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# Three Notes on Crusader Acre

By David Jacoby

## 1. *The monastery of St. Sabas, pilgrimage and residential segregation*

The name of St. Sabas is connected with one of the bloodiest wars fought in the streets of Acre during the crusader period. The commercial rivalry between Venice and Genoa throughout the Mediterranean extended to Acre, where it centered around a house belonging to the monastery of St. Sabas. Since 1251 Genoa attempted to take hold of this house, while Venice opposed the move. The two maritime powers clashed over this issue as well as others and for about two years, from 1256 to 1258, were engaged in Acre in a fierce struggle, the so-called 'war of St. Sabas'. The war ended with the victory of Venice and her ally Pisa and the departure of the Genoese from the city, to which they did not return until its fall to the Muslims in 1291<sup>1</sup>.

There has been some speculation about the appellation and affiliation of the monastery of St. Sabas in Acre. It has been suggested that it was named after the fifth century St. Sabas, like the Great Laura bearing his name to the southeast of Jerusalem, Mār Sābā, that it existed in the twelfth century and, finally, that it was subject to the authority of the Orthodox abbot of St. Sabas in Alexandria<sup>2</sup>. The last point has been argued on the basis of two letters which Pope Innocent IV devoted in 1251 to the contested house owned by the monastery in Acre. One of them was addressed to the abbot and convent of St. Sabas of Alexandria, while the other enjoined the archbishop of Tyre to put pressure on them to grant the house for a period of ten years to Genoa. Both letters were thus clearly dispatched to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem<sup>3</sup>. The association of the Acre monastery with Alexandria seems to derive from a misunderstanding of the papal chancery, where the monastery of St. Sabas in the Egyptian city must have been well known: since the seventh century it was the seat of the Patriarch of Alexandria.

A hitherto overlooked source provides more reliable information, from which we may gather that the monastery of St. Sabas in Acre was established by Sava, the youngest son of the Serbian ruler Stephen Nemanja. Sava spent seven years, from 1191 to 1198, as a monk in

<sup>1</sup> On the local context, see D. JACOBY, *L'expansion occidentale dans le Levant: les Vénitiens à Acre dans la seconde moitié du treizième siècle*, *Journal of Medieval History* 3 (1977), 227–228 and 254, nn. 4–6; repr. in *idem*, *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale du XIIe au XVe siècle. Peuples, sociétés, économies* (London 1979), no. VII. As I have shown in that study, the monastery itself was not at stake, contrary to the view commonly held.

<sup>2</sup> See R. RÖHRICHT, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem* (Innsbruck 1898), 897 and n. 2, and J. PRÄWER, *Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris 1969–1970), II 364, n. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Liber iurium reipublicae genuensis*, I [= *Historiae patriae monumenta*, VII] (Augustae Taurinorum), 1854, coll. 1097–1099, nos. 818–819. The first letter is addressed to *abbati et conventui monasterii sancti Sabbati Alexandrie*, while the second mentions *abbatem et conventum monasterii sancti Sabbati alexandrini*. It is inconceivable that the pope should have written to the abbot of St. Sabas in Alexandria to request the latter's interference in a matter pertaining to Acre, where all Orthodox institutions were under the canonical authority of the Latin hierarchy: see below, n. 14.

the Greek monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos. Later in his life, after reaching an agreement in Nicaea with the Byzantine Patriarch Manuel, he became in 1219 the first primate of Serbia's autonomous Church<sup>4</sup>. Sava went twice on pilgrimage to the Holy Land. His first visit to Acre took place in 1229, shortly after Emperor Frederick II had recovered Jerusalem from the Muslims, except for the Temple Mount, and regained thereby free access to the Christian holy places in the city. After completing his pilgrimage Sava returned to Acre in 1230 in order to pursue his voyage toward Nicaea<sup>5</sup>. Significantly, while in the city he lived in a house belonging to St. Nicholas, a Latin church situated in the cemetery to the east of the Old City<sup>6</sup>. Sava would have undoubtedly stayed at the Orthodox monastery of St. Sabas, an institution to which he was later closely related, had it already existed then. From one of his biographers, however, we learn that Sava bought the Latin monastery of St. George and bestowed it as a gift on the Great Laura of St. Sabas, the saint after whom he was named<sup>6a</sup>. He thus turned the Acre monastery from a Latin into an Orthodox institution, St. Sabas, which obviously became the residence of some Orthodox monks. These may have previously been members of the retinue with which Sava had arrived in Acre or else have been chosen among the local Orthodox clergy. In any event, during his second visit to the Holy Land, which took place in 1234, Sava stayed for some time at the monastery he had founded in Acre before proceeding to Jerusalem<sup>7</sup>.

The Latin monastery of St. George bought by Sava in 1230 should not be confused with the church bearing the same name, situated in Acre's suburb Montmusard<sup>8</sup>. The location of this church is revealed by the *Pelrinages et pardouns de Acres*, a guide and itinerary for Latin pilgrims compiled between 1261 and 1264<sup>9</sup>. On the other hand, we have no direct information about the location of the monastery of St. George<sup>9a</sup>. There is good reason to believe, however, that it was situated in the royal quarter of the Chain, like the contested house held by its successor St. Sabas in 1251 and other houses owned by this institution in 1277. These houses were adjacent to Acre's harbour and located between the royal Cathena, a building combining the functions of customhouse, warehouse and market, and the church of St. Demetrius, situated at the southern edge of the Venetian quarter<sup>10</sup>. There is no indication

<sup>4</sup> On his life, see D. OBOLENSKY, *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford 1988), 113–172.

<sup>5</sup> See *ibid.*, 163–165.

<sup>6</sup> DOMENTIJAN, *Život svetoga Simeuna i svetoga Save*, ed. DJ. DANIČIĆ (Beograd 1865), 276. Evidence on this church from the same period in E. STREHLKE (ed.), *Tabulae ordinis theutonicici* (Berlin 1869), 68–69, no. 86. I use “Old City” for the urban area enclosed by a single wall existing before the addition of the suburb Montmusard, on which see below, n. 8.

<sup>7</sup> DOMENTIJAN, *Život*, 302; see OBOLENSKY, *Six Byzantine Portraits*, 167.

<sup>8</sup> On which see D. JACOBY, *Montmusard, Suburb of Crusader Acre: the First Stage of its Development*, in B. Z. KEDAR, H. E. MAYER, R. C. SMAIL (eds.), *Outremer. Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem*, presented to Joshua Prawer (Jerusalem 1972), 205–217; repr. in D. JACOBY, *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion* (Northampton 1989), no. VI.

<sup>9</sup> H. MICHELANT–G. RAYNAUD (eds.), *Itinéraires à Jérusalem et descriptions de la Terre Sainte rédigés en français aux XIe, XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Genève 1882) [hereafter *Pelrinages*], 235–236. The final compilation of this guide took place between 1261 and 1264; see D. JACOBY, *Some Unpublished Seals from the Latin East*, *Israel Numismatic Journal* 5 (1981), 86–87.

