

**LATIN MONASTERIES AND NUNNERIES IN  
PALESTINE AND SYRIA IN THE TIME OF THE  
CRUSADES**

Joyce M. McLellan

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St Andrews



1974

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18 April 1974

J.S.C. Riley-Smith  
Supervisor.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to express my thanks above all to my supervisor, Dr. Jonathan S.C. Riley-Smith, whose encouragement and advice have been invaluable and whose vigilance has time and again saved me from error.

I am indebted also to Professor J. Richard, Professor H.E. Mayer, Dr. L. Butler, Mr. P. King, Mr. P. Edbury, Miss C. Fraser and Dr. M.I.S. Hunter for their ideas and assistance in various ways; to Signore M.E. Alaimo and A. Aronica, who supplied me with material; to the librarians and staff of the Universities of St. Andrews and Glasgow and the British Museum Reading Room; to Mrs. S. Rhind, who typed the manuscript; and to Miss S. Leak who drew the maps and Professor L. Stones of the University of Glasgow who had them prepared for this thesis.

To my parents I owe a special debt of gratitude. Without them this research could not have been undertaken and their constant support and confidence ensured that it was completed.



## INTRODUCTION

The monasteries and nunneries with which we are concerned are those established in Jerusalem, Tripoli and Antioch during the period of Frankish domination (1098-1291). They do not include the convents of the Military Orders or the Friars. These differed from the ordinary regular clergy in character, as international bodies, all of whose members owed obedience to the head of the Order and the pope, in their way of life, regulated by a formal constitution, and in their objectives. It is true that Cluniac, Premonstratensian and Cistercian communities had similar features: Cluniac houses followed a version of the Benedictine Rule that came to be distinctively Cluniac and they had a strong sense of corporate identity. And the abbeys of Prémontré and Cîteaux were linked to every daughter house through affiliation and a system of visitation, while legislative and disciplinary authority over the Order as a whole was exercised by an annual assembly of abbots. But because each community had at the same time a completely individual identity, they will be dealt with here.

The convents under consideration, then, lived according to principles laid down by or attributed to St Benedict and St Augustine. They were separate, self-governing communities, subject either to the jurisdiction of the bishop or the pope; their inmates owed immediate and absolute obedience to the abbot. They received revenues and property which they exploited for their own needs or used as alms and devoted their lives to prayer and contemplation, the worship of God and charitable works. The heterogeneous character of monastic communities means that they lend themselves

less readily than the Military Orders or the Friars to collective examination. The evidence about them is patchy, for some houses are known to us only by name or from archaeological remains. But there are, nevertheless, rich sources of information which have hitherto been only perfunctorily explored.

For the historian of the Latin houses of the Holy Land there are two kinds of evidence: archaeological and written. When Christianity became officially tolerated throughout the Roman Empire, Christians were able to worship openly, build churches and instal priests in them. Many churches were in fact built at the instigation of the Emperor Constantine and his mother, the Empress Helena, and later emperors continued the work. Churches were raised at the scenes of Christ's life, Passion and death, at the shrines of prophets and saints and at sites where miracles had taken place. In spite of the political and religious sufferings of the Holy Land in the centuries before the First Crusades, the buildings survived to some degree. It was not, in any case, in the interests of the Muslim authorities to destroy them, for quite apart from the respect they had themselves for the shrines, they would have lost the revenues of the pilgrim traffic. After the First Crusade, the churches were restored and enriched and Latin religious communities were installed. And although these convents were resident in them for less than two centuries, or even for only a few decades, and although the monasteries suffered in 1187, in the wars of the thirteenth century which culminated in the victory of the Mamluks, or in the conflicts which have beset the Middle East to this day, most shrines survive and the archaeological remains of many conventual buildings can still be traced. Much attention and research has been devoted to

the archaeological and architectural evidence for Christian churches, particularly by such scholars as C. Enlart and C.M. de Vogüé. A major contribution to both archaeological and ecclesiastical history was the learned and comprehensive researches of H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, the result of excavations at Bethlehem and Jerusalem. More recently the work of M. Benvenisti has added to our knowledge of several monasteries in rural areas.<sup>1</sup> Tripoli and Antioch did not possess the same number of Latin monasteries as the kingdom of Jerusalem, but the sites in any case have not survived so well. There are substantial remains of the abbey of Belmont outside Tripoli,<sup>2</sup> and the churches of St Paul and St George in Antioch can be located, but the sites of other houses are unknown. It has been impossible even to identify the abbeys of St Sergius outside Gibelet, St Simeon at Antioch and Jubin, one of many religious houses in the area north of the city.

Archaeological remains can reveal much that other sources leave unsaid. The existence of tombs or inscriptions, for example, can supply information about the community of monks, while outbuildings, hospices and storerooms provide details of its domestic activities. But although archaeology may, in the absence of other evidence, supply

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1. C. Enlart, Les monuments des croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem. Architecture religieuse et civile; C.M. de Vogüé, Les églises de la Terre Sainte; H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, Jérusalem. Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire vol.ii and vol of Plates. Jérusalem nouvelle; H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, Bethléem. Le sanctuaire de la nativité; M. Benvenisti, The Crusaders in the Holy Land.

2. C. Enlart, 'L'abbaye cistercienne de Belmont en Syrie', Syria,iv (1923).

all that is known of certain houses, its usefulness at best is limited. For monastic life and government, for the management of estates and relations with popes, kings and laymen, the historian must turn to written evidence. First, there are the narrative sources. The accounts of pilgrims are indispensable, but they do not always tell the ecclesiastical historian what he wants to know. The interest of pilgrims lay in the religious associations of the shrines rather than in their monasteries and their descriptions can be unclear, inconsistent with one another and derivative. Christian pilgrims, moreover, tended to be less expansive than Jewish or Muslim travellers.<sup>3</sup> The chroniclers of the First Crusade naturally considered the restoration of the Holy Places relevant to their accounts and recorded the foundation of monasteries there. Archbishop William of Tyre, who wrote his chronicle later in the twelfth century, seems to have made use of charters concerning the origins of religious houses. This is obvious, for example, in his account of the establishment of an episcopal see at Bethlehem, but it can be inferred from the phrases of an official character used to describe Godfrey of Bouillon's religious foundations.<sup>4</sup> But in general

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3. The observations of Muslim visitors to the Holy Land are collected in Palestine under the Moslems. Description of Syria and the Holy Land from 650-1500. Translated from Medieval Arabic Geographers, comp. G. Le Strange. Itineraries of Christian pilgrims before and after the First Crusade have been published by the Societe de l'Orient latin as Itinera Hierosolymitana et descriptiones Terrae Sanctae bellis sacris anteriora et Latina lingua exarata, ed. T. Tobler and A. Molinier, Itinéraires à Jérusalem et descriptions de la Terre Sainte, rédigés en français aux XIe, XIIe et XIIIe siècles, ed. H. Michelant and G. Raynaud and Itinéraires russes en Orient, ed. B. de Khitrowo. Other accounts may be found in Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae ex saeculo VIII, IX, XII et XV, ed. T. Tobler and in Peregrinatores medi aevi quattuor, ed. J.C.M. Laurent. Translations of certain Muslim and Christian accounts have been published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society.

4. William of Tyre, pp.376-77, 472-74.

contemporary historians showed little interest in monastic affairs. And if annals and chronicles were produced by the inmates of religious houses, who might have inserted items of personal interest into their narratives, they have not survived.<sup>5</sup> Chroniclers were concerned rather with the progress of crusades and secular affairs and usually mentioned religious communities only when their affairs happened to be relevant to the broader course of history. The foundation of St Lazarus of Bethany, which intimately concerned the royal family of Jerusalem was recorded in some detail; the conflict between the canons of the Holy Sepulchre and Count Henry of Champagne over the election of a patriarch had importance for its bearing on Henry's constitutional position and was at the same time a test case in the struggle between papal and secular authority;<sup>6</sup> regular clergy were named when they were present on crusading expeditions, diplomatic missions, at courts and councils. William of Tyre, whose chronicle is the chief source of information about the twelfth century, was interested in the history of the local dioceses, particularly his own province of Tyre, and recorded cases of regular clergy raised to the episcopate.

But by far the most important written evidence for religious houses

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5. The account of the discovery of the bones of the patriarchs at Hebron is an exception, but it concerns one incident of importance to that church and was written at the request of the canons. See 'Tractatus de inventione sanctorum patriarchorum Abraham, Isaac et Jacob'. And Prior Achard's poem about the Temple of Our Lord dealt primarily with its former glories. See 'Poème sur le templem domini', ed. C.M. de Vogüé, AOL, i (1881).
6. William of Tyre, p.699; 'L'Estoire de Eracles', p.203; H.E. Mayer, 'Das Pontifikale von Tyrus und die Krönung der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem', Dumbarton Oaks Papers, xxi (1967), pp.184-92.

is documentary. If monasteries received scant attention from chroniclers, the wealth of documents concerning their privileges, possessions and everyday problems does much to redress the balance. Because religious communities were acutely conscious of the need to safeguard their spiritual and temporal rights, they preserved their charters carefully and had properties in Europe to which their archives could be transferred in times of danger. The only secular institutions able to do this were those of international resources, like the Italian communities.<sup>7</sup> The ecclesiastical historian, then, has access to the great archives of the Hospital of St John and the Teutonic knights and to the smaller cartulary of St Lazarus, which contribute much to our knowledge of all religious houses, while the gift of Mount Thabor to the Hospital in 1255 ensured that several charters of major importance were preserved by that Order.<sup>8</sup> Of still greater value are the documents left by Latin monasteries and nunneries themselves, which have survived in isolation - in 1900, for example, F. Chalandon published a charter of the Temple of Our Lord which he had discovered among documents from the cathedral of Barletta, in the archives of Monte Cassino<sup>9</sup> - or in bulk in their European priories.

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7. Urkunden zur älteren Handels - und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig und die besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante, ed G.L. Tafel and G.N. Thomas; Documenti sulle relazioni delle città toscane coll' Oriente cristiano e coi Turchi fino all' anno 1531, ed. G. Müller; 'Liber iurium reipublicae Januensis', HPM,vi/ix.
8. Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de St.-Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310), ed. J. Delaville Le Roulx and especially 'Chartes du mont Thabor', vol ii; Tabulae ordinis Theutonici, ed E. Strehlke; 'Fragment d'un cartulaire de l'ordre de Saint-Lazare en Terre Sainte', ed. A. de Marsy, AOL,iiB (1884).
9. 'Un diplôme inédit d'Amaury I, roi de Jérusalem, en faveur de l'abbaye du Temple-Notre-Seigneur (1166)', ed. F. Chalandon, ROL,viii (1900-1901).

Two monastic collections have survived. The cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre, the patriarch's church and the holiest shrine in the Christian world, was published in 1849 by E. de Rozière. The twelfth century documents in it heavily outweigh those of the period after 1187, but the detail and diversity of subject matter makes it an invaluable source of information about the Holy Sepulchre itself and its fellow churches.<sup>10.</sup> The documents of St Mary of Josaphat, one of the most important abbeys in Jerusalem, were preserved in the church of St Mary Magdalene at Messina, where the community established itself after 1291. In 1879 they were removed to the Sicilian state archives at Palermo and in the following year H. -F. Delaborde published 59 charters which he had found in volumes of documents from various obediences of the abbey in Sicily. Unknown to Delaborde, however, there were many more documents from this monastery in existence. In the late seventeenth century the archives of St Mary Magdalene had been transcribed by Antonino Amico into a register. A copy of the register made by P. Riant was used by C. Kohler for his edition of documents in 1900. Because he knew the copy was incomplete and was unable to see the original, he edited the charters in extract only.<sup>11.</sup> A microfilm of the whole of

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10. Cartulaire de l'église du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem, ed. E. de Rozière; A. Tardif, 'Cartulaire de l'église du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem', BEC, xiii (1851-1852), pp.513-32.

11. Chartes de Terre Sainte provenant de l'abbaye de Notre Dame de Josaphat, ed. H. F. Delaborde; 'Chartes de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de la vallée de Josaphat en Terre Sainte (1108-1291). Analyse et extraits', ed. C. Kohler, HOL, vii (1899). A number of Josaphat's charters have been re-edited by P. Kehr, 'Über die Papsturkunden für S. Maria de valle Josaphat', 'Papsturkunden in Sizilien', Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse (1899) and J. Pfluck-Hartung, Acta Pontificum Romanorum inedita.

Antonino Amico's register, kept at the Biblioteca Comunale at Palermo, has made it possible to resolve ambiguities and supply lacunae in Kohler's edition and to discuss the abbey's history with greater precision.<sup>12.</sup> Unfortunately several forgeries have been discovered among Josaphat's documents, for which Stephen, master-prior of the monastery's Sicilian properties from 1248 to 1259, seems to have been responsible.<sup>13.</sup> They have therefore not been used in this thesis, but since they were intended to promote the interests of the priory in Messina rather than those of the abbey in Jerusalem, their exclusion does not leave gaps at any size in the evidence that remains.

The collections of documents associated with the Holy Sepulchre and St Mary of Josaphat, although clearly incomplete, outnumber the surviving charters of any other religious house. But various documents from the Benedictine abbey of St Mary of the Latins were preserved in the church of St Philip at Agira in Sicily, where the monks eventually took refuge. Several collections of St Philip's charters have appeared over the centuries, but because none was satisfactory, the historical society of Catania commissioned an edition, which L. T. White made use of in 1938 when working on Latin monasteries in Sicily.<sup>14.</sup> The

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12. I am deeply grateful to Signor M.E. Alaimo, the Director of the Biblioteca Comunale at Palermo, who kindly gave me permission to have the register photographed, and to Signor A. Aronica who supplied me with the microfilm copy. It is cited here as Amico, Reg. with the folio page numbers.

13. These forgeries, which comprise six papal bulls, seven Norman royal charters, five charters of the bishops of Catania, two of the count of Paterno and one attributed to Abbot Hugh of Josaphat are listed by L.T. White, Latin Monasticism in Norman Sicily, pp.207-9.

14. White, Latin Monasticism, p.214, note 4.

confusion caused in the archives at Agira by the Second World War prompted W. Holtzmann in 1955 to publish several documents that were relevant to St Mary of the Latins in Jerusalem. These, together with a privilege of Pope Adrian IV edited by R. Röhricht in 1889, three other charters edited by J. Richard in 1951 and privileges included in a collection of Hohenstaufen documents are invaluable for what they reveal about the mother-abbey's possessions, the place of European property in its economy and its relationship with the Holy See.<sup>15</sup>

Documentary evidence for other convents, however, is more thinly distributed. For some houses there remain only a few charters; for others, perhaps only one isolated example. But the charters of King Amalric to the Temple of Our Lord in 1166, Pope Alexander III to Mount Sion in 1179, Baldwin V to St Samuel of Montjoie in 1185 and those of various popes to Bethlehem serve to show how much can be learned about a church's history, possessions and privileges from such random survivals.<sup>16</sup>

A major source of documentary evidence is papal letters,<sup>17</sup> which

15. 'Papst-Kaiser- und Normannenurkunden aus Unteritalien', ed. W. Holtzmann, QFIAB, xxxv (1955); 'Zur Geschichte der Kirche S. Maria Latina in Jerusalem', ed. R. Röhricht, Neues Archiv, xiv (1889); 'Le chartrier de Ste-Marie Latine et l'établissement de Raymond de St-Gilles à Mont Pèlerin', ed. J. Richard, Mélanges Louis Halphen; Acta imperii inedita saeculi XIII, ed. E. Winkelmann.
16. 'Un diplôme du Temple'; 'Chartes de l'abbaye du Mont Sion', ed. E. Rey, MENAF, série v, viii (1887); H.E. Mayer, 'Sankt Samuel auf dem Freudenberge und sein Besitz nach einem unbekanntem Diplom König Balduins V', QFIAB, xlv (1964); P. Riant, 'L'Église de Bethléem et Varasse en Ligurie', Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria xvii (1885).
17. See the collections under individual popes in Patrologia cursus completus. Series latina, ed. J.P. Migne; Acta Pont. Rom. ined; Pope Innocent III, Register, ed. O. Hagenéder and A. Haidacher I; Pope Honorius III, Regesta, ed. P. Pressutti. See also the registers of thirteenth century popes in the series produced by the Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome.

add another dimension to the picture of monastic institutions. The convents of the Latin East, however remote physically, were part of the body of the catholic church, subject to the law of Rome and the authority of the pope, who maintained an affectionate watch over them. Papal decrees and pronouncements were as valid for them as for any church in Western Europe. And their own correspondence with the Holy See reveals much about their possessions and privileges, their disputes with the local Church and other monasteries and their individual problems of governance and discipline. It is invaluable, finally, for the light it throws on what has up to now been the most obscure and neglected period of ecclesiastical history in the crusader states, the thirteenth century.

Taken together the archaeological and written evidence for the history of Latin monasteries and nunneries is considerable, although there are still gaps which can only be filled by the discovery of new documentary material. But in spite of this body of evidence, historians have shown little interest in the Latin religious houses. W. Hotzelt's recent history of the church in Palestine, for example, was primarily concerned with the patriarchate and offered little that was new about monasteries.<sup>18</sup> Early basic studies such as those by C. du Fresne Du Cange and E. Rey, U. Berlière, L. Janauschek and N. Backmund, are now dated and sometimes inaccurate.<sup>19</sup> A serious omission in every case has been an adequate analysis of thirteenth

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18. W. Hotzelt, Kirchengeschichte Palästinas im Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge 1099-1291.

19. C. du Fresne Du Cange, Les Familles d'Outremer, ed. E. Rey; U. Berlière, 'Les anciens monastères bénédictins de Terre Sainte', Revue bénédictine, v (1888); Originum Cisterciensium Tomus, comp. L. Janauschek; N. Backmund, Monasticon Fremonstratense.

century conditions. Very few convents ceased to exist, or sought refuge in Europe in 1187: the majority remained in the East, but in very different circumstances. There are, nevertheless, some worthwhile studies. The researches of P. Riant have produced an important study of the history of the church of Bethlehen,<sup>20</sup> while H.E. Mayer and J. Richard accompanied their editions of charters from St Samuel of Montjoie and Jubin with up-to-date discussions on the abbeys' histories.<sup>21</sup> But with these exceptions, little use has been made of the material that is now available to add to our knowledge of monasteries, or to correct the inaccuracies of earlier historians, and the attention that has been devoted to the subject is clearly disproportionate to the quantity of information about it. It is the aim of this thesis to take advantage both of monastic cartularies and of recent scholarship to study Latin convents individually and collectively. I have tried to estimate their importance to the universal Christian Church and to the life of the crusader states. The shrines they served were venerated by Christians of all creeds and nationalities; they had inspired the crusaders and gave the Latin states their true raison d'être. It must be ascertained whether the clergy who served at these shrines reflected their lustre in a more substantial form, in their wealth, their status and their influence in religious and temporal affairs.

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20. Riant, 'L'Église de Bethléem'; 'Études sur l'église de Bethléem' and vol ii as 'Éclaircissements sur quelques points de l'histoire de l'église de Bethléem-Ascalon', ROL, i-ii (1893-1894); 'La part de l'évêque de Bethléem dans le butin de Constantinople en 1204', MSNAP, série S, vi.

21. Mayer, 'Sankt Samuel'; J. Richard, 'L'abbaye cistercienne de Jubin et le prieuré Saint-Blaise de Nicosie', Epeteris, iii (1969-1970).

I propose in the first chapter to trace the history of Latin communities from their foundation, through the period of their prosperity, to their decline in the thirteenth century and their final retreat to the security of Cyprus and the West. In chapter Two I shall consider their material resources in the East and in the West, their churches, ecclesiastical revenues, estates, gifts of foodstuffs and commercial franchises, and how these were exploited to support the monastic community, particularly in the thirteenth century when resources in the East were greatly reduced. In chapter Three I shall discuss the relations between Latin monasteries and the local Church and the papacy, comparing the statements of contemporaries with the evidence of a succession of papal bulls and explaining where possible the conflicts between the theory and practice of ecclesiastical privilege. In chapter Four I shall look at the inmates of religious houses and at the convent, its officials, its government and its constitutional and economic problems. And in chapter Five I shall examine the work of regular clergy within their houses, guarding the Holy Places, supervising the pilgrim traffic and performing spiritual services for the Latin population, and assess the extent to which they chose or were encouraged to participate in affairs outside the confines of the cloister.

CHAPTER ONELATIN MONASTERIES AND NUNNERIES 1098 - 1291

When the armies of the Franks arrived in the Holy Land they seem to have found many churches ruined and uninhabited and many sees unoccupied. Some episcopal cities, like Tyre and Ascalon, did not fall into Christian hands for several years. In most cases, then, the delicate problem of removing Greek priests and installing Latins in their place could be avoided. At certain churches communities of regular clergy were established. The total number is unknown and it is probable that there were many more than the written records show. Because the date and circumstances of monastic foundations are often obscure, convents are dealt with here according to the date at which we first have evidence for their existence. The only exception is the Holy Sepulchre where Latin canons were installed immediately after the capture of Jerusalem, but which only became a regular house in the years 1112-1114.

I. The Kingdom of Jerusalem.1. St Mary of the Latins.

In 1099 the only Latin monasteries already in existence in Jerusalem were St Mary of the Latins and its dependent houses, the convent of St Mary Magdalene and the hospital of St John, whose origins have been discussed in a recent history of the Order of St. John.<sup>1</sup>

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1. J.S.C. Riley-Smith, The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus c.1050-1310, pp. 32-37.

They stood in the area known as the Muristan, which had been the Christian quarter of the city since the erection of the Holy Sepulchre. Latin religious houses are known to have existed there previously and in the later ninth century there was a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary and nearby a hospice for Latin pilgrims, apparently founded by the Emperor Charlemagne, and a market.<sup>2</sup> In 1009, however, Christian establishments in Jerusalem were destroyed at the orders of the fanatical Caliph al-Hakim. The monastery known in the crusader period as St Mary of the Latins was founded some years after this. In the eleventh century great numbers of Christian pilgrims were arriving in Jerusalem and many, because of their sufferings on the journey and the demands of the Muslim authorities for payment of tolls on entry to the city, were sick and impoverished. And there was now no hospice in Jerusalem where they might seek help and shelter. Because of this problem merchants from Amalfi, enjoying the favour of Caliph al-Mustansir billah ben-Daher (1036-1094) and allowed to trade throughout his lands, requested a site to build an oratory and a hospice to receive Latin pilgrims. The Caliph granted them the area south of the Holy Sepulchre, where they built a monastery dedicated to the Virgin and a hospice. The abbey was served by Benedictine monks brought from Italy for the purpose.<sup>3</sup> A tradition of the monastery of the Holy Trinity at La Cava near Amalfi claims that they came from there.<sup>4</sup> The accounts of

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2. Itinera Hierosolymitana, p.314; Vincent and Abel, Jérusalem nouvelle, pp.953-60.

3. 'De prima institutione Hospitaliorum', p.401; William of San Stefano, pp.423-24.

4. F. Meunier, 'L'Ordre bénédictin à Jérusalem. Ste-Marie la Latine à l'époque des croisades', Revue illustrée de la Terre Sainte, viii (1891), p.70.

the foundation are not contemporary. But Archbishop John of Amalfi in 1080 related that on his visit to Jerusalem he had seen two monastic hospices built by his fellow Amalfitans and Pope Paschal II's bull of protection for St Mary's in June 1112 stated that the abbey had formerly been a hospice for Latins, Italians and Lombards, maintained by their offerings, and was known as Latina for this reason.<sup>5</sup> We can, then, date the foundation to the years between 1036 and 1080. It is possible, however, that St Mary's was actually a restoration of one of the older Latin houses. There exists a charter of Marquess Hugh of Tuscany, dated 993, which recorded a gift to the Holy Sepulchre and St Mary of the Latins, through an Abbot Guerin and his cousin Gilbert, of properties in the counties of Orvieto, Sovana and Aquapendente, the revenues of which were to be used to maintain the monks and pilgrims to Jerusalem. This charter, found in the church of St Victor of Marseilles and first published in 1724, was re-edited and analysed by P. Riant. He declined to give an opinion on its authenticity, although he considered it suspect from certain external features. But he added that it survived only as a copy, probably made towards the end of the eleventh century, and the copyist might well have been responsible for its doubtful features.<sup>6</sup> But if the charter reproduced a genuine document, a church of St Mary of the Latins must still have been in

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5. 'Vetus Chronicon Amalphitanum', p.198; 'Papsturkunden aus Unteritalien', no.1.

6. 'La donation de Hugues, Marquis de Toscane, au Saint-Sépulchre et les établissements latins de Jérusalem au Xe siècle', ed. P. Riant, Mémoires de l'Institut national de France. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, xxxi, 2, (1884), pp.159-62, 171-72.

existence in the tenth century. The other beneficiary of Hugh's gift was the Holy Sepulchre, served in 993 by Greek clergy, though at this date the Churches of Constantinople and Rome were still in communion. As the early charters of the Order of St John show, gifts made jointly to the Holy Sepulchre and another house were not uncommon.<sup>7</sup> Later charters of the Holy Sepulchre, however, contain no positive reference to properties which might correspond to those mentioned in Marquess Hugh's gift and possessions in central Italy were not individually confirmed. Not until 1263, when it was said that the abbey dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre at Aquapendente was subject to the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, was any property in this area named and the abbey at Aquapendente had only recently adopted the Augustinian Rule, in imitation of the mother-house, which would suggest that it had not been long in its possession.<sup>8</sup> It was certainly not among Marquess Hugh's gifts, although Riant has suggested that it might have come into the Holy Sepulchre's possession because of these earlier endowments in the area, part of which would have become the abbey's property when Christian establishments in Jerusalem were destroyed in 1009. In the twelfth century, he added, it appeared as a proprietary church of the papacy, although it was served by canons from the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.<sup>9</sup> But it seems that the connection between Marquess Hugh's gift in 993 is not with the Holy Sepulchre but with St Mary of the Latins.

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7. *Cart. gén.*, nos. 3,6,26.

8. Urban IV, no.251.

9. 'La donation de Hugues', pp.173-74, 185.

Riant had no opportunity of seeing the archives of St Philip at Agira, among which were three relevant documents. In 1173 Pope Alexander III confirmed the abbey of the Holy Sepulchre at Aquapendente as the property of St Mary of the Latins and in 1197 Pope Celestine III singled out the church for special mention in a bull of protection. When in the following month the Emperor Henry VI referred to it again, he said that it had been given to the abbey by his ancestor Marquess Hugh and confirmed by the Emperor Henry III, his wife Agnes and son Henry.<sup>10</sup> Marquess Hugh died in 1001 and it is just possible that the abbey, whose foundation is usually attributed to the eleventh century, before 1025,<sup>11</sup> was in existence by then and was added to his previous gifts. It should be said that the belief that Hugh gave the abbey at Aquapendente to St Mary of the Latins does not mean that if the 993 charter influenced the statements of Popes Alexander and Celestine and the Emperor Henry VI it was necessarily genuine, for the copy we now possess was available in the twelfth century. But the fact remains that Hugh of Tuscany was believed to have given the abbey to St Mary of the Latins and that it had been inherited by the eleventh century house of that name. Henry VI, moreover, knew of another charter issued by Henry III and therefore before 1056 when that Emperor died. If this last charter, of which no copy survives, was genuine, we may fix the foundation, or restoration, of St Mary of the Latins by the Amalfitans within even narrower limits, between 1036 and 1056.

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10. 'Papsturkunden aus Unteritalien', nos. 2,4,10.

11. L.H. Cottineau, Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés, 1, cols.15-16.

The original charter of the Marquess Hugh was presumably presented to Henry III at that time and the title of the Amalfitan house to the property of the older St Mary's recognised. When the gift was confirmed in 1197 by the Emperor, Henry III's charter may alone have been available for inspection.

According to one account of the foundation, the eleventh century St Mary of the Latins had no resources other than what was necessary to function. The Amalfitan merchants made themselves responsible each year for collecting money which the abbot used for the maintenance of the monks and nuns, giving what remained to the other hospice.<sup>12.</sup> But at some point before or after the capture of Jerusalem by the crusaders, the three houses became independent of one another. St Mary of the Latins received its first papal privilege in 1112 and the Hospital of St John was separate by 1113 when the pope recognised it as an independent religious order.<sup>13.</sup> St Mary Magdalene was certainly under the rule of an abbess in 1099 and there is no evidence to suggest that it was still in any way dependent on St Mary of the Latins.

## 2. St Mary Magdalene.

The convent of St. Mary Magdalene was founded because the monks of St Mary of the Latins, fearing a scandal, refused to accommodate women pilgrims also. The Amalfitan merchants therefore built another

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12. 'De prima institutione Hospitalicorum', p.402.

13. 'Papsturkunden aus Unteritalien', no.1; Riley-Smith, Knights of St John, pp.38-39.

house next door for this purpose which, as we have seen, was administered for some time jointly with the first abbey and the hospital dedicated to St John. At the time of the First Crusade the convent was ruled by Abbess Agnes, from Rome.<sup>14.</sup> It seems that later in the twelfth century the abbey was greatly enlarged and ornamented. It was probably for this reason that its name changed. Hitherto it had been known both as St Mary Magdalene and St Mary Minor, or Parva, but from about the middle of the century it seems to have been called St Mary Major.<sup>15.</sup>

### 3. The Holy Sepulchre.

The church of the Holy Sepulchre, first built by the Emperor Constantine, suffered first at the hands of the Persians in 614 and again in 1009 at the orders of Caliph al-Hakim. In 1034 an earthquake completed its destruction. It was rebuilt in 1048 with subsidies from the Byzantine emperor. The Franks in 1099 considered the building unsafe and in strengthening and enlarging it, brought the shrines of Calvary and the Sepulchre under the same roof. The work was not in fact completed until 1149 and in this year, on the anniversary of the capture of Jerusalem, the church of the Holy Sepulchre was dedicated.<sup>16.</sup>

In 1099 the capture of the Holy Sepulchre was accomplished amidst

14. William of Tyre, p.826.

15. Vincent and Abel, Jérusalem nouvelle, pp.947, 962.

16. William of Tyre, pp.20,314,325; De Vogüé, Les églises de la Terre Sainte, pp.216-18; T.S.R. Boase, Castles and Churches of the Crusading Kingdom, pp.2-6.

great emotion. The Greek patriarch had died in Cyprus and the clergy who had been serving at the church were superseded by Latin secular canons, who became the new Latin patriarch's chapter.<sup>17</sup> The archdeacon and chancellor of the Holy Sepulchre at this time was Arnulf who, until his removal by Daimbert, had been the first patriarch. After the death of Patriarch Gibelin in April 1112, Arnulf again became patriarch. Within two years he had compelled the canons to adopt the Augustinian Rule. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the institution of regular cathedral chapters became popular and in fact Patriarch Gibelin had already urged his canons to follow the communal life, citing the custom of the cathedrals of Lyons and Rheims. On his deathbed he besought the king's approval for his efforts. Arnulf completed the task in 1114, removing the canons who refused to live as regulars, and granted rents and property from the possessions of the church of Jerusalem for the support of the chapter. A few years later, however, there was a minor rebellion among the canons when the cantor and succentor refused to live in the chapter and were not conscientiously performing their duties in the choir. In 1121 Pope Calixtus II censured them and declared that if the patriarch could not induce them to return to the communal life and their proper duties, their prebends should lapse and the other canons should take over their tasks in the

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17. Fulcher of Chartres, p.308; Bartolf of Nangis, p.516. According to Albert of Aix (p.490) there were twenty Latin canons who were to maintain themselves from the offerings of the church. William of Tyre, however, (p.376) said that Duke Godfrey assigned prebends to them, fixed portions of the church's revenues, as was the custom in European churches and gave them dwellings in the vicinity of the church.

choir. The following year the pope confirmed the regular order in the chapter and the arrangements made for the canons' maintenance.<sup>18.</sup>

4. The Temple of Our Lord.

The church called the Temple of Our Lord by the Franks is today the Dome of the Rock. From this spot Muhammad is said to have ascended on his night's journey to heaven and for Muslims it was the holiest place in Jerusalem, which pilgrims continued to visit during the years of Frankish rule. Over the holy Rock was an octagonal mosque raised by Caliph 'Abd al-Malik between 688 and 691. It was surmounted by a dome and covered inside and outside with marble and mosaics.<sup>19.</sup> Under Muslim rule the Rock itself remained uncovered, but about fifteen years after the Franks captured Jerusalem the canons of the new church raised marble slabs over it, with an altar and a choir for divine services.<sup>20.</sup>

During the assault on Jerusalem in 1099 the Temple fell to Tancred, who proceeded to loot the mosque of its treasure. Already mistrusted

18. Cart. St-Sép., nos.14,25,37,42.

19. De Vogüé, Les églises de la Terre Sainte, pp.278-79; G. Le Strange, 'Notices of the Dome of the Rock and of the Church of the Sepulchre by Arab Historians prior to the First Crusade', Quart. State., (1887), pp.92-93; Palestine under the Moslems, pp.114-20.

20. Fulcher of Chartres, pp.289-90; William of Tyre, pp.326-27. According to Ibn at Athir (pp.705-6) this was done to protect the Rock from mutilation by pilgrims. The desecration of the Rock and its defilement for the sake of relics was the cause of great indignation among the Muslims who recaptured Jerusalem in 1187.

because of an incident at the occupation of Bethlehem, when his banner was raised above the church of the Nativity,<sup>21</sup> Tancred was accused of sacking a Christian building by Arnulf of Rohes, the new patriarch of Jerusalem, and brought to answer for his actions before the crusading leaders. The matter was eventually resolved by the restoration of the loot, or some of it.<sup>22</sup> But the Temple remained in Tancred's possession and was among the properties forfeited when he assumed the regency of Antioch and returned in 1109 when he was reconciled with Baldwin I.<sup>23</sup> But while Tancred, as prince of Galilee, re-established the churches within that fief, Mount Thabor, Nazareth and Tiberias, he seems to have taken no part in the foundation of a church at the Dome of the Rock. Fulcher of Chartres said that canons were established at the Temple and at the Holy Sepulchre by the body of crusading princes at the same time as they chose Godfrey of Bouillon to rule in Jerusalem. William of Tyre, on the other hand, attributed responsibility to Godfrey himself.<sup>24</sup> Until 1114, as we have seen, the Holy Sepulchre was served by secular canons. It is possible that for some time the Temple of Our Lord was simply a subordinate cell. In 1100 Arnulf, who after his deposition from the patriarchate became archdeacon of Jerusalem, was called praelatus of the Temple and is said to have held

21. See below p. 32.

22. Ralph of Caen, pp. 699-703. See below p. 86.

23. Bartolf of Nangis, pp. 523-24; Albert of Aix, p. 668.

24. Fulcher of Chartres, p. 308; William of Tyre, p. 376.

the place, together with Calvary, as a stipend.<sup>25</sup> The first named prior of the Temple was Achard. He may have been Aicard, dean of the church of Jerusalem and therefore head of the chapter, who in 1107 accompanied Arnulf to Rome and who was still holding that post in 1110.<sup>26</sup> Aicard did not, as might have been expected, become prior when the Holy Sepulchre was regularised; this post was occupied by Gerard, the former treasurer.<sup>27</sup> He may instead have been installed as prior of the Temple of Our Lord. Prior Achard appeared in June 1112, the earliest reference to the existence of a priory at the Temple.<sup>28</sup> The church may have achieved independent status as a priory of Augustinian canons at the initiative of Patriarch Gibelin (Autumn 1107 - 6th April 1112), who before his death had begun to regularise the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre, but more probably when Arnulf of Rohes succeeded to the patriarchal chair. It should also be noted that King Amalric's confirmation of the Temple's possessions in 1166 did not refer explicitly to any property acquired before Gibelin's patriarchate. Mount Sion, in contrast, had received property from Duke Godfrey.<sup>29</sup> In 1137 the Temple of Our Lord became an abbey and five years later was dedicated by Cardinal-bishop Alberic of Ostia, the papal legate.<sup>30</sup>

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25. Albert of Aix, p.526; William of Tyre, p.411.

26. William of Tyre, pp.472-74.

27. See below p.161.

28. Cart. gen., no.28. See also below p.161.

29. 'Un diplôme du Temple'; 'Chartes du Mont Sion', p.40.

30. The date of its elevation to an abbey is shown by the transition from priors to abbots. See below p.<sup>240</sup>; William of Tyre, pp.687-88; 'Poème sur le templum domini', pp.563-64.

5. Mount Sion.

Tradition held that the first Christian church in Jerusalem was Mount Sion, 'the primitive and mother church'. It existed as early as 333 when it was called the house of Caiaphas, but it had many other associations with Christ and the early Church. It was believed to be the house of St Mark, where the Last Supper took place; at Mount Sion Christ appeared to his disciples after his resurrection and the Apostles assembled there at Pentecost when the Holy Spirit descended upon them; the Virgin Mary died there and St Stephen, the first Christian martyr, was stoned to death. From a very early date also religious communities of men and women settled on Mount Sion.<sup>31.</sup>

Like other churches outside the walls of Jerusalem, Mount Sion was in ruins in 1099, but canons were installed there by Duke Godfrey (d. July 1100).<sup>32.</sup> Shortly afterwards Patriarch Daimbert sought shelter there during his quarrel with Baldwin I, the Duke's successor.<sup>33.</sup> A prior, Arnold, was mentioned in June 1112. Between 1161 and 6th. April 1166 Mount Sion was raised to the status of an abbey.<sup>34.</sup>

6. St Mary of the Valley of Josaphat.

The tradition that the Virgin Mary had been buried in the Valley of

31. Appendix to Antoninus Martyr, (PPTS ii,) pp.42-44; Itinera Hierosolymitana, pp.52, 103-4.

32. Bartolf of Nangis, p.511; Saewulf, p.43; 'Chartes du Mont Sion', pp.39-40.

33. Fulcher of Chartres, pp.368-69.

34. Cart. gen., no.26. See the list of priors and abbots below p.243.

Josaphat, outside the eastern walls of Jerusalem, and bodily assumed into heaven gained strength after the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Between 453 and 458 Patriarch Juvenal of Jerusalem used subsidies from the emperor at Constantinople to raise a church over her tomb, though this building was apparently destroyed by the Persians two centuries later and rebuilt.<sup>35</sup> By 1099 the place was again in ruins and its restoration had still not been achieved by the time of Abbot Daniel of Kiev's visit in 1106-1107.<sup>36</sup> In 1112, however, the patriarch announced that he had granted tithes to assist the monks with rebuilding their church.<sup>37</sup> Conventual buildings were raised west of the church and the place was protected from Muslim attack by high walls, bulwarks and towers.<sup>38</sup> The new Latin community was formed of Benedictine monks who had accompanied the Crusade and were, at their own request, given the church by Duke Godfrey of Bouillon, together with generous endowments. The first abbot, Baldwin, who had formerly been abbot of Dol, and the Duke's compatriot, was soon to become archbishop of Caesarea.<sup>39</sup>

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35. Vincent and Abel, Jérusalem nouvelle, pp.808-10.

36. Bartolf of Nangis, pp.511-12. Itinéraires russes, p.23. The charter of Abbot Hugh of Josaphat dated 1106 (Amico, Reg. fol. no.166), which declared that the work of reconstruction had begun, is a forgery. See White, Latin Monasticism, p.209.

37. Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.1.

38. John of Würzburg, pp.31-53; Theoderich, pp.37-38; C.N. Johns, 'The Abbey of St Mary in the Valley of Jehosaphat', Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, viii (1938), pp.123,133.

39. William of Tyre, pp.376-77, 423. See also below p.161.

7. Mount Thabor.

From a very early date three churches stood on Mount Thabor, the site of the Transfiguration, and in 553 the Council of Constantinople had established the seat of a bishop there.<sup>40.</sup> The church of the Holy Saviour was refounded as a Latin abbey by Tancred in 1101 and richly endowed. The charter recording the restoration of the house's lands on both sides of the Lake of Tiberias has in fact survived.<sup>41.</sup> In 1113 the abbey was sacked by the Muslims and the monks were killed.<sup>42.</sup> A new community was established which seems to have become Cluniac on its own initiative. Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny from 1122 to 1156, said that his abbey had received a monk of Mount Thabor, travelling in Europe as a pilgrim. The monks of Cluny had known little about that abbey and the visitor described it to them, announcing at the same time that it had recently adopted the Cluniac Rule. It has been suggested that because Mount Thabor was specifically named among the Holy Places visited by Abbot Pons of Cluny after his resignation in 1122, that links between the two abbeys may have existed earlier.<sup>43.</sup> But it may even have been his visit which influenced Mount Thabor's decision to become Cluniac. Abbot Peter professed to be delighted,

40. B. d'Alsace, Le mont Thabor. Notices historiques et descriptives, pp.58-62.

41. William of Tyre, p.384; 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no.1.

42. Albert of Aix, p.694; Anselm of Gembloux, p.376; B. d'Alsace, Le mont Thabor, pp.88-89.

43. The Letters of Peter the Venerable, ed. G. Constable i, no.80, ii, p.291. The bearer of Abbot Peter's letter was Drogo, cantor of Nevers, but the date of his visit to the East has not been established (ii, pp.23-24). See Orderic Vitalis, 'Ecclesiasticae Historiae', iv, p.424.

but whether he went on to regularise Mount Thabor's entry to the Cluniac community is not known. The arrangements may have remained unofficial, for when the revival of the abbey of Palmaria by Cluniacs was discussed, between 1170 and 1180, Cluny held that it did not yet possess a house in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Since the prior of its house at Crépy had recently visited the East, its information was presumably up-to-date.<sup>44</sup>

### 8. The Mount of Olives.

The first of the two main churches on the Mount of Olives, the Eleona, was raised by the Empress Helena on her visit to the Holy Land. But before 378 another church had been built at the highest point of the mountain to commemorate the Ascension. In 614 it was destroyed by the Persians and afterwards rebuilt as a rotunda, which, because it was from this spot that Christ was said to have ascended to heaven, had no roof. But like the other churches outside the city walls, the church of the Ascension was partly in ruins at the time of the First Crusade: Saewulf in 1102-1103 and Abbot Daniel in 1106-1107 saw a rotunda and enceinte. It was rebuilt by the Franks in octagonal form with the conventual buildings to the south.<sup>45</sup> There is no record of the installation of the Augustinian canons at the Mount of Olives, although Ekkehard of Aura claimed to have been told of the failure of the holy

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44. Recueil des Chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny, ed. A. Bernard and A. Bruel, no.4237.

45. Eusebius, p.11; Saewulf, p.43; Itinéraires russes, pp.24-25; Vincent and Abel, Jérusalem nouvelle, pp.360-73, 381-82, 396-98, 400-1, 403; C. Schick, 'The Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives', Quart. State., (1896), pp.321-25.

fire in 1101 by a priest called Hermann, who was then a canon at the church.<sup>46.</sup> And, as with the Temple of Our Lord and Mount Sion, there was no reference to a prior there before 1112.<sup>47.</sup> The Mount of Olives was the last of the chief Holy Places to achieve the rank of an abbey, some time after 1169.<sup>48.</sup>

#### 9. Nazareth.

The church of the Annunciation, built at the orders of the Empress Helena in the fourth century, was restored with Latin clergy by Tancred, the prince of Galilee, and richly endowed.<sup>49.</sup> Saewulf in 1102-1103 described it as a monastery and the papal constitutions for Nazareth reveal that the house of regular canons subsequently became the cathedral chapter. There was a bishop of Nazareth by 1106-1107.<sup>50.</sup> The work of enlarging the church continued through the twelfth century, mainly during the rule of Archbishop Lethard (after 1154?)<sup>51.</sup> The original metropolis of Galilee, one of the three civil divisions of Palestine, had been Scythopolis (Bethsan), but the archbishopric was

46. Ekkehard of Aura, 'Hierosolymita', p.36.

47. Cart. gen., no.25.

48. See list of priors and abbots below p.254.

49. Enlart, Monuments des croisés, ii, pp.293-94; William of Tyre, p.384.

50. Saewulf, p.48; Clement IV, no.511; Itinéraires russes, p.71.

51. R.P. Viaud, 'Nazareth et ses deux églises de l'Annunciation et l'Atelier de Joseph', Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, (1909), pp.791-93; Boase, Castles and Churches of the Crusading Kingdom, p.89. See also an examination of the dates of Lethard's rule below p.191.

transferred to Nazareth at an unspecified date between 20th. October 1125, when the see was still occupied by a bishop, and March 1128, when Archbishop William appeared, and actually during his rule.<sup>52.</sup>

10. Sebastea.

Tradition located the prison where John the Baptist was kept until his death at Sebastea, the ancient Samaria, though Josephus held that it was actually at the fortress of Macheronta. The saint's head and body were buried separately at Sebastea. It has been claimed that by the sixth century a basilica had been built over his tomb and that it was visited by Antoninus Martyr, but Antoninus' itinerary did not in fact mention a church. Rather, it must have been built after the years 723-726, when St. Willibald's itinerary was written, and before the early ninth century, from whence came the first reference to a church. But by this time it was already partly in ruins, although still served by a bishop and a community of priests and monks.<sup>53.</sup> The Franks in the twelfth century installed a Latin bishop and between 1150 and 1180 raised a new and ornate cathedral church dedicated to St John the Baptist.<sup>54.</sup>

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52. William of Tyre, p.558; Itinéraires à Jérusalem, p.12; Cart.gén., no.71; Cart. St-Sép., no.44; Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.24.

53. V. Guérin, Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine. Samarie v, p.192; Enlart, Monuments des croisés, ii, p.340; The church of St John to which Antoninus refers (Itinera Hierosolymitana, pp.94-95, 269, 304) was actually at Nablus.

On the subject of Sebastea's relics, see also Le Roux de Loucy and A. Bruel, 'Notice historique et critique sur Dom. Jacques du Breul, Prieur de Saint-Germain-des-Près', Appendices, BEC, xxix (1868), pp.492-93, no.1; James of Varasse, pp.229-35; Nicolas de Porta, pp.236-37; U. Berlioz, 'Une lettre de Frédéric de la Roche, évêque de S. Jean d'Acre et archevêque de Tyr. Envoi de reliques à l'abbaye de Florennes (1153-1164)', Revue bénédictine, xxiv (1907) pp.123-25.

54. Boase, Castles and Churches of the Crusading Kingdom, pp.88-89.

There was a Greek monastery on a hill in the upper part of the city, the traditional site of Herod's palace, but Abbot Daniel in 1106-1107 also saw a rich Latin monastery which no doubt became the home of the bishop's chapter.<sup>55</sup> Priors of Sebastea appeared on several occasions in the company of the bishop. The canons were seen by Usamah on his visit to Sebastea in the years 1140-1143 and admired for their extreme piety, for which he sadly found no match in the Muslim world.<sup>56</sup>

#### 11. St Anne.

Archaeological investigations have shown that the original basilica of St Anne in Jerusalem was built in the fifth century and achieved its final state at the hands of a French master mason in the first half of the twelfth century. The conventual buildings of the Latin abbey lay on the southern side of the church. Until the destruction of Christian establishments in 1009 there had been religious communities at the church, but afterwards it was used as a Muslim college.<sup>57</sup> By 1104 the Franks had installed a very small community of nuns at St Anne's and it was into this house that King Baldwin I put his repudiated Armenian wife, the daughter of Prince Taphnus, whom he had married when he was count of Edessa. Her entry into the convent was accompanied by endowments from

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55. Itinéraires russes, p.58; Peregrinatores medii aevi quattuor, p.53.

56. Ousama ibn Mounkidh, un émir Syrien au premier siècle des croisades, ed. H. Derenbourg, vol.1 Vie d'Ousama, p.189.

57. De Vogüé, Les églises de la Terre Sainte, pp.233-43; Vincent and Abel, Jérusalem nouvelle, pp.733,738.

the king. The former queen succeeded in convincing her husband that even while she had accepted the religious life under duress, she was willing to remain and persuaded him to let her visit her relatives in Constantinople to seek endowments. But once she had escaped, she promptly abjured her nun's habit and behaved in a way that lent considerable colour to rumours that Baldwin had repudiated her for incorrigible adultery.<sup>58.</sup> The endowments from Constantinople presumably never materialised. But the convent cannot have remained poor, for it was also here that Baldwin II's daughter Yvette took the veil. When a child she had been given to the Muslims as a hostage for her father's ransom. It was said that during this time she had been ravished and on her release in 1125 had chosen the religious life rather than marry. According to one chronicle the king founded St Lazarus of Bethany for her, but the author has clearly telescoped her entry into St Anne's and subsequent removal to St Lazarus into one anecdote.<sup>59.</sup>

## 12. Bethlehem.

The original church of the Nativity at Bethlehem was built in the fourth century at the orders of the Emperor Constantine, though the present building is the work of Justinian.<sup>60.</sup> It was a major goal of pilgrims and venerated almost as much as the Holy Sepulchre. Bethlehem

58. William of Tyre, pp.451-52.

59. Fulcher of Chartres, pp.769-71; Ernoul, pp.5-6; Matthew of Edessa, p.139; Kasal ad-Din, pp.643-44; William of Tyre, p.699.

60. Vincent and Abel, Bethléem, pp.107-9, 118-20; Boase, Castles and Kingdoms of the Crusading Kingdom, pp.85-86.

also attracted religious communities; Antoninus Martyr in about 570 saw many clerics and a monastery nearby and in about 808 there were reported to be priests, clerics, monks and Stylites living there.<sup>61</sup> The town had a large Christian population whose payments to the authorities during the years of Muslim occupation had ensured that the church remained unharmed. But the local Christians were afraid that the arrival of the Franks would lead the Muslims to destroy their church and they sent an appeal for protection to the leaders of the Crusade. Tancred and Baldwin of Le Bourg took a force of knights to Bethlehem, where they were welcomed by the citizens and escorted in ceremony to the church, over which Tancred's banner was raised. The incident aroused anxiety among the other crusaders. Raymond of Aguilers, who was hostile to the Norman-Sicilian contingents, reported that this was one of the chief matters discussed at a meeting of leaders before the attack on Jerusalem. Tancred was alleged to have seized Bethlehem and flown his banner over the church, 'et super ecclesiam Dominicæ Nativitatis, quasi super communem domum, vexillum suum, posuisset', although the evidence for Tancred's occupation of Bethlehem indicates rather that it was the citizens who were responsible for raising the banner.<sup>62</sup> The crusaders' concern reappeared later when Tancred looted the Temple of Our Lord.<sup>63</sup> But Tancred's reasoning seems to have been

61. Itinera Hierosolymitana, pp.107, 303.

62. Bartolf of Hengis, p.509; Fulcher of Chartres, pp.278-80; Ralph of Caen, p.683; 'Tudebodus imitatus', p.217; Albert of Aix, pp.461-62; Raymond of Aguilers, p.121.

