UNRAVELLING THE WALLS OF GOD'S WAR:

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THE HOLY LAND'S FATIMID, AYYUBID, AND

FRANKISH CITY WALLS FROM 1099–1291

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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents a study of urban defence from a social or symbolic as well as a military perspective. For the past 150 years, Crusader castle research has provided many excellent studies. However, the field has been dominated by military historians, focussed on the evolution of architecture and debating stylistic origins. Urban fortifications are overshadowed by the imperious keeps standing within their walls unless they contribute to the discussion of military advancements. The study of these fortifications is further biased by their Frankish-centric material, rarely considering the biography of the site, thus downplaying Muslim elements. Other castle research, like that from Britain, has moved past this military focus, turning towards social or symbolic interpretations. Instead of incorporating both lines of interpretation, a divide was created leading to the interpretative straightjacket known as the 'war or status' rut. In order to rectify these biases and escape the straightjacket this PhD project seeks to answer the question: what are the military and social or symbolic functions of city walls? This thesis aims to: address the field's bias by evaluating the full biography of the city walls during the Frankish era (1099–1291); take into account both Frankish and Muslim occupations of the sites; incorporate evidence of city wall use from multiple disciplines, such as history, architecture, sigillography, and art; and analyze the data using the theoretical concepts of biography, monumentality and memory.

These aims are met through the case studies of Ascalon and Caesarea. By taking into account evidence from multiple fields, this thesis effectively unravels the functions of these cities' city walls so that they are no longer limited by their military treatments. These case studies demonstrate that the city walls did not stand idly throughout the course of the Crusader era. They were used as monumental demonstrations of élite power as well as objects of civic pride and community achievement. They provided apotropaic as well as military protection against their enemies and were used to display domination and victory, demonstrating one group's oppression and conquest over the other.

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signature: _____

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1 SETTING THE SCENE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

It was June 15, 2010. I was sitting next to one of Ascalon's broken towers taking notes and recording the height and distances of the spoliated columns adorning its walls while Terence Christian took some general photographs of the area and made note of our position using an open source GPS application on my mobile phone (see figure 1.1). I began sketching the general shape of the tower and the relative placement of the columns when I noticed the tower's facing stones. They were not all arranged in a blatantly obvious pattern, but it was apparent that a few courses had been made up of a line of alternating header and stretcher stones (see section 4.4.2).

It was here, sitting in front of this ruin looking at these few courses, that I could see the deliberate actions that had to have taken place in the beginning of the wall's medieval biography to create such a pattern (see section 2.2). These actions led to the construction of a strong wall, built to withstand enemy forces, but I realized that the walls had so much more to tell us – more than the bloodshed that they had experienced and more than the destructions that had inevitably claimed them – they were an accumulation of different experiences from those who helped physically build the walls to those who lived within them.

The desire to research city walls came as a result of my MLitt studies with the University of Glasgow. It was during this time that I became aware of a divide in castle studies, what is now known as the 'war or status' paradigm (Creighton and Liddiard 2008: 161), wherein castellologists try to win an unproductive debate over whether a castle's fortifications were built out of military pragmatism or for social/symbolic reasons ranging from displays of wealth and power to administrative functions (see section 1.2 below). Having seen the futility of this dispute, and understanding that both interpretations need not be mutually exclusive, I decided to investigate the fortifications of Cyprus in my master's dissertation entitled: *The Military and Symbolic Functions of Frankish Castles and Walls in Cyprus* (Charland 2007). For the doctoral thesis, I turned my sights to the Levant. I

was intrigued by the challenge of discovering the social/symbolic functions in amidst the
violent encounters between the Franks and the Muslims from 1099–1291.

Figure 1.1: Amanda Charland sketching and recording the placement of the columns on
Ascalon's 'Pattern' Tower (T. Christian)

I had considered looking at both the castles and the urban defences, but decided to focus on the city walls after having read Denys Pringle's (1995) article "Town Defences in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem." In it, he outlines a need to study these structures, a sentiment that he repeats in his more recent article "Castellology and the Latin East: An Overview" (Pringle 2008: 367), and highlights some of the themes that he feels merit further attention. Pringle offers a pragmatic or military approach to the study of urban defences, an approach which I have taken on board and expanded to include social or symbolic considerations (see section 1.3). In addition to the wall's architecture, I have also looked at evidence from different disciplines, such as historical chronicles, decorative sculptures, spolia, and inscriptions. I then unravelled this information, just as the title of this thesis suggests, to discover the walls' functions throughout their many occupations between 1099 and 1291.

The purpose of this chapter is to set the scene of the thesis. Firstly, a research context and critique of the study of medieval city walls in the Holy Land (see section 1.2) is offered. This is followed by the central research question and aims that this thesis will address (see section 1.3). Lastly, this chapter will address the thesis's structure, outlining each chapter (see section 1.4).

1.2 RESEARCH CONTEXT

The purpose of this section is not to provide an all-encompassing review of previous castle studies, but rather to present the context from which my research has stemmed. Such a review of Frankish era castle studies can be found in Denys Pringle's (2008) article, "Castellology in the Latin East: An Overview."

For the last 150 years, Crusader castle research has provided many excellent descriptive studies (Benvenisti 1970; Conder and Kitchener 1881–1883; Deschamps 1934; 1939; 1973; Enlart 1899; Johns 1997; Lawrence 1936; Müller-Wiener 1966; Nicolle 2008; Pringle 1984; Rey 1871). However, upon close examination, three main biases present themselves. The first bias is that urban fortifications receive far less attention than the keeps (or donjons) standing within their walls. This bias is also evident in castle scholarship from other areas across the world. However, some studies focussing on town walls have emerged in recent

years (Coulson 1995; Creighton and Higham 2005; Pringle 1995; Samson 1992; Tracy 2000; Wolfe 2009).

The second bias is that Frankish era (1099–1291) castle studies have been dominated by military historians primarily focussed on the evolution of architecture and on debating the stylistic origins of fortifications. These studies ignore or glance over the city walls unless they add some discussion to the military advancements of the architecture (Enlart 1899: 376–377; Rey 1871: 179). Lastly, these studies have been heavily biased by their Frankish-centric material, downplaying surviving Muslim elements. However, more recent studies have begun to rectify this Frankish partiality (Burgoyne 1987; Drap *et al.* 2009; Drap *et al.* 2012a; Drap *et al.* 2012b; Ellenblum 2007; Hawari 2007; 2008; Hillenbrand 1999; Kennedy 1994; 2006; Raphael 2011; Seinturier *et al.* 2005; 2006; Tonghini 2012; Vannini *et al.* 2002).

Frankish era castle research has very rarely progressed past military interpretations but castle studies from other geographical locations have. Early castle research from Britain presented similar biases to that of Crusader castles. British research was also heavily military focussed (MacGibbon and Ross 1887–1892). With the advent of post-processual archaeology and landscape archaeology, social or symbolic interpretations, ranging from studies looking at displays of lordly power to exploring ideological similarities with devotional buildings, became the new focus (Coulson 1979; Creighton 2002; Dixon 1990; 1998; Johnson 1999; 2002; Liddiard 2000; 2005; Marshall 2002; Wheatley 2004). This interpretive trend can also be seen in France and Normandy (Dixon 2002; Hicks 2009; Mesqui 1991–1993; Renoux 1996) and very occasionally in Crusader studies (Ehrlich 2003; Lock 1998).

But these studies were not without their faults. Instead of incorporating both military and social lines of study, the field began picking sides arguing for one standpoint over the other (Platt 2007). This effectively led to the 'war or status' rut – what Creighton and Liddiard (2008: 164) coined as an "interpretative straightjacket." This left academics searching for a new way to proceed. In Creighton's (2008) article, "Castle Studies and Archaeology in England: Towards a Research Framework for the Future," he proposes different avenues to pursue, including: excavating a wider range of sites, not just the

major ones; non-intrusive studies; looking at the landscapes in which the castles reside (see also Creighton 2002); literary and poetic evidence; and interdisciplinary studies.

Even though British castle studies have embraced social interpretations, Frankish era castle studies remain mostly military focused, which in a way is fortuitous because now we can see how focussing on one area can be detrimental to the field. Learning from the British example, and taking into consideration Creighton's framework, we can now proceed with a more effective approach incorporating both military and social interpretations into the thesis's aims, effectively by-passing the research rut.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTION AND AIMS

This then leads us to the central question of this thesis: what were the social and military functions of Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Frankish city walls between the years 1099 and 1291? Were they built solely with practicality in mind? Or were other factors considered during their construction and use? Did the walls serve a religious purpose as well as a strategic one? Who built the walls? Did only members of the élite society benefit from their construction, or did the walls' construction affect those of lower standing?

The main aims of this thesis are to investigate both the military and social/symbolic functions of city walls by: addressing the field's bias by evaluating the full biography of the city walls during the Frankish era (1099–1291), taking into account both Frankish and Muslim occupations of the sites (see section 2.2); incorporating evidence of city wall use from multiple disciplines, such as contemporary chronicles, architecture, seals, and sculptural elements; and analyzing the data using the theories of biography, monumentality and memory (see sections 2.3 and 2.4).

1.4 THESIS STRUCTURE

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter consists of a general introduction to my PhD research project, offering a research context outlining advantageous as well as detrimental approaches to castellology to date and how my contribution is beneficial to the field.

The second chapter of the thesis discusses the different theoretical concepts which have guided the analysis of the case study sites. The main approach is that of biography. By looking at the different events that helped shape the city walls, this has enabled me to identify the different functions that these fortifications once performed. The theory of monumentality is also explored. This theory has forced me to look at those responsible for the construction of these impressive structures, in particular their motivations. I have also had to consider the effect on those who were involved during the building project and how people from different classes viewed the monumental walls. Part of how people view these structures is based on their memories and thus the theory of memory is also examined. In particular, I look at the interpretation of mnemonically charged materials, such as spolia as well as the walls themselves, and how memories can lead to different actions, such as the destruction of the walls.

The third chapter outlines the methodology employed throughout the thesis. I have broken this into three categories. The first is that of preparation where I explain how the preliminary research was conducted through desk-based assessment and a research trip in the spring of 2009. The second section describes the collection of data through a longer research trip in 2010 as well as the fieldwork methodology that was practiced. The last section of this chapter explains how I consolidated the evidence from the first two phases for the analysis found in the two case study chapters.

Chapters 4 and 5 are the case studies and comprise the bulk of the thesis. Ascalon and Caesarea were chosen for the multi-disciplinary evidence available from both Muslim and Frankish occupations. Employing the theoretical ideas discussed in Chapter 2 and collecting the data as explained in the methodology, these chapters present the various military and social functions performed by each site's city walls. Each chapter begins with site specific research objectives, followed by a summary of the historical background discussing the different people and events from each occupation that helped create the wall's biography. A description of the architecture and archaeology of the walls is then offered so as to provide context for each interpretation. The functions of each wall are then presented chronologically according to each different occupation of the site.

Merging the analyses of the two previous chapters, Chapter 6 provides a discussion of the walls' recurring themes. Drawing on key examples from other sites in the Holy Land, I

discuss the prevailing functions, which include that of: power and monumentality, where the walls were used as demonstrations of élite and legendary power, as well as objects of civic pride and community achievement; magical and religious use, where the walls provided apotropaic as well as military protection and served functions usually associated with devotional buildings; and domination and victory, where the walls were used to demonstrate one group's oppression and conquest over the other.

The final chapter, Chapter 7, addresses the thesis's research questions and critically evaluates the entire PhD project. This chapter will consider whether or not the aims were achieved and the effectiveness of the methodology employed. It also explains the thesis's contribution to the field of archaeology and castellology as well as discusses possible future research avenues.

With respect to terminology, the spelling of place names follows contemporary medieval sources whenever appropriate. Depending on the historical context, some place names are offered in Arabic with their Latin or old French equivalents in brackets or vice versa, for example: Byblos (Gibelet) and Casal des Plains (Yazur). The most well-known place names appear in English (Aleppo, Cairo, Jerusalem, and so on). These conventions are maintained on the maps that appear in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 (see figures 3.1, 4.1 and 5.1).

French, Arabic, and any other non-English terms are italicized with a translation or definition offered in brackets if necessary. This has been done in lieu of including a glossary for ease of reading. I have translated the French sources only when deemed crucial to the understanding of the analysis, otherwise an explanation of the quotations is offered within the thesis's main text. The Latin terms used to describe key portions of the city defences are included within the English translations of the historical texts. These, like the other non-English terms, appear between brackets and are italicized.

Ultimately, this PhD argues that the walls of Ascalon and Caesarea performed multiple different military and social roles, and demonstrates the potential for city wall studies during the time of the Crusades across the Holy Land (discussed further in Chapter 7). To begin, the following chapter provides a discussion of the theories used throughout the analyses of this project's case studies.

2 BIOGRAPHY: RECREATING THE DRAMA OF A WALL

2.1 INTRODUCTION

As expressed in Chapter 1, the purpose of this thesis is to argue against the self-evident defensive function of Crusader-era city walls. These structures were not built solely to fulfil military needs but were also built to serve many different social or symbolic functions. Through my analysis I have found that these walls acted as objects of civic pride, power, ownership, domination, magical, and religious protection. To discover these various functions I adopted an overarching biographical approach which allowed me to look at the life history of the walls, specifically how the walls were formed through the contexts of construction, use, destruction and refortification, and then by looking at these different contexts I applied the theories of monumentality and memory to draw out even more functions. Rather than provide an in-depth description of each theoretical position, the purpose of this chapter is to introduce the concepts of biography, monumentality, and memory, focussing on key interpretive ideas related to each concept, and demonstrate through examples the analytical value of the concepts for understanding Ascalon and Caesarea's city walls.

I will begin by introducing the theory of biography, specifically looking at the approach first introduced by Igor Kopytoff (1986) and then later modified by Jody Joy (2009). By adopting Joy's approach, which attempts to re-create the drama of an object's life by looking at its relationships with people who have interacted with it over the course of its life, I have been able to track the wall's changing functions throughout its life by examining different data which includes architectural remains, historical chronicles, and iconographic representations. Once I identified each of the site's life-altering events, such as its construction, use and destruction, I then applied (where appropriate) the theoretical concepts of monumentality and memory to fully understand what the wall's functions were at a specific point in time.

The following section of this chapter will introduce the theory of monumentality, and discuss how this concept allows me to further understand the different motivations behind a wall's construction. This theory also provided an avenue for understanding how

different demographics viewed and interacted with the city walls throughout the course of its life.

The last section of this chapter will discuss the theory of memory with a specific focus on spolia and the destruction of architecture imbued with memories. Re-used architectural elements (spolia) carry their own biographies each with different memories, thus adding another relationship to a wall's biography when one of these elements is incorporated during its construction. Using spolia can affect the function of a city wall in many different ways as it can have symbolic, economic, and aesthetic implications. Lastly, I discuss architecture which is destroyed due in part with the memories associated with it, specifically that of mythology, and how these destructions can sometimes manifest through a performance. These theoretical approaches provide unique perspectives that help explain the different roles served during the walls' construction, use and destruction.

2.2 BIOGRAPHY

In James Deetz's book *In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life*, he argues that 'small things' such as gravestones, teacups and house façades all "carry messages from their makers and users," and "it is the archaeologist's task to decode those messages and apply them to our understanding of the human experience" (Deetz 1977: 4). This sentiment remains true for town walls. Although these structures are considerably larger than Deetz's 'small things,' they are composed of small details that carry these 'messages' such as: an inscription commemorating the construction of a new tower; facing stones which have been arranged to create an aesthetically pleasing pattern; and brackets with sculpted floral motifs. By taking a biographical approach with the city walls I can decode the messages left by different people from various cultural groups and social classes, thus revealing the different ways in which the walls were viewed and used over a period of time, specifically between the years leading up to the capture of Jerusalem in 1099 and the year following the fall of Acre in 1291.

The biographical approach was first introduced by Igor Kopytoff (1986) as part of Appadurai's (1986) social anthropological volume *The Social Life of Things*. He suggested that by following an object's life from birth, through life and finally death, a biography, like that of a person's, could be written. As Kopytoff (1986: 66–67) explains:

> In doing the biography of a thing, one would ask questions similar to those one asks about people: What, sociologically, are the biographical possibilities inherent in its "status" and in the period and culture, and how are these possibilities realized? Where does the thing come from and who made it? What has been its career so far, and what do people consider to be an ideal career for such things? What are the recognized "ages" or periods in the thing's "life," and what are the cultural markers for them? How does the thing's use change with its age, and what happens to it when it reaches the end of its usefulness?

These are the types of questions that I asked when collecting data for the case studies of this thesis. These questions led me to think about the different people who were building the walls (see section 2.3 on monumentality) and where they acquired their materials (see section 2.4.1 on spolia). What kind of life or career did the walls lead? Did they see battle? Were they destroyed and rebuilt? Did they follow the lines of previous buildings or were they a completely new construction? How did the walls that were built by one culture differ from those of another? All of these questions then lead to the main aim of this thesis, specifically: how were the walls used, and how did they change through time?

The *World Archaeology* special volume 'The Cultural Biography of Objects,' inspired by Kopytoff's biographical approach, is a collection of papers offering different approaches to object biographies and use various themes in their interpretations. Hamilakis (1999) examines how the meaning of objects is changed through exchange, while Gosden and Marshall (1999) look at meaning through performance, and Gillings and Pollard (1999) and Moreland (1999) examine long-lived, static objects that undergo a series of 'reincarnations' (see also Holtorf 1998).

Building on the ideas laid out in the *World Archaeology* volume, Jody Joy (2009: 545) offers a biographical approach that seeks to re-create the drama of the lives of prehistoric objects by proposing relationships between people and objects by piecing together evidence from artefacts and archaeology, which he calls a relational biography. As he explains, objects are the sum of their social relationships, their biographies develop based on who they come into contact with and what actions (or contexts) are being carried out (Joy 2009: 544). He also views object biographies as being non-linear. As Joy (2009: 544) explains, "the object becomes alive within certain clusters of social relationships and is inactive at other points in time and space, undergoing a series of different lives and deaths." As seen in

Ascalon's walls (see section 4.6), a portion of the wall's biography results from coming into contact with different cultures and the different actions that were carried out, namely that of demolition, construction, and repair. For example, the walls of Ascalon, an object of military strength and pride, were demolished (or killed using Joy's analogy) by Saladin and then rebuilt (or resurrected) by Richard the Lionheart, becoming a display of both seigneurial power and of the power of the masses (see section 2.3 on monumentality below), all the while remaining static between these two events.

Ceremonial performance is another action, highlighted by Joy (2009: 544) and used by Gosden and Marshall (1999: 174), that creates meanings and produces object biographies. As Joy states: "It is through the drama in the performance of actions relating to the object that meanings are created and made explicit" (Joy 2009: 544; see also Gosden and Marshall 1999: 175). Performance can be seen at different points during Ascalon's biography, in particular when the wall was rebuilt by King Richard I and his men in 1192 (see section 4.6.2) and during the later refortification in 1239–1241 when the walls were made into an object of ownership and domination through the display and performance of a spoliated inscription (see section 4.7). The action of performance can also be seen during Ascalon's destructions in 1191 and 1192 (see sections 4.6.1 and 4.6.4) as well as at Caesarea when the walls were turned into an object of defeat by Baibars during his performance of razing the city (see section 5.7).

The following section discusses the theoretical concept of monumentality and how it can offer explanations as to the motivations and experiences of the élites and common people who constructed the walls, and what meanings the structures held for them as well as foreign beholders at different points during the wall's biography.

2.3 MONUMENTALITY

The concept of monumentality encompasses many different types of buildings including palaces, élite residences, administrative complexes, political centres, temples, fortifications, tomb constructions (Knapp 2009: 47), ashmounds (Johansen 2004) and written inscriptions (Woolf 1996). These monumental structures are generally defined as being larger and more elaborate than practicality required and are meant to express an authority's ability to control the materials, skills and labour required to build and

maintain these structures (Trigger 1990: 119, 127). But more than this, these buildings embody the people and experiences involved in their construction so that during the course of their biography, these structures have come to have unique histories embodying diverse and often conflicting memories and meanings (Johansen 2004: 311; Knapp 2009: 48) (see section 2.4 on memory). As Knapp (2009: 48) explains, "the actual meanings of monumental structures are very hard to pin down, and archaeologists must always situate them in their cultural or historical context, allowing for the possibility of multiple meanings."

It has been argued that medieval fortifications are only monumental in size to fulfil a practical military function, while those of earlier civilizations, such as Egyptian city walls, fulfilled a range of other social roles (Kemp *et al.* 2004: 260; Trigger 1990: 121–122). As Trigger (1990: 121–122) states:

> Fortifications have to be powerfully constructed to be effective, but in discussions of early civilizations it is frequently observed that the scale and elaborateness of fortresses and enclosure walls exceeded what practical defensive considerations would have required. These structures were evidently designed to impress foreign enemies as well as potential thieves and rebels with the power of the authorities who were able to build and maintain them (referencing Adams 1977: 187; Jacobsen 1976: 196; Moseley and Day 1982: 65).

I would have to say that the same can be said of medieval fortifications. In this thesis I argue that the castles and walls built during the crusades by kings, élites, and people of lesser ranks were designed not only to fulfil military practicalities but also to impress enemies as well as dignitaries, act as symbols of seigneurial power and wealth (see also Lock 1998), as well as reflect the experiences and power of the masses, the lower classes who took part in the physical construction of the defences. As the philosopher Henri Lefebvre (1991: 220) explains, "Monumental space offered each member of a society an image of that membership, an image of his or her social visage. It thus constituted a collective mirror more faithful than any personal one" (quoted in Bevan 2006: 13). The experiences of the élite class, the builders, as well as subsequent viewers and users, are reflected in the walls and monumental writing of Ascalon and Caesarea.

Examples of this seigneurial power can be seen with the monumental walls built at Ascalon through the use of an inscription to commemorate the construction of a tower in 1150 (see section 4.5.2), and again in 1192 when the walls were imbued with King Richard I's power as well as the power of his legendary persona thus leading to their destruction (see sections 2.4.2 below and 4.6.1). Other examples of seigneurial power can be seen at Caesarea wherein the image of the city's walls was used in the lords' and ladies' seals to symbolise their power, and later, during King Louis IX's monumental refortification of 1251–1252 (see sections 5.5 and 5.6.3).

Monumental defences are also the result of a community effort by people of lesser standing. Experiences can vary greatly during construction (Given 2004: 93–115), building materials become imbued with human experiences and without their experiences part of the function of the walls is lost. This can be seen during the construction of Ascalon's monumental walls in 1192 as seen through the historical chronicles and through the use of a commemorative inscription (see section 4.6.2).

The following section will discuss the memories associated with these monumental structures and how they affected the wall's biography.

2.4 MEMORY

Throughout their lives, walls, like any other object, are associated with different memories. By memories, I refer to the concepts of personal recollection as well as 'social memory,' described as: "collective representations of the past and associated social practices" (Holtorf and Williams 2006: 235). These memories can develop from different experiences during different times of a wall's life, specifically by those who build the walls and by those who behold the walls: such as the people living within the walls, or a visiting enemy force. Memories, including mythologies and histories associated with earlier cultures, can also be imbued in materials thus "evoking the past in the mind of the beholder" (Holtorf and Williams 2006: 235, 237). These associated memories can play a role in how we perceive the wall. Following Philip Dixon's (1990; 1998) interpretational model that he calls 'the castle as theatre,' spolia, as well as other decorative elements used during the construction of the wall, can be used to deliberately evoke a reaction from its onlookers. These elements can turn the walls into an object of beauty that should be

treasured, or into a dangerous rival that should be slain. In the sections below, spolia and the role of its associated memories is discussed, followed by a discussion of memories associated with architecture and how they can lead to their destruction.

2.4.1 SPOLIA

The stones that make up the city walls can tell us much about those who built, paid for, viewed and interacted with them during their construction and use. The walls at Ascalon and Caesarea were constructed using smooth ashlar masonry which was systematically interspersed with spoliated marble or granite columns. The towers and gates at Caesarea also incorporated re-used decorative elements into the gateways and floors (see section 4.4.2 and 5.4.2). Whether it was intended or not, this inclusion of spolia enabled both the suppression (conquest) and endorsement of past memories which indicates a complex attitude toward the past (Papalexandrou 2003: 56). Using these memory-charged elements, each possessing their own unique biography, adds to the wall's biography because it affects the wall's meaning to all the different people that interacted with it.

The term spolia refers to artefacts or materials that have been re-used. This term was initially used to identify re-used pieces of ancient Roman architecture, such as the second-century reliefs on the fourth-century Arch of Constantine, but the term spolia is now used more loosely to refer to any artefact that has been incorporated into a setting culturally or chronologically different from that of its creation (Kinney 2006: 233). Many pieces of spoliated architecture had been incorporated into the Crusader-era walls during their construction. The inclusion of these artefacts, each possessing their own unique biographies, adds to the functions of the walls. But how should these artefacts be interpreted?

David Stocker (1990) and Tim Eaton (2000) have both put forward models for classifying and interpreting these re-used artefacts. Stocker's (1990: 83) is a tripartite model in which objects from any period can be defined as casual, functional, and iconic. Simply put, 'casual' re-use applies to objects that are used for a function they were not originally intended for, like a piece of a doorway being used as fill for a wall, while objects described as 'functional' retain their original purpose; so pieces of a doorway are being re-used as a doorway (Stocker 1990: 84, 90). 'Iconic' re-use refers mostly to inscriptions and carvings

that bear a particular meaning to the builders or patrons who wished to use them - the impetus being mostly political rather than economical (Stocker 1990: 93).

Eaton's system separates the descriptive from the interpretative elements leaving us a model with two interpretational categories: "'practical' re-use, where the inspiration was one of economy, convenience, professional preference or technological necessity; and 'meaningful' re-use, where exploitation arose from an appreciation of the material's age-value or esotericism" (Eaton 2000: 135). Even though Stocker and Eaton's models do provide a good starting point for thinking about motivations and meaning behind re-used items, the labels of re-use offered by both Stocker and Eaton are limited in the analysis that they can provide. 'Practical' and 'meaningful' interpretations do not need to be mutually exclusive. These models try to pigeon-hole all spolia into nice, clean categories. I believe all spolia should be considered along with the context and historical background of each site being interpreted.

Looking at the re-used elements in Ascalon and Caesarea's walls, several different practices of spoliation can be seen. Following other studies that have successfully analyzed spolia (Caraher 2010; Flood 2006; Gonnella 2010; Papalexandrou 2003), I have analyzed the practices of Ascalon and Caesarea's spoliation in terms of their meaningful re-use, economy, aesthetics, or a combination of all three.

I use the term 'meaningful re-use,' borrowed from Eaton's model and including Stocker's definition of 'iconic' re-use, to refer to the political or symbolic display of an object due to the mnemonic association with its biography and visual properties of the materials (in particular the colours of their materials), as well as religious appropriation and its apotropaic or magical use. I derive the notion of 'magical' use from Gonnella's (2010: 104) definition of talismanic spolia which encompasses: "ancient 'magic' inscriptions and figural sculptures that are meant to avert danger, ward off destruction, keep away evil, manipulate natural forces, heal the sick, or simply bring good luck…Talismanic spolia are, in a way, fixed versions of portable amulets, with exactly the same magical potential." In this thesis, I argue that the historical character of the spoliated items gives them their magical power.

Gonnella's (2010: 104) article demonstrates that this type of magical re-use is most evident in Islamic architecture but that Frankish examples also exist. Evidence of magical spolia, as well as other forms of meaningful re-use, can be seen at Caesarea during the construction of King Louis IX's city walls. During his refortification, King Louis IX incorporated spoliated Roman elements to provide apotropaic protection for the walls. His acknowledgement of the spolia's historical origins can be seen in a number of the brackets from the east gate's hall, which was decorated using classical motifs, such as a cherub-like Atlas holding the weight of a vault (see section 5.6.3 and figures 5.30 and 5.88).

The colours associated with spolia can also have mnemonic properties. Colours can be used to convey different messages to the viewer. They can be used to remind people that they are protected from evil but colours can also be used to remind people that they have been conquered. As Boric (2002: 24) explains:

> the human perception of colours…is contextual and depends on the long histories of structures of meaning and the histories of perception associated with each individual. Colours…are experienced or perceived in a far less conscious way, more frequently as pure bodily sensations, producing a vast spectrum of feelings from irritation to pleasure. They sediment unconscious memories, comparable to the shiver that Marcel Proust felt when sipping a cup of tea and a soaked piece of '*petite madeleine.*' This experience, at the level of unconscious bodily memory alone, evoked the pleasurable memories of his childhood (Proust 1970 as mentioned in Hodder 1998: 71–72).

This manner of colour and spoliation can be seen at Ascalon when the Frankish knight, Sir Hugh Wake II, re-used a Fatimid inscription as an object of ownership and domination (see section 4.7). This domination was made all the more apparent by the knight's choice to paint his heraldic shields in red, a visual contrast to the apotropaic green/blue paint used on the Arabic inscription underneath (see section 4.5.4).

The notion of economy, similar to Stocker's 'casual' and 'functional' re-use and Eaton's 'practical' re-use, is almost inherent when discussing spolia; since the materials are convenient and cheap it seems only natural to use them. Roman columns and other marble decorative elements were readily available at both Ascalon and Caesarea. It has

been argued that the inclusion of this material, in particular the columns within the walls, was out of practicality in order to strengthen the structures (see section 4.4.5). The columns were also used to create an aesthetic effect, made all the more easy due to its availability. Moreover, these easily accessed columns were re-used in a meaningful way, specifically to provide spiritual protection (see sections 4.4.5 and 5.6.3).

Lastly, the practice of spoliation for an aesthetic outcome can be seen at Ascalon and Caesarea. As Papalexandrou (2003: 61) explains, during the Byzantine period antiquities could be incorporated because they enlivened the surface of a building and introduced variety. This principle remains true with the walls built during the Frankish era. Ascalon's Fatimid walls displayed Roman columns which were taken from nearby ruins and placed systematically throughout its circuit (see section 4.4.5), while the wall surrounding Caesarea's citadel used columns of varying colours in a highly visible 'checkerboard' pattern (see sections 5.4.4 and 5.6.3 and figures 4.27 and 5.56). This aesthetic principle is really a combination of all three practices. The materials were economically taken from sources nearby and almost certainly were used due to their mnemonic link to the past.

2.4.2 DESTRUCTION OF MEMORY

Following on from the memories associated with the stones during their construction and use, here I look at the memories associated with the walls during another part of their biography, specifically during their destruction. The destruction of castles or 'slighting' is usually thought to be the result of military necessity, but as Matthew Johnson (2002: 180) explains in his book *Behind the Castle Gate*:

> When viewed in context, 'slighting' was in part a symbolic act: the concern was in part to make a building untenable and visibly out of action, and by implication announce the political failure and impotence of its owners, not merely to render it militarily indefensible.

Castles, as well as city walls, could be destroyed to eliminate the symbolic as well as the real threats that they posed, such as a city's political independence. Moreover, the manner of destruction could be directed at particular elements of the castle, for example the most visible face of a *donjon* could be defaced instead of its entirety. Also, the destruction of a castle could be viewed as destroying a symbol of royal and aristocratic authority (Johnson

2002: 173–174). Many of these examples hold true for Ascalon and Caesarea: Ascalon's walls were partly destroyed by Saladin because they were a symbol of King Richard I's seigneurial and mythological power (see sections 4.6.3 and 4.6.4); and both of their final demolitions targeted the citadels and some of the walls but not the moats (see sections 4.3 and 5.3).

I argue that, in addition to military necessity and other symbolic reasons as listed by Johnson, these structures were destroyed in large part due to the memories associated with them. In his book *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War*, Robert Bevan (2006) examines the effects of conflict on architecture during the last century. Even though his book focuses on modern events and the destruction of generally non-defensive buildings as a method of ethnic cleansing, Bevan's perspective on architecture and its ability to hold meaning and in turn be destroyed for that meaning can be applied to medieval structures. As Bevan (2006: 15) explains,

> Buildings gather meaning to them by their everyday function, by their presence in the townscape and by their form. They can have meaning attached to them as structures or, sometimes, simply act as containers of meaning and history. Each role invokes memories.

Bevan continues, saying that:

> The built environment is merely a prompt [for memories], a corporeal reminder of the events involved in its construction, use and destruction. The meanings and memories we bring to the stones are created by human agency and remain there. These memories are, of course, contested and they change over time. It is a process that is always unfolding and remains ever unfinished (Bevan 2006: 15–16).

This can be seen at Ascalon during its first destruction in 1191. The reaction of the city's population to its demolition, as recounted by Imād al-Dīn and Bahā' al-Dīn, demonstrate that Ascalon's walls held great meaning to the town. Not only was the city loved for its military strength and beauty, but also for the sense of pride that it invoked (see section 4.6.1).

Moving forward to King Richard I's refortification in 1192, we see the meanings and memories associated with the walls changing, through the performance of their construction, they are now a display of Frankish community and achievement (see sections 2.3 above and 4.6.2 below). The walls were also imbued with the memory of Richard the Lionheart's myth (a mythology which was the result of historians, politicians, and kings manipulating people's memory), thus contributing to the city's second destruction (see section 4.6.4). By destroying the city in a ceremonial performance, Saladin was not only withholding a valuable military asset from his enemy but he was also destroying a building that was instilled with King Richard I's myth and power.

Therefore, by looking at the destruction of structures imbued with memories, as well as objects associated with magical and apotropaic qualities, these can aid in determining different functions performed by Ascalon and Caesarea's city walls. Along with monumentality, these theories add to our comprehension of how city walls were viewed by different beholders at different points during their biographies. To understand how the data was collected and subsequently analyzed using these theories, the methodology is now offered.

3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

As stated in Chapter 1, the main aim of this thesis is to determine the functions of city walls that have been built and altered by both the Franks and the Muslims during the time of the Crusades (see section 1.4). In order to fulfil this aim, I decided to investigate two sites, namely Ascalon and Caesarea, using the theory of biography. By looking at the life, or biography, of each wall, including its birth (construction), life and times (use), and death (destruction) (see section 2.2), I have analysed my data thematically within the chronological order of each different occupation of use. This analysis is aided through the use of different theoretical concepts, explored in Chapter 2, namely that of monumentality, memory, spolia and the destruction of memory.

The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate the methods used to assemble and then analyse the data used in the case study chapters. The methodology was established through the following stages: preparation; collection; and consolidation. During the stages of preparation I travelled to various prospective case study sites to determine their analytical feasibility and once chosen, evidence from a range of disciplines was collected, which was then consolidated and analysed in the case studies, namely Chapters 4 and 5, below.

3.2 PREPARATION

During the initial stages of preparation I researched various castles and city walls built during the time of the Crusades from Cyprus, Greece, Syria, Jordan and Israel. Having explored Cypriot fortifications in my MLitt dissertation with Glasgow University, entitled *The Military and Symbolic Functions of Frankish Castles and Walls in Cyprus* (Charland 2007), and having read Denys Pringle's article "Town Defences in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem" (Pringle 1995), which outlines the possible avenues of city wall research, I decided to focus my research on city walls that were once part of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and are now located in Israel.

According to Pringle (1995: 78), fourteen towns with full circuits of stone defences have been recorded in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. All of the sites are located along the Mediterranean coast save three. Located in modern day Lebanon are the coastal towns of Beirut, Sidon, Tyre, and Iskandaruna (Scandalion), and in Israel Acre, Haifa, 'Atlit, Caesarea, Arsuf, Jaffa, and Ascalon. Banyas is located north of Tiberias, which is situated on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee, while Jerusalem is sited between the Mediterranean Sea and the Dead Sea (see figure 3.1).

I decided to forgo visiting those sites located in Lebanon due to safety concerns from long term political instability and instead turned my focus to those sites located in Israel. Given the parameters of the thesis, I decided that two to three case studies would be needed to fulfil the project's aims (see section 1.3). Due to time and cost restraints I chose to visit the towns with the most data demonstrating both Muslim and Frankish use spanning the Frankish era (1099–1291). This data included standing structures as well as evidence from other sources, such as documentary seals and historical chronicles. The sites also had to be easily accessible from Jerusalem, which is where I planned to stay during research trips.

From my initial research I determined that Banyas, Tiberias, Haifa, and Jaffa could not be easily accessed and/or had very little surviving ruins. Banyas, although it has some structures remaining, was not suitable because it was occupied mostly during the twelfth and early thirteenth century (Benvenisti 1970: 147–152). Tiberias proved problematic because much of its medieval fortifications were used as the foundations for the Ottoman walls (Pringle 1995: 95; Stepansky 2007). However, the remains of a gate as well as some decorated elements were uncovered, the results of which were published following finalization of planned case studies (Stepansky 2009). Little is known about Haifa's defences (Pringle 1995: 95). Excavations have taken place wherein a fortress has been found, but further details have yet to be published (Massarwa 2014). Jaffa's city walls have been completely covered by subsequent settlements but some foundations have been found during recent excavations (Arbel 2008; 2010; Arbel *et al.* 2012; Glick 2013; Peilstöcker *et al.* 2006). Arsuf has considerable surviving ruins (Tal 2014) and could have served as an alternative case study to Caesarea, since its walls experienced many similar events to that of Caesarea, but it was not as accessible. This left the sites of Acre, 'Atlit,

Caesarea, Ascalon, and Jerusalem. These sites were all potentially accessible and all had a significant amount of surviving ruins.

Figure 3.1: Map of towns with full circuit of stone defences (A.Charland and T. Christian)

In order to decide which of these sites were the most appropriate for my PhD research I took a short research trip to the Levant in 2009. From May 2 to 12, I continued my initial research at the Council for British Research in the Levant's (CBRL) Kenyon Institute

located in East Jerusalem. I utilized the Institute's exceptional library and received advice from its director, Dr. Jaimie Lovell, with regard to visiting prospective sites. Accompanied by my brother, Nicholas Charland, a Captain with the Royal Canadian Air Force, who not only funded the research trip but also imparted invaluable military observations, for reasons outlined above, we limited our itinerary to visiting the old city of Jerusalem (paying particular attention to the Tower of David), Acre (Akko), Caesarea and Ascalon (Ashkelon). These sites were each photographed, concentrating on the architectural remains as well as the landscape in which the fortifications were located. Observations and impressions regarding the architecture and location were recorded in a field journal. I had also planned to visit 'Atlit, but as I was informed by the customs officers from Ben Gurion International Airport, the site was still being used as a military base and I thus had to settle for a view from the train on my way to Acre.

From this research trip I concluded that Acre should not be used as a major case study site due to a lack of Crusader-era urban fortifications (the most preserved architecture being the Templars' Tunnel, located underneath the old city, and the lower levels of the city's citadel) and 'Atlit should also be excluded due to problems accessing the site (Dr. Lovell did email Mr. Shuka Dorfman, the Director-General of the Israeli Antiquities Authority (IAA), but he said that a visit could not be arranged and that such visits were even difficult to arrange for the IAA itself). Nevertheless, Ascalon, Caesarea and Jerusalem proved easily accessible and yielded much architectural, inscriptional, historical and iconographic evidence that represented both Frankish and Muslim occupations during the Frankish era, thus leading me to choose these sites as the major case studies of this thesis. It was later decided that a full analysis of Jerusalem's walls was unnecessary and key points were incorporated in the discussion chapter (Chapter 6). Ascalon and Caesarea proved to be characteristic of the other walled towns. Like the other sites, with the exception of 'Atlit, Ascalon and Caesarea were large and important urban centres and their foundations were built on pre-existing foundations (Pringle 1995: 78). Moreover, Ascalon and Caesarea's walls contain many similar defensive components such as curtain walls and towers that incorporate spoliated architectural elements. Other smaller case studies could have been chosen, but because of the volume of data available from both Ascalon and Caesarea, it was decided to concentrate on these sites, supplemented with the material from Jerusalem. I wanted to thoroughly explore the available data from a

small number of sites instead of simply expanding the general survey and different research avenues outlined in Pringle's (1995) article. Thus the main role of this thesis is to act as a 'proof of concept,' exploring the conceptual value of Crusader city wall studies, rather than providing an all-encompassing gazetteer on all Frankish era city walls.

3.3 COLLECTION

To gather the necessary data to complete the analysis of each case study, I travelled to the Levant for an extended research trip between June 1 and July 10, 2010. This was accomplished through funding granted by the CBRL, The Society for Medieval Archaeology, and the University of Glasgow. During this trip I, once more, resided at the CBRL's Kenyon Institute, where I conducted extensive research at their library.

From the CBRL, I visited the old city of Jerusalem and travelled to Ascalon and Caesarea by public transportation. I photographed the entire circuit of the town walls by doing a reconnaissance survey, meaning that I walked along the inside and outside of the walls in the most practical and feasible manner possible rather than adopt a more systematic field walking technique or a photogrammetric survey (discussed below). In the case of Caesarea, I walked and recorded along the inner wall line, and both inside the dry moat and along the top of the counterscarp to record the outer wall line. At Ascalon, I walked and recorded along the inner wall line and along the outer wall line where feasible.

As I came upon architecture of interest within the area of the wall circuit, generally belonging to the period in question, which was demarcated either by information panels or by previous research and observations, I recorded the area through photographs. Each photograph was given a number and this, along with a GPS coordinate and brief description, was recorded in a field notebook so as to locate the area again when I came to consult the images later. In addition to taking general photographs of the architecture, I recorded, where applicable, changes in architectural design and period, made evident by the different sizes and patterns of the masonry construction. In addition to these observations, I also took into account any impact that the walls, being a monumental structure, made on me as the viewer (see section 2.2).

Furthermore, I paid particular attention to changes in building materials and recorded them through photographs and sketches. There are several different possible motivations for the inclusion of spolia in standing architecture, some of which include economy, aesthetics, apotropaia and mnemonics, and as such makes a very loud statement to those experiencing the walls (see section 2.4.1). Since the walls of Ascalon and Caesarea incorporate Roman columns and other ornamented architectural elements, it was thus important to record these details. Many of the columns were made of different coloured marble and since they were incorporated into the walls in a highly visible manner (see sections 4.5.4 and 5.6.3), these details were thus photographed along with a Tiffen Colour Scale so as to retain the correct colour information to consult afterwards. In total, over 1200 photographs were taken.

To keep track of my observations and to remind myself of key architectural elements that could allude to a particular function, for example a function of practical defence, of pride, of spiritual protection, and of seigneurial power, I created a checklist/recording sheet (see figure 3.2). I recorded practical military elements including those present in the remaining architecture, the site's location and the control of access (for example, the presence of bent entrances). Design elements denoting pride, such as artistic sculpture, were recorded. I noted the association of religious structures with the walls and I recorded visual impressions made by the monumental architecture. Through this data collection I made initial analytical hypotheses on site which were later expanded in Chapters 4 and 5.

Alternatively a photogrammetric survey could have been employed if time and money had allowed (see section 7.2). This method of survey produces accurate 2D and 3D architectural drawings by combining rectified digital photography with manual standing building survey. This allows archaeologists to better visualize the different constructional phases of upstanding structures. This methodology has been successfully adopted at several contemporary fortification sites, including: Hawari's (2008: 87–88) survey of the Citadel of Jerusalem; the survey of the Citadel of Shayzar (Montevecchi 2012: 94–103; Tonghini 2012: 28–32); as well as the Shawbak Castle Project (Drap *et al.* 2009; Drap *et al.* 2012a; Drap *et al.* 2012b; Seinturier *et al.* 2005; 2006; Vannini *et al.* 2002).

In addition to the archaeological data recorded in the field, I discovered further information regarding city walls across several disciplines including history (i.e.

contemporary chronicles) and art (i.e. inscriptions and iconographic representations found in maps and seals). Historical chronicles offer interesting perspectives regarding the construction, the destruction, and the attitudes towards city walls. In order to justify the use of this information, I had to first critique these works.

