Benjamin Z. Kedar

Civitas and *Castellum* in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: Contemporary Frankish Perceptions

During the past 70 years, archaeologists and historians have offered several classifications of the major sites of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. In 1937, Cedric Norman Johns published a map of Palestine of the Crusades that distinguishes between walled towns such as Jerusalem, Gaza, Rames (Ramle), Acre and Tyre; unfortified towns such as Bethlehem, Lydda, Neapolis (Nablus) and Nazareth; large castles such as Beit Gibelin, Blanchegarde, Saphet, Toron (Tibnin) and Chastiau Neuf (Hunin); small castles such as Ibelin, Jericho, La Fève, Chastiau dou Rei (Mi`ilya) and La Tor de l'Opital (Burj Shamali, southeast of Tyre); and, finally, villages such as Porphylia, St. Gilles and Casal Imbert. His map shows also an unfortified town with a small castle: this is Bethsan (biblical Beth She'an, classical Scythopolis)[1].

The classification Johns proposed was basically adopted by authors of more recent maps. Joshua Prawer and Meron Benvenisti, in their map of the kingdom published in 1970, distinguished – like Johns – between fortified and unfortified towns, large and small castles, and villages; evidently because of Prawer's interest in the kingdom's governance, they added two categories: „seigneurial centers" and „other administrative centers"[2]. Unlike Johns, who proffered a single map for the First and the Second Kingdoms of Jerusalem, and Prawer/Benvenisti, whose single map is supplemented by a chart showing (albeit with an erroneous color scheme for the legend) the main territorial changes in the years 1192-1291, Peter Thorau in the 1980s published separate maps of the crusader states in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; they form part of the Tübinger Atlas of the Near East[3]. Thorau's categories resemble those of Johns and Prawer/Benvenisti but are more nuanced. They are: town, usually fortified; town, not fortified; large castle or fortress; castle or small fortified site; settlement, not fortified. Yet despite the similarity in categories the maps occasionally assign the same locality to different categories. For instance, while Johns considers Bethsan an unfortified town with a

small castle, Prawer and Benvenisti present it as a fortified town with a small castle, and Thorau as a town, usually fortified. Johns regards Arsur (Arsuf) as a walled town; Prawer and Benvenisti concur, marking it as a fortified town; but on Thorau's map of the twelfth century Arsur does not appear at all, whereas on his map of the subsequent century it figures as a town, usually fortified. Again, while Chastiau Neuf and Blanchegarde are for Johns large castles, Prawer and Benvenisti present them as small ones[4].

Classifications of major Frankish sites appear also in some recent works on the kingdom's history. In 1970, the year Prawer and Benvenisti published their map, the latter also produced the book *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*. Unlike the map, which – as we have seen – distinguishes between fortified and unfortified towns, large and small castles, seigneurial and other administrative centers, and villages, the book speaks of cities, townships, villages, administrative centers, and

fortresses[5]. Benvenisti does not define these categories, yet it is evident that the distinction between cities and townships in the book is not identical with the distinction between fortified and unfortified towns on the map, because most of the townships listed in the book are known to have been fortified. The distinction between administrative centers and fortresses is not clear either: why for instance is Suba/Tsova – that is the Hospitaller castle of Belmont, west of Jerusalem
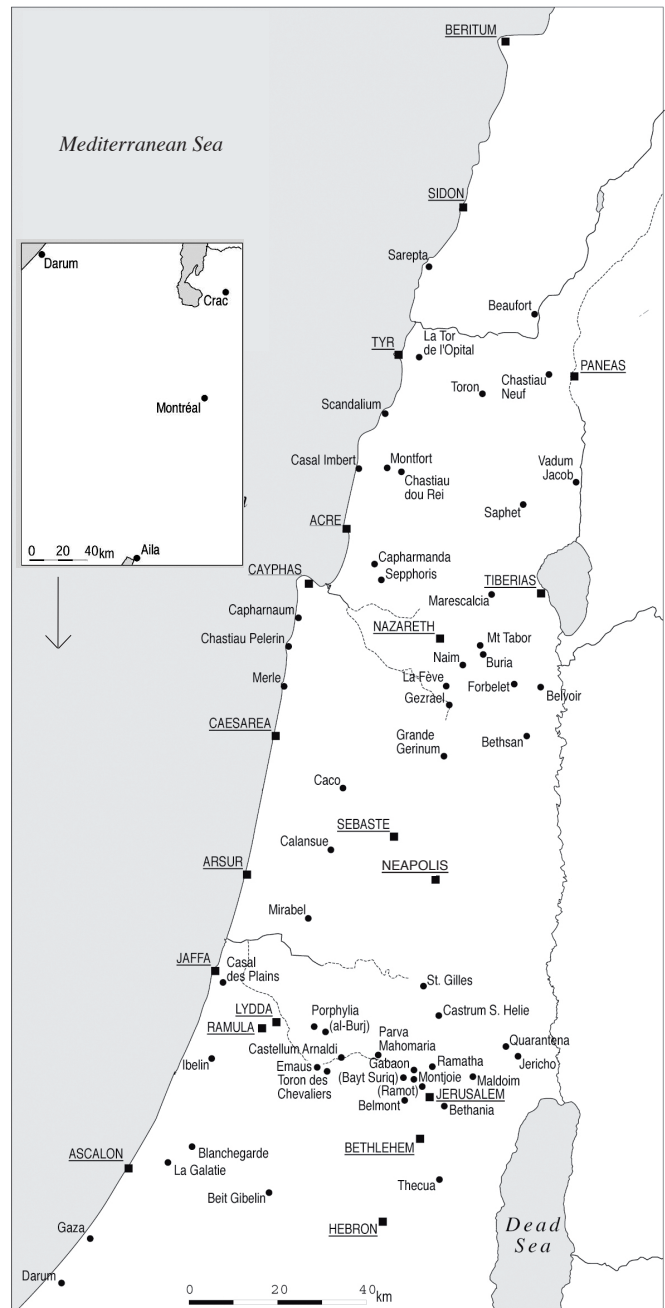

Fig. 1. The major sites of the Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem.

– merely an administrative center and not a fortress?[6] More generally, we know – at least since Otto Smail's seminal article of 1951 – that a major function of a Frankish castle was to serve as an administrative center[7]. Denys Pringle, in his gazetteer of the Frankish Kingdom's secular buildings published in 1997, points out that it is not easy to distinguish urban from rural settlements, yet he opts to classify as urban the 37 places that the Frankish magnate Jean d'Ibelin (d. 1266) listed as having had a *court de borgesie* and the three places known to have had a *vicecomes* in the twelfth century[8]. These 40 urban settlements include walled and unfortified towns, castles widely differing in size and Calansue/Calanson (Qalansuwa), mentioned as a *casale* (village) in charters of 1129 and 1154 and, from some unknown date in the twelfth century onward, defended by a substantial tower[9]. However, as Pringle rightly notes, almost all Franks who were not knights or clerics enjoyed the legal status of burgesses[10]. Consequently, a *court de borgesie* cannot be regarded as foolproof evidence for the existence of an urban settlement, because Frankish peasants living near a tower or a castle, or even in a newly founded village, were considered burgesses and had to have recourse to a burgess court[11].

Ronnie Ellenblum devotes a chapter of his recent book on Frankish castles to the question of whether it is feasible to differentiate between castles, cities and villages in the Kingdom of Jerusalem[12]. He argues that it is impossible to rely on any single indicator – fortifications, commerce, agriculture, burgess population – to distinguish between castles, cities and villages, because each indicator can be found in all settlement types. Specifically, he assails the prevalent view that posits fortifications as the dominant indicator. He rightly believes that this view ties in with the conception that the Franks avoided settlement in the rural areas, which he so cogently discarded in his study of Frankish rural settlement[13]. Ellenblum proposes a tripartite division of Frankish settlements according to size, centrality and provision of services to adjacent communities. The first category includes 17 major centers that existed in the twelfth century, some fortified, some unfortified, some old, some recently founded. They are: Beritum (Beirut), Tyre, Sidon, Acre, Paneas (Baniyas), Tiberias, Nazareth, Caesarea, Arsur (Arsuf), Jaffa, Jerusalem, Neapolis (Nablus), Sebaste, Crac (Karak), Bethlehem, St. Abraham/

Hebron and Ascalon. Modern scholars usually identify these major centers as cities; so did contemporaries[14]. The second category contains regional centers of an administrative, commercial or ecclesiastical nature. Although not all of these were fortified, they are usually labelled as castles. To establish their number, Ellenblum draws up a list containing 97 sites that have been identified as fortified cities or castles by modern scholars and/or were described as castles by contemporary Arabic-writing authors and as *castella, castra, praesidia* and *civitates* by their Latin-writing counterparts. The list contains also four fortified sites that do not figure in the sources as castles, and three ecclesiastical centers. Having deducted his 16 (or 19) major centers or cities from the grand total of 97, Ellenblum arrives at 81 (or 78) regional centers or castles. The third category consists of about 600 smaller villages, farmhouses and hamlets. In sum, the three functional categories Ellenblum introduced do basically overlap with those utilized by earlier scholars; yet he convincingly devalues the importance of fortifications as the paramount distinguishing trait. The list of 97 sites stands out for the attempt to systematically compare the site descriptions of earlier students of the subject and, even more so, for the attempt to establish how contemporary authors, writing in Latin and Arabic, referred to the various sites. Yet we are not told who the Latin-writing authors were or which term (or terms) they used to describe a specific site.

