

THE LATIN RELIGIOUS HOUSES  
IN CRUSADER PALESTINE:  
AN INVENTORY

by

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*For Martha*

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## Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The important role of religious Orders in the Christian society of the Middle Ages is mirrored in the story of the crusades and of the Latin settlements in the Near East, especially the Kingdom of Jerusalem. It was the fiery eloquence of religious preachers, among others, that fuelled the armies that took over the Moslem-held holy places of Palestine. Religious accompanied the crusaders and, once arrived at their goal, remained in place, a welcome permanent element in the sparse Latin population. St. Bernard, it is true, was convinced that the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem needed soldiers rather than monks, but he was speaking about contemplative Orders like his own. In the Military Orders (whom St. Bernard favored), the kingdom had both, soldiers and monks. But the Holy Land was a great geographical Bible, the salient parts of which were the physical sites of the mysteries of the faith. While the kingdom became a political reality, struggling to assert its identity, subject to the squabbles and rivalries of the ambitious and greedy, its real *raison d'être* was religious, and here the ministry of the clergy and religious was central.

Jacques de Vitry, bishop of Acre from 1216 to 1228, paints a vivid picture of the religious renaissance in Palestine after the success of the crusades: "From divers parts of the world, from every race and language, and out of every nation under heaven, pilgrims full of zeal for God, and religious men, flocked into the Holy Land, attracted by the sweet savour of the holy and venerable places. Old churches were repaired, and new ones were built; by the bounty of Princes and the alms of the faithful, monasteries of regular monks were built in fitting places; parish priests and all things appertaining to the service and worship of God, were properly and suitably established everywhere."<sup>2</sup>

In the 12th century, besides the secular clergy, three, possibly four, religious Orders took over the spiritual care of the Christian centers of devotion, in part inherited from their Byzantine predecessors. The Benedictines, monks and nuns, actually anteceded the crusades. The Canons Regular of St. Augustine were ideally suited to the sort of pastoral care required for the custody of the holy places visited by the pilgrims. The Premonstratensian canons, relative latecomers, had the care of a couple of outlying shrines for half a century. This writer is not as sure as others of the presence of Cistercian monks in the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

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<sup>1</sup> This Inventory of Latin Religious Houses in Crusader Palestine by the late Fr Joachim Smet, O.Carm., (1915–2011) was left finished but unpublished at his death at the age of 95. He seems to have worked on it between 1998 and 2006. It has been reset and proof-read from the computer file by Paul Chandler, O.Carm., at the suggestion of Hein Blommestijn, O.Carm.

<sup>2</sup> No modern critical edition of this work exists. Quoted here is the partial English translation, *The History of Jerusalem, A. D. 1180* [selections], ch. LI, tr. Aubrey Stewart, London, 1896, p. 26–27. For a Latin edition, see *Historia orientalis*, Duaci, B. Bellerus, 1597, p. 85.

These are the 12th-century monasteries in Palestine for which there exists some reliable information. After De Vitry's enthusiastic description, one is left with rather a sense of delusion. Some modern writers allow themselves somewhat incautious expressions. Dom Berlière declares about the Benedictines: "Religious foundations multiplied rapidly,"<sup>3</sup> and Jean Richard tells of "many monasteries, the memory of which has disappeared."<sup>4</sup> (If their memory has disappeared, how do we know they existed?) Be that as it may, today relatively few can be shown to have existed. One must conclude, ironically, that the Holy Land was not friendly to Latin monastic life. The brief existence of the Latin Kingdom, the insecurity of the open countryside, and the exiguous base for Latin religious vocations little favored the development of grand monastic enterprises. St. Bernard, as we shall see, found the Holy Land ill-suited to monastic life.

The monastic presence in the Holy Land, however, was extended through chapels. "There were few towns of any consequence," Bernard Hamilton writes, "which did not have at least one monastic chapel in the 12th century either in the city itself or very near it. These were found at... Beirut, Sidon, Tyre, Acre, Haifa, Jaffa, Tiberias, Nablus, and, of course, in large numbers in Jerusalem itself."<sup>5</sup>

The 12th century was marked by a relatively peaceful possession of the entire territory of the Holy Land; it was an armed peace, but a peace at that. Christian pilgrims, Latin, Orthodox, or of other denominations, were free to wend their way about the countryside in search of biblical sites—if necessary, under guard of religious especially founded for that purpose. Religious set down their houses in the locations marked by the principal events of salvation history. Their particular ministry was the custody of the holy places and the spiritual and material welfare of the pilgrims and Latin inhabitants. It was a contemplative life: Christianity gazing upon the Savior in his life and death. The goal of the crusades had been met.<sup>6</sup>

All this underwent a sudden and profound change with the victory of Saladin at Hattin in 1187, which destroyed the effective Christian forces in the kingdom. Immediately after this disastrous defeat there remained in the possession of the Franks only the city of Tyre, which, incidentally, was never taken by the Moslems until the end of the kingdom,

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<sup>3</sup> Ursmer Berlière, O.S.B., "Les anciens monastères bénédictins de Terre Sainte," *Revue bénédictine* 5 (1888), 511.

<sup>4</sup> Jean Richard, *Le royaume latin de Jérusalem*, Paris, 1953, p. 99: "...maints monastères dont le souvenir a disparu."

<sup>5</sup> Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church*, London, 1980, p. 102. For an idea of the number of Latin churches in Palestine, see Camille Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, and Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (in progress), both frequently cited below.

<sup>6</sup> "The primary concern of the men who founded the Latin church in Syria was that the public worship of God should be properly performed in those places which had been sanctified by His bodily presence in Christ... the public performance of the Latin liturgy in the churches of Syria was the justification of the crusading movement"; Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 361, 362. See the entire chapter, "The Spiritual Work of the Latin Church in Syria," *ibid.*, pp. 361-372.

and not even then, for it was abandoned rather than conquered. Writing from Tyre in January of 1188, Conrad of Montferrat seeks help from King Bela of Hungary and at the same time describes the fate of the clergy and religious in Jerusalem: "... the patriarch also and the canons serving the sepulchre, all the monks and hermits, the virgins consecrated to God [Saladin] made slaves and held for ransom."<sup>7</sup> Those who could pay their ransom—including probably most religious—were allowed to go free. Some or all of these latter no doubt took refuge in Tyre or in other houses of their Orders in the Near East. Others may have returned to Europe.

Convinced to the end that they could win back the Holy Land, the Latins soon laid siege to Acre, which they managed to take with the aid of the forces of the Third Crusade (1191). After its recuperation, the king and his lieges, without lands and destitute, whom Jean Richard compares to the *émigrés* after the French Revolution and the exiles after the Russian Revolution,<sup>8</sup> crowded into Acre. There, too, together with the patriarch, congregated a crowd of bishops, clerics, canons regular, abbots, monks, and nuns.

Thus, the history of religious Orders in 13th-century Palestine is to a large extent confined to the city of Acre. Medieval cartography provides a key to the churches and religious establishments there. This study is based on the map by Pietro Vesconte, which Marino Sanuto, called Torsello, includes in his work, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*.<sup>9</sup> The map is complemented by the anonymous *Pelrinages et pardouns de Acre*, a guide to the holy places in Palestine, ending with a list of churches in Acre and the indulgences (*pardouns*) to be acquired in them.<sup>10</sup> The list seems to follow roughly the plan of the city. One recognizes the names of most of the kingdom's religious houses. In some cases, it was a question of the religious retiring to already existing houses in Acre.<sup>11</sup>

In spite of the loss of almost all of Palestine, the Holy Land continued to draw religious Orders, specifically the new ones. The desire to be represented in the Savior's home-

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<sup>7</sup> Anton Chroust, ed., *Tageno, Ansbert und die Historia peregrinorum: drei kritische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Friedrichs I*, Graz, 1892, p. 200.

<sup>8</sup> *Le royaume latin de Jérusalem*, p. 205.

<sup>9</sup> Edited by Jacques Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos* (2 v. in 1, Hanoviae, 1611), II (special pagination). For a partial English translation, see also *Part XIV of Bk. III of Marino Sanuto's Secrets for True Crusaders to Help Them to Recover the Holy Land, Written in A.D. 1321*, tr. by Aubrey Stewart with geographical notes by Lieut.-Col. Conder, London, 1896. Sanuto's map in Bernard Dichter, *The Orders and Churches of Crusader Acre*, Acre, 1979, p. 13, is poorly reproduced. For a modern sketch see Reinhold Röhrich, "Marino Sanudo sen. als Kartograph Palästinas," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 21 (1898), 84-126, Tafel 5; reproduced by Sabino De Sandoli, O.F.M., ed., *Itinera hierosolymitana cruce signatorum (saec. XII-XIII)* (4 v., Jerusalem, 1978-1984), IV, 488.

<sup>10</sup> *Pelrinages et pardouns de Acre (v. 1280)*, in H. Michelant and G. Raynaud, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem et descriptions de la Terre Sainte rédigées en français*, Genève, 1882, p. 227-236; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, 109-117.

<sup>11</sup> For an historical and archaeological account of Acre and its buildings in crusading times and after, see Camille Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem; architecture religieuse et civile* (2 v. + album, Paris, 1925-1928), II, 2-35; III, plates 51-57.

land seems to have been co-terminous or nearly so with the founding of these Orders. To the battle-scarred monastic and canonical Orders were added the Antonines, Magdalens, Sisters of Our Lady of Tyre, Franciscans, Poor Clares, Dominicans, Carmelites, Trinitarians, and Friars of the Sack.

But the motivation and role of the religious had drastically changed. In the 13th century, the holy places lay beyond the reach of the religious Orders. The trickle of pilgrims who passed through Acre to the Christian shrines, or what was left of them, went unaccompanied into an alien and hostile land. The interest of the Orders, especially the Mendicants, was now the conversion of the heathen. The Holy Land had become mission territory, the vestibule of a vast missionary effort that stretched to the Far East. For all the Orders, Acre was the center for their evangelizing efforts in the Near East. It was important that it remain in Christian hands.

In the first half of the 13th century, the Christians enjoyed a measure of success in recouping their losses. The Third Crusade, led by King Philip of France and Richard the Lionhearted, ended in a five-year truce and the restoration of the littoral to the Franks from Tyre to Jaffa (1192). In the Sixth Crusade, Emperor Frederick II in 1229 was given the Holy City with a corridor to Jaffa, Nazareth, and western Galilee. In the treaty of 1241 made by Richard of Cornwall, the Christians regained the rest of Galilee. But even this respite was of short duration; the Turkish Kwarismians united with the Egyptians to devastate the Latin territory. In 1244, they definitively expelled the Christians from Jerusalem. In Baybars I the Egyptians found a new but cruel Saladin. From 1265 to 1272, he carried on a series of raids against Frankish territory.<sup>12</sup> In 1265, he captured Caesarea and in 1268 Jaffa and Antioch. Besides these conquests, he destroyed a number of key fortresses of the knights. In 1269, in response to raids by Aragonese reinforcements recently arrived, he ravaged the countryside around Acre and Tyre. In 1271, Prince Edward of England debarked in Acre and together with troops under Hugh III of Cyprus enjoyed some minor successes, but the following year was happy to arrange a truce of ten years which allowed the Franks to retain the meager strip of coast between Acre and Sidon.

Though these lulls in hostility, or truces, made the holy places available to pilgrims to a certain extent, it is doubtful whether the Orders were able to repossess their churches and monasteries, in most cases piles of ruins. Among the new Orders, the Franciscans and Dominicans, at least, established themselves briefly in Jerusalem before the definitive loss of the city in 1244.

The end of the Latin hegemony in Syria was not far off. The Mamluk sultan al-Ashraf Khalil undertook to give the final push to the tottering structure of Frankish power. After a gallant defense, Acre fell on May 18, 1291, and shortly after, Tyre (May 19), Sidon (July 14), Beirut (July 31), and Haifa (July 30). At Acre, those who did not manage to escape by sea

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<sup>12</sup> Syedah Fatima Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt*, Dakka, Pakistan, 1956, pp. 54-62. Malcolm Barber says about Baybars, "Although his successes were not quite as rapid as those of Saladin, they were equally damaging"; *The New Knighthood*, Cambridge, 1995 (Canto ed.), p. 160.



were either slaughtered or enslaved. No doubt this is particularly true of religious. Practically every Order present in Palestine at the time has its tales of martyrs, not all of them based on reliable sources.

Time and man's inhumanity have not always been kind to the artistic treasures of the past, but the case of the Kingdom of Jerusalem is special. Of the impressive creations of architecture and art by the Latin Christians in the Holy Land very little remains. It is as though the crusaders had never been there. Where religious interests of Christians and Moslems coincided, some churches survived: the Holy Sepulchre, the crypt of St. Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, St. Anne, the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, St. Abraham in Hebron. Here and there, some fragment, like the four capitals of the church of the Annunciation in Nazareth, or the portal of the church of St. Andrew's in Acre, now in Cairo,<sup>13</sup> provide a hint of the glories of the past.

The religious houses, of less architectural interest, suffered an even more drastic fate. The cloisters in Bethlehem<sup>14</sup> and in the Lutheran church of the Redeemer in Jerusalem witness to the presence of Austin Canons and Benedictines. Of the crusader churches in Acre, travellers of the past left sketches of the ruins they found—such as C. de Bruyn's of the church of St. Andrew's—but of these and other churches and monasteries, the ornament of a city once the wonder of the Near East, there is now no trace above ground. It remains only for archaeologists to gather the crumbs of a royal banquet.

This study is hardly the volume which Bernard Hamilton, historian of the secular clergy in Latin Syria, rightly says an adequate treatment of the monastic establishment in crusader Palestine would require.<sup>15</sup> This task had already been undertaken in 1974 by Joyce M. McLellan, *Latin Monasteries and Nunneries in Palestine and Syria in the Time of the Crusades*, a thesis submitted at the University of St. Andrews, Scotland.<sup>16</sup> Ms McLellan presents a comprehensive history of the religious Orders in Palestine, Antioch, and Tripoli, but considers only the monastic and canonical Orders. It is to be hoped that she will complete and publish her study.

The present work simply attempts to identify the religious Orders present in the Holy Land in the 12th and 13th centuries and to locate and provide some details about their vanished foundations. Strange as it may seem, at this late stage in crusader studies this information is not immediately forthcoming. The sudden and calamitous collapse of the Latin States in the near East is nowhere more keenly sensed than in the ominous silence that engulfs them.

The study, too, does not take into consideration the Military Orders, a slightly different kind of religious vocation, about which an abundant literature exists. Omitted, too, are

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<sup>13</sup> See the photo in Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés, Album*, plate 53, fig. 165.

<sup>14</sup> See the photo taken in the '20s by Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés, Album*, plate 58bis, fig. 186.

<sup>15</sup> Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. ix. By the unusual term, "secular Church," in the subtitle are meant the hierarchy and diocesan clergy.

<sup>16</sup> Thanks are due to Richard Copey, O.Carm., who called the author's attention to this work.

the hermits, individuals and communities, scattered about the landscape of the Holy Land.

Thanks are due to the helpful personnel of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, the library of the Antonianum in Rome, and the Brotherton Library at the University of Leeds, where the research for this study was largely done.

## CHAPTER ONE THE 12TH CENTURY

### 1. Canons Regular of St. Augustine

#### *The Holy Sepulchre*

The Holy Sepulchre was, of course, the most sacred shrine in the Holy Land—indeed, in all of Christendom—and the specific goal of the crusades.<sup>1</sup>

The primitive Christian community of Jerusalem early identified the site of the crucifixion and burial of Christ. Over the sacred place, the Emperor Constantine in 326-335 built a great basilica, preceded by an atrium, and followed by an open courtyard with the stone of Golgotha and a rotunda over the tomb. After the destruction carried out by the Persians in 614 and especially by the fanatical Fatimid Caliph al-Hakim, 1010-1014, the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Monomachus attempted a restoration in 1042, but completed only the structure over the tomb and the courtyard. The crusaders built a Romanesque church, consecrated in 1149, which included the rotunda and the courtyard.

William of Tyre tells us that the pious Godfrey of Bouillon, upon capturing Jerusalem in 1099, set up chapters of Latin canons in the Holy Sepulchre and the Temple and assigned them dwellings nearby.<sup>2</sup> The chapter at the Holy Sepulchre numbered twenty canons, each

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<sup>1</sup> The cartulary of the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre has survived. The recent edition by Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, *Le cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem*, Paris, 1984, replaces Eugène de Rozière, ed., *Cartulaire de l'église du Saint Sépulchre de Jérusalem*, Paris, 1849. For papal bulls found in archives and libraries of the West, see Rudolf Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten zum Oriens Pontificius*, vol. III: *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, Göttingen, 1985.

A good general history of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre is still Wilhelm Hotzelt, "Die Chorherren vom Heiligen Grabe in Jerusalem," *Das Heilige Land in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* 2 (1940), 107-36. See also Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem*, Stuttgart, 1977, pp. 1-43; Sister Hereswitha, O.S.Sep., "Canonici regolari del Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme," in *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione* [= DIP], (v. 1- , Roma, 1974- , in progress), II, 148-151; Karl Elm, "Santo Sepolcro, Canonici regolari del," *ibid.*, VIII, 934-938.

Of the abundant literature on the church of the Holy Sepulchre the following may be noted: H. Vincent et F. M. Abel, *Jérusalem, recherches de topographie, d'archéologie, et d'histoire*, Paris, 1912-1926, 2 v. in 4 (continuous pagination), II/1-2: St.-Sépulchre, 200-287 (Abel); Camille Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem; architecture religieuse et civile*, (3 v., Paris, 1925-1928), II, 136-182; *Album*, plates 91-95, figs. 277-286; Charles Coüasnon, O.P., *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem*, London, 1974.

A special study of the canons' quarters: Alfred William Clapham, "The Latin Monastic Buildings of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem," *Antiquaries Journal*, I (1921).

<sup>2</sup> *Chronicon*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, H.E. Mayer, et G. Rösch (2 v., continuous pagination,

of whom was given, among other perquisites, income from a *casale*, or village, for his maintenance.<sup>3</sup>

In his account of the institution of the chapter, Albert of Aachen adds the detail that the Franks ordered bells to be made and rung for services. Their sound had never before been heard in Jerusalem.<sup>4</sup> Enlart reckons that the belfry was not added to the facade of the Holy Sepulchre until 1160-1180. Saladin spared the belfry but destroyed the bells.<sup>5</sup>

In 1114, the patriarch, Arnulf de Choques, implementing an initiative of his predecessor, Gibelin, required the canons to live in community under the rule of St. Augustine. For their maintenance they were to receive half the offerings to the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>6</sup> The German pilgrim, Theoderich, who visited the Holy Land around 1172, mentions this arrangement.<sup>7</sup> Arnulf's personal morals were in striking contrast to his reforming zeal. Enlart proposes the far-fetched notion that Arnulf's notorious reputation may have been due to calumny on the part of the canons, dissatisfied with the constraints put upon them.<sup>8</sup>

On July 6, 1121, Pope Callixtus II approved the canons' rule and confirmed their possessions at that time.<sup>9</sup> Like all reforms, this one was not accomplished without some resis-

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Turnhout, 1986, *Corpus Christianorum, continuatio medievalis*, 63-63A), IX, 9, p. 431. English translation: *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*; tr. by E.A. Babcock & A.C. Krey, Columbia, 1943. 2 v.

On William of Tyre see Peter W. Edbury and John Gordon Rowe, *William of Tyre, Historian of the Latin East*, Cambridge, 1990 (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, fourth series).

<sup>3</sup> See the confirmation by King Baldwin I in 1114 of the endowment of the canons by Godfrey: Bresc-Bautier, *Le cartulaire*, no. 26, pp. 86-88; Rozière, *Cartulaire*, no. 29, pp. 54-55; PL 155, col. 1121-1122, no. 29; Reinhold Röhrich, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani (MXCVII-MCCXCI)*, Oeniponti, 1893, pp. 16-17, no. 74.

<sup>4</sup> Albert of Aachen, *Historia hierosolymitanae expeditionis*, VI, 40; *Recueil des historiens des croisades* [RHC], *Historiens Occidentaux* (5 v., Paris, 1844-1895), IV, 490; PL 166, 556-7.

<sup>5</sup> Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 140, 143. For an architectural description, see pp. 151-155 and fig. 285 on plate 95.

<sup>6</sup> Bresc-Bautier, *Le cartulaire*, pp. 74-77, no. 20; pp. 85-86, no. 25; Rozière, *Cartulaire*, pp. 44-47, no. 25; pp. 79-81, no. 42; PL 155, col. 1115-1117, no. 25; Röhrich, *Regesta*, p. 14, no. 63.

<sup>7</sup> "They (the canons) hold prebends, and half the offerings of the holy sepulchre are assigned to them for income, while the other half is appropriated for the use of the patriarch." *Theoderich's Description of the Holy Places (Circa 1172 A.D.)*, tr. Aubrey Stewart, London, 1896, ch. VII, p. 12.

See also the recent critical edition of the original Latin text by R.B.C. Huygens, *Peregrinationes tres, Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, Turnholti, 1994, (CCCM, 139), pp. 150-151; *Theoderici libellus de locis sanctis editus circa A.D. 1172*, hrsg. T. Tobler, St. Gallen/Paris, 1865, p. 18; Sabino De Sandoli, O.F.M., *Itinera hierosolymitana cruce signatorum (saec. XII-XIII)*, (4 v., Jerusalem, 1978-1984), II, 324/325.

De Sandoli's collection provides handy access to a large number of pilgrim accounts and chronicles, but should be used with caution. In his edition of Saewulf cited above, Huygens remarks about De Sandoli, "I must emphasize that I have more doubts about the quality of the text than have already been expressed in my critical apparatus"; *Peregrinationes tres*, p. 7, note 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 138.

<sup>9</sup> Bresc-Bautier, *Le cartulaire*, p. 34-36, no. 2; Rozière, *Cartulaire*, pp. 15-17, no. 14; PL 163, col.

tance. The same day, the pope issued a letter calling to order the cantor and precentor of the chapter, who still lived on their own, *quasi seculariter*, did not preside in the choir, and appointed just about anyone (*quamcumque personam*) to do so.<sup>10</sup>

Canons regular do not seem to have been among the clergy accompanying the first crusade; otherwise, Arnulf would not have had to introduce reform in the existing chapter of the Holy Sepulchre, for so sacred a place would surely have been entrusted to reformed religious in the first place. The patriarch's reform of the Holy Sepulchre would also have been the pattern of reform of the other chapters in his jurisdiction.<sup>11</sup> Sources show that at least the great shrine cathedrals in the kingdom, frequented by pilgrims, were staffed by religious canons. Where residences of canons can be shown to have existed, community life can be deduced, and hence a reformed status.

The cloisters of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre covered the area to the east of the church formerly occupied by Constantine's basilica. One entered the cloisters through a door in the ambulatory in the apse of the church. Another door led to the grotto of St. Helen, which lay under the cloisters. The dormitory occupied the northern flank of the cloisters, the chapter room the eastern, and the refectory the southern.<sup>12</sup> Both John of Würzburg (1160-1170) and his "beloved friend and follower," Theoderich (1172), remember the canons and describe their choir and cloister; the latter was struck by the manner in which "they most sweetly sing praises therein both by day and by night."<sup>13</sup>

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1215-1216, no. 147; Ulysse Robert, *Bullaire du Pape Calixte II, 1119-1124; essai de restitution* (2 v., Paris, 1891), I, 362, no. 248; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, pp. 127-128, no. 21; Röhricht, *Regesta*, p. 22, no. 95 (Bresc-Bautier has no. 96).

<sup>10</sup> July 6, 1121: Rozière, *Cartulaire*, p. 72, no. 37; PL 163, col. 1217; Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire*, pp. 36-37, no. 3; Röhricht, *Regesta*, no. 94; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, pp. 130-131, no. 23, who places the date, 1121, between brackets.

<sup>11</sup> This is the opinion of Mayer: "Es spricht allerdings eine gewisse Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür dass die Kanonikerstifte in Jerusalem schon bald der Reform des Kapitels des Hl. Grabes im Jahre 1114 folgten, da sie Suffragane des Patriarchen von Jerusalem waren;" *Bistümer*, p. 222.

<sup>12</sup> Plans of the crusader church and monastery are reproduced in the usual reference works, but see especially Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 173-180 and the plan of the whole complex of basilica and cloister drawn by A.W. Clapham and G. Newnum in 1878, *ibid.*, *Album*, plate 2-3. See also H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem*, II/1-2, 273-4, fig. 127 on p. 271, and plates XIII and XXXIII; DIP, II, 149-50.

<sup>13</sup> *Description of the Holy Land by John of Würzburg (A.D. 1160-1170)*, tr. by Aubrey Stewart with notes by Charles W. Wilson, London, 1894, ch. XI-XIII, p. 34, 37-38, 38-39.

See also the editions of the Latin original, *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae ex saeculo VIII, IX, XII, et XV*, hrsg. Titus Tobler, Leipzig, 1874, p. 145-6, 150-1, 151-2; *Peregrinationes tres*, pp. 122, 123; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, II, 256/257; *Theoderich's Description*, ch. VII, IX, p. 12, 16; *Theoderici libellus*, p. 18, 24; *Peregrinationes tres*, pp. 150-151, 153; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, II, 324/325, 328/329.

About Tobler's 1874 edition of Würzburg, Huygens says, "Indeed, although in the course of my practice as editor of medieval Latin texts I have come across quite a few curious products, none of them could possibly match Tobler's edition of John of Würzburg. Not happy with the way John had presented his information, Tobler rearranged the text completely, doing away with

The prior of the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre (there being no bishop) had precedence over the other abbots and priors of the patriarchate.<sup>14</sup>

An interesting incident concerning the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre involves the Portuguese Saint Theotoni<sup>us</sup> (*d.* 1160). The saint made two pilgrimages to the Holy Land; during the second visit, he spent much time in prayer at the Holy Sepulchre. Noticing his devotion, the canons invited him to join them. Theotoni<sup>us</sup> promised to return and end his days at the tomb of the Savior, after he had settled his affairs in Spain, but he never came back. This was because he had himself founded the chapter of Austin canons of Santa Cruz in Coimbra and become its first prior.<sup>15</sup>

An illustrious canon of the Holy Sepulchre was King Baldwin II. When he became mortally ill in 1131, he had himself moved from the royal palace to the patriarch's residence near the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Before he died, he was received into the Order of Austin canons. He was buried in the church of the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>16</sup>

From the services in the church, the Rite of the Holy Sepulchre developed, a Gallican rite brought by the canons from central and northern France, to which were added the ceremonies peculiar to the church of the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>17</sup> Copies of various liturgical books exist: an ordinal, ritual, breviary, sacramentary, and missal. This rite was observed throughout the patriarchate and was eventually transported to Europe.

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all the non-essential material, putting together what belonged together and disjoining what did not," [etc.] *Peregrinationes tres*, pp. 10-11. Tobler's edition has been cited here and below for completeness' sake.

<sup>14</sup> See the bull of Pope Alexander III, November 12 (year not specified); Rozière, *Cartulaire*, p. 270, no. 147; PL 200, col. 1257; Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire*, p. 301; Röhricht, *Regesta*, no. 485; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, pp. 292-293, no. 118 (who dates the bull, 1170-1180, as does Bresc-Bautier).

<sup>15</sup> The text of Theotoni<sup>us</sup>' pilgrimages, *Duo itinera ad Terram Sanctam*, is edited in the *Acta sanctorum*, Feb. III (Paris/Roma, 1865), pp. 108-122, and reprinted by De Sandoli, *Itinera*, II, 33-41.

On St. Theotoni<sup>us</sup> see the *Bibliotheca sanctorum* (12 v. + index, Roma, 1961-1970), XII, 366-367 (with port.). On the Congregation of the Holy Cross of Coimbra see "Canonici Regolari di Santa Croce di Coimbra (Portogallo)," *DIP*, II (1975), 141-145 (J. Mattoso).

<sup>16</sup> William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, XIII, 28, pp. 601-602; Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, (3 v., Cambridge, 1955-1957), II, 184-185. On the tomb of King Baldwin II, see Gennaro Angelini, *Le tombe dei re latini a Gerusalemme*, Perugia, 1902, pp. 57-59.

<sup>17</sup> A copy of the ordinal written in 1160 exists in the Vatican Library, Ms. Barberini Latini 659. On the ritual and breviary of the rite see Charles Kohler, "Un rituel et un bréviaire du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem," *Revue de l'Orient latin* 8 (1900-1901), 383-500. H. Buchtal has studied the miniatures of the sacramentary and missal and has reproduced the calendar of the rite, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford, 1957, pp. 14-23, 107-121. His commentary is somewhat vitiated by the fact that he is under the impression that Benedictines were in charge of the Holy Sepulchre.

Bernard Hamilton, "The Impact of Crusader Jerusalem on Western Christendom," *The Catholic Historical Review* 80 (1994), 707, notes how little attention has been given by historians to liturgical texts of crusader Jerusalem.

The canons at the Holy Sepulchre maintained a *scriptorium*, products of which have survived.<sup>18</sup> Quite early, a school was established in connection with the cathedral; a *magister scholasticus* occurs in a document of 1103.<sup>19</sup> The famous historian, William of Tyre, may have attended this school.<sup>20</sup>

The canons of the Holy Sepulchre were, of course, richly endowed with extensive possessions in Palestine and Syria, Italy, France, and Spain.<sup>21</sup> Noteworthy among their possessions in Palestine were a church in Nablus, the church in St. Giles,<sup>22</sup> the churches in their two villages of Mahumeria,<sup>23</sup> the churches of St. Peter and St. Nicholas in Jaffa, Saint Mary's in Tyre, and the priory at Quarantena with its right to the tithes of Jericho.

With regard to the latter, between December 1133, and August 1134, the patriarch, William, granted to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre a place at Mount Quarantena (*Sanctae Quarantena locum*) and all that pertained to it. The canons were to constitute a priory there with one of their number, Rainaldus, as prior.<sup>24</sup> The following year, 1135-1136, William consecrated the altar of the priory church and on the occasion endowed the priory with the tithes of Jericho.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, p. xxix-xxxii.

<sup>19</sup> Bresc-Bautier, *Le cartulaire*, p. 74, no. 19; cited by Edbury/Rowe, *William of Tyre*, p. 14.

<sup>20</sup> Edbury/Rowe, *ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

<sup>21</sup> See the confirmations of the canons' possessions by various popes in the cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre, beginning with that of Calixtus II, July 6, 1121; Bresc-Bautier, *Le cartulaire*, p. 34-36, no. 2; Rozière, *Cartulaire*, pp. 15-17, no. 14; PL 163, col. 1215-1216, no. 147; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, pp. 127-128, no. 21; Röhricht, *Regesta*, p. 22, no. 95 (Bresc-Bautier has no. 96). For the possessions of the Holy Sepulchre see also Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, pp. 93-95; Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, (2 v., Cambridge, 1993-1998, in progress), v. I, nos. 66, 104, 109, 110, 162, 246.

<sup>22</sup> On the church of St. Giles (Sinjil) see Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 329-332, no. 246; Ronnie Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 106-109.

<sup>23</sup> *Al-Bira*, called by the crusaders *Magna Mahumeria*. On this site, where Joseph and Mary allegedly discovered that Jesus was no longer in their caravan, the crusaders built a church, dedicated to St. Mary, and a hospice, see F.M. Abel, "Les deux Mahomerie," *Revue biblique* 35 (1926), 272-283; Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 274-277; *Album*, plate 121, figs. 380-381; Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 161-165, no. 66; Ellenblum, *The Frankish Rural Settlement*, pp. 73-85.

On *Parva Mahumeria* (al-Qubaiba), see Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 161-165, no. 184; Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*, pp. 86-94.

<sup>24</sup> Bresc-Bautier, *Le cartulaire*, pp. 77-78, no. 21; Rozière, *Cartulaire*, pp. 50-52, no. 27; Röhricht, *Regesta*, no. 152, p. 38; PL 163, col. 1215-1216. See also see H.E. Mayer, "Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972), p. 103, note 20a, cited incorrectly by Bresc-Bautier as note 20, *ibid.*; Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*, pp. 191-193.

<sup>25</sup> Bresc-Bautier, *Le cartulaire*, pp. 78-80, no. 22; Rozière, *Cartulaire*, pp. 52-54, no. 28; Röhricht, *Regesta*, no. 167, p. 41; PL 155, col. 1120-1121.

Pringle sees in the foundation of the priory the “regularization” of a community of hermits.<sup>26</sup> On April 8, 1124, Constantius, *Sancte Quarantene servus*, and Willelmus, had obtained from Emma, wife of Hugh, prince of Jaffa, the restitution of certain rights to water, which she had granted in 1116. The land and a mill in question had belonged to the “inhabitants of the most holy Quarantena” (*habitatores Sanctissime Quarantene*). In another place in the document, Constantius refers to himself “and the other brothers” (*ceterique fratres*).<sup>27</sup>

Pringle takes this document to refer to Latin monks. The only word that might have a religious connotation is *fratres*, but even it can be used in a variety of ways.<sup>28</sup> Bresc-Bautier sees in the reference no more than a church cared for by a *servus*.<sup>29</sup>

Again, reporting Ralph of Coggeshall’s account of the conquests of Saladin’s armies in 1187,<sup>30</sup> Pringle states that the Latin monks were ejected from Quarantena. But Coggeshall mentions, not monks, but inhabitants of the mountain who were defeated (*debellatis habitatoribus*) and driven out. It would seem that the inhabitants offered military resistance. No doubt Quarantena, like Mount Thabor, was inhabited by other persons besides religious. Moreover, Quarantena was occupied by Templars.

A 12th-century French pilgrim recounts that the Quarantena was fortified by “religious persons,”<sup>31</sup> while Theoderich specifies that it was the Templars who performed this service. The crest of the mountain and its subterranean caves were filled with stores of food and arms of the Templars, “who can have no stronger fortress or one better suited for the annoyance of the infidels.”<sup>32</sup>

Authors writing about the canons of the Holy Sepulchre do not always allude to the fact that in effect they constituted a distinct congregation of canons: the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, which survived in part until the last century and eventually developed a feminine branch still in existence. Sister Hereswitha dates the institution of the Congregation from the bull of Callixtus II of 1121, confirming the rule of the canons.<sup>33</sup> When they adopted the rule of St. Augustine in 1114, she adds, the canons also drew up par-

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<sup>26</sup> *The Churches*, I, 252-253, no. 104.

<sup>27</sup> Bresc-Bautier, *Le cartulaire*, no. 94, pp. 211-212; Rozière, *Cartulaire*, no. 119, p. 222-223; Röhricht, *Regesta*, no. 82, p. 19; no. 104, p. 25.

<sup>28</sup> Charles du Fresne du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis* (facsim ed., 10 v. in 5, Graz, 1954), II, 594-595.

<sup>29</sup> *Le cartulaire*, p. 77, note 2.

<sup>30</sup> *De expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum libellus*, ed. Joseph Stevenson, London, 1875, p. 234 (*Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi scriptores*, 66).

<sup>31</sup> *Anonymous Pilgrim II*, ch. VII, p. 10-11; *Theoderici libellus*, p. 125; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, III, 14. Pringle, *The Churches*, p. 253, identifies these “religious persons” as monks living on Quarantena, but monks would hardly engage in erecting fortifications, and Theoderich reveals them to be Templars.

<sup>32</sup> *Theoderich’s Description*, ch. XXIX, p. 47; *Theoderici libellus*, p. 72.

<sup>33</sup> DIP, II, 148.



ticular *consuetudines*, extant today in a rare 18th-century printed edition.<sup>34</sup> However, the Congregation probably developed from the European foundations of canons of the Holy Sepulchre only after the fall of the Latin kingdom.

Likewise, the canons' habit described in modern reference works probably developed during the European phase of the canons' existence. The habit is described as consisting of a black tunic with a leather belt. In choir, the canons wore a white rochet and a black mantle with the patriarchal cross on the left shoulder.<sup>35</sup> Heimbucher adds the detail that the double-branched cross was red and stood in a boat.<sup>36</sup>

The Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre are not to be confused with the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre, a later organization, still in existence.<sup>37</sup>

The church which the crusaders built over the Holy Sepulchre remains today. In 1187, after Hattin, Saladin spared it, no doubt out of reverence for the Christ, and entrusted its care to Eastern Christians. In September 1192, Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury, in the following of Richard the Lionhearted, after truce had been arranged with Saladin, visited Jerusalem and was most graciously received by the sultan, who granted the bishop's request that two Latin priests and deacons be allowed to officiate in the basilica of the Holy Sepulchre, where now only Syrian priests celebrated the sacred mysteries *more barbaro*. Similar permission was granted on behalf of the churches in Nazareth and Bethlehem.<sup>38</sup> It is not known whether this concession was ever availed of, or for how long.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> *Statuta Canoniarum regularium Ordinis SSmi. Sepulchri monasterii Sanctae Crucis*, Leodii, Berth. Collette, 1742; Sister Hereswitha, O.S.Sep., "Het verband tussen de wetgeving van de Heilige-Graforde en die van de orde van Prémontré in de XIIIe eeuw," *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 47 (1971), 5-23.

<sup>35</sup> Hereswitha, *Sister*, "Canonici regolari," DIP, VI, 150.

<sup>36</sup> Max Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der Katholischen Kirche*, 3. Aufl., (2 v., Paderborn, 1933), I, 411-2: "Die Tracht der Chorherren war der schwarze Talar mit einem roten, auf einem Schifflein stehenden Doppelkreuz," I, 412.

<sup>37</sup> On the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre see Valmar Kramer, "Der Ritterschlag am Heiligen Grabe; zur Entstehung und Frühgeschichte des Ritterordens vom Heiligen Grabe," *Das Heilige Land in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, 2 (1940), 137-99. For an elaborate fabrication, confusing the knights and the canons, see Casimir Alphonse Couret, *Notice historique sur l'Ordre du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours, 1099-1905*, 2ème éd. rev. et augmentée, Paris, 1905. One authority does not consider the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre an authentic Military Order: Antonio Linage Conde, "Militari, Ordini," DIP, V, 1287-99; 1294.

<sup>38</sup> *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*; ed. William Stubbs, London, 1864, pt. I, p. 438. See also, Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 139; Paul Edouard Didier, Comte de Riant, *Études sur l'histoire de Bethléem*, (Gênes, 1889-1896, 2 v.), I, 31; H. Vincent, O.P., and F.M. Abel, O.P., *Bethléem, le sanctuaire de la Nativité*, Paris, 1914, pp. 183-184.

On Richard de Templo, canon of Holy Trinity in London, supposed author of the *Itinerarium*, see *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, (21 v., London, 1908-1909, XVI, 1084-1086.