FORM FOR RECORDING ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS

Site: Photo #s:

Type (✓): ☐ Wall, ☐ Tower, ☐ Glaçis, ☐ Gate, ☐ Arrow slit, ☐ Earthwork, ☐ Other:

MILITARISTIC	PRIDE	SPIRITUAL	POWER
Practical elements (e.g. arrow slits, posterns, glaçis, or moat).	Design elements (e.g. pattern in masonry or inclusion of Frankish sculpture or spolia).	Association with other church structures.	Visual impact (e.g. monumentality and obvious displays of architecture).
Defensible location (e.g. elevated position or by the sea).	Quality of workmanship (e.g. built with skill or in a hurry).	Presence of symbols or inscriptions (e.g. pilgrim's crosses).	Incorporation of previous buildings (e.g. building on top of Byzantine foundations).
Psychological aspects (e.g. impact on viewer and controlled access through bent entrances).		Building material (e.g. spoliated columns).	

DETAILED DESCRIPTION:	
ORIENTATION/GPS:	MEASUREMENTS:
CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUES:	COLOUR:
INTER-VISIBILITY (YES/NO, WHICH BUILDING):	
IMPRESSIONS FROM CLOSE UP:	
IMPRESSIONS FROM FAR AWAY:	

Figure 3.2: Form for recording architectural elements in the field (A. Charland)

These sources cannot be taken at face value; the political contexts and author's personal agendas must also be taken into account. In order to establish the chronicles' context I had to take into account the author, when the chronicle was written or compiled, specifically looking at how much time had elapsed since the original events had occurred, and what was happening historically when the author recorded the events. Many of the events recorded in the chronicles are exaggerated; at times the people appear more mythological than historic, but behind this legendary veneer lies some historic fact. Thus, once the full context of a chronicle is understood, and the exaggerations peeled away, the events surrounding the construction or destruction of a city wall can be analyzed.

This is not to say that the mythological elements of these texts do not provide insights of their own. I also use historical sources to determine the myth-building of persons. Here, I

take an archaeological approach. By consulting different versions of the same text and by looking at them in chronological order (or stratigraphic order), I can trace the development of a person's myth over the years, such as the case of King Richard I of England. The association of a person's myth with a structure imbues it with their memory, which in turn affects how others perceive the structure. In the case of Ascalon, King Richard I's memory directly influenced Saladin's second destruction of the walls (see sections 2.4.2 and 4.6.4).

Further historical evidence, which has proven very insightful, was found in inscriptions. As well as the historical information contained within these inscriptions, these are monumental artistic sculptures which tell us more than just the words that are written on them (see sections 2.3, 4.5 and 4.6). I analyzed them by considering the author, how they wanted the inscription to look aesthetically and how they wanted the inscription to be displayed. I also considered the audience of these inscriptions (who would be able to read or understand them) and how their display would impact them. Conspicuous display would cater to a larger audience and the inscription would thus act as a display of power (see section 2.3). The inscription's location (for example on a tower) would also affect the audience and, thus changing their perception of the building displaying the inscription (see sections 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7).

Lastly, I have included the iconographic representations of city walls found on seals. These depictions, like the inscriptions, do more than offer architectural information regarding the evolution of building styles; they also advertise seigneurial power and control. These seals were first considered within their lord's or lady's historical context (see section 5.5.1) and then analyzed by looking at how their imagery evolved from lord to lord (or lady) (see section 5.5.2). With all of the data collected, I then consolidated and presented it in the case study chapters below (Chapters 4 and 5).

3.4 CONSOLIDATION

The case study chapters of Ascalon and Caesarea are structured so as to present the research aims as well as the historical and archaeological backgrounds that are specifically tailored to each site. These sections are then followed by analysis. These analysis sections are structured thematically within the chronological order of events that occurred at each

site. These themes, based on the theories outlined in Chapter 2 (monumentality, memory, spolia, and the destruction of memory), and supported by the various forms of evidence (archaeological, historical, sigillographic and sculptural), demonstrate how the walls were used or perceived by different groups of people. The collected evidence is then studied in chronological order until a pattern emerges.

In the case of Ascalon, analysis was conducted by looking at inscriptions, architectural evidence, and contemporary chronicles from the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Frankish periods. The evidence demonstrates that the walls were seen as monumental defensive structures, providing military, spiritual and apotropaic protection. Moreover, the walls were used to display élite and mythical power, civic pride, and ownership and domination. The analysis of Caesarea's walls focussed on sigillographic, sculptural, historical and spoliated evidence from the Frankish and Mamluk periods. The data reveals that the walls were used to communicate seigneurial power and provide magical as well as tangible protection. These defences were also used as part of a devastating performance to turn the walls from an object of Frankish protection to that of Frankish defeat and Mamluk victory.

I found the biographical approach to be paramount in defining the many different functions of Frankish era city walls. The employment of data from various disciplines, including that of archaeology, history, and art, coupled with the theories of monumentality and memory demonstrates the rich and varied life that these walls lived. To begin, I offer the walls of Ascalon as a case study.

4   A THEATRE OF POWER: THE WALLS OF ASCALON

4.1   INTRODUCTION

Frankish era town walls traditionally receive an uninspiring and perfunctory analysis, often considered second-rate defensive structures next to the far more impressive castles that stand within them. These interpretations are generally driven by military descriptions based on the pre-conceived and accepted roles that these town walls play, solely that of protection and practicality. Much, if not all, of the decorative and non-defensive evidence is ignored or disregarded as irrelevant in these military readings, thus severely biasing any interpretation (see section 1.2). These interpretations are further biased by focussing on Frankish material, overlooking the site's full biography (see section 2.2). In the attempt to right some of these biases, Ascalon proves an enlightening case study, ultimately demonstrating that city walls played a far more active and engaging role during this time thus betraying previous shallow interpretations.

The ancient city of Ascalon (Arabic: 'Asqalan; Hebrew: Ashkelon), now the Ashkelon National Park, is located on the Mediterranean coast 63 km south of Jaffa (near modern Tel Aviv) and 16 km north of Gaza (Stager and Schloen 2008: 3–4) (see figure 4.1). Ascalon takes its name from a special variety of onion (*caepa Ascalonia*) grown in Ascalon during classical times and exported to the cities of the Roman empire (Stager and Schloen 2008: 7).

The site has been of interest to explorers for centuries. The earliest archaeological work began on the site in 1815 when Lady Hester Stanhope, a wealthy Englishwoman, found part of a Roman-era basilica while searching for a treasure marked on a medieval monk's map (Schloen 2008b: 143–144). Scientific surveys carried out by Conder and Kitchener have furthered the comprehension of the site by providing excellent plans, photographs and numerous observations (Conder and Kitchener 1881–1883 III: 237–247). From 1920–1922, John Garstang, a British archaeologist, and his assistant W. J. Phythian-Adams tried to find the layers containing Philistine buildings (Garstang 1921;1922;1924; Phythian-Adams 1923). Although the team made several discoveries, including a "Senate House," several marble statues, and three Greek inscriptions, they abandoned the project. There

were simply too many layers from later cultures to dig through (Schloen 2008a: 153–159). A comprehensive dig did not begin until 1985 when Lawrence Stager received an opportunity from Leon Levy, a wealthy American businessman and connoisseur of ancient art. He offered to finance the excavation of any site and Stager chose Ascalon (Gore 2001: 76–77) (More detailed descriptions of early explorations, surveys and excavations can be found in Stager *et al.* 2008a: 143–182.).

Despite continued excavations by the Leon Levy Expedition, little has been done regarding the standing medieval fortifications at Ascalon. It is the purpose of this case study to demonstrate that the walls of Ascalon played an active role in the lives of both military and civilian inhabitants of the city throughout both Muslim and Frankish rule during the Frankish era from 1099–1291. Far from being a stagnant architectural feature, Ascalon's city walls interacted with people in many different ways and thus while providing tangible protection also became a powerful means of expression; expressing strength, fear, rage, power, pride, authority, ownership and domination. In order to provide context for the site's analysis, a description of both historical and archaeological evidence is thus offered.

This evidence was gathered through desk-based analysis and visits to the site on May 11, 2009, June 15 and 16, 2010. During these site visits I took photographs of the standing remains while walking through the site in an organic way (see sections 3.2 and 3.3). By following the site's existing paths and routes, rather than proceed in a systematic grid-like fashion, I was able to engage with the site in a way closest to those from the Middle Ages. On May 11, 2009, I was accompanied by Nicholas Charland, and we had a general visit of the site to get acquainted with its layout, discover any potential problems for recording data and make initial observations. On June 15 and 16, 2010, I was accompanied by Terence Christian, a battlefield archaeologist. Taking all different access routes possible both modern and medieval, we performed a photo-survey of the standing remains, logging GPS points of each photograph and recording additional observations of the walls. Through this field work, as well as additional desk-based research, I was able to identify several different functions during the Frankish era.

Figure 4.1: Map of the Levant during the Frankish era (A. Charland and T. Christian)

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due to copyright restrictions.
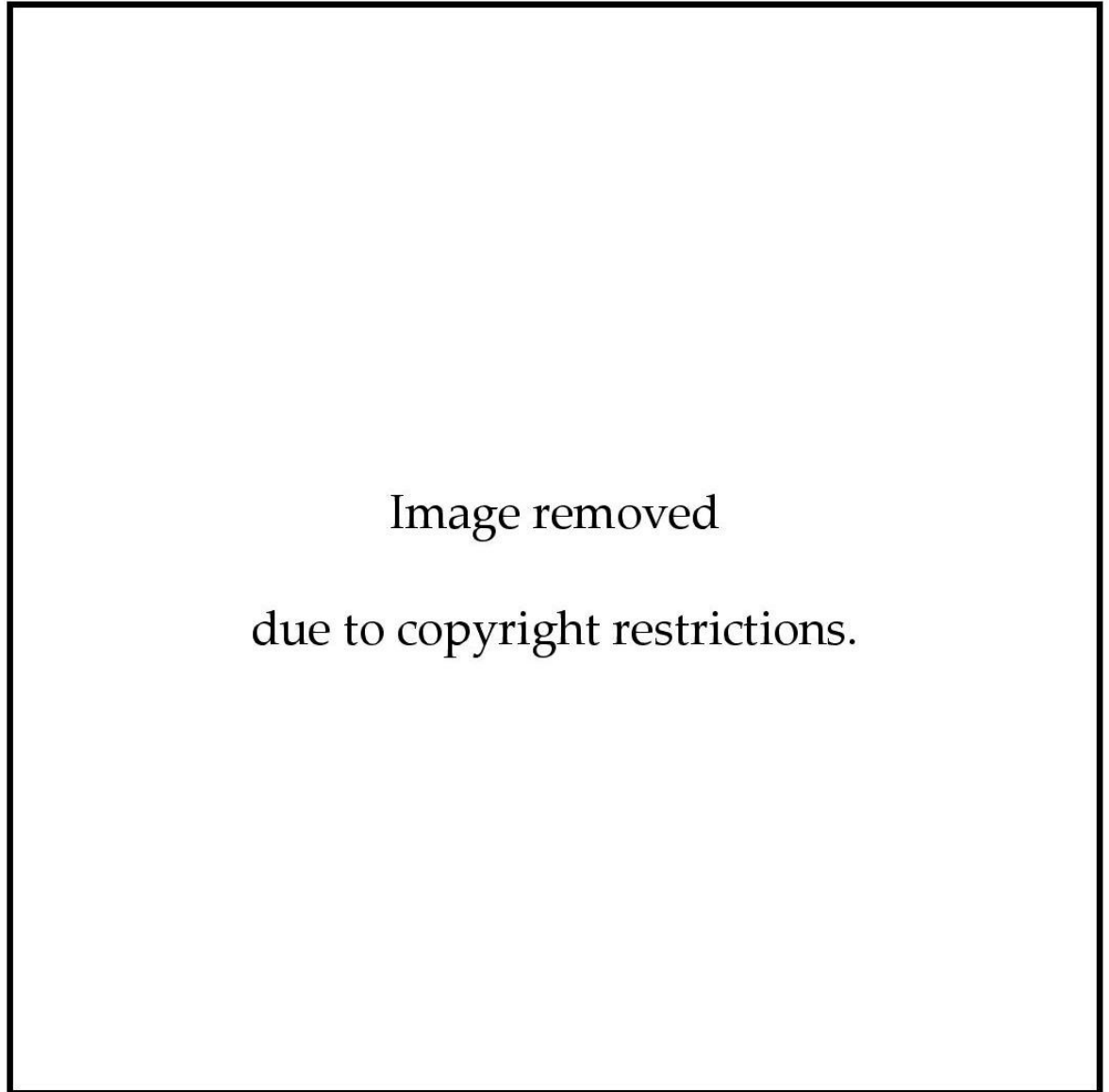
Figure 4.2: Topographic map of Ascalon, with 5 m contour intervals, showing the location of the city's gates and significant standing ruins (A. Charland and T. Christian after Stager and Schloen 2008: 6)

4.2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The walls of Ascalon provide an excellent case study for the study of Frankish era city walls as they have been occupied by both Muslims and Franks throughout the entire Frankish period. During this time, the walls were built for strategic reasons, to safeguard the trade routes from Egypt and act as a base of operations for many battles, but they were also built, re-built and destroyed in order to meet a series of religious, social, economic, aesthetic, mnemonic and political considerations.

This case study aims to: examine the full biography of the site taking into account both Muslim and Frankish occupations; identify the different social and military roles of the walls during each period of use during the Frankish era; and see how these roles changed between each different cultural occupation (see section 2.2). The key purpose is to demonstrate that the walls of Ascalon were not dormant structures, standing silently waiting for battle, only serving a function when called to defend its inhabitants. These walls were constantly interacting with people and as such were constantly changing, not necessarily in outward appearance, but in function. In addition to providing actual and religious defence to a strategically vital site, these monumental walls served as the platform to display civil accomplishments as well as xenophobic dominance (see sections 2.3 and 2.4.1). These walls also developed mythical and seigneurial power, which ultimately led to their downfall – turning the razed site into an expression of fear and rage (see section 2.4.2).

Due to the paucity of architectural evidence from the Frankish period a large amount of this case study's analysis depends on inscriptions as well as historic documents. Monumental inscriptions provide historical information and insights into the functions of the city walls particularly if we look at the inscription's context and by analysing its aesthetic qualities. Moreover, historic documents, as well as providing some historical information, are treated as objects of sensationalism, which give insight into the legendary characters associated with Ascalon as well as Ascalon itself.

This chapter will begin by looking at Ascalon under Fatimid rule with the religious and aesthetic significance inferred by an Arabic inscription commemorating the construction

of a tower in 1150 during the Second Crusade, as well as their use of spoliated columns during the construction of the walls.

Secondly, an analysis of the walls during the Third Crusade is offered. During the late twelfth century, Ascalon was of vital strategic importance, but what concerns us here is the pride demonstrated by Saladin in the chronicles upon the site's destruction in 1191, and the pride revealed through a Latin inscription by the Franks after its refortification in 1192. This monumental inscription, and by extension the monumental walls, also serves to project King Richard I (Coeur de Lion) of England's seigneurial power. These walls are imbued with the English king's memory. This mnemonic association ultimately leads Saladin to press for the city's second destruction.

Lastly, we visit Ascalon during Richard of Cornwall's crusade in the mid-thirteenth century when one of his knights, Sir Hugh Wake II, re-uses the Fatimid Arabic inscription, discussed in the first section, to illustrate his ownership and dominance over the city. To place all these events in their proper historic contexts, as well as comprehend the current state of the site, a historical background is offered followed by an archaeological background of Ascalon.

4.3 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

To understand the full biography of Ascalon's city walls (section 2.2) this historical background will cover the main events from the medieval period up to modern times to illustrate how these walls were shaped and eventually destroyed. These medieval events begin with the city under Fatimid rule in the tenth century and continue with the Frankish and Ayyubid occupations with Saladin and Richard the Lionheart battling for control in the late twelfth century. The city sees its final building phase during Frankish rule in the mid-thirteenth century and finally the city is razed by Baibars in 1270. The modern events encompass agricultural use of the ruined city during the nineteenth century as well as pillaging of its architecture for construction materials. Modern threats continue into the present day as Qassam rockets are shot from Gaza into nearby areas. Following this historical section a more in depth description of the archaeological ruins as they look presently is given.

When the Franks set out on crusade in 1095 and arrived in Palestine in the spring of 1099, the ancient Philistine city of Ascalon was being ruled over by the Fatimid Caliphate of Egypt. The Fatimid general Jawhar conquered Syria and Palestine in 969 and incorporated these areas into the Fatimid domains in Egypt and North Africa (Sharon 2008: 408). The city would effectively be under Fatimid rule until the Frankish siege of 1153. The general found the city of Ascalon to be flourishing, as attested by the tenth century Arab geographer Muqaddasī's account written in 985. He says:

> Askalân on the sea is a fine city, and strongly garrisoned. Fruit is here in plenty, especially that of the sycamore [fig] tree, of which all are free to eat. The great mosque stands in the market of the clothes-merchants, and is paved throughout with marble. The city is spacious, opulent, healthy, and well fortified. The silkworms of this place are renowned, its wares are excellent, and life there is pleasant. Also its markets are thronged, and its garrison alert. Only its harbour is unsafe, its waters brackish, and the sand fly, called Dalam, is most hurtful (Le Strange 1890: 401; Muqaddasī 1906: 174).

In 1047, Nāsir-i-Khusraw, a Persian traveller visited Ascalon. His observations attest to the city's continued splendour under Fatimid rule. As Nāsir-i-Khusraw says: "The bazaar and the mosque are both fine, and I saw here an arch, which they told me was ancient, and had been part of a mosque. The arch was built of such mighty stones, that should any desire to throw it down, he would spend much money before he could accomplish it" (Le Strange 1890: 401; Nāsir-i-Khusraw 1881: 109).

In the early 1070s, the Fatimids maintained nominal rule over Ascalon and other coastal cities while the rest of Syria and Palestine were being conquered by the Seljuk Turks. During this time Ascalon was ruled by a governor, who was considered to hold the highest rank in the hierarchy of provincial governors in the Fatimid kingdom (Maqrīzī [Taqī ad-Dīn Ahmad b. 'Alī al-Maqrīzī] 1973: 336; Sharon 2008: 408).

On July 15, 1099, the Franks captured Jerusalem from the Fatimid general al-Afdal, who had only taken the city from the Ortoqids a year earlier (Tyerman 2006: 129). The Fatimid forces retreated to Ascalon where they found refuge (Maqrīzī [Taqī ad-Dīn Ahmad b. 'Alī al-Maqrīzī] 1973: 22–24; Sharon 2008: 409). In August 1099, just one month after the conquest of Jerusalem, Ascalon was nearly captured by the Franks. The people of Ascalon

were intimidated by the Frankish army and nearly capitulated (Prawer 1972: 21). They offered the surrender of the city to Raymond of St. Gilles. However, due to a quarrel between Raymond and Godfrey of Bouillon, the offer was never accepted and effectively cost the Franks fifty years of struggle. During this time, Ascalon became "a thorn in the flesh of the [Latin] kingdom" (Prawer 1972: 21).

Early in 1100 the *amīrs* of Ascalon, Caesarea, Arsuf and Acre sent delegations to Godfrey of Bouillon offering Arab horses and other gifts as well as letters offering a monthly tribute of 5000 gold bezants in return for immunity from attack (Hazard 1975: 81). Godfrey accepted but the truce was short lived. After having been offered a sumptuous banquet at Caesarea, Godfrey fell ill and later died on July 18, 1100, of suspected poisoning (Hazard 1975: 81; William of Tyre 1976 I: 413–414). In the following year, Godfrey of Bouillon's brother, Baldwin I, count of Edessa took both Arsuf and Caesarea (for more details on the capture of Caesarea see section 5.3). Baldwin I allowed the Muslim population of Arsuf to find refuge in Ascalon thus causing Ascalon's population to swell and in turn put pressure on Egyptian authorities who had to provide the city with supplies and military security (Maqrīzī [Taqī ad-Dīn Ahmad b. ʻAlī al-Maqrīzī] 1973: 26; Sharon 2008: 409).

Ascalon and Tyre were the last of the Muslim strongholds to hold out against the Franks. In order to isolate Tyre from the Syro-Palestinian hinterland, the Franks built a ring of fortresses, or *Gegenburg,* around the city. Tyre fell on July 7, 1124, thus enabling Ascalon to serve as a bridgehead against the Latin Kingdom (Sharon 2008: 409). Egyptian forces frequently crossed the desert in safety and used Ascalon as a place of refuge and base of operations from which they could have close access to battles. Numerous large-scale campaigns between the Fatimid forces based at Ascalon and Franks ensued, although neither party gained any real ground (e.g. 1101, 1105, 1110, 1115, and 1119). Ascalon was proving to be an impregnable fortified city and coupled with its strategic vicinity to Egypt, made the city crucial to Frankish military policy (Sharon 2008: 409).

Unable to conquer Ascalon, King Fulk (1131–1143) decided to employ the same strategy as that used at Tyre a decade before; the Franks would employ a *Gegenburg*. Effectively the Franks would build a ring of castles enclosing the city to cut off Ascalon from its Egyptian trade routes, which were vital. William of Tyre (1976 II: 220) reports that four

times a year, the Egyptian Caliph would send arms, food, and fresh troops by sea and land. Between 1136 and 1149 the Franks built the blockading fortresses of Bait Gibrin (Gibelin), Yibneh (Ibelin), Tell es-Safi (Blanchegarde), and Gaza (Hoch 1992: 122–123; Prawer 1972: 22; Sharon 2008: 410; Smail 1995: 209–213) (see figure 4.1). At the same time, vizier Ridwān ibn al-Walakshī planned a building project in Ascalon in 1136 and Caliph az-Zāfir repaired Ascalon's fortifications between 1150 and 1151 (Maqrīzī [Taqī ad-Dīn Ahmad b. 'Alī al-Maqrīzī] 1973 163, 171; Sharon 2008: 411), no doubt in preparation for the Frankish offensive.

In 1150, King Baldwin III (son of King Fulk and Queen Melisende) began preparations to conquer Ascalon and on January 25, 1153 he began his siege. When the Franks arrived at Ascalon in 1153, the city's situation and advantages were documented by the prelate and chronicler William of Tyre. As he explains:

> [Ascalon] lies upon the sea-coast in the form of a semicircle, the chord or diameter of which extends along the shore, while the arc or bow lies on the land looking toward the east. The entire city rests in a basin, as it were, sloping to the sea and is surrounded on all sides by artificial mounds, upon which rise the walls (*menia*) with towers (*turribus*) at frequent intervals. The whole is built of solid masonry, held together by cement which is harder than stone. The walls (*muris*) are wide, of goodly thickness and proportionate height. The city is furthermore encircled by outworks (*antemuralibus*) built with the same solidity and most carefully fortified…
>
> There are four gates (*porte*) in the circuit of the wall (*murorum ambitu*), strongly defended by lofty and massive towers (*turribus excelsis et solidis diligentissime communite*). The first of these, facing east, is called the Greater gate (*Porta Maior*) and sometimes the gate of Jerusalem, because it faces toward the Holy City. It is surmounted by two very lofty towers (*duas turres altissimas*) which serve as a strong protection for the city (*civitati*) below. In the barbican (*antemuralibus*) before this gate are three or four smaller gates (*portas habet minores*) through which one passes to the main entrance by various winding ways (*anfractus*).
>
> The second gate faces the west. It is called the Sea gate (*Porta Maris)*, because through it the people have egress to the sea. The third to the south looks toward the city of Gaza (*Gazam urbem*)…whence also it takes its name. The fourth, with outlook

> toward the north, is called the gate of Jaffa from the neighboring
> city which lies on this same coast.
>
> Ascalon is at a disadvantage, however, from the fact that its
> location admits of neither a port nor any other safe harborage for
> ships. The shore is very sandy, and the violent winds make the
> surrounding sea so tempestuous that it is generally feared by all
> who approach it except in very calm weather (William of Tyre
> 1976 II: 219; latin terms are taken from Willelmi Tyrensis
> Archiepiscopi 1986: 791).

William of Tyre's record of Ascalon's defences provides an excellent insight into how the Fatimid fortifications looked during 1153. Elements of these architectural features still remain as are discussed below (see section 4.4).

King Baldwin III was joined by an extensive naval and land force and recruited numerous siege machines. He was accompanied by the entire royal army, Patriarch Fulcher, Peter, the archbishop of Tyre, princes and prelates of the church as well as a piece of the Life-giving Cross (William of Tyre 1976 II: 220, 228). The Templar and Hospitaller grand masters also accompanied the king, bringing with them their best men. The siege continued for over five months when, in late July 1153, a portion of the city's wall was breached. The Franks had set a fire to burn against the wall throughout the night, and through the aid of "divine clemency" brought a section between two towers down (William of Tyre 1976 II: 226) (see figure 4.3).

Bernard de Tremelay, the grand master of the Templars, reached the breach first. He kept everyone back except his men so that they could obtain the greater and richer portion of the spoils and plunder (William of Tyre 1976 II: 227). This action resulted in approximately forty Templar knights being massacred by the Muslim defenders, who then "suspended the bodies of our slain by ropes from the ramparts of the wall and, with taunting words and gestures, gave vent to the joy which they felt" (William of Tyre 1976 II: 228) (see section 6.4). This joy however was short lived. Although the incident nearly caused the Franks to abandon the siege, Patriarch Fulcher and Raymond du Puy, grand master of the Hospitallers convinced King Baldwin III to continue. The Franks returned to the siege and on August 19, 1153, the Muslims surrendered. The defenders were given three days to leave the city, taking with them the head of the Prophet's grandson, Husayn, who is said to have been buried in Ascalon since the seventh century (Sharon 2008: 411,

translated from Ibn al-Athīr 1982: 11: 188–189; Maqrīzī [Taqī ad-Dīn Ahmad b. ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī] 1973: 206–207). Ascalon was officially taken by the Franks on August 22, 1153. The lordship of Ascalon was granted to King Baldwin III's brother, Amalric, the count of Jaffa. The seven month siege ruined Ascalon's fertile surroundings.

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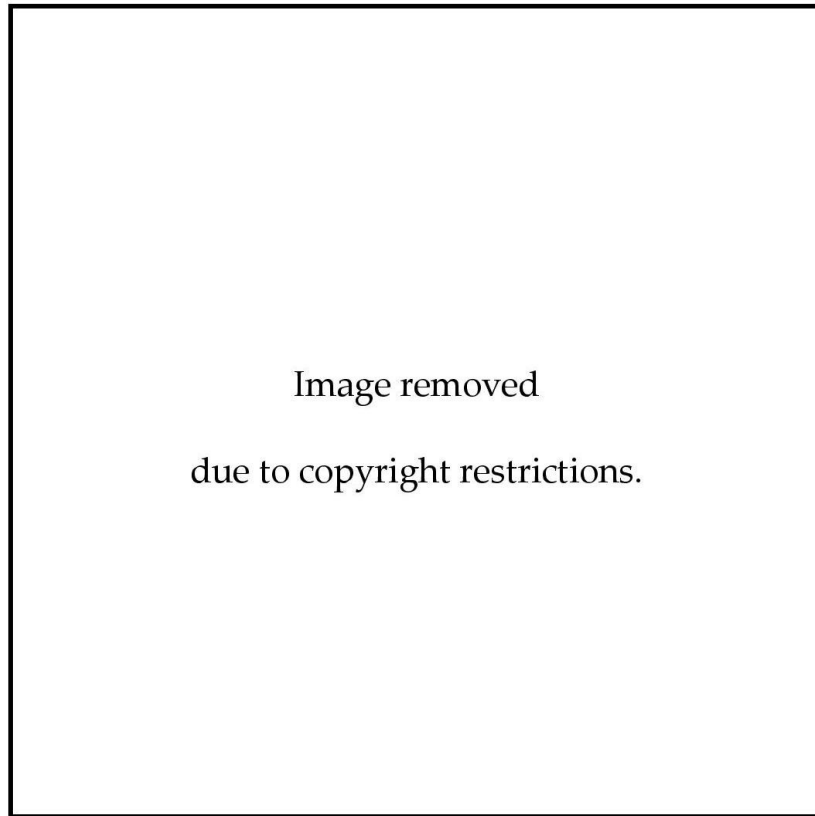
Figure 4.3: Artist's reconstruction of Ascalon during the Frankish conquest in 1153 (Gore 2001: 70–71, reproduced in Stager and Schloen 2008: 4)

One year after the Franks' conquest, the Muslim geographer and traveller Idrīzī describes the city in 1154 as follows: "Askalân is a fine town, with a double wall, and there are markets. Without the town there are no gardens, and nought is there in the way of trees. The Governor of the Holy City [King Baldwin III], with a Greek army of the Franks and others, conquered it in the year 548 (1153), and at the present day it is in their hands" (Le Strange 1890: 401–402). This statement attests to the destruction to Ascalon's surrounding landscape during the siege of 1153 and during the campaigns held in the years prior. The Franks ruled the city for the next thirty-four years.

After the battle of Hattin on July 4, 1187, Saladin set his sights on Ascalon. He had already conquered all the towns on the northern coast of the country, including Tiberias, Acre, Nablus, Haifa, Caesarea, Saffuriya, Nazareth, Tibnin, Sidon, Beirut, Byblos (Gibelet),

Ramla, Yibneh (Ibelin) and Darum (Deir al-Balah), and needed Ascalon to secure the trade routes between Egypt and Syria (see map of the Levant, figure 4.1). After a two-week siege, using trebuchets and fierce attacks, the Muslims took the city September 5, 1187, repaired the city walls and towers and manned its defences with a Muslim garrison (Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād 2002: 75–77; Benvenisti 1970: 118).

King Richard I joins the fray in 1191. He set sail from Famagusta, Cyprus on June 5, 1191 and after a brief stop at the castle of Margat, he continued on to Tyre. Leaving Tyre, King Richard I arrived at Acre on June 8, 1191 and joined the siege which had been surging since 1189 when Guy de Lusignan decided to lay siege to the city. By July 12, 1191 the breaches in the city's walls were so severe that the besiegers and besieged agreed to terms. The garrison surrendered the city and all of its assets including its stores, artillery and the Egyptian galley fleet. The lives of the garrison as well as those of their wives and children were to be traded in exchange for the release of 2500 Frankish prisoners and the return of the Holy Cross (Ambroise 2003 II: 104; Richard de Templo 1997: 219). On August 19, a rumour reached the Frankish camps: Saladin had killed his prisoners (Roger of Howden 1867 II: 189). Whether or not the rumour was true, King Richard I had nearly 2,700 of the Muslim prisoners killed, sparing only a few men of standing and position (Ambroise 2003 II: 108; Richard de Templo 1997: 231; Roger of Howden 1867 II: 189–190; Roger of Howden 1868–1871 III: 131). Bahā' al-Dīn offers a graphic description of the massacre:

> The enemy then brought out the Muslim prisoners for whom God had decreed martyrdom, about 3,000 bound in ropes. Then as one man they charged them and with stabbings and blows with the sword they slew them in cold blood, while the Muslim advance guard watched, not knowing what to do because they were at some distance from them (Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād 2002: 165; Gillingham 1999: 168).

Bahā' al-Dīn offers two possible reasons for King Richard I's actions:

> It was said they had killed them in revenge for their men who had been killed or that the king of England had decided to march to Ascalon to take control of it and did not think it wise to leave that number in his rear. God knows best (Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād 2002: 165).

In a letter to the abbot of Clairvaux, written October 1, 1191, King Richard I explains his actions, saying: "The time limit expired and, as the treaty to which Saladin had agreed was entirely made void, we quite properly had the Saracens that we had in custody – about 2,600 of them – put to death" (Gillingham 1999: 168–169; Roger of Howden 1868–1871 III: 131). It would seem that King Richard I believed his actions to be the logical result of Saladin's failure to abide by the terms of their agreement.

With Acre secure, King Richard I began his march to Jaffa on August 25, 1191 (Ambroise 2003 II: 111). He had a very clear strategy: he would move south, conquering the coast until he reached his goal – that being Ascalon. Ascalon was the key to controlling the vital trade routes which linked Egypt and Syria and thus the key to Jerusalem itself (Gillingham 1999: 172). However, much of his army wanted to continue to Jerusalem directly as it was their ultimate goal to complete their pilgrimage by praying at the holy places and then return home (Gillingham 1999: 172). The decision would have to wait; first Jaffa, the port located nearest to Jerusalem and on the way to Ascalon, would have to be conquered.

On their southward march, the Frankish army met Saladin's troops in a plain north of Arsuf. After two days of fighting, the Franks conquered Arsuf on September 7, 1191 (Ambroise 2003 II: xiii, 125). The Franks continued their move south and reached Jaffa on September 10, 1191. It was assumed by Saladin that King Richard I's forces were still heading to Ascalon to make it their base of operations. Fearing his approach and wishing to deny him the use of a fortified base, Saladin had the walls levelled and cast out its population between September 12–25, 1191 (Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād 2002: 177–180; Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī 1972: 345–348; Pringle 1984: 136). This was clearly a deeply upsetting experience (a topic elaborated upon in section 4.6.1) and seen by Bahā' al-Dīn and Imād al-Dīn as an act resulting from fear of the Franks after the massacre of the Muslim garrison at Acre (Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād 2002: 178; Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī 1972: 346).

King Richard I learned of Saladin's plans to demolish Ascalon and sent Geoffrey of Lusignan to assess the situation. Upon his return, and learning that Saladin was indeed destroying Ascalon's walls, the king argued that the army should go straight to Ascalon, but the majority wanted to re-fortify Jaffa as this action would enable them to complete

their pilgrimage sooner. Reluctantly, King Richard I sided with the majority. For the next two months, the Franks set themselves to rebuild Jaffa's fortifications. On October 31, 1191, King Richard I left Jaffa and occupied the ruined Casal des Plains (Yazur) and Casal Maen (Bait Dajan) (Ambroise 2003 II: 129). On November 17, 1191, these Casals were re-fortified and King Richard I moved on to Ramla. This forced Saladin to retreat to Latrun, however he soon withdrew to Jerusalem, fearing a siege of the Holy City. With Saladin gone, King Richard I relocated his headquarters to Latrun where he spent Christmas. From here he ordered his troops to advance up to Beit Nuba, located approximately 20 km from Jerusalem.

Here King Richard I had the opportunity to lay siege to Jerusalem. Although this was the pilgrims' main objectives, strategically laying siege could prove problematic. King Richard I's campaign had thus far been very successful, but this was mainly a result of the support offered by his naval fleet. Many feared that the Muslims would attack their supply line and cut off their support from the sea should they continue on to Jerusalem (Ambroise 2003 II: 135–136). Moreover, should the Franks succeed in taking Jerusalem; they would find it difficult to hold the city let alone move on to take Ascalon. Having completed their pilgrimage and having fulfilled their vows many would return to their homes (Ambroise 2003 II: 136). Thus, given the strategic difficulties in taking Jerusalem and the likelihood that much of the army would disband, it was decided at a council held after Epiphany (Twelfth Night, January 6, 1192), that the Franks would return and rebuild the walls of Ascalon (Ambroise 2003 II: 136). With the Holy City so close at hand, this knowledge caused the army great distress (Ambroise 2003 II: 137) (see section 4.6.2). From Latrun, the army returned to Ramla and here many chose to disperse. Thus, it was with a much diminished and angry force that King Richard I took with him to Ascalon (Ambroise 2003 II: 137).

From Ramla, the Franks moved on to Yibneh (Ibelin) and from here continued on to Ascalon, arriving January 20, 1192. From late January until Easter (April 5, 1192) King Richard I and his forces rebuilt the walls and towers of Ascalon. As he financed a great proportion of this building project, the work was completed under the supervision of Philip of Poitiers, King Richard I's Clerk of the Chamber (and later Bishop of Durham,

1197–1208) (Ambroise 2003 II: 139 n.515; Pringle 1984: 133–147) (for a full discussion of these events see section 4.6.2).

Peace negotiations between Saladin and King Richard I began July 4 and lasted until July 20, 1192 without any resolution. With the advice of his councillors, Saladin decided to lay siege to Jaffa and attacked July 28, 1192 (Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād 2002: 217). King Richard I sailed from Acre to relieve Jaffa (Ambroise 2003: 177). On August 1, 1192 the king and his forces retook Jaffa in a battle which proved to be legendary (for the myth of Richard the Lionheart see section 4.6.3). From August 28 to 29, 1192, new peace negotiations were held leading to the establishment of the Treaty of Jaffa on September 2, 1192. The terms of the truce as devised by Saladin were as follows:

> that Ascalon, which was a threat to his crown, would be knocked down and destroyed and that no-one would fortify it within three years, but then whoever was most capable of doing so could hold it and rebuild it. Jaffa would be strengthened and inhabited once again by Christians. The rest of the plain, between the mountain and the sea, where no-one lived, would be held in truce, in stability and safety. Anyone who wished to observe the truce and travel in safety there and back could seek out the Sepulchre. Merchandise could be transported throughout the land without the payment of tribute (Ambroise 2003 II: 186).

On September 5, 1192 Saladin commissioned 'Alam al-Dīn Qaysar to demolish Ascalon. With him, Saladin also sent a company of sappers and stone-masons to complete the work. King Richard I had agreed to send troops from Jaffa to oversee the demolition and remove the Franks from the city (Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād 2002: 232). Demolition began on September 7, 1192, with both groups working together. They were each assigned a specific section of the wall and told "Your leave begins when it is demolished" (Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād 2002: 232). Despite this directive we can see from the remaining ruins that the walls were not demolished in their entirety. Many sections of wall remain; some to great height (see section 4.4).

Ascalon remained in Muslim hands, but no effort was made to resettle the ruined city until 1229 when Ascalon and other territories were returned to Frankish hands as part of a treaty between Emperor Frederick II and the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Kāmil of Egypt. However, due to quarrels amongst the Franks, rule could not be established at Ascalon for

another decade. As such, the city became a frontier post for the Egyptian base at Gaza (Sharon 2008: 414). Early in 1239, the treaty ended. At this time a new crusade had begun, lead by Count Theobald IV, count of Champagne, king of Navarre. He had with him many nobles including Henri, count of Bar and Hugh IV, duke of Burgundy. On November 1, 1239, Theobald made his way south from Acre with the intention of refortifying Ascalon. On their journey, Count Henri of Bar disobeyed his orders and with a contingent of men attacked the Egyptian army led by the Mamluk Rukn ad-Dīn al-Tūnbā al Hījāwī who was en route to Gaza. This proved to be a trap set by the Egyptian general ending with the death of the Count and 1000 men. News of the tragedy reached Theobald at the walls of Ascalon and forced him and the army to withdraw to Acre (Lower 2005: 171). Entering into Ayyubid diplomacy, Theobald made a deal with Damascus, who was at war with Egypt, which brought many territorial gains to the Franks. At the same time, the Hospitallers had negotiated with Egypt and received Gaza and Ascalon as well as permission to rebuild them. Theobald decided to renege on his deal with Damascus in favour of dealing with Egypt. This caused him to loose face with his men and fear for his life thus causing his return to France in September, 1240. Thus, Hugh IV remained to oversee the completion of Ascalon's fortifications (Sharon 2008: 414).

Shortly after, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, brother of Henry III of England and brother-in-law of Emperor Frederick II, reached the Holy Land with a contingent of approximately 600 knights (Phillips 2009: 241, n.45). Among his knights was Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, who was accompanied by several English barons, including Sir Hugh Wake II of Lincoln (Matthew of Paris 1872–1883 IV: 44) (see section 4.7). After his arrival at Acre on October 8, 1240, Richard of Cornwall, intending to use his expedition as a vehicle for diplomacy instead of warfare, took council with the Hospitallers, Walter of Brienne, and Hugh of Burgundy to decide whether to grant Egypt a truce. All favoured a pro-Egyptian policy and in late November 1240, Richard of Cornwall sent an embassy to Ayyub of Egypt to finalize terms (Lower 2005: 175–176). Meanwhile Richard of Cornwall and his troops hurried to Ascalon to supervise the construction of its fortifications. These works, which were completed in April 1241, were described by Richard of Cornwall in a letter to his friends, B. de Rivers, earl of Devon, the abbot of Beaulieu and Robert, a clerk. This letter was included in Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora*. Although Matthew Paris often re-

wrote the letters included in his work, essentially creating wholly new documents, Richard of Cornwall was one of his most widely attested informants, as well as a source recipient and sender of many of the documents used in the *Chronica Majora*, thus the contents of Richard's letter may be close to the original if not the original content itself (Weiler 2009: 256, 265). Richard of Cornwall's letter reads:

> We, during all this time, remained at Ascalon, assiduously intent on building the aforesaid castle, which by God's favour has, in a short time, progressed so far that at the time of despatching these presents, it is already adorned and entirely surrounded by a double wall with lofty towers and ramparts, with four square [*sic*] stones and carved marble columns, and everything which pertains to a castle, except a fosse round it, which will, God willing, be completed without fail, within a month from Easter-day (Matthew of Paris 1852: 367).

Unlike the fortifications built by King Richard I, this later building phase was probably limited to a castle in the northwest corner of the site of which two sub-rectangular platforms and a spoliated Fatimid inscription remain (Pringle 1995: 85; Pringle 1984: 143–146) (see sections 4.4.4 on the castle and 4.4.5 on the wall's date). The inscription bears the family shield of Sir Hugh Wake II and suggests that he was responsible for rebuilding the main tower of the Jaffa gate (see section 4.7). To understand the importance of the city, Richard of Cornwall's letter continues in saying that Ascalon is the key and safeguard, both by land and sea, of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and will be a source of destruction and ruin to Babylon (Matthew of Paris 1852: 367). On May 3, 1241 Richard of Cornwall leaves for England, having nominated one of Emperor Frederick II's men as governor of the city (Lower 2005: 176; Sharon 2008: 414). This governor then transferred Ascalon to the Order of Hospitallers (Benvenisti 1970: 120).

Ascalon remained under Hospitaller rule until October 15, 1247 when the city fell to Egyptian forces under the command of Fakhr ad-Dīn Yūsuf b. aš-Šaykh. The sultan ordered Ascalon's fortification to be destroyed and with that the city was left desolate (Prawer 1956: 248; Sharon 2008: 415). Weary of the Franks regaining strategic coastal locations, the Mamluk sultan Baibars set about demolishing every coastal town and fortress. In 1270, the city of Ascalon was razed and its simple anchorage was filled with rubble (Ibn al-Furāt 1971 II: 142; Sharon 2008: 415). Despite these episodes of destruction,

it is clear from the site's remains that the city's defences were not razed in their entirety (see section 4.4).

Although the Leon Levy Expedition excavation report claims that the site was never again inhabited after Baibars' demolition in 1270 (Stager and Schloen 2008: 10), the site has been used for agriculture and pillaged for its stone, thus leading to its present state of repair. It is clear from the observations made in Conder and Kitchener's *Memoirs* that the interior of the site has been, if not re-occupied, then used by the local population during the nineteenth century. We can see from their plan of Ascalon that the land in the interior of the tell has been divided for agricultural use (Conder and Kitchener 1881–1883 III: opposite 237) (see figure 4.4). When Conder visited the site in April, 1875, he described the interior as being "occupied by gardens, and some 10 feet of soil covers the ruins. Palms, tamarisks, cactus, almonds, lemons, olives, and oranges are grown, with vegetables, including the famous shallots, named from the place" (Conder and Kitchener 1881–1883 III: 237). Furthermore, Colonel Warren states that artefacts, such as coins and bronzes, are constantly being turned up by the plough and by the earth crumbling from heavy rains (Conder and Kitchener 1881–1883 III: 243; Warren 1871: 89). The city's waterwheel and many wells were also used during the Ottoman period by the farmers of the Arab village of Jora (Gera and Shkolnik n.d.).