The purpose of the present article is to study in detail the contemporary perceptions of Frankish authors who lived in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. What did they consider a *civitas*, an *urbs*, a *castrum*, a *castellum*? To what extent did the same author use these terms consistently? To what extent did different authors use the same terms? Does the evidence point to the existence of stable categories, or does it indicate that labelling has been fluid?

William of Tyre, the kingdom's greatest historian, who died in the mid-1180s, uses the terms *civitas* and *urbs* interchangeably. The kingdom's main towns – Jerusalem, Acre, Tyre – are sometimes called *civitas*, sometimes *urbs*; the same is true of Ascalon, Jaffa, Arsur, Caesarea, Neapolis (Nablus), Sidon, Beritum

Fig. 2. An aerial view of the thirteenth-century walls of Caesarea, ca. 1918. The houses on the ruined walls, and within the town, were erected by Muslim refugees from Bosnia, who established the village of Qisariya in 1878 (Source: Munich, Bayer. HStA, Abt. IV: Kriegsarchiv, Palästina-Bilder, No. 14 [enlarged section]).

(Beirut) and Paneas (Baniyas). Evidently, William does not consider an *urbs* to be a mere township; indeed, he occasionally calls even Constantinople an *urbs*, and the same is true of Antioch and Damascus[15]. Tiberias, the capital of the Principality of Galilee, is repeatedly presented as an *urbs*[16]. As a rule, William uses both *urbs* and *civitas* to refer to a walled town, but there are exceptions. He describes Neapolis (Nablus) as *urbem inmunitam, muro et antemuralibus et etiam vallo carentem*. A few lines down we learn that there was a *presidium* (fortification) in the middle of Neapolis, to which the population fled at a time of grave danger in 1137; here Neapolis is referred to as a *civitas*[17]. Walled Cayphas (Haifa) as well as unwalled Lydda and Jericho are mentioned as *urbes*[18]. Again, both Bethlehem and Nazareth, undefended by walls, are *civitates* for William[19], evidently on account of their importance in Christendom, with each of them having been mentioned in the Bible as a *civitas*. Likewise, the village Naim, southeast of Nazareth, is presented as *urbs antiquissima*[20], no doubt because of its mention in Luke 7:11 as the *civitas* where Jesus resuscitated a widow's only son. In sum, William uses the terms *civitas* and *urbs* with regard to localities that were famous long before the First Crusaders conquered the country, and whose size and defenses varied widely in his time. Most of these localities also played an important role in the Kingdom of Jerusalem: Tyre, Nazareth and Caesarea were archiepiscopal seats; Beirut, Sidon, Acre, Paneas, Bethlehem and Lydda – the seats of bishops; Beirut, Sidon, Tiberias, Cayphas (Haifa), Caesarea, Arsur, Neapolis (Nablus), Jaffa and Ascalon – seigneurial centers; and Acre and Tyre – the kingdom's main harbors. William is aware of changes in importance that had taken place over time: Scythopolis, known also as Bethsan – he says – had been the metropolis of Palaestina Secunda but lost its archiepiscopal seat to Nazareth and is now a barely inhabited *urbs* that resembles a small *opidum* (fort)[21]. On another occasion he describes it as an *opidulum* in the marshes; when Saladin's men came close in 1183, the few inhabitants of Bethsan had little faith in the defensibility of the *castrum* and fled to Tiberias[22]. When we remember that Johns' map presents Bethsan

Fig. 3. An aerial view of Crac (Karak), 1918 (Source: Canberra, Australian War Memorial, AIF war diary: No. 1 Squadron, AFC, Appendix 6 [aerial photographs. Accession Number: RC 05787]).

as an unfortified town with a small castle, that of Prawer/Benvenisti as a fortified town with a small castle, and that of Thorau as a town, usually fortified, we realize how all three maps do injustice to the main written evidence, which is William's.

While *civitas* and *urbs* denote, for William, localities that existed before the Crusaders' arrival, he consistently uses the term *castrum* to denote a site the Franks chose to fortify. Toronum (Tibnin) and Scandalium/Alexandrium (Iskandaruna), erected in 1106 and 1117 respectively to facilitate Frankish attacks against Tyre[23]; Montréal, built in 1115 by King Baldwin I in Transjordan[24]; Beit Gibelin, Ibelin and Blanchegarde, constructed between 1136 and 1142 to contain Ascalon[25]; Darum built in about 1170 by King Amaury[26]; the fortress at Vadum Jacob on the Upper Jordan, whose construction King Baldwin IV began in October 1178, only to be destroyed by Saladin less than a year later[27]; Mirabel northeast of Jaffa[28], as well as Saphet and Forbelet in Galilee[29] – all these are *castra*. The *opidum*, *opidulum* or *castrum* at Bethsan[30] evidently refers to the small Frankish-built fortress recently excavated southeast of the theater of Roman Scythopolis[31]. Belvoir, which the Knights Hospitaller acquired in 1168 and fortified in subsequent years, is for William

a *castrum novum*[32]. While he refers to some of these places also as a *presidium* or *opidum*[33], he does not apply to any of them the term *civitas* or *urbs*. Evidently, for him a preexistent *civitas* or *urbs* and a Frankish-built *castrum* constituted a dichotomy. William mentions instances in which a *castrum* was built within the confines of a preexistent *civitas* or *urbs*: the Franks erected a *castrum* in a part of the deserted Muslim *civitas* or *urbs* of Ramula (Ramle); the Franks' enemy, Toghtekin of Damascus, likewise built a *castrum* in a part of the ruined, ancient *civitas* of Gerasa[34]. The *castrum* of Beit Gibelin was built at the site of the old, destroyed *urbs*, which William erroneously identifies with biblical Beersheba[35]; in reality it had been the site of classical Eleutheropolis. Paganus the Butler, Lord of Transjordan, in about 1142 erected a *castrum* at Crac (Karak), near the remains of the erstwhile capital of Arabia[36], and King Baldwin III in about 1150 built a *presidium* or *castrum* in a part of the ruined *civitas* of Gaza[37].

Crac and Gaza later significantly expanded: a *suburbium* sprang up below the *castrum* of Crac, among the ruins of the ancient *civitas*[38]; at Gaza some peasants settled in the undefended part of the ruins and attempted to secure it with a slight wall[39]. Ramula (Ramle) expanded likewise[40]. Aware of these expansions, William refers to Crac

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Fig. 4. The contours of the Templar castle of La Fève on an aerial photograph of 1918. The incomplete rectangle near the lower margin's midpoint is the Jewish settlement of Merhavya, founded in 1911 (Source: Munich, Bayer. HStA, Abt. IV: Kriegsarchiv, Palästina-Bilder, No. 527 [enlarged section]).

as an *urbs* while describing Saladin's siege in 1183; evidently the term applies both to the *castrum/presidium* and the *suburbium*[41]. Similarly, in his account of Saladin's attack on Gaza in 1170, William relates that the defenders of the *presidium* or *castrum* managed to hold out after the poorly walled *civitas* was taken by the Muslims[42]. Elsewhere, describing a Frankish invasion of Egypt, William calls Gaza *ultimam regni nostri civitatem*[43]. Thus, the categorization of the few places – Ramula (Ramle), Gaza, Crac – where a *castrum*, erected among the ruins of an ancient *civitas*, served as the nucleus for a significantly larger agglomeration, changed over time. Probably it remained somewhat vague.

William uses the term *castellum* but rarely. As a rule, he considers it synonymous with *castrum*: in one of his shortest chapters, just 19 lines long, he calls a locality first *castrum Arnaldi* and, a few lines down, *castellum Arnaldi*[44]. *Castellum Novum* is the name he uses to designate the castle known in French as Chastiau Neuf (Hunin)[45]. He speaks also of *castellum Emaus*[46] and *Bethania, castellum Marie et Marthe et Lazari*[47], but here he echoes the Bible. The same is probably true of the expression *de singulis civitatibus et castellis* appearing in the decree

imposing the general tax of 1183[48], which William reproduces in its entirety: it seems to mirror the words of Matthew and Luke when describing Christ's ministry – for instance, *et ibat per civitates et castella, docens* (Lk 13, 22). Yet when William describes his conversations with the ailing King Amaury *in castello Tyrensi*[49], he must be referring to the citadel of the walled city of Tyre.

A linguistic purist, William is reluctant to use the common term for a village, *casale*. Indeed, he manages to use it just eleven times throughout his extensive chronicle. Of these, two instances occur in a charter of King Baldwin I[50] and five in the taxation decree of 1183[51]. In the remaining four instances, in which William uses the term on his own, he gives vent to his disdain by writing *loca suburbana, que vulgo casalia dicuntur*[52] or using some similar expression[53].