<sup>10</sup> G. BIGONI (ed.), *Quattro documenti genovesi sulle contese d'Oltremare nel secolo XIII*, *Archivio storico italiano*, ser. V 24 (1899), 65: *domus omnes que fuerunt Rollandi de Luca militis et Heluys, iugales, positas in ruga Cathene et que protendunt seu exeunt super murum in mare, quibus domibus coheret [sic] ab una parte, deversus cathenam, domos Sancti Sabbati, deversus Sanctum Dimitrium domos Templi*. I have slightly amended BIGONI's reading according to the original document in *Archivio di Stato, Genova, Archivio segreto, 2727/25*. On the quarter of the Chain and the location of the buildings there, see D. JACOBY, *Crusader Acre in the Thirteenth Century: Urban Layout and*

whether Sava bought them in 1230, together with the monastery of St. George, or whether the community he founded acquired them later. It should be observed, however, that several Latin ecclesiastical institutions held clusters of houses around their main building in specific areas of Acre, evidently the outcome of a well planned and systematic acquisition policy on their part. This was the case with the Hospitallers, the Templars and the Teutonic Order, as well as with lesser communities such as the monastery of Mount Tabor, the monastery of Mount Sion and the church of Our-Lady of Tyre<sup>11</sup>. We may safely assume, therefore, that St. Sabas would not have held or acquired several houses in the quarter of the Chain, unless the monastery itself were established in this area.

Sava's acquisition of the Latin monastery of St. George and its transformation into an Orthodox institution may have been facilitated by the vacancy of the episcopal see of Acre at the time of his first two sojourns in the city, in 1229 and 1230<sup>12</sup>. James of Vitry, who was not well disposed toward the Orthodox, had returned to the West and resigned in 1228, and his successor John of Pruvino had apparently not yet reached Acre<sup>13</sup>. Yet even if founded under these circumstances, the survival and prosperity of Sava's monastery required submission to the canonical authority of the Latin hierarchy, like all other Orthodox ecclesiastical institutions in the Kingdom of Jerusalem<sup>14</sup>. The exercise of papal powers over the monastery is illustrated by the letters Innocent IV and Alexander IV sent to the abbot of St. Sabas in 1251 and 1255, respectively, in which they dealt with the house coveted by Genoa. The abbot, however, appears to have been reluctant to surrender it. The fact that he was caught between the conflicting interests of Genoa and Venice may have helped him retain the property, which as we have seen was still in the hands of St. Sabas in 1277<sup>15</sup>. This suggests that since its foundation in 1230 the monastery had continuously enjoyed sound economic conditions.

Several other Orthodox ecclesiastical institutions existed in thirteenth century Acre. In 1255 St. Margaret of the Greeks, a monastery situated on the promontory of Mount Carmel, held a house in Acre, the function of which is unknown<sup>16</sup>. This house was situated in the rabad. The Arabic term 'rabad' was familiar among the Arabic-speaking population: it designated an urban quarter or district, particularly one close to the city, in our specific case the suburb Montmusard<sup>17</sup>. It apparently also entered the daily language of the Latins and

Topography, *Studi medievali*, 3a serie 20 (1979), 15–19, 27–32, and fig. 4, in particular nos. 8 and 35; repr. with corrections in *idem*, *Studies*, no. V.

<sup>11</sup> See D. JACOBY, *Les communes italiennes et les Ordres militaires à Acre: aspects juridiques, territoriaux et militaires (1104–1187, 1191–1291)*, in M. BALARD (ed.), *État et colonisation au Moyen Âge* (Lyon 1989), 198–208.

<sup>12</sup> On the sale of churches in Acre for financial reasons at a later period, see B. HAMILTON, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*. The Secular Church (London 1980), 290.

<sup>13</sup> See *ibid.*, 163–164, 257.

<sup>14</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 159–171, 179–187.

<sup>15</sup> See above, n. 1 and 10.

<sup>16</sup> J. DELAVILLE LE ROULX (ed.), *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem (1100–1310)* (Paris, 1894–1906), II 779–781, no. 2732: *in Accon in loco qui vocato rabattum*; there was a *via que dicitur de furno seu rabatto* in this area. A reference to the income from some houses mentioned in this charter also appears in 1241: J. DELAVILLE LE ROULX (ed.), *Inventaire de pièces de Terre-Sainte de l'ordre de l'Hôpital*, *Revue de l'Orient latin* 3 (1895), 86, no. 260. On the monastery of St. Margaret, see C. KOPP, *Élias und Christentum auf dem Karmel* (Paderborn 1929), 106–122.

<sup>17</sup> *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden 1913–1938), s.v. rabad. On the identification of the rabad in Acre, see J. PRAWER, *The History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford 1988), 263. It follows that contrary to B. DICHTER, *The Orders and Churches of Crusader Acre* (Acre 1979), 101, the house or monastery just mentioned is not related to the house of Margaret and the *furnus quod dicitur Malvesin* documented in 1235 within the Old City: DELAVILLE, *Cartulaire*, II 493–394, no.

occasionally appeared in their charters as an alternative to the French-sounding name 'Montmusard', which must have been exclusively used by those of western origin. Some areas of Montmusard seem to have been heavily inhabited by so-called Syrians, members of the Greek Orthodox and other Oriental Christian communities, as we learn from the document just mentioned. This is confirmed by a charter issued in 1273, which records the sale of a burgage tenure situated close to the church of St. George of the Greeks and the monastery of St. John of the Greeks<sup>18</sup>. This tenure was established on land belonging to St. Sergius and St. Anthony, the latter a Latin institution located in the southeastern corner of Montmusard.<sup>19</sup> St. Catherine of Sinai was represented in Acre by a dependency and houses listed in a charter issued in 1217 by Pope Honorius III<sup>20</sup>. It has hitherto been assumed that the dependency of this Orthodox monastery was identical with the house of St. Catherine, which gave its name to a street close to the shore of Montmusard and to the monastery of the Holy Trinity<sup>21</sup>. However, this St. Catherine was a Latin institution, as we learn from its name in a charter of 1237<sup>22</sup>, the name of its prior, Guido, who acted as a witness in 1239<sup>23</sup>, its mention in the *Pelrinages* and, finally, its inclusion in the wills of Eudes of Nevers and the Syrian merchant Saliba<sup>24</sup>. This Syrian had become a *confrater* of the Knights of St. John after embracing the Latin rite and in 1264 made bequests to Latin institutions only. For lack of evidence it is impossible to determine the precise affiliation of the church of Mary Magdalen, attested in 1206, although the married priest in charge of it definitely points to an Oriental Christian denomination<sup>25</sup>.

2126. Besides, in the latter charter Margaret is definitely an individual and not an institution, and there is no reference to the Greeks.

<sup>18</sup> Ed. M.-L. FAVREAU-LILIE, *The Teutonic Knights in Acre after the Fall of Montfort (1271): Some Reflections*, in: *Outremer* [n. 8], 282–283: *un heritage que il avoient au rabat en la rue si con l'on vait a l'eglise saint Jorge des Grifons (...) vers oistre joint as maisons des nonains de saint Johan des Grifons*; see also 274.