<sup>39</sup> According to Girolamo Golubovich, O.F.M., Franciscans supplied the two priests; *Serie cronologica dei Reverendissimi Superiori di Terra Santa*, Gerusalemme, 1898, p. 197. The Francis-

After Hattin, patriarch and canons of the Holy Sepulchre moved to Acre. In 1137/1138, Bishop John of Acre had authorized the canons of the Holy Sepulchre to build a church in the city *in honore Sepulchri Domini*.<sup>40</sup> On June 21, 1141, Pope Innocent II added his confirmation.<sup>41</sup> If it survived Saladin's brief occupation of the city, 1187-1189, or was afterwards restored, this church probably became the seat of the patriarch and the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>42</sup>

The presence of the patriarch of Jerusalem in Acre, which had its own bishop, was somewhat of an anomaly. The problem was solved in 1262, when Pope Urban IV named William, bishop of Agen, patriarch of Jerusalem and at the same time administrator of the see of Acre.<sup>43</sup>

On Sanuto's map of Acre, the patriarchate stands out boldly as a large church situated north of the arsenal. *Pardouns* lists the cathedral of Acre, dedicated to the Holy Cross, between St. Lazarus of Bethany and St. Mary of the Knights, thus in the northern part of the city's center, some distance from the patriarchate.<sup>44</sup>

### *The Templum Domini*

After the Holy Sepulchre, the Temple was the most venerated spot in Jerusalem.<sup>45</sup> Godfrey of Bouillon, William of Tyre again tells us, introduced canons here and provided them with housing, as he did in the case of the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>46</sup> In 1112, Aicardus, prior of

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cans were in the Holy Land since 1219 and had a house in Jerusalem during the truce of 1229-1244.

<sup>40</sup> Bresc-Bautier, *Le cartulaire*, pp. 152-153, no. 60; Rozière, *Cartulaire*, pp. 145-146, no. 72; PL 155, col. 1170-1171; Röhrich, *Regesta*, p. 45, no. 180 (who refers incorrectly to col. 1179 of PL 155, a mistake repeated by Bresc-Bautier, *ibid.*, p. 152).

<sup>41</sup> Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire*, pp. 46-49, no. 8; Rozière, *Cartulaire*, pp. 24-27, no. 18; PL 179, col. 548; Röhrich, *Regesta*, no. 202; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, pp. 165-166, no. 47.

<sup>42</sup> A charter of Tebaldus, bishop of Acre, dated Oct. 12, 1200, in *palatio S. Mariae Latinae*, (Röhrich, *Regesta*, p. 206, no. 775), has led Enlart to the strange conclusion that the patriarchate church was called Saint Mary Latin; *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 13.

Du Cange notes about the word, *palatia* (referred to from *palatium*), "Ea enim formula nihil interdum sonat nisi *publicum conventum, curiam*, quod in quibusdam aliis per *publica*, exprimitur"; Charles du Fresne Du Cange, *sieur*, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* (10 v., Niort, 1883-1887), VI, 98 (italics Du Cange's). In documents, the curia of the patriarchate is referred to as "in palatio patriarchae"; Röhrich, *Regesta*, p. 226, no. 848; p. 269, no. 1030; p. 273, no. 1045 ("in curia patriarchae").

<sup>43</sup> *Les registres d'Urbain IV (1261-1264)*, ed. by Jean Guiraud, (4 v., Paris, 1901-1906), II, 65, no. 168; Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 271.

<sup>44</sup> De Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, 488; Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>45</sup> The cartulary of the Temple chapter is lost, as is that of the Templars themselves. Otherwise, see "Zur Frühgeschichte des Templum Domini in Jerusalem," Mayer, *Bistümer*, pp. 222-229.

<sup>46</sup> *Chronicon*, IX, 9, p. 431.

the Templum Domini, appears in a document.<sup>47</sup> After 1114, the canons would have become regular.<sup>48</sup>

Of Herod's temple only the vast esplanade, or platform, on which it had been built, survived the conquest by the Romans. In the 7th century the Moslems built an octagonal structure, known as the Dome of the Rock, over the traditional place of sacrifice in the center of the platform. Early in the 8th century a mosque, el-Aksa, was added at the southern end. The crusaders called the Dome of the Rock the Temple of the Lord, and Godfrey placed there his chapter of canons.

The el-Aksa was thought to be Solomon's palace and at first was the residence of the king; after their foundation (1120), it became the seat of the Templars. The canons ceded them space around the palace for utility buildings.<sup>49</sup>

The monastery of the canons occupied the northern end of the platform. "The Church of the Temple is quite round," Ernoul notes; "and on the left of the high pavement of the Temple is the dwelling place of the abbot and canons."<sup>50</sup> The north door of the Dome led into the abbey.<sup>51</sup> "On the north side," John of Würzburg writes, "this platform is in one part narrowed by the Canons' cloister being built upon it; but on the remainder of this side it is beautifully wide and has a fair entrance."<sup>52</sup>

At first, the canons had difficulty gaining control of the Temple's possessions. The prior, Achard of Arrouaise, former hermit at St. Nicolas d'Arrouaise in France (+1136/7), indited an appeal to the king in the form of a poem, urging him to wrest the possessions from certain usurpers, on behalf of necessary repairs to the Dome, eventually completed by

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<sup>47</sup> Sebastiano Pauli, O.M.D., *Codice diplomatico del sacro militare ordine gerosolomitano, oggi di Malta*, (2 v., Lucca, 1733-1737), I, 4, no. 4.

<sup>48</sup> "... zwar spätestens 1130-1136"; Mayer, *Bistümer*, p. 222.

<sup>49</sup> See the entire chapter, "Ordo militie Templi Ierosolimis instituitur," William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, Bk. XII, ch. 7, p. 553. Malcolm Barber has shown that the Templars were founded in 1120; *The New Knighthood*, Cambridge, 1995 (Canto ed.), p. 8-9. See also Theoderich's description of the Templar monastery in el-Aksa, *Theoderich's Description*, ch. 17; *Theoderici libellus*, ch. 17; *Peregrinationes tres*, pp. 164-165; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, II, 344/345; and Barber. *ibid.*, pp. 90-91, fig. 7 and plate 4.

<sup>50</sup> *The City of Jerusalem (1220 A. D.)*, tr. from the Old French by C. R. Conder, London, 1896, ch. XII, p. 13. Under this title Conder includes a translation of *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ch. 17, ed. by M.L. de Mas Latrie, Paris, 1871, p. 189-210; and of a continuator of William of Tyre to 1275, published under the title, *Les pelerinaiges por aler en Iherusalem*, by H. Michelant and G. Raynaud, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem et descriptions de la Terre Sainte rédigées en français*, Genève, 1882, p. 87-103.

On the textual problems involving Ernoul and the continuators of William of Tyre, see M.R. Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul with the Continuations of William of Tyre*, Oxford, 1973.

<sup>51</sup> *The City of Jerusalem*, ch. XIV, p. 15; *Estat de la citez de Jerusalem*, ch. IX, in Michelant-Raynaud, *Itinéraires*, p. 41.

<sup>52</sup> *Description of the Holy Land*, ch. 4, p. 20; Tobler, *Descriptiones*, p. 129; *Peregrinationes tres*, p. 96; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, II, 244.

1114.<sup>53</sup> In 1138, the Temple chapter was raised from the status of priory to that of abbey.<sup>54</sup>

The possessions in the Holy Land of the canons of the Temple may be seen from the confirmation of them by King Amalric, April, 1166.<sup>55</sup> Through the munificence of Queen Melisende, particular benefactor of the Temple, the abbot of the Temple came to enjoy its tithes and a quasi-episcopal standing in Nablus.<sup>56</sup> In Palestine, the Temple possessed the church of St. Julian in Tyre, of St. Andrew near Acre, and, it would seem, of St. John the Baptist in 'Ain Karim.

Ownership of the latter Pringle assigns to the chapter of the Temple and posits a monastery of regular canons in connection with the church, and although there is no evidence of a "normal Western medieval conventual layout," he suggests that the conventual buildings might have been arranged around the church like an Orthodox monastery of the period and like the present Franciscan convent.<sup>57</sup> But if there are no archaeological remains of a priory, neither is there any literary evidence.<sup>58</sup>

A 13th-century breviary of the canons of the Temple exists. Leroquais dates it 1240-1244 and conjectures that it was made during the truce of those years, when Christians were allowed access to Jerusalem.<sup>59</sup> But the Temple was not included in the truce arranged between Frederick II and Sultan al-Kamil of Egypt and remained a mosque.<sup>60</sup> If the dates are correct, the breviary would have been written in Acre, where the art of miniaturing flourished, particularly in the second half of the 13th century.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> *Tractatus super Templo Domini*, ed. by Melchior de Vogüé in *Archives de l'Orient Latin* 1 (1881), 562-579; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, II, 51-61.

For details on this important personage, see "Achard, prieur du Temple à Jérusalem, au XIIIe siècle," *Dictionnaire de biographie française* (Paris, 1933- in progress), I, 283-285 (E. G. Ledos); Ludo Milis, *L'Ordre des chanoines réguliers d'Arrouaise*, Bruges, 1969, 2 v., *passim*.

<sup>54</sup> Röhricht, *Regesta*, p. 43, nos. 172-173. In two documents of that year, Gaufridus is named, first, prior, then, abbot; see Mayer, *Bistümer*, p. 224.

<sup>55</sup> F. Chalandon, "Un diplôme inédit d'Amaury I, roi de Jérusalem, en faveur de l'abbaye du Temple-Notre-Seigneur," *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 8 (1900), 311-317; Röhricht, *Regesta, Addit.*, p. 25-26, no. 422a.

<sup>56</sup> Mayer, *Bistümer*, 172-174. Mayer refers to Nablus as a "Stiftsbistum" under the abbot of the Temple. See also Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 97.

<sup>57</sup> Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 30-38, figs. 11-12, and plate 15.

<sup>58</sup> E.G. Rey lists no abbot or prior of St. John the Baptist; *Les familles d'Outre-Mer de du Cange*, Paris, 1869, pp. 817-842.

<sup>59</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 10478; Victor Leroquais, *Les bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* (6 v., Paris, 1934), III, 192, (no. 594). For an analysis of this ms. see James John Boyce, O.Carm., "The Search for the Early Carmelite Liturgy: a Templar manuscript reassessed," *Revista de Musicología* 16 (1993), 957-981.

<sup>60</sup> J.L.A. Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici II* (6 v., Paris, 1852-1861), III, 86; Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 258; Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p. 133.

<sup>61</sup> Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275-1291*, Princeton, University Press, 1976. See the section, "The School of Painting at Saint-Jean d'Acre," pp. 21-26.

After the fall of Jerusalem, one would expect the canons of the Temple to seek asylum in their church of St. Julian in Tyre and later in St. Andrew near Acre in expectation of the recovery of the Temple by the Latins. But that never happened, except for the year 1243, when the Templars obtained access to the Temple from Ismail as-Salih, prince of Damascus.<sup>62</sup> Dichter declares that the canons of the *Templum Domini* were located near the Teutonic Knights, who in turn are found in the northeastern area of the old city.<sup>63</sup> *Pardouns* does not list the church of the canons, which is unusual. Wherever the canons of the *Templum Domini* were located, their abbots and priors appear in documents throughout the 13th century.<sup>64</sup>

### *Mount Sion*

The church of Our Lady of Mount Sion, dating from apostolic times, the seat of St. James, first bishop of Jerusalem, was accorded the title “*mater ecclesiarum*.”<sup>65</sup> There were located the cenacle (site of the Last Supper, the descent of the Holy Spirit), and “Galilee” (site of the apparition of the Lord to the apostles after his Resurrection). In the Middle Ages, the place was particularly honored as the scene of the Dormition of the Virgin. At the approach of the crusading army in 1099, the church had met the same fate as the other churches outside the walls of Jerusalem and required to be rebuilt.

By tradition, the church and canonry of Mount Sion are also attributed to Godfrey of Bouillon, though William of Tyre, who mentions Godfrey’s role in establishing the chapters of the Holy Sepulchre and the Temple, makes no reference to Mount Sion. The earliest reflection of this tradition is a bull of Alexander III, March 19, 1179, confirming the abbey’s possessions.<sup>66</sup> Recently, authors have expressed serious doubts about this 14th-century text notarized in Sicily.<sup>67</sup> Mayer argues for attributing Godfrey’s role to the patriarch Daimbert, who took up residence on Mount Sion in November, 1100.<sup>68</sup>

In 1148, King Louis VII of France stayed with the canons on Mount Sion and as a

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<sup>62</sup> Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, II, 223.

<sup>63</sup> Bernard Dichter, *The Orders and Churches of Crusader Acre*, Acre, 1979, p. 76. See also Sanuto’s map, *ibid.*, p. 13; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, 488.

<sup>64</sup> See, for instance, Röhrich, *Regesta*, index personarum, “Templi Domini abbates... priores.”

<sup>65</sup> Documentary sources: E.G. Rey, ed., “Chartes de l’Abbaye du Mont-Sion,” *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, sér. 5, 8 (1887), 31-56. Hiestand lists charters found in Italian libraries and archives, *Vorarbeiten III*, pp. 41-43.

Abel, *Jerusalem*, II/3, provides archeological details of the existing Cenacle, p. 421-440, and an account of church and abbey of Mount Sion during the crusades, p. 459-481, 479-481 (texts), *Album*, plate 29, fig. 96. See also, Mayer, *Bistümer*, p. 230-242.

<sup>66</sup> Editions: Rey, “Chartes,” 37-53; Röhrich, *Regesta*, pp. 153-154, no. 576; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, pp. 280-287, no. 113 “verfälscht.” PL 200, sometimes cited in connection with the bull, only mentions it (col. 1214) and does not reproduce the text.

<sup>67</sup> Mayer, *Bistümer*, p. 230-235. See also Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, p. 42.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

reward for their hospitality granted them the canonry of St. Samson in Orléans, to become regular at the deaths of the present incumbents.<sup>69</sup>

The chapter seems to have remained a simple priory until around 1170. Until roughly that date, priors of Mount Sion appear in the documents of the time; only thereafter does an abbot occur.<sup>70</sup>

Mount Sion was an abbey when Theoderich (*ca.* 1172) described it: “The Mount Sion, which stands to the southward, being for the most part without the city walls, contains the church dedicated to our Lady, St. Mary, which is well fortified with walls, towers, and battlements against the assaults of the infidels, wherein regular monks serve God under an abbot.”<sup>71</sup>

The canons’ residence adjoined the church, perhaps in the area to the south later occupied by the Franciscan convent.<sup>72</sup> For a time, it survived the fall of Jerusalem in 1187. In 1211, Wilbrand of Oldenburg described it as “a spacious and beautiful monastery.” Native Christians, *Suriani*, had taken it over by paying tribute to the Saracens and undertook the task of showing pilgrims the church.<sup>73</sup> Only the Cenacle escaped the ravages of the Kwarismians in 1244.<sup>74</sup> Today, it is a mosque featuring the tomb of David. As in the other chapters of the city, the patriarch had the right to conduct the services here on certain occasions: Pentecost, Good Friday, the second day of Rogation, the Assumption.<sup>75</sup>

The questionable bull of Alexander III mentioned above credits the church on Mount Sion with extensive possessions in Sicily, Calabria, Lombardy, France, and Spain, besides possession of Mount Sion itself and all its pertinences, thus making it, after the Holy Sepulchre and the Temple, the richest in the Holy Land. That this prestigious church should possess great wealth is not surprising. In the Holy Land, the bull correctly assigns Mount Sion the churches of St. Roman and St. Leonard in Acre.<sup>76</sup> During the siege of Acre by the

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<sup>69</sup> Vincent-Abel, *Jérusalem*, II/3, 462; *Bistümer*, pp. 235-236.

<sup>70</sup> Vincent-Abel, *Jérusalem*, II/3, 462: as late as 1160 a prior Gunter appears; Bresc-Bautier, *Le cartulaire*, p. 126, no. 45; Rozière, *Cartulaire*, p. 122, no. 60. William of Tyre in 1178 records an abbot Rainaldus, *Chronicon*, XXI, 25, p. 996.

<sup>71</sup> *Theoderich's Description*, ch. 22, p. 36; *Theoderici libellus*, ch. 22, p. 54-55; *Peregrinationes tres*, p. 168; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, II, 348/349.

<sup>72</sup> See Abel, *Jérusalem*, II/3, p. 465, fig. 175, and p. 470, fig. 178.

<sup>73</sup> *Wilbrandi de Oldenborg peregrinatio* [1211 A. D.], bk. II, ch. IX; in J.C.M. Laurent, *Peregrinatores medii aevi quattuor*, Lipsiae, 1864, p. 188. See also De Sandoli, *Itinera*, III, 242/243. On Wilbrand see *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche*, 2. Aufl., (10 v., Freiburg, 1957-1965), X, 1122-1123.

<sup>74</sup> See the photos in Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, *Album*, plate 109, figs. 340-341; plate 111, fig. 340bis. On the attack of the Kwarismians, see Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, III, 224-225.

<sup>75</sup> Kohler, “Un rituel,” pp. 414-417, 425, 430.

<sup>76</sup> Rey, “Chartes de l’abbaye de Mont Sion,” pp. 43; Röhricht, *Regesta*, p. 153; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, p. 284.

Christians in 1191, the Moslems used St. Leonard as a signal tower.<sup>77</sup> After Acre was recovered, the canons retired to St. Leonard's. St. Roman of the Garden is clearly marked in Sanuto in the northwestern area of the old city. *Pardouns* lists St. Leonard between the Teutons and St. Roman, which would place it adjacent or close to St. Roman.<sup>78</sup>

In 1281, Abbot Adam (*d.* 1291) had under him only two religious. After the fall of Acre, he migrated to the Order's *casal* of the Holy Spirit near Caltanissetta in Sicily.<sup>79</sup>

### *Mount Olivet*

Beginning with the 4th-century monastery of Melania, the Mount of Olives, with its many New Testament memories, was a favorite site of religious communities and their houses, but the many centuries of Moslem occupation had swept away all traces of their existence by the 12th century and the arrival of the crusading armies.<sup>80</sup>

Tancred, leading an advance guard, reached the mount in 1099 before the siege of Jerusalem began. There he found hermits, no doubt Greek. The high mountain provided a panorama of the city and its holy places, which a hermit living in a tower identified for him.<sup>81</sup> Another account has the hermit recommend to the Franks a period of prayer and fasting before storming the city.<sup>82</sup> The crusaders built their church of the Ascension over the ruins of the previous one and raised an octagonal structure over the spot where Our Lord was thought to have arisen to heaven.

Abel conjectures that the church of the Ascension was first cared for by individual clerics living on Mount Olivet, such as the stylite and priest, Hermann, whose witness of the sacred fire in the church of the Holy Sepulchre is recounted by Abbot Ekkehard of Aura.<sup>83</sup> In 1112, Fulk, prior of Mount Olivet, witnesses a document. But the shrine was too important not to be provided with a chapter of regular canons, like the other famous pilgrimage sites. The canons' residence lay to the south of the Ascension church.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, p. 84, citing Pauli, *Codice diplomatico*, I, 23, but no such document is found there.

<sup>78</sup> Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, pp. 12-13, 84; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, 116-117, 488.

<sup>79</sup> Rey, "Chartes de l'abbaye de Mont Sion," p. 31, 36.

<sup>80</sup> On the crusader church of the Ascension on Mount Olivet, see Vincent-Abel, *Jérusalem*, II/1-2, 400-4; Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 226-230; Virgilio C. Corbo, O.F.M., *Ricerche archeologiche al Monte degli Olivi*, Gerusalemme, 1965 (excavations conducted by the author in 1957 and 1959). A good general account of the religious history of the Mount is that of Albert Storme, O.F.M., *Le Mont des Oliviers*, Jerusalem, 1971.

<sup>81</sup> Raoul de Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, ch. 113; *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, Historiens Occidentaux (5 v., Paris, 1844-1895), III, p. 685; PL 155, col. 562.

<sup>82</sup> Albert of Aachen, *Historia hierosolymitanae expeditionis*, VI, 7; RHC, hist. occid., IV, 470; PL 166, col. 541. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, I, 281-282, 284, has still another version, taken from Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, ch. XX; RHC, hist. occid., III, 293.

<sup>83</sup> *Hierosolymita*, ch. 32; RHC, hist. occid., V, 36; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, I, 310, 312; Vincent-Abel, *Jérusalem*, II/1-2, 402.

Later witnesses refer to the religious serving the church. Ernoul, writing in the past tense (hence, in the 13th century), speaks of “an abbey of white monks,”<sup>85</sup> as the canons are sometimes described.<sup>86</sup> Stewart quotes a *Brocardi Descriptio Terrae Sanctae A. D. 1230* to the effect that the church of the Ascension was served by an abbot and black monks.<sup>87</sup> The term would normally apply to Benedictines, but black-robed Austin canons are no doubt meant.

The crusaders surrounded church and monastery with strong fortifications. “Now, the Mount of Olives,” Theoderich tells us around 1172, “...contains on its topmost point a church of the highest sanctity dedicated to our Saviour... In the church divine service is performed by canons. It is strongly fortified against the infidels with towers both great and small, with walls and battlements and night patrols.”<sup>88</sup> These would have come in handy in 1152, when a Turkish army under the Ortoqid prince Timurtash of Mardin occupied Mount Olivet with a view to launching its aborted attack on Jerusalem.<sup>89</sup>

Notorious is the controversy between the canons of Mount Olivet and those of the Holy Sepulchre during the absence in Europe of the patriarch Fulk, 1154-1156. When the canons of the Holy Sepulchre went in procession to celebrate the liturgy at the Mount of Olives on the feast of the Ascension, as was the custom even among the Greeks, they were refused admittance on the grounds that only the patriarch in person had this right. On his return, Fulk summoned a synod which confirmed the right of the patriarch to depute a substitute. As a penance, the prior and canons of Mount Olivet were made to walk barefoot to the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>90</sup> Pope Alexander III confirmed this decision in a letter to the abbots of the Temple, Mount Sion, St. Mary of the Vale of Jehoshaphat, and the prior of Mount Olivet, decreeing that, in the absence of the patriarch, the prior of the Holy Sepulchre was to have precedence.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> “En sor le mont d’Olivet avoit une abaye de blanz moinez,” Ernoul; RHC, Hist. Occid., II, 506. See also Vincent-Abel, *Jérusalem*, II/2, 402-403, 416.bb

<sup>85</sup> *The City of Jerusalem*, ch. 25, p. 27; Michelant-Raynaud, *Itinéraires*, p. 51: “une abeie de blans moines.”

<sup>86</sup> “... les chanoines réguliers de Saint Augustin, vulgairement appelés ‘les blancs moines’,” F.M. Abel, O.P., “Écrits des Dominicains sur la Terre Sainte,” *Miscellanea Dominicana*, Romae, 1923, pp. 222-244; p. 223.

<sup>87</sup> “In ecclesia Montis Oliveti est abbas et monachi nigri.” *City of Jerusalem*, p. 43, note 4. This Brocard seems to be otherwise unknown. He is not listed by R. Röhrich, *Bibliotheca geographica Palaestinae*, Jerusalem, 1963 (a facsimile edition).

<sup>88</sup> *Theoderich’s Description*, ch. 27, p. 44; *Theoderici libellus*, p. 66-67; *Peregrinationes tres*, pp. 173-174; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, II, 356. See also Corvo, *Ricerche archeologiche*, pp. [116]-[117] for archaeological remains.

<sup>89</sup> William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, XVII, 20, p. 787-789; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, II, 337.

<sup>90</sup> Rozière, *Cartulaire*, pp. 136-138, no. 66; PL 155, col. 1164-1166; Bresc-Bautier, *Le cartulaire*, no. 54, pp. 143-145; Röhrich, *Regesta*, p. 83, no. 323. For accounts of the notorious event see Vincent-Abel, *Jérusalem*, II/2, 403; Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 75.

<sup>91</sup> Nov. 13 (1170-1180); Rozière, *Cartulaire*, p. 269-270, no. 146; PL 200, col. 1257-1258; Bresc-



Storme predicates a monastery at the Pater, called by the Greeks Eleona, where Jesus was supposed to have instructed the apostles and taught them the Our Father. Storme quotes a French pilgrim, not otherwise identified, who speaks of a *moutier de la sainte Paternôtre*, and adds that Wilbrand of Oldenburg (1211) saw it in ruins.<sup>92</sup> But *moutier*, or *moustier*, besides a monastery, can also mean a church, and pilgrims and chroniclers use the words indiscriminately.<sup>93</sup>

The French pilgrim accounts are an hermeneutical morass, and no particular version should be followed in isolation. Storme seems to be quoting Ernoul's *Estat de la cité de Iherusalem*, ch. 25, or a related text: ".j. moustier c'on apiele la Sainte Patrenostre".<sup>94</sup> On the other hand, a version represented, among others, by *Les pelerinaiges pour aler en Iherusalem (Eracles)*, ch. 10, has "une chapele où Ihesucrist fist la Patrenostre," a more specific and less ambiguous term.<sup>95</sup>

Wilbrand's account of the shrines on Mount Olivet is quite confused. He notes a church (*ecclesia*) at the garden where Jesus was betrayed (Gethsemane), but adds that the church is called *Sanctum Pater Noster*. Later, he says he saw two monasteries (*claustra*) in ruins; one where Jesus' sweat turned to blood while he prayed (Gethsemane), the other where Jesus ascended into heaven (the Ascension).<sup>96</sup> While pilgrims record the presence of canons at the church of the Ascension, they make no mention of religious at the Pater or at Gethsemani.

No records exist of any churches the abbey of the Mount of Olives may have owned or administered,<sup>97</sup> but it would indeed be exceptional if this abbey lacked other resources.

Today, all that remains above ground of the crusader church and monastery is the octagonal structure over the place of the Ascension.<sup>98</sup>

In 1183, the canons of Mt. Olivet received permission to build a church and monastery in Acre, where they retreated after the loss of Jerusalem. Dichter adds that they held their offices in a chapel near the Holy Cross.<sup>99</sup> An abbot "D." of Mount Olivet appears on a seal, 1120-1121.<sup>100</sup> The monastery of Mount Olivet in Acre is mentioned neither by Sanuto nor

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Bautier, *Le cartulaire*, p. 302, no. 153; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, 293-294, no. 119; Röhrich, *Regesta*, p. 128, no. 486.

<sup>92</sup> *Le Mont des Oliviers*, pp. 37, 62.

<sup>93</sup> Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IXe au XVe siècle* (8 v., Paris, 1880-1895), V, 430: "Moustier... moutier... s. m., couvent, église en général."

<sup>94</sup> Published in Michelant-Raynaud, *Itinéraires*, p. 51.

<sup>95</sup> Published in Michelin-Raynaud, *Itinéraires*, p. 97.

<sup>96</sup> *Wilbrandi de Oldenburg peregrinatio*, II, 7, 9; in Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, pp. 187, 188.

<sup>97</sup> Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 99.

<sup>98</sup> See the photo, among others, in Enlart, *Monuments des croisés, Album*, plate 108, fig. 327.

<sup>99</sup> *The Churches and Orders*, p. 62.

<sup>100</sup> G. Schlumberger, *Sceaux et bulles de l'Orient Latin au Moyen Age, musée archéologique*, Paris, 1879; cited by Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, pp. 62, 124.

*Pardouns.*

### *Bethany*

The canons of the Holy Sepulchre owned the village of Bethany, where they had charge of the church at the site of the supposed tomb of Lazarus.<sup>101</sup> It had been bestowed on them by Patriarch Arnulf, when in 1114 they undertook community life.<sup>102</sup> A church already existed by the tomb of Lazarus in the fourth century. The church lay to the east of the tomb, separated from it by a courtyard. From the 7th century, pilgrims mention a monastery of Greek monks.

The crusaders needed to make no changes in the basic structure of this church, chiefly strengthening its walls with buttresses.<sup>103</sup> The Russian abbot Daniel in 1106/7 relates of his visit, "On entering the gate of the town one sees to the right the cavern, in which is the tomb of Lazarus; there also was the cell where he fell ill and died. There is a large high church in the middle of this town which was richly ornamented with paintings. They reckon it 12 sages [about 84 feet] from the church to the sepulchre of Lazarus, which is west of the church."<sup>104</sup>

Subsequently, the Franks added a church over the tomb, dedicated to St. Lazarus;<sup>105</sup> the old church to the west came to be known as the Church of Martha and Mary.

The occupancy of the church by the canons, in any case, was brief, for in 1138 the Holy Sepulchre traded Bethany for the village of Thecua with King Fulk and his consort

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<sup>101</sup> The grotto with the tomb of Lazarus still exists, and there are extensive archaeological studies of the churches and monastery; see Sylvester Saller, O.F.M., *Excavations at Bethany (1949-1953)*, Jerusalem, 1957; repr. 1982; Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 122-137, nos. 59-60. See also Albert Storme, *Bethany*, Jerusalem, 1969; Mayer, *Bistümer*, pp. 372-375;

<sup>102</sup> Bresc-Bautier, *Le cartulaire*, pp. 74-77, no. 20; Rozière, *Cartulaire*, pp. 44-47, no. 25; PL 155, col. 1115-1117; Röhricht, *Regesta*, p. 17, no. 75.

<sup>103</sup> This church and its renovation Saller calls the first and second churches, *Excavations at Bethany*, pp. 9-66. See also Pringle's "East Church," I, 125-128, no. 59, and plan 41.

<sup>104</sup> *The Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel in the Holy Land 1106-1107 A. D.*, annotated by C.W. Wilson, London, 1895, ch. XIX, p. 22. The English translation is from the French by Madame Sophie de Khitrowo of the Russian text established by M. A. Venevitinov: *Vie et pèlerinage de Daniel, hégoumène russe 1106-1107*, in S. de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes en Orient*, Genève, 1889, pp. 21-22. The new translation of Abbot Daniel by W.F. Ryan in J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, London, 1988, was not available for consultation.

Barnabé Meistermann would place Daniel's visit later, since the abbot witnesses events in March of 1113; *Le Mont Thabor*, Paris, 1900, p. 86, note 4.

Saller suggests "ecclesiastical complex" instead of "town". Daniel would have entered through the gate in the northern wall; *Excavations at Bethany*, p. 65. Saller calls the church in crusader times the "third church"; *ibid.*, pp. 67-69, 71-98.

<sup>105</sup> The church of St. Lazarus Saller calls the fourth church; *Excavations at Bethany*, pp. 67-97. See also Pringle's "West Church," *The Churches*, I, 129-130, no. 68.

Melisende, so that the latter could found a monastery there.<sup>106</sup> On January 10, 1143, Pope Celestine II confirmed the exchange.<sup>107</sup>

Sources do not mention the residence of the canons; perhaps Melisende's monastery came to occupy its site. Pringle is of the opinion that it is likely that the Holy Sepulchre had here only a priory, like that at Mount Quarantena.<sup>108</sup>

### *Bethlehem*

On Christmas day, 1100, Baldwin I was crowned king of Jerusalem in Bethlehem in the 6th-century church of the Emperor Justinian, which the crusaders found intact, though somewhat the worse for wear.<sup>109</sup> When Saewulf visited Bethlehem, 1102-1103, he reported that only the church of St. Mary remained, "great and renowned," the rest having been destroyed by the Saracens.<sup>110</sup> Franks and Byzantines cooperated in restoring the church, 1165-1169,<sup>111</sup> one of the most venerable in Christendom, housing the cave in which the Saviour was born, the cell of St. Jerome, and other less tenable memorials of the Nativity narratives.

William of Tyre states that previous to Baldwin's coronation Bethlehem was served by a priory of canons.<sup>112</sup> Abel dates the house from the year 1101, but indicates no source.<sup>113</sup> The names of a number of canons, beginning with a certain Bernard, mentioned in a docu-

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<sup>106</sup> William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, XV, 26, p. 709-10; Röhricht, *Regesta*, no. 174, letter of King Fulk, Feb. 5, 1138. The nature of the foundation is ambiguous: "*conventui monachorum sive sanctimonialium.*"

<sup>107</sup> Bresc-Bautier, *Le cartulaire*, pp. 52-54, no. 11; Rozière, *Cartulaire*, pp. 27-29, no. 19; Celestine II, *Epistolae et privilegia*, no. 28, PL 179, cols. 792-793; Röhricht, *Regesta*, p. 21, no. 221. The pope also refers to "*monastice religionis viros aut mulieres.*"

<sup>108</sup> *The Churches*, I, 123.

<sup>109</sup> William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, X, 9, p. 463.

The basilica and cloister of the abbey remain intact today, and excellent studies are available: H. Vincent & F.M. Abel, O.P., *Bethléhem, le sanctuaire de la nativité*, Paris, 1914; R.W. Hamilton, *The Church of the Nativity*, Jerusalem, 1947; Bellarmino Bagatti, O.F.M., *Gli antichi edifici sacri di Betlemme*, Gerusalemme, 1952; Maria Teresa Petrozzi, *Bethlehem*, Jerusalem, 1971; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, 51-52; Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 137-156, no. 61.

<sup>110</sup> Saewulf states that only the monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary remained. By that word he obviously means the church, which he proceeds to describe; *Saewulf (1102-1103 A.D.)*, tr. by W.R. Brownlow, bp. of Clifton, London, 1896, p. 22; *Peregrinationes tres*, p. 71; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, II, 22/23.

<sup>111</sup> For these dates see Vincent-Abel, *Bethléhem*, p. 156-60.

<sup>112</sup> *Chronicon*, XI, 12, p. 512. Jacques de Vitry declares that the canons were regular, but they only became such in 1114; *The History of Jerusalem*, LVII, p. 34. This same claim is repeated by later writers; e.g., Riant, *Études*, I, 11-12; Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 65; Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 138.

<sup>113</sup> *Bethléhem*, p. 141. Mayer thinks that Abel had in mind the year of Baldwin's coronation, which he mistakenly places in 1101; *Bistümer*, pp. 50-51.

ment dating from some time before August 22, 1106,<sup>114</sup> are known down to the year 1266, when Bybars expelled the canons.

Like the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, those of Bethlehem would have received the rule of St. Augustine in 1114.<sup>115</sup>

The plan made by Bernardino Amico (1593-1619) still provides the most attainable idea of the structure of church and monastery and forms the basis of modern archaeological studies.<sup>116</sup> The cloister of the monastery lay along the north side of the church, which could be entered through a door in the south side of the cloister. There, too, a stair led into the grottos containing the cave of the Nativity and the tomb of St. Jerome. A large room flanking the northern side of the cloister, into which it led by a door at the western end, has been identified as the refectory. The dormitory lay along the east side of the cloister and refectory. South of the dormitory, still flanking the cloister on the east side is a room thought to be the chapter room. It forms the nave of the church of St. Catherine, now the principal Latin church in Bethlehem, since Latins have only limited access to the basilica. A room, today the chapel of St. George, which on its northern end entered the apse of the church to the south and the southeast tower of the walled enclosure of the whole complex, may have been the bishop's residence.<sup>117</sup> Church and monastery were enclosed in a strong wall and towers. Pringle deems it likely that the complex also included a hospital for poor pilgrims, which might have been located in the room known as the library or school of St. Jerome.<sup>118</sup>

Even after the destruction wreaked at the fall of the kingdom in 1187, the occupation by the Kwarismians in 1244 and by Bybars in 1263, the monastery remained relatively intact when the Dominican, Burchard of Mount Sion, visited it in 1280: "At the north door of this church there is a cloister of a convent of monks, wherein is St. Jerome's cell, his bed, his sepulchre, and the store-rooms of the convent of which we read that St. Jerome was the

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<sup>114</sup> Riant, *Études*, I, 93, citing the cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre, p. 181. For lists of the canons see Riant, *ibid.*, notes 4 and 5; Vincent-Abel, *Bethléhem*, 181; Bagatti, *Gli antichi edifici*, p. 186.

<sup>115</sup> "Nun besteht aufgrund der Angaben bei Jakob von Vitry kein Zweifel, dass an der Kathedral von Bethlehem im 13. Jh. als Kapitel wie am Hl. Grab ein Stift regulierter Augustinerchorherren fungierte. In einer Bestätigungsurkunde des Papstes Martin IV. für Bethlehem von 1284 wird das Kapitel ausdrücklich als *ordinis Augustini* bezeichnet." Mayer, *Bistümer*, p. 65.

<sup>116</sup> Amico's work, *Trattato delle piante & immaginj de sacri edificj di Terra Santa*, 2nd ed., Firenze, 1620, has been translated into English by Theophilus Bellorini and Eugene Hoad, *Plans of the Sacred Edifices of the Holy Land*, Jerusalem, 1953. See also Vincent-Abel, *Bethléhem*, fig. 45 and 46, pp. 196-197; Petrozzi, *Bethlehem*, fig. 3 and 55; Bagatti, *Gli antichi edifici*, fig. 5 and 6, pp. 18-19; Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 144-145, fig. 46,

<sup>117</sup> On the bishop's residence, see also Denys Pringle, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, an Archaeological Gazetteer*, Cambridge, 1997, p. 33, no. 48.

<sup>118</sup> *The Churches*, I, 138, 153.

head.”<sup>119</sup> In 1347, the Franciscans took up residence there.<sup>120</sup> In 1947, they undertook the restoration of the medieval cloister, according to Bagatti, “the most outstanding example of the sort in the whole region.”<sup>121</sup>

In 1110, Bethlehem was made a diocese at the expense of Ascalon, which became a subject parish.<sup>122</sup> (Theoderich in 1172 notes this distinction: Bethlehem, “a holy church honoured by being a bishop’s cathedral church.”<sup>123</sup>) As in the case of the other principal churches of the patriarchate of Jerusalem, the patriarch himself had the right to officiate at the ceremonies of Christmas in Bethlehem. The ritual for this solemn service, at which the patriarch was accompanied by the prior, the cantor, and two other canons of the Holy Sepulchre, has been preserved.<sup>124</sup> The extensive possessions of the church of Bethlehem in the Middle East and Europe are listed in their confirmation by Pope Clement IV, May 11, 1266.<sup>125</sup>

The fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem did not spell the end of the bishopric of Bethlehem. Indeed, the succession of bishops, if only titular, continued uninterrupted to modern times. During much of the 13th and 14th centuries the see was administered by Dominicans.<sup>126</sup> As to the chapter of the basilica, the canons settled in Acre. *Pardouns* lists St. Peter of the Pisans, St. Anne, Holy Spirit, Bethlehem, and St. Andrew; hence the Bethlehem church must have been situated in the southwestern promontory of the city.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Burchard of Mount Sion, *A. D. 1280*, tr. Aubrey Stewart with geographical notes by C.R. Conder, London, 1896, p. 89; Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, p. 79; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, 198/199.

<sup>120</sup> Bagatti, *Gli antichi edifici*, p. 185; Petrozzi, *Bethlehem*, p. 102. See also Enlart’s archeological study (1923) of the church and cloister, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 65-68.

<sup>121</sup> *Gli antichi edifici*, p. 188. For an account of the restoration of the cloister with plans and illustrations, see pp. 187-206.

<sup>122</sup> William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, XI, 12, pp. 512-515, who edits the king’s letter. See also the chapter, “Die Gründung der Bistümer Askalon und Bethlehem,” in Mayer, *Bistümer*, pp. 44-80.

<sup>123</sup> Theoderich’s *Description*, ch. 33, p. 51-52; *Theoderici libellus*, ch. 33, p. 78; *Peregrinationes tres*, pp. 179; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, II, 364/365.