63. See above p.22. A similar incident (William of Tyre, p.141) had occurred previously at the siege of Tarsus, when Tancred had raised his banner over the captured city.

quite consistent. He did not, in spite of his fellows' apprehension, consider Bethlehem legitimate spoil, since it was a Christian church. The Temple, on the other hand, was Muslim property which he might justly seize as his own and loot. It is, however, possible that Tancred's involvement in the occupation of Bethlehem did have the effect of helping Bishop Arnulf of Marturano, believed to have been his chaplain, to acquire the church of Bethlehem. He is said to have promised support for Arnulf of Rohes' wish to become patriarch of Jerusalem in return for a bishopric at Bethlehem. But his death or capture at the time of the battle of Ascalon put an end to his own ambitions.<sup>64</sup> Instead, a priory of canons was set up at the church of the Nativity, apparently subject to the Holy Sepulchre. In 1110 the house was raised to the rank of a cathedral church, at the initiative of King Baldwin I who had been crowned at Bethlehem. At the time he put the idea to the church of Jerusalem, Patriarch Daimbert was contesting the patriarchal chair with Evremar and when in 1107, two years after Daimbert's death (June 1105), Archdeacon Arnulf and Dean Aicard went to the Holy See to persuade the pope that Evremar's subsequent election as patriarch was irregular, they also sought permission for the creation of the new diocese. The scheme received approval and the envoys returned to Syria. They were followed in Autumn 1107 by Archbishop Gibelin of Arles, who proceeded to confirm the choice of Ascetin, cantor of the Holy Sepulchre, as the new bishop and to reduce the former see of Ascalon, at that time still in Muslim hands, to the

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64. Raymond of Aguilers, p.129; William of Tyre, p.365.

status of a parish church, subject to Bethlehem. In 1110 King Baldwin I rehearsed the details of these arrangements when he endowed the new cathedral with lands.<sup>65</sup>

### 13. Hebron.

As the traditional burial place of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and their wives, Hebron was a major religious site long before Christianity was officially recognised by the Byzantine emperor, with a sanctuary built by Herod Agrippa, and even during the time of persecution local Christians had set up an archbishop and priests there. The Christian basilica was destroyed by the Muslims, but the sanctuary remained and became a mosque and a wealthy, efficiently-organised centre of pilgrimage. It was patronised by Muslim dignitaries and especially by the Fatimid caliphs of Egypt and their governors in Syria.<sup>66</sup>

In 1099 the Christian army quickly occupied the land as far as the Jordan and the Dead Sea, including Hebron. Godfrey of Bouillon in 1100 gave the castle to Gerard of Avesnes as a reward for his services, together with a fief of 100 marks.<sup>67</sup> The chroniclers of the First Crusade say nothing about the fate of the mosque, but the author of the account of the discovery of the patriarchs' relics at Hebron reported that Hebron had been despoiled by Peter of Narbonne, the archbishop of

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65. Fulcher of Chartres, pp.384-85; William of Tyre, pp.472-74. For the chronology of this period, see J.G. Rowe, 'Paschal II and the relation between the spiritual and temporal powers in the kingdom of Jerusalem', Speculum,xxii (1957), pp.485-88.

66. 'Tractatus de inventione sanctorum patriarchorum', pp.304-6, 309; Palestine under the Moslems, pp.309-15.

67. Albert of Aix, pp.516, 523-24.

Apamea. By June 1112, the first appearance of Prior Rainer, there was a house of Augustinian canons at Hebron. Rainer is said to have attracted many canons to his church by his great piety.<sup>68.</sup>

The most momentous incident in the history of the church was the discovery in June 1119 of the bones of the patriarchs. The story was written down by an unknown canon at the request of the church and with the assistance of the two chief protagonists, Subprior Odo and an enterprising canon called Arnold. The discovery of the relics caused great excitement among Jews, Christians and Muslims alike and no doubt gave the pilgrim traffic to Hebron a considerable boost.<sup>69.</sup> In 1168 Hebron became the seat of a new bishopric, whose first occupant was Reginald, the nephew of the late Patriarch Fulcher.<sup>70.</sup>

#### 14. St Samuel of Montjoie.

The foundation of St Samuel of Montjoie has been discussed in some detail by H. E. Mayer in his analysis of a charter of 1185 to the house. The hill of an-Nabi Samwil north-west of Jerusalem, traditionally the burial place of the Prophet Samuel, was called Mons Gaudii (Montjoie) by the armies of the First Crusade who saw from it the city of Jerusalem for the first time.<sup>71.</sup> Pre-Crusade sources indicate that there was a

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68. 'Tractatus de inventione sanctorum patriarchorum', pp.309-10. The looting would have been after the capture of Apamea on 14th. September 1106. Cart. gen. nos.25,28. See Enlart, Monuments des croisés,ii, pp.128-33 for a description of the church.

69. 'Tractatus de inventione sanctorum patriarchorum', pp.310-14. See also 'Un nouveau récit de l'invention des patriarches Abraham, Isaac et Jacob', ed. C. Kohler, ROL,iv (1896).

70. William of Tyre, p.944.

71. Mayer, 'Sankt Samuel', pp.36-37.

monastery there from at least the reign of the Emperor Justinian and indeed among the later Latin abbey's possessions was a piece of land held from the time of Muslim rule.<sup>72</sup> Premonstratensian tradition dates the foundation of the Latin house to 1141.<sup>73</sup> But this is disproved by two other sources. Until Mayer edited the 1185 charter, only the version given by St Bernard was known. In a letter written to the abbot of Prémontré, usually dated to 1150, the Abbot of Clairvaux said that the place called St Samuel had been given to the Cistercians by the late King Baldwin, together with 1,000 gold pieces for building purposes. The king in question was almost certainly Baldwin II. But the Cistercians had given both the land and the money to the Premonstratensian Order. In 1185 the eight-year old King Baldwin V, confirming the Premonstratensian abbey's possessions, declared that his great-great grandfather, Baldwin II, had given the mountain and its territory to the Premonstratensian canons of St Samuel. This would have been between the years 1121, when the Order was founded, and 1131, when the king died. As Mayer has pointed out, the two versions are not irreconcilable, for the decision to give St Samuel to the Premonstratensians would have to be approved by the king of Jerusalem. It is perhaps worth mentioning also that the 1185 charter said that Baldwin II's gift to the canons was the hill and its land, which may mean that they were already in possession of the church itself, distinguishing it from other, secular property.<sup>74</sup>

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72. Mayer, 'Sankt Samuel', pp.37, 70; Enlart, Monuments des croisés, ii, p.278.

73. Backmund, Monasticon Premonstratense, i, p.405.

74. Pat. Lat. cclii, col.454; Mayer, 'Sankt Samuel', pp.39, 67-71.

15. SS Joseph and Habakkuk.

John of Ibelin's reference in his 'Livre' to an abbot of St Joseph of Arimathia, or Rantis, and an abbot of St Habakkuk of Canti<sup>75</sup> has misled some historians into thinking that two separate houses existed. Thus J. Prawer and M. Benvenisti showed two churches on their map of crusader Palestine, one, St Habakkuk, a little to the north of Lydda and the other, St Joseph, further north-east.<sup>76</sup> It is clear, however, from twelfth century sources and from the evidence of the Premonstratensian Order that there was only one abbey. The abbot himself in 1160 used both dedications of his church.<sup>77</sup> John of Ibelin is in fact the only authority from the crusader period who distinguished two abbeys, but he was writing in the thirteenth century when the canons do not seem to have been in the Holy Land and may not have been there at all during his lifetime. The error obviously arose because of the double dedication. And difficulties in locating the abbey have subsequently increased the confusion. It lay in the diocese of Lydda. Contemporaries said variously that the ancient and holy chapel of St Habakkuk lay in the plain outside Ramleh, outside Jaffa and by the road to Ramleh and, simply, at Jaffa.<sup>78</sup> Positive identification has so far proved impossible. Authors of modern topographical works have

75. John of Ibelin, 'Livre', p.416.

76. J. Prawer and M. Benvenisti, 'Crusader Palestine'. Sheet 12/IX of the Atlas of Israel.77. William of Tyre, p.803; 'Sigeberti Continuatio Valcellensis', p.460; Cart. St-Sép., no.64; Backmund, Monasticon Premonstratense, 1, p.404.78. Ralph of Coggeshall, p.43; Itinéraires à Jérusalem, pp.192, 229; Ambroise, p.409.

differed in their location of the abbey. The real difficulty arises because of the association with Arimathia, for writers throughout the centuries were bewildered by the number of places in Palestine bearing a similar name, such as Armathem, Sophia, Ramatha, Ramah, Ruma, Arima, Remphis and Ramleh. Increasingly Ramleh, although it actually seems to have been founded by the Muslims, became favoured as the site of Arimathia.<sup>79.</sup> But of the various suggestions that have been offered for SS Joseph and Habakkuk, the place today called El Keniseh is the most likely location. It lay quite close to the road from Jaffa to Lydda and the name actually means 'the church'. There are the remains of a crusader tower there, considered locally to have been a church. This is the site accepted by the Premonstratensian Order.<sup>80.</sup>

The Premonstratensian abbey of SS Joseph and Habakkuk is said to have been founded in 1136 by Abbot Amalric of Floreffe, who had been an ardent preacher of the crusade in France and Flanders. At Pope Innocent II's request he continued his mission in the Holy Land, accompanied by a number of canons, and was asked by the patriarch of Jerusalem to found a house. Amalric himself was the first abbot and the house became a daughter of Floreffe.<sup>81.</sup>

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79. Guérin, Description de la Palestine. Judée i, pp.48-55; Palestine under the Moslems, pp.303-8.
80. C.R. Conder and H.H. Kitchener, Survey of Western Palestine. Memoirs on the Topography, Orography, Hydrography and Archaeology ii, p.263; Guérin, Description de la Palestine. Samarie v, p.392; Backmund, Monasticon Premonstratense, i, p.404.
81. 'Fundatio Monasterii Gratiae Dei', pp.688-89; Backmund, Monasticon Premonstratense, i, p.397; Sacrae antiquitatis monumenta historica, dogmatica, diplomatica, ed. C.L. Hugo, no.84. The foundation may in fact have taken place a few years later than the date attributed to it. A list of the abbots of Floreffe compiled in the late fourteenth century gave Amalric as the second abbot of Floreffe and said that his predecessor died in 1140. But the list was somewhat confused, for Amalric's successor was said to have ruled thirty-six years, which would date his rule 1138-1174. See 'Le "Catalogus Abbatum Floreffiensium" de Pierre de Herenthals', pp.233-35.

16. Palmarea.

In a letter of King Amalric to Pope Alexander III in about 1170, a man named Gormond was called the advocate, patron and founder of the abbey of Palmarea.<sup>82.</sup> He was given no title, but he must have been of mature years in 1138 when the abbot of Palmarea witnessed the transaction by which King Fulk received Bethany from the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>83.</sup> Gormond was still alive when Amalric's letter was written. The only other clues to his identity are that Palmarea lay to the east of Haifa on the river and that the abbey may have been subject to the bishop of Tiberias.<sup>84.</sup> Its founder may have had some connection with the geographical area of the archdiocese of Nazareth and indeed from 1154 to 1171 we find a Gormundus Tiberiadensis in documents concerning Galilee and its lords and increasingly in royal charters. He seems to have been lord of Bethsan from about 1160 and a prominent member of Amalric's court and was almost certainly the founder of Palmarea.<sup>85.</sup>

By about 1170 the abbey had been abandoned for some time. The wording of the documents to be examined concerning the projected establishment of a Cluniac community there makes it clear that there had been only one abbot, presumably Elias, who appeared in 1138, and that because after his death the abbey's possessions had been dissipated and the present abbot had neglected his duties, the place was in a bad

82. Chartes de Cluny, no.4234.

83. Cart. St-Sép., no.33.

84. Map, 'Crusader Palestine'; Chartes de Cluny, no.4237.

85. Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani 1097-1291, comp. R. Röhricht, nos.293., 325, 336, 338, 344, 354, 355, 361a, 366, 368, 400, 412, 413, 416, 447-50, 452, 453; J. La Monte and N. Downs, 'The Lords of Bethsan in the Kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus', Medievalia et Humanistica, vi (1950), pp.61-63.

condition. The two surviving letters which deal with the installation of Cluniacs are not precisely dated, but it seems that Theobald, the prior of the Cluniac house of St Arnulf of Crépy, who visited the Holy Land in 1169, suggested to King Amalric that since Cluny did not yet have a house in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, Palmarea would be a suitable site. Amalric approved of the idea and having consulted Gormond, the founder of Palmarea, asked the pope to send a number of Cluniac monks to revive the abbey. The pope duly ordered local prelates to inspect Palmarea's charters to ascertain whether it was a proprietary church of the Holy See, whereupon they should grant it to Cluny. If it was found to be subject to the church of Tiberias, they were to make sure that the bishop's rights were not damaged.<sup>86.</sup> The outcome of these negotiations is not known, though the letters concerning the project were evidently forwarded to Cluny; the arrival of Cluniacs to colonise Palmarea is not recorded. But J. Prawer, in his article on the colonising activities of the Franks, has drawn attention to the connection between the abbey of Mount Thabor, which had once claimed to have adopted Cluniac customs, and Palmarea. In 1180 it was said that the present abbot of Mount Thabor, John, had formerly been prior at Palmarea. It is clear, moreover, that Mount Thabor had established a Latin settlement at the town.<sup>87.</sup> Prawer has suggested that the land used for the settlement, originally given to the Holy Sepulchre, eventually came into the possession of Palmarea and passed to the Cluniacs

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86. Chartes de Cluny, nos.4234, 4237 and p.590.

87. 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no.19.

of Mount Tabor because the revival of that monastery was undertaken by them.<sup>88</sup> But these suggestions are not confirmed by any positive evidence. The installation of local Cluniacs at Palmarea would have been the obvious and most convenient course, but at the time Cluny itself does not seem to have acknowledged Mount Tabor as a member of its community. It may be that when the delegated agents came to carry out the pope's instructions, they discovered Mount Tabor to be Cluniac and assigned the revival to the monks. But it is also possible that Mount Tabor's incorporation of the smaller house as a priory and the appointment of one of its monks to rule there was not the consequence of these negotiations, but an independent decision, because of Palmarea's complete decay or because the original project failed.

17. St Lazarus of Bethany.

The church over the tomb of St Lazarus at Bethany, an important pilgrim shrine from the earliest days of Christianity, was given to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre by Patriarch Arnulf when he confirmed the regularisation of the chapter in 1114.<sup>89</sup> In February 1138 the canons granted it to King Fulk and Queen Melisende in return for the casal of Theca. The Queen had been seeking a suitable site for a new royal foundation for some time, with the intention of installing her younger sister Yvette as its abbess. Yvette was at the time eighteen years old

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88. J. Prawer, 'Colonisation activities in the Kingdom of Jerusalem', Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire, xxix (1951), pp.1108-11.

89. Cart. St-Sép., no.25.

and a nun at St Anne's in Jerusalem and the Queen did not think it fitting that a princess should obey a lower-born woman. To assist the new community the Holy Sepulchre also granted property, casalia, peasants and Bedouins and freed the house from the payment of all tithes. On 10th. February 1143 the exchange and the foundation were approved by Pope Celestine II and in 1144 King Baldwin III confirmed that the pope had raised the house to an abbey.

It would appear that nuns were brought from St Anne's to serve in the new convent, since Yvette was among them. She remained as an ordinary nun under the rule of the first abbess, Matilda, an elderly woman who died a short time afterwards. Queen Melisende then carried out her original intention and with the consent of the patriarch of Jerusalem and the convent, had Yvette appointed as abbess. The Queen was particularly generous to her foundation, giving it ornaments, books and rich materials for the church and clothing for the nuns. She had the whole monastery fortified against Muslim attacks.<sup>90.</sup>

#### 18. St Katherine of Montgisard.

The place called Montgisard by the Franks was the ancient Gezer, Tell el-Djezer, south-east of Ramleh. It has been suggested that the priory there, dedicated to St Katherine, was founded to commemorate the battle between the Franks and Saladin on 25th. November 1177,

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90. William of Tyre, pp.699-700; Cart. St-Sép., nos.19,33,34.

St Katherine's Day.<sup>91</sup> The prioress was subject to the bishop of Lydda.<sup>92</sup> But the history of this house and its fate after 1187 are unknown.

19. St Paul.

According to an itinerary written in about 1187 there was a house of white monks, which may mean Augustinian canons rather than Cistercians, dedicated to St Paul, as one left Jerusalem by the 'Gate of Tiberias'.<sup>93</sup> But this is the only reference to this church.

20. St Mary Magdalene in Acre.

The Cistercian convent of St Mary Magdalene in Acre was mentioned for the first time in 1222. According to the Genealogy of Friburg, it was the daughter of the monastery of Laurum in Greece, in the diocese of Constantinople. But there is no other evidence for this and it has recently been shown that Laurum was probably the abbey of Daphne, founded in 1211.<sup>94</sup> If, then, St Mary Magdalene was Daphne's daughter-house, it must have been founded between this date and 1222.<sup>95</sup> The abbey in

91. William of Tyre, p.1044; C. Clermont-Ganneau, 'Mont Gisart et Tell el-Djezer', Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale, i, pp.352-59, 365.

92. John of Ibelin, 'Livre', p.416.

93. Itinéraires à Jérusalem, p.27.

94. Orig. Cist. Tomus, pp.219-20; J. Richard, '"Laurum": Une abbaye cistercienne fantôme', BEC, cxxix (1971), pp.409-10.

95. Documents nouveaux servant de preuves à l'histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan, ed. L. De Mas Latrie, no.1.

Acre itself had two daughter-houses, one in Tripoli and another in Nicosia in Cyprus.<sup>96.</sup>

21. St George of Lebaene.

The casal of St George of Lebaene lay between Acre and the town of Saphet and gave its name to the fief of St George. By 1231 there was an abbey of Benedictine monks there.<sup>97.</sup> The ruins of this house, a church, cloisters and a tower, still exist.<sup>98.</sup> But nothing more is known of the abbey and it is now clear that the various clerics previously thought to belong to St George of Lebaene were in fact canons of the church of St George in Antioch.<sup>99.</sup>

22. Trois Ombres.

The Augustinian abbey of St Mary Trois Ombres lay near Ramleh and was subject to the bishop of Lydda.<sup>100.</sup> Its history in the twelfth century is completely obscure, but it would appear that the Muslim invasion of 1187 drove the nuns from their house to the city of Acre. The abbey and all its possessions reappear in 1237 as the property of the priory of St Mary and All Saints in Acre, evidently its successor.

96. Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis, ed. J.M. Canives ii, p.214-57 (1239).

97. Itinéraires à Jérusalem, p.102; E.Rey, Les Colonies franques de Syrie au XIIe et XIIIe siècles, pp.494-95.

98. Benvenisti, The Crusaders in the Holy Land, p.353.

99. See the lists of monastic personnel below p.267.

100. John of Ibelin, 'Livre', p.416.

By 1231 this priory was suffering extreme poverty, which it hoped to relieve by securing the gift of a church in the archdiocese of Acerenza in Italy.<sup>101</sup> In 1237 the pope confirmed all its rights and possessions, listing properties and revenues in Syria, Cyprus and Italy.<sup>102</sup>

### 23. St John the Evangelist.

The priory of St John the Evangelist was built by the Franks on the site of a Byzantine church in the town of Ramleh. When the Muslims finally recaptured Ramleh the church became the chief mosque and for a long time Christians were forbidden access to it.<sup>103</sup> Nothing is known of the Latin convent there in the crusader period, except that its prior was subject to the bishop of Lydda.<sup>104</sup>

### 24. Repentires.

The nuns called the Repentires by John of Ibelin were subject to the bishop of Acre.<sup>105</sup> As their seal bore the inscription S. MULIER (UM) PENTENTIU (M) ACCON (MNSIUM) and the image of St Mary Magdalene,<sup>106</sup> the

101. Gregory IX nos.4007,4008.

102. Gregory IX, no.4013.

103. Guérin, Description de la Palestine. Judée i, pp.37-39; Enlart, Monuments des croisés, ii, pp.330-31.

104. John of Ibelin, 'Livre', p.416.

105. John of Ibelin, 'Livre', p.416.

106. G. Schlumberger, Sigillographie de l'Orient latin, p.125.

community must be distinguished from the Cistercian convent of St Magdalene in Acre and apparently also from another house associated with this saint. A document of 1225 whereby the Cistercian abess rented a house in Montausard from the Hospitallers referred to the Magdalene, which although it was in the vicinity of her convent was evidently not the same place. And an itinerary of about 1280 listed both the Repentires and the Magdaleyne, which was probably this same third house.<sup>107</sup> Little is known of the Repentires. In 1261 John de Amudeo, executor of the will of a certain William de Porta, sought the consent of the Franciscans, the Carmelites, the lepers of St Lazarus and the sororum repentitum for the sale of a house originally bequeathed to them all and in 1264 the will of Saliba, a citizen of Acre, left money both to B. Marie Magdalene and to the sororibus Repentitarum.<sup>108</sup>

## II. The County of Tripoli.

### 1. Belmont.

The Cistercian abbey of Belmont lay south-east of Tripoli on a mountain ridge, commanding a view of the sea and surrounding country. Archaeological evidence suggests that it was built in the twelfth century on the site of an older Greek church. And when, after the fall of the crusader states to the Mamluks, Greek monks demanded that the abbey should be returned to them, their request was granted.<sup>109</sup>

Belmont was the first Cistercian foundation in the Holy Land, a daughter

107. Cart. gén., no.1828; Itinéraires à Jérusalem, pp.235-36.

108. Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.53; Cart. gén., no.3105.

109. Enlart, 'L'abbaye de Belmont', pp.2,4.

of the abbey of Morimond. Its foundation charter is said to have been dated 30th. May 1157. Belmont itself had two daughter-houses in the diocese of Tripoli, Salvatio, founded in 1161, and St John in Nemore, founded in 1169, although nothing more is known about them, and another in Cyprus, the abbey of Beaulieu.<sup>110.</sup> In 1187 the Holy Trinity of Refech in Sicily was also affiliated.<sup>111.</sup>

## 2. St Michael in Tripoli.

The earliest reference to the Augustinian priory of St Michael dates from June 1184 when Prior William witnessed a charter of Count Raymond of Tripoli. Another prior acted as the envoy of the bishop of Tripoli to the Holy See in his dispute with the Hospital of St John.<sup>112.</sup> In 1244 Pope Innocent IV had heard of a dispute between the bishop and St Michael's over the election of one of the canons as prior and in 1253 a vacancy in the same post was again brought to his attention. Innocent now confirmed the appointment of a Cistercian monk made by the bishop of Tripoli in his capacity as diocesan ordinary.<sup>113.</sup> But apart from these few references, the history of this house is unknown.

110. Orig. Cist. Tomus, p.139. In 1237 (Stat. Ord. Cist., ii, p.173-25 (1237)) Belmont sought permission from the General Chapter at Cîteaux to found a daughter-house at a place called Pyrga in Cyprus. In 1224 it had contested the possession of the casal of Perego, which was no doubt the same place, with William de Rivet, a knight of Nicosia, and its claim was upheld (Honorius III, no.5108; Gregory IX, no.1084). This may have been the site of Beaulieu. In 1238 (Stat. Ord. Cist., ii, p.193-41 (1238)) the abbey also sought permission to affiliate the nunnery at Episcopia in Cyprus.

111. White, Latin Monasticism, pp.172-77.

112. Cart. gen., nos.676,1006; Innocent III, no.73.

113. Innocent IV, nos.737,7016.

3. St Sergius of Gibelet.

The Cistercian abbey of St Sergius was founded at the initiative of two monks of La Ferté making visitations in Syria. They discussed with Bishop Vassal of Gibelet the possibility of installing Cistercians at the abbey he had been building. It lay outside Gibelet on a mountain near the sea, but has not so far been identified. Vassal, whose previous attempts to persuade Cistercians from other houses in the East to live there had failed because their numbers were already so few, offered them the house. One of the monks, Giles, remained in the East to make a report on the suitability of the site, but in September 1231 Vassal sent him back to La Ferté with a letter inviting that abbey to accept St Sergius and its possessions. In 1233 the Bishop confirmed his gift and in September 1238 Guy Embriaco, the lord of Gibelet, confirmed it on his own behalf.<sup>114</sup> That same year the General Chapter at Cîteaux charged the abbots of Belmont and Jubin with the task of installing the monks destined for St Sergius at the church.<sup>115</sup>

4. St Mary Magdalene.

In the thirteenth century there was at Tripoli a Cistercian convent dedicated to St Mary Magdalene. It was mentioned in the account of Ivo le Breton, at the time provincial of the Dominican Order in the Holy Land, of the appearance of St Dominic to a sick nun of that house, whose illness was thereby miraculously cured. The anecdote referred also to

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114. 'Chartes de l'abbaye cistercienne de St-Serge de Giblet en Syrie', ed. E. Petit, MSNAF, série v, viii (1887), pp.23-26.

115. Stat. Ord. Cist., ii, pp.192-36 (1238).

the abbot of a Cistercian monastery as the visitor of the convent. This was most probably the abbot of Belmont.<sup>116.</sup> But St Mary Magdalene may in fact have been the daughter of the convent of the same name in Acre. If so, it would have been in existence by 1238 when the General Chapter ordered an investigation into Belmont's claim to the affiliation of the house in Acre. The claim was quashed as a result of this enquiry and the convent and its daughter-houses at Tripoli and Nicosia were adopted as daughters of Cîteaux.<sup>117.</sup>

### III. The Principality of Antioch.

#### 1. St Paul in Antioch.

The monastery of St Paul lay in the eastern part of the city of Antioch above the gate which by the twelfth century had taken its name from it.<sup>118.</sup> St Paul's seems to have existed before the First Crusade. It was mentioned in 943 by Mas'udi, who called it Dair al Baraghith, the Convent of the Bugs.<sup>119.</sup> U. Berlière has claimed that St Paul's was a Latin monastery even before the capture of Antioch in 1098: according to a thirteenth or fourteenth century manuscript, St Narses translated the statutes of the house, composed by a certain Verencier, identifiable as Berenger, a disciple of the early eleventh century monk William of Dijon. Verencier was said to have ruled the monastery

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116. Vitae Fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum, ed. B.M. Reichert. Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica 1, pp.88-92.

117. Stat. Ord. Cist., ii, pp.196-57 (1238), 214-57 (1239).

118. William of Tyre, p.173. See Rey, Les Colonies franques, plan facing p.326 and p.327.

119. Palestine under the Moslems, p.368.

according to the Benedictine Rule.<sup>120.</sup> Whatever the authenticity of this story, there was certainly a Latin community at the house by 1108 when an abbot witnessed one of Tancred's charters.<sup>121.</sup>

## 2. St Simeon.

There is evidence that one of the monasteries at Antioch dedicated to St Simeon was served by Latin monks. It lay between the city and the sea, high in the mountains. In December 1139 Patriarch Ralph of Antioch, having been disposed by a council held under the presidency of the papal legate, Alberic of Ostia, was immured in this monastery.<sup>122.</sup> In July 1224 Pope Honorius III wrote that he had heard complaints from the monks that the count of Tripoli had made undue financial demands of them and had turned them out of their abbey, installing other monks in their place.<sup>123.</sup> But there were several convents also dedicated to St Simeon and occupied by clergy of the Eastern churches.<sup>124.</sup> Nothing more positive is known of the Benedictine house.

## 3. St George in Antioch.

St George's has been confused with the abbeys of Jubin outside Antioch and St George of Lebaene near Acre.<sup>125.</sup> But it can now be

120. Berlière, 'Les anciens monastères bénédictins', pp.560-61.

121. Documenti sulle relazioni coll' Oriente, no.3.

122. William of Tyre, pp.686, 774.

123. Analecta novissima Spicilegii Solesmensis altera continuatio, ed. J.B. Pitra i, p.586, no.31.

124. See J. Nasrallah, 'Couvents de la Syrie du nord portant le nom de Simeon', Syria, xlix (1972).

125. Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani and Additamentum, no.199.

shown that Jubin was not dedicated to St George and that while Lebaene was a Benedictine house, unknown before the thirteenth century, the convent in question was served by canons and was in existence by 1140.<sup>126.</sup> The identification is completed by a letter of March 1254 in which Pope Innocent IV ordered the patriarch of Antioch to grant the Augustinian abbey to the bishop of Laodicea, a see in partibus infidelium; he was to retain it during his lifetime, or until Laodicea was restored to the Christians.<sup>127.</sup>

St George's may have been the church mentioned by William of Tyre, which lay near the west gate of Antioch, the Gate of St George; when Patriarch Daimbert of Jerusalem sought refuge with Prince Bohemond in 1102 he was given the church of St George, said to be below Antioch, with its rich estates and revenues.<sup>128.</sup>

4. St Mary de la Carrière.

The existence of the monastery of St Mary de la Carrière is known from a deed of 1183 whereby Abbot Robert sold land at Antioch to the Hospital of St John.<sup>129.</sup> R. Röhricht located this house at Kursat.<sup>130.</sup>

5. Jubin.

Until J. Richard's recent edition of Jubin's foundation charter

126. Cart. St-Sép., no.90. See also the lists of monastic personnel below p.267.

127. Innocent IV, no.7397.

128. William of Tyre, pp.173,439; Rey, Les Colonies franques, plan facing p.326.

129. Cart. gén., no.651.

130. Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani. Additamentum, no.635a.

of 1214, this abbey was believed to have been dedicated to St George. The confusion seems to have arisen because of a faulty reading of a charter of 1186 whereby the abbey of St Gregory on Montana Nigra was given to the Hospital of St John. The dedication was read as St George and the abbey identified with Jubin, one of many religious houses, Greek and Latin, in the area, to the north of Antioch.<sup>131.</sup> Contemporaries called the Cistercian abbey simply Jubin; on the few occasions that a dedication was used, it was called St Mary's.<sup>132.</sup>

Before 1214 there was a Latin community at Jubin, which had rights in Cyprus granted by Guy of Lusignan in August 1194. Patriarch Peter of Antioch, [the former abbot of the Cistercian house of Lucedio in Italy] wished to found a community of his Order and offered the churches of Montana Nigra the opportunity to adopt the Cistercian Rule. His invitation was accepted by Jubin and in September 1214 the Patriarch gave his consent and allowed Cistercian monks to enter the abbey to carry this out. He went on to ensure his own jurisdiction over the reformed community and to make arrangements for the payment of tithes.<sup>133.</sup> In August 1215 Pope Innocent III took it under the protection of the

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131. Montana Nigra was the popular name for Mount Amanus. See William of Tyre, pp.168,680; C. Cahen, La Syrie du nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche, p.565; Richard, 'L'abbaye de Jubin', pp.69-70.

132. The sole exception was a reference in the proceedings of the General Chapter of Cîteaux (Stat. Ord. Cist., ii, p.47-62(1225)) when a petition was heard from St George of Jubin to celebrate the anniversary of Patriarch Peter of Antioch and St George's Day. I am indebted to Mr. P. King of the University of St Andrews for allowing me to see a copy of a manuscript from Dijon which he and his colleagues are editing, recording payments from Cistercian houses to Cîteaux. Here the abbey appears simply as Jubin.

133. Richard, 'L'abbaye de Jubin', pp.65-67, 69-70.

Holy See, confirming the Cistercians in all their possessions.<sup>134.</sup>

Patriarch Peter evidently put the abbey into the hands of La Ferté and not, as L. Janauschek believed, Lucedio: in 1238 Pope Gregory IX stated that it was subject to La Ferté and in 1244 the abbot of La Ferté was ordered to transmit instructions from the General Chapter to Jubin.<sup>135.</sup> The Patriarch's memory continued to be venerated in the abbey, which in 1225 sought permission from the General Chapter to celebrate his anniversary.<sup>136.</sup>

6. The Holy Cross de Carpita.

The Benedictine convent of the Holy Cross de Carpita in Antioch was in existence by March 1257 when it received from Pope Alexander IV permission to grant 100 days' indulgence to all penitents visiting the church on the feasts of St Francis, St Antony and St Claire and on the seven days following.<sup>137.</sup> After the fall of Antioch the nuns fled to Nicosia where in 1308 they were ordered by the pope to change their habit. They were known thereafter as the convent of St Mary of Tortosa and their house now possessed the image of the Virgin Mary, once kept at the cathedral of Tortosa, acquired by Abbess Eschiva. This image now attracted gifts from the faithful to the new convent.<sup>138.</sup>

134. 'Contributi alle relazioni tra Genova e l'Oriente. Una lettera del Pontefice Innocenzo III e un privilegio di Guido, Rè di Gerusalemme e Signore de Cipro', ed. A. Ferreto, Giornale ligustico, xxi (1896), p.43.

135. Orig. Cist. Tomus, p.217; Stat. Ord. Cist., ii, p.284-50 (1244); Gregory IX, no.4020.

136. Stat. Ord. Cist., ii, p.47-62 (1225).

137. Alexander IV, no.1777.

138. Francesco Amadi i, p.292.

7. St Lazarus in Antioch.

The only evidence that an abbey of Benedictine nuns dedicated to St Lazarus existed in Antioch dates from 1264. In this year the archdeacon of Antioch terminated a dispute over land between the convent and the abbey of Josaphat.<sup>139</sup> Whether this convent had any connection with the abbey of St Lazarus of Bethany is open to conjecture. In 1256 that abbey, whose seat was at the time in Acre, had been granted to the Order of the Hospital, but, as we shall see, the gift met with great indignation.<sup>140</sup> The nuns had perhaps taken refuge in their house in Antioch and although the gift had been revoked in the meantime, had not returned to Acre by 1264.

8. Repentitium.

In July 1295, twenty-seven years after the fall of Antioch, Pope Boniface VII granted an indulgence to the Benedictine prioress and nuns of the monastery called Repentitium. The convent had previously been established at Antioch, but was now living in Nicosia.<sup>141</sup>

In July 1187 at Hattin in Galilee Saladin defeated almost the entire fighting force of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and followed up his victory by the capture of all the major cities except Tyre. Galilee was the first area to submit. The abbey on Mount Tabor, which had

139. Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.57.

140. See below pp.75-78.

141. Boniface VIII, no.309.

withstood an earlier invasion of Saladin's armies in 1183, during which the neighbouring Greek house was destroyed, was now itself captured;<sup>142.</sup> Nazareth, powerless to offer resistance, fell two days after Hattin and all the Christians who had taken refuge in the church of the Annunciation were massacred; the cathedral at Sebastea was looted and converted to a mosque, while the bishop, who three years earlier had preserved the city from destruction by releasing Muslim captives, was taken prisoner. He later succeeded in ransoming himself. Nablus fell late in July; Ramleh, Bethlehem, St Samuel, Bethany and Hebron in late summer. Hebron remained in Muslim hands thereafter. In October Jerusalem itself fell and the Franks left.<sup>143.</sup> The Muslims dealt with the churches inside the city in various ways: the Holy Sepulchre was closed immediately and its possessions and offerings and those of the Temple of Our Lord were given to two of Saladin's nephews. It was soon reopened to pilgrims, who were charged for admission to the shrine. The patriarch of Jerusalem tried to cut off this source of revenue by excommunicating pilgrims. The church was eventually redeemed from the Muslims for 40,000 gold pieces annually by the Syrians, into whose custody it was given, although Pope Clement III (d. March 1191) forbade Christians to visit the city.<sup>144.</sup> In 1192 the treaty made between Richard I of England and Saladin guaranteed the Franks safe conduct to visit the Holy Sepulchre and among the third group of pilgrims was Bishop Hubert

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142. William of Tyre, p.1120.

143. 'L'Estoire de Eracles', p.68; Chronicon Terrae Sanctae, pp.231, 239-41; Abu Shamah, pp.74, 80.

144. al-Maqrîsi, ROL, ix, p.33; Rothelin, p.521; Alberic des Trois Fontaines, p.860; 'Annales Stadenses', p.351.

of Salisbury, who received the sultan's permission to have two Latin priests and two deacons installed and at Nazareth and Bethlehem, to be maintained by the offerings of these churches.<sup>145</sup> The Greek patriarch was subsequently invited to administer the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>146</sup> The recovery of the Dome of the Rock was the cause of great joy among the Muslims. The golden cross above it was torn down and the building purified with rosewater brought from Damascus.<sup>147</sup> Thereafter, as we shall see, the Muslim authorities made strenuous efforts to retain control over their mosque. In 1192 Saladin established a Shafi'ite college at St Anne's under the administration of his future biographer, Baha'-ad-Din; in the reign of his nephew, Sultan al-Mu'azzam, St Mary of the Latins apparently also became a college of Shafi'ites.<sup>148</sup>

The houses outside the city walls exposed to Muslim attacks, fared less well. Mount Sion may have suffered during the assault on Jerusalem in 1187, but it was given to Syrian Christians and pilgrims were allowed access. There is evidence that repairs were made to the Room of the Last Supper in the early thirteenth century, but it seems likely that the destruction of the abbey was completed in 1219 when the Muslims demolished all fortified places in Jerusalem; it was certainly in ruins by about 1231.<sup>149</sup> The abbey of St Mary of Josaphat was

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145. Baha' ad-Din, p.381; Itinerarium, p.436; Ambroise, cols. 326-27.

146. Bar Hebraeus, p.327.

147. 'L'Estoire de Eracles', p.104; Chronicon Terrae Sanctae, p.250; al-Maqrizi, ROL, ix, p.33.

148. Abu'l Feda, p.66; Vincent and Abel, Jérusalem nouvelle, pp.683-84, 963.

149. Vincent and Abel, Jérusalem nouvelle, p.463.

dismantled in 1187 and the stones used to strengthen the city's fortifications. Wilbrand of Oldenburg saw Syrian Christians in the church in 1213.<sup>150</sup> Eleven years after the capture of Jerusalem the site of the Mount of Olives was given as waqf to Sheikh Wali-ad-Din and Imam Abu-l-Hasan by Saladin and in 1200 the repair of the sanctuary was ordered. In 1213 the convent was reported to be in ruins, while the church itself was being used as a mosque.<sup>151</sup>

Having fled from their churches in 1187 the Latin communities of the Kingdom of Jerusalem were then faced by two alternative courses of action: they could either leave the Holy Land altogether and seek shelter in Europe, or they could take refuge in one of the cities still in Christian hands and await an opportunity to return to their churches. Although Tripoli was not captured, part of the nearby community of Belmont apparently fled to Sicily. This seems to be the explanation for the existence of Belmont's daughter-house, the Holy Trinity of Refech, once believed to have been in the diocese of Tripoli itself. A thirteenth century account reported that monks fleeing from Syria had been given the church of St Mary at Refesio by the bishop of Agrigento; and at a legal inquest over this church in 1259-1260 a witness said that over sixty years before he had seen Cistercian monks, who claimed to have been installed by Bishop Bartholomew of Agrigento, translated to the see of Palermo in 1191. In 1271 a bull of Pope Innocent III, dated November 1198 and addressed to the abbot and brothers of the Holy Trinity at Refesio, declared that the monks had been transferred to Refesio and

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150. Ernoul, p.208; Peregrinatores medii aevi quattuor, p.187.

151. Vincent and Abel, Jérusalem nouvelle, pp.403-4; Peregrinatores medii aevi quattuor, p.188.

confirmed both their possessions and their independence from the bishop of Agrigento. The bull was attested by the church's commander, the cantor of Belmont. And at about the same time as the foundation of Refesio, refugee nuns from Syria were given the church of St Michael at Prizzi in Sicily. It was been suggested that they came from a convent dedicated to St Mary Magdalene in Tripoli<sup>152</sup>. apparently for no other reason than that such a convent is mentioned in Cistercian sources. But while there is no evidence for it in the twelfth century, a St Mary Magdalene, as has been seen, certainly existed in Tripoli in the thirteenth century.<sup>153</sup> The fugitive nuns may actually have come from a convent about which we know nothing. The Augustinian chapter of Sebastea seems to have taken refuge at its priory at Nemours in France, where in December 1188 the canons of both churches were received into papal protection by Clement III.<sup>154</sup> The canons of SS Joseph and Habakkuk also cannot be traced in the East after 1187. In 1211 Abbot Gervase of Prémontré wrote to John of Brienne, the new King of Jerusalem, requesting his protection for the brothers of St Samuel, who in spite of all adversities had not abandoned their religious profession; the brothers of SS Joseph and Habakkuk were not mentioned. In 1217, when he evidently had hopes that the territorial conquests of the Fifth Crusade would include the abbeys of SS Joseph and Habakkuk and St Samuel of Montjoie, the Abbot asked the patriarch of Jerusalem to ensure that

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152. White, Latin Monasticism, pp.172-77.

153. See above p.48.

154. Le Roux de Loucy and A. Bruel, 'Notice historique et critique sur Dom. Jacques du Breul', pp.494-96. In the thirteenth century Sebastea was a see in partibus infidelium. See Innocent IV, nos.6350, 6490.

they were handed over to Abbot Mellin of Floreffe; in another letter written before November 1225, he referred to the brothers of St Samuel as alone remaining in Syria and in another, after this date, asked the Emperor Frederick II, who was now married to the queen of Jerusalem and intended to go on crusade, to restore the two houses to the Premonstratensian Order and at the same time he appointed the bearer of his message, the Emperor's own chaplain, as head of St Samuel's.<sup>155</sup> In none of these letters is there anything to suggest that the convent of SS Joseph and Habakkuk was in Syria or even still in existence.

The whereabouts of the Latin clergy who remained during the years immediately after Hattin are uncertain. Tyre remained in Christian hands, as did Tripoli and Antioch, but Acre was not recaptured until 1191. It has been suggested that the canons of the Holy Sepulchre fled to Tyre and remained there as late as 1202. The evidence for this is a ritual found at the Holy Sepulchre's church at Barletta in Italy which contained annals recording the earthquakes suffered by the Holy Land in 1202. These are known to have affected several cities, including Acre, but the annals mentioned only Tyre.<sup>156</sup> In 1194 the canons were involved in a quarrel with Count Henry of Champagne over the election of Aymar Monachus as patriarch of Jerusalem and were summarily imprisoned, but there is no precise indication as to whether this took place in Acre or Tyre.<sup>157</sup> Eventually, however, most communities appear

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155. *Sacrae antiquitatis monumenta* i, nos. 37, 38, 115, 130.

156. 'Un rituel et un bréviaire du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem (XIIe-XIIIe siècle)', ed. C. Kohler, *ROL*, vii (1900-1901), pp. 401, 446, note 5.

157. 'L'Estoire de Eracles', pp. 203-5.

to have settled in Acre, the most important part in the Kingdom of Jerusalem and in the thirteenth century the seat of government. From here monasteries could easily maintain contact with their European possessions, upon whose support they now came to depend. The location of many houses in Acre can be ascertained from the maps of the city, from archaeological remains and from the references of chronicles and charters. In a few cases, however, nothing is known: the abbey of the Mount of Olives, for example, is known to have been in Acre in the thirteenth century, but its site and the subsequent fate of its community are unknown.

The church belonging to St Mary of the Latins in Acre was evidently acquired between the issue of Pope Adrian IV's privilege in 1158 and the revised version of the same bull in March 1173, when it was first mentioned. It may have been in the Pisan quarter of the city, for in October 1200 an agreement between the bishop and chapter of Acre and the Pisans was made in the house of St Mary of the Latins.<sup>158</sup>

The nuns of St Mary Major were in Acre by August 1203 when Pope Innocent III granted them the protection of the Holy See and confirmed them in possession of a chapel they had recently begun to build in a house in Acre, the gift of the queen of Jerusalem. Permission for the chapel had been granted by the papal legate, Soffred, Cardinal-bishop of St Praxedis, who arrived in the Holy Land in September 1202. The queen was apparently still alive and must therefore have been Isabella, the wife of Aimery of Lusignan. She had not been crowned until 1198, but she had been acknowledged as lady of the Kingdom of Jerusalem since her sister's death in November 1190. The nuns could have been given

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158. 'Zur Geschichte der Latina'; 'Papsturkunden aus Unteritalien', no.2; Documenti sulle relazioni coll'Oriente, no.53.

the house any time after the capture of Acre in July 1191 and the construction of a chapel there points to the conclusion that they had not previously owned a church in Acre and that this was intended to become the new seat of the abbey.<sup>159.</sup> From 1187 until this date they may have been living in Tyre. In the thirteenth century a convent known as St Mary of Tyre was situated in the Street of the Provençals in Acre;<sup>160.</sup> in the fourteenth century the important abbey of this name in Nicosia was said to have been the house of St Mary Major in Jerusalem.<sup>161.</sup> It seems either that St Mary Major settled in Acre after a temporary stay in Tyre and became known as the house of the nuns of Tyre, or that at some point after 1233, when the abbess leased a house in the Patriarch's quarter in Jerusalem to Pons de Cisternaty,<sup>162.</sup> it was incorporated into the house of St Mary of Tyre.

The Holy Sepulchre had been given permission for the construction of a church on land it owned in Acre by Bishop John in 1138.<sup>163.</sup> The boundaries of this land were not described and the church did not appear on the maps of Acre, although an area called the Patriarchate was shown north of the Arsenal. But one chronicle reported that the house of the

159. Pat. Lat. ccxv, no.135.

160. Tab. ord. Theut., no.128; Cart. gen., no.3334.

161. Francesco Amadi 1, pp.271,296,387. There was some confusion in the early part of the chronicle (p.28) when the author claimed that Baldwin I's repudiated Armenian wife entered the house of St Mary of Jerusalem, later known as St Mary of Tyre the Greater. The more contemporary chronicle of William of Tyre (pp.451-52) stated that the queen was actually put into St Anne's.

162. 'Inventaire des pièces de Terre Sainte de l'ordre de l'Hôpital', ed. J. Delaville Le Roulx, ROL, iii (1895), no.243.

163. Cart. St-Sép., no.72.

lords of Tyre lay beyond the church of the Holy Sepulchre and was separated by a beach from the Boucherie. The Holy Sepulchre therefore lay north of the outer harbour of Acre, almost certainly within the Patriarchate.<sup>164.</sup>

The location of the Temple of Our Lord is uncertain. The 1166 charter of King Amalric, as a lay document, did not mention a church in Acre, although the abbey had several houses and the place where the church of St Andrew stood outside the city walls by the sea, with the adjacent land and houses.<sup>165.</sup> This does not necessarily mean that the Temple owned that church.

Mount Sion had two churches in Acre, St Leonard and St Roman, by 1179.<sup>166.</sup> During the Muslim occupation of Acre from 1187 to 1191, St Leonard's was used as a mosque from which the besieged city signalled its distress after the arrival of King Philip of France to the Muslim armies outside; in 1291 one party of Muslims broke into the city by the Cursed Tower, passed St Roman and the house of the Teutonic Knights, both of which were shown on maps of Acre by the eastern walls, and seized the church of St Leonard. Mount Sion's churches, then, were in the same area of the city.<sup>167.</sup> St Leonard's was the actual seat of the convent in the thirteenth century, for in December 1218 a letter was presented

164. Marino Sanuto, 'Liber secretorum fidelium crucis', map; P. Deschamps, Les châteaux des croisés en Terre Sainte. II La défense du royaume de Jérusalem. Paulin of Pozzuoli, map; Les Gestes des Chiprois, pp.219,251; Benvenisti, The Crusaders in the Holy Land, p.88.

165. 'Un diplôme du Temple', pp.314-15.

166. 'Chartes du Mont Sion', p.43.

167. 'L'Estoire de Eracles', p.156; Les Gestes des Chiprois, pp.249, 251; Paulin of Pozzuoli, map.

at the door of the church to the abbot of St Leonard of Mount Sion and in 1281 a letter of the abbot was said to have been written there.<sup>168.</sup>

St Mary of Josaphat owned a church in Acre by 1154. In 1261 the abbey bought from John de Amudeo, executor of the will of William de Porta, a house which stood in the Genoese quarter to the east of the court of Josaphat's church. William de Porta had rented this house from the abbey before his death and the court to which the document referred was evidently part of the conventual buildings.<sup>169.</sup> In 1222, furthermore, Abbot Ralph of Josaphat was among the prelates consulted by Cardinal Pelagius about the conflict between the Pisans and Genoese in Acre. Between March 1257 and November 1258 the abbot went to Italy and was at the Holy See by 20th. June 1259, presenting various complaints to the pope. He claimed that his abbey had suffered great damage in the War of St Sabas; if, indeed, it was situated in the Genoese quarter, it would have been exposed to the Venetian and Pisan attacks. In April 1260 the legate a latere in the East, Thomas of Agni, was commanded by the pope to compel the Italian communities to make good the damage.<sup>170.</sup>

There was a reference to houses and land in Acre belonging to the abbot of Mount Thabor next to the house of the Teutonic Knights, but no evidence that the seat of the abbey was there.<sup>171.</sup>

168. 'Chartes du Mont Sion', pp.54-56.

169. Chartes de Terre Sainte, nos.28,53.

170. Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, no.955; Cart. gen., no.2859; Amico, Reg. fol. no.338; Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.51.

171. 'Quatre pièces relatives à l'ordre teutonique en Orient', AOL, 11 (1884), no.1.

The abbey of St Anne was situated next to the quarter in Acre granted to the Pisan community in 1168 by King Amalric. An account of the fall of Acre in 1291 described the church as lying in the Pisan quarter on the Street of St Anne, directly opposite the palace of the master of the Temple. The remains of this church probably exist under the present church of St Andrew.<sup>172.</sup>

The residence of the canons of Bethlehem in the thirteenth century is not readily located. According to Pope Gregory IV's privilege of 1227 they had a house (domus) in Acre between the church of St Mary de platea and the vetus palatium, neither of which can be positively identified, although in the main square, or platea, of the Genoese quarter was a building called the Palatium vetus where the commune's court met.<sup>173.</sup> An itinerary written in about 1280 seems to locate the church in the old city, but the fourteenth century maps of Acre showed a Ruga Bethleemitana in Montmusard.<sup>174.</sup> I hope to show, however, that the location of Bethlehem's church in the Genoese quarter is quite feasible. But at the same time it is quite possible that the canons of Bethlehem lived not in Acre, but at their priory at Mont Pèlerin. This is suggested by certain references and incidents in the chapter's history in the course of the thirteenth century. In 1231 Balian of Ibelin, the son of Lord John of Beirut, unsuccessfully sought lodging at the house of Bethlehem at Mont Pèlerin. In 1238 the canons elected the

172. Documenti sulle relazioni coll'Oriente, nos.11,32; Les Gestes des Chiprois, p.253; Benvenisti, The Crusaders in the Holy Land, p.105.

