hospitais nominate, ex parte autem bore jacet terra S. Samuelis in longum*; A. J. Forey, *The Military Order of St. Thomas of Acre*, *English Historical Review* 364 (1977), pp. 482–483, 486; R. Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge 1998, pp. 177–178.

their position in the city of Acre and its surroundings, but had not acquired new possessions in the kingdom's northern area. Order documents do not mention any property acquisition in the south; in fact, the kingdom had lost its holdings in Beit Gibelin and Ascalon in that area. It seems that after the defeat at La Forbie the Military Order had focused on strengthening its positions in the region of Acre, to the exclusion of all else.³³

There is no information available about such activities by the Teutonic Order. No doubt the absence of the Grand Master Heinrich von Hohenlohe (1244–1249) from the Latin East contributed to this situation. The Grand Master had to focus on the organization of the Order's branches in the Mediterranean basin and Northern Europe, as well as rebuilding the order's relationship with the Pope vis-a-vis the continued rivalry with his political opponent, Emperor Frederick II, supporter of the Order.³⁴ Following the considerable loss of men in the La Forbie battle, the Teutonic Order needed as much assistance as it could obtain in both personnel and military equipment from Europe.³⁵ No further information is available regarding Teutonic strongholds in Acre, the Montfort Castle and the Galilee villages until 1249, when a new development in the Order institutions ensued. A Teutonic document from that year discusses the purchase of additional land in the heart of the Upper Galilee. The Teutonic Grand Commander Eberhard von Sayn acquired a large area adjacent to the Seigneurie de Joscelin.³⁶ Most of this large plot of land was purchased in the 1220s, and the Order headquarters constructed and named the Montfort Castle in 1227.³⁷ Thus the Teutonic Order enlarged its holdings in the Galilee villages and expanded its control in Mergeco-

³³ Bronstein, *The Hospitallers* (as n. 30), pp. 23–24; J. Burgtorf, *The Ritterorden als Instanzen zur Friedenssicherung?*, in: *Jerusalem im Hoch und Spätmittelalter. Konflikte und Konfliktbewältigung – Vorstellungen und Vergegenwärtigungen*, ed. D. Bauer, K. Herbers, N. Jaspert (Campus Historische Studien 29), Frankfurt/Main 2001, p. 178.

³⁴ M. Tumlner, *Der Deutsche Orden im Werden, Wachsen und Wirken bis 1400*, Wien 1955, pp. 46–47; U. Arnold, *Heinrich von Hohenlohe*, in: *Die Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens 1190–1994*, ed. U. Arnold (QSGDO 40), Marburg 1998, pp. 24–25; K. Militzer, *From the Holy Land to Prussia: The Teutonic Knights between Emperors and Popes and their Policies until 1309*, in: *Mendicants, Military Orders, and Regionalism in Medieval Europe*, ed. J. Sarnowsky, Aldershot 1999, p. 73.

³⁵ I. Sterns, *The Teutonic Knights in the Crusader States*, in: *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 5, ed. N. P. Zacour, H. W. Hazard, Madison 1985, p. 371; K. Militzer, *Von Akkon zur Marienburg. Verfassung, Verwaltung und Sozialstruktur des Deutschen Ordens 1190–1309* (QSGDO 56), Marburg 1999, pp. 390–391.

³⁶ *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici ex tabularii regii Berolinensis codice potissimum*, ed. E. Strehlke, Berlin 1869 (repr.: Toronto–Jerusalem 1975), no. 100 (1249), pp. 78–81.

³⁷ *Chronique d'Ernoul* (as n. 2), p. 459; *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici* (as n. 36), no. 65 (1228), pp. 53–54: [...] *et domo sua pro Trefila et Castro novo, quod dicitur Montfort, quod castrum do-*

lon, Saint George and Seifor, close to the route leading to the eastern Galilee and the fortress of Safad.³⁸ This gradually weakened the Frankish nobility, which under the circumstances was unable to collect taxes from their assets. The Teutonic Order took advantage of this weakening in the second half of the 13th century, which affected such families as de Milly, Aleman, Ibelin and Amigdala in the Galilee, in the coastal plain, in the Lebanon Mountains and in Scandalion.³⁹

It took the Teutonic Order some five years after the defeat in La Forbie to recover and reconsolidate their position. In the early 1240s the Teutonic Order strengthened its position in the Latin Kingdom and completed its headquarters at Montfort Castle, an important position for the Order, adjacent to the outpost located in Acre.⁴⁰ At this time the Teutonic leadership approved the Order's new set of rules (*Regeln* und *Statuten*), which outlined its organizational base, military force, nursing and clergy practice in order to continue Teutonic activities in the Latin East and in the Teutonic provinces in Europe.⁴¹

mus ipsa firmavit in territorio Trefle [...]; H. E. Mayer, *Die Seigneurie de Joscelin und der Deutsche Orden*, in: *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas* (as n. 9), pp. 189–190, 192–194.