<sup>124</sup> Ch. Kohler, “Un rituel et un bréviaire du Saint-Sépulchre (XIIe-XIIIe siècle),” *Révue de l’Orient Latin* 8 (1900-1901), 383-500.

<sup>125</sup> The bull of Clement IV is not included in the edition of his registers by Édouard Jordan, *Les registres de Clément IV*, Paris, 1893-1945 (6 fasc. in 1 v.). It is published by Riant, *Études*, I, 147-154. See also the confirmation by Gregory IX, August 21, 1227; Riant, *Études*, I, 140-147; Röhrich, *Regesta*, no. 983, pp. 258-260. This letter is not found in Auvray’s edition of Gregory’s registers; *Les registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. by Lucien Auvray, Paris, 1896, 3 v.

Bethlehem’s church of St. Martin in Tyre is also noted by Leopold Lucas, *Geschichte der Stadt Tyrus zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge*, Berlin, 1896, 71. On Bethlehem’s property see also Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 95.

<sup>126</sup> On the bishopric of Bethlehem, see Louis Chevalier Lagenissière, *Histoire de l’évêché de Béthléem*, Paris/Nevers, 1872; Paul Edouard Didier, Comte de Riant, *Études sur l’histoire de Béthléem*, Gênes, 1889-1896, 2 v.; G. Levenq, “Bethléem, évêché de”, *DHGE*, VIII, col. 1248-1251.

<sup>127</sup> Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, pp. 12 and 96; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, 116-117.

On May 11, 1266, Pope Clement IV confirmed the possessions of the Church of Our Lady of Bethlehem, including a house situated between the church of St. Mary *de Platea*, and the old palace.<sup>128</sup>

Over the years, pilgrims, Latins among others, managed to visit the birthplace of Christ. We have seen that Bishop Walter, of Salisbury, in 1192, obtained permission for two Latin priests and two deacons to carry out the Latin services in Bethlehem. The ten-year truce of Frederick II with Saladin in 1229 included a provision for access to Bethlehem. The raid of the Kwarismians in 1244 and the conquest by Bybars, 1263-1277, would have emptied the roads of their pilgrims. After the Franciscans established themselves in the old convent of the Austin canons in 1347, over the years with greater or less success Latin worship was celebrated in the church.

In the third decade of the century, the chapter of Bethlehem, unfortunately, joined the bishop, Giovanni Romano, in dissipating the possessions of the church in Acre and in other areas under Christian control.<sup>129</sup> Whether it was in connection with this matter or some other, Gregory IX in 1238 appointed a commission to look into the *plura enormia* committed by the chapter which was obliged to follow the rule of St. Augustine.<sup>130</sup>

The canons regular of Bethlehem disappear from the scene after the fall of Acre in 1291; they did not accompany their bishop to Clamecy (Auxerre), where they would have been useless, since the bishop had no status as an ordinary. On the other hand, there appears in the possessions of the bishop of Bethlehem, the Order of Bethlehemites, canons regular devoted to the care of the mentally ill.<sup>131</sup> Riant tentatively—“*on ne peut hasarder là-dessus que quelques conjectures*”—suggests that the Bethlehemites replaced the chapter of canons, even for a while in Bethlehem itself.<sup>132</sup>

The Benedictine Matthew Paris disapprovingly commemorates their arrival in England in 1257 and describes their habit, which was that of the Dominicans', with a cape embroidered with a red star with seven (*read* five) rays.<sup>133</sup> In 1266, the diocese of Bethlehem is known to have had nine oratories (*oratoria*) in London.<sup>134</sup> The Bethlehem in London, founded in 1247<sup>135</sup> and better known as Bedlam, has survived into modern times.

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<sup>128</sup> The bull of Clement IV is not included in the edition of his registers by Jordan; it is published by Riant, *Études*, I, 147-154. On the house in Acre, see p. 152.

See also the confirmation by Gregory IX, August 21, 1227, Riant, *Études*, I, 140-147; Bethlehem's house in Acre is mentioned on p. 144. See also Röhricht, *Regesta*, no. 983, pp. 258-260. This letter is not found in Auvray's edition of Gregory's registers; *Les registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. by Lucien Auvray, Paris, 1896, 3 v.

<sup>129</sup> Vincent-Abel, *Bethléhem*, p. 185-186; Riant, *Études*, p. 33-34.

<sup>130</sup> *Les registres de Grégoire IX*, II, cols. 917-918, no. 4152. The date is the editor's, L. Auvray.

<sup>131</sup> On the Bethlehemites see *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (14 v., Washington, D.C., 1967), II, 374-8 (R.W. Emery); *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*, v. 1- , Roma, 1974-, in progress, I, 1420 (D. Knowles). Emery's reference to the *Dictionnaire d'histoire et géographie ecclésiastiques* concerns a different Order.

<sup>132</sup> *Études*, I, 94-100. None of the recent authorities note Riant's hypothesis.

<sup>133</sup> *Chronica majora*, ed. Henry Richards Luard (7 v., London, 1872-1883, RS 57), V, 631.

## Nazareth<sup>136</sup>

At the site of the Annunciation, Constantine (*d.* 337) is said to have built a church. Certainly, from the 7th century pilgrims mention a church at the site of the Annunciation.<sup>137</sup> A Byzantine church, in ruins or intact, was presumably at hand, when the crusaders appeared on the scene. Tancred, prince of Galilee, William of Tyre testifies, established (*fundavit*) churches in Nazareth and Tiberias, as well as Mount Thabor, and richly endowed them.<sup>138</sup>

At first, the abbot of Mount Thabor performed the episcopal functions for the area. On July 29, 1103, Paschal II constituted Abbot Gerard archbishop of Tiberias and Galilee, at the same time taking the abbey under his protection and confirming its possessions.<sup>139</sup> As the ecclesiastical structures of the kingdom matured, the secular clergy took charge. The Russian abbot Daniel (1106-1107) is the first to give notice of a Latin bishop in Nazareth, “a very

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<sup>134</sup> See the confirmation by Pope Clement IV, May 11, 1266, of the possessions of the diocese of Bethlehem, ed. by Count Riant, *Etudes*, I, 147-154; p. 151. These London oratories are not found among the possessions of the diocese in the confirmation by Pope Gregory IX, Aug. 21, 1227; *ibid.*, pp. 140-147.

<sup>135</sup> NCE, II, 374. On Bedlam, see, for instance, Roy Porter, “Bethlem/Bedlam, Methods of Madness?” *History Today* 47 (Oct. 1997), 41-47 (with bibliog.).

<sup>136</sup> The most recent study of the medieval churches in Nazareth is by Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 116-140, figs. 31-39, and plates lxxx-xc. See also Prosper Viaud, O.F.M., *Nazareth et ses deux églises de l’Annunciation et de Saint-Joseph d’après les fouilles récentes*, Paris, 1910; Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 292-310, *Album*, plate 8, fig. 15; plates 131-134, figs. 412-421; plate 135, fig. 423; Bellarmino Bagatti, O.F.M., *Gli scavi di Nazaret*, Jerusalem, 1967-1984, 2 v; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, pp. 66-68.

<sup>137</sup> Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 116.

<sup>138</sup> *Chronicon*, IX, 13, p. 438. Authorities translate variously the word, “*fundavit*.” Viaud notes, “Il est assez probable que l’expression ‘fonder’ veut dire, non seulement restaurer, mais refaire complètement.” *Nazareth*, p. 18.

Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 293, declares that Tancred repaired the existing basilica, and that it was this structure that Saewulf saw in 1003. He also paraphrases the edition by A. de Noroff of Abbot Daniel (1106-1107) to the effect that the Latins rebuilt (*rebâtie*) the church. (The translation by S. de Khitrowo has “restored” (*renouvelé*); *Vie et pèlerinage de Daniel*, p. 71.)

Pringle speaks of the church being “rebuilt,” “repaired,” “built or repaired;” *The Church*, II, 118. His thought that the word *monasterium*, used by Saewulf for the church in Nazareth, would imply the existence of a community serving it, is a bit hazarded. Saewulf, like the French pilgrims, also uses the word for church.

Nothing specific, it would seem, can be deduced with regard to the construction of the church from Tyre’s vague term, in which he also includes Tiberias and Mount Thabor.

<sup>139</sup> J. Delaville le Roulx, *Cartulaire général de l’Ordre des Hospitaliers de St. Jean de Jérusalem* (4 v., Paris, 1894-1906), II, 826-828, no. 2832; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, pp. 92-99, no. 5; Röhrich, *Regesta*, pp. 6-7, no. 39, Addit., p. 3, no. 39. See also Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 60-61; Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 64-65.

rich Latin bishop,” who proved a generous host.<sup>140</sup> In 1109, Bernard, bishop of Nazareth, appears in a document, the first bishop to be known by name.<sup>141</sup> Nazareth had become an archbishopric by 1129, when an archbishop of Nazareth, William, appears in the sources.<sup>142</sup> Patriarch Gibelin could be trusted to have imposed the rule of St. Augustine on the canons of Nazareth. Canons regular of the church of Nazareth witness a grant of Bishop Bernard on October 20, 1125.<sup>143</sup>

Before the chapter of the Annunciation was constituted, the canons may have been attached to a nearby church dedicated to the angel Gabriel.<sup>144</sup> Priors of St. Gabriel appear in documents of the years 1109 and 1125.<sup>145</sup> But since this church, mentioned only by Orthodox pilgrims, may not have been Latin, Pringle suggests as an alternative the present Franciscan church of St. Joseph, built over a 12th-century church, otherwise unaccounted for.<sup>146</sup>

At first, the Latins restored or replaced the Byzantine church over the grotto of the Annunciation, but the importance of the mystery on the site required a grander edifice. Sometime later in the 12th century, the church was built which Pringle styles “one of the largest ecclesiastical buildings in the whole kingdom,” and Enlart calls “*un édifice d’une rare magnificence*.” Pilgrims do not fail to be impressed.<sup>147</sup> Construction went on up to the very end of the kingdom.

When the Franciscans in 1620 definitely settled in the ruins of the church and its immediate surroundings, they built their monastery along the north side of their church, whereas the monastery of the canons had lain along its south side.<sup>148</sup> A rectangular struc-

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<sup>140</sup> *The Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel*, ch. 93, p. 71; Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes*, p. 71.

<sup>141</sup> Charles Kohler, “Chartes de l’abbaye de N.-D. de la Vallée de Josaphat,” *Revue de l’Orient Latin* 7 (1899), 113-114, no. 2; 114-115, no. 3; Röhrich, *Regesta, addit.*, pp. 3-4, no. 56a.

<sup>142</sup> Bresc-Bautier, *Le cartulaire*, pp. 145-146, no. 55; Rozière, *Cartulaire*, pp. 138-139, no. 67; PL 155, col. 1166-1167; Röhrich, *Regesta*, p. 31, no. 127; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, pp. 131-132, no. 25.

Authorities state that in 1128 William was still a bishop (Hamilton, *The Latin Churches*, p. 67; Pringle, *The Churches*, II, p. 64). This statement is perhaps based on a document, dated by Rozière 1128—in which, however, William is already an archbishop (*ibid.*, pp. 81-83, no. 44)—but which Bresc-Bautier corrects to 1129 (*ibid.*, pp. 92-93, no. 30).

<sup>143</sup> Röhrich, *Regesta*, p. 25, no. 106; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, pp. 131-132, no. 25; Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 118, no. 169.

<sup>144</sup> On the church of St. Gabriel in Nazareth see Bagatti, *Gli scavi di Nazaret*, pp. 154-160; Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 140-144, fig. xci and plate 40.

<sup>145</sup> Kohler, *Chartes*, p. 8, no. 3; Röhrich, *Regesta, addit.*, p. 4, no. 56a (1109); Henri François Delaborde, *Chartes de Terre Sainte provenant de l’abbaye de N.-D. de Josaphat*, Paris, 1880, p. 35, no. 9; Röhrich, *Regesta*, p. 22, no. 97; Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 141.

<sup>146</sup> On the church of St. Joseph, see Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 147-150, fig. 43 and plate xcii, no. 173; Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 297-298, *Album*, plate 8, fig. 14.

<sup>147</sup> Viaud reproduces and analyzes texts by Saewulf, Abbot Daniel, Belardo of Ascoli, John of Würzburg, Theodoric, and Phocas; *Nazareth*, pp. 18-25. See also Donatus Baldi, O.F.M., *Enchiridion locorum sanctorum*, Jerusalem, 1933, pp. 1-51.

<sup>148</sup> Viaud, *Nazareth*, pp. 28, 34-36 and the plans in fig. 1 and 2. Viaud conducted the excavations of the ruins.



ture flanking the north side of the church has been provisionally identified as the archbishop's residence.<sup>149</sup>

A letter of Guy, abbot of St. Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, to Pope Eugene III, dated 1144-1145, refers to the *celeber conventus* at Nazareth,<sup>150</sup> and indeed it seems to have been somewhat of a center of learning. Eminent among the canons were Rorgo Fretellus, archdeacon of Nazareth<sup>151</sup> and prior of the chapter of its cathedral, author of a *Descriptio de locis sanctis*, and Gerard of Nazareth, deacon of the Nazareth chapter,<sup>152</sup> former hermit and author of spiritual and controversial works, later bishop of Laodicea.<sup>153</sup>

The catalogue of the library of the cathedral chapter of Nazareth has in part survived, the only such catalogue to do so.<sup>154</sup>

In 1170 the cathedral was in financial distress. The Saracens took advantage of the disarray caused by the disastrous earthquake of that year to attack various places held by the Christians. On December 8, Pope Alexander III addressed an appeal to the faithful in France for financial aid, in particular for the church of Nazareth. A *magnum et populosum casale* possessed by the church of Nazareth had been seized by the Saracens, its clergy and inhabitants carried off in captivity. As a result of this and other catastrophes the canons of the cathedral had been reduced to such poverty that they would no longer be able to continue their service to the shrine unless the faithful came to their aid.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> See Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 138 and figure 32.

<sup>150</sup> "In celebri conventu apud Nazareth", Delaborde, *Chartes*, p. 57, no. 24; Röhrich, *Regesta*, pp. 60-61, no. 239; Mayer, *Bistümer*, pp. 334-335. P.C. Boeren misquotes Mayer and ascribes the reference to the letter of Eugene III of 1145, which Mayer cites on p. 335. *Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth et sa description de la Terre Sainte*, Amsterdam, 1980, p. xii, note 17.

<sup>151</sup> P.C. Boeren, *Rorgo Fretellus*, p. x, denies Fretellus the title traditionally given him of deacon of Antioch; cf. R. Aubert, *Dictionnaire d'histoire et géographie ecclésiastiques* (v. 1, Paris, 1912- in progress), XIX, 12-13.

Of Boeren's edition of Fretellus, R.B.C. Huygens says, "In spite of Boeren's great learning as a Church historian, he had been ill-advised to undertake the publication of this particular work: being neither a philologist nor a specialist on the Crusades or on the history and topography of the Crusader States, he was singularly ill-equipped for the task..." ; *Peregrinationes tres*, p. 18.

<sup>152</sup> Boeren, *Rorgo Fretellus*, p. xii, note 16; Röhrich, *Regesta*, no. 56a

<sup>153</sup> On Gerard of Nazareth, see Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Gerard of Nazareth, a Neglected Twelfth-Century Writer of the Latin East," *Dumbarton Oak Papers* 37 (1983), 55-77.

<sup>154</sup> James S. Beddie, "Some Notices of Books in the East in the Period of the Crusades," *Speculum* 8 (1933), 240-2. Boeren adds a correction, *Rorgo Fretellus*, p. xii, note 18, and p. 90, note 10. For an analysis of the library, see Kedar, "Gerard of Nazareth," pp. 64-65.

<sup>155</sup> *Epistolae et privilegia*; PL 200, col. 757-758, no. 831; Röhrich, *Regesta*, p. 127, no. 481.

Pringle detects "a faint suspicion of opportunism" in Alexander's appeal, but the pope does not allege the earthquake as the reason for the canons' distress, but the loss of their *magnum et populosum casale*, which loss must have been real. In any case, Pringle concludes that "the needs of the archbishop and chapter may none the less have been considerable and unlikely to be met from local sources"; *The Churches*, II, 119, His reference to PL 200 should read 757-758.

If two charters emanating from Nazareth's church in Barletta, Italy, are authentic, it is difficult to conceive why Nazareth should be in such financial trouble. According to these documents, the church of Nazareth had possessions in Sicily, Cyprus, Ragogna (Udine), Hungary, *Inquidita*,<sup>156</sup> Germany, France, Spain, Lombardy, Tuscany, *et aliarum plurium provinciarum*. Besides *casalia*, houses, mills, and arable land, Nazareth owned twenty-one churches in fifteen towns in the Kingdom of Naples alone. To supervise these properties, Peter de Volpes, prior of Nazareth and vicar general of Archbishop Robert, in June, 1162, named Walter of Salerno his procurator.<sup>157</sup> Ten years later, on September 30, 1172, Peter de Ecclesia, prior of the church of Nazareth and vicar general of Archbishop Combertus, appointed Quartus de Soler his procurator.<sup>158</sup>

The church of the archbishopric in Acre was St. Mary of the Knights, located in the Buchiello quarter, between the Hospital and the Patriarchate<sup>159</sup> (on Sanuto's map, northwest of the Holy Cross, east of the Hospital; in *Pardouns*, between the Holy Sepulchre, Our Lady of Tyre, and Holy Cross).<sup>160</sup>

Illustrious pilgrims to visit Nazareth, on the feast of the Annunciation, March 25, 1251, was the royal couple, King Louis of France and Queen Margaret, described by the royal chaplain, the Dominican, Geoffrey of Beaulieu. The route of the royal entourage led over Sephoris, reputed birthplace of St. Anne,<sup>161</sup> where they spent the night, Cana, and Mount Thabor. The king, though very tired, insisted on fasting and, dismounting, travelled the last part of the journey to Nazareth on foot. Geoffrey declares unequalled the solemnity with which Vespers, Matins, and Mass were celebrated. The king attended Mass and received Communion at the altar of the Annunciation. Bishop Oddo of Tivoli, apostolic legate, celebrated Mass at the main altar of the church and delivered a devout sermon. The king, with his usual generosity, insisted on contributing precious ornaments and vestments to the church.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> Not in Graesse, *Orbis latinus*. A scribal error?

<sup>157</sup> Pauli, *Codice diplomatico*, pp. 458-459; Röhricht, *Regesta*, p. 99, no. 376. Archbishop of Nazareth, 1158-1190, was Letardus II; Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 405.

<sup>158</sup> Salvatore Santeramo, *Codice diplomatico barlettano* (13 v., Barletta, 1924-1994), I, 18-20, no. 5; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, no. 125.

The charter, provenant from the cathedral of Barletta, if it is authentic, is in very poor condition, judging from the transcription. The names of the archbishops of Nazareth are questionable. (Archbishop of Nazareth, 1158-1190, was Letardus II; Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 405.) Many place names are missing or illegible. Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 95, who cites this text, judges that it lists sixteen churches among the possessions of Nazareth. It is perhaps this document that leads him to state elsewhere that Nazareth "had a good deal of property to administer, including lands in western Europe"; *ibid.*, p. 117.

<sup>159</sup> Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, 72, does not indicate his source for this identification.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, 116-117, 488.

<sup>161</sup> On Sephoris (Saffuriya) and its church, see Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 209-218, no. 196, plates cxiii-xii, and fig. 58-59.

<sup>162</sup> Godefroi de Beaulieu, O.P., *Vita Sancti Ludovici Francorum regis*, in *Acta sanctorum*, Aug.

In 1192, as we have seen, Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury, obtained permission from Saladin for two Latin priests and two deacons to officiate in Nazareth. In September, 1251, the canons regular are back in the cathedral of the Annunciation for the first time since 1187. Such at least is the statement of Henry, archbishop of Nazareth, in reconstituting a chapter of regular canons in his cathedral. He stipulates that they are to serve the church as a community, eat in a common refectory, and sleep in a common dormitory. For their support, he grants them the *casale* of Aylot and other means. The archdeacon is to be a secular cleric, priest or deacon, “*sicut etiam antiquitus in eadem ecclesia scitur et recolitur institutus*.”<sup>163</sup> However, the archbishop did not long remain in Nazareth. Pope Alexander IV, on March 25, 1256, granted him permission to live in Acre, where he had a church, houses, and possessions.<sup>164</sup>

The church of the Annunciation seems to have survived in some state until the ravages wreaked by Bybars in 1263. Pope Urban IV, writing to St. Louis IX of France on August 20 of that year, graphically relates that the *perfidus soldanus Babilonie* not only seized the venerable church of Nazareth—within the walls of which the Virgin of virgins was greeted by an angel, conceived of the Holy Spirit, and told she would give birth—but totally destroyed it through his sacrilegious and evil ministers, levelled it to the ground, completely destroying its noble structure.<sup>165</sup> Four capitals of columns have survived; they apparently had been held apart prior to being set in place. They are preserved in the Franciscan Museum in Nazareth.<sup>166</sup>

In 1283, an agreement between the Christians of Acre and Sultan Kalaun ceded to pilgrims going to Nazareth four houses previously belonging to the church of the Annunciation.<sup>167</sup>

### *Sebaste*

From at least the 4th century, the tombs of John the Baptist and the prophets Elisha

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25, vol. 5, (Antverpiae, 1741), p. 550; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, 104/105. See also Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 68.

<sup>163</sup> See the letter of Pope Innocent IV, Jan. 25, 1252, repeating and confirming Archbishop Henry's regulations; *Les registres d'Innocent IV*, ed. Elie Berger (4 v., Paris, 1884-1919), III, 18-20, no. 5538.

<sup>164</sup> *Les registres d'Alexandre IV*, ed. C. Bourel de La Roncière [*et al.*] (3 v., Paris, 1902-1959), I, 388, no. 1300.

<sup>165</sup> *Les registres d'Urban IV (1261-1264)*, ed. by Jean Guiraud (4 v., Paris, 1901-1906), II/1, 161, no. 344.

<sup>166</sup> See the description by Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 135-137 and plates lxxxv-lxxxvii. See also Jaroslav Folda, *The Nazareth Capitals and the Crusader Shrine of the Annunciation*, University Park, Pa., 1986.

<sup>167</sup> Louis, comte de Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de l'Île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan* (3 v., Paris, 1861-18--), I, 470. Meron Benvenisti remarks, “Possession remained theoretical, as nobody seems to have returned to care for them”; *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem, 1970, p. 167.

and Abdias were held in reverence in Sebaste.<sup>168</sup> Abbot Daniel, visiting Sebaste in 1106-1107, describes the prison and tomb of St. John the Baptist and adds, "A church, called that of the Forerunner, has been erected there, as well as a very rich Frank monastery."<sup>169</sup> Thus, already in 1107 a shrine church had been built in honor of the popular St. John the Baptist and staffed with a chapter of canons. Presumably, these adopted the rule of St. Augustine in 1114, as was the case at the other principal shrines. In 1128-1130, Sebaste with its important shrine became the single suffragan diocese of Caesarea.<sup>170</sup> Around the middle of the century, work was begun on a new church. If previously the chapter of canons had been only a priory, it would now have become an abbey. Enlart situates the abbey to the north of the church, but more recently Pringle places it to the south.<sup>171</sup>

The Moslem author of *The Book of the Two Gardens*, Abu Shama, provides some details about the shrine and the canons. "After the Moslems had abandoned the tomb," he writes, "the priests had changed it into a church. It was one of their principal sanctuaries, one of their most venerated tombs. They had covered it with veils, fitted it out with ornaments of silver and gold and had established a pilgrimage at fixed times. A community of monks resided there and allowed only those to visit who contributed rich offerings."<sup>172</sup> According to this account, the Byzantine shrine had become a mosque, by the time the Latins took it over.

During a visit to Sebaste around 1140-1143, the Moslem Usamah Ibn Munqidh encountered some whitehaired old men in church, and admired their piety, the like of which he did not find among his own. It has been conjectured that these were canons.<sup>173</sup>

The possessions of the Church of St. John in Sebaste, except those in France, are unknown. Innocent II had taken the church under his protection and confirmed its posses-

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<sup>168</sup> On the cathedral church of Sebaste, see Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 283-297; Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 339-349, *Album*, plate 12, fig. 23; plate 145, figs. 458-457 [=459]; plate 146, fig. 461; plate 146bis, figs. 459-460 (the numeration of the figures is confused); J. W. Crowfoot, *Churches at Bosra and Samaria-Sebaste*, London, 1937, pp. 24-25. Crowfoot is mainly concerned with the Greek monastery in Sebaste.

<sup>169</sup> *The Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel*, ch. 73, p. 58-59; *Vie et pèlerinage de Daniel*, ch. 73, p. 58.

<sup>170</sup> Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 68.

<sup>171</sup> Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 341, reporting the findings of Victor Guérin, and p. 347; Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 295.

<sup>172</sup> *Le livre des deux jardins; histoire des deux règnes, celui de Nour ed-Dîn et celui de Salah ed-Dîn*; in *RHC, Historiens orientaux* (4 v., Paris, 1872-1898), IV, 302.

<sup>173</sup> Usamah Ibn Munqidh, *Kitab al-'Asa (Book of Rods)*, ed. and tr. H. Derenbourg; *Ousamah ibn Mounkidh, un émir syrien au premier siècle des croisades (1095-1188)*, vol 1, *Vie d'Ousamah*, Paris, 1889, p. 189. See Joyce M. McLellan, *Latin Monasteries and Nunneries in Palestine and Syria in the Time of the Crusades*, St. Andrews, 1974, p. 30; Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 285.

sions, but his letter has apparently been lost. On April 28, 1179, Alexander III confirmed the act of his predecessor, specifically Sebaste's possessions in France.<sup>174</sup>

In 1187, Husam ed-Dîn, Saladin's favorite nephew, captured Sebaste and its cathedral. About the latter, the *Book of the Two Gardens* states that he "took possession of all it contained and left what was indispensable for a mosque, then he opened it to Moslems and fixed the place of the *mihrab* for the direction of prayers."<sup>175</sup> Crowfoot sees in the ruins of the church "a magnificent cathedral... in the Burgundian style."<sup>176</sup>

Besides the Latin church, there was a monastery of Greek monks in Sebaste, situated on a hill, the supposed site of Herod's palace.<sup>177</sup> While the Latin church became a mosque, the Greek monastery survived the collapse of the Latin kingdom and still existed in the late 13th century, when the Dominican Burchard of Mount Sion was kindly received there and given food.<sup>178</sup>

No church of St. John the Baptist is found in Acre; Sebaste now being in Moslem hands, the diocese long remained vacant. In 1253, the prior of the Holy Sepulchre, Hugh of Nissun, was appointed to the see. The diocese was allowed to lapse after his death in 1268.<sup>179</sup>

### *Hebron*

Thirty kilometres south of Jerusalem and on a line inland from Gaza, lay the important sanctuary of Hebron, from earliest times the reputed tomb of the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of their respective wives, sacred alike to Christian, Jew and Moslem.<sup>180</sup> The unroofed site, dating from Herodian times, was enclosed in strong high walls and paved like the floor of a temple. Within, there were six pyramidal monuments commemorating the tombs of the three patriarchs and their wives. When Saewulf (1102/3) and Abbot Daniel

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<sup>174</sup> Professor Hiestand has edited the text from a 16th-century copy in the Archives départementales in Melun, *Vorarbeiten III*, pp. 290-292, no. 117.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>176</sup> *Churches at Bosra*, p. 24. He adds, "The cathedral was turned into a mosque by Saladin shortly after it was finished, and a mosque it has remained ever since [1937]." *Ibid.*, p. 25.

For a detailed description of the cathedral on the basis of its remains and previous research see Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 342-349, and III, plates, 145-148, 166.

<sup>177</sup> *The Pilgrimage of Joannes Phocas*, tr. Aubrey Stewart, London, 1896, p. 16. In reference to the monastery at Herod's palace, the Greek original reads, *Romaikòn monastérion; Compendiaria descriptio*, PG 133, col. 939b, which Stewart mistakenly renders "Roman monastery." The Latin translation in PG correctly has: "*Graecorum monasterium*".

<sup>178</sup> *Burchard of Mount Sion*, ch. VII, p. 50; Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, p. 52-54; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, 162/163. For a description, see Crowfoot, *Churches at Bosra*, pp. 25-39 and plates 13-17.

<sup>179</sup> Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, pp. 247, 266-267, 271, 275.

<sup>180</sup> See Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 124-133; III, plate 90; *ibid.*, *Album*, plate 90, figs. 272-274; D. Stiernon, "Hebron," DHGE, XXIII, 712-726; Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 223-239, no. 100. Not available for consultation: L.H. Vincent, S.H. Macay, F.M. Abel, *Hebron*, Paris, 1923.

(1106/7) admired the scene,<sup>181</sup> they made no mention of a church, but the crusaders no doubt had converted the existing mosque to Christian use. It was equipped with a chapter of canons, for a Ranierus, *prior de S. Habraham*, occurs in documents as early as 1112.<sup>182</sup> In 1114 these canons would have accepted the rule of St. Augustine.

In 1119, the discovery occurred of the double cave with the supposed remains of the patriarchs.<sup>183</sup> In his account of the event, the anonymous author<sup>184</sup> seems to claim that the canons were regular from the start.<sup>185</sup> Ranier, he reveals, was the first prior; among his early followers were Odo and Arnulph. Odo, who discovered the cave, was a copyist, *arte scriba*, so the chapter may have had a *scriptorium*.<sup>186</sup>

Odo, on finding the crypt beneath the floor of the church, hurriedly rouses the brethren from their beds; one would expect the monastery, as usual, to have been close or attached to the church. When the relics had been removed, they were displayed to the veneration of the faithful in the cloister. A new church, existing today, situated in the southwestern half of the enclosure, replaced the old.<sup>187</sup>

Only in 1168 did Hebron become a diocese and the church a cathedral.<sup>188</sup> As such, it survived only a score of years. Saladin made the cathedral a mosque, which none but a Moslem was allowed to enter.

The church in Acre of the diocese of Hebron, was situated in the Montmusard suburb in *Tavaria* near the Trinitarians.<sup>189</sup> In 1253, the bishop of Hebron, Bartholomew of Fossa Nova, brought suit against the Master of St. Mary of the Teutons, over some houses situated in *Tavaria* in the suburb of Montmusard. Said houses situate the church of the bishop and

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<sup>181</sup> *Saewulf*, p. 24; *Peregrinationes tres*, p. 73; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, II, 24/25; *The Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel*, pp.45-46.

<sup>182</sup> Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire*, I, nos. 25 and 28. Stiernon makes no distinction between canons and regular canons in his list of priors; DHGE, XXIII, 717.

<sup>183</sup> *Canonici Hebronensis Tractatus de inventione sanctorum patriarcharum, Abraham, Ysaac et Jacob (27 jul. 1119)*, [ed. by P. Riant], RHC, hist. occid., V, 302-314; Paul Edouard Didier, Comte de Riant, "Invention de la sépulture des patriarchs Abraham, Isaac et Jacob à Hébron, le 25 juin 1119," *Archives de l'Orient Latin* 2 (1884), 411-421; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, I, 3; Ch. Kohler, "Un nouveau récit de l'invention des patriarches Abraham, Isaac et Jacob à Hébron," *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 4 (1896), 477-502.

<sup>184</sup> Riant considers the author to be a canon of Hebron, but Kohler takes issue with this, though he admits that the account was written in Palestine, probably by a regular canon; "Un nouveau récit," p. 479, note 2.

<sup>185</sup> *Tractatus de inventione ss. patriarcharum*, I, 9; RHC, V, 309: "... post Jerusalem a Francis Dei virtute captam... etiam conventus clericorum Domini, sub apostolica regula, ad serviendum Deo, in eodem loco a Latinis constitutus fuerit."

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 1-2, contrary to the opinion of Buchthal, who limits the *scriptoria* in the kingdom to the Holy Sepulchre (see above).

<sup>187</sup> Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 239.

<sup>188</sup> William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, XX, 3, p. 914.

<sup>189</sup> E. Strehlke, *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, Toronto, 1975 (facsim. ed.), p. 83, no. 104.

chapter of Hebron, because they lay in the “*territorio ecclesie Ebronensis prope ecclesiam sancte Trinitatis*.”<sup>190</sup>

*Lydda-Ramla*<sup>191</sup>

In June 1099, the crusaders on their way to Jerusalem took the twin towns of Lydda-Ramla and forthwith installed a Latin bishop, Robert of Rouen. Early tradition placed the burial of St. George in Lydda, and for centuries a great church had existed over his tomb, which the Franks found in ruins.<sup>192</sup> According to Fulk of Chartres, in May 1101, there existed a church and monastery of St. George, which an Egyptian force attacked, but they soon retreated, discouraged by the strength of the place.<sup>193</sup> Perhaps it is this witness which led Meron Benvenisti to state that the Franks “added a monastery and fortified the entire complex. A large number of canons ministered to the Church of St. George.”<sup>194</sup>

The Latins restored or replaced the basilica, completed around 1170. In 1185, Phocas visited the “very great church” with the tomb of St. George under the main altar and recounts a story of how “the present intruded bishop of the Latin rite” was miraculously hindered from opening it.<sup>195</sup> After 1187 a mosque replaced the Christian cathedral.

Pringle’s careful historical and archaeological study of the cathedral church of St. George reveals no traces of a monastery of canons. That recorded by Fulk as existing in 1102 would not yet have been reformed, but it is likely that the canons took the rule of St. Augustine in 1114. Lydda was a suffragan of the patriarch and relatively close to Jerusalem. Lydda is one of six bishoprics, besides the patriarchate, to be represented in Acre after 1187, the other five being former shrine churches with chapters of Austin canons. Lydda would otherwise be the only shrine cathedral without such a community.

After 1187, the bishop of Lydda retired to Acre and his church dedicated to St. George. *Pardouns* lists it in the suburb of Montmusard after the church of St. Bridget.<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, p. 98, citing Stehlke, *Tabulae*, p. 83, no. 104. The church is not shown on Sanuto’s map nor mentioned by *Pardouns*.

<sup>191</sup> On the cathedral church of St. George see Enlart, *Les monuments des Croisés*, II, 272-277, *Album*, plate 13bis, fig. 27; plates 141-143, figs. 450-454; Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 9-27, no. 137, fig. 3-6, plates ii-xviii.

<sup>192</sup> According to William of Tyre, the enemy had thrown down (*deiecerant*) the church built by Justinian (483-565) at the approach of the Christian army, fearing its beams would be used for military engines, but Pringle doubts the logic of this action and would have the church continue to exist in some form. Still, the author probably takes too literally a word which could simply mean that the church was destroyed; William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, Bk. 7, ch. 22, p. 373; Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 11.

<sup>193</sup> Fulcher de Chartres, *Gesta peregrinantium Francorum cum armis Hierusalem pergentium*, Bk. II, ch. 15, RHC, hist. occid., III, 397; Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 11 (who refers to ch. II).

<sup>194</sup> *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, p. 169. He cites no sources and may be turning a likelihood into a fact.

<sup>195</sup> *The Pilgrimage of Joannes Phocas*, ch. XXIX, p. 34.

<sup>196</sup> Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, p. 12; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, 116-117. Dichter, without

*St. Catherine of Montgisart*<sup>197</sup>

Among the five suffragan houses of the diocese of Lydda, Jean d'Ibelin lists a priory of St. Catherine of Mongisart.<sup>198</sup> It is thought that this house may have been founded to commemorate the victory of Baldwin IV over Saladin on St. Catherine's Day, November 25, 1177. The site of the battle has been identified with Tall-al Jazar, southeast of Ramla. The exact location of the priory is unknown.

Immediately after the battle of Hattin, in September, 1187, Peter of Jerusalem, prior of St. Catherine of the Field of Battle (*de Campo Belli*), sought incardination in the archdiocese of Trani in Apulia.<sup>199</sup> An "ecclesia Sancte Caterine de Campo Belli" in Acre is mentioned in a bull of Gregory IX of 1237;<sup>200</sup> the community evidently had transferred there after 1187.

The affiliation of this priory is not known. Whether it was a religious house is also in doubt.<sup>201</sup>

*St. John the Evangelist*

Another suffragan of the bishop of Lydda, which Jean d'Ibelin lists in his book of laws, is the priory of St. John the Evangelist. The site of this house is unknown; neither is it known whether it was administered by a religious community. Denys Pringle, at the suggestion of Bernard Hamilton, inclines to the opinion that the house was Orthodox.<sup>202</sup>

*Acre*

Acre was taken in 1104 by the combined forces of King Baldwin I and the Genoese fleet and became the principal port of entry into the kingdom.<sup>203</sup> A bishop of Acre, John, is

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indicating sources, places it in Montmusard near the *vicus Anglorum*; *ibid.*, p. 114,

<sup>197</sup> Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 274, no. 122.

<sup>198</sup> Jean d'Ibelin, *Livre*; RHC, *Lois*, I, 417.

<sup>199</sup> A. di G. Prologo, ed., *Le carte che si conservano nell'archivio del capitolo metropolitano della città di Trani dal IX secolo fino all'anno 1266*, Barletta, 1877, pp. 165-166, no. 78; cited by Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 274.

<sup>200</sup> *Registres*, II, 843-844, no. 4014; cited by Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 274.

<sup>201</sup> Backmund cites the catalog of the Premonstratensian monastery of Scheftlarn, which lists in the *cicaria* of Tuscany a *Mons Sanctae Catharinae* of the diocese of Jerusalem. For some reason, he suggests that Ibelin's reference is to a Dominican house; *Monasticon*, I/2, 506-507.

<sup>202</sup> Jean d'Ibelin, *Livre*, ed. A.A. Beugnot; RHC, *Lois*, Paris, 1841-1843, I, 417. On the priory of St. John the Evangelist see Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 244, no. 210.

<sup>203</sup> On Acre, see Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 2-35; Bernard Dichter, *The Orders and Churches of Crusader Acre*, Acre, 1979.



first mentioned in a letter of Pope Innocent II of July 18, 1137.<sup>204</sup> Sources do not refer to the religious status of the canons of the cathedral. It is likely they were religious, at least after 1189, with the patriarch present in the city, and more certainly after 1262, when the patriarch took over the administration of the diocese.

The cathedral of Acre, dedicated to the Holy Cross, is clearly marked on Sanuto's map in the center of the old city. *Pardouns* names it between Our Lady of Tyre and St. Mark of the Venetians.<sup>205</sup>

### *Tyre (Sur)*

In 1122, Tyre was given an archbishop, Odo, even before the Franks took the city two years later, when Odo himself was already dead.<sup>206</sup> An archbishop was needed to consecrate the daughter churches of the meditated metropolitan see. Tyre belonged to the patriarchate of Antioch, but a much controverted arrangement was made by which the suffragan sees in the kingdom of Jerusalem should belong to its patriarchate. Tyre became a metropolitan see with Beirut, Sidon, and Acre as suffragans.

