Identity and archaeology in daily life: the material culture of the Crusader states 1099-1291

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Summary

This thesis is an interdisciplinary study of the material culture of Frankish daily life within the mainland Crusader states in the 12th and 13th centuries. It explores the role of material culture in aspects of Frankish identity, including items of personal adornment and dress accessories. These portable objects are discussed, along with ceramics and glass, in the context of material from Western Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean. In addition to the archaeological material, information from the written sources and the art produced in the Crusader states is examined. The role of Frankish identity in Crusader society is also discussed. This thesis is an attempt to begin integrating the material culture of daily life into broader discussions of Frankish identity. The key findings of the research can be summarised as follows: whilst creating and reproducing a distinctive group identity in relation to the cultures they encountered in the Levant, the archaeological evidence also demonstrates that Frankish identity articulated the shared experience of living in the Crusader kingdoms. As more material becomes available from excavations the conclusions from this thesis can be developed and expanded, adding further to our understanding of Frankish identity.

DECLARATION

This work has not been submitted in substance for any other degree or award at this or any other university or place of learning, nor is being submitted concurrently in candidature for any degree or other award.

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Abbreviations

ADAJ   *Annual of the Department of Antiquities Jordan*

BAAL   *Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises*

BAR   British Archaeological Reports

CCCM   *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis* (Turnhout: Brepols 1966-)

ESI   *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*

IAA   Israel Antiquities Authority

NEAEHL   *New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. Ephraim Stern, 5 vols. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993-2008)

PPTS   *Palestine Pilgrims Text Society Library*, 13 vols. (London 1890-7)

QDAP   *Quarterly of the Department for Antiquities Palestine*

RS   Rolls Series. *Rerum Britannicarium Medii Aevi Scriptores*, 99 vols. (London: Longman, 1858-96)

RRH Add   *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani: addimentum*, ed. R. Röhricht (Innsbruck: 1893)

RHC Occ   *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, 5 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1844-95)

RHC Lois   *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades : Les Assises de Jérusalem*, 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1841-3)

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Figure 1: Map of the Latin East with main sites referred to in this thesis. After Riley-Smith, *The Atlas of the Crusades*, p. 57.

Introduction

The speech by Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont in 1095 marked the start of the movement that would become the First Crusade, an extraordinary journey that would end with the capture of Jerusalem in July 1099. Those who chose to remain in the newly conquered territories in the Levant after 1099 were joined by others from Western Europe to settle in the Crusader states. These settlers formed a society that lasted almost 200 years, until the fall of Acre in 1291, when the Mamluk sultan Al-Ashraf Khalil captured the city. When the First Crusaders arrived in the Middle East, the territories they conquered were already occupied by a range of communities, including Shi'a and Sunni Muslims, Jews, and a number of Eastern Christian groups.[1] The area conquered by the Franks was too large to be occupied by the relatively small numbers from Western Europe. They could not defend the urban centres and cultivate the land with their own settlers, resulting in interaction with the native population.

This thesis is an investigation into the daily life of Frankish settlers in the Crusader states from 1099 to 1291. The following chapters will examine the archaeology of daily life to explore aspects of Frankish identity in this new society. The material culture of Frankish society is not restricted to portable objects, but encompasses all physical, material expressions of culture such as architecture and the visual arts. This study will focus on material related to daily life within a domestic context. This includes personal possessions including dress accessories, jewellery and gaming pieces. Discussion of these items is followed by sections examining ceramics, glass and domestic architecture. In addition to an examination of the material evidence, and to provide important contextual information, written sources are also considered. There is also a detailed examination of the appearance of

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[1] For detailed discussion on the wide range of Christian communities see MacEvitt, *The Crusades*, pp. 7-10.

material culture in the art produced in the Crusader states. The increasing number of archaeological excavations over recent years has produced a great deal of new evidence, making such an investigation now viable and desirable.

The geographical boundaries of this investigation encompass the mainland Crusader states of the Levant, namely the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the County of Tripoli, the Principality of Antioch and the County of Edessa. Comparative material from the Kingdom of Cyprus, the Kingdom of Cilicia and the Principality of Morea is used when appropriate, in addition to material from Western Europe. The majority of available archaeological information relates to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, particularly the area that falls within the current borders of Israel and the Palestinian territories, but information has been included from Lebanon and Syria.

It is important from the outset to define some of the terms that shall be used in this discussion. The terms 'Frank' and 'Crusader' will be used to describe distinct categories of people. 'Frank' will be the term used to describe someone of Western European origin who had travelled to the Levant and remained there. This extends to the concepts of 'Frankish' culture and society, which refer to the society and culture of the Crusader states in the Levant. This is distinct from a 'Crusader', who for our purposes was someone who had taken a Crusading vow and who did not necessarily intend to remain in the East.

The complexity and dynamism of the Crusading movement has led to much debate amongst historians over what exactly constituted a Crusade. The 'traditionalist' definition advocated by historians such as Hans E. Mayer, is of an armed pilgrimage with Jerusalem as the central goal.[2] Against this relatively narrow geographical constraint, a pluralist approach has been proposed by other historians, most notably Johnathan Riley-Smith, who has argued

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[2] Mayer, *The Crusades*, p. 14; Tyerman, *The Invention*, p. 2; idem, *The Debate*, p. 220. See also Constable, 'The Historiography'.

that a Crusade was any penitential war authorised by the pope as head of Christendom.[3] The latter definition expands the geographical and temporal scope of a Crusade, encompassing expeditions against heretics and Christians outside the Holy Land, and extending the Crusades into the later Middle Ages, such as the offensive against the Ottomans at Belgrade in 1456.[4] Whatever the precise definition researchers choose to use, what is clear is that contemporaries were satisfied with the wide application of a form of Holy War that attracted spiritual and material privileges, originally associated with armed pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[5]

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[3] Riley-Smith, *What were the Crusades?*, p. 87.
[4] Tyerman, *The Invention*, p. 3.
[5] Tyerman, *The Invention*, p. 5.

Chapter 1. The Archaeology of Material Culture

The examination of a society formed far from the homes of its people in an unknown landscape and amongst unfamiliar cultures is a most fascinating archaeological and historical investigation. Even though the Crusader states for the most part existed for less than two centuries, it is now accepted that the Crusades as a whole were of central importance to nearly every country in Europe and the Near East until the Reformation. This thesis will take forward the discussion of identity in Frankish society through the examination of certain categories of material culture associated with daily life. It will examine the social use of these artefacts with the aim of exploring aspects of Frankish identity, and the role of this identity in Crusader society. Central to this methodological approach is the understanding of material culture as an active constituent of social relationships and identity, and the consideration of a range of object types to more fully explore the networks between the material culture and people.

In addition to the archaeological material, textual sources will also be considered as a complementary form of evidence in understanding the lived-experience of Frankish identity in the Crusader states. The textual sources can feed into a discussion of group identity and the strategies used to create affiliation or distinction but, like material culture, they are consciously constructed representations operating within a social context and so are not necessarily straightforward reflections of identity.[6] After considering the archaeological and textual evidence, the art of the Crusader states will be examined for the portrayal of material culture.

The structure of this thesis will guide the reader gradually through the categories of material towards a final discussion. It will initially place this investigation in a

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[6] Mac Sweeney, *Community Identity*, pp. 42-3.

methodological framework and locate it within the existing literature. This will be followed by considering the main focus of study, the material culture of the period, specifically those categories related to daily life. The third chapter will consider the literary sources of the period for evidence of the concept of identity and information on the active role of material culture in social relationship and concepts of Frankish identity. The fourth chapter will examine the art of the Crusader states for the portrayal of material culture and consider how this form of evidence should be considered as a category of material culture in itself. The consideration of elite items such as the Melisende Psalter in the same study as more 'ordinary' items such as buckles and jewellery may seem counterintuitive. However, the visual evidence from illuminations and wall paintings can aid understanding of the context in which the objects were used, and add to our sense of the meanings of the material. The illuminated manuscripts and wall paintings are part of the complex networks of material culture and can, with care, be revealing as to the changes in representation of material. Like the written sources, these visual records can deepen our understanding of the links between items, and those who used them. They can also provide context for the role of material goods in the process of identification with a particular group. Finally, a detailed study of the city of Acre will bring together information from both archaeological and historical sources to consider the material culture of daily life in a case study. The investigation will close with an analysis of the material examined and discuss aspects of identity within the setting of a Frankish household. This final section will also include future directions for research and concluding remarks.

1.1 Identity and Society

Identity is inherently a multi-scaled concept, including identities experienced at the scale of the person and in groups. This identification is integral to group formation and maintenance,

and it is the material traces of this process which may be found in the archaeological record.[7]

Insoll has described the archaeology of identities as "the complex process of recovering an insight into the generation of self at a variety of levels: as an individual, within a community, and in public and private contexts."[8] Material culture can help with this recovery process, but the relationship between archaeological remains and identity is complex, because it is clear that the process of identity creation is active and changeable.[9] Material may serve to make links between some people, and to differentiate from others. The process of identification is both internal and external; internally signalling to fellow group members their self-definition, their identity, and externally defining the other(s).[10] The work of the social anthropologists Fredrik Barth and Anthony P. Cohen emphasised the conception of difference and opposition in the construction of group identities, focussing on the importance of defining and maintaining the boundary between groups in the formation of identity.[11] Although part of the construction of group identity is based on differences that are socially sanctioned as significant to create a sense of 'us' and 'them', it is also shaped by shared experience and practice. Identification with a group is therefore not static and passive, it is a continual process and requires active engagement with the social practices and material culture that form part of maintaining the group identity.[12]

The last twenty years have seen the emergence of the discipline of material culture studies, an interdisciplinary field with the central tenant that "materiality is an integral dimension of culture, and that there are dimensions of social existence that cannot exist

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[7] Joyce and Wilkie, 'Identity and Power', p. 1484.
[8] Insoll, *The Archaeology of Identities*, p. 14.
[9] Standley, *Trinkets & Charms*, p. 8.
[10] Jenkins, *Rethinking Ethnicity*, p. 55.
[11] Barth, *Ethnic groups and boundaries*; Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community*.
[12] Díaz-Andreu and Lucy, 'Introduction', p. 1.

without it."[13] This area of research has contributed much to the discussion of how material culture can be used to understand past societies, and those of the present. An extremely wide theoretical field, it has come to encompass work from disciplines such as museum studies, colonialism, art history, landscape archaeology, linguistic theory and cognitive theory. Material culture can be used to refer to the physical evidence of a culture, but is also used as a more abstract concept which goes beyond encapsulating the physical attributes of an object, and encompasses the myriad and shifting contexts through which it acquires meaning.[14] At its centre, this field argues that objects are used in all societies to define and manipulate identity.[15]

In archaeology, the study of material culture and the role of objects in our understanding of past societies has seen a number of theoretical developments over the past 50 years. Early theoretical approaches saw moveable objects as simply reflecting identity, allowing the researcher to trace the spatial boundaries of a particular group. For proponents of this approach, such as the archaeologist Vere Gordon Childe, social groups (cultures) operated according to behavioural norms that were handed down unchanged through subsequent generations.[16] Culture was static and geographically bound, only changing with the arrival of a new population. This normative approach is often known as the 'culture-history' model.[17] The processual archaeology of the 1960s, also known as 'New Archaeology,' saw material culture from a functionalist perspective as contributing to the smooth working of social systems.[18] Both the normative and functionalist approaches to culture were challenged by archaeologists such as Ian Hodder as part of the post-processual movement. In his influential work *Symbols in Action*, Hodder used an ethnographical study of

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[13] Tilley, 'Introduction', p. 1.
[14] Harvey, 'Introduction: practical matters', p. 3.
[15] Hurcombe, *Archaeological Artefacts*, p. 3.
[16] Childe, *The Danube in Prehistory*; idem, *The Dawn of European Prehistory*.
[17] Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*, p. 24.
[18] Tilley, 'Introduction'.

societies in Kenya, Zambia and Sudan to argue for a rethink of contemporary approaches. He argued that there was not a fixed relationship between social form and material expression, instead people actively constructed identities for themselves using material culture.[19] The failure of the New Archaeology to recognize the active role of material culture was also argued by John Moreland in one of the earliest discussions of post-processual theory in medieval archaeology.[20] The influence of the post-processual approach has continued to be felt, with a sustained emphasis on historical context and a fuller appreciation of the active role of material culture in moulding social relations.[21]

Developments in the social sciences, the influence of theories from structuralism and Marxism through to post-structuralism, phenomenology and post-colonialism have all contributed to the development of material culture studies in recent years. One of the more recent approaches to the relationship between people and objects has focused on the concept of network analysis, developing the ideas of Actor-Network-Theory (ANT). ANT can be seen as an overly abstract concept, but is essentially concerned with placing human and non-human 'actors' within a social network.[22] In this sense ANT is linked to the concept of 'entanglement', used by Ian Hodder to describe the interdependence between humans and things, and picks up on the post-processual emphasis on the active role of material culture.[23]

An important part of both these approaches, and one that is a key part of the methodology in this thesis, is the view that material culture is not made up of individual, isolated objects and it is important to comprehend fully the spatial and temporal networks in which they are enmeshed.[24] It is not just the meaning contained within the artefact itself – but

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[19] Hodder, *Symbols in Action*, pp. 112-2, 218.
[20] Moreland, 'Method and Theory'; Gerrard, *Medieval Archaeology*, pp. 219-220.
[21] Gerrard, *Medieval Archaeology*, p. 220. See also Lightfoot, et al., 'Daily Practice and Material Culture'.
[22] Law, 'After ANT', p. 3; Latour, *Reassembling the Social,* pp. 10-11.
[23] Hodder, *Entangled*; idem., 'Human-thing entanglement'.
[24] Knappett, *Thinking Through Material Culture*, p. 62; Ingold, 'Making Culture and Weaving the World', p. 68.

in the inter-relation between object and context.[25] This approach is encapsulated by the title

of Carl Knappett's book *Thinking Through Material Culture*; objects become part of our

thought processes and systems and can shape or colour these processes.[26] So rather than

simply reflecting identity and social relationships, material culture is an active constituent of

both. The use of an object and the practice of an activity has social consequences, and

therefore the examination of material culture can give us some indication of how these

thought processes and practice arose, and in some cases, how they changed.[27]

 The relationship between people and material culture is at the heart of archaeology,

and any discussion on this relationship encounters the question of agency. Although there are

different approaches and applications of the term agency in the archaeological literature, the

concept focusses on how meaning and change occurs at the level of actions of individuals and

groups, and their effect on material culture.[28] The understanding of agency incorporated into

the methodological approach in this thesis is that whilst practices take place within existing

cultural settings that may constrain an individual's actions to a certain extent, these actions

can also reinterpret and transform concepts of social practice, and aspects of identity.[29]

 By considering the assemblage of material related to daily life and the domestic

setting, it is hoped that this study will be able to move beyond the separation of artefacts by

type, appreciating the domestic assemblage as a whole.[30] As Bjørnar Olsen writes, "Instead of

a central hero subject, we should envisage a whole brigade of actors: plates, forks, grave-

stones, humans, garbage pits, chamber pots, law books, musical instruments, etc., acting

together in a relational web."[31] Bringing in written and artistic evidence to the discussion is

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[25] Hines, *Voices in the Past*, p. 12.

[26] Knappett, *Thinking Through Material Culture*; Hurcombe, *Archaeological Artefacts*, p. 104.

[27] Hurcome, *Archaeological Artefacts*, p. 103; Bourdieu, *Outline of a theory of practice*.

[28] Hurcome, *Archaeological Artefacts*, p. 103; For a variety of interpretations see Dobres and Robb, *Agency in Archaeology* and Gardner, *Agency Uncovered*.

[29] Sillar, 'Acts of god and active material culture', pp. 182-3

[30] Standley, *Trinkets & Charms*, pp. 7-8. See also Hinton, *Gold Gilt and Pots and Pins*.

[31] Olsen, 'Material Culture after Text', p. 99.

an opportunity to examine the context in which the objects were used. These forms of evidence can also be used to gain information on design and any possible symbolic associations of the material. The finds under discussion are the remains of the network of objects that were part of everyday life and daily practice.

1.2 Frankish society

The historiography of the Crusades and Frankish society and identity has seen significant twists and turns over the last 200 years, often reflecting nationalistic tendencies of the authors and contemporary political agendas. Many of these works have focussed on the relationship between the Franks and other groups in the Levant such as Muslims and Eastern Christians. The extensive 19th century works of Joseph François Michaud, namely his four volume *Bibliothèque des croisades* and his multi-volume *Histoire des croisades*, set the tone for other French works praising the great achievements of the Crusaders.[32] Following Michaud, the writings of Emmanuel G Rey and René Grousset advocated the view of a Frankish society firmly integrated with those of the local Muslim and Christian populations, and saw the dawn of a new Franco-Syrian society. Rey, in his 1883 work *Les colonies franques de Syrie aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, emphasized examples of good relations between Christians and Muslims, and highlighted the Franks' adoption of local customs.[33] This theme culminated in the great work of Grousset, the three volume *Histoire des Croisades*, where the Crusading expeditions were portrayed as the first chapter in the French colonial enterprise.[34]

Reaction against this interpretation was driven by R. C. Smail and Joshua Prawer from the mid-twentieth century. These authors articulated a vision of a "dual society" where

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[32] Michaud, *Bibliothèque des croisades*; idem, *Histoire des croisades*.
[33] Rey, *Les colonies franques*.
[34] Grousset, *Histoire des croisades*. Another example of this approach is the work of Madelin, *L'expansion francaise de la Syrie au Rhin*.

the Crusaders and local Muslim population existed in defined and isolated cultural spheres.[35] There was an "unbridgeable chasm" between the Frankish landlords and the local (Muslim) peasants: "No integration, or even *rapprochement* was possible, both sides rejected each other."[36] Crucially, the latter model emphasized the inherently urban nature of Crusader society, with the Franks operating as distant landlords to their agricultural property – merely living off the proceeds without settling outside the cities. As Prawer wrote, "Let it be stated from the beginning, the Crusaders' society was predominantly and, almost exclusively, an urban society."[37] The 'orientalization' expounded by the nineteenth century French authors was merely superficial, with the reality being a numerically small ruling class exploiting economically the subject peoples by arrangements similar to those already known in Europe.[38] More recently the influential work of Ronnie Ellenblum on the Kingdom of Jerusalem has brought a more nuanced approach to the fore. Arguing for a much greater settlement of the countryside than previously outlined, Ellenblum also redeemed certain aspects of the earlier 'integration' argument from the (often justified) criticism by Smail and Prawer. Ellenblum's primary assertion that there was significant assimilation and cooperation between the Crusaders and the local Eastern Christian population, as well as between the Crusaders and Muslims.[39] The work of Smail and Prawer and their historiographical followers was inevitably coloured by their own contemporary experiences of societal interaction and conflict in the Middle East, with their view that Israel would succeed (where the Franks had failed), to create an integrated society of Jewish and Palestinian citizens.[40]

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[35] Prawer, *The Crusaders' Kingdom*, p. 506; Smail, *Crusading Warfare*.
[36] Prawer, *The Crusaders' Kingdom*, p. 507.
[37] Prawer, 'Colonization Activities', pp. 102-3.
[38] Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, p. 63.
[39] Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*, pp. 284-5. For more detailed discussion of the latest in crusader historiography see Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles* and Tyerman, *The Debate*, pp. 216-46. For a consideration of English crusade historiography see Siberry, *The New Crusaders*, pp. 1-38.
[40] MacEvitt, *The Crusades*, p. 17; Tyerman, *The Debate*, pp. 170-1.

The work of Yehoshua Frenkel on the Muslim response to the Franks has shown, unsurprisingly, that there was a complex socio-political relationship between the two groups. The Muslim leaders were able to accommodate their regulations on *jihad* with the daily realities in the Near East, often concluding truces with the Franks.[41] Benjamin Kedar has also discussed this relationship in the context of Muslims being subjugated to the Franks.[42] Elsewhere, studies in the County of Tripoli have also investigated the relationships between the Franks and the local Christian communities, particularly in regard to the economy and administration of lands.[43] The interaction between the Franks and the Eastern cultures they encountered has continued to be a growing area of research. Many recent works have touched on the subject in a variety of historical and archaeological contexts, including architecture and art. The concept of cultural exchange and identity has been the subject of many edited books, mostly dealing with these ideas using historical sources.[44]

Since the mid-20th century the consideration of Frankish identity has moved beyond the question of whether the society can be considered 'colonial', as advocated by historians such as Prawer.[45] The most productive approach is to consider the self-identification of the Franks within the context of contemporary traditions. Those elements from an individual's world that have a bearing on the construction of an identity are dependent on the situation, but may include ethnicity, kinship, gender, social status, religious affiliation and regional affiliation.[46]

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[41] Frenkel, 'Muslim Responses', pp. 40-44.
[42] Kedar, *The Franks in the Levant,* pp. 170-2.
[43] Olmo, 'Les Chrétiens orientaux dans le comté de Tripoli', p. 167; Voisin, 'Synthèse et Perspectives', p. 197.
[44] Gervers and Powell, *Tolerance and Intolerance*; Kostick, *The Crusades and the Near East*; Ciggaar and Teule *East and west in the crusader states*.
[45] Prawer, *The Crusaders' Kingdom.*
[46] Johnson, 'Imagining Communities', p. 9.

At the level of national identity, existing literature on medieval group identities has emerged from the influential shadow of Benedict Anderson's thesis of 'imagined communities', and his argument that the concept of 'nation' did not exist in the pre-modern period.[47] In the context of ethnic identity Anthony D. Smith has compiled a set of definitions for considering the presence of an 'ethnic community'. The criteria include a common name, a set of origin myths, a common homeland or territory and a sense of common culture.[48] In the context of the Crusades, Murray has investigated the role of language in the relationships between different contingents of the Crusaders. He concludes that for the broad mass of the First Crusaders, linguistic affiliation was a crucial factor in reinforcing the regional or national loyalties of the participants, particularly in disputes between leaders.[49] Murray notes the use of the terms *Franci* and *Latini* by chroniclers such as William of Tyre and Fulcher of Chartres as an important example of the use of language to describe the Europeans of the Levant. These labels are used to distinguish them as a defined group in relation to the other people in the Middle East, both Muslim and Eastern Christian.[50] These definitions are used irrespective of which kingdom or 'nation' the Crusaders originally came from, formulating the concept of a common identity or descent as a response to the other cultures around them.

The narrative of Fulcher of Chartres contains many of the qualities of an *origo gentis* (origin of the people), including the descent myth (of the Israelites as ancestors of the Franks), and is another demonstration of the self-awareness of a distinct group identity – one that transcended the boundaries of the European kingdoms from which the Crusaders had come.[51] Johnson has argued that many of these narratives written in the medieval period were not merely "simple and clear cut authenticating ventures" and were more like a "forum

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[47] Anderson, *Imagined communities*.
[48] Smith, *The Antiquity of Nations*, p. 185.
[49] Murray, 'National Identity', p. 119.
[50] Murray, 'Ethnic Identity in the Crusader States', p. 61.
[51] Murray, 'Ethnic Identity in the Crusader States', p. 70.

of ideas for a range of social values and notions of community".[52] Following this line of

argument we can perhaps think of the interest and audience as reflecting a broader section of

society. Although these were the writings of a narrow section of society, the authors did not

exist in a social vacuum, and it is perhaps reasonable to conclude that their values and

assumptions with regard to the historic identity of a people reflected those of wider society.[53]

1.3 Material culture in the Crusader states

Work on the material culture of the Crusader states has so far been limited to specific types of

artefacts such as ceramics or glass. Whilst these have been very fruitful areas of research,

there has been almost no study of some other forms of domestic material culture; the

moveable objects often classed in excavation literature as 'small finds'. The artefacts classed

as small finds within the domestic context, and those under discussion in this study, include

bone and metal dress accessories, gaming pieces and jewellery. Aside from brief typological

comparisons within excavation reports there has so far been little attempt to consider the

whole corpus of 'small finds' from across the Frankish period, and place them in the wider

context of Crusader archaeology. Other fields of archaeology have long given more attention

to these objects, recognizing the potential they have to illuminate areas of life which are

otherwise absent in the historical record. Sally Crawford's *Daily Life in Anglo-Saxon*

England covers a wide range of material such as clothing and housing, food, religion and

identity.[54] Similarly, the work of Nicolas Oikonomides examined many aspects of daily life

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[52] Johnson, 'Etymologies', p. 133.
[53] Reynolds, 'Medieval *Origines Gentium*', p. 378.
[54] Crawford, *Daily Life in Anglo-Saxon England*.

in Byzantium, and a number of authors have written on a comparable theme for Roman Britain.[55]

Whilst the past twenty years have seen a growing interest in archaeology relating to the household in the Crusader states, most scholars have focused on the architecture of the home and settlement layout. These studies have fundamentally changed the understanding of the distribution of Frankish settlements within the Crusader states, and have resulted in an invaluable record of known sites and standing remains.[56] However, there has been less consideration of Frankish activities at the household level, with few investigations into domestic life. The most recent review has been the work of Adrian Boas, focusing on domestic architecture and the activities carried out within the home. This is the first time that there has been a comprehensive attempt to bring together literary and archaeological sources to examine the activities carried out within a domestic setting on a daily basis, and introduces a typology of household architecture.[57]

The development of the study of ceramics produced and imported to the Crusader states has provided detailed information on trade and production networks, and has recently moved towards considering dining practice and dietary changes. Some of the initial detailed studies of Crusader pottery include the work in the 1930s by C.N. Johns at 'Atlit, Arthur Lane at al-Mina (Port St. Symeon), and Frederick Waagé at Corinth.[58] From the earliest research, the wide distribution of some ceramic types across the Eastern Mediterranean was clear, and much of the most recent literature on the ceramics of the Levant (particularly in the Kingdom of Jerusalem) has focused on the scientific and technical analysis of chemical

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[55] Oikonomides, 'The Contents of the Byzantine House'. See also the collected studies of his works, idem, *Social and economic life in Byzantium*. Allason-Jones, *Daily Life in Roman Britain*.

[56] Ellenblum, *Frankish rural settlement*; Pringle, *Secular buildings*.

[57] Boas, *Domestic Settings*. See also the work of Professor Adrian Boas' student Lisa Yehuda, 'Household Archaeology'.

[58] Johns, *Pilgrims' Castle ('Atlit)*; Lane, 'Medieval Finds at Al-Mina'; Waagé, 'Preliminary Report'.

composition of fabrics and glazes.[59] This approach has been hugely beneficial in providing much new information about production sites and distribution networks for ceramics from the early Islamic, Crusader, Ayyubid and Mamluk periods. There is no doubt that this approach will continue to provide insights into the dating of ceramics and enable more accurate typologies to be developed through the establishment of new reference groups.[60] The form and decorative aspects of ceramics have been analysed less in recent years, perhaps partly as a result of an understandable desire to take advantage of new scientific techniques, which allow for accurate investigation of production sites and distribution networks. Changes in typology can however be illuminating in uncovering the functional and broader socio-cultural context of the pottery.[61] For example, Véronique François has discussed the networks of exchange in the Eastern Mediterranean in terms of evidence for cultural particularities, highlighting the distribution pattern of Chinese ceramics present in Mamluk contexts, but not in Byzantine or Crusader.[62]

The state of research into Crusader-period ceramics varies between geographical areas. Israel-Palestine and Transjordan (corresponding to the southern two-thirds of the Kingdom of Jerusalem), have recently seen relatively systematic excavation and documentation of sites. Work has been very extensive in urban centres such as Acre since the early 1990s, particularly around the Hospitaller compound.[63] Analysis of the pottery has firmly placed Acre as a thriving commercial centre, importing pottery from across the Mediterranean in quantities far greater than during the previous Fatimid period, and the subsequent Mamluk period. Ceramic types in the city changed and developed over the period

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[59] Stern and Waksman, 'Pottery from Crusader Acre'; Waksman, Stern et. al., 'Elemental and Petrographic Analyses'; Avissar and Stern, *Pottery of the Crusader Period*.
[60] For example the identification of Zeuxuppis ware derivatives in Waksman, Stern et. al., 'Elemental and Petrographic Analyses', p. 183.
[61] Vroom, *After Antiquity*, p. 238; Gabrieli, 'Stability and Change', pp. 67-8.
[62] François, 'Réalités des échanges', pp. 248-9.
[63] Including, Avissar and Stern, 'Akko, the Citadel' (1194); idem, 'Akko, the Citadel' (1998); Syon and Tatcher, 'Akko, Ha-Abirim Parking Lot'; Stern, 'Old 'Akko, the Fortress'.

of Crusader occupation but included locally produced cooking and storage ware, various imported glazed wares, and the 'Acre bowls'. The latter have been shown to have been produced locally to Acre, but the workshop and kilns have yet to be found.[64]

In present day Lebanon most work has been concentrated in Beirut, often as a result of the American University of Beirut-Leverhulme excavations.[65] Other work includes articles by Paul Reynolds and Grace Homsy-Gottwalles.[66] Both Reynolds and Homsy-Gottwalles investigate Beirut as a ceramic production site, and Homsy-Gottwalles includes the chemical analysis of the pottery fabric to trace the distribution of three types of glazed ware across the Eastern Mediterranean. In Tripoli the work of Salamé-Sarkis remains the main source for information on pottery from the Crusader settlement.[67] Also from northern Lebanon is the work of Jean-Paul Thalmann on the multi-period settlement at Tell 'Arqa.[68]

Further north in Syria there has been work on medieval ceramics at al-Mina by Tasha Vorderstrasse following on from the work of Arthur Lane.[69] In her re-examination of the material gathered by the 1936/7 excavations of Sir Leonard Woolley, Vorderstrasse uses the pottery to examine issues of acculturation and differentiation, arguing that 100 years after the Frankish conquest it is possible to identify distinctive 'Frankish' polychrome sgraffiato, i.e. Port St. Symeon ware, in Syria-Palestine. Frankish and non-Frankish elites began using distinctive Frankish pottery that reflected a combination of western European and Islamic tastes rather than being distinctively one or another. Port St. Symeon ware has been found in Byzantium, Eastern Turkey, Cyprus, Palestine (both Christian and Muslim held areas), Armenia, Georgia, Iraq and Italy.[70] An in-depth examination of the figurative decoration on

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[64] Stern, 'Continuity and Change'. Denys Pringle has pointed to the mention of a street of cooking pot makers in Acre in the 13th Century, 'Some more Poto-Maiolica', p. 115.
[65] el-Masri, 'Medieval Pottery'.
[66] Reynolds, 'Pottery Production and Economic Exchange'; Homsy-Gottwalles, 'Les céramiques glacurées de Beyrouth'.
[67] Salamé-Sarkis, *Contribution a l'histoire de Tripoli*.
[68] Thalmann, 'Tell 'Arqa', pp. 9-30.
[69] Vorderstrasse, *Al-Mina*; Lane, 'Medieval Finds at Al Mina'.
[70] Vorderstrasse, *Al-Mina*, p. 119.

the Port St. Symeon ware within the context of the Kingdom of Armenian Cilicia and the Principality of Antioch has been carried out by Scott Redford, examining cultural literacy, autonomy and intentionality. Through this methodology Redford has drawn distinctions between religious and non-religious traditions present at the time.[71]

Research into the relationship between food, culture and identity is a small but growing field in relation to the medieval Levant. Information on diet and food production has been discussed by Lisa Yehuda and Irit Ziffer from the work on the Crusader castle at Arsuf (Apollonia).[72] Broader discussions of medieval dining practices can be found in the work of Norbet Elias and Duncan Brown, both of whom discuss the wider context and socio-cultural connections of consumption.[73] Work in central Greece by Joanita Vroom has traced the development of ceramics from the 7th to the 20th century, cataloguing the forms and types from Boeotia and Anatolia. Vroom has used the large-scale assemblage from Boeotia to link the changes in forms and fabric to developments in dining habits, which are in turn linked to wider political contexts.[74] In a more recent work Vroom considers developments in the form, fabric and contexts of the Brittle Ware cooking jars from Horum Höyük in eastern Turkey, from the Roman to the Abbasid period, concluding that the increased sophistication in Islamic cooking procedures and preparations led to changes in the form of the Brittle Ware jars.[75] Similar work has been conducted in Cyprus with coarse wares from the medieval to Ottoman periods (13th to the 19th century) by Smadar Gabrieli.[76]

The art produced in the Latin East has been the one area of material culture which has been examined in great detail in terms of its artistic development and the relative influences of Eastern and Western practices. In his work Jaroslav Folda uses the term 'Crusader Art' to

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[71] Redford, 'On *Sāqīs* and Ceramics', pp. 282-303.
[72] Yehuda, 'Cooking and Food'; Ziffler, 'Setting Tables'.
[73] Elias, *The Civilizing Process*; Brown, 'Pottery and Manners'.
[74] Vroom, *After Antiquity*, p. 333.
[75] Vroom, 'Medieval ceramics', p. 247.
[76] Gabrieli, 'Under the surface'.

refer to a new and distinctive style of art produced by the Franks in the Latin East. [77] Folda contests the assertion that this style of art was a colonial import, inextricably tied to the homelands of the Franks and taking no inspiration from Islamic and Eastern Christian sources.[78] Instead, he argues that "it was the unique *loca sancta* of the Holy Land and the complex and diverse cultures encountered by the Franks that led to the development of a distinctive 'Crusader' style; this multiplicity engendered a special art attuned to its multicultural context."[79] The art of the Latin East was informed and influenced by the cultural and political context of the patrons and demonstrates genuine reciprocity between the Western artists and their local Eastern counterparts. Similar investigations into the fresco art of the Greek regions of Boetia and Attica when under the rule of the Latin de la Roche family, have demonstrated a level of accommodation between the iconography of the Eastern and Western church. Although, unlike in Palestine, a distinctive and new style of art has not been conclusively identified.[80]

This study will therefore contribute to the existing studies of the material culture of the Crusades, focussing on the less-studied area of daily life and those objects involved in daily practice.

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[77] Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098-1187*; idem, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, 1187-1291*; idem, *Crusader Art, 1099-1291*.
[78] Prawer, *The Crusader's Kingdom*, p. 443.
[79] Folda, *Crusader Art, 1099-1291*, p. 13.
[80] Kalopissi-Verti, 'Relations between East and West', p. 33; Gerstel, 'Art and Identity in the Medieval Morea', pp. 263-85.

Chapter 2. Material Culture of Daily Life

The aim of this chapter is to provide a synthesis of the material culture of daily life that is currently available to the researcher. This encompasses personal items such as jewellery, buckles, brooches and gaming pieces and will be examined using a comparative approach to bring into focus the cultural and stylistic connections between the items from the Crusader states, the local Eastern cultures and Western Europe. The fragmentary nature of the current material evidence should not discourage attempts to integrate these items into our discussions of the daily lives and society of the Franks. This synthesis of material will provide an illustration of the potential of these items to contribute to our understanding aspects of Frankish cultural identity. This approach is not aiming to elevate objects to a status they never had, but acknowledge that they were used within cultural contexts during the medieval period in the same way as buildings and texts.[81] These 'ordinary' items of material culture are as much part of the complex tapestry of medieval mentalities as more ostentatious or valuable items.

Although the field of Crusader ceramics has been a rich and varied subject of academic study, the amount of analysis and investigation of these finds from the Crusader states has been minimal. Other fields of archaeology have long given more attention to these objects, recognising the potential they have to illuminate areas of life which are otherwise absent in the historical record.

The phrase 'small finds' has typically been used by archaeologists to refer to items uncovered in excavations that are neither ceramic nor glass; they are those items of material culture which are often given a brief chapter in the subsequent catalogue, and little more. This neglect needs to be rectified, as the primary source of evidence in most excavation is the

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[81] Jervis, *Pottery and Social Life*, p. 2.

"detritus of small-scale, everyday activities."[82] These small finds are the remains of the web of networks, with multiple strands, acting incrementally with the human subjects to change social configurations.

It is a difficult balance to negotiate the pitfalls of over-interpretation of material, and yet ensure objects are fully considered within their spatial and temporal networks. For questions of cultural influence and identity there can be no simple dichotomy between concepts of tradition and change, existing and incoming. These are ideas where the edges are blurred and overlapping. We must explore these artefacts within the broader context of the negotiation of Frankish identity and ensure that we examine a variety of sources and classes of data.

2.1 Sites discussed

The material included for discussion is from sites and layers that have been securely dated to a period of Frankish occupation. Survival bias of material means the number of non-ceramic items excavated remains small by comparison to the large pottery corpus now available for this period in the Kingdom of Jerusalem.[83] Not all excavations uncover non-ceramic material, and often those items which are excavated are in poor condition - either incomplete or partly decayed. In the sites included there are those which have published material available, or unpublished that I have kindly been given access to by the Israel Antiquities Authority and excavators.

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[82] Knappett, *An Archaeology of Interaction*, p. 69.
[83] For a comprehensive bibliography, see the discussion in this thesis and the work of Edna Stern, particularly Avissar and Stern, *Pottery of the Crusade Period.*

Urban excavations:

Caesarea, Cesaire (Ar. *Qaisariya*, Hebr. *Horvat Qesari*)[84]

Although the site was surveyed in the 19th century by (amongst others) C.R. Conder and H.H.
Kitchener as part of the Survey of Western Palestine in 1873, a comprehensive campaign of
excavation did not being until the 1960s, and has continued under various projects through to
2007. Work has been undertaken both on land and under the sea, with underwater survey and
excavation having taken place since the 1970s. The most recent excavations took place under
the Combined Caesarea Expeditions (CCE) from 1989 to 2007 and the results of this work
have been published in a series of volumes covering the entire period of occupation –
Hellenistic to the 19th century.[85] The town was first taken by the Crusaders in 1101, led by
Baldwin I and aided by a Genoese fleet. Shortly after this the town became part of an
independent lordship and remained in Frankish hands until conquered by Saladin in 1187. It
was retaken by Richard I as part of the Third Crusade in 1191, and was finally lost in 1265 to
the Egyptian sultan Baybars after a two-week siege. The archaeology of the Crusader period
of Caesarea has so far been represented in publications by architectural studies,[86] numismatic
reports[87] and ceramic studies.[88] The only publication to focus on the non-ceramic material
culture of the medieval period is a study by Etan Ayalon on the bone and ivory artefacts from
the site.[89] Of the large number of worked bone and ivory items recorded from Caesarea, only
a small number were from contexts dated by coins or ceramics to the Crusader period.
Evidence for a local, large-scale bone-working industry was uncovered throughout all periods
of occupation, with blanks, offcuts of sawn bone and other examples of production waste.[90]

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[84] Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 43-5.
[85] Vann, *Caesarea Papers;* Holum et al, *Caesarea papers 2;* Raban and Holum, *Caesarea Maritima*.
[86] Pringle, *Churches I*, pp. 182-3; Boas, 'Survey of Crusader Structures', pp. 95-6; Mesqui, *Césarée Maritime*.
[87] Lampinen, 'Preliminary Coin report', pp. 41-8.
[88] Arnon, *Caesarea Maritima*.
[89] Ayalon, *The Assemblage of Bone and Ivory*.
[90] Ayalon, *The Assemblage of Bone and Ivory*, p. viii.

As Ayalon points out there are few publications on the worked bone from the Islamic or Crusader period, so the task of finding comparable collections is difficult. The metalwork finds from the medieval period have yet to be published, and will no doubt be an important contribution to the field when this happens.

Acre (Hebr. *'Akko*)[91]

As with Caesarea, the city of Acre was part of the Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem from the early 12th century when it was captured by the Crusaders in 1104. It was lost to Saladin in 1187, but regained by Richard I during the Third Crusade in 1191 It became the capital of the Kingdom of Jerusalem until 1291 when it was lost to the Mamluks. The urban topography and architecture of the city during the Crusader period has been studied in detail by many researchers, but the archaeological excavations inside the medieval city have inevitably been more sporadic, mainly in response to new building work.[92] The (so-called) refectory of the Knights Hospitaller was cleared of debris in the 1950s and 60s, and further excavation was carried out in the mid-1990s, opening eight areas in the north-eastern corner of the city.[93] Another season of excavation in this area was carried out in 2007, prior to the construction of a youth hostel, but the results of this excavation have yet to be published. The ceramics from the excavations have been discussed in detail by Edna Stern, but the non-ceramic material awaits publication.[94]

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[91] Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 15-7; Dothan, 'Acco'.
[92] For a detailed bibliography see Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, p. 15, and Boas, *Domestic Settings*, pp. 262-90. Also Pringle, *Churches IV*.
[93] Syon and Tatcher, 'Akko, Ha-Abirim Parking Lot'.
[94] Stern, *'Akko I*.

Jerusalem (Cr. *Jerusalem, Ierusalem, Hierusalem, Ierosolima*, Ar. *al-Quds ash-Sharif*, Hebr. *Yerushalayim*)[95]

After Jerusalem was conquered at the culmination of the First Crusade in 1099, the city remained in Crusader hands until 1187 when it was captured by Saladin. It was under Crusader control again in 1229 following negotiations with Egypt, but was lost forever just fifteen years later in 1244 when it was besieged and largely destroyed by the Khwarazimians. There have been numerous excavations in Jerusalem (as testified by the extensive list in the *New Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land - NEAEHL*), but only a small proportion have published their medieval non-ceramic material, and often the Frankish material is fragmentary.[96]

Ascalon (Cr. *Ascalon*, Hebr. *Ashqelon*)[97]

Ascalon did not become part of the Kingdom of Jerusalem until 1153, when Baldwin III finally captured the city after a lengthy siege. As with most of the Crusader territories, the city was lost in 1187 but then reoccupied briefly in 1192 by Richard I who refortified the site, only to dismantle his work the same year after an agreement with Saladin. There was another phase of refortification in 1240 under the direction of Richard, earl of Cornwall, before the city was finally lost in 1247.[98] The publication of the medieval material from Ascalon is currently in preparation, and will include a chapter on the Islamic and Crusader metalwork by the author.

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[95] Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 53-6. Bahat, 'Jerusalem', pp. 786-99.
[96] Geva, 'History of Archaeological Research in Jerusalem', pp. 801-4.
[97] Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, p. 21
[98] Stager and Schloen, 'Ashkelon and Its Inhabitants', pp. 9-10; Further details on the medieval walls of Ascalon can be found in the chapter by Denys Pringle in forthcoming volume of excavation reports - *Ashkelon 9*

Ramla

The town of Ramla was founded in the 8th century by Sulaymān Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, and was taken by the Crusaders in 1099. The site occupies an important position, being close to the north-south *via maris* and on the vital route between Jerusalem and Jaffa.[99] Excavations in Ramla have so far revealed little material evidence (aside from the above ground remains), dating to the Crusader period. The town was attacked and burnt by the Muslims in 1177 and was taken in 1187 by Saladin, who then destroyed the castle. The town was ceded to Frederick II in 1229 but was again lost after the battle of La Forbie in 1244.[100] The Crusader church (constructed in the early 12th century) was converted into the Great Mosque in 1260 following the Mamluk conquest.[101] The most recent excavations were conducted in 1996 and the full results published in 2010, including sections on the ceramics, glass and small finds dated to the Umayyad, Abbasid, Fatimid, Mamluk and Ottoman periods.[102]

Castles:

Montfort (Cr. *Montfort, Starkenberg*, Ar. *Qal'at al-Qurain*)[103]

The spur castle of Montfort was constructed by the Teutonic Order from the 1220s onwards, and was the principal castle of the Order in the Latin East.[104] It came under siege from a Mamluk army in 1266 and resisted successfully, but was eventually destroyed by Baybars in 1271. The castle ruins were surveyed and described by Conder and Kitchener as part of the

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[99] Pringle, *Churches II,* p. 184.
[100] Pringle, *Churches II*, p. 186.
[101] Pringle, *Churches II*, p. 186.
[102] Gutfeld, *Ramla*.
[103] Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 73-5.
[104] Boas, *Montfort Castle*, p. 15.

Survey of Western Palestine, but the first excavations were not carried out until 1926 by Bashford Dean, a curator from the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.[105] Excavations have been conducted by Adrian Boas since 2011 (and are expected to continue), and a publication summarising preliminary results of the excavations is imminent.[106]

'Atlit (*Pilgrims' Castle* Cr. *Chastiau Pelerin*, Ar. *'Athlith*)[107]

The castle at 'Atlit was constructed by the Knights Templar in 1217/8 in order to control the coastal road and aid the recovery of Jerusalem.[108] It was manned until the collapse of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1291. The only excavations on the site were carried out by the Palestine Museum and the Department of Antiquities of Mandatory Palestine, under the direction of C.N Johns between 1930 and 1935.[109] The majority of small finds from the Crusader period at Atlit were unearthed during excavations of the faubourg, in an area to the east of the castle. Here Johns uncovered the foundations of medieval houses, although his publication contains little detail on their nature or context.[110] The faubourg grew up after the construction of the castle and came to be enclosed by a wall with counterscarp and ditch.[111] Also excavated within the faubourg were the stables, a bath-house and bakery, and an unfinished church.[112] The small finds from the houses were from the same context as Crusader-period ceramics and coins. A recent detailed study of the coins suggests that the faubourg may not have recovered fully after being sacked by Baybars in 1265.[113] The Port

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[105] Conder and Kitchener, *Survey of Western Palestine*, Vol. 1, pp. 86-90; Dean, 'A Crusaders Fortress in Palestine', pp. 5-46.
[106] An interim publication, summarising the work to date is Boas, *Montfort Castle*.
[107] Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 22-4.
[108] Johns, ''Atlit', pp. 113-23.
[109] John, *Guide to 'Atlit*.
[110] Johns, 'Excavations at Pilgrims' Castle, ''Atlit (1932)', pp. 145-64.
[111] Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, p. 22.
[112] Metcalf et al., 'Coins from the Excavations', p. 92. For C.N Johns' original thoughts see, 'Excavations at Pilgrims' Castle, ''Atlit (1932-33)', pp. 31-60.
[113] Johns, 'Excavations at Pilgrims' Castle, ''Atlit (1932-33)', p. 57.

Saint Symeon ware and Italian imports have been published in detail by Pietro Riavez.[114] The small finds have not been published in any detail and are now stored at the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem.

Arsuf (*Apollonia* Cr. *Arsur*, Hebr. *Tel Arshaf*) [115]

The coastal city of Arsuf was conquered by Baldwin I in 1101, and like other costal sites was lost to the Crusaders between 1187 and 1191. The castle was constructed in 1241 and the city was subsequently sold to the Hospitallers in 1261, before being captured by Baybars in 1265 after a five-week siege. The main archaeological excavations at the site were begun in 1977 by the Department of Antiquities and continued from the 1980s by Tel Aviv University. The main publications have so far focused on the earlier periods, although the ceramics from the Hospitaller castle recently featured in an exhibition at the Eretz Israel Museum in Tel Aviv.[116] The medieval glass from Arsuf has received detailed attention, but no detail of metalwork has yet been published.[117]

Belmont (*Suba*)

Belmont was a Hospitaller castle, which was in existence by the 1150s, and remained in Christian hands until 1187.[118] Excavations were carried out on the site between 1986 and

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[114] Riavez, ''Atlit – ceramica Port St. Symeon 1217-1291' and Riavez, 'Ceramiche e commerce nel Mediterraneo'.
[115] Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 20-1.
[116] Roll and Tal, *Apollonia-Arsuf*; Harpek et al., *The Last Supper at Apollonia*.
[117] Jackson-Tal and Tal, 'Crusader Glass in Context'.
[118] Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, p. 96.

1989 by Richard Harper and Denys Pringle, and the results published in 2000.[119] This publication includes the small number of non-ceramic finds from the site.

Non-urban sites :

Ramot 06 (Ar. *Al-Kurum*, *Khirbat Samwil*)[120]

This village site was settled by the Franks in the 12th century, and is situated on the slopes of a hill on which stands the hall-house known as Khirbat al-Burj.[121] It is another example of the newly constructed Frankish villages that were of a distinctive linear plan, with houses set out along a single main street, as at al-Qubaiba.[122] The site was excavated in the early 1990s and the results partly published.[123]

al-Qubaiba (Cr. *Parva Mahomaria, Mahomeriola*)[124]

As with Ramot 06, al-Qubaiba was a new settlement constructed in the 12th century. It was built by the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre before 1159 and features house styles prevalent in Western Europe at the time. The village was excavated in 1940-43 by the Italian Franciscans who were interned on the site during the Second World War.[125]

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[119] Harper and Pringle, *Belmont Castle*.
[120] Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 37-8.
[121] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, pp. 321-8.
[122] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, p. 321.
[123] Boas, 'A Recently Discovered Frankish Village'.
[124] Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 86-7.
[125] Bagatti, *Emmaus-Qubeibeh*.

Burj al-Ahmar (*The Red Tower*, Cr. *Tourre-Rouge, Turris Rubea*, Hebr. *Horvat Burgata*) [126]

This tower was constructed in several stages between 1110 and 1150 and occupied until its destruction by the Mamluks in 1265. Excavations were conducted in 1983 by Denys Pringle and the results published in detail.[127]

Yoqne'am (Cr. *Caymont*, Ar. *Tall Qaimun*) [128]

The village seems to have come into the hands of the Crusaders in the early 12th century, and became the centre of a small lordship, although the evidence for this is not conclusive.[129] It was lost to the Franks between 1187 and 1192, when it passed to the Templars, before finally becoming a Mamluk possession by 1283.[130] Excavations were carried out at the site from 1977 until 1988, and then again in 1993 by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the finds published.[131]

Other sites:

Excavations at Tiberias uncovered the remains of a large Crusader church but other excavations on the site have uncovered few remains from this period.[132] The hugely significant find of a wonderful Fatimid metalwork hoard has been published in detail, and provides a useful comparative collection for the Islamic material in the Levant.[133] Other

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[126] Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 38-9;
[127] Pringle, *The Red Tower*.
[128] Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 76-7.
[129] Kedar, 'The Frankish Period', pp. 3-4.
[130] Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, p. 77.
[131] Avissar, *Tel Yoqne'am*.
[132] Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 101-2; idem, *Churches II*, pp. 351–64; Hirschfeld, 'Tiberias' (1989-90); Harif, 'A Crusader Church in Tiberius'.
[133] Hirschfeld and Gutfeld, *Tiberias*.

excavations in the 1970s uncovered an area abandoned in the 11th century.[134] Sadly, the

excavations at Belvoir Castle by Meir Ben-Dov in the 1960s have yet to be published in any

detail, and the references to the material in the NEAEHL are brief.[135]

Comparative Sites:

An issue faced by those researching the small finds of the Frankish period is the lack of

comparable material from medieval Islamic sites in the Levant. Excavations at Hama in

Syria[136] and at Gritille and Sardis in Turkey [137] have yielded some published material, but the

variety of sites is not yet comparable with earlier periods.

Hama

Excavations on the ancient city site of Hama were conducted by a team of Danish

archaeologists in the 1930s uncovering material from the fifth millennium BC to c.1400

AD.[138] The large amount of medieval ceramics, glass and small finds have been published in

detail in two volumes and provide key comparative assemblages for an urban site in the 12th

to 14th century Levant.[139]

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[134] Stacey, *Excavations at Tiberias*.
[135] Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 32-3; Ben-Dov, 'Belvoir', pp. 182-6.
[136] Ploug and Oldenburg, *Hama*.
[137] Redford, *The Archaeology of the Frontier*; Waldbaum, *Metalwork from Sardis*.
[138] For a summary of findings see Ingholt, 'The Danish Excavations at Hama'.
[139] Riis, *Hama*.

Gritille

A key comparative site from the County of Edessa is Gritille. The Crusader County of Edessa lasted only forty-six years from 1098 to 1144 and was formed by Baldwin of Boulogne, one of the leaders of the First Crusade. The site of Gritille is approximately 40 kilometres North of Urfa on the bank of the Euphrates River and 10 kilometres upstream from the main settlement in the region of Samsat (Crusader Samosata).[140] Redford's report on the excavations at Gritille convincingly assigns Phase 3 of occupation to the Crusaders, aided by the discovery of a hoard of Crusader coins dating to the period of the County of Edessa.[141] Although Urfa fell to the forces of Imad ad-Din Zengi in 1144, Samsat remained in Crusader hands until 1149.[142] The small finds from Gritille include a number of iron objects such as arrowheads, nails and blades and copper alloy objects such as pins, rings, and tweezers.[143]

Sardis

Sardis is situated near the west coast of Turkey and came to prominence as part of the Lydian kingdom before being conquered by the Persians in the 6th century BC. The city saw continued settlement in the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods, eventually passing into Turkish control in the late 13th century. The site was excavated by Harvard and Cornell Universities in the 1960s and confirmed Sardis as a centre for metalworking for most of its history. The detailed publication of the metalwork finds by Jane Waldbaum provides an excellent source of comparative Byzantine material.[144]

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[140] Redford, *The Archaeology of the Frontier*, p. 5.
[141] Redford, *The Archaeology of the Frontier*, pp. 157-61; Metcalf, 'Coinage of the Crusaders', pp. 92-5.
[142] Redford, *The Archaeology of the Frontier*, p. 157.
[143] Redford, *The Archaeology of the Frontier*, p. 173, 175 Fig. 4.4-4.5
[144] Waldbaum, *Metalwork from Sardis*.

Corinth

After the Crusaders captured Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade in 1204, Corinth became part of the Principality of Achaea, which was governed by the Villehardouin family until the arrival of the Ottomans in 1395. The detailed publication of the small finds from excavations at Corinth is invaluable as a source of comparative material from an urban site in the Eastern Mediterranean outside the Kingdom of Jerusalem, which saw occupation by Crusaders in the 13th and 14th centuries.[145]

The publication of comparative material from excavations in Western Europe is confined largely to urban excavations, in cities such as London, and from compilations of material from across Europe on a certain theme such as belt buckles. Aside from excavation reports most personal items from this period are to be found in published catalogues, such as the large volume by Ronald W Lightbown on Medieval European Jewellery from the Victoria and Albert Museum.[146] The detailed series of publications from the excavations in London also provide a diverse source of examples of small personal items not usually given much attention.[147]

The types of small finds detailed below are those from a domestic setting and on a personal level, encompassing items of adornment and dress accessories. Many other categories of item deserve detailed discussion, particularly the work tools, but that is beyond the scope of this thesis. Bone is the most under-represented material in the survey of small finds from the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the future publication of the material from excavations in Acre and Apollonia will add greatly to our understanding.

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[145] Davidson, *Corinth*.
[146] Lightbown, *Mediaeval European Jewellery*.
[147] Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*; Egan, *The Medieval Household*; Cowgill, *Knives and Scabbards*; Crowfoot, *Textiles and Clothing*.

2.1.1 The Objects: Jewellery

The most elaborate item of jewellery to emerge from the Crusader period is an incomplete paternoster – a string of ivory beads on a bronze chain with a mother of pearl pendant at one end, found in a grave at Caesarea (Figure 2).[148]

Figure 22: Paternoster, Caesarea. Photo Clara Amit, Courtesy of the IAA.