173. Riant, 'L'Église de Bethléem', p.658; Benvenisti, The Crusaders in the Holy Land, pp.100-2.

174. Itinéraires à Jérusalem, p.235; Marino Sanuto, 'Liber secretorum fidelium crucis', map; Paulin of Poszuoli, map.

dean of Antioch as their bishop, but the election was quashed by the patriarch of Jerusalem, although he had in fact no authority over the church. The pope ordered an investigation into the dispute and as agents appointed three prelates from northern Syria, the archbishop of Mamistra, the abbot of Belmont and the archdeacon of Valenia. In 1245 Pope Innocent IV consented to the election as bishop of Godfrey de' Prefetti, a papal chaplain, who had, incidentally, a prebend in the church of Tripoli. The Pope went on to issue a number of bulls intended to alleviate the church's poverty. John Romanus, the bishop-elect to Paphos, had been governing the see of Bethlehem on behalf of the elected bishop and, in collaboration with a number of canons, had sold and mortgaged the church's property, including certain relics. But although John Romanus seems to have been trying to repair Bethlehem's already straitened finances, he was held to have exceeded his authority and to have impoverished the church. He was cited to answer for his actions and in the meantime all his alienations were declared invalid and revoked. But it is significant that the relics already mentioned were not to be given directly to the church of Bethlehem, but deposited at Acre with the Temple or the Hospital.<sup>175</sup> It was perhaps felt that having consented to the alienations in the first place, the canons could not be relied on. But we may still compare this with an agreement made in 1265 when the church rented the casal of Sikania to the Hospital of St John for fifty Tripolitan besants a year, to be paid at Tripoli.<sup>176</sup> This may, of course, simply have meant that the rent for this particular

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175. Les Gestes des Chiprois, p.87; Gregory IX, no.4699; Innocent IV, nos.837,956,957,1066,1532,2057; Riant, 'La part de l'évêque de Bethléem dans le butin', p.237, no.3.

176. Cart. gen., no.3198.

property was being assigned for the use of the priory at Mont Pelerin. But there remains the possibility that Bethlehem's main interests were at Tripoli and may account for the fact that while he was in Acre as papal legate a latere Bishop Thomas of Bethlehem did not live with his canons or in an episcopal palace, but lodged as the guest of various local prelates.<sup>177.</sup> To all the evidence reviewed above, it may be added that in 1246 the pope provided Deodatus de' Prefetti, the nephew of the bishop-elect, to the archdiaconate of the church and ordered the appointment to be enforced by the abbot of Belmont.<sup>178.</sup> And in 1285 the pope commanded the patriarch of Jerusalem to have the tithes collected for the crusading movement by Sienese merchants from the Kingdom of Cyprus deposited with the bishop of Paphos and those from the city and diocese of Tripoli with the church of Bethlehem.<sup>179.</sup>

There is, then, much positive evidence that the canons of Bethlehem were chiefly active in Tripoli. Here they had an ecclesia, known to have been a priory, while in Acre they had a building described as a domus. But their interests in Acre, as we have seen, were somewhat complex and there was, moreover, a curious reference in Pope Gregory IX's bull to the church in 1227: 'Commutationes vero inter ecclesiam Bethlehemiticam et Nazarenam, super ecclesiam Acconensem rationabiliter factam, confirmamus et ratam manere censemus'.<sup>180.</sup> None of Nazareth's own documents explain this. But between 1220 and 1229 the church of the Annunciation at Nazareth was in Muslim hands. Is it possible that

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177. Chartes de la Terre Sainte, nos.51,52,54,55; 'Chartes de Josaphat', no.77; Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani. Additamentum, no.1297a.

178. Innocent IV, nos.2025,2039.

179. Honorius IV, no.184.

180. Riant, 'L'Église de Bethléem', p.659.

because the chapter of Bethlehem preferred to live at Tripoli, their church in Acre was given to the canons of Nazareth? The movements of these canons in the thirteenth century will be examined in more detail later, but in 1267, when they were once more unable to live at Nazareth, the pope decreed that while the archbishop should have his houses in Acre near the Holy Sepulchre, the canons should have the church of St Mary of the Knights, which the maps of Acre showed near the Holy Cross.<sup>181.</sup>

In 1272 the house of the bishop of Hebron was said to be in Montmusard. The area can be located by the accounts of the church's property disputes with the Teutonic Knights and Hospitallers. In September 1253 a case was heard in which the bishop claimed houses in the Tannery in the territory of the church of Hebron from the Teutonic Knights. These were near the church of the Holy Trinity. Hebron also had property in the Street of St Katherine in the same area. In 1266 Hebron made an agreement with the Hospital over land in Montmusard; in 1273 the Order acquired houses which had belonged to the church between the Street of the Tannery and the sea, near the property described in 1253. So it can be seen that Hebron's territory lay near the sea, immediately north of the old city walls and close to the church of the Holy Trinity.<sup>182.</sup>

The convent of St Lazarus had a church in Acre that was important enough to be included as a landmark on maps of the city near the cathedral

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181. Clement IV, no.511; Marino Sanuto, 'Liber secretorum fidelium crucis', map; Paulin of Pozzuoli, map.

182. Tab. ord. Theut., nos.104,126; Cart. gen., nos.3202,3514.

church of the Holy Cross.<sup>183.</sup> The Cistercian convent of St Mary Magdalene lay in Montsusard. In 1225 the abbess rented houses and a square immediately south of the house from the Hospital of St John. On the east and west were the public streets, the one on the east leading down to St Giles, which appears on maps of the city, and the Magdalene.<sup>184.</sup>

The topographical significance of an itinerary called 'Les Pelrinages et Pardouns de Acre', written in about 1280, has already been remarked by F.-M. Abel in his researches on the Dominican Order in Acre,<sup>185.</sup> but is worth examining in greater detail. The itinerary was a list of the indulgences which might be earned by visiting the churches of Acre. It would appear to name the churches roughly in the order in which a pilgrim might visit them if he entered by the north-east angle of the old city and moved in a clockwise direction around the town into the suburb of Montsusard. The list ran thus:<sup>186.</sup> Edge of the city; St Nicolas; St Mary of the Germans; St Leonard; St Roman; St Stephen; St Samuel;<sup>187.</sup> St Lazarus of Bethany; the Holy Sepulchre; St Mary of the Knights; St Mary of Tyre; the Holy Cross; St Mark of Venice; St Lawrence, the church of the Genoese commune; Josaphat; St Mary of the Latins; St Peter of Pisa; St Anne; the Holy Spirit;<sup>188.</sup>

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183. Marino Sanuto, 'Liber secretorum fidelium crucis', map; Paulin of Pozzuoli, map.

184. *Cart. gen.*, no.1828; Marino Sanuto, 'Liber secretorum fidelium crucis', map; Paulin of Pozzuoli, map.

185. F. M. Abel, 'Le couvent des freres prêcheurs à St-Jean d'Acre', *Revue biblique*, xliii (1934), p.268.

186. *Itinéraires à Jérusalem*, pp.235-36. Unless otherwise stated the churches are shown on the maps of Acre of Marino Sanuto and Paulin of Pozzuoli, or have been located above. See also Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, p.88.

187. The churches of St Stephen and St Samuel have not been located.

188. *Documenti sulle relazioni coll'Oriente*, no.63. This church was built on land given by the Pisan community.

Bethlehem; St Andrew; the Temple; the Dominicans; St Michael; the Frères du Sachel; <sup>189.</sup> the Hospital of St John; St Giles; the Magdalene; St Katherine; the Holy Trinity; St Bride; St Martin of the Bretons; <sup>190.</sup> the Hospital of St Lazarus; St Thomas; <sup>191.</sup> St Bartholomew; <sup>192.</sup> St Antony; the Franciscans; Repentires; St Denis; St George. <sup>193.</sup> This list supports the theory that St Mary of the Latins lay near the Pisan quarter and suggests that St Samuel's was in the eastern part of the city. Bethlehem would be in the south-west quarter, but this still does not finally resolve the problem of locating the canons' church in Acre. And in 1280, as far as we know, they could still have been based at Mont Pèlerin. The convent of the Sisters of Repentance would be in the south-eastern part of Montmusard. All these suggestions would, of course, be open to correction in the light of any new archaeological or documentary evidence about Acre's topography.

It has been seen that the convents that were forced to flee from their houses after 1187 took up residence in Acre, Tyre and Tripoli in particular. But because of various truces and treaties made between the Muslims and Christians, from 1192 to 1197, 1198 to 1204, 1204 to 1210, 1211 to 1217, 1221 to 1239, 1241 to 1244, 1255 to 1263, 1272 to 1290, <sup>194.</sup>

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189. Unlocated.

190. 'Titres de l'Hôpital des Bretons d'Acre', ed. J. Delaville le Roulx, AOL, i, no.2. It was in the Street of the English.

191. 'Fragment d'un cartulaire de l'ordre de Saint-Lazare', no.39. It was also in the Street of the English.

192. Unlocated.

193. Unlocated.

194. H.E. Mayer, The Crusades, p.242.

opportunities did arise for them to return. Did they in fact take advantage of them? In 1192 Saladin allowed four Latin clerics to serve at the shrines of the Holy Sepulchre, Nazareth and Bethlehem, although by 1211 there seem to have been only Syrian priests at the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>195</sup> Lydda and Ramleh were divided between the Muslims and Christians, but they and Nazareth were restored to the Christians by a treaty of September 1204. The canons of Nazareth seem to have returned to their church until its loss again in 1220.<sup>196</sup> Galilee remained a battlefield and Mount Thabor was fortified by the Muslims in 1211 as a base for attacks on Acre. It was besieged briefly and unsuccessfully by the crusading forces in 1217, but the following year the fortifications were dismantled.<sup>197</sup> The Emperor Frederick II's treaty in 1229 was a major landmark. The city of Jerusalem was restored to the Christians, except for the Temple area, which the Muslims insisted on retaining. One Frankish chronicler alleged that the city was given up on condition that three Muslims were allowed custody of the Temple and that Muslim pilgrims should have safe conduct there. Nazareth and Bethlehem were also returned. The treaty was badly received by the Franks. Patriarch Gerald complained bitterly to the pope that no property outside the city had been restored to the Holy Sepulchre, the Temple of Our Lord, Mount Sion, St Mary of the Latins and St Mary of Josaphat and that the offerings of the Sepulchre and other churches had been assigned to knights, while their clergy

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195. Itinerarium, p.438; Ambroise, cols.326-27; Peregrinatores medii sevi quattuor, p.186.

196. Ibn al-Athir i, p.96; 'Annales prioratus de Dunstaplia', p.63.

197. 'L'Estoire de Eracles', pp.317,324,330-1; Les Gestes des Chiprois, p.19.

were kept out. He laid Jerusalem under an interdict, but this was soon lifted and the church of the Holy Sepulchre reconsecrated.<sup>198.</sup> In 1229, then, the communities of all churches in Jerusalem, except the Temple of Our Lord, and of Nazareth and Bethlehem were at liberty to return to their houses. It is not known whether the Muslims excluded St Mary of the Latins and St Anne's, which were both Shafi'ite colleges. The evidence for convents resuming residence at their shrines is slight. Josaphat at least seems to have maintained a cell of monks at the church for a time, for among the witnesses to a charter of January 1241 was Peter, the prior in Jerusalem.<sup>199.</sup> In 1241 Richard of Cornwall's treaty restored Mount Thabor, Nazareth and Bethany<sup>200</sup> and two years later a treaty with Kerak and Damascus finally granted the Franks the Temple area in Jerusalem.<sup>201.</sup> The canons of the Temple of Our Lord must have returned almost immediately, for Ibn Wasil reported that early in 1244 he had seen Christian priests and monks celebrating mass at the Dome of the Rock.<sup>202.</sup> But in August 1244 the Khorezmians captured and sacked Jerusalem. They also destroyed the church of the Nativity at Bethlehem and in 1248 Pope Innocent IV proclaimed an indulgence for anyone who would contribute towards the work of

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198. M.G.H. Epistolae saeculi XIII 1, pp.299-304, no.384; 'Annales de Terre Sainte', p.438; 'L'Estoire de Eracles', pp.374-75; Les Gestes des Chiprois, p.77.

199. Amico, Reg. fol. no.327.

200. Matthew Paris, Chronica maiora iv, p.142.

201. 'Annales de Terre Sainte', p.441.

202. Ibn al-Furat ii, p.1 and note 6. At about the same time the Emperor Frederick II protested that the Templars had tried to persuade the pope to remove the Temple from his jurisdiction and to fortify it themselves. Their attempts evidently came to nothing: Acta imp. ined. saec. XIII 1, no.434.

restoration.<sup>203.</sup> In 1250 Nazareth was returned to the Christians by Louis IX's treaty. In March 1251 the French King attended mass in the church and in September the archbishop and chapter were resident there.<sup>204.</sup> By the middle of that same decade the church of Nazareth was evidently experiencing financial difficulty, for the archbishop in 1255 made the first in a series of agreements for the lease of his property to the Order of St John.<sup>205.</sup> This and subsequent charters were issued at Acre; in 1256 the pope heard the archbishop's request for permission to live there permanently.<sup>206.</sup> In 1261 the chapter consisted of two canons only, one of whom was at the Holy See.<sup>207.</sup> Two years later the church of the Annunciation was destroyed by Emir 'Ala ad-Din Taibars and those administering it killed.<sup>208.</sup> In 1267 the pope issued a constitution for the church of Nazareth in which he stated that there should be twelve canons who were to live in the church and that the canons who served at the church of St Mary of the Knights in Acre were to be included in this number.<sup>209.</sup> This raises the question of whether the canons had managed to return to Nazareth, or even whether the pope thought that they had. The constitution was drawn up to settle

203. Innocent IV, no.4044.

204. Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora* vi, p.196; Geoffrey of Beaulieu, p.14; William of Nangis, p.384; Innocent IV, no.5538.

205. *Cart. gen.*, nos.2748, 2907, 2934-36.

206. Alexander IV, no.1300.

207. Urban IV, no.45.

208. Ibn al-Furat ii, pp.56-57; al-Maqrizi I; pp.197-98, 200; Urban IV, no.344; 'Annales des Terre Sainte', p.450.

209. Clement IV, no.511.

a dispute between the archbishop and chapter that had arisen partly over the ownership of property. It declared that the canons had exclusive title to St Mary of the Knights in Acre, while the archbishop had his own houses in the city. These were the only possessions actually named in the division of property and must have been a major cause of friction; the rest were referred to simply as the possessions of the church of Nazareth or those of the church of Scythopolis. It seems, then, that there were two establishments in Acre. But the archbishop would still require a chapter. The official chapter was to comprise twelve canons, who were at the same time assured that those administering their own church, St Mary of the Knights, would not lose their right to a voice in the chapter and a stall in the choir. This would also apply if it again became possible for the canons to serve at the church of the Annunciation itself, but wished to keep a cell at the house in Acre. In 1272 a treaty ceded the road from Nazareth to the Franks and eleven years after this they received the church and the right to instal priests and monks, together with four houses nearby for the shelter of pilgrims. But there was to be no further building in the city.<sup>210</sup> Some of the canons may have returned to administer the shrine, but at this period the chapter was very small and this may have been impossible: in 1288, for example, there were only three canons, two of whom were in Europe.<sup>211</sup>

In only a few cases, then, is there positive evidence that Latin convents took advantage of periods of peace with the Muslims to return

210. 'L'Estoire de Eracles', p.462; al-Maqrizi II i, p.229.

211. Nicolas IV, no.165.

to their churches. The canons of Hebron at least never had the opportunity to do so. And even during the period 1229 to 1244, when Jerusalem was in Christian hands, the clergy of monastic houses continued to conduct business in Acre. With the possible exception of Nazareth, none of the communities returned as a whole. As we have seen, Josaphat had a prior at Jerusalem who would rule a small body of monks.<sup>212</sup> This may have been the pattern for other churches, for a cell was all that was necessary to keep the church open for pilgrims and maintain the building in good order and would have been supported either by the offerings of pilgrims or by supplies sent from the main convent at Acre. The reluctance of monastic communities to return as a body to their shrines does not imply indifference, for Jerusalem was still the spiritual centre of the crusader states and these convents existed for the care of its Holy Places. But to exchange the safety of Acre for the insecurity of Jerusalem, with the hazards of communication between the cities and the difficulty of assuring themselves of a flow of supplies sufficient for their needs, was a risk they were not prepared to take. At all times they were dependent on the goodwill of the Muslims. And the Khoresmian invasion of 1244 when Jerusalem was sacked and its Christian inhabitants massacred, justified their caution.

It has been seen that a few monastic communities took refuge in the West in 1187. Of those that remained, Mount Tabor seems to have been extinguished first. In the early part of the thirteenth century

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212. Amico, Reg. fol. no. 327.

Galilee was politically unsettled and the mountain was periodically in Muslim hands. By the 1250s the abbey was heavily in debt and the monks were unable either to restore or to defend their house. Their lands had been seized by both Franks and Muslims. Because of the monks' complete impoverishment, the Hospital of St John begged the papacy to give it Mount Thabor, together with all its rights and possessions. In 1255 this was done, on condition that the Order should provide for the remaining monks during their lifetime and should fortify and garrison the mountain. In acceding to the Order's request, the Holy See was not without its critics, but in 1256 the approval of the monks themselves was voiced in a letter to the pope, urging him to hold to his decision. The Hospital, according to the monks, had been conscientiously discharging its obligations to them, had installed a garrison and had resumed divine services at the shrine, which pilgrims could now visit in safety.<sup>213.</sup>

At the same time, however, the Order of the Hospital attempted to secure possession of the convent of St Lazarus of Bethany, again claiming that the house had been destroyed and occupied by the Muslims. The gift was made by Pope Alexander IV on 15th. January 1256 and the Hospitallers were ordered to provide for the remaining nuns during their lifetime, or for as long as they remained in the convent, and to replace them thereafter with sisters of their own Order.<sup>214.</sup> The gift aroused great indignation. The new patriarch of Jerusalem, James Pantaleon,

213. Cart. gen., nos.2726,2811; 'L'Estoire de Eracles', p.442.

214. Cart. gen., no.2781; 'L'Estoire de Eracles', p.442.

who arrived in Acre five months afterwards on 3rd. June 1256,<sup>215</sup> immediately took up the convent's cause. He declared that not only was the gift unnecessary (the Hospital had after all just been given the potentially valuable properties of Mount Thabor), it was also unjustified, for although the original church at Bethany might be in ruins, the house at Acre was a flourishing community of some fifty nuns under an abbess; moreover, because the Hospital was an exempt Order, the patriarch of Jerusalem had lost his rights as the convent's ordinary. James seems to have forbidden the bishop of Tiberias and the abbot of St Samuel, the agents chosen to put the gift into effect, to proceed with their commission, for it was not until after the arrival in Syria of the papal legate a latere, Thomas of Agni, on 18th. April 1259, that the Hospital was finally put in possession of the convent's properties in the sees of Tyre and Tripoli.<sup>216</sup> Thomas may have been appointed partly to investigate the delay. In August 1259 Prioress Philippa of St Lazarus acknowledged that the master of the Hospital had installed her in office and that she held that benefice from him during her lifetime.<sup>217</sup> Why was this oath taken not by the abbess, but by the prioress? The abbess, who was said to have been alive in 1256, may have died in the meantime. But it is possible that she had refused to accept the Hospital's lordship and had been removed,

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215. 'Annales de Terre Sainte', pp.446-47; 'L'Estoire de Eracles', p.442; Alexander IV, no.317. He was translated from the see of Verdun on 9th. April 1255.

216. 'Annales de Terre Sainte', p.449; Cart. gén., nos.2925,2927.

217. Cart. gén., no.2929.

leaving the more compliant prioress to do so. When the gift was eventually revoked by James Pantaleon as the new pope Urban IV, all sentences of interdict, excommunication and suspension and all law suits which might have arisen from it were also annulled. This may not merely have been a formality, but a reference to actual incidents. It is, on the other hand, possible that the Hospital had now begun to replace the Benedictines at St Lazarus and that Philippa was their new prioress, but she claimed to have been appointed by Patriarch G., who must have been Gerald (d. 1238),<sup>218.</sup> and would therefore have held her office for more than twenty-one years. At the end of 1259 James Pantaleon and the abbey's procurator carried an appeal against the gift to the Holy See, alleging that the Hospital had wilfully misrepresented both the extent of its financial needs and the condition of the convent. James later claimed that before his death Pope Alexander IV had given them good reason to suppose that their petition would be granted, but in any case he was himself elected as pope and, as one of the first acts of his reign in September 1261, quashed the gift. The Order of St John was ordered to return any possessions taken from the abbey since the case had been raised at the curia and the Pope reserved to himself the right to judge what these might have been. The convent was restored to the church of Jerusalem.<sup>219.</sup> Papal bulls in January 1262 and March 1263 brought the priories of St Lazarus at Tripoli and Nicosia under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Jerusalem and another in February

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218. Hotzelt, Kirchengeschichte Palästinas, p.190.

219. Urban IV, no.15; 'L'Estoire de Eracles', p.446; Les Gestes des Chiprois, p.166.

1263 gave the convent possession of its house in Acre and all its priories in Syria and Cyprus. Thereafter all sisters of St Lazarus were to be subject only to the patriarch of Jerusalem.<sup>220</sup> There seems to have been no resistance from the Order of St John. Certainly only one of the convent's own charters which has no relevance at all to the Hospitallers has been retained in their archives and only in the inventory.<sup>221</sup> The original charter was no doubt restored. In about 1280 the abbey was still in Acre.<sup>222</sup>

In the second half of the thirteenth century the Mamluks made steady encroachments on Frankish lands. The first monastic casualty may have been Belmont, for in 1268 Baibars' forces, moving northwards towards Antioch, encamped near the abbey, laying waste its estates. A letter, clearly written by a monk of the abbey, described the incursion and reported that the brothers were now living in the city of Tripoli.<sup>223</sup> Some of the community seems to have fled instead to Cyprus, for in 1269 the abbot of Beaulieu told the General Chapter of the Cistercian Order that he had given them shelter. But in 1282 the abbot of Belmont was at Nephin and in 1287 at Tripoli.<sup>224</sup> The monks who had remained on the mainland probably also took refuge at Beaulieu when Tripoli fell in 1289.

Antioch was captured in 1268 by Sultan Baibars. There followed

220. Urban IV, nos.44,210,211.

221. 'Inventaire', no.130.

222. Itinéraires à Jérusalem, p.235.

223. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge, ed. R. Röhrich ii, pp.287-88.

224. Stat. Ord. Cist., iii, p.76-40 (1269); 'Documents et mémoires servant de preuves à l'histoire de l'île de Chypre sous les Lusignans', ed. L. de Mas-Latrie, Histoire de l'île de Chypre, iii, pp.662-68; Orig. Cist. Tomus, p.139.

a massacre of the Christians and St Paul's was named by the Sultan among the places whose inhabitants had all been killed.<sup>225</sup> A few monks at least may have survived the slaughter, for the house was mentioned in July 1291 when Pope Nicolas IV ordered the archdeacon of Famagusta to appoint an abbot and end a long vacancy. Bulls of Pope John XXII show that the seat of the abbey was now its former priory of the Cross in the diocese of Limassol, the modern Stavro Vouni.<sup>226</sup>

Either the refugees from Antioch fled there in 1268, or the monks already administering the priory in Cyprus assumed the name and rights of their mother-house. The Cistercian monks of Jubin also fled in 1268, for the following year the abbot of Beaulieu in Cyprus claimed to have given them shelter. In 1282 the General Chapter of the Order declared the abbot of Jubin deposed, since he had not been to Citeaux for fifteen years, that is, since 1267.<sup>227</sup> From Cyprus the monks moved to Italy, at some point between 1294 and 1297, and by 1333 at least were installed at the house of St Mary of Jubin near Genoa.<sup>228</sup>

In 1289 Tripoli and in 1291 Acre were captured. Many convents survived the final destruction of Acre. St Mary of the Latins was re-established at its priory of St Philip at Agira in Sicily<sup>229</sup> and St Mary

225. al-Maqrizi I ii, pp.191-94; al-Aini, pp.231-32.

226. Nicolas III, no.5765; John XXII, nos.26346,26347,44675,60647,6065. See 'Documents nouveaux à l'histoire de l'île de Chypre', pp.588-90.

227. Stat. Ord. Cist., iii, pp.76-40 (1269), 226-46 (1282).

228. John XXII, nos.60038,60110,60171; Orig. Cist. Tomus, pp.217-18; Richard, 'L'abbaye de Jubin', p.72.

229. White, Latin Monasticism, pp.214-24;

Major reappeared in Cyprus in the fourteenth century.<sup>230.</sup> The canons of the Holy Sepulchre may have been in the East as late as May 1291, but evidently escaped to settle at Perugia in Italy.<sup>231.</sup> Mount Sion took refuge at the casal of the Holy Spirit near Calatanisetta.<sup>232.</sup> In 1289 the abbot of Josaphat sought permission from the patriarch of Jerusalem to travel to Italy to restore order in his monastery's properties there. By September 1290 he was at Messina and had begun the task of reasserting his house's property rights and disciplining the monks in its obediences. By March 1292 he and the convent had settled at the priory of St Mary Magdalene at Messina.<sup>233.</sup> The latest date at which a member of the chapter of Nazareth is to be found in the East is 1288. The see was transferred to Barletta in Italy and later united with the see of Trani.<sup>234.</sup> Between 1284 and 1291 the canons of Bethlehem are lost to view and P. Riant suggested that their place as the bishop's chapter may have been taken by the religious order of the brothers of Bethlehem, who wore the Dominican habit and were established at Clamecy in the county of Nevers in France from at least 1211. After the loss of Holy Land the see of Bethlehem was transferred to Clamecy and was later united with the abbey of St Maurice en Valais.<sup>235.</sup> We

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230. Francesco Amadi i, p.271.

231. 'Unrituel et un breviaire', p.464, note 4.

232. 'Chartes du Mont Sion', p.31.

233. Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.59, pp.4-5; Amico, Reg.fol.nos.366,370.

234. Nicolas IV, no.165; Le 'Liber Censuum' de l'église romaine, ed. P. Fabre and L. Duchesne, p.237.

235. Riant, 'L'Église de Bethléem', pp.630-35; Le 'Liber Censuum', p.237.

cannot be certain of what became of other communities. Some perhaps moved to Europe or even decayed before the final collapse of the crusader states; others may not have survived the fall; the Premonstratensian Order retains a tradition that twenty-six monks and the abbot of St Samuel were martyred when Acre was captured.<sup>236</sup> It is possible to speculate about the fate of certain churches. The canons of the Temple of Our Lord may have taken refuge at Barletta in Italy, where they seem to have had property. Among a number of documents from the cathedral of Barletta was found King Asalric's charter of 1166 confirming the abbey's possessions.<sup>237</sup> It is still possible that the discovery of other documents may shed light on the later whereabouts of other churches. But it must be concluded that the communities that were not sufficiently farsighted or did not have the means to take refuge in Cyprus or the West before 1291 would have been fortunate indeed to escape in the panic and confusion that followed the fall of Acre.

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236. Backmund, Monasticon Premonstratense 1, p.400.

237. 'Un diplôme du Temple', p.311. The editor suggested, however, that the document came from the archives of the church of Nazareth.

CHAPTER TWOMATERIAL ASSETS IN THE EAST AND IN THE WESTI. In the East.

A church had visible wealth in the size and ornamentation of its buildings and in the offerings of pilgrims and the faithful. And in this respect the Latin monasteries of the crusader states must have been among the richest in the Christian world. But they were also landowners, with properties throughout the East and as such could not remain untouched by changing political circumstances. Although they were protected and favoured by the rulers of the various Frankish states, the security of their lands depended upon the strength of Muslim power. Even minor attacks might disrupt the routine of cultivation, ruin the crops and lay waste the land. The misfortunes of 1187, when Jerusalem and large areas of the hinterland were lost, affected all landowners, whether lay or ecclesiastical, and because the laity did not afterwards have the means or the inclination to make endowments, new sources of revenue became essential.

On the eve of the First Crusade three of the future monastic houses were in use as mosques or Muslim colleges. Contrary to the belief of the Franks, the Temple of Our Lord had never been anything but a mosque, but the church of St Anne had become a college and Hebron an important mosque and centre of pilgrimage. Muslim religious institutions received endowment in the form of waqf, whereby the revenues of a piece of property, mainly real estate, were assigned to them for pious and

charitable uses. The tenant thereby lost his right to dispose of the land. Waqf gifts were made in perpetuity, unless the endowed institution was lost to unbelievers, whereupon the land reverted to the legitimate heirs of the donor, or was used for the public good.<sup>1</sup> In Jerusalem there were also two Latin monasteries in existence before 1099, St Mary of the Latins and St Mary Magdalene. But most churches were in the hands of the Greek clergy. Priests served under the patriarch at the Holy Sepulchre and monks occupied Mount Thabor before the installation of Latins. The church of Bethlehem was in Christian hands because of payments made to the Muslim authorities for its protection. Other churches, while they seem to have been deserted in 1099, had originally been served by Greek clergy. Churches could and did acquire property in Christian lands, but they were also permitted to own land in Muslim territories. Muslim law guaranteed protection for dhimmis, conquered Jews and Christians, as people of the Scripture and regulated their payment of taxes to the state, including the poll tax or djizya, their civil obligations and their ownership of property. The land of each dhimma became the waqf of all Muslims, so that while he retained the use of the property he paid the land tax, or kharadj and could not dispose of the land.<sup>2</sup> The Greek monastery of Mount Sinai possessed privileges from the time of Caliph al-Hakim and throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the monks, their possessions and those whom they sheltered from Bedouin attacks or the aggression of Muslim

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1. W. Heffening, 'Wakf', The Encyclopaedia of Islam iv, pp.1096-1103.
  2. D.B. MacDonald, 'Dhimma', The Encyclopaedia of Islam i, pp.958-59; C. Cahen, 'Dhimma' and 'Djizya', The Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition ii, pp.227-31, 559-62.

officials were guaranteed safety by the Fatimid caliphs. The monastery's properties were in the care of an Egyptian agent who apparently collected revenues and used them for the maintenance of the monks and their guests, as well as representing their interests before the Fatimid authorities. Besides estates in the immediate neighbourhood, Mount Sinai received revenues from property in Cairo, Tinnis, Damietta, Alexandria and elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> Mount Sinai, a particularly venerable and thriving community, was no doubt untypical of Christian monasteries, but we can see that it was possible for them to prosper under Muslim rule. Mount Sinai, in fact, also enjoyed the favour of the Latin Church: in 1217 it requested and received the protection of the Holy See and in 1223, when this was reaffirmed, was granted a tithing privilege.<sup>4</sup>

In 1099 the richest religious institutions were without doubt the mosques and colleges and the looting of the Temple of Our Lord was the cause of bitter quarrels among the crusading leaders. When Jerusalem fell, Tancred and Gaston of Bearn gave their banners to the Muslims sheltering within the Temple. According to a Norman-Sicilian account of the Crusade, Tancred was enraged when this guarantee of protection was flouted and the Muslims slaughtered. The writer said nothing more of Tancred's part in the sack, but other chroniclers did not hesitate to attribute responsibility for the massacre to him. They described how he broke into the Haram, killing all he met, and forced his way into the Dome of the Rock where he knew there were Muslims hiding.<sup>5</sup>

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3. Fatimid Decrees, ed. S.M. Stern, pp.35-85, especially pp.50-51.

4. Honorius III, nos.709,4587. See also no.5789.

5. Anonymi Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum, pp.91-92; Peter Tudebod, pp.109-10; 'Tudebodus imitatus', p.222; Ralph of Caen, pp.695-96.

Albert of Aix alleged that renegade Muslims had told Tancred of the Temple's great wealth even before the city's capture<sup>6</sup> and in the light of this, the raising of Tancred's banner would look less like a guarantee of protection for Muslim fugitives than an attempt to claim possession of the building. Indeed the crusaders took as their own any building upon which they could put a sign of ownership.<sup>7</sup> And, as we have seen, a similar incident at the time of the occupation of Bethlehem had also caused unease among Tancred's fellow-knights.<sup>8</sup>

Inside the Dome of the Rock Tancred was apparently distracted from the massacre by the sight of a great silver image, which stood upon a high throne and was said to have weighed so much that hardly could six men carry it or ten men lift it. Reasoning that it must represent Muhammad and was therefore impure, Tancred had it removed and broken up. His men then stripped the silver and jewels from the walls and columns of the mosque and looted silver vessels and some 500 pots of silver from the treasury. All the booty was divided among them. Complaints were afterwards brought against Tancred and before an assembly of the crusading leaders he was accused by Arnulf of Rohes of appropriating the Temple's treasure for himself. Arnulf complained that he had been despoiled of the wealth that should have belonged to him as patriarch of Jerusalem. In reply Tancred declared that he had used the spoil for the public good, to care for the needy and redeem captives. Having

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6. Albert of Aix, p.479.

7. Fulcher of Chartres, p.304.

8. See above pp. 32-33.

heard both sides the crusaders gave judgment that although his motives were pious, Tancred had indeed looted what should have been regarded as a Christian church. He restored 700 marks to the Temple, a sum that could only have been a fraction of the booty - the silver on the interior walls alone was worth about 7,000 marks.<sup>9</sup> Tancred, then, despoiled the Temple of its ornamentation and whatever he could find in the way of portable treasure and justified himself by claiming that the building and its property were Muslim and legitimate spoils of war. This line of thought was emphasised in Albert of Aix's account, in which Tancred was said to have left intact a golden vase suspended from a chain, evidently a reference to the Dome of the Chain, because it had never been used in Muslim religious ceremonies and was reputed to contain the blood of Christ.<sup>10</sup> Tancred's belief that the Dome of the Rock had always been Muslim was correct, but to the other crusaders it had once been a Christian church and would be purified and reconsecrated in due course. Its wealth was therefore inviolate. Evidently a certain amount was restored to the church. But whether the Augustinian canons later acquired any of the former mosque's wealth is impossible to determine, although their properties in the Haram itself had certainly been part of it.<sup>11</sup>

The church of St Anne, a Muslim college in 1099, no doubt had received waqf endowments, but these, as with almost everything about

9. Ralph of Caen, pp.695,703; 'Tudebodus imitatus', pp.222-25; Fulcher of Chartres (pp.301-3), in a compressed version of the incident, said that all the loot was returned to the Temple. Albert of Aix (p.479) alleged that Godfrey of Bouillon also received a share of the booty.

10. Albert of Aix, pp.480-81.

11. 'Un diplôme du Temple', p.312.

the convent are unknown. The church of Hebron, however, had been an extremely wealthy mosque, heavily endowed and owning many villages. It was allegedly despoiled after the First Crusade by Peter of Narbonne, Archbishop of Apamea, and the subsequent fate of its lands and wealth is unknown.<sup>12.</sup>

There is some evidence that churches retained possessions they had held before the Crusade, but it is very slight. The property of the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem was certainly granted to the new Latin patriarch and the crown of Jerusalem supported the Holy Sepulchre's attempts to recover its pre-Crusade possessions in Antioch. In 1135 King Fulk assured the canons that whatever they had owned in Antioch in the time of the Greek patriarchate should be held in perpetuity. In 1139 the prior and canons put their claims before Raymond of Poitiers during his visit to Jerusalem and the following year went themselves to Antioch to try to recover their land. Their claim to a garden which had passed in the meantime to the abbey of St Paul, was conceded in April, Greek witnesses having been called to testify to their rights.<sup>13.</sup> In 1101 Tancred, newly enfeoffed with Galilee and Tiberias, granted the Latin monks of Mount Thabor casalia that the abbey had owned before the Crusade. These lay around the mountain and on the far side of the River Jordan.<sup>14.</sup> But there is only one other surviving reference to property owned in Syria by a monastery before the Crusade, a field of the abbey of St Samuel near the road which led from Jerusalem to Magna

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12. Palestine under the Moslems; pp.309-15; 'Tractatus de inventione sanctorum patriarchorum', p.309.

13. William of Tyre, p.387; Cart. St.-Sep., nos.86,89,90.

14. 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no.1.

Mahomeria.<sup>15</sup>

If we are correct in assuming that these few references mean that it was rare for a church to retain the same property after the Crusade, it is not difficult to see why. At the three churches whose former possessions could still be identified, religious life had continued with only a short break. But elsewhere, as we have seen, political and religious disorder in the area had ruined churches and dispersed their clergy. In the absence of a stable community, property could have fallen into other hands and the charters which would have proved ownership lost. Even Mount Thabor owned casalia that were either uninhabited because of the wars or in Muslim hands. And in the case of Muslim institutions, endowment tended to be usufruct of land rather than actual possession and their treasure was looted at the time of the Crusade.

When Latin communities were established they were naturally endowed by their founders. To the Benedictine monks at St Mary of Josaphat Duke Godfrey 'granted a most abundant patrimony'; restoring the churches of Galilee, Tancred 'endowed (them) with great patrimonies'; Baldwin I, when he compelled his wife to enter the convent of St Anne, 'increased its possessions and enlarged its patrimony'.<sup>16</sup> New foundation and endowment continued throughout the twelfth century and in monastic charters the kings and queens of Jerusalem figured prominently among the benefactors. And while their consent was necessary for most other lay gifts, they also gave active encouragement to

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15. Mayer, 'Sankt Samuel', p.70.

16. William of Tyre, pp.376-77, 384,451.

endowment. The entry of the member of a noble family into a monastery could be of great benefit to that house. Many of the early gifts to the abbey of Josaphat were made to Abbot Gelduin by his immediate kinsmen: in 1126, for example, the casal of Kyaria was given by his brother Galeran on the instructions of Countess Alice of Corbeil, Galeran's sister-in-law, and with the approval of their cousin and overlord, Joscelin of Edessa; also casalia in the territory of Mamistra, the gift of Gelduin's cousin Cecilia, the lady of Tarsus.<sup>17</sup> Most of the evidence for gifts comes from the twelfth century and particularly before the reign of King Amalric. In the later years of the century the Latin states were under increasing pressure from Saladin and the territorial losses after 1187 deprived religious houses of lands they already held and at the same time meant that there was less land in Christian hands from which donations could be made.

It is clear that most gifts to religious houses were eleemosynary from the first or ultimately covered by a confirmation made in elemosinam. Thus the gifts of Cecilia of Tarsus to Josaphat in 1126 were not said to be eleemosynary, but in 1181 were included in Bohemond of Antioch's confirmation, made in elemosinam.<sup>18</sup> Unlike the grant

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17. Amico, Reg. fol. nos. 206, 207. See J. La Monte, 'The Lords of Le Puiset on the Crusades', Speculum, xvii (1942), pp. 109-10.

18. Amico, Reg. fol. nos. 207, 284. Documents are occasionally deceptive. In some lists only one or two properties may specifically be called eleemosynary, but this does not necessarily mean that the others were not also held in elemosinam. In other lists property that is known to have been eleemosynary was not distinguished: Baldwin II in 1130 confirmed all Josaphat's lands in a charter that was not expressly issued in elemosinam: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no. 18.

of a fief by a lord to his vassal, in return for homage and the performance of certain services, an eleemosynary gift to a church entailed no service on the part of the recipient than that of prayer for the soul of the donor and the persons named by him. There were, in fact, only two prelates in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the bishop of Lydda and the archbishop of Nazareth, who held fiefs from the crown which required knight-service in return.<sup>19</sup> A further advantage to the church of eleemosynary gifts was that land held on these terms came under the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts.

This preference for eleemosynary endowment is borne out by the statements of chroniclers. Of Duke Godfrey, William of Tyre said: 'It would take a long time to enumerate what he granted to God's churches, and how great they were, from his pious generosity; for it means collecting from the text of the privileges granted to churches what and how much this man, filled with God, gave for the relief of his soul to venerable places'. According to William also, the churches of Galilee continued in his own time to pray for the soul of Tancred, who had restored them and endowed them so richly.<sup>20</sup>

Very few eleemosynary grants laid down the precise form of prayer service. In 1135 Adelaide Embriaco granted twelve besants and one hundred and twenty ratia of oil a year to the Holy Sepulchre in elemosinam. The canons agreed to remember her, her son and the soul of her husband Hugh in their prayers and to commemorate each year the anniversary of Hugh's death and the souls of her children. In 1177 Patriarch Amalric

19. John of Ibelin, 'Livre', p.426. See Mayer, The Crusades, p.168.

20. William of Tyre, pp.377,384.

made an eleemosynary grant to his chapter of his rights in a vineyard. On the day he died the canons were to feed thirteen poor people and on St Michael's Day should give two candles worth one besant to the patriarch's chapel. Queen Melisende and Baldwin III gave Casracos to Josaphat in return for masses for themselves and their family, living or dead. And, indeed, prayers were offered daily for the soul of the Queen at an altar near her tomb at the abbey. In 1180, when the remaining half of the casal of Bethamar was given to Josaphat by Reginald of Châtillon, the monks agreed to have mass celebrated in their church and to keep a lamp burning before the sepulchre of the Virgin and a candle during mass, vespers and matins. In 1181 Mount Thabor received two gardens from Alice, serving-woman to the countess of Tripoli, in return for masses said daily for her soul.<sup>21</sup> When on one occasion property given in elemosinam by Queen Melisende to a house, the abbey of St Sabas, was sold to the Holy Sepulchre, St Sabas guaranteed that its monks would continue to perform the prayer-service owed for the gift.<sup>22</sup>

Latin communities enjoyed a variety of revenues. They profited from the offerings of pilgrims, they kept the tithes of much of their own property and enjoyed the tithes paid by others; they shared the funeral dues of those to whom they gave burial with the parish churches and benefited from legacies; they themselves owned churches in cities and casalia throughout the Latin states. Their real estate included casalia, gastinae, vineyards, olive groves and plantations. In towns

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21. Cart. St-Sép., nos.96,168; Chartes de Terre Sainte, nos.33,34,41; William of Tyre, p.877; 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no.21.

22. Cart. St-Sép., no.140.

they owned houses, shops, gardens and other kinds of property. And they received money rents, gifts of foodstuffs and commercial privileges. At their height these possessions must have assured them incomes that exceeded their immediate needs, the maintenance of the community and the upkeep of the church.

Some of the churches owned by monasteries were said to be Latin, but others were still served by clergy of the Greek or Eastern Churches, such at St Stephen's in Jerusalem, which belonged to St Mary of the Latins.<sup>23</sup> The conversion or reconversion of mahomeries, former mosques, into Christian churches was a common practice. The important priory at Mont Pèlerin dependent on the Holy Sepulchre had originally been a mahomerie, as had Josaphat's churches outside Sidon and at Ascalon and St Samuel's church of St John at Nablus.<sup>24</sup> But most of the churches in the possession of monastic houses were the parish churches of casalia and towns. St Mary of Josaphat itself had a parish in which no other institution might build an oratory without the permission of the abbey and diocesan ordinary, as did St Mary and All Saints in Acre.<sup>25</sup> Three parishes are of particular interest. The churches of Jaffa, Nablus and Ascalon were subject to the Holy Sepulchre, the Temple of Our Lord and Bethlehen respectively.<sup>26</sup> The town of Jaffa had been claimed by Patriarch Daimbert as part of Godfrey of Bouillon's legacy to the church of Jerusalem, but his ambitions were

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23. 'Zur Geschichte der Latina'; Theoderich, p.43.

24. Cart. St-Sép., no.91; Amico, Reg. fol. nos.205,261; Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.28; Mayer, 'Sankt Samuel', p.69.

25. Gregory IX, no.4013; Alexander IV, no.129.

26. James of Vitry, 'Historia orientalis', p.1078; William of Tyre, p.473.

frustrated by the succession of Baldwin I, as was a later attempt to claim the town by Patriarch Stephen, appointed in 1129.<sup>27</sup> But the church of St Peter at Jaffa, the former seat of a bishop, had been given by Patriarch Evremar to his chapter in 1103 and was administered by a dean: one appeared in <sup>1158</sup>(1176).<sup>28</sup> In about 1168 Pope Alexander III heard a complaint from the canons that the patriarch and King Amalric, who before his accession had been count of Jaffa, had collaborated to take away their church in an attempt to revive the old see of Jaffa. The Pope commanded that if the patriarch persisted with his schemes, the Holy Sepulchre was to be satisfactorily compensated for the loss of its church and he added that he wished to hear no more complaints on the subject. The project seems to have been abandoned. But the canon's rights over this parish were always jealously guarded. The Hospital of St John, which already had one church in the town, was forbidden by the Pope in 1168 to build another without the permission of the patriarch and chapter of the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>29</sup>

The Temple of Our Lord owned the parish church at Nablus and administered it through a dean. In 1168 the abbot's permission was necessary for the erection of another parish church there by the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>30</sup>

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27. William of Tyre, pp.594-95. See Mayer, The Crusades, pp.66-68.

28. Cart. St-Sép., nos.36,61; Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.38.

29. Cart. St-Sép., nos.159,162. It is perhaps significant that at about the same time two new sees, Hebron and Petra, were successfully established; William of Tyre, p.944.

30. Cart. St-Sép., no.160. See F.-M. Abel, 'Naplouse. Essai de Topographie', Revue biblique, xxxii (1923), pp.127-28.

The episcopal see established at Bethlehem in 1110 was intended to take the place of the former diocese of Ascalon, since that city was still in Muslim possession. Ascalon became instead a parish church subject to the new cathedral.<sup>31</sup> By the pontificate of Lucius II (March 1144 - February 1145), there had been attempts to alter the arrangement, successfully overcome by that Pope. But when Ascalon was finally captured in August 1153, the patriarch of Jerusalem reconsecrated the church of St Paul, installed a chapter of Latin canons and appointed a canon of the Holy Sepulchre as bishop. His protests ignored, Bishop Gerard of Bethlehem carried an appeal to the papal curia and secured from the pope the removal of the new bishop of Ascalon and the confirmation of Bethlehem's rights, which were upheld and reaffirmed by subsequent papal bulls.<sup>32</sup>

Cathedral churches naturally had rights over the parishes within their dioceses. But monasteries also had churches often in their own casalia and sometimes in those of other landowners. The number of parish churches in monastic hands was almost certainly greater than is first apparent, for laymen did not usually confirm purely ecclesiastical possessions in their charters. Our knowledge of the property of the Temple of Our Lord and St Samuel of Montjoie, for example, depends almost entirely on the evidence of a royal charter. Difficulties could arise between a bishop and a monastery owning a church within his diocese. Bishops were concerned for their rights on two accounts.

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31. William of Tyre, p.473.

32. Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum p.Chr. natum 1198, ed. P. Jaffé and S. Löwenfeld, no.8699; William of Tyre, pp.812-13; Riant, 'L'Église de Bethléem', pp.654-65.

They feared firstly that the churches belonging to a monastery would create within the diocese areas where their own authority was not recognised. And indeed a monastery's privileges often extended to all its properties: Pope Alexander III's privilege to Mount Sion in 1179 exempted all clergy and all places belonging to the church from sentences of excommunication imposed by the local bishop. In 1217 Pope Honorius III exempted persons and churches belonging to the Holy Sepulchre from sentences of excommunication and interdict, unless their inclusion could be shown to be justified and in 1220 he permitted them to continue to celebrate divine services behind closed doors, in low voices and without bells. He said that this privilege had first been granted by Pope Adrian IV, but the bull to which he referred has not survived and was not mentioned in any other papal privilege.<sup>33</sup>

Bishops were also anxious lest they lose the profits normally accruing to them from the churches in their sees, since a monastery that owned a parish church appropriated its revenues. Tithes above all were the cause of friction. In Europe the parishioners rendered a tithe or tenth of all their produce to their church, a quarter of which was paid to the bishop. But in the crusader states, where the population of a casal was largely Muslim, the tithe was paid instead by the Frankish owner of the land directly to the cathedral church, which was responsible for distributing it among the parishes.<sup>34</sup> Where a monastery owned a casal and its tithes, it would pay nothing to the local bishop; where

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33. 'Chartes du Mont Sion', p.49; Honorius III, no.646; S. Nakielski, De sacra antiquitate et statu Ordinis Canonici custodum sacrosancti Sepulchri Domini Hierosolymitani in gratiam Miehovianae Congregationis libitres, pp.180-83.

34. Mayer, The Crusades, p.167.

it owned a casal and its church, it may well have been reluctant to pay the tithe to the bishop instead of directly to its own priest; and where it owned the church and the tithe only, it might receive the money directly from the landowner. Because of the bishops' fears, agreements were often drawn up to define their jurisdictions and financial rights in the churches within their sees. In 1171 Bishop Bernard of Lydda granted the Holy Sepulchre permission to build parish churches in five of its casalia in his see. He stipulated that the parish priests should be subject to him, attend his synods and uphold his sentences of excommunication and interdict; the bishop was to perform the customary episcopal blessings, consecrations and ordinations in the five churches. The Holy Sepulchre agreed to render half the tithes of these casalia to the church of Lydda, except from animals and birds used as food by the canons.<sup>35</sup> In 1138 the bishop of Lydda agreed with St Mary of Josaphat that the chaplain at its church in the casal of Saphoria should be subject to him and that half the tithes should be paid to him. In 1178 the bishop of Tiberias made an agreement over this abbey's church at the casal of St George. When the bishop laid an interdict upon his see the clergy of the church were forbidden to grant absolution, although they might continue to celebrate divine office behind closed doors; they were forbidden to give burial to anyone except the brothers themselves, their servants and Syrians or to perform baptism or marriage ceremonies. But they might freely accept anyone married as a brother or sister of the church, with the

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35. Cart. St-Sép., no.181.

consent of the marriage partner, and receive property by gift or endowment. It was also agreed that in return for the right to keep the tithes of Josaphat's lands in the diocese, St George should pay ten besants a year to the church of Tiberias, from which it can be inferred that Josaphat had assigned all those tithes for the use of its church.<sup>36.</sup>

The conflict between St Mary of Josaphat and the archbishops of Nazareth over the parish of Legio, on the other hand, lasted for more than a century and at one point at least became violent. The tithes of Legio were given to Josaphat in 115 by Bishop Bernard of Nazareth and the church in 1121. This was one of the four churches later accorded special papal protection, for which the abbey paid an annual census of one ounce of gold to the Holy See. Bernard's successor, Archbishop William, however, reclaimed the church and its tithes and proceeded to evict the monks. There followed a temporary peace, brought about by the mediation of the patriarch of Jerusalem, but the death in 1143 of Pope Innocent II, who had granted the privilege of protection, gave the archbishop the opportunity to instal his own chaplain and forbid the abbey's priest to perform his duties. During the celebration of mass one day, the priest was assaulted by one of the archbishop's clerks and had to be protected by members of the congregation. The monks complained repeatedly to the patriarch, citing the privileges of the Holy See, but were continually rebuffed. To appease the archbishop of Nazareth they agreed to pay him annually one gold mark, a ratl of wax, another of incense and a day's procuration at Josaphat for himself and his retinue. In spite of continuing efforts

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36. Chartes de Terre Sainte, nos.20, 40.

to get help from the papacy, Josaphat was obliged in 1161 to make another agreement with Archbishop Lethard. The terms of this settlement laid down that the chaplain was to be subject to the archbishop and that a quarter of the tithes of Legio and the casal of Thanis were to be paid to Nazareth, while Josaphat retained the rest and the tithes of its demesne land. The controversy over the tithes of Legio and Thanis was not in fact decisively ended until the middle of the thirteenth century when Josaphat's rights were affirmed.<sup>37.</sup>

As well as parish churches monasteries might acquire existing religious houses: St Quarantene, the church on the Mount of Temptation, was given to the Holy Sepulchre in 1135, a canon Reginald being installed as prior, and the Temple of Our Lord owned the house of Ain Karim outside Jerusalem.<sup>38.</sup>

Latin churches differed widely in the extent of their landed wealth, even when allowance is made for gaps in the documentary evidence, particularly for northern Syria. Problems are also created by Latin scribes' attempts to transcribe or translate Arab place-names. Spelling was not always consistent and different names for one casal can be found even in the same document.<sup>39.</sup> Because of these difficulties we can reach only approximate figures for the number of estates in monastic hands. St Mary of the Latins, whose last surviving list of property dates from 1173, is known to have owned only ten casalia and half of

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37. Chartes de Terre Sainte, nos.9,24,35,55; 'Über die Papsturkunden für Josaphat', no.4; Amico, Reg. fol. no.177.