The cathedral, dedicated to St. Mary, dated from the 4th century and had previously been the seat of the Orthodox archbishop. In 1129, the new Latin archbishop, William I (1128-1135), bestowed it on the Holy Sepulchre,<sup>207</sup> and thereafter it seems also to have been known as the Church of the Holy Cross.<sup>208</sup> Around this time, too, the Latins built a new cathedral over the Byzantine church. It was situated near the eastern gate of the city and near the ramparts. Attached to it also would have been the residence of the archbishop and canons. The canons were no doubt regular: the church was dependent on the Holy Sepulchre, of which Archbishop William himself had been the prior.<sup>209</sup> The famous historian, Archbishop William II (1775-1184/5), as might be expected of so learned a man, enhanced the cathedral library.<sup>210</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> Bresc-Bautier, *Le cartulaire*, pp. 223-224, no. 104; Rozière, *Cartulaire*, p. 5, no. 6; PL 179, col. 329, no. 279; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, pp. 144-145, no. 34; Röhrich, *Regesta*, pp. 42-43, no. 171; Enlart's date for this document, 1131, based on Lequien, is incorrect. Also, he ascribes it to Innocent III; *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 3, and note 6.

<sup>205</sup> Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, pp. 12-13; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, 116/117, 488. Enlart places the cathedral of Acre near the Arsenal, which was the site of the patriarchate; *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 13.

<sup>206</sup> On the diocese and cathedral of Tyre, see Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 352-373, *Album*, plate 9, fig. 17; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, 53-56; Lucas, *Geschichte der Stadt Tyrus*, pp. 70-71. Lucas, for some reason, does not treat the Mendicant Orders in Tyre.

<sup>207</sup> Bresc-Bautier, *Le cartulaire*, pp. 145-146, no. 55; Rozière, *Cartulaire*, pp. 138-139, no. 67; PL 155, col. 1166-1167; Röhrich, *Regesta*, p. 31, no. 127.

<sup>208</sup> Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 354, cites a reference to a *trivium S. Crucis* in a document dated Oct. 1243; Röhrich, *Regesta*, p. 291, no. 1114.

<sup>209</sup> On William I, archbishop of Tyre, see Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 66.

<sup>210</sup> Edbury/Rowe, *William of Tyre*, p. 20, but the references cited in note 27 do not contain an allusion to the cathedral library.

Saladin did not take strongly fortified Tyre in 1187. Whatever religious institutions there were remained in place until 1291.<sup>211</sup> Today, nothing remains of the cathedral and chapter house. A sketch by the 17th-century traveller, Cornelis de Bruyne, shows the ruins of the apse.<sup>212</sup>

The Latins erected thirteen archdioceses and dioceses to replace the 102 Orthodox sees.<sup>213</sup> Besides the sees already considered (Bethlehem, Nazareth, Sebaste, Hebron, Lydda, Acre, and Tyre), there were those of Caesarea,<sup>214</sup> Petra,<sup>215</sup> Sidon,<sup>216</sup> Beirut,<sup>217</sup> Tiberias,<sup>218</sup>, and Banyas.<sup>219</sup> Of the nature of these chapters, whether religious or not, no certain information

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<sup>211</sup> Enlart lists eighteen churches in Tyre; *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 355.

<sup>212</sup> Enlart, *Monuments des croisés*, II, 365, fig. 478bis. See also *ibid.*, *Album*, plate 149, fig. 472 (photo of the apse, versus 1875); fig. 473 (photo of the remains in 1922).

<sup>213</sup> Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 84; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, pp. 19-21. For lists of the Latin archdioceses and dioceses of the Holy Land and their ordinaries, see Pauli, *Codice diplomatico*, pp. 557-559; Rey, *Les familles d'Outremer*, pp. 749-816; Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, pp. 395 (Acre), 398 (Bethlehem, Caesarea), 401 (Hebron), 404 (Lydda-Ramley, Nazareth), 405 (Petra), 408 (Sebaste, Sidon, Tiberias), 409 (Tyre).

<sup>214</sup> Pringle's extensive historical and archaeological study of the ruins of the cathedral does not discuss the question of a chapter house; *The Churches*, I, 166-179, no. 68. On the cathedral of Caesarea see also Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 85-89, and *Album*, plate 6, fig 9.

<sup>215</sup> The cathedral of Petra (Karak) has been replaced by a mosque. Canons of the Latin cathedral appear in a document of 1181; Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 287-288, no. 129, citing Delaville le Roulx, *Cartulaire*, I, no. 610, and Röhrich, *Regesta*, p. 161, no. 607. On the cathedral of Petra, see also Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 314-315.

<sup>216</sup> The location of the Latin cathedral of Sidon is unknown. A canon of the church of Sidon and its chapter are mentioned in documents of 1126 and 1247 respectively. Ten manuscripts of the 12th and 13th centuries, provenant of the cathedral library are extant in European libraries; Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 320-321, no. 236, and fig. 87. See also Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 336-339.

<sup>217</sup> The cathedral built by the crusaders near the center of the town is today the al-'Umari mosque. It was a basilica with three apses and aisles. On the west was an open porch. The bishop's residence and chapter house, probably situated on the northern side of the church, are mentioned in a document of 1184; Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 112-115, figs. 36-38, and plate lxxii.

There is some reason to believe that the canons of the cathedral were Augustinian. In a letter of Sept. 5, 1185, Pope Lucius III speaks of a "*domum adhaerentem domui canonicorum*"; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, pp. 303-305, no. 127. From this, one might infer that the canons were living in community as religious.

On the church of Beirut, see also, Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 68-78; *Album*, plate 5, fig. 8; plate 13, fig. 25; plates 69-72, figs. 214-221; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, pp. 56-58.

<sup>218</sup> The site of the crusader cathedral of St. Peter in Tiberias, suffragan of Nazareth, is unknown. Five canons of the cathedral appear in a charter of 1174; Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 353-356, and fig. 99, no. 255. See also Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 374-375.

<sup>219</sup> Banyas, in the northeastern part of the kingdom, was captured by the Franks in 1140 and taken in turn by Nur al-Din in 1164. One of the betrayers of the town to the enemy was rumored to be a canon of its church, named Roger; Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 108, no. 38. This author further notes, "It may be presumed that some kind of cathedral church would have been constructed

is to be had.

Bernard Hamilton notes that in the 12th century, the cathedral was usually the only Latin parish church in a city.<sup>220</sup>

## 2. The Premonstratensians

A special kind of canons of St. Augustine are the Premonstratensians, founded by St. Norbert, 1121-1122.<sup>221</sup> In Palestine, they had two houses of indeterminate date, St. Habakkuk in Ramla and St. Samuel in Mountjoie.

Although St. Bernard, as we shall see, was unwilling to extend his Order to Palestine, he took a certain interest in the initiative in this matter of the Premonstratensians. His letters unfortunately are undated, but in one of them he assures Gaufridus de Lèves, bishop of Chartres (1116-1149),<sup>222</sup> that he does not know whether St. Norbert is going to the Holy Land.<sup>223</sup> In another, we find St. Bernard writing to Melisende, Queen of Jerusalem, 1131-1152, recommending to her favor *Praemonstratenses fratres istos*, who are on pilgrimage and on whose virtues and qualities he bestows extravagant praise.<sup>224</sup> It is not clear to whom Bernard's words apply: whether to transient pilgrims or to the founders of one of the future abbeys.

### *St. Samuel, Montjoie*

The abbey of St. Samuel was located on a lofty eminence, Nabi Samwil, northwest of

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in Banyas soon after 1140... The location of the building, however, has yet to be determined." See also Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 441-443.

<sup>220</sup> *The Latin Church*, p. 88.

<sup>221</sup> On the Premonstratensians, see Norbert Backmund, O.Praem., *Monasticon praemonstratense* (3 v., Straubing, 1949-1956), I, 397-407. Fr. Backmund has published a revised edition of vol. I in 2 vols., *Monasticon praemonstratense, tomi primi editio secunda*, Berlin/New York, 1983, 2 v., which has been consulted here.

See also J.-B. Valvekens, O.Praem., "Premonstratensi," *DIP*, VII, 720-741; C.K. Slack, "The Premonstratensians and the Crusader Kingdoms in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 67 (1991), 207-208; 68 (1992), 76-110.

<sup>222</sup> P.B. Gams, *Series episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae*, Graz, 1957 (reprint), p. 536.

<sup>223</sup> *Epistolae*, ed. J. Leclercq and H. Rochais (2 v., Romae, 1974-1977), I, 148, letter 56. The editors date the letter around the end of November, 1124. See also PL 182, cols.162-163.

<sup>224</sup> *Epistolae*, II, 299, letter 355; PL 182, cols. 557-558. Leclercq/Rochais date the letter around 1142.

H.E. Mayer, "Sankt Samuel auf dem Freudenberge und sein Besitz nach einem ungekannten Diplom König Balduins V," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 44 (1964), 38, quotes only the rubric (Mabillon's) of the letter about the fact that the canons were on pilgrimage, but Bernard himself alludes to it, "*Christum... qui est causa peregrinationis eorum.*"

Jerusalem on the road to Jaffa.<sup>225</sup> From that point, the crusaders had first thrilled to the joyful sight of the holy city of Jerusalem, the goal of many a weary and hard-fought mile. From then on, the place was called *Mons Gaudii*, or Montjoie.

St. Bernard had originally been given a site there by King Baldwin II (1118-1131), but he did not avail himself of the king's generosity and instead turned the gift over to the abbot of Prémontré: "In Jerusalem," the saint writes, "King Baldwin, when he was still living, gave us the site (*locum*) of St. Samuel together with 1,000 gold pieces for construction purposes. By our gift you have the site, as you have had the gold pieces."<sup>226</sup>

In a letter to the patriarch of Jerusalem, Bernard writes, "About the place to which you invite us, Brother Andrew will inform you regarding our will."<sup>227</sup> The "place to which you invite us" appears very likely to refer to Montjoie, which the king also is urging on Bernard. Mayer, dating the letter around 1135, declares the idea to be pure speculation,<sup>228</sup> but that does not mean it is unlikely.

The canons built their church over the tomb of St. Samuel, situated in a grotto, probably replacing a Greek church and monastery.<sup>229</sup> The Premonstratensian church, sited east to west, consisted of a single nave and transepts. The northern side was flanked by an oblong structure, like an aisle, styled by Pringle an "annex," the purpose of which seems to have been to afford direct access from outside to the crypt with the tomb. An entrance observable in the west wall of the south transept probably gave entrance to the cloister. The various rooms of the monastery would have been arranged around it.<sup>230</sup>

An "R.," abbot of St. Samuel, attended the synod of 1156, mentioned above. Other abbots known from the necrology of Prémontré are Theodoric (Mar. 24), Hugh (Aug. 25),

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<sup>225</sup> Backmund, *Monasticon*, I/2, 508-509; R. Savignac, O.P., and F.-M. Abel, O.P., "Neby Samouil," *Revue biblique* 21 (1912), 267-79; Mayer, "Sankt Samuel," pp. 35-71; Slack, "The Premonstratensians I," pp. 218-229; Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 85-94, fig. 22-23, and plates lii-lix.

<sup>226</sup> Letter 253: *Epistolae*, II, 150; PL 182, 454. Leclercq/Rochais date the letter around 1150. A charter of Baldwin V, confirming the possessions of the abbey, shows that St. Bernard is referring to Baldwin II (1118-1131); Mayer, "Sankt Samuel," p. 39.

<sup>227</sup> Letter 175, *Epistolae*, I, 393 (dated by the editors, 1130-1131); PL 182, 337.

<sup>228</sup> "Sankt Samuel," p. 30.

<sup>229</sup> Mayer, "Sankt Samuel," p. 37, observes that the Greek monks managed to retain possession of their monastery relatively late, because the Russian Hegumen Daniel found hospitality there in 1106-1107. But Daniel mentions no Greek monastery on Montjoie, nor consequently his stay there. See the source Mayer cites, Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes*, p. 11; also *The Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel*, p. 9.

<sup>230</sup> See the description by Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 87-91, fig. 22-23, and plates lii-lix. Also the photos by Enlart, *Monuments des croisés, Album*, plate 123, figs. 385-387. Enlart has "St. Simeon" instead of St. Samuel.

and John (Dec. 27).<sup>231</sup> The abbot of St. Samuel, one of the six suffragans of the patriarchate, wore the crozier but no miter and ring.<sup>232</sup>

St. Samuel possessed the Church of St. John the Evangelist in Nablus<sup>233</sup> and the chapel of St. Longinus in Jerusalem, besides a number of villages and farmland. After reviewing the possessions of the abbey, Mayer concludes that “St. Samuel of Montjoie belonged to the smaller monasteries of the Holy Land. It was not to be compared with the more famous monasteries of the Holy Land.”<sup>234</sup>

In the abbey of Prémontré, on November 20 yearly, a commemoration was made of the deceased members of the confraternity of the overseas church of St. Samuel. “A complete service (*plenarium servitium*) is to be held for them, as is done for a brother recently deceased locally. On that day, too, the brethren are to be served a better meal than usual.”<sup>235</sup> It is not clear whether the word, *confraternitas*, is to be taken in the sense of “confrères,” (fellow Premonstratensians), or to a lay confraternity. The former meaning is more likely.

*St. Habakkuk, Ramla-Lyddā*<sup>236</sup>

At the Council of Rheims, 1131, attended by both Bernard and Norbert, Pope Innocent II is said to have commissioned Amalric, of the abbey of Floreffe, and companions to preach to the Christians and pagans in the Holy Land.<sup>237</sup> Since there is no evidence for such a commission, it is not certain whether it was actually given or whether it was presumed to have occurred in view of future events.

In any case, Amalric enters upon history as abbot of St. Habakkuk, when he became bishop of Sidon, ca. 1153.<sup>238</sup> William of Tyre, chronicling this event, describes him as a *vir simplex ac timens Deum et egregiae conversationis*.<sup>239</sup> He was one of the prelates who accompanied the Patriarch Fulk to Europe in 1155 in pursuance of the latter’s dispute with the

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<sup>231</sup> Raphael van Waefelghem, O.S.N., ed., *L’Obituaire de l’abbaye de Prémontré*, Louvain, 1913, pp. 75, 165, 244; Pringle, II, 86, omits Abbot John.

<sup>232</sup> *Livre*, c. 261; *RHC, Lois*, I, 415.

<sup>233</sup> Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 104, no. 164.

<sup>234</sup> Mayer, “Sankt Samuel,” p. 66. Slack, on the other hand, declares, “... in Palestine, the Norbertines’ holdings there were not negligible”; “The Premonstratensians I,” p. 218. On the possessions of St. Samuel see Mayer, *ibid.*, pp. 57-67, and Baldwin’s charter, pp. 67-71.

<sup>235</sup> Waefelghem, *L’Obituaire de l’abbaye de Prémontré*, p. 222-223.

<sup>236</sup> Backmund, *Monasticon*, I, 404; Slack, “The Premonstratensians I,” pp. 214-218; Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 283-285, no. 127.

<sup>237</sup> Backmund, *Monasticon*, I, 397, who cites no source. The acts of the council of Rheims have been lost, and the reconstruction from various sources by C. H. Hefele-H. Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles* (11 v. Paris, 1907-1952), V/1, 694-699, makes no mention of such a commission. If it occurred, the pope’s act probably took place during the council, but not as a conciliar act.

<sup>238</sup> Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 408. Backmund, *Monasticon*, p. 404, dates Amalric’s occupation of the see of Sidon from 1152. Other dates: Gams, *Series episcoporum*, p. 434: 1155-1175; Slack, “The Premonstratensians I,” p. 213: 1153-1170.

<sup>239</sup> *Chronicon*, bk. 17, ch. 26, p. 797. The editors place William’s record in the year 1153.

Hospitallers of St. John. Upon his return the following year from his fruitless mission, Fulk was faced with the quarrel between the canons of the Holy Sepulchre and those of Mount Olivet mentioned above. The synod convened by Fulk, which found for the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, had Amalric among its signers.<sup>240</sup>

Letardus, archbishop of Nazareth, another of the signers of the document, is said to have been a Premonstratensian.<sup>241</sup> If he was, he was not originally one, for at his nomination to the see of Nazareth he was an Austin canon, prior of the cathedral chapter.<sup>242</sup> William of Tyre on this occasion describes him as a *vir mansuetus admodum, affabilis et benignus, qui hodie etiam eidem preest ecclesie, vicesimum tertium habens in pontificatu annum*.

Backmund dates the foundation of St. Habakkuk, 1137-1138, and suggests the site El Kenisey near Jaffa.<sup>243</sup> He cites no sources, but his information is correct, for Pringle places al-Kanisa 4.5 km. north of Lydda. William of Tyre's reference to the abbey (1153?), mentioned above, is the earliest allusion to it.

In the document over the dispute between the Holy Sepulchre and Mount Olivet (1156), an Abbot Herbert appears. On Christmas Day, 1159, Herbert with the consent of his community restored to Hugh de Ibelin whatever his father, Balian, had given them in Bethel and Beze, a.k.a. Bazarim. In Bethel, the canons had built a tower and a chapel, which they now cede to the Holy Sepulchre at Hugh's request.<sup>244</sup> The remains of the chapel exist today in the mosque which lies beside the main road on the southern edge of the village of Baitan (Bethel).<sup>245</sup>

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<sup>240</sup> Bresc-Bautier, *Le cartulaire*, p. 144, no. 54; Rozière, *Cartulaire*, p. 136, no. 66; PL 155, col. 1165; Röhricht, *Regesta*, p. 83, no. 323.

<sup>241</sup> Backmund, *Monasticon*, I, 407, citing secondary sources; Slack, "The Premonstratensians I," p. 213, note 31. Older Premonstratensian writers claimed the cathedral chapter of Nazareth for their Order, perhaps because of Letardus.

<sup>242</sup> William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, bk. 18, ch. 22, p. 842. (Backmund, *Monasticon*, I, 407, has the reference backwards: bk. 22, ch. 18.) William records Letardus' nomination under the year 1158, but Letardus already attended the synod of 1156 in that capacity.

In Gams, Letardus, who is assigned the years 1158-1190 in the see, appears as a Premonstratensian, (O.S.N); *Series episcoporum*, pp. 453, 903.

Boeren accepts the fact that Letardus later became a Premonstratensian but holds that he was prior of the church of St. Gabriel, not of the Annunciation; *Rorgo Fretellus*, p. xii and note 15. As we have seen above, there is reason to think that the later cathedral chapter was first located in the church of St. Gabriel. The church of St. Gabriel may have been Orthodox in crusader times. The Latin St. Gabriel would have been the present Franciscan church of St. Joseph.

<sup>243</sup> *Monasticon*, I, 404. "His [Amalric's] abbey must have been founded in the mid-1130's," Slack, "The Premonstratensians, I, p. 208.

<sup>244</sup> Bresc-Bautier, *Le cartulaire*, pp. 139-140, no. 52.; Rozière, *Cartulaire*, pp. 131-133, no. 64; PL 155, col. 1162-1163; Röhricht, *Regesta*, p. 94, no. 358; Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 104-105, no. 36; Slack, "The Premonstratensians I," pp. 215-217.

<sup>245</sup> Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 105, plate lxx.

Today nothing remains of the abbey of St. Habakkuk; only its site is known.<sup>246</sup>

*St. Joseph of Arimathea, Rantis*<sup>247</sup>

The abbey of St. Habakkuk is sometimes referred to in the sources as the abbey of St. Habakkuk and St. Joseph of Arimathea, which has led authorities to conclude that the latter saint was also honored there. But Pringle has noted that two separate abbots of St. Habakkuk (*de Cantie*) and of St. Joseph (at *Rantis*, or Arimathea), both suffragans of the bishop of Lydda, appear in the book of laws of Jean d'Ibelin.<sup>248</sup> The two shrines, Pringle concludes, had separate locations (*de Cantie* and *Rantis*), and individual abbots. However, it may still be true that there were only two Premonstatensian abbeys in the Holy Land, St. Samuel and St. Habakkuk, the latter ministering to a second church.<sup>249</sup>

In the passage cited above, in which William of Tyre chronicles the consecration of Amalric bishop of Sidon (1153), he refers to the latter as abbot of St. Habakkuk *or (sive) St. Joseph of Arimathea*, which would seem to imply that the two place names are synonymous.

In the document dated 1159/1160, cited above, in which Abbot Herbert cedes certain properties to Hugh of Ibelin, he calls himself abbot of Sts. Joseph and Habakkuk. The agreement, however, takes place *in ipsa ecclesia Sancti Joseph*.

At the same time, Hugh turned the properties over to the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>250</sup> He speaks of the Premonstratensians as the *fratres Sancti Joseph*, of their church as the *ecclesia Sancti Joseph*, and of Herbert as *ecclesiae Sancti Joseph abbate*.

The penance imposed on the canons of Mount Olivet in 1156 is witnessed only by the abbots of St. Samuel and St. Habakkuk.<sup>251</sup>

The necrology of Prémontré lists Herbert as abbot of St. Joseph of Arimathea.<sup>252</sup>

Apart from Jean d'Ibelin, there is no evidence for a third Premonstratensian abbey in the Holy Land. Perhaps Ibelin or his sources were not that precise in designating religious houses. For instance, he lists the Magdalen house, Three Shadows, as an abbey, which it most certainly was not. Three Shadows was an affiliate of the Magdalen house in Acre, itself qualified in official documents—sparse, it is true—as only a convent or monastery.<sup>253</sup>

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<sup>246</sup> Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 284.

<sup>247</sup> Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 199-200, no. 190 (*Rantis*), and plate 56.

<sup>248</sup> Jean d'Ibelin, *Livre*; RHC, *Lois*, I, 417.

<sup>249</sup> McLellan holds for the existence of only one abbey in spite of the evidence of John of Ibelin; *Latin Monasteries and Nunneries in Palestine*, p. 37.

<sup>250</sup> Bresc-Bautier, *Le cartulaire*, pp. 140-142, no. 53; Rozière, *Cartulaire*, pp. 133-135, no. 65; PL 155, col. 1163-164; Röhrich, *Regesta*, pp. 94-95, no. 360.

<sup>251</sup> Bresc-Bautier, *Le cartulaire*, p. 144, no. 54; Rozière, *Cartulaire*, p. 136, no. 66; PL 155, col. 1165; Röhrich, *Regesta*, p. 83, no. 323.

<sup>252</sup> Waefelghem, *L'Obituaire de l'abbaye de Prémontré*, p. 246.

<sup>253</sup> On the Order of Magdalens, see below.

One concludes, therefore, that there were two Premonstratensian abbeys in the Holy Land, St. Samuel and St. Habakkuk. St. Joseph of Arimathea was a church without a community officiated by the abbey of St. Habakkuk.

*St. Michael de Clusa*<sup>254</sup>

Out of scruples on behalf of completeness, mention might be made of a religious house dedicated to St. Michael de Clusa. In the trial of the Templars, 1309-1311, there occurs a *quoddam monasterium quasi Premonstratensis Ordinis*, dedicated to St. Michael de Clusa and situated on an island off Beirut.<sup>255</sup> This may be the *Sanctus Michaelis in Mare*, mentioned in a bull of Pope Lucius III, dated September 1184.<sup>256</sup> Backmund observes, “Unless it is a mistake on the part of the author, this house, about which otherwise nothing is known, may be a priory dependent on Saint Samuel in Acre.”<sup>257</sup> The qualification, “*quasi*,” makes no sense and looks like a scribal slip: *quondam*?

A curious note is found in a 14th-century list of Premonstratensian houses. Under the *cicaria* (province) of Floreffe is listed *Helencinum, quondam in Monte Carmelo*.<sup>258</sup> Helencinum, or the abbey of Heylisseem near Tienen in Belgium, was founded in 1129 by a certain knight, Reiner van Zeetrud.<sup>259</sup> Was it originally located on or near Mount Carmel, and did Reiner, returning from the crusades, bring its inmates back to Belgium, when their situation became untenable, much as later was the case with the Carmelites? Perhaps, the letter of St. Bernard to Gaufridus de Lèves, quoted above, which the editors of the saint’s letters date 1124, may be related to this matter.

At the fall of the kingdom in 1187, the Premonstratensian abbeys, situated in the open countryside, were destroyed. Ralph of Coggeshall records the fate of St. Samuel.<sup>260</sup> Of St. Habakkuk, Backmund says that *pars fratrum* was killed; of St. Samuel, that the *major pars* of the religious died.<sup>261</sup>

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<sup>254</sup> On this monastery see Backmund, *Monasticon*, I/2, 509; Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 118-119, no. 50.

<sup>255</sup> J. Michelet, ed., *Le Procès des Templiers*, (2 v., Paris, 1841-1851), I, 647.

<sup>256</sup> Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, pp. 303-305, no. 127.

<sup>257</sup> “Nisi est error auctoris, haec domus, de qua alioquin nihil scimus, erat forsan prioratus dependens a Sto. Samuele Acconensi;” Backmund, *Monasticon*, I/2, 509.

<sup>258</sup> München, Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 22286 (14th cent., 60 ff.), f. 55, “Cicariae abbatiarum ordinis Premonstr.” Information kindly furnished by the late Jacobus Melsen, O.Carm., who in turn received it from Backmund in a letter, May 10, 1949. See *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, Wiesbaden, 1969 (unveränderter Nachdruck), t. IV, pars 4, p. 37, no. 306.

<sup>259</sup> P. Smolders, O.Praem., “La domaine de Heylisseem,” *Analecta Praemonstratensia*, 2 (1926), 33-59; Joseph and Victor Barbier, O.Praem., *Histoire de l’abbaye de Floreffe de l’Ordre de Prémontré*, Namur, 1880, p. 20.

<sup>260</sup> *De expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum libellus*, ed. Josephus Stevenson, London, 1875 (RS 66), p. 240; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, III, 114/115.

<sup>261</sup> *Monasticon*, I, 405. Slack, “The Premonstratensians I,” p. 214: “There is a tradition, passed



The canons of St. Samuel appear in Acre, joined, no doubt, by those of the abbey of St. Habakkuk and St. Joseph. St. Samuel is not found on the map of Sanuto, but *Pardouns* names it between St. Roman, St. Stephen, and the nuns of St. Lazarus—the first and last of these churches clearly marked by Sanuto in the northeastern section of the old city.<sup>262</sup>

Gervase, abbot of Prémontré (1209-1220), busied himself about the affairs of the Order in Palestine, recommending his brothers to John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem, in letters of 1211 and 1215/6.<sup>263</sup> In 1217, he sent Hellinus, abbot of Floreffe, to the Holy Land, with the task of seeing that St. Samuel and St. Habakkuk were restored to the Order, in case the Christians recovered their losses.<sup>264</sup> Later, Gervase applied similarly to Emperor Frederick II,<sup>265</sup> but it is not known whether the Premonstratensians returned to their lost abbeys during the truce of 1229.<sup>266</sup>

At the fall of the kingdom, Abbot Giles of Marle and twenty-six canons of St. Samuel's in Acre are said to have been slain at this time, but Mayer thinks this is more likely to have happened in 1187.<sup>267</sup>

In the 17th century, the Moslems built a mosque over the ruins of the abbey church. In 1912, a larger mosque was built over the nave, following its lines; the form of the Latin church was thus revealed. During the First World War, in 1917, the mosque was seriously damaged by Turkish artillery fire against the English on Nabi Samwil and required to be repaired, in Enlart's words, "*avec plus de bonne volonté que de souci archéologique.*"<sup>268</sup>

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down in the Order, that canons were martyred in 1187."

<sup>262</sup> Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, p. 12; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, 116-117, and Sanuto's map, *ibid.*, p. 13; De Sandoli, *ibid.*, IV, 488.

<sup>263</sup> Röhricht, *Regesta*, p. 228, no. 854; p. 238, no. 884. See also Mayer, "Sankt Samuel," pp.41-42.

<sup>264</sup> Gervase to Ralph, patriarch of Jerusalem, November 2, 1217, Röhricht, *Regesta*, pp. 242-243, no. 906. Abbot Hellinus is listed in the necrology of Prémontré under August 21 as the abbot of St. Habakkuk, *quondam* abbot of Floreffe. He died on Aug. 18, 1218, in the Order's abbey in Episcopia, Cyprus; Waefelgem, *L'Obituaire*, p. 163.

<sup>265</sup> J.L.A. Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi* (12 v., Paris, 1852-1861), III, 479-480, cited by Mayer, "Sankt Samuel," p. 42, note 34. The editor dates the letter *ca.* 1227, but Mayer places it no later than 1220.

<sup>266</sup> Mayer thinks not, for an abbot of St. Samuel is found resident in Acre in 1235, but in all likelihood the Premonstratensians would have retained their foothold in Acre, even if they had regained their former abbeys; Röhricht, *Regesta*, addit., p. 65, nos. 1061b, 1062a, cited by Mayer, "Sankt Samuel," p. 42.

<sup>267</sup> Mayer, "Sankt Samuel," p. 44. Mayer's reference in note 40 to Backmund, *Monasticon*, I, 405, should read 400.

<sup>268</sup> Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 87; H. Vincent, O.P., "Nebi Samouil," *Revue Biblique* 31 (1922), 360-402; Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 280. Pringle declares Enlart's account to be "confused and somewhat misleading."

### 3. The Benedictines

The Benedictines antecede the coming of the crusaders to Jerusalem by several centuries.<sup>269</sup> The good relations Charlemagne had with the Caliph Harum-al-Raschid, made it possible for Latin monks to settle in the Holy Land. From the beginning of the 9th century there were Latin monks, hence Benedictines, on Mount Olivet, whence they carried on a controversy with the Greek monks over the *Filioque* and other differences. The evidence for the presence of Benedictines in other sites in and around Jerusalem and in Bethlehem is less convincing.<sup>270</sup> Whatever monasteries there were would have fallen victim to the destruction carried out by the Caliph al-Hakim from 1010 to 1014.

#### *St. Mary of the Latins*

However, the Benedictines were not long in returning.<sup>271</sup> William of Tyre describes at length how this came about.<sup>272</sup> The merchants of Amalfi, who carried on a brisk trade throughout the Levant and were in the good graces of the Egyptian rulers, obtained permission for a church and hospice in the Christian quarter around the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and imported Benedictine monks to staff the foundation. Likely provenance of these monks was the abbey of Cava in the vicinity of Amalfi.<sup>273</sup>

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<sup>269</sup> On the Benedictines in the Holy Land see Ursmer Berlière, O.S.B., "Die alten Benedictinerklöster im Heiligen Land," *Studien und Mittheilungen aus den Benedictiner- und Cistercienser-Orden* 9 (1888), 113-130, 260-272, 473-492; *idem*, "Les anciens monastères bénédictins de Terre Sainte," *Revue bénédictine* 5 (1888), 437-446, 502-512, 546-562. These two articles are not simply translations of each other. See also Benoît Gariador, O.S.B., *Les anciens monastères bénédictins en Orient*, Lille, 1912. The latter work was published anonymously; the copy in the library of the Antonianum in Rome is autographed by the author.

<sup>270</sup> On the 9th century Benedictine abbey on the Mount of Olives see Berlière, "Die alten Benedictinerklöster," pp. 117-123; *idem*, "Les anciens monastères bénédictins," pp. 440-446; Gariador, *Les anciens monastères bénédictins*, pp. 10-28. Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 138, admits the presence of Benedictine monks in Bethlehem in 1016.

<sup>271</sup> Some charters have been collected from the archives of the abbey in the West: Walther Holtzmann, "Papst-, Kaiser- und Normannenkunden aus Unteritalien," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 35 (1955), 46-85; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, pp. 32-35.

On the history of the monastery see Berlière, "Die alten Benedictinerklöster," pp. 263-265; *idem*, "Les anciens monastères bénédictins," pp. 503-509; Gariador, *Les anciens monastères bénédictins*, pp. 31-49; Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 182-183; *Album*, plate 102, fig. 310.

<sup>272</sup> *Chronicon*, bk. 18, chs. 4-5, pp. 814-817.

<sup>273</sup> See Paul Guillaume, *Essai historique sur l'abbaye de Cava*, Cava dei Tirreni, 1877, pp. 74-75. See also "Cava, Monastero di," DIP, II, 722-723 (S. Leone).

During crusader times, Cava each year outfitted a ship which regularly travelled to the Holy Land with pilgrims and goods to trade there and in other Mediterranean ports. Paul Guillaume, *Le navi cavensi nel Mediterraneo durante il Medio Evo*, Cava dei Terreni, 1876.

The church, in front of the Holy Sepulchre, “hardly a stone’s throw away,” in William of Tyre’s words, became known as St. Mary of the Latins because of the liturgy observed there. In 1023, Sultan Mussafer took the Latin religious under his protection.<sup>274</sup> Thus, when the crusaders arrived in 1099, they found the Benedictines returned to the Holy City. Albert of Aachen notes that Turks and Saracens had spared only the Holy Sepulchre and the *ecclesiola Sanctae Mariae ad Latinos*, from which they exacted tribute.<sup>275</sup>

The *ecclesiola* was replaced by the crusaders with a more imposing structure, which Enlart declares *un magnifique édifice*, with three apses, a single nave and low roofed aisles (*bas-cotés*) with probably a cupola, and a belfry to the side.<sup>276</sup>

On June 19, 1112, Pope Pascal II took the monks of Mary Latins under his protection, confirmed their rule of St. Benedict according to the *consuetudo* of Monte Cassino, and granted them other perquisites.<sup>277</sup>

Like the other important religious houses, the abbey acquired considerable possessions, particularly in the West. In Palestine, it had churches in Jaffa, Acre, Beirut.<sup>278</sup>

Today no trace remains of St. Mary Latins in Jerusalem. In 1905, its considerable ruins were levelled to make way for a bazaar.<sup>279</sup>

### *St. Stephen Outside the Wall*

St. Mary Latins had charge of the small Byzantine church or oratory of St. Stephen outside the city gate of the same name, which replaced the 5th-century basilica of the Empress Eudocia.<sup>280</sup> Sometime after 1113, when an Egyptian army from Ascalon advanced to the walls of Jerusalem and pillaged the church,<sup>281</sup> the Benedictines would have undertaken its restoration. To commemorate the stoning of Stephen, they erected an altar in the center of the Byzantine oratory, described by Theoderich in 1172.<sup>282</sup> The Christians them-

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<sup>274</sup> Berlière, “Les anciens monastères bénédictins,” p. 505, citing a *firman* in the archive of the Franciscan convent in Jerusalem.

<sup>275</sup> *Historia Hierosolymitanae expeditionis*, Bk VI, ch. 25; PL 166, col. 550; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, I, 276.

<sup>276</sup> *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 182-183 and plate 102, fig. 310.

<sup>277</sup> Holtzmann, “Papst-, Kaiser- und Normannenkunden,” p. 50, no. 1; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, pp. 112-116, no. 12.

<sup>278</sup> On the possessions of St. Mary of the Latins, see the bulls of Adrian IV, April 30, 1158; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, pp. 218-222, no. 79; Röhrich, *Regesta*, pp. 85-86, no. 331 (dated April 23); and of Alexander III, Mar. 8, 1173, Hiestand, *ibid.*, pp. 271-273, no. 106; Holtzmann, “Papst-, Kaiser- und Normannenkunden,” p. 56, no. 2. See also, Mayer, *Bistümer*, pp. 215-221; Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 98; Pringle, *The Churches*, p. 270, no. 113.

<sup>279</sup> Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 182, and *Album*, plate 102, fig. 310.

<sup>280</sup> On St. Stephen’s, see Marie Joseph Lagrange, O.P., *St. Etienne et son sanctuaire à Jérusalem*, Paris, 1894; Vincent-Abel, *Jérusalem*, II/4, 743-804.

<sup>281</sup> Anselm of Gembloux, *Chronica*, (continuation of Sigebert of Gembloux), PL 160, col. 240-241 (anno 1113): “ecclesiae Sancti Stephani partem diruunt.”

<sup>282</sup> *Theoderich’s Description*, ch. 26, p. 43; *Theoderici libellus*, ch. 26, p. 65; *Peregrinationes tres*, p.

selves tore down the church in 1187, when Saladin besieged the city.

The Benedictines do not seem to have established a community at St. Stephen's; at least, Benedictine sources do not record such a monastery. However, *L'Etat de la cité de Iherusalem*, an extract from *L'Estoire d'Outremer*, dated by its editors around 1187, records a church of St. Paul outside the gate of Tiberias (*Tabarie*), to which an abbey of white monks (*moines blancs*) was attached. There, the pilgrim continues, St. Paul was converted when he had St. Stephen martyred.<sup>283</sup> The two churches are evidently the same, though "white monks" is usually the name given to Austin canons. Perhaps one or other of these communities succeeded each other in the charge of the church, or else the pilgrim has mistaken the religious community at hand. In any case, the witness to an abbey on the spot is quite specific.

After 1187, the monks of St. Mary Latins settled in Acre. Their church there does not appear on Sanuti's map, but *Pardouns* names it after the churches of St. Lawrence (Genoise), St. Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and St. Peter (Pisans).<sup>284</sup>

The hospital attached to St. Mary Latins eventually gave rise to the Military Order of St. John Hospitallers with a feminine branch.<sup>285</sup> Under the aegis of the Benedictines, the hospital was directed by laymen and in time became independent, somewhat as in the case of the Antonines, to be discussed below. When the crusaders appeared on the scene, it had long been directed by a certain Gerald "at the behest of the abbot and the monks."<sup>286</sup> In 1113,

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173; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, II, 356/357; Vincent-Abel, *Jerusalem*, II/4, 757.

<sup>283</sup> *L'Etat de la cité de Iherusalem*, ch. 8; Michelant-Raynaud, *Itinéraires*, p. 27. See also McLellan, *Latin Monasteries and Nunneries*, p. 43.

<sup>284</sup> Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, pp. 12, 62-63. Sanuto's map: *ibid.*, p. 13; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, 488. Dichter, *ibid.*, p. 63, without citing sources states that the church of St. Mary Latins was "adjacent to the Latin Patriarchate." Perhaps in this he is influenced by Enlart's impression that the Patriarch's church was named St. Mary Latins. (See above, the section on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.)

<sup>285</sup> On the Hospitallers of St. John, see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus (c. 1050-1310)*, London, 1967. For the origin of the Hospital, see the whole second chapter, "From These Small Beginnings," pp. 32-59.

A complex of ruins at Deir el Banat (Convent of the Maidens) may have been a monastery of their nuns; Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 103-106. Pringle more recently devotes a thorough study to this ruin and concludes that it was indeed a religious house and hospital, but of men, not of women; *The Churches*, I, 239-250. The undefended situation of the building would argue against an institution of women, though Pringle seems to dismiss too easily the probative value of the name of the place.

<sup>286</sup> William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, Bk 18, ch. 5, p. 817: "*de mandato abbatis et monachorum.*"

The historian of the Knights of Malta, Cyrille Toumanoff, credits Gerard (*d.* 1120) with founding a hospice distinct from the Benedictines', which gave rise to the Hospitallers; "Sovrano Militare Ospedaliero Ordine di Malta," DIP, VIII, 1934-1945. Apart from contradicting the testimony of William of Tyre, this opinion posits two hospitals cheek by jowl.