In Europe paternosters of this type did not become everyday items until the mid-13th century, and as Caesarea was lost to the Crusaders in 1265, this example is most likely to date from not long before the town was conquered by Baybars.[149] The beads along the string or chain of a paternoster were typically grouped into sections, divided by larger or more decorative beads. The number of beads in each group was symbolic and was used as an aide to repeating prayers a certain number of times each day. This is clearly seen in the example from Caesarea, where several of the beads are slightly larger and decorated with incised concentric circles. One section of the chain is intact enough to display ten smaller, plain

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[148] Pers comm. Naama Sukenik, Israel Antiquities Authority.
[149] Lightbown, *Mediaeval European Jewellery*, pp. 342-54.

beads between two larger beads (the latter known as 'gauds' in English or *seigneaulx* in French).[150] The combination of ten beads or 'decades' is seen on other paternosters from this period, but it seems that the number of beads within each group was at the discretion of the owner.[151] An example illustrated in a Flemish book of hours from c.1500 shows groups of ten small red beads separated by larger gold beads.[152] The present form of the rosary only emerged in the second half of the 15th century with 150 beads divided into groups of ten Aves, each associated with one of the fifteen mysteries of the Virgin, and adding a Pater Noster after each ten Aves.[153] The paternoster beads could be worn hanging from a girdle or around the neck or wrist. Surviving examples from Western Europe mostly date to the late 13th and 14th century or later, so the mid-13th century date of this example from Caesarea is unusual. They were perhaps used more commonly by monks before this date and William Rubruck writes in 1253 that the Mongols carried "a string of a hundred or two hundred beads like the rosaries we carry."[154]

The mother of pearl pendant in the form of a cross on the end of the paternoster is seen at other sites in the Kingdom of Jerusalem (see below). The fine bronze chain connecting the beads and the use of ivory for the beads suggests this was an expensive item. In Europe paternosters became a way of displaying wealth and status in society with the owner of this piece bringing the latest religious 'fashion' to the Crusader Kingdom from Western Europe. I have been unable to trace any other partial or complete sets of paternoster

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[150] Lightbown, *Mediaeval European Jewellery*, p. 342.
[151] Lightbown, *Mediaeval European Jewellery*, p. 344; Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, p. 305. A very ornate example with 5 groups of ten beads, known as The Langdale Rosary is in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, Museum number M.30-1934.
[152] Neuchâtel, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire de Neuchâtel, A28 Book of Hours, 15r. http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/bpun/A0028 [Accessed 3 February 2015]
[153] Lightbown, *Mediaeval European Jewellery*, p. 342.
[154] Willem van Ruysbroeck, *The mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, Ch. XXV.2, pp. 153-4.

beads from the Crusader territories, but it is possible that some beads from excavations were once part of such a set.

The mother of pearl pendant at the end of the paternoster has been shaped as a Latin cross with two further crosses incised (one inside the other) in the centre of the face. The arms are pointed at the ends, and there has been further ornamentation with small 'steps' on each arm.

No other mother of pearl items have yet been published from Caesarea, but the use of this material for jewellery is found elsewhere in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The main source of parallels is 'Atlit where a number of mother of pearl pendants were found during excavations by C.N Johns in the 1930s and 40s. From the picture in Johns' publication, and those that the author located in the Rockefeller stores, a total of eight mother of pearl crosses were found at 'Atlit: five are on display in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem and three are now held in the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem.[155] Of those at the Rockefeller, two are in storage and one on display. The first example from the store is in the form of the cross of Lorraine with two or possibly three slim parallel horizontal bars - the upper or middle one longest - on a vertical stem (Figure 3).[156]

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[155] My thanks to Alegre Savalrego of the Israel Antiquities Authority for organising my access to the 'Atlit collection.
[156] 'Atlit, IAA number AT- 47.1334

Figure 3: Mother of pearl pendant, 'Atlit, AT 47.1334

The top of the pendant, where there would have been a loop or hole to allow it to be worn, is missing. On both the front and back there are three shallow 'X's scratched in the centre of the vertical stem at the point where each horizontal arm crosses the vertical. The hole or loop for attaching the pendant to a chain or thread is missing and was possibly broken off the top section of the cross. The other pendant in store is also cross-shaped, but is incomplete with one arm missing. The decoration is similar to the first pendant with lines on each arm.[157]

The cross on display at the Rockefeller is a simple design with the four arms curving out (similar to the cross *pattée* style) and then ending in a point. Of the five on display in the Israel Museum, three are very similar in style and size, with four equal arms in the style of a Greek cross and each arm ending in a point (known as *aiguisé* in heraldry). The cross with four equal arms is a design also seen on the reverse of many Crusader coins and tokens from this period. These initial three crosses have slim arms, 0.5cm wide, with a thicker square section in the centre of the cross. The remaining two on display in the Israel Museum are also

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[157] 'Atlit, AT- 47.1337

Greek crosses with pointed arms, but each arm is thicker at 1cm wide and, like the examples from the Rockefeller Museum, there is an incised X on the face of the pendant at the centre of the cross.

A mother of pearl pendant of similar style to the example from 'Atlit, and on display at the Rockefeller Museum was found in Acre during excavations in 2007 on the site where the Knights Youth Hostel now stands in the North East of the city (Figure 4).[158]

Figure 4: Mother of pearl pendant, Acre. Photo courtesy of Danny Syon, IAA.

Again the four arms of the cross curve out in the cross pattée style, but on this occasion two of the arms end with additional points. The only other ornamentation is a roughly incised cross on one face, consisting of four lines echoing the shape of the edges. I

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[158] pers. comm Danny Syon, IAA.

have not found any published parallels outside the Kingdom of Jerusalem for mother of pearl crosses. A mother of pearl pendant in the shape of a dove was found at Ashkelon dating from the Roman-Byzantine period.[159] Mother of pearl was used extensively for inlays in jewellery and furniture from the Roman period onwards, as evidenced by numerous perforated oyster shells from excavations in London, but there seem to be few surviving examples of whole items worked from the material.[160] The Red Sea was a likely source for the mother of pearl used in the above items, being the closest area of pearl fishing during this period. Port sites such as al-Qulzum, al-Sirrayn and the Dahlak archipelago were all centres of diving in the Red Sea, from where the pearls would be taken to markets including Acre, Alexandria, Damascus and Aleppo to be traded West to Constantinople and Venice.[161] The 14th century Italian, Francisco Pegolotti catalogued the towns and cities where a wide range of commodities could be purchased in *La Practica della Mercatura*, listing the markets in Acre as selling pearls.[162] There has been an industry in Bethlehem since the 16th century carving mother of pearl souvenirs to sell to pilgrims.[163]

Other items of jewellery from 'Atlit include two bronze pendants, one from the Crusader cemetery outside the walls of the faubourg. [164] Both bronze pendants are the same size as those made from shell (2-3cm in diameter), and are stylistically very similar. It may be that the shell examples were mimicking the more expensive bronze examples using a cheaper material that was readily available at the costal sites. The bronze pendant from the cemetery is in the form of a cross with four equal arms, each arm itself ending in three lobes

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[159] MC 66484. My thanks to Dr Dan Masters, Director of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon, for allowing me to include unpublished material from the excavations.
[160] http://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/611183 [Accessed 20 May 2015].
[161] Donkin, *Beyond* Price, pp. 119-21, Map 20. See also Carter, 'The History and Prehistory of Pearling', pp. 139-209.
[162] Pegolotti, *La Practica della Mercatura*, p. 64. For the dating of Pegolotti's manuscript see Jacoby, 'A Venetian Manual', pp. 411-15.
[163] Bagatti, *Gli antichi edifice sacri de Betlemme*, pp. 235-6, Photo 115.
[164] Thompson, 'Death and Burial in the Latin East', Fig. 138.

in the form of a cross, and is 2cm in diameter and 2.5cm in length. The top arm extends

slightly to include the loop through which to thread a cord or chain to enable it to be worn

(Figure 5).[165]

Figure 5: Bronze pendant, 'Atlit, AT 47.1335.

In style and size it is similar to a bronze cross from excavations at Gritille and three

examples from excavations at Corinth dated to the 10th-12th centuries.[166] The second pendant

is slightly larger with a diameter of 3.2cm and is in the form of a cross pattée with each of

the arms ending in three points.

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[165] 'Atlit, AT-47.1335.
[166] Redford, *The Archaeology of the Frontier*, p. 164, 175, Fig 4:5, B. Dating is not given; Davidson, *Corinth*, p. 259, Nos. 2080-3, Plate 110. A simple bronze cross was found in an Ayyubid context during excavations in the Armenian gardens in Jerusalem, Tushingham, *Excavations in Jerusalem*, p. 346, Fig. 731.21

Rings

By far the most common form of jewellery found at Frankish sites in the Kingdom of Jerusalem are finger rings. Four bronze finger rings exist in the 'Atlit collection, two of which were found in the Crusader cemetery outside the walls of the faubourg. Two are plain and both just over 2cm in diameter. A ring from the cemetery is slightly smaller in size but with an incised bezel showing a hexagon containing three lines in a fan shape.[167] It seems that the bezel and hoop were cast in one piece. The closest parallel from Corinth is an example of a type confined to the 11th and 12th centuries.[168] There are no close parallels to this form from Hama, with the nearest example having a narrower bezel and a 'step' in each shoulder. The fourth ring from 'Atlit is broken, but is worth mentioning for its unusual use of a piece of flat, very thin twisted bronze to form the hoop, with a flat incised bezel attached. The incised pattern on the bezel has now faded, but seems to have formed a simple cross.[169] The only other use of twisted metal in a ring from the Frankish period comes from Corinth, but here two pieces of thin metal or wire were twisted to form the ring hoop.[170] A bracelet from Hama is formed of a single piece of twisted bronze.[171]

Five bronze finger rings were found during excavations in Acre in 2007. One small (1.5cm in diameter) gilded ring still has a red stone set within a round bezel on a stirrup shaped hoop, held in place with four short claws.[172] This example is the smallest of those from Acre with an internal diameter of 13mm, so possibly designed for a woman or child. It should be noted however, that modern understanding of size is not necessarily reliable as during the medieval period rings were often worn on the fifth finger and upper finger joints,

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[167] 'Atlit AT 47.1340, AT 47.3197.
[168] Davidson, *Corinth*, p. 246, No. 1969.
[169] 'Atlit AT 40.1106
[170] Davidson, *Corinth*, p. 236, nos. 1843-4. See also an example form Sardis from 14th-15th century in Waldbaum, *Metalwork from Sardis*, p. 132, No. 856
[171] Ploug and Oldenburg, *Hama*, p. 82, Fig. 31.10.
[172] Acre 2007, Reg. No. 3150.

so it cannot be conclusively said that a smaller ring would have been worn by a child.[173] The closest parallel from Corinth is also bronze, with the bezel and hoop cast together, and is dated to the 12th century.[174] At Corinth this form of ring – simple hoop with a small raised bezel begins to appear in the Roman occupation and is not as common during the Frankish period. For the latter, the most frequently occurring type was a ring of flat hoop soldered to a flat round bezel.[175] Another ring is formed of a flat band of gilded bronze which does not quite meet in the round, with slightly flattened terminals.[176] A similar form was found in the medieval layers in Jerusalem.[177]

The remaining three rings from Acre are all of similar design, consisting of a plain circular hoop widening to a flat circular bezel.[178] Extremely similar examples from Corinth have been dated to the 12th century and were one of the most common types in the Frankish period.[179] On one of the bezels an incised circle just in from the edge may mark the setting for a now missing stone. From earlier excavations in Acre (1995), near the Land Gate on Salah al-Din Street, the Frankish period contexts yielded two rings. One is plain and open at the ends as with a former ring from Acre, the other is more ornate with a flat hoop, wider shoulders and an engraved oval bezel similar to the example from 'Atlit, although the linear decoration is far less distinct on the Acre ring. Comparable examples in terms of shape and decoration have been found at Corinth, dating to the 11th and 12th centuries.[180] Two plain silver finger rings from the Frankish phases were found at the Red Tower and one slim

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[173] See the example of the early 15th century tomb effigy of Lady Wykeham at St Mary's church, Broughton, Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, p. 325, Fig. 214. See also the effigy of Emma Pollard in St Michael's Church, Horwood, Devon. http://effigiesandbrasses.com/2319/2196/ [Accessed 16 January 2015].
[174] Davidson, *Corinth*, p. 234. No. 1816.
[175] Davidson, *Corinth*, p. 231.
[176] Acre 2007, Reg. No. 1088.
[177] Tushingham, *Excavations in Jerusalem*, p. 345 Fig. 70:41
[178] Acre 2007, Reg. Nos. 1004, 3094 and 3054.
[179] Davidson, *Corinth*, p. 230.
[180] Davidson, *Corinth*, p. 238, Nos. 1874-5.

copper-alloy example from the 12[181]-century Crusader phase at Belmont Castle.[181] The

example from Belmont is also non-continuous - just touching at the rectangular terminals.[182]

Excavations of the medieval levels at Gritille uncovered a copper alloy ring with a bezel

similar in style to the example from Acre and with the stone attached.[183]

A small, simple bone ring (internal diameter 13mm) was found at the Red Tower in a

13th-century context.[184]

The numerous examples of finger rings from excavations at Corinth demonstrate that

some styles remained in use for several hundred years, spanning the Byzantine and Frankish

occupation of the city. Comparable designs are found at urban sites under both Christian and

Muslim rule, with the distinction that Christian motifs on items such as jewellery are not

found. Examples from the 11th to the 14th century from excavations in Europe show that

many of the basic forms of finger rings were common from Western Europe to the Levant,

and that only a few styles can be associated with more defined geographical areas. This is

demonstrated at Corinth, with a particular combination of large flat round bezel and flat hoop

only occurring from the 11th to the 12th century, and as yet with few parallels.[185] Examples

from Italy include a copper alloy ring with a plain circular bezel, cast as one piece, and very

similar to a ring from the 2007 excavations in Acre.[186] Two more intricate copper alloy rings

were excavated from the 14th century layers of San Potito de Ovindoli in central Italy,

including one formed from two interlocking hands.[187]

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[181] Pringle, *The Red Tower,* p. 162, Fig. 54, Nos. 1 and 2; Grey, 'The Metalwork', p. 131, Fig. 11.1 No. 4.
[182] Grey, 'The Metalwork', p. 131.
[183] Redford, *The Archaeology of the Frontier*, p. 163, Fig. 4.4, D.
[184] Pringle, *The Red Tower*, p. 170.
[185] Davidson, *Corinth*, p. 231-2.
[186] Acre 2007, Reg. No. 3054; Palazzi et al., 'Archaeologia urbana a Finalborgo', pp. 232, Fig. 60.10.
[187] Redi and Maladra, 'S. Potito di Ovindoli', pp. 399-400, Fig. 6.6.

Earrings

Only one earring has been found in the Kingdom of Jerusalem in Frankish contexts - a simple earring consisting of a hoop with a ring at one end. This was found in a 13th-century pit at Ḥorbat 'Uza (Kh.'Ayadiyya), the site of a Frankish farmhouse occupied from the mid-12th to the late 13th century.[188] This form of jewellery was not commonly worn by women or men in the north and west of Europe during this period. This is no doubt partly due to the prevailing fashion in women's hairstyles during the earlier part of the medieval period. Until the 15th century hairstyles tended to take the form of thick coiled plaits on either side of the head and sometimes covered with a silk net, thus obscuring the ears.[189] Veils and other head-coverings were also common, or at least seen as desirable, for most women. Earrings continued to be part of a woman's costume in Byzantium and this influenced their continuing popularity in Southern Italy, Sicily and parts of Eastern Europe, when they had fallen out of favour in much of the West.[190] Similarly, examples uncovered during excavations, and some limited pictorial evidence, demonstrates that earrings were a common item of jewellery across Islamic territories from the early medieval period.[191]

Diadem

An item so far unique in the Kingdom of Jerusalem was found during excavations of a residential area in Acre dating to the 13th century.[192] The two fragments of gilded copper are thought to be part of a coronet or diadem – part of the frame and part of the raised front section (Figure 6).[193]

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[188] Getzov et al., *Horbat 'Uza*, p. 185, Fig. 3.24:14.
[189] Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, p. 291; Lightbown, *Mediaeval European Jewellery*, p. 293-4.
[190] Lightbown, *Mediaeval European Jewellery*, p. 294; Scott, *Medieval Dress*, p. 32
[191] See examples from Nishapur in Iran, Allan, *Nishapur*, p. 31; Hama, Ploug and Oldenburg, *Hama*, p. 84; Byzantine examples from Sardis, Waldbaum, *Metalwork from Sardis*, pp. 122-6 and Corinth, Davidson, *Corinth*, pp. 248-55.
[192] Syon and Tatcher, 'Akko, Ha-Abirim Parking Lot', pp. 13-14, Fig.25.
[193] Acre 1995, Reg. No. 3016

Figure 6: Bronze diadem, Acre. Photo courtesy of Danny Syon, IAA.

The section of frame is 80mm long and 10mm wide, with a decoration of stamped dots running along the top and bottom edges. There are two rivets attached to the strip of frame, with one still having part of a possible fastening or hinge mechanism connecting the frame to a section of ornament on the other side. The surviving front section is 120mm in length and 50mm wide, with a flat base to align with the frame. The top outer edge begins to form a series of arches with the same stamped dots as on the frame and running in two parallel lines around the border of the piece. Any other decoration has now been lost, but two rivet holes near the outer edge indicate where the frame was attached, or perhaps another decorative mount. The wearing of a coronet or diadem of this type is described by the Muslim writer Ibn Jubayr when he witnessed a Christian wedding in Tyre:

> She was most elegantly garbed in a beautiful dress from which trailed, according to their traditional style, a long train of golden silk. On her head she wore a golden diadem covered by a net of woven gold, and on her breast was a like arrangement.[194]

The headwear Ibn Jubayr described was probably a gold *cercle*, a form of *chapel* (simple crown) often worn by women of high status as an ornament, and to hold the hair in place.[195] Similar items can be seen in manuscript illustrations of the period. The woman shown hunting with her hounds in the *Alphonso Psalter* is wearing a *cercle* holding her hairnet and veil in place (Figure 7), and the betrothal portrait of Madelaine of France from the 14th century depicts a very similar object.[196]

Figure 7: Lady hunting with hounds. Alphonso Psalter, London, Add. MS 24686, fol. 13v detail. © British Library Board

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[194] Ibn Jubayr, *Travels*, p. 320.
[195] Goddard, *Women's costume*, pp. 66-9, 83.
[196] *Alphonso Psalter*, England c.1281, British Library, Add. MS 24686, fol.13v; Lightbown, *Mediaeval European Jewellery*, p. 120, Fig. 292.

A comparable item is seen in another manuscript from 1350 showing a women wearing a *cercle* with a plain frame and a raised and ornamented front section.[197] Several of the female figures portrayed on the royal portal at Chartres cathedral from the mid-12th century are shown wearing *cercles* over long veils covering their hair.[198] The wife of Sir Miles Stapleton is also depicted on a monumental brass from 1365 in Ingham church, Norfolk, wearing a *cercle* with diamond-shaped mounts around the frame.[199] The inventory of the possessions of the wealthy Crusader the Count of Nevers on the day he died in Acre in 1266 lists a "chapel d'or à pierres et à pelles."[200] The only surviving head ornaments from the 12th or 13th century in Europe were several head-bands uncovered in Scotland. These were designed to be worn across the forehead rather than in the style of a crown.[201] Inventories and glossaries indicate that the principal jewels for a French or English lady of the 12th century would certainly have included a *cercle* or *chaplet* and they would frequently be worn by a noble bride for her wedding in 13th-century France.[202]

The description of the lengthy train on the bride's dress also suggests that she was wearing the fashions prevalent in Western Europe during the 12th century; the excessive lengths of ladies dresses and trains were frequently being admonished by the clergy.[203] So the scene described by Ibn Jubayr is of a Christian bride dressed in the clothing and jewellery that would be considered the norm and 'in fashion' across much of 12th-century Europe.

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[197] Wagner, *Medieval Costume, Armour and Weapons*, Plate 4:1.
[198] Enlart, *Manuel d'archéologie française*, *p*p. 32-33, Fig. 20,22 and p.178.
[199] Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, p. 292, Fig. 193.
[200] "a circle of gold with pearls and precious stones.", Chazaud, 'Inventaire et comptes', pp. 164-206 ; Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land 1187-1291,* p. 190.
[201] Lightbown, *Mediaeval European Jewellery*, p. 109.
[202] Lightbown, *Mediaeval European Jewellery*, p. 109.
[203] Bourgain, *La chaire français*, p. 303

Bracelets

Finds from excavations at the Crusader church at 'Atlit in 1931 include half of a copper alloy bracelet - oval in shape with flattened terminals. The surviving terminal is decorated with small circular stamps in a geometric pattern.[204] Two bracelets are known from excavations in Acre, both copper alloy, from the Hospitaller compound. One bracelet has the same geometric pattern on the terminal as the 'Atlit example, whilst the other is of a different style formed by twisting two strands of metal together to form a spiral.[205] Similar examples with punched dots on flat terminals have been found at Sardis (dated to the Byzantine period), Yoqne'am (dated to the early Islamic or Crusader period) and Corinth (4th century – Byzantine period).[206] Hama also has a bracelet fragment with terminals identical to the 'Atlit example, which has been dated to the 14th century.[207] Plain copper alloy bracelets with flattened, widened and rounded terminals have also been found at Belmont Castle and dated to the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods.[208] The twisted design is also a common style at sites around the Mediterranean and is found at sites such as Sardis, Corinth and Hama.[209]

Evidence suggests that bracelets had fallen out of favour in most of Europe by the 12th century with the exception of Germanic areas, where bracelets or armlets remained in fashion until the 13th century.[210] No items identified as bracelets or armlets were found during excavations in medieval London or York, with the only two examples from the latter site dating to the pre-conquest period.[211] The production of glass bracelets in Palestine and Egypt

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[204] Atilt, 1931, AT 40:1084
[205] Bracelet with geometric pattern, Acre 1995 H22, Reg. No. 120273, twisted metal Acre H22, Reg. No. 121096/4. Unpublished report.
[206] Sardis, Waldbaum, *Metalwork from Sardis*, p. 127, no. 806; Yoqne'am, Khamis, 'The Metal Objects', p. 228, No. 53, Photos XVIII.27-28; Corinth, Davidson, p. 263 No. 2131-2, Plate 112.
[207] Ploug and Oldenburg, *Hama*, p. 82, Fig. 30.16.
[208] Harper and Pringle, *Belmont Castle*, p. 131, Fig. 11.1, 11 and 12.
[209] Waldbaum, *Metalwork from Sardis*, p. 126, No. 802; Corinth, Davidson, *Corinth*, p. 266, No. 2136-7, Plate 112; Hama, Ploug and Oldenburg, *Hama*, p. 82, Fig. 31.10.
[210] Lighbown, *Mediaeval European Jewellery*, p. 108.
[211] Ottaway and Rogers, *Craft, Industry and Everyday Life*, p. 2928.

is known from the 3rd century onwards, forming part of Islamic material culture well into the Ottoman period. Examples from the period between the 9th and the 13th century are elusive, with few securely dated examples, but the 'golden age' of Islamic glass bracelet production seems to be the 14th and 15th century with intensive production and high quality products.[212]

2.1.2 Dress Accessories

Buckles

Without doubt the most common dress accessory recovered from Frankish contexts in the Kingdom of Jerusalem is the buckle. Examples in copper alloy, iron and bone have been recorded in excavations, although the former remains the most frequent material used. The purpose of a buckle – whether it was used to fasten clothing or as part of equestrian equipment or baggage – is not always easy to distinguish. Generally, copper alloy and bone examples are more likely to have been used with clothing due to the light weight of the material and the size of some of the iron examples support this theory. However, with some of the simpler forms it is difficult to be sure of the original context in which the fastening was used. Some of the items recovered from excavations are too large to have been used to fasten and decorate items of clothing and can be assumed to be part of equestrian equipment or baggage and luggage fastenings.

Bone

In size and style, it is clear that the bone buckles are in part imitating the metal examples of the same period. The mechanical properties of bone tissue were clearly adequate for the task,

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[212] Spaer, 'The Islamic Glass Bracelets of Palestine: p. 56. See also idem, 'The Pre-Islamic Glass Bracelets', pp. 51-61.

although it does tend to perform better under compression rather than tension.[213] Bone buckles are known from the Roman to late medieval period across Western Europe, but their recorded frequency decreases significantly from the early medieval period onwards.[214] There are several examples from the Kingdom of Jerusalem, but I have struggled to find many parallels. This supports the theory that this material was not commonly used for this purpose, but also that the survival of faunal material varies considerably from site to site depending on soil conditions. However, even in large urban sites as far apart as London and Caesarea where the survival of faunal material has been generally very good, few examples of bone buckles have been found – only one example in London and none in Caesarea.[215]

Two complete and eight partial bone buckles, and a bone strap end were found during excavations at 'Atlit. Both of the complete examples are similar in style, with a lipped, oval frame and integral plate with three holes to secure the belt to the buckle (Figure 8).

Figure 8: Bone buckle, 'Atlit. AT 41.96.

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[213] MacGregor, *Bone, Antler, Ivory and Horn*, p. 103.
[214] MacGregor, *Bone, Antler, Ivory and Horn*, p. 103.
[215] For the London example see http://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/Online/object.aspx?objectID=object-356833&start=0&rows=1 dating from the Roman period, 1st C AD. [Accessed 1st December 2014].

Both are 5mm long and 32mm wide. The outside edge of both buckles is 6mm wide and ornamented with three vertical 'ridges' running from top to bottom. One of the buckles is decorated further, with horizontal notches on the ridges of the outside edge and on the vertical edge of the plate (Figure 9).[216] On both examples the bar of the buckle is also bone. One of the incomplete bone buckles, which has snapped in half horizontally, is almost an exact copy of the second complete example and is just slightly longer at 56mm.

Figure 9: Bone buckle, 'Atlit. Rockefeller Museum.

Of the remaining seven incomplete examples from 'Atlit, four are half of simple circular bone frames, with no trace of the pin remaining.[217] All four are very similar in cross section, with one side flat and the other convex in profile. A complete example of this style was found during excavations in Acre in 2007, also with a convex upper side and with a

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[216] Johns, 'Excavations at Pilgrim's Castle 'Atlit (1932)', Plate LX, Fig 2; Brosh, 'Glass and Minor Arts', p. 268, Fig. 3. This buckle is now on display in the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem. The other complete buckle is in the museum stores, AT 41.96.
[217] In Rockefeller stores, AT 40.1023 (2 different items under one number), AT 31-157, AT 31-158

copper alloy pin looped over the frame.[218] A similar bone buckle with iron pin was found in the Rhineland dating from the Roman period.[219]

Another incomplete buckle from 'Atlit is of the same style as the two complete examples, but without the integral plate. The shape of the frame and ridge decoration on the outside edge, where the notch for the pin is location, is identical to the first complete example.[220] An additional style of buckle from 'Atlit seems to have a combined pin and bar, rather than a separate pin that could pivot on the buckle frame. This example has the main frame shaped as a half circle, with the fixed pin at right angles to the frame, and a small hole to attach the buckle to the belt or strap.[221] The final bone buckle from 'Atlit has a rectangular frame with a single bar, but is missing the pin. The notch for the pin to sit in is still visible on the outer edge of the frame, and as with the previous example, a hole on one side of the frame allows the buckle to be attached to the strap.[222]

A single bone buckle (without a plate) was found at Hama from a 14th-century context, largely complete but missing part of the bar which would attach to the belt. Decoration is in the form of incised vertical lines parallel to the base of the pin and diagonal lines across the lip for the pin on the oval frame.[223]

The final bone item of this type at 'Atlit is a bone strap end designed to cover the end of a girdle or some other form of belt.[224] The trapezoidal strap end is formed of one piece of material, 50mm in length, with a slot cut to a depth of 20mm for the strap material to be placed in. The outer side has two round holes for securing the bone to the strap, and at the wider end has the same style of ridge decoration seen on the first complete bone buckle

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[218] Danny Syon, Israel Antiquities Authority, pers. comm.
[219] MacGregor, *Bone, Antler, Ivory and Horn*, p. 104, Fig. 60j.
[220] In Rockefeller stores, AT 30 228/41.172.
[221] In Rockefeller stores, AT 41.54.
[222] In Rockefeller stores, AT 40.1020.
[223] Ploug and Oldenberg, *Hama*, p. 130, Fig.49:1.
[224] Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, p. 20, Fig.10; In Rockefeller stores, AT41.173/30-229.

described above. Indeed, the styles of both are so similar that it could be suggested that they were part of the same 'set'.

Copper-alloy

The copper alloy buckles can be divided into four broad types: a simple annular frame, a D-shaped frame, a frame with knops, and a rectangular frame. There are a few examples described which do not fit into the main four groupings, but they tend to be only one example of a certain style.

The first group consists of a simple circular/annular frame with a pin: the pin is usually attached by looping over the frame. It should be noted that the following discussion will categorise all annular frames as buckles rather than brooches, unless there is clear evidence of a frame having a constriction or hole for the pin.[225] Only one annular copper alloy buckle from 'Atlit could possibly be used a brooch as the pin is held under the frame.[226]

A well-preserved and complete example of this first type survives from 'Atlit and is 45mm in diameter with an oval cross section of the frame.[227] The pin is plain apart from a thin ridge across its width where the loop crosses the frame, and it tapers to a point at its end. Two other copper alloy examples of the same form from 'Atlit are much smaller in size (10-12mm in diameter) and are more delicate in style with very slender pins.[228] A slightly larger buckle (16mm in diameter) in the same style is made of iron.[229] Iron and copper alloy buckles of the same size and style were found during excavations in London still attached to leather

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[225] Ottaway and Rogers, *Craft, Industry and Everyday Life*, p. 2886; Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, pp. 64-5.
[226] Reg No. 3101/1.
[227] Rockefeller stores, AT 47.1330.
[228] Rockefeller stores, AT 40.1124, AT 40.1065. Johns, 'Excavations at Pilgrims Castle ''Atlit' (1932-3)', p. 50, Fig. 16.4. It is not clear from the illustration in Johns' article which of the two buckles is illustrated. Not all items in the stores have their original labels detailing the year of excavation still attached, and the IAA registration numbers have replaced the original excavation number so it is not always clear in which excavation season each item was found.
[229] Rockefeller stores, AT 47.1339.

shoes, so it is quite possible that this was the use for this style in 'Atlit.[230] A final complete annular buckle from 'Atlit is in silver (20mm in diameter) with a thin rectangular cross section and a pin looped over the frame.[231]

A small copper alloy buckle of a very similar size to those found at 'Atlit was found during excavations in Acre in 1995 from a 13th-century residential area and is 13mm in diameter and with an oval cross section.[232] Four other copper alloy buckles from nearby excavations in 2007 are also no more than 20mm in diameter.[233] Three of the latter examples are gilded, so were very likely designed to be visible when in use.

A copper alloy buckle with a circular frame was found at Acre with a plate attached.[234] The plate appears to be one piece of metal, which has been wrapped around the frame with two holes for rivets and a gap on the frame where the (now missing) pin would be attached. There is a very small notch on the far side of the frame where the pin could rest. Similar examples from Corinth date to the Byzantine period or later.[235]

This simplest form of buckle is found in a range of contexts, materials and time periods in the Levant, from a copper alloy example from the Byzantine period at Corinth to the Islamic period at Ascalon, to iron examples from a post-medieval context in Jerusalem.[236] Iron examples were also found at Gritille dating from the 12th to the 13th century, Acre, the Red Tower and Horbat 'Uza.[237] Due to its simplicity it is not surprising that the circular form continued to be a common buckle style in Western Europe throughout the medieval period

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[230] Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, pp. 60-2.
[231] Rockefeller stores, AT 47.13440
[232] Acre 1995, Reg No. 3358.
[233] Acre 2007, Reg No. 3172 (gilded), 2075 (gilded), 3052 (gilded) and 3080.
[234] Acre 2007, Reg. no. 1100.
[235] Davidson, *Corinth*, p. 275, Plate 115, 2238-9.
[236] Corinth: Davidson, *Corinth*, p. 273, Plate 115. 2222; Ascalon, 1985, Grid 38, MC 462; Tushingham, *Excavations in Jerusalem*, p. 425, Fig. 73.31.
[237] Redford, *The Archaeology of the Frontier*, p. 163, Fig. 4:4A; Acre 2007, Reg. No. 1097, 2029; The Red Tower, Pringle, *The Red Tower*, p. 165, Fig. 56.15; Horbat 'Uza, Getzov, et al. *Horbat 'Uza*, p. 187. Fig. 3.42:19.

with examples from London being found in contexts dating from the 12th to the 5th century.[238] Examples of this simple style can also been seen from Italy and France, dating to the 14th century.[239]

The second group of buckles from the Kingdom of Jerusalem are D-shaped in style; found with a frame of a similar thickness all the way round, and with a wider outer edge or lip where the pin sits.

From 'Atlit there are four very similar D-shaped buckles, all missing pins, 25-50mm in diameter, with triangular and rectangular cross sections.[240] Three gilded examples of this type, slightly trapezoidal in the frame shape, were found during excavations at Acre in 2007. They are all square in cross section, with the curve of the D flattened, and two are missing pins.[241] From the Hospitaller complex in Acre three complete copper alloy D-shaped buckles were found, one with gilding and one with an iron pin (Figure 10).[242]

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[238] Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, p. 22.
[239] Italy, Redi, 'S. Potito di Ovindoli', p. 399, Fig. 6.1; France, Ballarin, 'L'habitat de Naux', Fig. 30.m26.
[240] Johns, 'Excavations at Pilgims Castle, 'Atlit (1932-33)', p. 166, Plate LX Fig. 16. Rockefeller stores, AT 40.1072, AT 40.1029, AT 40.1028, AT 40.1195
[241] Acre 1995, Area F, Reg No. 3459/A and 3396. Unpublished catalogue; Acre 2007, Reg No. 1022.
[242] Acre Hospitaller complex, Reg. No. 130750/1, 121188/8 and 120655/9.

Figure 10: Gilded buckle, Acre. Reg No. 1033. Photo courtesy of Danny Syon IAA.

This type was also found in copper alloy at Caesarea and Montfort with the latter including an example with a plate containing three holes for rivets.[243] At Hama a buckle of this type, again with square cross section and flattened curve with an iron pin is dated to the 13th century or earlier.[244] In Corinth examples of this type were also found in contexts of the 13th century or earlier.[245] D-shaped buckles in copper alloy and iron were found in the Crusader phase of Belmont castle.[246]

As with the first type of buckle from the Kingdom of Jerusalem the D-shaped frame is a form which is found in the Crusader's homelands in Western Europe. Excavations in London and York have yielded copper alloy and iron examples from the 12th to the 15th

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[243] Caesarea, Brosh, 'Glass and Minor Arts', p. 269, Fig. 4; Montfort, Dean, 'A Crusaders Fortress', p. 37, Fig. 53, G and H.
[244] Ploug and Oldenberg, *Hama*, p. 81, Fig. 31.8.
[245] Davidson, *Corinth*, p. 274 Plate 115. 2229, 2230-1.
[246] Grey, 'The Metalwork', p. 131, Fig. 11.1.16 and 20.

centuries.[247] An iron D-shaped buckle, complete with pin and part of the plate, was also found in a medieval context in Ploulec'h, Brittany.[248]

A sub-type of this style is of buckles with a wider lip, as seen in one example from 'Atlit, which has a lip almost 10mm in depth.[249] 'Atlit and Acre have another variation of the D-shape in copper alloy: smaller but with an elongated curve, and thickening at the point where the pin rests in a small notch.[250] Both examples are 20mm in length with the Acre example having traces of gilding on the upper surface.

The third group is a particular style of copper alloy buckle that is found in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, but not widely paralleled in other areas of the Eastern Mediterranean. This style, of an ornate oval frame (found both with and without a plate), features an offset and narrowed bar and a thickened outside edge moulded to form knops protruding at each side of the curve.

From excavations in Acre in 1995 three examples of this type were found in 13th century contexts, two with plates and one without. Of the two examples with plates, one buckle was cast with the plate in one piece, whereas the other had the plate wrapped over the bar with two holes for rivets.[251] The former was likely to have been the same length as the latter originally (32mm), but has had the bottom broken at some point. The example without a plate is incomplete, with part of the frame missing, and is a rather crude example of the

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[247] London, Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, p. 90, Fig. 56.397; York, Ottaway and Rogers, *Craft, Industry and Everyday Life*, p. 2888, Fig. 1466.14304.
[248] Durham, 'Les petits objets', p. 131, Fig. 115.2.135
[249] 'Atlit, AT 40.1073.
[250] 'Atlit, Rockefeller stores, AT 40.1067; Acre, unpublished catalogue, Reg. No. 1229/B.
[251] Acre 1995, Reg. No. 4345/A, 1346.

type.[252] All three have the characteristic protruding knops, and notches on the outside edge where the pin would sit. None of these examples was gilded.

Two more of this type were found in the 2007 excavations, both gilded and cast with their plates as one piece. One example has the common, simple rectangular plate with two rivets still in place and the distinctive thickened outer edge with two knops protruding either side of the frame.[253] This example is a similar size to the previous Acre buckles of this type, being 33mm in length. The other example has a more ornate plate, with an almost trefoil-shaped outline and with two rivet holes, one with the rivet still in place (Figure 11).[254]

Figure 11: Gilded buckle, Acre. Reg No. 3052. Photo courtesy of Danny Syon IAA.

One last example from Acre was excavated in the Hospitaller compound and has the characteristic frame with two knops protruding horizontally. The buckle was again gilded, and cast as one with a rectangular plate, with an incised square with internal diagonal lines for decoration (Figure 12).[255]

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[252] Acre 1995, Reg. No. 3380.
[253] Acre 2007, Reg. No. 3084.
[254] Acre 2007, Reg. No. 3052.
[255] Acre, Hospitaller compound, Reg. No. 130449/6.
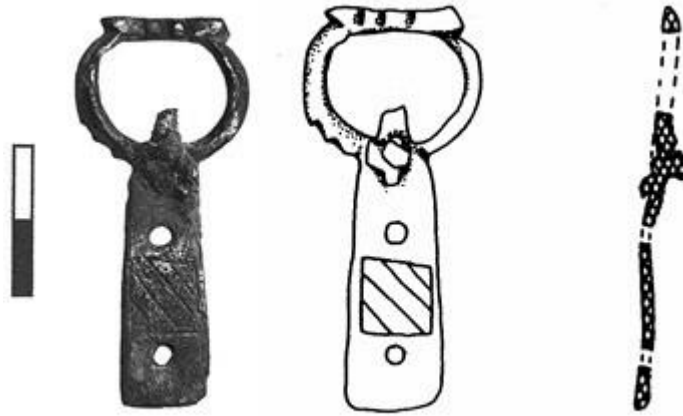
Figure 12: Gilded buckle, Acre. Reg no. 130449/6. Photo courtesy of Danny Syon IAA.

Four examples of this type in copper alloy were found at 'Atlit during excavations in the faubourg and the stables: two without plates from the former site, and two from the latter, one with a plate and one without. The example with a plate from the stables is between 30-40mm in length with a rectangular plate with two rivet holes and an iron pin. The frame is typical of this type with an offset bar and thickened outer edge and ornamented by two knops protruding from the curve of the frame.[256] A very similar frame, without a plate or pin, was also found at the stables.[257] The frame is slimmer on the latter buckle, but with the same offset, narrowed bar and protruding knops. It is distinguished by the addition of what appears to be a sheet roller wrapped around the outside edge, between the protruding knops, designed to reduce chaffing on the strap and to facilitate tightening.[258] The two examples from excavations in the faubourg of 'Atlit mirror the examples from the stables. One with a rectangular plate, this time with five holes for rivets, again has the offset bar and sheet roller

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[256] Johns, 'Excavations at Pilgrims Castle, ''Atlit (1932-33)', p. 50, Fig. 16.2; Brosh, 'Glass and Minor Arts', p. 268, Fig. 3.
[257] Johns, 'Excavations at Pilgrims Castle, ''Atlit (1932-33)', p. 50, Fig. 16.1; Brosh, 'Glass and Minor Arts', p. 269, Fig. 3.
[258] Discussion of this feature can be found in Ottaway and Rogers, *Craft, Industry and Everyday Life*, p. 2889.

between the protruding knops.[259] The final example is without a plate, but has four pronounced knops along the outside edge of the frame with the outer two having further decoration with diagonal notches (Figure 13).[260]

Figure 13: Copper alloy buckle, 'Atlit. Brosh, 'Glass and Minor Arts', Fig. 3.

One example of the 'roller' sub-type was found from the Crusader period at Caesarea, this time with decoration on the sheet roller. The frame is larger than other examples, over 50mm long, and has been decorated with plain lines along the edge.[261] An example in iron was found at Montfort without a plate or pin, but with two large protruding knops either side of the strap roller.[262]

This style is found widely in Western Europe in contexts dating from the 12th century onwards. Examples can be found from the 13th century from Dunwich[263], Turin[264] and London. From Thérouanne, Northern France, an example with four knops across the front of

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[259] Johns, 'Excavations at Pilgrims Castle, ''Atlit', p.167, Plate LX, Fig. 1.
[260] Johns, 'Excavations at Pilgrims Castle, ''Atlit', p.167, Plate LX, Fig. 1; Brosh, 'Glass and Minor Arts', p. 268, Fig. 3.
[261] Brosh, 'Glass and Minor Arts', p. 269, Fig. 4.
[262] Dean, 'A Crusaders Fortress', p. 37, Fig. 53.I.
[263] Fingerlin, *Gürtel des hohen*, p. 67, No. 62.
[264] Fingerlin, *Gürtel des hohen*, p. 69, No. 67.

the frame is dated to the 13[265]th century. Another buckle with two knops and a plate was found in a 14th century context at Lot-et-Garonne in France.[266] Two examples from the 13th and 14th centuries with a plate still attached survive from excavations in Liège, Belgium, and are very similar to the buckle and plate from the stables at 'Atlit, with five rivets on the plate and an offset bar.[267] A further example with two knops and integral plate, dated to the 13th century, was uncovered during excavations at Casalbordino on the East coast of Italy.[268] Several buckles with a roller bar, in addition to the knopped frame (as in the above examples from ''Atlit and Caesarea), have been found in London[269] and Haute-Savoie.[270]

No examples of this type survive from the excavations at Hama, Gritille, Ramla or Sardis. Excavations at Corinth revealed one example of this type, which was dated to the Byzantine period or later.[271] The buckle was missing the pin but has the thick outer edge and protrusions of this type, and has a trefoil shaped plate with one rivet hole.

It has been suggested that buckles of this type were used to fasten armour in the medieval period, as seen in an example from the 13th century in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[272] However, there is little definitive evidence to support this and the style can be seen in use in other contexts, such as fastening the girdle on the tomb effigy of Berengaria of Navarre, queen of Richard I from the cathedral of St Julian in Le Mans, France.[273] It seems more likely that the size of the buckle would be more important than a particular style for armour fastenings; illustrations collected from Bohemia from 14th and 15th century manuscripts depict a variety of styles and sizes used in this context.[274] The buckles depicted

[265] Enlart, *Manuel d'archéologie*, p. 276, Fig. 291; Fingerlin, *Gürtel des hohen*, p. 67, No. 59.
[266] Ballarin, 'L'habitat de Noux', Fig. 29.m3.
[267] Fingerlin, *Gürtel des hohen*, p. 66, No. 55. and p. 69, No. 72.
[268] Tulipani, 'Un esempio di continuità', Fig, 9.15.
[269] Fingerlin, *Gürtel des hohen*, p. 71, Nos. 73: Egan and Prichard, *Dress Accessories*, p. 76, Fig. 46:317.
[270] Fingerlin, *Gürtel des hohen*, p. 71, No. 74.
[271] Davidson, *Corinth*, p. 274, No. 2240, Plate 115.
[272] Dean, 'Buckles Which Belonged to Ancient Armor', p. 61, Fig. F.
[273] Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, p. 20, Fig. 10.
[274] Wagner et al, *Medieval Costume*, Plates 76, 79 and 81.

on effigies for fastening armour are invariably plain and without the distinctive knops characteristic of this style.[275]

A fourth stylistic group, with rectangular frames, are found far less frequently. One example in bone was found at 'Atlit 30mm in length, with a central bar.[276] The pin is missing and the frame has a circular hole where the buckle was attached to the strap. A copper alloy example survives from Acre with one simple rectangular buckle from excavations in 2007, 25mm in length and with only a fragment of the pin surviving.[277] A buckle from Caesarea has a square/slightly trapezoidal frame, but its outside edge is made up of four knobs where the pin would have fallen.[278] An almost identical example was found at Corinth, where it was dated to the Byzantine period or later.[279] A style of buckle which appears in copper alloy during the Crusader period at Yoqne'am and Horbat 'Uza is an oval frame with wide, arc-shaped sides and thinner parallel bars.[280] An almost identical example from Hama is from a context dated to the 14th century or earlier.[281]

A final group comprises individual examples of particular styles that are not easily paralleled on other sites in the Crusader states. An unusual example from Acre is a square cross buckle formed of folded metal to create the central outline of a cross inside the frame.[282]

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[275] Stothard, *The Monumental Effigies*, p. 57, 91.
[276] Rockefeller stores, AT 40.1020.
[277] Acre, 2007 Reg. No. 3084.
[278] Brosh, 'The Minor Arts', p. 269. Fig. 4.
[279] Davidson, *Corinth*, p. 274, No. 2242, Plate 115.
[280] Khamis, 'The Metal Objects', p. 230, Photo XVIII.36. No. 67; Horbat Uza, Getzov, et al., *Horbat 'Uza*, p. 186, Fig. 3.42.18
[281] Ploug and Oldenberg, *Hama*, p. 84, Fig. 31.14.
[282] Acre 1995, unpublished report.

It seems the pin would have sat along the arms of the cross. The frame may have had a plate originally and is a small piece at only 20mm in diameter. Another example has two frames, one circular and one D-shaped, joined by an integral plate and an overall length of 55mm.[283] This form suggests that it was possibly part of a fastening that would be hooked into an accompanying loop rather than a standard buckle. Examples of this type and size from London, with two loops and an integral plate between, date to the 13th and 14th centuries and are thought to have been used on horse equipment.[284] However, the key difference with the Acre example is the lack of an obvious place for a pin as in a traditional buckle arrangement.

Several examples survive of plates with floral motifs as decoration. Two examples from Acre were excavated from Crusader architectural complexes from the 13th century, both made from gilded copper alloy.[285] The first example (55mm in length) has a simple oval frame, cast as one with the plate, which has a floral motif cut into the circular inside edge of the plate (Figure 14).[286]

Figure 14: Buckle, Acre. Reg No. 4222. Photo courtesy of Danny Syon IAA.

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[283] Acre, 1995, Reg. No. 4265.
[284] Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, p. 109.
[285] Acre 1995, Reg. No. 4222, 3120/1.
[286] Reg. No. 4222.

The second example is a similar size, but has a D-shaped frame, with two knops protruding on the outside edge. The plate has also been cast with the frame, with the former ending in the shape of a flower. A similar example from Corinth was dated to the Byzantine period or later.[287] A buckle plate from the 14th century in London has a similar floral 'cut-out' in a circular plate as the first example from Acre.[288]

Strap ends and belt fittings

Alongside the numerous buckles excavated from Crusader contexts in the kingdom of Jerusalem, there are many examples of strap ends and other types of belt and girdle fittings or mounts. These mounts were designed to be attached to leather or fabric, usually - although not exclusively - belts and girdles.

One form is the 'bar' mount, usually attached transversely in a row on the belt and typically with a width of 10mm or less.[289] This can be seen in the effigy of a knight in the Temple Church in London.[290] From 'Atlit there are four copper alloy bar mounts, three with terminal and central lobes and one of a simple rectangular style with evidence of gilding on the surface.[291] Two of the lobbed bars are plain, with flat profiles, but the third has a convex profile with thin horizontal grooves along its length (Figure 15).

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[287] Davidson, *Corinth*, p. 274, No. 2240, Plate 115.
[288] *London Museum Medieval Catalogue*, p. 269, Plate LXXV.12.
[289] Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, p. 209.
[290] Stothard, *The Monumental Effigies*, p. 18.
[291] 'Atlit, AT 40.1198, AT 40.497, AT 40.1059.
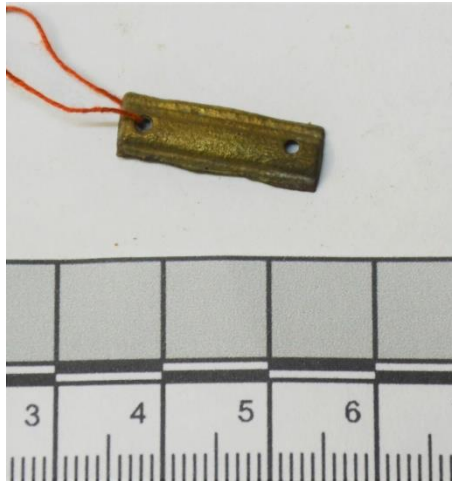
Figure 15: Bar mount, 'Atlit. AT 40.1059.

The 'Atlit examples are identical to those depicted on girdle of Isabel d'Angoulême, the third wife of King John, in Fontevraud.[292] Twenty-five parallel examples of this style of mount were found, together with an ornate silver buckle and plate in Esztergom in Hungary, dated to the 13th century.[293] Excavations in London, York, and the Templar Preceptory at South Witham have also produced this style of bar mount in contexts from the 12th to the 15th century.[294]

Another style of belt or girdle mount found in the Kingdom of Jerusalem is represented by simple quatrefoil or cinquefoil mounts with integral rivets. Ten copper alloy examples of this type have been found in Crusader layers during excavations at Acre between 1995 and 2007 (Figure 16).[295]

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[292] Stothard, *The Monumental Effigies*, p. 18.
[293] Fingerlin, *Gürtel des hohen*, p. 59, No. 41.
[294] London, Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, p. 214, Fig. 134: 1154-7; York, Ottaway and Rogers, *Craft, Industry and Everyday Life*, p. 2908, Fig. 1480: 14437; South Witham, Mayes, *Excavations at a Templar Preceptory*, p. 107, Fig. 7.10:124.
[295] Acre 2007, Reg. No. 2023, 1076, 1113, 1187, 1097; Acre 1995, Reg. No. 3413, 4365, 3120/2; Acre, Hospitaller Complex, Reg. No. 131040, 120406.

Figure 16: Quatrefoil mount, Acre. Reg No. 1113. Photo courtesy Danny Syon IAA.

Four of the mounts have evidence of gilding on the surface. Acre also produced a gilded copper alloy mount in the shape of the fleur-de-lis with one rivet hole (Figure 17).[296]

Figure 17: Fleur-de-lis mount, Acre. Reg No. 1141. Photo courtesy of Danny Syon IAA.

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[296] Acre 2007, Reg. No. 1141

A similar gilded copper alloy mount was found in an early 15th-century context at York.[297] Seven complete mounts with six petals, similar in style to the cinquefoil mounts above, were found in a 13th century context in Casalbordino in Italy.[298]

Several flat mounts without rivet holes have been uncovered and these may have been sewn on to clothing or attached to other items such as furniture. From Acre a rectangular, cast copper alloy mount, 50mm in length and 15mm in width, depicts two lions passant facing away from each other with a fleur-de-lis in the centre (Figure 18).[299]

Figure 18: Lion mount, Acre. Reg No. 1163/a. Photo courtesy Danny Syon IAA.

They are surrounded by small floral motifs and enclosed within a plain border. The fleur-de-lis seen on the strap mount is of the same type as found on the arms of the kings of France from the time of Louis VII onward: three separate leaves held together by a band. This version of the fleur-de-lis can be considered the definitive heraldic form, which is

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[297] Ottaway and Rogers, *Craft, Industry and Everyday Life*, p. 2909, Fig. 1481.
[298] Tulipani, 'Un esempio di continuità', Fig. 9.16.
[299] Acre 1995, Reg. No. 1163/a

believed to have reached Western heraldry from the Muslim East.[300] This 'separated leaf' type is seen in pre-heraldic contexts on ceramics from Fustat and on Egyptian seal cylinder of Ramses III.[301] It first appears as an Islamic heraldic device as the blazon of Nūr al-dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangi in the mid-12th century over the miḥrab of his madrasa in Damascus and in the mosque in Hims.[302] This 'separated leaf' form is distinct from the type known in pre-heraldic Europe - the latter characterised by the three leaves appearing to spring from one stem. The mount was found in a context dated to the 13th century in Acre by which point the association with the French monarchy was established. A similar style mount in lead, with a lion passant was found in London, although from an un-stratified context.[303]

Two flat square mounts from Caesarea and dated to the 13th century each have four rivet holes for attaching them to cloth or leather. One has a spiralling design formed of small punched dots, the other a shield showing a lion rampant within a circular frame.[304] Another square mount from Acre is decorated with four quatrefoil designs (one in each corner) with a stippled patter in the centre. [305] A delicate buckle plate from 'Atlit is 22mm in length and 15mm in height with two quatrefoil cut-outs, each surrounded by four rivet holes. The plate also has an incised linear border and diamond-shape at the base.[306]

Stylistically, the buckles from Frankish contexts in the Kingdom of Jerusalem are closely related to parallel developments in Western Europe, particularly the third type, which is not seen elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean. Examples from Islamic sites of the same period show buckles with much more ornate plates, often featuring geometric designs and

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[300] Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 616
[301] Mayer, *Saracenic heraldry*, p. 24.
[302] Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, p. 22.
[303] Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, p. 239, Fig. 152: 1287.
[304] Brosh, 'Glass and Minor Arts', p. 268, Fig. 3.
[305] Acre 1995, Reg. No. 2442
[306] 'Atlit, AT 40.1203

outlines reflecting the styles seen in Islamic art.[307] The buckle frames from these sites are often 'flared' at the base, unlike the rectangular Western examples, and have a 'heart' shaped outer frame.

Bells

A less common dress accessory are bells, which were often sewn on to clothes as ornamentation, sometimes suspended from a belt or girdle.[308] Two copper alloy bells from Acre are of the 'rumbler' style with a closed mouth and a metal pea inside, rather than open with a fixed clapper (Figure 19).[309]

Figure 19: Bell, Acre. Reg No. 3090. Photo courtesy of Danny Syon IAA.

Both bells have come apart around the diameter, where the two halves were originally soldered together. Bells of this type have been found in 13th-century contexts in London and

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[307] Ploug and Oldenberg, *Hama*, p. 87, Fig. 32.6; Waldbaum, *Metalwork from Sardis*, Plate 44.
[308] Hinton, *Gold & Gilt, Pots & Pins*, p. 227; Wagner et al, *Medieval Costume*, Plate 7; Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, p. 336.
[309] Acre 1995, Reg. No. 3229 and 2007, Reg. No. 3090.

York.[310] No other examples are yet known from the Levant, but very similar bells have been found further east at Nishapur.[311]

Buttons

A number of buttons have been found in Frankish contexts during excavations. There are at least fifteen copper alloy buttons from 'Atlit: all are either completely spherical, or spherical in the top half and flat on the bottom. They have been either cast in two pieces with a horizontal join around the circumference, or cast solid in one piece. All the buttons have a loop at the top for attachment to the garment. The largest of the examples is from 'Atlit and is 10mm in diameter and has possible traces of gilding on its surface. The remaining buttons are smaller, only 5mm in diameter, but all in the same style.[312]

Excavations in Acre in 1995 uncovered eighteen buttons identical in size and style to the examples from 'Atlit (Figure 20).[313]

Figure 20: Buttons, Acre. Photo courtesy of Danny Syon IAA.