As to the state of repair of Ascalon's walls, the site has been used as a quarry and as such high quality facing stones have been stolen for buildings farther afield. This has made dating the different building phases very difficult as many of the remaining ruins consist almost entirely of mortar rubble fill (see sections 4.4.2 and 4.4.5). Colonel Warren also claims that "the walls of indurated sandstone, though now of small-sized stones, were once formed of massive blocks, as is seen by the remains here and there that have not been cut down for other purposes or carried away to Acca or Saidon" (Conder and Kitchener 1881–1883 III: 242; Warren 1871: 87). He also suggests that some of the walls were broken, possibly by gunpowder (Warren 1871: 88). Conder mentions the pillaging in his report to the Palestine Exploration Fund, as he explains: "all the good stones are carried to Jaffa or Gaza, and sold for modern buildings. Thus the Roman and Crusading ruins are at once hidden beneath, yet not protected by the soil, but disappearing piecemeal, and scattered over the country" (Conder 1875: 155).

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Figure 4.4: Plan of Ascalon from 1883 (Conder and Kitchener 1881–1883 III: opposite 237)

This practice continued into the beginning of the twentieth century as John Garstang relates in his excavation report that the "later Turks used Askalon as a stone quarry" (Garstang 1922: 117). There are also more recent pillaging dangers to the site. In 1987, the operator of a nearby resort illegally sent a bulldozer to Ascalon to dig sand for making concrete (Gore 2001: 77). On this occasion, the outcome was fortuitously advantageous as this exposed mud bricks and some pottery that had been thrown into the base of the

rampart surrounding Ascalon, eventually leading to the discovery of a 900-foot long stretch of the rampart as well as a Canaanite gateway – the oldest known arched gateway (Gore 2001: 77). The pilferage of stones and other materials accounts for Ascalon's current state of ruins.

In more recent years, Ascalon has been in danger from numerous rocket attacks coming from within the Gaza strip. The most frequently used weapons include the Egypt-manufactured Grad rockets and the crude home-made short-range Qassam (Kassam) rockets. Although the main result from these attacks is that of psychological trauma, these rockets have also caused death and destruction (BBC News 2008). These attacks commenced in 2001 with the Qassam rockets reaching the nearby city of Sderot and other communities bordering the Gaza strip. By 2006, the rockets were refined and on July 5, a rocket hit an empty high school located within the modern city of Ashkelon, located one mile from the ancient city (Myre and Erlanger 2006). On May 12, 2008 two Qassam rockets were fired from Gaza, one landing near an elementary school in a southern neighbourhood of the city of Ashkelon and the other hitting Ashkelon National Park (Hadad 2008). Although these rockets do not threaten the sub-surface archaeology and have not yet caused great damage to Ascalon's standing ruins, should they receive a direct impact by a Grad or Qassam rocket, serious damage could be done. When detonated, the warhead (M-21-OF) on the base model 122mm 9M22 of the BM-21 Grad (Hail) 9K51 series rockets creates approximately 3,150 fragments which are scattered over a lethal radius of approximately 28 m (Gander and Cutshaw 2001: section Artillery Rockets). These fragments, along with initial impact, could cause serious damage to the remaining standing ruins at Ascalon.

In addition to human involvement, Ascalon has also been damaged by the rising sea. The results of an underwater survey between 1985–1987 have shown that parts of the city's rampart and walls now lay below the sea (Raban and Tur-Caspa 2008: 75–77, 84). Raban and Tur-Caspa suggest that the Frankish era pier and the rubble rampart located at the south of the city may have been part of the same complex. From this presupposition, and evidence from other medieval Israeli coastal cities, they argue that the sea level must have risen 1 m since the medieval period (Raban and Tur-Caspa 2008: 72). To understand what

remains of the medieval city of Ascalon, a description of these standing ruins will now be presented.

4.4 THE ARCHITECTURE AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE WALLS

Here is a description of the ruins of Ascalon as they appear presently. For a more detailed description of the ruins as they appeared in the nineteenth century see Conder and Kitchener (1881-1883 III: 237–247) and Rey (1871: 205–210). This section will also address the key issues of dating and attribution as these directly affect the roles and impact of Ascalon's walls. The walls' varied functions and impacts are further explored in the analytical sections 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7.

4.4.1 THE EARTHWORKS AND GLAÇIS

Ascalon's present ruins are the result of several different building and destruction periods. Remnants of the walls run along the top of a vast, semi-circular earthwork, made up of natural and man-made elements dating to the Middle Bronze Age II period (Hoffman 2008: 101–102) (see figure 4.5). This earthwork forms an arc around the site of the ancient tell measuring approximately 1.5 km (Pringle 1984: 135), while measuring approximately 1 km along the shore from north to south and approximately 0.5 km from east to west (Conder and Kitchener 1881–1883 III: 237). The earthwork reaches different heights throughout the site, the highest point being along the southeast side at a height of approximately 45 m. The walls run along the top of this earthwork and can be reached via a sandy path marked out by the Israel Nature and Parks Authority.

The *glaçis* is located to the east of the Jaffa Gate along the northern side of the site, forming part of a moat. The *glaçis* reaches a height of 12 m and is comprised of rectangular shaped sand stones, measuring 40 to 45 cm in height (Sharon 1994: 7). These stones are placed in a pattern similar to a Flemish bond (see figure 4.6), where the long narrow side of the stone (the stretcher) is alternated with the shorter end of the stone (the header) in a single course. These stones appear to be a blackish-grey colour from behind the gate placed around the moat area.

Figure 4.5: View of earthwork at the southern end of the site with the ruins of the Tower of the Hospital (with person standing on top) and ruins of another possible tower, facing north (A. Charland)

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Figure 4.6: English example of Flemish bond brick work (Morris 2000: 59)

This provides a good contrast to the greyish-white columns which have been placed systematically to form a line toward the base of the *glaçis* (see figures 4.7 and 4.8). As with the remaining walls and towers at Ascalon, these columns have been re-used from Roman structures found in the centre of the site. Part of a trapezoid section remains, indicating that the *glaçis* would have been like that at Caesarea (see section 5.4.1). Moreover, there is an Arabic inscription which remains *in situ*, thus dating the *glaçis* to the Fatimid era (see section 4.5). There have been attempts to determine the extent of the *glaçis*, but so far only further MBAII earthworks have been found (Hoffman 2008: 101–104).

In the area running along the beach northeast to southwest there is the sea wall which is defensively similar to the northern *glaçis*. Like the *glaçis*, the sea wall is located below the line of the curtain wall and has columns placed through it. Unlike the *glaçis* columns, which lie flush with the facing stones, the sea wall's columns jut straight out leaving a large amount protruding from the wall (see figures 4.9 and 4.10). Its facing stones have all been removed, so that only rubble wall-fill remains. And like the *glaçis*, the wall slopes back to meet the curtain wall.

Figure 4.7: View of *glaçis* with re-used columns placed systematically near the base, approximately 20 m high and 70 m long, facing southwest (A. Charland)

Figure 4.8: Close up of spoliated columns, approximately 20 cm in diameter, in *glaçis*, facing east (A. Charland)

Figure 4.9: View of sea wall with protruding columns, approximately 5.5 m high and 30 m long. The adjoining wall is part of a modern staircase, facing south (A. Charland)

Figure 4.10: View of sea wall with T. Christian, facing northeast (A. Charland)

4.4.2 THE WALLS

The sections of walls still standing follow the course of earlier Roman or Byzantine walls (Kedar and Mook 1978: 175), which were rebuilt by the Umayyad Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik during the seventh century AD (Le Strange 1890: 400; Pringle 1984: 135; Sharon 2008: 408). The medieval phase, dating most likely to the Fatimid restorations of 1136 and 1150 (see section 4.4.5), is represented by narrow-coursed smooth ashlar masonry, with spoliated marble or granite columns interspersed through the walls systematically. These columns range in size from nearly 0.5 m to 1 m in diameter and can measure up to 5.5 m long (Warren 1871: 87). The walls are very thick and would have stood as high as 7 or 8 m above the *glaçis* (Sharon 1994: 7). Where facing stones survive, they are a sandy-yellow colour and are locally sourced soft sandstone. The course heights range from 11 to 22 cm and occasionally reach 25 cm near the base. During my visit to the site I observed that these narrow courses are interspersed with thicker courses made of larger facing stones. These larger facing stones follow a Flemish bond-type pattern (see figure 4.11). The walls often have a batter at the base (see figure 4.12), a feature also present at Caesarea (Pringle 1984: 140–141) (see section 5.4.2).

Figure 4.11: Detail of different sized courses in 'Pattern' Tower located along southern earthwork, facing east (A. Charland)

The facing stones are set in a hard white mortar that is sometimes made light pink by the inclusion of finely crushed pottery or brick (Pringle 1984: 140–141). More often, the wall-filling is all that remains of Ascalon's walls, of which many of the stones have fallen away, leaving their impression in the remaining mortar. The mortar of this rubble masonry is often a brown-grey colour, but can also look pink or creamy. Many of the facing stones were robbed during the nineteenth century and as a result make it very difficult to distinguish between different building phases by looking at changing building styles (see sections 4.3 and 4.4.5).

As with the wall facing, the filling's mortar contains an amount of crushed pottery, terracotta pottery shards (see figure 4.13), shells and flecks of charcoal, but proportionately less than that found in earlier phases of the wall (Kedar and Mook 1978: 175–176; Pringle 1984: 141). During construction, this rubble fill is laid concurrently with the facing stones, either by course or by every two courses (Pringle 1984: 140–141). Located along the western wall line is the Maqam al-Khidr (formerly the Green Mosque)

(see figure 4.2). The remaining ruins indicate a rough square building with a groin-vaulted roof and rounded-arched windows (see figure 4.14). It is uncertain whether this building was ever consecrated by the Franks (Pringle 1993: 64). Many of the remaining sections of wall are attached to tower and gate ruins, which will now be discussed.

Figure 4.12: Base of tower with a batter, located on the southern part of the earthwork, facing north (A. Charland)

Figure 4.13: Terracotta and shell mortar located in the wall extending from the 'Pattern' Tower, facing east (A. Charland)

Figure 4.14: General view of the Maqam al-Khidr (formerly the Green Mosque), located along the western wall line overlooking the sea (A. Charland)

4.4.3 THE TOWERS AND GATES

There are few remaining towers amidst the walls of Ascalon (for their location see figure 4.2). These towers are constructed using the same techniques as the walls and are square in plan, with the exception of the Horseshoe Tower located southwest of the Jerusalem Gate and evidence of round turrets on the tower flanking the same gate. All of the towers' walls are exceptionally thick, some measuring over 1 m in thickness, and like the walls, often slope at the base or, in the case of the Horseshoe Tower, curve so that it appears to be bulging at the base (see figures 4.15 and 4.16). Beside the Horseshoe Tower, on its northern side, there appears to be a doorway which has been subsequently blocked.

Figure 4.15: Horseshoe Tower, facing northeast. The blocked entrance, not visible here, is located behind the ruins of the tall section of the Horseshoe Tower's remaining wall (A. Charland)

The city has four gates which create two axes of traffic, from northeast to southwest and from east to west (see figure 4.2) (see section 4.3 for William of Tyre's description of the gates). These axes create a path which intersect in the centre, a common trait seen in Roman and Byzantine town planning (Benvenisti 1970: 123). Each of these gates was well guarded by towers, with the Jerusalem Gate provided indirect access to the city. The route

leading through the Jerusalem Gate, located on the eastern side of the city, led the visitor along the curtain wall, guarded by two towers, and then forced the visitor to turn ninety degrees to the west to access the city. The Jaffa Gate, located to the north, and the Gaza Gate, located to the south, were also guarded by towers, sections of which remain.

The remains of a Frankish era church, whose dedication is unknown, are located approximately 90 m south of the Jerusalem Gate (see figure 4.2). The church was first constructed before the Muslim conquest and continued to be used during the early Islamic period. In the twelfth century, it was rebuilt as a four-columned church of the cross-in-square type and was decorated with frescoes (Pringle 1993: 68) (see figure 4.17).

Of the towers remaining, the Tower of the Hospital, located in the southwest corner, is the most intact. Located south of the Sea Gate, the tower has a vaulted ceiling and from its walls, which lie fallen on the beach, we can see that the interior was covered in white mortar and pieces of terracotta pottery so as to cover the stones beneath (see figures 4.18 and 4.19). Other pieces of this tower have fallen into the sea and next to them are a series of columns laying side by side forming a small jetty.

Figure 4.16: Close up of Horseshoe Tower showing bulging base, facing south (A. Charland)

Figure 4.17: Remains of a church located 90 m south of the Jerusalem Gate (A. Charland)

Figure 4.18: The interior of the Tower of the Hospital, with the tower's fallen wall on the beach, facing southeast (A. Charland)

Figure 4.19: Detail of terracotta and white mortar lining the inside of a fallen wall from the Tower of the Hospital (A. Charland)

4.4.4 THE CASTLE

Ascalon's castle remains one of the site's greatest mysteries. The only documentary evidence attesting to its construction survives in a letter written by Richard of Cornwall to his friends B. de Rivers, earl of Devon, the abbot of Beaulieu and Robert, a clerk (Matthew of Paris 1852: 367) (see section 4.3). Several areas have been suggested as being likely placements for the castle, but no definitive location exists.

The location of the castle was first proposed by Benvenisti (1970: 126) as being in the southwestern corner of the site (see figure 4.20). He suggests that Ascalon, being similar to other maritime towns, such as Arsuf, Caesarea, Tyre and Sidon, must have situated its castle in a similar fashion. Their castles are all sited at the end of the town-wall on the sea-shore and in close contact with their harbours (Benvenisti 1970: 126). As Ascalon's Tower of the Hospital and Tower of the Maidens are located close to the sea, it is therefore Benvenisti's conjecture that Ascalon did in fact have a citadel which incorporated these towers and that it formed an independent defensive unit, surrounded by its own moat and its own harbour where it could receive aid against invasion and provide an escape route (Benvenisti 1970: 126). Benvenisti's argument presents several flaws, many of which are exposed by Pringle (1984: 144–146), who, in addition to discrediting Benvenisti's opinion also presents a more likely alternative for the castle's siting.

Pringle presents four main arguments against Benvenisti's siting. Firstly, there is no archaeological or documentary evidence that supports this siting. There is also no evidence to show that the tower was rebuilt by King Richard I after its destruction by Saladin in September 1191, then subsequently destroyed by Saladin in 1192 and again rebuilt by Richard of Cornwall between 1240 and 1241 (Pringle 1984: 144). Secondly, there is nothing left in this location that resembles the concentric castle plan which Richard of Cornwall's description implies, nor could this location suit such a castle (Pringle 1984: 144). Thirdly, the suggestion that Ascalon's castle would have overlooked a harbour is questionable as there are repeated historical accounts which label the site's harbour as unsafe (Le Strange 1890: 401; Muqaddasī 1906: 174; Pringle 1984: 144–145; William of Tyre 1976 II: 219) (for William of Tyre's account see section 4.3).

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Figure 4.20: Plan of Ascalon with southwest castle siting (Benvenisti 1970: 129)

Lastly, Pringle proposes a more plausible location for the castle at Ascalon's northern end. Up against the northern wall, the ground is raised so as to form stepped field terraces. There are two large sub-rectangular platforms, one placed on top of the other (see figure 4.2). The smaller platform measures approximately 90 x 160 m, while the larger outer platform measures approximately 180 x 280 m (Pringle 1984: 145). The smaller platform can be reached by walking through the Canaanite Gate, while the larger platform is best found by walking along the rough path behind the North Tower, reached by the modern road which passes through the Jaffa Gate. Continuing along this rough path you suddenly find yourself on the flat plane of this larger platform (see figure 4.21).

Figure 4.21: Larger platform, as demonstrated by the area with no vegetation, with A. Charland, facing southwest (T. Christian)

This larger platform is surrounded by a ditch approximately 20 m wide (Pringle 1984: 145). This platform could easily be defended by sea and the elevated earthwork, and would have in all likelihood incorporated the towers and *glaçis* located along the northern side of the site. Equally, the smaller platform is defendable on the west by the sea and cliff face and could have included the northern wall's defences. Pieces of fallen medieval

masonry are visible along its southern and eastern edges and part of a wall, which Pringle (Pringle 1993: 66) attributes to a church, survives *in situ*. The North Church, built some time between 1153 and 1187, stood in the smaller platform's southern corner (see figure 4.22). Pieces of fallen rubble have accumulated along the southern base of the larger platform. One of these pieces has part of an apse and formed part of the North Church (see figure 4.23).

These defendable platforms provide a likely location for Richard of Cornwall's castle. Their shape and placement suggest a sub-rectangular, concentric plan castle, measuring approximately five hectares (Pringle 1984: 146). Moreover, this castle would possess many of the attributes listed in Richard of Cornwall's letter, most notably the double wall, use of columns and the ditch (fosse) which he intended to complete in that coming Easter (Matthew of Paris 1852: 367).

It has been suggested by Sharon (1994: 9) that the *glaçis* and North Tower formed a smaller citadel during Fatimid times. Since this area was likely the site of a previous citadel, it would be sensible for the Franks to re-use this location and incorporate and expand the surviving walls. In all likelihood the North Church, destroyed during one of Saladin's demolitions, was incorporated into Richard of Cornwall's castle. Rubble and column pieces, which have been piled up to the north of the North Church wall, were probably part of the castle or church structure (see figure 4.24).

Figure 4.22: North Church wall, facing south (A. Charland)
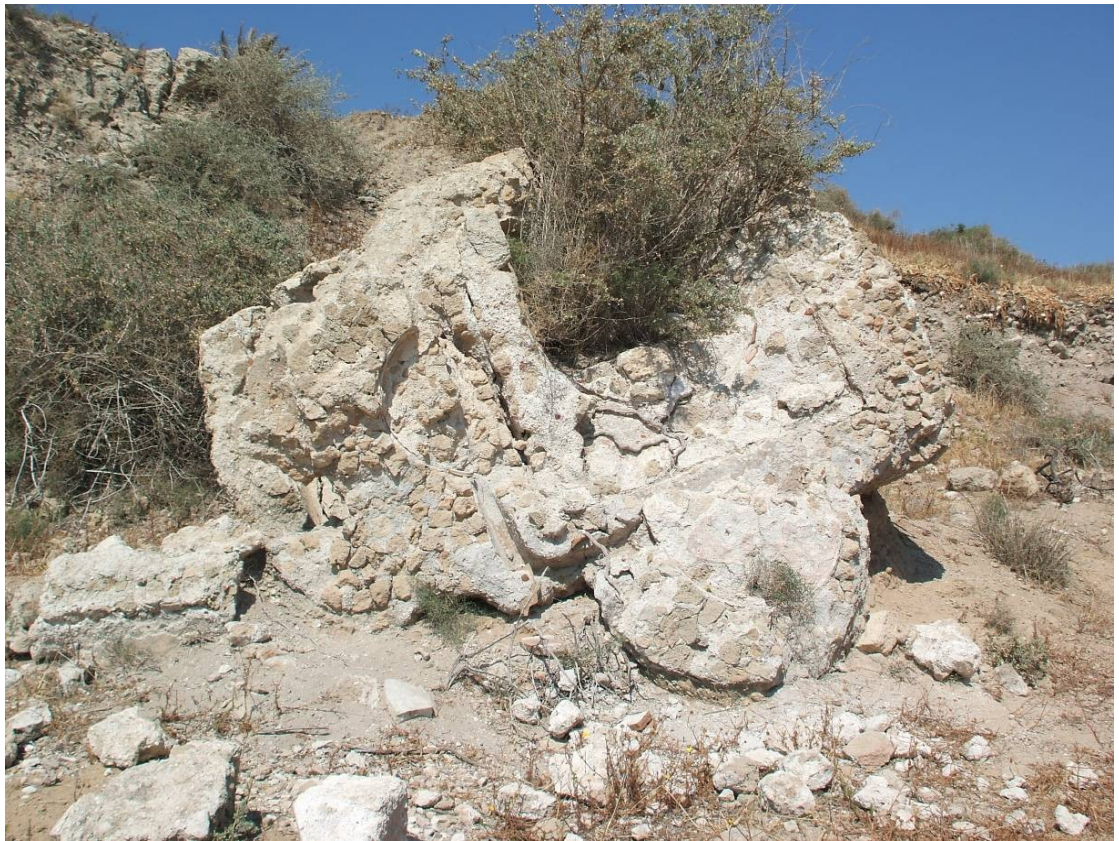
Figure 4.23: Ruins of the North Church showing the apse, facing east. The apse is approximately 3 m wide (A. Charland)

Figure 4.24: Pieces of columns and other rubble found to the north of the North Church wall, facing west (A. Charland)

4.4.5 DATING ASCALON'S WALLS

Ascalon's walls are in a very ruinous state and as such it is difficult to determine which of the many possible building periods they belong to. Until recently, this has caused much debate, leading to two prevailing opinions: that they are either Frankish (Pringle 1984; 1995) or Fatimid (Stager 1991; 1993; 2008a), built upon earlier Roman or Byzantine foundations. However, in light of recent discoveries (outlined below), it would appear that Ascalon's walls date to no later than the Fatimid period (Pringle 2011; 2012: pers. comm., 24 July 2012).

Pringle (1984: 141) originally argued that the latest building phase represented the work of King Richard I because the character of the surviving walls resembles that of other contemporary Frankish fortifications, such as the re-use of columns at Byblos (Gibelet), Caesarea and the sea castle of Sidon and the use of narrow courses found at Caesarea and Acre. Secondly, the scale and nature of the surviving walls corresponds with the descriptions given in the documentary sources (Ambroise 2003 II: 139–140). As explained below (see section 4.6.2), when King Richard I and his army went about rebuilding the walls they had to remove the fallen rubble – caused by Saladin's demolition in 1191 – and build on top of the old foundations (Pringle 1984: 141). Moreover, Pringle used Baron von Ustinow's Latin inscription that attributes a section of wall to King Richard I's clerk to strengthen his argument (Pringle 1984: 141) (see section 4.6.2). Pringle argued that the latest phase of the city walls could not be attributed to Richard of Cornwall as he would not have had the time and man power necessary to refortify both the city's walls and the castle.

Equally, Stager (2008b: 244) argues that the surviving walls are either attributable to the Fatimid period or to Richard of Cornwall's later refortification. He bases this conclusion on the discovery of an Arabic inscription found *in situ* in the stone-lined *glaçis*, a re-used Arabic inscription incised with Frankish shields – shields which belong to one of Richard of Cornwall's knights, and a lintel bearing identical Frankish shields, all located near the Jaffa Gate (see section 4.7). Interestingly, he maintains that the medieval walls were built by the Fatimids and later rebuilt by Richard of Cornwall in 1239, omitting King Richard I's refortification in 1192 altogether (Stager *et al.* 2008b: 244). I can only surmise that Stager believes that Richard of Cornwall refortified Ascalon's castle, as attested to in a letter (see

section 4.3 above), as well as the full circuit of walls. I believe Stager has adopted Benvenisti's southern siting of the castle (see figure 4.20 and section 4.4.4 above), as this was also adopted by Sharon (2008: 405), and as such believes that Richard of Cornwall rebuilt a castle at the southern end of the site. Furthermore, the discovery of a spoliated Arabic inscription as well as a lintel, both depicting identical Frankish shields, found broken in the *glaçis* near the Jaffa Gate, serve as proof that Richard of Cornwall refortified the northern end of the site (see sections 4.5 and 4.7). Therefore, based on the southern castle siting, the discovery of inscriptions in the north, and an *in situ* Fatimid inscription found in the *glaçis*, I believe this is why Stager believes that Ascalon's standing ruins are attributable to either the Fatimids or to Richard of Cornwall. Despite these claims, Stager (2008b: 244) makes no mention of finding any ruins associated with Richard of Cornwall's later rebuilding and admits that the Leon Levy Expedition has performed limited clearances of the medieval fortifications and has not excavated them extensively, reasoning that they were better preserved in 1875, when they were mapped by Conder and Kitchener (1881–1883 III: 237–247) as part of their *Survey of Western Palestine*.

Given both Pringle and Stager's deductions, it can be maintained that the latest building phase is indeed medieval and that the medieval phase is represented by partially demolished walls, towers and a *glaçis*. These are characterised as having narrow courses of finely tooled ashlar facing stones with a rubble masonry core strengthened with brown or creamy mortar and incorporated spoliated Roman columns. These columns were placed systematically so that they formed a visible dotted line near the base of the structures. In order to determine who built the surviving walls at Ascalon the evidence presented by Pringle and Stager must be re-visited.

As Pringle (1984: 141) maintains, spoliated columns can be seen at the Frankish castles of Byblos (Gibelet), Caesarea, the sea castle of Sidon and the Cypriot castle of Saranda Kolones. The columns at Byblos and Sidon are spaced regularly and run several courses high so as to make a sort of 'checkerboard' pattern (see figures 4.25 and 4.26). In the case of Byblos, this pattern is confined to the front of the castle and lessens to two rows of columns around the back. Caesarea has a wall near its citadel that demonstrates this 'checkerboard' pattern (see figure 4.27), and while Sidon uses this column pattern throughout the whole circuit of its walls, the rest of Caesarea's walls, excluding the wall

near the citadel, use a few sporadically placed columns throughout, probably for strengthening purposes. Re-using columns in a 'checkerboard' manner is highly visible, especially in the case of Sidon. Similar re-use can be seen at Saranda Kolones, however not enough of the wall survives to determine whether the columns were used in several consecutive courses as only one course with columns survives (see figure 4.28).

Spoliated columns are also associated with Muslim fortifications. Like the Frankish examples mentioned above, the donjon of Shayzar castle, located in Syria and probably built in 1233, also re-uses columns in a 'checkerboard' pattern (Müller-Wiener 1966: 55) (see figure 4.29). It has been suggested by Müller-Wiener (1966: 99) that the columns were placed in this manner to safeguard against earthquakes. There are further examples of seemingly functional re-use of columns. Al-Muqaddasi (c. A.D. 985) describes how his grandfather, Abu Bakr, used them during the construction of the harbour wall at Acre, built for Ibn Tūlūn. Abu Bakr built the wall on floating sycamore beams and "after every five courses he strengthened the same by setting in great columns" (Le Strange 1890: 328; Pringle 1984: 141). After some progress the floating structure slowly sank until it came to rest on the sand. The structure was left to settle for one year after which construction continued (Le Strange 1890: 328–329). In this case, this chronicler has interpreted that the columns served a functional strengthening purpose as opposed to one of display. Seemingly functional re-use of columns can also be seen at the citadel of Qal'at al-Mina (Ashdod-yam). A column has been used across the sea gate's threshold where a groove has been chiselled over the length of the column. Moreover, marble columns have been used as the foundations for the southern well (Nachlieli 2008: 1576).

It would appear that columns used in Frankish and Muslim castles were sometimes placed in a highly visible manner, as can be seen at Ascalon. The spoliated columns at Ascalon, although visible, appear in one course near the base of its structures (see figure 4.15), thus making them less conspicuous than the 'checkerboard' patterns used at Byblos, Sidon and Shayzar. The pale coloured granite columns used at Ascalon are much more subtle and blend into the stones of the wall. This is similar to the columns used at Shayzar, but differs from those used at Caesarea which includes an array of different coloured granite columns that stand out against the sandstone of the wall. Perhaps this is due to insufficient columns to create a similar effect to that seen at Caesarea, but this

seems unlikely given the amount of scattered column pieces found within the site of Ascalon. Since a similar method of secondary use of columns can be seen in several Frankish and Muslim sites it is thus difficult to determine who built Ascalon's walls using this evidence. Ascalon's masonry style, in particular its use of narrow courses placed in a Flemish bond pattern, and its mortar, helps to clarify matters pertaining to this construction date.

The character of Ascalon's masonry is comparable to other Frankish and Muslim structures of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Frankish work at Caesarea and Acre both employ the same ashlar stone, which is also placed in narrow courses such as at Ascalon. The citadel of Qal'at al-Mina is believed to be an example of Fatimid architecture dating to the late tenth or early eleventh centuries (Kennedy 1994: 19), and it also employs narrow ashlar masonry and is bonded with grey shelly mortar containing some pottery as at Ascalon (Pringle 1984: 141). Moreover, the masonry at Qal'at al-Mina follows a Flemish bond pattern like that found in Ascalon's *glaçis* and surviving walls (see figure 4.30). This masonry style is also employed in the Fatimid gate of Bab Zuwayla in Cairo, built in 1092 (Kennedy 1994: 19) (see figure 4.31). The courses seen in Frankish work tend to use an English bond pattern. As such, it would appear that the surviving walls at Ascalon are Fatimid in date.

Further indication of this Fatimid date comes with the 1993 discovery of an inscription consisting of two words in floriated Fatimid imperial script found *in situ* in the *glaçis* (Sharon 2008: 424; Stager *et al.* 2008b: 244) (discussed further in section 4.5 below. See also figures 4.35–4.38). Sharon admits the possibility that the inscription could have been spoliated during Richard Earl of Cornwall's refortification of the northern wall during the thirteenth century, possibly by Muslim workers re-using stones that were lying around (Sharon 1997: 173). This would explain why the inscription is located in a position that is difficult to see, however this seems unlikely. The *glaçis's* facing stones are meticulously arranged in a Flemish bond type style and the inscription is approximately the same dimensions as other stones used in the *glaçis's* courses (see figure 4.30), thus it stands to reason that the *glaçis's* inscription is in its original placing.

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Figure 4.25: Detail of the 'checkerboard' pattern at Byblos (Gibelet) (OKO 2008)

Figure 4.26: The 'checkerboard' pattern at Sidon (Heretiq 2006)

Figure 4.27: Detail of the 'checkerboard' pattern at Caesarea, facing east (A. Charland)
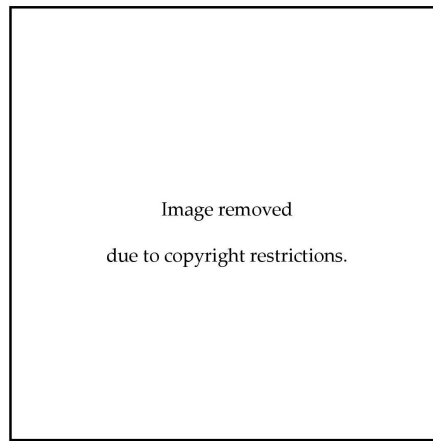
Figure 4.28: Detail of column use at Saranda Kolones (Stott 2006)

Therefore, given the pattern of the walls' masonry and common re-use of columns in fortifications where they are readily available from nearby sites, I believe the most recent building phase represented in the surviving sections of Ascalon's walls, towers and *glaçis* to be Fatimid in date, probably dating to Ridwān ibn al-Walakshī's or Caliph az-Zāfir's refortifications during the mid-twelfth century. The lack of evidence of Frankish architecture could be the result of the manner in which the walls were demolished. Perhaps during these demolitions, orchestrated by Muslim forces, all distinctly Frankish architecture was targeted and eradicated thus explaining its absence at the site. No doubt the centuries of pillaging of the site's ashlar have contributed to this fact.

As the stone layout for the walls differs from that of the *glaçis* – one or two courses in a Flemish bond style versus a continuous Flemish style throughout – one could argue that the *glaçis* is Fatimid in date while the walls are Frankish. To account for the continuous column re-use, one could argue that the Franks wanted to maintain the established aesthetic. However, I think it more likely that the Fatimids simply had a 'wall style' and a '*glaçis* style.' The remaining wall of the North Church does cause confusion. As Pringle (1993: 66–67) suggests, the Church was probably built some time between 1153 and 1187 and the wall, ruined through Saladin's demolitions, was probably incorporated into Richard of Cornwall's castle. Conversely, the wall could have been originally incorporated into the Frankish church or chose to follow the pre-existing Fatimid 'wall style,' thus explaining the similarities between it and the rest of the city's walls.
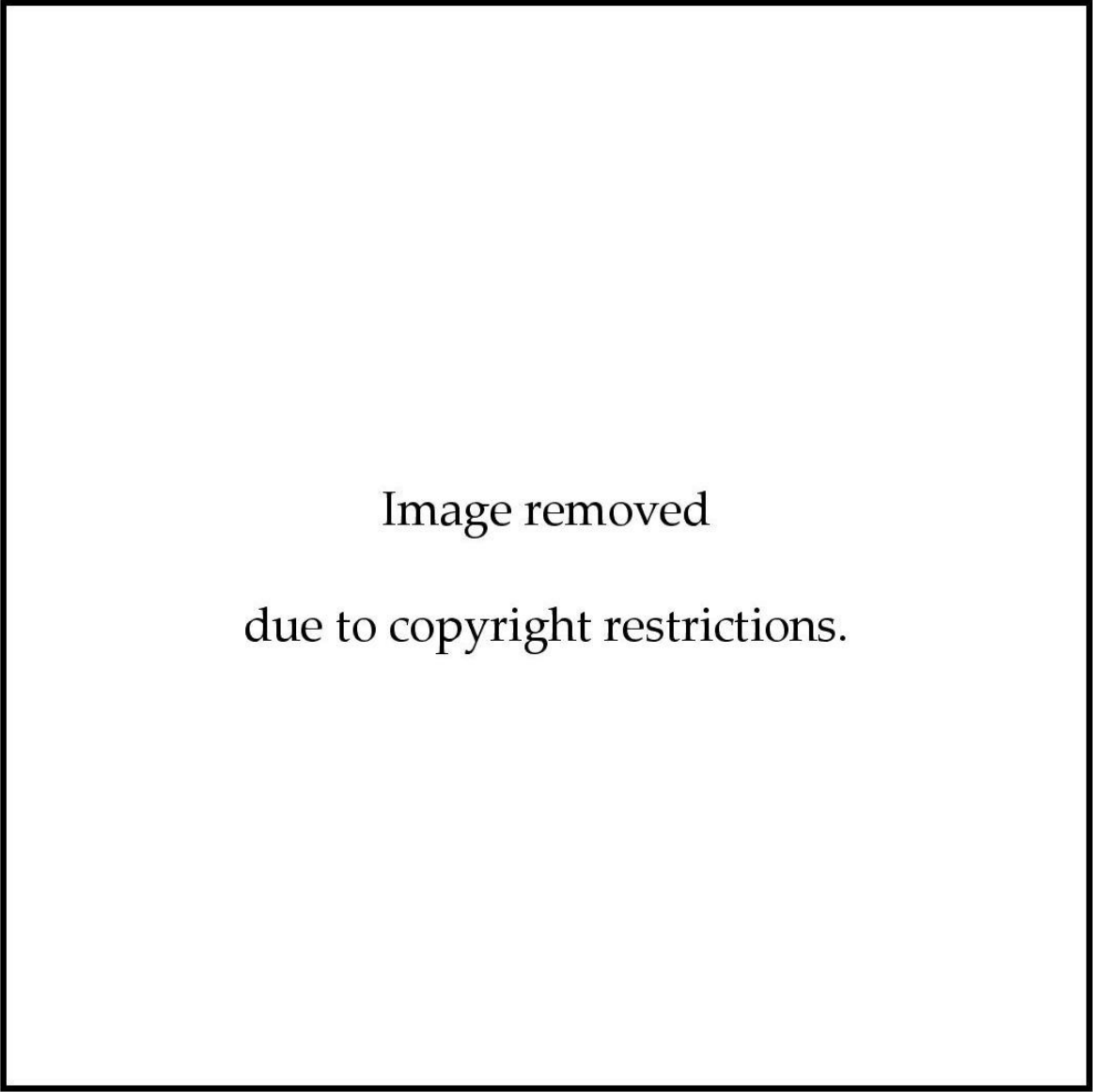
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Figure 4.29: Shayzar donjon, view from the south side of the fosse. Column re-use can be seen throughout the donjon's wall (Müller-Wiener 1966: Plate 48)

Figure 4.30: The citadel wall of Qal'at al-Mina (Ashdod-yam) with a Flemish bond type pattern (Shmuliko 2007)

Regrettably, due to repeated partial demolitions during the eleventh and twelfth centuries as well as more recent stone robbing, very little of Ascalon's walls and its facing stones survive making it difficult to establish a more definite chronology. Therefore, we must turn to other methods to date the surviving structures. A programme of radiocarbon dating of the mortars has been proposed (Pringle 2011; 2012: pers. comm., 24 July 2012). Initial details of the radiocarbon project are included in a recent CBRL research report, the findings of which shall be presented in a forthcoming monograph comprising a comprehensive study of Ascalon's Byzantine and medieval walls (Pringle 2013: 53–56). Hopefully these findings will help clarify this ongoing debate.

Reflecting on how difficult it is to relate a particular section of the walls with a specific cultural group, if the intent of the partial demolitions was to destroy the physical military structures as well as to erase the memory of their enemy (see section 2.4.2) then these demolitions were successful.

Figure 4.31: The Bab Zuweila Gate at Cairo, example of Fatimid architecture which uses a Flemish bond type pattern (Fryed-peach 2006)

The following sections of this chapter serve to analyse Ascalon's city walls further by looking at archaeological and historical evidence and discussing what it can tell us about how the walls were perceived during different periods throughout the Middle Ages. In order to do this I will be looking at the different cultures that built and interacted with the walls chronologically (see section 2.2), and then within each chronological period I will attend to the walls' different functions thematically. Firstly, I will analyse the walls during the mid-twelfth century by looking at monumental Fatimid inscriptions found during the 1993 and 1994 excavations by the Leon Levy Expedition (see sections 2.3 and 4.5). Secondly, I will look at the walls during the late twelfth century, particularly how their destruction, rebuilding and consequent re-destruction was perceived by the Ayyubids and the Franks (see sections 2.4.2 and 4.6). Lastly, I will revisit the Fatimid inscription, which was spoliated by a Frankish knight during the mid-thirteenth century (see sections 2.4.1 and 4.7).

4.5 ANALYSIS: THE FATIMID WALLS

Historically, the walls built by the Fatimids during the twelfth century were an impressive example of military strength. Everyone wanted to possess Ascalon as it was the key to Egypt and trade routes, and most importantly Jerusalem. Its fortifications and the people defending the city caused the Franks grief for half a century. These Fatimid walls were clearly defensive, but was this their sole function? Did the city's inhabitants perceive the walls differently? Presented below is the analysis of an inscription found at Ascalon, demonstrating that the walls were used to exhibit power and authority, and that they were built aesthetically to express civic pride. Lastly, this analysis will show that the walls had a religious role and provided religious as well as practical defence to the town's population.

4.5.1 THE ARABIC INSCRIPTION

During the 1993 season of the Leon Levy Archaeological Expedition's excavations at Ascalon, an inscription was discovered while digging the debris from the city's *glaçis* (Sharon 1994: 7; 2008: 405) (see figures 4.32 and 4.33). About half way down the *glaçis* large flat pieces of marble started to appear and by the end of the season ten fragments had been found, and when excavations resumed in 1994, an eleventh was found, which

when put together revealed a beautiful and perfectly incised Arabic inscription (Sharon 1994: 7–8). This inscription, Material Culture Registration No. 43813, is currently on permanent display as part of the archaeology exhibition at The Israel Museum, Jerusalem (Brosh 2011: pers. comm., 6 and 9 October 2011).

The inscription was engraved on a large slab of whitish-grey marble, likely imported from Greece, Italy or Anatolia. The slab is nearly complete but there are two small pieces missing near the right corner. It was exceptionally large, measuring 1.49 x 0.63 x 0.10 m and contains 22 incised lines of sophisticated, highly professional late Fatimid imperial script decorated with barbs and 'swallow tails' (Sharon 1994: 8) (see figure 4.34). Paint residues found in the script indicate that the letters of the inscription were most likely blue (Sharon 1994: 8).

The main parts of the slab were found roughly half way down the *glaçis* under the ruins of a large tower, located where the wall begins to curve southeasterly approximately 300 m to the east of the coast (Sharon 1994: 8) (see figure 4.2). The inscription commemorates the building of a tower by the local Fatimid governor on the orders of the grand vizier in Cairo and gives the date *Dhu al-Qaʾdah* 544/ 2 March – 1 April 1150 (Sharon 2008: 405). Judging from the imperial form and size of the inscription, the tower must have held great importance. The tower in question would have defended the northern gate (known as the 'Jaffa Gate' in William of Tyre's chronicle) and from the size of the *glaçis* and ruins, this tower would have been a huge and massive fortress resembling a small citadel rather than an ordinary tower in the barbican (Sharon 1994: 9) (see discussion on the castle 4.4.4).