<sup>19</sup> St. Anthony is included in the *Pelrinages* and in the will of the Syrian Saliba, who made bequests to Latin institutions only: see *Pelrinages* [n. 9], 236, and DELAVILLE, *Cartulaire* [n. 16], III 91–92, no. 3105. Count Eudes of Nevers also made a bequest to this church in 1266; M. CHAZAUD (ed.), *Inventaire et comptes de la succession d'Eudes, comte de Nevers (Acre, 1266). Mémoires de la société nationale des antiquaires de France* 32 (4e série, II) (1870), 198. For its location, see JACOBY, *Montmusard* [n. 8], 209 (map of Pietro Vesconte) and 216. There is no additional evidence about St. Sergius.

<sup>20</sup> A. L. TÄUTU (ed.), *Acta Honorii III (1216–1227) et Gregorii IX (1227–1241)* [Pontificia commissio ad redigendum codicem iuris canonici orientalis, *Fontes Ser. III*, vol. III] (Città del Vaticano 1950), 195–197, no. 148.

<sup>21</sup> STREHLKE, *Tabulae* [n. 6], 82–84, no. 104 (26 September 1253). For the location, see the fourteenth century maps in JACOBY, *Montmusard* [n. 8], yet note that they differ in their localisation of the two institutions just mentioned.

<sup>22</sup> L. AUVRAY (ed.), *Les registres de Grégoire IX* [Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 2e série] (Paris 1896–1955), II 843, no. 4014: *domos et curtem quas habetis* [i.e., the church of the Holy Trinity] *post ecclesiam Sancte Caterine de Campobelli sitas in suburbio Acconensi*.

<sup>23</sup> STREHLKE, as above, n. 6.

<sup>24</sup> *Pelrinages*, 235; CHAZAUD, *Inventaire*, 198; DELAVILLE, as above, n. 19.

<sup>25</sup> STREHLKE, *Tabulae* [n. 6], 33–34, no. 41. PRAWER, *The History of the Jews* [n. 17], 263, suggested that it was a Jacobite church, like its namesake in Jerusalem. One and possibly two more churches bearing the same name existed in Acre, yet these were Latin institutions. A Cistercian convent attested in 1222 and 1225 was situated in Montmusard: L. DE MAS LATRIE (ed.), *Documents nouveaux servant de preuves à l'histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne de la maison de Lusignan* [Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, *Mélanges historiques*, Choix de documents, IV] (Paris 1882), 343–344, no. I [repr. in *idem*, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre* (Famagouste 1970), IV]; DELAVILLE, *Cartulaire* [n. 16], II, 344–345, no. 1828; it is listed among the churches of the area in the *Pelrinages* [n. 9] 235; see also CHAZAUD, *Inventaire* [n. 19], 199. The identity of

It should be noted that, except for the dependency of St. Catherine of Sinai, the location of which is unknown, the identified Orthodox institutions just mentioned were all situated in Montmusard. As the urban development of the suburb truly began after 1191, this date may serve as a secure *terminus a quo* for their foundation. Moreover, all these institutions, except the first one, are attested later than St. Sabas, established in 1230, and may well have been founded later than this monastery, with the progressive increase of population in the suburb. This would explain the purpose and importance of Sava's initiative, which appears to be related to pilgrimage. Shortly after its conquest by the Latins Acre had become the main pilgrimage port of the Levant<sup>26</sup>. This was true not only with respect to the Latins, who constituted the overwhelming majority of the pilgrims, but also to the Greeks, who may have been more numerous than it would appear from the few extant sources referring to them<sup>27</sup>. John Phokas, who visited the Holy Land presumably in 1177, emphasized the importance of Acre for all pilgrims; he himself had travelled along the Levantine coast before reaching this city<sup>28</sup>. As for Sava, it is clear that when he planned his first journey to the Holy Land he relied on information about shipping, conditions in Acre and the places he wished to visit, gathered from Orthodox pilgrims who had preceded him there. He must have taken along with him a substantial sum of money with the intent of buying property in Acre and have known, or at least assumed, that this would be possible. We have noted that Sava had close ties with Mount Athos, the Empire of Nicaea and Serbia. His purpose in Acre may have been the promotion of pilgrimage to the Holy Land from all Orthodox lands in order to enhance the Orthodox presence in the Latin Kingdom. This could be achieved by the establishment of a Greek monastery in Acre which would provide lodgings, care for the sick and other logistical support to Orthodox pilgrims, similar to the services offered to Westerners by numerous Latin monasteries and hospices in the city.

Joshua Prawer has argued that after the Third Crusade, which ended in 1191, non-Latins subject to royal authority in Acre were barred from living in the Old City and compelled to reside in the developing suburb of Montmusard<sup>29</sup>. He based his argumentation on a passage of the *Livre des Assises des Bourgeois*, a legal treatise presumably composed between 1229 and 1244 and extant in a version possibly completed in the 1260s<sup>30</sup>. Moreover, he believed

another church documented in 1187 cannot be established: R. RÖHRICHT (ed.), *Regesta regni hierosolymitani* (MXCVII–MCCXCI) (Oeniponti 1893), 159, no. 599. DICHTER, *The Orders* [n. 17], 101–103, has confused these churches as well as St. Mary and All Saints, which belonged to the Order of the Penitents and also was in Montmusard; it is attested in 1231, 1237, 1261 and 1264: AUVRAY, *Les registres* [n. 22], nos. 4007–4008, 4013; H. F. DELABORDE (ed.), *Chartes de Terre Sainte* provenant de l'abbaye de N.-D. de Josaphat (Paris 1880), 109–110, no. 53; DELAVILLE, as above, n. 19; *Pelrinages*, 236: *Repentires*.

<sup>26</sup> See D. JACOBY, *Pèlerinage médiéval et sanctuaires de Terre Sainte: la perspective vénitienne*, *Ateneo veneto* 173 (N. S., 24) (1986), 27–30, repr. in *idem*, *Studies*, no. IV.

<sup>27</sup> I shall return elsewhere to this subject.

<sup>28</sup> Ed. I. TROJCKIJ in *Pravoslavnyi Palestinskij Sbornik*, 8/2 (fasc. 23), 1–6, paras. 1–9; English trans. in A. STEWART, *The Pilgrimage of Joannes Phokas in the Holy Land* [Palestine Pilgrims Text Society] (London 1896), 5–11.

<sup>29</sup> See J. PRAWER, *L'établissement des coutumes du marché à Saint-Jean d'Acre et la date de composition du Livre des Assises des Bourgeois*, *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 4e série 29 (1951), 329–348; he reiterated his view a few years ago: *idem*, *The History of the Jews* [n. 17], 103, 259–263.