³⁸ J. L. La Monte, *The Lords of Caesarea in the Period of the Crusaders*, *Speculum* 22 (1947), 2, p. 158; *Lignages d'Outremer*, Documents Relatifs à l'Histoire des Croisades XVIII, ed. M-A. Nielsen, Paris 2003, p. 69; R. Frankel, *Topographical Notes on the Territory of Acre in the Crusader Period*, *Israel Exploration Journal* 38 (1988), 4, pp. 254–255.

³⁹ J. L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1100–1291*, Cambridge 1932, pp. 217–225; S. Tibble, *Monarchy and Lordships in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1099–1291*, Oxford 1989, 186–188; H. E. Mayer, *Drei oberrheinische Kreuzfahrer des 13. Jahrhunderts Berthold von Nimburg (Vater und Sohn) und Werner von Egisheim*, *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 153 (2005), p. 58.

⁴⁰ I. Sterns, *The Statutes of the Teutonic Knights: A Study of Religious Chivalry*, Philadelphia 1969, p. 48; U. Arnold, *Der Deutsche Orden zwischen Kaiser und Papst im 13. Jahrhundert*, in: *Die Ritterorden zwischen geistlicher und weltlicher Macht im Mittelalter*, ed. Z. H. Nowak (Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica 5 (henceforth: OMCTH)), Toruń 1990, pp. 57–61; S. Lotan, *The Transfer of the Armenian Crown to the Holy Land – A Text Case for the Strength of the Teutonic Military Order in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, *Quaestiones Medii Aevii Novae* 15 (2010), pp. 335–336. For the position of the Montfort Castle in the Teutonic tradition see also: K. Militzer, *Die Übersiedlung Siegfrieds von Feuchtwangen in die Marienburg*, *Ordines Militares Colloquia Torunensia Historica. Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders* 16 (2011) (*Die Ritterorden in Umbruchs und Krisenzeiten / The Military Orders in Times of Change and Crisis*), p. 51.

⁴¹ *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach seinen ältesten Handschriften*, ed. M. Perlbach, Halle 1890; *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonicici* (as n. 36), no. 470 (1244), pp. 356–357; U. Arnold, *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens. Neue amerikanische Forschungsergebnisse*, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 83 (1975), pp. 144–153; K. Militzer, *Die Aufnahme von Ritterbrüdern in den Deutschen Orden. Ausbildungsstand und Aufnahmevoraussetzungen*, in: *Das Kriegswesen der Ritterorden im Mittelalter*, ed. Z. H. Nowak (OMCTH 6), Toruń 1991, p. 7; H. Houben, *Regole, Statuti e consuetudini dell'Ordine Teutonico: status quaestionis*,

Following the defeat in La Forbie, the Teutonic Order in the Latin Kingdom had gone through five difficult years, along with the Templars and the Hospitallers. The Templars' recovery was not well documented at the time, thus very little information is available to us today. The Templars who survived held their strongholds in Safad, Acre and 'Atlit.⁴² They were considered responsible, at least to some extent, for the defeat and the ensuing terrible situation in the Holy Land, thus their position was weakened. They also needed new recruits and sources of supplies from Europe in order to recover, along with a new organizational effort following the defeat at La Forbie.⁴³

This situation was changed with the preparations for the Seventh Crusade of 1248-1250, in the Nile region in Egypt, around Damietta and Mansura. The French forces led by Saint Louis, together with the Crusader nobility and the Military Orders, fought there and suffered heavy losses, but with the influence and wealth of the French king managed to restore their strength and return to the Latin Kingdom following the defeat.⁴⁴

In 1250, Saint Louis arrived in the Latin Kingdom. The king devoted enormous resources, both financially and in manpower, to the kingdom's recovery. He began to rebuild the kingdom strongholds using both his warriors and the Military Orders, and later decided to leave a substantial fighting force in the region. He also agreed to the kingdom's leaders' request to construct several major posts, including Jaffa, Caesarea, Acre and Sidon. These actions seemed realistic, based on the understanding that before his return to Europe he must leave a strong framework enabling the Latin East to survive. Saint Louis understood that there would be no resurrection of the Latin Kingdom in its previous territory; neither would there be a recovery of the vast territories held by the kingdom in the past. He left the

in: *Regulae – Consuetudines – Statuta. Studi sulle fonti normative degli ordini religiosi nei secoli centrali del Medioevo*, ed. C. Andenna, G. Melville (Vita regularis. Ordnungen und Deutungen religiosen Lebens im Mittelalter 25), Münster 2005, pp. 375–385.