38. Cart. St-Sép., no.27; 'Un diplôme du Temple', p.313.

39. See, for instance, Riant, 'L'Église de Bethléem', pp.654-61.

another. The Holy Sepulchre is known to have had sixty-eight casalia and gastinae, twenty-three of which had been given by Godfrey of Bouillon. The Temple of Our Lord in 1166 owned twelve casalia and gastinae, two-thirds of another, half of another and the monastery of Ain Karim, but these were only its properties in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Mount Sion in 1179 had thirty-two casalia and gastinae. Josaphat seems to have had about fifty and parts of two others, some of which lay beyond the Jordan and as far north as Edessa and Mamistra. The lists of Mount Thabor's property are incomplete and not easy to reconcile with one another, but the abbey seems to have had at least fifty-seven casalia, most of which formed an estate around the mountain or lay on the other side of Lake Tiberias; the abbey also owned the mountain on which it stood. The church of the Nativity at Bethlehem owned the town itself and about thirty-three casalia. St Samuel at its height in 1185 had nine casalia and gastinae, as well as Montjoie, but again these were only its Jerusalemite properties.<sup>40</sup> But no church held all of its estates at one time. Casalia were continually being added, sold, rented or lost to the Muslims. Some were acquired only piece by piece: Fiase, a casal of the Holy Sepulchre in the territory of Caesarea was such a case. During the reign of Baldwin II (1118 - 1125) the canons were given half of the casal; in 1129 they acquired the tithe. They owned the whole by 1153.<sup>41</sup> Because the changes were not always noted in papal bulls of confirmation, the resources of monasteries seem greater than they can actually have been at any given time.

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40. See below pp. 207-19.

41. Cart. St-Sep., nos. 53, 70, 71.

And compared with estates of monasteries in Europe during this period, when monasticism was at its height, they appear very unimpressive indeed. In his work on the economic history of the Middle Ages, J.W. Thompson cites the abbey of Gandersheim, which at its foundation in 956 was given some eleven thousand manors. Fulda, having suffered despoliation, had recovered sufficiently by the twelfth century to own three thousand manors in Saxony, in Thuringia, in the Rhineland and in Bavaria and Swabia. In contrast the abbey of St Ulrich was considered poor with only two hundred and three manors, each of which consisted of between one and six villages.<sup>42</sup> The properties of two English abbeys, Crowland and Ramsey, both founded before the Norman Conquest, are perhaps more comparable. In 1086 Crowland had twenty-five estates and by the end of Edward III's reign (1377), a total of fifty. But these consisted of various types of holdings, not always in land. In some places, for example, the abbey had only the advowson of the church. Ramsey in 1086 was the fourth wealthiest house in England with twenty-five large vills and most of the land in another ten. Its landed wealth evidently remained constant in the centuries after the Conquest.<sup>43</sup> But as the gross disparity between continental and English monasteries reveals, comparisons have only a limited value. In England Ramsey was considered rich, yet by continental standards St Ulrich was poor. The monasteries of Palestine and Syria were not great landowners by European standards. But other factors must be taken into consideration, the

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42. J.W. Thompson, Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages (300-1300) 11, p.604.

43. F.M. Page, Estates of Crowland Abbey, pp.9-11; J. Ambrose Raftis, The Estates of Ramsey Abbey, pp.1-2, 21.

actual availability of land, which in the Middle East was not great, the fertility of the soil, the climate, the density of population, natural disasters, the type of crops cultivated and the quality and size of the annual harvest. Because Palestine and Syria suffered periodically from earthquakes, plagues and Muslim incursions, the yield of the land must have fluctuated dramatically from year to year. The real question, whether Latin monasteries were wealthy by local standards, cannot be satisfactorily answered. The archives of the crown and lay lords have not, on the whole, survived. The Venetian community was given a third of the lordship of Tyre in 1123 and as a result owned twenty-one complete casalia and a third of another fifty-one.<sup>44</sup> This, of course, was not the total of its interests in the crusader states. The Hospital of St John at one time or another owned one hundred and seventy-one properties in the Kingdom of Jerusalem alone and was therefore a good deal richer than any individual monastery.<sup>45</sup> But as a military Order it was given castles and towers to defend and garrison; many of its lands were in fact acquired from monastic churches and in 1255 it was given the abbey of Mount Thabor and all its estates and in 1259 was leased the lordship of Nazareth.<sup>46</sup> But in view of the fact that monasteries held their lands in elemosinas, providing military service only in times of grave national emergency, and were therefore free to devote the revenues of their lands almost wholly to their own

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44. J. Frawley, 'Etude de quelques problèmes agraires et sociaux d'une seigneurie croisée au XIIIe siècle', Byzantion, xii/xiii, p.12.

45. Riley-Smith, Knights of St John, pp.425, 477-507.

46. Cart. gen., nos. 2726, 2936.

needs, the major houses at least in the twelfth century may justly be considered quite prosperous by the standards of the Latin settlement.

The shortage of evidence for properties in Tripoli and Antioch means that no pattern in the distribution of estates in these areas can be discerned. In the Kingdom of Jerusalem, however, it can be seen that the bulk of monastic lands were in the royal domain, around Jerusalem, Nablus, Hebron and Ascalon, which after its capture in 1153 became an apanage of the crown. In contrast there were few estates around two other areas of royal domain, Acre and Tyre; a third of Tyre was, of course, held by the Venetians. The density of estates in the royal domain, as we have already noted, reflects the leading role taken by the crown in the patronage of religious institutions. But it can also be seen from the number of estates in the territory of Caesarea that its lords and archbishops must have been enthusiastic benefactors of the church. In Galilee there was naturally a concentration of properties, the lands of two local churches, Mount Thabor and Nazareth, which in the middle of the thirteenth century were given en bloc to the Hospital of St John.<sup>47</sup>

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Rents in foodstuffs and similar goods were given to houses for the maintenance of the community. In 1132 the canons of the Holy Sepulchre were granted the right to the fisheries of the prince of Galilee for any one week between Septuagesima and Easter. If the weather prevented fishing on Lake Tiberias, they were to receive compensation. They

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47. See below pp. 220-22.

themselves owned a boat for fishing on the Lake. They were also to receive one day's aid and angaria, or boon-work, each year from the prince's fishermen. Guy Capriolus gave Josaphat as food for the brothers two hundred pounds of fish from the Mamistra fisheries, together with one hundred mecuchia of salt. Robert of St Lô gave another five hundred pounds of fish each year from his fishery and Prince Roger of Antioch added five hundred eels to these gifts. St Mary of the Latins and Mount Thabor had similar rights.<sup>48.</sup> Perishable foodstuffs were perhaps consumed by a local priory, although certain commodities may have been salted and transported to the mother-house. But often it must have been easier to commute gifts in kind into cash payments, or to sell them locally: Mount Thabor in 1181 granted five hundred eels originally given to it by Prince Bohemond of Antioch to the Hospital.<sup>49.</sup>

Almost all the Franks in Palestine and Syria lived in the towns. Some lived in rural colonial settlements and there are the remains of buildings in country districts which may have been farms or manor houses, but these are very few in number.<sup>50.</sup> The Franks faced the problem of administering and exploiting their lands from a distance. For religious institutions the difficulties were increased by the fact that their estates were not always concentrated in one area, but scattered throughout all the crusader states. Josaphat, as we have seen, had possessions

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48. Cart. St-Sép., no.74; Amico, Reg. fol. no.193; Chartes de Terre Sainte no.4; 'Zur Geschichte der Latins'; Cart. gen. no.655; 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no.23.

49. Cart. gen., no.655.

50. Benvenisti, The Crusaders in the Holy Land, pp.235-45.

in the north near Edessa and Mamistra. Urban properties, however distant, could be easily dealt with. Houses, shops, gardens and similar holdings were rented to lay tenants. There are many examples in the archives of the Holy Sepulchre of such transactions with lay tenants.<sup>51</sup> Rural properties, however, presented greater problems. The peasantry were Arab-speaking, with their own customs and their own methods of agriculture. There is little detailed information about the way religious houses administered their ordinary casalia, but in general the absentee Frankish landlords allowed the traditional way of life to continue, maintaining authority over their estates by the use of various agents. The casalia were administered by a council of elders under a rays, who acted as the intermediary between a lord and his peasantry; his duties probably included the supervision of the farming, the levy of exactions from the casal and the administration of justice, enforcing fines and confiscations on behalf of the lord. The post carried with it advantages, such as freedom from certain dues and a larger house and more land than the other peasants.<sup>52</sup> When in 1255 the Hospital of St John took possession of casalia in Galilee that had formerly belonged to Mount Thabor, it entrusted them to the care of rayeses who had no doubt held their posts under the abbey's lordship.<sup>53</sup> A lord, however, made use of other agents, including a dragoman, or interpreter. On lay estates at least this official seems to have been the intermediary between the lord and the rayeses of a group of villages

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51. Cart. St-Sép., nos.104,105,107.

52. J.S.C. Riley-Smith, The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem 1174-1277, pp.47-49.

53. Cart. gen., no.2747.

and he may have dealt with the administration of justice.<sup>54.</sup>

Dragomans also appear in the documents of Latin churches. In 1109 and 1121 an interpreter, Martin Nazarenus, was a witness for the bishop of Nazareth, on whose lordship he was employed. But the monks of Josaphat had a dragoman, William, in about 1124 and the canons of the Holy Sepulchre had an interpreter, John, at Magna Mahomeria.<sup>55.</sup> But it is impossible to ascertain from these references whether the officials performed the same duties as on lay estates or even whether they were at all widely employed by monasteries.

The problem of administration was dealt with by the Hospital of St John by the establishment of obediences on its estates both in the East and in the West. Commanderies with a convent of brothers living under the rule of a commander were set up when estates in a particular area grew sufficiently numerous. They administered the property locally and paid taxes, chief of which was the responsion, a third of their revenues. In Syria commanderies were located mainly at castles and in the major cities.<sup>56.</sup> Religious houses set up priories of canons or monks from the main convent in a number of places in Syria. Some were at churches with a holy shrine or relic which had become a centre of pilgrimage; others perhaps administered hospices. But where a monastery's properties happened to be particularly numerous or important a priory may have been used to represent its interests at the courts of the local lay and ecclesiastical lords, oversee the acquisition,

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54. Riley-Smith, The Feudal Nobility, pp.53-54.

55. Amico, Reg. fol. nos.176,202; Chartes de Terre Sainte no.9; Cart. St-Sép., no.129.

56. Riley-Smith, Knights of St John, pp.426-27.

disposal and administration of estates, collect revenues and rents and arrange for their transport to the mother-house. But in general this is better observed in the West than in the East, where few subject-churches are specifically called priories and few priors mentioned in documents can be said with certainty to have belonged to local cells rather than to the mother-house. Two such doubtful cases are Prior William of Josaphat and Prior Albert of St Mary of the Latins. It is possible that William was prior in Tyre. The first reference to him dates from 1241, when he was called simply prior. In March 1260 he was involved in a dispute over the tithes of casalia in the archdiocese of Tyre, as prior and the abbot's procurator-general and a charter of 1262 recorded that property in Tyre had been received by Prior William on behalf of the abbey of Josaphat and its convent, but also on his own behalf. At this time the abbot of Josaphat was at the papal curia and did not in fact return to Acre before his death, so that the monastery's affairs were in the charge of its prior or procurators like the notary Hugolin Romanus and Prior Albert of St Mary of the Latins. William could have been the prior of the abbey in Acre. But between these last two references to Prior William, another prior of St Mary of Josaphat, James, appeared, in September 1260 and in 1261. It is therefore possible that William was prior in Tyre, while James was prior in Acre. But, in fact, it is more likely that by 1262 William was dead, for he does not actually seem to have been present when the charter, which appears to have been retrospective, was enacted. In this case the gift to which it referred would perhaps have been made in 1260 when Prior William was in Tyre on other business.<sup>57</sup> The same

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57. Amico, Reg. fol. nos. 327, 346; 'Chartes de Josaphat', no. 78; Chartes de Terre Sainte, nos. 53, 54.

doubt exists over Albert's status. In 1254 he was called prior de Latina when he was acting in Antioch as the procurator of St Mary of Josaphat; in 1262 a prior of St Mary of the Latins appeared anonymously; in 1263 Albert was called the prior of the abbey. But in 1264 he witnessed an agreement between Josaphat and the convent of St Lazarus as prior of St Mary of the Latins in Antioch.<sup>58</sup> Inconsistencies of this kind make it difficult to say positively that a monastery's churches in other cities were priories and housed a small body of monks living in convent. The fact that the priors of the mother-houses and other procurators had to be sent to another city to contest legal suits, receive gifts and dispose of the church's property suggests that there was no prior resident locally. Josaphat, for example, does not seem to have had a permanent representative in Antioch: in May 1207 the abbot had to send the prior and another monk there to begin the repair of dilapidated properties. He mentioned specifically a ruined church which was to be restored so that monks could be installed there, a plan which remained unfulfilled. And by 1213 the administration of Antiochene possessions had been committed to the care of the prior of St Mary of the Latins. As we have seen, the same official was Josaphat's procurator in Antioch later in the century.<sup>59</sup>

The list of subordinate houses known to have been priories is very short. The canons of the Holy Sepulchre were given a schomerie at Mount Pelerin by Raymond of Tripoli to establish a priory. Raymond

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58. Amico, Reg. fol. nos. 331, 352; Chartes de Terre Sainte, nos. 54, 57.

59. 'Chartes de Josaphat', no. 64; C. Cahen, 'Un document concernant les Melkites et les Latins d'Antioche au temps des Croisades', Revue des Études Byzantines, xxix (1971), pp. 286-87. See also the previous note.

promised that when the city of Tripoli fell to the Christians he would make provision for thirteen clerics to serve there. In fact he died in 1105 before this was achieved. The first prior was John, a canon of the Holy Sepulchre, who was himself dead when the church was dedicated in 1106. Two other canons of the Holy Sepulchre appeared as priors of this house, Arnold in 1112 and Wulgrin in 1139. The church was confirmed among the Holy Sepulchre's possessions in 1143, together with its houses and court.<sup>60.</sup> Bethlehem also had a priory at Mont Pelerin as early as 1106 which, as we have seen, seems to have come to be of sufficient importance for it to be chosen by the canons as their administrative centre and place of residence in the thirteenth century.<sup>61.</sup> The casal of Aschar had been given to St Mary of Josaphat by Count Garner of Gray (d. July 1100), who was actually buried in the abbey. Its church was called a chapel in charters of confirmation, but by 1180 there was a priory there and Prior John witnessed the deed confirming the exchange of property in the district between the abbey and St Lazarus of Bethany. In 1186 Prior Bernard witnessed an agreement with the Temple of Our Lord over the tithes of the casal of Saphet and the recently acquired gastinae of Medeciala and in 1187 another charter concerning the boundaries of land in the same area.<sup>62.</sup> But none of these documents give any indication of what part the prior at Aschar had taken in the preceding negotiations. The map of monastic properties

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60. Cart. St-Sép., nos.91,92,97,98.

61. Cart. St-Sép., no.91. See above pp.64-66.

62. Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.29; Albert of Aix, p.521; Amico, Reg. fol. nos.283,292,293.

shows that Josaphat had several casalia in the region of Nablus and Sebastea and the priory at Aschar may have been active in their administration. But it may also be significant in this case that the pilgrim church over the Well of Jacob was at Aschar.<sup>63</sup> An example of a priory that is known to have been used to oversee a church's financial interests in an area was Magna Mahomeria, a casal of the Holy Sepulchre. In 1129 the church there was in the care of a chaplain. By 1159 the casal, developed by the canons as their chief settlement of Latin colonists, had become important enough for the establishment of a priory. One prior, Arnold, subsequently became prior of the Holy Sepulchre itself.<sup>64</sup>

Certain small properties were administered by a single overseer. In 1140 the Holy Sepulchre gave mill-sites on the River Orontes near Antioch in feudo villanie to three Syrians and their heirs. They were to put the mills into operation at their own expense and receive in return half the profits. The remaining half was to be given to the canon or brother in charge of the mills. The overseer seems to have been intended to live on the property and the mills may have been his sole responsibility. The abbey of Josaphat also gave land near Tyre to Syrians and their heirs for the cultivation of vines. During the first three years, while the vines were being planted and began to grow, the Syrians paid no rent. Thereafter the abbey was to receive a quarter of the produce. But it was agreed that during the three year period an overseer, or custos, was to be installed at joint expense.<sup>65</sup> It is possible that this kind of duty might be given to

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63. See below p.22. Guérin, Description de la Palestine. Samarie iv, pp.371-72, 376-82.

64. Cart. St-Sép., nos.78,129. See also below pp.110-11.

65. Cart. St-Sép., no.90; Amico, Reg. fol. no.266.

a lay brother of the church. This practice was adopted particularly by the Cistercian Order and became the basis of its economic organization. The Cistercians originally accepted endowments only in land which they could cultivate for themselves for the use of the monastic community. In this manner they hoped to be able to preserve a true monastic life of poverty and frugality. But as the numbers of their properties grew it became impossible for the monks to undertake the work themselves. Instead they set up granges on lands too far from the monastery to be cultivated by the monastic community. The granges consisted of a group of farm buildings with a small oratory and living quarters. In them the abbey installed communities of lay brothers to work the land.<sup>66</sup> The names of several of Belmont's granges in the vicinity of Tripoli can be found in the account written by a monk of Baibars' incursion of 1268, which did great damage to the abbey's lands.<sup>67</sup>

One important way in which churches made use of their lands was by establishing Latin colonists on them. Professor Praver believes that the inspiration and models for such enterprises came from Europe where the crown, laity and religious corporations were reclaiming and developing waste land. In Palestine the crown and Hospital of St John undertook the establishment of Latin settlers, notably at Ramleh and Beth Gibelin near Ascalon. But the Holy Sepulchre took the lead with its settlement at Magna Mahomeria, the casal of Birre, given to it by Godfrey of Bouillon. Around the tower built for the defence of the

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66. D. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England 943-1216, pp.210-11, 214-16.

67. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge 11, pp.287-88.

casal a settlement and a church grew up. Although there were already Muslim and Syrian peasants at Birre, the canons brought Frankish settlers and gave them holdings and installed an official called the dispensator to supervise the cultivation of the land, which was mainly vineyards, penalising those who neglected their fields and collecting the dues owed to the canons. He also presided over the settlement's court, which seems to have been an assembly of the citizens similar to a cour des bourgeois with a say in its own government.<sup>68</sup> By 1164 the Holy Sepulchre had founded Latin settlements at two other casalia, Betsurie, also given by Duke Godfrey, and Parva Mahomeria nearby, the modern el-Qoubeibeh. Magna Mahomeria provided the model for later settlements, as we can see from a gift in 1160 to three Franks of land for houses and plantations at yet another settlement, Nova Villa, in the casal of Ramathes. The use of the oven, mill and other customary facilities were granted according to the Custom of Mahomeria.<sup>69</sup> From archaeological remains at el-Qoubeibeh and Akhsiv, another Latin colony, we can discern the physical plan of such settlements. The buildings have a uniformity and symmetry which show that they were built according to specific designs. There was a broad central street, lined on each side by houses. Behind the houses were farm- and outbuildings. At the centre of the town were the church and fortified tower where the citizens could take refuge. In the administrative centres there was another building near the tower, used to store produce and to accommodate

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68. Prawer, 'Colonisation activities', pp.1065,1076-77,1095-1103.

69. Cart. St-Sép., nos.136,144,167; F.-M. Abel, 'Les deux "Mahomerie" El Bireh, El Qoubeibeh', Revue biblique, xxxv (1926), pp.275-80; Prawer, 'Colonisation activities', pp.1103-5.

the dispensator and his subordinates. Such depôts existed at Magna Mahomeria and Nova Villa. They have been compared to the curiae and granges of Europe which acted as centres for administration and tax collection.<sup>70.</sup>

Prawer has also shown that colonisation was undertaken by the monks of Mount Thabor at Buria, the casal at the foot of the mountain, and that they went on to found a Latin settlement at Palmarea near Haifa, with Buria as their model. In 1165 land between Haifa and Palmarea was given to the Holy Sepulchre. In 1180 the same land was apparently among gifts made to Mount Thabor by the lady of Palmarea which also included houses, one of them new, and all the land which had belonged to a certain brother Pelagius at Palmarea, an oven and a piece of land at the foot of Mount Carmel. The new house was said to have been built by Abbot John of Mount Thabor, who had formerly been prior at Palmarea. The priory may have been used to supervise the Latin colony at Palmarea, the date of whose foundation is unknown, but in 1180 there was also a reference to a steward. The colonists were allowed to dispose of their possessions as they pleased, except to knights and religious houses. There seem in fact to have been two colonies of settlers at Palmarea with different lords, although both conformed to the regulations for landowning laid down by the Customs of Buria. The settlers described as the familiars of Mount Thabor were subject to the court of the steward, the rest to the lord's court, and only the abbey's burgesses were permitted to bring their bread to the

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70. Benvenisti, The Crusaders in the Holy Land, pp.219-21; Prawer, 'Colonisation activities', p.1107.

oven for baking.<sup>71</sup> It may be assumed that the Brother Pelagius mentioned in the charter in 1180 had given himself and his property to the church, while retaining the land during his lifetime. This was quite a common practice and similar cases can be found in documents concerned with Magna Mahomeria.

Most of the colonising enterprises seem to have been successful. The Franks had found many areas of the Holy Land uninhabited or devastated and unproductive. Latin settlements offered a speedy and businesslike solution to the problem. Religious institutions in particular could benefit from their colonies because they could arrange to have the crops they required for their own needs cultivated there and because they received tithes from the Latin settlers. And an efficient administration ensured that these estates ran themselves, requiring very little intervention by the church itself.

Every change in the balance of Muslim-Christian power was of importance to the church as a landowner. As Christian territory increased, so did gifts in the newly conquered areas, or at the very least, nominal possession became actual: from 1123 Josaphat had rights to property in Ascalon which it did not enjoy until the capture of that city thirty years later.<sup>72</sup> On the other hand, as Muslim power expanded, some lands became frontier territory or were completely lost. The maps of monastic estates show how many were outside Christian control in the thirteenth century. After 1187 monasteries had to live off drastically reduced estates, hardly adequate to support them. The surviving

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71. Cart. St-Sep., no.127; 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no.19; Prawer, 'Colonisation activities', pp.1108-14.

72. Amico, Reg. fol. no.198.

evidence points to the conclusion that there was little fresh endowment in Latin Syria. Even where a community's archives are almost complete, as in the case of St Mary of Josaphat, there are few possessions that can be said without hesitation to have been acquired after 1187. Josaphat is known to have received property in Acre in 1198 and the tithe of a casal in 1199. In 1212 it sold land in Tyre to King John in exchange for revenue from the fishery of that city. In 1261 it bought a house next to its church in Acre and in 1262 was said to have been given a house in Tyre from Thomas of Caesarea.<sup>73</sup> But papal bulls of the thirteenth century do not indicate whether the abbey received other gifts: Pope Alexander IV's confirmation of 1255 mentioned no possessions that had been acquired after 1187, although the bull was brought up to date in other ways. And, as we have seen, Josaphat did have more property than was mentioned in the lists used by the papal chancery.<sup>74</sup> Moreover, few though Josaphat's gifts seem to have been in the thirteenth century, no other church has left as much evidence for its own. And there is only one eleemosynary grant among them, that of Thomas of Caesarea in 1262.<sup>75</sup> The fall in the number of eleemosynary endowments was not confined to monasteries and can be observed in the charters of the Hospital of St John, which in the thirteenth century tended to acquire property by renting or purchase.<sup>76</sup> In the case of monasteries the decrease can be explained by the reluctance

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73. Amico, Reg. fol. nos.309,311; Chartes de Terre Sainte, nos.46,53, 54.

74. Alexander IV, no.129.

75. Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.54.

76. Riley-Smith, Knights of St John, pp.423-24.

of lay powers to give away precious land with no hope of material profit. Military service or money must necessarily have taken priority.

It is evident that the communities that chose to remain in the East grew progressively poorer in the thirteenth century. Certain problems were experienced widely. It was necessary, for example, to make resources stretch enough to maintain a full convent, but this will be examined in more detail later. Other problems arose from individual circumstances. St. Mary of Josaphat suffered by the loss of many charters, damage to its property in the War of St. Sabas and the depredations of laymen and other churches. By the middle of the century the combined effect was so great that the abbot went in person to the Holy See for assistance.<sup>77</sup> Mount Thabor's difficulties were the most extreme and seem to have been due more than anything else to the concentration of its lands around the abbey. Because after 1187 the land beyond the Jordan was completely within Muslim territory, Galilee was a centre of military activity and Mount Thabor itself was fortified by the Muslims, the abbey's estates were useless. By the middle of the century, as we have already seen, it was impoverished.<sup>78</sup> Nazareth also suffered because of Galilee's uncertain political state. When relations with the Muslims permitted the canons seemed to have lived at Nazareth, but otherwise at Acre. But the upheavals disrupted

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77. Chartes de Terre Sainte, nos.50,51. A document of November 1258 reveals that the abbot was in Sicily. From there he seems to have gone to the Holy See, where he died without returning to the East. The abbey's business in the Holy Land was conducted in his absence by the prior and other procurators: Amico, Reg. fol.nos.338,340, 341,342,346,349,352; Chartes de Terre Sainte, nos.51-56; Urban IV, no.2223.

78. See above pp.74-75.

normal monastic life and made it necessary at least twice, in 1251 and 1267, to restore order to the convent's affairs. At the same time the church was under severe financial pressure. In 1255 the archbishop leased four casalia to the Hospital for ten years; in 1259 the situation had so deteriorated that the lease was extended to fifty years. In his charter the archbishop wrote that the church was unable to protect its lands because of Muslim invasions, the disputes among Muslim peasants in its casalia and great expenses. On the day following this agreement he announced the lease to the Order of the whole lordship of Nazareth and nineteen casalia.<sup>79</sup> And in the decade before the fall of Acre there could be no doubt that religious houses were experiencing great poverty. In 1289 the abbot of Mount Sion declared that his church could not administer its property in Europe because of acute poverty and the distance and went on to lease its priory at Orleans to the bishop of Valencia. Payments were to be made to the abbey at Acre. In the same year the pope granted the Hospital a ruined chapel and houses in Acre which it had held jointly with Josaphat and which the abbey had been unable to repair because it was so poor. Four months after this the abbot of Josaphat was claiming that because of the fall of Tripoli and other local disasters, his church was now too weak to maintain itself properly or to see that it received due support and obedience from its subject-churches. He therefore sought permission to make visitations to his houses in Europe. In 1291 the pope said that the Holy Sepulchre had allowed a place called Casta Villa in

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79. Innocent IV, no.5538; Clement IV, no.511; Cart. gen., nos.2748, 2934, 2936.

the diocese of Acre, once inhabited and fortified, to lie derelict and he assigned it to the Templars for defence.<sup>80.</sup>

## II. In the West.

With the loss of their former lands in 1187 and the decline in their revenues in the East, Latin churches began seriously to turn their attention to Europe where many already had lands, or to Cyprus and the Latin Empire in Greece. Some had been given lands in the West even before the First Crusade. St Mary of the Latins, founded by the Amalfitan community and the only Latin house in Jerusalem in the eleventh century, might well be expected to have received gifts in Italy before 1099: Robert Guiscard (d. 1085) was said to have given it the churches of St Peter de Vacara and St Nicolas de Lampada, but the document which makes this claim may be a forgery.<sup>81.</sup> But as we have seen, the abbey does seem to have had lands in central Italy before the First Crusade.<sup>82.</sup> The Holy Sepulchre also had several possessions outside Syria at this time. It owned the priory of Mauriac, acquired with other property in 1053, the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Neuvy, founded in 1047, and a number of holdings in common with the abbey of Conques. And besides its western possessions it had revenues from a hundred casalia in Georgia,

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80. 'Chartes d'Adam, abbé de Notre Dame du Mont Sion concernant Gérard, évêque de Valance, et le priuré de St-Samson d'Orleans (1289)', ed. A. Bruel, ROL, x (1903/1904), no.1; Cart. gen., no.4044; Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.59; Nicolas IV, no.5209.

81. 'Papsturkunden aus Unteritalien', no.8. See White, Latin Monasticism, p.217, note 2.

82. See above p.15.

granted by Patriarch John of Antioch between 993 and 1020.<sup>83.</sup> Mount Sion was said to have been given the church of St Theodore de Burellis in the district of Sinopoli by Robert Guiscard.<sup>84.</sup>

After the capture of the Holy Land great numbers of churches and estates in the West were given to the new Latin convents. By 1128, for example, the Holy Sepulchre had fifty-eight churches and monasteries in Italy and Spain alone, together with hospices and other property.<sup>85.</sup> Many benefactors of the Jerusalemite monasteries were those who had been on crusade or who had made the pilgrimage. Among them was Count Albert of Biandrate, one of the leaders of the crusade of 1100, who gave the Holy Sepulchre the castle of Cerret in the diocese of Pavia. Louis VII of France gave St Samson's at Orléans to the abbey of Mount Sion, where he had lodged while on crusade. Countess Adelaide, the former wife of Baldwin I of Jerusalem, was particularly generous to the Palestinian churches. Among other gifts she and her son, Count Roger, granted Mount Sion the church of the Holy Spirit near Caltanissetta in Sicily, together with its casal, and had the priory of St Anne at Galath given to Josaphat.<sup>86.</sup> For others the pious endowment of the Holy Places became a substitute for a pilgrimage or the crusade by which they could still enjoy their spiritual benefits. Alfonso I of Aragon (d. 1134), himself a champion of the holy war in Spain, bequeathed his

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83. Thesaurus novus anecdotorum, ed. E. Martène and U. Durand i, cols. 176-177; Riant, 'La donation de Hugues', p.158 and notes 4 and 6; J. Richard, 'Quelques textes sur les premiers temps de l'église de Jérusalem', Recueil de travaux offerts à M. Clovis Brunuel, ii, pp.425-26.

84. 'Chartes du Mont Sion', p.46.

85. Cart. St-Sép., no.16.

86. Cart. St-Sép., no.20; 'Chartes d'Adam', p.3; 'Chartes du Mont Sion', p.44; Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.13.

kingdom jointly to the Holy Sepulchre, the Hospital and the Temple, although the canons subsequently renounced their share of the legacy.<sup>87.</sup>

In Spain and Italy the properties of Latin monasteries were particularly numerous, but they were also to be found throughout Europe. In 1169, for example, the patriarch of Jerusalem granted his chapter the right to half the possessions common to the church of Jerusalem in England, Scandinavia, Germany, Poland, Ruthenia, Georgia, Hungary and Constantinople. The Holy Sepulchre's possessions in Poland, chief of which was the priory of Miechow, came to be of considerable importance.<sup>88.</sup> The church of Hebron was given the monastery of St Stephen at Kaet in the archdiocese of Kalocsa in Hungary by Archbishop Andrew (1176-1179) and replaced the Benedictine monks there. But the Augustinians soon dissipated the monastery's possessions and were compelled by poverty to leave. Because in 1198 only three canons remained, the pope ordered the archbishop of Kalocsa to take action and restore the monastery as he saw fit and as a result the canons of Hebron were removed.<sup>89.</sup>

How were the western possessions of institutions in the East administered? The Hospital of St John grouped its commanderies under priories whose head made visitations, disciplined offenders and collected the commanderies' taxes and relayed them to the General Chapter of the Order in the East. The prior was appointed by the Chapter and was responsible to it. Every five years he was required to visit the central convent, taking his own tax, the 'passage', usually in the form

87. Cart. gen., no.136.

88. Cart. St-Sép., no.167; Nakielski, De sacra antiquitate statu Ordinis Canonici, p.26.

89. Innocent III, no.281,499.

of money, horses, armour and goods. Priors in turn were collected into grand commanderies.<sup>90</sup> The provincial organisation of the Order of the Temple can be observed especially in Spain. Convents, the basic local units of administration, were grouped into provinces and their heads, or commanders, were subject to the provincial master. In the later twelfth century, for example, the provincial master of Aragon had under him more than thirty convents in the Corona de Aragon and another two in Navarre. Like the Hospitallers, the Templars in the East seem to have received a third of the revenues of western provinces, usually in kind.<sup>91</sup> While the evidence for monasteries is less revealing than that of the Military Orders, similarities in the system of provincial administration can be seen. Their obediences, churches and dependent monasteries, in a particular area were grouped under the rule of a priory. The Holy Sepulchre's priories at Constantinople and Thessalonika had jurisdiction over different areas of the Latin Empire in Greece. This is shown by a letter of Prior William in about 1212, addressed to the Christian population of Thessalonika, in which he announced the appointment of a prior or provisor of the Holy Sepulchre's churches in that province and Romania where, he said, they were not subject to the house at Constantinople.<sup>92</sup> In France the Holy Sepulchre's chief priory was at Vignareia in the diocese of Limoges. In 1257 Hugh de Nysun was appointed prior with authority over all churches and priories belonging to the church of Jerusalem in

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90. Riley-Smith, Knights of St John, pp.341-42, 360-63.

91. A.J. Forey, The Templars in the 'Corona de Aragon', pp.87-89, 323-24.

92. Cart. St-Sép., no.2.

that kingdom.<sup>93.</sup> In Poland the Holy Sepulchre acquired extensive property when Iaxa of Miechow brought with him from the Holy Land a canon to establish a house. The convent at Miechow in the diocese of Cracow, in the charge of a provost, was richly endowed and its importance can be judged from the fact that it had custody of part of the Holy Sepulchre's archives.<sup>94.</sup> In Germany the chief priory of the Holy Sepulchre seems to have been at Denkendorf in the see of Constance and was also ruled by a provost.<sup>95.</sup> G. Tessier has made a study of the particularly important holdings of the Holy Sepulchre in Spain. Even before Alfonso I's bequest to the church, the canons had had many properties throughout the peninsula and when they gave up their third of Aragon it was in return for the extension of their rights in that kingdom. It was soon clear that the Holy Sepulchre had become sufficiently strong in Spain to warrant the proper organisation of its possessions. By 1141 the church had appointed a canon Gerald as prior over its properties in Aragon. In 1146 he was given land by Raymond of Le Puy in Calatayud in the province of Saragossa where he was to build a church and ten years later, with the title of prior in Spain, he declared that regular clergy had been installed at this new house and were to owe obedience to himself and the canons and patriarch of Jerusalem and to render a quarter of their revenues annually to the Holy Sepulchre. This priory seems to have had authority over all the other houses of the Holy Sepulchre in Spain.<sup>96.</sup>

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93. Alexander IV, no.2413.

94. See Nakielski, De sacra antiquitate estatu Ordinis canonici.

95. Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, no.1471.

96. G. Tessier, 'Les débuts de l'Ordre du Saint-Sépulchre en Espagne à propos de deux privilèges d'Alexandre III', REC, cxvi (1958), pp.19-22.

Other churches had property that was extensive enough to be organised on a similarly large scale. Josaphat, for example, owned many churches and lands in southern Italy. In a document of 1172 the prior of St Vincent of Montalto in Calabria was called master-prior of all Josaphat's priories in the Kingdom of Sicily, but this is a forgery. But in 1227 a copy of an agreement made between the abbey and a layman and his wife for the care of some property was to be kept at the church of St Vincent. Between 1248 and 1259, however, Stephen, the author of a series of forged documents, was called prior of the abbey's houses in that kingdom and in 1290, when the abbot and convent of Josaphat had taken refuge at the church of St Mary Magdalene at Messina, the prior of that house was called the master-prior.<sup>97</sup>

Obediences in the West were administered by canons or monks sent from the convent in the East. The priors of the larger houses, whether in Syria or Europe, were clearly of some consequence among their fellow clergy and there are examples of a provincial prior returning to the mother-convent to become its prior or abbot: Facundus and Facundinus, both priors of St Philip at Agira, the chief Sicilian house of St Mary of the Latins, became abbots of the convent in Jerusalem.<sup>98</sup> There survives in the archives of the Holy Sepulchre a letter that is clearly the format for the installation of priors. In it the prior of that church announced to all obediences that a canon had been appointed over the houses of a particular region and required the brothers to do homage to him. He forbade the new prior to sell, mortgage or alienate

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97. Amico, Reg. fol. nos.273 (a forgery), 323,366; White, Latin Monasticism, p.208; K.A. Kehr, Die Urkunden der normannisch-sizilischen Könige. Eine diplomatische Untersuchung, p.341, note 3.

98. White, Latin Monasticism, pp.220-22.

the servants and property of his church, enjoining him to restore these possessions where damaged. He was given licence to admit brothers and sisters to the church.<sup>99.</sup>

There is little evidence for the amount of control exercised by the main convent over its provincial branches. In the Order of St John the master kept priories constantly under supervision, ordering visitations, appointing priors and intervening in local administration.<sup>100.</sup> The abbots of monasteries also were not slack in their watch over their western houses, sending monks as their deputies or visiting Europe personally. But the nature of the relevant documents is such that this supervision is to be seen almost exclusively in the economic affairs of local houses. In 1153, for example, King Roger of Sicily said that Abbot Peter of St Mary of the Latins had come before him to ask for the renewal of privileges concerning his monastery's Sicilian possessions which had been lost in a fire at St Philip of Agira. In October 1198 a monk of the abbey was sent to the Empress Constance for the confirmation of privileges and in 1201, when he was prior of St Philip's, he sought permission from the Emperor Frederick II to have the abbey's Sicilian casalia restored.<sup>101.</sup> Sometimes the mother-church gave a clerk an official delegation: in a charter dated to 1162 Peter de Volpes, prior of the church of Nazareth and vicar-general of the archbishop, appointed Walter of Salerno as procurator and vicar-general for the church's properties in Italy.<sup>102.</sup> But this document appears to be a

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99. Cart. St-Sep., no.3.

100. Riley-Smith, Knights of St.John, p.365.

101. Kehr, Die Urkunden der normannisch-sizilischen Könige, pp.430-33, no.14; Acta imp. ined. saec. XIII 1, nos.75,88.

102. Codice diplomatico del sacro militare ordine gerosolimitano oggi di Malta, ed. S. Pauli 1, pp.458-59.

forgery. Peter called himself vicar-general of Archbishop Robert, although the archbishop of Nazareth in 1162 was Lethard, the former prior of the church. There is some confusion as to whether Lethard or Attard was Robert's immediate successor,<sup>103.</sup> but even so Archbishop Robert had been dead since about 1154 and Prior Peter's commission would have been at least eight years out of date, a circumstance that the archbishops of Nazareth were unlikely to overlook. There were also anachronistic references in the document to the Kingdom of Cyprus, at that date still in the possession of the Greek Empire, and to the Kingdom of Naples. Nevertheless the document may have reproduced an authentic list of Nazareth's obediences. And it should be mentioned that while Peter claimed authority over all Nazareth's churches in Europe, he committed to Walter of Salerno care of the churches in Italy alone. If we accept that the document may have some foundation in truth, it is possible that officials with responsibility for Nazareth's properties in particular regions, such as was given to Walter of Salerno, did exist. Peter's own commission appears ad hoc rather than a permanent post. The church of Bethlehem also made use of an official called the procurator and vicar-general in Lombardy and Germany.<sup>104.</sup>

But there is much less evidence for the intervention of the mother-convent in the internal affairs of a local priory or in the way in which it ran the property in its charge. Certainly the distance and the difficulties of communication made close supervision almost impossible. Rebellions and problems of discipline in subject-houses did arise: in

103. See below p.191.

104. Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, no.1326.

1137 Pope Innocent II declared that the prior and chapter of the Holy Sepulchre had complained that certain houses and priories had been disobedient to them and their envoys and he issued a reprimand to the procurators of these places.<sup>105</sup> In 1289 the abbot of St Mary of Josaphat sought permission to visit his houses in the West to correct the negligence of their administrators, which had disturbed the payment of responsions.<sup>106</sup> It seems probable that, like the Military Orders, monasteries were content to allow the heads of local houses some freedom in their administration, as long as they conscientiously sent the revenues they owed to the East.<sup>107</sup>

A church's control over its obediences might be limited above all in two ways. Firstly, it was liable to the interference of its own bishop in the running of its properties: in 1132 the pope reminded the patriarch of Jerusalem that the prior and chapter should have freedom to administer all their possessions and obediences as they pleased. By 1168 there had been an attempt by the patriarch to interfere, to the extent of giving away obediences that belonged by right to the canons. The reference in this case seems to have been to the church of St Peter at Jaffa. In the same year the pope forbade the patriarch and prior, without the consent of the chapter, to send a canon of the Holy Sepulchre to serve in an obedience in Europe, or to suspend or remove canons, except in cases of manifest guilt.<sup>108</sup> Secondly, the ownership of

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105. Cart. St-Sép., no.149.

106. Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.59.

107. Forey, The Templars in the 'Corona de Aragon', p.332.

108. Cart. St-Sép., nos.148,156,157,162.

churches which, as we have seen, could cause disputes with local bishops in the East, created the same problem in Europe and the same kind of agreements had to be made. Tribute was customarily paid to the local diocesan church. The Holy Sepulchre at Barletta, for example, paid one pound of incense each year. When Bishop Nicolas of Mileto granted St Lawrence's at Arena to Josaphat in 1200 he demanded an annual tribute of four pounds of wax and four of incense, while Patriarch Thomas of Constantinople in 1205 demanded one pound of wax and another of incense from the same abbey for the church of St Mary of Taranito.<sup>109</sup> The bishop might also define his rights over an obedience: the bishop of Mileto's gift in 1200 stipulated that Josaphat's procurator, later called a prior, at St Lawrence's should attend diocesan synods, render procuration to the bishop making a visitation and protect him in life and limb.<sup>110</sup>

The European priories of churches in the Latin East could be put to various uses. The survival of so many monastic charters is due to their preservation in western houses. At St Philip of Agira the archives of St Mary of the Latins were deposited, at Miechow, part of the Holy Sepulchre's and at Varazze near Genoa and at Clamecy in France, those of Bethlehen, although most of the last collection were later lost.<sup>111</sup> And when after 1187 estates were drastically cut and new

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109. Cart. St-Sép., nos.39,163; Amico, Reg. fol. no.312; Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.45.

110. Amico, Reg. fol. no.312.

111. 'Papsturkunden aus Unteritalien', p.49. In 1150 (Kehr, Die Urkunden der normannisch-sizilischen Könige, pp.430-33, no.14) the abbot of St Mary of the Latins said that the privileges of his obediences in Sicily were kept in St Philip's, but since they had been destroyed in a fire, he was seeking their renewal. See also Nakielski, De sacra antiquitate estatu Ordinis Canonici; Riant, 'L'Eglise de Bethléem', pp.548-49, 551, note 2.

sources of revenue in the East were not readily available, Latin religious houses turned to their European possessions for support. In the late years of the twelfth century and the early years of the thirteenth, a sudden and marked concern on the part of monasteries for their rights and properties outside Syria can be seen. The abbot of St Mary of the Latins was at Palermo in June 1187. In 1194, 1197 and 1198 the abbey secured confirmation of its Sicilian lands from the Emperor Henry VI and the Empress Constance; and in 1201, between 1209 and 1212, in 1223 and 1224, privileges from Frederick II.<sup>112.</sup> St Mary of Josaphat received a charter for its Sicilian properties in 1194. By 1200 the abbot was in Sicily and again in 1206 and 1227. In a charter of 1200 Bishop Nicolas of Mileto said that Josaphat had actually taken refuge in Europe. This may have been the monks' original intention, or the bishop may have concluded from the presence of a number of them in Italy that this was the case.<sup>113.</sup> But the convent was certainly resident in Acre in the thirteenth century. In these years, too, Josaphat was attempting to restore its properties in Antioch. In 1207 the abbot made arrangements for a gastina with an oratory in Antioch to be given to Deacon John of the patriarchal church of St Peter to hold during his lifetime. He was to repair the oratory so that the monks might occupy it and resume divine services, to cultivate the land and build a house there.<sup>114.</sup> The outcome of these arrangements can be seen

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112. 'Papsturkunden aus Unteritalien', nos.9-14; Acta imp. ined. saec. XIII 1, nos.75,88; Latin Monasticism, pp.222-24, where the author also stated that in the thirteenth century St Mary of the Latins was based at Agira. But it is clear from papal letters and local documentary sources that the convent was in Acre.

113. Amico, Reg. fol. nos.305,312,316,323.

114. Amico, Reg. fol. no.318.

in an Arabic document of 1213 recently commented upon by C. Cahen, who, though he was aware of its relevance to Josaphat, did not realise that the house referred to in the document as Our Lady of Gethsemane was the abbey itself. This is clear from comparison with the charter of 1207 and from the priors, named as Arnold and Adam, his successor, who can be found in the lists of personnel of St Mary of Josaphat for these years. Deacon John now declared that because the oratory was in such a ruined condition he himself was in debt and could find no-one else willing to undertake the rebuilding except a priest, Kamari ibn Abraquili, who would only accept the place if he could keep it. By then, however, the prior of St Mary of the Latins had taken over the administration of all Josaphat's properties in Antioch. He decided that the church could be of no use to the abbey and should be rented to the priest as he wished.<sup>115</sup>

With the capture of Constantinople in 1204 by the Fourth Crusade, churches saw a new future in the lands of the Latin Empire and ecclesiastics from Syria flocked there to petition the authorities for endowment. In 1205 Cardinal Peter Capuano, the papal legate, granting a church in Constantinople to Mount Thabor, wrote: 'We who are required by the charge of legation on us to provide the churches of the Holy Land in the empire of Romania ... with benefices and possessions, since the possessions and goods of those churches are withheld by the enemies of the name of Christianity, hold it to be fitting that large benefices should be granted from the possessions of this empire to the aforementioned churches of the Holy Land'. In a gift to St Mary of

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115. Cahen, 'Un document concernant les Melkites', pp.285-92. See also below pp.249-50.

Josaphat in 1206 this preamble was repeated almost verbatim by Cardinal Benedict of St Susanna.<sup>116.</sup> And the Holy Sepulchre, the Temple of Our Lord, Josaphat, Mount Thabor and Bethlehem, whose bishop had played a prominent part in the Fourth Crusade, are known to have received property in Greece.<sup>117.</sup>

In the thirteenth century, then, Latin churches came to depend a good deal on the generosity of the lay and ecclesiastical princes of Europe. In 1200 the bishop of Mileto gave Josaphat a church in order to relieve the convent's poverty; in 1231 the priory of St Mary and All Saints in Acre was given a church at Matera in the see of Acerenza for the same reason.<sup>118.</sup> Obediences in the West gave support firstly in cash. In 1156, for example, Prior Gerald in Spain said that the canons of the priory at Calatayud were to pay a quarter of their revenues each year as their responsions to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. In 1287 it was decided that the church of Durinkaheim, another obedience of the Holy Sepulchre, should keep for its own use half of the gold mark it usually paid each year to Jerusalem.<sup>119.</sup> But obediences were also required to send financial support in kind to the convent in the East: Innocent IV, writing in 1249 to all the brothers of the Holy Sepulchre in Europe, referred to the supplies collected by their houses in the

116. 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no.24; Amico, Reg. fol. no.317.

117. Cart. St-Sép., nos.2,3; Pat. Lat. coxv, col.1555, no.250; Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.45; Amico, Reg. fol. nos.315,317; Riant, 'L'Eglise de Bethléem', p.655; 'Le part de l'éveque de Bethléem dans le butin', pp.235-36, nos.1,2.

118. Amico, Reg. fol. no.312; Gregory IX, no.4008.

119. Tessier, 'Les débuts de l'Ordre du Saint-Sépulchre', p.21; Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, no.1471.

West and sent to Syria.<sup>120.</sup> But because goods were liable to customs dues as they passed through the ports of Europe and again as they entered Syria by the ports of the Levant, the possession of commercial franchises was of the greatest importance, enabling convents to obtain their supplies as cheaply as possible. But since they were intended to provide monasteries only with the wherewithal to live and not to allow them to engage in commercial enterprise, a limit was usually put on their value.<sup>121.</sup> In March 1168 King William of Sicily instructed the port officials of Messina to allow the monks of St Mary of the Latins to import and export animal skins, foodstuffs, cloth and domestic articles through the port without paying the market or port taxes. In 1194 the Emperor Henry VI granted the abbey licence to export two hundred salmae of wine and Frederick II conceded the right to export from the port of Milazzo and confirmed its various franchises.<sup>122.</sup> William II, in a charter to Josaphat in 1185 or 1186 said that the charters referring to its original commercial franchises, kept in the Calabrian priory, had been lost in an earthquake. An inquest followed at which the port officials of Messina gave evidence on behalf of the abbey. The King then confirmed that the monks had complete freedom to export certain hides, foodstuffs, cloth, building commodities and other necessary goods and that their ship entering Messina with food and timber was exempt from harbour dues; the abbey was also free to export goods from Paterno and to sell them. These franchises in Messina and

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120. Innocent IV, no.4398.