The entry on Bl. Gerard by Bp. Cesario D'Amato in the same reference work derives the Knights from the Benedictine hospital; DIP, IV, 1056.

Pope Pascal II took the hospital under papal protection. By that date, the Order of Hospitallers had taken on definitive form. The Pope credits Gerard with founding the hospital; there were professed brothers, whose right it was to elect Gerard's successors; there were five hospitals with the name Jerusalem, in Southern Italy and Sicily.<sup>287</sup> The historian of the Hospital, Jonathan Riley-Smith, calls Pascal's bull "the foundation charter for the new Order."<sup>288</sup>

*St. Mary Major*<sup>289</sup>

Besides the monastery and hospital of the monks, William of Tyre mentions the nunnery of St. Mary Magdalen, which also took care of women pilgrims.<sup>290</sup> Unless William was mistaken about the title, the monastery of nuns later came to be known as St. Mary Major. In 1102, the pilgrim Saewulf speaks of "another church of Sancta Maria, which is called Parva, where some nuns frequent who serve her and her Son most devoutly."<sup>291</sup> Mayer advances the unlikely hypothesis that there were two monasteries, *Grandis* and *Petitta*, "wenngleich sich dies mit Sicherheit nicht sagen lässt."<sup>292</sup>

According to William of Tyre, Abbess Agnes, of Rome, headed the monastery at the entry of the crusaders in 1099 and lived for some years afterward. She eventually joined the Hospitaller nuns,<sup>293</sup> perhaps when the Knights became independent of the Benedictines. The names of other abbesses and nuns appear in documents. Distinguished among these is Abbess Stephanie, daughter of Joscelin de Courtenay, count of Edessa.<sup>294</sup>

The nuns' fervor seems to have slackened with time, for De Vitry writes a century and a half later, "St. Mary's abbey of nuns in Jerusalem, with an Abbess and black nuns serving God under the rule of St. Ben't, even as a pot of frankincense, was full of holy, chaste and devout persons, who, without being forced thereunto by any adversity or poverty, have yet lost the strictness of their religion, the honesty of their lives, and the warmth of their char-

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<sup>287</sup> Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire*, no. 30, I, 29-30; PL 163, cols. 314-316, no. 357.

<sup>288</sup> Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John*, p. 43.

<sup>289</sup> On St. Mary Major, see Berlière, "Die alten Benedictinerklöster," pp. 482-483." *idem*, "Les anciens monastères bénédictins," pp. 554-5; Gariador, *Les anciens monastères bénédictins*, pp. 31-38, 44-49; Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 183-189; *Album*, plate 103, figs. 312-313; plate 105, figs 315-316, figs. 315-316. Enlart makes of St. Mary Major an abbey of the feminine branch of Hospitallers of St. John.

<sup>290</sup> *Chronicon*, Bk. 18, ch. 5, pp. 815-816.

<sup>291</sup> *Saewulf*, p. 14; *Peregrinationes tres*, p. 67; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, II, 16/17.

<sup>292</sup> *Bistümer*, p. 250.

<sup>293</sup> *Chronicon*, Bk. 18, ch. 5, p. 817.

<sup>294</sup> *Chronicon*, Bk. 19, ch. 4; p. 869. Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 183, also enlists a Sybille among the abbesses of St. Mary Major, but in the document he cites (Pauli, *Codice diplomatico*, I, 204-205, no. 161) Sybille appears as abbess of St. Anne. See also the more recent edition, Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire*, I, 189-190, no. 250.

ity.”<sup>295</sup> On the other hand, this stricture may be of a piece with De Vitry’s generally low opinion of religious fervor in the 13th century.

St. Mary Major has survived into modern times. It had already fallen into ruin when the sultan in 1869 conferred it on the king of Prussia. The Germans added a belfry to the church, restored the surviving cloister and refectory and built up the monastery. Today the church is the Lutheran church of St. Savior.

Enlart describes the ruins of the monastery as they antecedently appeared. There remained the great cloister, flanked to the north by the church with three apses, to the east by the chapter house, to the south by the refectory, and to the west by an unidentified building.<sup>296</sup>

After 1187, the nuns of St. Mary Major sought asylum in Acre. In 1203, Innocent III authorized them to make an addition of a chapel to their house there.<sup>297</sup> Its site is not known, as it is not listed by Sanuto nor *Pardouns*.

The location of the Benedictine complex is described by several 12th-century pilgrims. “Outside the door of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre towards the south,” writes Saewulf in 1102, shortly after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Christian forces, “is the Church of Sancta Maria, which is called the Latin Church because there the service is always offered to the Lord in Latin... To this church is attached another church of Sancta Maria, which is called Parva, where some nuns frequent who serve her and her Son most devoutly. And near to it is the hospital where is the celebrated monastery dedicated to the honour of St. John the Baptist.”<sup>298</sup>

John of Würzburg (1160-1170) writes, “Over against the Church of the Holy Sepulchre... on the opposite side (of the way), towards the south, is a beautiful church built

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<sup>295</sup> *The History of Jerusalem*, ch. LVIII, p. 36. The Latin text reads: “*Abbatia insuper Sanctae Mariae monialium in Hierusalem cum Abbatissa et monialibus nigris sub Sancti Benedicti regula Deo servientibus, tamquam cella aromatica sanctis et castis et Deo devotis personis erat referta, quae religionis distractionem, vitae honestatem et caritatis fervorem nulla compellente adversitate vel paupertate reliquerunt*”; *Historia orientalis*, ed. Franciscus Moschus, Duaci, 1597, p. 98. De Sandoli, *Itinera*, III, 328/329, using the Bongars edition, Hanover, 1611.

Berlière in German (“Die alten Benedictinerklöster,” p. 483), and in French (“Les anciens monastères bénédictins,” p. 555) and De Sandoli in Italian (*Itinera*, III, 329) make the passage say that the nuns, even under duress from adversity or poverty, never abandoned strictness of observance, honesty of life, and the fervor of charity. The source of this interpretation is evidently Mabillon, whose quotation of De Vitry reads *retinuerunt* instead of *reliquerunt*; Jean Mabillon, O.S.B., *Annales Ordinis Sancti Benedicti* (6 v., Lucae, 1739-1745), V, 401. The latter reading, *reliquerunt*, seems more likely, because the condition of religious fervor is said to be past (*erat referta*).

Gariador correctly reads De Vitry in the Bongars edition, but finds Mabillon more authoritative; *Les anciens monastères bénédictins*, pp. 45-46.

<sup>296</sup> On this and the preceding paragraph see Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 183-184; *Album*, plates 103-105, figs. 312-316.

<sup>297</sup> PL 215, col. 150.

<sup>298</sup> Saewulf, p. 14; *Peregrinationes tres*, p. 67; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, II, 16/17.

in honour of John the Baptist, annexed to which is a hospital... Close to this Church of St. John is the convent of nuns built in honour of the Blessed Mary, which at its head almost touches the buildings of the aforesaid church, and is called the Convent of St. Mary the Great. Not far from hence, on the same side of the same street, is a convent of monks, which also is built in honour of the Blessed Mary, and is called the Convent of St. Mary the Latin.” By this time, the Knights Hospitallers of St. John had come into being, but the location of the buildings would be the same. Würzburg describes the work of the hospital, which he claims housed two thousand inmates, and the military activities of the Knights.<sup>299</sup>

“Opposite to the church [of the Holy Sepulchre] is the marketplace,” Theoderich (ca. 1172) declares: “... and here, on the south side of the church, stands the Church and Hospital of St. John the Baptist... Next to this, to the east as one stands there, comes the Church of St. Mary, in which nuns, under the rule of an abbess, celebrate Divine service daily... Moreover, there closely follows another church on the east of this, which is also dedicated to our Lady... In this church monks serve God under a rule and under the orders of an abbot.”<sup>300</sup> Theoderich praises the beauty of the Hospitallers’ buildings, estimates that the hospital houses more than a thousand persons, and speaks of the possessions of the Knights, which support it.

#### *St. Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat*<sup>301</sup>

It is generally held, on the authority of William of Tyre, that Godfrey of Bouillon also placed the Benedictines in charge of the tomb of the Blessed Virgin, where her body was said to have lain before its assumption.<sup>302</sup> The pilgrim, Saewulf, 1102-1103, noted about the

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<sup>299</sup> *Description of the Holy Land*, ch. 15, pp. 44-45; Tobler, *Descriptiones*, pp. 158-160; *Peregrinationes tres*, pp. 131-132; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, II, 266/267.

<sup>300</sup> *Theoderich’s Description*, ch. 13, pp. 22-23; *Theoderici libellus*, ch. 13, pp. 33-34; *Peregrinationes tres*, pp. 157-158; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, II, 334/335.

<sup>301</sup> The cartulary of the abbey has in part survived. Editions: Henri-François Delaborde, *Chartes de Terre Sainte provenant de l’abbaye de N.-D. de Josaphat*, Paris, 1880 (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 19); Charles Kohler, *Chartes de l’abbaye de N.-D. de la Vallée de Josaphat, analyses et extraits*, Paris, 1900; extract from *Revue de l’Orient Latin* 7 (1900), 108-222. For other documents found in Italian libraries and archives, see also Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, pp. 36-41.

On the history of the abbey, see Berlière, “Die alten Benedictinerklöster,” pp. 265-272; *idem*, “Les anciens monastères bénédictins,” pp. 547-54; Gariador, *Les anciens monastères bénédictins*, 49-73; Vincent-Abel, *Jérusalem*, II/4, 813-20, 821-31; C.N. Johns, “The Abbey of St. Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, Jerusalem,” *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* 8 (1938), 117-36; Bellarmino Bagatti, O.F.M., Michele Piccirillo, O.F.M., Alberto Prodomo, O.F.M., *New Discoveries at the Tomb of Virgin Mary in Gethsemane*, Jerusalem, 1975; Mayer, *Bistümer*, pp. 215-371; F. Dal Pino and Karl Elm, “Santa Maria di Valle Iosaphat, o Giosafat,” *DIP*, VIII, 729-733.

<sup>302</sup> *Chronicon*, IX, 9, p. 431. Mayer, *Bistümer*, p. 258-87, challenges this claim and postulates a first attempt at a foundation in 1099/1100 which failed after 1102 and only succeeded around 1110. See also Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, p. 36.

Valley of Jehoshaphat, “There monks serve Our Lord Jesus Christ and his mother day and night.”<sup>303</sup>

Church and monastery were situated in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, through which flowed the brook Kedron, west of the city walls. The tomb lay in a crypt over which a church had been built in Byzantine times, but which the crusaders found in ruins.<sup>304</sup> The second abbot, Hugh, around 1103-1106, announced his intention to rebuild the monastery, destroyed by the pagans.<sup>305</sup> In 1112, the Patriarch Arnulf contributed to the construction of the church in progress.<sup>306</sup> The following January 2, Pope Pascal II took the abbey under his protection and confirmed its possessions.<sup>307</sup> The Benedictines added the existing ornamental porch and staircase to the crypt and sometime before 1130 built a Romanesque basilica and monastery.<sup>308</sup> Queen Mélisande (*d.* 1161), daughter of King Baldwin II and wife of Fulk of Anjou, third king of Jerusalem, lay buried in the crypt of the church.<sup>309</sup> Other noble person-ages interred there were Queen Mary, wife of Baldwin II; Constance, mother of Bohemund III, prince of Antioch, his brother Renaud, and his sister Philippa.<sup>310</sup>

John of Würzburg and Theoderich describe the church and crypt; Theoderich adds,

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Lynn White, Jr., disproves the alleged presence of Benedictines at the tomb of the Virgin in the 11th century: “A Forged Letter Concerning the Existence of Latin Monks at St. Mary’s Jehosaphat Before the First Crusade,” *Speculum* 9 (1934), 404-7.

<sup>303</sup> *Saewulf*, p. 18; *Peregrinationes tres*, p. 69; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, II, 18/19.

<sup>304</sup> Abbot Daniel (1106-1107) writes, “Formerly a large church with a wooden roof... the place at present is laid waste by the infidels”; *The Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel*, pp. 23-24.

<sup>305</sup> These are the dates given by Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, pp. 99-102, no. 6. Röhricht, *Regesta, addit.*, p. 3, no. 36c, dates it 1101-1119. Hiestand, however, questions the authenticity of this 17th-century copy from the abbey’s archive in Agira, Sicily, as did Lynn Townsend White, Jr., before him; *Latin Monasticism in Norman Sicily*, Cambridge, Mass., 1938, p. 209.

<sup>306</sup> Delaborde, *Chartes de Terre Sainte*, pp. 21-22, no. 1; Röhricht, *Regesta*, pp. 14-15, no. 67.

<sup>307</sup> Delaborde, *Chartes de Terre Sainte*, p. 22, no. 2; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, p. 117-119, no. 14; Röhricht, *Regesta*, p. 15, no. 70. However, in the *Additamentum* to his *Regesta*, Röhricht adds, “spurium est”; p. 4, no. 70. The charter is a 17th-century copy from the abbey’s archive in Sicily.

<sup>308</sup> Vincent-Abel, *Jérusalem*, II/4, 814: “La restauration, semble-t-il, était terminée en 1130, à l’époque où vit le jour l’opuscule *De situ urbis Jerusalem* qui suppose l’existence de la nouvelle basilique et la situe exactement.” *De situ urbis Ierusalem (1130)* was published by M. de Vogüé, *Les églises de la Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1860 (not consulted). A copy is also available in De Sandoli, *Itinera*, II, 73-117.

Gariador concludes, “probablement du premier quart du XIIe siècle”; *Les anciens monastères bénédictins*, p. 54. Johns dates the staircase “probably within the first thirty years [of the 12th century]”; “The Abbey of St. Mary,” p. 120. He dates the church “not later than 1150,” basing his opinion on a 12th-century plan of Jerusalem; *ibid.*, p. 121.

<sup>309</sup> William of Tyre describes the tomb; *Chronicon*, Bk. 18, ch. 32, p. 858. See also Bellarmino Bagatti, O.F.M., Michele Piccirillo, O.F.M., Alberto Prodomo, O.F.M., *New Discoveries at the Tomb of Virgin Mary in Gethsemane*, Jerusalem, 1975. The authors of this book originally published their individual studies in the Franciscan journal, *Liber annuus*.

<sup>310</sup> Kohler, “Chartes,” p. 128, no. 18, p. 152, no. 44; Vincent-Abel, *Jérusalem*, II/4, p. 815.



“The church itself and all the conventual buildings connected with it are strongly fortified with high walls, strong towers, and battlements against the treacherous attacks of the infidels, and has many cisterns around it.”<sup>311</sup>

Among authors, C.N. Johns provides the most details regarding the abbey: “From the charters it is known that, in addition to abbot, prior, and sub-prior, the abbey numbered the usual officers among its members: *magister hospitalis*, *cellarius*, *elemosynarius*, etc. Hence, it may safely be assumed that its buildings comprised the usual divisions: church, cloister, and *curia*, or outer enclosure... While it is clear that the conventual buildings all lay to the west, or valley side of the crypt, their actual disposition must have depended upon the situation of the conventual church, i.e. either the present crypt or the presumed upper church.”<sup>312</sup> Johns reconstructs the plan of the conventual buildings from remains unearthed during excavations in 1937.<sup>313</sup>

After the fall of the Holy City in 1187, the Saracens used the stones of the monastery to repair the walls of the city, but spared the church out of devotion to the Virgin Mary.<sup>314</sup> When Burchard of Monte Sion visited the Holy Land in 1285, only the crypt remained, reached by the staircase.<sup>315</sup> A road ran over the site of the church; the crypt beneath was flooded in the rainy season.<sup>316</sup>

As in the case of St. Mary of the Latins, the monks established a hospital and hospice for pilgrims and the poor, attached to the nearby church of the Savior, the supposed site of the agony in the garden. The confraternity the monks founded around 1112 for the support of the hospital included kings and nobles among its members. Once a week, two Masses were sung for living and deceased members in the chapel of the Holy Savior on the supposed site of the agony in the garden.<sup>317</sup>

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<sup>311</sup> [Würzburg:] *Description of the Holy Land*, ch. XVII-XVIII, p. 51; Tobler, *Descriptiones*, p. 167-8; *Peregrinationes tres*, pp. 110, 127-128; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, II, 274/275; [Theoderich:] *Theoderich's Description*, ch. XXIII, p. 38; *Theoderici libellus*, p. 59; *Peregrinationes tres*, p. 170; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, II, 352/353.

<sup>312</sup> “The Abbey of St. Mary,” p. 123.

<sup>313</sup> Johns concludes, “In all these respects, as well as in style, the newly discovered remains undoubtedly represent the twelfth-century abbey of St. Mary”, *ibid.*, p. 131 and fig. 7 on p. 133. See also Gariador, *Les anciens monastères bénédictins*, pp. 58-60.

<sup>314</sup> *The City of Jerusalem*, ch. 24, p. 27; Ernoul, *L'estat de la cité de Iherusalem*, ch. 24, in Michelant-Raynaud, *Itinéraires*, p. 51; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, III, 412.

Jones, quoting this source, yet states that only the crypt and staircase survived; “The Abbey of St. Mary,” pp. 124-125.

<sup>315</sup> See the photo in Enlart, *Monuments des croisés*, *Album*, plate 107, fig. 323.

<sup>316</sup> *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, in Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, p. 68; Baldi, *Enchiridion*, p. 769, no. 1074.

<sup>317</sup> See the confirmation of the constitution of the hospital, 1130-1145, by William, patriarch of Jerusalem, with the list of the original noble members of the confraternity and the stipulation regarding the Masses; Delaborde, *Chartes*, pp. 47-49, no. 19. On the hospital see also, Gariador, *Les anciens monastères bénédictins*, pp. 66-68; Mayer, *Bistümer*, p. 287-94.

Authors disagree about the status of the abbey. Mabillon makes all Benedictine monks in the Holy Land Cluniac, an opinion followed with regard to Jehoshaphat by White and Johns. According to Schmitz, the monks followed Cluniac usages, though they did not belong to the Order of Cluny. Perhaps in this he is echoing Gariador, who also explains the relation of Cluny to its daughters. Johns cites Gariador's explanation. Without justifying his opinion, Mayer states that the monks of Jehoshaphat were *normale Benedictiner*.<sup>318</sup> None of these authors gives a satisfactory reason for their views, and one must leave open the question of the affiliation of this abbey. St. Mary Latins, as we have seen, followed the customs of Monte Cassino.

The abbey was richly endowed with possessions in Palestine, Syria, Southern Italy, and Sicily.<sup>319</sup> Among its thirteen dependent churches and chapels in Palestine, Sichar near Nablus constituted a priory.

*Sichar, Sicheim, 'Askar*<sup>320</sup>

Sometime before his death in 1100, Count Garnier of Grez conferred the village of Sichar near Nablus on the abbey of St. Mary of the Valley.<sup>321</sup> The situation was important enough to warrant the establishment of a priory. Three monks appear in a charter of 1177; a Prior John in 1180 and a Prior Bernard in 1187.<sup>322</sup> No trace of the buildings remains.

Pringle would also have a Benedictine priory attached to the abbey's church in Ligio (Lajjun), a Frankish settlement in the Lordship of Caesarea. In 1121, Archbishop Bernard of Nazareth granted the church of Ligio and its tithes to the hospital of the abbey, but in spite of papal confirmations,<sup>323</sup> a successor of Bernard, Robert I (1138-1153), refused to acknowl-

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On the pre-existing chapel of St. Savior, which the crusaders enlarged, see Vincent-Abel, *Jerusalem*, II/1-2, 313, 314; Gaudence Orfali, O.F.M., *Gethsemani*, Paris, 1924, pp. 1-7.

<sup>318</sup> Mabillon, *Annales O.S.B.*, lib. 69, no. 149, V, 401; White, "A Forged Letter," p. 407; Johns, "The Abbey of St. Mary," p. 119; P. Schmitz, O.S.B., *Histoire de l'Ordre de Saint-Benoît* (7 v., Maredsous, 1942-1956), I, 266; Gariador, *Les anciens monastères bénédictins*, pp. 49-50, 52; Mayer, *Bistümer*, p. 260.

<sup>319</sup> For the possessions of the abbey, see their papal confirmations, e.g., that of Eugene III, Mar. 31, 1151, Delaborde, *Chartes de Terre Sainte*, p. 61-63, no. 27, etc.; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, pp. 197-199, no. 65; Röhricht, *Regesta*, pp. 51-52, no. 207 (Innocent II, Apr. 5, 1142, confirmed by Eugene III, as above). See also Berlière, "Die alten Benedictinerklöster," pp. 473-478; Gariador, *Les plus anciens monastères bénédictins*, pp. 61-65; Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 98.

<sup>320</sup> On the Benedictine priory of Sichar, see Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 69, no. 25; Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 98.

<sup>321</sup> See the confirmations of the grant in 1108, 1115, 1130, and 1152; Kohler, *Chartes*, pp. 5-6, no. 1; Delaborde, *Chartes*, p. 29, no. 6; p. 45, no. 18; p. 68, no. 29; Röhricht, *Regesta*, pp. 10-12, no. 52; p. 18, no. 80; p. 33, no. 134; Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 69, no. 25.

<sup>322</sup> Delaborde, *Chartes*, pp. 86-87, no. 39 (anno 1177); Kohler, *Chartes*, pp. 43-44, no. 43 (anno 1180) Röhricht, *Regesta*, p. 144, no. 542 (anno 1177); pp. 50-51, no. 49 (1187); Röhricht, *Regesta addit.*, p. 37, no. 591a (anno 1180); p. 45, no. 657d (anno 1187); Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 69, no. 25.

<sup>323</sup> See the bull of Innocent II, May 20, 1140, taking the church and parish of Ligio under his

edge the Benedictines' rights, forcibly ejected the monks and brothers, and installed his own chaplain. The dispute continued until the end of the Latin kingdom.

Apparently, the mention of monks and brothers has led Pringle to postulate a Benedictine house in Ligio. But the church and its tithes belonged to the hospital, not the abbey, and the former's confraternity more probably would have had in hand the administration of the church. The care of a church would require the assistance of religious more or less regularly, but not necessarily the existence of a monastery. One would like to see a reference to a priory or a prior in the sources, as in the case of Sichar. There are no visible remains of a church or monastery.<sup>324</sup>

The cartulary of the abbey of St. Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat survives in part. The archive of the abbey had been partially destroyed by the Saracens in 1187; on March 4, 1255, Pope Alexander declared copies of papal confirmations to be as valid as the originals.<sup>325</sup>

The monks of the Valley of Jehoshaphat on one occasion had a difference with the patriarch, Amalric (1157-1180), and the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, who insisted on being fed when they came to celebrate Mass on the feast of the Assumption. The difference apparently involved quarrelling and even violent death. It was serious enough to merit the interference of Pope Alexander III, who ruled in favor of the monks.<sup>326</sup>

After 1187, the monks of the abbey of St. Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat retired to their church in Acre. A letter of Pope Alexander IV, dated January 9, 1258, orders the warring Genoese, Pisans, and Venetians to indemnify the Benedictines for the damage inflicted on their property.<sup>327</sup> The section of the city occupied by these merchants was the bulge of land forming the southwest part of the city along the harbor curving West. In fact, the list of *Pardouns* runs: St. Mark (Venice), St. Lawrence (Genoa), Jehoshaphat, and St. Peter (Pisa).<sup>328</sup> Dichter states that the church of St. Mary "was located in the Genoese quarter, to the south of the Hospital, at the site of the mosque now called 'Zeitun'."<sup>329</sup> The Hospitallers' quarters lay north of that of the Genoese along the northern wall of the old city.

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protection; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, pp. 159-160, no. 45. So also subsequent confirmations, *ibid.*, nos. 48 (1142), 59 (1145), 66 (1151), 73 (1155).

<sup>324</sup> *The Churches*, II, 3-5, no. 135. "The precise location of these buildings, however, remains uncertain, and it seems unlikely that they will be found until extensive archaeological survey and excavation takes place on the site," p. 5. Hamilton credits the hospital with only the church of Ligio; *The Latin Church*, p. 98.

<sup>325</sup> Delaborde, *Chartes*, pp. 105-106, no. 50.

<sup>326</sup> Kohler, *Chartes*, p. 141, no. 31 (1159-1180); Röhricht, *Regesta*, no. 340a; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, pp. 258-259, no. 99. See also the undated bull of Alexander III, Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, pp. 296-297, no. 122 (1168-1181), and Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 78.

<sup>327</sup> Delaborde, *Chartes*, pp. 106-107, no. 51. Not found in Jordan's edition of the registers of Alexander IV.

<sup>328</sup> Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, p. 12; see also Sanuto's map, *ibid.*, p. 13, and De Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, 488.

<sup>329</sup> *The Orders and Churches*, p. 27.

The last entry in the abbey's cartulary was made on October 17, 1289. Nicholas, patriarch of Jerusalem and papal legate, authorizes William, abbot of Our Lady of Jehoshaphat, to return to the West to put in order the abbey's possessions in Sicily and Calabria, now its only source of revenue.<sup>330</sup>

At the fall of the city, the monks settled in their church of St. Magdalen in Messina, Sicily.<sup>331</sup>

### *St. Anne*<sup>332</sup>

At the Probatric Pool near the Gate of Jehoshaphat the crusaders found a church dedicated to St. Anne. The end of a long tradition of devotion to the spot, dating from at least the 5th century, it marked by this time the supposed site of the house of Joachim and Anne and the birthplace of the Blessed Virgin. This must have been the church Saewulf saw in 1102-1103.<sup>333</sup> Though he does not mention it, there must have been attached to it the small Benedictine nunnery in which King Baldwin I around that time enclosed his wife Arda. The deposed queen, however, who had a reputation for loose habits, had little stomach for the habit of St. Benedict and soon retired to the comforts of Constantinople.<sup>334</sup> Arda's presence, brief as it was, had the effect of drawing the royal bounty to the establishment. Community and monastery grew.

By about 1135 the present imposing church was complete.<sup>335</sup> The new cloister and monastery flanked the church to the south.<sup>336</sup>

The construction of these buildings unearthed remains of the five-porticoed building at the Probatric Pool north of the church. There the Franks built, first an altar, later a chapel.<sup>337</sup>

Oddly, without explaining the incongruity of such an arrangement, Mayer predicates a second—"gewiss eine Filiale"—monastery at the Probatric Pool, on the authority of *La citez*

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<sup>330</sup> Delaborde, *Chartes*, pp. 120-121, no. 59; Röhricht, *Regesta*, p. 390, no. 1499.

<sup>331</sup> Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, p. 27.

<sup>332</sup> On St. Anne's, see Berlière, "Die alten Benedictinerklöster," pp. 483-485; *idem*, "Les anciens monastères bénédictins," pp. 556-557; Gariador, *Les anciens monastères bénédictins*, pp. 104-109; Vincent-Abel, *Jérusalem*, II/4, 669-684; Enlart, *Les monuments des Croisés*, II, 189-197, *Album*, plate 7, fig. 12 (plan); plate 106, figs. 319-322; Mayer, *Bistümer*, p. 243-257.

<sup>333</sup> *Saewulf*, p. 17; *Peregrinationes tres*, p. 69; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, II, 18/19. See also Albert Storme, O.F.M., *Les pèlerins célèbres de Terre Sainte*, Jerusalem, 1984, p. 50.

<sup>334</sup> William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, bk. xi, ch. 1 and bk. xv, ch. 26. For the date (1102-1108) and motive for Arda's enclosure, see Mayer, *Bistümer*, p. 243-246.

<sup>335</sup> Vincent-Abel, *Jérusalem*, II/4, 739.

<sup>336</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 678, 740 and fig. 311. Other fragmentary remains of the cloister are shown in fig. 312 and 313. See also Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 197, who adds that nothing remained of the abbatial buildings.

<sup>337</sup> Vincent-Abel, *Jérusalem*, II/4, p. 678-9, citing sources.

*de Jérusalem* (= Ernoul), which speaks of a *moustier* there.<sup>338</sup> But this word, as we have seen, can also mean a church. Abel reconstructs the building above the pool as a chapel with one nave.<sup>339</sup>

Iveta (a.k.a. Joveta, Judith), daughter of Baldwin II and sister of Queen Melisende, was a member of the St. Anne community before transferring to the newly founded (1143) monastery in Bethany.<sup>340</sup>

John of Würzburg in the latter half of the 12th century casts a rather uncharacteristic slur on the nuns of St. Anne, referring to them as “a community of nuns, whom I would were holy.”<sup>341</sup> Abel detects a hint of chauvinism in Würzburg, who in fact resents the monopoly by the Franks of credit for the conquest of the Holy Land.<sup>342</sup> Würzburg’s friend, Theoderich, arriving not long after him, saw nothing to criticize in the nuns, or at least did not voice an adverse opinion.<sup>343</sup>

In Acre, where they retired after 1187, the nuns of St. Anne were situated near the Templars. *Pardouns* lists them between the Pisans and the Holy Spirit (Hospitaliers of the Holy Spirit), Bethlehem, etc., in the old city. The monastery would consequently have been in the southwestern extremity of the city.<sup>344</sup> In the 17th century, a Greek Uniate church was built on its site.<sup>345</sup>

These were the monastic establishments, all Benedictine, in Jerusalem. The abbeys of monks formed part of the body of six suffragan abbeys of the patriarchate: St. Mary Latins, the Temple, Mt. Sion, Mt. Olivet, and St. Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. The abbots of

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<sup>338</sup> *Bistümer*, p. 249 and note 39, citing *L’Etat de la Cité de Iherusalem*, ch. xxiii, in Michelant-Raynaud, *Itinéraires*, p. 49.

The *moustier* above the pool is also mentioned by a related French text, the anonymous continuator of William of Tyre (de Rothelin); Michelant-Raynaud, *Itinéraires*, p. 161; RHC, hist. occid., II, 505-6.

<sup>339</sup> “Cet édifice n’est pas malaisé à reconstituer dans ses grandes lignes. Au niveau du sol extérieur, une chapelle à nef unique; au-dessous une sorte de crypte où l’on semble avoir voulu rétablir, par une ressouvenance plus ou moins correcte, quelque similitude des cinq collonades de la piscine Probatique.” *Jérusalem*, II/4, 689.

<sup>340</sup> Vincent-Abel, *Jérusalem*, II/4, 678. On the circumstances of Iveta’s becoming abbess of St. Anne and St. Lazarus, see Mayer, *Bistümer*, p. 250-257; 373.

<sup>341</sup> *Description of the Holy Land*, tr. by Aubrey Stewart, ch. XVI, p. 47; Tobler, *Descriptiones*, p. 163; *Peregrinationes tres*, p. 136; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, II, 270/271. The passage, a play on Latin words, is difficult to render in English: “collegium sanctimonialium et utinam sacrosanctarum.” The Italian retains the Latin phrase, and De Sandoli translates correctly, “una comunità di Suore e, speriamo, di sacrosante (Suore).” Stewart makes a complete hash of it: “...a college of consecrated and, I hope, accepted nuns.”

<sup>342</sup> “...l’exclamation de ce pèlerin puisse s’expliquer par un chauvinisme peu dissimulé.” *Jérusalem*, II/4, 678.

<sup>343</sup> “Therein nuns serve God under the rule of an abbess”; *Theoderich’s Description*, ch XXVI, p. 42; *Theoderici libellus*, p. 64; *Peregrinationes tres*, p. p. 173; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, II, 356/355-357.

<sup>344</sup> Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, pp. 12-13; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, 116/117, 488.

<sup>345</sup> Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, p. 44.

these houses wore the crozier, mitre, and ring.<sup>346</sup> Premonstratensian St. Samuel (see below) was the sixth suffragan abbey.

### *Bethany*

Mention has already been made of a third Benedictine nunnery founded in 1138 by Queen Melisende in Bethany, at the supposed site of the tomb of St. Lazarus.<sup>347</sup> The queen saw to it that the monastery was protected by strong walls and a tower, in which the nuns could find asylum in case of an attack by enemies. Remains of the tower can still be seen.<sup>348</sup> Evidently, the tower proved ineffectual, because the nuns eventually acquired a foundation in Jerusalem, St. John Evangelist, where, according to a continuator of William of Tyre, “*manoient eles, quant il estoit guerre de Sarrazins.*”<sup>349</sup> This house, it would seem, did not have a permanent community; at least, pilgrims and chroniclers do not record a community of nuns there.

The queen generously endowed the foundation with, among other perquisites, Jericho and its environs. She placed at the head of the new foundation a woman of mature virtue, named Mathilda. At her death, the Queen arranged to have her succeeded by her sister Iveta, at the time abbess of St. Anne’s.<sup>350</sup>

The monastery was attached to the south wall of the complex.<sup>351</sup> Excavations suggest that the portico of the monastery facing east reached the south wall of the church of St. Lazarus. Saller goes on to say, “... through this portico the nuns could have reached the church easily and conveniently and for this reason it is only natural to suggest that this was the church or chapel reserved for the use of the nuns, whereas the third church served the public.”<sup>352</sup> Pringle concurs with this opinion, adding that both churches belonged to the

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<sup>346</sup> *Livre de Jean d’Ibelin*, c. 261; *RHC, Lois I*, 415.

<sup>347</sup> On the founding of the abbey of St. Lazarus, see William of Tyre, *Chronica*, Bk. XV, entire chapter 26. See also, Berlière, “Die alten Benedictinerklöster,” pp. 485-486; *idem*, “Les anciens monastères bénédictins,” pp. 557-558; Gariador, *Les anciens monastères bénédictins*, pp. 109-114; Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 63-64; Sylvester J. Saller, O.F.M., *Excavations at Bethany (1949-1953)*, Jerusalem, 1957; Mayer, *Bistümer*, pp. 372-402; A. Storme, *Bethany*, 2nd ed., Jerusalem, 1993; Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 130-137, and plans 42 and 43.

<sup>348</sup> Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 134-135, fig. 44 and plate lxxxii; *idem*, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, an Archaeological Gazetteer*, Cambridge, University Press, 1997, p. 33, no. 47.

<sup>349</sup> *Le continuateur anonyme de Guillaume de Tyr (dit de Rothelin)*, ch. 9, *RHC, hist. occid.*, II, 505; Michelant-Raynaud, *Itinéraires*, p. 160. See also the related *Estat de la cité de Jérusalem (ca. 1231)*. [= ch. XVII of Ernoul’s *Chronique*], in Michelant-Raynaud, *Itinéraires*, p. 48.

<sup>350</sup> William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, XV, the entire ch. 26, pp. 709-710. On Melisende’s motive for founding St. Lazarus and placing her sister there as abbess, see Mayer, *Bistümer*, p. 250-7.

<sup>351</sup> See Saller, *Excavations*, p. 6, fig. 2; Storme, *Bethany*, pp. 26-27, plate 6; Pringle, *The Churches*, plans nos. 42 and 43 on pp. 128-129.

<sup>352</sup> *Excavations at Bethany*, p. 70 and figs. 2 and 20.

nuns.<sup>353</sup>

Sometime before 1144, Pope Celestine II raised the monastery to the rank of abbey.<sup>354</sup>

An illustrious member of the Bethany community was Iveta's niece, Sibyl, countess of Flanders, the daughter of King Fulk by a first marriage.<sup>355</sup> Her husband was Thierry of Alsace, count of Flanders, active in the Holy Land. When he returned to Europe for the final time in 1158, Sibyl, according to Ernoul, refused to accompany him and instead took the habit in the Bethany monastery. Sibyl managed to win over the king and the patriarch, to whom Thierry had appealed.<sup>356</sup> Albericus of Bethany, on the other hand, states that Thierry piously consented to his wife's desire. Albericus further adds that Sibyl had previously been a nun in the hospital of Saint John in Jerusalem and had been most devoted to the care of the poor and infirm.<sup>357</sup> When her stepmother, Melisende, died in 1161, Sibyl succeeded her in her influence in ecclesiastical affairs.<sup>358</sup> Sibyl died in 1165.

Albericus of Bethany, otherwise seemingly unknown, raises intriguing questions. Did he leave writings, still to be discovered? Was he connected to the abbey in some capacity?

Regrettably, a sermon preached by Gerard of Nazareth to the nuns of Bethany during the octave of Easter has not been found.<sup>359</sup>

With its royal connections, the wealthy abbey of St. Lazarus was no doubt the most important of the Palestinian nunneries.

Mayer is convinced that the abbey of St. Lazarus was in fact a double monastery.<sup>360</sup> He reasons that when in the foundation deed there is mention of "monks or nuns" as the religious for whom the monastery is intended, the conjunction, "or," is to be taken in an additive, not alternative, sense. Further, he argues that the institution of double monasteries was no novelty in the Holy Land, the priorate of St. George near Tiberias, filial of the abbey of

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<sup>353</sup> *The Churches*, I, 136.

<sup>354</sup> "*Quam videlicet ecclesiam beate memorie Celestinus papa... in abbacie titulum sublimavit...*" Charter of Baldwin III, Mar. 10-Aug. 31, 1144; Bresc-Bautier, *Le cartulaire*, p. 108, no. 38; Rozière, *Cartulaire*, p. 65, no. 34.

<sup>355</sup> On Sibyl, countess of Flanders, *Biographie nationale de Belgique* (28 v., Bruxelles, 1866-1944), XXII, 375-378. The author is more concerned with Sibyl's activities in Europe. He makes her abbess of Bethany.

<sup>356</sup> *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. by M. L. de Mas Latrie, Paris, 1871, pp. 21-22.

<sup>357</sup> Albericus is quoted by the 15th-century Carmelite, Arnold Bostius, *De patronatu et patrocinio Beatae Virginis Mariae*, London, British Library, Ms. Selden supra 41, f. 266v bis, 269v. The former Carmelite, John Bale, 1495-1563, makes Sibyl a saint and has St. Berthold, hermit of Mt. Carmel, clothe her in the habit in the monastery of St. Lazarus, where she died after ten years; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, f. 70v, 117v, 165v; Ms. Selden supra 41, f. 148r. Information kindly provided by Fr. Richard Copsey, O.Carm.

<sup>358</sup> Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, II, 361.

<sup>359</sup> Kedar, "Gerard of Nazareth," p. 775.

<sup>360</sup> *Bistümer*, p. 398-402. "Der doppelklösterliche Charakter von St. Lazarus in Bethanien unterliegt... für das 12. Jh. keinen Zweifel mehr," p. 401.

Jehoshaphat, was one;<sup>361</sup> that in the early development of the Hospitallers of St. John, their nuns must have formed part of their establishments; that the house which the abbey of St. Lazarus had in Jerusalem was dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, who was especially venerated in double monasteries. The decisive proof, however, Mayer argues, is documentary. Among the witnesses listed in a confirmation (1180) of an agreement between the abbot of Jehoshaphat and the abbess of St. Lazarus are ten monks of Jehoshaphat, five nuns, and “*de fratribus autem frater Petrus sancti Lazari praeceptor, frater Palcius et frater Gilalbertus.*”<sup>362</sup> An inventory of Manosque of 1531 contains a document of St. Lazarus recording a decision reached “*assensu et voluntate eiusdem ecclesie dominarum et fratrum.*”

The nuns would have had possession of Melisende’s new church, dedicated to St. Lazarus. The original pre-crusader church of St. Lazarus, now become that of Simon the Leper, was served by the monks.