Are the *civitas/urbs* versus *castrum* dichotomy, and the preference for *castrum* over *castellum*, peculiar to William? Two texts written only a few years after his death allow answering these questions.

The first is the anonymous account of the collapse of the kingdom after the Battle of Hattin (1187), known as *De expugnatione Terre Sancte per Saladinum libellus*[54]. The author uses

only the term *civitas*, never having recourse to the term *urbs*. Of his eleven *civitates*, nine – Jerusalem, Nazareth, Ascalon, Jaffa, Tyre, Rama (Ramle), Neapolis (Nablus), Acre and Bethlehem – appear in William's chronicle as *civitates* or *urbes*; the remaining two *civitates* – Tiberias and Sarepta – William mentions solely as *urbes*. In other words, while William uses interchangeably – probably for reasons of style – two terms to denote localities of this category, the anonymous author of the *Libellus* uses just one. Yet for both authors the category contains the same places, with both including fortified and unfortified places.

The other term the anonymous author of the *Libellus* employs is *castellum*. He uses it to denote four localities William calls *castrum* – Gaza[55], Ibelin, Mirabel and Beit Gibelin[56] – as well as the Templar *castella* of Faba (Old French: La Fève) in the Valley of Jezreel and Maledoim on the road leading from Jerusalem to the Jordan, both of which go unmentioned by William. Like William, the author of the *Libellus* mentions the *castellum* of Bethania[57] and uses the expression *civitates et castella*[58]. In sum, William's *civitas/urbs* versus *castrum* dichotomy is replaced here by a *civitas* versus *castellum* dichotomy. To all intents and purposes it is the same dichotomy. The author of the *Libellus* speaks on two occasions of a *civitas* with a *castellum* in its midst. The first is the *castellum* of the *civitas* of Tiberias; this *castellum* is also referred to as an *arx*[59]. The second is the *castellum* of the *civitas* of Neapolis (Nablus)[60], no doubt identical with the *presidium, quod in medio civitatis est*, which William mentions in his account of the attack of 1137[61]. The author of the *Libellus* seems to apply the term *castellum* also to minor fortifications, for at one point he speaks of the Muslims laying waste *omnia campestria* [sic] *castella* between Mount Carmel and Arsur[62]. The author mentions just one *casale*: this is Marescalcia, near which the Battle of Hattin took place[63].

The second text – hitherto largely unutilized by students of the subject – is a list of the *civitates et castella* of the Kingdom of Jerusalem captured by Saladin after his victory at Hattin on 4 July 1187, but before his conquest of Ascalon on 4 September of that year. The list, which is the longest Latin inventory of captured Frankish locali-

Fig. 5. Staircase of the Frankish tower at al-Burj/Qal`at Tantura (Arabic), Tittora (Hebrew) (Source: Nurith and Benjamin Z. Kedar Photographic Archives).

ties[64] and is the only one to explicitly assign each of them to a category, appears in the *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, the draft or first redaction of Roger of Howden's *Chronica*[65]. As Roger was at the court of King Henry II of England between the years 1174 and 1189/1190[66], it is plausible to assume that he found the list appended to a call for help from Jerusalem that had reached the English court. In the *Chronica* the list appears in a shorter form and the localities are not assigned to categories; on the other hand, they are spelled more conventionally than in the *Gesta*: for instance, Caesarea instead of Seziarie, Joppen instead of Japhes. As Roger started to work on the *Gesta* after his return from the Third Crusade, the more conventional spelling may reflect his sojourn in Palestine.

It seems worthwhile to reproduce here the list as it appears in Bishop Stubbs' edition of the *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*:

Baruth[67], quae est civitas et castellum.
Acra[68], civitas et castellum.
Tabaria[69], civitas et castellum.
Nazaret, civitas.
Japhes[70], civitas.
Seziarie[71], civitas.
Sanctus Georgius[72], civitas.
Sanctus Abraam[73], civitas.
Beltleem[74], civitas.
Sancta Maria de Caiphas[75], civitas.

Fig. 6. Roger of Howden, Gesta regis Henrici secundi (© British Library Board, MS Cotton Vitellius E.xvii, fol. 125v).

Gabebet, parvum,
Gabebet, magnum[76],
Saeta[77], parvum,
Castellum Novum[78],
Saphet,
Jaunay[79] } *Castellum*

Tarenta[92],
Blacheuarda[93],
Galacia[94],
Gazeres[95],
Darun[96],
Sanctus Georgius
in Berria[97] } *Castella*

Mons Tabur[80],
Faba[81],
Caaphar Mundel[82],
Cava Templi[83],
Chaccahu[84],
Calenzun[85] } *Castrum*

Rusges Cisterna[98],
La Quarentayne[99],
Castellum Sancti Petri[100],
Sanctus Lazarus
de Bethania[101], } *Castella*

Merle Templi[86],
Castellum de Planis[87],
Rames[88],
Turun-as-chivalers[89],
Castellum Arnaldi[90],
Castellum Burgunnium[91] } *Castella*

Mons Oliveti, abbatia
et Vallis de Japhes[102],
abbatia et Sancta
Maria de Monte Sion } *Castellum*

Fig. 7. The Sea Castle of Sidon, ca. 1918 (Source: Munich, Bayer. HStA, Abt. IV: Kriegsarchiv, Palästina-Bilder, No. 1345).

The compiler of the list, like the anonymous author of the *Libellus*, points out *civitates* that contain also a *castellum*; both authors mention Tiberias as belonging to this type, possibly because the castle of Tiberias held out for a couple of days after Saladin had succeeded in storming the town on 2 July 1187. Among the seven *civitates* that lack a *castellum*, the compiler mentions four that were unwalled but

played a major role in Christendom: Nazareth, Sanctus Georgius (Lydda), Sanctus Abraam (Hebron) and Bethlehem. We see again that a *civitas* is perceived as an important but not necessarily fortified place.

In addition to the ten *civitates*, the list details 25 *castella* and six *castra*. But how do the *castra* differ from the *castella*? Surely the former are neither larger nor more important than

castella such as Blanchegarde, Gaza or Darum. This puzzle finds an easy solution once one moves from the list as printed in Bishop Stubbs' edition to the list as appearing in the manuscript the bishop used, BLB MS. Cotton Vitellius E.xvii, fol. 125v. It transpires that the bishop, who did not draw his readers' attention to the poor state of the manuscript and offered reconstructions without pointing them out, overlooked the dot under the letter *r* of the word *castrū* as well as the letter *l* that appears above the *r*; in other words, he did not grasp that the scribe realized he had committed a mistake in writing „*Castrum*" and attempted to correct it to „*Castellum*"[103]. In short, the list's compiler, like the author of the *Libellus*, distinguishes just between *civitates* and *castella*. This is indeed consistent with his introductory statement that the ensuing list records the captured *civitates et castella quorum hec sunt [nomina]*.

As eight of the 31 *castella* – Saphet, Faba, Cava Templi, Merle Templi, Turun as Ch[i]valers, Castellum Arnaldi, Gaza and Rusges Cisterna – belonged to the Knights Templar, one may hypothesize that the list was originally appended to a Templar call for help. Six of the other *castella* – Mons Tabur, La Quarentayne, Sanctus Lazarus de Bethania, Mons Oliveti, Vallis de J[osaphat] and Sancta Maria de Monte Sion – were monasteries or abbeys; if Sanctus Georgius in Berria is indeed identical with Choziba, the number rises to seven. In the Kingdom of Jerusalem many monastic houses were fortified: for instance, William of Tyre relates that the precincts of Mount Tabor were defended by a wall and by towers[104] and that the monastery at Bethany was protected by a strongly fortified tower[105]; the recent excavation of the Premonstratensian abbey at Montjoie/Saint Samuel revealed that it was surrounded by a deep, rock-cut moat as well as other defenses. It is therefore not surprising that the compiler of our list included these places among the *castella*.