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[310] London, Egan and Prichard, *Dress Accessories*, p. 338, Fig. 221:1645; York, Ottaway and Rogers, *Craft, Industry and Everyday Life*, p. 2947, Fig. 1515.
[311] Allen, *Nishapur*, p. 27, 60, Catalogue No. 3,4 and 5.
[312] 'Atlit, Rockefeller stores, AT 41.152 (12 buttons in a small matchbox and filed as one number), AT 40.1123 (3 buttons incorrectly described as 'tacks').
[313] Acre 1995, No registration number given.

The Acre buttons appear to have all been cast in one piece, and one is silver plated.[314] York has copper alloy buttons from a 13th-century context which are very similar in style to those from 'Atlit.[315] Four spherical buttons dated to the late 13th century were found during excavations at two Italian sites, three at Finalborgo, and another example from Garfagnana.[316]

In continental Europe this form of fastening was not used in everyday dress until the 13th century, but in the East it was certainly part of pre-Islamic Arab dress and buttons are known to have been part of Roman and Byzantine costume. In 850 the Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil issued an edict that all *dhimmīs* - Christians, Jews and Zoroastrians - be compelled to attach two buttons to their *qalansuwa* (high, mitre-like hat) to identify themselves.[317] The earliest examples from Germany are dated to the 1230s and in excavations in London buttons do not occur in any number until the latter half of the 13th century.[318] Buttons can be seen on the clothing of the mourners depicted on the tomb of Sir Roger de Kerdeston in Reepham parish church, Norfolk, from the early 14th century. Here lines of small, spherical buttons are shown on the seam of the lower sleeves of the women's dresses, down the front of the bodice, and on the edge of a hip-length cloak worn by a male mourner.[319] Buttons are seen on the ends of sleeves in one of the finest manuscripts produced in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the *Histoire Universelle*, from Acre c.1286.[320]

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[314] Unpublished catalogue.
[315] Ottaway and Rogers, *Craft, Industry and Everyday Life*, p. 2918, Fig. 1491: 14452-3.
[316] Finalborgo, Palazzi, 'Archeologia urbana al Finalborgo', p. 232, Fig. 60.7; Garfagnana, Ciampoltrini, 'Un villaggio trecentesco', p. 183, Fig. 10.16.
[317] Stillman, *Arab Dress*, p. 52.
[318] Twelve copper alloy examples were found dating to this period. Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, p. 272, 279.
[319] Stothard, *The Monumental Effigies*, p. 54.
[320] *Histoire Universelle,* Acre, c.1286: London, British Library, Add. MS 15268, fol. 48r.

The items categorised as buttons from Corinth are quite different in style from those from the Kingdom of Jerusalem.[321] Most are similar in shape to spindle whorls and there are no examples of the small spherical type seen at Acre and 'Atlit, or indeed in Europe. Hama also lacks the type of buttons seen at Acre and 'Atlit; the few examples being closer in style to the flat circular buttons from Corinth and Islamic-period Ramla.[322] Sardis offers close parallels to Acre and 'Atlit in form and size, dated to the 14th century, but the items have been categorised as beads rather than buttons.[323]

Pins

The final category of personal items dated to the Crusader period in the Kingdom of Jerusalem are pins, usually used to fasten clothing or secure a woman's hairstyle or veil. Very few pins have been found in Frankish contexts. Two plain copper alloy pins were found at 'Atlit, one 150mm in length and the other 200mm. Both are round in section, with no discernible decoration.[324] One bronze pin was found at Yoqne'am, round in section, with a moulded upper section in the shape of a bead.[325]

The only other style of pin so far excavated from Frankish contexts is that with a plain rounded shaft, topped by a small figure of a stylised bird in profile. This particular form is very well known from Islamic contexts, but is not widely found outside the Eastern Mediterranean. One example was found at 'Atlit, now 60mm in length, but missing the bottom section of the shaft (Figure 21).[326]

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[321] Davidson, *Corinth*, pp. 296-304.
[322] Hama, Ploug and Oldenburg, *Hama*, p. 85; Ramla, Khamis, 'The Metal Artifacts', p. 283.
[323] Waldbaum, *Metalwork from Sardis*, p. 126, Plate 46: 762-783. Several of the objects classes as 'buttons' from Sardis are probably mounts for leather or fabric rather than fastenings.
[324] 'Atlit, AT 40.1074 and 40.1129
[325] Khamis, 'The Metal Objects', p. 225, Fig. XVIII.5.7
[326] 'Atlit, AT 40.1181

Figure 21: Bird pin, 'Atlit. AT 40.1181.

A similar object was found during excavations in Acre in 1995, although due to its

larger size (50mm in height) this may well be designed to be an ornamental mount rather than

something for personal use.[327] The Acre example is more three-dimensional in style. Seven

pins, each with a bird head have been found at Hama, ranging in date from the 11th to the 14th

century.[328] Two pins heads in the shape of birds were found in the Ayyubid layers of

excavations in Jerusalem.[329] One example of this style survives from Corinth, but has been

dated to the 5th century.[330] This style of pin has been found across the Eastern Islamic world,

with numerous examples from sites including Nishapur and Qazvin in Iran and Begram in

Afghanistan spanning the 8th to 13th centuries and all featuring a stylised bird of some

form.[331] The stylised birds were sometimes used as mounts on jugs or other bronze vessels

during this period and it is possible that the Acre example was used in this way.[332] Parallels

from other sites make it clear that this style of pin and mount was mainly associated with

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[327] Acre, 1995, Reg. No. 3385.

[328] Ploug and Oldenberg, *Hama*, p. 73, fig. 28.

[329] Tushingham, *Excavations in Jerusalem*, Fig. 72.3 and 71.32.

[330] Davidson, *Corinth*, p. 283, No. 2290.

[331] Nishapur, Allen, *Nishapur*, p. 32, Figs. 68-71; Qazvin, British Museum Collection 1909, 0216.52; Begram, British Museum Collection 1880.3681.j and many other examples from the same site.

[332] See for example, Ziffler, *Islamic Metalwork*, p. 88, Fig. 66 and Férvàri, *Islamic Metalwork*, Plates 41-46.

Eastern Islamic contexts during this period. The numbers that occur within Frankish contexts are too small to draw detailed conclusions.

Cosmetic Implements

Cosmetic implements are a fairly common find on sites around the Mediterranean from most eras and Frankish sites are no exception. Usually formed of a slim shaft, which is often decorated, these implements usually have one end flattened into a spatula or spoon and the other left as a rounded stick. They could be used for mixing and applying cosmetics such as khol, or for personal grooming such as cleaning ears and teeth. The multipurpose nature of the form has led to varying interpretations for the function of certain styles. For example, those with one end flattened into a spatula have been variously categorised at different sites as writing styli, medical implements or cosmetic tools.

Three copper alloy items from 'Atlit can be classed as cosmetic implements, two with simple rounded terminals and geometric decoration, and a third with one end flattened into a spatula. The first example from 'Atlit is now broken into three fragments, originally approximately 150mm in length, with a slightly flattened section half way down the shaft that has been decorated with three incised lines.[333] This seems likely to have the function as a place to hold the stick whilst in use. Both terminals are rounded smoothly and are 4mm in diameter. The second stick is complete (90mm in length) with one end of the shaft rounded and the other terminating in a rectangular head with simple geometric patterns cut into the shaft.[334] The final cosmetic implement from 'Atlit is shorter than the others, at only 60mm in length, but it is possible the end section is missing.[335] The top of the circular shaft has been

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[333] 'Atlit, AT 40.1130.
[334] 'Atlit, AT 47.3198/1.
[335] 'Atlit, AT 47.1345.

flattened into a stylus below which is a simple moulded decoration of a stylised knot between two ridges.

Excavations at the Hospitaller compound in Acre revealed two bronze cosmetic sticks, very similar in style to the first two examples from 'Atlit. The two sticks from the Hospitaller compound both feature the same simple rounded terminal at one end, with a more decorative element at the other.[336] At least one of the sticks from Acre is incomplete, which would mean the decorative element was in the middle of the shaft rather than at one end. Both decorations are similar, with three moulded squared-off beads in a row.

Three more cosmetic sticks were found in Frankish layers in Acre excavations in 1995, two complete and one partial. The two complete examples are both 150mm in length, with the two terminals slightly tapered and rounded, and a small decorative element in the middle of the shaft.[337] One of the sticks has a central decoration of a small bead between two slim ridges and the other has been moulded to depict a twist in the metal. The third example is largely plain, but one end of the shaft is slightly thicker with marks suggesting a section of decoration similar to the other examples that have now broken off.[338]

One final example from Acre was found during excavations in 2007. This implement is missing one end and is square in section with the remaining end flattened into a spatula.[339] There is decoration in the form of moulded geometric lines next to the point at which the shaft has been broken off.

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[336] Acre, Hospitaller compound, Reg. No. 130750/2 and 130407.
[337] Acre, 1995 Reg. No. 3524, 1321.
[338] Acre, 1995 Reg. No. 3263/1.
[339] Acre, 2007 Reg. No. 3187.

Other examples of cosmetic implements from the Kingdom of Jerusalem have been found at Yoqne'am, three dating to the Early Islamic period and one from the Crusader-Mamluk layer.[340] The decoration on these examples is similar to the examples from 'Atlit and Acre, with moulded and incised geometric lines and beads. A double ended example was also found at Montfort.[341]

Examples of cosmetic implements in similar styles from the 12th to the 14th century were found at Hama.[342] Corinth has parallels in style for the spatula form, but dating from the late Roman and Byzantine period.[343] In Western Europe, an unusual example of the spatula form was found in Italy at Garfagnana, with one end of the rod flattened into two spatulas at right angles from the stem. The other end of the rod was formed in to a small scoop, and the shaft enclosed by seven windings of copper alloy wire.[344]

Tweezers

Copper alloy tweezers have been found at Ramot 06, the site of a Frankish village from the 12th and 13th centuries in a modern suburb to the North West of Jerusalem (Figure 22).[345]

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[340] Khamis, 'The Metal Objects', p. 225.
[341] Dean, 'A Crusaders Fortress', p. 39, Fig. 54.C
[342] Ploug and Oldenberg, *Hama*, p. 68, Fig. 25 for those with spatula ends, and p. 65, Fig. 24 for double ended styles.
[343] Davidson, *Corinth*, p.186, Nos. 1349-50.
[344] Ciampoltrini, 'Un villaggio trecentesco', p. 183, Fig. 14.
[345] Adrian Boas, pers comm. My thanks to Naama Brosh at the Israel Antiquities Authority for providing the photograph.

Figure 22: Tweezers, Ramot 06. Photo courtesy of Naama Brosh IAA.

The settlement was one of several Frankish villages that were newly constructed near Jerusalem and, unlike existing settlements, had a linear street plan.[346] The tweezers consist of a simple folded strip of copper alloy, and are undecorated apart from a shallow line bordering the edge. Tweezers in a very similar style were found in Acre during excavations of a Crusader bath in the Montmusard quarter of the city.[347] As with those from Ramot 06, these are formed of a slim folded strip of bronze. Tweezers similar to the Acre example are found at Hama and dated to the 13th or 14th centuries.[348] A second pair of copper alloy tweezers from Acre is not as delicate as the previous examples: they are wider (18mm instead of 5mm) and the pinching edges have been cut into square 'teeth'. They were probably used in a workshop setting rather than as cosmetic tools.[349] Tweezers are a common cosmetic tool and have been used across the ancient Near East since the first Egyptian dynasty.[350]

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[346] See also Parva Mahumeria and Magna Mahumeria, Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 86-7 (No. 178) and p. 35 (No.54).
[347] Acre, 1995, Unpublished report.
[348] Ploug and Oldenberg, *Hama*, p. 76, Fig. 29.5
[349] Acre 1995, Reg. No. 3332.
[350] Flinders Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, p. 51.

Combs

An ivory comb fragment of a simple, double-sided design has been excavated from a 10th to 12th century context in Caesarea.[351] The horizontal 'guide lines' are still visible on the comb. Another double-sided example in bone from a Crusader context survives from 'Atlit, also with a concave end plate.[352] Contemporary images of the comb in Western Europe include the example held by a mermaid in the Luttrell Psalter (dated to the first half of the 14th century) showing a double-sided comb with concave end plates.[353] Comparable examples, with a similar concave edge to the end plate, have been found in London, although the dating is simply described as 'medieval'.[354] Excavations at York have also yielded a similar end plate form on single sided combs from the 10th to the 12th century.[355] The concave end plate is found in examples from Egypt from the 10th to the 12th century.[356]

Thimbles

Used for sewing and needlework, a number of copper alloy thimbles have been found in Frankish contexts in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. From Acre there are two main types, the open 'ring' style thimble and a closed, domed style. The one example of an open ring thimble is decorated by horizontal lines of pits – possibly punched – between a plain border.[357] This style of thimble is paralleled at Corinth and Sardis in post-Byzantine contexts and at Hama

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[351] Ayalon, *The Assemblage of Bone and Ivory*, p.121, p. 313, Fig. 57.541
[352] http://www.antiquities.org.il/t/Item_en.aspx?pic_id=2&CurrentPageKey=6&indicator=46 [Accessed 31st March 2015]
[353] Luttrell Psalter, London, British Library MS 42130, f.70v.
[354] *London Museum Medieval Catalogue*, p. 291, Pl. LXXXVIII 1 and 2.
[355] MacGregor et al., *The Archaeology of York,* pp. 1932-3.
[356] Flinders Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use*, p. 26, Plate XXI Nos. 41, 42.
[357] Acre 1995, Reg. No. 3085/4. An unpublished report on the metalwork from this excavation suggests that the thimble was formed by soldering a sheet of metal into a ring.

from the mid-12th to the mid-13th century.[358] This style was also popular in Western Europe, with examples from London dating from the late 13th century.[359]

The other four thimbles from Acre are all of the same style of a pointed dome with pitted decoration, with a horizontal indent around the bottom.[360] Two of the thimbles have very similar decoration, with roughly incised 'zig-zag' decoration around the base, a pitted dome and two parallel, horizontal lines around the top (Figure 23).

Figure 23: Thimble, Acre. Reg No. 3460/a. Photo courtesy of Danny Syon IAA.

A similar style is seen at Hama – the same slightly pointed dome with pitted decoration, separated by chevrons into three panels around the body of the thimble.[361] The pits were usually formed by punching or drilling the surface of the thimble, as seen the illustration in the Medelschen Hausbuch from the early 15th century.[362] The pointed dome

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[358] Corinth, Davidson, *Corinth*, p. 178, No's 1285-1298; Sardis, Waldbaum, *Metalwork from Sardis*, p. 62, No. 240; Hama, Ploug and Oldenburg, *Hama*, p. 86, Fig. 31.24.
[359] Egan, *The Medieval Household*, p. 265.
[360] Acre 1995 Reg. No. 3460/A, 2403, 3459/B and Acre Hospitaller complex Reg. No. 120262
[361] Ploug and Oldenburg, *Hama*, p. 87, Fig. 32.9.
[362] Mendelschen Hausbuch, Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Amb. 317.2 f, 5v (Mendel I).

style from Acre was also found at Montfort where the thimble again displays the characteristic pitted decoration, with horizontal incisions around the base.[363] A smaller example of this type was found at 'Atlit with the same style of decoration.[364] This domed style with the pitted decoration and horizontal incisions has been characterised as the 'Abbasid-Levantine' style of thimble, one of several which developed in the Islamic territories.[365] This type is distinct from the bulbous 'Turko-Slavic' style found primarily in Eastern Europe and the pointed top 'Hispano-Moresque' thimbles from North Africa and Spain.[366] It has been suggested that the Abbasid-Levantine style was brought back to Western Europe by the Crusaders.[367] Even if this is the case, the domed style did not immediately supersede the ring-style of thimble. Indeed, in Western Europe there are few domed metal thimbles found in contexts securely dated to before the 14th century and they tend to be shorter and have a flatter dome than the Abbasid-Levantine style.[368]

2.1.3 Gaming

Investigating the games played by the Christians whilst on Crusade, and by the Franks living in the Crusader states, gives an insight into an area of daily life that can inform our understanding of identity. Games have a complex role as they are enacted or performed as part of daily life, but in purpose are also partly an escape from the everyday.[369] Particular games were associated with certain social and cultural groups, and were a form of play that

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[363] Dean, p. 39 Fig. 54 I
[364] Raphael, 'Crusader Arms and Armour', p. 152. This thimble, and the above example from Montfort, are now on display in the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem. I am not convinced by the description of some of the domed thimbles from the Kingdom of Jerusalem as 'archer's thimbles'. Although there is evidence for open thumb rings or 'archer's thimbles' in use by both Eastern and Western archers, I can find no convincing evidence to suggest that the closed form was used for this purpose during the period.
[365] Beaudry, *Findings*, p. 92.
[366] Beaudry, *Findings*, pp. 92-3.
[367] von Hoelle, *Thimble Collector's Encyclopaedia*, p. 26.
[368] Beaudry, *Findings*, p. 93.
[369] Hall, 'Playtime Everyday', pp. 145-6; Caillois, *Man, Play and Games*, p. 64.

could provoke concern and condemnation from those troubled by gambling. This was certainly the case in during the Crusades, when gambling was particularly problematic for chroniclers as the Crusaders were engaged in 'holy war', so no ordinary soldiers.[370] There were clear distinctions in the medieval period between constructive games, such as chess, and those that were immoral, such as dice.[371]

Gaming was a popular pastime in the Kingdom of Jerusalem for both Christians and Muslims, and one that the Crusaders found time for even during the long siege of Antioch in 1097-8. There are several references in the literature to Crusaders playing chess and dice at the siege of Antioch during a lull in activity. Albert of Aachen writes of an unfortunate archdeacon of Mainz, who was with the Crusading army, and was attacked and beheaded by the Turks during a game of dice with a lady in an apple orchard near Antioch.[372]

Another writer, Robert the Monk, records the Crusaders playing chess and games of dice, along with the mounted game quintain, in order to impress an Egyptian delegation arriving at the Christian camp outside the city in 1098.[373] Chess was not thought an appropriate game for everyone however: the Knights Templar were forbidden from playing chess, backgammon or *eschaçons*, but were permitted to play merelles, also known as nine men's morris.[374] Similarly, the Hospitallers were forbidden from playing chess, reading romances and eating forbidden foods whilst recuperating in the infirmary.[375]

In the archaeological record the gaming practices in the Crusader states are represented by gaming pieces, dice, and boards. The items recognised as gaming pieces or

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[370] Lapina, 'Gambling and Gaming in the Holy Land', pp. 124-6.
[371] Hall, 'Playtime Everyday', pp. 160-1.
[372] Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, Book III, Ch. 46, p. 209, 211; Housley, *Fighting for the Cross*, pp. 174-5.
[373] Robert the Monk, *History*, p. 136; Robert the Monk, 'Historia', Book V, Ch. 1, p. 791. Quintain was a game played on horseback with a lance, often used as training for jousting.
[374] Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*, p. 90.
[375] King, *The rule*, p. 64; for further discussion see Lapina, 'Gambling and Gaming in the Holy Land'.

dice from the Kingdom of Jerusalem are (so far) all in bone. From Caesarea there is a rectangular gaming stick from a 12th-century Frankish context, marked with the numbers 4+3 (=7) on the wide faces, and 2+1 (=3) on the narrow.[376] A similar stick was found in a context dating from the Byzantine-Early Islamic period, along with three other bone gaming pieces from the Roman and Byzantine periods. All the parallels for this form of gaming piece or die seem to originate from Islamic or Roman contexts, with few examples found in Western Europe, where the cuboid form of die predominates.[377] Other examples from Islamic contexts in the Levant can be seen from excavations at Hama where three rectangular gaming sticks were excavated.[378] A partial example was found in an Ayyubid context in the Armenian Garden excavations in Jerusalem.[379] Roman examples of the same type have been recorded from Antioch, and a Byzantine/Islamic example was found at Ascalon.[380] Eleven examples of cuboid dice were found at 'Atlit, carved from bone, and all with the numbers 1-6 on their faces (Figure 24).[381]

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[376] Ayalon, *The Assemblage of Bone and Ivory*, p. 74, Nos. 283-4, p. 252 Fig. 27.
[377] Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, p. 290.
[378] Ploug and Oldenberg, *Hama*, p. 133, Fig. 50. 1, 3; p.131, Fig. 49.6.
[379] Tushingham, *Excavations in Jerusalem*, p. 420, Fig. 68. 20.
[380] Russell, 'Household Furnishings' , p. 86, Fig. 9.; Wapnish, 'The Manufacture of Bone Artifacts', p. 600, Fig. 34.8, p. 628, No. 102.
[381] AT 40.1011-8 and 41.175/1-3. Eight of the dice are currently on display in the Rockefeller Museum and the remaining three are in the stores.

Figure 24: Bone dice, 'Atlit. AT 41.175/1-3.

Aside from the gaming pieces and dice, a number of merelles or nine men's morris boards have been recorded at sites across the Kingdom of Jerusalem.[382] The game board is formed from three squares drawn one inside the other, bisected by four lines at the cardinal points, ending at the edge of the inner square (Figure 25).
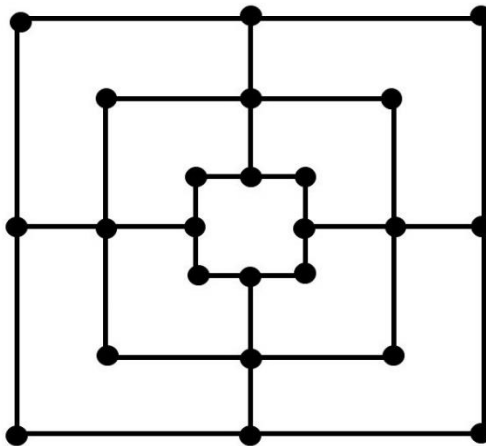
Figure 25: Nine men's morris gaming board.

[382] My thanks to Denys Pringle for providing me with his catalogue of merelle boards recorded in the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

The two players aim to place each of their nine gaming pieces in a row on the board to form a 'mill', horizontally or vertically. Initially the players take turns to place all their pieces on the board, and then move them along the lines to form a mill. When a mill is formed the player can remove an opponent's piece, and the game ends when one player has fewer than three pieces left and therefore cannot form a mill. The origins of merelles is not clear, but examples of the board have been found at Kurna in Egypt, dated to c. 1400 BC, and it is clear the Vikings knew the game as they introduced it to the Faroe Islands.[383] It was popular in the Roman period throughout Europe, as demonstrated in the discovery of a morelle board in Germany dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.[384] It is thought that the game arrived in Britain with the Normans, becoming one of the most popular board games of the medieval period across Western Europe.[385] Many of the examples from Scotland and England have been found in monastic contexts, usually scratched in an ephemeral fashion onto a stone block, often found in a re-used context.[386] This pattern is very similar to the settings in which boards have been found in Frankish contexts, and also include boards on the bottom of a kitchen mortar, and scratched into the plaster in castle stables. This evidence suggests that the game was particularly popular with the non-elite groups such as masons, and those working in kitchens and stables. It is clear in later medieval satires from Western Europe that nine men's morris was thought to be the game of the urban poor and commoners, in contrast to chess which was the game of the nobility and church, and tables (backgammon) the game of merchants.[387]

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[383] Egypt, Murray, *History of Board-Games*, p. 39; Faroes, Hansen, 'The Norse Landnam', p. 72, Fig. 11. See also Bell, *Board and Table Games*, pp. 93-4.
[384] Bardiès-Fronty, *Art du Jeu*, pp. 64-5, Cat. 27.
[385] Hall, 'Playtime Everyday', p. 157.
[386] Hall, 'The Whitby Merels Board', p. 29; Hall, 'Playtime Everyday', p. 157.
[387] Hall, 'Gaming-Board Badges', p. 175.

Two nine men's morris boards were found during excavations at 'Atlit. One was found scratched into the plaster from the stable roof, and another on a square limestone block, found in the south-east of the faubourg (Figure 26).

Figure 26: Nine men's morris board, 'Atlit. AT 41.194.

Both were marked with the standard three concentric squares, divided by four straight lines at the cardinal points.[388] At the 12th century Hospitaller church in Abu Ghosh, a nine men's morris board was incised on one of the diagonally dressed stones of a doorway in the crypt. This board was likely to have been incised by the masons working on the church before the stone was set into the doorway.[389] Another board was found during excavations at the castle of Arsuf, and two more at Vadum Jacob.[390] Other examples recovered from a

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[388] AT 41.194. On display in the Rockerfeller museum in Jerusalem. Johns, 'Excavations at Pilgrim's Castle – Stables', pp. 32-3, Pl. XXV 1 and 2; Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, p. 203, 289, n.60; Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, pp. 168-9, Pl. 6.13.
[389] Pringle, *Churches I*, p. 15.
[390] Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, p. 203; Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, p. 169.

fortification include three uncovered at Belvoir Castle, two on irregular stone blocks, and one incised on the base of a large stone mortar found in the kitchen.[391] The flat, smooth base of the mortar provided the ideal playing surface, and could be easily accessed by kitchen staff whenever a break in work provided an opportunity for a game. Another board was found in a more accessible location at the castle at Bayt Jibrin (Crusader *Bethgibelin*), incised on a stone table in the refectory that was made from re-used stone columns.[392] At the castle of al-Shawbak (Crusader Montreal), two nine men's morris boards have been found, one on a paving slap in the collapse of a vault, and another on a stone block built into the wall of the Ayyubid period inner gate. [393] A nine men's morris board was found in a more rural context at the Frankish farmhouse at Horbat 'Uza, engraved on one of the paving slabs.[394]

Despite several mentions in the written sources, there is not yet anything in the archaeological record relating to the game of chess in the Crusader states. Chess is thought to have entered Western Europe via Spain as a result of the Muslim conquests, reaching the court of Charlemagne in France about AD 760.[395] References to the game in Western literature proliferate from the 12th century, and the game begins appearing in manuscript illuminations from the 13th century. It entered literature as a game of royalty and an appropriate occupation for the knights of medieval romances.[396] One of the earliest images is in the *Carmina Burana* manuscript from the early 13th century, depicting a game of chess played by two men sat on thrones.[397] The most famous example from this period is the *Libro de Ajedrez, Dados y Tablas* (the Book of Games), a compendium of gaming commissioned

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[391] Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, p. 203; Sebbane, 'Board Games', p. 289, Fig. 2.
[392] Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, p. 160; Kloner and Cohen, 'The Crusader Fortress at Bet Govrin', p. 35.
[393] Molducci and Pruno, 'Lo scavo dell'area 6000', pp. 61-3, 119, Fig. 38 and 46.
[394] Getzov et al., *Horbat 'Uza*, p. 109, Fig. 3.5.
[395] Bell, *Board and Table Games*, p. 58; Murray, *A History of Chess*, pp. 394-5, 402-3.
[396] Murray, *A History of Chess*, pp. 432-7.
[397] Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4660, Fol. 92r. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, p. 33.

by Alphonso X, King of Leon and Castile in 1283, containing 150 colour illustrations.[398]

Here many of the illuminations show the players seated on the floor, in the Eastern style, rather than on benches or thrones as seen in Western depictions. A slightly earlier manuscript depicts a game of chess as part of a scene from the *History of Outremer*, produced in France around 1270.[399] Here the two players are clearly portrayed as seated on chairs, although the chairs have been omitted from the illustration, leaving the players suspended in mid-air.[400] Turning to the art produced in the Crusader states, three manuscripts of the *History of Outremer* include illustrations of Raymond of Antioch and Joscelin of Edessa playing chess whilst at the siege of Shaizar in 1138. In all three images, produced between the late 1270s and 1287, the artists have depicted the players seated cross-legged on the ground, in the Eastern style. Two of the manuscripts, now in Lyon and St Petersburg, were produced by the same artist working in Acre.[401] The third, now in Boulogne-sur-Mer, was illustrated by the 'Paris-Acre Master' in 1287, an artist identified by Folda as producing a number of manuscripts in Acre in the 1270s and 1280s.[402]

Discussion

The material culture surveyed in this chapter centres on one aspect of daily practice and identity – personal appearance. The value of considering a number of 'types' of object together is the ability to reflect on the relationships between the material groups and the people who used them. For dress accessories and jewellery this can enable a greater understanding of the active choices involved in the construction of appearance. As will be

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[398] Folda, *Crusader Art 1187-1291*, p. 407; Hall, 'Playtime Everyday', p. 154.
[399] Bern, Bürgerbibliothek, MS. 112.; Folda, *Crusader Art 1187-1291*, p. 406.
[400] Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, Pl. 168; Folda, *Crusader Art 1187-1291*, p. 406.
[401] Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 828, fol. 160v; St Petersburg, M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library MS fr.Fol.v.IV.5.
[402] Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 142, fol. 152v; Folda, *Crusader Art 1098-1291*, pp. 149-52.

shown in Chapter 3, with the consideration of the written evidence, personal appearance was a key part of constructing and displaying social and religious identity in the Crusader states. The chronicles, pilgrim accounts and histories give insights into the role of the archaeological items in constructing and maintaining group identity.

Examining the proportion of find types, it is unsurprising that the greatest number and variety of dress accessories come from a vibrant urban centre such as Acre. The majority of dress accessories and jewellery have been found in late 12th to 13th century contexts, with little material so far excavated that has been securely dated to the first half of the 12th century. The relative proportion of dress accessories types uncovered shows an emphasis on buckles and mounts, with less frequent occurrences of other ornamentation such as button and bells. Buckles in particular are the only accessory found across all site types, both urban and rural. For jewellery, the most frequent type uncovered is the cross pendant in both bronze and mother of pearl. By comparison the numbers of other forms of jewellery such as rings and bracelets is small. This distribution is similar to that seen in 12th and 13th century contexts in Western Europe, where dress accessories such as buckles and mounts far outweigh items of jewellery.[403] The use of bone to copy the metal buckle types suggests a desire to imitate in a cheaper material the copper alloy styles, however the number of sites where bone has survived make it difficult to draw detailed conclusions about the potential users.

Stylistically many of the accessory types maintain close ties with developments in Western Europe, with the knopped buckles in particular pointing to these connections. The finds from Acre, and many of those from 'Atlit, are from contexts in residential complexes securely dated to the 13th century, allowing a good understanding of the types of dress

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[403] Standley, *Trinkets & Charms*, p. 13 Chart 2.1.

accessories and jewellery that would usually be used by the residents. Among the most ornate objects is the diadem uncovered in Acre, a so far unique item from a Crusader-period context, and one usually worn by a wealthy woman on a public or ceremonial occasion, such as the wedding referred by Ibn Jubayr. As has been noted, the diadem was considered part of the appropriate attire for a noblewoman in 12th and 13th century France and England. Strong stylistic links to France are also seen in the 13th mount with fleur-de-lis decoration on one side. Designed to be on display, this mount would seem to be a clear association of the wearer with the French monarchy. The presence of a complete paternoster at Caesarea suggests that new developments in devotional ornaments were also reaching the Crusader states from Western Europe.

The presence of gilding on just under a quarter of copper alloy items from Acre is an interesting feature of these items. The objects from 'Atlit are not as well preserved as those from Acre, with many needing cleaning, but nevertheless it is possible to identify traces of gilding visually on a small number. Of the finds in medieval London, only a very small proportion of buckles and strap-ends were gilded.[404] It would be an interesting area of further investigation to analyse the proportion of gilded items from other Crusader sites, as initial research suggests it is higher than comparable sites in the area. This distinction has not always been clear on historical excavation reports and access to the appropriate analytical technology, such as X-ray fluorescence, is not always available.

Bringing together a number of types of dress accessories and jewellery found in Frankish contexts, and considering them together it is possible to build up a picture of the proportions of different types of material. The remaining sections of this chapter will consider other items from daily practices such as dining and living space.

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[404] Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, pp. 391-2.

Chapter 2.2 Ceramics

This section provides a summary of the ceramic evidence from the Crusader states in the Levant, before considering aspects of form and decoration and the dining culture of the Franks. The aim of this exploration is to inform another facet of the discussion central to this thesis – how the material culture of daily life forms part of the network of identity construction. Pottery is the largest class of material evidence for the domestic sphere and everyday life in Frankish households, far outweighing other types of material culture such as glass and metalwork. The use of glazed and unglazed types, with a variety of decoration from local production and imports, forms an important part of any discussion of cuisine and dining practices.

Changes in form, decoration and distribution of ceramics can illuminate changes in dining practices, and it has been recognized by many researchers that these changes can provide insights into wider cultural shifts in a society.[405] Social relations are expressed in the process of offering and receiving food, through the kinds of food consumed, as well as where and how a meal is served.[406] The following section is ordered typologically to give an overview of key types of ceramics found on Frankish sites, concentrating on their form, decoration and distribution. This will then be followed by a discussion of the role of ceramics in daily life, and how they can inform the broader discussion of aspects of identity in the Crusader states.

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[405] For approaches in the social sciences see Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class*, for recent examples examining medieval societies see Berlin, 'Italian Cooking Vessels'; Lewicka, *Food and Foodways of Medieval Cairenes*; Laurioux, *Manger au Moyen Âge*; Laurioux, *Une historie culinaire du Moyen Âge* and Adamson, *Food in Medieval Times.*

[406] Douglas, 'Deciphering a Meal', p. 61.

Ware	Date Range in Crusader territories	Production Site(s)	Main Forms
Plain Wares	12th and 13th century	Acre and Tyre	Bowls, plates and sugar pots
Cooking Ware	12th and 13th century	Beirut	Cooking pots, baking dishes and frying pans
Byzantine (Aegean) Ware	12th to mid-13th century	Central Greece and Aegean	Bowls and platters
Levantine or Beirut Ware	mid-12th to mid-13th century	Beirut and southern Lebanon	Bowls, cups, jugs and oil lamps
Port St Symeon Ware	mid-12th to mid-13th century	al-Mina and surrounding area	Plates, bowls, jugs and *albarelli*
Syrian Wares	mid-12th to late 13th century	Syria	Bowls, jugs and *albarelli*
Zeuxippus Ware	late 12th - late 13th century	Cyprus, Turkey and Italy	Bowls
Paphos Ware	early 13th to 14th century	Paphos region	Bowls, plates, jugs, oil lamps
Proto-maiolica	13th century	Italy and Sicily	Bowls

Figure 27: Summary of main ceramic types.

Glazed Ware

High-quality glazed tableware constitutes a significant proportion of ceramic assemblages dating to the Crusader period, particularly on urban sites of the 13th century. Three types of glaze are found: lead, alkaline and tin. Transparent lead glazes were usually applied to brown or red wares, which were first covered with a white slip to prevent the glaze discolouring and to make the colour more vivid. The inclusion of lead lowers the melting point of the glaze mixture (of lead oxide, white lead or galena), allowing it to form a glass at lower temperatures, and was first used in the Near East c.100 B.C.[407] Decoration was usually either by scratching a pattern in the slip before the glaze was applied known as *sgraffiato*; painting the designs on the vessel with a white slip before covering with a green and yellow transparent lead glaze, or by painting on the slip before adding the glaze. When fired the colour of the glaze is only visible on the slip-painted areas, with the exposed clay a dark brown.[408] Like lead glazes, glazes with alkaline components (such as soda-lime or potash-lime) have a low firing temperature.[409] Decoration was often applied to the body before the application of the transparent, coloured glaze – a technique known as under-glaze painting. This is often seen on vessels with a soft paste body, known as faience or frit, where crushed quartz and glass is mixed with white clay. When the vessel was fired, the quartz and glass would melt, producing a fabric that was less friable.[410]

A tin glaze is a thick white coating, made opaque by the addition of stannic (tin) oxide to a lead glaze.[411] The effect of the glaze was to mask any defects in colour of the vessel body, providing an excellent ground for painted decoration. Tin glazes were often used in the production of lustreware, a technique that became popular from the 9th century in the Islamic

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[407] Hodges, *Artifacts*, p. 49; Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, p. 143; Rice, *Pottery Analysis*, p. 12.
[408] Avissar and Stern, *Pottery of the Crusader Period*, p. 19.
[409] Hodges, *Artifacts*, p. 49.
[410] Canby, 'Islamic Lustreware', p. 114; Avissar and Stern, *Pottery of the Crusader Period*, p. 25.
[411] Rice, *Pottery Analysis*, p. 12; Hodges, *Artifacts*, pp. 51-3.

East. In this process the painted decoration was applied to the cooled glaze before a second firing at a lower temperature in a reducing kiln. The paint contained a mixture of silver and copper oxides in an ochre solution. The lack of oxygen caused the metallic salts to break down and adhere to the surface of the glaze in a thin layer, appearing as a sheen when the ochre was rubbed off when cool.[412] Lustreware was produced in Fustat in Egypt, Raqqa in Syria and Basra in Iraq.[413]

Locally Manufactured Glazed Wares: Levantine or Beirut Ware

From the mid-12th century glazed vessels known as Levantine or Beirut ware begin to appear in the archaeological record. Petrographic analysis suggests that this ware was produced in Beirut, where many examples have been found.[414] The ware is found on Frankish sites until the mid-13th century, and is considered one of the most characteristic locally produced wares of the Crusader period. The majority of surviving vessels are bowls, but examples of cups, jugs and oil lamps have been found.[415] The ware has been divided into a number of sub-groups at Acre, with the glazed table vessels broadly summarized according to decorative features, either careless sgraffiato or slip painted. Examples of this ware with no slip and reserved slip were also found at Acre.[416] Plain wares and cooking vessels were also produced in Beirut during this period, both of which will be discussed below.

 Sgraffiato Decoration: The form of the bowls is a development of a type found on the Serçe Limani shipwreck, with straight or slightly out-curved walls, a small foot and a ledge

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[412] Avissar and Stern, *Pottery of the Crusader Period*, p. 34; Canby, 'Islamic Lusterware', p. 113.
[413] Canby, 'Islamic Lustreware', p. 110.
[414] Stern and Waksman, 'Pottery from Crusader Acre', p. 179; Homsy-Gottwalles, 'Les céramiques glacurées de Beyrouth', p. 175-8, Fig. 3.
[415] Stern, *'Akko I: Text*, p. 45.
[416] Stern, *'Akko I: Text*, p. 44.

rim, the latter sometimes pronounced.[417] The most widespread type during the Crusader period has been termed 'double-slip', with the slip on the exterior and interior surfaces, rather than just the inside of the vessel. The glaze on this ware is always monochrome, either yellow or green, with careless *sgraffiato* designs the only decoration. The excavations at Acre provided many examples of this type, which were arranged in sub-groups according to glaze colour and decoration.[418] The distribution of this ware is very wide, appearing on urban and rural sites along the coast of the Crusader kingdoms. Examples were found at sites including Acre,[419] Caesarea,[420] Yoqne'am,[421] Horbat 'Uza[422] and Tell Arqa.[423]

Slip-Painted Decoration: The majority of vessels with slip-painted decoration have geometric designs painted on the body in a white slip. This is then covered with a transparent green or yellow glaze, which only shows on the painted design, leaving the clay body a dark brown after firing. A few vessels have reserved-slip designs, where the bowls are decorated with irregular patches of slip.[424] In contrast to the *sgraffiato*-decorated bowls, the slip-painted examples appear in varied shapes, with rounded, as well as ledge rims.[425] Petrographic analysis has suggested that the slip-painted type may not have been produced in Beirut itself, but at another site in southern Lebanon specializing in this type of decoration.[426] Distribution

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[417] Stern, 'Continuity and Change', p. 228; Stern and Waksman, 'Pottery from Crusader Acre', pp. 170-1; Avissar and Stern, *Pottery of the Crusader Period*, p. 8. Fig. 2.
[418] Stern, *'Akko I: Text*, pp. 44-5.
[419] For a comprehensive list of occurrences see Stern, *'Akko I: Text*, p. 46.
[420] Pringle, 'Medieval Pottery from Caesarea', Fig. 7, pp. 40, 44-5.
[421] Avissar, 'The Medieval Pottery', pp. 90-1, Types 34-7, Fig. XIII.22-25.
[422] Stern and Tatcher, 'The Early Islamic, Crusader and Mamluk Pottery', pp. 124-6.
[423] Hakimian and Salamé-Sarkis, 'Céramiques médiévales', p. 5, Fig. 1.1-2.
[424] Avissar and Stern, *Pottery of the Crusader Period*, p. 19.
[425] Avissar and Stern, *Pottery of the Crusader Period*, p. 19.
[426] Waksman and Stern et al., 'Elemental and Petrographic Analyses', p. 179.

is similar to the *sgraffiato*-decorated type, including Acre,[427] Horbat ʽUza,[428] Caesarea,[429] Arsuf,[430] Tell ʽArqa [431] and Yoqneʼam.[432]

Imported Glazed Wares: Byzantine Ware

The term Byzantine is used here to describe those glazed wares produced in Greece and around the Aegean Sea, including those previously described as 'Aegean Wares'. Recent petrographic analysis supports previously noted similarities between the 'Byzantine' and 'Aegean' wares, and shows that they were indeed produced in the same group of workshops. These workshops used the same clay to produce vessels with a variety of decorative techniques, and distributed them throughout the Mediterranean and Black Sea regions. Early studies of Aegean ware, such as the work of A. H. S. Megaw at the castle of Saranda Kolones in Paphos, noted the similarity with Byzantine types, and since then scholars have put forward various categories to classify these ceramics.[433] Megaw dated the Aegean wares to the early 13th century due to their presence in the castle's destruction layer of 1222.[434] From the ceramics excavated at Corinth, Charles H. Morgan established an early chronology for the Byzantine glazed wares from the site, which has since been updated by more recent studies.[435] Reconsideration of securely dated contexts has led von Wartburg and Waksman to suggest that production ran from the early 12th to the mid-13th century.[436] The production site

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[427] Stern, 'Excavation of the Courthouse Site at ʽAkko', pp. 47-8, Fig. 7; Stern, *'Akko I: Text*, p. 45, Fig. 4.11.
[428] Stern and Tatcher, 'The Early Islamic, Crusader and Mamluk Pottery', pp. 146-8.
[429] Pringle, 'Medieval Pottery from Caesarea', pp. 179-83.
[430] Ziffler, 'Setting Tables', p. 84, Fig.39.
[431] Hakimian and Salamé-Sarkis, 'Céramiques médiévales', p. 19.
[432] Avissar, 'The Medieval Pottery', p. 96.
[433] Megaw, 'An Early 13th-Century Aegean Glazed Ware', p. 38. For further details on the development of classifications see Stern, *'Akko I: Text*, p. 65.
[434] Megaw, 'An Early 13th-Century Aegean Glazed Ware', p. 41.
[435] Morgan, *Corinth: results of excavations. Vol. 11*; Sanders, 'New Relative and Absolute Chronologies', pp. 153-73.
[436] Waksman and von Wartburg, '"Fine-Sgraffito Ware"', p. 371.

has not been pinpointed conclusively by Waksman and von Wartburg, but their chemical analyses cast doubt on Cyprus, and they suggest that the Aegean or central Greece is the most likely location for the group of workshops.[437]

The main forms of the ware are bowls and platters, with similar forms and glazes, although some fabrics are coarser than others, and the colour varies through red, orange and yellow-buff.[438] All vessels have a coating of yellow or green glaze, with further decoration provided by white slip painting under the glaze, or by *sgraffiato* designs scratched through the white slip. *Sgraffiato*-decorated vessels form the majority of Byzantine ware exported to the Crusader states. The most common motifs include concentric bands around a central medallion, filled with stylised foliage, spirals and wavy lines.[439]

Zeuxippus Ware

This ware was first classified by A. H. S. Megaw, when he examined the pottery from the excavations at the Baths of Zeuxippus in the Hippodrome of Constantinople, suggesting a date of the last decades of the 12th century and the first decades of the 13th century.[440] This chronology was later updated by Megaw to continue to the end of the 13th century, and Zeuxippus Ware was divided into three subgroups according to glaze colour. It has been clear since Megaw's initial analysis that the ware is not a homogeneous group manufactured at one workshop, but was produced in a number of locations in Byzantine territories, and other locations around the Mediterranean, and had imitations and derivatives.[441] Recent petrographic analysis has confirmed that at least four workshops manufactured Zeuxippus-

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[437] Waksman and von Wartburg, '"Fine-Sgraffito Ware"', p. 380.
[438] Stern, *'Akko I: Text*, p. 66. Stern has divided Byzantine wares into 8 sub-groups depending on decoration and fabric.
[439] See from Acre, Stern, *'Akko 1: Plates*, p.105, Pl. 4.48 9-11; Pringle, 'Excavations in Acre, 1974', p. 143, Fig. 11.54; Caesarea, Pringle, 'Medieval Pottery from Caesarea', p. 186 Fig. 11.49-57; Horbat 'Uza, Stern and Tatcher, 'The Early Islamic, Crusader and Mamluk Pottery', pp. 2-3, Fig. 3.29.
[440] Megaw, 'Zeuxippus Ware', p. 87.
[441] Avissar and Stern, *Pottery of the Crusader Period*, p. 48; Stern, *'Akko I: Text*, pp. 72-3.

related wares: Pergamon, Paphos, Nicea and Venice.[442] The ware is characterized by high-quality fabric, thinly potted, and covered with a very shiny green or yellow glaze. Sgraffiato decoration on the interior is found in a variety of forms, but often includes concentric circles with geometric designs between the bands, and a central medallion containing circle and triangle motifs.[443] The majority of the Zeuxippus vessels are bowls, hemispherical in shape, with simple everted or ledge rims, with a ring foot that flares out at the bottom.[444] A small number of examples from Acre have slip painting on the exterior of the bowls.[445]

The ware is found across the Mediterranean at sites once part of the Byzantine Empire in Greece, Turkey, Russia, and Cyprus, and in other areas including Italy, southern France, Egypt, Israel and Lebanon. In Frankish territory distribution is mainly confined to large, costal sites, perhaps reflecting the reduced territory after 1187.[446] Examples of Zeuxippus ware have been found at Acre,[447] Caesarea,[448] al-Mina,[449] Corinth[450] and Jerusalem.[451]

Port St Symeon ware

Termed the Crusader pottery "*par excellence*", this ware was first identified by Arthur Lane from excavations at the port of al-Mina at Antioch.[452] Port St. Symeon was the Crusader name for al-Mina, and the port was in Frankish hands from the early 12th century until 1268, when it was captured by the Mamluk leader Baybars. Although Lane initially proposed that the ware was manufactured solely in al-Mina by local Syrian craftsmen, recent research has

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[442] Waksman and Stern et al., 'Elemental and Petrographic Analysis', p.182; Waksman and François, 'Vers une redefinition typologique et analytique', p. 686.
[443] Avissar and Stern, *Pottery of the Crusader Period*, p. 49, Fig. 19.
[444] Avissar and Stern, *Pottery of the Crusader Period*, p. 49; Stern, *'Akko I: Text*, p. 74.
[445] Stern, *'Akko I: Plates*, Fig. 4.53, 3.
[446] Pringle, 'Pottery as evidence of Trade', pp. 457-8, Fig. 1.
[447] Stern, *'Akko I: Plates*, pp. 72-6; Pringle, 'Excavations in Acre, 1974', pp. 143-4.
[448] Pringle, 'Medieval Pottery from Caesarea', p. 190, Fig. 11.
[449] Vorderstrasse, *Al-Mina*, p. 123.
[450] Termed 'Shiny Olive Incised Ware II' in MacKay, 'More Byzantine and Frankish', pp. 258-60, Fig. 1. 27, 28.
[451] Tushingham, *Excavations in Jerusalem*, p. 147, Fig. 40.5.
[452] Quote from Pringle, 'Pottery as Evidence of trade', p. 458; Lane, 'Medieval Finds at Al Mina', pp. 19-78.

shown that Polychrome Sgraffiato ware identical to Port St. Symeon ware was produced at other sites in the Principality of Antioch and the Cilician Kingdom of Armenia.[453] As a result of this the term 'Port St. Symeon ware family' has been used to encompass all manufacturing sites producing similar pottery over the same period.[454] Distribution of this ware shows that it was used not just by Franks, but also those in Byzantine territory and Muslim areas, including sites such as Hama, Tarsus, Fustat and Alexandria.[455]

A range of forms are found in the Port St. Symeon family, including open forms such as plates and bowls, and closed forms such as jugs, flasks and *albarelli* (cylindrical jars with a waist narrower than both ends). The characteristic form is a hemispherical bowl with a ledge rim and low ring base.[456] All vessels have a coarse fabric with white inclusions, ranging from pink-buff to orange-buff in colour. The fabric is covered with white slip on the interior, then a transparent lead glaze in pale green or yellow. The majority of vessels have *sgraffiato* decoration, but some have been found without.[457] In the Crusader territories on the mainland in the Levant, Port St Symeon ware is largely confined to settlements near the coast including Acre,[458] Horbat Uza,[459] Yoqne'am,[460] Caesarea,[461] Beirut,[462] and Tripoli.[463]

Paphos Ware

Pottery originating from production sites in the Paphos region of Cyprus was one of the most popular types in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and was the most common imported ware to

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[453] Avissar and Stern, *Pottery of the Crusader Period*, p. 55; Stern, *'Akko I: Text*, p. 57.
[454] Vorderstrasse, *Al-Mina*, p. 120.
[455] Riis, *Hama*, pp. 232-5; Pringle, 'Pottery as Evidence of trade', p. 458, Fig. 1; Lane, 'Medieval Finds at Al Mina', p. 52.
[456] Stern, *'Akko I: Text*, p. 56. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, p. 149.
[457] Avissar and Stern, *Pottery of the Crusader Period*, p. 53.
[458] Stern, *'Akko I: Text*, pp. 55-8; Stern, 'Excavation of the Courthouse site at Akko', pp. 56-8; Pringle, 'Excavations in Acre, 1974 ', pp. 144-5.
[459] Stern and Tatcher, 'The Early Islamic, Crusader and Mamluk Pottery', pp. 162-3.
[460] Avissar, 'The Medieval Pottery', p. 113.
[461] Pringle, 'Medieval Pottery from Caesarea', p. 193.
[462] El-Masri, 'Medieval Pottery', p. 109.
[463] Salamé-Sarkis, *Contribution à l'histoire de Tripoli*, pp. 168-9.

Acre during the Crusader period.[464] It was similarly popular at Arsuf, where it comprises 90% of the imported pottery.[465] Cyprus was captured from the Byzantine Empire by Richard I in 1191 during the Third Crusade, and was sold to Guy de Lusignan a year later. The Paphos workshops produced these wares from the beginning of the 13th century until the end of the 14th century. After the fall of the Crusader Kingdoms, Paphos ware was no longer imported to these areas, although it has been found in Alexandria in 14th century contexts.[466]

Paphos ware is categorized according to decoration type, which in some cases imitates other glazed wares, including Zeuxippus and Port St Symeon ware, and earlier Byzantine wares.[467] Pieces are found with slip-painted and *sgraffiato* decoration, with a monochrome green or yellow-brown glaze, or a polychrome glaze with both colours.[468] The most common forms are bowls and plates, although examples of jugs, oil lamps and *albarelli* have been found. The bowls are usually hemispherical, with a high ring base and a ledge or carinated rim that is concave. Distribution of this ware outside Cyprus is largely to those areas under Frankish control in the 13th century.[469]

As noted above, some of the Paphos glazed ware is decorated with white slip, used to paint designs such as spirals and zig-zags on the interior and exterior of the vessels. The surface of the vessel was then covered with a transparent green or yellow glaze, which appeared on the slip after firing, providing a contrast to the dark un-slipped body. Examples of this type were found at sites including Caesarea,[470] Acre,[471] 'Atlit[472] and Horbat 'Uza.[473]

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[464] Stern, *'Akko I: Text*, p. 60.
[465] Boas, 'The Import of Western Ceramics', p. 108.
[466] Avissar and Stern, *Pottery of the Crusader Period*, p. 57.
[467] Stern, *'Akko I: Text*, p. 65.
[468] For definition of the various types see Avissar and Stern, *Pottery of the Crusader Period*, p. 58-62 and Stern, *'Akko I: Text*, p. 60.
[469] Pringle, 'Pottery as Evidence for Trade', pp. 459-60, Fig. 2.
[470] Pringle, 'Medieval Pottery from Caesarea', p.179.
[471] Stern, 'Excavation of the Courthouse Site', pp. 48-51; Pringle, 'Excavations in Acre, 1974', p. 145.
[472] Johns, 'Medieval Slip-Ware', Pl XVII, No. 2.
[473] Stern and Tatcher, 'The Early Islamic, Crusader and Mamluk Pottery', pp. 159-60.

The *sgraffiato* Paphos ware is divided according to the glaze colour into three groups: monochrome *sgraffiato* ware, decorated with concentric lines on the rim and a medallion in the centre; one-colour *sgraffiato* ware, with dabs of green or yellow glaze and decoration reminiscent of Zeuxippus ware, and polychrome *sgraffiato* ware, with decorative patterns similar to Port St Symeon ware.[474] The distribution of the *sgraffiato* type is the same as the slip ware in Crusader territory, with the addition of sites such as Yoqne'am,[475] the Red Tower[476] and Tripoli.[477]

Proto-Maiolica

Several glazed wares were imported to the Crusader territories from Italy and Sicily during the 13th century: spiral ware, roulette ware, and proto-maiolica, with the latter the most significant.[478] The trade in these wares was related to the activities of Italian merchants, and distribution seems to confirm that they were imported specifically for use by Frankish settlers.[479] Proto-maiolica was initially believed to be an Eastern product that influenced Italian ceramics, but excavations have shown that it was in fact produced in southern Italy.[480] As with Zeuxippus ware, Proto-maiolica is composed of several different groups of ceramics from a number of sites, this time in southern Italy and Sicily. Proto-maiolica from southern Italy and Sicily is the most widespread in Crusader territories and was imported throughout the 13th century. Vessels from northern Italy were only imported at the end of the 13th century

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[474] Avissar and Stern, *Pottery of the Crusader Period*, pp. 60-2.
[475] Avissar, 'The Medieval Pottery', pp. 111-2.
[476] Pringle, *The Red Tower*, p. 150.
[477] Salamé-Sarkis, *Contribution à l'histoire de Tripoli*, pp. 159-60.
[478] Pringle, 'Pottery as Evidence for Trade', pp. 460-1, Fig. 3; Avissar and Stern, *Pottery of the Crusader Period*, p. 63.
[479] Pringle, 'Some more Proto-maiolica', p. 112.
[480] Johns, 'Medieval Slip-Ware', Pl. XLIX-LIII; Avissar and Stern, *Pottery of the Crusader Period*, p. 63.

and are so far confined to three sites in the Crusader territories: Acre, St Mary of Carmel[481] and Horbat 'Uza.[482]

The fabric and decoration of Proto-maiolica is distinctive amongst the glazed ceramics found in the Levant. Vessels are decorated by over-glaze painting on top of a tin glaze, rather than slip-painting or *sgraffiato*, using colours such as blue, manganese and yellow. The fabric is also distinctive due to the lack of iron in the clay, turning buff or cream coloured when fired.[483]

Proto-maiolica from production sites in Apulia can be divided into two decorative groupings, one group with a distinctive 'grid-iron' or crosshatched medallion in the centre of the bowl, and a second group with human, zoomorphic or vegetal designs in the centre.[484] Both groups have bands of interlacing patterns around the rim of the bowls, which are usually hemispherical with a low ring foot and either a ledge or simple rim. Proto-maiolica from Sicily has a similar range of designs, with a finer and harder fabric than the vessels from northern Italy.[485] As noted above, the distribution of Proto-maiolica is limited to those sites that were in Frankish hands in the 13th century, including Acre,[486] 'Atlit,[487] Caesarea,[488] and Al-Mina.[489]

[481] Stern, *'Akko I: Text*, pp. 80-1.
[482] Stern and Tatcher, 'The Early Islamic, Crusader and Mamluk Pottery', p. 153. Fig. 3.28:5 At the time the origin of the ware was not known, but was later identified as Italian in Stern, *'Akko I: Text*, p. 81.
[483] Boas, 'Import of Western Ceramics', p. 111.
[484] Avissar and Stern, *Pottery of the Crusader Period*, pp. 63-7.
[485] Avissar and Stern, *Pottery of the Crusader Period*, p. 67.
[486] Stern, 'Excavation of the Courthouse Site', p. 58-65; Pringle, 'Excavations in Acre, 1974', p. 146; Stern, *'Akko I: Text*, pp. 77-82.
[487] Johns, 'Medieval Slip-Ware', Pl. XLIX-LIII; Pringle, 'Some more Proto-maiolica', pp. 104-17.
[488] Pringle, 'Medieval Pottery from Caesarea', p. 200, Pl. XVIII, No. 6.
[489] Lane, 'Medieval Finds at Al-Mina', p. 55, Pl. XXVII, No. 2.