<sup>30</sup> See previous note and J. PRAWER, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford 1980), 366–372. The dating is considered plausible by J. RICHARD, *Colonies marchandes privilégiées et marché seigneurial. La fonde d'Acre et ses "droitures"*, *Le Moyen Age* 59 (1953), 332, repr. in *idem*, *Orient et Occident au Moyen Age: contacts et relations* (XIIe–XVe s.) (London 1976), no. X. The alternative dating has been suggested by J. RILEY-SMITH, *The Feudal Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277* (London 1973), 85–86 and 268, n. 186.



that the existence of Orthodox and other Oriental institutions in Montmusard, illustrated by the sources just examined, vindicated his view about residential segregation between Latins and non-Latins. For the same reasons he also placed in the suburb the street and house of the Jews, attested in 1206, although in this particular case there is no topographical evidence warranting this attribution<sup>31</sup>. While accepting the principle of residential segregation in Acre, Jean Richard and Claude Cahen have contested Prawer's interpretation with respect to the precise urban area in which it was applied. They have suggested that the line dividing the Latin and non-Latin sectors of Acre should be sought in the northern part of the Old City and not in Montmusard<sup>32</sup>.

The localisation of the Orthodox monastery of St. Sabas in Acre, attempted here for the first time, may provide a meaningful contribution to the debate. The establishment of this monastery in 1230 in the quarter of the Chain, thus within the southern part of the Old City of Acre, and its continuous existence there during the next fifty years or so contradict the implementation of residential segregation precisely in the period in which the *Livre des Assises des Bourgeois* was being compiled. Further confirmation in this respect is provided by the residence of Oriental Christians, Johannes Daht and his daughter, in the same quarter of the Chain in 1207<sup>33</sup>. As for the street and house of the Jews, attested one year earlier, as noted above, they were situated in the eastern part of the Old City. Indeed, the vicinity of houses owned by the monastery of Mount Tabor and by Jean Le Tor point to this area, in which the Teutonic Order had its palace, church and the bulk of its property<sup>34</sup>. A charter of 1273 refers to a Syrian money-changer living in the street of St. Samuel, where the Teutonic Order bought some property adjacent to the monastery bearing that name. The latter too was situated in the Old City, to the southeast of the royal castle somewhere between St. Romanus and St. Lazarus<sup>35</sup>. Consequently, the whole issue of residential segregation requires a thorough re-evaluation, as it is crucial for an understanding of a much wider issue: the socio-legal condition of the members of Oriental Christian communities in Acre.

## 2. Lordemer and ecology

In 1207 the Hospitallers were promised a yearly sum accruing from the rent paid by Tommaso Pisano for several houses situated in the quarter of the Chain. To the west these houses were contiguous *ad mare quod dicitur Lordemer*, "to the sea called Lordemer"<sup>36</sup>. A survey of houses in the Genoese quarter of Acre, carried out in 1249, listed one of three large 'palaces', a house situated next to the wall of the Hospitallers and a vaulted building, all owned by the commune of Genoa, as facing Ordamer or Lordamer<sup>37</sup>. The first of these

<sup>31</sup> STREHLKE, *Tabulae* [n. 6], 33, no. 41: *ab occidente adheret domui Bonefrage filii Sahit et rue Iudeorum et domui Iudeorum*. On the location of the Jews, see also below.

<sup>32</sup> C. CAHEN, A propos des coutumes du marché d'Acre, *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 4e série 41 (1963), 287–290; RICHARD, *Colonies marchandes* [n. 30], 325–340.

<sup>33</sup> DELAVILLE, *Cartulaire* [n. 16], II, pp. 78–79, no. 1276. Father and daughter lived in different houses, which implies that they resided in them with relatives.

<sup>34</sup> See above, n. 31, and JACOBY, *Les communes italiennes* [n. 11], 207–208.

<sup>35</sup> Ed. FAVREAU-LILIE, *The Teutonic Knights* [n. 18], 283–284, and see 275–276. For a more precise localisation of St. Samuel in relation to these houses, see the *Pelrinages* [n. 9], 235.

<sup>36</sup> See above, n. 33.

<sup>37</sup> C. DESIMONI (ed.), *Quatre titres des propriétés des Génois à Acre et à Tyr*, *Archives de l'Orient latin* [hereafter AOL] 2/B (1884), 216–217: *tercium palacium comunis deversus Ordamer, domus comunis posita ad Lordamer iuxta murum Hospitalis, volta comunis iuxta bacconerios deversus Ordamer*.

items, which refers to the west, has led to the identification of Lordemer with the sea along the western shore of the Old City of Acre<sup>38</sup>. Yet this location is excluded, simply because the quarter of the Chain did not reach this shore. Lordemer, therefore, must have been situated elsewhere.

Let us first consider the name of the sea. The proper noun 'Lordemer' evolved from the joining of a definite article, an adjective and a noun, which originally were 'l'orde mer', or 'the filthy sea'. A French crusader poem, *Le Chevalier au Cygne*, refers to the horror and revulsion from the sea in general: *l'iaue de la mer flairant la punaisie / Amere, orde et mauuaise*<sup>39</sup>. A recently published charter issued in 1261 by the Venetian doge Ranieri Zeno enables us to identify the particular sea stretch bordering Acre called *Lordemer* and explain why this was the case. After 1258 Venice took advantage of her victory over Genoa in the war of St. Sabas and of a political void due to the absence of a ruler in the Kingdom of Jerusalem by expanding into the royal quarter of the Chain. By 1259 a new wall surrounding the enlarged Venetian quarter had been completed. The doge's charter of 1261 refers to these new walls extending 'from the sea called filthy' northward in the direction of the quarter of Genoa and the Hospitallers' compound: *a mari quod dicitur immundum* is clearly the Latin equivalent of the French 'Lordemer'. The church of St. Demetrius, situated on the shore, as well as the surrounding area had also been enclosed by the new walls. According to the doge, the church was situated in a very dirty area and, in order to prevent the wind from projecting filth on the altar, he suggested that the main windows in the apse be sealed<sup>40</sup>. It follows that Lordemer was identical with the waters of the harbor.

Once Lordemer has been localised to the south of the city, it remains to be seen whether its identification concurs with the evidence provided by the documents adduced above. Unfortunately, the topographical data found in the Genoese survey of 1249 are imprecise and, therefore, do not offer any clue in this respect. On the other hand, the charter of 1207 referring to houses in the quarter of the Chain presents what appears to be reliable information about their boundaries. At first glance it seems impossible that the western flank of these

<sup>38</sup> See PRAWER, *Histoire* [n. 2], II 531 and n. 83; *idem*, *Crusader Institutions* [n. 30], 238. PRAWER even suggested the identity of Lordemer with *mare burgi novi*, the sea along Montmusard, and the *calle du Marquis*; the latter, however, was situated to the north of the suburb: see D. JACOBY, Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat, and the Kingdom of Jerusalem (1187–1192), in G. PISTARINO (ed.), *Dai feudi monferrini e dal Piemonte ai nuovi mondi oltre gli oceani* (Genova 1993), n. 119 [in the press]. There is no foundation whatsoever in the sources to the assertion that Ordamer was a landing point enjoying lower custom duties than the harbour, as found in M. BENVENISTI, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem 1970), 98.