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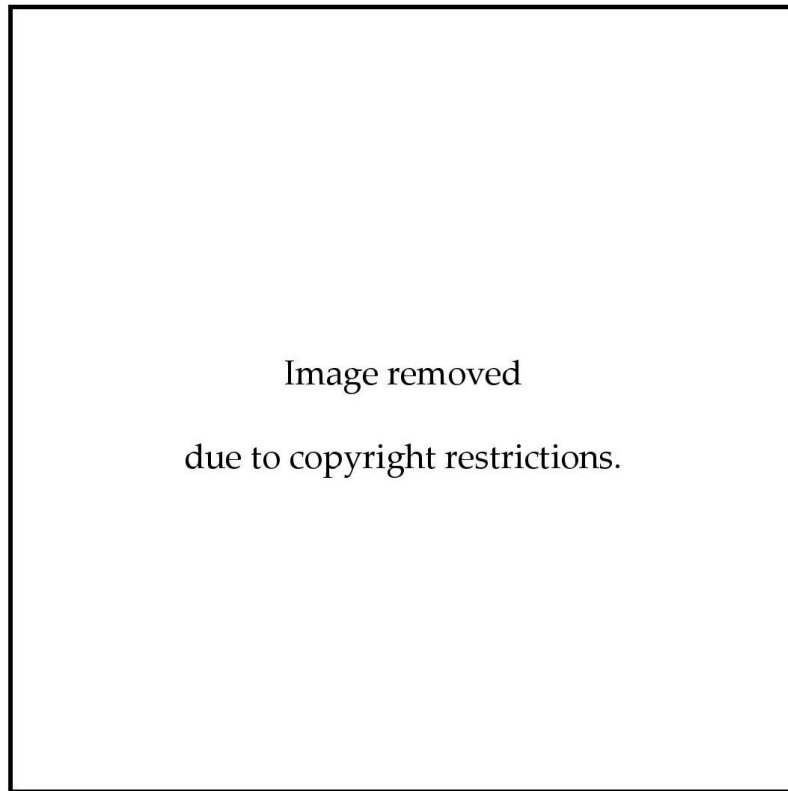
Figure 4.32: Excavation of four out of the eleven parts of the Arabic inscription found in the *glaçis* (Ashkelon Expedition 1993a)

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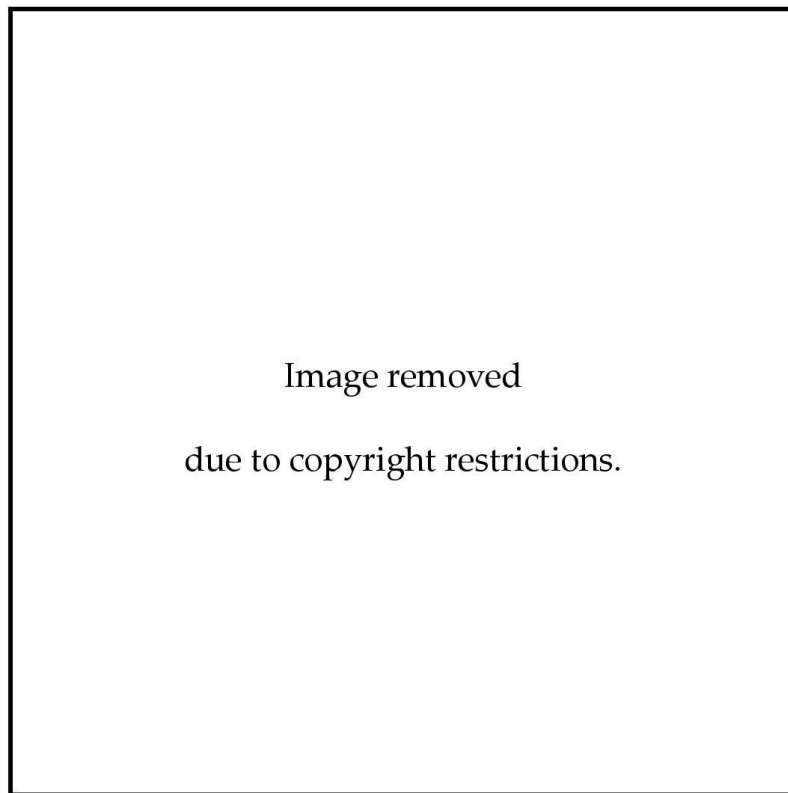
Figure 4.33: Excavation of the Arabic inscription in progress (Ashkelon Expedition 1993b)
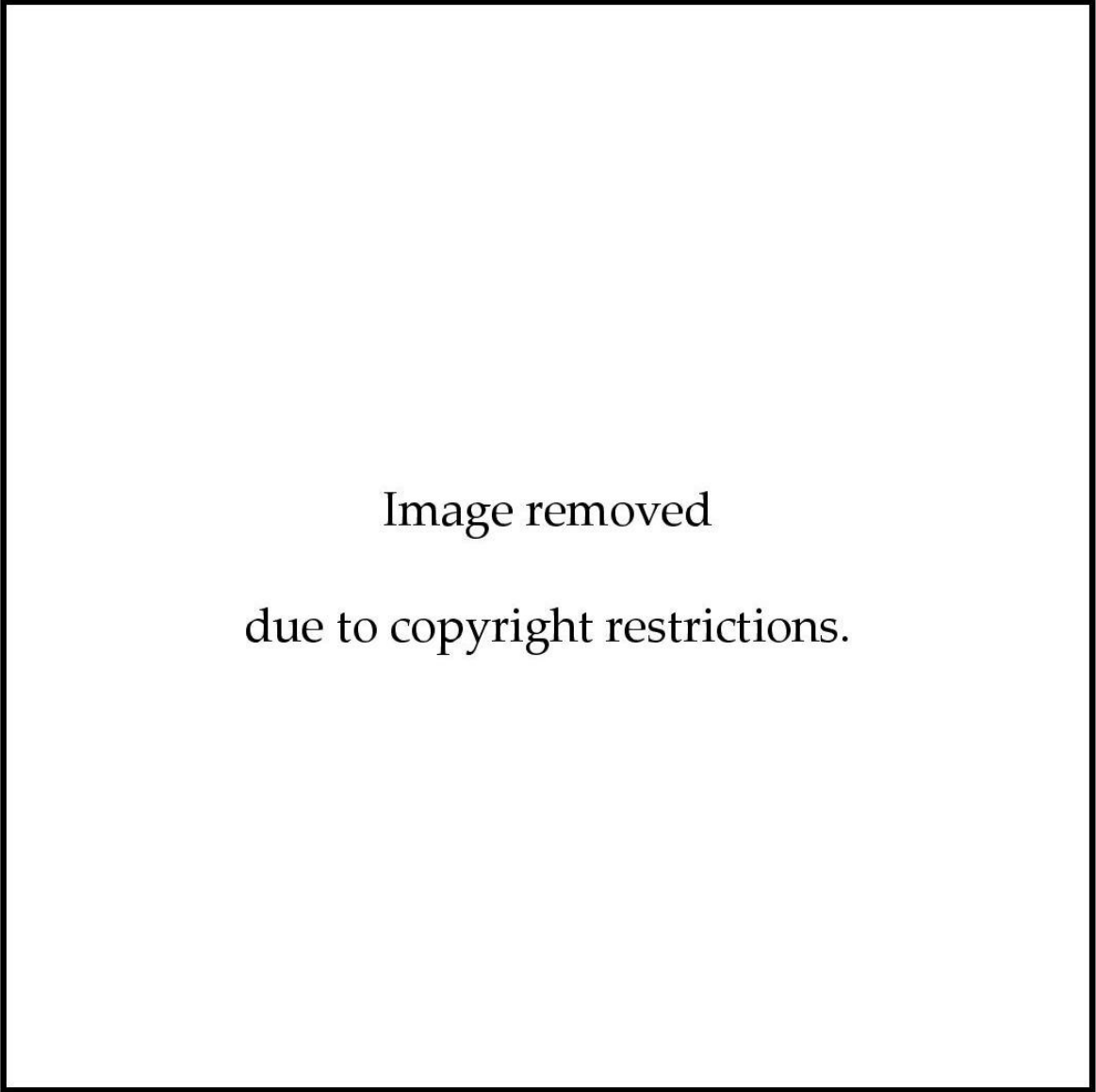
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Figure 4.34: Arabic inscription commemorating the construction of a tower in A.D. 1150 (actual size 1.49 x 0.63 x 0.10 m) (Boas 1999b: 135)

This tower was later destroyed in one of the city's subsequent destructions, but the inscription's story does not end here. Some time after the Franks captured Ascalon in 1153, the inscription was re-used by a Frankish knight who superimposed a series of five red shields over the Arabic script (see discussion of this re-use in section 4.7). Most of the lines of the Fatimid inscription have been affected by these Frankish shields, but the text is in a good state of preservation and could be translated. The inscription reads:

(1) In the name of Allah the Compassionate the Merciful. Assistance from Allah and speedy victory

(2) to the servant of Allah and His friend, our lord and master Ismā'īl

(3) Abū al-Mansūr, the Imām az-Zāfir bi-Amr Allah, Amīr al-Mu'

(4) minīn (Commander of the Faithful). The blessing of Allah upon him and upon his pure ancestors and his

(5) noble descendants. Has ordered the construction of this blessed tower

(6) the Exalted Master, the Righteous (*al-ʿādil*), the Commander of the Armies (*amīr al-juyūš*), the Glory of

(7) Islam (*šaraf al-Islām*), the Helper of the Imām, Protector of the *qādīs* of the Muslims and the Guide

(8) of the Propagandists (*duʿāt*) of the Believers, Abū al-Hasan ʿAlī az-Zāfirī the slave of our lord (the caliph),

(9) Allah's blessing be upon him, may Allah support the religion through him and benefit Amīr al-Mu'minīn by the lengthening

(10) of his life, and perpetuate his position and elevate his authority.

(11) (This work was accomplished) by his *mamlūk* the Amīr, the Commander, the Splendor of the Caliphate

(12) and its support, the Possessor of perfect/noble qualities and their Beauty… the Succor of

(13) the Muslims, the Protector of the State (*nāsir ad-dawlah*) and its Sword, the Glory of the Country and its Crown,

(14) the Virtuous, the Right Arm of Amīr al-Mu'minīn, Abū al-Mansūr Yāqūt

(15) az-Zāfirī al-'Adilī, may Allah perpetuate his authority and power, and (may He) support him

(16) and grant him His assistance. Under the supervision of the *qāḍī*, the Honorable, the Blissful,

(17) the Trustworthy, he who is endorsed (with authority), the Revered, the Splendor of the Religion,

(18) whom the caliphate relies upon (or: grants authority to), the Confidence of the Imām, the Crown of Judgments, the Glory of the Province, the Splendor of

(19) Those Who Are Capable, the Possessor of the Two Supremacies (*dhū al-jalālatayn*), the Friend of Amīr al-Mu'minīn, Abū al-Majd

(20) 'Alī b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan b. Ahmad al-'Asqalānī, the Authority

(21) of the Venerable Judgement (the *qāḍī*), and this was in Dhū al-Qa'dah of the year

(22) five hundred and forty-four (i.e., March 1150) (Sharon 2008: 416).

4.5.2 DISPLAY OF LOCAL POWER AND AUTHORITY

Presumably, this monumental inscription would have been displayed prominently on one of the towers flanking the Jaffa Gate and in so doing, the tower would have become a tool, not just for displaying those named, but for displaying their power and authority (see section 2.3). This is evident through the inscription's use of honorific titles, inflated praise and pious blessings of Muslim leaders. To fully understand why this sort of formula was employed and how these words would convey power to its audience, some historic context is offered. We first have to go back to the rule of vizier Badr al-Jamālī in 1073.

From the time that the Fatimid rulers declared their Caliphate in North Africa in 910, they fulfilled a dual role, both as Caliph to the Muslim, Jewish and Christian people and as Living Imam to Believers, the Ismāʻīlīs (Bierman 1998: 60). Although the position of the Imam-Caliph remained until the end of the dynasty in 1171, their authority steadily diminished as the ruling group of viziers and the troops that supported them gained more power and authority through increased militarization (Bierman 1998: 100). This shift began in the mid-eleventh century when major socio-economic crises, including riots, plague and famine, forced Imam-Caliph al-Mustansir to summon Badr al-Jamālī, his commander of the Army (the *Amīr al-Juyūsh*), from ʻAkka, Syria in 1073, to be vizier and to restore social order in Cairo (Bierman 1998: 101). Armenian in origin, Abū Najm Badr al-Jamālī al-Mustansirī al-Ismāʻīlī was vizier from 1073–1094. He was a freed mamluk who joined the Fatimid army and headed an Armenian contingent of troops loyal to him (Bierman 1998: 180). Badr al-Jamālī restored order to Cairo by changing the composition and distribution of the urban population; he also undertook many building projects that he used to display officially sponsored writing (Bierman 1998: 101).

By displaying his name and titles on the buildings he commissioned and re-constructed to this newly integrated population, he used this writing to establish a new power structure, in which he held the power and authority (Bierman 1998: 105). In addition to minimizing the Imam-Caliph's name on these public writings, Badr al-Jamālī also stopped his processions in Cairo thus further reducing the Imam-Caliph's visibility amongst the public and thus reducing his authority (Bierman 1998: 108). This power structure, where the Imam-Caliph held no authority beyond his title and the vizier held the true power, continued until the period when our inscription was written in 1150.

Even though the Fatimid Imam-Caliph is mentioned at the beginning of the inscription, along with all his regal titles, blessings, and invocations required by Shiʻite protocol, the rest of the text is occupied by the local *amīrs* and the *qādī* of Ascalon, along with their honorific titles and appropriate praises (Sharon 2008: 418). This inscription reflects the current political situation, that the Fatimid caliphate's popularity had declined and that the viziers and provincial governors held only a nominal allegiance to him, thus using this inscription to exert a large amount of independence (Sharon 2008: 418).

As to the inscription's audience, Bierman (1998: 25) states that a significant number of people in Fatimid society in Cairo would have had "contextual" literacy, and thus been able to understand the referential meanings in public inscriptions. In addition to those with some knowledge of Arabic, the contents would be transmitted through word of mouth and thus communicate, at least some version of the inscription's meaning to the illiterate. Therefore, given this inscription's content and prominent placement on a strong tower near the Jaffa Gate, it is clear that this inscription was used as a visual demonstration of the *amīrs'* and *qādī's* local power and authority. As a point of interest, this inscription follows the same format of an earlier inscription commemorating the construction of the Burj ad-Dāwiyah tower commissioned by Badr al-Jamālī and constructed by Khutluj, his servant in 1050. This tower and its inscription are now discussed.

The Burj ad-Dāwiyah or Burj ad-Dam tower was located in the town's citadel and like with the rest of Ascalon's walls, underwent successive demolitions and reconstructions. Interestingly, evidence of its construction is first recorded during its first destruction when it was recounted by Abū al-Mansūr Iyāz b. ʿAbdallah al-Bānyāsī, the Muslim officer entrusted by Saladin to destroy it in 1191:

> When we were demolishing the city of Ashkelon, I was entrusted with the destruction of Burj ad-Dāwiyah. And Khutluj demolished a tower on which we saw an inscription which read: "It was built by Khutluj." This [inscription] was one of the most amazing things I have ever seen (Maqrīzī [Taqī ad-Dīn Ahmad b. ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī] 1956: 1: 106; quoted in Sharon 2008: 421).

Al-Mundhirī's (1185–1258) account explains why the tower's inscription was so amazing. He adds:

> Similar to this is what the *qādī* Abū al-Hasan ʿAlī b. Yahyā al-Kātib told me concerning this matter: "I saw in Ashkelon the tower called Burj ad-Dam while Khutluj al-Muʿizzī was destroying it in the month of Šaʿbān (of 587 = September 1191). I saw on the tower an inscription that read as follows: 'The construction of this tower was ordered by the illustrious lord Amīr al-Juyūš – namely Badr (al-Jamālī) - by his servant and client Khutluj in (the month of) Šaʿbān.' I was stunned by this coincidence, that the tower was built in Šaʿbān by one Khutluj and destroyed in the month of Šaʿbān by [another] Khutluj (Prawer 1956: 243; quoted in Sharon 2008: 421).

The history of the Burj as-Dāwiyah tower reveals that its construction was commemorated by an inscription and as with the inscription discussed above, this inscription names Badr al-Jamālī, the *Amīr al-Juyūsh*, and not the Imam-Caliph prominently. This historical account does not mention the Imam-Caliph, but he is mentioned, although in an abbreviated fashion, in all of Badr al-Jamālī's known inscriptions (Bierman 1998: 108). Given Badr al-Jamālī's use of public writings in Cairo to elevate his power over that of the Imam-Caliph's, and that the Ascalon inscription names him as Lord, we can see that Badr al-Jamālī's power has reached Ascalon. This demonstrates Egypt's interest in the construction of Ascalon's fortifications. They were important and like with the later *amīrs* and *qādī* of Ascalon, the walls were used to display this power and authority.

This inscription also mention's Badr al-Jamālī's servant and client Khutluj, giving him credit in his part in constructing the Burj as-Dāwiyah tower and thus demonstrating a civilian presence. This desire to be remembered and respected through this monumental public writing demonstrates a great amount of pride in work being commemorated. This inscription, as well as the later inscription commemorating the construction of the tower in 1150, is used to venerate those named, but also to acknowledge their pride in the towers on which they are displayed. This civic pride can be seen in the quality of materials and the skill used to create the inscription and build the monumental city walls of Ascalon.

4.5.3 DISPLAY OF FATIMID CIVIC PRIDE

The 1150 inscription is far from plain: it has many aesthetic traits. The script is very sophisticated and was created with great care and skill by an artist (Sharon 2008: 417). According to Sharon (2008: 417), the letters in the inscription follow the strict rules of calligraphy, meaning that the lines are straight and evenly spaced and the appropriate letters have been flourished with "barbs" and "swallow tails" with the endings finishing in an elegant upward curl. The engraver took particular care in creating the letters *mīm, fa'* and *'ayn*, so as to make them easily distinguishable (Sharon 2008: 417). Every care was taken to ensure that this inscription was both beautiful and legible so as to properly commemorate the building of a tower and properly respect those named within the dedication.

This care is reflected in the quality and design of the surviving wall's masonry. Like this commemorative inscription, the walls and *glaçis* of Ascalon were built to serve an aesthetic purpose as well as a utilitarian one. They are constructed with very high quality ashlar facing stones which were arranged in a Flemish bond type pattern. This pattern creates a very strong wall but is also very costly, as more dressed stones are required to create the design.

Furthermore, the walls and *glaçis* each use spoliated columns in a repeated pattern near the base of each structure. Although it has been argued that using columns in this manner is strictly for practical strengthening purposes (Conder 1875: 154; Leipzig 1880: 184; Pringle 1984: 141; Sharon 2008: 421), Captain Warren (1871: 87–88) claims that using columns in this manner was hardly necessary since the mortar used rendered the stones solid, which could only be broken through a great force, such as gunpowder. Even though the *glaçis* serves a defensive function by hindering enemy forces from climbing and overcoming the town's walls, the expense, quality, and aesthetic arrangement of the ashlar stones and spolia (see section 2.4.1) demonstrate a clear civic pride in their construction and thus a civic pride in the town's walls.

4.5.4 PROVISION OF RELIGIOUS AND APOTROPAIC DEFENCE

In addition to their aesthetic and defensive functions, Ascalon's walls also provided a form of religious and apotropaic defence. This interpretation is supported by the incorporation of spoliated columns throughout the walls, the reused 1150 Fatimid inscription as well as a second Fatimid inscription found *in situ* in the town's *glaçis*.

As discussed above, the wall and *glaçis's* spoliated columns were placed in an aesthetic and visual position throughout the city. I argue that these were placed in the wall for their associated magical properties to provide the wall with an extra layer of protection (see section 2.4.1). Using spoliated columns in this manner is not a singular event, the inclusion of these items within fortifications and other structures can be seen throughout the Holy Land (see sections 4.4.5 and 5.6.3). Tombs as well as religious structures, such as the Mamluk mosque of al-Qayqan in Aleppo, also make use of spoliated columns and some are known to possess healing abilities (Gonnella 2010: 111) (see figure 5.93). Therefore, the Fatimids may have used spoliated columns to augment the wall's physical

protection through their associated religious/healing properties. This religious function can also be seen in the wall's inscriptions.

In the fifth line of the 1150 inscription, the tower is described as "blessed." Sharon (2008: 418–419) tells us that the use of the word *inšā'* indicates that this tower was newly constructed, as opposed to being repaired or being an addition to an existing building. This new tower was indeed blessed as the first line of the inscription demonstrates. The Qur'ānic words "assistance from Allah and speedy victory" are frequently used during the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods to invoke the help of Allah in their war against their Christian enemies (Sharon 2008: 418, referencing Qalqašandī 1963: 8: 345, lines 17–18). In addition to the religious association with this inscription's words, there is also an aesthetic and apotropaic element to consider as these words were painted blue.

There are several colour theories in the medieval Islamic lands, each with varying attitudes to individual hues. These stem from religious and political symbolism, mysticism, folklore, optical theory, and artistic fashion (Irwin 1997: 196). In medieval Egypt, Palestine and other places, the colour blue was often associated with misfortune (Irwin 1997: 197; Goitein 1999: 174). It was such an ill-omened word that one would say green when they meant blue to avoid saying the colour's name (Goitein 1999: 174). The Imam-Caliph al-Hākim (996–1021) was all the more feared because of his "terrible blue eyes," a trait he inherited from his Christian mother (Goitein 1999: 174; Lane-Poole 1968: 125). Interestingly, the colour is also known to take on an apotropaic function. While blue, particularly light blue was widely favoured for women's dresses, the colour was so appealing it was said to attract the "evil eye." As such, children and pregnant women wore blue pearls and beads to repel evil (Goitein 1999: 175; Irwin 1997: 197), thus following the apotropaic principle of like repelling like (Flood 2006: 153) (see section 2.4.1).

Paint found on the Arab inscription indicates that it was most likely blue, and since I greatly doubt anyone would deliberately curse their own newly built tower, I would suggest that employing this colour was meant to provide an apotropaic function. Just as blue pearls and beads are worn by women to ward off the evils attracted by their blue garments, I believe that this inscription was painted blue to ward off the Fatimid's 'evil' Christian enemies. As blue eyes are associated with Christian lineage and thus feared, it

stands to reason that the same colour would be used to repel the Christian forces that were threatening the city.

As such, this newly built tower was blessed through the use of Qur'ānic verses, thus imbuing the city walls with Allah's divine protection and was commemorated with an inscription meant to ward off evil. Seen in this manner, Ascalon's city walls provided a literal, religious and apotropaic defence against its enemies. This argument is strengthened by the discovery of a second Fatimid inscription in the town's *glaçis*.

During the excavations of the *glaçis* carried out by the Leon Levy Expedition in 1993, a short inscription was discovered *in situ* two courses above the moat's facing stone-lined base; 13.09 m above sea level (see figures 4.35 and 4.36) (Sharon 2008: 424). The sandstone slab measures 0.17 m high and 0.64 m wide and consists of two words written in floriated Fatimid imperial script, saying: "Dominion (possession) is Allah's" (Sharon 2008: 424). The type of script is an earlier example than that used in the 1150 inscription, and as such, the *glaçis* may represent an earlier building stage, but its composition, like that of the 1150 inscription, uses a common Qur'ānic expression (Q 3:26; 57:2; Sharon 2008: 424).

This inscription has several decorative elements including a sophisticated rosette consisting of three interwoven trefoils, made using a compass, and a representation of a *mihrāb* decorated with leaves, created by stylistically spacing the two *lāms* of the word *li'lāh* (Sharon 2008: 424) (see figures 4.37 and 4.38). According to Sharon (2008: 424), this *mihrāb* is reminiscent of the flat *mihrāb* built in the cave underneath the Rock on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, over which the Dome of the Rock was built. The *glaçis* inscription's words, combined with its religious decorations, confirm that Ascalon's city walls belong to God and are thus imbued with religious importance. As Ascalon's walls have two written examples that confirm their religious purpose, it is possible that other examples exist, but have since been destroyed, robbed, or simply have yet to be found.

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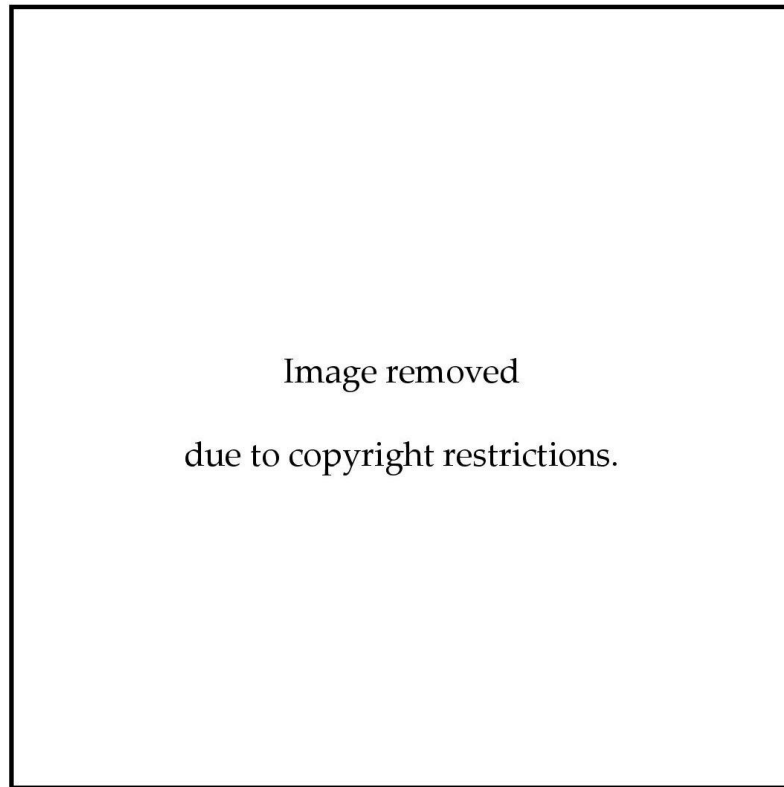
Figure 4.35: Location of the inscription in the *glaçis*. The inscription appears darker here. It may have been washed to distinguish it from the surrounding stones (Ashkelon Expedition 1994c)

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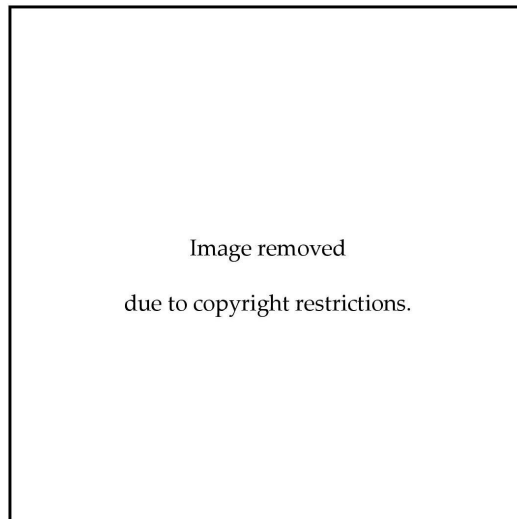
Figure 4.36: Closer detail of the *glaçis* inscription (Ashkelon Expedition 1994d)

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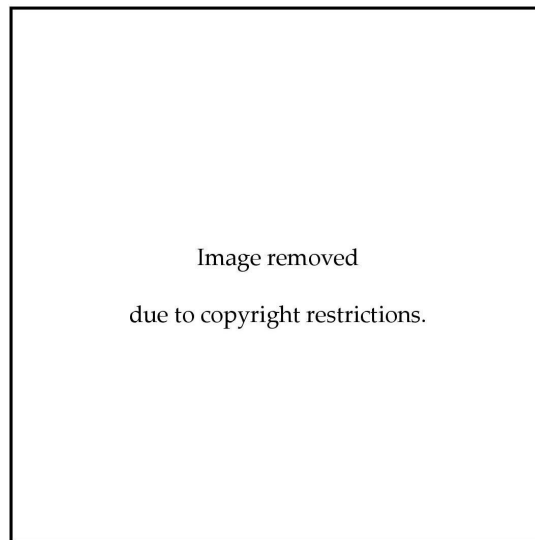
Figure 4.37: View of the *glaçis* inscription surrounded by masonry arranged in a Flemish bond type pattern (Ashkelon Expedition 1994a)

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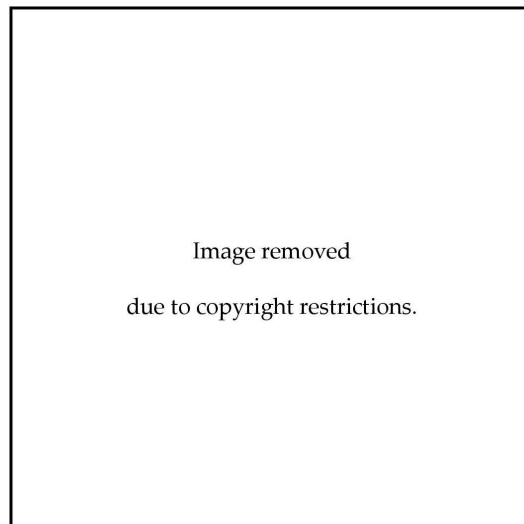
Figure 4.38: Close up of the *glaçis* inscription (Ashkelon Expedition 1994b)

Therefore, during the twelfth century, Ascalon's Fatimid walls were a military asset to those living in the city and proved a real threat to the Franks. While serving an important defensive function, these walls also served to display the power and authority of its local Muslim leaders. This power and pride can be seen in the quality and beauty of the city's walls. Furthermore, these walls also invoked the protection of Allah and as such provided religious defence to the city's residents.

4.6 ANALYSIS: SALADIN AND KING RICHARD I'S WALLS

The analysis of Ascalon's walls from 1187—1192 will discuss how they were an object of Ayyubid military strength, civic pride and beauty. This becomes evident through contemporary chronicles. Under the Franks, the monumental walls were rebuilt to restore failing morale (see section 2.3). This building programme was then commemorated with an inscription, thus demonstrating civic pride as well as the king's seigneurial power. Lastly, Richard Coeur de Lion's mythical reputation is demonstrated as being frightening to Saladin and his troops, thus leading to the city's second demolition (see also section 2.4.2).

4.6.1 OBJECT OF AYYUBID MILITARY STRENGTH AND CIVIC PRIDE

Ascalon's monumental urban fortifications continued as an object of military strength and civic pride into the late twelfth century (see section 2.3). After the Fatimids lost Ascalon to the Franks in 1153, the city remained in Frankish hands until 1187 when Saladin re-took the city after an intense two-week siege (Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād 2002: 76–77). Following the massacre of Muslim captives during the siege of Acre in 1191, Saladin greatly feared King Richard I. Aware that King Richard I was moving south, Saladin feared that the Franks would gain control of Ascalon intact, destroy the garrison and use the city to take Jerusalem and cut off their communications with Egypt (Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād 2002: 178). Instead of fleeing, Saladin decided to have Ascalon slighted thus denying his enemy a valuable military asset. Destruction of the city began on September 12, 1191 with Saladin personally urging the men to carry on. He appointed stretches of curtain wall and towers to each *amīr* and set of troops who set about destroying the wall with pickaxes and fire (Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād 2002: 178). The houses and residences were also set on fire and burnt down (Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād 2002: 179). It is evident from the descriptions given that the towers were strongly built as one of the tower's walls was a spear's length in thickness. These towers were also crammed full of combustibles and set on fire. On September 23, 1191, a vast sea-facing tower, named after the Hospitallers, was packed full with timbers and burned for two days and nights. The demolition and burning of the city and its walls continued until September 25, 1191 (Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād 2002: 180). Despite the use of fire and duration of the demolition, it

should be noted that the present state of Ascalon's ruins suggests that Saladin's destruction was not all encompassing (nor was it during the second demolition in 1192, discussed in section 4.6.4) as it did not include large portions of the *glaçis*, sea wall, towers and the curtain wall (see section 4.4).

Although the Ayyubids only held the city for a few years, it is apparent from historical accounts, chronicling its destruction, that Ascalon's inhabitants had great pride in their city. At this point in its biography (see section 2.2), Ascalon was clearly well loved and strong, particularly owing to its city walls. Their strength and beauty is attested to in Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī's *al-Fath al-qussī fī l-fath al-qudsī* (referred to here as the *Fath*) (1972: 345–347) and Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād's *al-Nawādir al-Sultāniyya wa'l-Mahāsin al-Yūsufiyya* (referred to here as the *Life of Saladin*) (2002: 177–180), where they recount the walls' destruction and people's reactions to this event.

These sources are of prime importance as they each offer a first hand account of the life and times of Saladin. Imād al-Dīn's *Fath*, classified as a chronicle, begins with the fall of Jerusalem in 1187 and ends with Saladin's death in 1193. This text summarizes Saladin's virtues and merits (*manāqib*) and was not meant to expose Saladin's persona but was most likely conceived as a eulogistic offering although a copy was most like available during the Sultan's lifetime (Richards 1980: 50, 61). It is written in an ornate and highly polished prose and like the earlier secretaries of the Abbasid period, Imād al-Dīn recorded this history by drawing on his own involvement in events (Richards 1980: 48–49). Born in Isfahān in 1125, Imād al-Dīn pursued a career in religious studies before pursuing law. He was installed in Saladin's service in January 1175 where he acted as secretary, writing official letters and documents (Richards 1980: 48). After Saladin's death, Imād al-Dīn was pushed out by rivals and retired to private life. He died Monday, 4 June 1201 in Damascus (Richards 1980: 48).

Unlike the *Fath*, Bahā' al-Dīn's *Life of Saladin* is written in a straightforward style. The *Life* can be compared with *manāqib* literature, in that the biographical details and "virtues" and "moral excellencies" (*manāqib*) of certain persons are presented (Richards 1980: 51). The *Life* has a hagiographical character, in that Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin are linked with the early heroes of Islam, notably Umar I and the Prophet himself (Richards 1980: 52). This was done to legitimize their rule and to provide a model for succeeding generations

(Richards 1980: 52–53). No doubt, Bahā' al-Dīn's style of writing was influenced by his religious studies. Born in Mosul in 1145, Bahā' al-Dīn studied at the Baghdad Nizāmiyya. In 1188 he planned a visit to the recently liberated Jerusalem, and it was here that Bahā' al-Dīn was summoned by Saladin and ultimately remained in his service until Saladin's death (Richards 1980: 50). During this time Bahā' al-Dīn remained in close contact with Saladin. He became the qādī of the army and of Jerusalem (Richards 1980: 50). After Saladin's death Bahā' al-Dīn entered the service of his son, al-Zāhir, at Aleppo. Bahā' al-Dīn died Wednesday, 8 November 1234 in Aleppo (Richards 1980: 50).

As the evidence for the city's admiration rests on the accounts given in these sources, it is thus necessary to try to establish the composition dates of each text. This is especially crucial with Bahā' al-Dīn's *Life of Saladin* as he died in 1234. This date could allow for the contents to be affected by Frederick II's crusade and all the changes made to Ayyubid policy and attitudes (Richards 1980: 55). The earliest manuscript of the *Life*, preserved in Berlin, was completed in July – August 1228, thus providing a *terminus post quem non* (Richards 1980: 57). Looking at the formulae of praise used solely for the living – formulae that are unlikely to be changed by future copyists if the individual being praised is still in fact living at the time of copying – we can narrow the possible composition dates of the *Life*. The 1228 Berlin manuscript praises al-Zāhir, who died on the eve of Tuesday, October 4, 1216, with the living formula "Mighty in his triumph" (Richards 1980: 59). The manuscript also praises al-'Azīz 'Uthman with the living formula "May God strengthen him". He was another son of Saladin who died after a fall from a horse on the eve of November 29, 1198 (Richards 1980: 59). This evidence suggests a composition date before October 1216, or possibly before November 1198. The *Life* also includes auspicious remarks made by Saladin that, according to Richards (1980: 60), indicate that the text was not influenced by later events, such as the crusade of Frederick II. Therefore, since the *Life of Saladin* could have been written as early as 1198, the events told in this chronicle are unlikely to have been altered from a later political agenda. The *Life* does, however, demonstrates a pro-Ayyubid political agenda given the emphasis on Saladin's morals and virtues as well as the praises of al-Zāhir, Saladin's son and Bahā' al-Dīn's present master at the time of writing.

Looking now at the composition date for the *Fath*, the earliest dated copy was completed on June 12, 1199. Again, like with the *Life of Saladin*, al-ʿAzīz is praised with living formulae thus giving the *Fath* the latest possible date of November 29, 1198. A passage taken from the *Barq*, written by Imād al-Dīn after the *Fath*, provides evidence that some version of the *Fath* was available during Saladin's lifetime:

> I have already expressed this idea in the book entitled *al-Fath al-qussī*. A passage from it was read to the Sultan one night when we were in Jerusalem during the year [5]88 (1192) and… (*Barq* quoted in Richards 1980: 61)

Thus we can assume that a version of the *Fath* was available as early as 1192. Unlike the *Life* which has a eulogistic tone since it was most likely prepared after Saladin's death (Richards 1980: 56), the tone and language used in the *Fath* suggests that it was written while he was still alive and was probably written with the intention of it being presented to him (Richards 1980: 61). Given its early completion date, it is very likely that Bahā' al-Dīn had a copy of the *Fath* in front of him when he was writing the *Life* (Richards 1980: 61).

The *Life of Saladin* can be divided into four main sections: 'A' is a general anecdotal section; 'B' includes events up to 1188; 'C' continues to mid-1191, just before the fall of Acre; and 'D' completes the narrative ending with the death of Saladin (Richards 1980: 61–62). Section 'B' is a bit insecure as it is derived, not from his own work but from that of "reliable eye-witnesses". It is in section 'C' where a comparison with the *Fath* can be seen – it would appear that the *Fath* had been data mined and stripped of its polished style and its rubric of divisions adopted in this section of the *Life* (Richards 1980: 62–63). What concerns us here for the events of Ascalon's destruction lie in section 'D.' According to Richards (1980: 62): "this section is extremely full, both in its account of events on the public stage and in its intimate portrayal of the author's relationship with Saladin. There is no doubt that this last section has a fully independent value." As it is most likely that the *Fath* was written during Saladin's lifetime, and that the section relating to Ascalon's destruction in the *Life of Saladin* is devoid of other texts' influences, I believe that these historical sources provide excellent insight into the town's feelings during the Ayyubid period. However, although these texts do provide some insight, it is important to remember that, much like the Frankish chronicles discussed below (see section 4.6.3),

these events are essentially dramatizations influenced by the *manāqib* and eulogistic styles of these texts.

The versions of the texts used here are that of D.S. Richards's translation of Bahā' al-Dīn's *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin (al-Nawādir al-Sultāniyya wa'l-Mahāsin al-Yūsufiyya)* and Henri Massé's translation of Imād al-Dīn's *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine Par Saladin (al-Fath al-qussī fī l-fath al-qudsī)*. Richards's translation is based on that of Gamal al-Din al-Shayyal (1964). al-Shayyal's edition was the first to use the Jerusalem manuscript from the Aqsa Mosque Library, which he claimed was a quarter longer than existing texts (Richards 2002: 8). In addition to al-Shayyal's edition, Richards used the Berlin manuscript, which was completed nearly a year before the Jerusalem manuscript and which was not used by al-Shayyal, to correct details. Richards (2002: 8) does however mention that the Berlin manuscript does not provide a great deal of substantial new material. As Richards's translation is based on the two earliest manuscripts available of the *Life of Saladin*, it is thus used here.

Looking now at Henri Massé's translation of the *Fath*, his work is based on Carlo de Landberg's edition (Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī 1888). I must rely on Massé's translation as it is the only non-Arab version of the text available. Massé (1972: xiv) claims that he tried to translate the text as literally as possible and even though many of the original nuances in the prose will no doubt have been lost in the French translation, his attempts have been deemed "heroic" by Richards (1980: 64). A good deal of Imād al-Dīn's imagery still remains in these translations, as the analysis below demonstrates. We will now see the analysis of passages taken from Imād al-Dīn's *Fath* and Bahā' al-Dīn's *Life* which demonstrate that the walls of Ascalon were an object of Ayyubid military strength and civic pride as they believed them strong, beautiful, and most loved.

The historical sources maintain that the populace as well as the sultan appreciated the fortification's aesthetic and functional qualities. As discussed above (see section 4.4.5), Ascalon's walls would have remained mostly Fatimid in appearance during the Ayyubid period. Regardless of the Fatimid architecture, the sultan and city's populace found the walls to be beautiful and greatly mourned their city during its demolition. Evidence of Saladin loving the walls can be seen when Bahā' al-Dīn relates how the difficult decision to dismantle the walls is made:

> He passed the night anxious about demolishing Ascalon and slept only a little. At dawn he called me to attend him… I arrived and he began a discussion about the town's demolition. He summoned his son, al-Afdal, whom he consulted on this matter while I was in attendance. The discussion lasted a long time. The sultan said, 'By God, I would prefer to lose all my sons rather than demolish a single stone of it. Yet if God decrees it and prescribes it as a way of preserving the best interests of the Muslims, what else can I do?' (Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād 2002: 178).

It is impossible to know whether these words were actually spoken by Saladin, but as the author claims to be present and we know from the discussion above (see section 4.6.1) that this passage comes from a section of the *Life* that was most likely independently written by Bahā' al-Dīn, it seems likely that the thoughts expressed by these words are genuinely remembered by the author. Saladin is clearly troubled by his decision and seeks God's counsel.

These words are written at the end of section 186 (Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād 2002: 178). The last lines of the following section, 187, entitled *Account of the demolition of Ascalon*, give an updated formula of praise indicating that this section of the text has been completed after Saladin's death. It reads: "God Almighty have mercy on him, for with his death there died the best of moral qualities" (Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād 2002: 180). Due to the *manāqib* style Bahā' al-Dīn chose to have Saladin speak these words to relay the sultan's moral qualities but it is still evident that the decision to destroy Ascalon was not one made lightly. This is quite a different reaction than that given by Ambroise and Richard de Templo, where Saladin's decision to destroy all the fortifications is made in the heat of anger (Ambroise 2003 II: 124–125; Richard de Templo 1997: 261). Perhaps this image of rage is given to play up Saladin's image as a villain to the Franks.

In addition to Saladin's dismay, the people are also clearly devastated while the town is being demolished. This is expressed by Bahā' al-Dīn when he writes:

> Our men entered the town and great cries and weepings arose. It was a verdant, pleasant town with strongly built, well-constructed walls and much sought after for residence there. The inhabitants were sorely grieved for the town and great were their wailings and weepings on leaving their homes (Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād 2002: 178).

It is clear from this passage that the people truly loved and appreciated their city not just for the city's strong walls but because it was fertile and friendly. We can also see the town's beauty and aesthetic quality in Imād al-Dīn's own personal observations during its destruction:

> C'est alors que le sultan ne trouva plus moyen d'éviter le démantèlement des ramparts d'Ascalon, la diminution de son éclat, l'éparpillement de sa parure, le rasement de ses edifices, l'extinction de son activité. Cependant, si l'on avait pris soin de la mettre en état, depuis le jour qu'elle avait été prise et gardée, sa force ne se serait point altérée, sa main ne se serait pas desséchée, ni sa pointe, émoussée, et l'on ne se serait pas lassé de l'aimer. Montant à cheval et faisant le tour de cette ville, je la trouvai belle et élégante; je contemplai son enceinte avant la ruine de sa parure, et sa splendour avant que sa fleur ne fût fanée; or je ne vis jamais cité plus belle et plus forte, situation plus stable et plus ferme. (Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī 1972: 346).

> (It was then that the Sultan could find no way to avoid dismantling the ramparts of Ascalon, the decrease in her brightness, the scattering of her finery, the razing of her buildings, the extinction of her activity. However, if we had taken care to put her in a state, since the day she was taken and kept, her strength would not be altered, her hand would not be withered, nor her tip made blunt, and we would not have tired of loving her. Going on horseback around the city, I found her beautiful and elegant, I contemplated her walls before the ruin of her finery, and her splendour before when her flower was not wilted, yet I never saw a city more beautiful and more strong, more stable in situation and more steady.)

Imād al-Dīn uses vivid imagery to convey the feelings of sadness at seeing Ascalon, a city which was much loved, being destroyed even if only in part (see section 4.4.2). Even though the feminine pronouns in the English translation are not reflected in the French, as these denote grammatical gender, there is still a distinct feminine image repeated throughout this passage which is very interesting. Imād al-Dīn has given the city a feminine identity, that of a younger woman in her prime, before she is ravaged by time just as the walls are about to be torn down by Saladin's men. This is a very motherly and protective image. This engendering of military structures can be compared with present day soldiers and the tradition of naming and treating their rifles like women. This modern association includes explicit comparisons of the rifle's different parts with that of a women's anatomy, but a more symbolic association is the care and maintenance dedicated

to upkeep their rifles which will in turn save their lives (Burns 2003). The rifle, or in this case the city and walls, are meant to provide protection, like a well treated woman takes care of her man. Sexist notions of traditional women's roles aside, Imād al-Dīn's words convey images of a once beautiful city being torn of its best qualities, that of the people living within it and that of the strong ramparts that surrounded them.

It should also be mentioned that during King Richard I's rebuilding of Ascalon, Ambroise (2003 II: 139–140) mentions five towers built by the founders of the city, of which one was named the Tower of the Maidens (see figure 4.2). Although it is possible that this name continued to be used throughout the Ayyubid occupation and account for Imād al-Dīn's feminization of the city, I find it doubtful as I think Imād al-Dīn is speaking metaphorically.

4.6.2 DISPLAY OF FRANKISH COMMUNITY AND ACHIEVEMENT

After Saladin partly demolishes and abandons the city in 1191, the biography of the walls continues with King Richard I's refortification in 1192. The following will first examine King Richard I's 1192 monumental building programme and demonstrate through Ambroise's *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte* that these works, which are presented as a tale of morality, were a community activity used to give his troops a sense of unity during a difficult time. Secondly, this act of construction had great importance and as such an inscription was created to document this achievement. Lastly, a look at the seigneurial and perceived mythical power of King Richard I is offered as this ultimately contributed to the city's second destruction following the Treaty of Jaffa.

By examining the events leading up to King Richard I's and his army's arrival we can see that Ascalon's refortification building project was necessary, not only to rebuild a ruined and defenceless city but also to rebuild shattered morale and give the people a unity of purpose. These events are recounted in Ambroise's *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*. To demonstrate the text's worth as a primary source, a critique is now presented.

The historical text utilized here is Ambroise's *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte* (referred to here as the *Estoire*) as translated by Marianne Ailes (Ambroise 2003 II). Little is known about Ambroise, but he recounts the events in the first person and writes from the perspective

of an eyewitness. According to Ailes and Barber (2003 II: 2), he was from the Evrecin region of Normandy and the strong moral purpose which runs through the text as well as the level of language suggests that Ambroise was a cleric at least in minor orders and had some education. Ambroise's vernacular and rhythmic poem was intended to appeal to knights and their followers (Ailes and Barber 2003 II: 13). The text must have been completed some time after King Richard I's release from captivity in 1194, but before his death in 1199 (Ailes and Barber 2003 II: 3). Although there are previous translations of the *Estoire* (Ailes and Barber 2003 II: 23–24), the present translation is based on Ailes and Barber's own edition (2003 II: 25). Ambroise's *Estoire* is the earliest record of King Richard I's crusade and is thus used here to demonstrate the emotional state of the Franks and the rebuilding of the walls of Ascalon while Richard de Templo's *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, which postdates the *Estoire's* compilation date is used below to demonstrate the development of Richard the Lionheart's growing myth (see section 4.6.3).