121. White, Latin Monasticism, p.213.

122. 'Papsturkunden aus Unteritalien', nos.7,8,11,12 (possibly a forgery), 14.

the Kingdom of Sicily were confirmed in 1194 by the Emperor Henry VI.<sup>123.</sup> The port of Messina seems to have become the focus of traffic between western priories and the mother-convent in the East.<sup>124.</sup> Josaphat can be seen using it as an entrepôt, to which goods from its mainland possessions were brought by its own ships to be sold there or exported to Jerusalem.

Franchises in the ports of the West were supplemented by similar privileges in the Holy Land. Lord Hugh of Caesarea granted St Mary of the Latins the right to buy or sell goods without payment throughout his lordship and in 1166 he gave the canons of the Holy Sepulchre permission to buy and sell in Caesarea and export from and import to the city. The Holy Sepulchre also possessed a franchise to buy, sell, export and import by land and sea, for the use of the house, in the lordship of Haifa and to export anything it needed, particularly oil and other rents, or to buy anything it wished in the port of Tripoli. Mount Tabor was exempted in 1145 from paying any duty in the lordship of Tripoli when transporting goods for the use of the monastery. Baldwin I gave permission to Josaphat's ships carrying any cargo to come and go freely in any port of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and to their men to buy and sell freely. In the bulls of Popes Anastasius IV and Adrian IV this franchise applied specifically to Acre, the most important port in the Kingdom. Baldwin II granted St Samuel of Montjoie permission

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123. Amico, Reg. fol. nos. 291, 305.

124. White, Latin Monasticism, p. 211.

to buy, sell, export and import anything necessary for the abbey anywhere in his Kingdom.<sup>125.</sup>

Like the Hospital of St John,<sup>126.</sup> Latin monasteries could not have continued to survive in the East without the support of their priories in the West. But the administration of properties in Europe put a great strain on the resources of the mother-houses. The convent in the East was sometimes reduced to a minimum by the necessity of sending its members to run priories: in 1289 there was only one canon in the chapter of Mount Sion at Acre, while the rest were evidently in Europe. The distance also created problems of communication, particularly as many properties were in the more remote parts of Europe, and it proved difficult to maintain proper discipline in the obediences and a regular flow of supplies to the East. In order to visit his priories personally the abbot of Mount Sion complained that the distance and also the reduced state of his abbey's finances prevented him from carrying out visitations to his priories or from deriving any benefit from them.<sup>127.</sup> In the same year, as we have already seen, Abbot William of Josaphat sought permission to go to the West because the negligence of those in charge of many houses had brought about a decline not only in the spiritual standards, but also in possessions. The dependent houses had not been paying their responsions to the convent in Acre, which was now too feeble to support itself or to exact its due rights from

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125. Cod. diplom. i, no.162; Cart. St-John, nos.93,94,97,127,155; Cart. gén., no.2833; Chartes de Terre Sainte, nos.18,28,29; Acta Pont. Rom. ined. 111, no.183; Mayer, 'Sankt Samuel', p.68.

126. Riley-Smith, Knights of St John, p.440.

127. 'Chartes d'Adam', no.1.

its obediences. In the following year the abbot was in Italy and had begun the task of disciplining his priories and restoring the abbey's revenues.<sup>128.</sup> Thus while Latin communities depended upon their western properties for finance in the thirteenth century, the task of controlling them, added to their economic difficulties. And when this remaining lifeline, their revenues from Europe, became insecure, it became impossible for them to remain in the East. By the fall of Acre in 1291 most convents had apparently already retired to the West. ?

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128. Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.59; Amico, Reg. fol. no.366.

CHAPTER THREEECCLESIASTICAL STATUS1. Papal protection and proprietary rights.

It was to be expected that the churches founded at the holiest shrines known to the Christian world would stand high in the affections of the papacy. But did this also move the pope to enter into a special relationship with them, not merely by extending to them promises of favour and protection, but by freeing them from all spiritual jurisdiction save that of the Holy See? According to James of Vitry, who was the bishop of Acre in the early thirteenth century, the houses of St Mary of the Latins, St Mary Major, the Holy Sepulchre, the Temple of Our Lord, Mount Sion, St Mary of Josaphat, the Mount of Olives, St Anne and St Lazarus of Bethany were subject to the patriarch of Jerusalem, while Mount Thabor was subject to the archbishop of Nazareth. John of Ibelin, writing in the middle of thirteenth century, added that the abbot of St Samuel was also among the patriarch's suffragans and that the abbots of St Joseph and St Habakkuk, which as we have seen were actually one house, the priors of St Katherine of Montgisard and St John the Evangelist and the abbess of Trois Ombres, which by this time had been incorporated into the priory of St Mary and All Saints, were subject to the bishop of Lydda. The Repentires were subject to the bishop of Acre. The churches of Nazareth, Bethlehem and Hebron were subject to the patriarch and Sebastea to the archbishop of Caesarea.<sup>1</sup>

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1. James of Vitry, 'Historia orientalis', p.1078; John of Ibelin, 'Livre', pp.415-16.

Some of these statements must be questioned, for what these writers held to be the ecclesiastical status of Latin houses was not necessarily what the Holy See believed.

Conflicts between the theory and practice of ecclesiastical privilege were not uncommon at any time, but they tend to complicate a question that was already complex, even in the minds of contemporaries. The reformed papacy of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries had been generous with grants of protection and exemption to monasteries. A recent work on the rôle of Cluny in the Gregorian reform movement has traced the privileges which freed that abbey from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Mâcon and made it subject only to the Holy See. The authority of the bishop over a monastery within his diocese was envisaged by the Benedictine Rule and given canonical authority by early church councils. So when Cluny tried to exercise its privileges, it came into conflict with the bishop. And when the papacy continued to support Cluny's claims to exemption, it was seen by the episcopate as an attack on the authority of conciliar decrees. The real issue of the conflict came to be whether the bishop's authority over the churches in his see was superseded by that of the pope. The Holy See's triumph in the cause of Cluny's liberty was at the same time a vital step towards achieving supreme authority over the Church, first claimed in 1075 in 'Dictatus papae'.<sup>2</sup> Cluny was the most eminent and remarkable of the monasteries that received papal privileges, but there were many other houses similarly favoured. As a result there came to be great numbers of papal bulls whose wording did not make it clear even to the

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2. H.E.J. Cowdrey, The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform, pp.23-25, 32-43.

Holy See which houses were actually proprietary churches of the papacy, exempt from the jurisdiction of the diocesan bishop, and which had merely been received into papal protection and were still subject to the ordinary. Increasingly the papacy became anxious that the bishop's rights should not suffer because their authority over the monasteries in their sees was uncertain. This meant a complete reappraisal of existing bulls of privilege and the establishment of criteria by which the papal chancery and all interested parties could judge a monastery's status. Certain pontificates can be seen as landmarks in these developments and this is reflected in papal bulls to the houses of the Holy Land. A series of bulls of Paschal II combined with royal and patriarchal charters to lay the foundations of the Latin church in the new Frankish states and to give official recognition to the ecclesiastical rights and temporal possessions of monasteries. And since religious houses were always anxious to ensure confirmation of their rights, many of the bulls issued by Paschal II's successors were no doubt issued in response to a formal petition. The precaution was justified, for on one occasion at least a privilege of Pope Innocent II to St Mary of Josaphat was openly and successfully defied by a bishop once the Pope was dead.<sup>3</sup> And because several short pontificates in the twelfth century and the accumulation of business for the papal chancery meant that petitions may have had to be postponed and because many charters are known to have been lost, the pattern of papal letters that emerges may be distorted. Even so, it is clear that Popes Innocent II,

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3. Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.24.

Eugenius III, Adrian IV and Alexander III showed special concern for these churches and it is significant that during these last two pontificates considerable advances in canon law on the subject of exemption were made by the papal chancery.<sup>4.</sup>

a. The formulae of papal bulls.

The chancery gradually developed phrases to describe a monastery's status so that it could distinguish proprietary churches of the Holy See from houses that only enjoyed papal protection simply from the wording of the privilege. In the pontificate of Alexander III (1159-1181) a phrase emerged which thereafter acted as the criterion of a church's status: a monastery was known to be exempt from the jurisdiction of the diocesan ordinary if it was said to belong ad sacrosanctam Romanam ecclesiam nullo medio, in other words, with no intermediary between itself and the Holy See. Bulls would also conclude with a saving clause which in the case of a proprietary church would be: salvo sedis apostolice auctoritate, together with a demand for the payment of the census.<sup>5.</sup>

The process by which the papal chancery clarified a monastery's status and drew it under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Holy See can be seen most clearly<sup>a</sup> in the privileges issued by successive popes to St Mary of the Latins. Its first bull of privilege was given in 1112

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4. The subject of exempt churches and the development of monastic privileges is dealt with by Dom. D. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England. See especially here pp.583-86.

5. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, p.584. For a discussion of the census see below p.143-44. As the precise words used by the papal chancery in a bull of privilege were so significant, I have left the relevant phrases in the original Latin.

by Paschal II, who asserted that the bishops of Jerusalem had decreed that the abbey should forever remain under the law and protection of the Holy See. No-one might enter the monastery or exercise authority in it salva confratris nostri Ierosolimitani patriarche honorificentia. In 1158 Pope Adrian IV confirmed papal protection and granted that all the abbey's possessions should be maintained salva in omnibus sedis auctoritate et Hierosolimitani patriarche canonica iustitia. At this date, then, the abbey was still subject to the patriarch. Of the four bulls that survive for St Mary of the Latins, Alexander III's in 1173 is the most significant, for it reproduced Adrian IV's privilege, except for the revision of certain key passages by the papal chancery. Alexander III took the church, which now belonged specialiter beati Petri et nostri iuris, under the protection of the Roman Church. Its possessions were to be maintained salva sedis apostolice auctoritate. It is thus quite clear that by this bull the pope withdrew the abbey from patriarchal jurisdiction. And in 1197 Celestine III said that it belonged ad sacrosanctam Romanam ecclesiam nullo mediante.<sup>6</sup>

The same progression from simple papal protection to sole jurisdiction can be observed in the privileges of St Mary of Josaphat. The bulls of Paschal II, Innocent II and Eugenius III reserved the rights of the church of Jerusalem, but in 1154 Anastasius IV, declaring that he wished to care for the monks tanquam proprios et speciales filios familiares, took the monastery under the protection of the Holy See and added that its possessions were to be maintained only salva Sedis Apostolice auctoritate. Subsequent papal privileges confirmed this

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6. 'Papsturkunden aus Unteritalien', nos.1,2,4 and pp.53-56;  
'Zur Geschichte der Latina'.

and the bulls of Alexander IV in 1254, Gregory X in 1274 and Nicolas III in 1278 and 1279 stated that the abbey belonged to the Apostolic See nullo medio.<sup>7</sup>

Although this development cannot be traced in the few surviving bulls of other Latin houses, there is still evidence that some were proprietary churches. Alexander III's bull to Mount Sion in 1179 declared that the abbey had been taken into the jus proprium et tutelam of the Holy See by Pope Urban II. This statement cannot readily be accepted, for Urban could not have heard of the capture of Jerusalem, only fourteen days before his own death, so that the privilege would have to have been granted before the Crusade had achieved its goal and perhaps before the actual departure of the crusaders for the Holy Land, with the restoration of the Holy Land in mind. The privileges of Paschal II, Innocent II and Eugenius III mentioned in the 1179 bull have not survived, but Alexander III declared that the canons, their clerics and lay brothers were not subject to anyone nisi Romane et Apostolice Sedi, cuius juris sunt proprie, that the abbey belonged specialiter ad Jurisdictionem beati Petri et provisionem nostram and that its possessions should be preserved salva Sedis Apostolice auctoritate.<sup>8</sup>

Furthermore the evidence of papal privileges refutes James of Vitry's claim that the church of Bethlehem was subject to the patriarch. In 1227 Pope Gregory IX confirmed the rights and possessions of the church of Bethlehem salva in omnibus Sedis Apostolice auctoritate and in 1238, when he heard that the patriarch of Jerusalem had overruled the election

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7. Acta Pont. Rom. ined. ii, nos.245,349; ii, no.183; Chartes de Terre Sainte, nos.27,28,48; Amico, Reg. fol. nos.361,363,364.

8. 'Chartes du Mont Sion', pp.39,49-51.

of a new bishop by the canons, installing his own candidate, he declared that since Bethlehem belonged to the Holy See nullo medio, the patriarch had no right to exercise authority over the church.<sup>9</sup>

Once these various formulae had been established, they could be used generally to define the relationship between churches. James of Vitry in fact used the phrase nullo medio in describing the Jerusalemite hierarchy. His claim that the church of Nazareth was subject to the patriarch is corroborated by a letter of Pope Innocent IV of 1244, in which he assured the patriarch that by consecrating the archbishop of Nazareth and conferring the pallium on him he had not intended to prejudice patriarchal authority; Nazareth was subject nullo ... mediante to the church of Jerusalem and the archbishop should pay customary and due obedience and reverence to the patriarch.<sup>10</sup>

On the other hand, the particularly complex question of Mount Thabor's status is in no way clarified by the phrasing of papal bulls. According to most contemporary sources the abbey was subject to the archbishop of Nazareth. Mount Thabor was evidently the first Galilean church to be restored by Tancred and considered to be pre-eminent.<sup>11</sup> There had been a Greek bishopric there before the First Crusade and in 1103 Pope Paschal II confirmed the Latin abbey's possessions and granted it the archdiocese of Galilee and Tiberias. The abbot-archbishop was allowed to wear the pallium inside his church for the celebration of

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9. Riant, 'L'Église de Bethléem', p.660; Gregory IX, no.4699.

10. James of Vitry, 'Historia orientalis', p.1078; Innocent IV, no.459.

11. 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no.1; William of Tyre, p.384.

mass at certain festivals.<sup>12.</sup> But by 1106-1107 the priory at the church of the Annunciation in the nearby town of Nazareth had become a cathedral chapter under a bishop.<sup>13.</sup> The jurisdictions of the two sees soon came into conflict and as early as 1112 the papal legate, Archbishop Gibelin of Arles tried to find a solution. He divided episcopal rights over the abbey of Mount Thabor between the patriarch of Jerusalem, who was to ordain the abbot and monks and consecrate their church, and the bishop of Nazareth, who was to perform all other episcopal consecrations. The tithes of Tiberias which would normally have been given to the episcopal church were divided, a third going to Mount Thabor and two-thirds to the bishop of Nazareth. The same division was to be made of tithes then being paid by crusaders from their lands to Mount Thabor.<sup>14.</sup> The settlement was intended to preserve the abbey's dignity by assigning to the patriarch the episcopal functions which above all implied authority over the monastery and by allowing it to keep some of the tithes that had evidently been paid to it until then. But at the same time the bishop of Nazareth's status as diocesan ordinary was recognised and the award of certain tithes to the abbey was viewed as a special concession.

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12. Itinera Hierosolymitana, pp.304,343; Itinéraires russes, p.67; Cart. gén., no.2832. These festivals were Christmas, Circumcision, St Stephen's Day, St John's Day, Holy Innocents, Epiphany, Candlemas, the conversion of St Paul, Palm Sunday, Maundy Thursday, Easter Sunday, Ascension, Whitsun, the Transfiguration, St Lawrence's Day, the Annunciation, Assumption, the Nativity of St John the Baptist, the Festival of the True Cross, Michaelmas, the Feast of the Apostles, St Martin's Day, All Saints and the festivals of all saints, martyrs and confessors of the archdiocese of Galilee. The abbot might also wear the pallium to consecrate churches, bishops and deacons and on the anniversary of his own consecration.

13. Itinéraires russes, p.71; Clement IV, no.511.

14. 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no.4.

Between 1125 and 1128 Nazareth became the seat of an archbishop. And, since the first reference to a bishop of Tiberias dates from 1125, the creation of a see separate from the archdiocese of Galilee and Tiberias may have been part of the arrangement.<sup>15</sup> In spite of these developments, Pope Eugenius III in 1146 confirmed the abbot of Mount Thabor in the archbishopric granted to him by Paschal II and took the abbey under papal protection. The abbot was to be consecrated by the patriarch of Jerusalem, but in the event of a vacancy or the patriarch's refusal to perform the ceremony, he might apply either directly to the pope or to another prelate of his own choice. The abbey's possessions were to be free from the authority of the diocesan bishop.<sup>16</sup> From this it would seem that the archbishopric was purely titular and that the abbot exercised no real power. But the abbey's exemption from the authority of the ordinary seems in any case to have remained a dead letter: in June 1174 the bishop of Tiberias referred to the archbishop of Nazareth as metropolitan of Mount Thabor; in 1183 it was said that the election of a new abbot required the consent of the archbishop; a survey of the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch written in about 1180 and James of Vitry in the first half of the thirteenth century confirmed the archbishop's authority.<sup>17</sup> John of Ibelin called the prior of Mount Thabor the suffragan on Nazareth, but this part of his 'Livre' was possibly written after the grant of the abbey to the Order of St John and the reference may have been to a conventual prior, subordinate to

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15. See above pp.28-29. Urkunden der Republik Venedig i, no.41.

16. Cart. gen., no.2829.

17. 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', nos.16,22; Itinéraires à Jérusalem, p.15; James of Vitry, 'Historia orientalis', p.1078.

a Hospitaller castellany. In any case, eight years after Mount Thabor had changed hands, in 1263, the archbishop of Nazareth relinquished to the Hospital all his rights of jurisdiction over the abbey.<sup>18.</sup> Against all this evidence, however, the claim of three monks of Mount Thabor, writing to the pope in 1256 to express gratitude for granting their abbey to the Hospital, must be considered. They said that Mount Thabor had formerly ruled the province of Galilee and Tiberias and was later immediately subject to the Holy See and exempt from diocesan jurisdiction.<sup>19.</sup> There is nothing in the surviving papal bulls to Mount Thabor to substantiate this claim, but it is quite clear that although several important charters were preserved in Hospitaller archives, the abbey's documents are incomplete. It may have possessed other papal bulls which would have allowed us to reconcile the conflicting evidence.

b. The Census.

Together with its efforts to standardise the wording of a papal privilege so that it conveyed a precise and constant meaning, the chancery also reviewed the rules that governed the payment of the census. From the late eighth century the word census was used of the payment made to the Holy See by monasteries for papal protection and in recognition of theoretical papal ownership. But as in time it was exacted in return for papal privileges of both exemption and protection, it became necessary to distinguish between two kinds of payment. This again was achieved in the pontificate of Alexander III, when the papal

18. John of Ibelin, 'Livre', p.416; Cart. gen., no.3053. See Riley-Smith, Knights of St John, pp.230,341-42, 413-17.

19. Cart. gen., no.2811.

chancery made a distinction between the census paid in acknowledgement of protection only and the census paid for exemption from the authority of the diocesan ordinary, ad indicium percepto libertatis. By this time it had become the price exacted by the papacy in return for a bull of privilege rather than a token of recognition.<sup>20.</sup>

There is no record of the census being paid by St Mary of the Latins, even when the abbey received its privilege of exemption in 1173, but Mount Sion paid a census of one gold florin a year.<sup>21.</sup>

Josaphat, on the other hand, first paid a census of one ounce of gold from 1140 when its churches at Legio in Galilee and Paterno in Sicily were taken under the direct jurisdiction of the Holy See. In 1154 Pope Anastasius IV exacted the census when he granted that privilege to the mother-abbey.<sup>22.</sup> But in the middle of the thirteenth century Josaphat's exempt status was seriously threatened. In 1260 the patriarch of Jerusalem, James Pantaleon, was at the Holy See and had complained to Pope Alexander IV that the monastery had tried to withdraw from his jurisdiction, citing a papal privilege of exemption. In reply the Pope denied all knowledge of and belief in the existence of such a privilege and declared that even if one did exist, it was now revoked.<sup>23.</sup> In the

20. A. Fliche, R. Foreville and J. Rousset de Pina, Du premier concile du Lateran à l'avenement d'Innocent III ii, pp.31-32, 245, 301-2; W.E. Lunt, Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages i, pp.61-62.

21. 'Chartes du Mont Sion', p.51.

22. 'Über die Papsturkunden für Josaphat', no.4; Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.28; Le 'Liber Censuum', p.238.

23. Alexander IV, no.3123. This may have been connected with a dispute between Josaphat and the dean of Jaffa over tithes. (Amico, Reg.fol. nos.340,341). The patriarch had given judgment in the case, apparently in the dean's favour, and the abbot of Josaphat had gone to Rome to appeal to the pope. He was there by June 1259 and was followed at the end of that year by the patriarch, who went to ask the pope to revoke the gift of St Lazarus of Bethany to the Hospitallers and to register various other complaints at the curia.

light of Alexander IV's previous correspondence with the monastery this is a most surprising statement. In 1254 he had assured Josaphat, which belonged ad Romanam ecclesiam nullo medio, that although it had been unable to exercise the liberty granted to it by the papacy because it had had to move to another site, it should once again enjoy its libertatem pristinam and all its former privileges of freedom. The next year, although there was no nullo medio clause, he confirmed papal protection, exacting the census, ad indicium autem hujus percepte a Sede Apostolica Libertatis, and shortly after that declared that although the monastery, which belonged to the Holy See nullo medio, had lost many of its charters, its privileges should nevertheless have the force of the originals.<sup>24</sup> Yet only five years later in 1260 he disclaimed all knowledge of a privilege of exemption. Within a few days of this he instructed a canon of Ancona, Cosmo, to collect payments due to the papacy from the Latin Church in the Holy Land, which were several years in arrear. In September Cosmo demanded from Josaphat five ounces of gold, representing the census for the previous four years and the current year, paid in return for a privilege of exemption. Cosmo undertook to transmit the money to the Holy See, but he promised to return it if the rumour that the pope had just revoked the privilege proved to be true.<sup>25</sup> Josaphat, then, believed it possessed a papal privilege exempting it from patriarchal authority; this privilege had in fact been confirmed on several occasions by the Holy See. For the privilege

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24. Chartes de Terre Sainte, nos.48,50; Alexander IV, no.129.

25. Amico, Reg. fol. no.346. Payment of the census was often irregular and arrears were not uncommon. At this time many churches of Latin Syria were behind with payments to the Holy See.

it paid the census each year and had evidently done so without interruption until about 1256. And by claiming the census in 1260 the papacy must still have had documentary evidence that the monastery's claim to exemption was genuine. The confusion may have been due either to an error at the papal chancery, where previous correspondence with the abbey was overlooked, or to the pope's anxiety to conciliate Patriarch James who, as we can see from the number of papal letters that followed his appointment and his actions while he held office, was a jealous guardian of patriarchal rights. The outcome of the dispute is uncertain. There is no evidence that once James had been raised to the papal throne in 1261 he used his authority to clarify Josaphat's relationship to the church of Jerusalem one way or another. The privileges of Popes Gregory X in 1274 and Nicolas III in 1278 and 1279 and of fourteenth century popes continued to declare that the abbey was subject nullo medio to the Holy See, although in 1289 the patriarch of Jerusalem still claimed that it was subject nullo medio to his own church.<sup>26.</sup>

c. Freedom from oaths of obedience and sentences of excommunication.

The papal chancery sought to achieve uniformity not only in the phraseology of bulls, but in the rights that they conceded to monasteries. In the past there had been no hard rule about which privileges might be enjoyed only by exempt houses and actually distinguished them from other monasteries. The privileges most commonly granted freed an abbot from an oath of obedience to the bishop who consecrated him and allowed him

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26. Amico, Reg. fol. nos. 361, 363, 364; Recherches géographiques et historiques sur la domination des Latins en Orient, ed. E. Rey, pp. 65-66; Chartes de Terre Sainte, no. 59.

to receive consecration in the abbey church, from a prelate of his own choice, or even from the pope at Rome. He might be freed also from observing the ordinary's sentences of excommunication and interdict, from paying procurations and giving hospitality to him and his retinue during a visitation of the diocese, from attending his synods and paying its taxes and from having to admit the bishop to the abbey church to celebrate mass or perform the various ceremonies of benediction, consecration and ordination for which a bishop was required. In addition the abbot might be given the right to all or some of the seven insignia pontificalia, to wear mitre, ring, sandals, gloves, dalmatic and cross and carry the crozier. Any of these rights could be enjoyed by the abbot of a non-exempt house. As a result there were no criteria for judging which of the many houses so privileged was a proprietary church of the papacy. Only gradually did the papal chancery single out two rights as the only criteria of exemption, freedom from an oath of obedience to the diocesan bishop and immunity from his sentences of excommunication and interdict.<sup>27.</sup>

St Mary of the Latins was freed from sentences of excommunication when it became a proprietary church in 1173.<sup>28.</sup> But the question of the oath of obedience raises difficulties, for the cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre contains the text of just such an oath, sworn by Abbot Peregrine of St Mary of the Latins to the bishop of Lydda in the absence of Patriarch Robert between 1240 and 1244. This may be compared to the oath taken by the abbot of the Temple of Our Lord in about 1221 by which he swore to be faithful and obedient to the church of Jerusalem and the patriarch and his successors. He would not act or give counsel

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27. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, pp.585-86.

28. 'Papsturkunden aus Unteritalien', no.2.

in any way that would injure the patriarch in life or limb or lead to his capture, reveal his plans or cause him to lose his rights of jurisdiction over the Temple of Our Lord. He would defend and uphold the church of Jerusalem and all its possessions, saving his Order. He promised to attend synods and to deal honourably with messengers. The abbot of St Mary of the Latins took virtually the same oath twenty years later, but there were important differences. He swore to be faithful to the church of Jerusalem, the patriarch and his successors, but there was no mention of obedience and no promise to uphold patriarchal jurisdiction over his monastery. And he added that he would not alienate his house's possessions or infeudate anyone again and that he or a representative would come each year to the house of the church of Jerusalem.<sup>29</sup> The requirements of the abbot's oath appear to jeopardise his exempt status, but they can, perhaps, be explained. Just over two years before this, in March 1238, Pope Gregory IX ordered an inquiry into the allegation that the abbot had forsaken his vows and was living luxuriously, squandering his monastery's possessions. The name of the monk responsible for this scandal is unknown, but at the start of 1239 a man called Guiscard was abbot.<sup>30</sup> He may have been the offender, still in office before the investigation took place, or even after due correction, or he may have replaced the guilty abbot. The oath to the patriarch's deputy was taken by Guiscard's successor, Peregrine. It may be conjectured that it was exacted as a safeguard against any future lapses by the abbot of St Mary of the Latins and that the restraints upon his freedom to alienate property at will were prompted by a previous

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29. Cart. St-Sép., nos.1,4.

30. Gregory IX, no.4140; Tab. ord. Theut., no.88.

abbot's excesses. And at the same time the absence of any oath of obedience to the patriarch and of any mention of excommunication, exemption from which constituted the two criteria of papal jurisdiction, preserved the monastery's exempt status.

Mount Sion's privilege of 1179 forbade any bishop to impose sentences of excommunication or interdict on the abbey's houses and their inmates without papal permission. In times of general interdict the canons might continue to celebrate mass in their church in low voices, behind closed doors, without ringing the bells and excluding all under the interdict. But they were allowed to preach and celebrate mass once a year to the people, excluding excommunicates.<sup>31</sup> There is no evidence that these particular privileges became the subject of dispute with the patriarch, although in 1289 the abbot acknowledged his authority and sought his counsel and consent for the lease of a French priory to the bishop of Valenia.<sup>32</sup> But there is no apparent reason for the change in Mount Sion's status by this date.

St Mary of Josaphat was exempted from patriarchal jurisdiction by Pope Anastasius IV in 1154, but it was Adrian IV who freed it from sentences of excommunication and interdict, probably with the intention of bringing its rights into line with what was becoming the standard for proprietary churches. Josaphat was now allowed to celebrate mass behind closed doors at times of interdict, excluding excommunicates.<sup>33</sup> This relaxation of an interdict in favour of a particular religious institution

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31. 'Chartes du Mont Sion', pp.48-49.

32. 'Chartes d'Adam', no.1.

33. Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.28; Acta Pont. Rom. ined. iii, no.183.

was common. The priory of St Mary and All Saints received a similar privilege and the canons of Bethlehem, collecting alms for their church, were allowed to celebrate mass once a year in any place under interdict, excluding excommunicates. The Hospital of St John had also been given this privilege by Pope Innocent II.<sup>34</sup>

## 2. Lesser papal privileges.

While proprietary churches were distinguished by their freedom from an oath of obedience and from sentences of excommunication, they and non-exempt houses both possessed privileges which limited the powers of the local bishop in other ways.

### a. Concerning procurations.

Customarily the bishop had the right to make visitations to the monasteries in his diocese to correct and discipline them and on these occasions he could demand hospitality, or procuration, for himself and his retinue.<sup>35</sup> St Mary of the Latins was protected from 'unjust and undue' exactions by Pope Adrian IV's bull and the phrasing remained unaltered when the monastery became exempt.<sup>36</sup> Mount Sion was freed from paying the patriarch either procurations or cathedra, which was evidently a reference to the cathedraticum, the tax usually paid to the bishop at the diocesan synod. But in the pontificate of Urban IV this privilege was modified. In 1262 Mount Sion and its obediences

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34. Gregory IX, no.4013; Innocent IV, no.980; Riley-Smith, Knights of St John, p.376.

35. C.R. Cheney, Episcopal Visitation of Monasteries in the Thirteenth Century, p.104.

36. 'Zur Geschichte der Latina'; 'Papsturkunden aus Unteritalien', no.2.

were freed from paying procurations or other subsidies, unless exacted by the patriarch or a legate a latere, or from making various payments except to a legate a latere.<sup>37</sup> Pope Urban's attitude to the churches of the Holy Land was always coloured by the fact that he had formerly been the patriarch of Jerusalem. He was aware of their individual problems and sought to show them special favour, but at the same time he was anxious to maintain all the rights and dignities of the patriarch. His bulls to Mount Sion can be seen as an attempt either to affirm existing rights that were being threatened, or to ease some financial difficulty, or they may have been intended to resolve the question of whether the patriarch was entitled to demand payments from an exempt abbey in his role as legatus natus, the pope's resident agent in the East. Certainly Urban seems to have been stressing legatory rather than patriarchal rights. As we can see from the example of Cluny, the papacy used legates to compel bishops to observe papal privileges of exemption to monasteries in their sees.<sup>38</sup> And in exercising authority over a monastery the legate would act as the pope's lawful representative. We may compare Mount Sion's privilege with one granted by Urban in 1264 to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, whereby they and their obediences were exempted from giving procurations not merely to bishops but also to any papal legate or nuncio, except cardinals, without the express authority of the pope.<sup>39</sup> So the Holy Sepulchre, as the first shrine of the Christian world and the patriarchal church, enjoyed

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37. 'Chartes du Mont Sion', p.50; Urban IV, nos.173,174.

38. Cowdrey, The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform, p.47.

39. Nakielski, De sacra antiquitate estatu Ordinis Canonici, pp.184-85.

greater freedom in this matter even than certain papal proprietary churches.

St Mary of Josaphat was freed from providing the patriarch and clergy of Jerusalem with hospitality as early as 1113, but in 1160 Pope Alexander III had to censure the patriarch and the prior of the Holy Sepulchre for abusing this privilege, forbidding them to do so again.<sup>40.</sup>

b. Concerning episcopal functions.

Monasteries required a bishop to ordain priests, perform confirmations, impose certain penances, consecrate their churches, holy oils, altars and communion vessels, reconsecrate heathen temples, bless the newly installed abbot or abbess, bestow the veil upon nuns and verify holy relics.<sup>41.</sup> The abbot of St Mary of the Latins was permitted to seek ordination from the patriarch of Jerusalem if he could not go to Rome in person, while the abbot of Mount Sion might apply to any catholic bishop for his services. In contrast Pope Alexander IV in 1255 allowed the abbot of Josaphat to approach a bishop of his own choice only if the diocesan ordinary was not catholic.<sup>42.</sup>

A privilege that was sometimes granted to a monastery was the right to refuse a bishop entry to its church to celebrate mass. But the

40. Acta Pont. Rom. ined. ii, no.245; iii, no.183.

41. G. Le Bras, Institutions ecclésiastiques de la Chrétienté médiévale, p.366.

42. 'Papsturkunden aus Unteritalien', no.1. Alexander III's bull of 1173 (no.2) amended the word ordinet to benedicat. This was presumably intended to avoid the implication that the patriarch had the right to invest the abbot; 'Chartes du Mont Sion', pp.48-49; Alexander IV, no.129.

papacy deliberately withheld this from the six major shrines of Jerusalem, the Holy Sepulchre, which was the patriarch's own church in any case, the Temple of Our Lord, Mount Sion, St Mary of Josaphat and the Mount of Olives and the church of the Nativity at Bethlehem.

They may be compared to the forty-five stational churches of Rome in this respect. The word statio, whose original meaning was the site of a particular event, was subsequently used of a military barracks manned by guards on night-duty and found its way into ecclesiastical terminology with the implication of a vigil. It could refer to the place of a martyr's death and the ceremony which commemorated it and, in Rome, to the procession of the pope from one church to another for the celebration of mass. At Christmas, for example, the pope celebrated three masses in succession, at midnight in St Mary Major, at dawn in St Anastasia and finally either in St Peter's or again at St Mary Major, from where he returned in procession to the Lateran.<sup>43</sup>

In Jerusalem the patriarch had the right to go in procession with his chapter to the six shrines mentioned above to celebrate mass at their main festivals.<sup>44</sup> In the absence of the patriarch, the prior and canons of the Holy Sepulchre were allowed to celebrate mass in the Temple at Candlemas, in Mount Sion at Whitsun, St Mary of Josaphat at the Assumption and the Mount of Olives at Ascension, a right they had apparently inherited from the Greek chapter of the Holy Sepulchre. But the privilege seems to have been confined to these churches and to these particular festivals; the canons do not appear to have shared

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43. L. Homo, Rome medievale, p.170; L. Gunton, Rome's Historic Churches, p.xxii.

44. See 'Un rituel et un breviaire', p.405ff.

the patriarch's right to celebrate mass at Mount Sion on Maundy Thursday and the Assumption. In 1156 the canons alleged that while Patriarch Fulcher had been at Rome they had been refused entry by the canons of the Mount of Olives at the festival of the Ascension. As they did not think it fitting to dispute the matter on a holy day and at a holy place, they deferred their complaint against the priory until the patriarch returned. Their plea was heard by an ecclesiastical council, which duly confirmed the Holy Sepulchre's rights.<sup>45</sup>

c. Insignia pontificalia.

The right to wear the insignia pontificalia was granted to both exempt and non-exempt abbots. According to James of Vitry, the abbots of the Temple of Our Lord and the Mount of Olives, who as far as we know were both subject to the patriarch, possessed the mitre, ring and crozier; the Premonstratensian abbot of St Samuel carried the crozier, but did not wear either the ring or mitre; the prior of the Holy Sepulchre had ring, mitre and sandals; the abbots of St Mary of the Latins and Josaphat, which we know to have been exempt houses, possessed mitre, ring, crozier and sandals.<sup>46</sup> But Josaphat's surviving privileges reveal that this account was incomplete. In 1162 the papal legate, Cardinal John of SS John and Paul, granted the abbot and his successors the right to wear the mitre outside his church, in councils and processions, at solemn festivals and on all the other usual occasions. They might also wear their ring every day and the dalmatic for the

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45. Cart. St-Sép., nos.66,156; Vincent and Abel, Jérusalem nouvelle, p.403; 'Chartes du Mont Sion', pp.49-50.

46. James of Vitry, 'Historia orientalis', p.1078.

celebration of mass. In 1168-1169 Pope Alexander III granted them the right to wear ring, mitre, gloves and sandals in the monastery at Christmas and all festivals of the Virgin Mary and on Easter Sunday. At other festivals they might wear mitre and ring within the monastery, in churches and general processions.<sup>47</sup> The bull to Mount Sion of 1179 granted the abbot the right to wear mitre and ring and James of Vitry also mentioned sandals and crozier.<sup>48</sup>

### 3. Monastic Tithes.

The period from the seventh to the twelfth century saw a change in the principles governing the payment and enjoyment of tithes. The church took the view that tithes should only be received by a church which administered the sacraments, so that when this period opened all monasteries paid tithes from their income and few actually owned them. Increasingly, however, monasteries began to obtain tithes, by wrongfully appropriating them, or by gaining possession of a parish church and its revenues, or because the gift of land was accompanied by its tithes. This meant that in practice tithes were not paid at all by the monastery, but absorbed into its other revenues. And increasingly papal privileges confirmed this state of affairs. According to one historian writing on this subject, 'Taken together, these developments amounted to a minor revolution in economic practice, monastic theory and canon law'. From the pontificate of Paschal II papal policy was to allow monasteries to obtain the tithes of their properties from the previous owners, thereby

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47. Amico, Reg. fol. no.268; 'Über die Papsturkunden für Josaphat', no.7.

48. 'Chartes du Mont Sion', pp.50-51; James of Vitry, 'Historia orientalis', p.1078.

circumventing the need to pay them at all. As an alternative to this the papacy granted privileges which freed monasteries from the payment of tithes, or which allowed them to keep for themselves the tithes that they would normally have paid. They were encouraged to use the money for their hospices or for alms: we see Abbot Hugh of Josaphat assigning the tithes from his house's possessions for the support of its hospice.<sup>49</sup> This policy and the arguments that had been devised to justify it soon gained acceptance. The chief of these was the claim that as monks were now becoming ordained and could therefore administer sacraments, they should receive the same revenues as other priests with the cure of souls. Yet another argument advanced was that as monks were Christ's poor, they were entitled to benefit from tithing. Authority was given ultimately to these various theories by Gratian's 'Decretum'. Pope Innocent II issued tithing privileges liberally and during his pontificate the formula for such grants was perfected. Regular canons and monks were to pay no tithes on land cultivated by their own labours or for their own use, in other words, on demesne land. This was endorsed by the Council of Pisa in 1135. The same general policy was followed by Popes Celestine II, Lucius II, Eugenius III and Anastasius IV.<sup>50</sup>

As we have already seen, in the crusader states tithes were paid by the owner of the land directly to the diocesan church.<sup>51</sup> This basic system was modified, as in Europe, when a monastery was given the tithes of its land, or when papal privileges exempted it from paying tithes on

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49. G. Constable, Monastic Tithes from their origins to the Twelfth Century, pp.2-5, 39, 60-61, 201, 210-11, 227-28, 232-33; Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.19.

50. Constable, Monastic Tithes, pp.182-84, 236-41, 244.

51. See above pp.95-96.

certain types of land. The changes in papal policy on tithing that have been mentioned were reflected in the privileges granted to houses in the Holy Land. In 1112 Pope Paschal II freed St Mary of the Latins from paying tithes on demesne lands or on oblations or revenues given to the monastery. In 1113 he freed Josaphat from paying tithes on demesne lands, while Pope Innocent II in 1140 extended its franchise to include animal fodder.<sup>52</sup> But in Palestine and Syria, where there was little demesne land, monasteries can have benefited only slightly from exemption, although it was possible to circumvent this, as the Hospital of St John tried to do, by ensuring that estates yielded produce that could be consumed by the community and therefore qualified as exempt from tithing.<sup>53</sup> In the middle of the twelfth century papal tithing privileges created a severe economic problem in Europe which Pope Adrian IV tried to solve by limiting exemption on demesne lands to novalia, land that had newly been brought under cultivation. St Mary of the Latins and Josaphat were now both restricted to exemption from paying tithes on noval demesne lands and animal fodder. A more moderate attitude towards tithing was taken by Pope Alexander III, who preferred to judge each case on its own merits, and in some instances the liberties taken away by his predecessor were restored. But although the economic problem cannot have been as critical in the East, where demesne land was so scarce, he does not seem to have thought it necessary to relax the restrictions on monasteries there. His bulls of 1163 to the Holy Sepulchre, of 1173 to St Mary of the Latins and of 1179 to Mount

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52. 'Papsturkunden aus Unteritalien', no.1; Acta Pont. Rom. ined. ii, no.245; Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.21.

53. Riley-Smith, Knights of St John, p.391.

Sion freed these houses only from tithes on noval demesne lands and animal fodder.<sup>54.</sup>

The Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 was a landmark in the development of papal tithing policies with its decree that Benedictines, Augustinians and Premonstratensians were exempt from tithes only on novalia.<sup>55.</sup> In 1237 St Mary and All Saints was freed from tithes on its noval demesne lands; in 1255 Pope Alexander IV granted Josaphat franchise for noval demesne lands and animal fodder, concluding his bull salva ... in predictis decimis moderatione concilii generalis.<sup>56.</sup> But the Council's decree was not always applied strictly. In 1227 the church of Bethlehem was freed from tithes on demesne lands acquired before 1215 and on animal fodder, a privilege possessed also by the Cistercians and Military Orders, and in 1264 the pope forbade bishops to exact tithes from demesne lands acquired before the Council by the Holy Sepulchre and its houses.<sup>57.</sup>

Cistercian houses in the crusader states doubtless enjoyed the privileges of their Order, which had first been granted full freedom from paying tithes by Pope Innocent II in 1132. At this time the monks were being given land that had previously been uncultivated and from which no tithes had been paid, so that their franchise did not cost the local bishop his customary revenues. But as the Order expanded monasteries were given lands which had once been tithed and under

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54. Constable, Monastic Tithes, pp.221,294-95; 'Zur Geschichte der Latina'; Acta Pont. Rom. ined. iii, no.183; Papsturkunden in Spanien, ed. P. Kehr i Katalanien ii, no.109; 'Papsturkunden aus Unteritalien', no.2; 'Chartes du Mont Sion', p.48.

55. Constable, Monastic Tithes, p.306.

56. Gregory IX, no.4013; Alexander IV, no.129.

57. Riant, 'L'Eglise de Bethléem', p.659; Nakielski, De sacra antiquitate estatu Ordinis Canonici, pp.186-88.

pressure from the bishops, the pope in 1156 restricted the exemption of Cistercians to noval lands and later compelled them to control or prohibit the acquisition of new lands. In 1215 the Lateran Council granted them exemption from tithes on the property they already owned, but declared that any land acquired in future was to be tithed according to the Council's general decrees.<sup>58.</sup>

At all times, however, tithing privileges were subject to private negotiation between a local bishop and a monastery. Although Josaphat was freed from paying tithes on its demesne land in 1113, Archbishop Evremar of Caesarea in 1126 granted the monks only half the tithes of their demesne in the casal of Galgala and in the territory of Haifa. And when the abbey of Jubin joined the Cistercian Order in 1214 the monks made a special agreement with the patriarch of Antioch, who would otherwise have lost much of his existing revenue from this house. The monks agreed to render to the church of Antioch half the tithes of all their property which had previously been tithable; they would give two-thirds of the tithes from demesne land received in future, but this would not cover woods which were not integral parts of casalia and gastinae, for which they would pay half tithes; they were to continue to pay tithes on all vineyards which they had already planted themselves and on gardens, fisheries and mills which had previously been tithed. But if they planted vineyards in future they would pay two-thirds of the tithe, since those lands would be novalia.<sup>59.</sup>

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58. L.J. Lekai, The White Monks, pp.212-13.

59. Acta Pont. Rom. ined. ii, no.245; Amico, Reg. fol. no.209; Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.28; Richard, 'L'abbaye de Jubin', pp.66-67.

CHAPTER FOURTHE MONASTIC COMMUNITY

Chronicles from the crusader states are, save in a few cases, silent about the men and women who served at the Holy Places and in the absence of biographies, hagiographies, letters and religious treatises, their personalities are obscure. Personal touches are rare indeed, although a notable exception is the lively account of the discovery of the bones of the Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and their wives by the canons of Hebron.<sup>1</sup> In spite of these limitations, however, we are still able to piece together information about the origins, identities and careers of some of the regular clergy.

The Europeans who formed a small ruling class in the East after the First Crusade had sprung from many nations and from every social station. A new aristocracy of fief-holders arose in which formerly obscure or humble families might come to prominence. At the same time, throughout the two centuries of Latin rule, there was a constant flow of newcomers from the West who had an impact on both the religious and secular life of the Franks in the East. The origins of the regular clergy who came to serve in Latin churches can sometimes be discerned. When the shrines were first delivered into the hands of Latin Christians they were staffed immediately by the clerks who had accompanied the armies or who came to the Holy Land in the wake of its success. William

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1. 'Tractatus de inventione sanctorum patriarchorum'.

of Tyre reported that it was clerks from Godfrey of Bouillon's own country asked the Duke for the church of St Mary of Josaphat and formed its first Latin community there. Their first abbot, Baldwin, was said by another chronicler to have been the Duke's compatriot, who was to accompany him in his expedition to Caesarea and to become the city's first archbishop in 1101.<sup>2</sup> At the time of the First Crusade, Achard, the first prior of the Temple of Our Lord, had been a hermit at Arrouaise, and subsequently archdeacon of Théroutennes, before coming to the Holy Land at an unknown date. It has been suggested that he may have accompanied the papal legate to the 1108 council of Jerusalem, but if Achard was the dean of the Holy Sepulchre involved in the negotiations for the elevation of Bethlehem to an episcopal see, he must have been in the East some years before that.<sup>3</sup> Gerard, the abbot of the church of All Saints at Schaffhausen, left his abbey with the permission of Pope Urban II to join the First Crusade and became treasurer of the Holy Sepulchre, appearing at the king's side in battle in 1101 in charge of the relic of the True Cross. When the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre was regularised he became its first prior.<sup>4</sup>

The prestige of the Palestinian shrines and their new accessibility after 1099 attracted more clergy from Europe. Some who originally came as pilgrims decided to remain and joined a convent; others came with

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2. William of Tyre, pp.376-77,423; Guibert of Nogent, pp.182-83; Albert of Aix, p.550; 'Versus de Viris illustribus diocesis Tarvanensis in sacra fuere expeditione', cols.539-40.

3. 'Vita Joannis Episcopi Tervanensis Auct. Waltero Archidiacono', pp.1143-44; 'Versus de Viris illustribus diocesis Tarvanensis in sacra fuere expeditione', cols.539-40. See also 'Poème sur le templem domini', pp.564-65 and above p.23.

4. 'Monachus Scaphusensis', p.337; 'Bertholdi Zwifaltensis Chronicon', p.106; 'Bernoldi Chronicon', p.467; Ekkehard of Aura, 'Hierosolymita', p.35; Albert of Aix, p.550; Cart. Gen., nos.25,28.

the intention of entering a monastery. Even when a generation of Franks born in Syria arose, clergy continued to arrive directly from Europe. Amalric, the first abbot of the Premonstratensian house of SS Joseph and Habakkuk, had already had an eminent career. He had been the first provost of the new foundation of Gratiae Dei at Gottesgnaden and had come to France with Archbishop Norbert of Magdeburg, the founder of the Premonstratensian Order. He became the second abbot of Floreffe. At the request of Pope Innocent II (1130-1143) he came to the Holy Land and there established the abbey of SS Joseph and Habakkuk.<sup>5</sup> William, the second prior of the Holy Sepulchre, was an Englishman and his three successors, another William, Peter and Amalric, were from Malines in Flanders, Barcelona and Nesles in France respectively. Fulcher, a canon of the Holy Sepulchre who became archbishop of Tyre, came from Angoulême from the house of Celles.<sup>6</sup> Frederick, a canon of the Temple of Our Lord, was from Lorraine, the son of Count Henry of La Roche en Ardennes and the brother-in-law of Lord Nicolas of Avesnes, and had been archdeacon of St Lambert of Liège.<sup>7</sup> Similarly the names of many canons and monks indicate their European origin. A glance at the list of those who served in the Holy Sepulchre at one time or another shows that they came from many nations, although Frenchmen are perhaps the most numerous: Radulphus Parisiacensis, Willelmus Normannus, Johannes Pisanus, Robertus Arthasiensis, Lambertus Flandrensis, Johannes Pictavensis, Willelmus de

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5. 'Fundatio Monasterii Gratiae Dei', pp.688-89; 'Le "Catalogus Abbatum Floreffiensium"', p.233; Backmund, Monasticon Premonstratense 1, p.397.

6. William of Tyre, pp.591-92,598,621-22,734,854.

7. William of Tyre, pp.892-93,1010; 'Annales Cameracenses', p.551.

Yspania, Bertrandus de Podio, Petrus Bithuricensis, Rainaldus de Lochis, Petrus de Boloniensis, Guillaume Poitevin, Pierre le Gascon, Petrus Barchinonsis.

In a number of cases clerks came from the new nobility. A notable example is Gelduin, the third abbot of St Mary of the Valley of Josaphat who had served in the church of St Martin des Champs and became prior of the Cluniac house of Larcy-Le Bourg. He received permission from Abbot Pons of Cluny (1109-1122) to go to the Holy Land. He was the fourth son of Hugh I of Le Puiset and a first cousin of King Baldwin II of Jerusalem, related to other prominent members of the local baronage. His family connections, as we have seen, were of the first importance in securing endowment for his abbey.<sup>8</sup> In 1104 the repudiated Armenian wife of King Baldwin I was put into the convent of St Anne, though her stay there was very brief.<sup>9</sup> Yvette, the youngest daughter of Baldwin II, took the veil at that abbey and was no doubt one of the nuns transplanted to the new convent at St Lazarus, where she soon became abbess. As head of this privileged royal foundation and the sister of Queen Melisende and aunt of Baldwin III, she had some influence. In 1158 she and her niece, the Countess Sibylla of Flanders, intervened in the election of a new patriarch to secure the appointment of Prior Amalric of the Holy Sepulchre. Sibylla herself, the daughter of King Fulk, had accompanied her husband, Thierry of Flanders, on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1157, lodging at Bethany with Abbess Yvette, her step-mother's sister. In spite of the protests of her husband, the king and

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8. 'Tractatus de Reliquiis S. Stephani', pp.317-20. See also La Monte, 'The Lords of Le Puiset on the Crusades', pp.109-10.