⁴² *The Templars: Selected Sources Translated and Annotated*, ed. M. Barber, K. Bath, Manchester 2002, pp. 82–90; H. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, Cambridge 1994, pp. 127–128.

⁴³ M. L. Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae domus militiae Templi Hierosolymitani magistri. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Templerordens 1118/9–1314*, Göttingen 1974, pp. 195–210; M. Barber, *The New Knighthood. A History of the Order of the Temple*, Cambridge 1994, pp. 145–147; idem, *Supplying the Crusader State: The Role of the Templars*, in: *The Horns of Hattin* (as n. 2), pp. 323–326.

⁴⁴ R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem*, vol. 3, Paris 1936, pp. 500–501; P. Jackson, *The Seventh Crusade, 1244–1254. Sources and Documents*, Aldershot 2007, pp. 63–74; Y. Friedman, *Encounter between Enemies, Captivity and Ransom in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem*, Leiden 2002, pp. 96–99; M. C. Gaposchkin, *The Place of the Crusades in the Sanctification of Saint Louis*, in: *Crusades – Medieval Worlds in Conflict*, ed. T. F. Madden, J. L. Naus, V. Ryan, Farnham 2010, pp. 196–197.

coastal cities fortified, organized as city-states with small rural surroundings. The Latin Kingdom did not have clear, well-defined borders, as was the case in Europe, marked by a river or mountain range.⁴⁵ There was no physical barrier between itself and its enemies, which were constantly changing and remained unclear. It seems that those cities acted as refugee shelters, remaining isolated within the Muslim area.⁴⁶ This was emphasized in 1252 when the Order of Saint Lazarus, stationed in Jaffa, raided Ramla (Rama), an area adjacent to Jaffa. With the departure from Jaffa, the Muslim forces encountered the Christian forces and almost destroyed them. Only the intervention of the Hospitallers and the Templars, together with French forces led by Joinville (the king's Chancellor) saved the crusaders. Some managed to escape and returned to the shelter city of Jaffa.⁴⁷ This raid demonstrated the internal division of the Latin Kingdom into independent fortresses without defensive areas surrounding them and with no clear boundaries.

At this stage we address recent research conducted in Israel, combining historical research and archaeological excavations. This study has taken place in Jaffa in recent years, and its findings strengthen the argument regarding the function of this Crusader city as a place of refuge. During rehabilitation work done in the alleys of the flea market in Jaffa and the old Jaffa region, extensive excavation work began in the eastern parts, far from the ancient mound.⁴⁸ Previous researchers estimated that during the Crusader period Jaffa had mainly spread on the hill overlooking the harbor and its fertile surroundings.⁴⁹ In this strategic location

⁴⁵ W. C. Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade. A Study of Rulership*, Princeton 1979, pp. 77–78; J. Richard, *Saint Louis, roi d'une France féodale, soutien de la Terre sainte*, Paris 1983, pp. 246–249.

⁴⁶ N. Jaspert, *Grenzen und Grenzenräume im Mittelalter: Forschungen, Konzepte und Begriffe*, in: *Grenzüberschreitungen im Vergleich – Der Osten und der Westen des Mittelalterlichen Latineuropa*, ed. K. Herbers, N. Jaspert, Berlin 2007, pp. 4, 15–17; R. Ellenblum, *Were there Borders and Borderlines in the Middle Ages? The Example of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, in: *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. D. Abulafia, N. Berend, Aldershot 2002, pp. 111–112.

⁴⁷ Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis* (as n. 23), no. 540–541, p. 466; D. Marcombe, *Leper Knights. The Order of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem in England, c. 1150–1544*, Woodbridge 2003, p. 14; R. Hyacinthe, *De Domo Sancti Lazari Milites Leprosi in the Holy Land*, in: *The Medieval Hospital and Medical Practice*, ed. B. S. Bowers, Aldershot 2007, p. 218.

⁴⁸ M. Peilstöcker, *La ville franque de Jaffa à la lumière des fouilles récentes*, *Bulletion Monumental* 164 (2006), 1, pp. 99–104; B. Z. Kedar, *L'enceinte de la ville franque de Jaffa*, *Bulletion Monumental* 164 (2006), 1, pp. 105–106; A. J. Boas, *Frankish Jaffa*, in: *The History and Archaeology of Jaffa*, vol. 1: *The Jaffa Cultural Heritage Project 1. Monumenta Archaeologica* 26, ed. A. A. Burke, M. Peilstöcker, Los Angeles 2011, pp. 123–124.