The *Estoire* recounts the indescribable grief of the army before their arrival at Ascalon. King Richard I and his army had intended to journey to Jerusalem, but this pilgrimage was abandoned and they returned to Ramla. As Ambroise explains:

> It was at the Feast of St Hilary [13 January] that the army suffered the reversal and distress because of the return [to Ramla]. Everyone cursed the day he was born and each day of his life, since they were to turn back. Then were the people depressed and wearied and tired; they would not be comforted, nor could they carry back the food, for their pack-horses were weakened by the severe cold and the rain and reduced by fever. When they loaded the food and the pack-horses walked […] they fell on their knees to the ground, and the men cursed and commended themselves to the devil (Ambroise 2003 II: 137).

The army's melancholy and depression only deepened with their travels between Ramla and Ascalon, mainly due to the dangers on the road, the stormy weather and the dispersal of much of the French from the army. King Richard I, along with his much depleted and angry army, his nephew, Count Henry II of Champagne and his retinue, continued on to Ibelin and finally Ascalon. They arrived at Ascalon on January 20, but what awaited them was far from inspiring:

> So they came to Ascalon between midday and nones; they found it so broken, fallen and destroyed that, when they climbed over the rubble, entering with such suffering after the hard day that they had endured, there was not one who did not want and desire rest. They were to have it in plenty (Ambroise 2003 II: 138).

Their situation did not improve for turbulent weather and an unfit harbour meant that no ships carrying food would risk docking and they could not go out looking for food due to the threat of Saracen ambushes. Eventually the weather calmed and food shipments were brought from Jaffa (Ambroise 2003 II: 138). King Richard I sent messengers to persuade the French who had previously dispersed to return. They agreed to return but only until Easter, and if they wished to leave before then they could. The king agreed and thus the army was reunited "in one place and their joy made manifest" (Ambroise 2003 II: 139).

Although the army had been reunited, they reserved the right to leave again should they so chose. Given the adversity facing his army and their feelings of melancholy and depression, we can see King Richard I's need for keeping his army together. In order to accomplish this our hero needed to give them a goal.

By engaging everyone in the reconstruction of Ascalon's walls, King Richard I would have a better chance of keeping everyone's spirits high and thus keep his army together. As Ambroise recounts:

> Then they [the army] made ready and prepared to rebuild the walls of the city again. However, the barons who had stayed there since the return were so poor that the poverty of some was well known and apparent and no-one living who knew of it would not have great pity for them. Nonetheless, all set to work. They laid the foundation of a gate where everyone worked so that they marvelled at the great work they were doing. The good knights, the men-at-arms and the esquires passed the stones from hand to hand. Everyone worked at it without respite; clerics and laymen came; so in a short space of time they accomplished much. Then afterwards they sent for masons to do the work that was completed at great cost…When the masons arrived they were retained for the work. The king came first with wholehearted efforts and then the great men. Everyone undertook what was appropriate. Where there was no-one else or where the barons did nothing, there the king caused the work to be done, to be begun and to be completed. And whenever the

> barons tired of the work and did not suffice the king had some
> of his goods [resources] carried there and encouraged them. He
> put so much into this and spent so much on it that for three
> parts of the city the cost was met by him (Ambroise 2003 II: 139–
> 140).

The building works at Ascalon were carried out by people who were made to feel like they were part of something instead of being treated as convenient labour (see section 2.3). We can see that Ambroise takes great pains in naming all those involved in the building project by their status, thus emphasizing the different social levels of participation. In Pringle's (1995) article "Town Defences in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," he claims that the unskilled work done by the army prior to the arrival of the skilled masons does not constitute a community activity. Pringle (1995: 98) states:

> Accounts of the construction of town defences from the time of
> the Third Crusade onwards may give the impression that it was
> often a community activity, in which even kings such as King
> Richard I of England and Louis IX of France participated. In
> general, however, the work that was done by the army, including
> Louis (though not perhaps Richard), was unskilled work such as
> fetching and carrying. It is clear from the accounts of building
> work at Ascalon in 1192, for example, that masons were required
> to take charge of the skilled work of cutting stone and preparing
> the mortar.

Pringle gives the impression that those who participated only did so through unskilled work and that this was less significant than that of the skilled masons. There is nothing to substantiate this claim. For example, it is not unheard of that members of the church were great castle builders and possibly even military architects, such was the case of Gundulf of Rochester (Strickland 1996: 73 n.87). However, by ignoring this community activity and the experiences and relationships of those who contributed to the wall's construction, this is effectively ignoring part of the wall's biography. After all, Ambroise's words place far more emphasis on the work made by the army than that of the masons.

In addition to the army's role during this building program, this quotation also serves to demonstrate King Richard I's role as represented by Ambroise; specifically of how he encouraged and actively worked to bring his people together, thus effectively boosting morale. When compared to dehumanizing building programmes, such as the Mauthausen workers during the Second World War (Given 2004: 93–115), those at Ascalon are

encouraged, given the proper tools (in a way having a proper mason is like a proper tool), and not punished for being unable to complete a section but aided and supported by their king. In addition to the historical text, this act of community and achievement is demonstrated in the archaeological record with the discovery of an inscription in the late nineteenth century by Baron von Ustinow.

A Latin inscription was acquired in Ascalon in 1893 by Baron Plato von Ustinow and formed part of the collection of antiquities the Baron possessed at his home in Jaffa. The exact location where the inscription was found is not known but it was acquired by the University of Oslo's Institute of Classical Archaeology (Pringle 1984: 133). It is now part of the Antiquity Collection at the Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, inventory number c41728 (Saettem 2012: pers. comm., 20 March 2012).

The inscription is cut on the face of a block of fine white marble, originally measuring approximately 76.5 X 39.3 cm and 5.5 cm thick (Pringle 1984: 133). The back is roughly tooled, with pieces of mortar still adhering to it and the stone appears to have been broken into at least seven pieces, of which some are now missing (see figures 4.39–4.44).

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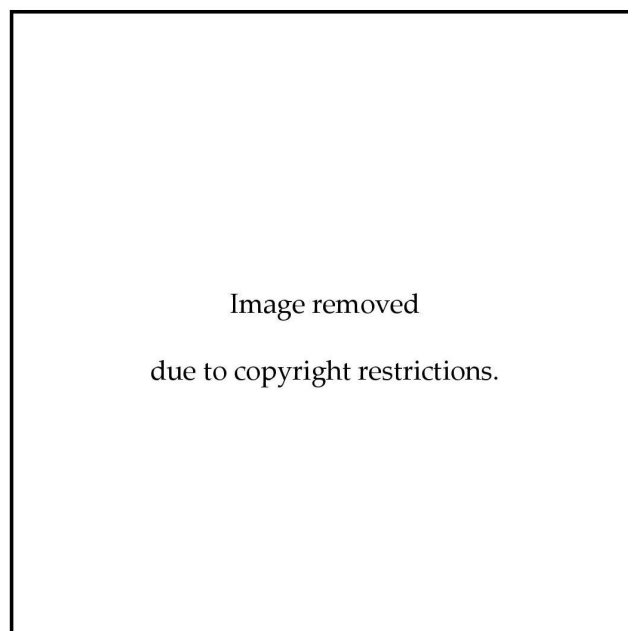
Figure 4.39: Medieval Latin inscription from Ascalon stating that Master Philip, King Richard I's clerk, built a section of Ascalon's wall between two gates (after Clermont-Ganneau 1897; reproduced in Pringle 1984: 134)

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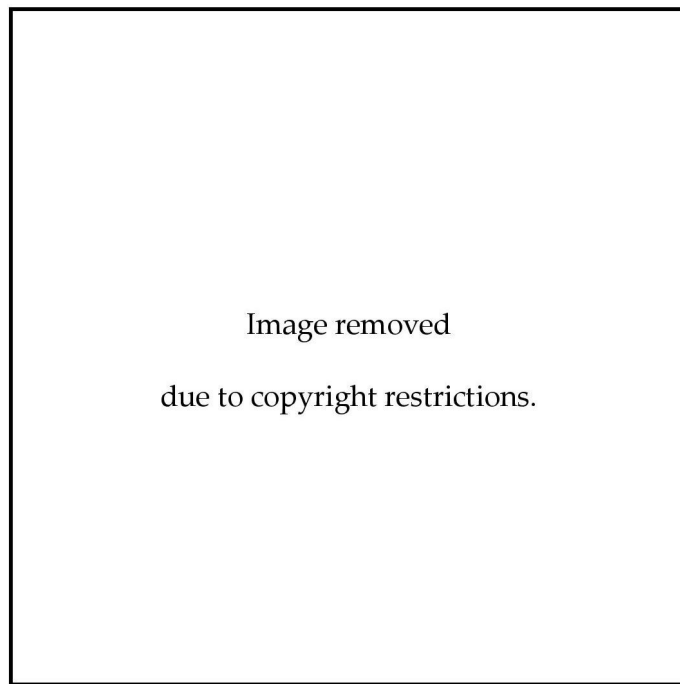
Figure 4.40: Four pieces of the Medieval Latin inscription from Ascalon (Teigen 2012)

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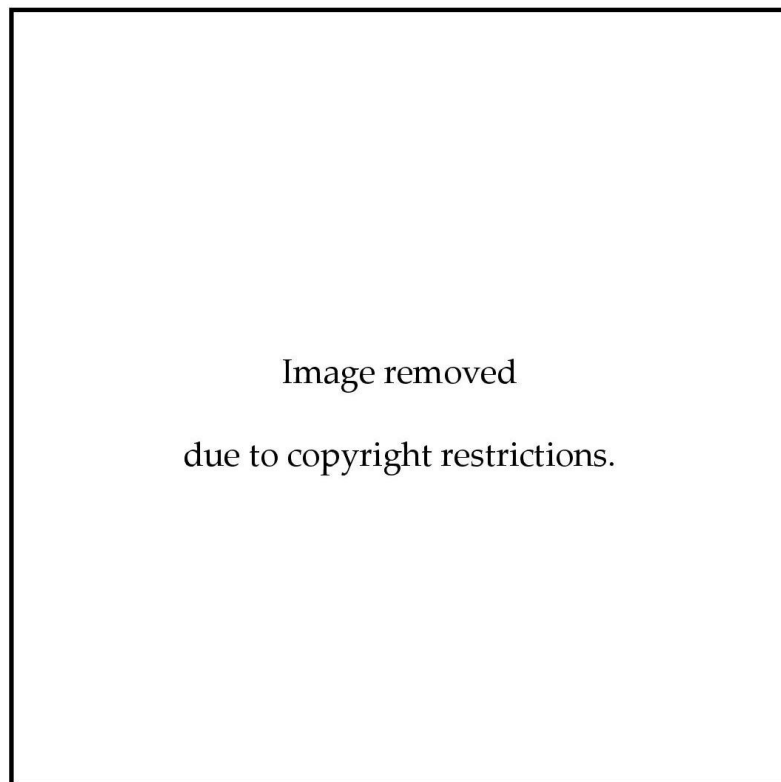
Figure 4.41: Close up of three pieces of the Medieval Latin inscription from Ascalon
(Chepstow-Lusty 2012a)

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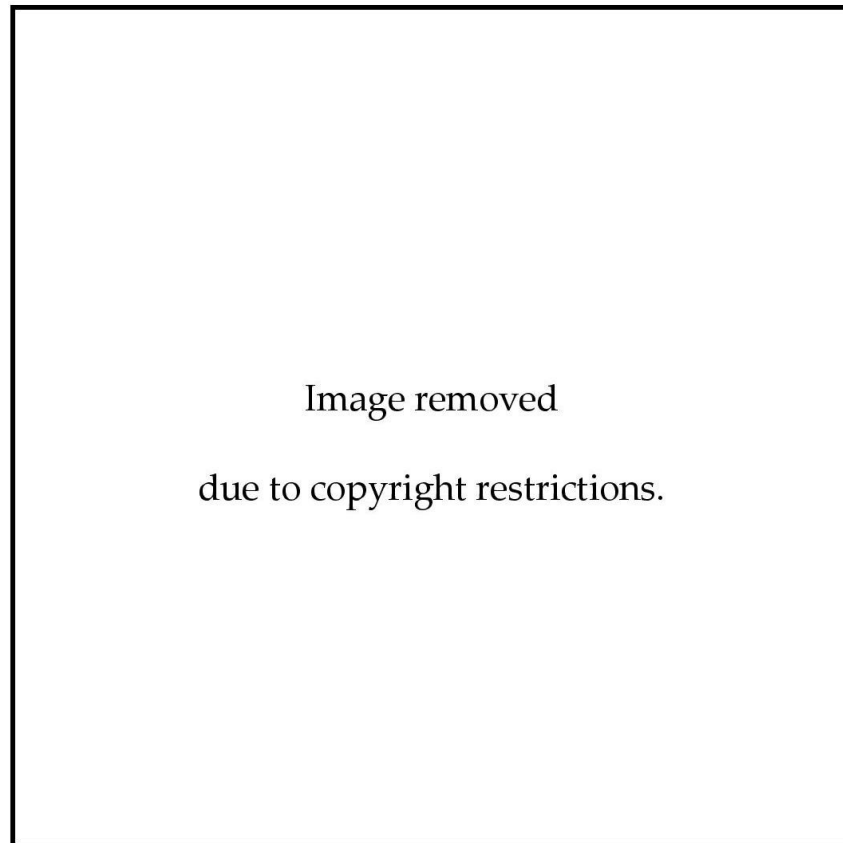
Figure 4.42: Close up of a piece of the Medieval Latin inscription from Ascalon showing part of the 'M' from 'MAGISTER' in the first line of the inscription and part of the 'D' from 'DE CAMERA REGIS' from the second line of the inscription (Chepstow-Lusty 2012b)

There are four lines of text, but we can see that the last line overlies the lower guide-line, indicating either that there was only meant to be three lines of text or that the last two lines were meant to be smaller (Pringle 1984: 133). Furthermore, the 's' of 'Regis' in the second line of text is inscribed slightly above the 'i'. Perhaps the mason ran out of space or added it afterwards as a correction to a typographical error. Perhaps the inscription was prepared hurriedly.

The inscription reads:

+ MAGISTER FILIPVS
[cleri]C(us) DE CAMERA REGIS
[ricardi] ANGLI(a)E FECIT HOC
opus a po]RTA VSQ(ue) AD PORTA(m)

Translation: Master Philip, (clerk) of the Chamber of King (Richard) of England, made this (work of fortification from) gate to gate (Pringle 1984: 134).

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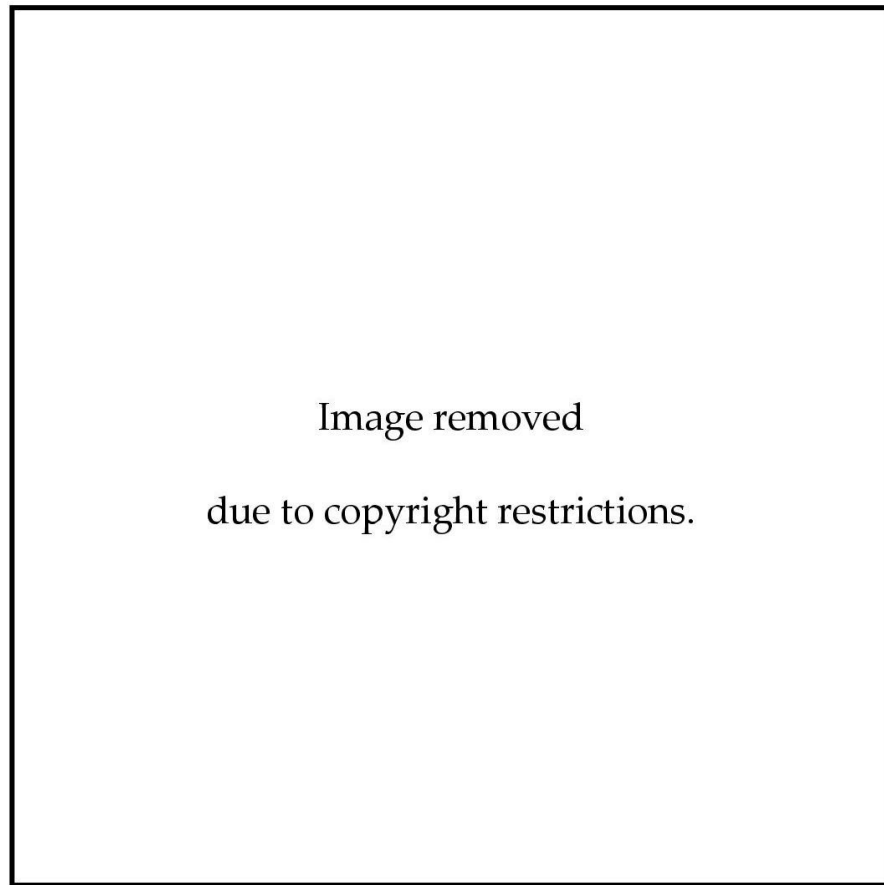
Figure 4.43: Reverse of close up of a piece of the Medieval Latin Inscription from Ascalon
(Chepstow-Lusty 2012c)

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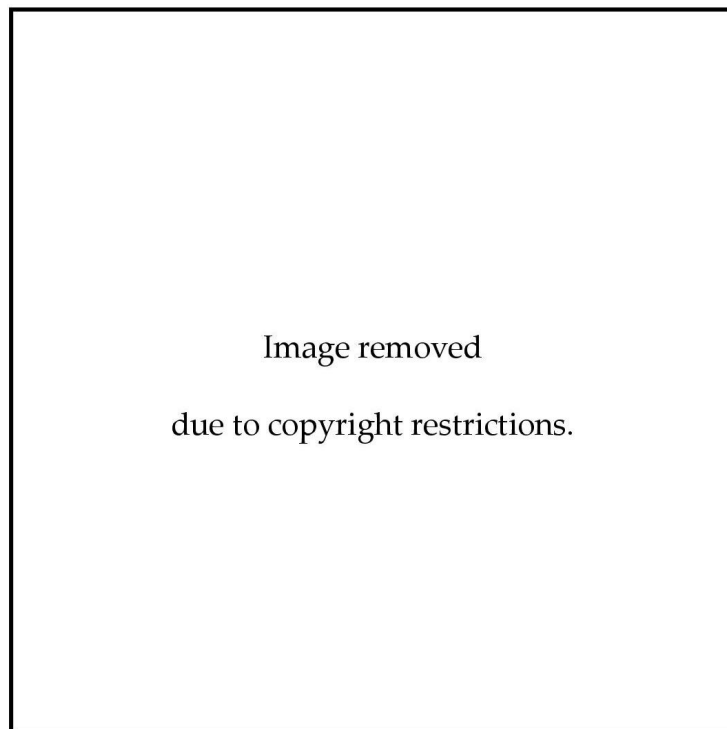
Figure 4.44: Reverse of three pieces of the Medieval Latin inscription from Ascalon
(Chepstow-Lusty 2012d)

As Pringle (1984: 137) discovers, Master Philip was King Richard I's clerk and a native of Poitiers, of which King Richard I was overlord both as Count of Poitou and as Duke of Aquitaine. In the same year that Richard I became King, Philip accompanied him on his Crusade and, in 1191, witnessed his marriage with Berengaria of Navarre at Limassol in Cyprus (Pringle 1984: 137). The next year, Philip was with the king at Ascalon and, in 1193, set sail with him back to Europe (Pringle 1984: 137).

From the remaining pieces of mortar on the reverse it is evident that this inscription was mounted and as such was meant for display. Even though the refortification of Ascalon was a strategic necessity after Saladin's demolition in 1191, it is clear from its content that this inscription was promoting more than just the building of a defensible wall. The Latin text would be readable by the king (Gillingham 1999: 256), members of the clergy and scholars, while knights and their followers might have had trouble with Latin (Ailes and Barber 2003 II: 13). This inscription was also publicizing the king's generosity (discussed in section 4.6.3) and highlighting the involvement of civilians in the event. Therefore, this inscription was an advertisement for seigneurial power as well as civic pride. Interestingly, it was a civil rather than a military official who was recorded alongside King Richard I. As clerk of the Chamber, Master Philip was the official responsible to the king for overseeing the work at Ascalon, for paying the masons and for buying the materials, thus substantiating that a significant portion of the refortification was paid for by King Richard I himself (Pringle 1984: 138). By having his name inscribed, this inscription also demonstrates that Master Philip was very proud to be involved in the project. It is possible that his name was included as an honour by another person in charge, but since Philip was responsible for the funds, the masons and the materials, it seems more likely that he had had the inscription commissioned. As such, Philip's involvement in the building project, as documented in the inscription, demonstrates civilian involvement and that the civilian population took pride in Ascalon's walls.

The inscription's minimal decoration of a solitary cross in the left-hand top corner, a convention seen at the beginning and sometimes end of monumental inscriptions as well as the inscriptions on coins (Kool 1999: 272–279; Kühnel 1999: 210; Meshorer 1999: 280–285), also speaks to the walls' importance to the civilians present. As mentioned above, many were upset at their coming to Ascalon instead of Jerusalem. Perhaps this cross was

included to act as a reminder of their ultimate goal. Interestingly, there are no additional sculptural motifs illustrating either propagandistically royal or military themes. Contrast this inscription with the highly decorated Roman distance slabs from the Antonine Wall. These Latin inscriptions record the paces or distances of curtain wall completed by each legion, often accompanied by the name and titles of the emperor Antoninus Pius (Keppie 1979: 3). Many contain detailed scenes, which according to Keppie (1979: 5) served as propaganda by advertising Roman victories, but not the actual building of the wall (see figure 4.45).

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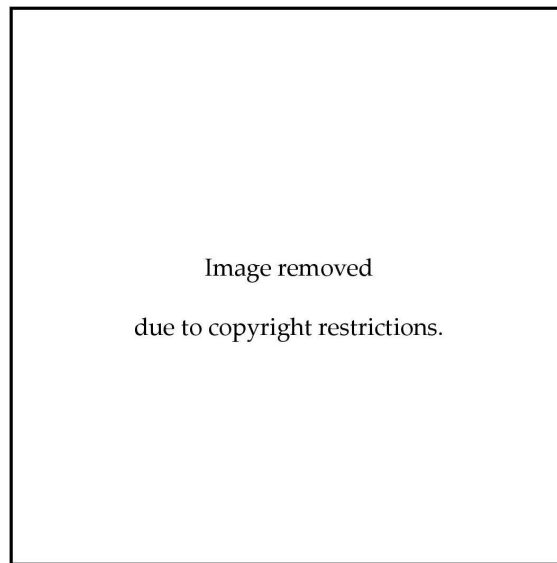
Figure 4.45: Antonine Wall Roman distance slab in latin, found in Summerston Farm, near Balmuildy, before 1694 (Keppie 1979: 14)

The simple cross decoration of the Ustinow inscription, along with Master Philip's name and accomplishment leads me to believe that this inscription was created and displayed to commemorate the community activity funded by King Richard I. However, this inscription also served to publicize King Richard I's involvement and thus projected seigneurial power over Ascalon's walls. This theme, along with the king's mythical power will now be discussed.

4.6.3 PROJECTION OF SEIGNEURIAL POWER

King Richard I projected his seigneurial power over the city's walls by funding the majority of their construction and by advertising this fact through the Ustinow inscription (see section 2.3). Shortly after the completion of Ascalon's refortification, the city was

destroyed for a second time as part of the Treaty of Jaffa. Here I argue that Saladin pushed for its destruction not only for strategic reasons but also out of fear. Fear of the man who killed 3000 Muslims in Acre. Fear of the man that his troops refused to fight at the Battle of Jaffa. Saladin tried to refuse him Ascalon by having it slighted, but King Richard I rebuilt it. As this fear stems mostly out of the myth of Richard Coeur de Lion, I argue that Ascalon's walls were also a projection of King Richard I's mythical power, thus leading to their second demolition in 1192 (see section 2.4.2). The first part of this section will discuss the Ustinow inscription and King Richard I's seigneurial power, and secondly, I will demonstrate the development of the Richard-myth as initiated by Ambroise in the *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte* and evolved by Richard de Templo in the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*.

As discussed above, the Ustinow inscription names Master Philip, clerk of the Chamber of the king of England, as the one responsible for building a section of Ascalon's walls. As Pringle rightly argues, King Richard I was likely the one ultimately responsible for the majority of the wall's construction and Master Philip's role was that of a facilitator, responsible for organizing the king's funds. By advertising Master Philip's connection to the English king and thus advertising the king's financial involvement, this inscription is actively promoting King Richard I's sponsorship of the walls, very much like the Adopt-a-Highway programme in North America. Companies fund the upkeep of sections of highway in return for advertisement along stretches of road. Like the companies involved with Adopt-a-Highway, who help keep the community litter-free by buying a sign that advertises the fact, King Richard I is advertising through the Ustinow inscription that he is responsible for paying for the city walls which protect the community and have given them a unity of purpose and morale boost. Conversely, King Richard I publicized himself very differently to his enemy and in so doing created a mythical persona. Presented below is evidence that King Richard I's legend existed during his lifetime and that this mythical power contributed to Saladin's insistence that Ascalon be demolished.

4.6.4 PROJECTION OF MYTHICAL POWER

The Richard-myth did not begin after his lifetime but during it. He was a legend to contemporaries, and much of this was attributed to King Richard I himself because he understood the value of legend as an instrument to impress his troops and intimidate his

enemies (Prestwich 1992: 2). There are some texts which mention King Richard I and the devil in conjunction, but I believe these sources use the devil as an adjective rather than in a literal fashion (Gerald of Wales 1891: 301; Prestwich 1992: 2; Roger of Howden 1868–1871 III: 216–217; Richard de Templo 1997: 209; William of Newburgh 1884–1889 II: 435–436). What interests us here is not the king's devilish deeds but rather his seemingly superhuman exploits. This heroic comparison begins during the king's own lifetime, as documented by Ambroise, and is expanded later on by Richard de Templo. Here, the chronicles' sensationalism is increasingly apparent: the chronicles are like comic books with their depictions of heroes, and in this sense the chronicles are no longer merely documents recording the past but are active players, shaping the Richard-myth. A critique of Richard de Templo's chronicle is first offered, followed by the development of the Richard-myth, which is discussed below.

The translation of Richard de Templo's *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* (referred to here as the *Itinerarium*) used here is that of Helen J. Nicholson (1997). She bases much of her translation on the version of the *Itinerarium* as proposed by William Stubbs (Richard de Templo 1864). This document essentially contains two versions of the *Itinerarium* that were compiled by using four manuscripts labelled A, B, C and G. The first version of the *Itinerarium* is labelled 'IP1' and is based on the G manuscripts. The second version, labelled 'IP2' comprises the other manuscripts, A, B and C, which are said to be written by Richard de Templo. According to Nicholson (1997: 6), Richard de Templo compiled his text by taking 'IP1' and adding a Latin translation of Ambroise's French verse chronicle, who is said to have witnessed the crusade first hand (see above 4.6.2), and by adding his own observations and those of two other eyewitnesses, that of Ralph of Diceto and Roger of Howden (Ailes and Barber 2003 II: 14–15). This long version of the *Itinerarium* is the one translated by Nicholson.

To establish the validity of this text, I will now address the context that Richard de Templo compiled 'IP2' as well as his agenda. Richard de Templo was an ex-Templar and the Prior of the Augustinian priory of the Holy Trinity of London between 1222 and 1248/50. He would have written 'IP2' some time after the third crusade in preparation for the fifth crusade, some time between 1217 and 1222 (Ailes and Barber 2003 II: 13; Nicholson 1997: 10–11). This timing would suggest that the text was written to encourage

recruitment for the upcoming crusade and also to remind leaders of mistakes that were made (Nicholson 1997: 10–11). With regard to the text's audience, Richard de Templo's Latin prose would have been written for his fellow monks and scholars. As we shall see below the *Itinerarium*, like Ambroise's *Estoire*, depicts King Richard I as a successful military leader. Looking at the English political situation, Richard de Templo may have compiled 'IP2' in order to try to bolster the prestige of the monarchy, given that Henry III was facing a civil war and possible invasion by the French. Given the political climate, it comes as little surprise that Richard de Templo's version of events is a somewhat inflated account of those told by Ambroise. One such event occurred during the Battle of Jaffa.

Here I present two versions of King Richard I's fight during the Battle of Jaffa, that of Ambroise and Richard de Templo. Hearing that King Richard I had left Jaffa unprotected, Saladin decided to attack (Ambroise 2003 II: 175; Richard de Templo 1997: 349). On July 26, 1192, the same day that King Richard I and his army arrived in Acre, Saladin attacked Jaffa (Ambroise 2003 II: 175–176; Richard de Templo 1997: 349). Saladin and his troops besieged the citadel and all those within it. Ralph II, Bishop of Bethlehem, the newly created patriarch, sent a message to Saladin and appealed to his brother Saphadin to obtain a truce, to cease the attack on the citadel until the next day, which was granted (Ambroise 2003 II: 176–177; Richard de Templo 1997: 351). During this time, the bishop also sent word to King Richard I, who upon hearing of their situation rushed back to Jaffa. The king arrived by sea and rushed to retake the citadel, unfurling his banner to encourage those in the citadel to join the fight (Ambroise 2003 II: 179; Richard de Templo 1997: 356). Later that night, Saladin's troops failed in kidnapping King Richard I and thus led to a great battle (Ambroise 2003 II: 181; Richard de Templo 1997: 360—361). King Richard I's astonishing fight, where, after regrouping his men at the galleys, he rushed back into battle to save his men, is now described. Ambroise recounts the event:

> Then did he [King Richard I] undertake a daring charge. Never was the like seen. He charged into the accursed people, so that he was swallowed up by them and none of his men could see him, so that they nearly followed him, breaking their ranks, and we would have lost all. But [the king] was not troubled. He struck before and behind, creating such a pathway through [the Turks] with the sword he was holding that wherever it had struck there lay either a horse or a corpse, for he cut all down. There, I believe, he struck a blow against the arm and head of an emir in steel

armour whom he sent straight to hell. With such a blow, seen by the Turks, he created such a space around him that, thanks be to God, he returned without harm. However, his body, his horse and his trappings were so covered with arrows which that dark race had shot at him that he seemed like a hedgehog (Ambroise 2003 II: 184–185).

Here is the same event as told by Richard de Templo:

When he [King Richard I] arrived he bore himself into the mass of struggling Turks with such violent spirit and such a fierce charge that he went through scattering everything. Even people at a distance from him whom he had never touched were thrown to the ground, pushed over as others fell. Never was such a celebrated assault related of a single knight.

Bearing himself like a renowned warrior, he reached the middle of the enemy army and at once the Turks surrounded him, enclosed him and tried to crush him. Meanwhile our people realized that they could not see the king anywhere. Their hearts quaked and they feared the worst, for when they did not see him they were afraid he was dead. Some of them judged that they ought to go looking for him. Our battle lines were barely holding together; but if our ordered ranks had been broken or our line had opened up then all our people would without doubt have perished.

What of the king, one man surrounded by many thousands? The fingers stiffen to write it and the mind is amazed to think of it. Who had heard of anyone like him? His courage was always firm, he 'could not be overwhelmed by the hostile waves of life,' he was always full of courage and, to sum up in a few words, always vigorous and untiring in war. What more is there to say? The story goes that the strength of the fabulous Antaeus was restored when he fell and he was invincible while in contact with the earth; but this Antaeus dies when he was lifted up and held above the earth during a long struggle. The body of Achilles, who defeated Hector, is said to have been impenetrable to weapons because it had been dipped in the River Styx; but a lance head hit him in his heel, which was the only part of him which was vulnerable. The ambition of Alexander of Macedon armed his headlong pride to subjugate the entire globe. He certainly undertook difficult ventures and won countless battles with a force of elite knights; however, all his strength was in his vast forces. All peoples tell of the battles of the mighty Judas Maccabeaus. He fought many remarkable battles which should be admired forever; but when his people had deserted him in

battle, he engaged many thousands of foreigners in battle with a small company and he fell nearby with his brothers and died.

However, King Richard had been hardened to battle from his tender years. In comparison to his strength, Roland would be reckoned weak. I do not know how he remained invincible and invulnerable among all enemies; perhaps by divine protection. His body was like brass, unyielding to any sort of weapon. His right hand brandished his sword with rapid strokes, slicing through the charging enemy, cutting them in two as he encountered them, now on this side, now on that. He bore himself with indescribable vigour and superhuman courage into the mass of Turks, not turning tail for anyone scattering and crushing all he met. 'He mows the enemy with a sword as if he were harvesting them with a sickle.' It could justly be said of his memorable blows that whoever encountered one of them had no need of a second! As he raged it seemed as if his resolute courage was rejoicing that it had found a means of expression. Driven by his powerful right hand, his sword devoured flesh wherever he turned. He sliced riders in two from the top of their heads downwards and horses too, without distinction. The further he found himself separated from his comrades, the more hotly he urged himself to fight. The more bitterly the enemy tried to crush him by firing darts, the more his courage was stirred up and its ardent impulses took control of him.

Among many other distinguished exploits which he happened to perform on that occasion, he killed a certain emir with a single amazing wound. This emir was more eminent than the others and was adorned with more notable equipment, and his bearing had seemed to boast great things and criticise the others for being idle cowards. He had put spurs to horse and come at a rapid gallop from the opposite direction to meet the king and throw him down. However the king held out his sword in his way as he charged and cut off his heavily-armoured head along with his shoulder and right arm.

When they saw this there was no spirit left in the rest of the Turks. They gave the king a wide berth on all sides and hardly even tried to fire arrows at him from a distance. So he returned safe and sound from the enemy's midst and rode swiftly to encourage his people. How their spirits rose out of the deep abyss of despair when they saw the king emerge from among the enemy! They had been in doubt and had not known what to do, for if he were dead all the Christians' efforts would be completely for nothing.

> The king's body was completely covered in darts, which struck out like the spines of a hedgehog. His horse was also bristling with the countless arrows which were stuck in its trappings. Thus this extraordinary knight returned from the contest (Nicholson 1997: 366–368).

There are striking parallels between these two versions of King Richard I's astonishing fight. It is evident that elements of Richard de Templo's more elaborate myth are present in Ambroise's version. These mythical feats, specifically the event with the *amīr*, the divine protection, and returning unscathed looking like a hedgehog, suggest to me that the Richard-myth existed during the king's lifetime. Interestingly, Richard de Templo expanded Ambroise's tale by granting King Richard I the status of a demi-god, comparing him with classical heroes. But unlike all the past heroes, who, despite their great accomplishments always succumb to their great weaknesses, according to Richard de Templo's telling, King Richard I has no weaknesses and thus comes out of the battle unscathed. Richard de Templo gives him the qualities of a god, including divine protection, superhuman courage, and the ability to throw people back without touching them. Therefore, this text acts as a record of how King Richard I was viewed in England by the late thirteenth century and reflects the growing legend of Richard Coeur de Lion as an idealised monarch needed during a time of English civic strife and to encourage others to join upcoming crusades. Most interesting, Richard de Templo's version demonstrates that Ambroise's version already contained the beginnings of the Richard-myth.

The version of events from the perspective of the Muslims, although more believable, is no less astonishing. In the *Life of Saladin*, Bahā' al-Dīn recounts:

> One who was present related to me, for I had moved back with the baggage-train and did not witness this battle, thank God, because of an indisposition, that the number of their cavalry was estimated at the most as seventeen and at the least as nine and their foot were less than 1000. Some said 300 and other more than that. The sultan was greatly annoyed at this and personally went around the divisions urging them to attack and promising them good rewards if they would. Nobody responded to his appeal apart from his son al-Zāhir, for he got ready to charge but the sultan stopped him. I have heard that al-Janāh, al-Mashtūb's brother, said to the sultan, 'Your mamlukes who beat people the day Jaffa fell and took their booty from them, tell them to charge.' At heart the troops were put out by the sultan's having made terms for Jaffa since they missed their chance of

booty. What followed was a direct result of this. Understanding this, the sultan saw that to stand face to face with this insignificant detachment without taking any action was a sheer loss of face. It was reported to me that the king of England took his lance that day and galloped from the far right wing to the far left and nobody challenged him (Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād 2002: 225–226).

Interestingly, Bahā' al-Dīn is not actually present and thus relies on the account of eye-witnesses. This certainly allows for the formation of unbelievable tales. The accuracy of this event is highly questionable as Bahā' al-Dīn's eye-witnesses cannot agree on the size of the Frankish army. This version of events is also strikingly different from that of the Franks; whereas the Franks portray a dynamic bloody battle with heavy fighting, the Muslims depict an army suffering from low morale and thus too indifferent to fight. However, all versions end the same way with King Richard I returning unscathed. Unlike the Frankish sources, Bahā' al-Dīn's account does not speak of any mythical fighting by King Richard I or portray the Saracen fighters as scared of this mythical figure. Perhaps Bahā' al-Dīn is downplaying this defeat. It is written in the Old French Continuation of William of Tyre, a text translated by Peter W. Edbury and compiled as late as the 1240s, that King Richard I's renown terrified the Saracens. As the chronicle states:

> When their [Saracen] children cried their [Saracen] mothers would scare them with the king of England and say, 'Be quiet for the king of England!' When a Saracen was riding and his mount stumbled at a shadow, he would say to him, 'Do you think the king of England is in that bush?', and if he brought his horse to water and it would not drink, he would say to it, 'Do you reckon the king of England is in the water?' (Edbury 1996: 119–120).

As this was written by Frankish chroniclers this serves to further prove the existence of a Richard-myth amongst the Franks and may speak to a Richard-myth amongst the Ayyubids. Of course, given the source any portrayal of the Ayyubids should be treated circumspectly. In any case, this myth-building may explain Saladin's continued insistence that Ascalon be demolished for a second time. It has been argued by Hanley (2003: 6, 162, 230; discussed in Jones 2010: 90) that such chronicles were not taken as literal truth by the audience, but I would argue that the Richard-myth played at least a part in Saladin's actions. Ascalon's second demolition can be explained in terms of strategic practicality, as can the first demolition, but given that the city was rebuilt by King Richard I so quickly

after its 1191 demolition, surely a second partial demolition would only pose a slight setback to anyone wanting to use the city. Therefore, I suggest that Saladin's persistence stems from some sort of a psychological need to destroy the city, specifically to destroy a city built by the legendary Richard the Lionheart, the figure responsible for the massacre at Acre (see section 4.3 above), and for the loss of face during the Battle of Jaffa. Through these mnemonic associations, Saladin is effectively linking Richard the Lionheart with Ascalon and thus the city's walls. Thus by destroying portions of the defences, Saladin can destroy part of his enemy's memory (see section 2.4.2).

Interestingly, King Richard I seemed to have little care that Ascalon was being demolished. As the chronicler recounts: "Richard sent for Count Henry and had him swear to abide by the truce [Treaty of Jaffa] for ten years. Then he told the count not to be dismayed that Ascalon was to be raised [*sic*] because he was having to go. 'If God grants me life, I shall come and bring so many men that I shall recover Ascalon and your whole realm, and you will be crowned in Jerusalem'" (Edbury 1996: 121). I doubt that this was King Richard I's true feeling towards the Ascalon situation. Since this was written in the thirteenth century, it seems most likely that the chronicler wanted to portray Richard in a magnanimous way, confident that he would return, God willing, to recover their lost territory. Ascalon's second demolition began September 7, 1192 and the site was not occupied again until the mid-thirteenth century.

4.7 ANALYSIS: A KNIGHT'S SPOLIATED FATIMID INSCRIPTION

Ascalon remained unusable until the 1239 refortification commenced by Theobald IV of Champagne and completed in April 1241 under Richard of Cornwall. During this time, Sir Hugh Wake II recovered a marble slab from Ascalon's ruins and had two sets of shields engraved on top of the Arabic inscription commemorating the construction of a tower in 1150 (see section 4.5.1 above). This slab was then replaced at the entrance of the northern (Jaffa) gate along with a lintel also engraved with his family's shields. When Ascalon later fell to the Muslims in October 1247, and was razed by Baibars in 1270 the inscription and lintel found themselves broken at the bottom of the *glaçis* near the northern wall (see figure 4.2). I argue that this spoliated inscription was used for political and apotropaic

purposes (see section 2.4.1). To begin, a description of the Frankish inscription and lintel is offered, followed by an interpretation.

4.7.1 THE SPOLIATED INSCRIPTION AND ENGRAVED LINTEL

In addition to the inscription's description offered above (see section 4.5.1), it also possesses three large Wake shields as well as two lesser shields (see figure 4.46). The larger shields possess two bars (*barrulets*) known as *Bars-gemel* and three *roundles* (or roundels) known as *Bezants*. Because these shields are painted red and the *roundles* are circular in shape, the *roundles* would have been called *torteaux*, some say because of their similarity to cakes (Sharon 1994: 11).

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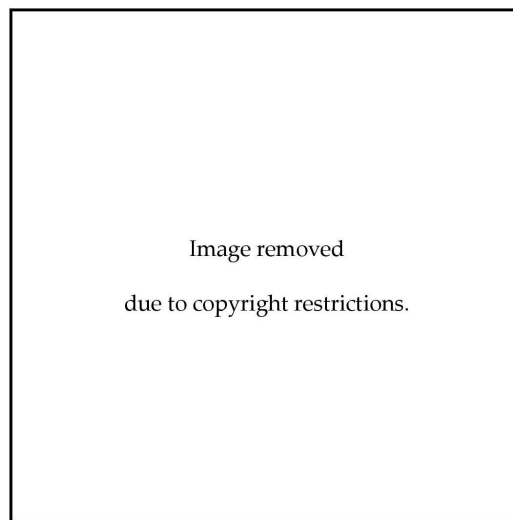
Figure 4.46: Spoliated Arabic inscription showing the coat of arms of Sir Hugh Wake II. The slab measures 1.49 x 0.63 x 0.10 m (Boas 1999b: 135)

Due to the contents' colour and shape this shield belonged to the noble family of Wake from County Lincoln. More specifically, this shield belonged to Sir Hugh Wake II, from the time of Henry III (1216–1272). The Wakes are the descendants of Geoffrey Wac or Wake, a Norman Baron who held lands in Normandy and Guernsey in the time of King Stephen (1135–1154) (Sharon 1994: 57). Sir Hugh Wake II, the lord of Bourne, Deeping and Blisworth joined Simon de Montfort on crusade and was the first in his family to bear the Wake arms (Sharon 1994: 58). The original blazon of Wake's shield was Argent, two bars gules, and in the chief three *roundles gules* or *torteaux*, which means that the field of the shield was white or silvery, and was mounted by two red bars, and three red *roundles* (Sharon 1994: 12).

A marble lintel was found bearing eight Wake shields similar to those engraved on the spoliated slab. This was discovered by the Leon Levy Expedition during their excavations in 1994. The lintel was located amongst the debris about half way down the *glaçis* a few meters to the west of the place where the inscription had been found. Due to its location, the lintel must have come from the same tower and thus speaks of Sir Hugh Wake II's invested involvement with its construction (Sharon 1994: 12) (see figure 4.47).

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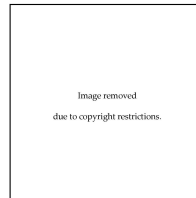
Figure 4.47: Engraved lintel with eight Sir Hugh Wake II coat of arms. The lintel measures 1.52 x 0.21 x 0.18 m (Sharon 2008: 425)

The two smaller shields located between the Wake shields contain ten oblong rectangles arranged in four rows, in the order of 4, 3, 2, and 1. Like the larger shields, these are also painted red. Officially, the rectangles are called *billets* and when the shield holds ten *billets*, it is called *charge billete* (Sharon 1994: 12). The *billets* pattern is common and because the shields are painted red, and not argent, this makes familial associations difficult. Considering that they are smaller than the Wake shields and placed beneath them, and that they are not present on the lintel, suggests that these belonged to a vassal of Sir Hugh Wake II (Sharon 1994: 13).