The list contains Calenzun/Calansue (Qalansuwa) and Caaphar Mundel (Capharmanda), both of which appear in earlier Latin sources as mere *casalia*[106]. Yet the Frankish tower still extant in Qalansuwa allows for the hypothesis that the *casale* attested by charters of 1129 and 1154 was fortified by its Hospitaller owners

Fig. 8. Sidon and its Sea Castle on drawings of 1685-87, done during the mission of Étienne Gravier d'Ortières, counsellor of King Louis XIV. of France (Source: Paris, Cliché Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Rés.Ge.DD.226[11]. Reproduced with permission).
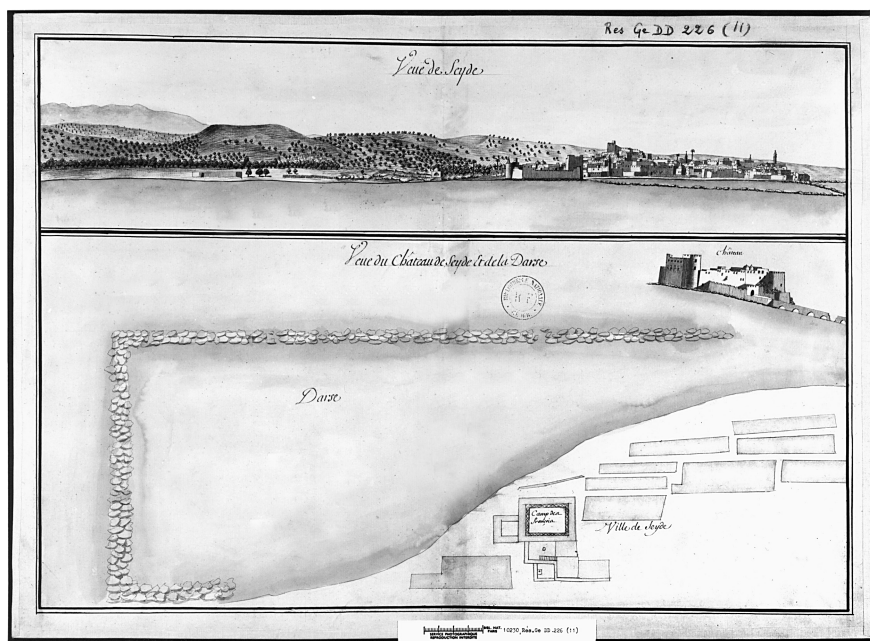
sometime before 1187[107]. Possibly the *casale* of Capharmanda came to be fortified as well. The dividing line between a *casale* and a *castellum* should not be conceived therefore as static or rigid: the addition of considerable fortifications could upgrade a village to a minor castle. This does not at all mean that it was impossible to tell *castella* and *casalia* apart; it means that while some *casalia* were experiencing substantial fortification over time and were evolving into *castella* of sorts, a contemporary observer would have little difficulty in pointing out, at any specific time, the localities he regarded as *castella*.

A further two of the 31 *castella* are: Saeta, denoted as a *castellum parvum*, and Rames. Saeta most probably stands for Saiete, the Old French name of Sidon which reflects the Arabic Sayda. Yet to present the walled town of Sidon as a *castellum parvum*, is extremely inadequate. Indeed, in the final redaction Roger Howden mentions *Sydonem* among the *civitates*, after the two Gibelets and before Caesarea, and does not refer to Saeta at all. The earlier definition of the place as a small castle may go back to some scribal error. As for Rames – that is, Ramula (Ramle) – the reference to the place as a *castellum* probably reflects the above-mentioned vagueness about localities where a castle built among a city's ruins served as the nucleus for a larger agglomeration.

In sum, all three of the sources discussed above – the chronicle of William of Tyre concluded in the mid-1180s, the *Libellus* describing the downfall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1187, and the list of localities taken by the Muslims in that year which Roger of Howden incorporated in his *Gesta regis Henrici secundi* – concur in consistently distinguishing between cities (*civitates, urbes*) and castles (*castra, castella*): Whereas the cities, some of which were not surrounded by walls, existed before the arrival of the First Crusade and played an important role in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the castles were fortifications erected by the Franks. Some of the cities contained castles, or citadels. There was some ambivalence about the categorization of the few places, where a Frankish castle constructed among a city's ruins went on to become the core of a larger center of population. Fortified monasteries could be perceived

Fig. 9. The Frankish tower at Saforie, 1888 or 1894 (Source: Genève, Fondation Max van Berchem, No. 2884/NE2173).

as castles, and the same was true of some substantially fortified villages. Yet there was a broad consensus with regard to the basic distinction between cities and castles.

Does this consensus antedate the closing years of the First Kingdom of Jerusalem? The chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres, a participant in the First Crusade who lived in Jerusalem from 1100 to his death in about 1127, provides an answer to this question. Fulcher uses the terms *urbs* and *civitas* interchangeably for cities of various size, from Constantinople and Antioch to Jaffa and Caesarea. Unwalled Neapolis (Nablus) appears as an *urbs*. The strongholds the Franks erected at Montréal and Scandalion are labeled *castra*[108]. We thus see the dichotomy between a preexistent *civitas* or *urbs* and a Frankish-built *castrum* already evolving early in the twelfth century. However, Fulcher does not yet limit the terms *castrum* and *castellum* to fortresses the Franks erected in their kingdom but applies them also to a few preexistent Muslim ones. New Haifa, the fortress erected under the Fatimids west of Old Haifa and defended in 1100 by its Muslim garrison and Jewish inhabitants, is for Fulcher thrice an *oppidum* and once a *castrum*[109]. Arsur (Arsuf), the coastal town conquered by the Franks in 1101, he calls three times an *oppidum* and twice a *castrum*[110]. Ziph (Akhziv/al-Zib) north of Acre, which appears in Frankish charters as Casale Huberti or Casal Imbert from 1123 onward, is for Fulcher a *castellum*[111]. And in his account of

the events of 1123 Fulcher mentions a *castellum quoddam quod Cacho incolae regionis nominant* – this is Caco (Qaqun), southeast of Caesarea[112]. With regard to two of these localities Fulcher may have followed native usage, since two Hebrew-written, eleventh-century Geniza fragments refer to *Mivtzar Heyfa* (the castle of Haifa)[113] while Yaqut (d. 1229) observes that *Qasr Hayfa* [the castle of Haifa] lies between Haifa and Caesarea[114], and Saladin's secretary `Imad al-Din mentions Hisn (the fortress of) al-Zib among the strongholds conquered in 1187[115] and al-Idrisi (d. 1166) and Ibn Jubayr (d. 1217) likewise refer to al-Zib as a fortress[116].

Does the distinction between a preexistent *civitas* or *urbs* and a Frankish-built *castrum* or *castellum*, attested for the closing years of the First Kingdom of Jerusalem, persist in the thirteenth century? Here, too, the sources allow for a definite answer.

The continuation of William of Tyre's chronicle, written in Old French and covering the years 1184-1197, uses the expression *les citez et les chastiaus*[117] and quite consistently distinguishes between them: Jerusalem is a *cité*, and so are Ascalon and Antioch; Biaufort (Beaufort), Saphet, Biau Veir (Belvoir) and La Fève in the north, Chastel des Plains (the castle southeast of Jaffa fortified by the Templars in 1191)[118], Toron des Chevaliers, Saint Elies and Daron (Darum) in the south, and Crac and Montréal in Transjordan, are all *chastiaus*[119]. And, like the author of the *Libellus* and the compiler of the

list reproduced by Roger of Howden, the Old French continuator speaks of *cités* that have a *chastel* within their walls[120].

A list drawn up in about 1239 of 31 former Frankish localities then in Muslim hands[121] names 16 *castra*, six of which – Gaza, Daron, Grande Gerinum (Jenin), Castrum Planorum, Castrum Fabbarum (La Fève) and Saphet – are said to have belonged to the Knights Templar and one – Bellum videre (that is, Belvoir) – to the Knights Hospitaller[122]. Buria (Dabburiya) in lower Galilee, described by William of Tyre as a *vicus* (village) or *suburbium* protected by a tower that the Muslims undermined in 1182, appears in the list as a *castrum*: evidently this is yet another case in which a village defended by some substantial fortification came to be perceived as a castle[123]. Similarly, the list mentions, between Acre and Nazareth, the *castrum Saphorie* (Sepphoris, Le Saforie; Hebrew: Tzippori, Arabic: Saffuriya), which in a charter of 1255 appears as a mere *casale*[124], but which figures in twelfth-century descriptions of the Holy Land as a *civitas*, no doubt because it was regarded as the birthplace of St. Anne, the Virgin's mother; the German pilgrim Theoderic, who visited the country in about 1169, goes so far as to describe Sephoris as a *civitas munita*, a fortified city[125]. In fact, Le Saforie – like Buria – was defended by a tower; a photograph taken by Max van Berchem in about 1890 shows how it looked like before additions and attempts at restoration radically changed its appearance[126].

The list of 1239 expressly identifies just a few places as *civitates*: the enigmatic Civitas Ficuum[127], Petra („now commonly called Crac"), Naym and Betsayda of biblical fame, and Tiberias. Yet Ascalon, Sebaste, Hebron, Bellinas (that is, Paneas), Neapolis and Jericho, which figure on the list without specification, appear to be regarded as towns; the first four are presented as past and/or present episcopal sees. The categorization of Crac as a *civitas* and of Gaza as a *castrum* attests once again to the vagueness about the few places where a Frankish castle built on a city's ruins became the core of a larger agglomeration. It is telling that the list's compiler opted to label each of these places differently.

The detailed map of the Holy Land which Matthew Paris drew up in about 1252 specifies the type to which each locality belongs[128]. Matthew probably received his information from some Frank or returning crusader, or found it in a list compiled in the Levant. A number of obvious misunderstandings calls however for caution while utilizing this map[129].