<sup>39</sup> C. HIPPEAU (ed.), *La chanson du Chevalier au Cygne et Godefroid de Bouillon* (Paris 1874–1878), v. 27,688. On the meaning of 'ord' or 'orde', see F. GODEFROY, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française* (Paris 1937–1938), V col. 616b: 'sale, rempli de malpropreté, de souillures'; [A.] TOBLER-[E.] LOMMATZSCH, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch* (Wiesbaden 1936–1973), VI coll. 1308–1310: 'schmutzig'; W. VON WARTBURG, *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Tübingen–Basel 1948–1990), IV 486–487, s.v. *horridus*.

<sup>40</sup> Edited by M. POZZA, *Venezia e il Regno di Gerusalemme dagli Svevi agli Angioini*, in G. AIRALDI e B. Z. KEDAR (eds.), *I comuni italiani nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme* [Collana storica di fonti e Studi, diretta da Geo Pistarino, 48] (Genova 1986) [hereafter *Comuni*], 385–393; see esp. 386 and 388: *ecclesia parochialis Sancti Demetrii sita est (...) in loco valde immundo (...) quod fenestras principales que sunt in capite eiusdem ecclesie super maius altare oportet claudi, ne ventus proiciat immundicias super istum altare, sicut pluriens factum est videntibus multis*. On the location of St. Demetrius, see JACOBY, *Crusader Acre* [n. 10], 30, and fig. 4, no. 35; on Venice's expansion, see *ibid.*, 34–35, and D. JACOBY, *L'évolution urbaine et la fonction méditerranéenne d'Acre à l'époque des croisades*, in E. POLEGGI (ed.), *Città portuali del Mediterraneo, storia e archeologia*. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Genova 1985 (Genova 1989), 103.



houses, situated between the Cathena and the church of St. Demetrius, could have faced Lordemer or the harbour<sup>41</sup>. One should take into account, however, that twelfth and thirteenth century charters dealing with landed property provide only full directions, whereas halfway directions such as southwest are never registered. Moreover, it should be noted that the shore line of the quarter of the Chain proceeded in a west-southwestern direction from the Venetian quarter toward the Cathena. It is quite plausible, therefore, that in the absence of halfway directions a house should have been described as facing Lordemer to the west, while in fact facing it to the southwest. The identification of Lordemer with the harbour may thus be considered secure.

We may now return to the ecological issue. It is well known that refuse accumulates in the vicinity of harbors, yet there may have been specific factors explaining the name Lordemer and the deplorable conditions existing in the neighborhood of St. Demetrius. We have noted that this church was located at the edge of the royal quarter of the Chain, which included several royal installations, the most important of which was the Cathena<sup>42</sup>. In addition, close to the beach, there was a slaughter-house with butchers' stalls<sup>43</sup>, which in 1168 yielded more than 500 besants per year<sup>44</sup>. It is nearby that butchers and old women pelted Emperor Frederick II with entrails and pluck on the 1st of May 1229, when he was on his way to board a ship anchoring in the harbour opposite the slaughter-house<sup>45</sup>. The third royal building in the area was the fishmarket which, for obvious reasons, must have also been situated on or close to the shore<sup>46</sup>. Both the royal slaughter-house and fish-market were in the vicinity of the church of St. Demetrius, and Venice may well have taken hold of them as early as 1259. In any event, these two installations were in her hands by 1277, and Venice feared then that Charles I of Anjou, the new king of Jerusalem, would compel her to relinquish them<sup>47</sup>. The garbage from the two installations was most likely dumped on the beach and in the waters of the harbor; in addition, as the city was built on a gradient, rain-water carried down to the port the refuse dropped by the inhabitants in the streets; and, finally, the water circulation in the port was apparently not sufficient to clear it from the accumulated waste.

A few twelfth and thirteenth century accounts inform us about ecological conditions in Acre. Two of them may be singled out for our purpose. Ibn Jubayr visited the city in September and early October 1184, a period of the year known for its easterly hot winds and high temperature. The Muslim traveller wrote that the "roads and streets [of Acre] are choked by the press of men (...) Unbelief and unpiousness there burn fiercely, and pigs [i.e. Christians] and crosses abound. It stinks and is filthy, being full of refuse and excrement"<sup>48</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> For the location of these buildings, see JACOBY, *Crusader Acre* [n. 10], fig. 4, nos. 8 and 35.

<sup>42</sup> See above, n. 10.

<sup>43</sup> G. RAYNAUD (ed.), *Les Gestes des Chiprois. Recueil de chroniques françaises écrites en Orient aux XIIe et XIVE siècles* (Genève 1887) [hereafter *Gestes*], 251, para. 498: *la marine, c'est asaver en la splaye qui est entre la boucherie où l'on tueit les bestes et la mayson quy fu dou seignor de Sur.*

<sup>44</sup> STREHLKE, *Tabulae* [n. 6], 5–6, no. 4: the sum had been granted by King Amalric I *super macellum Acconense*.

<sup>45</sup> PHILIPPE DE NOVARE, *Mémoires*, ed. CH. KOHLER (Paris 1970), 25, II, para. XLIII: *devant la boucherie*.

<sup>46</sup> Its existence is attested by a letter written in 1278, published by M. POZZA, *Acri e Negroponte: un capitolo delle relazioni fra Venezia e Carlo I d'Angio (1277–1282)*. *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane*, terza serie 21 (1982), 69–70: *becharia et pischaria*. Pozza was not aware of the evidence adduced here in the two previous notes and mistakenly believed (*ibid.*, 47 and n. 64) that the two installations had been erected by Venice after 1258. On the exercise of royal authority in the *becharia* and *Piscaria* of Tyre, see DESIMONI, *Quatre titres* [n. 39], 228.

<sup>47</sup> See POZZA, as in previous note.

<sup>48</sup> Trans. R. J. C. BROADHURST, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr* (London 1951), 318.

This account bears the unmistakable imprint of the traveller's hatred toward the Christians, as it connects the latter's presence with the dreadful ecological conditions existing in Acre. The Greek pilgrim John Phokas, who presumably arrived in the city a few years earlier, in 1177, appears to have been more objective: "Here the air being corrupted by the enormous influx of strangers, various diseases arise and lead to frequent deaths among them, the consequence of which is evil smells and corruption of the air"<sup>49</sup>. The complaints of both these foreigners about Acre contained more than a kernel of truth. Yet the sources examined above add to them an authentic ring, as Lordemer was a name coined by the local Frankish population itself.

### 3. *A bequest for the walls of Acre?*

In the thirteenth century the Church obtained financial means for the financing of the crusades to the Holy Land from a variety of sources, some public and others private: taxation in the form of tithes; monetary contributions in return for the dispensation from, or the commutation and redemption of crusade vows; payments as penance for ill-gotten gains from usury and theft and for offenses against the Church or blasphemy; the collection of alms; finally, bequests<sup>50</sup>. Much has been written about 'public opinion' with respect to the crusades, yet surprisingly little use has been made of wills as an expression of genuine popular feeling toward them<sup>51</sup>. The confrontation of these wills with official and institutional sources dealing with the crusade would undoubtedly yield interesting results, yet this is not our concern here. Rather, we shall briefly deal with the wishes of the testators, men and women, who willed a sum of money or put aside immovable property that was to be sold or yield an income for the support of the crusade.