Syrian Wares

The high-quality glazed tableware produced in Syria during the 12th and 13th centuries had a soft-paste body known as frit or faience, composed of white clay, crushed quartz and glass (see above). Workshops producing fritware are known in Raqqa and Damascus in Syria, and it has been suggested that one may have existed in Beit She'an (Crusader *Bethsan*).[490] The majority of the fritware found in Frankish contexts is decorated with black or blue paint under a transparent turquoise or colourless glaze, a technique appropriately termed under-glaze-painting. Popular forms are bowls of various shapes, with flaring or ledge rims but always with a ring base. Jugs, oil lamps and *albarelli* were also frequently made in glazed fritware. [491] The ware appears in the mid-12th century and continues through the 13th century well into the Mamluk period. A large amount of fritware has been excavated at Beit She'an,[492] with other occurrences at sites including Caesarea,[493] Horbat 'Uza,[494] Yoqne'am[495] and the Red Tower.[496]

Plain Wares

Aside from the glazed table wares, many of the ceramics used by the Franks were locally made plain wares, for storage and glazed cooking vessels. At least three different production sites were identified on the Levantine coast, one at Acre, another on the Lebanese coast between Tyre and Tripoli, and a third on the northern coast of Israel.[497] The site in the region of Acre produced a number of vessel forms, including a distinctive small bowl with ledge

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[490] Avissar and Stern, *Pottery of the Crusader Period*, p. 25.
[491] Avissar and Stern, *Pottery of the Crusader Period*, p. 26.
[492] Avissar and Stern, *Pottery of the Crusader Period*, p. 26.
[493] Pringle, 'Medieval Pottery from Caesarea', pp. 196-9.
[494] Stern and Tatcher, 'The Early Islamic, Crusader and Mamluk Pottery', pp. 164-5.
[495] Avissar, 'The Medieval Pottery', p. 102, Fig. XIII.45:2 and XIII.61:1. Only these two pieces were found in Crusader contexts.
[496] Pringle, *The Red Tower*, p. 153. The blue-and-white ware from the Red Tower must be 14th century or later. Pringle pers. comm.
[497] Shapiro, 'Petrographic Analysis of the Crusader-period Pottery', pp. 103-126.

rim, which was found in large numbers in the Hospitaller Compound in the city.[498] Other forms in the locally produced plain ware include plates, jugs, sugar pots and kraters.[499] Some handmade cooking pots were imported from Cyprus to the costal sites of Acre and 'Atlit.[500]

Glazed cooking ware from Beirut was widespread in Frankish sites across the County of Tripoli and the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the 12th and 13th centuries. The main forms of the ware are closed cooking pots, open baking dishes and frying pans. The Beirut cooking ware can be divided into two groups chronologically and typologically: the first consisting of thin-walled vessels with a glossy dark brown-purple glaze on the interior, dating to the 12th century, and the second group consisting of thick-walled vessels with a coarser fabric and a dark orange-brown glaze dating to the 13th century.[501]

Ceramic Assemblages

The detailed work by Edna Stern, examining the ceramic assemblages from Northern Israel, has demonstrated that broad terms such as 'Islamic period' or 'Crusader period' are not accurate or helpful when discussing changes in the archaeological record. There was no sudden break or interruption in the use of particular forms upon the arrival of the first Crusaders in 1098. The ceramics that had been in use in the latter part of the 11th century in the Fatimid period continue in the archaeological record for the first few decades of Crusader rule.[502] This is mirrored in Frankish Morea, where work by Joanita Vroom has also underlined that key historical events such as the capture of Constantinople in 1204, do not neatly correspond to changes in the ceramic record, and the boundaries between

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[498] Stern and Waksman, 'Pottery from Crusader Acre', pp. 174-5.
[499] Avissar and Stern, *Pottery of the Crusader Period*, p. 82-3.
[500] Avissar and Stern, *Pottery of the Crusader Period*, p. 94.
[501] Stern, *'Akko I: Text*, p. 42.
[502] Stern, 'Continuity and Change', p. 228.

archaeological phases are not as clear as chronological divisions suggest.[503] Evidence from Corinth also supports this view, with no evidence of a sudden change between the Byzantine pottery of the 12th century and the Frankish period pottery of the 13th century.[504]

Within the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the first identifiable change occurred in the mid-12th century, with the appearance of imports from the Byzantine Empire such as Aegean ware, reflecting the increase in trading connections. Locally produced wares were still dominant, including glazed bowls from Beirut with thin sgraffiato designs.[505] Excavations at Kafr Yasif, a Crusader-period settlement near Acre, revealed an example of a ceramic assemblage entirely from the 12th century. The site has been identified as a village or fortified estate during the Frankish occupation. The range of ceramics accords with other assemblages dated to the 12th century, with a majority of locally produced wares and the appearance of some imported wares during the latter half of the century.[506] This distribution is also reflected in the ceramics from Mi'ilya, another rural site near Acre, where the majority of ceramics were locally made, with a small number of imports.[507]

Another change can be observed in the 13th century ceramic assemblage from Frankish sites, marked by a huge variety of imported wares from across the Mediterranean and the Middle East, with Chinese wares also occasionally appearing.[508] The dramatic increase of imported wares is most striking in urban sites, with imported wares accounting for over 80% of glazed bowls in Acre. This is in direct contrast to the cooking wares, where imports made up just 10% of the assemblage, with locally made wares dominating.[509] The increase in imports is also seen at Frankish rural sites, although not to the same extent as the

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[503] Vroom, *After Antiquity*, p. 29.
[504] Waksman and von Wartburg, '"Fine-Sgraffito Ware"', p. 371, n. 10.
[505] Stern and Waksman, 'Pottery from Crusader Acre', p. 179.
[506] Stern and Syon, 'Excavations at the Dar el-Gharbiya, p. 256.
[507] Stern, 'Mi'ilya: evidence of an early Crusader settlement', p. 73.
[508] Stern, 'Continuity and Change', p. 230.
[509] Stern, 'Continuity and Change', p. 230. Table 1.

urban centres. The proportion of imports fell again in non-Frankish rural sites, with handmade wares dominating these assemblages. [510] At Horbat Bet Zeneta (Khirbat Zuwaynīta, Crusader Zoenite, Sivenete), a non-Frankish village in Western Galilee, coarse handmade vessels were predominant, comprising 43% of the assemblage, while imported wares accounted for only 0.4%.[511]

The Frankish Dining Table

Following the above summary of the key types of ceramics found on Frankish sites, this next section will consider how form, decoration and distribution can inform the broader discussion of the role of this material in the process of identity construction. This entails considering how the ceramics were used when cooking, and when eating food at the dining table.

There is some evidence to suggest that the Franks adopted the Islamic custom of eating whilst seated on rugs or mats on the floor, but only for those not seated at the high table. Joinville records that those knights not invited to sit at his table in Caesarea (which seated around twenty) ate, "according to the custom of the country…facing each other, seated on mats on the ground."[512] However, there was also potential disgrace in not eating at a table, with one pilgrim recording that the punishment for a Templar knight retreating in battle would be to "eat his food on the floor without a napkin for the space of one year."[513] This was also used as a punishment by the Hospitallers, with the offending brothers ordered to eat sitting on their mantles on the floor until those they had offended permitted them to rise.[514]

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[510] Getzov, 'An Excavation at Horbat Bet Zeneta', pp.202-3.
[511] Getzov, 'An Excavation at Horbat Bet Zeneta', p. 203.
[512] John of Joinville, *Joinville and Villehardouin*, p. 291.
[513] Anonymous Pilgrim V.2, p. 30.
[514] John of Joinville, *Joinville and Villehardouin*, p. 292.

It seems that some Franks were happy to eat Eastern-style food. One well-known example from Usama Ibn Munqidh's memoirs is the story of a Frankish knight (whom he refers to as the exception rather than the rule) who never ate "Frankish dishes", preferring the food of his Egyptian cook, and never allowed pork in his house.[515] The differences in cuisine were apparent not just between religions, but also between East and West. Liutprand, the German bishop of Cremona, remarked with horror on the use of vegetables in Byzantine cuisine in the 10th century, particularly when he was offered a dish containing lettuce. He also found the Byzantine wine undrinkable.[516] On the other side, the Byzantine chronicler Niketas Choniates felt similar revulsion at the Western food of "chine of oxen cooked in cauldrons, chunks of pickled hog boiled with ground beans and a pungent garlic sauce."[517]

For those who did not have the means to cook, such as pilgrims, it was possible to purchase ready-cooked meals from the street of Malquissinat or 'Evil Cooking' in 12th century Jerusalem. The association survived into the 15th century when it was referred to as Sūq al-Ṭabbākhīn, or 'Bazaar of the Cooks'.[518] It was also common practice to purchase ready-cooked meals in Damascus, as noted by the German pilgrim Thietmar in 1217.[519]

The main meal of the day in Western Europe would consist of a number of dishes presented to the table at the same time, from which diners could select whatever interested them.[520] Each diner would be presented with a bread or wooden trencher on which to eat their food and sometimes a napkin.[521] A knife would not usually be provided as each diner would be expected to have their own, and forks were not yet in common usage.[522] Depending on the

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[515] Usama Ibn Munqidh, *The Book of Contemplation*, p. 153.
[516] Vroom, *After Antiquity*, p. 330.
[517] Niketas Choniates, *O City of Byzantium,* p. 327.
[518] Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, p. 25.
[519] Thietmar, 'Pilgrimage', p. 101.
[520] Scully, *The Art of Cookery,* p. 132; Paston-Williams, *The Art of Dining*, p. 67.
[521] Woolgar, *The Great Household*, pp. 150-4.
[522] Woolgar, *The Great Household*, pp. 156-7.

dishes served a spoon may have been provided, but not always. The important part of most dishes served in bowls were the solids; the liquid was merely a sauce used to impart flavour and would not usually be scooped out.[523] The lack of cutlery meant that food was chosen and eaten partly with the hands, though only the right hand when selecting food from a shared dish. Finger bowls and napkins were used to clean diners' hands, and was considered part of good table manners.[524] The diners would share a number of dishes between them, with groups of two to four taking food from the same serving plates.[525] Wine or ale would be served in wood, earthenware or sometimes glass cups or beakers, which were often shared between two diners.

In Western Europe there were developing rituals and formality surrounding dining practices in the late 12th and early 13th century, as shown by the growing number of courtesy books.[526] Detailed instructions on good table manners (mainly for the knightly and aristocratic classes) were compiled in several volumes during the 13th century, including the German works, *Der wälsche Gast*, written by the Italian Thomasin van Zirklaria and *Hofzucht* by the poet Tannhäuser.[527] The practice of small group dining and sharing dishes between two or three people is reflected in the pictorial sources examined in Chapter 4. These images show the types of knives, bowls, cups and jugs used to serve and eat food and portray dining practices prevalent in Western Europe during the 12th and 13th century.

In addition to the glazed table ware, changes in the form of Frankish cooking ware has also been noted. The Beirut manufactured glazed ware was widespread in the Crusader states

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[523] Scully, *The Art of Cookery*, p. 170.
[524] Scully, *The Art of Cookery*, p. 176.
[525] Rank was an important indicator of how many people could share dishes. A bishop, earl or baron could share between two; knights, abbots and priors could share between three; and other ranks such as squire could share between four. Hammond, *Food and Feast*, p. 117-8.
[526] Nicholls, *The Matter of courtesy*.
[527] Scully, *The Art of Cooking*, p. 177. As would be expected, good table manners and discipline was also expected in the military orders. See Bronstein, 'The Hospitallers and the Templars', pp. 62-8.

and initially continued in the forms seen in Fatimid cooking pots. However, a major change occurred in the first half of the 13th century, when the walls of the baking dishes became much thicker, and a new deep cooking pot with strap handles appears.[528] Chemical analysis has shown that the fabric composition remained the same throughout, but the form changed. A change to deeper cooking vessels with thicker walls was noted in the Frankish period in the Morea, and has been suggested as indicating a change in dining style, moving from the roasted dishes previously popular with the Byzantines, to more Western European style stews that required a deeper cooking vessel.[529] As yet, the evidence for a similar proposal in the mainland Crusader states is too scattered. Much more research is needed on the diet of the Franks through analysis of faunal and plant remains to complement the growing discussion on cooking styles from the ceramic evidence.[530]

Ceramic Imagery

Moving beyond typological and chronological discussions, the role of ceramics in systems of representation and cultural identity is a growing field of analysis. The vast majority of decoration on glazed ceramics is geometric and floral, with a small number showing crosses, shields, animals and figures. Detailed examination of the figural imagery used in the decoration of some types of glazed ceramics has been carried out by Scott Redford and Joanita Vroom.[531] Examining the decoration of Port Saint Symeon ware and Cypriot ware respectively, both studies draw links between the decorative motifs and the creation of a

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[528] Stern, *Akko I: Text*, p. 44; Avissar and Stern, *Pottery of the Crusader Period*, pp. 91-2, Type II.2.1.4; El Masri, 'Medieval Pottery', p. 109.
[529] Vroom, *After Antiquity*, p. 329.
[530] Faunal and archeo-botanical analysis was carried out at the Red Tower, Cartledge, 'Faunal Remains', pp. 176-86, and Hubbard and McKay, 'Medieval Plant Remains', pp. 187-91.
[531] Redford, 'On *Sāqīs* and Ceramics', pp. 282-312; Vroom, 'Human Representation on Medieval Cypriot Ceramics', pp. 153-87.

distinctive cultural identity that borrowed and merged iconographical elements of surrounding cultures.

For Port Saint Symeon ware, Redford examined examples of decorated vessels from the Principality of Antioch and demonstrates that producers were actively 'borrowing' images and designs from Islamic and Byzantine art. These designs include heraldic and astrological images, combined with motifs such as the cup bearer or wine drinker and geometric knots and rosettes. The clear popularity and wide circulation in the Eastern Mediterranean of the glazed ceramics with these designs leads Redford to write of the creation of a "distinct taste" that was popular across the Crusader states and Armenian Cilicia.[532] There are certainly aspects of the Port Saint Symeon decoration that can be linked to aesthetic models related to specific traditions, such as the cup bearer, harpy (human head on a bird's body) and triangular shield. The cup bearer is a design seen on tableware from Iran during the Abbasid and Fatimid periods, and in Arabic illuminated manuscripts, and on enamelled glass from Aleppo.[533] This motif is also seen on the ceiling of the Palatine Chapel in Palermo, Sicily dating from the early 1140s, and appears in art from Armenia Cilicia.[534] Port Saint Symeon ware bowls bearing the cup bearer motif have been found in the mainland Crusader states at Al Mina[535], St Symeon Stylite the Younger,[536] Acre[537] and 'Atlit.[538] The cross legged cup bearer is not a motif that is seen in Crusader art. The only example can be seen in the *Histoire Universelle* illuminated in Acre in the last quarter of the 13th century, where a man with a cup sits cross legged with musicians on the top border of the full page

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[532] Redford, 'On *Sāqīs* and Ceramics', p. 302.
[533] Riavez, ''Atlit – ceramica Port St. Symeon 1217-1291', p. 523; Lane, 'Medieval Finds at Al Mina', p. 50.
[534] Vorderstrasse, 'The Iconography of the Wine Drinker', p. 60.
[535] Lane, 'Medieval Finds at Al Mina', p. 50, Pl. XXIV.1.A
[536] Vorderstrasse, 'The Iconography of the Wine Drinker', p. 62.
[537] Stern, '*Akko I: Plates*, Pl. 4.35.8
[538] Riavez, ''Atlit – ceramica Port St. Symeon 1217-1291', Tav. 15.10.

Creation illumination.[539] Perhaps this is not surprising given that there is little evidence to suggest that the Frankish population adopted the Islamic practice of sitting on the floor to eat (although as already noted in Chapter 2.1, there are images of the Franks playing chess seated on the floor).[540] Further north in Cilician Armenia, the situation was slightly different, as during the 13th century the coinage of Kings Hetum I (1226-70), Heum II (1289-1307) and Levon III (1301-7) show these rulers sitting cross legged in the eastern style. This is not surprising as during this period Cilicia frequently became a vassal of its Muslim neighbours and the Mongols.[541] A cross legged figure depicted on the keystone of a gate at the castle of Yilan Kalesi has also been linked with one of these 13th century rulers (Figure 48).[542]

Figure 28: Yilan Kalesi inner gate keystone. Photo courtesy of Denys Pringle.

Another figure appearing on the Port Saint Symeon ware is the harpy, a popular motif on Persian pottery in the 13th century and not uncommon in Byzantine art.[543] The two

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[539] Add. MS 15268, British Library, London, fol. 1v; Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land 1187-1291*, CD Image No. 327.
[540] All the examples of dining I have been able to find in Crusader art (illuminated manuscripts and wall paintings) show a dining table set out in a manner familiar to Western Europe.
[541] Edwards, *The Fortifications*, p. 273.
[542] Edwards, *The Fortifications*, p. 273.
[543] Talbot Rice, 'Late Byzantine Pottery', p. 210, 219, Fig. 1 and 2.

examples from Al-Mina and 'Altit both wear a tri-corn hat and collar.[544] Other non-geometric motifs that are not uncommon are birds in various forms and lions.

The possible influence of Western aesthetic traditions on the motifs of Port Saint Symeon ware is less straightforward. There are quite a few examples where the central decorations in the bowls are triangular shields emblazoned with stylised heraldic devices such as zig-zags and fleur-de-lis.[545] One example from Al Mina portrays a man wearing chain mail sitting slightly awkwardly astride a horse, the latter shown with a starred coat and ornamental tack with tassels.[546] I am reluctant to agree with Lane's diagnosis that the figure is "intended to represent a Crusader", as the motif is so rare and highly stylized.[547]

The variety of contexts, both Christian and Islamic, in which the Port Saint Symeon ware is found suggests that the figural imagery found on these vessels is part of a complex system of representation. The variety of motifs found on the Port Saint Symeon and Cypriot ceramics points to a combining of elements taken from several spheres of cultural and aesthetic traditions. The vessels were distributed to consumers of a wide range of religions and ethnicity, and the variety of motifs reflects the production in various workshops by a number of artisans.[548]

It is clear that more detailed quantitative analysis of ceramics from archaeological sites is needed in the future to further our understanding of the social dynamics of pottery consumption, and how this relates to broader questions of cultural identity. A successful approach used by Vroom in Morea is the comparison of average rim widths across time

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[544] Riavez, ''Atlit – ceramica Port St. Symeon 1217-1291', Tav.15.9; Lane, 'Medieval Finds at Al Mina', p. 49, Pl. XXIII.1.A.
[545] Acre, Stern, *Akko I: Plates*, Pl. 4.34.8, 4.35.1; 'Atlit, Riavez, ''Atlit – ceramica Port St. Symeon 1217-1291', Tav. 10.24; Al Mina, Lane, 'Medieval Finds at Al Mina', Pl. XXIII.2.A, Pl. XXV.2.
[546] Lane, 'Medieval Finds at Al Mina', Pl. XXIV.2.
[547] Lane, 'Medieval Finds at Al Mina', p. 51.
[548] Vorderstrasse, 'The Iconography of the Wine Drinker', p. 69.

periods.[549] This highlighted the change from communal dining in the middle Byzantine period during the 10th to the 12th centuries using wide, shallow dishes, to the narrower, deeper vessels used in the late Byzantine – Frankish period for small group dining and the 'Western' practice of only sharing dishes between two or three diners.

Trade

As demonstrated through the detailed study of ceramics at Acre, the distribution of imported ceramics in the Crusader kingdoms is closely correlated with Mediterranean sailing routes. The prominent role of the Italian maritime states, especially Genoa, Pisa and Venice in the early Crusades, bringing supplies and ships to aid the Crusaders, grew into a sophisticated maritime trade network. The establishment of the Crusader states and the generous trading privileges given to the Italian cities supported this expansion.[550] The opening of new trade routes between East and West, combined with improvements in navigation methods and ship construction resulted in the wide distribution of products such as ceramics by sea.[551] The ceramics often travelled as part of cargoes to fill space, acting as saleable ballast and circulating with other goods such as textiles.[552] The trade networks continued to operate between Christian and Muslim territories, by land as well as by sea. The presence of Syrian glazed wares in sites across the Kingdom of Jerusalem, both urban and rural, demonstrates that goods produced in Muslim territories remained in demand despite the hostilities between the two powers. Commerce continued throughout the period, and these goods were desirable objects across Frankish society, not just in elite households.[553] Italian traders were welcomed

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[549] Vroom, *After Antiquity*, Table 11.1.
[550] Riavez, 'Ceramiche e commerce nel Mediterraneo', pp. 108-9; Prawer, *The Crusaders' Kingdom*, pp. 403-7.
[551] Stern, *'Akko: Text*, p. 158, Fig. 8.2; Françoise, 'Réalités des échanges', pp. 241-6.
[552] François, 'Réalités des échanges', p. 243.
[553] The presence of fritware across the region at some of the smaller sites suggests that it was not an elite or exclusive form of ceramic. Redford and Blackman, 'Luster and Fritware', p. 236. See also Pringle, *The Red Tower*, pp. 76-77, Table 4.

in Egypt throughout the period, and during the 12th century were granted various commercial rights in Alexandria.[554]

There is a balance between considering material culture such as ceramics as items of commodity, and as items of style and taste. The importance of trade routes, particularly the activities of the Italian maritime states, is integral to an understanding of the distribution of various categories of ceramics. But a more 'anthropological' approach also has much to offer our understanding of how these vessels were used. Changes in form and fabric can do more than highlight chronological variation, informing our understanding of dietary changes and therefore dining practices. The appearance of designs using motifs from other cultural and religious traditions demonstrates the active borrowing of visual themes that has meaning to the society that is borrowing it.[555]

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[554] Ashtor, 'The Economic Decline of the Middle East', pp. 281-84.
[555] Redford, 'On *Sāqīs* and Ceramics', p. 296.

Chapter 2.3 Glass

Much of the research into glass from the Frankish period has focused on the small number of high value and richly enamelled beakers that travelled from the Levant to Western Europe with returning Crusaders and pilgrims. Less attention has been focussed on the lower value, domestic glass vessels such as beakers and bottles. Through the synthesis of material presented below, it is clear that as with ceramics, there are several forms of glassware that are typically found in Frankish domestic contexts. There are a few key styles of vessel that originated in Western Europe and travelled to the Levant, but most glassware was produced locally and used by both the Franks and other groups in the region. Unlike ceramic vessels, which occur in large quantities at a range of Frankish sites, the appearance of glass vessels is so far largely restricted to centres of population such as towns and fortifications.

Sites of Frankish manufacture

Archaeological and documentary evidence make it clear that Tyre was a major glass production site from the 10th to the 12th centuries. The city was first captured by the Crusaders in 1124, with the help of the Venetians, who were rewarded with one third of the city and generous trading privileges. Tyre was one of the few sites not lost to Saladin, and remained in the hands of the Crusaders until its capture by the Mamluks in 1291.

Benjamin of Tuldea, the 12th century Jewish traveller, noted that there were glass makers among the 500 Jews in Tyre, producing the "fine Tyrian glass-ware which is prized in all countries."[556] Writing in the early 13th century, the Bishop of Acre, James of Vitry also noted that the glass industry in Tyre made "the purest glass by cunning workmanship out of

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[556] Benjamin of Tudela, *The Itinerary*, p. 18.

the sands of the sea."[557] Genzia documents from Cairo record that in 1011, 37 bales of glass were sent to Cairo from Tyre by three Jewish firms.[558] Writing in the 10th century the Arab geographer al-Muqaddasī wrote that, "From Tyre comes sugar, glass beads and glass vessels both cut and blown."[559] A century later another Muslim geographer based at the court of Roger II on Sicily, al-Idrisi, noted that Tyre manufactured "long-necked vases of glass and pottery."[560] The city was known for producing high quality vessels, including "beautiful vases, famous for their transparency."[561] Other literary sources point to Antioch, Aleppo, Damascus and Egypt as centres for production in the medieval period.[562]

The medieval glassworks in Tyre were constructed immediately north of the Roman baths, on the south-east side of the Roman colonnade. Clearance work in the 1950s removed the upper structure of the furnaces, which had either been inserted into existing buildings, or used existing walls as part of their construction.[563] The raw glass was manufactured using four tank furnaces, each consisting of two parts: firing chambers and a melting chamber containing a mortar lined tank. In this method hot air from the firing chambers is drawn over the raw materials in the tank, which need to be heated to at least 1100 degrees Fahrenheit to melt – a process that would take at least 10 days.[564] Similar Byzantine period tank furnaces have been investigated at Hadera, in northern Israel.[565] The glass produced at Tyre had a soda-lime-silica composition.[566] The sodium oxide acts to lower the melting temperature of silica but makes the glass water soluble, so the addition of lime stabilises the mixture.[567] The

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[557] James of Vitry, 'The History of Jerusalem', pp. 92-3.
[558] Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society, Vol. I*, pp. 109-10, n. 65.
[559] le Strange, *Palestine Under the Moslems*, p. 19.
[560] le Strange, *Palestine Under the Moslems*, p. 344.
[561] William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, Book 13. Ch. 3, pp. 589-90; William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds*, vol. II, pp. 6.
[562] Benjamin of Tudela, *The Itinerary,* p. 16; Irwin, 'A note on textual sources', pp. 24-6.
[563] Jennings and Aldsworth, 'The Glass-making area on the Island site at Tyre', p. 232.
[564] Jennings and Aldsworth, 'The Glass-making area on the Island site at Tyre', p. 234.
[565] Henderson, *The Science and Archaeology of Materials*, p. 44, Fig. 3.16; Gorin-Rosen, 'Hadera', pp. 42-4.
[566] Freestone, 'The Chemical Composition', p. 236.
[567] Hodges, *Artifacts*, pp. 54-5.

presence of magnesia and alumina in the glass suggests that plant ash was the source of soda.[568] At Tyre, four colours of glass were made on the site: manganese decolourised, natural green, small quantities of purple, and cobalt blue. The quantities of glass produced by each tank were huge, amounting to enough glass for at least 350,000 vessels of 150 grams in each melt. It is estimated that there were at least five melts in the tanks excavated.[569]

Another site in the Crusader kingdoms was Somelaria, around 5km north of Acre which was also the location of a village owned by the Knights Templar.[570] The remains consist of a courtyard building with a barrel vaulted ground floor on the east wing. A small glass furnace was discovered near to the southeast of the building consisting of a tank (still with a thin layer of green glass) with two firing chambers.[571] Fragments of glass, still attached to the ceramic vessels in which they were melted, were discovered across the site.[572] The evidence suggested that glass was not manufactured from raw ingredients at Somelaria; instead raw glass was brought to the site and then broken up to be melted in pots before being placed in the tank. Fragments of finished vessels were found on site, including beaker wall fragments with prunts and a goblet base, and various neck fragments from bottles.[573] The inventory of the personal property of a Bavarian knight in the mid-14th century mentions four "gestamttew acrischew glaz", possibly manufactured in Acre prior to 1291.[574]

A glass workshop of the Crusader period was excavated at Cardo in Jerusalem, and was in operation between the 12th and the 15th century.[575] Like the workshop at Somelaria,

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[568] Freestone, 'The Chemical Composition', p. 236, Table 1.
[569] Jennings and Aldsworth, 'The Glass-making area on the Island site at Tyre', pp. 233-4.
[570] Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, p. 95.
[571] Davidson Weinberg, 'A Glass Factory', p. 307.
[572] Davidson Weinberg, 'A Glass Factory', p. 312, Fig. 8, 9.
[573] Davidson Weinberg, 'A Glass Factory', p. 313, Fig. 14, p. 316.
[574] Piendl, 'Hab und Gut', p. 204; Pfeiffer, '"Acrische" Gläser', pp. 67-9.
[575] Brosh, 'Glass objects from the Cardo', pp. 404-5.

the Cardo site did not manufacture glass, but re-melted the raw chunks to produce a variety of simple vessels in colourless and green glass.

Evidence from these sites suggests that the glass industry in the Levant continued the pattern of production from the Roman period.[576] In this arrangement, glass was manufactured in a central location such as Tyre, before the bales of raw glass were transported to smaller workshops. These workshops, such as Somelaria, were the location for the secondary stage of production, where the glass was re-melted and shaped into vessels.

Main forms: Window Glass

Fragments of Frankish window glass have been found from churches at the castles of Montfort, Beit She'an, 'Atlit, and from buildings in the Montmusard quarter in Acre. The window glass from Frankish contexts is a mixture of round panes known as crown glass, and pieces of cut plate glass. Crown glass was the most common form of window glass in the medieval period, and was produced by spinning a piece of molten glass into a disc. When the iron rod (or punt) used to shape the glass was removed from the disc, it left the characteristic raised central 'bullseye'.[577] Plate glass was produced by blowing a cylinder, then cutting it open longitudinally and flattening the glass whilst still hot. This produced a glass that was of a more even thickness that crown glass, but still irregular by today's standards.[578] The plate and crown glass was cut into geometric quarries, and used in Frankish contexts for the stained glass found in church windows.

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[576] Whitehouse, 'Glass from the Crusader Castle at Montfort', p. 192.
[577] Hodges, *Artifacts*, p. 62.
[578] Hodges, *Artifacts*, p. 62; Boas, *Domestic Settings*, p. 45.

Excavations at Montfort castle by Bashford Dean in 1926 yielded over 600 glass fragments, including vessel fragments and window glass.[579] The window glass was recovered largely from a room Dean identified as a chapel, with other fragments found in two adjacent rooms in the inner ward.[580] The fragments were of clear and stained glass, the latter including grisaille foliate and figural decoration that has been shown to have been painted by an artist trained in France.[581] Excavations in 2011 by the University of Haifa uncovered further window fragments with grisaille decoration.[582] The fragments closely resemble examples of grisaille panels from northern France in the mid-13th century.[583] Chemical analysis of the glass from Montfort Castle demonstrated that the raw glass used for the window panes and vessels was produced locally, showing similar composition to glass from Tyre and Somelaria.[584]

Quarries of clear glass were found on the floor of the church in the faubourg of the castle at 'Atlit. Although most of the glass was colourless, fragments of blue, green and purple quarries were also uncovered.[585] The quarries were cut from crown glass, and a possible reconstruction of the shapes was produced by C. N. Johns in 1935 and more recently by the IAA.[586] Some fragments of the lead cames used to fix the panes into place were also found.

Crown glass was also used for the windows panes in the suburb of Montmusard in Acre. Excavations uncovered quarries in a variety of shapes in clear glass, and it has been

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[579] Dean, 'A Crusaders Fortress in Palestine', pp. 5-46.
[580] Dean, 'A Crusaders Fortress in Palestine', p. 42.
[581] Whitehouse, 'Glass from the Crusader Castle at Montfort', p. 191. These fragments are now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accession numbers 28.99.659 and 28.99.651 for two fragments of foliate grisaille and 28.99.675 for a grisaille fragment with a face. Grisaille is a term used to describe panels of clear glass with monochrome decoration.
[582] Boas, *Montfort Castle*, p. 76, Fig. 102.
[583] Dean, 'A Crusaders Fortress in Palestine', Fig, 57, p. 42; Boas, *Montfort Castle*, Fig. 103, p. 76.
[584] Wypyski and Pilosi, 'Preliminary Compositional Study of Glass', p. 198.
[585] Johns, 'Excavations at Pilgrims' Castle, 'Atlit (1931-2)', p. 133.
[586] Johns, 'Excavations at Pilgrims' Castle, 'Atlit (1931-2)', Fig. 8; Brosh, 'Glass and Minor Arts', Fig. 5.

suggested that they originated from the several windows in a public building. A reconstruction of one window produced a central circle, surrounded by 'petals' comprised of broad and short trapezoidal quarries.[587] More fragments of crown glass window panes were found in the Frankish keep at Beit She'an. The glass is greenish, with the characteristic bull's eye in the centre and a folded lip.[588]

Beakers

A number of different beaker styles have been found in Crusader contexts in the Levant, from simple examples with a flared rim, to more ornate prunted and enamelled examples. Some of the beaker styles are also found on Islamic sites, whilst others, most notably the prunted beakers, are confined to Frankish contexts. As will be seen in Chapter 4, glass drinking vessels are depicted in some manuscript illuminations produced in Acre and were part of the Frankish dining table.

A typical form found at a number of Frankish sites is of wide-mouthed, conical beakers with pushed-in tubular bases. Several flaring rim fragments from Crusader contexts were discovered at Yoqne'am, including two examples with coils of glass around the rim.[589] This type is also seen in Frankish contexts at Arsuf and al-Qubeibeh.[590] Examples of this form were found at Jerusalem with the characteristic flared mouth, pushed-in base and rim foot, along with a beaker of the same form but with horizontal trails around the body as decoration.[591] Excavations in the Montmusard quarter of Acre also found examples of this beaker style, with two such vessels having decoration in the form of ribbing on the body.[592] This style is similar to a form seen across Syria in the late 12th to the 13th centuries, which as

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[587] Gorin-Rosen, 'Glass', Fig. 6 and 12.
[588] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, p. 44, Fig. 7.
[589] Lester, 'The glass from Yoqne'am', p. 213, Fig 13.
[590] Jackson-Tal and Tal, 'Crusader Glass in Context', p. 12, Fig. 9.5-7; Bagatti, *Emmaus-Qubeibeh*, pp. 162-4, Photo 63; Gorin-Rosen, 'Glass'.
[591] Brosh, 'Glass Objects from the Cardo', p. 416, Plate 15.2 G17-19 and p. 413, Plate 15.1 G2.
[592] Gorin-Rosen, 'Glass'.

time went on developed from a wider flared mouth into narrower, taller vessels with less flaring at the mouth.[593] A similar form without a pushed in base, were found as part of the Serçe Limani shipwreck from the early 11th century.[594]

Four fragments of bi-conical goblets were uncovered at Yoqne'am, comprising the central part of the vessel with splayed walls and rosette in the upper base.[595] The bi-conical style is made using two cups of blown glass with a common central base. This type of goblet is not seen on sites elsewhere in the Levant, and these examples seem to have been imported from Europe. The shape is most likely an imitation of a ceramic goblet.[596] Examples of this form have been found in 12th and the 13th centuries contexts in France.[597] The four fragments from Yoqne'am are either colourless or purple glass, comparable to an unpublished fragment from 'Atlit that has a similar section and is purple in colour.[598]

A small number of fragments of stemmed glasses have been found in Crusader contexts. This form is far less common than beakers, but two base fragments with evidence of a stem were found at Yoqne'am, both green in colour.[599] One stemmed glass was also found at Arsuf.[600]

The prunted beaker is a form found exclusively on Frankish sites in the Levant, and is seen in two main styles.[601] The most frequent has a tapered body with rows of prunts, a flared rim and a plain or 'toed' rim on the base. A trail separates the body from the rim above the prunts. Another style has a wider, slightly barrel-shaped body, with a flaring rim, prunts on

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[593] Kenesson, 'Islamic enamelled beakers', p. 46, Table 1.
[594] Kitson-Mim Mack, 'Beakers', p. 41, Fig. 4-1, 4-3.
[595] Lester, 'The glass from Yoqne'am', p. 214.
[596] Lester, 'The glass from Yoqne'am', p. 214, Fig. 16.
[597] Foy, *Le verre médiéval*, p. 195-6, Fig. 41, especially No. 12-15; Foy and Sennequier, *À travers le verre*, p. 165.
[598] Lester, 'The glass from Yoqne'am', p. 214.
[599] Lester, 'The glass from Yoqne'am', p. 213, Fig. XVII.14.5 and 6.
[600] Jackson-Tal and Tal, 'Crusader Glass in Context', p. 11.
[601] Gorin-Rosen, 'Excavation of the Courthouse Site', p. 83.

the body and a plain base rim.[602] Originally identified from excavations at the Agora in

Corinth and used as evidence of Byzantine influence on European (particularly Italian)

glassmakers in the 11th century, recent reconsideration of the evidence suggests that they

were produced at least 100 years later than originally thought.[603] Whitehouse suggests that

the evidence from the Corinth workshop dates from the period of Frankish occupation from

1210-1395, and the glass makers were Italian arrivals. This later date suggests that the

prunted beaker was in fact an Italian style that influenced Eastern glass production.[604] The

distribution of this form is very wide, with examples from France, Italy and Germany from

the second half of the 13th century.[605] Two prunted beakers have been found in excavations at

London dating from the 14th century, one with larger prunts than seen on the designs from the

Levant.[606]

A number of fragments from prunted beakers were found at Montfort by Dean, all

with several rows of prunts around the sides of the beaker, a narrow ridge at the top and

bottom of the punted section, and a flared rim.[607] Two further fragments of prunted beakers

were found during the 2011 excavations at Montfort, and examples are known from domestic

contexts outside the castle at Apollonia.[608] A complete example is now in the Eretz Israel

Museum in Tel Aviv, believed to have come from Beit She'an.[609] Further north, a fragment

of a prunted beaker with a flared rim and a horizontal trail above the prunts was found at

Beirut during the Souk excavations.[610]

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[602] See examples 742 and 744 from Corinth, Davidson, *Corinth*, p. 113, Fig. 14.
[603] For original interpretation by Davidson see *Corinth*, p. 87 and idem 'A Medieval Mystery, pp. 127-141.
[604] Whitehouse, 'Glassmaking at Corinth', p. 78.
[605] Foy and Sennequier, *À travers le verre*, p. 196.
[606] Egan, *The Medieval Household,* p. 232, No. 666 and 672.
[607] Dean, 'A Crusaders Fortress in Palestine', p. 41, Fig. 56, F. See also Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accession number 29.99.65a-f.
[608] Boas, *Montfort Castle*, p. 75, Fig. 98; Jackson-Tal and Tal, 'Crusader Glass in Context', p. 11.
[609] Boas, *Montfort Castle*, p. 75, Fig. 99; Brosh, 'Glass and Minor Arts', p. 266.
[610] Jennings and Abdallah, 'Roman and Later Blown Glass', p. 239, Fig. 15.9.

Excavations at the Courthouse site in Acre uncovered a number of prunted beaker fragments, although no complete examples were found.[611] Wall, rim and base fragments were excavated, all colourless glass with a yellowish tinge, thought to be from three vessels in total. The relatively poor quality of the fabric of the examples from Acre suggests that some examples were produced locally.[612] Another prunted beaker fragment suggested as a being locally produced was found at Horbat 'Uza. The fragment is of the base and lower body, in a pale green glass with thick walls and workmanship described as "careless".[613] The thicker-walled examples from Acre and Horbat 'Uza are in contrast to the thin walled and colourless glass of most prunted beakers from Frankish contexts, and seem to be local reproductions of an imported style.

Enamelled glassware

The majority of glass from the Crusader period is colourless or a single colour for the whole vessel. A very small proportion of vessels are decorated with gilding and enamel, representing the highest quality material. Most of the surviving enamelled vessels are beakers, the majority of which are now outside the Levant in museum collections, and few have been found in well-stratified archaeological contexts. The decoration was achieved by applying liquid gold and powdered enamels in various colours to the vessels with a brush or stylus. The vessels were then reheated to fuse the gilding and enamels to the surface of the glass.[614]

Excavations at Arsuf have provided the largest collection to date of enamelled glass from an archaeological context, with three beakers and one bowl found among the glass from

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[611] Gorin-Rosen, 'Excavation of the Courthouse Site at 'Akko', p. 82.
[612] Gorin-Rosen, 'Excavation of the Courthouse Site at 'Akko', pp. 82-3.
[613] Gorin-Rosen, 'The Glass Vessels from Strata 1-5', p. 180, Fig. 3.39:5.
[614] Jackson-Tal and Tal, 'Crusader Glass in Context', pp. 6-7; Foy and Sennequier, *À travers le verre*, p. 190. For more detail on the composition of the enamels see Freestone and Stapleton, 'Composition and technology of Islamic enamelled glass', pp. 122-8.

the cesspit inside the castle.[615] The enamelled bowl is shallow, 14 cm in diameter, with a

slightly flared rim and decorated on the inside with a patterned band of blue and gold

enamel.[616] The three beakers are narrow bodied with flared rims, and sides that taper to the

base. The most complete beaker is decorated with a floral design in gold, blue and red

enamel, contained within two gold bands of fleur-de-lis and beading. Two gold fish are just

discernible, swimming above a further lower band at the base of the body.[617] This beaker is

the only one to survive with a base intact, and shows it was made using a very particular kind

of technique with a pontil rod. The pontil technique was only in use in the Middle East from

the mid-12th to the mid-14th centuries, and did not spread to Europe.[618] A second beaker from

Apollonia has a band of Arabic inscription in gold enamel around the top section of the body.

The inscription is a standard phrase in praise of the sultan, read as "el-sultan, el-malik, el-

mualem, el-adel" - "the sultan, the king, the learned, the just".[619] The final beaker is

decorated with three wide bands of floral and faunal arabesque patterns in blue, gold, white

and red enamel. The images include fleur-de-lis, fish and orchids.[620]

Aside from the almost complete examples from Arsuf, fragments of enamelled glass

have been found at other Frankish sites. The excavations at Montfort by Dean found

fragments of what was initially interpreted as a gilded and enamelled hanging lamp, but is

actually a glass beaker.[621] The beaker is the same form as the examples from Arsuf, with a

narrow body, tapering to a flared rim. The glass is colourless, with three bands of blue

enamel with gold Arabic script, separated by thin gold lines. Another fragment of enamelled

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[615] Jackson-Tal and Tal, 'Crusader Glass in Context', Fig. 5-8. Harpek et al. *The Last Supper at Apollonia*, Fig. 6.
[616] Jackson-Tal and Tal, 'Crusader Glass in Context', Fig. 5.
[617] Jackson-Tal and Tal, 'Crusader Glass in Context', p. 7, Fig. 6. Harpek et al. *The Last Supper at Apollonia*, Fig. 6.
[618] Tait, 'The Palmer Cup', p. 51 and Figs a-j.
[619] Jackson-Tal and Tal, 'Crusader Glass in Context', p. 9.
[620] Two of the beakers from Apollonia are now on display in the Israel Museum, Tel Aviv.
[621] Deans, 'A Crusader Fortress in Palestine', p. 34, Fig. 50; Brosh, 'Glass and Minor Arts', p. 266; Gorin-Rosen, 'The Glass Vessels from Strata 5-1', p. 181, n. 14.

glass, probably from a beaker, was found in a securely dated 12th to 13th century context at Horbat 'Uza.[622] As with the beakers from Arsuf, this fragment is of colourless glass, with multi-coloured enamel decoration.

Two fragments from a "chalice" were found in early excavations in Acre, displaying part of a band with the Latin letters 'M' and 'B' visible, and a small amount of foliate decoration.[623] The style of lettering and heart-shaped leaves are similar to that seen on other glasses of what has been termed the 'Aldrevandin group', named after the beaker 'signed' by Magister Aldrevandin and is in the British Museum.[624] Other examples of this group include a large body fragment from Zurich, an almost complete beaker found in Lübeck, and many other small enamelled fragments from across Europe.[625] In the past beakers in this group have been termed 'Syro-Frankish', with the suggestion that the high quality of the enamelling could only have been produced either in Venice by a Syrian craftsmen, or in the Crusader states for Frankish customers.[626] More recently, analysis has suggested that the beakers were probably manufactured in Venice, and other locations in Europe, in the 13th and early 14th century.[627] However, the increased number of find spots across Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean in the last ten years, including two new fragments from excavations in Acre, preclude firm conclusions on their place of manufacture.[628]

Aside from the Acre example, which has more in common with European examples than those produced in the Middle East, the manufacture of enamelled glass in this style has been attributed to the period between the 12th and the 14th century. There was a 'golden era'

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[622] Gorin-Rosen, 'The Glass Vessels from Strata 5-1', p. 181, Fig. 3.39:6.
[623] Dothan, 'Interim Excavation Report First Season, 1973/4', p. 39, Fig. 41.
[624] Krueger, 'An enamelled beaker from Stralsund', p. 107; British Museum number 1876, 1104.3.
[625] Krueger, 'A Second Aldrevandin Beaker', pp. 117-9, Fig. 4 and 7.
[626] Krueger, 'A Second Aldrevandin Beaker', pp. 115-6; Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, pp. 152-3; Pfeiffer, '"Acrische" Gläser', pp. 67-9.
[627] Krueger, 'An enamelled beaker from Stralsund', p. 107.
[628] Krueger, 'A Second Aldrevandin Beaker', p. 118, n. 43.

of Islamic glass production in the late 13th and early 14th century when the beakers became larger and more intricate in the decoration.[629] The site of production is usually attributed to Syria (particularly Raqqa), but also Fustat in Egypt.[630] As alluded to above, most of the enamelled beakers of this type are known from museum collections. These include: The Palmer Cup,[631] the Luck of Edenhall,[632] three beakers all of which are in the Khalili collection in London[633], a cup now in the Louvre, Paris[634] and two in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.[635] The early history of the beakers is not documented, but it is thought that they travelled from the Levant to Europe as souvenirs of a visit to the Holy Land by a pilgrim or Crusader.[636] In Europe, fragments of 13th century Islamic enamelled glass have been found on excavations, including part of a cup decorated with horsemen and Arabic script from Abingdon in Oxfordshire.[637] Other fragments have been found in Lübeck.[638]

As the examples of enamelled glass from Arsuf show, commercial connections between the Crusaders and their Muslim neighbours remained strong, despite hostile political relations.[639] The Hospitallers and inhabitants desired high quality, ornately decorated luxury items produced by Islamic kingdoms, even those objects adorned with Arabic homilies to the Sultan.

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[629] Kenesson, 'Islamic enamelled beakers', p. 46.
[630] Tait, 'The Palmer Cup', p. 51; Wenzel, 'Thirteenth-Century Islamic Enamelled Glass', pp. 2-3.
[631] British Museum, London, Museum Number WB 53.
[632] Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Museum Number C 1-1959.
[633] Goldstein, *Glass: From Sasanian antecedents to European imitations*, pp. 278-9, No. 305.
[634] Wenzel, 'Thirteenth-Century Islamic Enamelled Glass' p. 11, Fig. 9
[635] Carswell, 'The Baltimore Beakers', pp. 61-3; Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land 1187-1297*, pp. 364-5; Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Museum Number 47.17 and 47.18.
[636] For an account of Mamluk enamelled glass in 14th century European inventories see Rogers, 'European inventories', pp. 69-73.
[637] Wenzel, 'Thirteenth-Century Islamic Enamelled Glass' p. 3-5, Fig. 1, 2A & B.
[638] Krueger, 'A Second Aldrevandin Beaker', p. 121, n. 59.
[639] Jackson-Tal and Tal, 'Crusader Glass in Context', p. 11.

Bottles

Bottles are one of the most frequent vessels that appear in the archaeological record, usually identified from neck fragments. A variety of forms occur at Frankish sites, including those decorated with trails, flared rims and other details such as bulges in the neck. Most are forms familiar in sites across the Middle East, from Christian and Islamic contexts, and seem to have been produced locally.

At the Courthouse site in Acre, 17 bottle fragments were identified, a mixture of neck and base fragments, mostly colourless with a green or yellowish tinge.[640] The quality of the fabric is relatively poor, with bubbly glass showing impurities and uneven walls, similar to the fabric seen at the glass factory at Somelaria, 5km north of Acre.[641] The bottles had either a long neck with a flared rim (one example with a pinched rim), or a wide neck with overhanging rims. Two examples have a trail wound around the neck in the same colour as the vessel. A bottle neck with a pinched rim and trail, dated to the 11th to the 13th century and identical to the example from Acre, was found in Beirut during excavations in the Souk.[642] Similar bottle necks were found at the stables in 'Atlit, with flared rims.[643] Other examples of this type were found in the castle cesspit at Arsuf, and from the Cardo excavations in Jerusalem.[644]

Aside from the neck with the trail, the examples from Arsuf include plain necks with a flared rim, double bulges, 'cup' shaped rims, and wavy trail decoration.[645] The cup or bowl rim was among the forms found at Serçi Limani, and the wavy trail decoration is a long standing decoration in the Levant, seen on bottle necks from the late Byzantine to Umayyad

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[640] Gorin-Rosen, 'Excavation of the Courthouse Site', p. 75-6.
[641] Gorin-Rosen, 'Excavation of the Courthouse Site', p. 76.
[642] Jennings and Abdallah, 'Roman and Later Blown Glass', p. 247, Fig. 15.1.
[643] Johns, 'Excavations at Pilgrims' Castle, 'Atlit (1932-33)', p. 52, Fig 18.
[644] Jackson-Tal and Tal, 'Crusader Glass in Context', p. 11; Brosh, 'Glass Objects from the Cardo', p. 413, Plate 15.1 G12.
[645] Jackson-Tal and Tal, 'Crusader Glass in Context', p. 11,12, Fig. 11.

period at a number of sites.[646] It is seen also in contexts as late as the 15th century in Jerusalem.[647] Bottles with bulges in the neck were also found at Montfort and the Red Tower.[648]

Another neck fragment from Montfort, with a bulge or fold just below the flared rim, is a style seen at other well dated mid to late 13th century assemblages including Acre, Arsuf and Jerusalem.[649] This style is also seen in the medieval period at Corinth.[650]

Other Vessels

A number of bowls were found in the cesspit at Arsuf, including a wide shallow bowl with a slightly flared rim, just under 12cm in diameter.[651] Another bowl of similar size has a rim that curves in, with a narrow glass trail on the rim.[652] From the Red Tower, a clear glass rim fragment from a bowl 22cm wide was found in a 12th century context.[653]

A small body fragment of a bowl lamp was found at Acre, with the handle still attached, in a pale yellow-green glass.[654] A handle fragment was also found in the suburb of Montmusard, made from colourless glass.[655]

At Yoqne'am three glass beads were found in Frankish contexts, one spherical carnelian bead, a tubular bead and a hexagonal bead, the latter two both in translucent green glass.[656]

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[646] Gorin-Rosen, 'The Islamic Glass Vessels', p. 244, Pl. 10.2.12; Lledó, 'Other Bottles', p. 274, Fig. 24-3.
[647] Brosh, 'Glass Objects from the Cardo', p. 423, Plate 15.1 G72.
[648] Dean, 'A Crusaders Fortress in Palestine', p. 41, Fig. 56 A; Pringle, *The Red Tower*, p. 162, No.17, Fig. 53;
[649] Gorin-Rosen, 'Glass', Fig. 12.3; Jackson-Tal and Tal, 'Crusader Glass in Context', p. 13, Fig. 10.2; Brosh, 'Glass Objects from the Cardo', p. 413, Plate 15.1 G7-10.
[650] Davidson, *Corinth*, p. 117, No. 773 Fig. 17
[651] Jackson-Tal and Tal, 'Crusader Glass in Context', p. 12, Fig. 9. 1.
[652] Jackson-Tal and Tal, 'Crusader Glass in Context', p. 12, Fig. 9. 2.
[653] Pringle, *The Red Tower*, p. 160, Fig. 53.
[654] Gorin-Rosen, 'Excavation of the Courthouse Site', p. 82, p.79 Fig. 2.19.
[655] Gorin-Rosem, 'Glass', Fig. 12.4.
[656] Lester, 'The glass from Yoqne'am', p. 215, Fig. 18.2,3,4.

Discussion

The small quantity of glass from Frankish contexts published so far precludes detailed conclusions. Only at Arsuf was a sufficient quantity of glassware found in a well dated context to conduct distribution analysis according to form and function. Of the 350 vessel fragments found, 169 were classified according to function, with the largest proportion of vessels (49%) used for pouring and drinking.[657] Twenty three percent of vessels were used for serving (bowls), and 18% were used for lighting (lamps).[658] This distribution of forms is supported by evidence from Jerusalem, where the majority of glass from the Crusader period related to drinking and pouring.[659] This distribution is also reflected in the manuscript illuminations produced in the Crusader states, where simple glass beakers and bottles (sometimes shown containing wine) are illustrated as part of dining scenes, alongside ceramic serving vessels.[660]

Many of the vessel forms, particularly the bottle shapes, are seen throughout the early Islamic and Crusader period, demonstrating the continued usage of local vessels by the Franks. The range of glassware is not as wide as ceramic vessels, and analysis from material from Beirut has shown that the range of forms for glass vessels decreases from the 12th century, becoming restricted to beakers, bottles, lamps and sprinklers.[661]

The evidence suggests that the majority of glassware used by the Franks was produced locally, either following local forms, or reproducing styles imported from Europe such as the prunted beakers. The bi-conical beakers found at Yoqne'am are another example of an imported style. It seems likely that the fragments of 'Aldrevendin' enamelled glass

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[657] Jackson-Tal and Tal, 'Crusader Glass in Context', Fig. 4a and 4b.
[658] Jackson-Tal and Tal, 'Crusader Glass in Context', Fig. 4a and 4b.
[659] Brosh, 'Glass Objects from the Cardo', pp. 401-2.
[660] See Chapter 4.
[661] Jennings and Abdallah, 'Roman and Later blown glass', p. 247.

found in Acre also represent a European import, but the evidence for production sites and stylistic influence are still not clear. The beautiful enamelled glassware found at sites such as Arsuf demonstrate the commercial ties between Islamic producers and Frankish consumers, who prized the highly skilled work of artisans in Syria and Egypt, regardless of any ongoing military conflict.

Chapter 2.4 Domestic Architecture

Following on from the detailed consideration of several categories of material culture (small finds, ceramics and glass), the final section of this chapter will consider the domestic architecture of the Crusader States in the Levant. Domestic architecture provides a setting for the material culture of daily life – a context for many of the objects already considered in sections of this chapter. As with much of the material culture, the majority of the evidence is taken from the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The relationship between artefacts and housing is contentious; distribution patterns of material have the potential to inform discussions of room usage but are not often found *in situ*. Gradual abandonment and reuse is far more common than artefacts appearing in a 'sealed' context as a result of a dramatic event such as fire. It is no surprise that the number and variety of artefacts found in domestic contexts is far greater in urban than rural settings, but the relatively small number of sites predicates detailed conclusions to be drawn on any particular association between house and artefact type.