⁴⁹ D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. A Corpus*, vol. 1, Cambridge 1993, pp. 264–267.

the Crusaders had built a fortress mentioned in their sources during the reign of King Richard I and the Ayyubid conquest of the city in 1197.⁵⁰ The remarkable findings of the excavations in the eastern area, away from the city's centre, have changed the research assumptions. The archaeological study discovered defending walls, houses and large buildings from the Crusader period. There was also evidence of Church institutions' and Military Orders' activities.⁵¹ It seems that the city had spread eastward and had grown significantly during that period, when it was fortified by the Christian army with the contribution of Saint Louis himself.⁵² Moreover, it has become apparent that the rear of the city was also surrounded by a wall, possibly in order to accommodate the supplies needed by the Christians who found refuge in the city as well as the rest of the population.⁵³ It appears that the Crusader cities housed different populations, serving as commercial centres for the passage of goods, equipment and supplies from the ports to the inland areas. The local population could take advantage of the economic prosperity in these towns, putting aside military and religious rivalry, with both sides – Christians and Muslims, cooperating for the common good despite being enemies.⁵⁴ This is also true for other Crusader cities along the Mediterranean coast – Arsur (Arsuf), Caesarea and 'Atlit.⁵⁵ Jaffa's unique archaeological findings have contributed to our

⁵⁰ *The History of the Holy War, Ambroise's Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, ed. M. Alies, M. Barber, Woodbridge 2003, vol. 2, pp. 178–179; T. A. Archer, *The Crusade of Richard I*, New York 1978, pp. 167–175; H.A.R. Gibb, *The Aiyūbids*, in: *A History of the Crusades* (as n. 5), vol. 2, p. 695.

⁵¹ Y. Arbel, M. Peilstöcker, *The Lower City of Jaffa*, Qadmoniot. A Journal for the Antiquities of Eretz-Israel and Bible lands 42 (2009), 137, pp. 35, 39–40 (in Hebrew).

⁵² Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis* (as n. 23), no. 517, p. 452: *Maintenant se prist le roy a fermer un neuf bourc tout entour le viex chastiau, des l'une mer jusques a l'autre. Le oy meismes y vis je mainte foiz porter la hote aus fossés pour avoir le pardon.*

⁵³ M. Peilstöcker, A. Re'em, E. Haddad, P. Gendelman, *Yafó, Flea Market Complex*, Hadashot Arkheologiyot, Excavations and Surveys in Israel 118 (2006) (in internet); Y. Arbel, *Yafó, The Flea market Compound*, Hadashot Arkheologiyot, Excavations and Surveys in Israel 120 (2008) (in internet); A. Re'em, *Yafó, The French Hospital, 2007–2008. Preliminary Report*, Hadashot Arkheologiyot, Excavations and Surveys in Israel 122 (2010) (in internet); A. J. Boas, *Domestic Settings, Sources in Domestic Architecture Day-to-Day Activities in the Crusader States*, Leiden 2010, pp. 309–311.

⁵⁴ On the status of the Crusader cities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem see: J. Prawer, *Crusader Cities*, in: *The Medieval City. Studies in Honor of Robert S. Lopez*, ed. H. A. Miskimin, D. Herlihy, A. L. Udovitch, New Haven–London 1977, pp. 179–199.

⁵⁵ About the Crusader positions in Arsur (Arsuf) see: I. Roll, *Medieval Apollonia-Arsuf: A fortified coastal town in the levant of the early Muslim and Crusader Periods*, in: *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. M. Balard, Paris 1996, pp. 602–603; R. Amitai, *The Conquest of Arsuf by Baybars in 1265: Political and Military Aspects*, in: *The Encounter of Crusaders and Muslim in Palestine*, ed. I. Roll, O. Tal, M. Winter, Tel Aviv 2007, pp. 211–224 (in Hebrew);

understanding of the period's ethnic and political systems. Cities were built where economic and civic activities had been carried out, around the habitat of the local Christians and Muslims. Beyond them, to the east, where the land was left unattended, it became part of the Muslim territories.⁵⁶ It appears that the Crusader cities had become isolated points, city-states in the heart of foreign territory.