The other proofs apart, as less cogent, the documents which mention men religious as well as nuns need not necessarily impose the status of double monastery on St. Lazarus. In his work on medieval religious houses in England and Wales, David Knowles devotes a special section to “Priests and Brothers of Religious Orders Attached to Nunneries” and notes, “It was by no means uncommon for a master and lay-brothers, besides the usual chaplains, to be attached to nunneries from the 12th century.”<sup>363</sup>

The nuns of Bethany also had a church at Jacob’s Well in Balata near Nablus.<sup>364</sup> Theoderich (*ca.* 1172), describing the church, adds, “in which nuns devote themselves to the service of God.”<sup>365</sup> Theodorich’s words would seem to indicate the presence of a community of nuns, though there are now no signs of a monastery.<sup>366</sup>

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<sup>361</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95, 400, without reference, however, to sources. The church of St. George had no priory attached, single or double. It served both Orthodox and Latin Christians; Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 87; Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*, pp. 119-120.

<sup>362</sup> Kohler, “Chartes,” p. 151, no. 43.

<sup>363</sup> David Knowles, O.S.B., and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales*, London, 1953, p. 176. See also S.F. Hilpisch, O.S.B., and E. von Severus, O.S.B., “Monastero doppio,” *DIP*, VI, cols. 51-52: “Un caso frequente è quello... di monasteri femminili, dove vivevano alcuni sacerdoti per il servizio liturgico, insieme con qualche pio laico, utile alla comunità,” col. 52.

In fact, a *Riccardus, capellanus abbatissae*, appears among the witnesses of the agreement between Jehoshaphat and Lazarus mentioned by Mayer. Gariador comments, “C’était sans doute l’un des aumôniers, probablement Bénédictins, chargés du service spirituel de la communauté, des sanctuaires et de la garnison.” *Les anciens monastères bénédictins*, p. 112.

Pringle, also, is not convinced by Mayer’s hypothesis; *The Church*, I, 135-136.

<sup>364</sup> Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 258-264, no. 108. For a plan of the church see Enlart, *Monuments des croisés, Album*, plate 12, fig. 24.

<sup>365</sup> *Theoderich’s Description*, ch. 42, p. 61; *Theoderici libellus*, ch. 41, p. 93; *Peregrinationes tres*, p. 187; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, II, 374, “ecclesia... in qua sanctimoniales Deo deservunt.”

<sup>366</sup> Pringle notes, “No trace has yet come to light of the conventual buildings that would have been associated with this church”; *The Churches*, I, 263, no. 108.



Ralph of Coggeshall records the destruction of Bethany by Saladin's troops.<sup>367</sup>

After Hattin, the Benedictine nuns of Bethany appear in Acre. On Sanuto's map, the nuns of St. Lazarus are situated south of the Teutonic Knights, west of the patriarchate, and north of the church of the Holy Cross.<sup>368</sup> *Pardouns* places them between St. Samuel and Holy Cross.<sup>369</sup>

In a letter of Jan. 16, 1256, Pope Alexander IV announces that he has conferred their monastery in Bethany, almost destroyed by the Saracens, on the Hospitallers of St. John.<sup>370</sup> However, five years later Pope Urban IV, formerly patriarch of Jerusalem and cognizant of conditions there, was persuaded to revoke his predecessor's edict.<sup>371</sup>

### *Mount Thabor*

A constant tradition has placed the Transfiguration on Mount Thabor in Galilee.<sup>372</sup> There St. Helena built a church in honor of the Savior and the apostles, Peter, James and John. She richly endowed it and provided for priests to chant the office.<sup>373</sup> Antonino of Piacenza (A.D. 570) first mentions the three churches later often referred to.<sup>374</sup> Through the years, the structure is respectively described by visitors as one, two, or three churches, which are also variously located. Excavation has revealed a single building. Before its entrance, in line with the lateral dimensions of the church, were two smaller churches or chapels; that on the right dedicated to Moses, that on the left to Elijah.<sup>375</sup> The council of Constantinople in A.D. 553 is said to have made a bishopric of Mount Thabor for which St. Helena's church would have provided a suitable seat.<sup>376</sup>

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<sup>367</sup> *De expugnatione Terrae Sanctae*, p. 240; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, III, 114/115.

<sup>368</sup> Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, pp. 13 and 77; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, 488.

<sup>369</sup> Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, pp. 12-13, 77; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, 116-117, 488.

<sup>370</sup> Alexander IV, *Les registres*, I, no. 1067; Pauli, *Codice diplomatico*, I, 164-165, no. 135; Röhrich, *Regesta*, p. 327, no. 1244. See also J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus*, p. 401ff.

<sup>371</sup> Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John*, pp. 401-403.

<sup>372</sup> Previous studies have been superseded by Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 63-85, with plans and photos of the ruins as they are today. See also Berlière, "Die alten Benedictinerklöster," pp. 486-489; *idem*, "Les anciens monastères bénédictins," pp. 558-559; Barnabé Meistermann, *Le Mont Thabor*, Paris, 1900; Gariador, *Les anciens monastères bénédictins*, pp. 73-83; Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 380-395, *Album*, plate, fig. 21; Maria Teresa Petrozzi, *Il Monte Tabor e dintorni*, Gerusalemme, 1976. Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, pp. 68-72, lists pertinent documents in European archives and libraries.

<sup>373</sup> *Vita Constantini*, ed. M. Guidi, "Un bios di Costantino," *Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, 16 (1907), 304-340. Guidi's edition in the *Rendiconti* omits the account of St. Helen's building activity but evidently includes it in an off-print (1908), from which Baldi, *Enchiridion*, 326, no. 503, reproduces it with a Latin translation.

<sup>374</sup> *Itinerarium*, ed. P. Geyer, Turnholti, 1965, ch. 6, p. 161 (CCSL, 175); J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, Warminster, 1977, pp. 79-89.

<sup>375</sup> Meistermann, *Le Mont Thabor*, pp. 59, 135-142 and plan on p. 136, reproduced in Pringle,

Through the centuries, sources witness to the presence on the plateau of religious of both East and West.<sup>377</sup> Thus, a 7th-century homily in Armenian, attributed to Eliseus Vardapet, describes a flourishing monastic community on the mountain. There were three churches dedicated to the Savior, Moses and Elijah.<sup>378</sup> It was no doubt to this community that Arculfus refers *ca.* 670, when he speaks of “a great monastery of monks, with a large number of their cells,” the whole complex surrounded by a stone wall.<sup>379</sup>

After the conquest by the Franks, Tancred, ruler of Galilee, established the Benedictines on the mountain.<sup>380</sup> In a charter of 1101, addressed to Abbot Gerard, he grants the abbey a number of villages.<sup>381</sup> As we have seen, at first the abbot of Mount Tabor exercised episcopal powers in the area, but by 1109, Nazareth had been constituted the bishopric of Galilee. In 1112, the patriarch and papal legate, Gibelin, defined the abbot’s rights and privileges, placing him under the patriarch of Jerusalem and the bishop of Nazareth.<sup>382</sup>

The monks replaced the old basilica on Mount Tabor and beside it built a monastery. The church stood on the extreme southeastern edge of the plateau. To the north, and almost in the middle of the plateau stood the Greek church of St. Elijah. At the northwestern extremity of the plateau was the cave of Melchizedech.<sup>383</sup>

Authorities offer differing interpretations of the remains of the monastery. According to Meistermann (1900), the monastery lay along the north side of the church; facing it was a

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*The Churches*, II, 71, fig. 15.

<sup>376</sup> Meistermann, *Le mont Tabor*, p. 62 and note 4, citing *Notitiae Antiochiae et Jerosolimae Patriarchatum*, in *Publications de l’Orient Latin*, Genève, 1879, t. I, p. II, pp. 343-345.

<sup>377</sup> See the authors quoted by Meistermann, *Le Mont Tabor*, pp. 61-66; Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 63-64.

<sup>378</sup> Eliseus Vardapet, “The Revelation of the Lord to Peter, translated from the Armenian by Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare,” *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 23 (1924), 8-17, esp. 14-17. See also Paul Ananian, “Elisée, écrivain arménien,” *DHGE*, XV, cols. 232-235, who, however, does not notice Conybeare’s translation.

On the Armenian title, “Vardapet,” see LTK, X, 613-14; *Enciclopedia cattolica* [=EC] (12 v. Città del Vaticano, 1949-1954), XII, col. 1030-1031.

<sup>379</sup> *The Pilgrimage of Arculfus in the Holy Land (about the Year A.D. 670)*, Bk. II, ch. 25, tr. by James Rose Macpherson, London, 1895, p. 46-47; Paulus Geyer, ed., *Itinera hierosolymitana saeculi IIII-VIII*, Vindobonae, 1898, p. 275; Baldi, *Enchiridion*, p. 322.

<sup>380</sup> William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, IX, 13, p. 438. Gariador discusses the possibility that a Greek monastery already existed, the inmates of which joined the Benedictines; *Les anciens monastères bénédictins*, pp. 74-75.

<sup>381</sup> Pauli, *Codice diplomatico*, pp. 200-201, no. 156. On the eventual possessions of the abbey of Mount Tabor, see also Gariador, *Les anciens monastères bénédictins*, pp. 81-83; Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 101. The abbey also had property in Tyre; Lucas, *Geschichte der Stadt Tyrus*, p. 71.

<sup>382</sup> Delaville le Roulx, *Cartulaire*, II, 899, append. no. 4; Röhricht, *Regesta*, p. 15, no. 69. See also Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, pp. 60-61; Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 64-65.

<sup>383</sup> See the map in Pringle, *The Churches*, II, p. 67, fig. 15, reproduced from A. Battista and B. Bagatti, *La fortezza saracena del Monte Tabor (AH 609-615: AD 1212-1218)*, Jerusalem, 1976.

hospice.<sup>384</sup> The more recent excavations carried out in connection with the building of the present Franciscan church and monastery (1920) would have the monastery flank both sides of the western half of the church and extend considerably beyond it to the west. The community would have had access to the church from the floor above the ground floor of the monastery. This plan does not account for a hospice.<sup>385</sup> In fact, contemporary sources do not mention a hospice, but such a feature is by no means exceptional in a Benedictine foundation, especially in the Holy Land with the need to minister to pilgrims: e.g., the other two Benedictine abbeys of which more information exists, St. Mary Latins and Our Lady of the Valley of Jehoshaphat.

The pilgrim Saewulf, who visited the mountain in 1102-1103, declares, “The three monasteries anciently built on its summit still exist: one in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, another in honour of Moses, and the third somewhat further off in honour of Helias.”<sup>386</sup> By monasteries Saewulf meant churches; he makes no mention of religious of any kind.

Shortly after, 1106-1107, Abbot Daniel speaks of only two churches on Thabor. “At the present day there is a fine church dedicated to the Transfiguration; and another at its side, to the north, is dedicated to the Holy Prophets Moses and Elias. The place of the Holy Transfiguration is surrounded by solid stone walls with iron gates. It was formerly the seat of a bishopric and is now a Latin monastery.”<sup>387</sup> The second church does not seem to have been Greek, or the abbot would surely have noted it.

Eighty years later, a Greek church is definitely noted on Mount Thabor. “It is a round hill of moderate height,” the Greek pilgrim Phocas writes of Mount Thabor; “upon the top thereof are two monasteries, wherein Christians who are vowed to the same life invoke the mercy of God in hymns in various tongues. The monastery in which took place the Transfiguration of Christ for our salvation is inhabited by a number of Latin monks; but on the left that holy place is sanctified by the holy presence of Nazarenes of our Church. Now the Blessed Transfiguration of Christ took place on the summit of the hill, where stands the Latin monastery... This place is surrounded with a brazen railing.”<sup>388</sup>

The abbey was Cluniac, as appears from an undated letter of Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, 1122-1143. A monk of Mount Thabor, on pilgrimage to France and Spain, passed through Cluny and reported on the state of affairs in the Holy Land. Peter was overjoyed on learning that Mount Thabor had accepted the Cluny observance *moderno tempore*.<sup>389</sup> On the other hand, in a letter written *ca.* 1170, Pope Alexander III quotes Thibaud of Crépy, himself a Cluniac, to the effect that the Order had no subject house in the

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<sup>384</sup> Meistermann, *Le Mont Thabor*, pp. 146-47 and the plan on p. 136.

<sup>385</sup> Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 76-78, and fig. 18.

<sup>386</sup> Saewulf, p. 25; *Peregrinationes tres*, p. 74; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, II, 26/27.

<sup>387</sup> *The Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel*, chs. 86-87, p. 67.

<sup>388</sup> *The pilgrimage of Joannes Phocas*, ch. 11, pp. 13-14.

<sup>389</sup> *Epistolarum liber II*, letter 44; PL 189, col. 266. Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 382, for some reason states that Mount Thabor embraced the Cluniac usage in 1130. His reference to sources (note 8) is incorrect.

kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>390</sup> This has led Hiestand to deny that Thabor was Cluniac, though it may have followed some Cluniac customs, for if Thibaud were mistaken, he would certainly have been put right by contemporaries. Hiestand seems unaware of Peter's letter, or at least does not refer to it.<sup>391</sup> Cluny, in any case, does not seem to have been very well informed about its houses in *Outremer*.

The *scriptorium* of the Thabor abbey was active from the very start; Cicero's *Dream of Scipio* was copied there in 1101.<sup>392</sup>

The considerable possessions of the monastery may be seen from their confirmation by Pope Eugene III, May 4, 1146.<sup>393</sup>

The monks took the added precaution of hiring a garrison of Turkmen.<sup>394</sup> This may have been the result of the disaster that occurred in June of 1113, when the abbey was sacked by Moslem forces led by Mawdud of Mosul and the monks put to death.<sup>395</sup> A 15th-century source places the number of monks slain at seventy-two, but this number probably refers to the total of persons killed.<sup>396</sup>

In 1183, during a raid in Galilee, a detachment of Saladin's army ascended Mount Thabor but was unable to take the strongly fortified Benedictine abbey. There, the monks of the unprotected Greek monastery of St. Elijah, as well as other inhabitants of the plateau, found refuge.<sup>397</sup>

But the days of the monastery were numbered. When Saladin invaded Galilee in 1187 and laid siege to Tiberias, bands of his soldiers plundered the countryside, and ascending

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<sup>390</sup> Bernard-Bruel, *Recueil*, V, 590-591, no. 4237; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, pp. 267-269, no. 104 (dated 1170-1171); Röhrich, *Regesta*, p. 128, no. 484 (dated 1170-1180). Hiestand's reference to Röhrich is incorrect.

<sup>391</sup> See Hiestand, "Palmarea," p. 181.

<sup>392</sup> Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 381; Meistermann, *Le Mont Thabor*, p. 84; Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 64.

<sup>393</sup> Delaville, *Cartulaire*, II, 823, no. 2829; II, 902, no. IX; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, pp. 187-190, no. 61; Röhrich, *Regesta*, no. 39. See also the bull of Alexander III, Jan. 12, 1161; Delaville, *Cartulaire*, II, 835, no. 2830, II, 904, no. XII; Röhrich, *Regesta, addit.*, p. 3, no. 39.

<sup>394</sup> "Les maisons religieuses elles-mêmes entretenaient de ces troupes légères indigènes, et nous trouvons mentionnés les Turcopliers ou chefs des Turcoples de l'abbaye du Mont-Tabor, de l'Hôpital et du Temple"; E. G. Rey, *Les colonies franques de Syrie aux XII<sup>me</sup> et XIII<sup>me</sup> siècles*, Paris, 1883, p. 26.

<sup>395</sup> Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa, RHC, Documents arméniens (2 v., Paris, 1869-1906), I, 107, editor's note 1. See also Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitanae expeditionis*, Bk. XII, ch. 9, RHC, hist. occid., IV, 694; PL 166, col. 699.

<sup>396</sup> Gariador, *Les anciens monastères bénédictins*, p. 77; Meistermann, *Le Mont Thabor*, p. 88-89; Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 65.

<sup>397</sup> Wm. of Tyre, *Chronicon*, XXII, 27 (26), p. 1052. On the Greek church and monastery of Mount Thabor, see Meistermann, *Le Mont Thabor*, p. 94; Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 81-82, and fig. 20.

Mount Thabor, desecrated (*foedaverunt*) the most holy place of the Transfiguration.<sup>398</sup> The monks had made an agreement with the abbey of St. Paul in Antioch and, if they escaped alive, at first probably sought refuge there.<sup>399</sup> Eventually, the community under the abbot established itself in Acre.

The Mount Thabor house in Acre may have been contiguous to the palace of the Teutonic Knights. Some time between 1206 and 1255, the two Orders made an agreement over a wall between the palace of the Knights and the *terram abbatis*, a phrase, however, which might only refer to a piece of land belonging to the abbey.<sup>400</sup> Sanuto's map shows the house of the Teutonic Knights in the mideastern section of the old city, distinguishable by a lofty tower. *Pardouns* does not list Mount Thabor.<sup>401</sup>

Dichter states, "The monks of Mount Thabor are known to have been responsible for the carrying out of religious offices in the Church of St. James."<sup>402</sup> This presumably would have been the church of the Confraternity of St. James, a Spanish institution, affiliated in 1254 with the Hospital of St. John.<sup>403</sup>

Saladin's brother, al-Malik-al-'Adil, who in 1196 rose to power in Egypt and Syria, in 1212 raised a fortress on Mount Thabor, enclosing the entire plateau with a strong wall and towers.<sup>404</sup> The German pilgrim Thetmar saw it in 1217: "This mountain is very high, on the summit of which a church is built, where there had been an honorable abbey of the black Order, which now the Saracens have occupied and strongly fortified with towers and a wall."<sup>405</sup> However, the fortification of Mount Thabor proved counterproductive, for it posed a serious threat to Acre and occasioned alarm in the West as well as in Christian Palestine. In the course of the Fifth Crusade, John of Brienne, King of Jerusalem, in 1217 attacked the fortress in vain, but al-'Adil saw that it would continue to pose a tempting challenge to the

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<sup>398</sup> Ralph of Coggeshall, *De expugnatione Terrae Sanctae*, p. 219; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, III, 110.

<sup>399</sup> Pauli, *Codice diplomatico*, I, 74, no. 74; Röhricht, *Regesta*, p. 168, no. 634. Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 383, with erroneous references to Pauli, has Abbot Bernard and his community make an agreement in 1183 with Fulk, abbot of St. Paul in Antioch, to be received there in case of a new invasion. In fact, the document is simply an agreement of mutual hospitality between the two abbeys. Moreover, it is St. Paul that seeks asylum on Mount Thabor in case of invasion or expulsion, not vice versa.

<sup>400</sup> K. Forstreuter, *Der Deutsche Orden am Mittelmeer*, Bonn, 1967, pp. 230-231, quoted by Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, p. 86.

<sup>401</sup> Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, pp. 13, 86-87; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, 488.

<sup>402</sup> *The Orders and Churches*, p. 87.

<sup>403</sup> Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire*, II, 752, no. 2666; Riley-Smith, "A Note on Confraternities," p. 302. Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 28, simply says that the Thabor Cluniacs, refugees to Acre, had a church of St. James. Neither Sanuto nor *Pardouns* mention such a church.

<sup>404</sup> A. Battista, O.F.M. and B. Bagatti, O.F.M., *La fortezza saracena del Monte Tabor (AH 609-15: AD. 1212-1280)*, Jerusalem, 1976. See also Meistermann, *Il Mont Thabor*, pp. 97-107;

<sup>405</sup> Magister Thetmarus, *Iter ad Terram Sanctam (1217)*, ed. T. Tobler, St. Gall et Bern, 1851, ch. 2.; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, III, 254.

Latins and so dismantled it in 1218.<sup>406</sup>

Whatever happened to the monastery in 1187, it would seem that the Moslems had spared the church out of veneration for the Savior.<sup>407</sup> Besides Thetmar, the Moslem geographer, Yaqut, says of Mount Thabor, "On its summit there stands a vast church, well constructed with solid walls. Each year a crowd of pilgrims flocks there to organize public rituals."<sup>408</sup>

In 1251, King Louis IX, of France, with Queen Margaret and his entourage visited Mount Thabor on the vigil of the Annunciation, before continuing on to Nazareth, the principal goal of his pilgrimage.<sup>409</sup> His biographer, Geoffrey of Beaulieu, provides no details about the condition of the buildings on the mount.

In 1255, Pope Alexander IV at their request conferred the ruined abbey of Mount Thabor on the Hospitallers.<sup>410</sup> In 1263, Baybars overran the mountain.<sup>411</sup>

According to a 16th-century source, Bonifazio di Stefanis, a.k.a. di Ragusa (Dubrovnik), the kings of Hungary built a large monastery on Mount Thabor and entrusted it to the Brothers of St. Paul the First Hermit.<sup>412</sup> This little-known Order, also called Brothers of the Holy Cross in the Desert, was created in 1250 by the union of two eremitical communities. On September 27, 1322, Pope John XXII appointed *conservatores* to see to its interests. On November 16, 1328, at the request of King Charles I of Hungary, the same pope gave it the rule of St. Augustine.<sup>413</sup> The Order spread through Hungary, Portugal, and France. It exists today and is in charge of the famous Marian shrine of Czestochowa.<sup>414</sup>

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<sup>406</sup> Battista-Bagatti, *La fortezza saracena*, pp. 23-40.

<sup>407</sup> Battista-Bagatti, *La fortezza saracena*, pp. 18-22; Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 67-68.

<sup>408</sup> *Geographical Dictionary*; tr. by A.S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris, 1951, p. 134. Cited by Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 67.

The French pilgrim texts of the 1230s, which Pringle adduces to the effect that the Benedictines were back on Mount Thabor at that time, are scarcely reliable evidence, for these closely related, heavily interpolated accounts cannot be taken as independent witnesses and do not necessarily reflect conditions in Palestine at the time of their composition; *ibid.*, p. 68.

<sup>409</sup> Godefroi de Beaulieu, O.P., *Vita Sancti Ludovici*, AASS, Aug., V, 550; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, 104/105. See also Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 68.

<sup>410</sup> Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire*, II, p. 777, no. 2726; pp. 815-817, no. 2811; p. 840, no. 2859.

<sup>411</sup> For a list of the abbots of Mount Thabor, see Rey, *Les familles d'Outremer*, pp. 828-830; Gariador, *Les anciens monastères bénédictins*, pp. 75-81.

<sup>412</sup> *Liber de perenni cultu Terrae Sanctae*, ed. by Cyprianus de Tarvisio, Venezia, 1875, pp. 160 and 161, cited by Meistermann, *Il Mont Thabor*, p. 109. On Bonifazio's book, see Röhrich, *Bibliotheca geographica*, pp. 191-192, no. 699.

<sup>413</sup> John XXII, *Lettres communes*, ed. G. Mollat (15 v., Paris, 1904-1940), IV, 182, no. 16322; VIII, 65, no. 43315. Complete texts: Aug. Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historiarum Hungariam illustrantia* (2 v., Roma, 1859), I, 481-482, no. 736, and I, 522-523, no. 808.

<sup>414</sup> On the Brothers of St. Paul the Hermit, see Pierre Helyot, *Dictionnaire des Ordres religieux* (4 v., Paris, 1847-1859), III, 131-148; Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen*, I, 588-590; NCE, VI, 1077-1078. This evidently is a different Order from the Hermits of St. Paul the First Hermit, founded in Italy in 1551 by Pietro de Vargas and affiliated with the Augustinian friars in 1555;

Historians tend to take Bonifazio with a grain of salt, but his account merits consideration. He was in a position to have the information at hand. A Franciscan and bishop of Stagno, Bonifazio was at various times guardian of the Holy Sepulchre, nunzio extraordinary to King Philip II of Spain for Palestinian affairs, and charged with a mission to Hungary.<sup>415</sup> The Hermits of St. Paul, desirous like other new Orders to be present in the Holy Land, might have attempted a foundation on Mount Thabor in the second half of the 13th century before the conquest by Baybars.

In any case, when Burchard visited Mount Thabor in 1280, he found only ruins: "There to this day are shown the ruins of the three tabernacles, or cloisters, which were built according to [St.] Peter's wish. Moreover, there are exceeding great ruins of palaces, towers, and regular buildings, now lurking-places for lions and other wild beasts. There is royal hunting to be had here. The mount is hard to climb, and is exceeding high, and suitable for building a castle on."<sup>416</sup>

### *Palmaria*

Palmaria is a Benedictine abbey we know existed, but we're not sure where. Recently, the problem has attracted a good deal of attention and some progress has been made toward a solution.<sup>417</sup>

The few contemporary documents concerning Palmaria, for the most part undated, raise more questions than they provide answers.

A biography exists of an abbot of Palmaria, probably the first, Elias, written by Gerard of Nazareth.<sup>418</sup> He is no doubt the *Helyas, abbas Palmarie*, who appears among the witnesses to the exchange of Bethany for Thecua by the Holy Sepulchre and King Fulk and Queen

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DIP, III, cols. 1213-1216.

<sup>415</sup> DHGE, IX, 972-973.

<sup>416</sup> *Burchard of Mount Sion*, p. 43; Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, p. 47; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, 156/157.

<sup>417</sup> Rey, *Les familles*, p. 837; *Idem*, a "communication" in the *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, sér. 5, 9 (1888), 128-129; Berlière, "Die alten Benedictinerklöster," p. 489; *idem*, "Les anciens monastères bénédictins," 559-60; Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Palmarée, abbaye clusienne du douzième siècle en Galilée," *Revue Bénédictine* 93 (1983), 260-269; Mayer, *Bistümer*, p. 403-405; Rudolf Hiestand, "Palmarea-Palmerium. Eine oder zwei Abteien in Galiläa in 12 Jahrhundert?" *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 108 (1992), 174-188; Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 153-156.

<sup>418</sup> Gerard of Nazareth, *Vita Eliae*; a summary by the Centuriators, *Ecclesiastica historia*, (8 v., Basiliae, 1559), *Centuria XII*, ch. 10, cols. 1608-1609, reprinted by Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Gerard of Nazareth, a Neglected Twelfth-Century Writer of the Latin East," *Dumbarton Oak Papers* 37 (1983), 55-77. On Gerard of Nazareth see also DHGE, XX, cols. 783-784.

Melisende (1138).<sup>419</sup> Elias taught grammar in the province of Narbonne in France<sup>420</sup> before undertaking a pilgrimage to the Holy Land during the reign there of Fulk of Anjou (1131-1143). Underway, he was ordained a priest in a community of hermits. In the Holy Land, with some followers he inhabited a large cave near Jerusalem, but at the repeated insistence of the monks of the Benedictine monastery in the valley of Jehoshaphat and of the patriarch of Jerusalem himself, William of Flanders, he joined that community. Later he was made abbot of Palmaria and installed by the archbishop of Nazareth. Through the influence of Queen Melisende, he was recalled to Jerusalem, presumably to St. Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where he spent several years before returning to Palmaria at the behest of the archbishop. He sought to introduce Cistercian customs into his monastery, and for that purpose sent a monk to fetch a Cistercian from France. His attempt to introduce the Cistercian habit, however, met with a rebuff, because, according to Gerard, it was unsuitable to the climate. Elias led the severely penitential life he had practiced as a hermit, yet he was given to study and the reading of Scripture, his literary interest no doubt dating from his days as a grammarian. He died in 1140 in the presence also of some of the Jerusalem monks.<sup>421</sup>

After the death of Abbot Elias, Palmaria is not heard from for thirty years, when it had fallen on evil days, due to maladministration on the part of its abbots. In the years 1170 to 1172, an effort was made to associate Palmaria to Cluny, as a result of a visit to the Holy Land by Cardinal Thibaud, himself a Cluniac. Pope Alexander III sent instructions to the Archbishop of Nazareth and associated bishops to turn Palmaria over to Cluny.<sup>422</sup> He evidently also sought the cooperation of King Amalric I, who replied in 1172. Since the second abbot is not as solicitous as needful of the affairs of the church, the king asks the pope to grant the request of Warmund, *dicti abbatis advocati*, and send an abbot or prior and three or four Cluniac monks.<sup>423</sup>

In 1170, we find William, bishop of Acre, authorizing the foundation of a Cluniac church and monastery in the parish of Acre.<sup>424</sup> Nothing seems to have come of this enterprise. Eight years later, Lady Ahuhisa of Palmaria agreed to a settlement with the monks of Mount Thabor, which involved, among other things, houses which had belonged to Brother

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<sup>419</sup> Bresc-Bautier, *Le cartulaire*, p. 100, no. 34; Rozière, *Cartulaire*, p. 62, no. 33; PL 155, col. 1126; Röhricht, *Regesta*, p. 43, no. 174.

<sup>420</sup> Hiestand, holds that the expression "Gallia Narbonensis" should not be confined to the area around Narbonne but is to include the Gallia beyond the Alps, even as far as the Loire; "Palmarea-Palmerium," 175, note 6.

<sup>421</sup> Hiestand holds that for the date of Elijah's death 1170 is too late and 1140 too early; "Palmarea-Palmerium," p. 175, note 9.

<sup>422</sup> Bernard-Bruel, *Recueil*, V, 590-591, no. 4237; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, pp. 267-269, no. 104 (dated 1170-1171); Röhricht, *Regesta*, p. 128, no. 484 (dated 1170-1180). Hiestand's reference to Röhricht is incorrect.

<sup>423</sup> Rey, *Les familles d'Outremer*, p. 837; Bernard-Bruel, *Recueil*, pp. 586-587, no. 4234; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten III*, pp. 274-275, no. 108; Röhricht, *Regesta*, p. 130, no. 495.

<sup>424</sup> H. Marrier, *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, Paris, 1614, cols. 1431-1432; *Regesta*, p. 125, no. 476.



Pelagius in Palmerium, a.k.a. Solimum; the new house, which John, abbot of Mount Thabor, had built while prior there; and all the adjacent property up to the gate of Cayra. Finally, all Brother Pelagius' land, except a piece lying at the foot of the mountain.<sup>425</sup>

The Benedictine abbey of Palmaria was hitherto thought to be located in the palm-grove beyond the brook Kishon toward Haifa.<sup>426</sup> There a Palmaria is seen on a map dated around 1235.<sup>427</sup>

The studies of Kedar, however, have made this locality unlikely. Kedar places a Cluniac monastery at Parva Palmaria near the sea of Tiberias.<sup>428</sup> The location of Parva Palmaria can be seen from a will, 1174, of Lady Eschiva of Tiberias granting to the Hospitallers of St. John a hill (*turronem*), called Lacomedia in the Saracen language, and all the land between it and the Sea of Galilee. Lacomedia, she adds, is situated between Parva Palmaria and Tiberias.<sup>429</sup> The location of Palmaria in this general area is confirmed by the biography of Abbot Elias, mentioned above, which refers to the monastery as "not far from Tiberias" (*non procul a Tiberiade*) and "the Tiberias monastery" (*Tiberiadis coenobio*).

Hiestand has added another interpretation of the evidence, claiming that the *Palmerium, quod et Solinum dicitur* mentioned in Ahuhisa's will was not a monastery at all, but a colony or settlement. Brother Pelagius would not have been a monk but a *confrater*. A Solem or Sulem occurs in charters listing Mount Thabor's possessions and can be located with certainty in reference to the other towns possessed by Mount Thabor; namely, in the plain of Jezreel, eastward on the watershed between Kishon and tal Esdrelon and west of tal Beshan, on the border between Galilee and Samaria. Ahuhisa's gate of Cayra would be the gate in the town of Palmerium leading to Cara, another of Mount Thabor's possessions. The mountain to which she refers would be Little Mount Hermon. Whether the monastery is to be placed in Kedar's Parva Palmaria he leaves undecided.

A brief note by Eduard G. Rey in 1888 seems to have gone unnoticed in the literature.<sup>430</sup> Referring to the places named by Lady Ahuhisa above, Rey identifies Solinum

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<sup>425</sup> Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire*, II, Appendice, pp. 908-909, no. 19; RRH, p. 158, no. 594.

<sup>426</sup> Berlière, "Die alten Benedictinerklöster, p. 489; *idem*, "Les anciens monastères bénédictins," pp. 559-60; Clemens Kopp, *Elias und Christentum auf dem Karmel*, Paderborn, 1929, pp. 162-164; Mayer, *Bistümer*, pp. 403-405; McLellan, *Latin Monasteries and Nunneries in Palestine and Syria*, pp. 39-41; Elias Friedman, O.C.D., *The Latin Hermits of Mount Carmel, a Study in Carmelite Origins*, Roma, 1979, pp. 105-106.

<sup>427</sup> Reproduced by Reinhold Röhricht, "Karten und Pläne zur Palästinakunde aus dem 7.-16. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 18 (1895), 173-182, Tafel VI. See also Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*, pp. 172-174.

<sup>428</sup> Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Palmarée, abbaye clusienne du douzième siècle en Galilée," *Revue Bénédictine* 93 (1983), 260-9#. Pringle agrees with Kedar regarding the interpretation of the evidence.

<sup>429</sup> Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire*, I, 315, no. 459; Kedar, "Palmarée," p. 262, note 8.

<sup>430</sup> E. Rey, a "communication" in the *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, sér. 5, 9 (1888), 128-129. Gariador suggests that Sulem was originally a priory dependent on Mount Tabor and later became an abbey; *Les anciens monastères bénédictins*, pp. 85-86.

(Palmerium) with Sulem, a village situated on the southern slope of Little Mount Hermon. Six hundred meters away were the springs called Aïroum-Kaïroum (Cayra). The mention of a piece of land at the foot of the mountain also well fits the situation.

Pringle agrees with the interpretation of Kedar and takes exception to that of Hiestand.

The reference by the *Vita Eliae* to the neighborhood of Tiberias as the location of the Benedictine monastery in Palmaria remains the most reliable, if somewhat vague, indication.

The buildings have left no trace, and one would think it had been well fortified, situated as it was in the open.

Jacques de Vitry tells of hermits in the desert near the sea of Tiberias. Kedar surmises that certain of these hermits formed a community at Parva Palmaria,<sup>431</sup> but there is no evidence to support this hypothesis.

There was no house belonging to Palmaria in Acre after 1187. Before that time, evidently, the abbey had ceased to exist.

*St. George de La Beyne*<sup>432</sup>

A monastery, about which little is known but which the Benedictines claim as their own, was situated at al-Ba'ina, a village halfway between Acre and Saphet. The 12th-century house lay in the twin town of Dair al-Asad.

Pringle would have St. George a monastery of Greek monks.<sup>433</sup> He is led to this conclusion by the layout of the remains of the house. In its upper court it contains at least three and possibly a dozen small cells of almost identical size and shape. The existence of private cells, he concludes, would argue against the house being a Benedictine monastery, which would feature a common dormitory. He finds confirmation in a reference in a French pilgrim account to *moines grés*,<sup>434</sup> which he prefers to two other accounts, which speak of *moines noirs* at St. George.<sup>435</sup>

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<sup>431</sup> Kedar, "Palmarée," p. 262.

<sup>432</sup> Rey, *Les colonies franques*, pp. 494-495. Subsequent Benedictine accounts copy this one literally: Berlière, "Die alten Benedictinerklöster," pp. 491-492; *idem*, "Les anciens monastères bénédictins," pp. 561-562; Gariador, *Les anciens monastères bénédictins*, p. 89. See also G. Beyer, "Die Kreuzfahrergebiete Akko und Galilaea," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 67 (1944-1945), 199; Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 81-92, fig. 27-31, plates xlv-lvii, no. 29; Ellenbaum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*, pp. 166-169.

<sup>433</sup> Ellenbaum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*, p. 168, is under the mistaken impression that Pringle considers the monastery of St. George to be Carthusian!

<sup>434</sup> *Les sains pelerinages que l'en doit requerre en la Terre Sainte*, ch. 5; in Michelant-Raynaud, *Itinéraires*, 1042; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, III, 468/469.

<sup>435</sup> *Les pelerinaiges por aler en Iherusalem (v. 1231)*, ch. 20; in Michelant-Raynaud, *Itinéraires*, p. 102; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, III, 462. *Chemins et pelerinages de la Terre Sainte (1265, 1268)*, Text A, ch. 4, in Michelant-Raynaud, *Itinéraires*, p. 188; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, 66.

These reasons, perhaps, are not entirely convincing. Even if the small rooms were cells for sleeping, particular conditions in crusader Palestine could affect the structure of buildings, especially in outlying areas. Thus, the strong wall encircling the complex, far from being “singular,” was a normal and necessary feature of Latin religious buildings in unprotected areas. The Benedictine abbey in the Valley of Jehoshaphat was strongly fortified. The Order’s abbey on Mount Thabor, also fortified, Pringle admits, “was unlike in form to a normal Benedictine house.”<sup>436</sup>

The three French pilgrim accounts published by Michelant and Raynaud are in effect versions of the same basic text, and at this point in the critical condition of the texts it is impossible to decide which reading is to be preferred. Already in 1945, G. Beyer had claimed that the monastery was Greek. R. Ellenblum added the fact that the monastery continued to exist after the fall of the Latin kingdom. But this argument, too, is not conclusive: Latin churches and monasteries were sometimes taken over by Orthodox or other Christian communities.

The Benedictine awareness of the existence of St. George does not seem to antedate the information of Rey, whom their historians’ accounts reproduce literally. Rey, in turn, may have no other source of information than that of the French pilgrims who speak of black monks. Yet this witness is perhaps to be preferred, for Latin pilgrims are more likely to avert to Latin religious houses. Also, al-Ba‘ina, a large Frankish rural settlement, is a natural location for a Benedictine foundation.

There was no Benedictine house in Acre after 1187.<sup>437</sup> The monks either left the Holy Land or found refuge in one of the other Benedictine houses in that city. They could have returned to St. George after the reconstruction of the important Templar castle of Saphet, 1240-1244, which rendered the environs as well as Galilee again safe for Christians.<sup>438</sup> In any case, they would hardly have survived the raid of Baybars, who captured the castle at Saphet in 1266 and who would have cheerfully slaughtered any Latin monks he encountered, as he did two Franciscan friars there.<sup>439</sup>

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<sup>436</sup> *The Churches*, II, 76.

<sup>437</sup> Among the towns and fortresses taken by Saladin’s forces in 1187, the chronicle of Henry II lists *Sanctus Georgius in Berria: The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I, A.D. 1169-1192, known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough*, ed. William Stubbs, RS 49 (2 v., London, 1867), II, 24.

<sup>438</sup> See the anonymous *De constructione castri Saphet*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, in *Studi medievali* ser. 3, 6 (1965), 378-387. On the castle of Saphet, see also Denys Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 91-92, no. 191, and fig. 50, plate xciii.

<sup>439</sup> Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, III, 321; Barber, *The New Knighthood*, pp. 167-169. On the Franciscans, see below.