9. William of Tyre, pp.451-52.

the patriarch, she refused to return to Flanders and remained at St Lazarus' as a nun. It has been seen that she and Yvette exerted improper influence on the election of a patriarch. According to the chronicler Ernoul, she led such a holy life that the abbess begged her to take her place so that she herself might live as an ordinary nun, but Sibylla refused. One French source stated that she began to minister personally to the sick and poor. She died in 1165. Yvette remained as abbess of St Lazarus until her death. Her great-niece Sibylla, the sister of King Baldwin IV and the future queen of Jerusalem, was raised in the convent in her care.<sup>10</sup> Stephanie, the abbess of St Mary Major, was the daughter of the elder Joscelin of Edessa, who, when very old, supplied Archbishop William of Tyre with the details of the consanguineous marriage of King Amalric and Agnes of Courtenay. The wife of Renier de Brus, the lord of Banyas, repudiated because of her adultery, took the veil at an unnamed convent in Jerusalem.<sup>11</sup> Biographical details of other regulars are not as abundant as in the cases just mentioned, but there are still clues to their relationship with local personalities. Stephen, a canon of Mount Sion, was a kinsman of Reginald of Châtillon, a new arrival from Europe; Abbot Roger of the Temple of Our Lord was said to be the son of a certain Roard. This man was not identified, but he was evidently immediately recognisable to contemporaries and may have been the Roard who was castellan of Jerusalem at various times, said to be the brother of Balian of Jaffa.<sup>12</sup>

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10. William of Tyre, pp.854,1006; Ernoul, pp.21-22; 'Ex Chronico Sithiensi S.Bertini', p.471; 'Ex Auctario Aquicinotino', p.278.

11. William of Tyre, pp.634,888-89.

12. Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.41; Cart. gen., no.576; William of Tyre, pp.1009-10.

But it would be impossible to trace from the chronicles and documents of the crusader states alone the career of any cleric from the moment he entered the monastery as a postulant, through his training and probation to his profession as a monk, or to describe the daily life of the monastic community with its routine of divine service, prayer and industry and the officials who directed these activities and provided for the spiritual and material needs of the brothers. The regular life as it was followed by monks and canons in Europe has already been examined by historians of the Mediaeval Church and the religious orders. This way of life was established by the Franks in the Latin monasteries and nunneries of the East and in essence must have conformed to the standard of the West.<sup>13</sup> But the evidence we do possess still reveals peculiarities and throws light on the particular problems faced by these remote houses.

#### 1. Organisation.

Cathedral chapters and abbeys were fundamentally alike in the organisation of the convent. Regular chapters were ruled by their prior and had a certain amount of independence from their bishop. The bishop's chief official was the archdeacon, whose powers were defined by Pope Innocent III: he examined candidates for ordination, took counsel with the bishop over the nomination of rural deans and installed the holders of benefices and the dignitaries of the church; he had charge of the deacons, subdeacons and deans and administered the parishes

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13. For the structure of monasteries in the west see especially Knowles, The Monastic Order in England and Le Bras, Les institutions ecclésiastiques.

of the diocese. If he was a canon he held a prebend.<sup>14</sup> The archdeacons of the church of Jerusalem do not always seem to have been canons. The first reference to an archdeacon after the installation of a regular chapter dates from 1137. Archdeacon Robert had actually been a member of the chapter and was still considered so. And Archdeacon Dalmacius in 1186 was probably the deacon mentioned in 1170 and the canon and steward of the patriarch in 1171. But no other archdeacon can be shown to have been a canon.<sup>15</sup> In the church of Nazareth, according to the 1251 statutes, the archdeacon was customarily a secular clerk, either a priest or a deacon, and from this date was to receive from the archbishop an annual prebend of five measures of corn, fifty of barley and fifty Saracen besants, together with a house in Nazareth and food for two horses. He and two servants ate at the canon's table. But in 1267 the papal constitutions for the church decreed that henceforward the archbishop should appoint a canon to the post.<sup>16</sup> The church of Bethlehem's preference for a regular as its archdeacon was overruled by the pope in 1246 when the nephew of the bishop-elect, Deodatus de' Prefetti, was provided to the post.<sup>17</sup>

The convents of regular cathedral chapters and abbeys in the East contained the usual dignitaries<sup>18</sup>: a prior, the head of the cathedral

14. Le Bras, Les institutions ecclésiastiques, pp.391-93.

15. Cart. St-Sép., nos.26,181; Amico, Reg. fol. no.293; Les Archives, la Bibliothèque et le trésor de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem à Malte, ed. J. Delaville Le Roulx, nos.5,37. See also Appendix II below.

16. Innocent IV, no.5538; Clement IV, no.511.

17. Innocent IV, nos.2025,2039.

18. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, pp.427-31.

chapter, or the abbot's immediate subordinate; a subprior; a precentor, or cantor, who had responsibility for the choir and liturgical matters; a succentor to whom some of the cantor's duties were delegated; and a treasurer who had charge of the monastery's relics. In the Holy Land this post must have carried some responsibility, since most churches had several important relics. The treasurer of the Holy Sepulchre was custodian of the relic of the True Cross, a duty which required him to accompany military expeditions. So in 1101 the treasurer Gerard, later prior of the Holy Sepulchre, was with the King at the siege of Jaffa and in 1182 the treasurer died while on such an expedition.<sup>19</sup> There were also in the convents provosts and cellarers who were responsible for the house's food supplies and servants; a chamberlain who had care of the habits, personal effects and domestic necessities; an almoner who supervised the distribution of charity to the needy; a sacrist who took care of the altar, vestments and the repair and decoration of the church; and a cementarius. There were also references in 1103, when the Holy Sepulchre was still served by secular canons, to a master of scholastics and in 1136 to a certain John Pisanus qui eo tempore ad Sepulchrum clericulos docebat.<sup>20</sup> While officials in charge of schooling appear in other churches with secular chapters,<sup>21</sup> these are the only references to their presence in a regular convent. And the church of Bethlehem had a librarian, who took

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19. Ekkehard of Aura, 'Hierosolymita', p.35; Albert of Aix, p.550; William of Tyre, p.1095.

20. Cart. St-Sep., nos.36,107.

21. Riley-Smith, The Feudal Nobility, pp.129-30.

over some of the cantor's tasks.<sup>22</sup> The witness lists of convents also included chaplains, deacons and subdeacons, whose duty it was to prepare the vessels for mass. There must have been other monastic officials, such as masters of novices, infirmarians, hospitallers, kitcheners, refectorers and pittancers, but there are no references to them.

In the thirteenth century an official with the title of commander, or preceptor, appeared three times in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. In 1253 a commander called Matthew was delegated to restore the church of Hebron to its rightful possessions in Acre, in 1267 the commander Henry witnessed a document for the master of the Hospital and in 1269 the prior of the Holy Sepulchre referred to William Poitevin as commander of the church's house in Acre.<sup>23</sup> The duties of this official may have been similar to those of the grand commander in the Order of St John, who stood a little apart from the convent, but was second only to the master and administered the Order in his absence or during vacancies. It is probable that he had responsibility for the general administration of the Hospital's properties and in 1206 all places in Latin Syria were put in his command. It is interesting to see that he was sometimes known as the commander of Acre.<sup>24</sup>

In the cathedrals each canon in the chapter was maintained by a prebend on the revenues of the church. Office-holders tended to receive larger prebends. The only surviving evidence for the size of prebends

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22. Amico, Reg. fol.no.212.

23. Tab. ord. Theut., nos.102,104; Cart. gen., no.3283; 'Un document relatif à une relique de S.Philippe', no.1.

24. Riley-Smith, Knights of St John, pp.304-6.

in the churches of Syria is to be found in the arrangements made in the Holy Sepulchre when it was still served by secular canons and in the distribution of prebends made in the church of Nazareth in 1251 when financial resources were strained. Neither could be considered representative of cathedral churches in normal conditions. In 1103 Patriarch Evremar allotted a prebend of one hundred and fifty besants to each canon. The cantor, primicer, treasurer and sacrist received another hundred besants. After the death of Archdeacon Arnulf the subdeacon should receive one hundred and fifty besants from patriarchal revenues, but in the meantime Arnulf himself granted a hundred besants to this official. King Baldwin assigned one hundred and fifty from his own revenues to the succentor. When regular canons were established in the church Patriarch Arnulf, the former archdeacon, made provision of various other revenues, including oblations, candles, tithes and actual property. These revenues were increased in later years, but there were occasions when the patriarch tried to reappropriate them or to encroach upon his chapter's rights and had to be admonished by the pope.<sup>25</sup>

In 1251 the archbishop and canons of Nazareth themselves did not know how the chapter had previously been organised or how the prebends had been assigned. The new constitutions are of great interest, since they represent an effort to re-establish the regular life in the church in an acceptable form on limited resources. There were to be six canons and a prior living communally in the convent. The prior was to receive an annual prebend of sixty measures of corn and of barley, four of beans, chickpeas and lentils, four camellatae of wine, two vegeticulae

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25. Cart. St-Sep., nos.25,36,158,166.

of oil and sixty Saracen besants. Each canon's prebend was to be half of this and was evidently not to depend on his office. All the revenues were to be given to the prior who was to pay all communal expenses and provide for his canons' maintenance. He was to receive in addition on behalf of the chapter half of all offerings made to the church in money and candles, as well as one casal near Nazareth with all its rights and appurtenances. This property was separate from the possessions held jointly by the archbishop and chapter. The archbishop undertook to pay all other expenses, including the upkeep of the church and its fabric, and to maintain the stipendiary priests, chaplains, clerks and other persons serving in the church. The new papal constitutions of 1267 for the church of Nazareth tried to regulate ownership of the church's possessions and to apportion responsibility for its expenses.<sup>26.</sup>

A cathedral chapter had two identities: as the bishop's council and as a separate corporate institution which possessed its own seal, issued its own statutes and had jurisdiction over its own property and members. In its own right it developed relations with external authorities and institutions, including the papacy. There were as a result occasions when the individual interests of the bishop and his canons were in conflict, particularly when they concerned the internal governance of the convent.<sup>27.</sup> The chapter of the Holy Sepulchre was allowed to instal canons without first seeking the patriarch's permission. In about 1167 the pope reaffirmed this right in response to the canons' complaint that the patriarch had compelled them to accept

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26. Innocent IV, no.5538; Clement IV, no.511.

27. Le Bras, Les institutions ecclesiastiques, pp.377-79, 386-90.

canons on his own choice and had assigned prebends from the canons' own revenues. The pope declared also that neither the patriarch nor the prior of the Holy Sepulchre himself were authorised to send canons abroad, or suspend or dismiss them from their posts without the consent of the chapter, except in cases of manifest guilt.<sup>28.</sup> Continual disorder in the church of Nazareth led Pope Clement IV in 1267 to draw up rules for the appointment of the various members of the church and to define areas of jurisdiction. The prior and chapter were to receive canons and assign the prebends of subprior, cantor, treasurer, chamberlain and cellarer without reference to the archbishop. They were also to correct canons accused of offences which did not entail dismissal from the regular life or the loss of a stall. Only if the convent failed in its responsibilities was the archbishop empowered to correct an offender, and then only after due warning. Offences that did require dismissal were within the joint cognizance of the archbishop, prior and chapter. Lay and clerical brothers of the church were admitted by the prior and chapter alone and were answerable to the prior for their conduct.<sup>29.</sup>

The brothers of an abbey on the other hand were completely subject to their abbot, owing him absolute obedience and reverence. Although the abbot's authority was bound both by the monastic Rule and the need to seek the counsel of his monks, his decisions were law within the house. Increasingly, however, it became necessary for him to have the formal consent of his convent for all acts affecting the welfare of the

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28. Cart. St-Sép., nos.148,156,157.

29. Clement IV, no.511.

house. Such questions as the institution of new brothers, the acquisition and disposal of property, appointments in the church and alterations to liturgical and domestic routine were submitted to the community for approval.<sup>30</sup>

Evidence for disputes between the abbot and his convent in the houses of Latin Syria is slight. The only rebellion of which we know occurred in about 1238 in the Cistercian house of Jubin, when in the absence of the abbot the prior had called on the services of the laity to evict the subprior and more than thirty of the monks and lay brothers. The cause is unknown, but it may have been a side-effect of the abbey's quarrel over tithes with the patriarch of Antioch.<sup>31</sup> The lack of evidence for internal disputes, at a period when convents in the West were trying to secure greater participation in the affairs of the monastery at the expense of the abbot's authority and the fact that episodes of internal disorder tended to occur during vacancies or in the absence of the abbot may indicate that the Holy Land was not much affected by contemporary European trends and that the abbots continued to exercise close and effective control over their subjects.

## 2. Elections.

Elections were often responsible for outside intervention in the conventual affairs of both cathedral chapters and abbeys. In 1244, for example, the pope heard an appeal from the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre, which had elected a canon Guiscard as prior after a vacancy of more than

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30. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, pp.411-14.

31. Gregory IX, no.4020; Richard, 'L'abbaye de Jubin', pp.65-67.

three years. The patriarch had refused to confirm the election. The pope ordered the appointment to be upheld, provided that Guiscard was not found to be unsuitable. In the same year he intervened in a similar dispute in the priory of St Michael at Tripoli. The canons had elected one of their number as prior, but the bishop of Tripoli had refused to confirm their choice. Here again the appointment was to stand if the election had been in accordance with canon law. By 1253, however, the bishop of Tripoli had again claimed the right to appoint the prior of this house by virtue of his authority as diocesan ordinary. He installed a monk from Genoa, Blase, an appointment that on this occasion was upheld by the papacy.<sup>32</sup>

Election disputes increasingly came to be a signal for papal intervention, which might lead to the direct provision of a clerk to a vacant benefice. 'Under the influence of current conceptions of papal authority - conceptions identified today with the name of Innocent III and Innocent IV and with the doctrine of plenitudo potestatis - the practice exercised by twelfth century popes of recommending clerks for benefices was transformed by the beginning of the thirteenth century into a papal right to confer benefices directly or to order conferment by others on apostolic authority, without the concurrence and even against the wishes of the ordinary collator'. The practice of papal provisions culminated in Pope Clement IV's decree Licet ecclesiarum of 1265, which laid down the pope's right to dispose of all ecclesiastical benefices.<sup>33</sup> Examples of this kind of papal

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32. Innocent IV, nos.458,737,7016.

33. G. Barraclough, Papal Provisions, pp.5,8; L.E. Boyle, 'Provision', New Catholic Encyclopaedia xi, p.924.

intervention in conventual elections in the Holy Land are few, however. In 1263 the pope himself appointed Hugh de Nysun as prior of the Holy Sepulchre, but when Hugh was later promoted to an Italian archdiocese, the pope granted permission to the chapter to proceed with the election of a new prior.<sup>34</sup> Usually, however, the pope confined himself to a mandate authorising an appointment: in 1263 Pope Urban IV ordered the patriarch of Jerusalem to appoint an abbot to St Mary of Josaphat, whose previous abbot had apparently died at the papal curia where he had been acting on behalf of his church for some years.<sup>35</sup>

Papal intervention in certain appointments was claimed on the authority of a decree of the Fourth Lateran Council which stated that unless a cathedral or regular church had received a head within three months of the post falling vacant, the right to appoint should devolve on the nearest authority.<sup>36</sup> The papacy appears to have interpreted this very loosely, for when in 1261 the pope ordered the speedy installation of new canons in the church of Nazareth, he claimed that provision to the post of prior had devolved on the papacy, on the authority of the decree, disregarding the nearer jurisdiction of the archbishop or the patriarch of Jerusalem. He charged the new chapter to proceed with the election. A few years later a dispute over the same post allowed the pope to exercise this right again. He upheld the papal appointee Guy de Paladru against the canon who claimed to have been chosen by the archbishop of Nazareth. In 1267, however, Pope Clement IV, in his

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34. Urban IV, no.260; Clement IV, nos.638,639.

35. Urban IV, no.2223.

36. Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio, ed. J.D. Mansi xii, cols.979-80.

efforts to end a long dispute between the archbishop and chapter, reaffirmed the canons' right to elect their own prior, while the archbishop was to confirm the election.<sup>37</sup> In 1291 Pope Nicolas IV claimed the right to provide to the abbey of St Paul in Antioch because of a long vacancy and ordered the archdeacon of Famagusta to appoint an abbot.<sup>38</sup>

#### Cistercian Monasteries.

The Cistercian houses of Palestine and Syria must be considered separately. The Cistercian Rule laid down a system of government for the whole Order, by which each house was linked to its mother-house and ultimately to Cîteaux itself. There were regulations covering abbatial elections, discipline and other conventual matters. Close watch was kept on every aspect of a monastery's life, its liturgy and work, and lapses were quickly discovered, reported and corrected. The pattern of monastic life was the same as in the European houses of the Order. The brothers were occupied with manual labour and prayer and their estates or granges were administered by lay brothers. But the stringent requirements of the Rule meant that the running of Cistercian houses was more directly affected by the peculiar conditions of the East than that of Augustinian and Benedictine convents.

The Order was governed through the General Chapter, the assembly of abbots from all Cistercian houses each year at Cîteaux. Attendance

37. Urban IV, nos.45,1508; Clement IV, no.511.

38. Nicolas IV, no.5765. By this date Antioch had been in Muslim hands for about twenty-three years and the abbey had been re-established in Cyprus.

was compulsory unless a satisfactory excuse could be made and Cistercians in the Holy Land were faced annually by a long, hazardous journey to Europe with all its expense and inconvenience. They had to leave their abbeys for what might be a considerable period and in 1238 the absence of the abbot gave rise to a rebellion among the brothers of Jubin near Antioch.<sup>39</sup> The statutes of the Cistercian Order contain numerous petitions on this subject, together with exemptions granted to abbots who could not make the journey. In 1216 all abbots of Syria were given leave to come to Cîteaux once in five years only; in 1225 the abbot of Jubin was asking permission to attend every six years and in 1232 he and the abbot of Belmont were granted leave to attend once every seven years. In 1261 the General Chapter ordered the abbot of Morimond to investigate the absence of the abbots of Belmont and Beaulieu in Cyprus, his daughter-houses, from two successive assemblies. The later years of the thirteenth century, when the Mamluks drove the monks of Belmont and Jubin from their houses, created still more problems in maintaining contact with Cîteaux. In 1282 it was reported that the abbot of Jubin had not been to a meeting of the Chapter for fifteen years and was to be deposed.<sup>40</sup>

The annual visitation of daughter-houses by the abbot of the mother-abbey was a basic requirement of Cistercian government. This proved to be impossible for those with daughters in the Holy Land. There is evidence indeed that on certain occasions monasteries in the East made independent arrangements for visitation: in 1223 the abbot of St Angelo

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39. Gregory IX, no.4020.

40. Stat. Ord. Cist., i, p.459—49 (1216); ii, pp.47—62 (1225), 103—18 (1232), 481—29 (1261); p.226—46 (1282).

in Constantinople was delegated by the abbot of Citeaux to make visitations to the house of St Mary de Parcheio, which had originally made its own agreement with St Mary Magdalene in Acre over visitation.<sup>41</sup> The Order could not allow such remote houses to fall into neglect in the absence of regular visitations and here again concessions had to be made. In 1219 the abbots of Belmont and Jubin were given permission to carry out visitations to each other's abbeys, since there was no other way in which this could be done. In 1225 Jubin asked for visitations to be made only every three years, especially because of the sea voyage.<sup>42</sup>

As a result of such difficulties, relations between the Cistercian houses of the East, whether in the Holy Land, Greece or Cyprus, tended to be particularly close and strengthened the links that already existed between mother-abbeyes and their daughters in these areas. Of necessity they functioned to some degree independently of the central government of the Order. Ultimate authority was still reserved to Citeaux, but disciplinary and executive duties had to be delegated to sister-abbeyes rather than exercised by the mother-house. These arrangements can hardly have been satisfactory, particularly when lapses in monastic observances had to be corrected. But it was only by taking the individual circumstances of the Eastern houses into consideration and by moderating the demands of the Rule that Citeaux could come to terms with the problem.

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41. Honorius III, no.4487.

42. Stat. Ord. Cist., i, p.510—37 (1219); ii, p.47—62 (1225).

Size.

It is impossible to estimate the size of monastic communities in Palestine and Syria with any accuracy. The lists of witnesses in charters are of some use, but there is, of course, no guarantee that where a deed is said to have had the consent of the whole chapter, as was customary, the document recording it was witnessed by all.<sup>43</sup>

In general the size of a cathedral chapter was dictated by the church's resources, but the number of canons might be increased for the sake of prestige, or, alternatively, reduced to afford the canons more profitable prebends. A monastery required a minimum number of brothers to form a convent, but, again, the size depended upon resources.<sup>44</sup> This makes it necessary yet again to examine Latin churches at two periods, in the twelfth century at the height of their affluence and prestige and in the thirteenth century when they were being affected by political changes and economic strain. In 1154 a document of the Holy Sepulchre was said to be witnessed by the whole chapter, which comprised eighteen canons and a prior. In 1156 the prior of the Mount of Olives came with seven canons to atone for their rebelliousness towards the canons of the Holy Sepulchre the previous year and we may assume that in view of the occasion the full convent would be required to be present. In 1160 twenty-three canons and the abbot of the Premonstratensian abbey of SS Joseph and Habakkuk witnessed a document.<sup>45</sup>

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43. See Cart. gen., no.2833. On this occasion there were twelve monks and the abbot present.

44. Le Bras, Les institutions ecclésiastiques, pp.378,447; Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique, ed. R. Naz iii, col.535.

45. Cart. St-Sép., nos.64,66,110.

A complete list of all the inhabitants of a religious house would include novices, servants, lay brothers, workmen, pensioners and others attached in some way to the community. And at any given time there must have been absentees, for it was necessary to send brothers to deal with the house's business at the papal curia or patriarchal court or to serve in subordinate houses. In the West the average Augustinian or Premonstratensian house had between seven and twenty-five canons, Benedictine houses between twenty-five and fifty monks<sup>46</sup>. and in comparison the churches of the Holy Land do not seem to have been exceptionally large. But at no time, of course, was the Latin population of the crusader states, lay or ecclesiastical, very large.

We have seen that by the middle of the thirteenth century nearly all Latin houses were suffering economic strain. This went hand in hand with disorder in conventual life, resulting in some cases in an almost complete collapse, and it is not surprising that numbers of clergy fell drastically. In 1256 Pope Alexander IV heard that the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre was greatly reduced and that in consequence the church was not being accorded the obedience due to it. He ordered the patriarch to create six new canons, provided that the church's resources were adequate. In 1263 Pope Urban IV freed the canons from having to grant ecclesiastical pensions and benefices.<sup>47</sup> The problem is best illustrated, however, by the church of Nazareth in the thirteenth century. In September 1251 when the new statutes attempted to

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46. Le Bras, Les institutions ecclésiastiques, p.447.

47. Alexander IV, no.1077; Urban IV, no.266.

straighten out the church's chaotic affairs, it was said that there was only a small chapter. The statutes in fact mention Prior Peter, three priests and an illiterate brother Sancius, together with the archdeacon, who was a secular clerk. It was said that few were willing or fit to enter the regular life. The chapter had been quarrelling with the archbishop and in the resulting disorder the number of canons who usually served in the church had been forgotten. The statutes now decreed that there should be six canons and a prior, fixed their prebends and the property to be owned by the chapter as a whole and apportioned responsibility for the church's expenses. It may be assumed that the archbishop and chapter were hoping to provide simultaneously the smallest number of canons necessary to perform divine service and administer the cathedral in a fitting manner and as many as the church's resources could support. By October 1261, however, the church had declined even further. There were only two canons in the chapter, one of whom was actually living at the Holy See, and there had been no prior for a long time. The papal legate was told to instal new canons in the church to raise the number to the required six and because the situation was urgent the appointments were to be carried through without the usual probationary year. The new chapter was to elect a prior. In 1264 there was a dispute within the church over the election of a prior and by August 1267 the archbishop and canons were again at odds. To end this recurrent conflict, the pope issued his own statutes which dealt mainly with the appointment of the various members of the community and with defining areas of jurisdiction, particularly in matters of discipline and correction. The number of canons was raised to twelve, including the prior, but at this date the decision to increase

the size of the chapter seems to have been unrealistic. In March 1271 the chapter consisted of the prior and two canons only and by 1288, of three canons who were quarrelling over the election of an archbishop. One of them, Hubert, was already in Europe and was joined by Robert, appealing to the Holy See against the election.<sup>48.</sup>

The main reason for the fall in the size of convents during the thirteenth century seems to have been the shortage of money. Monasteries found it increasingly difficult to support great numbers of personnel. In 1257 the convent of St Anne was exempted because of its poverty from receiving nuns and from providing pensions and benefices.<sup>49.</sup> Combined with this was the preoccupation of religious houses with their European properties which were providing them with vital supplies and money. Canons and monks from Syria were sent to Europe to administer these estates and many were absent from their convents for long periods. The classic example is Hugh de Nysun, a kinsman of the Master of the Temple, William of Sonnac, and himself a deacon and brother of the Temple. He had been provided to Sebastea, a see in partibus infidelium, by Pope Innocent IV, but this was resisted by the archbishop of Caesarea, the metropolitan. Instead Hugh was appointed administrator of the see. In 1256 he was called a papal chaplain and a canon of the Holy Sepulchre, a post he was allowed to retain as administrator of Sebastea. In December 1257 he was installed as prior of Vignareia in the diocese of Limoges and administrator of the Holy Sepulchre's churches and priories throughout France. Six years later he was created prior of the Holy Sepulchre, but he continued

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48. Innocent IV, no.5538; Urban IV, nos.45,1508; Clement IV, no.511; Cart. gen., no.3414; Nicolas IV, no.165.

49. Alexander IV, no.2187.

as administrator of Sebastea. He was at Viterbo in October 1267 and it was said in 1268, when he was appointed archbishop of San Severino, that he had been at the papal curia for a long time, even as prior of the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>50</sup> It is unlikely, in fact, that Prior Hugh had been resident in Syria at any time during this period. His appointment in 1263 seems merely to have been a means of providing for a papal chaplain. The need to send canons and monks to Europe drained the chapters in strength. In 1289 Abbot Adam of Mount Zion said that only one canon remained in Syria; the rest seem to have been in Europe.<sup>51</sup> At the same time there seems to have been a reluctance to enter the regular life, which was mentioned by the statutes of Nazareth.<sup>52</sup> The reasons for this are not clear, but it may be that the rising Orders of Friars and the Military Orders, with their actively crusading role, had a greater attraction for those with a religious vocation. But in sharp contrast to this almost uniform picture of decline was the abbey of St Lazarus of Bethany, which in spite of the Order of St John's claim in the middle of the thirteenth century that it had decayed beyond all hope of recovery, had, according to the patriarch of Jerusalem, a flourishing community of about fifty nuns under an abbess.<sup>53</sup> This is not only the largest monastic community for which evidence exists; it is an isolated and unexplained example of a convent that was prospering at a time when others were suffering privation and internal disorder.

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50. Innocent IV, nos. 6350, 6490; Alexander IV, nos. 1151, 1153, 2413; Urban IV, nos. 260, 264; Clement IV, nos. 535, 638, 639.

51. 'Chartes d'Adam', no. 1.

52. Innocent IV, no. 5538.

53. Urban IV, no. 15.

CHAPTER FIVETHE DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE REGULAR CLERGY

The life of regular clergy was naturally centred on the convent. Most of their attention was taken up by the daily routine of divine service, prayer and contemplation and by the domestic tasks which allowed these activities to proceed without interruption. But regulars were not entirely shut off from the world outside their cloister. They had estates, often at some distance, whose tenants and peasants had to be supervised and whose revenues had to be brought safely into the monastery's treasury or otherwise disposed of. Priors and parish churches also had to be administered. There were besides occasions when regulars took part in activities which were not necessarily concerned with their own convent and which brought them into contact with other churches and the laity and even involved them in the business of state.

1. Duties inside the convent.

a. Custodianship of the Holy Places.

Most Latin religious communities in Palestine and Syria served at holy shrines. Jerusalem naturally contained the more important shrines, the scenes of Christ's Passion, but there were many other biblical sites which also attracted pilgrims from all over the Christian world. The establishment of Latin power in the East and the resulting improvement in communications, with the ships of the Italian communities in particular

offering transport to the Holy Land, encouraged pilgrims from Europe. At the same time Jewish and Muslim pilgrims continued to visit the shrines that were holy to them also and paid tribute for that privilege.<sup>1</sup> One of the first duties of Latin regulars, then, was the care of the churches and their relics. The flow of pilgrims to these shrines had to be supervised and a number of monasteries at least set up hospices to accommodate travellers. St Mary of the Latins, as we have seen, had been founded in the eleventh century for this purpose, since Latin pilgrims to Jerusalem often fell sick or found themselves without money or shelter. Shortly afterwards St Mary Magdalene was founded to care for women pilgrims. These two abbeys, together with the hospital dedicated to St John, were in operation at the time of the First Crusade. Their financial resources came from the Amalfitan merchants who built them and any excess was distributed to the hospital.<sup>2</sup> The abbeys no doubt continued to maintain hospices after the Crusade and St Mary of the Latins is known to have owned another hospice in Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> St Mary of Josaphat's hospice was built by Abbot Hugh during the rule of Patriarch Gibelin (late 1107-1112). It stood next to the church and provided for pilgrims, the poor and the sick. The abbey assigned the tithes of all its properties to maintain it and extended all its spiritual benefits to anyone who would associate himself with the hospice's confraternity. Each year at the Feast of the Apostles the monks undertook to feed thirteen poor people. And on the day a

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1. Early Travels in Palestine, ed. T. Wright, p.86.

2. See above p.18.

3. 'Zur Geschichte der Latina'.

benefactor died they would feed another thirteen and would continue to give food to one person for the next thirteen days. Mass would be said for thirteen days following the death and the anniversary would be commemorated thereafter. A weekly mass would also be held thereafter for the souls of the living and another for the dead and for the souls of all confratres and benefactors. The first benefactors of the confraternity included Baldwin I, Bishop Bernard of Nazareth, William de Bures, Guy de Milly, Joscelin of Tiberias and Lord Balian, each of whom gave the hospice thirteen besants a year. These men were in fact particularly generous to both the church and its hospice. In 1115 Bishop Bernard granted the tithe of two casalia and the bishop's share of the tithes from any of the abbey's possessions in the diocese of Nazareth and in 1121 added the church of Legio to his original gift. William de Bures gave the casal of Jerras and houses in Jerusalem, as well as a hospice that he had built himself in Tiberias, on condition that the present custodian Amalric should remain in charge during his lifetime.<sup>4</sup>

The running of hospices to give shelter and medical care was a routine part of monastic life, although we possess only this slight evidence for the monasteries in the Holy Land. There is, however, a curious reference in a French chronicle recording the visit of the Countess Sibylla of Flanders to Jerusalem and her decision to take the veil, which stated that infirmis et pauperibus in Ecclesia Monialium S.Lazari hospitalis S.Johannis Eleemosynarii ministrare coepit.<sup>5</sup>

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4. Chartes de Terre Sainte, nos.5,9,11,19; Amico, Reg. fol. no.177. See also Johns, 'The Abbey of St Mary in the Valley of Jehosaphat', p.123.

5. 'Ex Chronico Sithiensi S.Bertini', p.471.

This is of interest in associating the Hospital with St John the Almoner rather than St John the Baptist.<sup>6</sup> But it also implies a connection between the convent of St Lazarus and the Hospital which did not exist at this date and it may be that the chronicler assumed that all medical activities in Jerusalem were carried out under the aegis of the Hospital.

b. Religious services for the Latin population.

For both ecclesiastics and laymen much of a monastery's worth lay in the spiritual services it rendered. It has already been seen that most lands were granted to churches in elemosinam, so that in return they performed only the service of saying masses for the soul of the donor and his family.<sup>7</sup> This gave an added purpose to the round of masses and prayers offered daily in the church.

Monasteries might also give burial to laymen and to clergy who did not necessarily belong to the actual convent. This was of mutual benefit, for while the dead received burial in particularly sanctified ground, the church received the financial proceeds from burial and gifts from the man or his family. The Holy Sepulchre contained the tombs of Duke Godfrey and the Kings of Jerusalem, situated below Calvary, and at Josaphat were buried the queens of Jerusalem, among them Baldwin I's wife Mary and Queen Melisende, whose tomb is in a stone crypt to the right of the steps leading down to the tomb of the Virgin. Also buried at Josaphat were Garner of Graye, Duke Godfrey's kinsman and companion,

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6. Riley-Smith, Knights of St John, p.35.

7. See above pp.89-90.

a young nobleman called Arnold of Audenarde, a kinsman of the Countess of Hainault, Princess Constance of Antioch and her children, Reginald and Philippa. In St Mary of the Latins were the tombs of the lords of Caesarea. In 1169 the bishop-elect of Palermo, Stephen, who had been exiled from the Kingdom of Sicily, was buried in the Temple of Our Lord, as was Archbishop Frederick of Tyre, once a canon of that church, in 1173. In 1152 the abbot of Mount Thabor agreed to receive Hugh of Bethsan and his heirs for burial. The abbey of St Paul in Antioch held the tombs of several German noblemen.<sup>8.</sup>

## 2. Duties outside the convent.

### a. Papal agents.

The influence of the Holy See over the monastic communities of Palestine and Syria became increasingly obvious in the thirteenth century. It was to the papacy that churches had recourse in their legal disputes and over questions of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The pope intervened more and more frequently in the affairs of the chapter, ordering the correction of lax communities, regulating the numbers of personnel and their maintenance, giving decisions on disputed episcopal and abbatial elections that were destroying the peace and good order of monastic houses, or himself appointing to vacant posts. Most significant was the extension of papal jurisdiction over local law suits. In the twelfth century appeals and cases were increasingly carried in the first instance to the Holy See rather than to the local diocesan courts.

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8. Albert of Aix, pp.521,625,709; William of Tyre, pp.702,877,944-45, 1010; Amico, Reg. fol. nos.204,284; Cod. diplom. 1, no.162; 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no.11; Peregrinatores medii aevi quattuor, p.173.

The popes, particularly Alexander III, were constantly strengthening their right to entertain cases in the first instance by legislation. The popularity of this system placed heavy pressure on the curia, which was relieved by the delegation of suits to local ecclesiastics for hearing and termination. These ecclesiastics were at first bishops, but by the 1180s delegation had penetrated the lower ranks of the clergy and regular clerks were being appointed as judges-delegate. In the Holy Land, as elsewhere, the instruments of papal justice were legates nati and a latere and local clerics, but it seems that regulars were used less frequently than bishops or the secular clergy. This may be explained by the fact that secular cathedral chapters outnumbered regulars and by the general decline of monastic clergy in the thirteenth century.

By the thirteenth century it was apparently usual for the plaintiff to say whom he wished to have appointed as judges-delegate to his case.<sup>9</sup> With this in mind a number of points can be made about the choice of judges. To some degree geography must have been important, though this is not always immediately clear. In 1238, for example, the abbot of Belmont was among clerks delegated to investigate the disputed election to the see of Bethlehem. In 1246 the abbot of the same house was ordered to put a papal provision to Bethlehem into effect. But, as we have seen, the convent of Bethlehem may have been resident at Mont Pelerin in the thirteenth century.<sup>10</sup> Certain clerks appear to have been popular choices, in particular the abbots of St Samuel and Belmont. In the pontificate of Gregory IX the abbot of St Samuel was

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9. J.E. Sayers, Papal Judges Delegate in the Province of Canterbury 1198-1254, pp.3-11,110.

10. Gregory IX, no.4699; Innocent IV, no.2039. See above pp.64-66.

appointed as a judge-delegate in at least five different cases.<sup>11.</sup> The choice of judges may have depended upon their personal reputation among their fellow churchmen, but as one writer on this subject has already pointed out, so many other unknown factors may have influenced the plaintiff in their requests for particular judges. And while in theory no clerk was exempt from serving as a judge-delegate if required, exemptions were still granted, for the expense, travel and the disruption of normal duties could be a heavy burden. The canons of the Holy Sepulchre seem to have received an exemption from Pope Urban IV.<sup>12.</sup>

Besides serving as papal judges-delegate and either reporting their findings or settling the dispute themselves, regulars were employed as papal agents in other matters. They might be instructed to put provisions into effect, to execute mandates like the gifts of Mount Thabor and St Lazarus of Bethany to the Order of St John, to ensure that papal privileges were observed or to impose ecclesiastical censures.<sup>13.</sup>

The employment of clergy at the local level was routine, but occasionally they might be used as papal agents outside their own province: in 1219 the abbot of St Mary of Josaphat, who was in Italy, was among churchmen commanded to excommunicate transgressors of a papal decree.<sup>14.</sup>

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11. Gregory IX, nos.2652,4140,4152,4411; Cart. gen., nos.2120,2121, 2199,2200.

12. Sayers, Papal Judges Delegate, pp.114,134-35; Urban IV, no.258.

13. Honorius III, nos.3754,4107; Gregory IX, nos.2742-44; Innocent IV, nos.2039,6455,7744; Urban IV, no.1983; Cart. gen., no.2726; Cod. diplom. 1, no.135.

14. Honorius III, no.1947.

b. Episcopal agents.

Regulars might be employed by the patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch, or by their local bishop, on any business which came to their attention, ecclesiastical or secular. As suffragans abbots and priors attended the councils of their bishop and witnessed his enactments. They were sent on legations, as in 1181 when Prior Peter of the Holy Sepulchre and Abbot Reginald of Mount Sion accompanied the patriarch of Jerusalem to Antioch to induce Bohemond III to reform his way of life. Towards the end of the twelfth century the patriarch sent the abbot of the Mount of Olives with the archbishop of Nazareth to Rome when the case they were hearing concerning the church of Nephin and the Hospitallers devolved on appeal to the curia. In 1233 it was said that the patriarch had sent the abbot of the Temple of Our Lord to absolve the prince of Antioch from a sentence of excommunication.<sup>15</sup>

c. Monastic bishops.

Monasteries often supplied the clerks who occupied the higher posts of the hierarchy. From the Holy Sepulchre came Bishop Absalon of Ascalon in 1153; two priors, William and Peter, and a certain canon Fulcher became archbishops of Tyre; another Prior William and Prior Amalric became patriarchs of Jerusalem in 1130 and 1158 respectively.<sup>16</sup> Theobald, the bishop of Acre at the end of the twelfth century, had once been prior of Nazareth.<sup>17</sup> Frederick, a canon of the Temple of Our

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15. William of Tyre, pp.1073-74; Innocent III, no.73; Riley-Smith, Knights of St John, p.404; Gregory IX, no.1223.

16. William of Tyre, pp.591-92, 598, 621-22, 734, 812-13, 854.

17. Pat. Lat. ccxiv, cols.476-77, no.517.

Lord, became bishop of Acre and was translated to Tyre in 1163. He was particularly active in legations and embassies. Another canon of this abbey, Guerricus, who may have been the dean of Nablus, Guilricus, was created the first archbishop of Petra in 1168.<sup>18</sup> Abbot Amalric of SS Joseph and Habakkuk became bishop of Sidon in 1153 and Abbot Bernard of Mount Thabor bishop of Lydda in 1169.<sup>19</sup> Sometimes the prior of a cathedral chapter might be elected as bishop of the see. According to William of Tyre, Lethard, the prior of Nazareth, became archbishop in 1158 as successor to Attard. There is some confusion here because charters of 1154, 1155 and 1156 named Lethard already as archbishop. But William was extremely precise in his statement that Archbishop Attard died while on an embassy to Constantinople to negotiate a marriage alliance for Baldwin III and his body was brought back to Nazareth for burial. Lethard now became archbishop and was still alive, in the twenty-third year of his rule when this part of the chronicle was written. If William did not make a mistake in the chronological sequence of archbishops of Nazareth, the explanation may be that Attard, who is mentioned in no other source, had succeeded Archbishop Robert, who was alive and at the siege of Ascalon in early 1153, and that his embassy to Constantinople took place almost immediately. When he died new ambassadors had to be sent, in 1157.<sup>20</sup> Two other archbishops of Nazareth, William I and Guy, may also have been priors of the church.<sup>21</sup>

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18. William of Tyre, pp.892-93,944,1010.

19. William of Tyre, pp.803-4,959.

20. William of Tyre, pp.795,846,857; Cart. gén., no.225; Cart. St-Sép., nos.56,59,62,66.

21. See below p.255.

In the thirteenth century also there were instances of Jerusalemite clergy resident in Europe being provided to western sees. Hugh de Nysun, although an exceptional case, was appointed archbishop of San Severino by the pope and a certain canon John of the Holy Sepulchre became bishop of Trau in Yugoslavia.<sup>22.</sup>

d. Representatives in law suits.

A corollary to the number of law suits contested by monasteries, whether they were carried to the Holy See or terminated at a local level, was the need to appoint legal representatives. When cases were taken to Rome a procurator was appointed to present the plea and receive the mandate delegating the case to judges in Syria and to protect the interests of his church.<sup>23.</sup> Procurators were sometimes used to represent an absent abbot or to conduct the business of their church in another province. This happened frequently in Palestine and Syria, particularly in the thirteenth century. In spite of the increasing professionalism of procurators, to be seen, for example, in the employment by the abbey of Josaphat of a notary, Master Hugolin Romanus, in 1260 and 1263,<sup>24.</sup> regular clergy were often used. Normally a convent would be represented by one of its own members: in 1243 the election of Godfrey de' Prefetti as bishop of Bethlehen was presented to the pope for confirmation by a canon, as his church's procurator and in 1260 Prior

22. Clement IV, no.638; John XXI, no.107.

23. Sayers, Papal Judges Delegate, p.221.

24. Amico, Reg. fol. no.352; Chartes de Terre Sainte, nos.51,52,55.

William of Josaphat was acting as general procurator for his abbey and convent.<sup>25</sup> But occasionally clerics from another house were used: Josaphat's procurators in Antioch in 1213 and 1254 were priors of St Mary of the Latins.<sup>26</sup>

e. Participants in secular affairs.

We have seen that the regular clergy attended the patriarch at church councils and courts, but their presence around the lay rulers of the crusader states and their participation in secular affairs is also clear from the charters. In 1123 before the siege of Tyre they witnessed the treaty granting a third of the city and its domain to the Venetians and in 1222 they were called on to advise the papal legate, Cardinal Pelagius, in his efforts to settle the conflict between the Genoese and Pisans in Acre.<sup>27</sup> Individual clerks were involved in secular affairs: Abbot Gelduin of Josaphat, who was Baldwin II's cousin, appeared frequently at the king's court and in 1119 accompanied him to Antioch and Edessa. Abbot Geoffrey of the Temple of Our Lord was sent on two occasions at least on political embassies, once in 1142 when he went to the Emperor John Comnenus, who was planning a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and again in 1159 when he bore the king's greetings to the Emperor Manuel at Antioch. He was evidently employed on these missions because he knew Greek.<sup>28</sup>

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25. Innocent IV, no.956; 'Chartes de Josaphat', no.78.

26. Cahen, 'Un document concernant les Melkites', pp.286-87; Amico, Reg. fol. no.331.

27. Urkunden der Republik Venedig 1, nos.40,41; Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, no.955.

28. 'Tractatus de Reliquiis S.Stephani', pp.317-20; William of Tyre, pp.691-92,861.

Clerks also took part in the crusading activities of the Franks, accompanying expeditions to give spiritual comfort and encouragement to the armies. Many were with the crusaders during the siege of Acre (1189-1191) and the abbot of Josaphat was reported to be missing after the battle of Gasa in 1244.<sup>29</sup> They also had charge of the holy relics that were taken on military campaigns, notably the Holy Sepulchre's relic of the Cross.<sup>30</sup> The heads of monasteries frequently put their names to letters to European kings and princes reporting the condition of the Holy Land and begging for new crusading expeditions.<sup>31</sup> In the thirteenth century, when most of the Holy Places were once more in Muslim hands, the appeals of their former custodians must have carried particular weight and poignancy.

Regular churches also contributed practical support to the crusading efforts of the Franks with armed contingents levied in times of great emergency, though the figures for their size that we possess were not contemporary. St Mary of the Latins, the Temple of Our Lord, the Mount of Olives and the bishop of Hebron each contributed fifty sergeants, Mount Thabor and the bishop of Sebastes, one hundred each, Mount Sion, Josaphat and the archbishop of Nazareth, one hundred and fifty, the bishop of Bethlehem, two hundred and the Holy Sepulchre, five hundred. It has been suggested that these sergeants were foot-soldiers with no

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29. Roger of Howden iii, p.87; Benedict of Peterborough ii, p.147; Matthew Paris, Chronica maiora iv, p.342.

30. William of Tyre, p.1095; 'L'Estoire de Eracles', p.46.

31. Chartes de Terre Sainte, pp.123-25; Cart. gen., no.2340; Matthew Paris, Chronica maiora iv, pp.337-44; Thesaurus novus anecdotorum, ed. E. Martène and U. Durand i, pp.1012-13.

full training or service, comparable to those who fought under the Capetian Kings of France.<sup>32</sup> Information about the activities of the forces raised by churches is slight, although in 1160 the canons of the Holy Sepulchre were given the casal of Geladia and other property by Count Amalric of Ascalon in return for their contribution to the capture of his city in 1153. William of Tyre also reported that a detachment of armed men from Mahomeria, a Latin settlement owned by the Holy Sepulchre, fought at Gaza in 1170.<sup>33</sup>

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32. John of Ibelin, 'Livre', pp.426-27. The figures given by the later writer Marino Sanuto (p.174) differ in some cases. The Holy Sepulchre was said to provide only five sergeants, a glaring error, the Temple one hundred and fifty and Nazareth only fifty. The Mount of Olives was not mentioned at all. See R.C. Smail, Crusading Warfare (1097-1193), pp.89-92.

33. Cart. St-Sép., no.58; William of Tyre, p.977.

CONCLUSION

One of the problems that faced the Franks after the capture of the Holy Land was how best to care for the shrines they now held. The Holy Places were in ruins and uninhabited, perhaps because of the lingering effects of the Caliph al-Hakim's attack on Christian establishments in the early eleventh century, or because of more recent upheavals like the struggle between rival Muslim powers shortly before the arrival of the First Crusade. In most cases there was little difficulty in installing Latin bishops and clergy, for the churches seem to have been empty, or, at least, without a full, organized community. The work of reviving religious life began, then, during the short rule of Godfrey of Bouillon, who, exercising his authority as advocate of the Holy Sepulchre in a very real sense,<sup>1</sup> established four, if not five houses. It continued under the aegis of his successors, who looked on the patronage and protection of churches as their proper duty and whose military successes brought more episcopal sees and religious sites under Frankish control. The crucial period in the organisation of the Latin church, however, was the patriarchates of Gibelin (late 1107 - April 1112) and Arnulf (April 1112 - 1118): in an effort to give weight to his claim to occupy the patriarchal throne and at the same time to assert his authority over them, Patriarch Arnulf secured the presence at his consecration of the leading ecclesiastics of the

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1. See C. Moeller, 'Godfrey de Bouillon et l'avouerie du Saint-Sépulchre', Mélanges Godefroid Kurth for a discussion of Godfrey's attitude to his position and responsibilities. See also Rowe, 'Paschal II and the relation between the spiritual and temporal powers in the Kingdom of Jerusalem', pp.474-75.

Kingdom of Jerusalem, the earliest evidence in many cases for the existence of a Latin community. In these years, too, the Holy Sepulchre conformed to a standard already set for the Holy Places and acquired a regular chapter; the priory of Bethlehem became a cathedral chapter and at the same time independent of the Holy Sepulchre; the canons of the Temple of Our Lord seem to have formed a priory, also separate from the Holy Sepulchre, and to have completed the transformation of the mosque of 'Umar into a Christian church; the Hospital of St John formally achieved its independence from St Mary of the Latins, while this abbey and St Mary of Josaphat both received their first papal privileges confirming their rights and possessions.<sup>2</sup> Within fifteen years of the capture of Jerusalem nearly all the major monastic communities had been established. Later foundations were few and were the work of individuals for personal motives: St Lazarus of Bethany was founded at royal whim to accommodate a princess of Jerusalem and St Katherine of Montgisard seems to have commemorated a celebrated victory over the Muslims.<sup>3</sup> Other foundations were the work of reformed religious Orders like the Premonstratensians and Cistercians, spreading to the East. In Tripoli and Antioch the details of monastic foundation are for the most part unknown and the respective roles of the lay and ecclesiastical authorities are obscure. But Cistercian houses, which were more numerous in the north, were established at the initiative of the Order itself or, as in the case of St Sergius and Jubin, at the request of the local prelate.<sup>4</sup>

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2. See above pp.18-20-25.

3. William of Tyre, pp.699-700,1044; Clermont-Ganneau, 'Mont Gisart et Tell el-Diezer', p.365.

4. 'Chartes de St-Serge', no.1; Richard, 'L'abbaye de Jubin', pp.65-67.

The Franks clearly looked on a regular community as the most suitable and effective method of administering pilgrimage churches. By its very nature a convent was self-governing, self-sufficient and strictly disciplined. Free for the most part from worldly distractions, it could devote itself wholly to the worship of God and the service of the shrine. And it can be seen that the ecclesiastical authorities of the Holy Land had no deliberate plans for the creation of regular cathedral chapters, for no diocesan church was served from the first by regular canons. The sees of Nazareth, Bethlehem and Hebron were late creations which adopted existing priories as their chapters and Sebastea, although the origins of the Latin bishopric are obscure, probably did likewise.<sup>5</sup>

The twelfth century was the zenith of monastic life in Syria and Palestine. Shielded by the secular powers, churches rose again from their ruins with conventual buildings, storehouses, workshops and hospices. The silence in contemporary sources about monastic activities implies that the lives of the regular clergy proceeded uneventfully in the business of worship and prayer, the running of their estates and the care of the pilgrims who now had unhindered access to the Holy Places. But at the same time monasteries were faced by a problem they would not have encountered to such a degree in the West. The threat of Muslim resurgence, of attack, impoverishment, flight and even death was very real. In 1113, for example, the monks of Mount Thabor were massacred by the Muslims.<sup>6</sup> It was this insecurity which led some of the churches

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5. See above pp.28-30,33-35.

6. Albert of Aix, p.694; Anselm of Gembloux, p.375.

outside the shelter of a city or castle, among them Mount Sion, Josaphat, the Mount of Olives and Bethany, to have themselves fortified with walls and towers and provided with wells against a siege.<sup>7</sup>

The events of 1187 put an end to the prosperity and peaceful existence of monastic communities and many churches fell into Muslim hands. The pilgrim traffic collapsed temporarily and was only revived with the consent of the Muslim authorities and depended upon their continued tolerance. Some convents fled immediately to the West, but the majority took up residence in Acre, now the centre of government for what remained of the former Kingdom. And even when successive truces and treaties offered opportunities to return to their churches, few seem to have been prepared to compromise their safety and economy by doing so and cautiously established only a small cell at the shrine to conduct services and perform the tasks necessary to keep the church in good order. But economic problems, the disintegration of monastic life and the focussing of attention on western properties, together with the ever increasing danger of the Mamluks, finally compelled Latin communities to sever their links with Syria and establish themselves in the safety of Cyprus and the West.