What function did the spoliated inscription serve during the thirteenth century? Why re-use it at all? What were Sir Hugh Wake's motivations? Why not create a wholly new engraving? And how was this re-invented heraldic entrance perceived by the beholder? The interpretation below illustrates that Wake's intentions transcended that of economy and included political as well as apotropaic considerations.

4.7.2 OBJECT OF OWNERSHIP AND DOMINATION

On the one hand, it could be argued that the marble slab was re-used because it was conveniently available (Sharon 1994: 55) (see section 2.4.1). To come upon it in the rubble, a large and intact slab of marble nearly 1.5 m long and not to re-use it would be considered a waste. However, the reverse of the slab has a quarried surface with no

decoration or inscriptions (Brosh 2011: pers. comm., 6 and 9 October 2011) and as such could have been fashioned for Sir Hugh Wake II's shields. Therefore, given the slab's conspicuous display, choice to engrave over the existing inscription, and the elements that comprise the engravings, it is clear that matters of convenience would have been an added bonus for this knight's complex display.

Possibly the most overt message that this inscription gives is that of domination. The Frankish/Christian shields are clearly engraved over a Muslim inscription at a time when the Franks were re-instituting their claim on a city. We are seeing domination over a group of people and domination over a religion. Although these particular heraldic shields do not seem overtly Christian – there are no crosses present in the body of the shield – familial coat of arms are distinctively European and would have been associated with Christianity by contemporary beholders. Moreover, the act of turning the slab ninety degrees, thus changing the orientation of the slab, could be construed as an act of domination. Using the slab in this manner is distinctly different to two inscriptions found at Jaffa (Bryner 2011). These Christian inscriptions, one written in Latin and one in Arabic, demonstrate Frederick II's diplomatic approach to his crusade, while the coat of arms on Ascalon's inscription encumbers the Arab writing thus reinforcing this act of domination.

But why use his family's shield instead of a more obvious Christian symbol? It may be that Wake wanted to establish a personal claim over the site that the Franks had taken, much like the knights who took Jerusalem in 1099. According to William of Tyre (1976 I: 372):

> Each marauder claimed as his own in perpetuity the particular house which he had entered, together with all it contained. For before the capture of the city the pilgrims had agreed that, after it had been taken by force, whatever each man might win for himself should be his forever by right of possession, without molestation. Consequently the pilgrims searched the city most carefully and boldly killed citizens. They penetrated into the most retired and out-of-the-way places and broke open the most private apartments of the foe. At the entrance of each house, as it was taken, the victor hung up his shield and his arms, as a sign to all who approached not to pause there but to pass by that place as already in possession of another.

Like the Franks who claimed property by displaying their shield and arms above the entrances of houses, Wake also claimed his property and by reusing an Arabic inscription he made the act all the more insulting. Furthermore, Wake may have laid claim in this manner to satiate his pride; after all he was the first in his family to use this particular heraldic shield. His father, Baldwin Wake II, had used a slightly different motif. His shield is described as having a barry of six, argent and gules, three hurts in chief (Matthew of Paris 1872–1883 VI: 477). This meant that the shield had three red bars on a white or silvery field, with three blue roundles or hurts at the top.

How would Muslim visitors perceive this spoliated slab? Would they only see the shields and ignore what lay beneath? According to Sharon (1994: 55), the Franks' defacing of their enemy's inscription obliterated their memory. I simply cannot agree with this. Yes, the Franks engraved large shields over the Arabic inscription, but it is what they did not do that is interesting. They did not erase the inscription, or make any attempt to hide it, much like the eastern lintel of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre that was carved on the reverse of a Fatimid carved plaque (Boas 1999a: 189). The memory of their enemy's commemoration remains and for the most part can still be read. Leaving the script mostly intact would only serve to emphasize the Franks' domination over the Muslims and so removing all trace of previous associations would have been counter productive.

What of the Frankish perceptions – did they only see its political associations? In addition to the engravings, another visual element was introduced, that of colour, and with it a whole other set of impressions (see section 2.4.1). The Frankish shields are painted red. Although this colouring served to identify the Wake family as its owner, there are several other connotations with the colour red that bear some attention. Just on an aesthetic level, painting the shields red would have provided a contrast with the underlying blue text (see section 4.5.1). Red is also associated with blood. Here we can see some Christian associations; the blood of Christ for example. A red cross commonly denotes a warrior of Christ and was worn on the white mantel of the Templars, the Hospitallers wearing the reverse (Coss 2002: 52). King Richard I painted his personal galley red, covered its deck with red awning and flew a red flag (Gillingham 1999: 18), most likely to intimidate his enemies. Red is often understood as a symbol of the Devil or of Hell (Clark 2006: 69). In medieval popular theatre, the colour red was a very ambivalent colour, "on its good side

it [red] was associated with energy, both mental and physical, strength, power and militant righteousness, but on its bad side it could also represent pride, ambition, blood and violence" (Harris 1992: 146–147; quoted in Cumberpatch 1997: 127). As his was the first generation using this particular coat of arm, Wake may have been asserting a religious or heroic affiliation to beholders of the engraving, in addition to displaying a domination over his Muslim enemies.

What does this spoliated inscription tell us about military and social function of Ascalon's city walls? The inscription found at Ascalon reveals that the northern tower was built by a man who wanted to demonstrate not only ownership but also domination over his enemies. By leaving the Arabic inscription intact, perhaps Sir Hugh Wake II was displaying a warning to those who wished to attack Ascalon in the future.

4.8 CONCLUSION

From this analysis, we can see Ascalon's walls have had many varied functions throughout the course of its medieval biography during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (see section 2.2). Under Fatimid rule, an inscription commemorating the construction of a tower in 1150 demonstrates that the local authorities used the walls to display their power (see section 4.5.2). The aesthetics of this inscription as well as that of the wall's construction serves to show the civic pride Ascalon's inhabitants had in their city (see section 4.5.3). The spoliated columns, contents of the 1150 inscription, as well as the contents of another inscription found *in situ* in the *glaçis*, indicate that the tower and walls were blessed by Allah, thus demonstrating that the walls provided a form of religious as well as actual defence. A final function observed during Fatimid rule is that of apotropaia, as the 1150 inscription was written in blue with the aim of warding off evil (see section 4.5.4).

Moving into the late twelfth century, Ascalon, held by the Franks for thirty-four years (1153–1187), falls into the hands of the Ayyubids. In the chronicles written by Imād al-Dīn and Bahā' al-Dīn, it is evident that Saladin and the people of Ascalon were truly distressed at seeing the city being demolished. These passages demonstrate that the city was strong, beautiful and protective like a mother is protective of her child. The populace truly revered their city (see section 4.6.1).

After the walls' destruction in 1191, they are rebuilt the following year by King Richard I and his army. It is clear from Ambroise's account of his crusade that King Richard I needed to rebuild his troops' morale and found his opportunity within the ruins of Ascalon. The walls acted as a stage to display Frankish acts of community and achievement (see section 4.6.2). To commemorate their construction, a Latin inscription was carved, documenting King Richard I's clerk, Master Philip's, involvement in the walls' construction and thus King Richard I's involvement as well. Clearly, this inscription was created to display the public's as well as the king's involvement with the walls, thus demonstrating the army's great accomplishment as well as the king's seigneurial power (see section 4.6.3). King Richard I's seigneurial power and mythical fame ultimately led to Ascalon's second demolition as Saladin was determined that the city's destruction be part of the Treaty of Jaffa. Thus, Ascalon's walls became an object of fear and a reminder of King Richard I's mythical power (see section 4.6.4).

The last medieval episode of Ascalon's walls comes in the mid-thirteenth century with the refortifications completed under Richard of Cornwall in 1241. Here, one of his knights, Sir Hugh Wake II, re-uses the Fatimid inscription from 1150 by superimposing his coat of arms over the Arabic inscription. This inscription, combined with a lintel bearing the same arms, indicates that this knight was involved in the construction of a castle which was located on the northwestern corner of the site. Wake's manner of re-using the slab indicates that he wanted to display not only control of a tower but also victory over his enemies, thus rendering Ascalon's walls an object of ownership and domination (see section 4.7).

Throughout the Frankish era, it is evident that the walls of Ascalon served a variety of different purposes and forms of expression, both military and social. In particular, the walls were used as an expression of power by various different people. Here, we see a melding of social and military functions as this expression of power becomes a weapon itself. During Fatimid times the walls become a weapon of defiance against the Caliph of Egypt, as the local authorities use the walls to focus power on them and away from the Caliph. This expression of power is especially evident during the late twelfth century with King Richard I. Through his seigneurial and legendary power, he creates a veritable weapon out of the walls of Ascalon, whose potential is so feared that Saladin insists on its

destruction. Using these events, and others involving these characters, Richard de Templo further steeps Ascalon and other cities taken by Richard the Lionheart in mythical power thus giving Henry III a weapon against a possible civil war and French invasion. Therefore, it is evident that Frankish era city walls serve many different military and social functions, but what is most interesting is that these functions frequently overlap and thus cannot be extricated from each other.

Like Ascalon, Caesarea's walls performed many different functions throughout its lively medieval biography. These fortifications provided magical as well as tangible protection through the use of ancient and contemporary spolia. The walls were also used as a symbol of élite power, control, and wealth. Caesarea's walls shall now be explored.

5 AN EXECUTION OF POWER: THE WALLS OF CAESAREA

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I examine another coastal site: Caesarea. Like Ascalon, Caesarea's walls prove an insightful case study. Analysis of the city's surviving Frankish architecture and sigillographic evidence as well as Muslim and Frankish historical sources reveal an eventful biography, demonstrating that the walls played an active role during the Frankish era. In addition to offering military strength, the city's fortifications also sought to provide magical apotropaic protection. Furthermore, their image was harnessed as a symbol of élite power and a demonstration of wealth.

The medieval coastal town of Caesarea (Arabic: Qaisariya; French: Césarée; Hebrew: Qesari), now the Caesarea National Park, is located midway between Haifa and Jaffa on the Mediterranean coast (see figure 5.1). The site's name has survived from antiquity, originating from the days of Herod, who named the port city in honour of his patron, the emperor Caesar Augustus (Holum and Raban 1993: 270).

The following is a review of relevant excavations and explorations of medieval Caesarea. Explorers began visiting Caesarea in the eighteenth century. The first to describe and draw a plan of the city's remains was Richard Pococke who visited the town in 1738 (Holum and Raban 1996: xxxii; Levine 1986a: 6). The first scientific account came as a result of a short trip taken by Captain Conder and a survey party in 1873 (Conder and Kitchener 1881–1883 II: 13–29). The survey yielded descriptions of the surviving ruins, photographs, as well as a detailed map (see figure 5.2). Excavations of the site did not occur until much later, with the first large-scale dig taking place in 1959–1960 (Holum and Raban 1996: xxxiv). Between 1960–1964 Avraham Negev supervised clearing operations within the city and revealed the triple-apsed remains of the Cathedral of Saint Peter, as well as clearing the moats surrounding the medieval walls (Holum and Raban 1996: xxxiv–xxxv). In 1975–1976, Lee I. Levine and Ehud Netzer performed excavations within the medieval town and discovered two capitals and columns embedded in the thirteenth century wall in the northeast corner of the site (Levine 1986b: 182; Levine and Netzer 1978: 73) (see sections 5.6.1 and 5.6.2).

Figure 5.1: Map of the Levant during the Frankish era (A. Charland and T. Christian)

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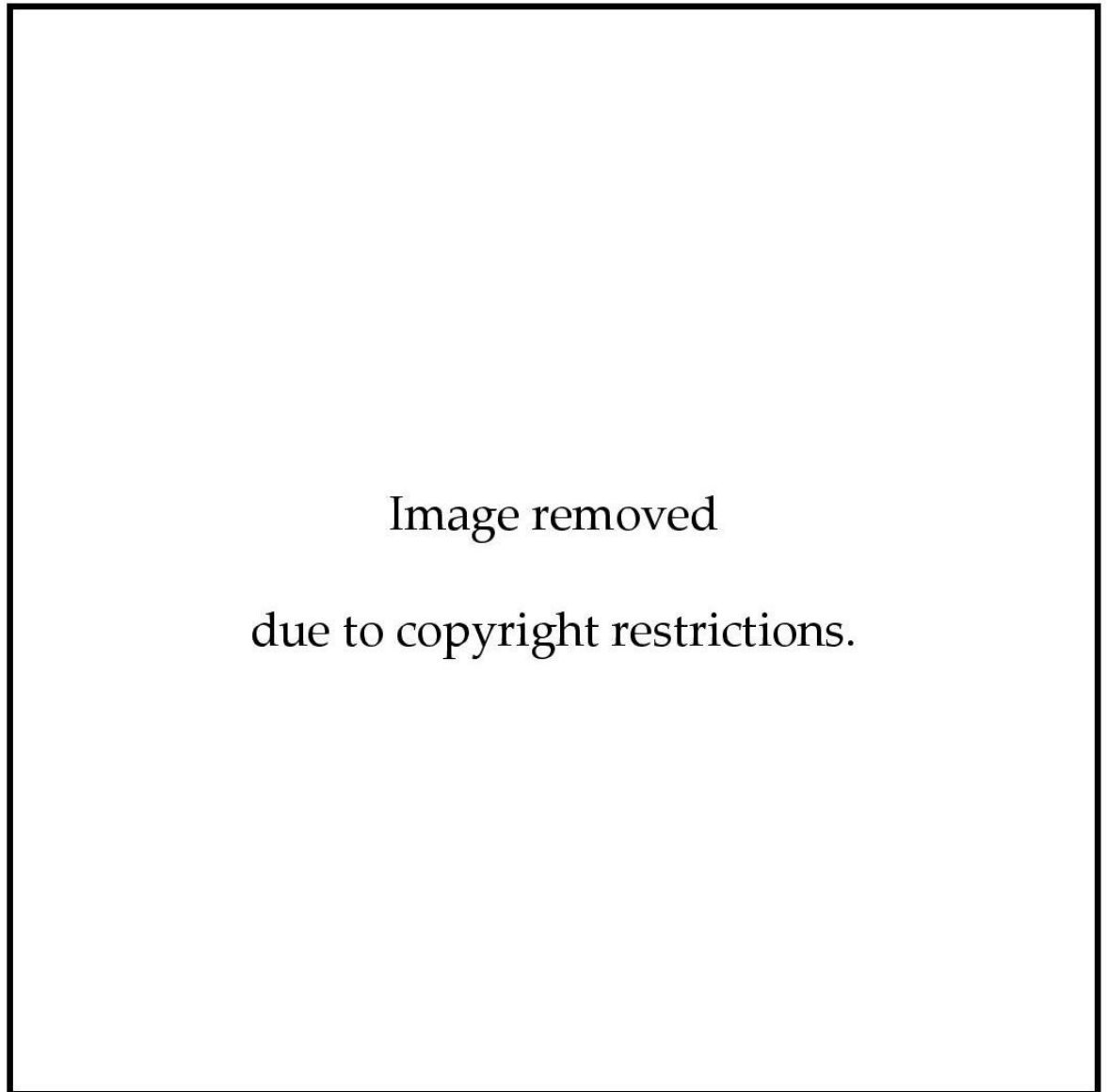
Figure 5.2: Plan of Caesarea from 1882 (Conder and Kitchener 1881–1883 II: opposite 15)

The city's south gate and wall was excavated by Yosef Porath, Yehudah Neeman, and Radwan Badihi in May–July in 1989 on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority (Porath *et al.* 1990). Their excavations enabled them to discern different building phases for the city wall (see section 5.4.2). Caesarea experienced a surge of archaeological projects in the 1990s. From November to December, 1992, Adrian Boas surveyed a housing complex located along the city's eastern wall, south of the east gate (Boas 1998: 77–79). In 1992–1994 the Israel Antiquities Authority, headed by Porath, performed several excavations within the city including the Frankish cathedral, discovering several building phases (Porath 1998: 48) (see section 5.4.5). More recently, the Israel Antiquities Authority has been performing conservation work and clearances of the city walls. In January, 2003, a pair of damaged Romanesque sculptures was discovered sitting above the capitals and columns previously uncovered during Levine and Netzer's excavations in the 1970s (Porath 2004) (see sections 5.6.1 and 5.6.2). A French expedition was financed by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and was co-directed by Nicolas Faucherre and Jean Mesqui in 2007–2010. The purpose of the French project was to perform an architectural survey as well as excavate the medieval fortifications so as to better understand their chronology (Mesqui *et al.* 2010: 10; Mesqui *et al.* 2008: 20) (see section 5.4.2). Evidence of these investigations was apparent during my site visits in 2009 and 2010. For a more detailed description of Caesarea's archaeological explorations see Holum and Raban (1996) and Levine (1986a).

Despite decades of exploration, archaeological reports remain largely descriptive with little or no analysis pertaining to the surviving walls. This case study, like Ascalon, is meant to demonstrate the vibrant and, at times, destructive life experienced by Caesarea's walls as well as the people interacting with them during the Frankish era. This monumental architecture stood strongly offering tangible and magical protection to its inhabitants, but more than this, these walls were a physical representation of power, wealth and victory. To understand the wall's full medieval biography as well as the surviving evidence, a historical background as well as a description of the architecture and archaeology is next offered.

The historical and archaeological evidence was collected through library research and site visits on May 7, 2009 and July 4–6, 2010. My primary objective was to photograph and

record observations of all of the site's accessible standing ruins (see Chapter 3). During the first trip, I was accompanied by my brother, Nicholas Charland. We walked around the city's ruins to determine the extent of the walls that were accessible. The northeast section of the city was currently being cleared by the Israel Antiquities Authority, but we were allowed to view and photograph the northeast corner tower as well as a small stretch of the adjoining eastern wall (see figure 5.3). During my visits in 2010, I performed a photo-survey of the entire circuit of the wall from different vantage points including a view from within the moat and around the inner line of the wall. From the historical and archaeological data collected, I was able to discern various functions performed by Caesarea's city walls.

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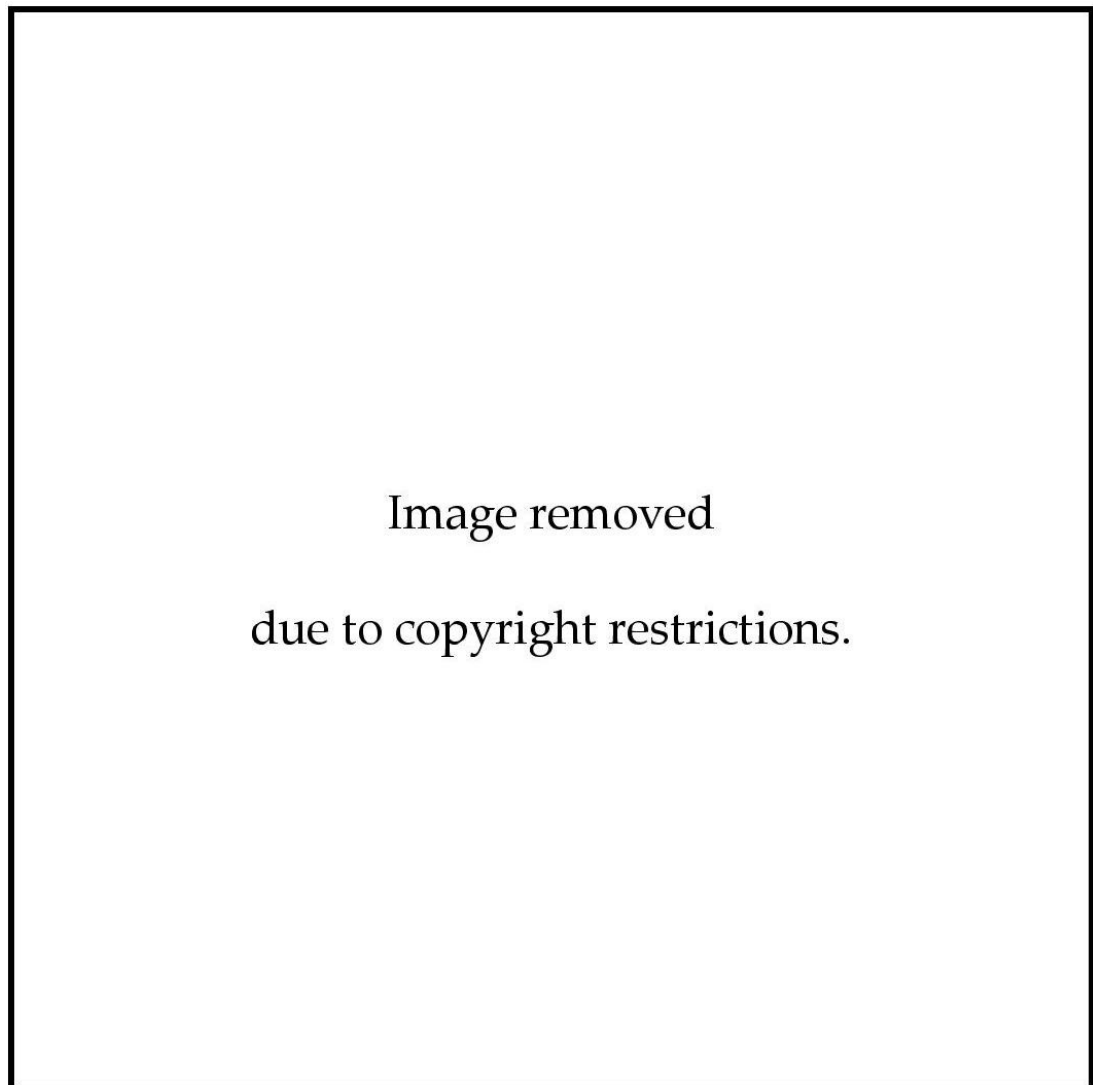
Figure 5.3: Plan of Caesarea's medieval city showing the position of key architectural elements and defences that are discussed in the analysis sections of 5.5–5.7 (A. Charland and T. Christian after Pringle 1993: 167)

5.2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Caesarea provides an interesting case study and complement to Ascalon's walls, particularly due to the great difference in surviving architectural evidence as well as the different types of events experienced at each site. Like Ascalon, Caesarea has been occupied by both Muslims and Franks throughout the Frankish era in the Holy Land (1099–1291). During this time Caesarea's walls faced many attacks, but have also been used as symbols of seigneurial power, providing apotropaic protection as well as a stage for battle.

Like with Chapter 4, this case study aims to: examine the full biography of Caesarea's walls, looking at both Muslim and Frankish interactions; identify the different social and military roles of the walls during each period of use between 1099 and 1291; and see how these roles changed during each different cultural occupation. The main objective of this chapter is to demonstrate that Caesarea's walls lived a rich and complicated life, full of drama. They did not stand idly in between periods of war.

Throughout their life, Caesarea's walls served various functions: as well as providing veritable military strength, they were also used as representations of monumental seigneurial power throughout the Frankish occupation (see section 2.3). The walls possessed decorative sculpture and spolia which provided apotropaic functions (see section 2.4.1). These walls were also used during the performance of battle, making what was once a defensive structure into an object of fear and victory (see section 2.2).

Due to the 1265 and 1291 destructions, as well as the subsequent use of the site, a fair amount of the city's walls and other structures have been severely damaged or have altogether disappeared. As a result, with the exception of the remains of King Louis IX's walls, little architecture of the previous periods of occupation remain. Therefore, much of this case study's analysis is based on a collection of evidence including: Frankish document seals; spoliated architectural elements; decorative sculpture; Frankish and Muslim documentary sources; and ruinous architectural evidence. All of this data provides valuable insight into the different roles that these walls served.

This chapter will begin by looking at the iconographic representation of city walls on the seals used by the lords and ladies of Caesarea throughout the Frankish occupation. Specifically, this section will look at how Caesarea's walls were used as a symbol as well as a tangible demonstration of seigneurial power.

Secondly, an analysis of Caesarea's Frankish twelfth and thirteenth century walls is offered. This section examines the magical (spiritual) protection provided to the city wall by the proximity of the Church of Saint Lawrence. This protection is then continued through the incorporation of the church's ruin during King John de Brienne's refortification in 1217. This section is followed by an investigation into the defences built during the mid-thirteenth century as part of King Louis IX's monumental enterprise. During this time, the walls provided apotropaic protection through the inclusion of spoliated elements, as well as magical protection through decorative Gothic features seen in the northern and eastern gatehouses.

Lastly, this case study will examine Caesarea's final battle in 1265. During this dramatic last scene, the city's walls are used during the performance of Baibars's razing, turning these walls, which were an object of power and protection, into an object of defeat and victory. To understand all of the different stages of the wall's life, as well as the current state of the archaeological evidence, a historical background followed by a description of the architecture and archaeology of Caesarea is offered first.

5.3 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

As with the walls of Ascalon (see Chapter 4), this historical background will look at the biography of Caesarea's city walls (see section 2.2) to understand more fully the medieval events that shaped its walls and their decorations and the events that led to its current appearance. These medieval events begin with the Arab conquest of Caesarea in 640 and continue with King Baldwin I's capture of the city in 1101. Caesarea is then recaptured by the Ayyubids following the Battle of Hattin in 1187 and its defences along with other fortification from other towns are destroyed by Saladin in 1190–1191. In 1192, Caesarea is returned to the Franks as part of the Treaty of Jaffa and presumably during this time Lady Julianne would have taken over the fief. In 1217 King John de Brienne begins refortifying Caesarea's walls only to have them demolished in 1219–1220 by al-Mu'azzam 'Isā.

Refortification began again in 1228 by Germans under the command of Heinrich of Limburg and was completed by Louis IX in 1252. Caesarea's ultimate downfall came in 1265, when the city was attacked and razed by Mamluk Sultan Baibars, of which any fortifications still remaining were further demolished in 1291 by Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl.

The modern events encompass the settlement of Muslim and Jewish families and later Saqr Beduins in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the late nineteenth century, Muslim refugees from Bosnia settled in the city and built their houses on top of the ruins and quarried the city's stones. During the First World War ammunitions being stored in the basement of a house built on top of the citadel's ruins explode. In 1948 the Bosnians are expelled and many of their houses are either destroyed or converted into restaurants.

Medieval Caesarea was significantly smaller, both in wealth and population, than the great city built by Herod "The Great" between 22–10 B.C. (Benvenisti 1970: 136) (see figure 5.2). The city of Caesarea was politically prominent during Roman times and strategically significant under the Franks, but between the Arab conquest of Caesarea in 640 and the arrival of the Franks in 1099, the city was reasonably peaceful. During this time the city changed rulers several times: the orthodox caliphate at Medina ruled from 640–656; the Umayyads at Damascus between 656–750; the Abbasids at al-Anbār and Baghdad from 750–877; the Tulunids of Egypt from 877–905; the Abbasids at Baghdad from 905–941; the Ikhshidids of Egypt between 941–969; the Fatimids of Egypt from 969–1070; the Ortoqids at Jerusalem from 1070–1078; the Selchukids at Damascus from 1078–1089; and again the Fatimids of Egypt between 1089–1101 (Hazard 1975: 79 n.1). There were no recorded sieges or assaults with the exception of a military expedition led by the Byzantine Emperor John I Tzimisces in 975 where he took Caesarea and other towns but failed to take Jerusalem (Hazard 1975: 79; Matthew of Edessa 1869: 16–18). After his brief campaign, he returned home, and having left no garrison at Caesarea, the city peacefully reverted to Fatimid rule (Hazard 1975: 79).

Much of the information about Caesarea and its defences during this period comes from Muslim geographers and travellers. As Al-Ya'qubi, (who died in 897) states: "The city stands on the sea-shore, and is one of the strongest places in Palestine. It was the last city to be taken at the Arab Conquest, and it was gained by Mu'āwiyah during the Khalifate of 'Omar" (Hazard 1975: 79; Le Strange 1890: 474). From this statement we can see that

Caesarea possessed some form of defence during the ninth century. It is unlikely that the Roman walls were being re-used since we know from excavations that the Frankish walls are situated on top of either Abbasid of Fatimid fortifications (Porath *et al.* 1990: 133–134) (see section 5.4.2). Therefore, the approximate layout of the medieval city walls could have been established from as early as the mid-eight century. Our first real description of the city comes in 985 by the Arab geographer Muqaddasī. As he says:

> Kaisariyyah…lies on the coast of the Greek (or Mediterranean) Sea. There is no city more beautiful, nor any better filled with good things; plenty has its well-spring here, and useful products are on every hand. Its lands are excellent, and its fruits delicious; the town also is famous for its buffalo-milk and its white bread. To guard the city is a strong wall, and without it lies the well-populated suburb, which the fortress protects. The drinking-water of the inhabitants is drawn from wells and cisterns. Its great mosque is very beautiful" (Hazard 1975: 79; Le Strange 1890: 474; Muqaddasī 1906: 174).

It would appear that the city was well fortified with walls by the tenth century and that both of the Roman aqueducts, traces of which survive to the north of the site, were inoperative having been replaced by wells and cisterns. Nāsir-i-Khusraw, a Persian traveller, visited Caesarea in 1047 and mentions the city in his diary, stating:

> Kaisariyyah lies 7 leagues distant from Acre. It is a fine city, with running waters and palm-gardens, and orange and citron trees. Its walls are strong, and it has an iron gate. There are fountains [springs] that gush out within the city; also a beautiful Friday Mosque, so situated that in its court you may sit and enjoy the view of all that is passing on the sea (Hazard 1975: 79 n.7; Le Strange 1890: 474; Nāsir-i-Khusraw 1881: 61–62).

Between the tenth and eleventh centuries it would appear that the walls and mosque continued as prominent features in the city.

Before the Frankish conquest of the Holy Land, Ceasarea and its neighbouring ports were recaptured by Fatimid armies in 1089. These were garrisoned and provisioned and then later abandoned after the Fatimids retook Jerusalem from the Ortoqids in 1098 (Hazard 1975: 80; Tyerman 2006: 129). Caesarea, like other cities, was left under the rule of an *amīr* and a *qādī* unconcerned with the coming Frankish invasion, confident in the protection afforded by the city's wealth and fortifications (Hazard 1975: 80).

In May, 1099, the Franks travelled through Tripoli, Beirut and Acre. At each city they made arrangements with the *amīrs* – the Franks agreed to spare the cities from plundering in exchange for the release of Christian captives and provisions for their armies as well as lavish gifts (William of Tyre 1976 I: 329–332). By May 28, 1099 they reached the outskirts of Caesarea, thus marking the beginning of the city's crusading period. As it was Pentecost, the Frankish armies rested here and continued their journey after the third day (William of Tyre 1976 I: 332). On May 30, 1099 they resumed their march, through Arsuf and Ramla, and on to Jerusalem, which fell to the Franks on July 15, 1099. A week later, Godfrey of Bouillon was named Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre (William of Tyre 1976: 381–383). In early August, 1099, Tancred, prince of Galilee, and Godfrey's brother Eustace III, count of Boulogne, returned to Caesarea to investigate a rumoured Egyptian offensive based on Ascalon. Having confirmed this threat, they summoned the army to the successful battle of August 12, 1099 (William of Tyre 1976 I: 395–397). Although the battle was successful, Ascalon remained in Fatimid hands until 1153 (see section 4.3).

Early in 1100 the *amīrs* of Ascalon, Caesarea and Acre sent delegations to Godfrey offering Arab horses and other gifts as well as letters offering a monthly tribute of 5000 gold bezants in return for immunity from attack, which Godfrey accepted (Albert of Aachen 2007: 503–505). He then toured his domains and tributaries, and was offered dinner by the *amīr* of Caesarea (Albert of Aachen 2007: 511). Despite their friendly relations, Godfrey fell gravely ill and later died in Jerusalem on July 18, 1100 from suspected poisoning from the dinner (Albert of Aachen 2007: 512–513 n.24, 514–515 n.25; William of Tyre 1976 I: 413–414). In November, 1100, Godfrey's brother, Baldwin I, passed through Caesarea on his way to Jerusalem and Bethlehem to be crowned king of Jerusalem on Christmas day, 1101 (William of Tyre 1976 I: 427). Interestingly, Albert of Aachen (2007: 541 n.54) claims that he was crowned some time around the feast of the blessed Martin bishop of Tours (November 11, 1100). In March or April, 1101 King Baldwin I renewed the treaties with the *amīrs* to give the appearance of continued friendly relations, but in reality planned to attack the cities (Albert of Aachen 2007: 561; Hazard 1975: 81).

By this time, King Baldwin I's only port was Jaffa. In order to acquire other ports he made a deal with the Genoese. They agreed to help in exchange for a third of the booty and a street in each city for a market. In April, 1101 they took Arsuf which surrendered after the

third day of siege (Albert of Aachen 2007: 563). King Baldwin I refrained from sacking or massacring the inhabitants and, having left a small garrison, prepared to move against Caesarea. Before departing Arsuf, a delegation from Caesarea arrived and protested against the imminent attack without success. In May, 1101 the army and Genoese fleet moved north and took up siege positions around Caesarea (Albert of Aachen 2007: 563–565).

King Baldwin I ordered the construction of stone-throwing catapults and a wooden tower to command the walls. He also had the orchards outside the walls destroyed from fear that the orchards' foliage might conceal arrows shot during enemy ambushes (Albert of Aachen 2007: 565). The siege lasted fifteen days with unceasing violent engagements between both parties. The inhabitants of Caesarea, not used to fighting, began to offer less resistance. Using ladders, the Franks and Genoese scaled the city's walls, and quickly seized the towers and fortifications. The gates were unbarred and the city was broken open by force allowing the king to enter with his troops. The Franks broke into the houses and killed those inside, taking possession of the private apartments (William of Tyre 1976 I: 436). Many tried to hide their riches by swallowing gold pieces and precious gems. According to William of Tyre (1976 I: 436–437), "This roused the cupidity of the Christians to such a degree that they clove their victims through the middle in search of treasures that might be hidden in their vitals."

Hoping to find shelter from the Franks, many of the citizens fled to the Great Mosque, which occupies an elevated position and was once the location of a temple built by Herod in honour of Augustus Caesar. The Franks forced their way inside and massacred all those seeking refuge (William of Tyre 1976: 437). In an effort to paint the Franks in a merciful light amidst all of the bloodshed, William of Tyre (1976 I: 437–438) claims that young boys and girls were spared as well as the *amīr* and *qādī* who were kept for ransoming.

The booty was immense and was divided amongst King Baldwin I's men and the Genoese. The Genoese were gifted with a third of Caesarea as payment for their services, although the basis of this claim has been questioned as there is little evidence for a significant Genoese community in Caesarea during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Pringle 1993: 180, citing Hazard 1975: 85 n.67; Kedar 1986; and Mayer and Favreau 1976).

They received further spoils from the Great Mosque, including a bowl shaped vase made of brilliant green material, which the Genoese believed to be made of emerald and regarded as the Holy Grail. This prize was taken to Genoa and enshrined in the Cathedral of Saint Lawrence and, although now broken and known to be glass, is still highly prized in Genoa (William of Tyre 1976 I: 437 n.37). Under the Franks, Caesarea became the seat of an archbishopric and the basilica, which had been converted into the Great Mosque, was ceremoniously re-consecrated as the Cathedral of Saint Peter; after a similar ceremony a smaller church, believed lost (see sections 5.4.3, 5.6.1 and 5.6.2), was rededicated to Saint Lawrence, patron saint of the Genoese (Hazard 1975: 83 n.43; Pringle 1993: 180).

Few events are known to have affected Caesarea between 1101 and 1187. Although the inhabitants of Caesarea found safety within the walls, the surrounding countryside was repeatedly ravaged by Muslim raiders. There are two such events in 1104 when King Baldwin I had to drive them off (Albert of Aachen 2007: 663, 677–679). Caesarea and its surrounding district was granted as a fief to Eustace I Granier sometime between 1105, when he first appears in the Holy Land, and 1110 when he is first referred to as Lord of Caesarea and Sidon (LaMonte 1947: 145 n.2; William of Tyre 1976 I: 489). This hereditary lordship continued, with only a few interruptions, until the final expulsion of the Franks in 1265 (see section 5.5.1). Caesarea became one of the most important lordships in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, its territory extending over the Plain of Sharon, from *le Destroit* near 'Atlit approximately 24 km to the north of Caesarea, to the border of the fief of Arsuf approximately 32 km to the south and extending approximately 24 km inland (Beyer 1936: 1–91; Hazard 1975: 84 n.51; Pringle 1993: 166).

During the twelfth century the city had working defences as well as an active military force. The Muslim traveller, al-Idrīsī, who died circa 1166, described Caesarea as "a very large town, having also a populous suburb. Its fortifications are impregnable" (Le Strange 1890: 474). The city's garrison also continued in military activities. Most notably they helped in repelling an attack on Jerusalem in August, 1110 (Albert of Aachen 2007: 801–803) and they were also present at the battle of Ibelin in May, 1123 where Eustace I Granier, who was acting as baillie during Baldwin II's kidnapping, may have sustained injuries which led to his death on June 15, 1123 (Hazard 1975: 85; William of Tyre 1976 I: 541, 546–547).

In December 1182, a council was held in Caesarea to discuss plans for thwarting Saladin (William of Tyre 1976 II: 485), and in June, 1187, Caesarea's garrison, as commanded by Lord Gautier II (Eustace I Granier's great-grandson), joined the kingdom's forces to do battle with Saladin (Hazard 1975: 85). The sultan's victory at Hattin on July 4, 1187 left the Frankish towns defenceless. By mid-July, 1187, Saladin's troops dispersed and captured Nablus, Haifa, Caesarea, Saffuriya and Nazareth, either killing or capturing all of the town's inhabitants (Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād 2002: 75–76). According to Imād al-Dīn (1972: 35), after Badr ad-Dīn Dildirim, Gharas ad-Dīn Qilīj and a group of *amīrs* took Caesarea, they massacred the knights, ruined the churches, and captured virgins, fiancées, wives and old maids. Lord Gautier II had escaped to Tyre, only to die during the siege of Acre (Hazard 1975: 85). After Saladin successfully besieged Jerusalem on October 2, 1187, he left the city to attack other strongholds still remaining in Frankish hands (Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād 2002: 77–79).

In the summer of 1190, Saladin had Caesarea as well as Tiberias, Jaffa, Arsuf, Sidon and Byblos (Gibelet) demolished and ruined (Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī 1972: 231). After the fall of Acre in July, 1191, the Frankish army, led by King Richard I, entered Caesarea on August 31, 1191 where they received supplies from their fleet (Ambroise 2003 II: 114). As Ambroise (2003 II: 114) recounts: "The enemy had been there and had destroyed the town, wreaking great damage and destruction. However, when King Richard I came, they fled," to which Richard de Templo (1997: 242) adds: "The Turkish race had…partly demolished the walls and towers and destroyed as much of the town as possible." It would appear that a second demolition was occurring at Caesarea, either that or Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī was mistaken in his date or the demolition from 1190 was still taking place.

Despite the degree of destruction done to the city, the city's fortifications were still apparent as Ambroise (2003 II: 114) states: "There is a great defensive wall around the city of Caesarea." After a few days rest, the Franks marched south toward Arsuf where they fought with Saladin's troops and won on September 7, 1191 (Ambroise 2003 II: 118–121; Richard de Templo 1997: 251–257). While Saladin had Ascalon and numerous other fortifications demolished (see section 4.6.1) (Ambroise 2003 II: 124; Richard de Templo 1997: 261), King Richard I was refortifying Jaffa and then later two outlying forts, namely, Casal des Plains (Yazur) and Casal Maen (Bait Dajan) (Ambroise 2003 II: 127, 129; Richard

de Templo 1997: 264, 268). The Franks passed through Caesarea often during skirmishes in 1192, but never repaired the fortifications or garrisoned the city.

Caesarea was granted to the Franks as part of the Treaty of Jaffa agreed upon by King Richard I and Saladin on September 2, 1192 (Ambroise 2003 II: 186–187 n.733; Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād 2002: 229; Hazard 1975: 86 n.81; Richard de Templo 1997: 371). During this time, Lady Julianne of Caesarea (Lord Gautier II's sister) took over her fief. In February, 1206, she granted the Teutonic Order the Tower of Mallart and another smaller tower on the east side of the city's walls as well as houses and a garden located next to the east city wall (Boas 2006: 63; Pringle 1995: 89; Röhricht 1893: 216 n.810; Strehlke 1869: 32–33 n.40, 123 n.128) (see section 5.5.3 below).

In December 1217, King John de Brienne, along with Duke Leopold of Austria and the Knights Hospitaller, began refortifying Caesarea. As Oliver of Paderborn recounts:

> …in a short time [they] manfully and faithfully strengthened the fort in Caesarea of Palestine, although the arrival of the enemy was frequently announced. Through this fort, God granting, the city itself will be restored. In the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles, the Patriarch with six bishops solemnly celebrated the feast of the Purification [Feb. 2, 1218]" (Oliver of Paderborn 1971: 56).

This refortification was short-lived. During the winter of 1219–1220 the Ayyubid ruler of Syria, al-Mu'azzam 'Isā, besieged the lightly garrisoned town. The Frankish garrison, having retreated to Caesarea's citadel, appealed to Acre for help. The Genoese answered their call but retreated by sea under cover of night to Acre. al-Mu'azzam 'Isā entered the citadel, and finding it empty, razed the newly built walls (Ernoul de Giblet *et al.* 1871: 422–423; Hazard 1975: 87 n.85; Oliver of Paderborn 1971: 99). Further work on the fortifications came in May 1228, wherein the city's walls were rebuilt by Germans under the command of Heinrich of Limburg (Ernoul de Giblet *et al.* 1871: 459; Hazard 1975: 87).

The last revival of Caesarea came with King Louis IX's monumental enterprise (see section 2.3). The refortification began on March 29, 1251 and lasted nearly a full year. As Joinville recounts:

> At the beginning of Lent the king made ready, with all the forces he had, to go and fortify Caesarea, a town some forty leagues from Acre on the way to Jerusalem, which the Saracens had destroyed…I cannot say how it happened, unless it was God's will, but the Saracens did no harm to us during the whole of that year (Joinville 1963: 282).

According to Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, all those who took part in the labour received a papal pardon, including Louis:

> Et comme l'en fesoit les murs en la cité de Cesaire,…[le] legat du siege de Romme en ces parties, avoit donné pardon a touz ceus qui aideroient a fere cele oevre; dont (li beneoiz rois) porta pluseurs foiz les pierres en la hote sus ses espaules et les autres choses qui estoient couvenables a fere le mur; la quele chose li estoit tenue a grant humilité (Guillaume de Saint-Pathus 1899: 110).

Louis IX rebuilt the city's citadel, which included its own moat as well as the city walls, remnants of which we can still see today (see sections 5.4 and 5.6.3).

Caesarea's demise came in 1265, when the Mamluk Sultan Baibars attacked the unsuspecting city on February 27 (Ibn al-Furāt 1971 II: 70). His men scaled the walls, set up their banners, burnt the city's gates, and tore away its defences, forcing the Franks to retreat to the town's citadel (Ibn al-Furāt 1971 II: 70). The sultan set up his mangonels and began bombarding the citadel and directed his siege from the cathedral (Ibn al-Furāt 1971 II: 70). After about a week of fighting (March 5–7, 1265), the Franks surrendered the citadel and its contents and many left for Acre (Hazard 1975: 88; Ibn al-Furāt 1971 II: 71 n.1, 206). Once the city was empty, Baibars divided up the city amongst his *amīrs* and set to destroy Caesarea (Ibn al-Furāt 1971 II: 71) (see section 5.7).