Consideration of the architecture of the Frankish house is a growing area of study in the field of Crusader archaeology as more archaeological material comes to light through excavations. The aim of this section is to provide an overview of the types of domestic architecture found in the Crusader states, and consider these within the context of developments in Europe and the Middle East. This will include buildings from the simpler rural dwellings, to estate centres, domestic areas in fortifications, and urban houses. Before describing the domestic architecture of Frankish buildings, this section will outline the contemporary house styles in Western Europe and in the Eastern Mediterranean. It will be seen than the Franks were influenced by the domestic settings they knew from their countries of origin, and also those they came into contact with in the East.[662]

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[662] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, p. 13.

The study of domestic architecture is more than the examination of physical remains in bricks and mortar. In addition to the functional nature of the structure, providing shelter from the elements, the researcher is interpreting the house as a signifier of social, cultural and economic status within the occupant's society.[663] The features of a building usually studied for function and socio-cultural implications include size and plan, room divisions and access points.[664] The choice of layout and construction moulds the use of space, informing ideas of usage and daily practice. Some of these choices were made in response to local climate and geography, such as the prevalence of one type of building material, but others can be linked to broader cultural and social practices.

The detailed gazetteer of secular buildings in the Kingdom of Jerusalem by Denys Pringle provided the first comprehensive survey of the remaining standing houses, and all those excavated at the time of publication.[665] More recently Adrian Boas has produced a detailed study of the domestic architecture in, *Domestic Settings: Sources on Domestic Architecture and Day-to-Day Activities in the Crusader States*, where he also includes a typology of Frankish housing.

The most influential factor in the design of Frankish housing was its setting in an urban or rural context. The cities of the Crusader states, particularly Acre, provide the widest variety of house types currently known. By contrast, houses from a rural setting are either simple one or two storey barrel-vaulted structures within a planned village, or estate centres designed as a courtyard complex with a first floor hall.[666] This division also relates to the cultural origin of the designs; the rural houses generally follow a layout seen in Western Europe, whereas in the urban centres more Eastern designs are seen. It has been suggested

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[663] Sigalos, *Housing in Medieval and Post-Medieval Greece*, p. 1; See also Johnson, *Housing Culture*.
[664] Rosedahl and Schlokmann, 'Housing Culture', p. 155; Fairclough, 'Meaningful constructions', pp. 348-50.
[665] Pringle, *Secular Buildings*.
[666] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, pp. 257-9.

that this division could reflect the labour used, with the new settlements in the countryside constructed by the Frankish settlers, whereas in the urban centres local Muslim builders were employed.[667] However, this is not always the case and there were some house styles in the urban centres which were European imports, most notably the Italian tower houses.[668]

Housing in the pre-Crusader Eastern Mediterranean

Before describing the domestic architecture of the Franks in the Levant, this section will outline the design of homes that they encountered in the Eastern Mediterranean. The basic design of the house in the Levant remained broadly unchanged from the Roman and Byzantine periods onwards, continuing though the medieval period until the advent of modern building materials. The most important domestic space was the courtyard, with rooms constructed in various layouts alongside or around this area. The most prevalent type during the Roman-Byzantine period was a simple one or two roomed dwelling in front of an open courtyard.[669] The Islamic conquest changed little in this regard, and there was a continuation of the two basic courtyard types seen across the Eastern Mediterranean; the interior courtyard that is completed enclosed by the house, and the exterior courtyard that borders the house, but is not enclosed.[670] The interior courtyard tends to be associated with urban areas, where the need for privacy and seclusion in populous surroundings was important.

In contrast the lack of spatial pressures in rural areas, and less need for privacy, led to the prevalence of exterior courtyard styles.[671] The Arabic word for house, *dār*, literally

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[667] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, pp. 247-8.
[668] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, p. 245.
[669] Hirschfeld, *The Palestinian Dwelling*, p. 21.
[670] Petherbridge, 'The House and Society', p. 199.
[671] Petherbridge, 'The House and Society', p. 199.

translates as 'enclosure', so a house could comprise several buildings to form an enclosed space.[672] The number of buildings around the courtyard grew over time, with additional rooms constructed when sons married to provide separate homes for the new family.[673]

Town Houses

Within the Crusader states an example of a pre-Frankish Islamic house was excavated in Jerusalem. The house was flat-roofed with rooms enclosing three sides of a courtyard with a wall on the fourth side, accessed via a narrow passageway between two of the rooms.[674] Similarly, in Tiberius two adjoining houses were excavated from Stratum II (9th to the 11th centuries). Each house consisted of two rooms with upper floors reached from stairs in the corner of the adjacent courtyard. The upper stories were paved with mosaic. The houses were occupied until the area was abandoned following the 1033 earthquake. [675] At Beih She'an a house from Stratum 3 (the Abbasid and Fatimid periods) consisted of a series of rooms on the West, South and East sides of a paved courtyard.[676] The walls of the house contain architectural fragments in secondary use, and were constructed on the remains of the collapsed buildings destroyed by an earthquake in 749 AD.[677] In Aqaba, the remains of a Fatimid period townhouse were excavated in the 1980s. The layout was a series of rooms around a central courtyard with an *iwan* on one side.[678] The remains of frescos were uncovered in a room leading off the north side of the *iwan*. To ensure privacy a visitor entering from the street would pass through three small chambers bending around a corner.[679]

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[672] Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society, Vol. IV*, p. 56.
[673] Canaan, *The Palestinian Arab House*, p. 7; Hirschfeld, *The Palestinian Dwelling*, pp. 167-9.
[674] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, pp. 21-2.
[675] Hirchfeld, 'Tiberias' (1989/1990), pp. 108-9.
[676] Foerster and Tsafrir, 'City Center (North)', p. 19, Fig. 30.
[677] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, p. 22.
[678] An *iwan* is a roofed hall open on one side facing a courtyard.
[679] Whitcomb, 'A Fatimid Residence at Aqaba', pp. 207-23; idem, 'The Misr of Ayla', pp. 277-88.

Outside the Crusader territories excavations in Fustat, Egypt have uncovered medieval houses with a central courtyard, some up to five or six storeys high. The external features were limited to decorated portals and high windows, and the inner house could only be reached through a twisting entrance corridor.[680]

Glimpses of architecture can sometimes be seen in documentary evidence such as illuminated manuscripts. Oleg Grabar's examination of the mid-13th century *Maqāmāt* of al-Harīrī has demonstrated that the house portrayed in this manuscript is characteristic of a Mesopotamian townhouse of the period, with a central open courtyard and a second storey.[681] The Cairo *geniza* documents also provide an insight into medieval housing. The detailed examination of the records by S. D. Goitein have described an outline of the basic structure of houses in the city. The central court was an integral part of the home, sometimes paired with a central reception hall, and each section of the house was formed of a dominant large room with one or two smaller adjuncts.[682] The corresponding excavations have limitations for interpreting the *geniza* documents, as the continuous occupation and renewal of the site throughout the medieval period makes it challenging to understand the archaeology. In addition, the most populous part of Fustat cannot be reached by excavation due to the suburbs constructed on top from the 19th century onwards.[683]

At the other end of the Mediterranean, urban houses in al-Andalus had similar layouts and features, with a central courtyard surrounded by ranges for living and store rooms, sometimes with upper floors and a latrine connected to sewage pipes or cess-pits in the street.[684]

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[680] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, p. 21.
[681] Grabar, 'A Newly Discovered Illustrated Manuscript', p. 93.
[682] Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* IV, p. 77.
[683] Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* IV, p. 53.
[684] Bazzana, 'Matériaux, techniques', pp. 64-5, Fig. 12.

Non-Frankish Rural Housing

Several village sites occupied by the local Muslim population during the 12th and the 13th century have been excavated in the mainland Crusader states. At Khirbat Fāris, a village on the Karak Plateau in Jordan, domestic structures from the 12th to the 16th century were formed of groups of barrel-vaulted rooms surrounding a central courtyard.[685] At the early Islamic farmhouse of Nahal Mitnan in the Negev highlands, the farmhouse was composed of three separate dwelling units, each of one or two rooms, grouped around a courtyard.[686]

Another example of a non-Frankish village site is Khirbat Ka'kul, excavated to the north of Jerusalem.[687] The small village site was founded in the 12th century and expanded further in the Mamluk period. The excavated buildings of the 12th century comprised four rooms, roofed with barrel vaults, arranged in an L-shape. The site is not documented in Crusader records, despite the area being heavily settled by the Franks in the 12th century. This lack of records, and the dissimilarity of the architectural remains with the planned Frankish villages such as al-Qubeibeh and Ramot 06, have led the excavators to conclude that this was a site occupied by the local, possibly Muslim, population.[688] The presence of imported ceramics from Cyprus (generally restricted to Frankish sites) and a small bronze cross are not considered sufficient evidence to suggest Khirbat Ka'kul was occupied by Franks.[689]

At Horbat Bet Zeneta in the Western Galilee, a small 12th century village was excavated. Built into the remains of the Roman settlement, the single room houses were poorly constructed, unlike the thick walls of dressed stones with a cement core seen in Frankish villages. The ceramic assemblage was predominantly coarse handmade wares, with

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[685] McQuitty, 'Khirbat Fāris', pp. 160-1.
[686] Haiman, 'An early Islamic Period farm', pp. 1-14.
[687] Seligman, 'Jerusalem, Khirbat Ka'kul', p. 46.
[688] Seligman, 'Jerusalem, Khirbat Ka'kul', p. 47.
[689] Boas, 'The Medieval Ceramics from Khirbat Ka'kul', p. 75.

a tiny minority of imports, and therefore unlike the assemblages known from Frankish sites. The excavators concluded the site was inhabited by the local population.[690]

Palestinian Village Housing

The Palestinian village house is a distinctive style of building that has attracted attention from researchers and travellers since the 19th century, and has long been seen by some as a style of housing that has remained unchanged since the medieval period. The two standard texts from the 20th century are Gustaf H Dalman's seven volume study *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, first published in 1928, and Taufik Canaan's *The Palestinian Arab House: Its Architecture and Folklore* from 1933.[691] The British Museum has also recently produced a short volume with a large number of photographs giving an overview of housing and life in a Palestinian village.[692] A more ethnographic approach to housing and village life can be found within the work of Hilma Granqvist, who studied the village of Artas in the late 1920s for her book *Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village*.[693] As Ron Fuchs has noted, many of these writers approached the subject from a biblical-archaeology perspective, seeing the landscape of 19th and 20th century Palestine as "illustrations for the Scriptures."[694] Implicit in their writing was the sense that domestic architecture had remained unchanged for millennia, and that the village house was the most 'authentic' expression of this traditional way of life.

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[690] Getzov, 'An excavation at Horbat Bet Zeneta', pp. 202-4. For the European style horseshoes found on the site see Rosen, 'Crusader-period horseshoes', p. 204.
[691] Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*; Canaan, *The Palestinian Arab House*.
[692] Amiry and Tamari, *The Palestinian Village Home*.
[693] Granqivst, *Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village*. A more recent book contains many more of Hilma's photographs of life in Artas than were included in her original publications – Seger, *Portrait of a Palestinian village: the photographs of Hilma Granqvist*.
[694] Fuchs, 'The Palestinian Arab House', p. 157.

The Palestinian village house has been characterised as a single-space dwelling with an elevated living platform.[695] This spatial arrangement is seen in Jordan, Lebanon and the Aegean.[696] Multiple household activities would take place in one room with the lower space used for livestock and the raised space at the back of the dwelling used as living space for the family. The basic format of the traditional house dates back to the Byzantine period, with single-room houses built in front or behind an open courtyard.[697] It is thought the use of split levels developed at some point during the medieval period, with the use of groin vaults appearing after the Frankish period.[698]

The Byzantine Empire

The housing of the Byzantine Empire was divided into two main types during the medieval period: the courtyard house and those with a linear or L-shaped layout flanking an outside space or a road.[699] The courtyard designs often followed the wall lines of earlier Roman buildings, and included a series of small rooms arranged around the living and working space in the courtyard. A larger room was often used for dining. The courtyard style has mostly been found in urban contexts and was a continuation of an early Byzantine style.[700] In the areas of the Byzantine Empire that came under the control of the Latin Christians after the Fourth Crusade, it has been suggested that some villages developed in a planned nature similar to those seen in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. These villages were developed around a central fortified *kastra*, particularly on the Greek islands, where the risk of piratical raids was far greater. [701]

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[695] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, p. 30.
[696] Jordan see Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, Figs, 50, 51, 52; Lebanon see Ragette, *Traditional Domestic Architecture*, p. 168, Figs. 1 & 2; Aegean see Fuchs, 'The Palestinian Arab House', p. 160.
[697] Hirschfeld, *The Palestinian Dwelling*, p. 21.
[698] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, p. 31.
[699] Sigalos, *Housing in Medieval and Post-Medieval Greece*, pp. 73-4.
[700] Ellis, 'Early Byzantine Housing', pp. 37-52.
[701] Sigalos, 'Middle and Late Byzantine Houses in Greece', p. 66.

At Corinth houses often had four rooms opening off a central courtyard, including a large room divided by two pairs of columns.[702] During the Frankish period (1210-1458) the Byzantine-era buildings continued to be used, although some were remodelled and repaired. New water channels and cisterns were cut into earlier levels but there were no distinctive new architectural features that emerged.[703] Another Frankish period complex at Corinth, excavated in the 1990s, had 13 rectangular rooms (most c.8 metres by 4 metres) arranged around a central courtyard, and was possibly a hospice for travellers.[704] More courtyard houses, constructed during the 11th and the 12th century, and re-used and rebuild during the Frankish period, were uncovered in Athens near the northern end of the ancient Agora.[705]

The House in Western Europe

The varied climate and available building materials gave rise to a range of house types across Western Europe in the 11th to the 13th century. The economic growth of towns and cities during this period saw innovations in urban housing, and in newly established towns such as Lübeck houses of several stories were built, with increasingly elaborate timber frames on stone foundations. Other multi-storied houses from this period survive from Cluny, some with internal courtyards.[706] Houses completely of stone in urban contexts dating from the 12th century have survived in Lincoln and Cluny.[707] The restrictions of space in urban settings, and the different needs of the inhabitants, led to the development of long narrow plots in many towns, with little space between one building and the next.[708]

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[702] Scranton, *Medieval Architecture*, p. 67.
[703] Scranton, *Medieval Architecture*, pp. 86-7.
[704] Williams II and Zervos, 'Frankish Corinth: 1994', pp. 2-3, See also idem, 'Frankish Corinth: 1991', pp. 133-191 and 'Frankish Corinth: 1993', pp. 1-56.
[705] Setton, 'The Archaeology of Medieval Athens', p. 242, 253.
[706] Grandchamp, 'Twelfth and Thirteenth-Century Domestic Architecture', p. 10.
[707] Roesdahl and Scholkmann, 'Housing Culture', pp. 167-8.
[708] See for example Douai, France and Rome, Italy; Schofield and Steuer, 'Urban Settlement', Fig 4.5, p. 133.

Archaeological evidence shows that from the 12th century vaulted undercrofts and basements in urban houses were used as warehouses and showrooms for commercial goods sold from ground floor shops.[709] A particular development in Italy was the construction of towers in the towns and cities across the north of the country. This style of architecture was a manifestation of increasing conflict between the nobility and can be seen in cities such as Roma, Bologna and Florence.[710] Often four or five stories high and connected to the corner of a private house, the defensive properties of the towers are made clear by narrow windows and doors above ground level.[711]

In rural settings, housing in medieval Western Europe was very diverse, responding to the particular climate and geography of the area. Aside from the very mountainous areas settled above the tree line, most structures were predominately wooden, although increasingly with stone foundations and lower courses. Settlement types also varied, from individual farmsteads to villages. The former were seen across Western Europe, and were characterised by an enclosure containing several buildings of varying functions such as a central longhouse and smaller outbuildings for storage.[712] Village houses were often small, with one or two rooms and a central hearth, as seen at the sites of Goltho and Barton Blount in England, and Vitry-sur-Orne in France.[713]

The understanding of the concept of the first floor hall house in Western Europe has changed over the last 30 years. This form of domestic architecture, a storied stone building, was widespread across the continent. Increased archaeological and documentary evidence has demonstrated that (in England and Normandy certainly), between the 11th and the 13th

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[709] Grandchamp, 'Twelfth and Thirteenth-Century Domestic Architecture', p. 5.
[710] Schofield and Steuer, 'Urban Settlement', p. 133.
[711] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, p. 16.
[712] Klápště and Jaubert, 'Rural Settlement', p. 89.
[713] Beresford, *The Medieval Clay-Land Village*, Fig. 14 and 15; Burnouf, *Archéologie médiévale en France*, pp. 54-5.

century these buildings should more accurately be termed chamber blocks, with a structurally separate building acting the hall.[714]

Frankish Building Techniques

The construction methods used in Frankish buildings incorporated elements from Western Europe and the local area. The use of stone rather that wood is the most immediate difference between the majority of domestic buildings in Western Europe and the Frankish constructions in the Crusader states. In urban areas in Europe the number of stone buildings was on the increase in the 12th and the 13th century but this material was expensive compared to wood and so beyond the reach of most. In contrast, the scarcity of wood in many of the areas the Franks settled in the East necessitated the change in construction material.

A well-known stone cutting technique used by Frankish masons leaves diagonal tooling marks across the dressed ashlar face.[715] The use of this technique appears to have been time-consuming and expensive so extensive use was confined to prominent constructions, and not to most domestic buildings.[716] The surface of the stone was worked with a comb-shaped chisel, leaving diagonal striations. This technique is not found in buildings constructed prior to the 12th century, and is only seen in secondary contexts after the Crusader period.[717] Another characteristic of Frankish buildings is the use of bossed ashlars, where the edges of the face are drafted (sometimes with diagonal tooling) to leave the centre of the block standing proud. On some domestic buildings, (for example at Khirbat al-

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[714] Blair, 'Hall and Chamber', p. 308. For earlier interpretations see Wood, 'Norman Domestic Architecture', pp. 167-242 and idem, *The English Medieval House*.

[715] Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, p. 219; idem, *Domestic Settings*, p. 40; Ellenblum, 'Construction Methods', pp. 170-1.

[716] Ellenblum, 'Construction Methods', p. 170.

[717] Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, p. 186.

Lawza), the cornerstones of a building were marginally drafted and the rest of the walls constructed from roughly-cut local stones.[718]

Another feature of Frankish buildings is masonry marks, a practice connected with building techniques and the organisation of labour.[719] The marks were used to assess the quality and quantity of work completed by the masons, affecting their rates of pay, whether daily or by piecework. An analysis of the form and frequency of masonry marks has suggested that particular groups of marks could relate to the construction phases of a building, or to the origin of the stones used for construction; the local stone was not marked, but that carved at distant quarries was.[720] Masonry marks are found on buildings of the Ayyubid period, but not in conjunction with the diagonal tooling and dressed masonry seen on Frankish buildings.[721]

Some features, such as putlog holes, provide information on building technology and construction methods used by the Franks. A putlog hole is a rectangular hole near the top of the interior wall that supported the centring, the wooden scaffolding used in the construction of a barrel vault. The scaffolding was dismantled after the building was finished but the holes were not always blocked, particularly in simpler structures.[722] This is a construction feature not seen in contemporary or later Muslim buildings, where the putlog holes were always covered.[723] Wall construction can also be another indication of a Frankish building. A technique often seen in rural houses, and occasionally in urban constructions, was the use of field stones and stone chips on the outer faces, with a rubble and mortar core. This is seen at

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[718] Ellenblum, Rubin and Solar, 'Khirbat al-Lawza', p. 193.
[719] Pringle, 'Some Approaches to the Study of Crusader Masonry Marks', pp. 173-99.
[720] Pringle, 'Some Approaches to the Study of Crusader Masonry Marks', pp. 197-8; Ellenblum, 'Construction Methods', pp. 173-6.
[721] Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, p. 2.
[722] Ellenblum, 'Construction Methods', p. 172; Boas, *Domestic Settings*, p. 47.
[723] Ellenblum, 'Construction Methods', pp. 172-3, n. 15.

sites such as Aqua Bella and Ramot 06.[724] A costlier method, often seen in urban buildings,

was to construct the wall face from dressed ashlars, with a rubble and mortar core.[725]

Frankish Domestic Architecture: Village Houses

The characteristic feature of the village settlements newly constructed by the Franks in the

Levant is their planned nature. The three settlements that have so far been investigated are

Ramot 06, al-Qubaiba and al-Bira.[726] Al-Qubaiba and al-Bira were two of the settlements

established by the canons of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the area north of *Jerusalem*.

Twenty-one villages in total were given to the canons by Duke Godfrey of Bouillon in 1099-

1100, a donation confirmed by King Baldwin I fourteen years later.[727]

All three planned villages are of linear layout with long, narrow houses arranged

either side of a central street. The houses are of similar construction, the remains showing

they consisted of barrel-vaulted structures that often shared walls over two metres thick with

the adjoining property. In addition to sharing side walls, the front and rear walls often ran the

length of several houses, indicating that they were constructed at the same time. The walls

were constructed of fieldstones with a rubble core, and would have been plastered on the

interior.[728] Evidence suggests that the ground floor would have consisted of a workshop or

storeroom, with a first floor living space. Some structures also had undercrofts at basement

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[724] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, pp. 48-51, Fig. 11; Pringle, 'Aqua Bella', p. 150.
[725] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, p. 51.
[726] For Ramot 06 see Boas, 'A Recently Discovered Frankish Village', pp. 583-94 and idem, *Domestic Settings*, pp. 321-8. For al-Qubaiba see Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 86-7 and Bagatti, *Emmaus-Qubeibeh*. For al-Bīra see Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, p. 35 and idem, 'Magna Mahumeria', pp. 148-68. A further linear village at al-Haramiya, north of Ramallah, was excavated in 1994 but the results await detailed publication. Boas, *Domestic Settings*, p. 321, n.75.
[727] Pringle, 'Magna Mahumeria', p. 147.
[728] Boas, 'Street Villages and Rural Estate Centres', p. 140

level. Workshop installations, including basins and presses for wine and oil, were discovered on the ground floor in houses at al-Qubeibeh and Ramot 06.[729]

A feature of Frankish village housing often noted as innovative is the appearance of fireplaces with wall chimneys. At least four houses in Ramot 06 were identified as having chimneys built into their northern walls, one example consisting of an arched opening supported on curved brackets.[730] The presence of wall chimneys is interesting as in Western Europe this is a feature not widely seen in village housing until the 14th century. Village houses from the 12th and the 13th century on Dartmoor contain central hearths, some with the remains of wattle and daub chimney hoods.[731] The earliest example of a fireplace against a wall is from the hall at Douè-la-Fontaine in south-west France, this feature then progressing into town houses.[732] There is ample evidence for the appearance of chimneys in Europe from the 12th century in high status stone buildings such as castles and manor houses, but not in smaller village homes. In England they can been seen at Rochester castle and the manor house at Boothby Pagnell,[733] in France they appear in the stone houses at Cluny[734] and in Germany at the castles of Ulrichsburg/Elsass Spliatsch and Oedenburg.[735] In the Near East, chimneys are very rarely seen in Islamic contexts, and do not appear frequently in rural contexts in the Levant until the Ottoman period.[736] The appearance of chimneys in Frankish rural houses at such an early date compared to examples in the West is certainly innovative.

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[729] Bagatti, *Emmaus-Qubeibeh*, p. 90-1; Boas, 'A Recently Discovered Frankish Village', p. 585.
[730] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, p. 167.
[731] Beresford, 'Three Deserted Medieval Settlements', p. 129.
[732] Roesdahl and Scholkmann, 'Housing Culture', p. 175; de Boüard, 'De l'aula au donjon', pp. 5-110.
[733] Brown, *Rochester Castle*, pp. 39-40; Harris and Impey, 'Boothby Pagnell revisited', p. 246.
[734] Grandchamp, 'Twelfth and Thirteenth-Century Domestic Architecture', p. 14, Fig. 22.
[735] Yehuda, 'Household Archaeology', p. 154.
[736] Yehuda, 'Household Archaeology', p. 152.

Estate Centres or Manor Houses

The estate centre or manor house was a building form introduced into the Latin East by the Franks. The sites detailed below show the range of form that this type of settlement could take – as an isolated farmhouse such as Har Hozevim, or a large courtyard building as at Aqua Bella or ar-Ram.

The site of Aqua Bella has been variously interpreted as a nunnery, manor house or infirmary.[737] The 12th century courtyard building has barrel-vaulted halls on three sides (north, south and west), second floor vaulted halls on two sides (north and west), and a second floor hall on the south with three groin-vaulted bays and an apse to the east.[738] The wall faces were pointed with white mortar, which was then impressed with a herringbone pattern to receive the plaster render.[739] This particular feature has been noted in other Frankish buildings including the Red Tower, the Benedictine convent building at Bethany and the Templar castle of Maldoim between Jerusalem and Jericho.[740]

The Frankish farmhouse of Khirbat Al-Lawza included a large (21 metres by 4.8 metres) byre or grange on the west of the site, with a first-floor hall house on the east accessed by an external staircase.[741] The hall house masonry was dressed to a much higher standard that the other buildings on site, suggesting it was the apartment of the estate owner. A fragment of a small square column base was also found, probably from a two-light window.[742]

At Har Hozevim a small manor house of the Crusader period was excavated, revealing a central rectangular building aligned west-east, abutted by two smaller rectangular

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[737] Pringle, *Churches I,* p. 249; Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, pp. 241-5.
[738] Pringle, 'Aqua Bella', Fig. 149; Boas, *Domestic Settings*, p. 337.
[739] Pringle, 'Aqua Bella', p. 150.
[740] Pringle, *The Red Tower*, p. 102, 104; Boas, *Domestic Settings*, Fig. 8.
[741] Ellenblum, Rubin and Solar, 'Khirbat al-Lawza', p. 190, Fig. 3; Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 65-6.
[742] Ellenblum, Rubin and Solar, 'Khirbat al-Lawza', p. 192, Fig. 9.

rooms on the east side.[743] Excavations inside the central building revealed the remains of a staircase leading to an upper floor. The buildings were surrounded by a courtyard to the east and north. Although the site is not recorded in medieval written sources, the methods of construction and plan suggest that all three buildings were constructed during the period of Crusader occupation, which has been estimated as c.1120 until the fall of Jerusalem in 1187.[744] The building's quoins were drafted ashlars, and the walls were constructed using the characteristically Frankish technique of large dressed fieldstones for the wall faces, with a rubble and mortar core.[745]

Two further examples are the sites of ar-Ram and al-Jib, both situated five miles north of Jerusalem.[746] At ar-Ram the canons of the Holy Sepulchre had established a Frankish 'new town' by 1160, similar to their other site al-Bira. Any remains of the houses and burgage plots of the 'new town' have disappeared above ground, and the medieval remains consist of a courtyard building that operated as the grange with a tower at the south-west corner.[747] The tower was the earliest part of the complex and has a barrel vaulted basement with stairs to the first floor. It was subsequently incorporated into a courtyard building with barrel vaulted ranges.[748]

Urban Houses

The towns and cities of the Crusader states display the most variety of house types, with courtyard houses, merchant houses and towers among the main designs.[749] As with the other

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[743] Kletter, 'Jerusalem, Har Hozevim', pp. 70-1; May, 'Jerusalem, Har Hozevim', pp. 56-8.
[744] Kletter and Boas, 'Har Hozevim', p. 201.
[745] Kletter and Boas, 'Har Hozevim', p. 187.
[746] Pringle, 'Two Medieval Villages', pp. 141-77.
[747] Pringle, 'Two Medieval Villages', p. 165, 174; Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 88-9.
[748] Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, p. 88; Boas, *Domestic Settings*, pp. 338-40.
[749] Kesten, *The Old City of Acre*, p. 14.

sections, the examples below are not exhaustive, but instead are intended to illustrate the range of building types constructed by the Franks in their urban centres.

In Acre, 25 houses have been surveyed including courtyard houses, tower houses and merchant houses with ground floor shops. An interesting example of the courtyard style house is in the Genoese quarter, combining elements of Eastern and Western building style.[750] The ground floor level has survived intact, entered via a bent corridor as is typical of Islamic urban courtyard houses. The courtyard is enclosed by walls on the south and west, and by vaulted rooms to the north and east. Originally fully open to the sky, the courtyard has been partly covered by vaults at a later point, possibly after the recovery of Acre in 1191 when the population expanded.[751] This building included a rectangular chimney flue constructed in a barrel vault with traces of soot still visible inside.[752]

The Venetian and Genoese quarters in Acre also contained large palaces, containing as many as 16 shops on the group floor, and the upper stories consisting of small rooms and apartments rented out to visiting merchants.[753] An example of this type was surveyed in the Genoese quarter, with twelve groin vaulted bays supported by large piers covering an area 17 metres by 22.5 metres.[754] Documentary sources also mention the use of towers as residential quarters, with the upper stories of a tower in the Venetian quarter rented out, and the ground floor used as a prison.[755] Today two towers can be seen in Acre, one in the Genoese quarter and the other to the south of the city.[756]

At Caesarea a large barrel vaulted building (7.5 metres wide and 16 metres long), was divided into four bays by transverse arches. A staircase on the outside of the south wall led up

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[750] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, pp. 271-4.
[751] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, p. 273.
[752] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, p. 274.
[753] Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, pp. 233-4; Boas, *Domestic Settings*, p. 252.
[754] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, p. 267, Fig, 67.
[755] Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, p. 235.
[756] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, p. 254, Fig. 64.

to the first floor, and this feature, along with the presence of a garderobe chute, suggest a domestic use for the first floor.[757] It seems likely that this building is the house of a merchant, with storage space on the ground floor, and living quarters in the apartment above.[758] Within the city walls there are several other areas where evidence of domestic buildings have been uncovered dating to the Crusader period.[759] One area is slightly south of the eastern gate, adjacent to the inside of the city walls. As the buildings are constructed against the city wall, their date has been narrowed to the 14-15 years between the construction of fortifications by Louis IX in 1250-51 and the loss and destruction of the city by the Mamluks in 1265.[760] Three houses have been identified in this area, each consisting of a courtyard, and least two rooms at ground level.[761]

When excavating at 'Atlit in the early 1930s, C. N. Johns uncovered the remains of a medieval housing complex in the north-west of the Crusader *faubourg*. Little detail is given but the houses were constructed of "rough field stones…difficult to trace and to plan, the thresholds alone being dressed."[762] The published plan is difficult to interpret but seems to show a courtyard with at least five rooms.[763]

The restoration of the Islamic city walls by the Crusaders at Arsuf included the reconstruction of an Umayyad period house built along the inner face. The house consisted of several rooms with an upper floor supported by arches, constructed of dressed sandstone blocks.[764] A cobbled courtyard or lane was uncovered abutting the house.[765]

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[757] Pringle, *Churches I*, pp. 182-3.
[758] Pringle, *Churches I*, p. 183; Boas, *Domestic Settings*, pp. 300-2.
[759] Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 43-5.
[760] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, p. 293.
[761] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, p. 295; idem, 'Survey of Crusader Structures', pp. 77-9.
[762] Johns, 'Excavations at Pilgrims' Castle, 'Atlit, (1932)', p. 147.
[763] The field diary apparently gives little additional detail about these structures. Boas, *Domestic Settings*, p. 308.
[764] Roll, 'Medieval Apollonia-Arsuf', p. 601. For the Islamic town see Roll, 'Der frühislamische Basar', pp. 252-62.
[765] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, pp. 291-2, Fig. 80.

Little evidence for Frankish housing survives from Jerusalem, with the majority of construction by the Crusaders focussing on churches and the town walls, including parts of the Citadel. In the Street of Mount Zion, the Crusader period vaulted shops originally included upper floors acting as living quarters.[766] One example has been described in some detail, with three narrow barrel vaults (2 metres by 7 metres) acting a ground floor shops. The façade is constructed of ashlars dressed with the diagonal tooling so characteristic of Frankish construction.[767] This architecture is also seen on David Street, with corbels indicating that the upper floor was originally a timber gallery.[768]

Domestic areas in fortifications

Developments in the military architecture of Crusader castles have been investigated in detail, and this section will provide a brief summary of the domestic areas of these buildings.[769] There are a range of fortified structures in the Crusader states, from simple masonry towers to large concentric castles. The domestic areas in these structures varied depending on the size of the fortification, its primary purpose, and the occupier. Depending on the proximity of other buildings the fortification could incorporate sleeping, cooking and dining space in one complex. The most common type of castle in the Crusader states is the simple masonry tower: usually square or slightly rectangular in plan, with a barrel vaulted basement and upper floor.[770] Most seem to have fulfilled a residential function, although some, such as Le Destroit that protected the coastal road at 'Atlit, were built for primarily

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[766] Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, p. 56; Ben-Dov, Bahat and Rosen-Ayalon, 'Jerusalem', p. 786.
[767] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, pp. 314-6.
[768] Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, p. 55, Fig. XLII.
[769] See for example Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 6-11, Ellenblum, 'Three generations of Frankish castle building', and more recently idem. *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories*.
[770] Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 5-6.

defensive purposes.[771] Depending on the size of the tower, and the presence of adjacent

buildings, the upper floor could serve as a solar or hall, often accessed via stairs built within

the tower wall.[772] The design of these towers originated in Western Europe, with clear links

to examples from France and England.[773]

The domestic areas in larger castles often included a hall that could function as the

reception area, a refectory, kitchens, and if in a castle occupied by the one of the Military

Orders, a communal dormitory. The location of the dormitory is often identified by its

proximity to other facilities such as the latrines or chapel.[774] For example at Montfort, the

first floor dormitory of the Teutonic Knights has been identified as adjacent to the chapel

with a latrine chute.[775] Similarly, the location of the communal refectory can usually be

identified as the hall adjacent to the kitchens.[776] At 'Atlit this was the south-west hall,

recognised due to the presence of ovens built outside the wall at the northern end.[777] At those

castles not occupied by the Military Orders, a similar range of buildings can be assumed, with

chambers, a hall and kitchen needed for the lord or castellan.[778] The domestic areas of a castle

could be luxurious, with murals, fountains and architectural sculpture.[779]

Discussion

The period of Frankish occupation in the Levant saw the construction of a number of

different housing types in rural and urban settings, but the development of a distinctive

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[771] Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, p. 108; Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 47-8, No. 90l; Pringle, 'Towers in Crusader Palestine', pp. 336-9.
[772] Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, p. 7.
[773] Pringle, 'Towers in Crusader Palestine', pp. 342-3.
[774] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, p. 119; Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, p. 156.
[775] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, p. 120; Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, No. 156, pp. 73-5, Fig. 38.
[776] Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, pp. 159-60.
[777] Johns, *Guide to 'Atlit*, pp. 59-60.
[778] Pringle, 'Architecture in the Latin East', p. 167.
[779] Molin, 'The non-military functions', pp. 369-70; Hunt, 'John of Ibelin's Audience Hall', pp. 260-81.

Frankish house type does not seem to have taken place. Some domestic buildings included elements of both western and eastern building designs and techniques in their construction, but this failed to develop into a house type that was significantly distinct from other styles.[780]

In urban settings we see Frankish re-occupation of courtyard houses constructed in the Islamic period, probably because the style was found to be practical and comfortable for the climate. Some Franks were clearly content to use and adapt the local style for their own purposes, and this use of unfamiliar domestic space can be placed alongside other examples of adoption and use of aspects of Eastern material culture such as ceramics.[781] When housing was constructed anew it initially followed Western types, as seen in the villages and manor houses, both of which were architecturally unlike any Eastern examples.

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[780] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, p. 245, 247.
[781] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, p. 244.

Chapter 3. Written sources

This chapter will discuss a selection of the written sources relating to the Crusader states in the Levant, examining them for information on aspects of Frankish identity, and for information on the moveable objects of daily life. This will include a discussion of evidence for Frankish self-definition, in the context of contemporary traditions outlined in Chapter 1. The first section of this chapter examines the most relevant written sources relating to the Crusader states (including chronicles, pilgrim accounts and travellers' writings). This is followed by an overview of the information on the moveable objects and material culture that were discussed in Chapter 2.

3.1 Identity in the written sources.

To examine of the written sources in order to understand social or cultural identity is not a straightforward process. We are seeking evidence for an idea which was not necessarily a major concern of the medieval writers. Their works were often formal exercises designed to construct narratives for an audience within a particular literary format, and do not always provide objective accounts of events.[782] There are few explicit discussions of identity, but the consideration of a number of different texts by those writers who had experience of Frankish society can inform our discussion.

Several different terms were used by writers to describe the Western Europeans who settled in the Crusader states: some used the term 'Frank', whilst others preferred 'Latin', referring to the religious affiliation of the settlers as distinct from the local Eastern Christians.

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[782] Robinson, *Islamic Historiography*, p. 154

The Muslim sources also used the term Frank (*al-ifranj*) as a blanket term to refer to all the Western Europeans who arrived in the Levant, whether as settlers, pilgrims or Crusaders.[783]

Several of the chroniclers covering the events of the First Crusade restricted the use of the term 'Frank' to those Crusaders and settlers from the Île-de-France (an area which later became part of the Kingdom of France), as part of a Crusading narrative to promote the actions of the French Crusaders. This is the case for the Benedictine monk Robert of Rheims, also known as Robert the Monk. For him there is one nation or people who are above all others in the eyes of God, and who are best placed to lead the Crusades, "the blessed nation of the Franks whose God is the Lord, and the people whom he hath chosen for his own inheritance."[784] Robert's work *Historia Iherosolimitiana* was composed by 1107, and was partly a reworking of the slightly earlier, anonymous source the *Gesta Francorum*.[785] The *Historia* was very popular during the medieval period, and survives today in 94 manuscripts, including 37 dating from the 12th century.[786] In his account of the Council of Clermont in November 1095, Robert only mentions in passing other nations involved in the Crusades during his account of Pope Urban II's speech, referring to the Franks and then to people "across the mountains."[787] Robert's final statement is a reminder that the Franks were the nation who were prophesied by Isaiah to liberate Jerusalem, "we have found this and many other things in the books of the prophets which fit exactly the context of the liberation of the city in our era."[788]

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[783] Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, p. 31; Murray, 'Ethnic Identity in the Crusader States', p. 61.
[784] Robert the Monk, 'Historia', Prologue, p. 723; Robert the Monk, *History*, p. 49.
[785] *Gesta Francorum, Anonymi Gesta*; *Gesta Francorum: The deeds of the Franks*. The *Gesta* is anonymous, most likely written by a vassal of Bohemond of Taranto from southern Italy at some point between 1100 and 1104.
[786] Tyerman, *The Debate*, p. 9; Sweetenham, 'Crusaders in a Hall of Mirrors', p. 50.
[787] Robert the Monk, 'Historia', Book I. Ch. 1, p. 727; Robert the Monk, *History*, p. 51.
[788] Robert the Monk, 'Historia', Book IX. Ch. 26, p. 882; Robert the Monk, *History*, p. 51; Isaiah 60.10.

Guibert of Nogent, another Benedictine chronicler who re-used material from the *Gesta Francorum*, composed his history of the First Crusade - *Gesta Dei per Francos* - in 1106-9. [789] Like Robert, Guibert lays the credit for the success of the First Crusade firmly with the Franks from the Île-de-France, with little acknowledgement of the contribution of other groups. During an argument with an archdeacon of Mainz, Guibert defends the Franks and their devotion to God, comparing them unfavourably with the Germans saying, "a nation noble, wise, war-like, generous, brilliant about all kinds of nations. Every nation borrows the name as an honorific title; do we not see the Bretons, the English, the Ligurians call men 'Frank' if they behave well?"[790]

For some visitors to the Crusader kingdoms, the broad term of 'Franks' for the Western Europeans in the Levant did not adequately recognise the distinct nations that formed this new society. The pilgrim John of Würzburg visited Jerusalem around 1165 travelling from Franconia, an area in eastern Bavaria. He was keen to restore some pride and recognition of 'Franconian' involvement in the successful capture of Jerusalem in 1099. He recounts adding some graffiti to the side of a monument commemorating the event adding to the original line "By Frankish might Jerusalem was won", the message "Not Franks-Franconians, warriors far more brave." [791] John later records a list of those nations he has seen attending the various churches in the city, including "…Latins, Germans, Hungarians, Scots, Navarrese, Bretons, English, Franks."[792]

Other writers adopted broader terms for the Western Europeans in the Crusader states. Writing from the principality of Antioch between 1114 and 1122, the chronicler Walter the Chancellor was not concerned with differentiating between the original nations of the

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[789] Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*; Guibert of Nogent, *The deeds of God*.
[790] Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos,* Book II.1, pp. 109-10; Guibert of Nogent, *The deeds of God*, p. 41.
[791] John of Würzburg, *Descriptio*, p. 125.
[792] John of Würzburg, *Descriptio*, pp. 137-8; Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p. 163, n. 203.

Crusaders, using 'Latins' or 'Franks' to describe all those who were from Western Europe.[793]

As his name suggests, Walter was an official in the principality of Antioch, writing a first-hand account of life in the recently established territory.[794]

Another writer resident in the Crusader states was Fulcher of Chartres, who composed his *Historia Hierosolymitana* between 1100 and 1127.[795] Fulcher was born in 1059 and travelled to the East as chaplain to Baldwin of Boulogne, as the latter progressed from Lord of Edessa in 1098, to become the first Crusader King of Jerusalem in 1100. Fulcher based some of his *Historia* on the *Gesta Francorum*, but his initial account of the progress of the First Crusade across Europe is believed to be largely his own work.[796] The *Historia* is a particularly useful source because Fulcher continued writing whilst living in Jerusalem. When describing the European settlers, the most common term in Fulcher's writing is Franks (*Franci)*, although he occasionally uses the word *Francus* in the more restricted sense of someone originally from the Île-de-France.[797] One of the most quoted sources in discussions of the Frankish settlers is the passage from Book 3 of the *Historia*, when Fulcher describes how:

> "We who were Occidentals have now become Orientals. He who was a Roman or a
>
> Frank in this land has been made into a Galilean or a Palestinian. He who was of
>
> Rheims or Chartres has now become a citizen of Tyre or Antioch. We have already

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[793] Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*, 'Latini' Book I Ch. 1.2, p. 63, 'Franci' Book II Ch. 8.5, p. 85 and Book II Ch. 16.9, p. 114; Walter the Chancellor, *The Antiochene wars*, 'Latin' p. 81, 'Frank' p. 139, 169-170; Murray, 'Ethnic Identity in the Crusader States', p. 61.

[794] Walter the Chancellor, *The Antiochene wars*, p. 1.

[795] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*; Fulcher of Chartres, *A History*.

[796] Hagenmeyer was not sure whether Fulcher was actually present at Clermont, as he does not definitely say he attended, Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, p. 3, note 5. Ryan points out that if Fulcher had been present at such an important occasion he would have mentioned it. Fulcher of Chartres, *A History*, p. 8.

[797] Murray, 'Ethnic Identity', p. 61.

forgotten the places of our birth; already these are unknown to many of us or not mentioned anymore."[798]

Fulcher continues to describe how some Franks had taken wives from the local Christian communities, with some even marrying Saracen women who had converted to Christianity. Those who had settled in the Crusader states are described as able to converse in different languages and embracing life in the East.[799] Despite the diversity of nations that had participated in the First Crusade, Fulcher is keen to emphasise their coming together to form a new society in the Crusader kingdoms.[800] This passage should be seen in the context of his broader narrative, which was a designed to recruit more Western Christians to take the Crusading vow, and persuade more to settle in the newly formed kingdoms.

Later in the same century, the Norman writer Ambroise composed his *L'estoire de la guerre sainte* about the events of the Third Crusade (1189-92).[801] In the *Estoire* Ambroise reserved the greatest praise for the Normans, in contrast to his remarks about the French. When bemoaning the disagreements within the army Ambroise wistfully recalls the siege of Antioch during the First Crusade, as a time when the nations and peoples of Western Europe were united under the name of Frank:

"…there was no bickering and quarrelling, at that time and before; then there was neither Norman nor French, Poitevin nor Breton, Mansel nor Burgundian, Flemish nor English; there was no malicious gossip nor insulting of one another; everyone came back with all honour and all were called Franks, whether brown or red, swarthy or white."[802]

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[798] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, Book III, Ch. 37.3, p. 748; Fulcher of Chartres, *A History*, p. 271.
[799] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, Book III, Ch. 37.5, pp. 748-9; Fulcher of Chartres, *A History*, pp. 271-2.
[800] Murray, 'Ethnic Identity', p. 62.
[801] Ambroise, *The history of the Holy War*.
[802] Ambroise, *The history of the Holy War*, p. 146; Ambroise, *L'estoire de la guerre sainte*, pp. 227-8, §8500-8518.

In the writing of William of Tyre the term used for the Western European settlers is mostly *Latini*, reflecting their confessional allegiance.[803] William was born in the Kingdom of Jerusalem around 1130, and was archbishop of Tyre from 1175 to 1184 or 1185. He remained chancellor of the Kingdom of Jerusalem from 1174 until his death in 1185.[804] As Murray has noted, the use of the terms *Franci* and *Latini* by writers such as William of Tyre and Fulcher of Chartres (both of whom lived and worked in the Crusader states), is interesting because they do not clearly relate to existing traditions of European nationality. Instead they describe the distinctiveness of the European settlers in the Levant in relation to the other groups in the Levant, namely the Eastern Christians and the Muslims.[805]

The term 'Frank' to describe the Western European settlers was also used by the author known as the Templar of Tyre, writing from the mid-13th century to the early 14th century. This chronicle is a key source for the fall of Acre in 1291, and one of the most reliable for events in the Crusader states in the 1230s and 1240s.[806] The writer frequently uses the broad term 'Christian', and further clarifies this by using 'Frank' in cases where a distinction is needed between the Eastern Christians and those of Western origin.[807] Like William of Tyre, the Templar of Tyre was born in the East (probably Cyprus), and worked closely with the master of the Templars.[808]

From the middle of the 12th century there was a clear tension between the Frankish settlers and Western Europe. This was articulated on several occasions by the churchman James of Vitry, who was born in central France in the mid-12th century, but appointed Bishop of Acre in 1214. When deriding the Franks he wrote, "They made treaties with the Saracens,

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[803] Murray, 'Ethnic Identity', p. 61.
[804] William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds*, pp. 4-25.
[805] Murray, 'Ethnic Identity', p. 61, 64.
[806] *The 'Templar of Tyre'*, pp. 1-2.
[807] *The 'Templar of Tyre'*, 'Frankish mass', p. 34, 'Franks' and 'Syrians', p.50.
[808] *The 'Templar of Tyre'*, p. 3.

and are glad to be at peace with Christ's enemies…they would rather indulge their sloth…than fight the Saracens."[809] For those who arrived in the Crusader kingdoms from the West, keen to engage the Muslim enemy in battle, the inclination of the Franks towards agreeing truces was a source of frustration.[810] There was a clear, and often derogatory, conception of the Franks as a people distinct from those in Western Europe. For a number of writers, events such as the defeat at Hattin in 1187, and the loss of Acre in 1291, were a result of the immoral behaviour of the Franks, including some of the 'Oriental' habits they had acquired.[811] The English chronicler Ralph Niger was particularly disdainful of the spiced Eastern perfumes worn by the Patriarch of Jerusalem on the latter's visit to Paris in 1184, complaining that they made those near him dizzy.[812] In a similar vein, James of Vitry was scathing of the immoral and "effeminate" Franks, or *pullani* as he called them.[813] He described them as "brought up in luxury…more used to baths than battles, addicted to unclean and riotous living, clad like women in soft robes." [814]

This tension is also alluded to in the account known as the *Old French Continuation of William of Tyre* just before the battle of Hattin in 1187, where antipathy between the Crusaders from the region of Poitou and the Franks surfaced. According to this account the King of Jerusalem Guy of Lusignan was encouraged to improve relations between the Poitevins and the "bearded" *pullani*, the latter's facial hair being seen as a visual manifestation of their distinction from the clean shaven Western Crusaders.[815] The Poitevins had composed a song mocking the Franks opposition to the choice of a 'Westerner', Guy de

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[809] James of Vitry, *Historia Orientale*, Ch. LXXIII, pp. 290-3; James of Vitry, 'The History of Jerusalem', pp. 64-6.
[810] Schein, 'The Image of the Crusader Kingdom', p. 710.
[811] Schein, 'The Image of the Crusader Kingdom', p. 716.
[812] Schein, 'The Image of the Crusader Kingdom', p. 712; Ralph Niger, *De re military*, p. 194.
[813] James of Vitry, 'The History of Jerusalem', p. 64; James of Vitry, *Historia Orientale*, Ch. LXXIII, pp. 290-1. Morgan, 'Meanings of Old French *Polain*', p. 44.
[814] Jacques de Vitry, *The History of Jerusalem*, p. 64; Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Orientalis*, Ch. LXXIII, p. 290-291.
[815] *Old French Continuation*, p. 45; Morgan, 'Meanings of Old French *Polain*', pp. 44-5.

Lusignan, as king; "*Maugré li Polein, Avrons nous roi Poitevin* – despite the *polains*, we shall have a Poitevin king."[816] According to the chronicle it was this hatred that led to the loss of Jerusalem.[817] The differences between the Franks and Western Europeans were often pointed out by writers seeking an explanation for the reversal of fortunes suffered by the Crusaders from the late 12th century.[818] The derogatory use of the term *pullani* was also noted by John of Joinville when writing an account of King Louis IX's visit to Acre in the mid-13th century. He records that the term was used to insult him after advising King Louis to remain in Acre rather than return to France as advised by others in his party.[819]

Looking outside the Levant to another Crusader territory, the anonymous *Chronicle of Morea* provides a narrative of the formation of the Principality of Morea in the Peloponnese after the Fourth Crusade. A detailed examination of the chronicle by Teresa Shawcross has distinguished two different approaches to the concept of identity in the Principality. Whilst the narrative emphasises the existence of two distinct groups, 'Frank' and 'Greek', there are many occasions when this is subsumed by a more cohesive and overarching identity which both groups shared.[820] In a similar argument to Murray's about the creation of identity in response to other groups, Shawcross argues that over time it becomes possible to see "a process of self-definition by the people of the Morea" often reacting against further influxes of North-Western Europeans and Byzantines.[821]

From the Arabic Sources

The complexity of the relationship between the Muslims and the Franks is reflected in the Arabic literary sources. As in the Latin sources, those outside the religious, political and

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[816] *Old French Continuation*, p. 46, n. 74.
[817] *Old French Continuation*, p. 46.
[818] Morgan, 'Meanings of Old French *Polain*', p. 51.
[819] John of Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, Ch LXXXIV, p. 154; Jean de Joinville, *Joinville and Villehardouin*, p. 272.
[820] Shawcross, 'Greek and Franks', p. 142.
[821] Shawcross, 'Greek and Franks', p. 152.

military elite receive only marginal treatment in chronicles and histories; the experiences of those outside the urban, consuming elite were seen by medieval Muslim writers to be much less worthy of their interest.[822] The Arabic sources for the Crusades examined below display varying degrees of hostility to the Franks, and information regarding the cultural identity of the settlers is glimpsed only through anecdotal evidence.

The work of the writer Usama Ibn Munqidh (1095-1188), the *Kitab al-I'tibar* (Book of Contemplation), has been one of the Arabic texts most studied by modern historians when discussing the relationships between the Franks and Muslims. Composed in 1175 the *Kitab al-I'tibar* is a key source for the Levant before the ascendency of Saladin in the second half of the 12th century, and was used as a source by other Arabic writers such as Ibn al-Athir (1160-1233).[823] Initially working in the Burid court of Damascus, Usama left Syria to join the Fatimid court in Egypt in 1144, remaining there for ten years until he joined the court of Saladin. The *Kitab al-I'tibar* is a memoir, and as such was not designed to be an accurate chronicle of events surrounding the early Crusades; rather it is a work for Usama to be remembered by, and to provide future entertainment and instruction.[824] His involvement in political life and his extensive travelling throughout Syria, Palestine and Egypt brought him into contact with Franks on a regular basis, and he seems to have counted several among his friends and associates. Usama records a number of anecdotes about the Franks, but these may have been exaggerated episodes to entertain and amuse Muslim audiences with the 'strange' customs of the Westerners.[825] Usama's work is also marked by a certain fatalism, expressed through contradictory accounts on themes such as Frankish justice and Frankish medicine: a man may survive being speared by a lance, but another may die from the prick of a needle.[826]

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[822] Robinson, *Islamic Historiography*, p. 125
[823] Ibn al-Athīr, *The chronicle*; Micheau, 'Ibn al-Athīr', pp. 58-68.
[824] Usama ibn Munqidh, *The book of contemplation*, pp. xxxiv-xxxv.
[825] Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, p. 260.
[826] Irwin, 'Usama ibn Munqidh', pp. 74-5.