At their height Latin convents were wealthy as well as prestigious. Their estates were listed at length, though their incidental revenues, such as the offerings of pilgrims, cannot be estimated. But it can be seen that the profit derived from their local lands at least must have fluctuated according to the balance of Christian-Muslim power: the nuns of St Lazarus were said to have had little benefit from the poten-

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7. The nuns of St Lazarus also had a house in Jerusalem where they took refuge in time of war: Ernoul, p.206.

tially fertile lands around Jericho because of the danger from the infidel and it took only the devastation caused in 1268 by Baibars' army to inflict irreparable damage on the abbey of Belmont.<sup>8</sup> And after 1187 great areas of land were under Muslim domination and the Franks were reluctant, if not incapable of making new endowments. In the thirteenth century, then, their chief security lay in the amount of property owned in Europe, Cyprus and Greece, which, as we have seen, contributed money and goods for the support of the convent in the East and were primarily responsible for their continued survival. And the lay rulers in both Europe and the East lent their assistance with the grant of privileges which allowed goods to pass cheaply and without hindrance from western houses to the mother-convent.<sup>9</sup> But in spite of these efforts, few houses were untouched by poverty and privation in the thirteenth century.

From the Holy See Latin monasteries acquired their many privileges and occupied a special place in the affections of the papacy. 'Since we love the Queen of heaven, the mother of God and man ... the blessed and ever virgin Mary, with pious affection and hope to obtain the protection of her son, it is fitting that with pious devotion we should venerate the place of her glorious tomb and care for the brothers serving the Lord there in the bosom of the apostolic see', ran a typical papal privilege, granted on this occasion to St Mary of Josaphat.<sup>10</sup> Even so this natural affection did not lead the pope to single Latin

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8. Theoderich, p.49; Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge ii, p.287.

9. See above pp.129-33.

10. Acta Pont. Rom. ined. ii, no.349.

convents out automatically for special or excessive privileges.

But it is not altogether remarkable that the Holy See, although the moving spirit behind the crusades, did not make greater efforts to assert direct control over more churches. To have created too many proprietary churches would have undermined the structure of the local hierarchy completely and crippled patriarchal authority. Far from reducing the rights of the local bishop in this way, the papacy was anxious to uphold and protect them. And it is clear that behind the concession of privileges was concern less for the individual church and its peculiar needs than for the line of thought on canon law currently prevailing at the curia. And when papal policies changed, no concessions were made to the holy status of houses in Palestine or to local conditions, if, indeed, the pope was aware of them, an attitude that is obvious, for example, in the matter of tithes.<sup>11</sup>

In short, then, the rights granted to Latin convents were no greater than those which might have been enjoyed by any house in Europe. The Holy See, developing its theories of supreme papal power, was creating standards for the universal Church in which there was little place for anomalies.

Latin monasteries, then, had prestige, wealth and privilege, but were they also powerful and influential? The immediate ecclesiastical superior of monasteries was the local bishop, in most cases the patriarch, and abbots and priors attended his councils to give their advice and assistance in church affairs. They were used also as envoys and

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11. See above pp.157-58.

conducted ecclesiastical business on the patriarch's or bishop's behalf. The heads of papal proprietary churches also seem to have accepted the role of the patriarch's suffragans, though, as the conflict between the abbot of Josaphat and Patriarch James in the middle of the thirteenth century shows,<sup>12</sup> the relationship was not necessarily free of tensions. They also served the King as his ambassadors and voiced the interests and mood of the church at his councils. But their participation was often due as much to their family connections, as in the case of Abbot Gelduin of Josaphat, or to their personal abilities, as with Abbot Geoffrey of the Temple of Our Lord, as to the influence of their houses.<sup>13</sup> They were great landowners, but not feudal vassals; their lands were held for the most part in elemosinam. Nor were they feudal lords themselves, infeudating their house's lands to Knights in return for military service. Their only contribution to the military strength of the Kingdom of Jerusalem was contingents of sergeants.<sup>14</sup> At no time, then, did they wield enough power effectively to dominate the course of secular affairs or govern the decisions of the lay ruler.

If their influence on ecclesiastical and lay affairs was not remarkable, did monasteries have importance in the intellectual life of the crusader states? Their members certainly included learned men: Abbot Geoffrey of the Temple knew Greek.<sup>15</sup> But as far as we can see, Latin monasteries made little impression in the cultural field. Only

12. Alexander IV, no.3123.

13. See above p.193.

14. John of Ibelin, 'Livre', pp.426-27.

15. William of Tyre, p.861.

a few literary works, such as Prior Achard's poem on the Temple and the account of the discovery of the patriarchs at Hebron,<sup>16</sup> and no theological or artistic works can positively be attributed to them. This does not, of course, necessarily mean that monasteries neglected intellectual pursuits, for the amount of written material from the Holy Land that has been lost is clearly considerable, but there is no evidence from travellers or other external sources to indicate that they were flourishing centres of learning and the arts.

Where, then, did the influence of Latin monasteries in Palestine and Syria lie? It must be concluded that they were important not in a worldly but in a spiritual sense. Their status was unique. The Holy Land was the focal point of Christian sentiment and the Holy Places exercised the most powerful emotional attraction for all the faithful which cut across the ever increasing animosity between East and West. We see, for instance, the shrines of the Holy Sepulchre and the church of the Nativity receive rich ornamentation at the command of the Greek emperor, although at the time their clergy were Latins.<sup>17</sup> Christians who had never made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem nevertheless felt an intense concern for the Holy Places which manifested itself in gifts to them and in subsidies to crusades that would recover the shrines from the Muslims. Locally, too, monasteries were held in respect, for their contribution to the welfare of the crusader states and the Christian religion, their prayers for the souls of Christians and for the safety of secular state, was as real and as vital as any military

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16. 'Un poème sur le templum domini'; 'Tractatus de inventione sanctorum patriarchorum'.

17. John Phocas, p.541.

endeavours. The lay authorities made generous endowments to aid this work and in the beginning at least found nothing incongruous in the fact that much of the land in Christian hands thereby became militarily unproductive.

The decline of monastic communities in the thirteenth century was not simply the result of economic difficulties or the claustrophobic conditions of Acre; when they lost their churches in 1187 the regular clergy lost also their true raison d'être. They were reduced to serving churches in Acre while their former shrines were in Muslim hands or were served by a token community of clerks. As the recovery of these shrines depended upon the success of military campaigns, religious leaders joined in petitions to the West to stimulate a failing crusading spirit, but their hopes of return and lasting security faded as the century progressed. By the fall of Acre more than a hundred years had elapsed since the regular clergy had enjoyed full possession of their shrines or since they had been able to perform their proper duties. They could no longer be considered the custodians of the Holy Places and many clerks had probably never seen the churches they served in name. With their resources and the quality of spiritual life so decayed, it was in the West, where their real interests already lay, that Latin communities finally took refuge. But it was only on the eve of the fall of Acre that many convents accepted the reality of their situation and made this decision. And we may suspect that others did remain, only to be extinguished in the final Mamluk victory.

APPENDIX ILISTS AND MAPS OF MONASTIC PROPERTY IN LATIN SYRIA

The lists which follow give the casalia and gastinae in the crusader states owned at one time or another by Latin regular communities. Again it must be said that they are not complete because so many documents have been lost. And, on the other hand, they do not represent a patrimony built up by a monastery over the years, for estates did change hands and are often known to have been in the house's possession at all only because they did so, or they might fall under Muslim control. But the lists and the accompanying maps do give some indication of the large number of estates that were at some time in monastic hands.

The maps for the Kingdom of Jerusalem are based upon those compiled for the Atlas of Israel in 1960 by J. Praver and M. Benvenisti,<sup>1</sup> although I have taken the liberty of giving only one site for the abbey of SS Joseph and Habakkuk. The maps of northern Syria are based upon the works of J. Richard and R. Dussaud.<sup>2</sup> By using the survey maps and name lists compiled under the aegis of the Palestine Exploration Fund<sup>3</sup> in connection with the suggestions of such scholars as

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1. Map, 'Crusader Palestine'.
  2. J. Richard, Le comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie toulousaine (1102-1187) and 'Questions de topographie tripolitaine', Journal asiatique, cxxxvi (1948); R. Dussaud, Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale.
  3. Map of Western Palestine, ed. C.R. Conder and H.H. Kitchener, 26 sheets; E.H. Palmer, The Survey of Western Palestine. Arabic and English Name Lists.

R. Röhrich,<sup>4</sup> I have added a few sites not identified by Prawer and Benvenisti. And I have included the identifications made by the editors of individual monastic documents: H.E. Mayer's edition of the 1185 charter of St Samuel of Montjoie, for example, with its list of casalia in the Kingdom of Jerusalem,<sup>5</sup> only appeared after the publication of the maps of crusader Palestine. Wherever possible, the sites of monasteries and nunneries have been shown, but where unknown, they have been attached to the diocese to which they were subject, or to the city in which they lay.

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4. e.g. R. Röhrich, 'Studien zur mittelalterlichen Geographie und Topographie Syriens', ZDPV, x-xii, xviii-xix (1887, 1888-89, 1895-96), Regesta Reg. Hier. and Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem 1100-1291.

5. 'Sankt Samuel'.

1. St Mary of the Latins

Faxias?	Map I	Bb
Valcorenum	I	Cb
Belfair/Bethfassir	III	Cc
Montdidier	III	Bb
Turriclea/Tour Rouge	III	Bb
half of St Euthimius	III	Inset
Unidentified: Lectreh/Scotieth, and Soccam/Iovam, territory of Antioch two <u>casalia</u> , territory of Sidon <u>casal</u> , territory of Blanchegarde		

2. St Mary Major

Trakemia	Map	Fc
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3. Holy Sepulchre

Buiora?	Map I	Fa
Helmedel?	I	Fb
Medera	I	Fb
Benehara	I	Ga
Abdin	I	Ga
Derina	II	Dc
Fiasse	II	Ha
Gebul	II	Hd
Helkar	II	Hd
Feniculus	II	Ha
Ainquine	III	Dc
Arnotie	III	Dd

Kefreachab	Map III Inset
Kefredil	III Dc
Bubil	III Inset
Hubin	III Fc
Aram	III Inset
Kalendie	III Inset
Betligge	III Inset
Birre/Magna Mahomeria	III Inset
Subahiet	III Inset
Ataraberet/Aithara?	III Dc
Urniet?	III Eb
Zenu	III Fb
Helmule?	III Inset
Beitelamus	III Inset
Ainescins	III Dd
Barimeta/Ramilta?	III Inset
Beitiumen	III Inset
Beitfuteir	III Inset
Betsurie	III Inset
Ragabam	III Inset
Roma	III Fd
Cafermelich	III Dd
Thecua/Turcho?	III Fd
Capharuth	III Inset
Gith	III Eb
Porfilia	III Inset
Kefrescilta	III Inset
Megina	III Dc
Mezera	III Dc

St Quarantene	Map III Ee
Bethel	III Dd
Beze	III Fa
Dersabeb	III Inset
Corteis	III Fc
Deirmugin	III Eb
Bethehatap	III Fc
Derhassen	III Fc
Geliadia	III Fa
Vetus Bethor ( <u>gastina-casal</u> )	III Inset
Kafarrus ( <u>gastina</u> )	III Inset
Deirfres? ( <u>gastina</u> )	III Inset
Betelcanzir? ( <u>casal/gastina</u> )	III Gc
Derxerip	III Cd
Culi	III Fc
Vastina Leonis	III Fc
Parva Mahomeria	III Inset

Unidentified: Benehatie, Benehabeth, above Bethany.

R. Röhrich ('Studien zur mittelalterlichen Geographie und Topographie Syriens', p.205, note 10) suggested the beni hasan area, west of Jerusalem, for the first, but his identification of the second (p.205, note 11) as beni harit, west-north-west of Birre, would be some distance from Bethany.

Cafarsequel/Pontis Sici, territory of Gibelet

Loisan and Ebula, territory of Tripoli

Sapharoria

Vuetmoamel

Huetdebes

Ramathes, territory of Birre

Casta Villa, territory of Acre

4. Temple of Our Lord

two thirds of Hance	Map II	Eb
Zederia ( <u>gastina</u> )	II	Eb
Heteyre ( <u>gastina</u> )	III	Inset
Beitdecoc ( <u>gastina</u> )	III	Inset
Danube	III	Pb
Ain Karim	III	Inset
Unidentified: half of Safra		
Casal Alemanni and Beledan, territory of Caesarea		
Sesset		
Coreb		
Antiochet/Moab		
Deteligene		
two <u>gastinae</u> , territory of Hebron		

5. Mount Sion

Miserach	Map I	Ba
Bussudan	I	Ba
Felix	I	Ba
Cuccava	I	Ac
Caforena	II	Hb
Canet	II	Ha
Miary	II	Gb

Messoria?	Map II Ee
Casal Martini	III Fc
Dersophath	III Inset
Gebea	III Inset
Ubeth	III Inset
Dornibedi	III Fd
Kariateri	III Inset
Genesis?	III Eb
Casert?	III Dd
Tyberie?	III Dd
Caphason	III Fc
Aneth	III Inset
Amieth	III Inset
Farafronte	III Inset
Cartafas/Calicapha	III Fa
Romenbre	III Fa
Burin	III Cd
Caphastrum	III Dd
Gul	III Dc
Gerable	III Dd
Fame	III Bc
Age	III Bc
Sida	III Bc

Unidentified: Eroi, territory of Tarsus

casal

6. St Mary of the Valley of Josaphat

Burio	Map I	Cb
Merdic	I	Cc
Anadi	I	Da
Busson	I	Da
Erhac?	I	Ba
Tymini/Galgala	II	Ga
Cassara/Kaisereth	II	Fc
Capharabra	II	Cc
Bethalla/ <u>Casal</u> of St Mary of Josaphat?	II	Ha
Lichorat?	II	Ec
Zebezeb?	II	Hg
Bestella	II	Dc
Sardanas	II	Dd
St George	II	Gd
St Job	II	Fd
Aschar and its <u>gastina</u> Fondoeh	III	Cd
Meschium?	III	Inset
Delescu	III	Dc
Micheel	III	Ec
Bessura	III	Eg
Saphoria	III	Db
Soesme	III	Ee
Jerasse	III	Cg
Jamarvara	III	Fb
Betamar and its <u>gastina</u>	III	Fc
Beteri	III	Cd

Machoz	Map III Fa
Saphe	III Ce
Dargerboam	III Inset
La	III Bf
Casracos	III Cd
Casresil ( <u>gastina</u> )	III Ce
half of Mesdedule? ( <u>gastina</u> )	III Ce
Anna	III Ga

Unidentified: St Paul, Joacheth, Oessi, Grassia, territory  
of Mamistra

Julian

Phargaala, territory of Antioch

Naliota, Bergol, Tarpesac, Anglixen,  
territory of Topak Kale

Lavedon (gastina), territory of Antioch

casal, territory of Gibel

Casrielme, territory of Tiberias

Melbena (gastina)

two-thirds of Zonia (gastina) near Dargerboam

Kyaria

## 7. Mount Tabor

Bethsamum	Map I Ga
Mount Tabor	II Hc
Kaphartheame	II Gc
Kapharsepti	II Gc
Naym	II Hc

Seiera	Map II	Ge
Lubie	II	Ge
Arbel	II	Ge
Casta	II	Ge
Mesera	II	He
Jubeim	II	Ge
Messa	II	He
Endor	II	He
Maluf	II	He
Elful	II	He
Mangana	II	He
Cresum/Capharsusa?	II	Ge
Buria	II	He
Capharnada	II	He
Huseme	II	Gd
Sesia	II	Gd
Kaharthe	II	Ee
Teletarpe?	II	Ge
Pereka	II	Fe
Kafarsakai	II	Ed
Alme de Suchen	II	Eb
Cafartasara	II	He
Saronia	II	Ge
Cara	II	He
Sulem	II	He
Nurith	II	He
Capharmanda	II	Gb

Tubania	Map II	He
Jeluf/Geluth	II	He
Damia	II	Ge
Alme	II	Ed
Avara	II	He
Zaar	II	He
Eleeram	II	Hf
Beteras	II	He
Elgor	II	Hd
Zepheria	II	Gd
Zera	II	Gd
Menan	II	Gd
Heedix	II	Gd
Saneboria	II	Gd
Meschia?	II	Ge
Caimun	II	Hb
Ayn/Ayu(n)	II	Gd
Alcotain?	II	Hb
Quepsenne	II	Ge
Beitegon	II	Gd
Anigene	III	Bf
Seecip	III	Cf
Turbasaim	III	Dd
Dere	III	Dd
Unidentified:	Hordsi	
	Haronsae	

8. The Mount of Olives  
Caffra Map II Hd
9. Nazareth  
(a) Chapter  
Aylot Map II Gb  
(b) Lordship  
Roma Map II Gc  
Romene II Gc  
Cafresecir II Gc  
Cana Galilee II Gc  
Saphoria II Gc  
Naure II Hc  
Unidentified: nineteen casalia
10. Sebastea  
Casal, territory of Caesarea Map II Ha
11. St Anne  
Davie? Map III Ab  
Unidentified: Adrie
12. Bethlehem  
Bedar Map II Gb  
Bedaica? II Fc  
Bethlehem III Fc  
Seylon III Dd

Bethbezan	Map III Fd
Zeophir	III Fa
Caicapha	III Fa
Casal St George	III Fc
Bethenase	III Fc
Betholaam	III Fb
Quercus?	III Fa
Belmekin	III Db
Oliban/Luban	III Dc
Caphrapalos?	III Dc
Artasium	III Fc
Cadichinos	III Fd
Bechfassa?	III Fc
Thaeria	III Db
Heberre?	III Fa
Sembra?	III Ac
Capracula?	III Ac
Bethanam?	III Inset
Zacharia	III Fb
Unidentified:	Carcasia, Baldadia, Gabanio, territory of Antioch
	Sikania, territory of Kerak
	Ceraphtenie, territory of Mont Pèlerin
	Romadet
	Berbetham
	Belveir, territory of Caesarea
	Haim, territory of Tiberias
	Carusum
	Bethaleam

13. Hebron  
 Naharia Map I Ba
14. St Samuel of Montjoie  
 Montjoie Map III Inset  
 Casal Sancti Salvatoris III Pb  
 Betania III Inset  
 Unidentified: Margara  
 Bethela  
 Bethagert (gastina)  
 Amasor (gastina)  
 Bisene (gastina)  
 Gedese (gastina)  
 Torasdis, on Mount Audi (Tell el-Audeh?)
15. SS Joseph and Habakkuk  
 Bethel Map III Dd  
 Beze III Fa
16. St Lazarus of Bethany  
 Jericho Map III Ee  
 Roma III Pd  
 Ragaban III Inset  
 Bethany III Inset  
 Balathas III Cd  
 Unidentified: Benehatie, Benehabeth, above Bethany.

17. BelmontUnidentified: Bassombre (grange)Roseia (grange)18. St Sergius of Giblet

Sora?

Map I Ga

Effdar

I Ga

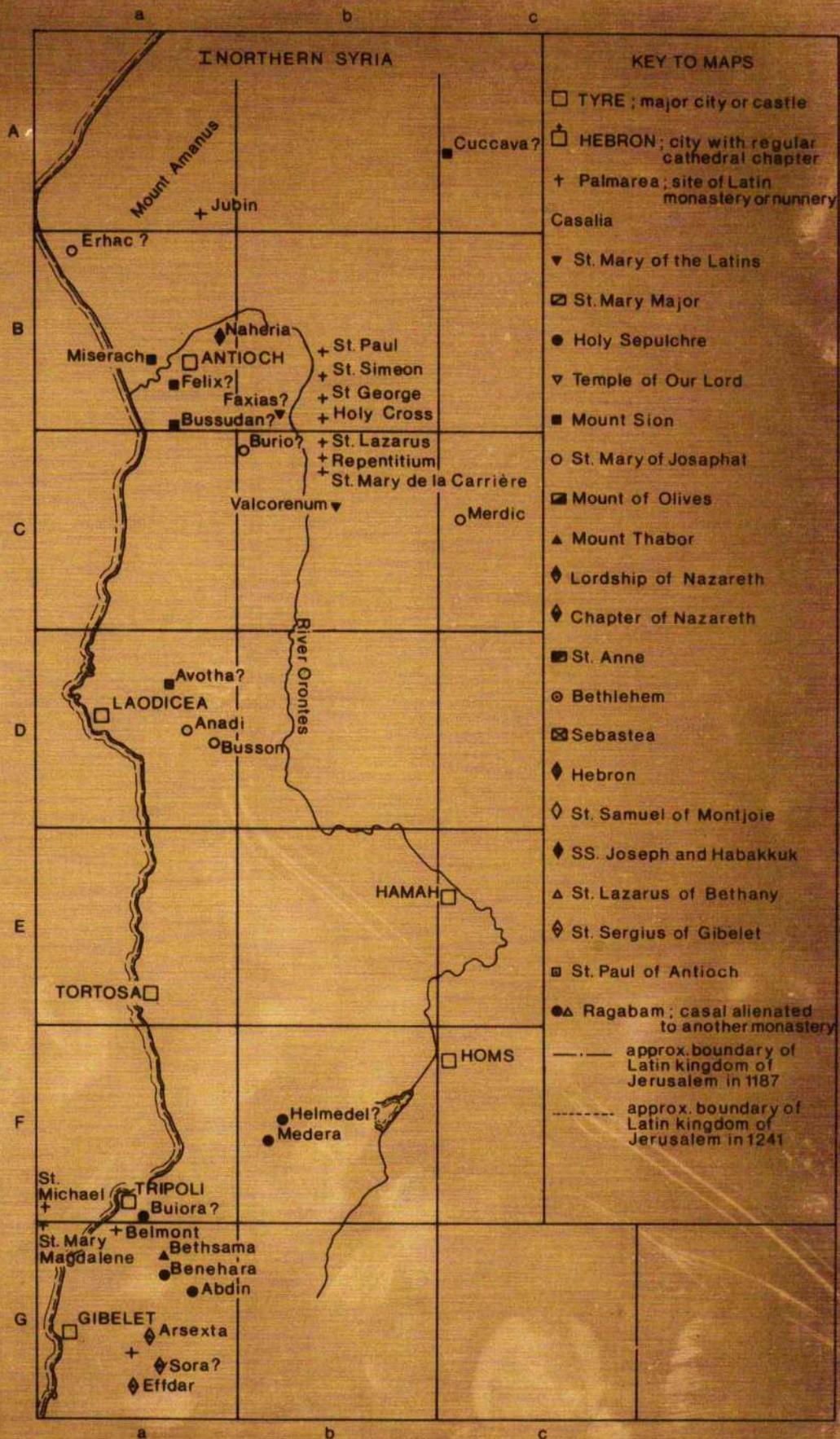
Arsexta

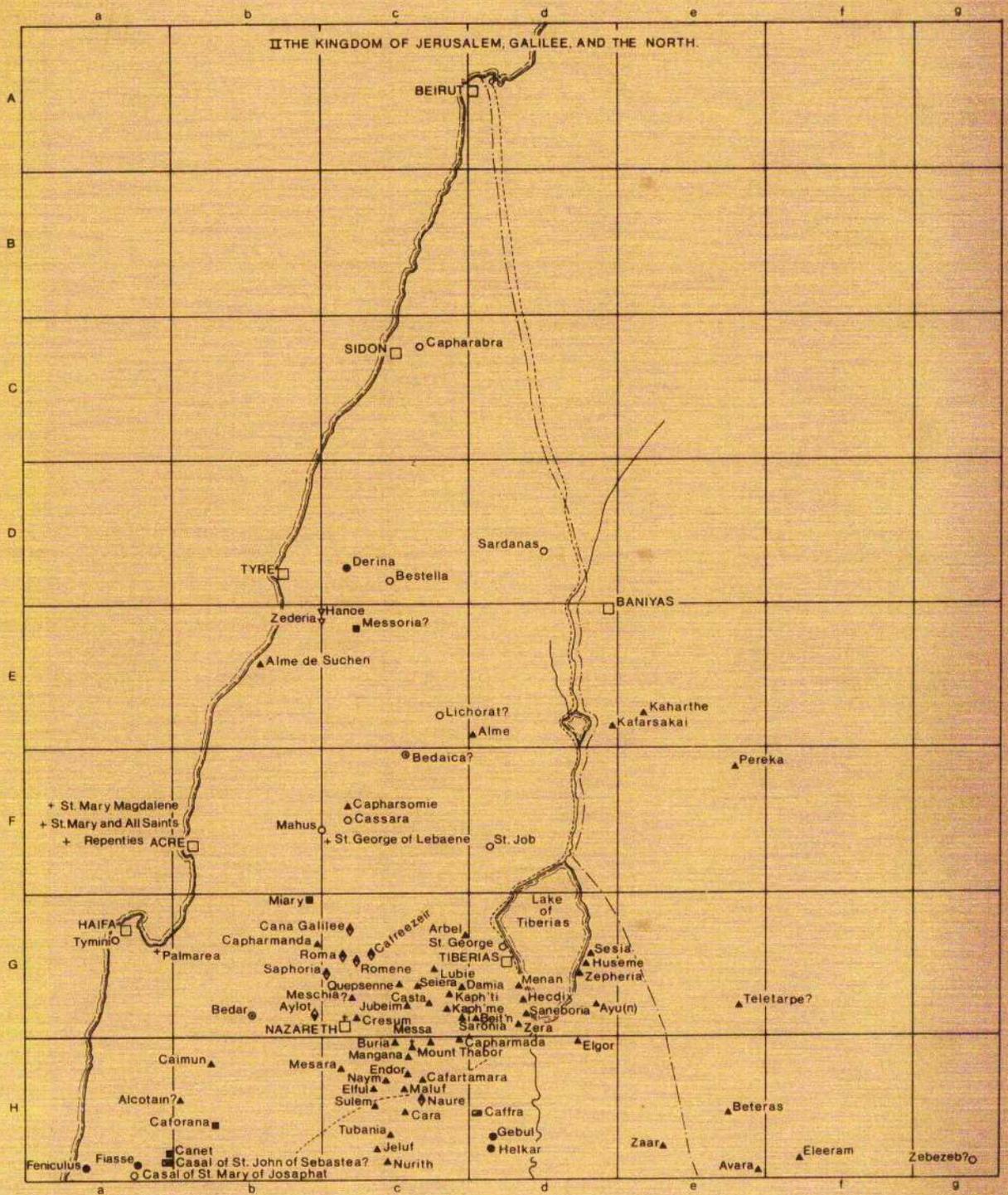
I Ga

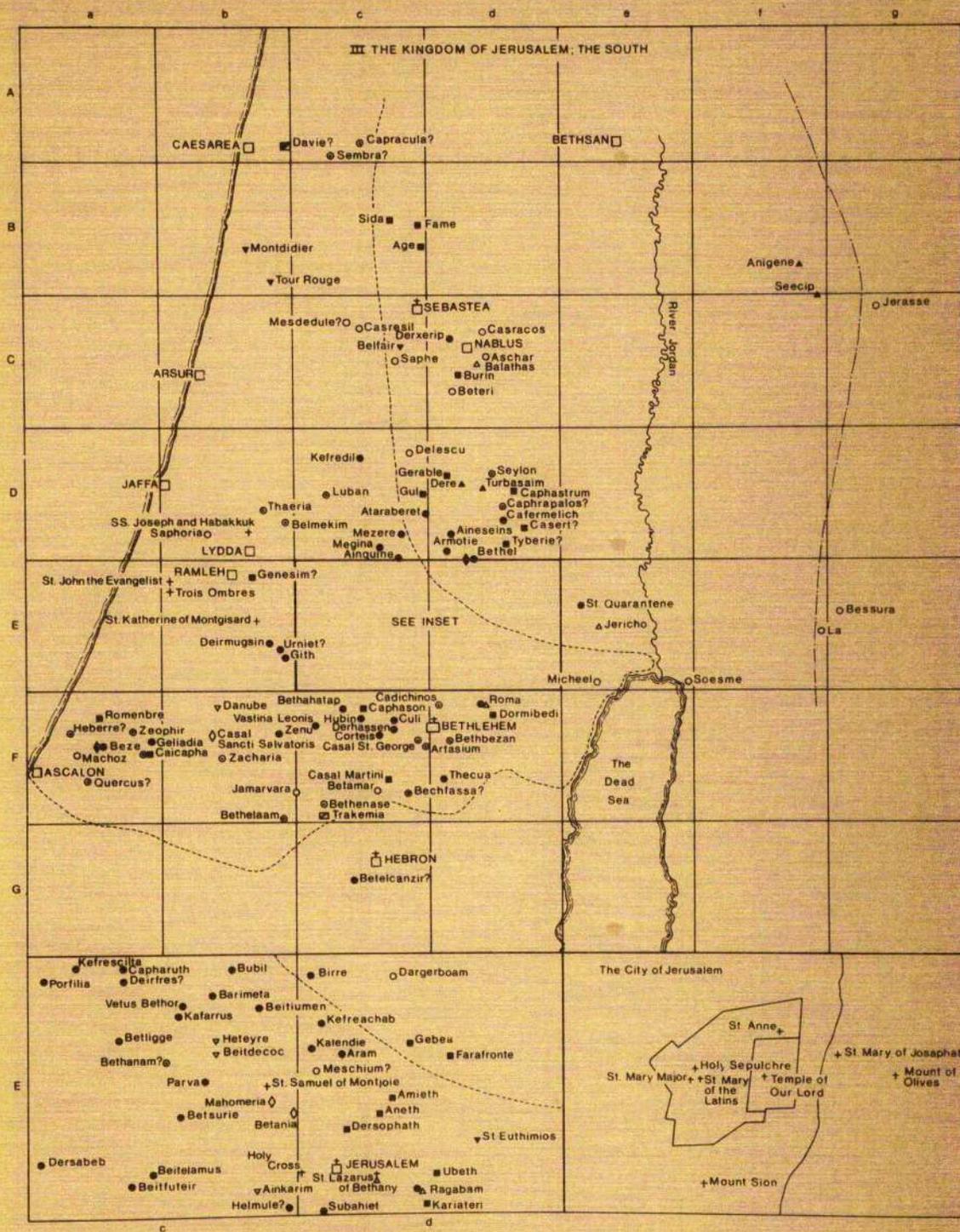
Unidentified: Berora (gastina)19. St Paul in Antioch

Avotha?

Map I Da







APPENDIX IITHE PERSONNEL OF LATIN MONASTERIES AND NUNNERIES

One of the most important landmarks in research into the history of the Latin church in the crusader states was the publication in 1887 of R. Röhricht's 'Syria sacra'. By this date editions of the cartularies of the Teutonic Order and St Mary of Josaphat, together with various documents from such churches as Mount Sion, Nazareth, Bethlehem and St Sergius at Gibelet, had made all previous lists of clergy inadequate. Using all the documentary sources then available Röhricht compiled lists of Latin clerics in the churches and monasteries of Palestine and Syria. The resulting work was one of considerable detail, indispensable to any study of the Latin church.<sup>1</sup> But since 'Syria sacra' was published still more charters have become available, chief among them the four volumes of documents from Hospitaller archives and the complete register of Josaphat's documents from Palermo, and Röhricht's own lists must now be revised.

Röhricht dealt first with the patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem and then with each archbishopric and bishopric in turn, together with its cathedral clergy, and finally with abbeys and priories. In each case the different ecclesiastical offices were followed by the names of all the occupants of the post in chronological order so that, for instance, all archdeacons, all cantors and all cellarers were

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1. R. Röhricht, 'Syria sacra', ZDPV, x (1887).

grouped together. But partly because my intention has not simply been to index the personnel of Latin churches, but to obtain evidence about many different aspects of monastic history, I have not followed Röhrich's method. In this case it has proved more useful and illuminating to approach the subject of monastic personnel from a strictly chronological angle. For convenient reference each community is given in the sequence in which it appears in Chapter One. Abbots or priors are listed separately and in chronological order, but the dates given for them do not necessarily indicate the precise length of their rule, only that they appear in office between these dates at least. Their convents also appear chronologically. The priors of local subordinate houses are included, but unless it is clear that they were actually permanent members of the convent in the East, or were ordered to supervise the establishment or organisation of obediences, or had in some other way importance in the life of the mother-house, brothers sent to serve in European priories are not considered as members of the community.

A chronological approach has revealed details about religious communities that were not immediately obvious in the lists in 'Syria sacra'. It has been possible to gain some idea both of the number of canons and monks in a convent from one year to the next and of the composition of the chapter, to trace the progress of a clerk through various ecclesiastical offices, perhaps also as prior of a local or European obedience, until he attained the post of prior, abbot or even bishop. It has also helped to date documents, events and the length of episcopates with greater accuracy and to distinguish spurious

charters. And in many other ways problems and obscurities in a monastery's history have been resolved by these lists. It was possible, for instance, to confirm that the 1213 Arabic document concerning the church of al-Shubbas in Antioch referred to property of St Mary of Josaphat by comparing the clerks mentioned in it with contemporary members of the abbey and of St Mary of the Latins.<sup>1</sup>

I. The Kingdom of Jerusalem

1. St Mary of the Latins

(i) Abbots

1102: Anon: Albert of Aix, p.600.

1116: Raimundus: 'Le chartrier de Ste-Marie Latine', no.2.

1120-1130: Ricardus: Cart. St-Sép., no.45; Chartes de Terre Sainte, nos.17,18.

1135-1144: Soibrandus: Cart. St-Sép., nos.26,28,34. See White, Latin Monasticism, p.254, no.13.

Dec. 1150-Dec. 1151: Petrus: Kehr, Die Urkunden der normannisch-sizilischen Könige, pp.430-33, no.14.

14.1.1155-21.4.1158: Amilius: Cart. St-Sép., nos.56,59,62,66,143; 'Zur Geschichte der Latina'; Document sulle relazione coll' Oriente, no.5.

Jan.1160-1167: Reinaldus: Cart. St-Sép., no.54; Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.35; Cod. diplom. 1, no.162; Cart. gén., nos.304,373.

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1. See above pp.127-28.

- March 1168: Petrus: 'Papsturkunden aus Unteritalien', no.8.  
 1169: Guido: Cart. St-Sép., no.167.  
 1169: Facundinus?: White, Latin Monasticism, pp.220-21.
- 8.3.1173: Richardus: 'Papsturkunden aus Unteritalien', no.2.  
 1176: Ribaldus: Cart. St-Sép., no.170.
- 1180/1183 - 20.12.1194: Facundus:  
 25.4.1197 - 1.10.1220: Facundinus: See White, Latin Monasticism  
 (pp.220-23) for a discussion of the confusion  
 between Facundus and Facundinus. But his  
 date for Facundinus' first appearance as  
 abbot, October 1198, can now be amended to  
 1197; Chartes de Terre Sainte, pp.123-26;  
 'Papsturkunden aus Unteritalien', nos.4,9-11,  
 14; Acta imp. ined. saec. XIII 1, nos.75,88.
- 10.6.1222: Anon: Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, no.955.  
 (25-30).12.1224: Paganus: 'Papsturkunden aus Unteritalien', no.13.  
 1235 - May 1236: Robertus: Cart. gén., nos.2141,2142; Tab. ord.  
Theut., no.80.
- 3.3.1238: Anon: Gregory IX, no.4140.  
 1239: Guiscardus: Tab. ord. Theut., no.88. Around this year  
 (Amico, Reg. fol. no.200) he also issued a  
vidimus.
- 1240, 1241: Anon: F. Perry, Histoire civile et ecclésiastique,  
ancienne et moderne de la ville et cité de Chalon sur  
Saone (1659). Preuves, no.66; Regesta Regni  
Hierosolymitani, no.1105.
- c.1244 - 7.8.1248: Peregrinus: Cart. St-Sép., no.1; Cart. gén., no.2482.

8.4.1254: Anon: Innocent IV, no.7744.

29.10.1267: Henricus: Cart. gén., no.3283.

The seals of two anonymous abbots are shown by Schlumberger, Sigillographie de l'Orient latin, p.124.

(11) Convent.

1101: Stephanus: 'Le chartrier de Ste-Marie Latine', no.1.

After 1.9.1158: Reinaldus, prior: Cart. St-Sép., no.63.

October 1192: Facundus, prior: 'Papsturkunden aus Unteritalien', no.3.

See also Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.19.

October 1198: Robertus: Acta imp. ined. saec. XIII i, no.75.

1213: Bayan, prior: Cahen, 'Un document concernant les Melkites', pp.286-87.

25-30.12.1224: Simon: 'Papsturkunden aus Unteritalien', no.13.

7. 8.1248: Johannes; Henricus; Bernardus-Galterius: Cart. gén., no.2482.

6. 8.1254: Albertus, prior: Amico, Reg. fol. no.331.

23. 1.1262: Anon prior: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.54.

20. 2.1263: Albertus, prior in Acre: 'Chartes de Josaphat', no.80.

8. 8.1264: Albertus, prior in Antioch: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.57.

29.10.1267: Petrus de Burgo Dolensi: Cart. gén., no.3283.

2. St Mary Major.

(1) Abbesses.

1099: Agnes: William of Tyre, p.826.

1157: Avis: Cart. gén., no.250.

- 1162 - June 1174/1182: Stephanis: William of Tyre, pp.888-89;  
Cart. gén., no.464; Amico, Reg. fol.no.285.  
 14.8.1203: Anon: Pat. Lat. covx, col.150, no.125.  
 16.8.1233: Mabile: 'Inventaire', no.243.

(ii) Convent.

- 1157: Odulina; Sola; Gudelina: Cart. gén., no.250.  
 June 1174: Richelda de Jerusalem; Mahalda de Neapoli; Mahalda de  
 Ramis; Amelot: Cart. gén., no.464.

3. The Holy Sepulchre.(1) Priors.

- 23.1.1120 - 2.5.1125: Gerardus: William of Tyre, p.532; Cart. St-Sép., nos.14,45,71,129; Chartes de Terre Sainte, nos.8,12; Urkunden der Republik Venedig i, nos.40,41; Albert of Aix, p.550; 'Bertholdi Zwifaltensis Chronicon', p.108; 'Monachus Scaphusensis', p.337; 'Bernoldi Chronicon', p.467; Ekkehard of Aura, 'Hierosolymita', p.35.  
 March - July 1128: Willelmus: He became archbishop of Tyre: William of Tyre, pp.591-92; Cart. St-Sép., nos.16,43,44,70 (dated 1129, but evidently referring to William I and not his successor),73.  
 1129 - 1130: Willelmus: He became patriarch of Jerusalem: William of Tyre, p.598; Cart. St-Sép., nos.67,77,78; Chartes de Terre Sainte, nos.17,18; Amico, Reg. fol. no.212.

- c.1130 - late 1150 - Petrus: He became archbishop of Tyre between  
early 1151: 22.6.1150 and May 1151: 'Fragment d'un cartu-  
laire de l'ordre de Saint-Lazare', nos.8,9;  
William of Tyre, p.734; Cart. St-Sép., nos.17-20,  
22-24,26-28,31-34,40,41,43,69,72-74,79,80,82,83,  
89,90,97,101,102,104,106,107,109,111,117,120,  
129,173; Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.26; Cart.  
gén., nos.116,138; 'Un rituel et un breviaire',  
pp.433-35; Les Archives, la Bibliothèque et le  
trésor de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean, no.5; Regesta  
Regni Hierosolymitani, no.209.
- 1151 - 1158: Amalricus: He became patriarch of Jerusalem: William  
of Tyre, p.854; Cart. St-Sép., nos.81,110,130,134,183;  
Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, no.317.
- 15.10.1159 - c.1160: Arnaldus: Cart. St-Sép., nos.35,129,135.
- 15.10.- 2.11.1159 - 4.3.1160: Anon: Cart. St-Sép., no.147; Amico,  
Reg. fol. no.262.
- 4.3.1160 - 6.10.1164: Nicolas: Cart. St-Sép., nos.64,65,68,75,76,100,  
105,115,126,136-140,150; Chartes de Terre  
Sainte, no.35; Les Archives, la Bibliothèque  
et le trésor de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean, no.19;  
'Papsturkunden in Katalanien' II, no.109;  
'Papsturkunden in Navarra und Aragon' II, no.101.
- 6.4.1166 - 14.7.1182: Petrus: William of Tyre, pp.1049,1074; Cart.  
St-Sép., nos.141,142,147,155-169,171,173,181;  
Cod. diplom. 1, no.205; Cart. gén., nos.376,

- 403,422,483,495; 'Chartes du Mont Thabor',no.18;  
Acta Pont. Rom. ined. ii, no.322; Regesta Regni  
Hierosolymitani, nos.494,623; Pat. Lat. clv,  
col.1276; Amplissima collectio ii, col.998,  
no.480; 'Un diplôme du Temple', pp.312-16.
- 1187, 1189 - 1191: Anon: 'L'Estoire de Eracles', p.46; Roger of  
Howden iii, p.87; Benedict of Peterborough ii,  
p.147.
- 13.2.1195 - 1199: Gaufredus: Cart. St-Sép., nos.128,151; Amico,  
Reg. fol. no.309; Acta Pont. Rom. ined. ii, no.457.
- 1203, 13.3.1204, 16.6.1205: Anon: Cart. St-Sép., no.149; Pat. Lat.  
ccxv, nos.129,222.
- 1.7.1211: Santius: Cart. St-Sép., no.145.
- c.1212, 9.4.1215: Willelmus: Cart. St-Sép., nos.2,3; Tab. ord.  
Theut., no.48.
- 4 and 7.7.1217, 8.2.1218, 19 and 24.8.1220: Anon: Honorius III,  
nos.646,651,1070,2626,2640.
- 24.12.1225: Petrus: Cart. gén., no.1828.
- 28.4.1227, 8.5.1227: Anon: Cart. gén., no.1861; Gregory IX, no.56.
- Before 1244: vacancy of about three years.
- 15.2.1244: Guiscardus: Innocent IV, no.458.
- 5.11.1244: H.: Matthew Paris, Chronica maiora iv, pp.337-44.
- 7.8.1248: A: Cart. gén., no.2482.
- c.1250: J: with the title of abbot: Les Archives, la Bibliothèque  
et le trésor de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean, p.17.
- 20.12.1257, 11-17.1.1261: Anon: Alexander IV, no.2413; Documenti  
sulle relazioni coll'Oriente, pp.455-57;  
Urkunden der Republik Venedig iii, no.346.

23.5.1263 - 20.6.1268: Hugo de Nysun: These are the dates of his appointment as prior and his promotion to the archbishopric of San Severino: Urban IV, no.257-260,264,266,1983; Clement IV, nos.535, 638. See also Innocent IV, nos.6350,6490; Alexander IV, nos.1151-1153,2413.

30.9.1268 - April 1269: Gui: 'Documents relatifs à une relique de Saint Philippe', nos.1,3.

(11) Chapter.

Before 1112-1114 the Holy Sepulchre was served by secular canons. Between them Patriarchs Gibelin and Arnulf, who had been archdeacon of the church, installed Augustinian canons. Before this, however, two priors at the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Mont Pèlerin appeared, Johannes and Arnaldus: Cart. St-Sép., no.98.

19.7.1116: Petrus; Willelaus: Cart. St-Sép., no.11.

6.7.1121: Anon cantor and succentor: Cart. St-Sép., no.37.

1123: Anselmus, cantor; Willelaus, succentor; Gilibertus:  
Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.12.

1129: Aymericus, almoner: Cart. St-Sép., no.70.

1129: Anselmus, cantor; Petrus, almoner; Azo; Gislebertus;  
Petrus Bernardi; Gaudentius; Aimericus: Cart. St-Sép.,  
no.77.

1129: Goisbertus, provost; Aimericus, almoner; Petrus Clementis;  
Anselmus, chaplain of Mahomeria: Cart. St-Sép., no.78.

19.10.1129: Petrus Barchinonensis, subprior; Anselmus, cantor; Petrus,  
treasurer; Josbertus, provost; Gaufridus, cellarer;

- Aimericus, almoner; Petrus Bernardi; Gislebertus;  
 Petrus de Sancto Lazaro; Wlgrinus; Socrates; G;  
 Gualterius; Petrus Clemens; Moyses; Amico, Reg. fol.  
 no.212.
- 1130: Petrus Barchinonensis, subprior; Ansellus, cantor; Hugo,  
 provost; Gislebertus; Petrus Bernardi; Petrus Calvus;  
 Gosbertus; Balduinus; Guido, Radulphus, Wulgrinus,  
 Richardus, deacons; Guyraldus, Moyses, Galterius,  
 subdeacons: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.17.
- 1132: Fulcherius: He became archbishop of Tyre: William of  
 Tyre, pp.621-22.
25. 6.1132: Hugo, provost; Petrus de Barcelona; Gaufridus de  
 Constantinopoli; Radulfus Parisiacensis; Petrus  
 Bernardus; Garnerius de Cenomanne; Guido; Giraldus;  
 Petrus Clementis; Eurardus: Cart. St-Sép., no.106.
- 1133: Giraldus, deacon: Cart. St-Sép., no.104.
- 1134: Petrus, subprior; Anselmus, cantor; Goffridus, treasurer;  
 Gillebertus; Petrus Bernardi; Fulcherius; Magister  
 Robertus; Willelmus; Oshertus; Haimericus; Balduinus;  
 Valterius, Moyses, Rogerius, Petrus, Geraldus, deacons;  
 Geraldus, Petrus Clementis, Eurardus, Gervasius, sub-  
 deacons; Raynaldus, prior of St Quarantene, former canon:  
Cart. St-Sép., no.27.
15. 3.1135: Johannes, subdeacon: Cart. St-Sép., no.82.
- (September) Petrus, subprior; Anselmus, cantor; Goffridus, treasurer;  
 1135: Magister Robertus; Petrus de Barcinona; Willelmus  
 Normannus; Godefridus; Wlgrinus; Eurardus; Gervasius:  
Cart. St-Sép., no.109.

- 16.11.1136: Petrus Bernardi; Johannes Pisanus, qui eo tempore ad sepulchrum clericulos docebat: Cart. St-Sép., no.107.
- 1136: Anselmus, cantor; Richardus; Petrus Barchinonensis; Robertus Arthasiensis; Gaufridus Constantinopoli; Radulfus Parisiensis; Petrus Bernardi; Garnerius; Gebertus; Robertus; Willelmus; Wlgrinus; Lambertus; Lambertus; Godofridus; Moyses; Rogerius; Bartholomaeus; Gervasius; Geraldus; Eurardus; Dionicius; Rainaldus, prior of St Quarantene: Cart. St-Sép., no.26.
12. 7.1137: Robertus, archdeacon; Petrus Barchinonensis; Osbertus Joppensis; Radulphus Parisiensis; Willelmus Normannus; Lambertus de S.Lazaro; Garnerius; Godefridus; Robertus de Accon; Moyses; Bartholomaeus; Giraldus; Dionisidius; Brocardus; Willelmus: Les Archives, la Bibliothèque et le trésor de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean, no.5.
- 1137: Robertus, archdeacon; Garnerius: Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, no.173.
5. 2.1138: Robertus, archdeacon; Anselmus, cantor; Godefridus, treasurer; Wlgrinus, provost; Petrus, chamberlain; Petrus, almoner; Petrus Bernardi; Girbertus; Coisbertus; Obertus; Robertus; Lambertus; Aymericus; Petrus; Giraldus; Anchericus; Everardus; Burchardus; Willemus Podiensi; Willelmus Beritensi: Cart. St-Sép., no.33.
- 4.12.1138: Robertus, archdeacon: Cart. St-Sép., no.31.
- 1138: Petrus Bernardi; Eurardus; Eurardus: Cart. St-Sép., no.32.

- c.1138: Giraldus, deacon: Cart. St-Sép., no.101.
- 18.11.1139: Robertus, archdeacon: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.20.
- 1139: Wlgrinus, prior at Mont Pelerin: Cart. St-Sép., no.92.
- 1140: Wlgrinus, provost; Aimericus; Nichola; Gamaliel; Garnerius; Robertus: Cart. St-Sép., no.90.
19. 4.1140: Wlgrinus, provost; Gamaliel: Cart. St-Sép., nos.88,89.
- 1141: Godefridus, treasurer; Willelmus, provost; Milo, chamberlain; Aimericus; Lambertus; Garnerius; Cozelinus; Nicholas; Robertus; Geraldus, Willelmus, Amilius, deacons; Balduinus, chancellor: Cart. gén., no.138.
- 1141: Godefridus, treasurer; Willelmus, provost; Americus; Garnerius; Lambertus: Cart. St-Sép., no.117.
- 1141: Giraldus: He was in Spain: Tessier, 'Les débuts de l'ordre du Saint Sépulchre'.
- 1143: Wlgrinus: Cart. St-Sép., no.95.
12. 1.1144: L; G: Cart. St-Sép., no.40.
- April 1144: Donatus, deacon and scribe: Cart. St-Sép., no.80.
- 1144: Godefridus, treasurer; Guillelmus, provost; Petrus Bernardi; Petrus Barchinonensis; Nicholas; Lambertus Grossus; Bertrandus de Podio; Magister Beda; Obertus; Gamaliel; Giraldus Bastardus; Moises; Bonifatius; Eurardus; Robertus Acconensis; Guillelmus Beritensis; Guillelmus Anglicus: Cart. St-Sép., no.34.
- c.1144: Lambertus, subprior; Godefridus, treasurer; Willelmus, provost; Nicholaus, cellarer; Obertus Joppensis; Robertus de Acchon; Alexander; Bertrandus; Ademarus;

Lambertus Flandrensis; Aimericus; Fulco; Bertoldus;  
 Johannes Anglicus; Eurardus, Giraldus, Hugo, deacons;  
 Willelmus Berithensis, Johannes Pictavensis, Willelmus  
 de Yspania, subdeacons: Cart. St-Sép., no.79.

14. 8.1145: Godefridus, treasurer; Willelmus, provost; Robertus,  
 cellarer; Bertrandus de Podio; Nicholaus; Gamaliel:  
Cart. St-Sép., no.41.

20. 2.1146: Godefridus, treasurer; Aimericus: Chartes de Terre  
 Sainte, no.26.

1151: Aimericus, subprior; Giraldus, cantor; Raul; Willelmus  
 Normannus; Baluinus; Godofridus; Nicholaus; Ademarus;  
 Petrus Sepulchri; Willelmus de Baruth; Hugo; Johannes;  
 Hulricus; Willelmus Ispanus; Petrus de Latina; Petrus  
 Boloniensis: Cart. St-Sép., no.81.

1153: Absalon: He became bishop of Ascalon: William of Tyre,  
 p.812.

1154: Arnaldus, subprior; Giraldus, cantor; Godefridus,  
 treasurer; Stephauns, provost; Nicholaus, almoner;  
 Beltoldus; Petrus Sepulchrarius; Constantinus; Petrus  
 de Golgota; Petrus de Nazareth; Bernardus; Barduinus;  
 Willelmus de Baruth; Hugo de Nigella; Iohannes  
 Pictavensis; Willelmus de Yspania; Rainaldus; Petrus  
 de Bolonie: Cart. St-Sép., no.110.