The city was further demolished in 1291 by Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl. After taking Acre on May 18, 1291 and the rest of the Frankish strongholds by August 14, 1291 (Makrizi 1845: 125–126), he ordered the systematic destruction of every castle on the coast, so that the Franks would never again establish a foothold in the Holy Land (Runciman 1969: 598): "Les Turcs, depuis qu'ils sont en marche, ont juré de ne laisser aux Francs aucun domaine" (Makrizi 1845: 127). Subsequent observations attest to Caesarea's state of destruction: Abu-l-Fida' in 1321 claims: "today it is in ruins" (Le Strange 1890: 475; quoted

in Hazard 1975: 89, 107 n.99); Ludolph von Suchem wrote in 1350 saying: "Caesarea of Palestine…is utterly destroyed" (Ludolph von Suchem 1895: 64; quoted in Hazard 1975: 89, 107 n.100); and John Poloner states in around 1421 that: "The city itself is utterly destroyed" (John Poloner 1894: 29; quoted in Hazard 1975: 89, 107 n.101). It should be noted that these observations are slightly exaggerated given the current state of the city's architectural remains (see section 5.4).

By the seventeenth century, despite the city's ruinous state, a small settlement of approximately one-hundred Muslim families and seven or eight Jewish families was founded in Ceasarea (Reifenberg 1950–1951: 32; Roger 1664: 87). But by the next century it would appear that the region was occupied by Saqr Beduins (Reifenberg 1950–1951: 32; Volney 1787: 164). Muslim refugees from Bosnia, fleeing from the Balkan wars, settled in the ancient city's ruins in 1878, where they built a newly planned village (Benzinger 1891: 71; Grossman 2011: 70). They used Caesarea's ruins as a quarry, shipping the facing stones to Jaffa and Acre (Reifenberg 1950–1951: 32; Thiersch 1914: 62–63). The Bosnians also built streets, alleys, a bakery, and several mosques within the ruined Frankish city as well as the house of a *mudir* (the governor) on top of the demolished citadel (Holum *et al.* 1988: 238–239).

During the First World War, the basement of the governor's house was used to store weapons and ammunition. During the British conquest, headed by General Allenby, the citadel stores exploded thus leading to the citadel's current appearance (Caesarea National Park n.d.) (see section 5.4.4). The houses of the Bosnian refugees, which were located over the city's ruins, were destroyed in 1948 when they were expelled by the Haganah (Kedar 1999: 167). Khalidi (1992: 184) describes what remained of the village in the early 1990s: "Most of the houses have been demolished. The site has been excavated in recent years, largely by Italian, American, and Israeli teams, and turned into a tourist area. Most of the few remaining houses are now restaurants, and the village mosque has been converted into a bar."

Currently the site of Caesarea along with the area around the theatre is now part of Israel's national park system, most of which is open to the public offering shopping, art galleries, restaurants as well as a Time Trek audio visual display used to teach visitors about the site's history and archaeology. Only two-thirds of the site is easily accessible;

the area located to the north of the eastern gate and along the northern stretch of the Frankish city wall is still covered in shrubbery and is currently being explored by the Israel Antiquity Authority (see figure 5.9). To understand what remains of the medieval city of Caesarea, a description of these ruins will now be presented below.

5.4 THE ARCHITECTURE AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE WALLS

Here is a description of the ruins of Caesarea as they appear presently. For a more detailed account of the ruins as they looked in the nineteenth century see Conder and Kitchener (1881–1883 II: 13–29) and Rey (1871: 221–227). Specifically this section will describe the state of the glaçis, moat and counterscarp, followed by the walls, the towers, the gates and posterns as well as the citadel and the city's cathedral as it played a key role in Caesarea's downfall. The functions of these structures are further explored in the analytical sections 5.5, 5.6 and 5.7.

5.4.1 THE GLAÇIS, MOAT AND COUNTERSCARP

Caesarea's remaining medieval walls are ascribed to King Louis IX's refortification in 1251–1252. In 1960–1964, the Israeli National Parks Authority, under the supervision of Avraham Negev, cleared the moats and partly restored some of the ruins, including the reconstruction of the eastern gatehouse (Benvenisti 1970: 140; Holum *et al.* 1988: 226; Holum and Raban 1996: xxxiv–xxxv). The walls follow a trapezoidal shape, measuring 650 m north-south and 275 m east-west and enclose an area of about 12.2 hectares (Benvenisti 1970: 141; Holum *et al.* 1988: 226) (see figure 5.3). This was less than one tenth of Roman Caesarea (Conder and Kitchener 1881–1883 II: 23) (see figure 5.2). They are abutted by a battered *glaçis,* and are surrounded by a dry moat and vertical counterscarp.

The *glaçis* measures 8 m high and follows a 60-degree gradient from the base of the moat to where it joins the wall (Benvenisti 1970: 141; Negev 1993: 277). The building stones used for the *glaçis* are relatively small ashlars cut from the local calcareous sandstone (*kurkar*) and were tooled in a thirteenth century fashion (Benvenisti 1970: 141). There was also the occasional inclusion of Roman columns, one of which remains *in situ* (see figure 5.4) (see section 5.6.3). It is clear from what remains of the *glaçis* that it was built against the wall and not bonded to it, thus post-dating the construction of the walls and towers

(Holum *et al.* 1988: 230). This is especially apparent in a stretch of the southern wall, near the gateway, where a pointed arch of a window is covered by the *glaçis* (see figure 5.5). The mortar in some of the *glaçis* differs from that used in the wall; it is pink from crushed pottery and includes pieces of terracotta (see figure 5.6).

Figure 5.4: View of spoliated Roman column located *in situ* in the *glaçis* along the eastern wall, facing north (A. Charland)

Figure 5.5: Pointed arch covered by the thirteenth century *glaçis*, facing northeast
(A. Charland)

Figure 5.6: View of mortar with terracotta fragments at the base of the *glaçis* in the northwest corner of the moat, facing south (A. Charland)

At the bottom of the *glaçis* is a dry moat (also known as a ditch or fosse), dug in sand, which is 7–8 m wide and 4–6 m deep (Pringle 1995: 90). It can best be accessed from the south gate where one can walk its entire length. It has been cleared of most debris with the exception of some broken columns and pieces of wall which have fallen from the city's numerous destructions (see figures 5.7 and 5.8). Starting from the south gate and walking in a counter-clockwise direction, the moat becomes increasingly more overgrown with plant life, especially from the east gate and along the northern stretch of wall (this corresponds with the area of the city which is still being cleared by the IAA) (see figure 5.9). Opposite the *glaçis* is a vertical masonry counterscarp wall that follows a dog-legged route that corresponds to the city's curtain wall and towers (Pringle 1995: 90). Some of the well dressed stones at the base of the *glaçis* flatten out and suggest that the moat may have been paved with stones like at Ascalon (see section 4.4.1) (see figure 5.10).

Figure 5.7: Column and city wall fragments in the moat just south of the east gate, facing south (A. Charland)

Figure 5.8: View of a large wall section that has fallen into the moat. The bridge leading to the main entrance of the east gate can be seen in the background, facing south (A. Charland)

Figure 5.9: Aerial view of Caesarea showing overgrown area that has yet to be cleared by the Israel Antiquities Authority, facing south (Meronim 2013)
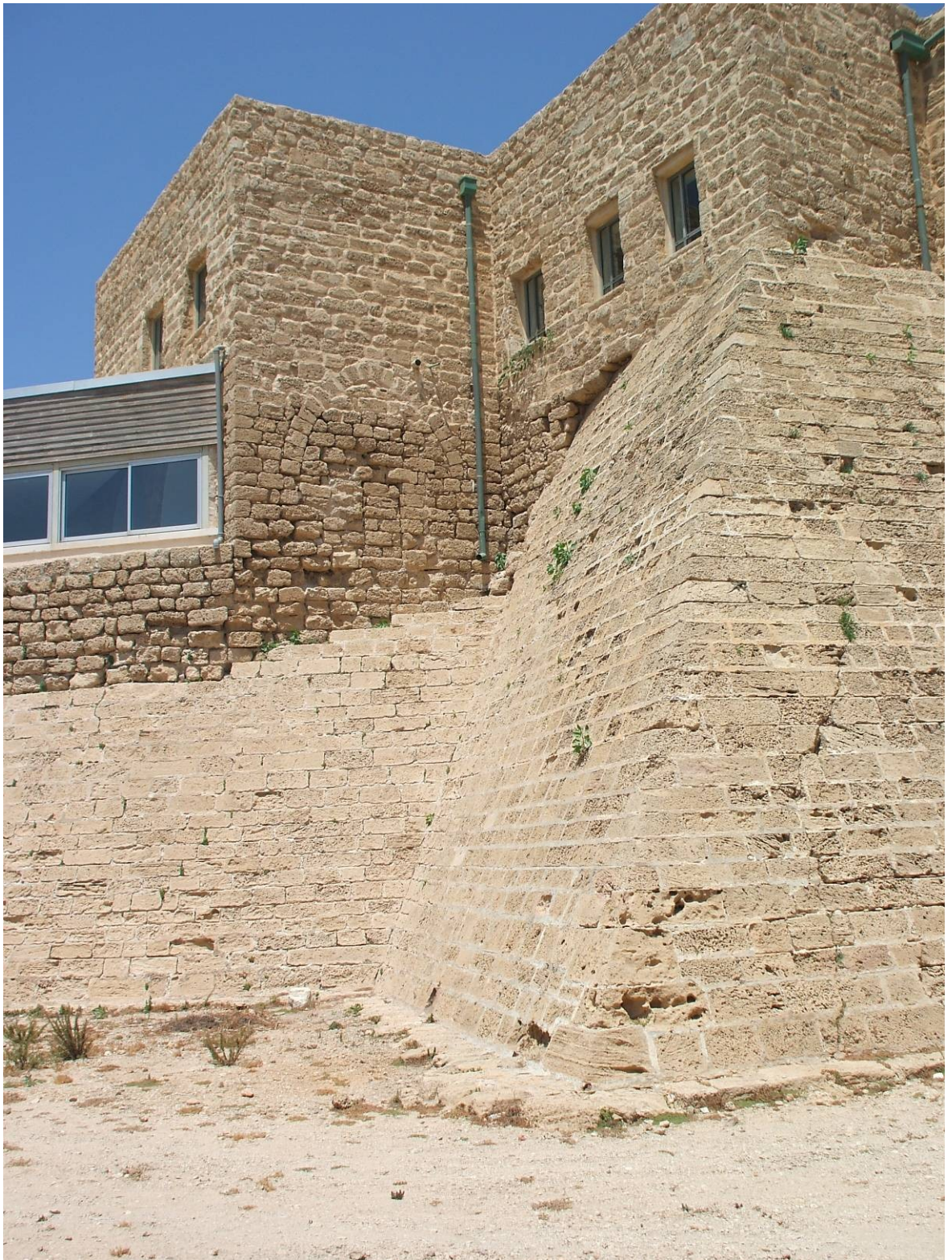
Figure 5.10: Stones at the base of the southern *glaçis* indicate that the moat may have been paved with stones, facing northeast (A. Charland)

5.4.2 THE WALLS AND TOWERS

Caesarea's town walls, like its *glaçis*, are built of rectangular cut sandstone ashlars. The wall's facing stones were set with a white lime mortar, while its core was filled with rubble and a weaker clay mortar (Pringle 1995: 90). None of the walls survive to their full height but Benvenisti (1970: 141) and Negev (1993: 277) suggests that they once rose 10 m above the edge of the *glaçis*. They are approximately 4 m thick and some examples remain, particularly in the southern and northern sections, of casemated arrow-slits with sloping sills (Pringle 1995: 90) (see figure 5.11). Except for the southern section, the wall has been completely demolished right to the lip of the *glaçis* (Benvenisti 1970: 141).

Figure 5.11: Wall section with casemated arrow-slits with sloping sills. The arrow-slit to the right has been partially blocked by the *glaçis*, facing south (A. Charland)

Figure 5.12: Inward projecting tower surrounding the south gate, facing southeast
(A. Charland)

Figure 5.13: Southeast corner tower with five courses of the city wall remaining intact above the lip of the *glaçis*. Each side of the tower was defended with three arrow-slits, the bases of which remain, facing northwest (A. Charland)

During the excavations carried out between May – July 1989 by Yehudah Neeman, Yosef Porath and Radwan Badihi on behalf of the Israeli Antiquity Authority and financed by the National Parks Authority, different clear building phases for Caesarea's southern wall have been distinguished. They concluded that the Frankish walls followed an earlier fortification dating either from the Abbasid or Fatimid periods (Porath *et al.* 1990: 133–134). Pringle (1995: 90) suggests that these walls were influenced by the earlier Roman-Byzantine street grid (see section 5.6). The French survey, carried out along Caesarea's east wall, generally supports this chronology. In addition to the Abbasid or Fatimid periods, the project also claims that the earlier building phase could date to the Umayyad period (Mesqui *et al.* 2010: 14, 225; Mesqui *et al.* 2008: 5, 74, 83).

Remains of fifteen towers, measuring 10 m by 17 m wide, can still be seen – two to the north, ten to the east and three to the south (although Pringle (1995: 90) claims there are only fourteen towers and Benvenisti (1970: 141), Holum (1988: 227), and Negev (1993: 277) claim that there are sixteen). Remains of a further two towers exist, but these were part of

a separate defensive unit protecting the castle and are thus discussed in section 5.4.4. The south gate is surrounded by an inner tower while the rest project 7 m to 8 m from the line of the curtain wall (see figure 5.12). The towers have arrow-slits running along all sides to protect all directions from attack (see figure 5.13). There may have been other towers along the west of the site but they have since been ruined through marine erosion. Fallen rubble, belonging either to the wall of a tower or to the *glaçis* itself, can be seen in the sea and suggest that this was the case.

Figure 5.14: General view of the northeast corner tower. One of John de Brienne's blocked posterns can be seen. This postern is flanked by two Romanesque sculptures belonging to the Church of Saint Lawrence, facing north (A. Charland)

The northeast corner tower contains several different building phases. The Frankish phases are discussed in greater detail in section 5.6 below. It would appear that King Louis IX's tower incorporated earlier fortifications and structures. I believe that the space was first occupied by a mosque from the Fatimid period with the eastern city wall running either closely alongside or abutting the structure. The mosque was then reconsecrated as a church after King Baldwin I's siege of 1101; it was dedicated to Saint Lawrence, the patron saint of the Genoese. Over the next century, the former mosque was

altered and decorated with Romanesque sculpture, part of which survives (see sections 5.6.1 and 5.6.2). After the Frankish loss at the battle of Hattin in 1187, part of the church was damaged during Saladin's destruction of the city in 1190–1191. The ecclesiastical remains were then incorporated into the walls of a tower, built during King John de Brienne's refortification of 1217–1218. Two posterns from this phase can still be seen (see figure 5.14). These defences were then destroyed in 1219–1220 by al-Mu'azzam 'Isā. Caesarea's defences lay broken until the German refortification, started in 1228 and completed in 1252 by King Louis IX. During this final building phase, King Louis IX integrated the remains of King John de Brienne's tower into the northeast tower.

Located south of the northeast corner tower a rectangular barrel-vaulted chamber survives in one of the eastern wall's towers (see figures 5.3 and 5.15). The chamber is entered from a simple rectangular doorway from the west heading east. There is also a rectangular window south of the doorway. Inside the chamber there is a rectangular slab of what appears to be modern sheet rock resting on pieces of rubble masonry as a makeshift bench (see figure 5.16).

Figure 5.15: Outside view of the rectangular barrel-vaulted chamber, facing southeast (A. Charland)

Figure 5.16: Inside view of the rectangular barrel-vaulted chamber located in a tower along the east wall, facing southeast (A. Charland)

5.4.3 THE GATES AND POSTERNS

Access to the city could be gained through one of the city's three gates: the east, or main, gate; the north gate; and the south gate. The east gate is located in the middle of the eastern stretch of wall and is reached by a bridge running over the moat. This bridge is supported by four masonry arches (see figure 5.17) and is currently covered by a modern wooden bridge allowing access to the National Park.

Figure 5.17: Four masonry arches support a bridge leading to the city's east gate, facing north (A. Charland)

This gate possesses at least two and possibly three phases: the first phase is represented in the inner face of the eastern gate which, according to Patrich (2011: 102 figure 23), contains the remains of a *tetrapylon* of the *quadrifrons* type (see figure 5.18). A second phase, which may be contemporary with the *tetrapylon*, consisted of two slightly projecting rectangular towers spaced 6.8 m apart with a gate placed in between, allowing for direct access to the city (Holum *et al.* 1988: 230; Negev 1993: 278; Pringle 1995: 90–91). The third phase, dating to the mid-thirteenth century, consists of a bent entrance, allowing for an indirect approach to the city (see figures 5.3 and 5.24). A tower was extended to cover the earlier

gate, so that the new entrance was positioned in the northern side of this tower, measuring 21.65 m broad and projecting 8.2–10 m (Pringle 1995: 91).

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due to copyright restrictions.
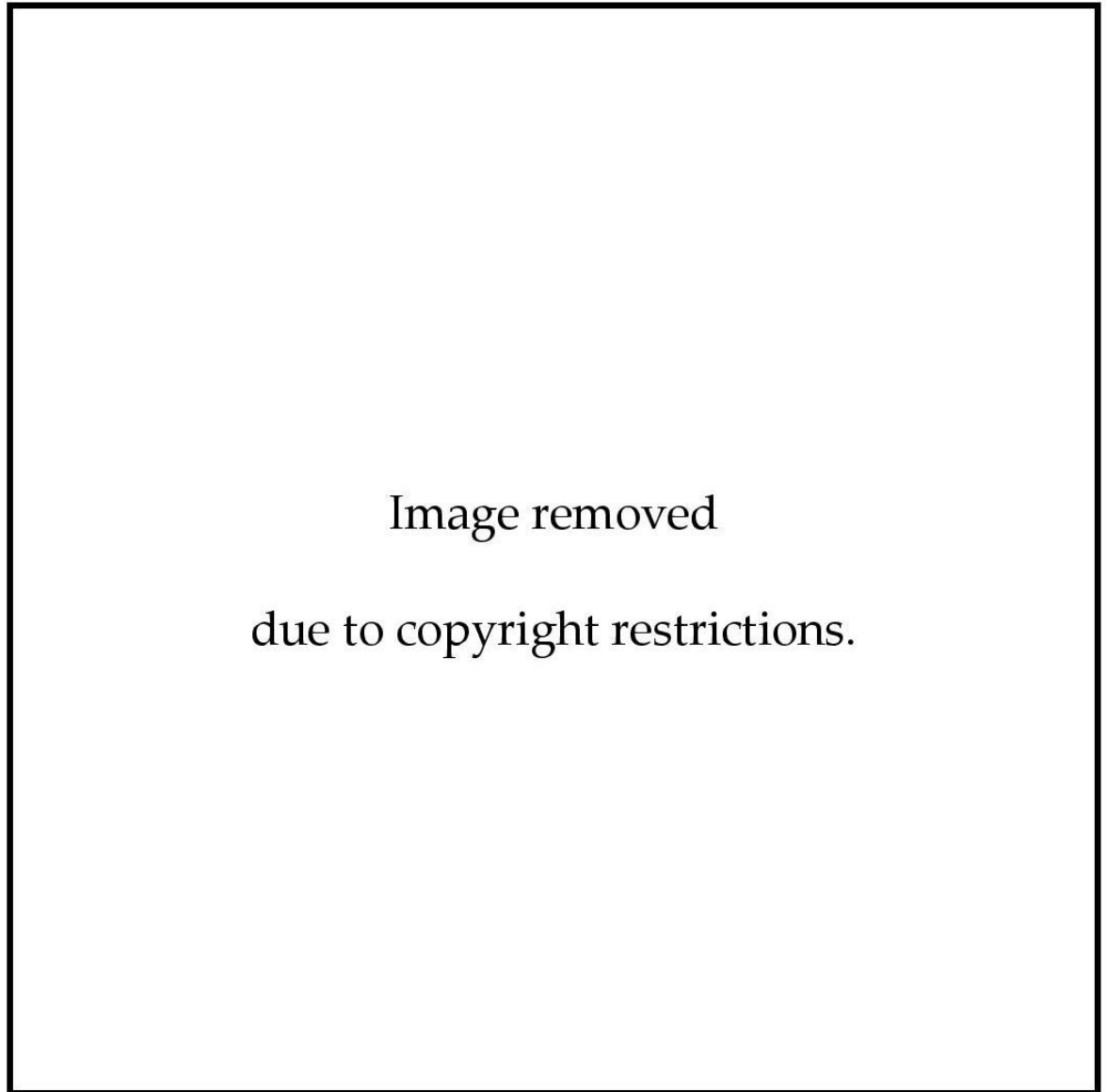
Figure 5.18: Example of a *tetrapylon* of the *quadrifrons* type, from Gerasa (Patrich 2011: figure 23, after Ball *et al.* 1986: 378 figure 14)

This tower has two spoliated columns positioned in the southeast corner, which would have been covered by the *glaçis* (see figure 5.19) (see section 5.6.3). Furthermore, the original gateway was reduced, so that it now measures 3.14 m (Pringle 1995: 91). To enter the city using this new configuration, one must cross the bridge and then turn 90 degrees

to the south, cross the main gate (see figure 5.20) and travel through the 15 m long hall and then turn another 90 degrees to the west before passing through the inner gate. Both doorways possessed defensive features, including a draw-bar over the doors, a portcullis, and a slit-machicolation for pouring oil through (Benvenisti 1970: 143; Pringle 1995: 90–91). The threshold of the north-facing doorway (main gate) is made of a marble block, and pieces of a spoliated column, cleft lengthwise, which still possess holes where the wing-door's hinges would have rested (Negev 1993: 277) (see figures 5.21 and 5.22).

Figure 5.19: Two columns have been placed vertically in the southeast corner of the east gate. These would have been covered by the *glaçis*, facing north (A. Charland)

The eastern gatehouse, analysed in section 5.6.3 below, measures 15 m long by 4.5 m wide, is paved with small, rectangular stone slabs and is covered with three bays of rib-vaults (see figure 5.23). In the southwest corner of the hall there is a low stone bench, a well and a basin, possibly used for watering horses (Holum *et al.* 1988: 230). The vault's eight brackets each possess a different design (for their locations see figure 5.24). The first bracket, located in the northwest corner, has a leaf or petal and stem motif (see figure 5.25). The second bracket, located on the northern side of the inner door, has an oak leaf

pattern while the third bracket, located on the southern side of the inner door, has a six-petal flower motif (see figures 5.26 and 5.27). The fourth bracket, located in the southwest corner, is a simple conical shape and is most likely attributed to the reconstruction of the gate-tower in the 1960s (see figure 5.28). The fifth bracket, located in the southeast corner, is in a ruined state (see figure 5.29). The sixth bracket, located on the eastern wall, opposite the third bracket, is a sculpture of a cherub-like Atlas holding up the vault (see figure 5.30). The seventh bracket, also located on the eastern wall, opposite the second bracket, is a sculpture of a horned figure or possibly several fleur-de-lys (see figure 5.31). The eighth bracket is located in the northeast corner and, like the fifth bracket, is also ruined (see figure 5.32).

The eastern gatehouse also has an upper storey that can be reached by climbing up the fallen stones, located to the south of the inner gate. These stones led to the stairs and a passage (a route which is not immediately apparent except that on the day of my visit I saw a bride and a photographer climbing down after having taken some wedding photographs) (see figure 5.33). The passage follows along the southern and eastern sides of the tower (see figure 5.34) before reaching another set of stairs (see figure 5.35) leading up to the now ruined upper floor. Each passage also possesses a window looking into the east gate's hall as well as a corresponding casemated arrow-slit looking outward.

After entering the city from the east gate there is a street leading westwards paved with limestone slabs which may have been reused from another Roman street or may have simply been a Roman street re-used by the Franks (Negev 1993: 278) (see figure 5.36).

Figure 5.20: The east gate's north-facing doorway, facing southwest (A. Charland)

Figure 5.21: Spoliated column placed along the threshold of the north-facing doorway in the east gate (opposite figure 5.22) (A. Charland)
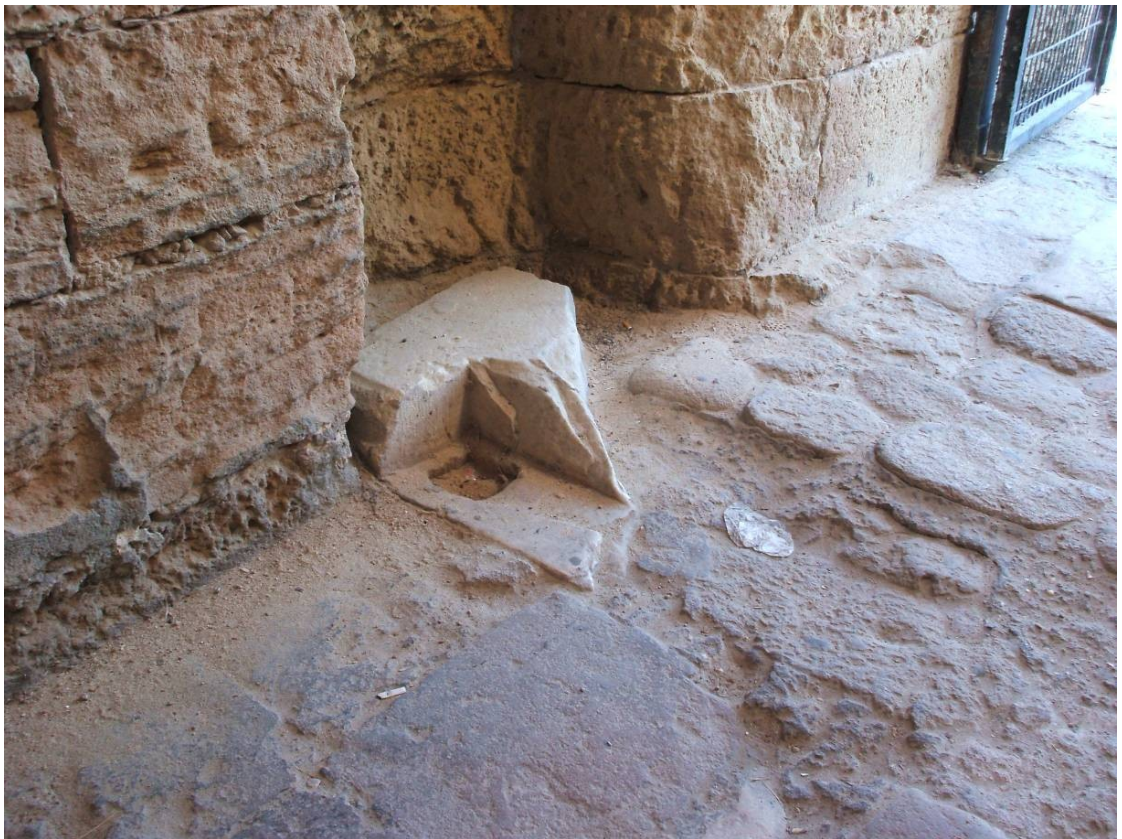
Figure 5.22: Spoliated marble used to support winged-door hinge in the north-facing doorway in the east gate (opposite figure 5.21) (A. Charland)

Figure 5.23: General view of the eastern gatehouse, facing south (A. Charland)

INNER EAST GATE

PETAL AND STEM

OAK LEAF

SIX-PETAL FLOWERS

CONICAL

RUINED

FLEUR-DE-LYS

CHERUB-LIKE ATLAS

N

RUINED
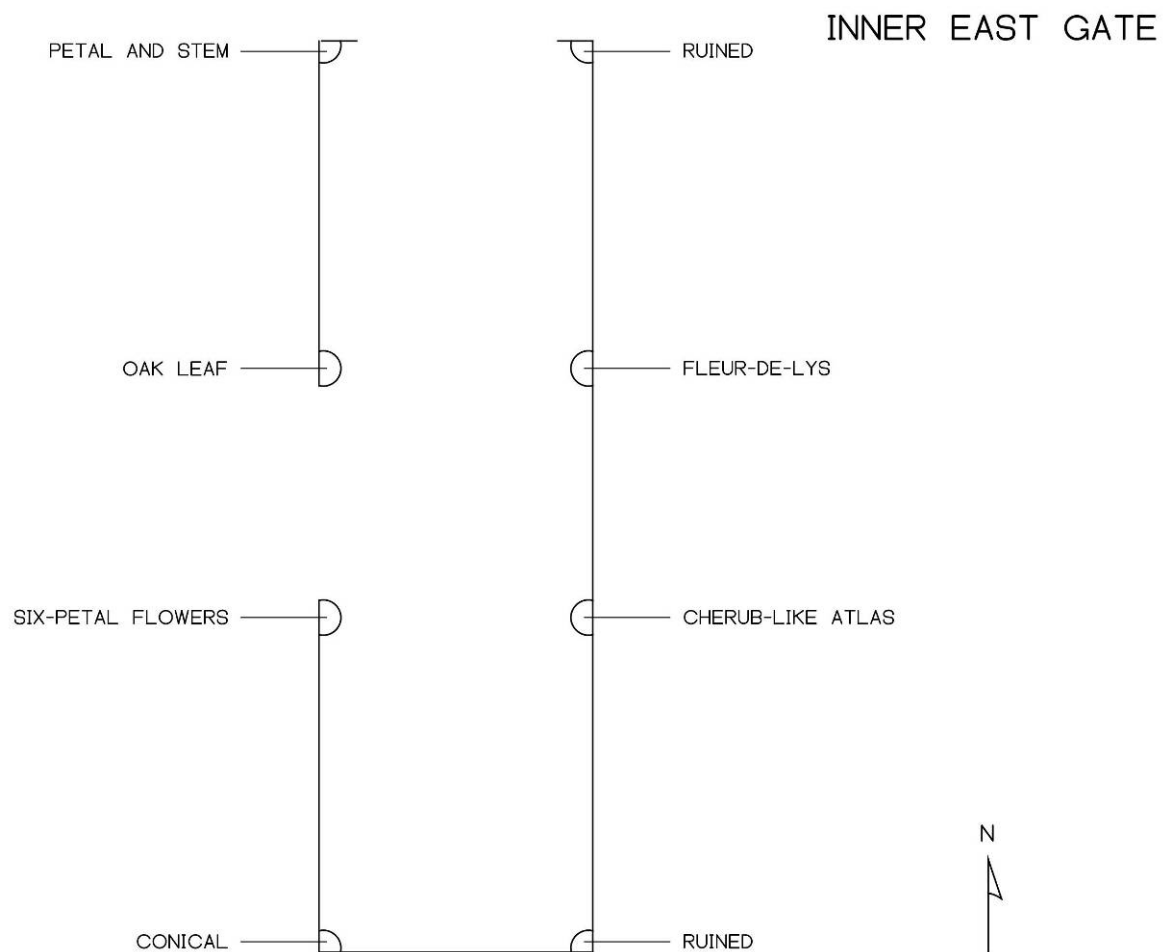
Figure 5.24: Schematic plan of the inner east gate demonstrating the location of the north and west facing entrances as well as the location of the gate's eight brackets. Drawing not to scale (A. Charland and T. Christian)
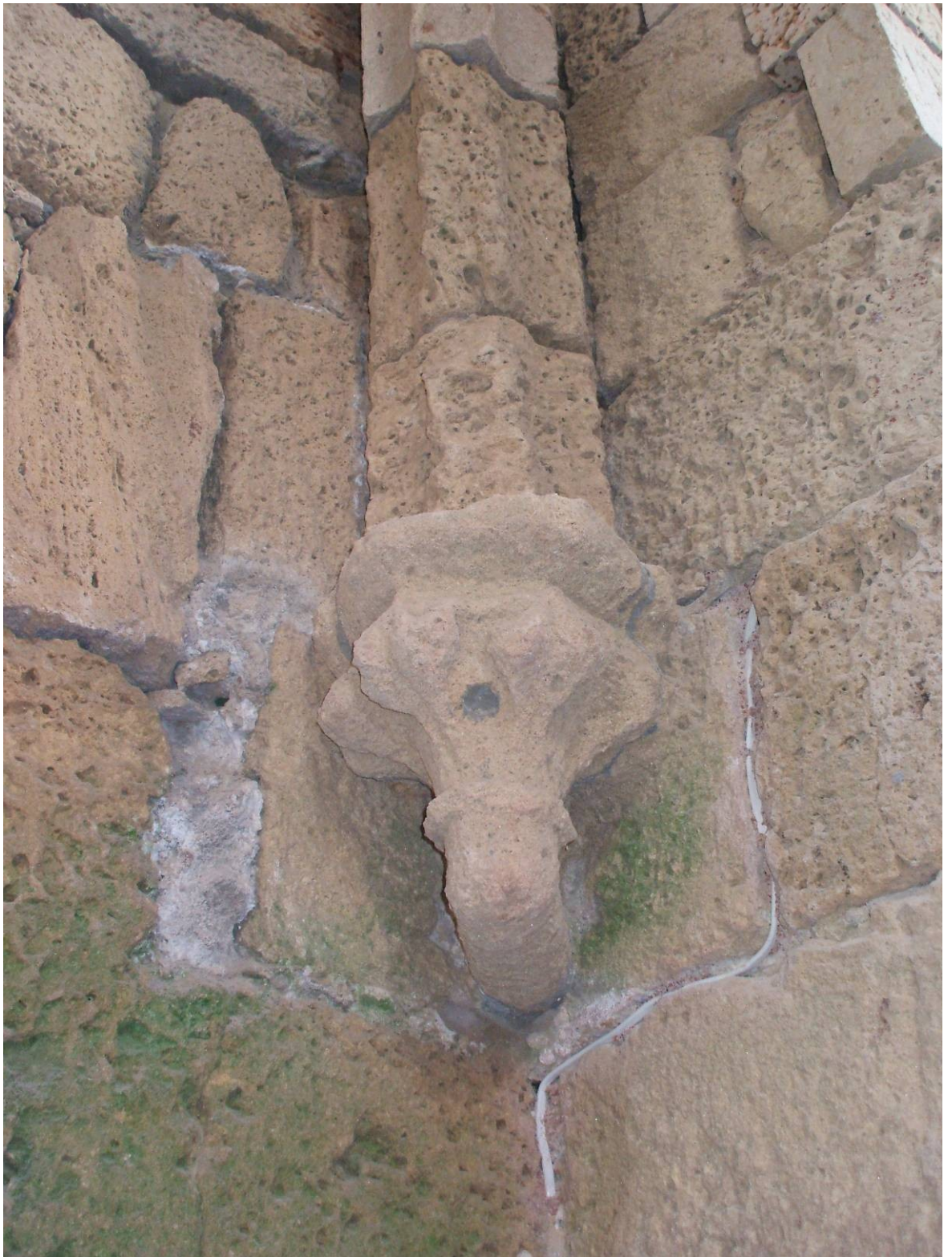
Figure 5.25: Bracket with possible petal and stem motif, located in the northwest corner of the east gate (A. Charland)

Figure 5.26: Bracket with oak leaf motif, located to the north of the eastern doorway (A. Charland)
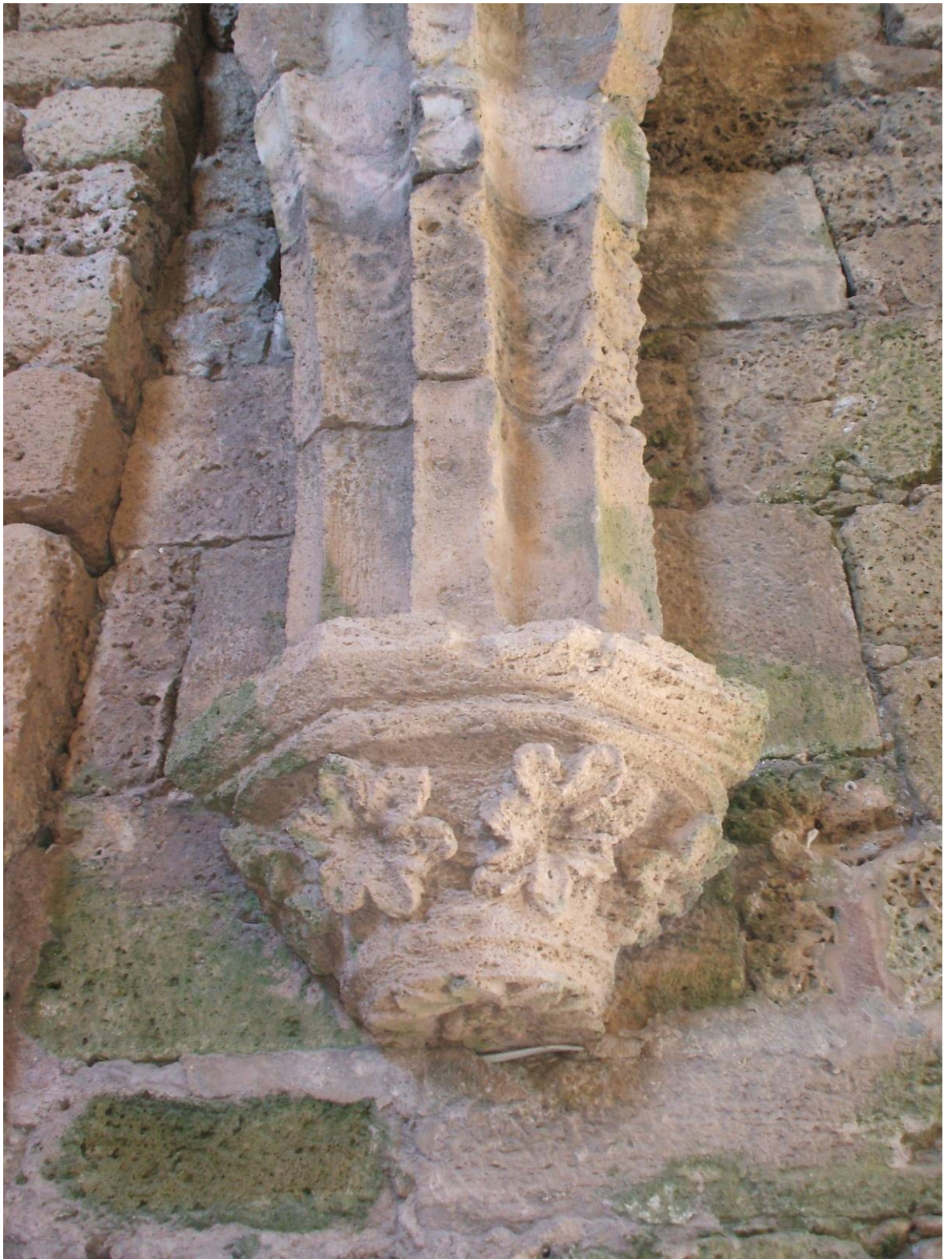
Figure 5.27: Bracket with six-petal flower motif, located west of the eastern doorway in the east gate (A. Charland)

Figure 5.28: Possible reconstructed bracket with conical motif, located in the southwest corner of the east gate (A. Charland)

Figure 5.29: Ruined bracket, located in the southeast corner of the east gate (A. Charland)

Figure 5.30: Bracket with cherub-like Atlas motif, located across from the six-petal motif column (A. Charland)

Figure 5.31: Bracket with possible fleur-de-lys motif, located across from the oak leaf bracket (A. Charland)

Figure 5.32: Ruined bracket, located in the northeast corner of the east gate (A. Charland)

Figure 5.33: View of rubble leading to the second storey of the eastern gate. The east gate's west doorway can be seen on the left and the passage leading to the upper storey can be seen on the right, facing east (A. Charland)

Figure 5.34: View of the passage leading to the east gate's second level, facing north (A. Charland)

Figure 5.35: Stairs leading to the second storey of the east gate, facing west (A. Charland)

Figure 5.36: View of the street leading from the east gate's western portal. This may have been a Roman street that was re-used by the Franks, or the limestone slabs may have been taken from another Roman street. The citadel (now art gallery) can be seen in the distance to the left, facing west (A. Charland)

To the south of the east gate, running in between the eastern wall and a Frankish house, is another street covered with European Gothic masonry arches (see figure 5.37). These arches may have carried a groin vault, or may have been covered with linen awnings (Benvenisti 1970: 144). The Frankish house follows a very eastern style as it was built on the foundations of an earlier house dating to the Early Arab period (Negev 1993: 278).

Figure 5.37: Street covered with Gothic arches running along the east wall, facing north
(A. Charland)

The north gate is located midway through the northern wall and, like the east gate, would have been reached via a timber bridge supported by a masonry pillar in the moat and by masonry arches on the *glaçis*, of which little remains today (Benvenisti 1970: 143) (see figure 5.38). This gate is also built in an indirect access style, forcing visitors to cross the bridge and then turn 90 degrees east, travel through the 8.25 m long square chamber, and finally turn 90 degrees to the south to enter the city. The west-facing doorway, measuring 3.2 m wide, was defended by a portcullis, possibly by a slit-machicolation, and its wing-doors would have been secured with a draw-bar (Pringle 1995: 90). The gate's thresholds

incorporated marble spolia of which one piece in the south-facing doorway has a hole to allow for a wing-door's hinge.

Figure 5.38: Remains of masonry pier (with loose column sitting on top) and arch that would have supported a timber bridge to the city's north gate, facing south (A. Charland)

The tower's ground floor was covered with a rib-vault, which met four hexagonal corner pilasters (Pringle 1995: 90). The ceiling is now collapsed but the pilasters remain *in situ* and retain their beautiful leaf designs, which are further discussed in section 5.6.3 below (see figure 5.39 and 5.40). In the southwest corner of the tower there remains a staircase which would have led to an upper storey and there is a further staircase leading up along the outside of the tower's eastern wall, possibly to a wall-walk running along the curtain wall (see figures 5.41 and 5.42).

Figure 5.39: Pilasters with leaf designs, located in the northwest and northeast corners of the north gate (A. Charland)

The south gate is the least preserved of the city's three gates. Unlike the east and north gates, the south gate-tower projected inwardly (see figure 5.12), constructed within the line of the curtain wall, instead of outwardly into the moat. Like the other gates, this gate was reached by a bridge supported by a masonry pier and consisted of a pair of wing-doors, its hinges resting in spoliated marble blocks, a portcullis and a slit-machicolation (Pringle 1995: 91) (see figures 5.43, 5.44 and 5.45).

Figure 5.40: Close-up of pilaster and capital with a leaf motif, located in the southeast corner of the north gate (A. Charland)

Figure 5.41: Southwest stairway leading to second story in the north gate. Southwest corner pilaster with ruinous capital can be seen as well as the west portal, facing southwest (A. Charland)

The gate-tower may have been paved with thin stones, of which one course remains (Porath *et al.* 1990: 132). Due to the state of the tower it is not clear whether it was built to allow for indirect access, or if it was demolished and later reconfigured to allow for direct access to the town (Pringle 1995: 91). Interestingly, Benvenisti (1970: 143) and Negev (1993: 278) believe that the gate was never completed, possibly because there is no evidence that the gate-tower was covered, but I believe it more likely that the current level of damage can be attributed to one of the city's many destructions and subsequent stone robbing.

In addition to the city's three gates, there are three posterns that led to the bottom of the moat: the first is located by the southeast corner tower; the second is north of the east gate; and the third is located some ways east of the north gate. Each postern-gate could be reached by travelling down a narrow set of stairs accessed from within the city's walls. These facilitated surprise sorties and allowed defenders to disable enemy siege engines should they come too close to the wall (Pringle 1995: 91).

The first postern, located below the southeast corner tower, remains more or less intact and its passage measures 14 m long (Negev 1993: 278). The stairs leading down to the postern-gate are covered by a sloping gallery and is simpler in design than the other posterns (see figures 5.46, 5.47 and 5.48). The postern-gate blends into the curve of the *glaçis*, obscured from a visitor's vision so that the gate remains hidden until you are quite near. The doorway is not well defined, unlike the other posterns whose doorways are outlined with stones, and it has several notches along its edge, measuring 6 cm high and 15 cm long. The notches' purpose is not known, they could have been used to hold a decorative frame outlining the opening, or they could be the result of a later frame to block access to the postern all together.