His account of Muslim-Frankish relations is complex and personal. The Franks were outsiders and enemies in war, but they could also be friends.[827]

He displays an ambiguous attitude towards the Franks throughout his work, on the one hand appearing hostile and presenting them as the enemy and 'other', and yet relating several anecdotes demonstrating his close relationship with particular individuals. He was impressed by Frankish medicine and counted the Templars at the al-Aqsa mosque as his friends.[828] Usama records an instance of one of his men visiting the house of a Frank in Antioch for dinner where he hesitated initially before being assured by the Christian host, "Eat and be of good cheer! For I don't eat Frankish food: I have Egyptian cooking-women and never eat anything except what they cook. And pork never enters my house."[829] Usama was also one Arabic writer who distinguishes several times between the Franks who had lived in the Crusader states for some time, and those Western Europeans who had only recently arrived on Crusade. Before relating the anecdote just described Usama writes, "Among the Franks there are some who have become acclimatized and frequent the company of Muslims. They are much better than those recently arrived from their lands."[830] In an earlier incident the Templars at the Aqsa mosque apologised to Usama after a man "just arrived from the Frankish lands" tried to prevent him praying towards Mecca.[831]

Several other Muslim sources make the same distinction between the Franks as Usama. For Ibn Shaddad there was a clear distinction between the local Christians and the Franks, and he also acknowledged the different nations making up the Crusader force.[832] The Islamic scholar Diyā' al-Dīn al-Naqdisī (1173-1245), in his work *Karāmāt Mashā'ikh al-Ard*

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[827] Cobb, *Usama ibn Munqidh*, pp. 83, 97, 105-6.
[828] Usama ibn Munqidh, *The book of contemplation*, pp. 145-7, 150; Mitchell, *Medicine in the Crusades*, p. 189; Cobb, *Usama ibn Munqidh*, p. 109.
[829] Usama ibn Munqidh, *The book of contemplation*, p. 353
[830] Usama ibn Munqidh, *The book of contemplation*, p. 153.
[831] Usama ibn Munqidh, *The book of contemplation*, p. 147.
[832] Ibn Shaddad, *The Rare and excellent history*, p. 218.

al-Muaddasa, writes of several incidents where the local Muslims had violent encounters with Franks. One of these encounters includes the phrase, "Those infidels that came from over the sea, they say that whenever they see a Muslim they cause him harm", implying perhaps that the speaker is referring to "newcomers", and distinguishing between the Franks who have lived in the Holy Land for some time and those only just arrived.[833] This distinction is carried through into other Arabic sources, particularly after the Second Crusade when the Franks are described as either the 'coastal Franks' (*al-faranj al-sahiliyyun*) or the 'Western Franks' (*al-faranj al-ghuraba*).[834]

In the writings of the traveller Ibn Jubayr he expresses surprise on a number of occasions over the good relations between local Muslims and Christians in those lands under Frankish control. When passing Tibnin he notes with distain, "Our way lay through continuous farms and ordered settlements, whose inhabitants were all Muslims, living comfortably with Franks."[835] Similar arrangements are reported at Banyas, where Franks and Muslims divided the cultivation of the surrounding land through "The Boundary of Dividing".[836] Yehoshua Frenkel writes of a *modus vivendi* being established between the Muslim peasants and their Frankish seigneurs, with very few cases of Muslim emigration (*hijra*) from the Crusader states.[837] 'Imād al-Dīn attests to the religious freedoms allowed to those Muslims living in the Nablus area under the control of the Franks. In return for an annual tax levied on the Muslims, the Franks "changed not a single law or cult practice of theirs."[838] Not all arrangements were so favourable though. Diyā' al-Dīn describes life for the Muslim villages under the Frankish lord of Mount Nablus as being filled with threats,

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[833] Talmon-Heller, 'Arabic Sources on Muslim Villagers', pp. 122-3.
[834] Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, p. 334; Micheau, 'Ibn al-Athīr', pp. 71-2.
[835] Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, p. 316.
[836] Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, p. 315. The tax arrangements are described, with the suggestions that the Muslims are responsible for farming the land and paying taxes to the Franks living in the cities. For more information on Muslim-Frankish condominia see Köhler, *Alliances and Treaties*, pp. 312-9.
[837] Frenkel, 'Muslim Responses', p. 34.
[838] Richards, 'A Text of 'Imād al-Dīn, p. 203.

maltreatment and merciless taxes.[839] While he includes many references to contact in daily life in the Nablus area between Franks and Muslims, on the whole the Muslim villagers seem to have regarded the Franks with a mixture of fear and detachment.[840]

Abu'l-Husayn Muhammad Ibn Ahman Ibn Jubayr was born in al-Andalus in 1145, and it was his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1183-5 that brought him into contact with Eastern Christians and Franks. His route took him through the lands under Saladin's control, and on his return journey he passed through Acre and Sicily, the latter having been recently conquered by the Normans.[841] The trade network and daily contact between the Franks and the Muslims are further recorded by Ibn Jubayr. We hear how the Christian customs officers in Acre were able to speak and write Arabic, and how it was possible for Christian and Muslim merchants to travel successfully between territories without fear of attack or hindrance.[842] In the countryside around Tyre, Ibn Jubayr is dismayed to find Muslim villagers content to be governed by Frankish landlords, and consider themselves well treated.[843]

Another prominent Arabic writer who had regular contact with the Franks was Badr al-Din Ibn Shaddad (1145-1234). Ibn Shaddad was born in Mosul and enrolled in the service of Saladin in 1188, remaining as a senior statesman after Saladin died in 1193. In 1228, he composed his most prominent work, *al-Nawādir al-Sultāniyya wa l-Mahāsin al-Yūsufiyya*, 'The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin,' celebrating the life of Saladin and modelling his life to fit alongside other great figures from Islam's early history. The text details the events of the Third Crusade, and as would be expected in such a work Ibn Shaddad is frequently hostile towards the Franks and Crusaders in general. He does however write of his respect for

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[839] Talmon-Heller, 'Arabic Sources on Muslim Villagers', p. 105. The Frankish lord of Mount Nablus is thought to be Baldwin (1133-86) son of Balian I of Ibelin.
[840] Talmon-Heller, 'Arabic Sources on Muslim Villagers', p. 113.
[841] Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, p. 338.
[842] Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, p. 317, 313, 580.
[843] Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, pp. 316-7.

individual leaders such as Conrad of Monferrat, whom he described as "a great and politic man, mighty of valour for his religion and very severe."[844] Ibn Shaddad also notes that as a result of the long-running conflict in Acre there developed a certain rapport between the Christian and Muslim fighters: "They got to know one another, in that both sides would converse and leave off fighting. At times some people would sing and others dance, so similar had they become over time."[845]

For both the Latin and Arabic sources, there is a conception of the Franks as a distinct group, separate from the local Eastern Christians and the Crusaders and pilgrims arriving from Western Europe. From the Latin perspective, there was mistrust of the Franks for their 'Oriental' characteristics, and disdain for their use of agreements and treaties when working with the Muslim powers. For many of the Muslim writers, the Franks were often better acquainted with their religious customs than the Crusaders, and could be counted among their acquaintances and even friends.

3.2 Material culture in the written sources

Most references to material culture or domestic items in the written sources are brief, often making an appearance merely to illustrate an anecdote or mentioned in passing with little descriptive detail. The everyday nature of most items seems to have precluded their appearance in the chronicles and pilgrims' accounts, and they are rarely the focus of the writer's attention. As will be seen, many of the small finds that are discussed in more detail in Chapter 4 are fastenings and ornamentation related to clothing and appearance, and this is one area where the sources do provide descriptions. There are a number of references to the cut of Frankish clothing, the fabrics used, and the role of dress and appearance as a marker of group and individual cultural identity. In addition to bringing together the disparate

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[844] Ibn Shaddad, *The Rare and excellent history*, p. 91.
[845] Ibn Shaddad, *The Rare and excellent history*, p. 100.

references to this material that appears in chronicles, the examination of inventories, wills and other documents, such as custom records, can also add more information on the personal possessions of the Franks.

Clothing

One aspect of material culture that appears a number of times in the written sources is clothing. Descriptions of Frankish clothing are often used to link appearance with a particular role, and as a visual marker of ethnic and cultural identity. These details in the written sources can provide a context and narrative to the clothing worn, and provide information not always available from studying the archaeological record alone. Alongside the descriptions in chronicles and pilgrimage accounts, there are several surviving inventories of the personal possessions of Franks and visitors to the Crusader states that provide details of the items of clothing worn, and the fabrics used to make them.

The presentation of Crusaders and Franks was remarked upon by a number of writers, with the emphasis on the use of clothing and appearance as a mark of difference between the Western Christians and Muslims. During the long siege of Antioch in 1098 the Bishop of Le Puy was concerned that the Crusaders had become so weary with travelling and the demands of repeated battles that they had stopped shaving. There was fear that in the heat of battle the Crusaders would mistake each other for bearded Turks and kill their comrades. Guibert of Nogent records that the Bishop instructed them to "shave often, and hang on their necks crosses made of silver or of some other material, so that no one, mistaken for a foreigner, would be struck down."[846]

Ibn Shaddad writes of an occasion during the siege of Acre in 1189 when a number of Muslims disguised themselves as Franks to get through the cordon surrounding the city and

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[846] Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, Book 5.6, p. 206; Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds of God*, p. 93.

gain access to the Muslim garrison inside. They boarded a ship in Beirut after dressing in

Frankish clothes, shaved their beards, placed pigs on the deck of the boat and flew flags

bearing crosses.[847] The ruse was successful, and the Muslims were allowed through the

Frankish cordon. The importance of appearance as a marker of cultural identity is underlined

again by an incident recorded by the Templar of Tyre after the siege of Acre. In his account, a

group of Crusaders attacked and killed a group of local Syrian Christians in Acre, mistaking

them for Muslims on account of their beards.[848] The dress of the Syrian Christians was also

described by the pilgrim Burchard of Sion, who visited the Holy Land between 1274 and

1285. In his account of the various communities living in the area, he notes that the Syrians

are "clothed wretchedly" and that "in dress they are like the Saracens, being only

distinguished from them by a woollen girdle."[849]

One fairly detailed description of clothing worn in the Crusader states comes from the

Hierarchical Statutes of the Knights Templar, written around 1165, describing the clothes of

members of the order.[850] Each brother was allowed a cope (a heavy, hooded cloak) and tunic,

in addition to two leather belts - one with a buckle and one without.[851]

Descriptions of clothing and appearance were also used by writers to cultivate an

image of valiant Christian knights going into battle against the Muslim armies during the

First Crusade. The Occitan epic the Canso d'Antioca describes the expensive fabrics, adorned

with precious jewellery, worn by the brother of the King of France at the siege of Antioch:

"his armour with gold trimmed laces and reins…his helmet glassy with the white crystal

which shines like ice!...it is impossible [adequately] to describe how it was blazoned with

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[847] Ibn Shaddad, *The Rare and excellent history*, p. 124.
[848] *The 'Templar of Tyre'*, pp. 101-102.
[849] Burchard of Mount Sion, *A description of the Holy Land*, p. 315.
[850] Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*, p. 13.
[851] Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*, p. 54; de Curzon, *La Règle du Temple*, pp. 111-112.

white ermine and crimson silk".[852] Similarly, the son of Robert Guiscard is described as dressed in "a mail hauberk with gemstones all around", and carrying reins of silken buckram and a lance with silver nails.[853] The rich description is part of the literary tradition surrounding this form of epic poetry but underlines the connection between particular clothing and fabrics being associated with social and cultural identity.[854] Although some items described bear little relation to those from the archaeological record, the descriptions highlight the high-quality fur and silken fabrics appropriate for a wealthy knight on Crusade. Prized silken garments were part of the loot seized from the enemy by the Crusaders after the siege of Antioch, and again after the successful capture of Jerusalem.[855]

Clothing could also reflect the morality of the wearer, with some writers criticising those participating in the Crusades who, by their luxurious and fashionable garments, betrayed their lack of commitment to the cause. Describing the French participants of the Third Crusade at Tyre, the prose narrative *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* is highly critical of their appearance, considering their clothes unsuitable for the military life or pilgrimage.

> Their luxurious dress was further evidence of the effeminate life they were
>
> leading: the seams of their sleeves were held closed with intricate lacing;
>
> their wanton flanks were bound by intricate belts; and to reveal the fitting
>
> of their pleated garment more clearly to onlookers, they wore their cloaks
>
> back-to-front, twisted round to the front of their body and compressed
>
> between their arms. So things which were originally designed to cover the

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[852] *The Canso d'Antioca*, p. 225. The brother of the king of France referred to is possibly Hugh I, Count of Vermandois who participated in the First Crusade and was brother to Philip I of France who did not participate as he was excommunicated.

[853] *The Canso d'Antioca*, p. 217.

[854] For an example of this see the discussion of clothing and dress accessories in Irish vernacular literature of the Iron Age. Whitfield, 'Dress and Accessories', p. 1, 3.

[855] Antioch, Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, Book VI, Ch. X, p. 243; Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds of God*, p. 112. Jerusalem, Robert the Monk, 'Historia', Book 9.22, p. 879; Robert the Monk, *History*, p. 211.

rear parts were forced to serve other parts of the body: their cloaks

covered their stomachs, not their backs.[856]

The description of tightly laced sleeves points to the fashionable nature of the clothing. The writer is thought to be Richard de Templo, a canon of the Holy Trinity in London. Although partly based on the work of Ambroise, the above section in Book 5 of the *Itinerarium* does not appear in Ambroise's L'estoire and Richard claims to have had his own witnesses for the events he describes.[857] The theme of clerical writers admonishing their readers about the latest novelty or fashion is certainly not unique to the context of the Crusades, and concern was expressed in Western Europe throughout the 12th and 13th centuries at garments that were too tight, too revealing, too long or too short.[858] The English chronicler Orderic Vitalis wrote disparagingly of the vogue for extremely pointed men's shoes in the early 12th century. He also castigated the fashionable long, tight tunics of men and women, which included excessively long sleeves covering their hands that prevented them from "doing any kind of useful work."[859] In a similar vein, when writing about the Knights Templar, Bernard of Clairvaux praised their efforts to "shun excess in clothing", compared to the "effeminate" appearance of secular knights, who tripped themselves up with "long and full tunics" and "big cumbersome sleeves."[860] In 1188, English Crusaders were forbidden from wearing the furs miniver, vair or sable and the expensive woollen cloth known as scarlet.[861] The same document forbade participants from wearing fashionable 'dagged' or laced clothing. As has already been mentioned, Ralph Niger criticised the Frankish dignitaries visiting Paris in 1184 to appeal for more Crusaders to travel to the Holy Land to fight against Saladin.[862] For him,

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[856] *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 299; *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, p. 330.
[857] *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 299, note 31.
[858] Scott, *Medieval Dress*, p. 41, 44. See for example William of Malmesbury, *Chronicle*, p. 279.
[859] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 4, p. 187, 189.
[860] Bernard of Clairvaux, *In Praise of the New Knighthood*, p. 37-8.
[861] "*et quod nullus habeat pannos decisos vel laceatos.*" William of Newburgh, RS 82.1, Book III, Chapter XXIII, p. 274
[862] Ralph Niger, *De re military*, Book 3. 65, pp. 186-7.

their luxurious attire, and the gold, silver and perfumes and spices that accompanied them, was evidence of the sinful lives of the Franks that had led to the loss of Jerusalem.[863]

In the Crusader states we have only one reference to clothing regulations: at the Council of Nablus in 1120, where Canon 16 forbade Muslims to wear Frankish dress.[864] The Council also promulgated regulations punishing both Franks and Saracens for sexual relations between the religious groups, whether consensual or forced.[865] Presumably the Canon regulating dress was felt necessary to try and prevent the sexual relations taking place, and it is unlikely at this early stage in the Frankish kingdom that the problem of dress was as a result of assimilation. The problem of sexual relations with a Muslim man or woman was certainly the concern behind a similar Canon promulgated at the Fourth Lateran Council in Rome in 1215. Canon 68 decreed that all "Saracens" in Christian provinces must be marked as Muslims through the character of their dress.[866] The Council of Nablus regulation was a more specific response to what was seen to be a localised issue at such an early stage in the Crusader kingdom. It was seen as important to ensure, though legislation, that the distinctly Western European cultural identity of the Crusaders would not be compromised. Any Muslim who converted in order to marry a Christian would also become exempt from paying the tax levied on all indigenous groups. There is also the possibility that the legislation was designed to prevent any subterfuge on the part of the Muslims using Frankish disguises, which later proved to be a successful tactic as recorded by Ibn Shaddad.[867]

Clothing in Western Europe during this period was subject to less detailed regulation and legislation until the 13th and 14th century, when the first sumptuary laws appeared in

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[863] Ralph Niger, *De re military*, Book 3. 83, pp. 193-4; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 39.
[864] Prawer, *The Crusaders' Kingdom*, p. 519; Canon reads: 'XVI. Campitulum. Si Sarracenus aut Sarracena francigeno more se induant, infiscentur', Kedar, 'On the Origins', p. 311, 334.
[865] Kedar, 'On the Origins', p. 324.
[866] Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees*, p. 290.
[867] Ibn Shaddad, *The Rare and excellent History*, p. 124.

England and France.[868] One of the earliest pieces of sumptuary legislation in the West was by

Alfonso X of Castile in 1285.[869]

Alongside the clothing mentioned in the sources there are rare glimpses of items of

personal adornment. William of Tyre provides a list of items purchased as part of the

trousseau of Melisend of Tripoli when it was thought she was to be married to the Byzantine

Emperor Manuel I Comnenus in 1160.[870] William describes the array of items prepared as

"surpassing those of royalty", and he lists bracelets, earrings, pins for headdresses, anklets,

rings, necklaces and gold tiaras.[871]

Inventories and testaments are often the most detailed, if not the most descriptive,

collections of material culture and clothing. Few examples relating to the Crusades have

survived, but two compiled at Acre in the mid-13th century are relevant to this discussion and

will be examined below.[872] The testament or will was undergoing change in Western Europe

in the 12th and 13th century, becoming increasingly standardised in format and developing

features such as executors.[873] Both testaments from Acre are invaluable for the rare insight

they provide into the possessions and cultural life of a Crusader in the mid-13th century. Most

of the interest devoted to testaments relating to the Crusades has so far been for the

dedications to religious orders, and these documents can indeed offer a "glimpse into the

inmost feelings and religious impulses" of the Crusaders, with their patterns of donations and

gifts.[874] The scarcity of these examples means that sound broader conclusions are beyond this

discussion, and the wealth of both men, particularly the Count of Nevers, precludes the use of

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[868] Piponnier and Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, pp. 83-6; Hurlock, 'Sumptuary Law', pp. 297-8.
[869] Scott, *Medieval Dress*, p. 69.
[870] William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds*, vol. 2, pp. 288-9; William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, vol. 63A, p. 856.
[871] William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds*, p. 289.; William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, vol. 63A, p. 856.
[872] A third testament from Acre is that of Prince Edward (later Edward I), made in 1272. However, Edward's testament has little in common with those discussed here as it is primarily concerned with the succession and the care of his children – it contains no material bequests. See Harris, *Testamenta Vetusta*, pp. 7-10.
[873] Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England*, pp. 162-3.
[874] Giuseppi, 'On the testament of Sir Hugh de Neville', p. 355.

these testaments as representative examples of most Crusaders. However, the information in these documents is a rare glimpse into the possessions of a particular class of Crusader in Acre in the mid-13th century.

This first inventory is that of a Crusader knight, Eudes, the count of Nevers who died in Acre on 7th August 1266. [875] The already wealthy Eudes landed in Acre in October 1265, died in the city less than a year later and was buried in the church of St Nicholas. The French poet Rutebeuf lamented this death of a "model crusader" in his 13th century work *La complainte du comte Eudes de Nevers.*[876]

Many luxurious fabrics are listed in the inventory of the Count's possessions, including several from Turkey and Bukhara, "14 Turkish cloths, 2 chameloz, 3 cloths from Buckhara".[877] Bedcovers, carpets and clothing are listed alongside armour and precious liturgical objects from the Count's private chapel.[878] These were the clothes of luxurious display, with rich fabrics and bright colours, made with the large amount of fabrics purchased in the Levant. There are garments made from "tireteinne cameline", a woollen fabric of camel hair from Asia, lined with fur; a tunic and shirt of blue silk lined with green silk/taffeta; squares of silk, and a red silk bedspread.[879] The luxurious clothing listed in the inventory of the Count of Nevers would not have pleased the writer of the *Itinerarium* as clothing suitable for those on Crusade.

Recorded alongside the Eastern cloths described above are items of linen purchased from Troyes in the Champagne region of France, and linen cloth belonging to the Count's

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[875] Chazaud, 'Inventaire et comptes', pp. 164-206; Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, pp. 356-8.
[876] Bastin and Faral, *Œuvres Complètes*, pp. 451-60.
[877] "xiiii dras de tartais; ii chameloz; iii bouqueranz plains", Chazaud, 'Inventaire et comptes', p. 191.
[878] Chazaud, 'Inventaire et comptes', pp. 190-2.
[879] "Cote et sercot de tireteinne cameline fore de gros vair…Cote et sercot, et corset de tireteinne perse, fore de cendel vert." Chazaud, 'Inventaire et comptes', p. 191, 192, 194.

wife, the Duchess of Burgundy.[880] Glimpsing this connection through material goods allows us to see a reciprocal dynamic of consumption and display amongst the Frankish elite, and the household connections stretching across Europe and the Levant. We also have the French chronicler John of Joinville (1224-1317) who was asked by Louis IX to purchase 100 pieces of *camelins* (camlet) in various colours from Tartous, as a gift for the Franciscans when the king returned to France.[881] Within the context of French 'courtly love' Jane Burns has suggested that whilst the aristocracy were engaging in Crusading efforts against "an oppositional other", luxury fabrics from the East (and the culture of conspicuous display that surrounded them) were in turn defining the West.[882] Fabrics from the Middle East appear in the inventory of the wealthy knight Raoul de Nesle, constable of France, who was killed at the battle of Courtrai in 1302, including fabric described as "d'uevre sarrazinoise", and white woollen cloth from "d'outremer".[883] Aside from the luxurious fabrics, we get a comprehensive list of household items, clothing, armour, liturgical items for his chapel, and even food and wine. Although silks produced in Byzantine and Islamic lands were imported to Europe before the 11th century there was a progressive growth in trade of luxurious fabrics from the Near East throughout the 12th and 13th century.[884] The presence of the Crusader states enhanced this process, and cities such as Antioch that had long been associated with luxury fabrics such as silks, now had access to vast new markets for their goods. The city of Acre became the main centre for the export of these luxury fabrics to Western Europe during

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[880] The text reads, "la toile qui fu achetée à Troies, que Simon Ysanbars acheta, dont il i ot x pièces; x pièces de toile, de la toile la duchoise de Borgoigne." Chazaud, 'Inventaire et comptes', p. 191.

[881] John of Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, Ch CXVIII, p. 214; John of Joinville, *Joinville and Villehardouin*, p. 314.

[882] Burns, *Courtly Love Undressed*, p. 197

[883] Dehaisnes, *Documents et Extraits*, p. 133, 138. For further discussion of the inventory see Kelly, 'A Knights Armour of the Early XIV Century', pp. 457-69.

[884] Jacoby, 'Silk Crosses the Mediterranean', pp. 62-3.

the Crusader period.[885] Both raw fabrics and ready-made garments such as wimples were imported to Acre from Antioch, for sale in the city and export to the West.[886]

We get another glimpse into the possessions of a Crusader just a year later with the testament of Sir Hugh de Neville, made at Acre on 24th October 1267.[887] Sir Hugh had journeyed to the Holy Land in the aftermath of having his lands confiscated by the English crown in 1265, because of his support of Simon de Montfort against Henry III.[888] A letter from the Patriarch of Jerusalem suggests that Sir Hugh's journey to the Holy Land was part of a penance relating to his actions in England. In the letter the Patriarch absolves Sir Hugh of his Crusading vow, the latter having taken the cross "pro peccatis suis".[889]

The testament only includes those items which Sir Hugh had with him whilst on Crusade, and includes instructions for his burial in the cemetery of St Nicholas in Acre, indicating that this testament was only designed to have effect if he actually died in the Holy Land.[890] This style of testament, which was revocable, was used on numerous occasions by Crusaders and pilgrims before departing for the East to ensure their families were protected in their absence. One such example survives from the 12th century, when Siward the cleric made a gift of land and churches to Ramsey Abbey, which would only come into effect if he died whilst on pilgrimage to the Holy Land.[891]

Sir Hugh's bequest includes the usual gifts to several religious houses and hospitals: "I devise to the hospital of Bethlehem 5 besants, to the hospital of St Lazarus 3 besants…to the Carmelite friars 3 besants…to the friars minor 10 besants…"[892] The testament then goes

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[885] Jacoby, 'Silk Crosses the Mediterranean', p. 65.
[886] *RHC Lois*, vol. 2, p. 179, No. 8.
[887] Giuseppi, 'On the testament of Sir Hugh de Neville', pp. 352-3.
[888] Giuseppi, 'On the testament of Sir Hugh de Neville', p. 362; Stapleton, *De antiquis legibusliber*, pp. lxi – lxvii.
[889] Giuseppi, 'On the testament of Sir Hugh de Neville', p. 362.
[890] Giuseppi, 'On the testament of Sir Hugh de Neville', p. 356.
[891] Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England*, p. 137.
[892] "Jo diuis al hospital de Bethlee chink .b. al hospital sein Lazer treis .b…a frere du Carme treis .b…a frere menures dis .b…" Giuseppi, 'On the testament of Sir Hugh de Neville', pp. 352-3.

on to list the bequest of individual items, including "a hanap with the arms of the King of England" donated to the Temple in Acre.[893] Considering that his presence in the Holy Land was possibly as a penance for his previously rebellious activity against Henry III in England, Sir Hugh seems to have renounced his dissenting ways, or at least wishes to appear to have done so. A hanap is a large, elaborate standing cup or goblet, often bowl-shaped with a short base.[894] Examples can be seen depicted in the month of January of the *Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry* from the early 15th century, where several gold hanaps are shown as part of the tableware.[895] This object was the first to be listed in his bequests, and therefore likely to have been the most valued.

The hanap was undoubtedly an item associated with status and wealth, appearing in other testaments and inventories from the 13th and 14th century. An example is listed in the will of Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady Clare from 1355 as a richly decorated golden hanap.[896] The extensive inventory of Raoul de Nesle also lists a number of hanaps of various values and style among his possessions.[897] Two silver hanaps with precious gems are listed among the items belonging to Count Eudes in the inventory discussed above.[898] After the hanap, a number of other personal items are given to Sir Hugh's associates, including a small sword, two buckles or brooches with emeralds, and a gold ring.[899] His armour is to be given to his page Jakke, along with a horse.[900]

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[893] "un hanap a pe des armes le Roi de Engelte", Giuseppi, 'On the testament of Sir Hugh de Neville', p. 352.
[894] Examples of hanap's from the 'Rouen treasure' made in Paris in the mid-14th century can be seen in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Collection Numbers 106-1865,107-1865, 109-1865.
[895] Ennès et al, *Histoire de la table*, Fig. 21.
[896] "hanap de beril h'noise d'argent surorre", Nichols, *A collection of all the wills*, p. 26.
[897] Dehaisnes, *Documents et Extraits*, pp. 127-8.
[898] "henap d'argent a pierres", Chazaud, 'Inventaire et comptes', p. 190.
[899] "jo divis a sire Randouf de Munchensi ma petite espeie e vn fermeil oue ameraudes a sire Rob de Bridishale vn fermeil oue ameraudes a sire Rauf de Ekleshale vn anel de or." Giuseppi, 'On the testament of Sir Hugh de Neville', p. 353.
[900] Giuseppi, 'On the testament of Sir Hugh de Neville', p. 353.

Aside from the inventories, we have the description of individual objects in the literary sources. One example is found in the writings of the Muslim traveller Ibn Jubayr. Whilst visiting Tyre he writes of witnessing a Christian wedding where the bride was wearing a long golden train "according to their traditional style". On her head she is described as wearing a "golden diadem covered by a net of woven gold".[901] An item of similar style was listed in the inventory of the Count of Nevers as one "chapel d'or à pierres et à pelles." – a crown or circle of gold with precious gems and pearls.[902] In his glossary on women's clothing in 11th and 12th century France, Goddard describes a 'chapel' as a small metal crown or circlet, often made from gold.[903] If worn by a man the word could also indicate a helmet.[904]

One aspect of clothing in the written sources is its status as part of the narrative of gift giving and cultural contact between Christian and Muslim elites. Two Muslim chroniclers record instances of clothing, specifically 'robes', being given as gifts by Christians and Muslims to each other. The writer Usama Ibn Munquidh recounts that a gift of "robes of honour" was made by Tancred of Antioch to a Kurdish horseman called Hasanun who proved his prowess on a racehorse.[905] Another such instance is recounted in the chronicle of Ibn al-Athir, describing an exchange of ceremonial robes between Saladin and Henry of Champagne (King of Jerusalem). The context for this incident was a truce negotiated between Richard I of England and Saladin in 1192, which accepted that the Christians could not regain Jerusalem, but left them in control of the coastal strip between Tyre and Jaffa. In the source we are told that Henry requested Saladin send him a "robe of honour" to "win his [Saladin's] sympathy and his regard".

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[901] Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, p. 320.
[902] Chazaud, 'Inventaire et comptes', p. 190.
[903] Goddard, *Women's costume*, pp. 82-82.
[904] Goddard, *Women's costume*, p. 83.
[905] Usama ibn Munqidh, *The book of contemplation*, p. 77.

After the King of England had departed, Count Henry sent to Saladin to win his sympathy and his regard and to ask him for a robe of honour. He said, 'You know that wearing a robe (*qabā*) and a tall bonnet *(sharbūsh)* we hold to be shameful, but I shall wear them from you out of love for you.' Saladin sent him a splendid outfit, including a robe and a bonnet which Henry wore at Acre.[906]

The robe that was sent to Henry is described as a *qabā*, along with a hat known as a *sharbūsh*. Henry then wore this outfit in Acre, which after the loss of Jerusalem had become the capital of the kingdom of Jerusalem. A *sharbūsh* is a stiff cap, with a triangular front, and a *qabā* is variously described as a ceremonial robe, coat or tunic.[907] Both these garments were the essential ceremonial uniform of Muslim knights and officials during this period, and were obviously distinctive enough from Frankish clothing to have been recognised as such by Henry. They were usually given to the soldier as part of the ceremony of investiture where the elevated knightly status was conferred upon him.[908]

Henry is shown as being keen to initiate this gift of robes, and wear them through the streets of Acre, even though he acknowledges the embarrassment this would cause him. The significance of wearing the *qabā* and the *sharbūsh*, obviously recognisable as distinctly Muslim dress articles, was not lost on him. Even though we have no way of knowing whether the incident actually took place, the source is clearly articulating the view that these items of clothing were a marker of cultural identity. Positioned between the body and society, the clothes served as a marker of group membership.[909] Henry, by wearing the robe and hat is

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[906] Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle*, p. 78.
[907] For an example of this clothing type in Mamluk *waquf* from Jerusalem see Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiya*, pp. 295-6.
[908] Stillman, *Arab Dress*, pp. 67-69.
[909] Gilchrist, *Medieval life*, p. 68.

making an allusion, possibly in the eyes of the audience of the performance, to a subordinate client relationship with Saladin – a relationship that could be recognised and noted by contemporary Frankish observers. It is also interesting to note that the *qabā* was one of the items of dress which non-Muslims were prohibited from wearing under one of the earlier pieces of Islamic sumptuary legislation in the 8th century. In the *Kitāb al-Kharāj* (Book of Taxation) from the time of the Abbasid Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd the rules state that "No Christian should wear a *qabā*, a garment of *khazz* silk, or an *'asb* turban."[910]

By the late 12th century the Islamic sources record the Crusaders accepting the gift of robes of honour on a number of occasions as part of the conclusion of a treaty. In the same year as the incident above, Bohemond III of Antioch obtained a robe of honour from Saladin.[911] In 1137 King Fulk of Jerusalem was given robes by the Turkish leader Zengi upon the surrender of a castle, and 1148 Joscelin II of Edessa received a robe from Nur al-Din, the Seljuk ruler of Syria.[912] Robes of honour were given to the Christians at Acre after the giving of gifts to the Mamluk sultan Qutuz in 1260.[913] It is clear in the Islamic sources that the Crusaders were aware of the implications of accepting such a gift. Louis IX France, when a prisoner of war in Egypt in 1250 refused to wear such a robe from the Sultan Turanshah on the grounds that "my land is greater than his; how could I wear his robe?"[914] It is clear that these robes were important actors in the diplomatic process, part of the ritual of gift giving that would mark the opening of negotiations or the conclusion of an agreement and a visual act which both sides understood.[915] The giving of gifts as part of a treaty or alliance served several purposes for a leader – to display their generosity as a ruler, a quality that was

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[910] Stillman, *Arab Dress*, p. 103.
[911] Köhler, *Alliances and Treaties*, p. 286.
[912] Köhler, *Alliances and Treaties*, p. 285.
[913] Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al_duwal*, p. 42.
[914] Köhler, *Alliances and Treaties*, p. 286.
[915] Friedman, 'Peacemaking', pp. 244-6. Gordon, 'A world of investiture', pp. 6-14. See also Sanders, 'Robes of honor in Fatimid Egypt', pp. 225-40.

considered important for both Christian and Muslim princes, and to show their wealth and ability to access resources as a display of power.[916] The Muslim writer Ibn Shaddad was also very conscious that the repeated embassies allowed each side to gauge the morale of the enemy camp, and gain information on troops and equipment.[917]

One of the most detailed accounts of gift exchange during negotiations occurred between the leader of the Nizari Ismailis, often known as the Assassins, and Louis IX. Whilst at Acre in the mid-13th century Louis received envoys from the Assassins who initially tried to extract tribute from him. When this attempt failed, and the envoys narrowly escaped being thrown into the sea for being so insolent, they were sent back to the leader of the Assassins with the message that they needed to return with a more suitable gift for the French King, to appease him. This they duly did, and returned with a selection of expensive gifts, including crystal figures of an elephant, a giraffe and an apple, along with amber chess sets and gaming boards. The Nizari envoys also brought the shirt of their leader and his ring to show how he wished to be close to Louis in friendship. Louis reciprocated these gifts with a large amount of jewels, scarlet cloth, cups of gold and horse equipment in silver.[918] Aside from the wide range of gifts in this example, we can see that it is not just the exotic that is important about these objects – the shirt and the ring were important personal items that were offered to reflect the close relationship that was desired. These costly items demonstrate the Nizari leader using the gifts to present himself as a man of wealth and status, deserving of the relationship with the French King. Once a suitable gift was presented, Louis reciprocated with his own gifts to confirm the relationship.[919]

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[916] Benham, *Peacemaking in the Middle Ages*, p. 73. For more discussion on the rituals that surrounded the exchange of gifts in the Medieval period see Althoff, 'The Variability of Rituals' and Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual*.

[917] Ibn Shaddad, *The rare and excellent history*, p. 156.

[918] Jean de Joinville, *Joinville and Villehardouin*, pp. 277-9.

[919] For an anthropological approach to the obligations of gift exchange see Mauss, *The Gift*.

The complexity of the agency and meaning of material culture is further demonstrated in the interpretation of one of the earliest instances of gift exchange during the Crusades. In September 1098 a treaty was agreed between Godfrey of Bouillon and Umar, the Turkish governor of Azaz. The treaty is significant in the history of the Crusades as this is the first occasion of an alliance with a Muslim leader, and the first time the Crusaders saw the potential for exploiting the dissension amongst the Turks for their own purposes. Azaz was a fortress located strategically between the cities of Edessa and Antioch, both recent Crusader conquests. After agreeing an alliance and subsequently defending Azaz from an attack from Aleppo, Godfrey made a gift of a helmet inlaid with gold and silver and a hauberk to Umar in a ceremony conducted outside the fortress in front of the two armies.[920] During the ceremony Umar promising that he would never be estranged from Godfrey and friendship and love of all Christians. Symbolic of military power, the helmet and hauberk – which we are told had belonged to a great knight in the service of Godfrey who had fallen in battle – would have seemed (at least to the Christians watching) that Umar had taken part in a public gesture of submission. By contrast, rather than a gesture of submission, it has been suggested that Oman interpreted the ceremony as the bestowal of authority through the gift of the helmet and sword as was sometimes seen in the East.[921] Clearly, these objects were complex items that could mean different things to the giver and receiver.

In the Islamic Middle East, from the 8th century onwards, there was a growing trend in the formalisation of clothing systems as the ceremonial and political importance of clothing fashions grew. It had become essential to maintain strict differentiation between social classes and religious groups. The Abbasid period also saw the beginning of the imposition of

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[920] Albert of Aachen, *Historia*, p. 353.
[921] Friedman, 'Peacemaking', p. 249.

dress regulations for the non-Muslims, termed *dhimmīs*. Christians were required to have the forearm of the sleeve of their coats in a yellow fabric, and Jews and Zoroastrians to wear honey-coloured *taylansāns* (head scarves).[922] The length and width of sleeve were also subject to regulation during the Mamluk period. This legislation was a reflection of the fashion for long and wide sleeves among the elite, and ruled that non-Muslims could only wear sleeves with a narrow cut.[923] This regulation of dress only intensified under the later Muslim dynasties, partly as a wider trend across the Muslim world of increasing social stratification, but especially with reference to non-Muslims. It seems that strict differentiation had become vitally important for the Muslim rulers, as the increasing frequency of sumptuary legislation testifies.[924] This is in a similar vein to the legislation enacted by the Lateran Council of 1215 to ensure that the Jews and Muslims living in Christian provinces wore a distinctive mark on their clothing. There was the concern that in some areas it had become impossible to distinguish between the religions through their dress, suggesting that to the extent of their appearance, these minorities had integrated into the Christian majority.[925] There were geographical variants of the rule imposed, but the most common form of distinction was for men to wear a badge of red, yellow or green coloured cloth.[926]

Domestic Material Culture

Examination of the sources has turned up very few examples of domestic material culture such as ceramics. When these are mentioned it is usually either in the context of 'booty' after a successful battle against the Muslims, or through passing references to the preparation of

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[922] Stillman, *Arab Dress*, pp. 52-3.
[923] Stillman, *Arab Dress*, p. 65.
[924] Stillman, *Arab Dress*, p. 109.
[925] Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees*, pp. 236-96.
[926] Piponnier and Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, p. 137.

food.[927] The latter is rarely discussed except to describe the frequent hardships of the Crusaders, and the ever-present threat of famine whilst on campaign. This led to frequent references to the 'unclean' food that troops were forced to eat. Donkey and horse meat seem have been the very last resort for most Franks, with Guibert of Nogent writing that things were so desperate at the siege of Antioch that "no one finally refused to eat the flesh of horses".[928] Robert the Monk makes brief references to the cooking vessels such as frying pans, casseroles and cauldrons taken as booty by the Crusaders at Antioch and Jerusalem, some still with food in them having been abandoned by the enemy at the last minute.[929]

There is a paucity of direct references to ceramics in the written sources of the period, by both Eastern and Western authors. When ceramics do make an appearance, it is generally with reference to the economic value of the goods in terms of taxes paid to the relevant kingdom. Milwright has suggested that the aesthetic qualities of the local pottery were ignored by the consumers in the Levant, whereas the Islamic decorated ceramics were appreciated by Westerners for their visual beauty.[930]

Aside from the above references to the preparation of food, mention of other aspects of daily life for the Crusaders are largely absent from most of the chronicles and travellers accounts.

Discussion

The above examination of the written sources has demonstrated that for many of the writers there was an increasing conception of the Franks of the Crusader Kingdoms as a people

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[927] For booty after a battle see for example Robert the Monk, 'Historia', Book IX, Ch. 22, p. 879; Robert the Monk, *History*, p. 211.
[928] Guibert of Nogent, *Dei Gesta per Francos*, Book 5. 23, p. 226; Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds of God*, p. 103.
[929] Robert the Monk, 'Historia', Book 7.15, p. 834, Book 9.22, p. 879; Robert the Monk, *History*, p. 173, 211.
[930] Milwright, 'Pottery in the Written Sources', p. 517.

distinct from the ethnic groups from which they had originated. This was further accentuated in some accounts by tensions between the Crusaders arriving from Western Europe, and the Frankish settlers.

With regards to information on the portable objects, the most detailed material relates to clothing, providing a broader context for the dress accessories found in archaeological records. It is clear that appearance was an important aspect of group identity, providing immediate information to the viewer on the wearer's religion, cultural affinity and social standing. This detail is in contrast to the information on other household items such as ceramics and glass, which receive little attention in the records.

The limited information contained in travellers' accounts and chronicles underlines the importance of combining the written sources with the archaeological material in order to come to a broader understanding of Frankish cultural identity. The sources examined above can begin to frame our understanding of the channels and processes of cultural interaction on a daily basis in the Crusader Kingdoms in the Levant. Although often cursory, the mentions of material culture can be expanded and built upon using a range of source types, and will be further added to with consideration of evidence from the art of the Crusader states.

Chapter 4. Art and Material Culture

This chapter considers aspects of the art of the mainland Crusader kingdoms from 1098 to 1291. Its aim is to bring artistic evidence into the discussion about material culture and daily life, and consider how this type of material can add to the understanding of the archaeological record and therefore contribute to discussions of practice and identity. This will be achieved by examining the appearance of certain items of material culture in the manuscript illuminations and wall paintings. The main categories of material culture portrayed in these images are clothing, furniture and tableware, and are therefore the areas of focus in this discussion. These illuminations and frescos can be understood not just as passive depictions of objects, but as items of material culture, acting as part of the network of visual associations that artists and patrons wished to create.[931]

The range of Crusader art considered here is clearly only a small part of that produced in the Crusader states. Indeed, particularly in the case of illuminated manuscripts, it is clear that the examples which survive today represent only a fraction of those produced in the 12th and 13th centuries. The appearance of clothing and material culture is confined to a small proportion of sculpture, illumination, wall painting and mosaic. Much of the work follows established iconographic styles. The clothing of saints and other biblical figures, for example, predominantly follows uniform iconographic forms, usually loosely draped garments, which change little in style over the centuries.[932] The artistic style of these works has been discussed by experts in terms of influence and composition. Such stylistic analyses centre on form (line, colour and composition), usually with a comparison of related works to identify the artist, establish a stylistic chronological development, or assess quality.[933] Whilst these concerns

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[931] Yonan, 'Towards a Fusion of Art History', pp. 232-48.
[932] Immerzeel, *Identity puzzles*, p. 169.
[933] Sears, '"Reading" Images', p. 2.

clearly provide invaluable context for this investigation, they will not be examined in detail here. As my research focuses on the small finds associated with personal dress and domestic space, it is images portraying these objects that are looked at here, especially figurative art in wall paintings and manuscript illuminations. These criteria, and considerations of space, have inevitably led to the exclusions of some of the more prominent examples of Crusader art in sculpture and icon painting, such as the lintels of the Holy Sepulchre and the icons from the Monastery of St Catherine, Sinai. This research seeks to consider the broader discussion of Crusader art from an archaeological, rather than an art historical point of view and establish if this is a fruitful line of investigation for future research.

After briefly considering the definition of Crusader art and outlining some problems concerning iconographical interpretation, the chapter will then examine the appearance of dress in Crusader art (by far the largest category of material culture represented), furniture and finally, ceramics.

4.1 Crusader art

Folda has given a detailed 'history' of the debates around 'Crusader Art' and the academic discussions about the term which will not be repeated in detail here.[934] This discussion will use the term Crusader art to describe art created between 1098 and 1291 in the mainland Crusader states for Frankish or Crusader patrons and produced by Frankish or indigenous Christian artists.[935] It should certainly be considered as an authentic and defined school of art, and not just an assemblage of imported influences.[936] The art of the Crusaders is a complex phenomenon, drawing influences from Western Europe, Byzantium, local Christian

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[934] Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, pp. 513-23.
[935] Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, p. 524.
[936] Kühnel, 'Crusader Art and the Holy Land', p. 170.

and Islamic visual traditions, and this discussion will touch on a very small part of the wealth of material produced. Crusader art reflects the multi-ethnic society that produced it and helps to actively construct its complex identity.[937]

The Crusader art of the 12th century saw the increasing combination of Western European artistic heritage with the visual culture of the Byzantine world. After the capital of the Crusader kingdom moved to Acre in 1187, the first half of the 13th century marks a less prolific period for the Crusader artists. Folda has pointed to the arrival of Louis IX in Acre in 1250 as the beginning of a new era for Crusader art, in terms of artistic range and the diversity of patronage, particularly in secular manuscripts for the Frankish nobility.[938] The links forged by Louis IX meant that the influence of France, especially the manuscript atelier in Paris, is strong in Crusader art of the second half of the 13th century. Crusader art was produced for a wide variety of patrons and audiences, both religious and secular. In the 13th century this included the merchants and nobility of the coastal cities.

Problems in iconographical interpretation

The consideration of the image and the extent to which it depicts contemporary reality is the central problem confronting the researcher looking to this source type as part of an investigation into material culture. The task is hindered by the custom of medieval artists to copy previous works and reuse pictorial formulae in new contexts.[939] For ceramics and other domestic utensils, it is also clear that images in art do not reflect the range of forms and designs in use as found in the archaeological record. For this category of material culture, a

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[937] Georgopoulou, 'Orientalism and Crusader Art', pp. 290-1.
[938] Folda, *Crusader Art, 1099-1291*, p. 166.
[939] Lewis, *The Archaeological Authority*, p. 17.

more generalized system of representation was developed and usually considered adequate for the signposting of activities or characters in particular scenes.[940]

Despite these difficulties a number of studies have used the portrayal of material culture in art as a method of investigating contemporary fashions. Janet Snyder wrote of "a credible fiction based in observed reality" when describing the dress of column-figures in 12th century sculpture in north-west France.[941] In other words, if the ideas behind the choice of attire were to have an impact on the observer, then the clothing must be recognizable reflections of contemporary materiality.

Similarly, in her examination of Byzantine religious murals for the depiction of *realia*, Maria Parani traces the increasing trend for realism over the course of the 12th century and beyond. This type of art form saw growing diversity and realism in the form and style of material culture such as ceramics, serving utensils, clothing and furnishings and reflected contemporary developments visible in the archaeological record.[942] The purpose of introducing contemporary artefacts into religious art was "to facilitate the beholders' understanding of the content of religious images…to ensure the beholders' spiritual and emotive response to the images."[943] As a result, the close examination of these images for any changes or elaboration on the standard form can possibly indicate a change in attitude towards the representation of material culture.[944]

Another investigation by Martin Carver has studied late Saxon manuscripts for the representation of artefacts and architecture. For the latter, the late 10th and early 11th centuries have been seen as the period when the stilted Late Antique vocabulary began to be

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[940] Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, p. 7.
[941] Snyder, *Early Gothic Column-Figure Sculpture in France*, p. 3.
[942] Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of images*, pp. 290-1
[943] Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, p. 292.
[944] Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, p. 7.

superseded by an increasing realism in England, France and Byzantium.[945] Carver compared images to depictions of similar scenes in previous manuscripts to pick out those images that could be a realistic rendering of the object.[946]

The advantage of pictorial representations, particularly of clothing, allows us to access material frequently missing from the archaeological record. Textile fragments rarely survive, so we must turn to literature and art for our discussion on what can be learnt about material culture and artefacts of a particular period.

As is so often the case, the material culture depicted in the manuscripts is almost exclusively that of the nobility and royalty. This only underlines the importance of considering the archaeological record alongside the artistic and literary evidence to gain a fuller picture.

4.2 Clothing in Crusader art

By far the largest category of material culture represented in the art of the Crusader states is clothing. As stated above, the attire of some biblical figures is often the loose flowing garments of standard iconography, but on some figures we see more contemporary attire. The examination of the small finds in archaeology has shown that many of the surviving objects were used to fasten or adorn items of dress. Although the individual buckle or brooch is rarely seen in Crusader art, these small finds should be placed within a broader context of use and style. If we seek to use these objects as part of the network of identity construction, then it is important not to view them in isolation; they were designed to be used as accessories to an individual's clothing and appearance.

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[945] Carver, 'Contemporary Artefacts', p. 119.
[946] Carver, 'Contemporary Artefacts', p. 120.

We have already seen contemporary chroniclers such as Orderic Vitalis admonishing the new fashions in England at the turn of the 12th century. These criticisms were mirrored by the writer of the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* when he castigated the French Crusaders at Acre for the style of their clothing exposing their "wanton flanks".[947] William of Newburgh records that in 1188 the Crusaders were forbidden to bring women with them, play dice, wear expensive furs or scarlet and wear clothing that was 'dagged' or 'laced'.[948] The latter was clearly a mark of fashionable attire at this point.

4.2.1 Wall Paintings

The study of wall paintings for details of Frankish clothing is in reality a study of one part of the images: the donor figure. Whilst the appearance of the donor must be considered within the relevant religious, social and political context, it seems clear that the artist would seek to present the donor in an appropriate manner. With care, we can examine certain aspects of the donor's appearance for markers of social and cultural identity. Detailed examination of donor images in Syria by Matt Immerzeel has shown that certain aspects of clothing and appearance, including whether male donors are clean shaven or bearded, can point to Frankish patronage of decorative schemes.[949] These were not acting as markers of religious identity but of social or political status.

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[947] *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 299; *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, RS 38.1, pp. 330-1.

[948] "et quod nullus habeat pannos decisos vel laceatos." William of Newburgh, RS 82.1, Book III, Chapter XXIV, p. 274; Friedman, 'The Iconography of Dagged Clothing, pp. 121-38.

[949] Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles*, pp. 168-9. For donor images on Cyprus see Weyl Carr, 'Correlative Spaces', pp. 59-80 and Stylianou and Stylianou, 'Donors and Dedicatory Inscriptions', pp. 97-9.

The Kingdom of Jerusalem

The earliest mural painting from the Crusader states is the first in a series of twenty-eight column paintings in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. Not all the column paintings will be discussed here – only a selection of those that are most useful and relevant to this investigation. The examples discussed below are included because they either incorporate some element of non-liturgical/secular dress in the main subject, and/or they include donor figures. The donor figures on the column paintings at Bethlehem are most likely pilgrims visiting the Holy Land, but as will be seen below, useful information can be discerned from examining their clothing.

The earliest mural painting was completed *c*.1130, and depicts the Virgin seated on an elaborate throne with cushions and a luxurious footstool, holding Jesus as a child on her lap with his face touching hers (the *Glykophilusa* depiction). The mural has been painted directly on to the smooth stone surface of the column in encaustic (hot wax) technique, rather than a tempera-based paint applied to gesso as was the usual practice during this period.[950] The style of the image has been seen by Folda as bringing the emotional touch of Italian art of the period to bear on traditionally more reserved Byzantine iconography.[951] Of more interest to this discussion is the depiction of three donor figures below the painting: a man to the bottom left and two women to the bottom right (Figures 29 and 30).

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[950] Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders, 1098-1187*, p. 94; idem, *Crusader Art, 1099-1291*, p. 28; Kühnel, *Wall Painting*, pp. 15-22.
[951] Folda, *Crusader Art, 1099-1291*, p. 28.

Figure 29: Male donor, *Glykophilusa*, Bethlehem. Kühnel, *Wall Painting*, Plate VI.8.

Figure 30: Female donors, *Glykophilusa*, Bethlehem. Kühnel, *Wall Painting*, Plate VI.9.

All three are shown in profile, kneeling, with their hands clasped together paying homage to the Blessed Virgin Mary and Christ.[952] The two women bow their heads slightly, whilst the man has his gaze raised towards the Virgin and Child. The interpretation of these figures as Western Christians is supported by the Latin inscriptions at the top and bottom of the image, particularly a "W" with abbreviation mark above the head of the male donor.[953] It seems likely that the letters "W" and "A" that appear over the heads of the male and female figures respectively, are allusions to the names of the donors. The clothing of the donors is

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[952] Morris, *Discovery of the Individual*, p. 142.
[953] The appearance of the letter "W" is seen by Kühnel as evidence of the donors originating from Northern Europe, Kühnel, *Wall Painting*, p. 17.

what we would expect to see worn by men and women from Western Europe in the 12th century. The male donor is dressed in a grey knee-length tunic, over which is a red cloak fastened over one shoulder and lined with blue-grey miniver or vair.[954] Miniver was frequently represented in 12th century manuscripts in grey or white and blue, using a similar looped or cupped pattern to that seen on the donor's cloak in Bethlehem.[955] Vair was a variegated fur, possibly squirrel, used in the lining of garments during the medieval period, whilst miniver was a white or pale grey fur used for the same purpose. Kühnel has suggested that the three-quarter length tunic is a device to mark the donor as nobility, along with the Norman kite shield in front of him.[956] The two women are dressed very simply in plain gowns, the front figure in a deep red and the back figure in white. The latter is possibly wearing some form of headdress, with ornamentation around the edge, but it is quite indistinct.

The other column paintings in the Church of the Nativity depict both Eastern and Western saints, reflecting the variety of pilgrims who visited the site during the 12th and 13th centuries.[957] Many of the Byzantine saints date from the redecoration of the church during the reign of Amaury I, when he joined with the Byzantine Emperor Manuel Komnenos and Bishop Ralph of Bethlehem to commission new mosaics and sculptures for the interior.[958]

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[954] Kühnel, *Wall Painting*, Plate VI.8

[955] See for example the knights cloak in St Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, Cîteaux, c.1111-15: Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 173, f.147r
http://www.enluminures.culture.fr/documentation/enlumine/fr/BM/dijon_129-01.htm [Accessed 16th April 2015] and the cloaks of St Felicity's sons in *The Ottobeuren Collectar*, Ottobeuren, Swabia, late 12th century: London, British Library, Yates Thompson MS 2, f.103
http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=57246 [Accessed 16th April 2015]

[956] Kühnel, *Wall Painting*, p. 16, n. 48.

[957] The full list of column paintings is as follows: *North colonnade*: the Crucifixion, St John the Evangelist, Virgin and Child (*Galaktrophusa*), St Catald, St Damian, St Cosmas, St Leonard, St George, St Euthymius, St Antony, St Marcarius: *South colonnade*: St Margaret/Marina, St Fusca, St Onuphrius, Elijah and the Ravens, St John the Baptist, St Vincent, St Olaf (King of Norway), St Canute (King of the Danes), St Stephen, St Sabas, St Theodosius: *Second South colonnade*: Virgin and Child (*Hodegetria*), (three blank), St Margaret/Marina, St Anne with child Mary) and St Leo, Virgin and Child (*Glykophylusa*) and St Brasius, (two blank), St Bartholonew, St James (the Great). Pringle, *Churches I*, p. 146.

[958] Folda, *Crusader Art, 1099-1291*, pp. 50-1.

Folda and Kühnel have assigned a date of the 1150s to a group of three paintings – St Olaf, St George and St Canute – before this wider programme of redecoration.[959]

Saint Canute

The Danish king stands front facing, holding a spear in his right hand and a kite-shield with his left. He is dressed in a long pale grey tunic, with a brown band running along the bottom. Over this he wears a long *chlamys*-style cloak, fastened in the centre–right of the chest with a blue circular brooch with six pearls. The inside of the cloak is visible as it is draped over Canute's raised right arm, showing the miniver lining, indicated by the stylized grey-blue and white triangular pattern.[960] Gustav Kühnel has produced very useful drawings of Canute's crown and shield, and has convincingly shown that both items represent Western types rather than Byzantine.[961] The crown, a simple metal cylinder set with precious stones, is quite unlike the Comnenan style of a closed 'bowl', and is of a type worn by Danish and Norwegian kings during the 12th century.[962] The kite-shield was not unknown in Byzantium and was in use before the Crusades, but it has been suggested that the 'Frankish' shape became much more common in the Byzantine army during the 12th century.[963] However, taken with the Northern European associations of the crown, it seems logical that the shield was also meant to be seen in a similar context.

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[959] Kühnel, *Wall Painting*, p.145; Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders, 1098-1187*, pp. 315-7.
[960] Kühnel, *Wall Painting*, pp. 112-6, Plates XXXII-XXXIII.
[961] Kühnel, *Wall Painting*, pp. 114-5.
[962] Kühnel, *Wall Painting*, p. 123; for Byzantine crowns of the period in art see Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality*, pp. 27-8, Plate 31, d-e.
[963] Dawson, 'Suntagma Hoplôn', p. 90.

Saint Olaf

The garments of Olaf are very similar to those of Canute, with a miniver lined *chlamys*, fastened with a dark circular pin. The long tunic is decorated with a wide geometric border at the bottom, and the *chlamys* has a narrow border of a similar design. Like Canute, Olaf holds a spear and kite-shield, but this time the spear is held diagonally across the body, rather than standing at the side.

There is a smaller kneeling female figure to the bottom right of St Olaf (possibly the donor), raising her hands in supplication to the king. She wears a light cloak and dark tunic very similar in style to that of the saint, but with pointed shoes and some form of dark head covering over her long curly hair.[964] As Kühnel has suggested, it could be that this donor was one of the many Scandinavian pilgrims who visited the Holy Land in the 12th century.[965] As has been noted by both Folda and Kühnel, the two kings are a combination of Byzantine-influenced composition, with some clearly Western elements: the miniver on the inside of the *chlamys*, the Norman kite-shield, and the crown.[966]

Saint George

Saint George is much more Byzantine in style and execution, dressed in the style of a solider with armour and holding a large round shield.[967] He wears a long white tunic with long tight-fitting sleeves, over which is some form of grey apron and a shorter (possibly leather) tunic

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[964] Folda, *The Art of The Crusaders, 1098-1187*, p. 317; Kühnel, *Wall Painting*, p. 117.

[965] Kühnel, *Wall Painting*, pp. 117, 119-121.

[966] Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders, 1098-1187*, pp. 315-7; Kühnel, *Wall Painting*, pp. 124-5.