1155: Arnaldus, subprior; Giraladus, cantor; Godefridus,  
 treasurer; Stephanus, provost; Constantinus, cellarer;  
 Nicholaus, almoner; Bernardus, chamberlain; Radulfus  
 Parisius; Willelmus Normannus; Balduinus; Mainerius;

Petrus Clemens; Willelmus Beriti; Johannes Pictavensis;  
 Hugo, Petrus, deacons; Willelmus de Ispania, Rainaldus  
 de Lochis, Petrus, Robertus de Antiochia, subdeacons:  
Cart. St-Sép., no.134.

3. 2.1155: Amicus, dean: Cart. St-Sép., no.131.

c.1155: Conradus: Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, no.317.

1156: Giraldus, prior in Spain: Tessier, 'Les débuts de l'ordre  
 du Saint-Sépulchre'.

c.1159: Petrus, almoner; Bernardus Antiochenus: Cart. St-Sép.,  
 no.129.

Before March 1160: Nicholaus, subprior; Godefridus, treasurer;  
 Gamaliel; Ilbertus; Petrus Sepulchri; Achilles;  
 Bernardus Antiochie; Petrus Clemens; Hugo Nigelle;  
 Petrus Latine; Petrus Lombard; Rainaldus de Lochis;  
 Robertus Antiochia: Cart. St-Sép., no.135.

4. 3.1160: Arnulphus, subprior; Bernardus, cantor; Godefridus,  
 treasurer; Ebrardus; Ilbertus; Petrus de Sepulchro;  
 Petrus Clemens; Achilles; Hugo de Nigella; Petrus de  
 Latina; Petrus Lombardus; Rainaldus de Ochis; Robertus  
 Antiochie: Cart. St-Sép., no.105.

21. 3.1160: Arnulphus, subprior; Godefridus, treasurer; Ebrardus;  
 Ilbertus; Petrus de Sepulchro; Petrus Clemens; Achilles;  
 Reinerius; Hugo de Nigella; Petrus de Latina; Rainaldus;  
 Petrus Lombardus: Cart. St-Sép., no.139.

25. 3.1160: Chapter as on 21.3.1160 with the addition of Bernardus,  
 cantor: Cart. St-Sép., no.136.

2. 4.1160: Chapter as on 21.3.1160 with the addition of Bernardus Antioche and Robertus Antiochie: Cart. St-Sép., no.138.
3. 4.1160: Chapter as on 2.4.1160: Cart. St-Sép., no.137.
8. 6.1160: Arnulphus, subprior; Bernardus, cantor; Godefridus, treasurer; Eurardus; Petrus Clemens; Petrus de Sepulcro; Achilles; Rainerius; Hugo de Nigella; Petrus de Latina; Rainaldus de Lochis; Petrus Lombardus; Robertus Antiochensis: Cart. St-Sép., no.115.
- 30.11.1160: Radulfus, archdeacon: Cart. St-Sép., no.58.
- 1160: Bernardus, cantor; Magister Achillis: Cart. St-Sép., no.64.
- 1161: Gotofredus, treasurer; Amicus, provost: Cart. St-Sép., no.68.
6. 3.1163: Arnulphus, subprior; Godefridus, treasurer; Amicus: Les Archives, la Bibliothèque et le trésor de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean', no.19.
- 1168: Radulfus, archdeacon: Cart. St-Sép., nos.160,161.
15. 2.1168: P; G: Cart. St-Sép., no.158.
- 1169: Eraclius, archdeacon: Cart. St-Sép., no.167.
- 1171: Heraclius, archdeacon; Arnulfus, subprior; Petrus, cantor; Balduinus, treasurer; Ugo de Nigella; Reinaldus de Lochis; Petrus Calvus; Savinus, Rogerius, Dalmatius, deacons; Odo, Ingerradus, Petrus, subdeacons: Cart. St-Sép., no.181.
- April 1171: Achilles; Balduinus: Cart. St-Sép., no.165.
- c.1171: Eraclius, archdeacon: Cart. gén., no.422.
- 1172: Anon subprior etc: Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, no.494.
20. 6.1172: Archdeacon: Cart. gén., no.434.

- (Summer 1173): Anon subprior: Amplissima collectio ii, no.478.
- (Summer 1173): R, subprior: Amplissima collectio ii, no.479.
- (Summer 1173): A, subprior: Amplissima collectio ii, no.480.
- (Autumn 1173): S: Pat. Lat. clv, p.1276, no.18.
- August 1175: Eraclius, archdeacon; Petrus, cantor; Baldoinus, treasurer; Johannes Pictavus; Hugo de Nigella; Reinaldus de Lochis; Constantinus; Bernardus de Antiochia; Odo, Petrus, Petrus Bithuricencis, deacons; Petrus de Machumeria, Robertus de Roma, subdeacons; Dalmacius, patriarch's steward (among patriarch's clergy): Cart. Gén., no.483.
- 17.10.1175: Petrus, cantor; Johannes Pictavensis; Ugo de Nigella; Rainaldus de Lochis; Constantinus; Odo, Gaufridus, deacons; Petrus Mahumerie, Robertus Rome, subdeacons: Cart. St-Sép., no.142; 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no.18.
- June 1177: Hugo de Nigella; Constantinus, deacon; Odo; Rogerius, subdeacon; Robertus de Roma; Petrus Barchilonensis: Cart. St-Sép., no.168.
- 1178: Magister Robertus: Cart. St-Sép., no.173.
8. 9.1178: Arnulphus, subprior; Bartholomaeus, cantor; Constantinus; Balduinus; Rogerius, Gaufridus de Novo Vico, Bonifacius, deacons; Petrus, Guido, Matthaeus, subdeacons: Cod. diplom. i, no.205.
- 1182: Balduinus, treasurer; Gaufridus de Novo Vico; William of Tyre, p.1095.
- 1186: Dalmacius, archdeacon: Amico, Reg. fol. no.293.
- 1198 -1216: P: Pat. Lat. ccxvi, col.1239.

- 1199: Geraldus: Amico, Reg. fol. no.309.
19. 7.1204: Ivo; Joseph: Cart. gén., no.1197.
28. 4.1227: J; J: 'Documents et mémoires servant de preuves à l'histoire de l'île de Chypre', Histoire de Chypre iii, pp.662-68; Gregory IX, no.56.
10. 3.1240: H: Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, no.209.
15. 2.1244: Guiscardus: He was elected prior: Innocent IV, no.458.
- 1244: Petrus de Montranda: Chronicle of Melrose.
8. 3.1253: Matthaëus, commander: Tab. ord. Theut., no.102.
26. 9.1253: Matthaëus, commander: Tab. ord. Theut., no.104.
- 25.10.1261: Ado, papal chaplain; John Provincial, Rogerius, claiming to be canons: Urban IV, no.18.
- 29.10.1267: Henricus, commander: Cart. gén., no.3283.
- April 1269: Guillaume Poitevin, commander at Acre; Girart; Pierre le Gascon: 'Documents relatifs à une relique<sup>i</sup> de Saint Philippe', no.1.
11. 3.1277: Johannes: He became bishop of Trau in Yugoslavia: John XXI, no.107.
18. 2.1282: Stienne, prior at Tripoli: 'Documents et mémoires servant de preuves à l'histoire de l'île de Chypre', Histoire de Chypre iii, pp.662-68.

It has recently been shown by Professor H.E. Mayer that the King of Jerusalem was also a canon of the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre, with all the rights and duties that this post entailed. In Europe the emperor of Germany, the Kings of France, England and Spain and the dukes of Burgundy all had the same right in the principal church of their own

lands. Because of his right the King of Jerusalem could influence patriarchal elections, a circumstance which brought Henry of Champagne, who was never crowned, into conflict with the other canons of the Holy Sepulchre over the election of Aymar Monachus.<sup>1</sup>

4. The Temple of Our Lord.

(1) Priors and Abbots.

20.6.1112 - 1.11.1136: Achardus: William of Tyre, p.532; Cart. St-Sép., nos.28,45,67,73,74,102; Chartes de Terre Sainte, nos.6,8; Cart. gén., nos.25,28; Amico, Reg. fol. no.212; Urkunden der Republik Venedig i, nos.40,41; 'Un rituel et une breviaire', pp.434-45; 'Versus de Viris illustribus diocesis Tarvanensis in sacra fuere expeditione', cols. 539-40; 'Vita Joannis Episcopi Ternanensis Auct. Waltero Archidiacono', pp.1143-44; 'Une poëme sur le templum domini', pp.567-79.

1137 (as prior, but thereafter as abbot) - 26.7.1160: Gaufredus: William of Tyre, pp.691-92,861; Cart. St-Sép., nos.26,32-34,41,49,50,52,54,56,59,60,62,63,66, 117; Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.23; Cart. gén., nos.139,173,175,191; Amico, Reg. fol. no.228; Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, no.173.

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1. Mayer, 'Das Pontifikale von Tyrus', pp.184-87,192; 'L'Estoire de Eracles', pp.203-5.

- 1161 - 1168: Hugo: Cart. St-Sép., no.160; 'Un diplôme du Temple', pp.312-16; Memorie storico-diplomatiche dell'antica città educato de Analfi, ed. M. Camera 1, p.200.
- 1169: Raimundus: Cart. St-Sép., no.167; Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, no.470.
- 13.11.1170 - 1176: Anon: Cart. St-Sép., no.146.
- 1176 - 1180: Rogerius: Cart. St-Sép., no.170; Cart. gén., no.576; Schlumberger, Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin, p.138.
- 1189 - 1191: Anon: He died during the siege of Acre: Roger of Howden iii, p.87; Benedict of Peterborough ii, p.147.
29. 9.1195: Petrus: 'Documents et mémoires servant de preuves de l'histoire de l'île de Chypre', Histoire de Chypre iii, pp.598-99.
22. 1.1208: Anon: Pat. Lat. cexv, col.1555, no.250.
- 1.10.1220 - 15.5.1221: Maurus: Cart. St-Sép., no.4; Chartes de Terre Sainte, pp.123-26; 'Documents et mémoires servant de preuves de l'histoire de l'île de Chypre', Histoire de Chypre iii, p.617.
- May 1221, 10.4.1233: Anon: Cart. gén., no.1718; Gregory IX, no.1223.
- 30.9.1233 - 6.10.1238: Hugo: Cart. gén., no.2142; Tab. ord. Theut., no.80; 'Documents et mémoires servant de preuves de l'histoire de l'île de Chypre', Histoire de Chypre iii, pp.636-37; Thesaurus novus anecdotorum 1, cols.1012-13; 'A Register of the Cartulary of the Cathedral of Santa Sophia of Nicosia', ed. J. La Monte, Byzantion v (1930), Appendix, pp.495-98, no.43; Gregory IX, nos.2742-44.

- 25.11.1244: J: Cart. gen., no.2340; Matthew Paris, Chronica maiora iv, pp.337-44.
- 10.3.1255, 11 - 17.1.1261: Anon: Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, no.1226. Urkunden der Republik Venedig iii, no.346.
14. 3.1265: Simon: Cart. gen., no.3120.
27. 6.1286: Martinus: 'Documents et mémoires servant de preuves à l'histoire de l'île de Chypre', Histoire de Chypre iii, pp.671-73.

(ii) Convent.

- 1123: Arnaldus: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.12.
- 1126: Arnaldus: Amico, Reg. fol. no.208.
26. 9.1133: Ricardus; Gaucelinus: Cart. gen., no.100.
19. 4.1140: Petrus: Cart. St-Sép., no.88.
- 1142 - 1145: Amicus, chaplain: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.23.
- 1151: Rogerius: Cart. St-Sép., no.49.
- 1152: Assenardus: Cart. gen., no.207.
- Before 1153: Fredericus: He became bishop of Acre and later archbishop of Tyre: William of Tyre, pp.892-93,1010; 'Annales Camerancensis', p.551, where he is wrongly called Bartholomaeus.
- 1156: Hugo, prior: Cart. St-Sép., no.66.
- 1159: Hugo, prior; Marinus: 'Fragment d'un <sup>É</sup>Carulaire de l'ordre de Saint Lazare', no.16.
- 1168: Guericus: He became bishop of Petra: William of Tyre, p.944. He may have been Guilricus, the dean of Nablus: Cart. St-Sép., no.160.

- September 1181: Guillelmus de la Branda: 'Chartes du Mont Thabor',  
no.21.
- 1186: Willelmus, cellarer; Gillebertus; Raynaldus;  
Franco: Amico, Reg. fol. no.293.
- 30.9.1233: Nicolas, prior; Johannes de Alvernia: 'Documents et  
mémoires servant de preuves à l'histoire de l'île de  
Chypre', Histoire de Chypre iii, pp.636-37.

## 5. Mount Sion.

### (1) Priors and Abbots.

- 20.6.1112 - 15.2.1138: Arnaldus: William of Tyre, p.532; Cart.  
St-Sép., nos.11,26,28,33,44,45,67,73,74,102;  
Chartes de Terre Sainte, nos.17,18; Cart.gén.,  
nos.28,116; Amico, Reg. fol. no.212;  
Urkunden der Republik Venedig i, nos.40,41;  
'Un rituel et une breviaire', pp.434-45.
- 14.1.1155 - 1156: Engerannus: Cart. St-Sép., nos.52,56,66.
- After 1.9.1158 - 1161 (as prior) and 6.4.1166 (as abbot): Gunterius:  
Cart. St-Sép., nos.54,58,60; Chartes de Terre  
Sainte, no.35; 'Un diplôme du Temple', pp.312-16.
- 1169 - 1186: Rainaldus: William of Tyre, pp.1049,1073-74; Cart.  
St-Sép., nos.146,167,170; Cod. diplom. i, no.206;  
Cart. gén., no.403; Amico, Reg. fol. no.293. On  
19.3.1179 Pope Alexander III issued a bull to Abbot  
Johannes ('Chartes du Mont Sion')pp.37-53). The error  
is all the more remarkable because it co-incided with  
the Third Lateran Council, which Abbot Rainaldus had  
attended.

- 1189 - 1191: Anon: He died during the siege of Acre: Roger of Howden iii, p.87; Benedict of Peterborough ii, p.147.
- 25.11.1218 - 1.10.1220: Ivo: Chartes de Terre Sainte, pp.123-26; 'Chartes du Mont Sion', pp.54-55; Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, nos.919,920.
15. 5.1221 - 9.10.1222: Anon: Cart. gén., no.1718; Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, no.955; 'Documents et mémoires servant de preuves à l'histoire de l'île de Chypre', Histoire de Chypre iii, p.617; Honorius III, no.4107.
- February 1239: Girardus: Tab. ord. Theut., no.86.
- April 1243: T, abbot-elect: Amico, Reg. fol. no.329.
- 25.11.1244: R: Cart. gén., no.2340; Matthew Paris, Chronica maiora iv, pp.337-44.
7. 8.1248: Hugo: Cart. gén., no.2482.
- 5.5.1256 - 1.11.1257: Terricus: Cart. gén., no.2811; Tab. ord. Theut., no.113.
- 22.12.1262: Anon: Urban IV, nos.173,174.
- June 1268: Jacobus: 'Chartes du Mont Sion', p.56.
- 20.1.1281 - 30.3.1289: Adam: 'Chartes du Mont Sion', pp.55-56; 'Chartes d'Adam', nos.1-3.

(11) Convent.

- 26.9.1133: Lambertus: Cart. gén., no.100.
- 5.2.1138: Radulfus: Cart. St-Sép., no.33.
- c.1170: Anselmus: Cod. diplom. i, no.190.
- 1180: Stephanus: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.41.

- 11.9.1245: Radulfus: Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, no.1136a.  
 9 - 10.8.1257: Petrus de S.Johanne: Alexander IV, nos.2158,2161.  
 23.2.1263: Johannes, scribe: Amico, Reg. fol. no.352.  
 June 1268: Hugo: He became prior of St Samson at Orléans:  
           'Chartes du Mont Sion', p.56.  
 26.3.1289: Radulfus de Nazareth: 'Chartes d'Adam', nos.1-2.

## 6. St Mary of Josaphat.

### (1) Abbots.

- Before 1101: Balduinus: He became archbishop of Caesarea: William of Tyre, p.423; Guibert of Nogent, pp.182-83; 'Versus de Viris illustribus diocesis Tarvanensis qui in sacra fuere expeditione', cols.539-40; Albert of Aix, p.550.
- 1102 - 19.7.1116: Hugo: Cart. St-Sép., no.11; Chartes de Terre Sainte, nos.1,5,6,19,42; Amico, Reg. fol. nos.166, 175,176,188,237; Acta Pont. Rom. ined. ii, no.245; Albert of Aix, p.600; 'Il conte Enrico di Paternò e le sue donazioni al monastero di S.Maria di Valle Giocefat', ed.L.A. Garufi, ROL,ix (1902), p.219.
- 31.1.1120 - 1130: Gelduinus: William of Tyre, p.532; Cart. St-Sép., nos.30,44,45; Chartes de Terre Sainte, nos.8,12, 17,18,42; Cart. gén., nos.74,77; Amico, Reg. fol. nos.198,204,206,207,212; Urkunden der Republik Venedig 1, nos.40,41; 'Tractatus de Reliquiis S.Stephani', pp.317-20; La Monte, 'The Lords of the Le Puiset on the Crusades', pp.109-110.

- 1135 - 1137: Robertus: Cart. St-Sép., nos.26,28,102.
- Sept. 1138 - 1.3.1155: Guido: Cart. St-Sép., no.69; Chartes de Terre Sainte, nos.25-30; Amico, Reg. fol. nos.222,224,241; Acta Pont. Rom. ined. 11, nos.349,361,111, no.183; 'Über die Papsturkunden für Josaphat', nos.4,5.
- 1156: P: Cart. St-Sép., no.66.
- 1158 - 1163: Willelmus: Chartes de Terre Sainte, nos.32-34; Amico, Reg. fol. nos.261,266,268.
- 6.4.1168 - 1176: Petrus: Cart. St-Sép., no.170; Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.37; Cart. gén., no.403; Amico, Reg. fol. nos.263,271,280,283.
- 1178 - Aug. 1185: Johannes: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.40; Amico, Reg. fol. nos.280,283-286,288,289.
- 13.12.1194 - May 1207: Amatus: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.45; Amico, Reg. fol. nos.305,308,309,311,312,316; 'Chartes de Josaphat', no.64.
- 20.3.1219: Anon: Honorius III, no.1947.
- 1.10.1220 - 6.5.1235: Radulfus: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.47, pp.123-26; Amico, Reg. fol. nos.321,323,325; Tab. ord. Theut., nos.73,74; Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, no.955; Acta imp. ined. saec. XIII 1, no.335; 'Documents et mémoires servant de preuves de l'histoire de l'île de Chypre', Histoire de Chypre iii, p.617. An Abbot Q is given on a vidimus dated c.1231: Cod. diplom. 1, no.193.

Jan. 1241 - 3.6.1243: Geroldus: Amico, Reg. fol. no.327; Duprat,  
L'abbaye de St Victor et la Palestine aux  
temps des croisades, pp.99-100.

1244: Anon: He was reported to be missing after the battle of Gaza:  
Matthew Paris, Chronica maiora iv, p.342.

7.8.1248: Henricus: Cart. gén., no.2482.

14.11.1258 - 23.2.1263: Petrus: He was dead by 13.11.1263: Chartes  
de Terre Sainte, no.56; Amico, Reg. fol. nos.  
338,362; 'Chartes de Josaphat', nos.78,80;  
Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, no.1107.

8.8.1264 - 14.3.1265: Jacobus: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.57;  
Cart. gén., no.3120.

17.9.1278: Guido; Amico, Reg. fol. no.362.

From 17.10.1289: Guillelmus: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.59; Amico,  
Reg. fol. nos.366,370.

There exists also the seal of an anonymous abbot of Josaphat:

Schlumberger, Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin, p.129.

(ii) Convent.

1115: Acelinus: He was in charge of the hospice: Chartes de Terre  
Sainte, no.5.

1.2.1121: Amau(ri)cus, custos et dispensator of the hospital of  
St Julian at Tiberias: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.11.

1122: Paganus: He was at St Mary's at Paterno. 'Il conte  
Enrico di Paterno et le sue donazioni', no.4.

1124: Paganus, prior: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.13.

- 1126: Paganus: He was at St Mary's at Paterno: 'Il conte Enrico di Paternò et le sue donazioni', no.5.
- 1129: Willelmus: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.16.
- Sept.1138: Paganus; Robertus; Osmundus: Amico, Reg. fol.no.224.
- 5.2.1138: Giraldus, prior: Cart. St-Sép., no.33.
- 18.5.1140: Paganus; Robertus; Osmundus: Acta Pont. Rom. ined. iii, no.349.
- 1142 - 1145: Johannes, subprior; Stephanus; Galterius; Johannes de Paternoni; Bernardus; Petrus Gumbaldi; Johannes, scriptor; Arduinus; Johannes filius...; Theobaldus de Forneriis: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.23.
- 20.2.1146: Paganus, subprior; Petrus Gumbaldi: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.26.
- 1157 - 1168: Gaufridus de Pinu, master of Tyre; Theobaldus, cementarius; Willelmus de Joppe; Guibertus: Amico, Reg. fol. no.266.
- 1158: Stephanus, prior; Johannes, subprior; Willelmus, cellarer; Petrus, almoner; Galterius de Sepulcro; Arnaldus; Petrus de Am; Galterius Provincialis; Alardus; Stephanus Francigena; Petrus de Syloe; Johannes; Stephanus; Ricardus: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.32.
- 1170: Willelmus, subprior; Guibertus, cellarer; Arnaldus, sacrist; Johannes: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.37.
- Undated, but probably after 1170 and definitely between 10.2.1163 and 1178: Guibertus, prior; Bernardus, subprior; Stephanus; Johannes; Galfridus; Giraldus; Willelmus; Willelmus,

- Arnaldus, deacons; Radulfus, Guido, Hugo, subdeacons;  
Willelmus: Amico, Reg. fol. no.261.
- 20.2.1177: Petrus de Sancto Lazaro; Willelmus de Sicilia; Johannes  
de Escar; Matthaëus anglicus; Willelmus de Tieta;  
Ernaudus Gascus: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.39.
- 1178: Guido; Arnaldus Gasco: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.40.
- Undated, but after 1168 and probably after 1178: Guiscardus, prior;  
Petrus, cantor; W., cellarer; Stephanus, almoner;  
Petrus, sacrist; Matthaëus: Amico, Reg. fol. no.286.
- 1178: Guimandus, prior; Petrus, cantor; Willelmus de Sicilia,  
cellarer; Stephanus, almoner; Petrus, sacrist;  
Matthaëus Anglicus: Amico, Reg. fol. no.280.
- 1180: Guinandus, prior; Lambertus, subprior; Arnaldus, cantor;  
Petrus, cellarer; Stephanus, almoner; Guillelmus,  
sacrist; Guillelmus, sepulcrarius; Guillelmus de Sicilia;  
Petrus, abbot's chaplain; Ioannes, prior at Aschar:  
Amico, Reg. fol. no.283.
- 1182: Stephanus, almoner; Willelmus de Sicilia; Petrus de  
Sancto Lazaro; Robertus; Robertus: Amico, Reg. fol.  
no.285.
- 1186: Petrus, prior; Octavianus, subprior; Giranus, treasurer;  
Helias, cellarer; Stephanus, almoner; Bernardus, prior  
at Aschar: Amico, Reg. fol. no.293.
- 1187: P., prior; S., almoner; B., prior at Aschar: Amico,  
Reg. fol. no.292.
- May 1207: Arnaldus, prior; Johannes; Adam; Petrus; Johannes;  
Julianus: 'Chartes de Josaphat', no.64.

1. 3.1212: Adam, prior: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.46.
- 1213: Arnaldus, once prior; Adam, prior: Cahen, 'Un document concernant les Melkites', pp.286-87.
- 1217: Magister Oliverus, prior: Amplissima collectio i, col.1130.
- Aug. 1227: Gotfredus; Petrus Gaudiosus; Bernardus; Guillelmus; Guido; Paganus, scriptor: Amico, Reg. fol. no.323.
- Oct. 1230: Stephanus; Johannes; Mel; Hugo; Petrus: Tab. ord. Theut., no.73.
- Jan. 1241: Guillelmus, prior; Petrus, prior at Jerusalem; Gualterius de Brizie; Ioannes; Iulius: Amico, Reg. fol. no.327.
24. 3.1260: Guillelmus, prior: 'Chartes de Josaphat', no.78.
19. 9.1260: Jacobus, prior: Amico, Reg. fol. no.346.
- 19.12.1261: Jacobus, prior: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.53.
23. 1.1262: Guillelmus, prior; Durandus: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.54.
23. 2.1263: Stephanus; Durandus: 'Chartes de Josaphat', no.80.
8. 8.1264: Durantus; Nicolaus: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.57.
17. 9.1278: Guillelmus, formerly prior: Amico, Reg. fol. no.362.

7. Mount Thabor.

(1) Abbots.

- 1101 - 29.7.1103: Gerardus: Cart. gen., no.2832; 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no.1; Albert of Aix, p.600.
- 1106 - 1107: Anon: Itinéraires russes, p.68.

15. 6.1115: Raymundus: 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no.5.
23. 1.1120: Petrus: William of Tyre, p.532.
5. 2.1138: Willelmus: Cart. St-Sép., no.33.
- 1.12.1139: Gaufridus: 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no.7.
- 14.8.1145 - 1159 - 1163: Pontius: Cart. St-Sép., no.41; Cart. gén., nos.2829,2830; 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no.11.
- 1163 - 1169: Bernard: He became bishop of Lydda: William of Tyre, p.959, 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no.13.
- 24.9.1169 - 17.10.1175: Garinus: Cart. St-Sép., no.142; 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', nos.14,16,18.
- April 1180 - May 1183: Johannes: 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', nos. 19-23.
- After May 1183: Bernard: Cart. gén., no.655.
- 5.3 - July 1205: M: 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no.24; Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, no.802.
3. 4.1214: Anon: 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no.25.
23. 8.1214: Johannes: 'Quatre pièces relatives à l'ordre teutonique en Orient', no.1. A seal of an Abbot Johannes survives (Schlumberger, Sigillographie de l'Orient latin, p.127), but it may have belonged to John I.
10. 8.1216: Anon: Honorius III, no.16.
- 1.10.1220: Andreas: Chartes de Terre Sainte, pp.123-26.
- 30.9.1233 - 25.11.1244: P: Cart. gén., no.2340; 'Documents et mémoires servant de preuves à l'histoire de l'île de Chypre', Histoire de Chypre iii, pp.636-37; Matthew Paris, Chronica maiora iv, pp.337-44.

22. 7.1246: Anon: Innocent IV, no.2027.  
 4. 5.1250: Gauvain: 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no.26.  
 24.3.1253, 10.3.1255, 1.4.1255: Anon: Cart. gen., no.2726; Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, no.1226; Innocent IV, no.6455.

(11) Convent.

15. 6.1115: Martinus; Raynaldus: 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no.5.  
 1.12.1139: Martinus, prior; Garnerius: 'Chartes du Mont Thabor, no.7.  
 1147: Ubertus, prior: 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no.10.  
 1152: Johannes, cantor; Romanus; Johannes; Robbertus; Raisundus; Johannes; Petrus; Arnaldus; Marenda; Bertrannus; Ugo de Iherusalem; Girardus Pisanus; Petrus; Ugelinus; Stephanus Manzo; Iterius; Willelmus de Avers; Alexius: 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no.11.  
 Mid-twelfth century: Anon monk: Letters of Peter the Venerable, nos.31,80.  
 1163: Garinus, prior; Jacobus, subprior; Dominicus, cantor; Arnulfus, cellarer; Geraldus; Gervasius; Lancelinus; Ademarus; Nicolaus; Petrus; Stephanus; Rainerius; Johannes; Hugo; Stephanus; Johannes; Hugo; Martinus; Marcus: 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no.13.  
 c.1164: H, formerly prior: Pat. Lat. clv, col.275, no.6.  
 24 - 30.9.1169: Lanzulinus, prior; Dominicus, subprior; Girardus, cantor; Ugo Pisanus; Petrus de Podio; Martinus; Stephanus; Marcus; Dominicus: 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no.14.

- 17.10.1175: Lancelinus, prior; Stephanus, cantor; Petrus de Podio, treasurer; Martinus; Johannes Hyspannus; Aimericus; Dominicus; Johannes de Nazaret; Ehardus; Pandulfus; Willelmus Provincialis; Marcellinus: Cart. St-Sép., no.142; 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no.18.
- Before April 1180: Johannes, prior at Palmerea: 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no.19.
- July 1203: Jordanus, prior; Gaufridus: 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no.24.
23. 8.1214: Gandulfus; Fulco: 'Quatre pièces relatives à l'ordre teutonique en Orient', no.1.
5. 5.1256: Garinus; Michael; Petrus: Cart. gen., no.2811.

## 8. The Mount of Olives.

### (1) Priors and Abbots.

- 1112: Fulcherius: Cart. gen., no.25.
- 1120: Laurentius: Cart. St-Sép., no.45.
- 19.10.1129 - 14.8.1145: Henricus: Cart. St-Sép., nos.26,28,34,41, 73,102; Chartes de Terre Sainte, nos.17,23; Amico, Reg. fol. no.212; 'Un rituel et une brevisaire', pp.434-35.
- c.1148: Anon: 'Inventaire', no.38.

- 18.8.1155 - 1168: Aimericus: Cart. St-Sép., nos.54,58,66,108,  
160,161; 'Un diplôme du Temple', pp.312-16.
- 1169 - c.1171: Bernardus: Cart. St-Sép., no.167; Cart. gén., no.422.
- 13.11.1170 - 1180, 1189 - 91, 18.3 - 8.4.1198: Anon abbots, one of  
whom died during the siege of Acre: Cart. St-Sép.,  
no.146; Roger of Howden iii, p.87; Benedict of  
Peterborough ii, p.147; Innocent III, no.73.
- 1199 - 19.7.1204: Gervasius: Cart. gén., no.1197; Amico, Reg. fol.  
no.309.
- 1.10.1220 - May 1221: D: Chartes de Terre Sainte, pp.123-26;  
Cart. gén., no.1718.
- 30.1.1226, 1.1.(1229): Anon: Cart. St-Sép., no.178; Epist. saec.  
XIII i, no.291.
- 25.11.1244: B: Cart. gén., no.2340; Matthew Paris, Chronica  
maiora iv, pp.337-44.
- 22.7.1246, 8.1.1259, 27.4.1260: Anon: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.52;  
Innocent IV, no.2027.

(ii) Convent.

- 1101: Hermannus: Ekkehard of Aura, 'Hierosolymita', p.36.
- 1156: Guido; Bonitius; Iohannes; Berruier; Durandus; Ode;  
Zacharias: Cart. St-Sép., no.66.

9. Nazareth.(i) Priors.

1109 - 1121 (as prior of St Gabriel) and 20.10.1125 (as prior of St Mary): Guillelmus: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.9; Cart. gén., no.71; Amico, Reg. fol. no.176.

1129: Adelelmus: Cart. St-Sép., no.67.

14.8.1145 - 1154: Lethardus: He became archbishop of Nazareth: William of Tyre, p.857; Cart. St-Sép., no.41.

1161: Stephanus: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.35.

June 1174: Hernulfus: 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no.16.

c.1183: Theobaldus: He became bishop of Acre: Pat. Lat. ccxiv, cols.476077, no.517.

Sept. 1251: Petrus: Innocent IV, no.3538.

1. 4.1264: Guy de Paladru: Urban IV, no.1508.

11. 3.1271: Guillelmus: Cart. gén., no.3414.

(ii) Chapter.

1109: Adelmus, archdeacon; Helias; Adam, Gerardus, deacons; Willelmus, ecclesiae custos; Raynaldus, chamberlain: Amico, Reg. fol. no.176.

1115: Willelmus, sacrist; Henricus Hundrensis; Radulfus, chaplain; Manerius Carnotensis: Amico, Reg. fol. no.177.

1121: Adelmus, archdeacon of Tiberias and all Galilee; R., chaplain; Basilius; Hugo; Arnulfus: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.9.

20.10.1125: Adelmus, archdeacon; Basilius; Gaufredus; Petrus; Odo; Sancius, deacon; Willelmus, subdeacon: Cart. gén., no.71.

- Dec. 1140: Rainaldus, chaplain: Cart. St-Sép., no. 94.
25. 7. 1160: Arnulphus: Cart. St-Sép., no. 55.
- 1161: Pontius, treasurer; Ernulsius; Bernardus de Cana;  
Sanson; Odo; Guillelmus de Buria; Giraudus;  
Reginaudus; Bertramus; Girardus de Cana; Willelmus  
de Gibesward: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no. 35.
- c. Oct. 1170?: Willelmus: Amplissima collectio ii, col. 364, epist. 300.
- June 1174: Rainaldus, cantor; Heraldus, treasurer; Johannes de  
Podio; cellarer; Galterius, chaplain; Gerardus;  
Andreas; Nicolaus; Arnaldus; Petrus; Tibaldus;  
Johannes de Coriz; Geraldus Passerel: 'Chartes du  
Mont Thabor', no. 16.
13. 12. 1174: Guillelmus, archdeacon of Tyre and Nazareth: Cart. gen.,  
no. 468.
17. 10. 1175: Geraldus, archdeacon; Gibertus, archbishop's chaplain;  
Johannes de Coriz; Magister Simon, archbishop's  
chancellor: 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no. 19.
24. 10. 1197: Bartholomaeus, archdeacon of Tiberias and archbishop's  
clerk: Cart. gen., no. 1002.
- Sept. 1251: G., archdeacon; Nicolaus; Gaufredus; A; Santius;  
Innocent IV, nos. 5538, 5539.
- July 1255: Willelmus, archdeacon: Cart. gen., no. 2748.
9. 10. 1255: Willelmus, archdeacon; Petrus Yspanus; Ylarius;  
Andreas Yspanus; Albertus, archbishop's clerk;  
Rey, Recherches sur la domination des Latins, pp. 36-38.
24. 10. 1259: Willelmus, archdeacon; Sancius: Cart. gen., nos.  
2934-2936.

19. 9.1260: Johannes: Amico, Reg. fol. no.346.  
 17. 1.1262: Willelmus, archdeacon: Cart. gen., no.3051.  
 12.2.1263: Berticius: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.55.  
 9. 3.1264: Sanctius: Urban IV, no.2477.  
 1. 4.1264: Sanctius: Urban IV, no.1508.  
 11. 1.1271: Amadeus; Robertus: Cart. gen., no.3414.  
 14. 6.1288: Laurentius; Robertus; Ubertus: Nicolas IV, nos.165-169.

10. Sebastea.

(1) Priors.

- 1156 - 1168: Radulfus: Cart. St-Sép., nos.66,144,155,160,161.
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- 17.10.1175: Iohannes: Cart. St-Sép., no.142; 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no.18.

(ii) Chapter.

- Feb. 1138: Petrus: Cart. St-Sép., no.33.

11. St Anne.

(i) Abbesses.

- 11.7.1157 - 1177-1187: Sibylla: Cart. gen., nos.250,456,511.  
 27.8.1256, 8.8.1257: Anon: Cart. gen., no.2826; Alexander IV, no.2187.

(ii) Convent.

- Before 1138: Joveta: William of Tyre, p.699; Ernoul, pp.5-6.  
 1157: Ermengard; Gilla: Cart. gen., no.250.

12. Bethlehem.(1) Priors.1163: David: Rey, Recherches sur la domination des Latins, pp.21-22.1215: Anon: Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, no.880a.(11) Chapter.22. 8.1106: Bernardus, prior at Mont Pèlerin: Cart. St-Sép., no.91.

1129: Hugo, librarian: Amico, Reg. fol. no.212.

1129: Hugo; Cart. St-Sép., no.67.2. 8.1135: A., archdeacon; Johannes: Cart. St-Sép., no.86.5. 2.1138: Bernardus; Arnulphus: Cart. St-Sép., no.33.1139: Albericus, prior at Mont Pèlerin: Cart. St-Sép., no.92.Dec. 1139: Albericus, prior at Mont Pèlerin; Guarinus, scribe:  
'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no.7.1151: Arnulfus: Cart. St-Sép., no.49.1163: Godefridus, treasurer; Simo, cellarer; Simon,  
chancellor; Armandus; Bartholomaeus; Guillelmus  
Grossus; Nicolaus de Gibelet; Guerinus de Cremet,  
Garnerius Juvenis, deacons: Rey, Recherches sur la  
domination des Latins, pp.21-22.Probably after 1170-1178: Bernardus; Johannes Lusbardus; Engebaldus;  
Geraldus de Sancta Barbara; Bernardus de  
Nazareni; Johannes de Temple; Bartholo-  
maeus; Stephanus; Facundus; Hubertus,  
deacon; Johannes; Bartholomaeus, seneschal;  
Pontius, bishop's chaplain: Amico, Reg. fol.  
no.261.

- 1198 - 1216: W: Pat. Lat. ccxvi, col.1239.
24. 1.1245: Bartholomaeus; Innocent IV, no.956.
25. 7.1246: Deodatus de' Prefetti, archdeacon: Innocent IV, no.2039.
10. 5.1263: Magister R., rector: Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani,  
no.1326.
- 19.10.1277: Augustinus: Tab. ord. Theut., nos.307,478.
- 11.10.1285: Vincentius, assisius: Honorius IV, no.184.

13. Hebron.

(i) Priors.

- 20.6.1112 - 1119: Rainerius: Cart. gén., nos.25,28; 'Tractatus de  
inventione sanctorum patriarchorum', p.310.
- Sept.1136 - 1.11.1136: Guido: Cart. St-Sép., no.73; Cart. gén.,  
no.116.
- 14.1.1155 - 3.7.1155: Rogerius: Cart. St-Sép., nos.56,62; 'Fragment  
d'un cartulaire de l'Ordre de Saint Lazare',  
no.14.
- 6.3.1163: Adam: Les Archives, la Bibliothèque et le trésor de  
l'Ordre de Saint Jean, no.19.

(ii) Chapter.

- 1119: Odo, subprior; Arnulphus; anon canon and scribe:  
'Tractatus de inventione sanctorum patriarchorum',  
pp.303,310-14.
19. 4.1140: Godofridus: Cart. St-Sép., no.88.

6.3.1163: Odo de Golgota; Petrus, deacon; Stephanus; Guisardus;  
 Vivianus; Nicolaus; Paganus; Johannes Lombardus;  
 Petrus Arvenensis; Robertus; Magister Hugo: Les Archives,  
 la Bibliothèque et le trésor de l'Ordre de Saint Jean,  
 no.19.

14. St Samuel of Montjoie.

(1) Abbots.

1145: Theodericus: Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani. Additamentum,  
 no.216.

1156: R: Cart. St-Sép., no.66.

After Nov.1225: Egidius: He was the Emperor Frederick II's chaplain:  
Sacrae antiquitatis monumenta, epist. 130.

21.6.1235, 23.8.1235, 3.3.1238, 10.5.1238, 16.5.1238, 13.6.1238,

20.12.1238: Anon: Cart. gén., nos.2199,2200; Gregory IX, nos.2652,  
 2742-2744,4140,4152,4411,4699.

Feb. 1239 : Johannes: Tab. ord. Theut., no.86.

25.11.1244, 18.10.1250, 25.2.1251: Anon: Cart. gén., nos.2340,2542,  
 2553; Matthew Paris, Chronica  
 maiora iv, pp.337-44.

1.6.1254 - 23.2.1263: Johannes: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.52;  
 Amico, Reg. fol. no.352; Cart. gén., nos.2686,  
 2811,2925,2927; Cod. diplom 1, no.135; Urban  
 IV, no.15; Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, no.  
 1226. This may not have been the Abbot Johannes  
 of 1239, for his rule would have been particu-  
 larly long.

1291: Egidius de Marle: Backmund, Monasticon Premonstratense i,  
p.400.

(ii) Convent.

1291: Twenty-six canons martyred: Backmund, Monasticon  
Premonstratense i, p.400.

15. SS Joseph and Habakkuk.

(i) Abbots.

1136 - 1153: Amalricus: He became bishop of Sidon: William of  
Tyre, pp.803-4; 'Sigeberti Continuatio Valcellensis',  
p.460; 'Le "Catalogus Abbatum Floreffiensium"', p.233;  
'Fundatio Monasterii Gratiae Dei', pp.688-89.

1156 - 1160: Herbertus: Cart. St-Sep., nos.64-66.

(ii) Convent.

1160: Bonetus; Nicholaus; Martinus; Harduinus; Martinus;  
Robertus; Lambertus; Laurentius; Petrus; Guillelmus;  
Raymundus; Albertus; Ebroinus; Umbertus; Johannes; Garinus;  
Anselmus; Bernardus; Christianus; Gerardus; Johannes;  
Saberandus; Galandus: Cart. St-Sep., no.64.

16. Palmarea.

Abbots.

5.2.1138: Helyas: Cart. St-Sep., no.33.

o.1170 : Anon: Chartes de Cluny, no.4234.

17. St Lazarus of Bethany.(i) Abbesses.

1144: Matilda: William of Tyre, pp.699-700; Cart. St-Sep., no.34.

c.1144 - 1178: Joveta: She was said to be dead in a document of 1178. A confirmation of a deed made in her favour of 31.12.1178 does not necessarily indicate that she was still alive: William of Tyre, pp.517,699-700, 854,867,1006; Ernoul, pp.5-6,21-22; Cart. gen., no.250; Amico, Reg. fol. nos.280,283; 'Inventaire', no.130.

1178 - 1180: Eva: Amico, Reg. fol. nos.280,283.

1184: Melisende: Cart. gen., no.664.

(ii) Convent.

1157: Odalina, prioress; Alamandina, cantatrix; Siguina Romana; Helena; Agnes: Cart. gen., no.250.

1157: Sibylla, Countess of Flanders: William of Tyre, p.854; Ernoul, pp.21-22; 'Ex Chronico Sithiensi S.Bertini', p.471; 'Ex Auctario Aquicinctino', p.278.

1178: Odalina, prioress; Alamandina, cantatrix; Milisent; Osanna; Ermengardis: Amico, Reg. fol. no.280.

Jan. 1180: Odelina, prioress; Alamandina, cantatrix; Eloys, cellarer; Milissendis de Roseio; Agnes Tripolis; Maria de Hierusalem: Amico, Reg. fol. no.283.

29.8.1259: Philippa, prioress: Cart. gen., no.2929.

18. St Katherine of Montgisard.

Personnel unknown.

19. St Paul.

Personnel unknown.

20. St Mary Magdalene in Acre.

Abesses.

1222 - 24.12.1225: Maria: Cart. gen., no.1828; 'Documents  
nouveaux servant de preuves à l'histoire de  
l'île de Chypre', no.1.

21. St George of Lebaene.

Personnel unknown.

22. Trois Ombres.

Prioresses.

March 1231, 23.12.1237, 30.12.1237: Anon: Gregory IX, nos.4007,  
4008, 4013.

23. St John the Evangelist.

Personnel unknown.

24. Repentires.

Personnel unknown.

II. The County of Tripoli1. Belmont.(i) Abbots.

1222: Ls: 'Documents nouveaux servant de preuves à l'histoire de l'île de Chypre', no.1.

20.12.1230, 28.1.1233, 20.12.1238, 25.7.1246, 25.2.1251, 8.3.1251,

27.4.1260, 29.11.1263: Anon: Chartes de Terre Sainte, nos.51,52; Cart. gen., no.2553; Riant, 'L'Église de Bethléem', pp.573-76; Gregory IX, nos.1084, 4699; Innocent IV, nos.2039,5178; Urban IV, no.454.

26. 2.1282: Pierre l'Aleman: 'Documents et mémoires servant de preuves à l'histoire de l'île de Chypre', Histoire de Chypre iii, pp.662-68.

1287: Hugo: Orig. Cist. Tomus., p.139.

(ii) Convent.

9. 1.1208: Anon prior: Pat. Lat. xxi, cols.1278-82, no.186.

18.11.1241: Lantier, cellarer; Thomas: Cart. gen., no.2280.

27. 4.1260: Stephanus: Chartes de Terre Sainte, nos.51,52.

April 1271: Gualterius, cantor and commander of the Holy Trinity of Refech: White, Latin Monasticism, p.290, no.47.

26. 2.1282: Symon de Tripoli: 'Documents et mémoires servant de preuves à l'histoire de l'île de Chypre', Histoire de Chypre iii, pp.662-68.

2. St Michael in Tripoli.(1) Priors.

June 1184: Guillelmus: Cart. gen., no.676.

18.3 - 8.4.1198 - 20.9 - 31.12.1198: Seguinus: Cart. gen., no.1006;

Innocent III, no.73.

19. 6.1244: Johannes de Valentia: Innocent IV, no.737.

18. 9.1253: Blasius: Innocent IV, no.7016.

(ii) Convent.

Before 19.6.1244: Johannes de Valentia: Innocent IV, no.737.

3. St Sergius of Gibelet.Abbots.

Sept. 1238: Petrus: 'Chartes de St-Serge', pp.26-29.

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Dec. 1241: Johannes: 'Chartes de St-Serge', pp.26-29.

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29.11.1263: Anon: Urban IV, no.453.

4. St Mary Magdalene.Convent.

Thirteenth century: Maria de Bellomonte and her anonymous sister:

Vitae Fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum, pp.88-92.

### III. The Principality of Antioch.

#### 1. St Paul in Antioch.

##### (i) Abbots.

1108: T: Documenti sulle relazioni coll'Oriente, no.1 A + B.

19. 4.1140: Robertus: Cart. St-Sép., no.89.

16. 2.1168: Petrus: Cart. gen., no.397.

1183 - 1.2.1186: Falco: 'Chartes du Mont Thabor', no.22; Cart.gen.,  
no.783.

1197: Bernardus: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.44. The seal of  
Abbot Bernardus also exists: Schlumberger,  
Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin, p.133.

12.7.1205, 21.1.1222, 17.12.1225: Anon: A. Potthast, Regesta  
pontificum Romanorum inde ab anno  
p.Chr. n.1198 ad annum 1304, no.  
2564; Honorius III, nos.3754,5753.

Early thirteenth century? Sergius: Schlumberger, Sigillographie de  
l'Orient Latin, p.134.

##### (ii) Convent.

Before 1130: Stephanus, treasurer: Cart. St-Sép., no.89.

1130: Petrus Latinator: William of Tyre, p.600.

1135: Hugo Blesensis: Amico, Reg. fol. no.221.

16. 2. 1168: Leo, prior: Cart. gen., no.397.

End twelfth century: Willelmus: Berlière, 'Les anciens monastères  
bénédictins', p.561, referring to a manuscript  
in Statutum monasticum Benedictinum a sancto  
Narseto Lambronensi et recens latinae fidei rursus  
redditum, ed. P.P. Mechitaristae.

6.9.1254: Henricus, former monk: Innocent IV, no.8001.

2. St Simeon.

26.6.1224: Anon Abbot and convent: Analecta novissima 1, p.586, no.31.

3. St George in Antioch.

(i) Abbots.

1140: Angerius: Cart. St-Sép., no.90.

March 1160: Leuthbrandus: 'Fragment d'un cartulaire de l'ordre de  
Saint Lazare', no.19.

Before 30.3.1254: Bartholomaeus: Innocent IV, no.7397.

(ii) Convent.

1140: Benedictus, cantor; Guido; Silvester; Joscerandus, chaplain:  
Cart. St-Sép., no.90.

4. St Mary de la Carrière.

Abbots.

1183: Robertus: Cart. gen., no.651.

5. Jubin.

(i) Abbots.

1206: Anon: Raynaldi, Annales, p.221.

1214: W: Richard, 'L'abbaye de Jubin', p.65.

24.8.1215: Anon: 'Una lettera del Pontifice, Innocenzo III e un  
privilegio di Guido, Rè di Gerusalemme e Signore de  
Cipro', p.43.

1231: Gondovinus: Richard, 'L'abbaye de Jubin', p.67.

18.2.1233, 25.7.1254, 9.2.1256, 21.2.1256: Anon: Cart. gen., no.2788;  
 Gregory IX, no.1101;  
 Innocent IV, no.7873;  
 Alexander IV, no.1175.

(ii) Convent.

6.1.1238: monks: Gregory IX, no.4020.

6. Holy Cross de Carpita.

6.3.1257: Anon. prioress and convent: Alexander IV, no.1777.

7. St Lazarus in Antioch.

Abesses.

8.8.1264: Pheia: Chartes de Terre Sainte, no.57.

8. Repentitium.

Personnel unknown.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AOL Archives de l'Orient latin.
- BEC Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes.
- HPM Historiae patriae monumenta, ed. iussu regis Caroli Alberti, 20 vols so far (Turin, 1836- ).
- MGH Monumenta Germaniae historica inde ab anno Christi Quingentesimo usque ad annum millesimum et quingentesimum auspiciis societatis aperiendis fontibus rerum Germanicarum medi aevi, ed. G.H. Pertz et al.
- MG SS MGH Scriptores in Folio et Quarto, 32 vols (1826-1934).
- MSNAF Mémoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France.
- PPTS Palestine Pilgrims Text Society.
- Quart. State. Quarterly Statements of the Palestine Exploration Fund.
- QFIAB Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken.
- RHC Recueil des historiens des croisades, ed. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Paris, 1841-1906).
- RHC Arm. RHC Documents arméniens, 2 vols (1869-1906).

- RHC Lois.      RHC Lois. Les Assises de Jerusalem, 2 vols (1841-43).
- RHC Occ.      RHC Historiens occidentaux, 5 vols (1844-95).
- RHC Or.        RHC Historiens orientaux, 5 vols (1872-1906).
- RHF            Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France,  
                    24 vols (Paris, 1737-1904).
- ROL            Revue de l'Orient latin.
- ZDPV          Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästinavereins.

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fasc. 2. Section d'archéologie, histoire, géographie et  
ethnographie (Marseille and Paris, 1919).

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des Écoles d'Athènes et de Rome. Série I, 32) (Paris, 1883).

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(Berlin, 1874-78).

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ordinis S. Benedicti, in urbe Hierusalem, auctore Antonino  
Amico, messanensi, regio historiographo ac metropolitanae  
panormitanae ecclesiae canonico. Qq. H. 11.

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(1100-1310), ed. J. Delaville Le Roulx, 4 vols (Paris, 1894-  
1906).

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ed. E. Petit, MSNAF, sér.5, viii (1887).

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Pontifice Innocenzo III e un privilegio de Guido, Rè di  
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ligustico, xxi (1896).

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