The testators were motivated by religious fervor and the promise of indulgences or acted under the influence of notaries, many of whom were priests, who drafted their wills, Franciscans, apostolic collectors, or ecclesiastical courts; in fact, all these factors could have been complementary. In Italy the "pious tax of succession", as it has been called, became ever more widespread in the course of the thirteenth century, judging by the number of wills incorporating it. The fall of the crusader states in 1291 did not put an end to this practice; quite the contrary, Florentine sources imply that the number of legacies intended for the crusade increased, and this must have also been the case elsewhere<sup>52</sup>.

The wills generally refer to a general crusade to the Holy Land, although the formulae used vary. An extensive one appears, for instance, in the will of Pietro, son of Ugolino from

<sup>49</sup> TROJCKIJ [as above, n. 28], 6, para. 9; English trans. in STEWART, *The Pilgrimage* [n. 28], 11.

<sup>50</sup> See F. A. CAZEL, JR., *Financing the Crusades*, in K. M. SETTON (ed.), *A History of the Crusades* (Madison, Wisconsin 1969–1989), VI, 116–149; G. CONSTABLE, *The Financing of the Crusades in the Twelfth Century*, in *Outremer* [n. 8], 64–88; P. A. THROOP, *Criticism of the Crusade: a Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda* (Amsterdam 1940) [repr. Philadelphia 1975], 82–101, 236–243, 252–254; N. HOUSLEY, *The Italian Crusades. The Papal-Angevin Alliance and the Crusades against Christian Lay Powers, 1254–1343* (Oxford 1982), 97–108, 173–250; *idem*, *the Avignon Papacy and the Crusades, 1305–1378* (Oxford 1986), 159–198; C. TYERMAN, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago and London 1988), 187–201, 421 n. 19.

<sup>51</sup> Numerous bequests for the crusade appear in published wills; to these I add here some unpublished Venetian legacies.

<sup>52</sup> For a thorough analysis of a specific sample of wills, see P. PIRILLO, *La Terrasanta nei testamenti fiorentini del duecento*, in F. CARDINI (ed.), *Toscana e Terrasanta nel medioevo* (Firenze 1982), 57–73; with reference to usury, see *ibid.*, 62, 68. One should take into account, though, that the number of wills recorded by notaries increased with time.

Volterra, drafted in 1293–1294: *passagium generale in ultramarinis partibus in subsidium et recuperationem Terre Sancte*<sup>53</sup>. The specification that the money be used for this purpose became ever more important, because it excluded other expeditions sponsored by the popes, as against the Albigensians, Emperor Frederick II and other political enemies of the Papacy in Italy. The Church or lay rulers, with the Church's permission, decided for what purpose the money was to be spent, and monies bequested for help to the Holy Land were often diverted to other uses<sup>54</sup>. Doubts about the feasibility of a crusade in the near future induced various testators to include a time limitation in their wills: once the prescribed period came to an end the legacy was to serve other purposes. A Genoese will of 1277 refers to the next expedition, *in primo pasagio* [sic] *proxime venturo*, while the following year a will mentions three years, *si fiet passagium usque annos tres*<sup>55</sup>. Some shrewd testators provided that their bequest should be invested in a loan bearing interest until the effective launching of the crusade. The Venetian Maria Bellegno decided in 1276 that the profit accruing from the 200 *lire* or pounds she willed for the Holy Land should serve for the celebration of masses to her own memory and that of her relatives, as long as the crusade did not depart; five years at most after her death the bequest was to be used in other ways<sup>56</sup>.

In the thirteenth century we find a growing number of bequests for particular purposes, three of which were the most common<sup>57</sup>. The ransoming of Christian prisoners held by the Muslims was a major concern of the testators. Based in Acre from 1242 to 1244, Marsilio Zorzi had served as Venetian bailo in the Levant. In January 1270 he willed the sum of 150 pounds for the release of inhabitants of Antioch and a similar amount for the poor of this city remaining in Muslim captivity<sup>58</sup>. Antioch had fallen to Sultan Baybars less than two years earlier, in May 1268. The release of Christian captives is also mentioned in several Genoese

<sup>53</sup> See PIRILLO, La Terrasanta [n. 52], 64, n. 40, and in general, 63–66, 68. Two wills drafted in Genoa in 1216 mention respectively *in servicio passagii de Ultramar* and *in passagio de Ultramar*: H. C. KRUEGER–R. L. REYNOLDS (eds.), *Notai liguri del sec. XII e del sec. XIII*, VI, Lanfranco (1202–1226) (Genova 1953), II 75, no. 1078; 78–79, no. 1086.

<sup>54</sup> See CAZEL, Financing the Crusades, 132–134, 137–139, and HOUSLEY, as above, n. 50. By contrast, a general disposition leaving the decision to the Church appears in a Venetian will of 1255, the text of which was included in a document of 1259: *volo et ordino dari hominibus crusatis euntibus in servicium sancte ecclesie tam ultra mare quam ad alium locum*; Archivio di Stato, Venezia [hereafter: A.S.V.], Cancelleria inferiore, Notai, busta 85.

<sup>55</sup> A. FERRETTO, Codice diplomatico tra la Liguria, la Toscana e la Lunigiana ai tempi di Dante (1265–1321), *Atti della Società ligure di Storia patria* 31,2 (1903), 114, n. 1, and 223, n. 1, respectively. See also S. EPSTEIN, *Wills and Wealth in Medieval Genoa*, 1150–1250 (Cambridge, Mass. 1984), 188.

<sup>56</sup> A.S.V., Cancelleria inferiore, Notai, busta 85: *interim vero dicti denarii (...) dentur in lucro in Venetia*; another example of investment in the will of Pietro lo butigliaro, drafted in Venice in 1294: *ibid.*, busta 139.

<sup>57</sup> As they appear throughout this period, the examples adduced below will not be mentioned in chronological order.