In the coastal plain the map presents Baruth, Achon (Acre), Caesarea, Ramatha (Ramle), Ascalona and Gazre (Gaza) as *civitates*. Joppe (Jaffa) is described as a *castrum* that had formerly been a *civitas*, a designation evidently referring to Jaffa's sorry state before Louis IX of France fortified a new „faubourg" around the old castle in 1252-1253[130]. This clearcut designation attests once again to contemporaries' awareness that a locality's categorization could change over time. Cayfas (Haifa) and Arsura (Arsur), mentioned as cities by William of Tyre and elsewhere, appear here as *castra*, and it is not clear whether Matthew's informant believed that, like Jaffa, they were no longer cities, or whether we face here more misunderstanding. The inland *civitates* are Tabarie (Tiberias), Nazareth, Neapolis, Sebaste, Jerusalem, Jericho, Bethlehem, Hebron and Gazre (Gaza).

The *castra* include, in the northern part of the country, Docke (Kh. Da`uq, southeast of Acre)[131], Sefrem (Shafa `Amr/Shefar`am, east of Haifa)[132], Saforie (which, as we have seen, appears as a *castrum* in the list of ca. 1239), the biblical Cana near Nazareth[133], S. Margaretha (St. Margaret's Castle, on the promontory of Mt. Carmel)[134], Tirus minor (probably Tirat ha-Carmel, south of Haifa)[135], Cacho or Caco (Qaqun), which Fulcher of Chartres and the German pilgrim Theoderic called a *castellum* and the Old French continuator of William of Tyre a *fort*, and which probably figures as the *castellum* of Chaccahu in the list of localities Saladin captured[136], appears here as the *castrum* Cacho. Around Jerusalem are located the castles of Bethnople[137], Bethanie and Rugeecisterne[138]. Mt. Tabor and St. Samuel (Montjoie) are designated as *castrum et monasterium*. Two localities appear as *castella*: the *castellum* of Emaus, where the list echoes the Bible, and the *castellum* of Chastel Pelerin, possibly so designated on account of the place's Old French name. Finally, two *casalia*

figure on the map: the *casel* of St. Elias, between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, and the *casel* of St. Johannes, i.e. St. Jehan de Bois (`Ayn Karim/`Eyn Kerem, west of Jerusalem).

The last chronicle of the Frankish Levant, the account of the so-called Templar of Tyre, also consistently distinguishes between a city (*cité* – sometimes spelled *sité* – or *ville*) and a castle (*chastiau*, *chastyau* or *chasteau*). The cities include Barut (Beirut), Seete (Sidon), Sur (Tyre), Acre, Sezaire (Caesarea) and Jaffe (Jaffa) along the coast as well as the inland towns of Thabarie (Tiberias), Naples (Nablus) and Jerusalem. Of these, Sidon has *ii. chasteaus de terre et de mer*[139], while Beirut and Acre have one inner castle each[140]. Of the castles in the countryside the chronicler mentions *Safet, chastiau dou Temple*, the *chastiau quy a nom Monfort des Aleman*, and the *chasteau dou Crac* of the Knights Hospitaller (that is, Crac des Chevaliers)[141]. In his succinct account of Baibars' siege and conquest of Arsur in 1265, the chronicler refers just to the *chastiau d'Arsur*[142], although other sources reveal that the town of Arsur held out for 37 days and that the castle surrendered three days later[143]. Perhaps he regarded the castle's conquest as the crucial occurrence; possibly he was not all that well informed about the event[144]. For this chronicler, too, the dividing line between castle and *casale* appears to have been fluid: Cacho (Qaqun), which we came to know as a *castellum* or *castrum*, appears here as Cacon, a Muslim-held *cazau* (that is, *casale*) which the Lord Edward of England and King Hugh of Cyprus and Jerusalem attempted to lay waste in 1271. We are told that Cacon had a very strong tower surrounded by water-filled moats[145] – apparently the only instance of such a moat in the inner country. In other words, the chronicler's *cazau* has definitely the appearance of a castle.

My examination of the vocabularies employed by Frankish authors who lived in the Kingdom of Jerusalem has revealed a quite consistent distinction between its cities, in existence before the arrival of the First Crusaders, and its castles, erected by newcomers from the West and their descendants. Yet while *civitas*/*cité* and *castrum*/*castellum*/*chastiau* were stable categories, real-life developments could alter the

categorization of a specific locality: a castle surrounded by a „faubourg" could evolve into a city; a city whose lower parts had been destroyed could become a mere castle. In addition, some cities had a castle in their midst.

There was some ambiguity about the few castles that were constructed in ruined ancient cities and attracted settlers in sizable numbers. Also, a substantially fortified village could be perceived as a castle of sorts, or vice versa. On balance, however, it would appear that the consistency in the vocabulary used by a variety of contemporaries was significantly higher than that in the terminology proffered by different modern historians.

Notes

* My thanks to Asya Bereznyak, Ilya Berkovich, Henri Gourinard, Anna Gutgarts, Tair Rochman and – last but not least – Jonathan Rubin-Ronen, who in 2006–2007 participated in the graduate seminar on the Frankish Kingdom in which this paper assumed its final shape.

[1] *Cedric N. Johns*, Palestine of the Crusades (Survey of Palestine), Jaffa 1937. Johns uses the forms Beth Gibelin, Blanche Garde, Thoron, Bessan. In what follows I present first the Latin or Old French form, then the Arabic or Hebrew one.

[2] *Joshua Prawer/Meron Benvenisti*, The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, Atlas of Israel, Jerusalem/Amsterdam 1970, Sheet IX.10. For some problems of this and similar historical maps see *Denys Pringle,* Crusader Settlement and Landscape: Some Reflections on Method in the Light of Recent Archaeological Work, in: *Idem*, Fortification and Settlement in Crusader Palestine, Aldershot 2000, Study IV, pp. 1–11, here pp. 5–6. The article was originally published in Hebrew in: Ha-Tzalbanim be-Mamlakhtam, 1099-1291, ed. *Benjamin Z. Kedar*, Jerusalem 1987, pp. 55–62.

[3] *Peter Thorau,* Syrien und Palästina. Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten bis zum Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts, Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Sheet B VIII 8, Wiesbaden 1985; *idem*, Syrien und Palästina. Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten im 13. Jahrhundert: Die territoriale Entwicklung des Königreichs von Jerusalem in der 1. Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts, Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Sheet B VIII 10, Wiesbaden 1989.

[4] It is noteworthy that on Thorau's 12th-century map the castle of Belvoir appears twice: once correctly, overlooking the Jordan Valley, and once in central Galilee, northwest of Mt. Tabor. Both on this map and that of the 13th century, *Castellum Arnaldi* / Qal`at at-Tantura as well as Chastel Ernaut/Yalu appear. Yet Chastel Ernaut is merely the Old French form of *Castellum Arnaldi*. The mistake appears to stem from Johns' location of „Castle Arnold" at al-Burj (identical with Qal`at Tantura), whereas Prawer / Benvenisti, aware of the Frankish remains that came to light after the leveling of Yalu in June 1967, and of the close fit between Yalu's layout and William of Tyre's description of *Castellum Arnaldi*'s whereabouts, located „Chastel Hernaut" at Yalu and marked al-Burj as a site containing the remains of a small Frankish castle the name of which remains unknown. See the discussion in *Meron Benvenisti*, The Crusaders in the Holy Land, Jerusalem 1970, pp. 314–315.

[5] *Benvenisti* (see note 4), p. 19.

[6] On this site see *Richard P. Harper/Denys Pringle*, Belmont Castle: The Excavation of a Crusader Stronghold in the Kingdom of Jerusalem (British Academy Monographs in Archaeology, No. 10), Oxford 2000.

[7] *R.C.* [Otto] *Smail*, Crusaders' Castles of the Twelfth Century, in: Cambridge Historical Journal 10, 1951, pp. 133–149; *idem*, Crusading Warfare (1097-1193), Cambridge 1956, pp. 60–62.

[8] *Denys Pringle*, Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: An Archaeological Gazetteer, Cambridge 1997, pp. 3–5. In Peter Edbury's critical edition of Jean d'Ibelin's legal treatise, only 36 places figure as having a burgess court: *John of Ibelin*, Le Livre des Assises, c. 236, ed. *Peter Edbury* (The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1500, vol. 50), Leiden/Boston 2003, pp. 603–606. For the evidence on viscounts see *Jean Richard*, Royaume latin de Jérusalem, Paris 1953, p. 119, note 2; *idem*, The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, trans. Janet Shirley (Europe in the Middle Ages. Selected Studies, vol. 11A-B), Amsterdam 1979, p. 160, note 24.

[9] *Reinhold Röhricht*, comp., Regesta regni hierosolymitani (MXCVII-MCCXCI) [hereafter cited as RRH], Innsbruck 1893, Nos. 130, 293, pp. 32, 75; *Denys Pringle*, The Red Tower (al-Burj al-Ahmar). Settlement in the Plain of Sharon at the Time of the Crusaders and Mamluks, A.D. 1099-1516 (British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem Monograph Series, 1) London, 1986, pp. 41–43, 45–46, 54, 56.

[10] *Pringle*, Secular Buildings (see note 8), p. 3.