#### 4. The Cistercians<sup>440</sup>

De Vitry wrote about the Holy Land, “The Cistercian and Premonstratensian Orders also have built convents in suitable places.”<sup>441</sup> About the Premonstratensians there is information enough, but in spite of De Vitry’s 13th-century witness, a Cistercian presence in the Kingdom of Jerusalem is somewhat problematical.

Well known is St. Bernard’s reluctance to send his sons there. “Finally, like a most fertile vine,” his secretary, Geoffrey of Auxerre, wrote about him, “he sent forth shoots everywhere, except to the land of Jerusalem. Although a place had been prepared by the king, he would not agree to send his monks because of the raids of the pagans and the inclemency of the air.”<sup>442</sup> In fact, the saint had little patience with monks haring off to the Holy Land. He strenuously opposed the plans of Abbot Arnold of Morimond to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land and possibly settle there.<sup>443</sup> In a circular letter of 1147 to all Cistercian abbots, Bernard reminded them of the apostolic censure of excommunication on any monk or laybrother who accompanied an expedition.<sup>444</sup>

Thus, one should hardly look for Cistercians in the Holy Land before 1153, the date of St. Bernard’s death, and given their preference for remote, deserted places, any foundations they might have made in Palestine would not have survived the year of Hattin. The brevity of their presence there would account for the lack of information about them.

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<sup>440</sup> On the Cistercians in the Near East, see L. Janauschek, *Originum Cisterciensium tomus I*, Vienna, 1877 (only one volume appeared); Gariador, *Les anciens monastères bénédictins*, pp. 100-103; L.J. Lekai, “Cisterciensi,” *DIP*, II (1975), 1058-1098; Bernard Hamilton, “The Cistercians in the Crusade States,” *One Yet Two, Monastic Tradition East and West*, ed. by M.E. Pennington, (Cistercian Studies, no. 29), Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications, 1976, pp. 405-422. Michael Gervers, ed., *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, New York, 1992.

<sup>441</sup> *History of Jerusalem*, ch. 54, pp. 31-32.

<sup>442</sup> *Gaufridi vita S. Bernardi*, III, 22; PL 185, col. 316. On Geoffrey of Auxerre, see *DHGE*, XX, cols. 529-532.

Hamilton does not cite this source; instead he conjectures that perhaps St. Bernard “was more concerned to promote the work of the Knights Templar there than his own Order, recognizing that the needs of Outremer would be better served by warrior-monks than by contemplatives”; “The Cistercians in the Crusade States,” p. 405. In fact, the saint wrote to Pope Callixtus II in reference to this matter, “*Quis non videat, plus illic milites pugnantes quam monachos cantantes et plorantes necessarios esse?*” Letter 359, written Dec. 1124 to Jan. 1125, *Epistolae*, II, 305; PL 182, col. 561.

<sup>443</sup> Letters 4 (Dec. 1124) and 6 (Dec. 1124 to early 1125), *Epistolae*, I, 24-27, 29-30; PL 182, cols. 89-91, 92-93. See also Louis Dubois, *Histoire de l’abbaye de Morimond*, Paris, 1851, pp. 36-46. After Bernard died, Morimond founded the abbeys of Belmont and Salvatio in Outremer.

<sup>444</sup> Letter 544 (post-Migne), *Epistolae*, II, 511-512. Among references to the letter, the editors do not list G.A. Neumann, *Ord. Cist.*, “Description du manuscrit 20 H. 39 de la bibliothèque du prince de Metternich à Königswart,” *Archives de l’Orient Latin* 1 (1881), 323-333.

It would seem that the Cistercians honored St. Bernard's reservations about the Holy Land and after his death chose instead to settle elsewhere in the mid-East. Leopold Janauschek's search through the numberless chronicles of his Order reveals several foundations in the Levant, as well as the scarce and confused information about them.

However, there is no lack of information about Belmont, still existing southeast of the city of Tripoli in the mountains of Lebanon.<sup>445</sup> Belmont, founded from Morimond in 1157,<sup>446</sup> was dedicated to Saint Mary, following Cistercian usage. According to Enlart, the church resembles that of St. Peter of Tiberias, while the abbey is quite in the usual Cistercian style. The church, oriented to the northeast, forms the northern side of the cloister.<sup>447</sup>

Belmont was taken over by Orthodox monks after the fall of Tripoli in 1189; in the 17th century they carried out extensive remodelling of the interior.<sup>448</sup>

Daughters of Belmont are Holy Trinity in Refesio, Beaulieu, outside Nicosia, Cyprus (1235), and St. John *in nemore*, location uncertain.<sup>449</sup>

Cistercian chronicles show widespread confusion regarding the location of Holy Trinity in Refesio,<sup>450</sup> but more recently Lynn Townsend White, Jr., claimed to have traced it to the diocese of Agrigento in Sicily.<sup>451</sup> According to tradition, the abbey was founded by refugees from across the sea, whom White declares to have been monks of Belmont. However, he evidently only found the filial house with the same name as the mother abbey of Refech in the East, which for Janauschek has an Arabic ring to it. Refesio would be an Italianization. The location of the abbey of the Holy Trinity in the Near East remains unknown.

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<sup>445</sup> On Belmont, see Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 45-63; *Album*, plate 53, fig. 165; plate 58bis, fig. 186; plates 60-64, figs. 190-195; plate 65, figs. 198-200. See also Janauschek, *Originum Cisterciensium tomus I*, p. 139, no. 354; Camille Enlart, "L'Abbaye Cistercienne de Belmont en Syrie," *Syria* 4 (1923), 1-23. Oddly, in the former work, Enlart does not mention his earlier article and instead says that "*Belmont restait totalement inédit*," *ibid.*, I, xv.

<sup>446</sup> Janauschek, *Originum Cisterciensium tomus I*, p. 139, no. 354; Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 45, citing the charter of foundation of May 30, 1157, in Angel Manrique, *Ord.Cist., Cisterciensium... annalium tomus primus [-quartus]* (4 v., Lyon, 1642-1649), II, 302, 508.

<sup>447</sup> See Enlart's study of church and abbey, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 50-63, and plates 60-68, including a plan of the complex, *ibid.*, III, plate 60. On the church of St. Peter in Tiberias see *ibid.*, II, 374-375; Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 360-364 and fig. 101, plates cxcii, cxcii.

<sup>448</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 46-47. The monks claimed that they received Belmont "*à titre de restitution*," but Enlart doubts that it was originally Greek.

<sup>449</sup> For Beaulieu, founded 1235, see Janauschek, *Originum Cisterciensium tomus I*, p. 238, no. 620; Hamilton, "The Cistercians in the Crusade States," pp. 412-414.

Gariador, citing Dubois, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Morimond*, p. 143, credits Belmont with four foundations (all in the diocese of Famagusta, Cyprus!): "*Saint-Jean-du-Bois 'in nemore' en 1169; La Saint-Trinité, de Refelt en 1187; Bellus locus en 1237; Salut 'Salvatio' en 1257*," *Les anciens monastères bénédictins*, pp. 101-102.

<sup>450</sup> Janauschek, *Originum Cisterciensium tomus I*, p. 188, no. 482. He does not hazard a date of foundation and opines that the abbey probably existed only briefly.

<sup>451</sup> *Latin Monasticism in Norman Sicily*, Cambridge, Mass., 1938, pp. 168-177.

St. George de Jubino, an existing community which became Cistercian in 1214 at the instigation of Peter, Cistercian patriarch of Antioch,<sup>452</sup> was located on Black Mountain, a favorite haunt of hermits in the environs of the city of Antioch. Janauschek thinks the original community may have been Benedictine, and Hamilton concurs.<sup>453</sup> More recently, Kedar has identified it with a community of hermits on Black Mountain.<sup>454</sup>

The monastery of St. Sergius<sup>455</sup> in 1231 was offered to the abbey of La Ferté by Vassalus, bishop of Gibelet, and upon their acceptance was handed over to them in 1233. In 1238, Guy, Lord of Gibelet, writing to Peter, the first abbot, added to the material possessions of the abbey, which was situated “*in monte inter Sanctam Anastasiam et Sanctum Blasium supra Biblium* (= Gibelet).” When in 1241 Guy added further donations, a certain John was abbot.

Petit, for some reason, declares St. Sergius to be “*l’un des plus importants établissements de cet ordre.*”<sup>456</sup> Hamilton surmises from the dedication of the monastery that it had previously belonged to Orthodox monks,<sup>457</sup> but Bishop Vassalus in 1231 offered a building which he had begun to build for another house of the Order, which failed to occupy it for lack of members. Enlart notes the existence of this abbey, “*qui semble être disparu.*”<sup>458</sup>

Recently, authorities have situated the two remaining Cistercian houses, Salvatio and St. John *in Nemore*, in the Kingdom of Jerusalem itself. Salvatio, founded from Morimond in 1161, Janauschek had placed somewhere in Syria.<sup>459</sup> He located the abbey of St. John *in*

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<sup>452</sup> See the letters of Peter, patriarch of Antioch, written in the abbey of St. George de Jubino “*coram fratribus*,” Sept. 21, 1214, in *Les registres de Grégoire IX*, II, col. 545, nos. 3468 and 3469.

Jubin underwent a stormy time of litigation with the patriarch of Antioch as well as internal strife; see the letters of Pope Gregory IX, *ibid.*, I, col. 632, no. 1101 (Feb. 18, 1233); col. 1028, no. 1887 (May 5, 1234); II, col. 848, no. 4020 (Jan. 6, 1238). See also Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 283; *idem*, “The Cistercians in the Crusade States,” pp. 415-417.

<sup>453</sup> Janauschek, *Originum Cisterciensium tomus I*, p. 217, no. 564; Hamilton, “The Cistercians in the Crusade States,” pp. 409-410.

<sup>454</sup> Kedar, “Gerard of Nazareth,” p. 71.

<sup>455</sup> From the archive of Saône-et-Loire, Ernest Petit published four charters of the abbey of St. Sergius, dated 1231, 1233, 1238, and 1241, and notarized in 1279: “Chartes de l’abbaye cistercienne de saint-Serge de Giblet en Syrie,” *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 5e sér., 8 (1887), 20-30. From this source, Röhricht published the charters of 1231 and 1233, *Regesta*, no. 1028, pp. 268-269, and no. 1044, p. 273.

On St. Sergius, see also Janauschek, *Originum cisterciensium tomus I*, p. 239, no. 622, who has St. Sergius founded in 1235 “*incertisque fundatoribus.*”

<sup>456</sup> “Chartes,” p. 23.

<sup>457</sup> “The Cistercians in the Crusade States,” pp. 414-415,

<sup>458</sup> *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 125.

<sup>459</sup> *Originum Cisterciensium tomus I*, p. 144, no. 365.

*Nemore*, founded in 1169, also in Syria, presumably in the County of Tripoli, an opinion Jean Richard favored.<sup>460</sup>

Bernard Hamilton has since called attention to an abbot of Salvatio, Richer, to whom King Amalric (1163-1174) recounted a vision of St. Bernard.<sup>461</sup> Hamilton also noticed that two Cistercian abbots in 1186 acted as mediators for the barons at Nablus. He opined that they were the abbots of Salvatio and St. John *in nemore*.<sup>462</sup>

### *St. John in the Woods*

St. John in the Woods, today the town of 'ain-Karim, was known to 12th-century pilgrims, and it is a wonder that the connection with the Cistercian abbey of that name has only recently been made by Bernard Hamilton.<sup>463</sup> The area was associated with events immediately previous to the birth of Christ and recalls such Biblical figures as St. John the Baptist and his parents, Zacharias and Elizabeth. Theoderich (1172), among other pilgrims, describes its alleged biblical associations: "From thence one passes on to St. John's, or the place which is called 'In the Wood,' where his father, Zacharias, and his mother, Elizabeth, lived, and where St. John himself was born, where also St. Mary... came and saluted St. Elizabeth."<sup>464</sup>

Over the house of Zacharias and the cave in which St. John the Baptist was born, the Franks built or rebuilt a domed basilica. It is thought to have been owned by the canons of the Temple,<sup>465</sup> who would have provided a clerical staff, and hence is not the sought-after Cistercian abbey church. The Franciscans definitely acquired the site in 1673 and restored the church and monastery.<sup>466</sup>

Since the 12th century, a second church is known to have existed in the area, situated about 500 metres southwest of St. John's. It was built over a grotto, in which St. Elizabeth with her son, John, hid from the wrath of Herod. A monastery was connected with the church, inhabited in the 14th century by Armenian monks. In the course of time, the site

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<sup>460</sup> *Originum Cisterciensium tomus I*, p. 158, no. 405; Jean Richard, *Le Comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie toulousaine (1102-1187)*, Paris, 1945, p. 61.

<sup>461</sup> *S. Bernardi vita*, v, 3; PL 185, 368, cited by Hamilton, *The Cistercians in the Crusader States*, p. 406.

<sup>462</sup> *The Latin Church*, p. 102, note 5, citing Ernoul, ed. Mas-Latrie, 131-2. Ernoul reads: "Et li baron respondirent as messages qu'il n'iroient pas, ains prisent .ii. abés de l'ordere de Cisiaux et si les envoient en Jherusalem," p. 131.

<sup>463</sup> *The Latin Church*, p. 102.

<sup>464</sup> *Theoderich's Description*, p. 57-58; *Theoderici libellus*, p. 86-89; *Peregrinationes tres*, p. 184; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, II, 368/369.

<sup>465</sup> See the section on the *Templum Domini* above.

<sup>466</sup> On the church of St. John the Baptist, see Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 30-38, fig. 11-12, and plate xv; S.J. Saller, *Discoveries at St. John's, 'Ein Karim*, Jerusalem, 1946; F. Cangioli, *Il santuario e il convento di S. Giovanni in Ain-Karim, descrizione artistica di P. Greganti*, Jerusalem, 1947; M. Petrozzi, *Ain Karim*, Jerusalem, 1971.

was associated with Mary's visit to her cousin, Elizabeth. In 1679, the Franciscans acquired the ruins and carried out improvements. The present church of the Visitation dates from 1946.<sup>467</sup>

Undoubtedly a 12th-century monastic establishment, it bears some similarity structurally with Belmont and the buildings at 'Allar as-Sulfa. Pringle considers it "the most plausible candidate for identifying as the Cistercian church of St. John in the Woods."<sup>468</sup>

### *Salvatio*

Pringle identifies a complex of ruins at 'Allar as-Sulfa, on a line west of Bethlehem, as a monastic establishment of the 12th century, "a plausible candidate" for the Cistercian abbey of Salvatio. He has identified the ruins of a small church, 21.75 metres long, with on its west side the southern and part of the western wings of a cloister, above which would have been located the usual monastic rooms. Oddly, the church does not communicate with the cloister. The church has points of similarity with Belmont and St. John in the Woods. Its remote location recommends it as a Cistercian foundation.<sup>469</sup>

In identifying the structures in ain-Karim and 'Allar as-Sulfa as the Cistercian abbeys of St. John in the Woods and Salvatio, various reasons counsel caution. The presence of Cistercians in the Holy Land, likely pilgrims, does not prove the existence of monasteries there. St. John in the Woods, particularly—a shrine church near that of St. John the Baptist—seems an unlikely settlement for contemplative Cistercians. The appellative "in the Woods" is not so unusual that it would not occur elsewhere.<sup>470</sup> In his account of the conquest of the Holy Land by Saladin, the Cistercian Ralph of Coggeshall, it is true, does not refer to the religious ministering in the various shrines destroyed by Saladin, with the single exception of the Premonstratensians of St. Samuel's; yet he might be expected to recall the fate of the abbeys of his own Order. Finally, the restraint presumably exercised on his sons by St. Bernard's aversion to settlements in Palestine is not to be taken lightly so soon after this death, and in fact Cistercian sources do not place these two abbeys in the Holy Land.

It remains true that no 12th-century pilgrim, chronicler, or charter witness to Cistercian houses in Palestine.

On the Cistercian nunnery in Acre see below.

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<sup>467</sup> On the church of the Visitation, which Pringle rather prematurely calls St. John in the Woods, see, *idem.*, *The Churches*, I, 38-47, no. 8, fig. 13-14, and plates xvi-xix. See also B. Bagatti, *Il santuario della Visitazione ad 'Ain Karim (Montan Judaeae)*, Jerusalem, 1971.

<sup>468</sup> *The Churches*, I, 39.

<sup>469</sup> *The Churches*, I, 49-51, no. 9.

<sup>470</sup> Theoderich's reference to the locality (not the abbey) of St. John in the Woods uses the word *Silvestris*, not *in Nemore*; *Peregrinationes tres*, p. 184.



## CHAPTER TWO THE 13TH CENTURY

### 1. *The Cistercian Nuns of St. Mary Magdalen*

Cistercian nuns there certainly were in the Holy Land. There was no restriction on their settling in cities, and, indeed, in Palestine it was a necessity. In Acre, they had a monastery dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen.

On July 19, 1187, during his brief reign of three-score days, Pope Urban III confirmed the property overseas of the cathedral chapter of Genoa, among which was the church of St. Mary Magdalen in Acre.<sup>1</sup> At the time, the Saracens were in possession of the city, but after its recovery by the Christians, the claims of the chapter would have revived.

The Cistercian nunnery was apparently attached to this church. At first, not all Cistercian nunneries were affiliated with monasteries of monks,<sup>2</sup> and this may have been the case of St. Mary Magdalen's; in fact, its affiliation became a matter of dispute between Belmont and Citeaux, settled in 1239 in favor of the latter.<sup>3</sup>

On December 24, 1225, Maria, abbess of the Cistercian monastery of St. Mary Magdalen, agreed with Guarinus de Monte Acuto, Grand Master of the Hospital, to pay an annual rent for a house in the suburb of Montmusard.<sup>4</sup>

The monastery had an affiliate in Nicosia on Cyprus, which in 1222 was raised to the status of an abbey.<sup>5</sup> Another Cistercian nunnery, also dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, which Hamilton says was a daughter of Acre, was located within the city of Tripoli.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Röhricht, *Regesta*, p. 159, no. 599.

<sup>2</sup> "Cistercensi," DIP, II, 1064.

<sup>3</sup> Hamilton, "The Cistercians in the Crusade States," pp. 411-412, citing the statutes of the general chapters of the Order.

McLellan advances the possibility that St. Magdalen's was a daughter house of the abbey of Daphne; *Latin Monasteries and Nunneries in Palestine and Syria*, pp. 43-44.

<sup>4</sup> Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire*, II, 344-345, no. 1828. The precise location of the house is indicated in the document.

<sup>5</sup> Louis, comte de Mas-Latrie, "Documents nouveaux servant de preuves à l'histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan," *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, mélanges historiques, choix de documents* (4 v., Paris, 1873-1882), IV, 343-344.

In 1222, Abbess Maria is recalled, having successfully concluded negotiations with Eustorgius, archbishop of Nicosia, concerning the raising of the house in Nicosia to the status of abbey; Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, p. 102.

<sup>6</sup> Jauschek, *Originum Cisterciensium tomus I*, p. 139, no. 354; Winter, *Die Cistercienser des nordöstlichen Deutschlands*, III, 182. Hamilton, "The Cistercians in the Crusade States," p. 411, note 34, cites Winter, who, however, says nothing about Tripoli's status as daughter of Acre. The ms. published by Winter, Düsseldorf, Landesbibliothek, ms. 32, lists two Cistercian nunneries on

St. Mary Magdalen's does not appear on the map of Sanuto, but *Pardouns* lists it in the suburb of Montmusard between St. Giles and St. Catherine, on a line roughly north of the Trinitarians at the sea.<sup>7</sup>

Dichter confuses this abbey with the penitent Magdalens.<sup>8</sup>

### 2. *The Canons Regular of St. Anthony of Vienne*

The Hospitallers of St. Anthony, or Antonines, originated in connection with the Benedictine priory of Bourg-St.-Antoine (Vienne), the fortunate possessor since late in the 11th century of a relic of St. Anthony Abbot, reputed to be efficacious for the cure of St. Anthony's Fire (shingles).<sup>9</sup> Contingent to the priory and dependent on it, Gaston, a nobleman, erected a hospital to deal with the patients who came seeking a cure.

In the second half of the 12th century, continuing throughout the 13th, the hospitals experienced an amazing numerical growth. In 1247, Innocent IV imposed on them the rule of St. Augustine.<sup>10</sup> In 1297, Boniface VIII constituted them an Order of regular canons of St. Augustine independent of the Benedictines,<sup>11</sup> but by that time the Frankish kingdom in Palestine was no more.

In 1231, Fulk I, grand master of the Antonines, established a hospital in Acre.<sup>12</sup> The Hospitallers of St. Anthony did not confine themselves to their original work of treating victims of St. Anthony's Fire. Their hospitals also cared for the poor and pilgrims, a work especially suited to the Holy Land. They had a quaint way of questing: leading a pig (iconographical symbol connected with St. Anthony the Hermit) and ringing a bell.<sup>13</sup>

Sanuto places the Antonines next to the Franciscans attingent to the inner wall of defense of Montmusard.<sup>14</sup> The nearby gate of St. Anthony was the site of some of the intensest fighting during the last days of Acre.

### 3. *The Magdalens*

In the Middle Ages, the problem of prostitution was confronted particularly by encouraging fallen women to embrace the religious life.<sup>15</sup> These monasteries of "Magdalens"

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Cyprus: St. Theodore and Bellacomba.

<sup>7</sup> Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, pp. 12-13; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, 488.

<sup>8</sup> *The Orders and Churches*, pp. 101-103.

<sup>9</sup> Italo Ruffino, "Canonici Regolari di Sant'Agostino di Sant'Antonio, di Vienne (Francia)", DIP, II, 134-141.

<sup>10</sup> Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, p. 104. This letter is not found in the registers of Innocent IV edited by E. Berger.

<sup>11</sup> *Les Registres de Boniface VIII*, ed. by Georges Digard [et al.] (4 v., Paris, 1907-1939), I, cols. 781-782, no. 2032.

<sup>12</sup> Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, p. 104.

<sup>13</sup> Henry Chaumartin, *Le compagnon de saint Antoine; étude sur le symbolisme du cochon, attribut caractéristique du saint*, Paris, 1930. Extract from *Aesculape*, Sept., 1930.

<sup>14</sup> Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, p. 13; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, 488.

were autonomous and often of brief existence, but in Germany, a congregation of *Sorores Poenitentes Beatae Mariae Magdalенаe* was founded in 1226 by Rudolf of Worms, canon of St. Maurice of Hildesheim. On June 10, 1227, Pope Gregory IX approved the institution and in April, 1232, confirmed his previous act.<sup>16</sup> Rudolf's initiative flourished and by 1260 comprised four provinces; the Rhine, Mainz, the Orient, and a fourth of unknown denomination.

In Acre, there was a house of Magdalens, dedicated to St. Mary and All Saints. It does not seem to have belonged to the province of the Orient of Rudolf's *Sorores Poenitentes*, but to have been autonomous. The sisters were enclosed and followed the rule of St. Augustine. A number of houses were dependent on Acre.

In Palestine, Acre had a filial house, St. Mary of the Three Shades, near Ramla in the diocese of Lydda.<sup>17</sup>

Other churches and monasteries of the Acre Magdalens elsewhere were Santa Maria Nova, situated *in fovealibus* in the city of Matera, Italy,<sup>18</sup> St. Maria *de Balneolis*, between Matera and Gravina in Italy, and St. Nicholas in Nicosia, Cyprus. In Paphos, Cyprus, the nuns had begun in 1237 to build a church in honor of St. Mary of Egypt, an apt patroness for the Magdalens.<sup>19</sup>

A reference to the *sorum Repentitum* occurs in a document confected on December 9, 1261, in the episcopal palace of Acre.<sup>20</sup>

*Pardouns* lists the *Repentires* in Montmusard, between the Franciscans and St. Denis.<sup>21</sup>

The seal of the nuns shows St. Mary Magdalen (nude!) with her long hair down her back and holding her cask of perfume; the inscription reads: *S[igillum] mulier[um] penitentiu[m] Accon[ensium]*.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Angel Martínez Cuesta, A.R., "Maddalene," DIP, V, 801-812.

<sup>16</sup> These two letters are not found in Auvray's edition of the registers of Gregory IX.

<sup>17</sup> Gregory IX, *Registres*, II, 840-842, no. 4013 (confirmation of the possessions of the Magdalens, Dec. 30, 1237); John of Ibelin, RHC, Lois, I, 417; Rey, *Familles*, p. 835; Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 258, no. 215.

<sup>18</sup> *Registres de Grégoire IX*, II, 838-839, no. 4008 (March, 1231). Andrew, archbishop of Acerenza (Lat.: Acherontia) in Southern Italy, who made the grant, refers to the "*Priorissae et monialibus novarum penitentium ecclesiae Sanctae Mariae et Omnium Sanctorum de Accon.*" On December 23, 1237, Gregory IX confirmed the grant. *Ibid.*, II, cols. 837-838, no. 4007. Gregory addresses the "*Priorissae ac conventui penitentium Sanctae Mariae et Omnium Sanctorum Acconensium inclusarum Ordinis Sancti Augustini.*"

<sup>19</sup> See the letter of confirmation of Gregory IX, Dec. 30, 1237, *Registres*, II, 840-842, no. 4013. In reference to the various churches mentioned in the letter, the pope adds, "*in quibus vestri ordinis conventus existunt.*"

<sup>20</sup> Röhricht, *Regesta*, no. 1312.

<sup>21</sup> Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, p. 106, assigns this house to the Poor Clares.

<sup>22</sup> Pauli, *Codice diplomatico*, fig. VII, no. 69 (unnumbered pp. between pp. 280 and 281). Also reproduced by Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, p. 102.

Evidently, there was need of the apostolate of the Magdalens in Acre. Gregory IX in <sup>23</sup> and Innocent IV ten years later, complained to the patriarch of Jerusalem about the scandal given to the pilgrims on their visit to the Holy Land. Innocent added that houses owned by religious were used as brothels.<sup>24</sup>

#### 4. Sisters of St. Mary of Tyre

There was an abbey of St. Mary of Tyre in Acre.<sup>25</sup> At an unspecified date, the *moniales Tyri* sold to the Teutonic knights a house (*curia*) behind (*retro*) the infirmary of the knights. The price paid was “m [?] bisantiis.” It was also near (*prope*) another house which the Knights purchased from the Jacobite archbishop.<sup>26</sup> There seems to have been a special cult of Our Lady under the title of Tyre, localised in the cathedral of that city.<sup>27</sup> *Pardouns* places Our Lady of Tyre between Our Lady of the Knights (*Sancta Maria de Cavaleriis*) and the cathedral of the Holy Cross, hence near the center of the old city.<sup>28</sup>

The nuns also had a church in Nicosia on Cyprus, where they presumably retired after 1291. Today, it is the church of the Armenians. The tomb of Abbess Eschive de Dampierre is still to be found there. The former monastery is now a private residence. The memory of the former abbey is retained in the name of the street, Notre Dame de Tyre.<sup>29</sup>

These houses (there may have been more) may have constituted a distinct Order or Congregation; none of the then existing Orders lay claim to them.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Auvray, *Les registres*, col. 913, no. 4134. The same letter was sent to the patriarch of Antioch; *ibid.*, no. 4135.

<sup>24</sup> *Les Registres d’Innocent IV*, I, 625, no. 4106.

<sup>25</sup> Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, p. 78.

<sup>26</sup> Strehlke, *Tabulae*, p. 126. Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, p. 78, makes the *domus* the monastery of the nuns and accordingly situates it. The same passage of the *Tabulae* seems to be at the basis of his statement that the monastery became the curia of Acre after they sold it in 1243.

<sup>27</sup> With regard to the church of Our Lady in Tyre, Enlart remarks that Mary “*devait y être l’objet d’un culte particulier, puisque des églises furent élevées à Acre et à Nicosie sous le vocable de Notre-Dame-de-Tyre*”; *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 353.

<sup>28</sup> Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, p. 12-13; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, 116/117.

<sup>29</sup> Kevork K. Keshishian, *Romantic Cyprus, a Comprehensive Guide for Tourists and Travellers*, 6th ed. rev., Nicosia, 1954, p. 64. Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, p. 78, cites the edition of 1957, p. 57.

<sup>30</sup> Reference works on religious Orders, such as Helyot, Heimbucher, DIP, do not list Our Lady of Tyre.

#### 4. The Mendicants

##### *The Franciscans*<sup>31</sup>

The general chapter of 1217 divided the Order into provinces, the last being the Near East. St. Francis appointed Brother Elias to the task of establishing the new province.<sup>32</sup> The saint himself appeared in Acre in 1220 and remained in Syria until early in 1221, bringing Elias back to Europe with him.<sup>33</sup> By 1263, the Holy Land province numbered three custodies: the Holy Land or Syria, Cyprus, and Romania or Greece. Contemporary lists credit the province with noneteen to twenty-three houses in these custodies.<sup>34</sup>

Acre was the center of the Franciscan missionary effort in the Near East. It was the seat of the custodian of Syria, mentioned in a document of February 2, 1256.<sup>35</sup> There, too, was situated a house of studies of the Order. William of Rubruk, famous traveller in the Far East and author of an *Itinerarium ad partes orientales* (1253) lectured there.<sup>36</sup>

The friars by their edifying lives, especially in the matter of poverty, attracted a number of vocations to their Order. Jacques de Vitry, bishop of Acre at the time, mentions several of his clergy who had joined the Franciscans and he expected more to do so.<sup>37</sup> A native

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<sup>31</sup> Girolamo Golubovich, O.F.M., *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente franciscano*, Quaracchi, 1906-1927, 5 v.; Heribertus Holzzapfel, O.F.M., *Manuale historiae Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, tr. by Gallus Haselbeck, O.F.M., Friburgi, 1909; Leonard Lemmens, O.F.M., *Die Franziskaner im hl. Lande*, 2. vermehrte Aufl., Münster in W., 1925; Martiniano Roncaglia, O.F.M., *I Francescani in Oriente durante le crociate (sec. XIII)*, Cairo, 1954.

<sup>32</sup> Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, I, 87-88; II, 261.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 96, 97, 99.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 261, 277-278, 398-399. For a list of ministers provincial and custodians of the Holy Land, see *ibid.*, I, 412; II, 521.

<sup>35</sup> Pauli, *Codice diplomatico*, I, 150-153, no. 128, cited by Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, I, 234. On the Franciscans in Acre see also G. Governanti, O.F.M., *I Francescani in Acri*, Jerusalem, 1958. On the modern history of the Franciscans in Acre, see Girolamo Golubovich, O.F.M., *Serie cronologica dei Reverendissimi Superiori di Terra Santa*, Gerusalemme, 1898, p. 214.

<sup>36</sup> Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, I, 229-230. See the edition of Rubruk subsequently published by Anastasius van den Wijngaert, O.F.M., in *Sinica Franciscana* 1 (1929), 147-332, p. 329, but replaced by the edition and translation by P. Jackson and D. Morgan, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Kahn Möngke 1253-1255*, London, 1990. On Rubruk, see also W. Rockhill, *The Journey of William of Rubruck*, London, 1905; Manuel Komroff, *Contemporaries of Marco Polo*, New York, 1928.

<sup>37</sup> *Lettres*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, Leiden, 1960, p. 131-133. The passage does not appear in all mss. See also Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, I, 7-8, quoting the edition of J. Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, Hanoviae, 1611, I, 1146-1149.

vocation, received into the Order either by Fra Elias or St. Francis himself, was Fra Andrew of Acre, a relative of Balian, sire of Sidon, whom he accompanied to Europe in 1221. At Parma, Balian held the future Franciscan chronicler, Salimbene, at the baptismal font; to the latter we owe our knowledge of Andrew.<sup>38</sup>

Sanuto's map shows the church of the Franciscans attached to the inner wall of the Montmusard suburb, next to the church of St. Anthony.<sup>39</sup>

In Palestine, besides Acre, the Franciscans are also credited with houses in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth; here, in any case, were situated the principal shrines made available to Christians by the ten-year truce agreed upon in 1229 by Frederick II and Sultan Melek-el-Kamel.

The Franciscans, at any rate, were present in Jerusalem during the period of the truce. The Dominican, Ricoldus de Monte Crucis, on a pilgrimage around 1300, following the *via crucis*, noted near the station of the Cyrenian the site of the former Franciscan convent.<sup>40</sup>

Of the presence of Franciscans at Nazareth and Bethlehem in the 13th century, as Golubovich admits, there is no trace.<sup>41</sup> Whatever houses the Franciscans had in these places would have disappeared in the raid of the Kwarismians in 1244. Lemmens thinks it likely that the Franciscans were able to establish themselves during one of the subsequent truces.<sup>42</sup>

During his stay in Palestine, 1250-1254, St. Louis IX of France devoted himself to

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<sup>38</sup> Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, I, 149-150.

<sup>39</sup> Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, p. 13; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, 488.

<sup>40</sup> *Itinerarius*, ch. V; in Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, p. 112; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, 272/273. See also Roncaglia, *I Francescani in Oriente*, pp. 42-44, with a plaque showing the site of the Franciscan house in Jerusalem.

Golubovich would have the Franciscans present in Jerusalem at its restoration to the Christians in 1229 on the strength of Matthew Paris' account and a bull of Gregory IX of February 1, 1230; *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, I, 158-160; II, 286-287. Paris speaks of prelates and religious (*viri religiosi*) being restored to their churches, but the religious referred to are more likely canons regular; *Chronica majora*, III, 176-177. Gregory's letter to the patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem is simply a letter of protection of the Franciscans in the jurisdictions of these prelates and needn't suppose the presence of the friars in the city of Jerusalem; Golubovich, *ibid.*, 159-160. Golubovich cites a 15th-century copy of Gregory's bull, which he collates with the text edited by J. H. Sbaralea in the *Bullarium franciscanum* (7 v. in 8, Romae, 1759-1904), I, 58-59. Gregory's letter is not found in Auvray's edition of his registers.

On the subsequent history of the Franciscans in Jerusalem, see Golubovich, *Serie cronologica*, pp. 194-198.

<sup>41</sup> Girolamo Golubovich, O.F.M., "San Domenico nell'apostolato dei suoi figli in Oriente," *Miscellanea dominicana in memoriam VII anni saecularis ab obitu patris Dominici (1221-1921)*, Romae, 1923, p. 211, note 3; Roncaglia, *I Francescani in Oriente*, p. 45-46.

On the modern history of the Franciscans in Bethlehem and Nazareth, see Golubovich, *Serie cronologico*, pp. 199-201 (Bethlehem), 209-210 (Nazareth).

<sup>42</sup> Lemmens, *Die Franziskaner im hl. Lande*, p. 15. Only the first chapter of this book deals with crusader times, but it is worth consulting for its critical spirit.

strengthening the hold of the Franks on the territory they still controlled. He fortified Jaffa, Caesarea, and Sidon; in Acre he added the wall enclosing the suburb of Montmusard. While in Jaffa, 1252-1253, he built for the Franciscans a convent and church with ten altars, at the same time, as was his wont, endowing it with chalices, vestments, and books—all things needed for the service of the altar. Witness to this bounty of the king is the Franciscan, Guillaume de St.-Pathus, his biographer and confessor of his widow. For the convent the king provided books for study, beds and other furniture. The gift of books for study might indicate the presence of a *studium*.<sup>43</sup> It was all lost not long afterward, when Bybars took the city in 1268.<sup>44</sup>

The Franciscans are mentioned as present in Sidon in 1253. Their house lay on the south side of a square adjacent to the sea, which had the Teutonic knights on the north and on the east a road leading to the sea.<sup>45</sup>

A letter of Pope Alexander IV to the chancellor of Tripoli, the *magistro scholarum* of Antioch, and the minister of the Franciscans of Tyre attests their presence in the latter city in 1255.<sup>46</sup>

The following year, on July 11, the pope conferred indulgences on the faithful visiting the Franciscan church in Tyre on the feasts of Sts. Francis, Anthony, and Clare, which were celebrated there with special solemnity.<sup>47</sup>

In Beirut, the Franciscans had a convent and church dedicated to Saint Savior.<sup>48</sup> Church and convent were lost, and the friars are said to have been killed, when Saladin took the city in 1291. The friars were back again in the 14th century, as witnessed by pilgrim accounts, but were definitely expelled in 1571. The church became a mosque. When Enlart

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<sup>43</sup> Guillaume de Saint Pathus, O.F.M., *Vie de Saint Louis*, ch. 6, ed. by Henri-François Delaborde, Paris, 1899, p. 46. For a Latin translation, see *Vita secunda auctore anonymo, reginae Margaritae confessorio*, ch. 4; *Acta sanctorum*, 25 Aug., t. 5, p. 584, no. 48. See also Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, II, 512-514.

<sup>44</sup> Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, I, 104, 269; Roncaglia, *I Francescani in Oriente*, pp. 44-45; Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 271, no. 115. On the modern history of the Franciscans in Jaffa, see *Serie cronologica*, pp. 205-207.

<sup>45</sup> Strehlke, *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, p. 82, no. 103; Röhrich, *Regesta*, no. 1205; Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, I, 230. On the modern history of the Franciscans in Sidon, see Golubovich, *Serie cronologico*, p. 216.

<sup>46</sup> Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, I, 234; *Les registres d'Alexandre IV*, I, 85, no. 316; *Bullarium franciscanum*, II, 18-19; A. Potthast, *Regesta pontificum romanorum* (2 v., Berlin, 1873-1875), II, 1295, no. 15713.

<sup>47</sup> Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, I, 234, who edits the text from a cartulary of the Franciscan convent of Mount Sion, in which two copies are found. The letter does not occur in the registers of Pope Alexander later published by Bourel de la Roncière. The same indulgence was granted to other churches of the Order.

On the modern history of the Franciscans in Tyre, see *idem*, *Serie cronologico*, p. 215.

<sup>48</sup> On the Franciscan convent in Beirut, see Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 79; Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 117, no. 47, and fig. 36. On the convent's modern history, see Golubovich, *Serie cronologica*, pp. 216-217.

visited the site (ca. 1928), the building was abandoned, but was said to contain a byzantine crypt with frescoes. The modern mosque on the site is situated between the medieval cathedral (now the principal mosque of the city) and the eastern city wall. The 14th-century seal of the convent (*locus*) has survived.<sup>49</sup>

Finally, Golubovich credits the Franciscans with a house in Saphet in Galilee. His only reason for supposing this seems to be the fact that two Franciscans, Jacques de Puy and Geremia da Genova, were among the prisoners slaughtered by Bybars at his conquest of the fortress in 1266.<sup>50</sup>

Today, the Museum of Franciscan Biblical Study in Jerusalem contains nineteen miniaturized codices of Italian origin, which formerly graced the shelves of Holy Land Franciscan libraries of the post-crusader era—in one case, of Mount Sion.<sup>51</sup>

According to an anonymous Franciscan chronicler contemporary to the event, the guardian and some of the friars in Acre escaped to Cyprus in 1291. The remaining fourteen met their death in the Franciscan convent and church.<sup>52</sup>

### *The Poor Clares*

It is not known when the Poor Clares settled in the Holy Land.<sup>53</sup> Their only house in Palestine seems to have been Acre; others were situated in Antioch, Tripoli, and Cyprus.<sup>54</sup> The house in Antioch would not have survived the raids of Baybars in 1268; Tripoli fell to the Saracens in 1289, part of the chain of defeats which ended with the fall of Acre in 1291.