[967] Compare with the very similar depiction of St George from the Church of the Agii Anargyroi, Kastoria, Greece. In Babuin, 'Later Byzantine Arms and Armour', p. 97, Fig. IX-1 and the sash on Fig. IX-4. See for comparison the ivory icon of St Demetrios from the second half of the 10th century, with identical shield and waist sash. Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, accession number 1970.324.3 - Weyl Carr, 'Popular Imagery', p. 135, Fig. 81.

which was once reddish-brown.[968] At his waist is tied a blue sash with black detailing

denoting an officer and tied in a complex knot with at least three loops over the band. The

saint also wears a long cloak, tied at the neck with ribbons originally the same colour as the

waist sash.[969] Visual representations of St George as a solider were not known in the West

before the 12th century. It is clear from the chronicles of the First Crusade that the saint was

being associated with the Crusader armies, leading Kühnel to the conclusion that the

commissioner of the painting was likely to have been a Crusader.[970]

The project to redecorate the Church of the Nativity in the 1160s saw the renovation

and expansion of the 8th century mosaics in the nave, grotto and exterior, and the next phase

of column paintings.[971] Although Byzantine in style, the mosaics are a reflection of the

complex and multicultural nature of Crusader art, with Byzantine, Crusader and Venetian

mosaicists working together under the guidance of the Greek 'Ephraim'.[972] The group of

column paintings from this period mark a change from the *ex voto* images of the earlier 12th

century, which were produced largely on an individual basis at the request of particular

patrons. They have been conceived as a more cohesive assembly, designed to introduce the

visiting pilgrim to the rest of the programme of decoration.[973] As with the mosaics, this first

group of column paintings are predominantly Byzantine in style, with the standard draperies

and iconography of the period. Three other figures from this period are far less Byzantine in

style, including the female St Fusca, particularly revered in the Veneto, and indicate a more

equal blend of Western and Eastern iconography.[974]

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[968] Kühnel, *Wall Painting*, p. 72, Plates XXII-XXIII.
[969] A small section of original blue can still be seen at the end of one of the ribbons on the chest.
[970] Kühnel, *Wall Painting*, p. 76.
[971] For the nave mosaics see Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders, 1098-1187*, pp. 347-64.
[972] Folda, *Crusader Art, 1099-1291*, p.51.
[973] In this first group Folda includes St Theodosuis, St Sabas, St Anthony, St Euthymius, St John the Evangelist, St Cosmas and St Bartholomew. Folda, *The art of the Crusaders, 1098-1187*, p. 366, 369.
[974] Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders, 1098-1187*, p. 370.

Saint James

It has been suggested that one of the final column paintings from the 12th century at Bethlehem represents St James the Great. While the date is uncertain, Folda has suggested that it may have been painted after the wider programme of column painting and mosaics in the 1160s.[975] St James is dressed in a simple long blue tunic, with a red mantle draped over his left shoulder and wrapped around his torso.[976] The saint also has two figures kneeling both sides of the base of his frame, one male and one female, presumably a couple. They are identified as pilgrims by the scallop shells on the simple black pouches they carry across their bodies. From the 12th century the scallop shell was a clear indication of a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, so it is seems the two donors on the column had a particular connection to their commission. Perhaps it is St James' connection to the Reconquista that led the pilgrims to commission this column painting: in 1161 a military order was founded in his name in Léon.[977] The male donor figure is dressed in a (possibly hooded) pale grey cloak, fastened at the right shoulder with a yellow or gold annular brooch. Under the cloak is a long-sleeved, knee-length darker grey tunic with fitted sleeves, worn over grey leggings and pointed black shoes. His face is now damaged but it is clear he has fair hair which is jaw length, and a beard (Figure 4).

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[975] Folda, *The Art of the Crusades, 1098-1187*, p. 456.
[976] Kühnel, *Wall Painting*, pp. 40-3, Plate XIII.
[977] Kühnel, *Wall Painting*, p. 42. St James appears in Spanish art as Santiago Matamoros, or St James the Moor-slayer. He miraculously appeared in battles on the Christian site to aid in their fight against the Moors, in the same way that St George appeared in Palestine to aid the Christian fight against the Muslims.

Figure 31: Male pilgrim, Saint James, Bethlehem. Kühnel, *Wall Painting*, Plate XIII.21.

The female pilgrim is dressed in a similar tunic with leggings underneath and black pointed shoes. Her curly shoulder length fair hair is uncovered. Kühnel has pointed to the elegant fit of the clothing, the brooch on the man's cloak, the well-groomed hair and erect stance as indicating high social standing.[978]

The County of Tripoli

The remains of the wall paintings at Crac des Chevaliers are from the castle chapel, dated to the late 12th or early 13th century. They include a fresco on the exterior north wall depicting the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, incorporating the small figure of a supplicant below

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[978] Kühnel, *Wall Painting*, p. 42.

the Virgin Mary. The beardless male figure wears a yellow-grey belted and sleeveless *surcote*, with a keyhole neckline, over a long-sleeved white tunic. Above his head a Latin inscription identifies him as 'SIMONIN'.[979] The style of dress, Latin name and location in a Crusader castle clearly identify this figure as a Western European or Frank, who was involved in the commissioning of the frescos.[980] The *surcote* and with keyhole neckline was prevalent in Western fashion throughout the 12th and 13th centuries. Further fragmentary remains in a small external chapel near the castle gates show the figures of the Virgin and Child Enthroned, St Pantaleon and St George on a horse rescuing a cup-bearing youth.[981] This fragment included a donor image of a woman kneeling before the standing saint wearing a dark veil.[982] The paintings were executed by different artists at different times in a Byzantine style that has more in common with local examples from the County of Tripoli than those further south in the Kingdom of Jerusalem.[983] The iconography of St George, standing over water with swimming fish, can be paralleled in the church of Mar Tadros in the village of Bahdeidat, Lebanon.[984]

Immerzeel and Cruikshank Dodd have shown that it is not always easy to pin down the denomination of a particular church as following the Maronite, Greek or Syrian Orthodox liturgy at the time when the artistic programme was carried out.[985] The style of the paintings broadly conforms to local tradition, and the evidence for Frankish involvement is seen in the appearance of donor portraits in some of the artistic programmes. The involvement of Franks in the sponsorship of wall paintings in the County of Tripoli outside the Hospitaller castles

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[979] Folda, 'Crusader Frescoes', pp. 182-3. Fig. 10c; Folda, *The art of the Crusaders*, p. 97; Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles*, p. 75. Pl. 126.
[980] Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles*, p. 75.
[981] Folda, 'Crusader Frescoes', pp. 177-210; Folda, *The art of the crusaders*, pp. 401-4; Boas, *The Archaeology of the Military Orders*, p. 214.
[982] Hunt, 'A woman's prayer to St Sergios', p. 102.
[983] Folda, *The art of the crusaders, 1098-1187*, p. 403.
[984] Cruikshank Dodd, *Medieval Painting*, pp. 338-60, Pl. 19.39-40.
[985] Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles*, p. 10; Cruickshank Dodd, *Medieval Painting*, p. 102.

has been investigated by a number of scholars, and it is clear that the Franks wished to support the local churches with contributions to decorative schemes. It is unclear if whole artistic programmes were sponsored, or whether the donor's contribution was restricted to particular scenes. The work of Christopher MacEvitt and others has demonstrated that the sharing of religious space between Franks and Eastern Christians occurred in the Crusader states, and the reconstruction of churches in the local style was a deliberate attempt to signal Frankish participation in a shared Christianity.[986] The 17th century Maronite historian Dwaihi records that in 1243 Hanna the Frank, daughter of a baker, was buried in the narthex of the church of Mar Charbel in Ma'ad, and that her father had been involved in the renovation of the church.[987] In another example Michael the Syrian records that Syrian Orthodox children were sometimes baptized in the Frankish churches.[988] The churches mentioned in the following discussion are all located within a defined area between the cities of Tripoli and Gibelet (ancient Byblos, modern Jubayl). Geographically the area is characterized by a series of remote mountainous valleys and ridges, and the frescos are scattered between the deep Qadisha Valley and the high ridges overlooking Batrūn, Jubayl and the Mediterranean.

The assessment of these images must be cautious, and used as part of the wider context of the political and social landscape in the County of Tripoli. Although about one third of the non-monastic decorated churches in the County of Tripoli contain at least one donor image, this figure still only totals eleven individuals.[989] Taken in isolation this small number precludes concrete inferences from the evidence base, but there are common 'Western' characteristics in the appearance of the figures, some of which are reflected in the manuscript illuminations and should be discussed. Very few Latin inscriptions are found, but

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[986] MacEvitt, *The Crusades*, pp. 129-30. For shared religious space see also Kedar, 'Convergences of Oriental Christian', pp. 89-100; Limor, 'Sharing sacred space', pp. 219-31.
[987] Stephan ad-Dwaihi quoted in Cruikshank Dodd, *Medieval Painting*, pp. 19-20.
[988] For the year 1118 (1431 in the Greek calendar) Michael records, "Dés lors, les Édesséiens prirent l'habitude de faire baptiser leurs enfants dans les églises des Francs." *Chronique*, pp. 212-3.
[989] Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles*, p. 157.

they were applied to the programmes in Mar Marina in Qalamoun and possibly Mar Phocas in Amioun.[990]

The church of Mar Phocas in Amioun is located approximately 20km south of Tripoli, and during the Crusades belonged to the Seigneury of Bessmedin, itself a fief of the Lord of Giblet (modern Jbeil). The remaining fresco is only a small portion of a scheme which originally covered the walls of the church. The building itself is almost square in plan, with a central nave flanked by two aisles, and formed by a simple barrel vault on three transverse arches.[991] There are several layers of paint, indicating that the decoration was added to over time. The apse contains the remains of an Anastasis above a series of standing saints, whilst the north wall and each of the four pillars also have surviving fragmentary paintings.[992] The two particular scenes of interest to this discussion are the standing figure of St Philip on the north wall, and the Baptism of Christ on the north-east pillar.

To the bottom left of St Philip is a small standing figure with hands raised in supplication and the inscription in Greek reading "the servant of God, Philip".[993] The figure is dressed in a long red robe (possibly sleeveless), with a gold border, worn over an ankle-length white tunic with long sleeves (Figure 32).

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[990] Sadly the Mar Marina frescoes are almost destroyed (visited 2012), and only small fragments of the Latin inscriptions are still visible. Cruickshank Dodd, *Medieval Painting*, p. 19; Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles*, p. 85.
[991] Cruickshank Dodd, *Medieval Painting*, pp. 158-9; Zibawi, *Images chrétiennes du Levant*, pp. 53-8.
[992] As Immerzeel has noted, damage to the apse by an earthquake in the early 20th century has been repaired by blocking up the gap with fallen stones (with fragments of fresco still attached) in no particular order, resulting in a curious patchwork of colours above the remains of the Anastasis. Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles*, p. 89.
[993] Cruickshank Dodd, *Medieval Painting*, p. 161; Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles*, p. 89.

Figure 32: Male donor figure, Amioun. Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles*, Plate 53.

The damage to the painting makes more detailed observations of the clothing difficult, but the red robe appears to have a hood with a gold lining.[994] There also seems to be a separate stole or scarf draped around the figure's neck and reaching to the knees. Despite the damage to the face, the figure appears to be clean shaven. The style of clothing, with its rich colours, indicates someone of wealth, and the fashion of a looser robe over close fitting sleeves would be a common style of the period in the medieval West.

The second donor at Mar Phocas is the figure of a woman over the left shoulder of Christ in the Baptism scene on the West side of the north-east pillar. This figure has suffered

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[994] The appearance of a male figure wearing a hood, or other head covering is unusual.

more than Philip with the passing of time, so only part of her face and shoulders are visible, but it is clear that she is wearing a black robe and veil. The veil is very reminiscent of other female donors in the frescos from Beirut (see below) and Crac des Chevaliers and is indicative of her high status.[995] The letters 'MA' can be seen above her head, but the rest of the name is lost. Due to the lack of space inside the frame, Marie or Maria seem the likeliest options.[996]

The donors would need to be influential and wealthy figures to sponsor a programme of decoration but the exact identities of Philip and Maria or Marie remain a mystery for now. There is no 'Phillipe' recorded among the seigneurs of Besmedin in the 12th and 13th centuries.[997] Cruikshank Dodd has put forward Philippe Ibelin, brother of John Ibelin and regent of Cyprus in the early 13th century, as a possible candidate for the donor, but there is as yet no conclusive evidence for his identity.[998] There is similarly scant evidence for the possible identity of the female donor Maria or Marie. There are several Marias listed in the families of the lords of Giblet, and even the marriage of Maria of Giblet to Philip of Ibelin the mid-12th century.[999] However the date of this marriage does not match those of the paintings, which are thought to have been completed later in the 12th or early 13th century. It seems that the donors may have been local Frankish nobility whose names have not survived.[1000]

The best preserved donor images survive in the chapel of St Theodore in Bahdeidat. This simple rectangular chapel houses some of the most visually impressive and complete wall paintings from medieval Lebanon. A recent conservation programme, led by the

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[995] Hunt, 'A Woman's Prayer to St Sergios', pp. 81-6.
[996] Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles*, p. 91.
[997] Rey, 'Les seigneurs de Giblet', pp. 412-17; Rudt de Collenberg, 'Les Ibelin aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles', pp. 117-265.
[998] Cruickshank Dodd, 'Christian Arab Painters', p. 259. Cruickshank Dodd makes an alternative suggestion that Philip was a son of Raymond II of Tripoli, however this latter suggestion may misunderstand Philip as Raymond's son, when he was actually his brother. See Dechamps, *La défense du Comté de Tripoli*, p. 25, note 4; *RRH Add.*, No. 212, Aug 1142, pp. 53-4.
[999] Nielen, *Lignages d'Outremer*, p. 100, 103, 115.
[1000] Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles*, p. 92.

International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) and the Architectural-Archaeological Tangible Heritage in the Arab Region (ATHĀR), has greatly improved the condition of the images.[1001] The wall paintings at Bahdeidat are the only remaining scheme of decoration in Lebanon that was completed at one time, showing a coherent programme of work.[1002] The decoration covers the apse (Enthroned Christ with the evangelists, the Virgin and John the Baptist), the bema (standing saints), the triumphal arch and the North and South walls (St Theodore and St George).[1003] This recent work has allowed the detailed study of the paintings, and their date has been suggested as between the late 1260s and late 1270s.[1004]

As part of the programme of work, two male donor images were included with the images of St George and St Theodore on the South and North walls respectively. The standing supplicant underneath the horse of St George is shown facing the viewer, rather than looking up to the saint, with his hands raised in prayer. He is beardless and has close-cropped dark hair. His clothing is a distinctive Western-style *mi-parti* (or bipartite) tunic, with the left and right side of the body divided into two different colours, in this case blue and red (Figure 33).

[1001] Doumet-Skaf and Capriotti, 'Conservation of 13th Century Mural Paintings', pp. 257-320.
[1002] Cruickshank Dodd, *Medieval Painting*, p. 339.
[1003] Cruickshank Dodd, *Medieval Painting*, pp. 338-60; Zibawi, *Images chrétiennes du Levant*, pp. 30-7.
[1004] Hunt, 'The Wallpainting Programme at the Church of Mar Tadros', p. 282.

Figure 33: Male donor with St George, Bahdeidat

This style (with the colours reversed) can be seen in the illustration for April from a Psalter of the mid-13th century, illuminated in Paris.[1005] This style was fashionable during the 12th and 13th centuries, and the frontal stance of the donor is perhaps a deliberate choice to highlight the *mi-parti* tunic that he is wearing. It seems that by the 13th century the *mi-parti* had become the attire of servants and artists: in 1236 at the English court only valets were issued with *mi-parti*.[1006] In the military context of the image is seems likely the figure is representing a squire or liegeman of the saint.[1007] The use of *mi-parti* clothing marking the

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[1005] London, British Library, Royal MS 2 B. ii, f. 2v.
http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=30541 [Accessed 20th April 2015]
[1006] Scott, *Medieval Dress*, p. 62.
[1007] Hunt, 'The Wallpainting Programme at the Church of Mar Tadros', p. 280.

'Western' identity of donors is also seen on Crete. At the church of the Archangel Michael at Kavalariana, the male Venetian donors are shown wearing *mi-parti* tunics in red, blue and white.[1008]

The second donor is kneeling in front of the horse of St Theodore, side on to the viewer. Unfortunately, part of the saint has been destroyed by the insertion of a window into the north wall, but the back half of the horse and all of the donor are still intact. The supplicant is shown with a brown beard, a dark cap with white lining on his head, and a long white tunic, over which is a sleeveless dark sleeveless *surcote* with what appears to be a red stripe down his left side (Figure 34).

Figure 34: Male donor with St Theodore, Bahdeidat

[1008] Lymberopoulou, ''Fish on a Dish', pp. 226-7; Curuni and Donati, *Creta veneziana*, p. 306, No. 1239.

It has been suggested by Cruickshank Dodd and Immerzeel that the figure represents a Frankish knight wearing a hauberk and a helmet.[1009] However, the recent conservation work has revealed more of the image and rather than a helmet, the head covering appears to be more like a close fitting cap, and rather than a hauberk, the clothing looks more like a simple *surcote* and undergarment. The cap is similar in style to those seen in a late 13th century manuscript of the *Histoire universelle* from Acre.[1010] Taken with the presence of the staff and beard, the figure's attire does not suggest that of a knight. [1011] Lucy-Anne Hunt has suggested that the figure is most likely a local merchant or administrator, possibly an Eastern Christian, due to the colour of his clothing and the fact that he is bearded and wearing a hat, whilst it was normal for Franks to be clean shaven and bare headed.[1012]

The third church with donor images and Frankish links is the church of Mar Charbel in the village of Ma'ad, about 5km north of Bahdeidat in the vicinity of the Crusader town of Giblet (modern Jbeil). As mentioned above, written evidence suggests that the Crusader-period tomb slab now in the narthex may belong to the daughter of a Frankish baker who contributed to the renovation of the church in the mid-13th century. The paintings are located in the apse and the annex on the south-east corner of the church. The frescos in the apse were retouched in the 1970s, and a more recent project to restore the paintings in the annex has been carried out under the auspices of the Association pour la Restauration et l'Etude des Fresques Médiévales du Liban (AREFML), beginning in 2008 and continuing in the autumn

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[1009] Immerzeel, 'Holy Horseman', p. 43; idem, *Identity Puzzles*, p. 103; Cruickshank Dodd, *Wall Painting*, p. 343; For the appearance of Saint George in wall paintings see Deschamps, 'La légende de Saint George', pp. 110-23 and idem. 'Combats de cavalerie', pp. 465-74. In the Morea see Gerstel, 'Art and Identity in the Medieval Morea', pp. 263-85.

[1010] London, British Library, MS Add. 15268, f. 242v and f. 292. http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8326 [Accessed 31st May 2015]

[1011] The donor figure used by Immerzeel for comparison appears on a 13th century icon from Cyprus, and is quite clearly a knight with a knee length tunic covering his hauberk. The hauberk covers his arms and even has the suggestion of a hood. The face of the knight on the icon is too damaged to see if he is bearded. See Jaroslav Folda, 'Crusader Art', pp. 388-401 (Catalogue number 263, pp. 397-8).

[1012] Hunt, 'The Wallpainting Programme at the Church of Mar Tadros', p. 279.

of 2013 and 2014.[1013] Two layers of frescos are visible on the north wall of the annex, the

earlier probably applied during the late 12th century and the second layer in the mid-13th

century.[1014] The large Dorminition on the south wall is part of the same scheme as the second

layer. Of the four donor figures depicted in the annex at Mar Charbel, two are on the first

layer and two on the second. The donors on the first layer of fresco on the north wall are a

man and a woman; the man kneeling below the central window facing towards the standing

male saint to the east, and the woman just in front of him. The male figure, with short dark

hair and a beard, is shown side on, hands raised in supplication. He wears a long yellow

sleeveless robe with a short cape over a long-sleeved white tunic and black shoes. His attire

resembles the sleeveless yellow *surcote* worn by Simeon in the Presentation image from Crac

des Chevaliers. Little remains of the female donor apart from her white sleeves with

embroidered cuffs, and hands raised in prayer towards the standing saint.[1015] The two donor

figures from the second layer of fresco are both tonsured clerics, and their attire suggests

links with an Eastern Christian (probably Maronite) community, rather than the Latin

Church.[1016]

4.2.2 Illuminated Manuscripts

One of the most famous illuminated manuscripts produced in the Crusader states is the

magnificent Psalter of Queen Melisende, now kept at the British Library in London.[1017] The

calendar entries suggest the manuscript was created in Jerusalem at some point between 1131

and 1143. Entries commemorate the capture of Jerusalem on 15 July 1099, the death of

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[1013] AREFML - http://fresquesliban.com/eglises_det.php?id=166 [Accessed 10th May 2015]
[1014] Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles*, p. 107; Cruickshank Dodd, *Medieval Painting*, pp. 322-3; Zibawi, *Images chrétiennes du Levant*, pp. 38-44.
[1015] I have been unable to see the remains of a dark veil as identified by Immerzeel.
[1016] Immereel, *Identity Puzzles*, p. 162.
[1017] London, British Library, Egerton MS 1139. The two ivory panels are Egerton MS1139/1. A high resolution digital copy of the manuscript and covers can be viewed through the British Library's 'Digitised Manuscripts' catalogue at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=egerton_ms_1139_fs001r [Accessed 5th March 2015]

Melisende's mother, Queen Morphia (sometime before 1129) and father, King Baldwin II in November 1131. The death of Melisende's husband King Fulk, in November 1143, is not recorded. It is thought that the Psalter was produced for Queen Melisende as a gift from her husband King Fulk at the time of their reconciliation in 1134.[1018] The appearance of a bird on the back cover of the Psalter labelled as "Herodius" has been suggested as a reference to Fulk through an alternative name of 'fulica', or coot. [1019] The bird could alternatively be interpreted as a falcon, or falconis (falco – onis, hence Fulk) with "Erodius" translating as 'gerfalcon'.[1020] The manuscript is a complex combination of Byzantine, Western and even Islamic elements, whilst referencing the unique *loca sancta* of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. The figural decoration in the manuscript comprises twenty-four introductory miniatures depicting the life of Christ, and nine headpieces for the prayers at the end of the volume. These schemes were painted by at least six artists, who originated from the Latin East and Western Europe, including the Crusader artist Basil, who completed the first set of miniatures. Here the artist combines Byzantine iconography and style with the new English format of introducing the Psalter with a series of miniatures. The selection of scenes for the miniatures has been taken from the Byzantine festival cycle.[1021]

As Folda has convincingly shown, it is not just the combination of Western and Eastern elements in the decoration, but the reflection of the specific *loca sancta* in the Holy Land and circumstances of the Franks that makes this Psalter so important.[1022] The manuscript should be seen as an expression of the tastes of a woman such as Melisende, born

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[1018] For further details on the manuscript see Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders, 1098-1187*, pp. 137-59; Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, pp. 1-14.

[1019] Boase, 'The Arts in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', p. 14.

[1020] My thanks to Denys Pringle for pointing out this interpretation. *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, p. 795.

[1021] Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders, 1098-1187*, p. 155.

[1022] Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders, 1098-1187*, pp. 155-7; Folda, *Crusader Art, 1099-1291*, pp. 33-6.

in the East with parents from Armenia and France, and reflecting a style rooted in Byzantium, but with elements from England, France and Islamic art.[1023]

The ivory covers of the Psalter are one of the best illustrations of the multiple influences in Crusader art and an expression of the tastes of Frankish aristocracy at the time. The iconography of the covers also demonstrates an awareness of "the symbolical language of contemporary imperial art and the conscious exploitation of it."[1024] Roundels, a characteristic feature of Islamic art, form the main design, surrounded by a frame. The designs of the covers were cut into the ivory and small stones of turquoise, jet and ruby colour were set into the borders and some of the eyes of the figures. The front cover depicts Old Testament scenes from the life of King David within six roundels, surrounded by images of the virtues and vices. The scenes depicted from left to right are as follows:

1. David protecting the lamb from the lion and the bear (1 Samuel 17, 34-36).

2. David being anointed by Saul, with God's hand giving a blessing from above (1 Samuel 16, 13).

3. David fighting Goliath (1 Samuel 17, 4).

4. David with the priest of Nob, "Abimelec" receiving the sword of Goliath next to the altar stacked with holy bread (1 Samuel 21, 2-11).

5. David kneeling in repentance at the altar (2 Samuel 24, 10-25).

6. David playing the dulcimer with other musicians "Etan, Iditun, Asaph, Eman" (1 Chronicles 15, 16-22).[1025]

The back cover shows a king carrying out the six works of mercy from Mathew 25:34-46: giving food to the hungry, a drink to the thirsty, inviting in the stranger, clothing

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[1023] Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders, 1098-1187*, p. 159
[1024] Kühnel, 'The Kingly Statement', p. 357.
[1025] Kühnel, *Crusader Art of the 12th Century'*, pp. 68-9.

the naked, caring for the sick and visiting those in prison. These roundel scenes are surrounded by birds and animals locked in combat.

In her detailed discussion of the ivories, Bianca Kühnel has illustrated how the iconographical programme is a cohesive scheme reflecting the aspirations of Crusader royalty. With the chosen images they present a story of royal victories; against enemies on the battlefield with David's victories over the wild animals and Goliath, and in the moral field with mercy towards the poor and sick and the triumph of virtues over vices.[1026] The iconographic programme of the Psalter covers, with the six works of mercy performed by a Crusader king in Byzantine regalia, is legitimating the deeds of the monarch using a well-established system of associations.[1027]

Of most interest to this discussion are the clothes of the figures on the cover. On the back, the king carrying out the works of mercy wears a regalia typical of Early and Middle Byzantine imperial costume: he wears a crossed or simplified *loros* for the first, fourth and fifth works, and a *chlamys* for the second, third and sixth scenes (Figure 35).

[1026] Kühnel, 'The Kingly Statement', p. 351, 357.
[1027] Kühnel, *Crusader Art o fthe 12th Century*, p. 78.

Figure 35: Melisende Psalter, London. Egerton MS 1139, fol. xii-v, detail (Back cover, first and second works) © The British Library Board

The imperial Byzantine *loros* was essentially a long scarf devolved from the Roman *trabea*, a purple toga worn by consuls during triumphal processions. By the Byzantine period the *loros* was usually heavily embroidered and encrusted with jewels, and from the 6th to the 11th centuries was usually worn crossed over the torso and draped over the right arm.[1028] This fashion is clearly seen in the depiction of the Byzantine emperor Michael VII Doukas in a manuscript illumination from the 11th century.[1029] The other piece of regalia depicted is the *chlamys*: a long mantle, cut in a semi-circle and fastened at the right shoulder with a brooch.[1030] Usually the *chlamys* was worn by the emperor as his state civilian costume, and in the Middle Byzantine period was part of the investiture ceremony during the coronation. As

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[1028] Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, pp. 18-19.
[1029] Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, p. 20, Plate 19.
[1030] Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, p. 12

shown on the back of the Melisende Psalter, the *chlamys* was worn over a full-length tunic, usually with an ornate hem and cuffs.[1031] The third roundel (welcoming a stranger) also shows the distinctive *tablia* on the *chlamys* of the king: the rectangular panel of decoration on the front of the *chlamys*, contrasting in colour and fabric from the rest of the garment.[1032]

By contrast, the clothing shown on the front cover is distinctly Western European, showing the latest fashions of the early 12th century. Between the roundels of scenes from the life of King David, there is a depiction of the battle of the virtues and vices from Prudentius's 5th century allegory *Psychomachia*. Some of the virtues are alone (Bonitas, Benignitas, Beatitudo, Largitas and Leticia), whilst others are in battle with the vices.[1033] The women (both good and evil) are shown wearing *bliauts* – ankle-length gowns with a dropped waistline, tight sleeves that open to long, dangling cuffs and a newly fashionable 'keyhole' neckline (Figure 36 and 37).[1034]

[1031] Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, p. 13.
[1032] Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, p. 349.
[1033] The battle scenes from the top and from left to right are: Fides vs. Idolatria; Pudicitia vs. Libido; Humilitas and Spes vs. Superbia; Patientia vs. Ira; Sobrietas vs. Luxuria; Fortitudo vs. Avaritia; Concordia vs. Discordia. Kühnel, 'The Kingly Statement', pp. 341-2.
[1034] Snyder, *Early Gothic Column-Figure Sculpture in France*, pp. 34-5; Scott, *Medieval Dress*, p. 49.

Figure 36: Melisende Psalter, London, Egerton MS 1139, fol. x-r, detail (Front cover)

Figure 37: Melisende Psalter, London, Egerton MS 1139, fol. x-r, detail (Front cover)

The slim-fitting bodices reflect the recent fashion for women, moving away from the previously loose silhouette of the *cote*. Unlike other depictions of the *Psychomachia*, where the clothing of the vices often indicated all that was undesirable about the current fashions, both sides on the Melisende Psalter are wearing similar garments.[1035] All these fashionable details can be seen in manuscript illustrations from Western Europe, such as the figure for August in the calendar of the Huntarian Psalter from the mid-12th century.[1036] The Psalter carvings also make it clear that gores have been inserted into the sides of the skirt: triangular pieces of cloth inserted into the side seam of the garment to provide a fuller silhouette below the waist. As with the long cuffs and keyhole neckline, gores are a feature of 12th century clothing in Western Europe, depicted on sculptures at cathedrals across north-west France such as Chartres and Saint-Denis, and Rochester in south-east England.[1037]

Within the roundels David is initially shown bare-legged, wearing a knee-length tunic with a keyhole neckline and side gores – a simple and humble outfit as would befit his work as a shepherd. He also carries a bag, with one strap across his body, very similar in style to those often carried by pilgrims in Western Europe in the medieval period. This style of bag is distinct from the more frequent purse hung from a belt at the waist. This clothing appears again in the third roundel, when David takes on Goliath.[1038] The crossed leg-wrappings worn by David are also associated with the clothing of Western Europe, appearing on Anglo-Saxons and Normans on the Bayeux Tapestry. However, crossed leg-wrappings often

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[1035] Scott, *Medieval Dress*, p. 25.

[1036] Huntarian Psalter, Glasgow University Library MS Hunter 229 (U.3.2), fol. 4v

[1037] Harris, ''Estroit vestu et menu cosu', Figs. 54 and 58; Snyder, *Early Gothic Column-Figure Sculpture in France*, p. 35, Figs 1.32 and 1.33.

[1038] It should be noted that as with most of the scenes portrayed on the front of the Melisande Psalter, this is a standard format for representing David and Goliath in this period. David stands to the left holding his slingshot and stick, with a cross-body bag, looking up at Goliath to the right. Often the slingshot is in mid-air and about to be launched. See for example the Limognes Psalter from the early 13th century, Bibliothèque municipal de Besançon, BM MS.0140, fol.10 and an English Psalter from the same period in the British Library, Royal MS 1DX, fol.52r.

appeared on David during this period and seem to have been due more to iconographical tradition than to current fashion.[1039] By the time he is king, David is dressed in the *chlamys*, fastened at the right shoulder. Goliath and the virtue 'humilitas' are wearing the armour of the Comnenan Byzantine army, with kite-shields, conical helmets and *llamellar klivanion* – rectangular metal plates riveted together edge to edge covering the arms and thighs.[1040]

The idea that Byzantine clothes and textiles were a mark of aristocratic style and taste influenced art throughout the Medieval West. The imperial insignia were adopted for a variety of reasons, including as an attempt to emphasize authority and political strength.[1041] The Norman king of Sicily, Roger II, frequently appeared in images wearing Byzantine imperial regalia including the *loros*, and his magnificent *chlamys*-style mantle from the 1130s survives in the Imperial Treasury in Vienna.[1042] The seals of the Crusader kings show that Byzantine-style vestments were adopted at a very early stage. A seal dated to the time of Baldwin I (1100-18) shows the king wearing a *chlamys*-like cloak with a distinctive patterning of a deep triangle.[1043] The first appearance of a Crusader king wearing a *loros* seems to be Amalric I (1163-74), and as he is also depicted wearing a *chlamys* on another seal, it seems likely that the change occurred during his reign.[1044] The writings of the Crusaders certainly show an appreciation for the luxurious fabrics of Byzantium, as seen in the enthusiastic description of Constantinople by Fulcher of Chartres during the First Crusade.[1045] The monk Odo of Deuil, who participated in the Second Crusade, described the splendid silk clothing worn by the Greek envoys from Constantinople.[1046] The Jewish

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[1039] Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 258.
[1040] For further detail see Dawson, 'Suntagma Hoplôn', pp. 81-90, especially p. 90.
[1041] Kühnel, *Crusader Art*, p.76; Kühnel, 'The Kingly Statement', pp. 348-9.
[1042] Scott, *Medieval Dress and Fashion*, p. 53, Fig. 27.
[1043] Spaer, 'A Seal of Baldwin I', pp. 157-9.
[1044] Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin*, p.7, Plate XVI.3; Metcalf, 'Islamic, Byzantine, and Latin Influences', p. 173.
[1045] Fulcher of Chartres, *A History*, p.70; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, Book I, Chapter IX, pp. 176-8.
[1046] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione*, p. 26.

traveller Benjamin of Tudela also visited the city in the mid-12th century, and wrote that the Constantinopolitan masses were not clad worse than princes, dressed in silken garments embroidered with gold.[1047] Nicetas Choniates writes of a tournament held in Antioch in 1159 after the arrival of the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Comnenus, where both Byzantine and Crusader knights were careful to dress in the latest beautiful fabrics and fashions. This included, Raynald of Châtillon wearing a "long *chiton* split in two from the waist down and a tiara-shaped felt cap embellished with gold."[1048] The lure and prestige of Byzantium pervades much of Crusader art. For contemporaries, the degree to which the artist had successfully duplicated the style of the Empire was not as important as the artwork being recognizable as Byzantine.[1049]

Although the regalia of the kings portrayed on the covers of the Melisende Psalter are closely linked to Byzantine traditions, the other figures are closely tied to contemporary costume in Western Europe. This style of clothing shown on an item such as this, commissioned for a Frankish queen, is a demonstration of the complex networks between material culture and consumers. These images were considered appropriate for a woman such as Melisende; both actively displaying and perhaps informing the contemporary tastes of the Frankish aristocracy.

Unlike the ivory panels, the illustrations within the Psalter are less revealing for dress and material culture. The saints and biblical figures in the miniatures are mostly dressed in the standard iconographic drapery, with some appearing in Byzantine imperial regalia such as St Michael in a *loros*.[1050]

[1047] Benjamin of Tudela, *The Itinerary*, pp. 22-3.
[1048] Kazhdan and Epstein, *Change in Byzantine culture*, p. 109.
[1049] Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, p. 191.
[1050] British Library, London, Melisende Psalter, Egerton MS 1139, fol. 205r

The two Gospel books produced in the Holy Sepulchre scriptorium in the 1160s both show the increase in Byzantine influence on Crusader art during this period. This change reflected the political developments of the time, and the strengthening of the Byzantine-Crusader alliance following the marriage of Amalric I to Maria Comnena, grand-niece of the emperor Manuel I Comnenus. The first gospel is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (MS lat. 276) and the second is in the Vatican Library in Rome (BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 5974).[1051] Although Buchthal sees these two Gospels as little more than copies of Byzantine examples, Folda credits the artist with more creativity in introducing some Western elements into the pictures. Although the illuminations largely follow standard Byzantine compositions, there are instances of Western-inspired iconography, such as the angel whispering inspiration into the ears of the evangelists St Mark and St Luke in the Paris manuscript, and St Mathew in the Vatican gospel is a distinctly Western device.[1052]

After the loss of Jerusalem the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre is assumed to have moved to Acre. Few extant manuscripts were produced in the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the following two decades. One example, the Naples Missal, has been tied to the activities of the scriptorium but the decorative similarities are with earlier manuscripts produced while it was still at Jerusalem.[1053] The two full-page miniatures in the manuscript have little to offer this discussion of material culture; the bejewelled throne on which Christ is seated for the *Maestas Domini* illustration follows the traditional Byzantine style, with the addition of a red and white elongated cushion.[1054]

The most famous illustrated manuscript produced in the Holy Land in the first half of the 13th century is the Riccardiana Psalter, now in the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence, MS

[1051] Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders, 1098-1187*, pp. 337-47; Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, pp. 25-33.
[1052] Folda, *Crusader Art, 1099-1291*, p. 56.
[1053] Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, pp. 33-5; Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, pp. 93-5.
[1054] Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, p. 94, Fig. 50.

323. The exact patron of the manuscript has been the subject of debate, but there is no doubt that it was produced for a person of note, probably a noblewoman.[1055] Folda has identified the artist as Sicilian, combining Byzantine iconography and style with Western details. Particular attention should be drawn to the high-backed chair on which the Virgin Mary sits for the Adoration of the Magi scene: a form popular in Italy in the 13th century, but derived from Byzantine models and appearing in Crusader art between 1200 and 1291.[1056] The clothing illustrated in the Riccardiana Psalter is the classical drapery frequently seen on biblical figures in medieval illuminations, so will not be discussed in detail here.

Arsenal Bible

Louis IX of France arrived in Acre in May 1250 after the failure of his campaign in Egypt. Despite his initial success in taking Damietta in 1249, the rest of Louis' Crusade was a disaster: his brother Robert of Artois was killed leading an attack on the town of al-Manṣūra in February 1250, before Louis himself was forced to surrender and was taken prisoner just two months later. He was released a short time later after the payment of 400,000 livres as a ransom, and set sail for the Holy Land. After his arrival in Acre, Louis instituted a wide-ranging rebuilding programme across the Kingdom of Jerusalem, repairing and redeveloping the walls of Acre, Caesarea, Haifa and Sidon. Along with this architectural patronage, Louis also commissioned one of the finest examples of Crusader manuscript illumination – the

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[1055] Buchthal argued that the patron was the Emperor Fredrick II, commissioning the psalter as a gift for his third wife Isabel, the sister of Henry III of England on the occasion of their wedding in 1235. Folda has shown that this conclusion is erroneous and assigns an earlier date of 1225 for the production. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, p. 41; Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, pp. 212-7. See also Jacoby, 'Society, Culture and the Arts', p. 116.
[1056] Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders, 1098-1187*, p. 215, n. 593.

Arsenal Bible. Louis' presence in Acre is believed to have stimulated the production of manuscript illumination in Acre, which continued until the city fell in 1291.[1057]

The Arsenal manuscript contains twenty full-page illuminations, made up of 115 individual scenes. Many of the frontispieces echo the configuration of stained glass windows or use architectural motifs to display the groups of miniatures that make up the full page.[1058] Detailed examination of the book for its stylistic and iconographical heritage has shown that the French-trained painter drew on both Byzantine and French Gothic traditions. The illuminator used Byzantine models and combined them with aspects of Western style; examples include the use of illuminated frontispieces before the text, the illuminated initials, and the page format of a series of scenes framed by roundels.[1059] The models for the Arsenal Bible have been identified as two Parisian moralized Bibles from the second quarter of the 13th century, and several Byzantine manuscripts from Constantinople.[1060] Folda and Weiss have seen the visual content, programme and text of the manuscript as an expression of the personal and royal agenda of Louis IX at the time of commission, which they suggest was in 1250 following his decision to stay in the Holy Land.[1061] The choice of an historical narrative dealing with the promise of the Holy Land from God and its chosen people and role models for a leader of that land has been described as reflecting "a very personal, biblically based early version of a *livre du roi*."[1062]

The combination of Byzantine and French models can be traced through the illustration of clothing in the manuscript illuminations. It has already been noted by researchers that the frontispieces for the three books of Proverbs reflect Byzantine imperial

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[1057] Folda, *Crusader Art, 1099-1291*, p. 112; Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, p. 67; Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, pp. 84-5.
[1058] Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, p. 288; Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, p. 86.
[1059] Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, p. 104.
[1060] Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, p. 117; Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, p. 291.
[1061] Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, p. 290; Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, pp. 180-6.
[1062] Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, p. 290.

regalia, a conscious choice to evoke the image of a Crusader king.[1063] The gold and bejewelled crossed *loros* in Proverbs 1 "Wisdom" is worn over a red tunic with a wide border around the hem, and gold bands on the upper arms. His crown is Byzantine in style, with higher sides than the circlets of a Western monarch, and is shown with the two strings of pearls known as *prepondoulia*.[1064] Solomon's amanuensis is wearing a Western outfit of a blue sleeveless *surcote* with a red under-tunic.[1065]

The images of Solomon for Proverbs 1 and 2 depict him in another form of Byzantine regalia. In these two images what appears to be a *chlamys* is fastened at the right shoulder over a long tunic with wide sleeves and one visible gold arm-band, both items over another garment with tight sleeves.[1066] It is not clear if the edge of the cloak is curved, as it should for the Byzantine style, but taken with the rest of Solomon's outfit, it seems to be in the spirit of Eastern regalia. Both show the same style of Byzantine crown seen in the "Wisdom" scene. As with the first Proverbs image, Solomon's amanuensis is shown in a more Western style of dress: for Proverbs 2 this is a long-sleeved, knee-length tunic with a keyhole neckline, worn over tight leggings with a dotted stripe down the front of each leg. The tunic has a detail on the upper right arm of bands and dots, presumably an attempt to reflect the wider band seen on Solomon's tunic. The boy also has a cloak draped around his shoulders, but it is not clear how it was fastened (Figure 38). For the final Proverbs frontispiece, the boy is again shown in a sleeveless blue *surcote* over a red tunic and red stockings. Again his left upper sleeve has the band detailing.

[1063] Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, p. 290.
[1064] Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, p. 28.
[1065] Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 5211, fol. 307r.
[1066] See the example in Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, Plate 1.

Figure 38: Arsenal Bible, MS 5211, fol. 332v (Proverbs 2)

The bands of embroidery on the upper arms of a garment can be seen on secular and
religious figures throughout the Arsenal bible, and is not a detail that appears in the
Moralized Bibles, which were used as models for the Acre manuscript. The arm bands are not
a common detail in depictions of clothing in Western manuscripts and may reflect a Middle

Byzantine trend for wide embroidered bands on the upper sleeves of garments of officials and aristocracy. This trend has been suggested as having been inspired by the *tirāz* worn in the Muslim world. The word *tirāz* originally referred to decorative work on a piece of fabric, but later came to mean a robe of honour adorned with sumptuous embroidery, particularly bands of fabric with writing embroidered on them. These bands could be arranged on the borders of the garment, at the neck or wrists or more common in medieval manuscripts, as gold bands around the upper sleeves. [1067] The bands were in a contrasting colour to that of the sleeve and often bore a religious or honorific inscription.[1068] In the Arsenal Bible, apart from the three images of Solomon on the Proverbs frontispieces, the more delicate detailing of decoration on the upper arm is seen on other figures such as the seated women in the fourth scene on the Joshua frontispiece (Figure 39), Samson in the bottom two scenes on the Judges frontispiece (Figure 40), and the seated Jew talking to Job (Figure 41).[1069]
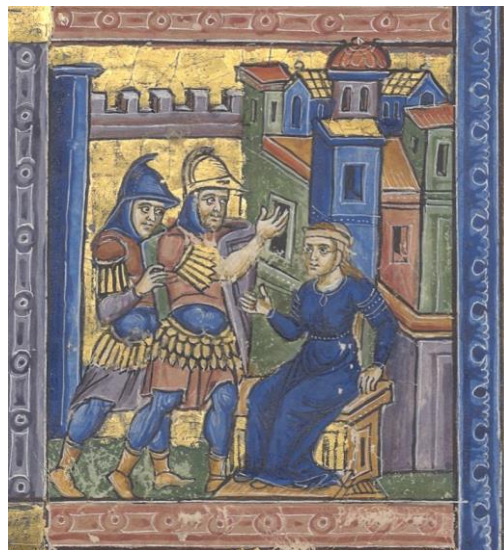

Figure 39: Arsenal Bible, MS 5211, fol. 69v, detail (Joshua)

[1067] Stillman, *Arab Dress*, pp. 120-1.
[1068] Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, p. 54, n. 13.
[1069] Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, p. 92, Fig 39 (Judges), p. 91, Fig 38 (Joshua), Plate VII (Job).

Figure 40: Arsenal Bible, MS 5211, fol. 81r, detail (Judges)

Figure 41: Arsenal Bible, MS 5211, fol. 269r, detail (Job)

These details are not found in the Western models for the illuminations, but they can be seen on figural sculpture in North-West France from the 12th century.[1070] Portal sculptures at cathedrals in Bourges, Chartres and Etampes show three-dimensional *tirāz*-style bands on the mid-calf, mid-thigh and upper arm.[1071] The Israelite elders rebuked by Judith in the

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[1070] Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, Plate 149c; Snyder, *Early Gothic Column-Figure Sculpture*, p. 55, 59.

[1071] Snyder, *Early Gothic Column-Figure Sculpture in France*, p. 59.

Arsenal Bible frontispiece are also shown with broad gold bands embroidered with geometric patterns around the upper arms of their robes.[1072]

Other aspects of female clothing in the bible illustrations reflect contemporary Western European fashions for noblewomen. The headdresses seen on many of the women throughout the series of frontispieces are formed of a tight chinstrap and head band, usually pale in colour. Examples include the wife of Tobias on the Tobit frontispiece in the middle right scene, Delilah cutting Samson's hair in the bottom left scene on the Judges frontispiece (Figure 40), and the figure of Judith throughout the frontispiece to the Old Testament book (Figure 42).[1073]

[1072] Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, p. 97, Fig 44.
[1073] Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, p. 99, Fig 46 (Tobit), p. 92, Fig 39 (Judges), p. 97, Fig 44 (Judith).
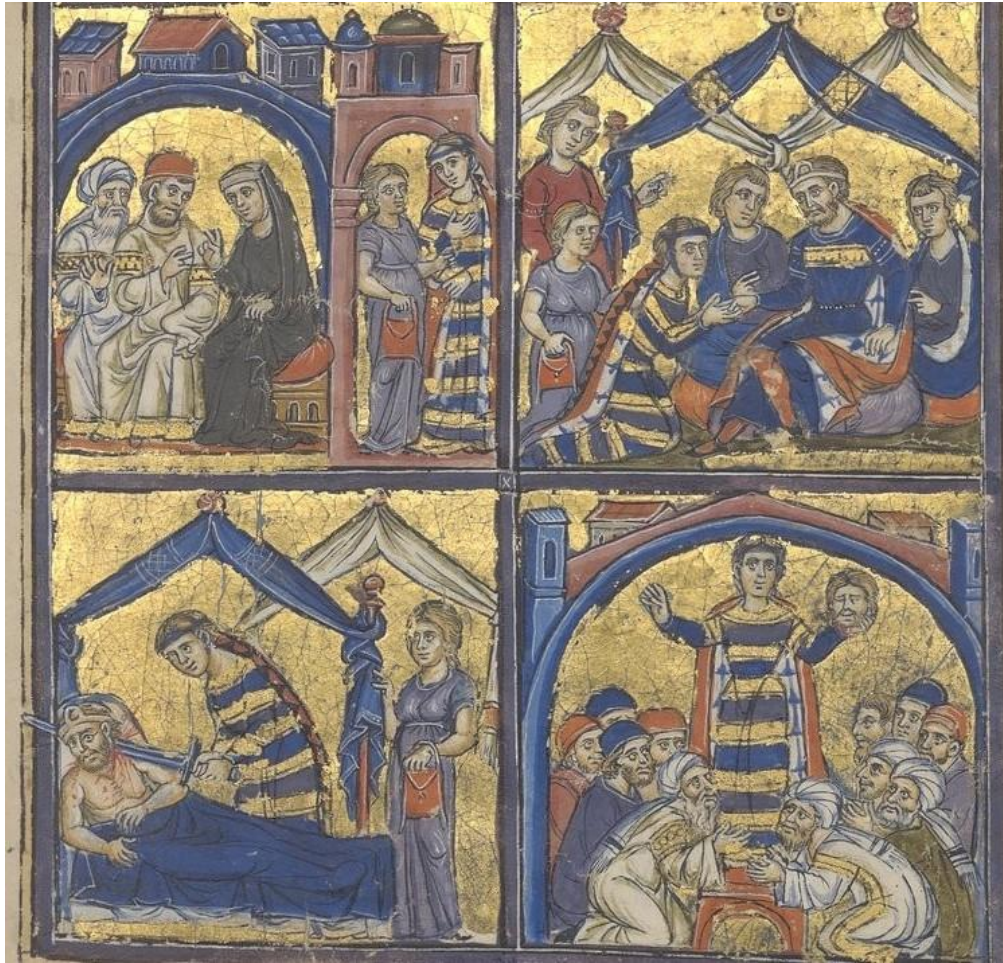
Figure 42: Arsenal Bible, MS 5211, fol. 252r, detail (Judith)

The text used as one of the central models for the Arsenal manuscript, the Oxford Moralized Bible, also shows the secular women wearing the same style of headdress.[1074] This headdress was part of the standard clothing for a noblewoman from the mid-13th century, comprising a cloak over a *cote* (tunic) or *surcote* (sleeveless tunic).[1075] Wealth and status would be communicated through the sumptuous fabrics and fur used for the garments. This combination can be seen in the magnificent *cote* and cloak worn by Judith on her

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[1074] See for example the women on fol. 13v in the third roundel from the top on the right side. Bodleian Library, MS f. 270b

[1075] The *cote* differs from the previously mentioned *bliaut* by having sleeves that were fitted all the way to the wrist, rather than ending in pendulous cuffs. The simple *cote* did not have the elaborate ruching sometimes seen on the bodice of the earlier *bliaut*. Goddard, *Women's costume in French texts*, pp. 40-59, 103-106.

frontispiece. The cloak is red, with a *vair* lining indicated by the standard convention of alternating blue and white triangles (Figure 40). Her *cote* is made from a fabric with broad rich blue and gold horizontal stripes, for which there are few equivalents. Striped fabrics were not common in illuminations of the period, and it is clear that this was a luxurious and exotic textile. The closest parallel is seen in an English Book of Hours from the first half of the fourteenth century where the robe of one of three kings is shown with broad blue and gold horizontal stripes, each band embroidered with roundels and foliate patterns.[1076] The recent exhumation of the remains of Henry VII of Luxembourg (1275-1313) revealed his silk burial shroud to be a length of cloth almost 10 feet (3m) long, woven with broad blue and red stripes with gold embroidery.[1077]

In contrast to the beautiful Judith, with her rich and exotic fabrics and latest fashions, the garments of the humble and dutiful Ruth are plain – the only adornment of her blue gown being the white band of detailing around the upper arm as described above.[1078] Her fair hair is mostly covered by a long wrap which acts as a veil and cloak. On the relevant frontispiece Esther is adorned in Byzantine inspired regalia, with the same style of crown as Solomon, and a robe with wide sleeves and wide band of embroidery around the neck. She is presented with a sceptre topped with a fleur-de-lis by King Ahasuerus.[1079]

The monarchs portrayed in the frontispieces all wear the Byzantine-style crowns seen on the full page miniatures of Solomon and both *loros* and *chlamys* style regalia. In the frontispiece of Judith, Holophernes wears a similar cloak to hers, of a rich red lined with *vair*.[1080]

[1076] The Morgan Library, MS G.50, fol. 6v.
[1077] http://www.unipi.it/index.php/english-news/item/4200-a-medieval-treasure-in-the-tomb-of-enrico-vii [Accessed 10th February 2015]
[1078] Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, p. 103, Fig 50.
[1079] Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, p. 289.
[1080] Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, p. 97, Fig. 44.

The attention to clothing detail has been highlighted by Weiss in his detailed study of the Job frontispiece. Weiss notes that in the scene of Job seated with his three friends they are represented in the attire of contemporary/medieval Eastern Jews, with turbans and long gowns, rather than in the traditional Western dress of hooded tunics with pointed hats, as depicted in the Oxford Bible.[1081] The artist of the Arsenal Bible has also illustrated the *zizith* of the seated figures - tassels made of knotted threads usually attached to the corners of the prayer shawl (*tallit*) worn by observant Jews (Figure 41). This portrayal of the contemporary environment by the artist, and his decision to make this distinction clear demonstrate his powers of observation and understanding of the multicultural population to which he was exposed in Acre.[1082]

As Weiss argues, the artist's detailed depiction of the diverse Eastern cultures in the Arsenal Bible was part of establishing a stage for the wider Crusading narrative of Palestine as the Holy Land.[1083]

Aside from the religious manuscripts such as the Arsenal Bible, the final decades of the Crusader kingdoms saw the production of a number of secular histories with miniatures. The most popular were the *History of Outremer* and the *Histoire Universelle*, with several copies of each being made in Acre during the second half of the 13th century. The *History of Outremer* was written by William, archbishop of Tyre, in the 1170s and early 1180s, relating the history of the Crusader Kingdoms up to 1184. Originally in Latin, it was translated into Old French soon after its composition and various continuations were added; the earliest ending in 1227 and the latest in 1277.[1084] The illuminated versions are all in Old French, with no surviving illustrated Latin text.[1085] The *Histoire Universelle*, which survives in a

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[1081] Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, p. 188.
[1082] Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, p. 293; Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, pp. 188-9.
[1083] Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, p. 193.
[1084] Folda, *Crusader Art, 1099-1291*, p. 131; Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, p. 87.
[1085] Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, p. 88.

large number of manuscripts, was first composed in the early 13th century in France for Count Roger of Lille and presented a complete history of the world up to the time of Christ. It is thought to have been brought to the Holy Land in the mid-13th century.[1086]

The History of Outremer

The oldest extant *History* manuscript illustrated in Acre is now in the Bibliothèque National de France (MS fr.2628). Initially produced in the 1250s it was later added to in the 1270s.[1087] As Buchthal and Folda have discussed in detail, the choice of scenes illustrated at the start of each chapter is unlike any Western *History*, including uniquely Crusader imagery and the artist's observation of life in the East.[1088] Despite the "careless and sketchy" nature of the illustrations in the Paris manuscript there are some nice details of life in the Crusader states, such as the man struggling into his armour before the siege of Jerusalem on folio 62v. [1089] Other images reflect the particular customs of the Crusader kingdoms, such as the crowning of a kneeling king (as opposed to the enthronement in France), and the presence of the patriarch at the death of a monarch on folio 79r.[1090] The rougher style of painting in the manuscript means that detailed analysis of much of the clothing and material culture is not possible. However, there are a few details that stand out, such as the wide-brimmed sun hat worn by Queen Melisende on folio 146v when out hunting with her husband King Fulk (Figure 43).[1091]

[1086] Folda, *Crusader Art, 1099-1291*, p. 132; Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, p. 68.
[1087] Folda, *Crusader Art, 1099-1291*, p. 131.
[1088] Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, p. 346; Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, p. 90.
[1089] Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, p. 90; Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, CD Image 113.
[1090] Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, p. 90; Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, CD Image 115.
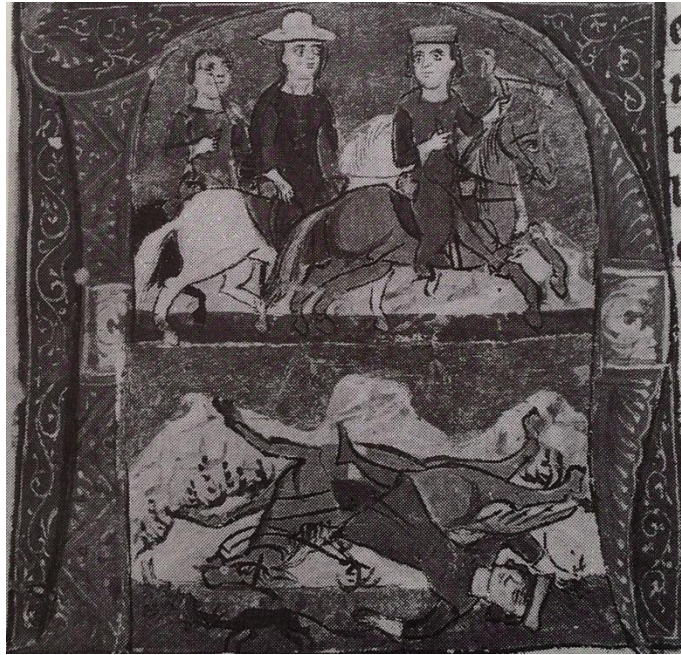[1091] Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, CD Image 121.