[11] For a critique of Pringle's classification see *Ronnie Ellenblum*, Crusader Castles and Modern Histories, Cambridge 2007, pp. 87–91. But Jean d'Ibelin's list contains just 37 (or 36), not 48 places; the villages of Bayt Suriq, Ramatha (ar-Ram), Khirbet al-Burj/Ramot and Parva Mahomaria (al-Qubayba) appear in Pringle's list of „Other Frankish settlements," of which none is mentioned by Jean d'Ibelin. Caco (Qaqun), which does appear in Pringle's list of urban settlements, is not mentioned by Jean d'Ibelin either; Pringle included it because charters from 1131 to 1175 mention a *vicecomes* of Caco. Finally, Tantura, which Pringle lists among the places having a burgess court according to Jean d'Ibelin, is not Qal`at Tantura/Tittora, now within the new town of Modi`in, but Merle (Tantura/Dor), north of Caesarea.

[12] *Ellenblum*, Crusader Castles (see note 11), pp. 84–102.

[13] *Ronnie Ellenblum*, Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, Cambridge 1998.

[14] These centers are presented as being the most important of about 16 such twelfth-century cities. Adding to these 16 cities the three walled towns – Chastiau Pelerin (`Atlit), Cayphas (Haifa), and Scandalium (Iskandaruna) – figuring in Pringle's Table 2 (Pringle, Secular Buildings, p. 5), Ellenblum arrives at a total of 19 cities: *Ellenblum*, Crusader Castles (see note 11), pp. 93–94.

[15] *Willelmus Tyrensis*, Chronicon, ed. *Robert B.C. Huygens*, Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis 63-63A, Turnhout 1986 [hereafter cited as *WT*], 20.25, p. 947 (Constantinople); 16.27, p. 755 (Antioch); 22.23, p. 1043 (Damascus). These examples could be multiplied.

[16] *WT*, 13.18, 16.13, 17.2, 21.27, 22.10, 22.17, pp. 608, 733, 762, 1000, 1019, 1030.

[17] *WT* 14.27, p. 667. Elsewhere William observes that Neapolis was an *urbs absque menibus*: *WT* 17.20, p. 788. For other references to Neapolis as an *urbs* see *WT* 9.20, 12.13, 17.14, 21.17, pp. 446, 563, 780, 986.

[18] *WT* 9.13, 22.24, pp. 438, 1045–1046 (Cayphas); 7.22, 21.20, pp. 373, 989 (Lydda); 8.1, p. 381 (Jericho).

[19] *WT* 7.24, p. 376 (Bethlehem); 22.27, pp. 1051–1052 (Nazareth). Bethlehem is once mentioned as a *villa* (*WT* 11.12, p. 514), but here William is reproducing a charter of King Baldwin I.

[20] *WT* 22.15, p. 1027. Sarepta, Thecua, Gabaon and Gezrael, all four of biblical fame, are also designated as *urbes*: *WT* 7.22, 8.1, 22. 27, pp. 372, 382, 1051.

[21] *WT* 22.17, pp. 1030–1031; see also 9.15, 13.2, 13.18, pp. 441, 588, 608. William prefers the classical name Scythopolis to the one used in his days, Bethsan: see Huygens' introduction, p. 41, note 67.

22 *WT* 22.27, pp. 1050–1051.

23 *WT* 11.5, 11.30, 13.13, 21.26, pp. 502, 543, 602, 999.

24 *WT* 11.26, 20.27, pp. 534–535, 950–951 (where the place is referred to also as a *presidium*); 11.29, p. 542. On two occasions the place is called only a *presidium*: 22.15, 22.16, pp. 1027, 1029.

25 *WT* 14.22, 15.24–25, pp. 659, 706–708. Each of these places is also referred to as a *presidium*: *WT* 14.22, 15.24–25, pp. 660, 707; Blanchegarde is called also an *opidum*: p. 708.

26 *WT* 20.19, p. 937; somewhat earlier (p. 936) William speaks of it as a *castrum* and a *presidium*.

27 *WT* 21.25, 21.26, pp. 997, 999–1000. On Vadum Jacob, now being excavated by Ronnie Ellenblum and his team, see *Ellenblum*, Crusader Castles (see note 11 above), pp. 261–274.

28 *WT* 21.20, p. 989.

29 *WT* 18.14, p. 830 (Saphet); 22.17, p. 1030 (Forbelet). A few lines down (p. 1031) William refers to Forbelet as an *opidum et vicus*.

30 See notes 21–22 above.

31 *Jon Seligman*, Excavations in the Crusader Fortress at Beth Shean, Qadmoniot 27, 1994, pp. 138–141 (in Hebrew); *Pringle*, Secular Buildings (see note 8), p. 25.

32 *WT* 22.17, p. 1031.

33 See for instance notes 24–26, 29 and 42 below.

34 *WT* 10.16, p. 472 (Ramula); 12.16, p. 566 (Gerasa). Describing the fighting around Ramula in 1102, William calls the place *opidum*, *castrum*, *municipium* or *presidium*: *WT* 10.19–21, pp. 477–479.

35 *WT* 14.22, p. 660.

36 *WT* 15.21, pp. 703–704. For a detailed discussion of the construction of Crac see *Hans Eberhard Mayer*, Die Kreuzfahrerherrschaft Montréal (Šōbak). Jordanien im 12. Jahrhundert (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästinavereins, Bd. 14), Wiesbaden 1990, pp. 115–129.

37 *WT* 17.12, pp. 775–776.

38 *WT* 22.29, p. 1056.

39 *WT* 20.20, p. 938.

40 Describing the erection of the *castrum* at Ibelin in 1141, William refers to Ramula as an *urbs*: *WT* 15.24, p. 706. On the establishment of a suburb at Ramula, soon upon the erection of its *castrum*, see *Joshua Prawer*, Colonization Activities in the Latin Kingdom, in: *idem*, Crusader Institutions, Oxford 1980, pp. 112–116 (this landmark article appeared originally in 1951). See also pp. 334–335.

41 *WT* 22.29, 22.31, pp. 1055–1057, 1059–1060. For other cases of a *suburbium* springing up near a *castrum* see *WT* 20.19, p. 937 (Blanchegarde); 20.27, p. 951 (Montréal). In these instances William does not refer to the entire complex as an *urbs*.

42 *WT* 20.20, pp. 938–939. In several details the account resembles that of the 1183 siege of Crac. Likewise, the *civitas* Shayzar, besieged by the Byzantines and

Franks in 1138, was composed of a *presidium* and a *suburbium*: *WT* 15.1-2, pp. 674–676.

43 *WT* 19.14, p. 883. Somewhat later (21.19, p. 987) William refers to Gaza as an *urbs famosissima* as well as an *opidum*; Darum appears there just as an *opidum*. The latter term is applied to locations of varying importance, from Bethsan (above, note 22), Forbelet (above, note 29) and Saphet (21.27, p. 1000) in the north, to Capharnaum and Dora in the northern coastal plain (10.25, p. 485), Arsur (10.13, 10.21, pp. 469, 479), Jaffa (8.1, p. 381) and Ramula (10.19, p. 477) in the kingdom's center, and Gaza, Ascalon and Darum in the southwest: *WT* 22.18, p. 1033.

44 *WT* 14.8, pp. 639–640.

45 *WT* 18.15, 21.26, 22.5, 22.25, pp. 833, 999, 1012, 1048.

46 *WT* 7.24, 8.1, pp. 376, 381.

47 *WT* 15.25, p. 709.

48 *WT* 22.24, p. 1046. Somewhat earlier (p. 1045) the edict speaks of *illi qui … preerunt singulis urbibus et castellis*.

49 *WT* 19.3, p. 867.

50 *WT* 11.12, p. 514.

51 *WT* 22.24, p. 1045.

52 *WT* 22.21, p. 1038.

53 *in suburbanis, que vulgo casalia appellant*: *WT* 18.19, p. 838; *suburbanorum adiacentium, que nostri casalia dicunt*: *WT* 20.19, p. 937; see also, more mildly, *WT* 11.19, p. 524. For William's low opinion of the linguistic abilities of his countrymen see *WT* 19.10, p. 876: [Cesarea Philippi] *dicitur autem et Paneas, sed nostri Latini, corrumpentes nomen sicut pene omnium aliarum urbium, Belinas vocant*. Similarly, with regard to Scandalium, the *castrum* erected south of Tyre, he writes: *Hunc locum hodie appellatione corrupta populares appellant Scandalium: arabice enim Alexander Scandar dicitur et Alexandrium Scandarium, vulgares vero r in l conversa dicunt Scandalium*: *WT* 11.30, p. 543. See also note 21 above.

54 *Joseph Stevenson* (Ed.), De expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum libellus (Rolls Series, vol. 66), London 1875, pp. 209–262; the places discussed below are mentioned on pp. 209–240.

55 The *castellum Gazaris* is mentioned twice: De expugnatione, pp. 229, 237. The author does not refer to the settlement that sprang up underneath the castle; he probably regards it as an outgrowth addition to the *castellum*.