The site of the Poor Clares' monastery in Acre is not indicated in Sanuto's map nor is

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<sup>49</sup> Gustave Schlumberger and Adrien Blanchet, *Collections sigillographiques*, Paris, 1914, p. 196, no. 664, plate XXVII, no. 4: *S: G: FRM: MINORUM: LOCI: S: S: BARUTI*. The authors take the letter G to be the abbreviation of a friar's (*moine!*) name, but apart from the unlikelihood of a friar having a personal seal, the seal is patently of the convent: *loci S.S. Baruti*. The solution by Count Chandon de Briailles (*guardiani*) seems to be the correct one; "Trois sceaux du clergé franc de Beyrouth," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 3 (1939), 13-24. Enlart omits one of the S's before Baruti, thus losing the allusion to the convent's name (*Sancti Salvatoris*); *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 79, note 5.

<sup>50</sup> *Biblioteca bio-biografica*, II, 401-402, correcting I, 259-260.

<sup>51</sup> Nicola Bux, *Codici liturgici latini di Terra Santa/Liturgic Latin Codices of the Holy Land*, Jerusalem, 1990. See also D. Cresi, "Manoscritti liturgici Franciscani a Gerusalemme," *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 56 (1963), 466-474.

<sup>52</sup> Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, I, 351-2; II, 471-472.

<sup>53</sup> On the Poor Clares in the Holy Land, see Holzapfel, *Manuale*, pp. 575-593; John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the Year 1517*, Oxford, 1968, pp. 32-39, 205-215, 406-428, 548-559.

<sup>54</sup> Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, II, 264, tab. 1. Holzapfel, *Manuale*, p. 586, mentions only residences in Cyprus and the Holy Land generally, but quotes E. Wauer, *Entstehung und Ausbreitung des Klarissenordens*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 72ff. This chapter, however, deals with the Poor Clares in the Iberian peninsula (pp. 72-78); Wauer is not aware of any Poor Clare houses in the Holy Land (p. 161).



it listed in *Pardouns*. Enlart quotes an English source about “a very large and magnificent nunnery,” situated between the church of the Hospitallers and the palace of the Grand Master. “Some of the lofty walls of the convent are standing, and the church is almost entire.” The Marquis de Vogüé thought these were the remains of the monastery of the Poor Clares.<sup>55</sup> According to Dichter, visitors during the 16th and 17th century place the Poor Clares in the Venetian quarter of the old city.<sup>56</sup>

The 14th-century Franciscan, Joannes de Winterthur, reports the martyrdom of the Poor Clares, who died singing the *Salve Regina* at the fall of Acre in 1291.<sup>57</sup>

### *The Dominicans*<sup>58</sup>

The general chapter of the Dominicans of 1228 established the province of the Holy Land. By that time, they had a house in Nicosia and possibly also in Acre.<sup>59</sup> The Dominican convent there was located by the sea, south and southwest, between the Templars and the church of St. Michael, where Joinville lodged during the visit of St. Louis to Acre. It was the old section of the city, the most heavily fortified.<sup>60</sup> Abel attributes this envied location to the bonds of friendship between the Templars and the Dominicans.<sup>61</sup> Acre became the headquarters of the Dominican missionary effort in the Near East.

To their church the friars brought the body of their master general, Bl. Jordan of Saxony, drowned with two companions in the treacherous waters of the bay of Adalia, and the holy Dominican immediately became the object of the devotion of the faithful.<sup>62</sup>

In Acre would have lived the Dominican bishops exiled from their sees of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Hebron, Sebaste, and Nazareth.<sup>63</sup> The canonical characteristics of the Dominican

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<sup>55</sup> Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 28. Enlart does not identify his English source nor does he give bibliographical details of his reference to Melchior de Vogüé, *Les églises de la Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1860 (not available for consultation).

<sup>56</sup> Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, p. 106, but cites no sources. Dichter confuses the Poor Clares with the *Repentires* (Magdalenes) in the Montmusard suburb.

<sup>57</sup> Joannes de Winterthur, *Chronica*, A.D. 1291; the pertinent passage is reprinted by Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, I, 351. The account by the later *Cronaca dei 24 generali*, which has 74 nuns cut off their noses to avoid being raped, is rejected as a legend by Livario Oliger, O.F.M., “La caduta di S. Giovanni d’Acri nel 1291 e una leggenda agiografica migratoria,” *Lateranum* N.S. 14 (1948), 327-347.

<sup>58</sup> On the Dominicans in the Holy Land, see François Balme, O.P., “La province dominicaine de Terre Sainte de janvier 1277 à octobre 1280,” *Revue de l’Orient Latin* 1 (1893), 526-539; Girolamo Golubovich, O.F.M., “San Domenico nell’apostolato de’ suoi figli in Oriente,” *Miscellanea Dominicana*, pp. 206-21; F.M. Abel, O.P., “Ecrits des Dominicains sur la Terre Sainte,” *ibid.*, pp. 222-44; F. M. Abel, O.P., “Le couvent des frères prêcheurs à Saint-Jean d’Acra,” *Revue Biblique* 43 (1934), 265-84; Angelus Walz, O.P., *Compendium historiae Ordinis Praedicatorum*, ed. altera, Romae, 1948, 165-166.

<sup>59</sup> Abel, “Le couvent des Frères Prêcheurs,” 274-275.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 266-272.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 275-277.

way of life would have accorded well with the liturgy of the Austin canons at those churches; indeed, the early liturgy of the Dominicans was influenced by the rite of the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>64</sup>

Golubovich places the Dominicans in Jerusalem immediately after its restoration to the Christians in 1229, presumably on the same dubious grounds that he places the Franciscans there.<sup>65</sup> In 1237, the Dominican friar Philip was able to communicate to Pope Gregory IX the joyous news that he had converted to Catholicism the patriarch of the Jacobites in the East.<sup>66</sup> Philip refers to himself as “*fratrum Praedicatorum prior*,” a term that evidently meant “provincial,” as the papal penitentiary, Gregory, sharing the news with the Dominicans in England and France, styles Philip.<sup>67</sup> Golubovich has Philip resident in Jerusalem,<sup>68</sup> which is likely, but not evident from the sources he quotes. The provincial might also be expected to reside in Acre.

However, a Dominican house there certainly was in Jerusalem during the period of the truce. The Dominican, Ricoldus de Monte Crucis, descending from Mount Sion on a visit to the holy city around 1300, notes the ruins of their convent, of which the garden remained.<sup>69</sup> Near Aceldama, the field of blood bought with Judas’s thirty pieces of silver, Ludolf de Suchem relates in 1336-1341, the Dominicans had bought a delightful field with fruit trees, but he did not know if they had succeeded in acquiring it when he left. All around were the deserted hermitages of saints.<sup>70</sup>

Golubovich would have St. Louis found a convent of Dominicans in Jaffa, as he had done for the Franciscans, but however likely this might be, the king does not seem to have done so. In chapter six of his life of St. Louis, treating of the royal piety, Guillaume de St.-Pathus describes the bounty of the king toward religious Orders, including the Dominicans, but says nothing of a Dominican convent in Jaffa.<sup>71</sup>

The Dominicans do not seem to have had houses in Tyre and Sidon. In 1280, Burchard of Mount Sion visited and described Tyre, where he spent ten days, but mentions no evidence of his Order’s former presence there.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 278-282.

<sup>63</sup> Abel, “*Ecrits des Dominicains*,” *Miscellanea dominicana*, 223.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 223-224.

<sup>65</sup> “San Domenico,” p. 209.

<sup>66</sup> See the letter published by Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, III, 396-399.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 396.

<sup>68</sup> “San Domenico,” p. 210; *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, II, 286-287.

<sup>69</sup> Golubovich, “San Domenico,” p. 213; *Itinerarius*, in Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, p. 108.

<sup>70</sup> Ludolf von Suchem, *De itinere Terrae Sanctae liber*, hrsg. Ferdinand Deycks, Stuttgart, 1851, p. 85; *Ludolph von Suchem’s Description of the Holy Land and of the Way Thither, Written in the Year A.D. 1350*, tr. Aubrey Stewart, London, 1895, p. 112.

In the edition by G.A. Neumann, O.Cist., *De itinere Terrae Sanctae*, in the *Archives de l’Orient Latin 2* (1884), documents, 305-376, Suchem simply states that the Dominicans bought the field, without speculating as to whether they obtained it (p. 355).

The Dominicans are fortunate in having three documents (formularies) contemporary to their presence in the mid-East: the chapter electing Hugues de Mâcon provincial of the Holy Land, Tripoli, Jan. 7, 1277; the election of an unnamed prior by the community of Acre, Feb. 20, 1279; and the election of Hugo de Barbana prior by the community of either Nicosia or Tripoli, Oct. 1, 1280.<sup>73</sup>

At the fall of Acre, according to the contemporary Ricoldus a Monte Cruce, O.P., thirty Dominicans were killed. It was a Friday (May 18), at the third hour, while the friars sang the *Veni, Creator Spiritus*. Some Franciscans who had sought refuge with the Dominicans met the same fate. The patriarch himself, Nicholas de Hanapes, a Dominican, perished in the sea, while attempting to escape. On boarding a ship, he slipped and fell into the sea. Some say his mishap was not entirely fortuitous, since his chest of valuables was already on board.<sup>74</sup>

### *The Carmelites*<sup>75</sup>

The Carmelites did not arrive in Acre from overseas but originated not far from it, on Mount Carmel. In the 12th century, with the coming of the crusaders, hermitism, like the other forms of religious life considered above, experienced a renaissance in Palestine, which with Egypt was one of the classic sites of asceticism.

“Holy men,” Jacques de Vitry records, “renounced the world, and, according to their various affections and wishes and their religious fervour, chose places to dwell in, suitable to their object and devotion.”<sup>76</sup> He then proceeds to describe the various places in the Holy Land where hermits were found.

During the 12th century, hermits seem to have preferred other sites than Carmel, especially those associated with the life of Jesus. But with the loss of the kingdom in 1187, the hermits, too, had no other recourse than the thin strip of land beside the sea. There, in all the territory left to the Franks, Carmel was the one place suitable for the solitary life and would have become available after Acre was recovered in 1191. There, hermits, many if not all of them probably refugees from other eremitical sites in the Holy Land, settled in one of a number of gullies or washes that seam the western flank of the mountain, the *wadi 'ain es-Siah*, which opens toward the sea about two miles south of the promontory.<sup>77</sup> They were

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<sup>71</sup> *Vie de Saint Louis*, p. 47.

<sup>72</sup> *Burchard of Mount Sion*, pp. 11-12.

<sup>73</sup> Balme, “La province dominicaine,” 526-536.

<sup>74</sup> R. Röhricht, ed., “Lettres de Ricoldo de Monte Croce sur la prise d’Acre,” *Archives de l’Orient Latin* 2 (1884), 258-96; esp. 290-2. See also Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 278-9.

<sup>75</sup> On the Carmelites in the Holy Land, see Elias Friedman, O.C.D., *The Latin Hermits of Mount Carmel: A Study in Carmelite Origins*, Roma, 1979; Pringle, *The Churches*, II, 249-257.

<sup>76</sup> *The History of Jerusalem*, ch. LI, p. 27; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, III, 318/319.

<sup>77</sup> Enlart, apparently unaware of the actual site of the original foundation and its interesting archaeological remains, describes the modern locale of the “Maris Stella” convent; *Les monuments des croisés*, II, 83-85.

living under a prior, named Brocard,<sup>78</sup> when they requested a rule of life (*formula vitae*) from the patriarch of Jerusalem, Albert, resident in Acre from 1206 until his tragic death in 1214.<sup>79</sup> The rule of St. Albert is the least known of existing medieval rules and provides the only contemporary description of a Latin eremitical community in Palestine.<sup>80</sup>

In the 13th century, there are abundant witnesses to the presence of hermits on Carmel. Jacques de Vitry charmingly describes their life: “Others in imitation of the holy anchorite the prophet Elijah, led solitary lives on Mount Carmel, especially on that part thereof which overhangs the city of Porphyria, now called Haifa, near the well called Elijah’s Well, not far from the Convent of St. Margaret the Virgin, where in little comb-like cells, those bees of the Lord laid up sweet spiritual honey.”<sup>81</sup>

In fact, from the account of an anonymous French pilgrim, it is clear that the pilgrim route from Acre passed over Mount Carmel before returning to the seashore and the road south. Among the attractions there “is a very fair place and delicious, where dwell the Latin hermits, who are called Brethren of Carmel; where is a little church of Our Lady, and throughout this part there are plenty of good waters, which issue from the very rock of the mountain.”<sup>82</sup>

But Carmel, after all, did not prove a secure haven for the hermits. Unsettled conditions, even on Carmel, caused some of the hermits to overcome their scruples at leaving the Holy Land and to seek refuge in Europe, no doubt in their countries of origin. The contemporary Vincent of Beauvais, O.P., records the arrival of Carmelites in Europe in 1238.<sup>83</sup> Perhaps they were anticipating the end of the ten-year truce of 1229. Their first settlements were in Cyprus, Sicily, England, and Provence.<sup>84</sup> Not long after, on October. 1, 1247, Pope Innocent IV by the bull *Quae honorem*, approved their rule, at the same time mitigating it,

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<sup>78</sup> The only 13th-century copy of the rule is that of 1247, found in the register of Innocent IV (Reg. Vat. 21, f. 465r-466v), which customarily indicates personal names by an initial, in this case, “B”. The text of the original *formula vitae* edited in the *Speculum* of 1507, f. 29v-30r, solves the abbreviation as “Brocard,” and in the opinion of the late Adrian Staring, specialist in medieval Carmelite history, there is no reason to suspect this solution.

<sup>79</sup> The long neglected figure of Carmel’s legislator has finally been given handsome recognition in the impressive volume (780 pp.) by Vincenzo Mosca, O.Carm., *Alberto, patriarcha di Gerusalemme, tempo, vita, opera*, Roma, 1996.

<sup>80</sup> The earliest text of the primitive rule is found in the *Speculum Ordinis fratrum Carmelitarum noviter impressum*, ed. Joannes Baptista de Cathaneis, O.Carm., Venetiis, 1507, f. 29v-30r, and, though late, may be considered reliable. A recent reprint: Gabriel Wessels, O.Carm., “Regula primitiva Ordinis nostri et mutationes Innocentii IV,” *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum*, 3 (1914-1916), 212-23, esp. 213-8. An English translation by Bede Edwards, *The Rule of St. Albert*, Aylesford, Kent, 1973.

<sup>81</sup> *The History of Jerusalem*, ch LII, p. 27; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, III, 320/319/321.

<sup>82</sup> *City of Jerusalem*, p. 31; *Les pelerinaiges*, p. 90; *Les sains pelerinages*, p. 1043; *Les chemins et les pelerinages*, p. 180 (text A), 190 (text B).

<sup>83</sup> *Bibliotheca mundi* (4 v., Douai, 1624), IV, 1275.

<sup>84</sup> *Chronica Guilelmi de Sanvico*, p. 397.

permitting them to make foundations in places other than deserts, and introducing certain cenobitical elements.<sup>85</sup> The Carmelites gradually took on the characteristics of the Mendicants; in 1274, the Second Council of Lyons canonized the now familiar four Mendicant Orders, Franciscan, Dominican, Carmelite, and Augustinian.<sup>86</sup>

When the Carmelites acquired a house in Acre is not known; no doubt after 1247, when they obtained papal permission to live in places other than deserts. Brethren from Acre and Mount Carmel attended the general chapter held in Messina in 1259.<sup>87</sup> On March 25, 1261, Alexander IV opened the Carmelite church in Acre to public worship.<sup>88</sup> It does not appear in *Pardouns*; perhaps at the time the Carmelites in Acre had not yet undertaken pastoral activities.

From Sanuto's plan it is clear that the Carmelite house lay along the sea in the Montmusard section of the city, between the church of St. Bridget and that of the Trinitarians.<sup>89</sup>

Elsewhere, the Carmelites settled in Tyre sometime previous to August 5, 1262, when Urban IV placed them under the patriarch of Jerusalem, then resident in Tyre, notwithstanding a previous agreement to be subject to the late archbishop of Tyre.<sup>90</sup>

In 1263, in the *wadi* itself, a monastery, built "*opere sumptuoso*" in the new style, replaced the hermitage.<sup>91</sup> It is not known whether it was affected by the raids of Baybars immediately afterwards.

The province of the Holy Land probably dates from the general chapter of 1247, which seems to be the first such assembly. The province was represented at the general chapter held in Montpellier in 1287.<sup>92</sup>

The absence of Carmelites from public life, as compared to the other Orders in Palestine, reflects their condition of hermits.

At the fall of Acre in 1291, according to the chronicle attributed to William of Sandwich, who by his own account was in the city at the time and managed to escape, the

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<sup>85</sup> No original bulls or authentic copies of the mitigated rule are at present known to exist. However, the bull *Quae honorem* is found in the register of Innocent IV in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, *Reg. Vat.* 21, f. 465v-6r.

Principal editions: *Bullarium carmelitanum*, ed. Eliseo Monsignano, O.Carm., and José Alberto Ximénez, O.Carm. (4 v., Roma, 1715-1768), I, 8-11; Gabriel Wessels, O.Carm., "Antiquissima copia regulae Ordinis nostri," *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum* 2 (1911-1913), 556-62; M.H. Laurent, O.P., "La lettre *Quae honorem conditoris* (1er octobre 1247): note diplomatique pontificale," *Ephemerides carmeliticae* 2 (1948), 5-16.

<sup>86</sup> See Richard W. Emery, "The Second Council of Lyons and the Mendicant Orders," *Catholic Historical Review* 39 (1953), 257-271.

<sup>87</sup> Joannes Trissa, O.Carm., *d. 1363, Capitula generalia, 1259-1362*, ed. Benedict Zimmerman, O.C.D., *Monumenta historica carmelitana*, Lérins, 1907, p. 203.

<sup>88</sup> *Les registres d'Alexandre IV*, no. 3250; *Bullarium carmelitanum*, I, 23.

<sup>89</sup> Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, p.13; De Sandoli, *Itinera*. IV, 488.

<sup>90</sup> *Bullarium carmelitanum*, I, 523.

<sup>91</sup> Urban IV, *Quoniam ut ait*, Feb. 19, 1263; *Bullarium carmelitanum*, I, 28-29.

<sup>92</sup> ACG, I, 10.

Saracens, after killing the Carmelites in Acre, climbed Mount Carmel, set fire to the monastery, and put to the sword the friars singing the *Salve Regina*.<sup>93</sup> Modern authors have accepted this story,<sup>94</sup> but Friedman thinks it likely that the friars had previously escaped by way of the nearby fortress at Athlit.<sup>95</sup> The good relations between the Carmelites and the Templars at Athlit and the fact that the fortress there remained in Christian hands more than two months after the fall of Acre make this hypothesis a likely one.<sup>96</sup>

### *The Trinitarians*

Although the Order of the Holy Trinity for the Ransom of Captives is ranked as a Mendicant Order, it antedated all the other Orders of that category, being founded by St. John of Matha around 1195. These religious no doubt lost no time in settling in Acre, since their apostolate required them to negotiate with Moslems throughout the Mediterranean basin.<sup>97</sup>

A letter of Gregory IX, dated December 30, 1237, confirms the houses and possessions the Trinitarians have in Acre, Caesarea, and Beirut.<sup>98</sup> Besides their house in Acre, the Trinitarians had the church and hospital of St. Michael in Caesarea and the church and hospital of St. Nicholas in Beirut.<sup>99</sup>

The Trinitarians acted as dependable messengers for the popes and other authorities. On July 4, 1248, Innocent IV delegated Nicholas, superior general of the Trinitarians, to see that the Count of Arras, left behind by the papal legate, joined the crusade.<sup>100</sup> Evidently, he succeeded in reaching his destination, for we find Nicholas and companions at the siege of La Mansoura, in Egypt, where he was entrusted with a letter from Gaucher of Châtillon, Sire of Saint Aignan in Berry, bestowing alms on the Order (March, 1250).<sup>101</sup> From the encampment at Jaffa, King Louis IX, in June of 1253, sent a letter to Theobald of Nantheuil, cantor of Beauvais, concerning alms for four poor houses of the Order.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> *Chronica*, p. 313-4.

<sup>94</sup> E. g., Richard, *Le royaume Latin*, p. 341.

<sup>95</sup> *The Latin Hermits*, p. 188.

<sup>96</sup> On the Carmelites and the Templars, see Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p. 178. On the fate of Athlit see Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, III, 422.

<sup>97</sup> A.T. Walsh, "Trinitarians," NCE, XIV, 293-295. Although the Trinitarian historian, Paul Deslandres, *L'Ordre des Trinitaires*, Toulouse, 1903, 2 v., records the presence of Trinitarians in the following of St. Louis during the Egyptian campaign and after, he makes no mention of houses of his Order in the Levant.

<sup>98</sup> On the hospital of St. Nicholas in Beirut, see Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 119, no. 51.

<sup>99</sup> Gregory IX, *Les registres*, II, 843-844, no. 4014. See also "Trinitari," DIP, IX, 1330-1371 (Giulio Cipollone); *idem*, *Studi intorno a Cerfroid, prima casa dell'Ordine Trinitario (1198-1429)*, Roma, 1978, p. 147-148; Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, p. 91. In his article in DIP, p. 1340, Cipollone mistakenly credits the Trinitarians with a house in Jaffa. On the hospital of St. Nicholas in Beirut, see Pringle, *The Churches*, I, 119, no. 51.

<sup>100</sup> Cipollone, *Studi intorno a Cerfroid*, p. 157, no. 58.

According to Sanuto, the house of the Trinitarians lay along the sea in the Montmusard suburb, between the Carmelites and the inner wall of the city. *Pardouns* lists them between St. Catherine and St. Bridget.<sup>103</sup>

*The Friars of the Sack*<sup>104</sup>

The Friars of the Penitence of Jesus Christ, or Friars of the Sack, had a Holy Land province,<sup>105</sup> but the location of its houses, apart from that in Acre, is not known. Like other Mendicant Orders, the province may have included houses in Syria and Cyprus.<sup>106</sup>

On the other hand, the Sack friars would have had little opportunity to develop in the Holy Land, for in 1274 this tragic Order was unfortunately suppressed by the Second Council of Lyons. On November 30, 1285, Honorius IV instructed the patriarch of Jerusalem to sell their abandoned house in Acre to the Templars.<sup>107</sup> For some reason, this transaction never materialized, for on April 22, 1288, Nicholas IV entrusted the bishop of Sidon with the task.<sup>108</sup> Finally, on October 10, 1290, the same pope bestowed this seemingly unwanted convent on the Augustinian friars.<sup>109</sup> Evidently, this Order was planning to join the other three Mendicant Orders in the Holy Land. From the pope's second letter, however, it appears that the Sack friars had not abandoned their house, for three survivors still inhabited it. One wonders which arrived first, the pope's letter or the Egyptian army.

The Augustinians, however, had a Holy Land province which endured into the 17th century, but it seems to have originated after the fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and was located mainly on the islands of the eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus, Rhodes, Crete and others.<sup>110</sup>

Burns conjectures that the Friars of the Sack, besides engaging in the usual apostolic activities of the Mendicants, were interested in the conversion of the Moslems;<sup>111</sup> this indeed would explain their presence in the Holy Land.

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<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 159, no. 67.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162, no. 72; p. 163, nos. 75 and 76; p. 165, no. 81; p. 166, no. 82.

<sup>103</sup> Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, p. 12, 13; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, 116, 117, 488.

<sup>104</sup> See Richard W. Emery, "The Friars of the Sack," *Speculum* 18 (1943), 323-334; Robert I. Burns, S.J., "Penitenza di Gesù Cristo, Frati della," *DIP*, VI, cols. 1398-1403.

<sup>105</sup> Emery, "The Friars of the Sack," p. 325.

<sup>106</sup> Emery, *ibid.*, 332, knows only Acre. His list of houses, however, is admittedly incomplete.

<sup>107</sup> *Les registres d'Honorius IV*, ed. by Maurice Prou, Paris, 1888, col. 196, no. 255.

<sup>108</sup> *Les registres de Nicolas IV*, ed. by Ernest Langlois (2 v., Paris, 1886-1893), I, 21, no. 123.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 530, no. 3379; Potthast, *Regesta*, no. 23429.

<sup>110</sup> *DHGE*, V, 513-514.

<sup>111</sup> *DIP*, VI, col. 1401.

A fragment of epitaph of a certain Richard, “*des Freres de Pen[it]ance [de] Ih[esus] Crist de la Tere Sainte,*” is a mute witness to their presence in Acre.<sup>112</sup> From the language of the epitaph, it is evident that the Acre house was a French foundation.

The church of the Sack friars does not appear in Sanuto’s plan, but *Pardouns* lists the church of the *Frères desakés* for its indulgences, placing it between St. Michael’s and the Hospital of St. John.<sup>113</sup>

From early in the 14th century, the intrepid Franciscans were back again at the holy places in Palestine, to remain there, off and on, until today.<sup>114</sup> The tenure of the Franciscans in the holy places has by no means been pacific nor without loss of blood.<sup>115</sup> Nevertheless, over the centuries they have succeeded single-handed in establishing in the homeland of the Savior a Latin Christian presence, which the crusades sought to bring about by force of arms, but less successfully than the Franciscans through the power of Christian love.

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<sup>112</sup> Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, p. 115, reproducing a sketch in C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Albums des antiquités orientales*, 1887, p. 47. The decyphering of the inscription there makes little sense. To this reader, the word preceding *des freres* is *p[ro]vincial[is]*.

<sup>113</sup> Dichter, *The Orders and Churches*, p. 12; Michelant-Raynaud, *Itinéraires*, p. 235; De Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, 116-117, who, however, incorrectly translates the name as *Fрати Discalceati*.

<sup>114</sup> See Sabino de Sandoli, O.F.M., *The Peaceful Liberation of the Holy Places in the XIV Century*, Cairo, 1990.

<sup>115</sup> Heribert Holzapfel, O.F.M., writing in 1909, states that in the course of centuries 2,000 friars have been killed and over 6,000 fallen victim to pestilence, while ministering to others; *Manuale*, p. 235, citing Marie Léon Patrem, *Tableau synoptique de l’histoire de tout l’ordre séraphique*, Paris, 1879, p. 137.



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APPENDIX  
SUMMARY DATA ON RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Place names are listed alphabetically. Within each place, churches and monasteries are listed alphabetically according to religious Order.

12th Century

Acre

Dedication: Holy Cross  
Order: Canons Regular of St. Augustine?  
Dates: -1291.  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Cathedral chapter  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: no remains

ʿain Karim

Dedication: St. John in the Woods?  
Order: Cistercians?  
Dates: -1187  
Founder: Abbey of Morimond?  
Status: Abbey  
Present condition of church: archaeological remains  
Present condition of monastery: archaeological remains

al-Baʿina

Dedication: St. George  
Order: Benedictines  
Dates: -1187, 1240-1266  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Abbey  
Present condition of church: archaeological remains  
Present condition of monastery: archaeological remains

ʿAllar as-Sufla

Dedication: Salvatio?  
Order: Cistercians?  
Dates: -1187

Founder: Unknown  
Status: Abbey  
Present condition of church: archaeological remains  
Present condition of monastery: archaeological remains

#### Balata near Nablus

Dedication: Jacob's Well  
Order: Benedictine nuns  
Dates: -1172-1187  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Monastery, affiliate of St. Lazarus  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

#### Beirut

Dedication: St. Michael de Clusa  
Order: Premonstratensians?  
Dates: -1184-1291  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Monastery  
Present condition of church: No remains.  
Present condition of church: No remains.

#### Bethany

Dedication: St. Lazarus  
Order: Benedictine Nuns  
Dates: 1138-1187  
Founder: Queen Melisende  
Status: Abbey  
Present condition of church: Tomb of Lazarus a mosque  
Present condition of monastery: archaeological remains

#### Bethany

Dedication: St. Lazarus  
Order: Canons Regular of St. Augustine  
Dates: 1114-1138  
Founder: Arnulf, patriarch of Jerusalem  
Status: Priory?  
Present condition of church: Tomb of Lazarus a mosque  
Present condition of monastery: archaeological remains

#### Bethlehem

Dedication: St. Mary  
Order: Canons Regular of St. Augustine  
Dates: 1100?-1187  
Founder: Daimbert, patriarch of Jerusalem?

Status: Cathedral chapter  
Present condition of church: Intact  
Present condition of monastery: Cloister remains

#### Hebron

Dedication: Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob  
Order: Canons Regular of St. Augustine  
Dates: -1112-1187  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Cathedral chapter, 1168-1187  
Present condition of church: Intact, a mosque  
Present condition of monastery: no remains

#### Jerusalem

Dedication: St. Anne  
Order: Benedictine nuns  
Dates: -1099-1187  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Abbey  
Present condition of church: Intact  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

#### Jerusalem

Dedication: St. John Evangelist  
Order: Benedictine nuns  
Dates: 1138-1187  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Monastery, affiliate of St. Lazarus  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

#### Jerusalem

Dedication: St. Mary Latins  
Order: Benedictines  
Dates: -1023-1187  
Founder: Amalfi merchants  
Status: Abbey  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

#### Jerusalem

Dedication: St. Mary Major  
Order: Benedictine Nuns  
Dates: -1099-1187  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Abbey

Present condition of church: Extant as the Lutheran Church of St. Savior.  
Present condition of monastery: Extant as the Lutheran Church of St. Savior.

#### Jerusalem

Dedication: St. Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat  
Order: Benedictines  
Dates: 1099-1187  
Founder: Godfrey of Bouillom  
Status: Abbey  
Present condition of church: Crypt remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

#### Jerusalem

Dedication: Holy Sepulchre  
Order: Canons Regular of St. Augustine  
Dates: 1099-1187  
Founder: Godfrey of Bouillon  
Status: Cathedral chapter  
Present condition of church: Intact  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

#### Jerusalem, Mount Olivet

Dedication: St. Savior.  
Order: Canons Regular of St. Augustine  
Dates: -1112-1187  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Abbey  
Present condition of church: Edicule now a mosque  
Present condition of monastery: archaeological remains

#### Jerusalem, Mount Sion

Dedication: St. Mary  
Order: Canons Regular of St. Augustine  
Dates: ca. 1100-1244  
Founder: Daimbert, patriarch of Jerusalem?  
Status: Abbey  
Present condition of church: the Cenacle remains as a mosque  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

#### Jerusalem

Dedication: St. Stephen/St. Paul  
Order: Benedictines/Canons Regular of St. Augustine?  
Dates: -1113-1187  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Monastery  
Present condition of church: No remains



Present condition of monastery: No remains

#### Jerusalem

Dedication: Templum Domini

Order: Canons Regular of St. Augustine

Dates: 1099-1187, 1243?

Founder: Godfrey of Bouillon

Status: Abbey

Present condition of church: Mosque

Present condition of monastery: No remains

#### Kafr Jinnis

Dedication: St. Habakkuk

Order: Premonstratensians

Dates: 1130's-1187

Founder: Unknown

Status: Abbey

Present condition of church: No remains

Present condition of monastery: No remains

#### Lydda

Dedication: St. George

Order: Canons Regular of St. Augustine?

Dates: ca. 1101-1187

Founder: Unknown

Status: Cathedral chapter

Present condition of church: Portions exist in present Greek Church

Present condition of monastery: No remains

#### Lydda

Dedication: St. John the Evangelist

Order: Religious status uncertain

Dates: -1187

Founder: Unknown

Status: Priory

Present condition of church: No remains

Present condition of priory: No remains

#### Mount Carmel

Dedication: St. Mary

Order: Carmelites

Dates: 1192?-1291

Founder: St. Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem

Status: Monastery

Present condition of church: archaeological remains

Present condition of monastery: archaeological remains

#### Mount Thabor

Dedication: St. Savior  
Order: Benedictines  
Dates: 1099-1187  
Founder: Tancred  
Status: Abbey  
Present condition of church: archaeological remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains.

#### Nabi Samwil, Montjoie

Dedication: St. Samuel  
Order: Premonstratensians  
Dates: -1131-1187  
Founder: King Baldwin II  
Status: Abbey  
Present condition of church: Replaced by a mosque  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

#### Nazareth

Dedication: Annunciation  
Order: Canons Regular of St. Augustine  
Dates: 1099-1187, 1251-1263?  
Founder: Tancred, Prince of Galilee  
Status: Cathedral chapter  
Present condition of church: 4 carved pillar capitals remain  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

#### Palmaria

Dedication: Unknown  
Order: Benedictines  
Dates: 1131/1138-1187  
Founder: Warmund of Tiberias, Lord of Bethsan  
Status: Abbey  
Condition of church: No remains  
Condition of Monastery: No remains

#### Quarantena, Mount

Dedication: Fasting of Jesus  
Order: Canons Regular of St. Augustine  
Dates: 1134/1135-1187  
Founder: William I, patriarch of Jerusalem  
Status: Priory, affiliate of the Holy Sepulchre  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of priory: No remains

Rantis, Arimathea

Dedication: St. Joseph of Arimathea  
Order: Premonstratensians  
Dates: -1130's-1187  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Affiliate of St. Habakkuk  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

Sebaste

Dedication: St. John the Baptist  
Order: Canons Regular of St. Augustine  
Dates: -1107-1187  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Cathedral chapter  
Present condition of church: Ruins partly a mosque  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

Sichar, near Nablus

Dedication: Unknown  
Order: Benedictines  
Dates: -1100-1187  
Founder: Count Garnier of Grez  
Status: Priory, affiliate of St. Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

Tall-al Jazar

Dedication: St. Catherine of Montgisart (*de Campo Belli*)  
Order: Religious status uncertain  
Dates: 1177-1187  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Priory  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of priory: No remains

Tyre

Dedication: Holy Cross  
Order: Canons Regular of St. Augustine?  
Dates: 1129?-1291  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Cathedral chapter  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

## 13th century

### Acre

Dedication: St. Anne  
Order: Benedictine nuns  
Dates: -1187-1291  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Replaces the Jerusalem abbey  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

### Acre

Dedication: St. Lazarus  
Order: Benedictine nuns  
Dates: -1187-1291  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Replaces the Bethany abbey  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

### Acre

Dedication: St. Mary Latins  
Order: Benedictines  
Dates: -1187-1291  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Replaces the Jerusalem abbey  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

### Acre

Dedication: St. Mary Major  
Order: Benedictine nuns  
Dates: -1187-1291  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Replaces the Jerusalem abbey  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

### Acre

Dedication: St Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat  
Order: Benedictines  
Dates: -1187-1291  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Replaces the Jerusalem abbey.  
Present condition of church: No remains

Present condition of monastery: No remains

Acre

Dedication: St. Anthony  
Order: Canons Regular of St. Anthony of Vienne  
Dates: 1231-1291  
Founder: Fulk I, grand master of the Antonines  
Status: Hospital  
Present condition of hospital: No remains

Acre

Dedication: Holy Cross  
Order: Canons Regular of St. Augustine  
Dates: -1135-1291  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Cathedral chapter  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

Acre

Dedication: Holy Sepulchre  
Order: Canons Regular of St. Augustine  
Dates: ca. -1189-1291  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Patriarchal chapter  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

Acre

Dedication: Mount Olivet  
Order: Canons Regular of St. Augustine  
Dates: 1183-1291  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Replaces the Jerusalem abbey  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

Acre

Dedication: St. Abraham  
Order: Canons regular of St. Augustine  
Dates: -1187-1291  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Replaces the Hebron abbey  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

Acre

Dedication: St. George  
Order: Canons Regular of St. Augustine  
Dates: -1187-1291  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Replaces the Lydda abbey  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

Acre

Dedication: St. Leonard  
Order: Canons Regular of St. Augustine  
Dates: -1187-1291  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Replaces Mount Sion, Jerusalem  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

Acre

Dedication: St. Mary  
Order: Canons Regular of St. Augustine  
Dates: 1189-1291  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Replaces the Bethlehem abbey  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

Acre

Dedication: St. Mary  
Order: Canons Regular of St. Augustine  
Dates: 1189-1291  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Replaces the Nazareth abbey  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

Acre

Dedication; Templum Domini  
Order: Canons Regular of St. Augustine  
Dates: 1189-1291  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Replaces the Templum Dei, Jerusalem  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

Acre

Dedication: Unknown  
Order: Carmelites  
Dates: -1291  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Monastery  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of Monastery: no remains

Acre

Dedication: St. Mary Magdalen  
Order: Cistercian nuns  
Dates: -1291  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Abbey  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

Acre

Dedication: Unknown  
Order: Dominicans  
Dates: 1228?-1291  
Founder: General chapter of 1228  
Status: Monastery  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

Acre

Dedication: Unknown  
Order: Franciscans  
Dates: 1217-1291  
Founder: General chapter of 1217  
Status: Monastery  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

Acre

Dedication: Unknown  
Order: Friars of the Sack  
Dates: -1274-1291  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Monastery  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

Acre

Dedication: St. Mary and All Saints

Order: Magdalens  
Dates: -1231-1291  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Monastery  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

#### Acre

Dedication: St. Samuel  
Order: Premonstratensians  
Dates: -1189-1291  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Abbey  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

#### Acre

Dedication: St. Mary of Tyre  
Order: St. Mary of Tyre?  
Dates: -1243  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Abbey  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

#### Acre

Dedication: Unknown  
Order: Trinitarians  
Dates: -1237-1291  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Monastery  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

#### Beirut

Dedication: St. Savior  
Order: Franciscans  
Dates: -1291  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Monastery  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

#### Beirut

Dedication: St. Nicholas  
Order: Trinitarians



Dates: -1237-1291  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Hospital  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of hospital: No remains

#### Caesarea

Dedication: St. Michael  
Order: Trinitarians  
Dates: -1237-1291  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Hospital  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of hospital: No remains

#### Jaffa

Dedication: Unknown  
Order: Franciscans  
Site: Jaffa  
Dates: 1252/3-1268  
Founder: St. Louis IX, king of France  
Status: Monastery  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

#### Jerusalem

Dedication: Unknown  
Order: Dominicans  
Dates: 1229?-1244  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Monastery  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

#### Jerusalem

Dedication: Unknown  
Order: Franciscans  
Dates: 1229?-1244  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Monastery  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

#### Lydda diocese

Dedication: St. Mary of the Three Shades  
Order: Magdalens

Dates: -1291  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Monastery, affiliate of Acre  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

#### Sidon

Dedication: Unknown  
Order: Franciscans  
Dates: -1253-1291  
Founder:  
Status: Monastery  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

#### Tyre

Dedication: Unknown  
Order: Carmelites  
Dates: -1262-1291  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Monastery  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains

#### Tyre

Dedication: Unknown  
Order: Franciscans  
Dates: -1255-1291  
Founder: Unknown  
Status: Monastery  
Present condition of church: No remains  
Present condition of monastery: No remains