<sup>58</sup> For the career of Marsilio Zorzi, see O. BERGGÖTZ, *Der Bericht des Marsilio Zorzi*. Codex Querini-Stampalia IV 3 (1064) (Frankfurt am Main 1991), 76–80. The text of the will as published *ibid.*, 80–85, is inaccurate and its lacunae can be filled by a fourteenth century copy found in A.S.V., Procuratori di S. Marco de Ultra, busta 326, Commissaria Zorzi Marsilio dal cf. di S. Gervasio, Quaternus commissarie domini Marsillii Georgio Sancti Gervasii de fictibus domorum, fol. 6v.–7r., 11v.–14r. The relevant passage reads as follows: *Item dimitto libras denariorum venecialium centumquingaginta cum [quibus exigantur de carceratis] Anthyoche retentis a Saracenis, ac etiam dentur de predictis libris denariorum venecialium centumquingaginta dimissis pro carceratis Antyoche pauperibus dicte Antyoche [secundum quantum melius facere et] distribuere apparuerit predictis commissariis meis*. I owe the completed text of the will to the kindness of Dott. M. Pozza.

wills<sup>59</sup>. Occasionally there was support for the activities of the Military Orders, as in 1281<sup>60</sup>. More common, though, was the arming and maintenance of one or several warriors for a number of months or years, provided that the expedition to the Holy Land took place within a specific period of time. Thus, for instance, in 1258 a resident of Genoa offered *ad subsidium* [sic] *Terre Sancte* the arms he had acquired for an unspecified journey he had planned to make, but was prevented from accomplishing; it is not clear whether he hinted at a crusade<sup>61</sup>. In 1293–1294 Pietro, son of Ugolino from Volterra, left a sum for one of his sons should the latter participate in the next crusade<sup>62</sup>. In 1277 Aldeta de Volta, widow of Tebaldo de Prasco, left 25 solidi for the support of a crossbowman staying for one year overseas<sup>63</sup>. More substantial were two bequests made in 1270 by Marsilio Zorzi, each of 75 pounds for the voyage and equipment as well as the salary and maintenance of a well armed man for a whole year<sup>64</sup>. In 1298 the Venetian Adamo Cortese left a total of 12 pounds of *grossi* as salary for two well armed men going on the crusade, provided they would participate in the expedition for one year at least<sup>65</sup>. The reference to mercenaries reflects the growing conviction, since the 1270s, that the defense of the Christian territories in the Holy Land and crusades required the maintenance of a standing professional army or at least that of well trained warriors<sup>66</sup>.

The bequest made in 1315 by Marco Bondimier, who lived in the parish of San Tomà in Venice, differed from those examined so far and deserves, therefore, close scrutiny<sup>67</sup>. The testator left 200 Venetian pounds for the rebuilding of the walls of any city of the former crusader territories that would be recaptured. Should no such operation succeed, the money would go to a 'baron' engaged in war with the Muslims in this same area or to the leader of a naval expedition departing in this direction. Finally, in the absence of such events within a year after the testator's demise, half the bequest would be used to support completely destitute prisoners, the sum allocated to each of them not exceeding 10 pounds, while the other half would serve to buy clothes for the poor<sup>68</sup>. In this case, as in the will of Marsilio Zorzi, the money was apparently intended for ransomed or freed captives.

<sup>59</sup> See EPSTEIN, Wills [n. 55], 187–188; FERRETTO, Codice diplomatico [n. 55], 147, n. 1.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 446, no. 1051.

<sup>61</sup> L. BALLETO (ed.), *Fonti notarili genovesi del secondo duecento per la storia del regno latino di Gerusalemme*, in *Comuni*, 192: *pro quodam itinere*; see also a Genoese bequest of 1228 for the buying of arms and armour in EPSTEIN, Wills [n. 55], 189.

<sup>62</sup> See above, n. 53.

<sup>63</sup> FERRETTO, Codice diplomatico [n. 55], 114, n. 1: *in subsidium Terre Sancte que dentur uni balistario qui illuc vadat quando fiet passagium, ad standum per unum annum*; for other examples in 1280, *ibid.*, 301–302.

<sup>64</sup> The will mentioned above, n. 58, refers to *uni homini armato qui vadit et stet in servitio Terre Sancte per unum annum*; the second legacy was *causa mittendi unum hominem bene armatum in subsidium Terre Sancte*: ed. V. LAZZARINI, Marsilio Zorzi, conte de Curzola e Meleda, *Archivio veneto*, V<sup>a</sup> serie 30 (1942), 101. The two passages should be combined, as the sums were considerably larger than needed for the salary of a mercenary, on which see next note.

<sup>65</sup> A.S.V., Cancelleria inferiore, Notai, busta 2, no. 35. It should be noted that the sum allocated in this case was by 11 % higher than the annual salary of a horseman, amounting to 6 ½ pounds, suggested in the early 1320s by Marino Sanudo; this last figure has been calculated on the basis of the total compiled by F. CARDINI, *I costi della crociata. L'aspetto economico del progetto di Marin Sanudo il Vecchio*, in *Studi in memoria di Federigo Melis* (Napoli 1978), II 194–195.

<sup>66</sup> See THROOP, *Criticism of the Crusade* [n. 50], 101–102, 197–198; S. SCHEIN, *Fideles Crucis. The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274–1314* (Oxford 1991), 15–22.

<sup>67</sup> The testator is attested in Venice in 1312: M. F. TIEPOLO (ed.), *Domenico prete di S. Maurizio, notaio in Venezia (1309–1316)* [Fonti per la storia di Venezia, Sez. III–Archivi notarili] (Venezia 1970), 133, no. 167.

<sup>68</sup> A.S.V., Cancelleria inferiore, Notai, busta 199, no. 4: *si contigeret quod recuperetur aliqua civitas de ultramare pro rebedifficandis muris illius civitatis, et si aliqua civitas non recuperaretur (...) alicui*

To the best of my knowledge, the first provision in Marco Bondimier's will dealing with the walls of a former crusader city is the only bequest of its kind to have been found so far. To be sure, funds collected for the Holy Land had occasionally been invested in the repair of the walls of crusader cities: such was the case with some of the money collected by the famous preacher Fulk of Neuilly, utilized to strengthen the walls of Acre and Tyre toppled by the terrible earthquake of 1202<sup>69</sup>. Yet the wording of the provision is so specific as to suggest that the testator was thoroughly acquainted with some former crusader cities in the Levant and the conditions necessary for their defence against the Muslims. He might have obtained information about these cities from hearsay. It is more likely, though, that his knowledge about them derived from personal experience, either because he had lived in one of the Levantine cities before the collapse of crusader rule in 1291 or had visited them since. It should be noted that the Bondimier appear among nine prominent Venetian families established in Acre before 1291 which managed to escape from the city and were exceptionally admitted to the *Maggior Consiglio* of Venice a few years later. There is no evidence about the Bondimier in Acre. Yet, like the members of other Venetian families from this city, we find them active in trade and diplomacy in the Levantine area with which they were familiar<sup>70</sup>. In 1301 Angelo Bondimier of Venice acted as a witness in Famagusta, where he must have been on business<sup>71</sup>, and Tommaso Bondimier was sent as Venetian ambassador to Lesser Armenia in 1307, presumably because he was acquainted with the political and economic conditions of the region<sup>72</sup>. In view of these considerations, it is quite plausible that Marco Bondimier had lived in Acre before 1291 and had this city in mind when he drafted his will some twenty-four years after its fall to the Muslims.