56 De expugnatione, p. 239. The author points out that it was held by the Knights Hospitaller; like William, he believes it was erected on the site of biblical Beersheba.

57 De expugnatione, p. 240.

58 De expugnatione, p. 229.

59 De expugnatione, p. 228. Remains of this *castellum* were unearthed on the shore of the sea of Galilee: *Zvi Razi/Eliot Braun*, The Lost Crusader Castle of Tiberias, in: The Horns of Hattin, ed. *Benjamin Z. Kedar*, Jerusalem and London 1992, pp.

216–227; *Yosef Stepansky*, The Crusader Castle of Tiberias, in: Crusades 3, 2004, pp. 179–181.

60 De expugnatione, p. 233.

61 See note 17.

62 De expugnatione, p. 231. The author writes also (p. 233) that the Muslims, in their advance from Neapolis southward, captured *omnia castella et villulas Francorum*. These *villulae* must be identical with the settlements north of Jerusalem studied by *Ronnie Ellenblum*, Construction Methods in Frankish Rural Settlements, in: The Horns of Hattin (see note 59), pp. 176–177; *idem*, Frankish Rural Settlement (see note 13), pp. xviii-xxi et passim.

63 De expugnatione, p. 223.

64 For a shorter Latin list *civitatum simul et castellorum*, composed before the fall of Jerusalem, see *Benjamin Z. Kedar*, Ein Hilferuf aus Jerusalem vom September 1187, in: Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters 38, 1982, pp. 117–122; repr. in: *idem*, The Franks in the Levant, 11th to 14th Centuries, Aldershot 1993, Study X, pp. 117–122. For another list of the same date that contains 34 localities defined as *civitates* and mentions 30 unspecified *castra*, see *Nikolas Jaspert*, Zwei unbekannte Hilfsersuchen des Patriarchen Eraclius vor dem Fall Jerusalems (1187), in: Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters 60, 2004, pp. 512–515. As the 34 *civitates* include many localities known from other sources as *castella* and even *casalia*, and as many toponyms are badly distorted, it is probable that the definition of these places as *civitates* stems from a scribal error. Still, there are reasons to assume that all 34 localities had Frankish inhabitants. For a longer Arabic list see `*Imad ad-Din al-Katib al-Isfahani*, Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Salah al-Din, ed. *Carlo de Landberg*, Leiden 1888, p. 111; French translation by *Henri Massé*, Paris 1972, p. 99.

65 *Benedict of Peterborough*, Gesta Regis Henrici secundi, ed. *William Stubbs* (Rolls Series, 49), London 1867, vol. 2, pp. 22–24; *Roger Howden*, Chronica, ed. *William Stubbs* (Rolls Series, 51), London 1868–1871, vol. 2, p.321. On the relationship between the two works see *Doris M. Stenton*, Roger of Howden and Benedict, in: English Historical Review 68, 1953, pp. 574–582; *David J. Corner*, The Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi and Chronica of Roger, Parson of Howden, in: Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research 56, 1983, pp. 126–144.

66 See *Corner*, The Gesta (see note 65), pp. 130–132.

67 That is, Beirut.

68 Acre.

69 Tiberias. The spelling reflects the Old French Tabarie, influenced by the Arabic Tabariya.

70 Jaffa.

71 Caesarea.

72 Lydda.

[73] Hebron.

[74] Bethlehem.

[75] Haifa.

[76] In the final, shorter version of the list Roger Howden has *et utram civitatem quae dicitur Gibelet*: *Roger Howden*, Chronica (see note 65), vol. 2, p. 321. This would place the two localities outside the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Another possibility would be Le Petit Gerin (Zir`in) and Le Grand Gerin (Jenin), which appear as Petit Geli and Gran Geli in a 1187 letter of Patriarch Eraclius of Jerusalem: see *Jaspert*, Zwei unbekannte Hilfsersuchen (see note 64), pp. 512–513.

[77] See the discussion below.

[78] Chastiau Neuf (Hunin/Margaliyot).

[79] Stubbs' identification with Ibelin (Yavneh/Yibna) is unlikely; the place's location in the list suggests that it should be sought in the north. In the final redaction the spelling is Jaunai. Denys Pringle proposes to identify it with Juniya, north of Beirut. William of Tyre calls the place Iunia: *WT* 10.6, p. 460. Pope Lucius III mentions in 1184 the church of Iuuenia: *Rudolf Hiestand*, Vorarbeiten zum Oriens Pontificius III: Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse 3.136), Göttingen 1985, No. 127, p. 304. (Pringle's letter to author, 20 August 2007).

[80] Mount Tabor.

[81] La Fève (al-Fula/ Merhavya).

[82] Capharmanda (Kafr Manda, northnorthwest of Nazareth), appears as a *casale* in a 1106 charter of King Baldwin I: RRH, No. 51, p. 10. In the final redaction the spelling is Caffarmundel.

[83] Pringle convincingly identifies this place with St. Margaret's Castle on Mount Carmel: *Denys Pringle*, The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus, 4 vols., Cambridge 1993–2009, vol. 2, p. 248.

[84] RRH, Index, p. 494, identifies Chaccahu with Caco (Qaqun). Chaccahu is one of the places that do not recur in the final redaction.

[85] Calansue/Calanson (Qalansuwa).

[86] Tantura/Dor.

[87] Casal des Plains (Yazur/Azor), southeast of Jaffa.

[88] Ramula (Ramle).

[89] Toron de los Caballeros/Toron des Chevaliers (Latrun)

[90] Chastel Hernaut (Yalu)

[91] In the final redaction the spelling is *Castellum Burguinun*. Denys Pringle raises the possibility that Bayt Nuba, northeast of Latrun, is meant here: Letter to author, 20 August 2007. William of Tyre uses the spelling Beitenuble: *WT* 14.8, p. 640. See also *Pringle*, The Churches (see note 83 above), vol. 1, pp. 102–103.

[92] Appears as Tharenta in one of Patriarch Eraclius' letters: *Kedar*, Ein Hilferuf (see note 64), p. 122; see also pp. 117–118. Probably to be identified with al-Burj, known also as Qal`at Tantura, now Tittora within

the town of Modi`in: see *Pringle*, Secular Buildings (see note 8), p. 57. [See Fig. 5].

[93] Blanchegarde.

[94] La Galatie (Qaratiya), east of Ascalon.

[95] Gaza.

[96] Darum.

[97] Possibly the monastery of Choziba in the Judaean Desert: See *Pringle*, The Churches (see note 83), vol. 1, p. 184.

[98] Rouge Cisterne/Maledoim on the Jerusalem/Jericho road.

[99] Qarantena (Jabal Quruntul), a priory west of Jericho.

[100] Pringle raises the possibility that *Castrum sancti Helie* (`Afra/al-Taiyiba), northwest of Qarantena, is meant here: *Pringle*, The Churches (see note 83), vol. 2, p. 339.

[101] Bethany and the following three abbeys are located in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem.

[102] *recte*, Josaphat.

[103] „Turun-as-chivalers" of the printed edition should be corrected to „Turun as chvalers;" „Castellum Burgunnium" to „Castellum Burgunniun."

[104] *WT* 22.27, p. 1052.

[105] *WT* 15.26, p. 709.

[106] See notes 9 and 82.

[107] For a detailed description of the tower, hall and vaulted ranges at Qalansuwa see *Pringle*, The Red Tower (see note 9), pp. 43–58. Pringle (p. 56) raises the possibility that these buildings *were enclosed by outer defences that have not survived* but admits that the place may have lacked such defenses. It may be added that Calanco figures in the list of 34 *civitates* mentioned as taken by Saladin in a letter of Patriarch Eraclius of Jerusalem: *Jaspert*, Zwei unbekannte Hilfsersuchen (see note 64), p. 515.

[108] *Fulcher of Chartres*, Historia Hierosolymitana (1095-1127), ed. *Heinrich Hagenmeyer*, Heidelberg 1913, 2.49, p. 572 (Neapolis); 2.55–56, pp. 592, 594–595 (Mons Regalis); 2.62, pp. 605–606 (Scandalion).

[109] *Oppidum*: *Fulcher*, Historia, 1.25, 2.3, 2.7, pp. 275, 366, 391–392; *Castrum*: 2.6, p. 389. On New and Old Haifa see *Pringle*, The Churches (see note 83), vol. 1, pp. 222–223, vol. 2, pp. 150–152.

[110] *Oppidum*: *Fulcher*, Historia, 1.25, 2.8, 2.20, pp. 276, 397, 445; *Castrum*: 2.3, 2.8, pp. 366, 397.

[111] *Fulcher*, Historia, 1.25, p. 274.

[112] *Fulcher*, Historia, 3.18, p. 664 (Cacho). As Ziph, Cacho and Gibellulum are *castella* and Cayphas, Arsur, Mons Regalis, Scandalion and Gibellum are *castra*, it is possible that Fulcher reserved the first term for smaller places. For Gibellum and Gibellulum see *Fulcher*, Historia, 1.25, pp. 269, 271.