Figure 43: History of Outremer, MS fr.2628, fol. 146v. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, Plate 133d.

Two later versions of the *History of Outremer* were completed in the last quarter of the 13th century by the same artist; the two manuscripts are now in St Petersburg and Lyon respectively.[1092] The quality of illustration in these two later examples is higher than in the Paris *History*, and although some of the later miniatures are copies of the earlier images, about half of those in the St Petersburg and Lyons manuscripts are new. As Folda has argued, the artist has clearly used Eastern sources for his inspiration and again looked to his contemporary environment for models, as in the turbans and Eastern dress worn by the defenders of Antioch in the St Petersburg manuscript on Folio 18v and 36r.[1093]

Other details of dress in the manuscripts indicate that the artist is representing the changes in clothing styles that occurred in the second half of the 13th century in the West and would have been recognisable as such by the patron and observers in the Crusader Kingdom.

[1092] Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, pp. 91-2; Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, pp. 405-7.
[1093] Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, p. 406. CD Images 207 and 209.

In the St Petersburg manuscript on folio 73r, depicting Bohemond on horseback leaving Antioch for the West, the far right figure on horseback is shown with buttons on the lower half of his sleeves, a style of fastening only recently part of everyday dress in Western Europe.[1094] Buttons are also shown on the sleeves of the figures at the council of Acre on folio 166r.[1095] A recently fashionable *cote* with short hanging sleeves is worn by the chess player on the far right of folio 129r, a style seen in the West in the second half of the 13th century.[1096] This style also appears in the Lyon manuscript on folio 62r at the Council of Latin leaders, with another figure in the same scene wearing a *vair*-lined cloak, a style that occurs frequently throughout both manuscripts.[1097] In the St Petersburg *History* folio 143v shows the cloak of Queen Melisende (out riding with her husband Fulk) decorated with groups of three dots, a frequently used shorthand for patterned silk in Western manuscript illumination.[1098]

Histoire Universelle

Arguably one of the most important manuscripts produced in the Crusader States in the last decades of the 13th century was a copy of the *Histoire Universelle*, now in the British Library in London as Add. MS 15268. Buchthal and Folda have suggested that the book was commissioned by a group of Frankish nobles as a gift to Henry II of Cyprus, who was crowned King Henry I of Jerusalem at Tyre in 1286, and presented to him as part of the subsequent festivities in Acre.[1099] This book is significant in the history of Crusader Art

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[1094] Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, 1187-1291,* CD Image 211.
[1095] Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, CD Image 217.
[1096] Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, CD Image 215; Scott, *Medieval Dress*, p.77; See for example the miser in *La Somme le Roi*, British Library, Add. MS 28162, fol. 9v, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_28162_fs001r [accessed 15th April 2015]
[1097] Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, CD Image 231.
[1098] Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, CD Image 216.
[1099] Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, pp. 86-7; Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, p. 421; idem, *Crusader Art, 1099-1291*, pp. 146-7.

because, as Folda describes, it was "a major diplomatic gift in which the Crusader patrons mean to offer a work that represents the best of the Frankish culture of Acre."[1100] The view that Henry II was the intended recipient of the manuscript is not universal, with Barbara Zeitler arguing that the (as yet unidentified) coats-of-arms that are part of the illuminations of the first two miniatures are the badges of the first owner.[1101] Stylistically the manuscript's miniatures epitomize the combination of Byzantine and Frankish elements that is recognizable as Crusader art and do not simply reflect the French Gothic style most popular in Acre at the time. The British Library *Histoire* also demonstrates that the Crusader artists took inspiration from Islamic texts, as seen in the elaborate frame around the Genesis roundels on folio 1v – replete with musicians in Eastern dress, dancing girls, hunting dogs and centaurs, all surrounded by curling vine scrolls.[1102] The format of the Genesis page, with a series of roundels surrounded by a wide border, harks back to the layout of the ivory covers of the Melisende Psalter from over a century earlier. The reappearance of this layout demonstrates a continued awareness of Islamic visual motifs throughout the 12th and 13th centuries and that they were in demand from patrons.[1103]

Another newer part of the visual repertoire of Crusader art seen in the *Histoire* is the prominence of heraldic imagery. These mostly imaginary motifs were a new part of the artistic ornamentation in Crusader art, an aspect that was clearly of importance to the military Frankish nobility.[1104]

As with earlier manuscripts, the clothing on display is a mix of Byzantine and Western styles. On folio 16r, King Ninus Enthroned, the monarch is wearing the classic Byzantine regalia of a crossed orange *loros* with black embroidery, over a red tunic, with a

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[1100] Folda, *Crusader Art, 1099-1291*, p. 146.
[1101] Zeitler, ''Sinful Sons'', p. 29.
[1102] Folda, *Crusader Art, 1099-1291*, pp. 147-8; Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, p. 85.
[1103] Zeitler, ''Sinful Sons'', p. 32.
[1104] Folda, *Cruasder Art, 1099-1291*, p. 147.

fur-lined cloak draped over his shoulders. The crown is also entirely Byzantine, with

prepondoulia on each side of a closed cap.[1105] Throughout the manuscript we see the theme

of enthroned monarchs dressed in a mixture of Byzantine and Western regalia, which would

not have made sense outside the context of the Crusader states, where both forms would be

familiar to the Frankish nobility.[1106] For example, when Nebuchdnezzar sends Holofernes

against the Israelites he wears the Byzantine crossed *loros* with a Western-style crown with

three trefoils set into a circlet.[1107] Similarly, the miniature of Brutus as a Roman consul shows

him wearing a Byzantine-style crown with *prepondoulia*, with a Western-style *vair* shoulder-

cape over a red cloak of patterned silk.[1108] The senators to the left of Brutus are dressed as

fashionable Western Europeans, with matching *vair* shoulder-capes over blue and red cloaks

and linen coifs covering their heads.[1109] Similar attire is seen on the senators at the Temple of

Janus on folio 242r (Figure 17).[1110]

[1105] London, British Library, Add. MS 15268, fol. 16r
http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=899 [Accessed 15th April 2015]
[1106] Scott, *Medieval Dress*, p. 76.
[1107] London, British Library, Add. Ms 15269, fol. 179v; Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, CD Image 359.
[1108] London, British Library, Add. Ms 15269, fol. 161v; Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, CD Image 358.
[1109] Scott, *Medieval Dress*, p. 76.
[1110] London, British Library, Add. Ms 15269, fol. 242r; Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, CD Image 368.

Figure 44: *Histoire Universelle*, London Add. MS 15268, fol. 242r, © British Library Board

The continued influence of Western dress on the attire of most other figures in manuscript illumination can be seen throughout the British Library *Historie*. The male attendants in many scenes are seen in the knee-length tunics and linen coifs common in Western Europe, such as those on the right of the miniature of King Jurgurtha and King Boctus.[1111] King Jugurtha is also wearing a curious combination of Byzantine and Western regalia – his crown is of Western shape, but with Byzantine *prepondoulia* attached. His robe has a *tirāz* band around the upper arm of the right sleeve (Figure 45).

[1111] London, British Library, Add. MS 15269, fol. 292r.

Figure 45: *Histoire Universelle*, London, Add. MS 15268, fol. 292r, © British Library Board

The clothing of the Amazons is largely simple ankle-length gowns; the only elaboration in their dress is the gold circlets worn over their long hair, an adornment not seen in earlier versions of the *Histoire* miniature. The one exception is the clothing of Judith when she enters the tent of Holofernes wearing a highly patterned *surcote* over a striped long-sleeved tunic and a gold circlet on her head (Figure 46).[1112]

[1112] London, British Library, Add. Ms 15269, fol. 181r; Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, CD Image 360.

Figure 46: *Histoire Universelle*, London, Add. MS 15286, fol. 181r, © British Library Board

The luxuriousness of Judith's costume in the London *Histoire* is similar to that portrayed in the Melisende Psalter miniature from the early 12th century (Figure 42).

The final manuscripts illuminated in the Crusader states were largely in a French Gothic style, carried out by the 'Paris-Acre Master' identified by Folda.[1113] Several copies of the *History of Outremer* were completed by him in the 1280s, along with a book of Old Testament Bible sections and Old French copies of Cicero's work *De Inventione*, all adhering to Western style and iconography.[1114] A unique codex with an illustrated headpiece from Acre in the 1280s is the *Livre des Assises* by John of Ibelin, lord of Jaffa, the only example of this manuscript to have illuminations. The headpiece shows the councils of the king and patriarch of Jerusalem. Folda draws attention to this miniature to highlight the relative prominence of the patriarch and the king, as visual evidence of the shifting power balance between the two roles. It is also interesting to note that the artist has depicted the secular

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[1113] Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, pp. 426-7; Folda, *Crusader Art, 1099-1291*, pp. 150-1.
[1114] Folda, *Crusader Art, 1099-1291*, pp. 149-50.

figures in clothing that is distinctly Western.[1115] The fashionable *cote* and sleeveless *surcote* combination is worn by two of the male figures, whilst the king and another nobleman are wearing the *cote* and simple cloak draped around the shoulders.

4.3 Furniture and household objects

The debt to Byzantine style is clearly visible in the items of furniture depicted in the 12th and 13th century Crusader manuscript illuminations, so only a few examples will be detailed below.

From the Melisende Psalter one of the few items shown is a folding stool in folio 4r, very reminiscent of the Roman *sella curulis* used by magistrates when commanding power (*imperium*). The *sella curulis* remained a popular seat of authority in the medieval West and the Byzantine Empire, with both emperors and kings incorporating them into their regalia and ceremonies.[1116] The stool was formed of a rectangular piece of fabric, the narrow ends of which were looped around two cylinders, which were themselves attached to two wide X-trestles.[1117] The gold frame of the stool in the Melisende Psalter is topped with two bird heads, and a pink fabric seat. Over 100 years later, the *sella curulis* appears again in another Crusader manuscript, the Arsenal Bible. On the Kings 1 frontispiece King Saul sits on a gold *sella curulis* with zoomorphic heads.[1118]

Some finely detailed furniture is seen in the Gospel manuscripts from Paris and the Vatican from the third quarter of the 12th century. As with much of the overall style, the items

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[1115] Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, pp. 395, Fig. 234.
[1116] Folda has suggested that the appearance of the *sella curulis* should be seen as an explicitly Western device, but considering its continued use by Byzantine emperors I am reluctant to categorise it so firmly. See Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders, 1098-1187*, p. 292.
[1117] Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, pp. 168-9. See Plate 80 for an example.
[1118] Weiss, *Art and Crusade*, p. 93, Fig. 40.

of furniture that appear in the Gospels follow Byzantine forms closely. The cupboard and writing stand in the portrait of St John from the Gospel manuscript in the Vatican are very similar in style to those pictured with St Mathew in the Greek manuscript Coislin 195 in the Bibliothèque Nationale.[1119] Both show the characteristic construction technique emphasizing the rectangular panels making up the doors. The portrait of St John from the Vatican manuscript is crowded with furniture, including a panelled cupboard, high writing stand, rectangular table with beaded legs and cross braces, and a backless chair, also with beading on the legs. Examples of close parallels of the style of furniture can be seen in the Stavronikita Gospels of the 11th century, in the portrait of the evangelist St Luke, and in the portrait of St Mathew in the Gospels of the Holy Trinity monastery in Chalke.[1120]

Musical instruments

On the covers of the Melisende Psalter musical instruments are depicted as part of the story of the life of David. On the front cover in the bottom right roundel, King David is surrounded by four musicians, each playing a stringed instrument. The four attendants each play a harp, a rebec, a viol and a psaltery or lyre, whilst King David appears to be playing an early form of dulcimer.[1121] Aside from the possible dulcimer, the other instruments were known in Byzantium and Western Europe so would have been familiar to the Crusaders.

A century later the instruments played by David and his attendants in the frontispiece to Kings 2 in the Arsenal Bible are an interesting combination of Eastern and Western examples. David plays an 'ūd, an ancestor to the lute that was slowly becoming more widely known in Europe in the 12th and 13th centuries.[1122] It was the principal instrument of the Arab

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[1119] Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Coislin 195, fol. 9v. in Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, Plate 143.b.
[1120] Athos, Stavronikita 43, fol. 12v in Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, Plate 143.c; Gospels of the Holy Trinity Monastery, Chalke. Cleveland Museum of Art MS 42.1512.
[1121] There has been discussion amongst musical historians about this possible early appearance of the dulcimer. See Gifford, *The Hammered Dulcimer*, pp. 25-6; Kühnel, *Crusader Art*, p. 105 for other representations of David and his accompanying musicians in Crusader art.
[1122] Poché, ''Ūd', pp. 25-31.

world, so would be appropriate for David rather than one of his attendants. The 'ūd arrived in Andalusia in the 8th and 9th centuries with the Arab musicians who travelled to the Moorish court at Cordoba. However, it was primarily through Sicily that the instrument became more widely known in Europe as the lute from the mid-13th century.[1123] From left to right David's attendants are playing a triangular psaltery, a shwam, a tambourine and a pair of cymbals (Figure 47).

Figure 47: Arsenal Bible, Paris, MS 5211, fol. 154v, detail (Kings 2)

The psaltery and shwam (a relative of the modern oboe) were both instruments that arrived in Western Europe from the Arab world from the time of the Muslim conquest in Spain, becoming more widely known by the 13th century.[1124] By contrast, the tambourine and cymbals were well known in East and West.[1125] Alongside the Eastern origin of most of the instruments, the tambourine player is shown in Eastern dress with a turban.

[1123] See for example the extraordinary painted ceiling of the Cappella Palatina of Palermo (c.1140), completed under the Norman King Roger II, showing numerous Muslim 'ūd (lute) players.

[1124] van ree Bernard and Remnant, 'Psaltery', pp. 520-5; Baines and Kirnbauer, 'Shawm', pp. 228-37.

[1125] Montague, 'Tambourine', pp. 55-7; Blade, 'Cymbals', pp. 799-803.

Ceramics and Glass

Analysing the portrayal of ceramics in medieval art should be approached with caution. As discussed above (and perhaps more so with ceramics than other forms of material culture) the formulaic nature of religious art, and the relatively static portrayal of certain scenes begs the question whether the objects seen in the manuscripts or frescos bear any relation to reality. Nevertheless, artistic depictions of dining have been incorporated into wider studies of medieval dining practice, where the scarcity of material before the 15th century has led researchers to incorporate a wide range of evidence.[1126] Joanita Vroom has demonstrated that when viewed over the long term, the portrayal of ceramics in Byzantine art reflects the changes in dining habits seen from the archaeology of the Aegean area.[1127] The portrayal of the Last Supper scenes reflects the movement from communal dining, sharing food from one large dish, towards smaller groups sharing food between two or three people. Throughout the period the number and variety of tableware objects increases, and cutlery appears in Byzantine depictions of the Last Supper from the 12th century onwards.[1128] The depiction of glassware in 13th and 14th century paintings in Northern Italy has been examined by Silvia Ciappi.[1129] This research found that the forms represented in the art were very similar to those found in the archaeological record in the area.

The few depictions of ceramics in the art of the Crusades from 1099 to 1291 are very limited, so no detailed conclusions can be reached for the short time span under consideration. However, for those instances where a dining table is portrayed, some useful observations can be made.

[1126] See Lambert, *Du manuscrit à la table*; Scully, *The Art of Cookery*.
[1127] Vroom, *After Antiquity*.
[1128] Vroom, *After Antiquity*, p. 332.
[1129] Ciappi, 'Manufactured glassware', pp. 333-43.

Only two Last Supper's are illustrated in the major Crusader manuscripts, one in the Melisende Psalter and the other in the Riccardiana Psalter. The context of these works has already been discussed above, but there are approximately one hundred years between the two manuscripts. In the Melisende Psalter one large high footed oval dish, containing a fish is set in the centre of the semi-circular table, flanked by two goblets. As is often the case, only Judas is shown reaching for the food in the central dish.[1130] It is unclear if the gold-coloured dish and goblets are ceramic or metal.[1131] This arrangement of two goblets or cups flanking a central dish was a standard depiction in Byzantine art from the 9th century to the 12th century.

In the Riccardiana Psalter the semi-circular table is set with a large central dish with one fish and several circular loaves of bread.[1132] No drinking cups or goblets are depicted, but there is an item which appears to be a salt cellar – a high foot topped by a circular lidded dish. If this is a salt cellar it is an interesting addition to the tableware, as an item not seen in Byzantine depictions of meals. Items such as the salt cellar and aquamanile are seen exclusively in Western European illustrations of the period. The eating of fish at the Last Supper is an element found in both Eastern and Western art, and also appears in other scenes with a close association to Christ such as the Marriage at Cana.[1133]

Aside from the Last Supper, there are four other examples of laid dining tables from Crusader manuscripts in the 13th century. In the Arsenal Bible (produced in the 1250s) the full page frontispieces to Ruth and Esther both contain dining scenes. The Ruth frontispiece

[1130] John 13: 21-29.
[1131] Melisande Psalter, British Library Egerton MS 1139, fol. 6r.
[1132] Riccardiana Psalter, Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 323 fol. 75r; Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, CD Image 30.
[1133] Lymberopoulou, ''Fish on a dish'', pp. 224-5. See for example the Winchester Psalter, London British Library Cotton MS Nero C.IV, fol. 17r, dated to the late 12th to early 13th century. Available at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_nero_c_iv_fs001r [Accessed 30th November 2015]

shows a rectangular table covered with a white cloth, set with two large oval dishes containing what appears to be a whole poultry bird (Figure 48).[1134]

Figure 48: Arsenal Bible, Paris, MS 5211, fol. 364v, detail (Ruth)

The two earthenware dishes are shown with rounded rims, and the external surfaces of their bodies are apparently glazed grey-green. These are accompanied by several loaves of bread, a glass bottle filled with red wine and a glass beaker. The bottle is shown with a rounded body, long neck and a flared rim and flared base-ring, and the beaker likewise has a flaring rim on a tapered body and flared base (see below pages 223-4 for further discussion). The frontispiece for Esther also shows a rectangular dining table covered with a white cloth, depicting the feast of King Xerxes (Figure 49).[1135]

[1134] The Arsenal Bible, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS5211 fol. 364v; Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, CD Image 70. For examples of poultry in dining scenes see Vroom, *After Antiquity*, p. 323
[1135] The Arsenal Bible, fol. 261r; Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, CD Image 58.

Figure 49: Arsenal Bible, Paris, MS 5211, fol. 261r, detail (Esther)

For this scene the table is laid with two oval dishes, one very similar to the Ruth tableware, and also containing a whole bird, the other with a slightly higher foot and darker in colour containing a pig's head. There is also a large metal goblet held by the king, a glass wine bottle and beaker, and a small salt cellar. To the left of the table there is a glazed jug with decorative band around the middle, and what appears to be a second spout protruding from the front. There is also a knife on the right end of the table, and several semi-circular loaves of bread.

The final two scenes are taken from the *Histoire Universelle* in London. The first is of senators feasting at the Temple of Janus (Figure 44).[1136] Here the bare table is laid with three earthenware dishes, all with a raised foot. Each dish contains a fish. The table also had two glass bottlers for wine and one cup; a serving boy to the right of the table stands ready with another glass bottle and cup. For cutlery there are two knives, and several round loaves of

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[1136] *Histoire Universelle*, London, British Library, MS Add. 15268, fol. 242v.

bread. One of the diners is seen cutting into a round loaf with another knife. The layout of this dining scene has much more in common with the standardized Last Supper representations than the variety seen in the Arsenal Bible. The final scene is Abraham's hospitality on folio 24v, where a dining table is laid for a meal. The centre of the table has a large oval dish containing the head of a calf, along with a vessel with a round body and tall narrow neck, decorated with a wavy pattern around the centre. There is also a cup and several round loaves of bread.[1137]

Discussion

Having examined the artistic evidence, and the appearance of material culture in the visual record of the Crusader states, there are some key observations that can be made. The figures in the illuminated manuscripts, when not dressed in the loose drapery often seen on biblical figures, clearly depict the changes in fashion from Western Europe throughout the 12th and 13th centuries. Only the many kings depicted in the illuminations are shown in Byzantine-inspired regalia; we do not see the appearance of aristocratic Byzantine clothing on other figures. The visual messages of the clothing worn by monarchs shown either in full or part Byzantine regalia, underline that the Crusader rulers frequently drew on the imperial images of Constantinople for visual authority.[1138] Most of the other figures are shown in Western European fashions, except where the appearance of local Christian or Islamic dress is included to illustrate the narrative. Indeed, it is clear that when required the artists could include local details of the Levant, such as the accurate portrayal of camels, and the inclusion of *zizith* in the Arsenal Bible. If the artists clearly reflected other aspects of the local

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[1137] Genesis 18. 6-8 says the meal was curds, milk, bread and a calf.
[1138] See for example Metcalf, 'The Iconography and Style of Crusader Seals', p. 369.

environment accurately in these it seems that the clothing depicted can be seen as reflecting some of the contemporary attire of the Franks.

The styles depicted largely follow the Western fashions, but in the later 13th century certain details appear such as the *tiraz* bands on the upper arms of clothes in the Arsenal Bible, which are not seen frequently Western European illuminations. The allusion to this feature is interesting as it is in this manuscript that we see many of the details reflecting the local environment, so perhaps this is another detail that echoes a fashion amongst Frankish society. The donor portraits from the wall paintings also suggest the Frankish patrons clearly wished to be easily identifiable with Western Europe through their appearance, and that the artist thought it was appropriate to depict them in this manner.

For ceramics and furniture, the evidence for any links to the archaeological material is less clear as there are far fewer examples from the images. The furniture illustrated in the manuscripts largely follows Byzantine models, whilst the ceramic evidence traces the broader development across Europe and the Christian Eastern Mediterranean, from communal to more individual dining practices.

When considering how these images can inform the wider discussion about Frankish society, we are essentially investigating the motivations and agency of the individual or group commissioning the image. These manuscripts and paintings should be considered as evidence of a conscious decision by the patron to illuminate the text in a particular style, for a particular purpose. The patron made a conscious decision about their 'self-image' when deciding to choose an artist who worked in the French-Gothic style (such as the Paris-Acre master), or a Frankish artist.[1139] The pattern of patronage emerging in the Crusader states from the 1270s onwards is drawn from a wider cross-section of society than the largely royal

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[1139] Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, 1187-1291*, pp. 396-7.

sponsorship throughout the 12th and the first half of the 13th century.[1140] As a result, we can perhaps glimpse the tastes of a wider range of Frankish society in the later period (albeit the small section wealthy enough to commission these works of art).

The evidence presented above suggests that whilst Byzantine visual culture was employed for rulers, the secular nobility sought to be clearly identifiable as Latin Christians and Franks. These images should not simply be seen as a reflection of reality, rather (particularly in the illuminated manuscripts), they should be seen as items of material culture in their own right, and part of the networks of Frankish identity. As items of material culture the illuminated manuscripts were sumptuous luxury goods produced for wealthy patrons, and the artists reflect this in the depiction of the latest fashions and luxury fabrics.[1141] The value of considering these elite items in relation to those of daily life is that they are part of the same broad visual and cultural context. The art can provide an understanding of how the items relating to dress were used, how the various types of objects relate to each other, and in what context they appeared.

[1140] Folda, *Crusader Art, 1099-1291*, p. 145.
[1141] The trade in precious textiles from East to West has been examined by Jacoby, 'Silk Crosses the Mediterranean', pp. 55-79; idem, 'Oriental Silks go West', pp. 71-88.

Chapter 5. The city of Acre

The aim of this section is to present a case study of the material culture from one site, focusing on setting the artefacts detailed in Chapter 4 in their broader context. The central methodological approach of this study has been to consider the material culture of the Franks in relation to other forms of written and artistic evidence. As part of this approach it is entirely appropriate to bring together the diverse categories of material associated with daily life, and consider the links between them. The city of Acre has been chosen for this case study as it produced the widest range of material, particularly small finds, in contexts securely dated to the period of Frankish occupation. Following the loss of Jerusalem in 1187 Acre became the capital city in 1191 and was the largest Frankish settlement in the mainland Crusader states. The following section will briefly consider the urban landscape of Frankish Acre, before focusing on the material culture of daily life as outlined in previous chapters.

The Frankish city

The urban landscape of Frankish Acre was, by the end of the 13th century, somewhat changed from the Fatimid city.[1142] Although the basic configuration was maintained, large scale construction projects altered the appearance of some sections of the site. After Acre became the capital of the Crusader Kingdom in 1191 there began a period of growth, which by the mid-13th century had taken up most space within the original city walls.[1143] When the Crusaders took the city in 1104 with the help of the Genoese, Acre was already enclosed by a single wall and ditch, but a second wall was constructed by 1212.[1144] The second wall encompassed a larger area to the east of the city and extended north to include the new

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[1142] Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, pp. 328-34; Makhouly and Johns, *Guide to Acre*, pp. 17-21; Kesten, *The Old City of Acre*, pp. 21-25.
[1143] Jacoby, 'Aspects of Everyday Life', pp. 73, 78.
[1144] Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 15-16; Jacoby, 'Montmusard', p. 213; idem, 'Aspects of Everyday Life', pp. 99-102.

suburb of Montmusard that had grown up outside the original city walls.[1145] Excavations

along the line of the inner north wall, constructed in the 18th century by the Ottoman ruler of

northern Palestine Dahir al-'Umar, have shown that it follows almost exactly the path of the

Frankish wall, particularly at the western end.[1146]

There are no standing remains of the Frankish suburb Montmusard due to the remains

being mostly destroyed in the 18th century to construct fortifications, but an examination of

early aerial photographs has revealed the remains of a medieval market street.[1147] Within the

inner walls the city was divided between the various quarters belonging to the military orders

and the Italian merchants. The Templars occupied an area in the south-west, including the

Temple compound, described as "the strongest place in the city."[1148] The Hospitaller quarter

was at the northern edge of the inner city and archaeological excavations have revealed a

complex of buildings including the infirmary, refectory, and a large vaulted hall to the west

of the central courtyard.[1149] The Teutonic order had buildings in the eastern part of the old

city, although no coherent remains of their citadel have yet been uncovered.[1150]

The other groups dominating the urban landscape of Acre were the Italian merchant

communities. The Genoese, Venetian and Pisan merchants occupied their own quarters,

which can be identified by written sources and standing remains. In return for their assistance

in the capture of Acre in 1104 the Genoese were awarded the first quarter, occupying a site in

the centre of the city, in addition to a third of the revenues from seaborne imports and the

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[1145] The exact location of the Crusader period walls has been debated by many researchers, but for a summary see Kedar, 'The Outer Walls of Frankish Acre', pp. 157-80 and Boas, 'Reflections on Urban Landscapes', pp. 247-49. Two maps of 1799, drawn as part of Napoleon's campaign in Palestine, are the last to show the location of the walls of Montmusard before they were largely dismantled. Dichter, *The Maps of Acre*, pp. 142-3. For a map of the remains of Montmusard visible in the 1870s see Rey, *Les Colonies Franques*, pp. 462-3.
[1146] Drucks, 'Akko, fortifications', pp, 2-4.
[1147] Kedar, 'The Outer Walls of Frankish Acre', p. 162; Boas, 'A rediscovered market street', p. 185; Makhouly and Johns, *Guide to Acre*, pp. 66-7.
[1148] *Templar of Tyre*, p. 114. Pringle, *Churches IV*, pp. 116-72; Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, pp. 29-32.
[1149] Avissar and Stern, 'Akko, the Citadel' (1994), pp. 22-25; Stern, 'Akko', pp. 800-2; Pringle, *Churches IV*, pp. 82-94; Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, pp. 49-58.
[1150] Pringle, *Churches IV*, pp. 131-6; Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, pp. 61-3.

right to establish a church.[1151] The Crusader-period remains are represented by domestic dwellings, from two-room houses through to large palaces with four wings set around a central courtyard. [1152] A covered street from the Genoese quarter has also been excavated.[1153] The Venetians were next to be awarded a quarter in 1110, along with privileges of autonomy in the administration of their commune. They occupied an area to the east of the Genoese quarter, along the shore of the outer harbour.[1154] The central building was the Venetian khan, on the site now occupied by the Khan al-Faranji, which acted as a site for merchants to store goods, trade and rent lodgings.[1155] In 1168 the Pisans were given the right to purchase land in the south of the city, to the east of the Templars and south of the Genoese.[1156] Their quarter was centred on the khan, performing similar functions to the Venetian equivalent. Merchants from Provence also acquired a small area of the city in 1115.[1157] By the mid-13th century the merchant quarters were surrounded by walls as tensions between the Italian maritime republics escalated, culminating in the 'War of St. Sabas' in the mid-13th century.[1158]

The Eastern Christian congregations in Acre included Syrian Jacobite, Syrian Orthodox, Armenians, Nestorians and Georgians.[1159] The number of Eastern Christian churches was far smaller than those of the Latin Christians, but increased after the loss of Jerusalem in 1187, and especially after Acre was recovered in 1191, when many groups arrived fleeing the cities captured by the Muslims.[1160] There does not appear to have been a permanent Muslim population in Acre during the Frankish period but merchants and pilgrims

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[1151] Kesten, *The Old City of Acre*, Map 2; Pringle, *Churches IV*, p. 5.
[1152] Kesten, *The Old City of Acre*, p. 33; Jacoby, 'Crusader Acre in the Thirteenth Century', pp. 26-7; Benvenisti, *The Crusaders*, pp. 100-2; A palace and a large house in the Genoese quarter have been surveyed in Boas, *Domestic Settings*, pp. 267-71; Kool, 'The Genoese Quarter', pp. 187-200.
[1153] Kedar and Stern, 'A Vaulted East-West Street', pp. 105-11.
[1154] Kesten, *Acre*, p. 40; Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, pp. 103-4; Jacoby, 'Crusader Acre in the Thirteenth Century', pp. 30-6.
[1155] Kesten, *The Old City of Acre*, p. 41; Constable, '*Funduq, Fondaco*, and *Khān*', pp. 151-2.
[1156] Kesten, *The Old City of Acre*, Map 23.
[1157] Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, p. 104.
[1158] Jacoby, 'Three Notes on Crusader Acre', pp. 83-8.
[1159] Pringle, *Churches IV*, p. 18.
[1160] Jacoby, 'Crusader Acre in the Thirteenth Century', p. 44.

frequently visited the city. One, possibly authentic, story in the collection *One Thousand and One Nights* refers to a Muslim flax seller who rented a shop in Acre between 1184 and 1187.[1161] Whilst travelling back to al-Andalus after a pilgrimage to Mecca, Ibn Jubayr records that part of the largest mosque in the city, which had been converted into the Cathedral Church of the Holy Cross after 1104, was still reserved for Muslim prayer in 1184.[1162] Muslim, Jewish and Christian pilgrims visited the shrine at the Spring of the Oxen just inside the walls of Acre.[1163] The population of Acre also included a transient element due to the seasonal influx of Western pilgrims and merchants.[1164]

The vibrancy of the city was a result of its position as a key economic centre in the Crusader states, with a wide variety of goods traded and manufactured in the city. The extensive list of spices and other wares listed in the *Assises* demonstrates the range of goods passing through the city. Alongside cinnamon, cloves and cardamom were other goods such as ivory, lacquer and wine, the latter arriving from Nazareth and Antioch.[1165] Imports to Acre from Western Europe included timber as well as iron items such as padlocks, nails, hoops and straps for chests and caskets.[1166] Industrial activities in or near the city included a sugar mill that was dismantled by Saladin's nephew after the former captured Acre in 1187.[1167] Soap was produced in the Genoese quarter, and a street of tanneries operated in the northern suburb of Montmusard.[1168] It is also possible that mother of pearl was worked in the city; raw pearls were on sale in the markets throughout the period and jewellery made from the material has

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[1161] Irwin, 'The Image of the Byzantine and the Frank', pp. 232-3.
[1162] Ibn Jubayr, *Travels*, p. 318; Pringle, *Churches IV*, p. 36.
[1163] Pringle, *Churches IV*, pp. 165-6; Kedar, 'Convergences of Oriental Christians', p. 91.
[1164] Jacoby, 'Society, Culture and the Arts', pp. 97-8; For an insight into the trading networks connecting Acre to Egypt see Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society Vol. 1*, pp. 212-3.
[1165] *RHC Lois*, vol. 2, pp. 173-177, Ch. 242.
[1166] Jacoby, 'New Venetian evidence', p. 255.
[1167] Avissar and Stern, *Pottery of the Crusader Period*, p. 86; Stern, *'Akko 1: Text*, pp. 34-5; Jacoby, 'Aspects of Everyday Life', p. 83.
[1168] Jacoby, 'A Venetian Manual', pp. 424-5. Jacoby, 'Aspects of Everyday Life', p. 83.

been found in excavations of a 13th century residential quarter in Acre.[1169] As part of the same excavations two limestone moulds were found for producing ceramic figurines of a Crusader knight.[1170] A mint also operated in Acre during the 12th and 13th century.[1171] Excavations in the north-east of the city have uncovered the remains of a lead ampulla workshop functioning in the thirteenth century.[1172] By this point, due to the uncertainties of travelling in Muslim held territory, the ampullae no longer carried shrine-specific imagery as decoration. Instead the Acre examples carry generic geometric, floral, scale or cross motifs.[1173]

The setting for daily life within the Frankish house in Acre took a number of forms. Twenty-five Frankish houses have been identified in the city, including courtyard houses, tower houses and merchant houses with shops on the ground floor. There were also the palaces of the Italian merchant quarters, which contained apartments on the middle and upper floors.[1174] The courtyard layout is a standard house style seen in the East, whereas the tower houses and palaces are more commonly found in Western European urban areas. As has been noted above (page 243) there are several houses in Acre that combine elements from both traditions, such as a courtyard plan with embrasure windows and chimneys.[1175] These examples have been seen as the beginning of a trend by the Franks in the 13th century to combine Eastern and Western elements in the same building in Acre: perhaps the first stage of evolution of a distinctive house type unique to the Crusader states.[1176]

Within the home, the ceramic and glass evidence from Frankish Acre indicate the trade networks and production sites locally and further afield. The ceramic evidence from Acre fully reflects the city's status as a main port active in the international maritime trading

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[1169] For the trade in pearls and their use in jewellery in Cairo see Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society Vol. 4*, pp. 202-4.
[1170] Syon and Tatcher, ''Akko, Ha-Abirim parking Lot', p. 13, 15.
[1171] Jacoby, 'A Venetian Manual', p. 426; Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusader and the Latin East*, pp. 43-59.
[1172] Syon, 'Souvenirs from the Holy Land', pp. 110-115
[1173] Syon, 'Souvenirs from the Holy Land', p. 111.
[1174] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, p. 252; Kesten, *The Old City of Acre*, p. 42, 44.
[1175] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, House 1:8, pp. 271-4 and House 1:20, pp. 284-8.
[1176] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, p. 243, 250.

network across the Mediterranean. In addition to the pottery manufactured close to the city and along the coast to Beirut, pottery arrived in Acre from around the Aegean Sea and the Black Sea, Muslim Syria, Italy and even very small amounts from China. Typological analysis has demonstrated that the pottery used by the Franks was from a range of sources in the Eastern Mediterranean; an assemblage termed a 'Mediterranean mix'.[1177] This assemblage of ceramic types is found at other port cities in the Mediterranean such as Alexandria, al-Mina and Paphos.[1178] The Frankish settlers did not import large quantities of pottery produced in their places of origin in Western Europe, such as northern Italy, southern France or Catalonia.[1179] Instead, the origin of the imported ceramics at Acre corresponds to the major maritime centres on the Mediterranean sailing routes, largely operated by merchants from the Italian city states.[1180]

The vast majority of glass vessels from Frankish Acre are associated with drinking or pouring. Fragments from seventeen glass bottles, at least three prunted beakers and one enamelled beaker have been uncovered in excavations. This is consistent with other Frankish sites including Montfort and Arsuf, where almost all identifiable vessel fragments are from bottles or beakers. The prunted beakers found at Acre are of a style that is thought to have arrived in the Crusader states from Western Europe, where examples are widespread during the 12th and the 13th century.[1181] However, the relatively poor quality of the glass used for the prunted beakers at Acre has led to suggestions that they were produced locally, replicating the style of examples imported from Europe.[1182] A fragment of an enamelled beaker was also found at Acre, with the original vessel probably a Venetian import. Whilst the glass beakers are European imports, or local manufacturers replicating these styles, the glass bottles from

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[1177] Stern, *Akko 1: Text*, p. 133.
[1178] Stern, *Akko 1: Text*, Table 7.1.
[1179] Stern, *Akko 1: Text*, pp. 157-8.
[1180] Stern, *Akko 1: Text*, p. 158.
[1181] Gorin-Rosen, 'Excavation of the Courthouse Site', p. 83.
[1182] Gorin-Rosen, 'Excavation of the Courthouse Site', pp. 82-3.

Acre were probably manufactured locally. The quality of the fabric and simple forms suggest local production, and many are stylistically similar to examples found on Islamic sites of the same period.[1183] The vessels depicted on the illuminated manuscripts produced in Acre reflect the archaeological evidence for the use of glass for pouring and drinking, and ceramic for serving dishes. The presence of a glass manufacturing plant at Somelaria, only 5km outside Acre has already been discussed.

The appearance of the Frankish settlers in Acre would have been largely familiar to any visitors from Western Europe. The style of dress accessories and jewellery uncovered during excavations suggests that the Franks kept abreast of the changes in Europe and were essentially unaffected by Byzantine or Islamic styles of dress. Buckle styles found in the city display close affinity to those found on excavations in Western Europe, as do the buttons used to fasten clothing. There are unique, high-quality items such as the fragmented diadem, which are clearly linked with fashions in France, and have no parallels as yet from non-Frankish sites in the Levant. The proportion of finds at Acre also supports the connection with European fashions, with jewellery such as rings and bracelets far outnumbered by dress accessories such as buckles, brooches and strap ends.

If the cut of Frankish clothing in Acre remained closely tied to the fashions of Western Europe, it seems likely that the much of the fabric used to make them would have been produced in the Middle East. The silks and other luxury fabrics from these areas were in demand in the West, and readily available in the markets of Acre. Fabric from Bukhara and squares of silk are mentioned as part of the inventory of the Count of Nevers after his death in Acre in 1266, and we have already noted that Jean de Joinville purchased luxury cloth in Acre on behalf of Louis IX.[1184] The tariffs of the royal *fonde* in Acre show that raw fabric and

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[1183] Gorin-Rosen, 'Excavation of the Courthouse Site', p. 76, 78.
[1184] Chazaud, 'Inventaire et comptes', p. 194, VI. "iii boqueranz plains…iiii quarriaus de soie.". John of Joinville, *Histoire*, §599; *Joinville and Villehardouin*, p. 314.

ready-made garments were available in the city.[1185] Silk, linen and cotton were sold, in

addition to fabric from Bukhara.[1186] Women's head coverings including wimples and

kerchiefs were imported from Antioch alongside other ready-made garments.[1187] Shoes and

clogs were manufactured in the city, with a sale tax of 10% on any sold to Muslims.[1188]

Components were also imported from Europe, as seen in 1284 when the wooden soles for

1,000 pairs of clogs, half for men and half for women, were ordered from Venice.[1189]

Continuous interaction between Eastern Christian communities and Franks in Acre

clearly contributed to the vibrancy of artistic activity in the city in the 13th century. This was

enhanced by the frequent arrival of Crusaders, merchants and pilgrims from the West

ensuring the circulation of books and artefacts.[1190] The works of art produced in Acre,

particularly the illuminated manuscripts from the second half of the 13th century, include

details of daily life and show the heterogeneous nature of the city's population and material

culture. The manuscripts and icons from the Acre scriptorium and workshops were produced

for a range of patrons including ecclesiastics, Italian merchants, pilgrims and members of the

Frankish bourgeoisie, both men and women. As detailed in Chapter 3, the capacity of the

artists to accurately observe details of life in the Latin East seems to extend to the appearance

of figures in the manuscripts, and the details of their dress. The cut and style of these clothes

has been shown to largely follow Western European fashions, but was likely to have been

made with some of the luxurious fabrics manufactured in the Middle East and available in

Acre. The appearance of details such as *tiraz* bands point to a few links with fashionable

details used in Byzantine and Islamic dress.

[1185] For an examination of the tariff see Jacoby, 'The *fonde* of Crusader Acre', pp. 277-93.
[1186] *RHC Lois*, vol. 2, p. 173, Ch. 242: 1-2, p. 179, Ch. 243: 10.
[1187] "guimples et messares", *RHC Lois*, vol. 2, p. 179, Ch. 243: 8-9. For the meaning of *messares* see Jacoby, 'Silk Crosses the Mediterranean', p. 64, n. 62.
[1188] *RHC Lois*, vol. 2, p. 177, Ch 242: 61.
[1189] Jacoby, 'New Venetian evidence', p. 255.
[1190] Jacoby, 'Society, Culture and the Arts', p. 99.

Linguistically, the Franks of Acre spoke a form of French drawn from the north and north-eastern part of the French-speaking areas of Western Europe. But this French was coloured by the other languages encountered in the Levant. Literary and documentary texts show the effect of Italian dialects, and there are also traces of Arabic influence.[1191] It is clear that some Franks could speak Arabic and worked as envoys during negotiations with the various Islamic powers throughout the 12th and the 13th century.[1192]

The material culture of Frankish Acre reflects the extensive networks, both cultural and economic, that linked the city to Western Europe, the Eastern Mediterranean and the broader Middle East. The interaction with a range of other communities, such as the diverse Eastern Christian population would have exposed the Franks to different cultures and traditions. Congregational affiliation was clearly a central element of Frankish cultural identity, but there is no evidence to suggest that in Acre the Latin and non-Latin population were physically segregated into separate quarters.[1193] The ceramics used by the Franks for serving food included glazed ceramics, imported from sites in Syria and the Aegean, and locally produced glazed cooking wares. When glass drinking vessels were used they were likely to have been local imitations of Western styles, accompanied by locally manufactured glass bottles for pouring and serving. The wealthy could import fine enamelled glass from Venice. The clothes worn would be of a style familiar in Western Europe, but for those that could afford it, made using some of the luxury fabrics produced in the Middle East. The dynamic interaction between the communities of Acre continuously shaped and reshaped the experience of everyday life for the Frankish inhabitants, and many of the artefacts associated with daily life in Frankish Acre were linked to the material culture of the Eastern Mediterranean.[1194]

[1191] Aslanov, 'Language in Contact', p. 167, 180.
[1192] Köhler, *Alliances and Treaties*, pp. 303-5; Dajani-Shakeel, 'Diplomatic Relations', pp. 210-11.
[1193] Pringle, *Churches IV*, p. 21.
[1194] Jacoby, 'Aspects of Everyday Life', p. 98.

Conclusions

The focus of this investigation has been to consider aspects of Frankish identity using archaeological material associated with daily practice. This was approached by examining multiple categories of material, emphasising the active role of objects in the process of group identification and considering the links between objects and people. Linked to this central theme was the potential of identifying agency in the material, and considering the role of Frankish identity in the society of the Crusader states.

The examination of the material culture associated with daily practice has emphasised the complexity of Frankish identity, and the value of considering multiple categories of material. It is clear that the role of the Frankish group identity in Crusader society was complex. Whilst creating and reproducing a distinctive group identity in relation to the cultures they encountered in the Levant, the archaeological evidence also demonstrates that Frankish identity articulated the shared experience of living in the Crusader kingdoms. Aspects of daily practice and the associated material that has been excavated from Frankish contexts seems to demonstrate strong links with material from Western Europe, with the use of dress accessories and items of personal adornment that would allow the wearer to be distinguished from cultural and ethnic groups in the immediate vicinity. Other aspects of daily practice, such as objects associated with dining and, in some contexts domestic architecture, over time display closer links with the cultural and trading networks of the Eastern Mediterranean.

Active Material Culture

It would not be appropriate to conceptualise Frankish identity as homogeneous and static across almost two hundred years of daily life in the Crusader states. The material culture that was part of daily practice changed throughout the period in terms of form and style, and as will be shown below, varied depending on the context, resulting in a complex pattern of material. The change over time is most clearly demonstrated in the case of ceramics, with an increase in the quantity and range of glazed wares imported from the Eastern Mediterranean, and found in Frankish contexts over the course of the 12th and 13th centuries. In contrast, those items associated with appearance maintain closer links in terms of form and style to Western Europe, with no significant change so far identified. However, the objects such as buckles and belt fittings are only part of visual identification and the context in which they may have been used, and the fabrics they may have held together, offer a more complex picture. We know from the trade records and inventories that fabrics manufactured in the East were available in urban markets, and were sold alongside items of clothing imported from Western Europe. The complex networks that have been touched upon demonstrate that the material was actively used by individuals in a variety of ways, involving considered choices and the deliberate selection of elements from traditional or less familiar cultural repertoires.[1195]

[1195] Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles*, p. 9.

As outlined in the literature of the Crusades, appearance was considered a key indicator of group membership, and a clear mark of distinction between cultures and ethnicities. We see the active role of appearance and clothing in identifying the Franks in the writing of Ralph Niger and James of Vitry, where the luxurious attire of the Franks also demonstrated their lack of morality. The contemporary accounts also articulated a conception of the Franks as a group distinct from the range of Western European cultures and ethnicities that arrived in the Levant on Crusade. The accounts of gift exchange emphasised the potential agency in items of material culture to make and re-make relationships within and between ethnic and cultural groups. The descriptions of gift exchange also underline the multiple meanings of material culture; the significance does not reside solely in an object, but in the context and connections in which it is entangled.[1196] Gifts could be used to express shared values, but they could be used to manipulate a situation, or become a site of conflict. These visual actions of giving and receiving of gifts, was an expression of power relationships and the public quality of the ritual of gift exchange created similar obligations to a written treaty – the spectators assumed the role of witnesses.

Research Summary

This thesis began with a summary of existing research and approaches to the material culture of the Crusader states. It outlined the methodological approach of this thesis, and that the material culture associated with daily practice has an active role to play in the process of group identification. That by examining multiple types of material and evidence researchers can better understand the role of Frankish identity in Crusader society.

[1196] Knappett, *Thinking Through Material Culture*, p. 166.

The second chapter provided a detailed examination of the archaeological material, including dress accessories, glass and ceramics. This encompassed a broad range of objects in a variety of materials, from buckles, pins and gaming pieces, to bottles, bowls and plates. In this chapter it was evidenced that for personal items such as clothing fastenings and jewellery, the style and proportion of these items closely paralleled examples from Western Europe. Buckle styles largely followed Western European fashions, with only one type being stylistically dissimilar. The relative paucity of items such as earrings and bracelets compared to the large number of brooches and buckles reflects a numerical distribution pattern paralleled in excavations in Europe. Some items, such as the mother-of-pearl cross-pendants demonstrate that although stylistically similar to items from the West, materials readily available in the Levant were used to replicate copper alloy examples.

Chapter 2 also considered the ceramics and glass found on Frankish sites, providing detailed discussion of two other important categories of material culture used in daily life. The advances in ceramic studies over the past decade, combining scientific and stylistic analysis, have clearly demonstrated that the ceramic types used in the Crusader period were part of a network of production and consumption that covered much of the Eastern Mediterranean. Trading patterns, particularly the activities of the Italian maritime states, contributed to the distribution of types such as Port St Symeon and Cypriot wares. Stylistic analysis of the decorative motifs of these types at Frankish sites has demonstrated that the producers borrowed and merged iconographical elements from Islamic and Byzantine art to create a 'distinct taste' that was popular across the Crusader states.[1197]

[1197] Redford, 'On *Sāqīs* and Ceramics', p. 302.

To complement the ceramic discussion, Chapter 2.3 discussed the existing evidence for glass production and consumption at Frankish sites. Examination of this material is a growing area of research, with some recently excavated material undergoing chemical analysis to attempt to pinpoint production sites. Although the amount of glass from Frankish contexts is limited compared to ceramic material, it is clear that some forms demonstrate links to both Eastern and Western manufacturing techniques and styles. This can be seen in the prunted beakers, where local manufacturers copied examples from Western Europe to cater for Frankish taste. Enamelled drinking cups, produced in Middle Eastern workshops, have been found at a small number of Frankish sites, one example decorated with a band of Arabic script. There is also evidence to suggest that decorated glass combining Christian decorative motifs with Middle Eastern techniques was used by the Franks in the Levant, although a production site has yet to be confirmed. The most common glass vessels were associated with drinking and pouring, predominantly bottles and beakers, with many simpler forms remaining unchanged throughout the early Islamic and Crusader period. Although there are examples of glass imported from Western Europe, including prunted and bi-conical beakers, and possibly enamelled cups, the majority of glassware seems to have been produced in the Crusader states. Manufacturers in the Levant produced glass vessels in forms known in the region, and reproduced styles from Western Europe.

Chapter 2 concluded with a section examining the domestic architecture of the Crusader states in the Levant. In addition to providing an overview of the key types of Frankish housing in urban and rural contexts, this section discussed the forms of housing seen in Western Europe and in the pre-Frankish Levant. As has been argued elsewhere, the

development of a distinctive Frankish house type did not emerge, although some domestic buildings included elements of Western and Eastern building designs and techniques in their construction.[1198]

The third chapter was an examination of the written sources to understand the contemporary conceptions of Frankish cultural identity. This section argued that some European Christians in the West had a clear conception of the Franks in the Crusader states as a group somewhat separate from themselves. The written sources also demonstrate that personal appearance was an important and immediate signal communicating group identity, through markers such as clothing style and facial hair. This section demonstrated that detailed examination of the written sources for information on items associated with personal appearance has the potential to add to our understanding of the processes of Frankish group identification.

Moving from an investigation of the written sources to an analysis of the art of the Crusades, Chapter 4 argued that under Frankish patronage portrayals of clothing and moveable objects were closely tied to the visual culture of Western Europe in the 12th and 13th centuries. This chapter also analysed the art of the Crusades for portrayals of other items of material culture such as glass and ceramic vessels. The instances of the representation of such material were found to be too infrequent to draw any firm conclusions, but the form and type of vessel seen on dining tables in the illuminated manuscripts broadly reflects those seen in the archaeological record.

[1198] Boas, *Domestic Settings*, p. 245, 247.

Finally, in Chapter 5 daily life in the city of Acre was discussed in detail, bringing together a variety of evidence to build a picture of the cultural and economic networks linking the city to Western Europe, the Eastern Mediterranean and the wider Middle East. The range of evidence examined demonstrates how the dynamic interaction between the communities of Acre would have shaped the everyday experiences of the Frankish inhabitants and the form and style of material culture they used on a daily basis.

The Frankish Household

Having examined the range of material it is clear that the identification with a particular group, and the role of material culture within the networks of daily practice that contribute to this process are not static. This can be briefly explored through the consideration of the networks of a Frankish household and the associated material within an urban and rural setting.

In an urban setting such as Acre we would expect to see a dining table set with ceramics from across the Eastern Mediterranean. This would include locally produced plain wares combined with imported glazed ceramics, the latter brought by the Italian merchants plying the trade routes. The glazed ceramics would initially have been imported largely from the Byzantine territories, but from the second half of the 12th century, the range of tableware expanded. From al-Mina came Port St Symeon Ware, decorated with *sgraffiato* human, animal and floral forms that contained stylistic influences from Western and Eastern cultures. There were also Syrian frit wares, Proto-maiolica from Italy and Zeuxippus ware. There may have been some glassware for drinking and pouring; some locally produced with forms that

would be familiar across the Levant, but perhaps also prunted beakers, the latter often manufactured locally to reproduce a Western European style. The practice of reproducing a Western European style (often of poorer quality) in the Levant for Frankish consumers is a testament to the active role of these items in daily practice and group identification. There was demand for a style of beaker that would be clearly identifiable as the latest Western European taste, and that we know was used alongside tableware from across the Eastern Mediterranean.

The dress accessories and items of jewellery from urban contexts display stylistic links with parallels from Western Europe, and evidence from examining visual depictions of dress suggest that these items were also used in similar contexts. The evidence from inventories and trade records give some context to our understanding of these items, with the availability of a wide range of textiles produced in the East in the urban markets, suggesting that the dress accessories, although stylistically linked to Western Europe, could have been paired with Eastern fabrics.

In a rural setting, the design of a Frankish house was more likely to follow architectural styles similar to those in Western Europe. In the newly constructed villages, homes were laid out along either side of a central street, with domestic accommodation on the first floor of a barrel vaulted structure that shared walls with adjoining properties. The inclusion of chimneys in a number of the village houses is noteworthy as another link to building practices in Western Europe. Within this rural setting the material culture of the dinner table could have included some imported ceramics, but mostly consisted of bowls and platters produced locally along the Levantine coast. The finds of dress accessories from the

villages and manor houses are sparser, but in type and style follow the finds from urban contexts.

Limitations

The availability of archaeological material inevitably placed some constraints on the scope of the investigation in Chapter 2.1 and future research will be dependent on timely publication of excavation material. Much of the material discussed originates from urban sites, partly reflecting the relatively rich deposits often uncovered, but also indicating the bias of published material. In recognition of this, material was examined from as wide a range of site types as possible in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Access to comparative material from sites within the current borders of Lebanon was restricted, as there has been limited excavation on Frankish period sites. The ongoing political instability in Syria also halted travel plans to view sites once part of the County of Tripoli and to examine comparative material.

Future Directions

This investigation has demonstrated the potential insights that can be gained from a detailed examination of the 'smalls finds' or moveable objects uncovered in archaeological excavations. A clear progression for this research would be the study of material from more Frankish sites across the Crusader states as it is published, allowing the conclusions of this thesis to be expanded upon. Aside from the publication of material, it would be valuable to investigate potential production sites and manufacturing processes for the metal items. The benefit of studying networks of production and consumption has been clearly demonstrated for ceramics, and is a growing area in the study of glass from this period. It would also be

desirable to expand the scope of this research to include the study of other under-investigated categories of material such as agricultural implements.

Finally, archaeological information on the textiles of the Crusader states is disparate, and it would be useful to perform a survey of all available material.

Concluding Remarks

Discussion of identity in any society is complex, reflecting the myriad influences and choices made by individuals expressing membership of a particular group. The examination of this process in a society formed far from the original homes of its people in an unknown landscape and amongst unfamiliar cultures, involves the intricate study of a range of evidence in an attempt to piece together the channels by which this identity is expressed to others in the group, and those outside. The findings of this thesis demonstrate that the material culture of daily life – those objects associated with the daily practices of dress, eating, drinking and leisure – were an active part of Frankish group identification. This investigation has also outlined the complex role of Frankish identity in Crusader society, in that it was part of a process of identity creation in relation to, and in reaction against other groups, but also to connect with others who had the shared experience of living in the Crusader kingdoms. It has also been shown that some items could be used to reshape identification, their use informed by an understanding of the potential effects material associated with identity could have on power relations.

This identity, as expressed through the portable objects, combined practices and values from Western Europe with material from cultures encountered in the Levant. This research is a small contribution to the process of integrating the material culture of daily life

into the broader discussion of Frankish identity, and shed light on aspects of life in the

Crusader states.

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