This tense situation continued to exist after the departure of Saint Louis and his army from the Latin East in 1254. The Latin Kingdom's situation, including the lack of stability and decline of the economic and military advantages, was demonstrated in a letter written in 1254 by the Teutonic Marshall posted there, Peter von Koblenz, to Alfonso X, King of Castille. The Teutonic leader urged the king to send assistance, complaining about the Military Orders' and the Christian population's worsening conditions. In addition, the Marshall described the deterioration in security and economic stability since the French king's departure.⁵⁷ Even Saint Louis' efforts in establishing the French garrison in Jaffa and Acre did not change the Latin Kingdom's fragile situation, and the Muslims continued to attack Crusader cities, as demonstrated in the raid on Jaffa in 1255.⁵⁸

These political and military difficulties continued until the change in policy after the military rise of the Egyptian Mamlūks, who conquered the coastal cities

for Caesarea see: H. W. Hazard, *Caesarea and the Crusades*, in: *Studies in the History of Caesarea Maritima*, vol. 1, ed. C. T. Fritsch, Missoula 1975, pp. 91–94; D. Pringle, *Secular Buildings in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, An Archaeological Gazetteer*, Cambridge 1997, pp. 43–45; A. J. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology: the material culture of the Latin East*, London 1999, pp. 46–48; for 'Atlit see: C. N. Johns, *Guide to 'Atlit: The Crusader Castle, Town and Surroundings*, Jerusalem 1947, pp. 14–21; D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, A Corpus*, vol. 2, Cambridge 1998, pp. 301–302; A. J. Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders: A survey of the urban centers, rural settlement and castles of the Military Orders in the Latin East (c. 1120–1291)*, London 2006, pp. 32–38.

⁵⁶ H. E. Mayer, *Latins, Muslims and Greeks in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, *History* 63 (1978), pp. 175–192; A. Forey, *The Military Orders, From the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries*, Toronto 1992, p. 122; B. Z. Kedar, *The Subjected Muslims of the Frankish Levant*, in: *Muslims under Latin Rule 1100–1300*, ed. J. M. Powell, Princeton 1990, pp. 138–139, 148–149; idem, *Multidirectional conversion in the Frankish Levant*, in: *Varieties of religious Conversion in Middle Ages*, ed. J. Muldoon, Gainesville 1997, pp. 191–193; S. Menache, *When Jesus met Mohammed in the Holy Land: Attitudes toward the "Other" in the Latin Kingdom*, *Medieval Encounters* 15 (2009), pp. 79–81.

⁵⁷ J. M. Rodríguez García, A. Echevarría Arsuaga, *Alfonso X, la Orden Teutónica y Tierra Santa. Una nueva fuente para su estudio*, in: *Las órdenes militares en la Península ibérica*, vol. 1: *Edad Media*, ed. R. Izquierdo Benito, F. Ruiz Gómez, Cuenca 2000, pp. 507–509.

⁵⁸ C. J. Marshall, *The French regiment in the Latin East, 1254–1291*, *Journal of Medieval History* 15 (1989), 4, p. 302; J. Riley-Smith, *The Crown of France and Acre, 1254–1291*, in: *France and Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades*, ed. D. H. Weiss, L. Mahoney, Baltimore 2004, pp. 46–47.

during the 1260's. They invaded the Crusader cities in Arsuf, Caesarea and the Fouborg of 'Atlit (Chastel Pelerin) in 1265 and Jaffa in 1268. Other areas had become the target of raids which created havoc in the various eastern settlements, but these had not fundamentally altered the balance of power in the region. Only after the fall of the Military Orders' main strongholds in Safad (1266) and Montfort and Crac des Chevaliers (1271), and following the Crusade of Prince Edward of England, did the Mamlūks sign, in 1272, a peace agreement which allowed the kingdom's survival for another 20 years, until its final downfall in 1291.⁵⁹

In this essay, an attempt was made to clarify the main developments in the Latin Kingdom in the 1240s to the 1260s. The events covered include the rise of the kingdom in the early 1240s with its expansion into new areas, the fall of the kingdom's armies with the defeat at La Forbie in 1244, and the following attempts at recovery. Saint Louis' significant contribution to the kingdom's remains in the coastal cities is discussed, as well as the contribution of archaeological excavations in Jaffa and other sites to our understanding of the Latin Kingdom's complexity and the attempts to revive it. The result of the La Forbie battle was the first major event that eventually led to some fifty years of stagnation in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, until its fall in 1291.

⁵⁹ P. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt, Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century*, London 1987, pp. 177–178; P. M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290)*, Leiden 1995, pp. 69–88; J. D. Brandes, *Die Mameluken. Aufstieg und Fall einer Sklavendespotie*, Sigmaringen 1996, pp. 78–102; Y. Friedman, *Peacemaking, Perceptions and Practices in the Medieval Latin East*, in: *The Crusades and the Near East*, ed. C. Kostick, London 2011, p. 235.