[113] The fragments are edited in *Moshe Gil*, Palestine during the First Muslim Period (634-1099), 3 vols. [in Hebrew] Tel Aviv 1983, vol. 2, Nos. 209. 220, pp. 383, 408. See also *Moshe Gil*, A History of Palestine, 634–1099, transl. *Ethel Broido*, Cambridge 1992, pp. 192, 429.

[114] The passage is translated in *Guy Le Strange*, Palestine under the Moslems. A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from A.D. 650 to 1500, London 1890, p. 446.

[115] `Imad ad-Din, Conquête (see note 64), p. 111; *Massé* (see note 64), p. 99.

[116] The passages are translated in *Le Strange,* Palestine (see note 114), p. 555.

[117] La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184-1197), ed. *Margaret Ruth Morgan* (Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, vol. 14), Paris 1982, c. 96, p. 98.

[118] La Continuation (see note 117), c. 141, p. 147. For the other places see *Morgan*'s index.

[119] The editor's identification of Caco as a Templar fort, or stronghold (La Continuation, c.25, p. 38 and index, p. 209) has been questioned by *Benjamin Z. Kedar/Denys Pringle*, La Fève: A Crusader Castle in the Jezreel Valley, in: Israel Exploration Journal 35, 1985, p.169, n. 16, repr. in *Benjamin Z. Kedar*, The Franks (see note 64), Study XI, p. 169, n. 16. In about 1169 the German pilgrim Theoderic mentions the *castellum a modernis Caco nominatum*: Peregrinationes tres: Saewulf, Iohannes Wirziburgensis, Theodericus, ed. *Robert B.C. Huygens* (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaeualis, vol. 139), Turnhout 1994, p. 185.

[120] The existence of the castle within the town is explicitly indicated with regard to Acre and Tyre (La Continuation, cc. 49, 124, pp. 61, 125, 127), while comparison with other sources leaves no doubt that the same is true of Tiberias and Jaffa (cc. 32, 145, pp. 44, 139). With regard to Beirut, on the other hand, it appears that the continuator refers to it twice as a *cité* and once as a *chastel*: La Continuation, cc. 5, 23, 96, pp. 21, 37, 98. For sketch plans of the towns of Beirut and Jaffa indicating the probable locations of their castles see *Pringle*, The Churches (see note 83), vol. 1, p. 111; *Martin Peilstöcker*, La ville franque de Jaffa à la lumière des fouilles récentes, in: Bulletin Monumental 164.1, 2006, p. 102.

[121] The list was first published by *Emmanuel Guillaume Rey,* [in his] Recherches géographiques et historiques sur la domination des Latins en Orient, Paris 1877, pp. 18–19; I use the critical edition of *Paul Deschamps,* [in his] Etude sur un texte latin énumérant les possessions musulmanes dans le royaume de Jérusalem vers l'année 1239, published in: Syria 23, 1942–1943, pp. 87–90.

[122] To the Templar castles one may add *Vadum Jacob quod fuit Templariorum,* though it is not expressly characterized as a *castrum*.

[123] *WT* 22.15, pp. 1026–1027. For a detailed discussion of the sources and the physical remains see *Pringle*, The Churches (see note 83), vol. 1, pp. 192–194.

[124] RRH , No. 1242, p. 326.

[125] Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth et sa description de la Terre Sainte. Histoire et edition du texte, ed. *P. C. Boeren* (Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, Verhandelingen, NS, vol. 105), Amsterdam 1980, c. 37, p. 25; Peregrinationes tres (see note 119), pp. 80, 193. In the 1280s Burchard of Mount Zion described the place as *oppidum et castrum desuper valde pulchrum; Deschamps*, Étude (see note 121), p. 97.

[126] A recent photograph of the tower is printed in *Pringle*, Secular Buildings (see note 8), p. 92.

[127] In his analysis of the 1239 list Beyer has forcefully argued that *Civitas Ficuum* should be sought in the area south of Hebron: *Gustav Beyer, Civitas Ficuum*, in: Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 69, 1953, pp. 75–85; see also *A. Alt,* Anhang, *ibidem*, pp. 85–87. *Civitas Ficuum* is not identical with *Castrum Ficuum* (Fiyr; Kh. Al-Burj), southwest of Hebron: see the map of *Johns* (see note 1); *Pringle*, Secular Buildings (see note 8), No. 59, p. 37.

[128] For a reproduction of the map see *Kenneth Nebenzahl*, Maps of the Holy Land. Images of Terra Sancta through Two Millennia, Tel Aviv 1986, pp. 38–39. My thanks to Denys Pringle for having alerted me to the map's relevance to the present study.

[129] See the *civitas Galilea* south of – and distinct from – the city of Tiberias; the *civitas* of St. George (that is, Lydda) marked at the location of St. George de la Baene, a village east of Acre; the appearance of the city of Sichar near the city of Neapolis.

[130] *Joppe quondam civitas nunc castrum.* On Jaffa's fortifications see *Martin Peilstöcker*, La ville franque de Jaffa à la lumière des fouilles récentes, in: Bulletin Monumental 164.1, 2006, pp. 99–104; *Benjamin Z. Kedar*, L'enceinte de la ville franque de Jaffa, in: Bulletin Monumental 164.1, 2006, pp. 105–107.

[131] On the remains of a tower at Da`uq see *Benvenisti*, The Crusaders (note 4 above), p. 251.

[132] On the Templar castle at Shafa `Amr see *Pringle*, The Churches (note 83 above), vol. 2, pp. 301–302.

[133] See *Pringle*, The Churches, vol. 1, pp. 285–286.

[134] See *Pringle*, The Churches, vol. 2, p. 248.

[135] On the remains of a tower at Tirat ha-Carmel see *Pringle*, Secular Buildings (note 8 above), pp. 102–103. Between Cayfas and Tirus minor appears, on Matthew Paris' map, the enigmatic castle of Anne.

[136] See notes 84, 112 and 119.

[137] Bayt Nuba, northeast of Latrun.

[138] Rouge Cisterne/Maledoim on the Jerusalem/Jericho road, mentioned also in Roger Howden's list of localities Saladin captured.

[139] Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243-1314). La caduta degli Stati Crociati nel racconto di un testimone oculare, ed. *Laura Minervini* (Nuovo Medioevo 59), Naples 2000, cc. 67, 273, pp. 82, 226. See the plan of Sidon in *Pringle*, The Churches (see note 83), vol, 2, p. 319.

[140] Cronaca del Templare di Tiro, c. 275, p. 228 (Barut); cc. 183, 201–202, pp. 162, 170 (Acre).

[141] Cronaca del Templare di Tiro, cc. 110–112, 115, 140, 142, pp. 108–112, 114, 136, 138.

[142] Cronaca del Templare di Tiro, c. 92, p. 96.

[143] For the most detailed account see *Reuven Amitai*, The Conquest of Arsuf by Baybars: Political and Military Aspects, in: Mamluk Studies Review 9, 2005, pp. 61–83.

[144] He writes (c. 92, p. 196) that Baybars conquered Caesarea on 7 March 1265 and that the siege of Arsur began on 15 March; the correct dates are 5 and 21 March.

[145] Cronaca del Templare di Tiro, c. 146, p. 140. On the term *cazau* see the editor's glossary, pp. 398–399.

Benjamin Z. Kedar

Civitas und *Castellum* im lateinischen Königreich von Jerusalem: Zeitgenössische fränkische Begriffe

Während der letzten siebzig Jahre haben Archäologen und Historiker verschiedene Einteilungen der wichtigsten Orte des Königreichs von Jerusalem vorgenommen. Einer der Autoren unterscheidet zwischen ummauerten und unbefestigten Städten und zwischen großen und kleineren Burgen, ein anderer zwischen Städten, Gemeinden, Verwaltungszentren und Festungen; ein dritter Autor sieht alle diejenigen Orte als städtische Siedlungen an, für die ein bürgerliches Gericht (*Court de Borgesie*) nachgewiesen ist. Ziel des vorliegenden Beitrags von Benjamin Z. Kedar ist es, die Begriffe zu untersuchen, die tatsächlich von den Bewohnern im fränkischen Königreich von Jerusalem benutzt wurden. Was verstanden sie unter „Civitas", „Urbs", „Castrum" oder „Castellum"? Inwieweit verwendete dieselbe Person diese Begriffe jeweils durchgängig? Bis zu welchem Maß gebrauchten unterschiedliche Personen dieselben Begriffe? Unter Fokussierung auf die letzten Jahre des ersten Königreiches von Jerusalem wird die Terminologie von Wilhelm von Tyrus analysiert, des größten Historikers des Königreiches, der Mitte der 1180er-Jahre starb. Des Weiteren wird die Terminologie eines unbekannten Autors untersucht, der den Untergang des Königreichs nach der Schlacht von Hattin (1187) beschreibt. Der dritte Text ist eine Liste der von Saladin nach dieser Schlacht eroberten Plätze des Königreichs. Der Beitrag beschließt mit kurzen Betrachtungen zur äußeren Gestalt einiger fränkischer Orte.