The last twenty years before this event witnessed an intense building activity aimed at bolstering Acre's defences: existing towers were fortified or enlarged, new towers were erected, and wooden barbicans were replaced by stone structures<sup>73</sup>. A tower on the northern flank of the outer wall of the Old City, called *turris Anglorum* on the fourteenth century maps, was built at the expense of Prince Edward of England; it was protected by a barbican bearing his name. While in Acre from May 1271 to September 1272 the Prince borrowed 7,000 marks, guaranteed by the Hospitallers. Part of this sum may have been used for the constructions he sponsored. In 1278 Edward, by then King of England, entrusted the *turris Anglorum* to the care of the English confraternity of St. Edward. Three years later he still owed 254 besants sarrasinois which the Hospitallers had borrowed from a Syrian money-changer for the completion of Edward's barbican. It is thus obvious that the work was

*barono qui faceret ibi guerram Saracenis vel qui iret illuc cum galeis causa faciendi guerram predictis Saracenis.*

<sup>69</sup> See H. E. MAYER, Two Unpublished Letters on the Syrian Earthquake of 1202, in S. A. HANNA (ed.), *Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies in Honor of A. S. Atiya* (Leiden 1972), 295–310, esp. 306; repr. in *idem*, *Kreuzzüge und lateinischer Osten* (London 1983), no. X.

<sup>70</sup> See JACOBY, *L'expansion occidentale* [n. 1], 240–244; S. CHOJNACKI, In Search of the Venetian Patriciate: Families and Factions in the Fourteenth Century, in J. R. HALE (ed.), *Renaissance Venice* (London 1973), 72, 75, s.v. Bondemiro.

<sup>71</sup> R. PAVONI (ed.), *Notai genovesi in Oltramare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto* (6 luglio–27 ottobre 1301) [Collana storica di fonti e studi . . . , 32] (Genova 1982), 50–51, no. 39.

<sup>72</sup> G. M. THOMAS ET R. PREDELLI (eds.), *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum* (Venetiis 1880–1899), I 72.

<sup>73</sup> On wooden barbicans, see E. REY, *Etude sur la topographie de la ville d'Acre au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *idem*, *Les colonies franques de Syrie aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris 1883), 458–459. This study, however, is outdated on many points and should be used with great caution. For the localisations below, see the fourteenth century maps in JACOBY, *Montmusard* [n. 8].



completed after the Prince's departure from Acre<sup>74</sup>. King Hugh III of Lusignan, who was recognized in Acre from 1269 to 1277, built a barbican named after him; during the Muslim siege of 1291 the defendants set it on fire when they could no longer defend it<sup>75</sup>. Hugh's son King Henry II of Lusignan, who landed in Acre on 4 June 1286, erected a round tower at the northeastern angle of the outer rampart of the city. The new tower was undoubtedly not the first one to be built at this angle, one of the weakest points along Acre's defence line, as it was to cover the Accursed Tower, situated at the northeastern angle of the inner rempart; the king also built a wall protecting his tower<sup>76</sup>. The Countess of Blois arrived in Acre in 1287 and donated funds for the construction of a tower on the eastern flank of the outer wall of the Old City, in order to fortify the barbican of St. Nicholas facing the city's cemetery; in addition, she financed the building of a barbican along a section of the outer wall of Montmusard extending from the gate of Maupas or 'Evil Step' to that of St. Thomas; the latter was situated more to the northwest close to the hospital bearing the same name and included in the *vicus Anglorum* or English quarter, at the northern tip of Montmusard<sup>77</sup>. Repairs must have been carried out in the last two years of Latin rule in Acre on the Tower of the Legate, marked as Tower of the Patriarch on the fourteenth century maps, the most-southern tower of the outer rampart of the Old City situated close to the beach<sup>78</sup>. The alternative names given to this tower clearly hint that the holder of the two offices was one and the same person, which fits the Dominican Nicholas of Hanapes. Pope Nicholas IV announced his appointment as Patriarch of Jerusalem on 30 April 1288 and as papal legate on 27 August of the same year. In September 1289 the pope granted him 4,000 *livres tournois* as a loan to be spent on the fortification of Acre, the repair of its walls and moats, the building of war machines and the redemption of captives<sup>79</sup>.

If we assume that Marco Bondimier was, let us say, fifty-five years old when he drafted his will in 1315, as a child he would have witnessed the erection of Edward's tower and later that of other structures along the outer defence line of Acre. Although this line failed to resist

<sup>74</sup> Excerpt from a charter of the king cited in R. RÖHRICHT, *Etudes sur les derniers temps du royaume de Jérusalem*, AOL 1 (1881), 629 n. 81. Edward's barbican is mentioned in MARINO SANUDO TORSELLO, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*, in J. BONGARS (ed.), *Gesta Dei per Francos* (Hanoviae 1611) [hereafter SANUDO], II 231. On the accuracy of SANUDO's information about Acre's fortifications, see below, n. 76. Three documents regarding Edward's loans in Acre appear in DELAVILLE, *Cartulaire* [n. 16], III, pp. 266–267, no. 3445; III, pp. 272–273, no. 3465; and IV, p. 297, no. 3653.

<sup>75</sup> SANUDO [n. 74], 230–231.

<sup>76</sup> Gestes [n. 43], 244 and 247, paras. 491 (which mentions the additional wall, *le baril dou roy*) and 494, respectively; SANUDO [n. 74], 231, has the most accurate description of the tower: *turrim rotundam novam regis quae erat ante turrem Maledictam*. On the latter, see JACOBY, Montmusard [n. 8], 211. SANUDO must have noticed the shape of the tower while the latter was under construction or after it had been completed, which would imply that he stayed in Acre late in 1286; on his visit there in 1285 or 1286, see A. *Magnocavallo*, Marino Sanudo il Vecchio e il suo progetto di crociata (Bergamo 1901), 25–26.

<sup>77</sup> Gestes [n. 43], 245, para. 491; SANUDO [n. 74], 229; R. RÖHRICHT ET G. RAYNAUD (eds.), *Annales de Terre Sainte*, AOL 2/B, 459. On the tower, gate and cemetery of St. Nicholas, see above, n. 6, and JACOBY, Montmusard [n. 8], 211–212, and on the gate of Maupas, *ibid.*, 214. The English St. Thomas was constructed between 1227 and 1231: see JACOBY, *Some Unpublished Seals* [n. 9], 87; its location is confirmed by the *Pelrinages* [n. 9], 236.

<sup>78</sup> Gestes [n. 43], 247, para. 493, and location *ibid.*, 251, paras. 498 and 499: *quy est sur mer*.

<sup>79</sup> E. LANGLOIS (ed.), *Les registres de Nicolas IV* [Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 2e série] (Paris 1886–1893), nos. 85–95, 219–226, and 1357: *pro clausura civitatis Acconensis, reparatione murorum et fossatorum ipsius*. See also S. SCHEIN, *The Patriarchs of Jerusalem in the Late Thirteenth Century – seignors spirituelles et temporeles*, in *Outremer* [n. 8], 302–303, yet the assertion that the two offices were joined since the 1220s, *ibid.*, 298, is not warranted.



the Muslim onslaught of 1291, or possibly because of its failure, Bondimier was convinced of the importance of large-scale fortifications for the defence of the lost cities of the Holy Land, should these be recovered in the future by the Latins.