Figure 5.42: View of stairway on the northern gate's east wall. These stairs may have led to a wall-walk running along the curtain wall, facing north (A. Charland)

Figure 5.43: The south gate. Two spoliated marble pieces can be seen at the top of the doorway. These were used to hold the winged-door hinges, facing south (N. Charland pictured) (A. Charland)

Figure 5.44: View of bridge leading to the south gate, facing north (A. Charland)

Figure 5.45: View of masonry pier and bridge leading to south gate, taken from the moat, facing northeast (A. Charland)

Figure 5.46: View of the southeast postern from within the moat, facing east (A. Charland)

Figure 5.47: Southeast Postern. Based on the voussoirs (located just beneath the second from the top notch on each side) it would appear that the original outline of the opening was lower than its current position, facing north (A. Charland)

Figure 5.48: Stairway leading down to southeast postern, facing south (A. Charland)

The second postern is located to the west of the northeast corner tower. Its stairs are covered by a sloping gallery, measuring 7 m by 1.1 m by 3 m (Negev 1993: 277), but are currently inaccessible due to overgrown vegetation and debris (see figure 5.51) . The postern-gate leading out to the *glaçis* has a well defined arched doorway and has a small slit positioned above it, which function is unknown as it appears to be too small to be an effective arrow-slit (see figures 5.49 and 5.50). This gate was completely blocked, either before or during Baibars's destruction of 1265 (Benvenisti 1970: 143; Negev 1993: 277).

The third postern is situated 30 m north of the eastern gate. Like the northern postern, it has a well delineated doorway with a slit located above it. It is also partially blocked, so that the bottom of the doorway is sealed. The eastern postern was built with excellent workmanship, its passage measures 7 m long and is covered with gradually descending cross vaults (Negev 1993: 278) (see figures 5.52, 5.53 and 5.54).

Figure 5.49: View of the northern postern from the top of the counterscarp, facing south (A. Charland)

Figure 5.50: Blocked northern postern, facing south (A. Charland)

Figure 5.51: Stairs leading to northern postern, facing north (A. Charland)

Figure 5.52: View of the partially blocked eastern postern from the top of the counterscarp, facing west (A. Charland)

Figure 5.53: Partially blocked eastern postern, facing west (A. Charland)

Figure 5.54: View of the cross-vaults leading down to eastern postern, facing east
(A. Charland)

Benvenisti (1970: 143) mentions an additional entrance located in the western corner of the northern wall, used for loading carts. There is a masonry pillar in the moat and remains of masonry arches in the *glaçis* for a bridge in the area he is describing (see figure 5.55). The area directly above the arches could not be observed or photographed as it was fenced off.

Figure 5.55: Remains of masonry arches meant to support a bridge to the west of the north gate (the north gate can be seen just past the modern bridge), facing east (A. Charland)

5.4.4 THE CASTLE

In the southwest there is a natural sandstone promontory that once held Strato's Tower and later formed the southern part of Harod's otherwise manmade harbour. This was probably the site of the *amīr's* citadel and finally the site of the Franks' castle (Holum *et al.* 1988: 231) (see figure 5.3).

The castle was cut off from the rest of the city's defences. It was separated from the land by a sea-level rock-cut ditch measuring 20 m wide, and was defended by a wall that was flanked by square towers that were built of massive blocks and re-used marble and

granite columns (Holum *et al.* 1988: 231; Pringle 1995: 90) (see figure 5.3). It appears that this 'checkerboard' tower would have looked very similar to the walls of Sidon castle (see figures 4.26, 5.56 and 5.57).

The Franks built a bastion with several towers around a large *donjon* or keep. It is speculated that this rectangular masonry tower, built some time during the twelfth or perhaps early thirteenth century, would have been several stories high (Benvenisti 1970: 143; Holum *et al.* 1988: 231). One of the entrances has been discovered leading from the harbour in the northeast corner, and a hall and gateway have been preserved at ground level but are currently covered in rubble (Benvenisti 1970: 143; Negev 1993: 278).

Figure 5.56: Section of the broken wall from the 'checkerboard' pattern tower. The south gate can be seen in the distance to the right, facing east (A. Charland)

Figure 5.57: The base of the 'checkerboard' tower, facing west (A. Charland)

Figure 5.58: The ruins of the medieval citadel have been converted into an art gallery and a sushi restaurant. The corner of the 'checkerboard' tower can be seen to the left, facing west (A. Charland)

As well as succumbing to the 1265 and 1291 destructions, the *donjon* was again damaged during the nineteenth century to make way for the construction of the governor's house, and was further destroyed by an explosion during the First World War (Caesarea National Park n.d.; Holum *et al.* 1988: 231). The ruins have since been turned into an artist's studio as well as a sushi restaurant (see figure 5.58). Sections of the keep's wall can still be seen scattered in the surrounding water.

5.4.5 THE CATHEDRAL

The cathedral is located in the south of the medieval city (see figure 5.3). It was built over rounded barrel-vaults, which appear to have been used as warehouses as well as a podium for Herod's temple of Rome and Augustus, built circa 22–29 B.C. (Pringle 1993: 167). This area appears to have been the site of continued religious use from Roman through medieval times. The foundations of an octagonal structure, found northeast of the cathedral, dating either to the late Roman or Byzantine periods, may have formed part of an Episcopal complex (Pringle 1993: 170). According to Muqaddasī and Nāsir-i-Khusraw, this area was also the location of the Arab city's great mosque, of which no clear evidence remains (Pringle 1993: 170) (see section 5.3 above). This area was in turn converted into the Frankish Cathedral of Saint Peter. From its elevated position, the cathedral has a clear view of the harbour and castle (see figure 5.59).

According to Pringle (1993: 172–177) the cathedral has three discernable phases, which he labels A, B and C (Phase A being the earliest phase and C the latest) (see figure 5.60). It should be noted that Benvenisti (1970: 144–145), Holum (1988: 234–235), Negev (1993: 278) and Porath (1998: 48) believe that only two phases exist, corresponding to Pringle's Phases B and C, and that Phase C was built before Phase B. They feel that only one cathedral (Phase C) was built and was in turn replaced by a smaller church (Phase B). However, given Pringle's explanation of the ruins' stratigraphic relationship, I believe his phasing and interpretation to be the most correct. Pringle (1993: 172) argues that the Frankish cathedral would have first been a vaulted basilica with three aisles of five bays each, ending in three separate sanctuaries with semi-circular apses and plain rounded exterior walls (see figure 5.61).

Figure 5.59: View of the citadel from the cathedral ruins, facing west (A. Charland)

Of this phase (A), sections of the north, west and southern walls remain, which were built of narrowly coursed sandstone (*kurkar*) ashlar with a mortared rubble fill as well as the occasional spoliated column-shaft and column-base. There are also the remains of two pilasters along the southern wall with pieces of *opus sectile* paving, composed of re-used white mosaic tesserae and fragments of antique marble veneer (Conder and Kitchener 1881–1883 II: 27; Pringle 1993: 172–175). Moreover, three plinths for pilasters remain at the eastern end of the church (see figure 5.62). It is unknown when construction on this basilica began but the pilasters indicate a twelfth century date, thus it seems likely that it was complete and being used when the city fell to the Ayyubids in 1187 (Pringle 1993: 179).

Phase B consists of a much smaller church built within the ruins of the Phase A basilica. The masonry foundation of a semi-circular apse with a five-sided exterior wall is all that remain. It was constructed with crudely shaped sandstone blocks, of which there are only three courses; they appear to have been taken from a previously demolished building (Pringle 1993: 175). Pringle (1993: 179) suggests that this smaller church was built to allow

cathedral services to continue in the nave while the reconstruction of the chevet was in progress.

The third phase of construction (C) is located in the east end of the cathedral, built on top of the foundations of the Phase A basilica (see figures 5.61 and 5.62). Phase A is represented by one course of large finely cut ashlar stones with a heavily chipped top edge. The Phase C work is similar to Phase A as it also consists of finely-cut sandstone ashlars with a mortared rubble core (Pringle 1993: 176).

These walls survive to a height of 3.58 m above the pavement level of the nave and include the remains of three arched alcoves and a pair of aubries. Although it appears that the east end was completed, Pringle (1993: 177) believes that the interior may not have had its final fitting-out: firstly there is no evidence for metal cramps or brackets for the aubries' door frames; secondly, small rectangular holes, intended for pegs for a marble veneer, do not extend past the north apse and the northern side of the central apse; lastly there is no evidence of a marble raised pavement, although Pringle does admit that the cathedral may have had a temporary floor which could have since disappeared and thus left no trace behind.

Phases B and C have no definitive dates. The city's destructions in 1190–1191 by Saladin and in 1219–1220 by al-Mu'azzam 'Isā may account for the necessity to rebuilt the Phase A basilica. Thus Phases B and C could have occurred during one of the subsequent refortifications of Caesarea during 1217–1218, 1228 or 1251–1252. The celebration of the feast of the Purification is recounted by Oliver of Paderborn (1971: 56) in 1218, and thus it can be assumed that a church was functioning during this time, although whether this celebration took place in the Phase B or C church we do not know (Pringle 1993: 179). As the 1228 and 1251–1252 refortifications are linked, I think it possible that Phase C occurred during this time and that Phase B may be linked to the earlier 1217–1218 construction. In any case, we do know from the account of Baibars's siege (see section 5.7 below) that the cathedral was still standing in 1265.

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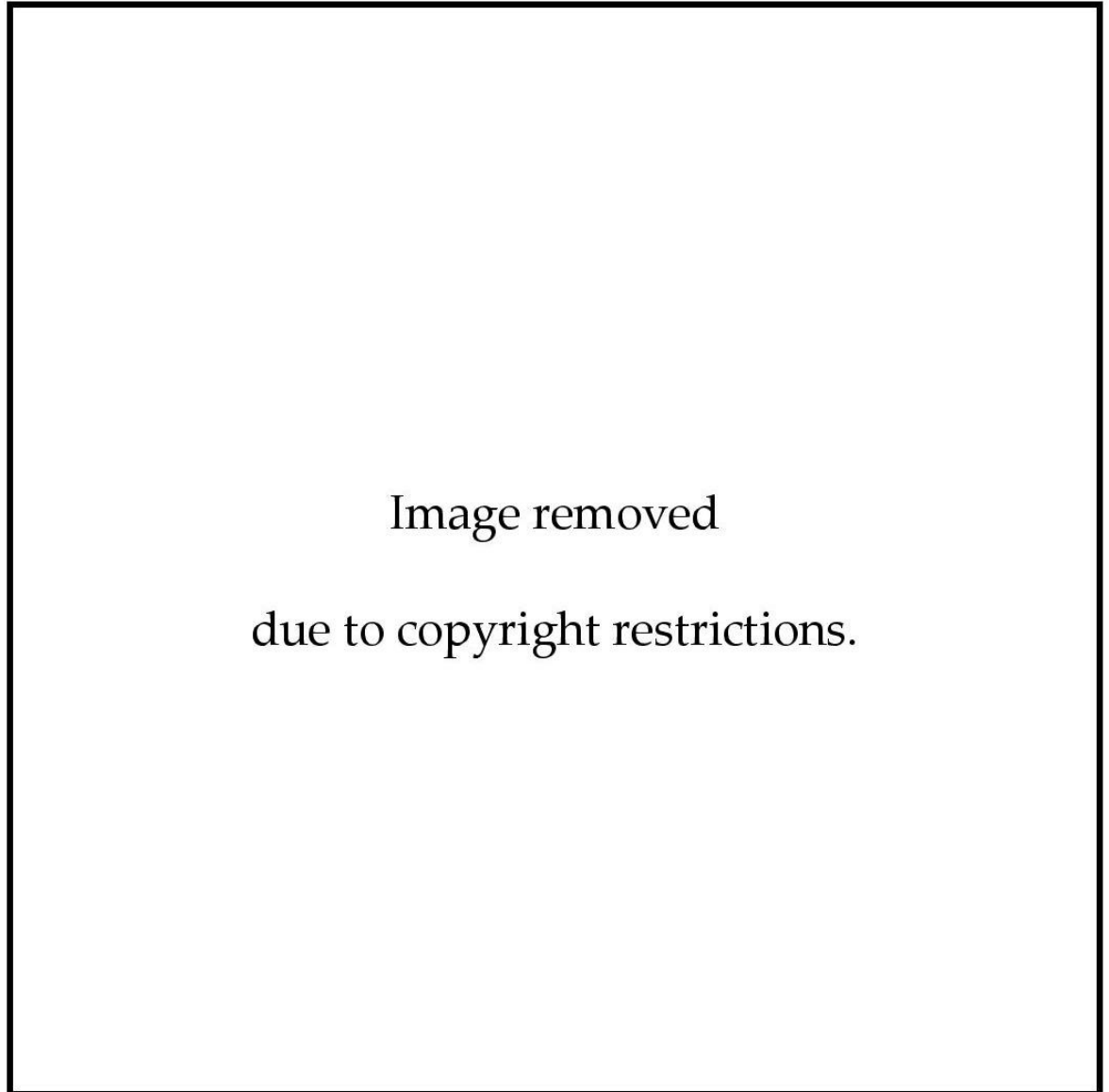
Figure 5.60: Plan of the remains of the Cathedral of Saint Peter as they appeared in 1986
(Pringle 1993: 169 figure 50)

Figure 5.61: View of the Cathedral of Saint Peter ruins. The larger Phase C stones have been built on top of the Phase A stones, of which only one course of large ashlars remain, facing northwest (A. Charland)

Figure 5.62: Inside view of the Cathedral of Saint Peter ruins, showing the eastern end of the church. Three courses of the Phase B church can be seen in the centre of the photograph, as well as three Phase A plinths for pilasters, facing east (A. Charland)

The following sections of this chapter serve to analyse Caesarea's city walls by looking at the archaeological, historical, and sigillographic evidence and discussing what it can tell us about how the walls were perceived and functioned during different periods throughout the Frankish era. As with Ascalon's walls in Chapter 4, I will be looking at the different cultures that built and interacted with the walls chronologically (see section 2.2), and then within each chronological period I will attend to the wall's different functions thematically. Firstly, I will analyse Caesarea's walls during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries by looking at the seals of the lords and ladies of Caesarea. Secondly, I will look at the walls built in the early-thirteenth century during the reign of King John de Brienne. Thirdly, I will analyse the walls constructed during King Louis IX's monumental enterprise in the mid-thirteenth century. Lastly, I will examine Baibars's razing of the city in 1265, and how he used the walls as part of the performance of battle.

5.5 ANALYSIS: THE LORDS' AND LADIES' WALLS

The walls of Caesarea were seen as an object of power throughout the Frankish occupation. The lords and ladies of Caesarea used images of the city's fortifications to convey not only the city's strength and military might but also their own seigneurial power. This iconographic practice is observed throughout the city's biography through a series of documentary seals (see section 2.2). Two lead seals belonging to Eustace Granier and Hugh (Eidelstein 2002: Plate 30 A–B; Ringel 1975: 169, plate 3) (see figures 5.63 and 5.65) survive, as well as four antiquarian sketches of seals belonging to Gautier I, Hugh, Gautier II, and Julianne and her second husband Adhémar de Lairon (Hazard 1974: 362 figures 11, 14, 16 and 17 after Schlumberger et al. 1943: Plates XVII and XVIII, which are based on the drawings of Paoli 1733–1737 I: Tab. I n.12, III n.27, and Tab. IV n.41 and n.45) (see figures 5.64, 5.66–5.68). According to the chronicles, seals were also used by John of Caesarea as well as by Marguerite and her husband John L'Aleman. However, these have been lost and no description is available (Hazard 1974: 367–368). A short genealogical history and description of the surviving seals of the lords and ladies of Caesarea is offered followed by iconographic analysis.

5.5.1 THE LORDS AND LADIES OF CAESAREA AND THEIR SEALS

The fief of Caesarea was first granted to Eustace Granier sometime between 1105 and 1110 (LaMonte 1947: 145 n.2; William of Tyre 1976 I: 489). He held the title of Lord of Caesarea and Sidon until his death in 1123 when his lands were divided between his twin sons, Caesarea to Gautier I (1123–1149/1154) and Sidon to Eustace II. His seal was found in shallow sea water near the city's ancient port and is now in a private collection (Eidelstein 2002: 247) (see figure 5.63). The seal was found in nearly the same area as that of Hugh's which was found in the 1960s (see below). It is most likely that both seals were displaced during the excavations and thus ended up in the sea.

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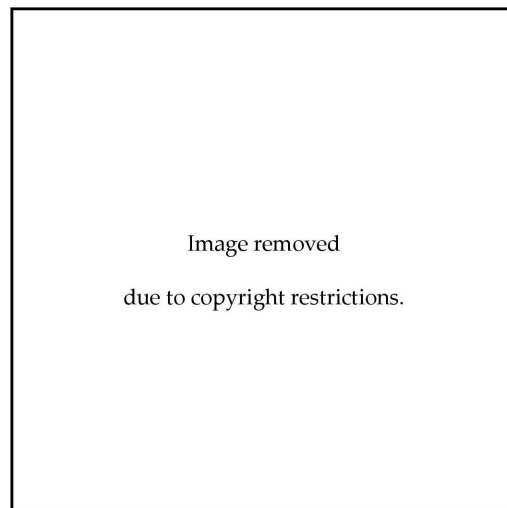
Figure 5.63: Seal of Eustace Granier, Lord of Caesarea from 1105/1110–1123. Lead; 32/35 mm; 23.2 gr.; axis 12. Cord channel from 11 to 5, (Eidelstein 2002: Plate A–B)

According to Eidelstein (2002: 245), who observed the seal first hand, the obverse is slightly convex and has a knight galloping to the left. He is wearing a pointed helmet and holding a blunt lance with a three-pointed banner in his right hand and a small oblong shield in his left hand. The reins are visible as well as a spur on the knight's left foot. The seal's marginal inscription is contained within an outer and inner line of dots and reads: + SIGILLVM EVSTACII GRAN. The letters have serifs. The letter 'U' occurs twice and is rendered as 'V'. The reverse is slightly concave. The city of Caesarea is represented as a tall central tower with four battlements and an arched gateway with double doors, of which the right hand panel contains a smaller door. The planks of the doors are clearly shown. The tower is flanked by sections of wall, each with three battlements. The masonry is clearly defined throughout the structures. The marginal inscription is

contained within an outer and inner line of dots and reads: + CIUITAS CESAREE. The letters have serifs and the letter 'V' is rendered as the letter 'U' (Eidelstein 2002: 245).

By 1131, Eustace II of Sidon appears to have died, leaving his fief to his minor son Girard under the guardianship of Gautier I. Acting as regent, Gautier I signs and seals a document dated September 21, 1131 confirming grants made to the Hospitallers by his father Eustace Granier as Lord of Caesarea and Sidon (LaMonte 1947: 147, citing Delaville Le Roulx 1894–1904 I: 94; and Röhricht 1893: 30 n.139) (see figure 5.64).

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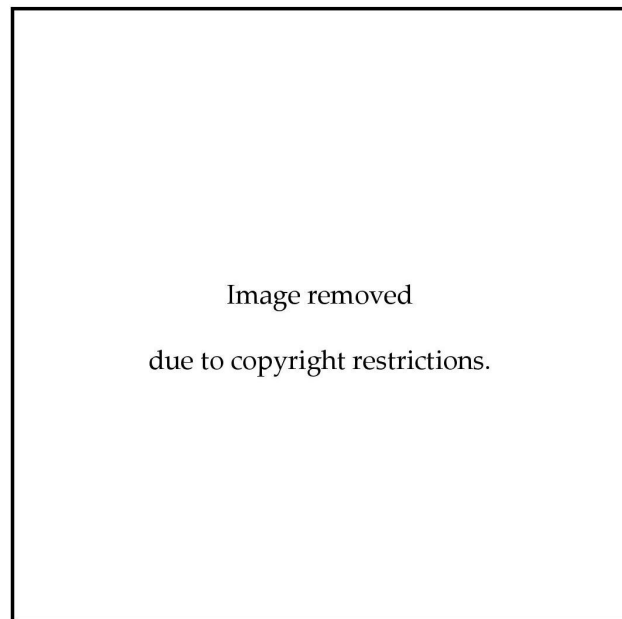
Figure 5.64: Sketch of Gautier I's seal. Lord of Caesarea from 1123–1149/1154. Lead; measuring approximated 3 cm in diameter (Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: Plate XVIII n.2, after Paoli 1733–1737 I: Tab. I n.12; also reproduced in Hazard 1974: 362 n.11)

Gautier I's seal, now lost, was made of lead and appeared on at least two documents: the aforementioned September 1131 document and an additional document dated December 19, 1135 (Röhricht 1893: 39 n.159). On the obverse of Gautier I's seal there is a profile view of a knight in a conical helm riding a horse galloping leftward. He is holding a shield that covers the length of his torso in his left hand and a lance is couched in his right with the point dipping. The marginal inscription reads: + SIGILLVM GALTERII GRANERII. The letters have serifs and the letter 'U' is rendered as 'V'.

On the reverse, the city of Caesarea is represented by a diamond-shaped curtain wall built with large square stones. The curtain wall possesses two open arched gateways and two

towers. Each tower is decorated with a roundel, perhaps representative of spoliated columns, and three horizontal lines, perhaps indicating that the stones were placed in a decorative pattern to create these lines. At the far corner stands a phallus-shaped donjon surmounted by a cupola. The donjon is attached to the right-hand tower by a smaller, lesser-decorated wall, leaving the space between the donjon and the left-hand tower empty. Schlumberger (1943: 42) suggests the small wall to be a set of stairs leading from the smaller tower to the donjon. I suggest, however, that the empty space represents the city's harbour and that the smaller lesser-decorated wall represents the spit of land on which the city's citadel is located. When comparing the reverse of the seal with a plan of the city, it is apparent that the location of the donjon and smaller wall is transposed. I propose that the engravers forgot to inverse the layout of the city's fortifications when they were creating the seal thus creating a mirror image of the city's walls. The marginal inscription reads: + CESAREA · CIVITAS. The letters have serifs (Hazard 1974: 366; Schlumberger et al. 1943: 42–43).

In 1132 Gautier I accused his step-father, Hugh of Jaffa, of treason against King Foulque. Hugh was subsequently banished. Despite this act, Gautier I does not appear to have been intimately acquainted with the court; Gautier I witnessed only one of Foulque's (1138) and only one of King Baldwin III's royal charters (1147) (LaMonte 1947: 148, citing Delaville Le Roulx 1894–1904 I: 175; de Rozière 1849: 33; and Röhricht 1893: 43 n.174, 62 n.245). Gautier I died sometime between 1149 and 1154; his youngest son, Hugh (1149/1154–1168/1174), first appearing as Lord of Caesarea on an act for Baldwin III (LaMonte 1947: 149, citing Delaville Le Roulx 1894–1904 I: 225; and Röhricht 1893: 74–75 n.293).

Unlike his father, Hugh appears to have been quite popular with the royal court. He witnessed several royal documents for King Baldwin III (LaMonte 1947: 149, citing Delaville Le Roulx 1894–1904 I: 225, 258 and 296; de Rozière 1849: 52, 53, 54 and 56; Paoli 1733–1737 I, 50; Röhricht 1893: 74–75 n.293, 76–77 n.299, 83–84 n.325, 90 n.344, 92–93 n.354, 93 n.355, and 96–97 n.366; Strehlke 1869: 3), Melissende (LaMonte 1947: 149, citing Röhricht 1893: 88 n.338; and Société de l'Orient Latin 1881–1884 II B: 135), and Amaury (LaMonte 1947: 149, citing Delaville Le Roulx 1894–1904 I: 344 and 348; Delaville Le Roulx 1905–1908: 183; de Rozière 1849: 59 and 144; Hagenmeyer 1899: 312; Müller 1879: 11;

Société de l'Orient Latin 1881–1884 II B: 140; and Röhricht 1893: 77 n.300, 104–105 n.397, 105 n.400, 107 n.412, 107 n.413, 108 n.416, 110 n.423 and 117 n.449). He accompanied the kings on their campaigns and served as ambassador for King Amaury during his negotiations with the Caliph of Egypt in 1167 (William of Tyre 1976 II: 319–341). Hugh was held in such high regard by both the barons of Jerusalem and the Muslims of Egypt that he acted as an emissary in the final negotiations of a peace treaty between the Caliph and the King (William of Tyre 1976 II: 340–341). Hugh last appears in the sources as a witness to a charter, signed at Acre in May 1168, of King Amaury (LaMonte 1947: 151, citing Müller 1879: 11; and Röhricht 1893: 117 n.449). Hugh had three children with his wife Isabelle Goman: Guy, Gautier II, and Julianne, all of whom succeeded to the fief.

During his life Hugh gifted various parcels of land to different religious houses. In 1160, and not in 1131 as it was incorrectly dated by Schlumberger (1943: 43) (corrected in Hazard 1974: 366 n.37), Hugh's lead seal was attached to a document stating that he gave land and revenues to the church of Santa Maria Latina for the salvation of his father and grandfather's souls. The gift is all the more poignant as Hugh's father and grandfather were buried in the church of Santa Maria Latina (LaMonte 1947: 150, citing Röhricht 1893: 89 n.342; and Paoli 1733–1737 I: 205–206 n.162). The lead seal was found during the aftermath of excavations in 1960. During the clearing of the medieval moat, deposits of earth-fill originating from the moat were thrown into the sea and the seal was subsequently found in the water by a member of the Sdot-Yam kibbutz (Kool 2007: 187 n.23). Hugh's seal is currently held at the Antiquities Museum of Sdot-Yam in Caesarea (inventory number CMC.1) (Gersht and Muzeon Sedot-Yam (Israel) 1999: 79 n.18). Both the lead seal and sketch show similar imagery but have some differences (see figures 5.65 and 5.66). It would appear that Paoli sketched a slightly different seal, or he may have not been overly concerned with reproducing the seal with a great degree of precision.

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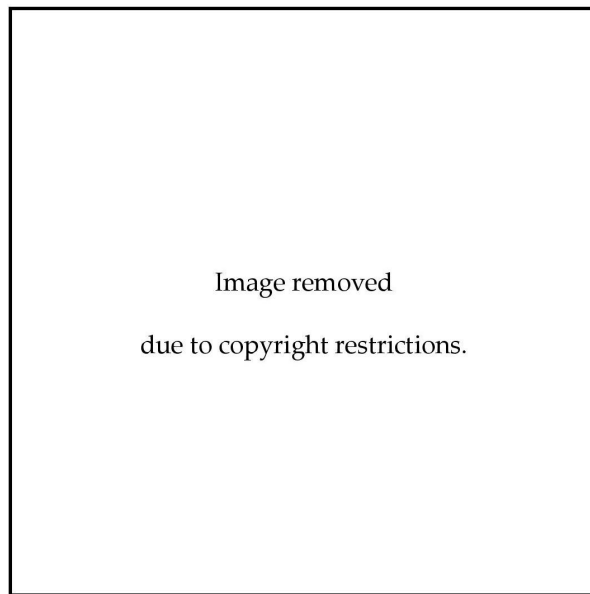
Figure 5.65: Seal of Hugh. Lord of Caesarea from 1149/1154–1168/1174. Lead; measuring approximately 3.5 cm in diameter and 18.79 gr.; axis 12 (Gersht and Muzeon Sedot-Yam (Israel) 1999: 79 n.18)

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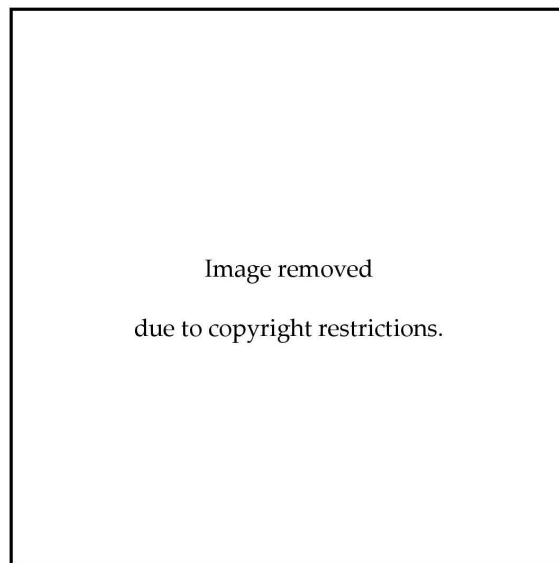
Figure 5.66: Sketch of Hugh's seal. Lord of Caesarea from 1149/1154–1168/1174 (Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: Plate XVIII n.1, after Paoli 1733–1737 I: Tab. III n.27; also reproduced in Hazard 1974: 362 n.14)

The obverse depicts the profile of a knight seated on a horse galloping leftward. The knight is wearing a conical helm tilted forward and is holding a lance, with a three-toothed banner at the tip, horizontally. The knight carries a shield that covers his entire torso. The marginal inscription is contained within an outer and inner line of dots and reads: + SIGILLUM UGONIS GRANERII. The letters have serifs. On the reverse the city of Caesarea is represented by a tower with four crenellations which is pierced by an arch

with double swinging gates. Unlike Eustace's seal, this gate no longer contains the smaller door which, according to Eidelstein (2002: 246) may reflect an actual physical modification. Flanking both sides of the arched gates are lower curtain walls each with three battlements. The masonry is clearly defined throughout the fortifications. The doors and archway are more pronounced on the actual lead seal (see figure 5.65) than on the sketch (see figure 5.66); each door within the main tower's arch is clearly outlined on the actual seal whereas it is denoted by a single line on the sketch. The marginal inscription on the actual seal is held within an outer and inner line of dots while on the sketch these are depicted as simple lines. The inscription reads: + CIUITAS CESAREE. The letters have serifs and the 'V' is rendered as a 'U' on the actual seal while the sketch has replaced the 'U' with a 'V' (Eidelstein 2002: 246; Hazard 1974: 366; Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: 43).

Hugh and Isabelle's eldest son, Guy (1168/1174–1176/1182), is only known by his appearance on two charters: 1174 (along with his brother Gautier II) (LaMonte 1947: 151, citing Röhricht 1893: 137 n.517; and Strehlke 1869: 7) and 1176 (LaMonte 1947: 151, citing Delaville Le Roulx 1894–1904 I: 495; and Röhricht 1893: 143–144 n.539). Gautier II (1176/1182–1189/1191), Hugh and Isabelle's second son appears with the title Lord of Caesarea on an act in 1182, in which he sells the Casal of Galilaea in the territory of Caesarea to the Hospital for 5000 besants (LaMonte 1947: 151, citing Delaville Le Roulx 1894–1904 I: 621; and Röhricht 1893: 164 n.619).

Gautier II's seal was originally affixed to the 1182 act but is now lost (see figure 5.67). Gautier II's seal is similar to that of his father. On the obverse there is a knight galloping rightward. His face is given in a three-quarter view and his head is covered with a bowl-shaped helm. The knight carries a shield, running the length of his body, as well as a raised lance ornamented with a two-tailed banner. A bridle and reins can be seen on the horse's head and a star-shaped spur can be seen on the knight's right boot. The marginal inscription reads: + $ GALTERII FILII · VGONIS. The letters have serifs and the 'U' is rendered as a 'V'.

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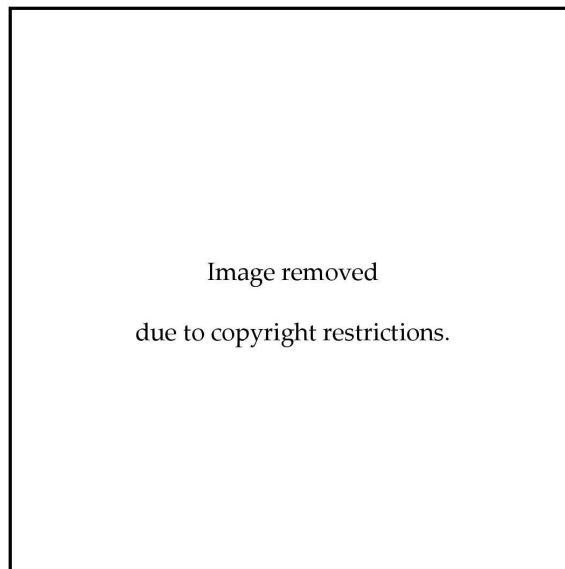
Figure 5.67: Seal of Gautier II. Lord of Caesarea from 1176/1182–1189/1191. Possibly measuring 3–3.5 cm in diameter (Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: Plate XVII n.8, after Paoli 1733–1737 I: Tab. IV n.41; also reproduced in Hazard 1974: 362 n.16)

On the reverse, again similar to Hugh and Eustace's seal, the city of Caesarea is represented by a tower with four crenellations and is pierced by an arch outlined by a row of dressed stone. The arch has double swinging gates with a round door knob located in the centre of each door. The large tower is flanked by lower crenellated towers, each with four battlements, but unlike Hugh's seal, the city's high tower is separated from the lower flanking towers by battlemented walls. The masonry is clearly defined throughout the fortifications. The marginal inscription reads: + CIVITAS CESAREE (Hazard 1974: 367; and Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: 44). The letters have serifs. According to Schlumberger (1943: 44), it is unclear whether the seal was made of lead or wax as Paoli is not specific in his description (Paoli 1733–1737 I: 73), however it seems most likely that it was made of lead. The similarities between Eustace, Hugh and Gautier II's seals may be due to their similar careers since they were all martially active and popular at court.

Gautier II was killed during the siege of Acre, which lasted from July 1189 to July 12, 1191 (LaMonte 1947: 152). Evidently, he left no heirs as the fief escheated to his sister, Julianne (1189/1191–1213/1216). Julianne's inheritance was greatly diminished since the loss at Hattin in 1187 saw Caesarea occupied and later destroyed by Saladin in 1190. It is presumed that Lady Julianne did not regain possession of her fief properly until 1192 when Caesarea was returned to the Franks as part of the Treaty of Jaffa.

Lady Julianne was married twice. Her first marriage, to Guy of Beirut, is known only through his appearance on two charters. They had four children: Gautier III, Bernard, Isabelle, and Berte. Lady Julianne subsequently married Adhémar de Lairon and had one son, Roger de Lairon (LaMonte 1947: 153). She first appears as Lady of Caesarea, along with her husband Adhémar, in 1197. She continues to issue charters from 1201 to 1213 (LaMonte 1947: 153, citing Delaville Le Roulx 1894–1904 I: 1002; and Röhricht 1893: 196 n.736). Adhémar became one of the leading barons of the kingdom; he acquired the position of Marshal of the Kingdom in 1206 and was present at the 1210 coronation of John de Brienne in Tyre (LaMonte 1947: 153, citing Eracles 1859: 306, 311–312; Röhricht 1893: 217 n.812; and Strehlke 1869: 33–34 n.41).

Julianne, along with Adhémar, granted several properties to religious houses and to individuals. In 1206, Julianne, with the consent of Adhémar and her son Gautier III, granted the Teutonic Knights two towers, houses and a garden in Caesarea (see section 5.5.3 below) (Boas 2006: 63; Pringle 1995: 89; Röhricht 1893: 216 n.810; Strehlke 1869: 32–33, n.40 and 123, n.128). In 1207, Julianne, along with Adhémar, sealed a document which granted a house, three carrucates of land at Capharlet, and the Casals of Pharaon and Seingibis to the Hospitallers for the salvation of her parents, Hugh and Isabelle's, souls (LaMonte 1947: 154, citing Röhricht 1893: 219–220 nn.818 and 819).

The 1207 document and adjoining seal are now lost, however, a sketch remains (see figure 5.68). The obverse of the seal is similar to the other three; there is the profile of a knight wearing a mailed hood under his bowl-shaped helm on a horse galloping rightward. The knight holds a lance in his right hand; it has an unpointed tip with long banner tails extending from one end of the lance to the other. The knight is holding a shield in his left hand. His horse has ornate banding running across its chest and neck. The marginal inscription reads: + $ ADEMAR · DE LERON. The letters have serifs. On the reverse the city of Caesarea is depicted much like Eustace, Hugh and Gautier II's seals. The crenellated walls are more evident between the larger main tower and the smaller two adjacent towers. The main tower possesses five crenellations while the lesser towers each possess four. The crenellated wall also continues past the two lesser towers, each of which possesses two crenellations. The main gate is also more elaborate than that seen in Gautier II's seal. Ten iron rivets divided by two iron bars as well as larger door knobs (perhaps

they are iron loops) are seen on each door. Also, the masonry is clearly defined throughout the fortifications. The marginal inscription reads: + IVLIANA DOMINA: CESAREE. The letters are serifs and the 'U' is rendered as a 'V' (Hazard 1974: 367; and Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: 44).

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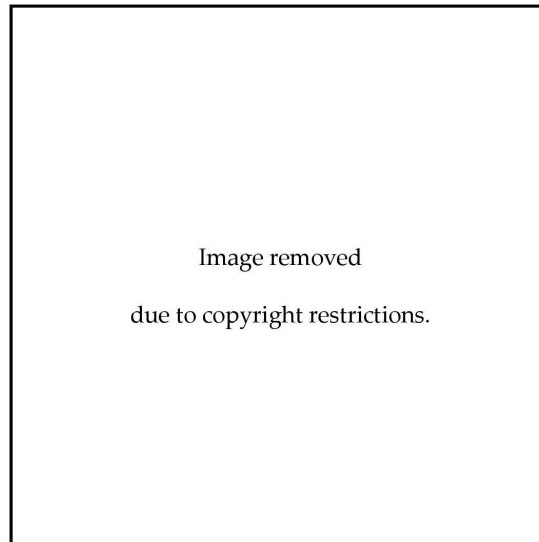
Figure 5.68: Sketch of Julianne and her husband Adhémar de Lairon's seal. Lady of Caesarea from 1189/1191–1213/1216. Measuring approximately 4.6 cm in diameter (Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: Plate XVII n.7, after Paoli 1733–1737 I: Tab. IV n.45; also reproduced in Hazard 1974: 362 n.17)

Julianne dies some time between 1213 and 1216 with the lordship continuing with her first son, Gautier III (1213/1216–1229). Gautier III was very active in the royal court. He accompanied King John de Brienne on the Fifth Crusade against Damietta. During his campaign in Egypt, Caesarea was attacked frequently; as a result, its walls were refortified in 1217 by King John de Brienne (Oliver of Paderborn 1971: 56). However, the city was besieged and demolished during the winter of 1219–1220 by al-Mu'azzam 'Isā (Ernoul de Giblet *et al.* 1871: 422–423; Hazard 1975: 87 n.85; Oliver of Paderborn 1971: 99) (see section 5.3 above). Gautier III dies on June 24, 1229 during the battle of Nicosia (LaMonte 1947: 156, citing Philip de Novare 1936: 101 n.57; and Raynaud 1887: 58–60 n.145). Gautier III and his wife, Marguerite d'Ibelin, had five children: John (who succeeded), Isabelle, Alice, Femie, and Hevis.

John "The Young Lord of Caesarea" (1229–1238/1241), spends the majority of his career joined with the affairs of his maternal uncle John d'Ibelin, Lord of Beirut and the baillies of the Emperor Frederick II (LaMonte 1947: 156). Philip de Novare says that he died

sometime before 1241, thus it is possible that John died sometime in 1238 during a negotiation with Theobald IV of Champagne and Navarre in Syria (LaMonte 1947: 158, citing Delaville Le Roulx 1894–1904 II: 2211; Philip de Novare 1936: 171 n.141; Raynaud 1887: 124–125 n.221; and Röhricht 1893: 282–283 n.1083). The seals of John are mentioned on two documents but neither document has been found (Hazard 1974: 367 n.48 and 49). John of Caesarea was married to Alice de Montaigu and they had one son who died in infancy and five daughters: Marguerite (who succeeded), Alice, Marie, Isabelle, and Peretine (LaMonte 1947: 158).

Marguerite (1238/1241–1264/1265), along with her husband John L'Aleman, is mentioned in several documents concerning the selling of properties and other political and military matters (LaMonte 1947: 159). Several of these mention the use of seals but none have been found (Hazard 1974: 368 nn.50–53). Marguerite and her husband had three children: Hugh, who was thrown from a horse and killed in Acre in 1264; Nicholas, who succeeded; and Thomas (LaMonte 1947: 159, citing Eracles 1859: 448; and Raynaud 1887: 171 n.324).

The title 'Lord (or Lady) of Caesarea' remained with the family past Baibars's razing of 1265, where it was used by the house in Cyprus: first by Nicholas L'Aleman until he killed John d'Ibelin and was in turn killed by John d'Ibelin's brother, Baldwin d'Ibelin, the constable of Cyprus in 1277 (LaMonte 1947: 159, citing Eracles 1859: 479); and second by Thomas L'Aleman of Caesarea until his death. As Thomas L'Aleman left no heirs, the title was abandoned until its revival in Cyprus in the late fourteenth century. Its post-revival bearers had no connection to the previous family or formal ties to the lands of Caesarea (LaMonte 1947: 160, citing Rey 1869: 287). For a more comprehensive history on Caesarea's lords and ladies, refer to J. L. LaMonte's (1947) article "The lords of Caesarea in the period of the Crusades." An analysis of the seals' iconographic properties followed by an analysis of the walls as monumental symbols of seigneurial power and control is now offered.

5.5.2 ICONOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATIONS OF SEIGNEURIAL POWER

Between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Caesarea's city walls were used as both iconographic and physical representations of seigneurial power (see also sections 5.5.3 and 6.2.1 below). The image of Caesarea's fortifications utilized on the seals acted as a

visual reminder of the lords' and ladies' ability to control and upkeep military fortifications financially even if no physical defences existed.

John d'Ibelin ascribed the right of "court et coins et justise" to certain fiefs, including "la seignorie de Cesaire" (Beugnot 1841: 420; quoted in Hazard 1974: 361 n.8). This allowed feudal barons and higher clergy the right to seal documents in lead in the kingdom of Jerusalem (de Briailles 1942–1943: 244–257; quoted in Hazard 1974: 360–361 nn. 7, 9; see also Kool 2007: 186). Each lord could thus attest to his official acts by appending his personal two-sided lead seal, usually attached with silk ribbons (Hazard 1974: 361). According to Hazard (1974: 365), lead was used by individual lords to seal their documents, while wax was used on documents sealed by several lords. The use of lead for sealing was introduced in the Frankish East from the early twelfth century since it was less susceptible to the extreme climate changes of the Near East (Kool 2007: 181 n.4).

The reverse of each of the lords' and ladies' seals has a representation of the city of Caesarea. The city is depicted using the city's fortifications. There is a clear change in focus from Eustace's seal which centres on the city's main gate tower and part of the city wall to Gautier I's seal using the full circuit of the walls including the city's donjon and back again to Hugh's seal which, like Eustace, centres on the main gate and city wall (see figure 5.69). This later style evolves and becomes more ornate with Gautier II's and Julianne and Adhémar's seals. These architectural variations may represent actual physical changes in the walls as Hazard (1974: 368) states:

> the representations of fortifications vary markedly from fief to fief, and presumably reflect actual differences. Those of Caesarea start by showing the phallus-shaped citadel on its peninsula, protected on the landward side by a V-shaped wall anchored by towers, with no crenellations visible. Later seals stress crenellated towers linked by battlemented walls, centering on the large tower guarding the main gate as it existed before 1187.

However, I believe that these seals represent more than merely a depiction of architectural evolution (see section 1.2).

There is no evidence from the historical record to suggest that the fortifications were modified between Eustace, Gautier I and Hugh's lordships. Thus the stylistic change from

the entire wall circuit to that of the front gate tower could be explained by looking at the careers and political positions of each lord. Eustace was very active in military affairs since he helped repel an attack on Jerusalem in 1110 and he commanded the army of the kingdom during the battle of Ibelin in 1123 (Hazard 1975: 85), while Gautier I, although present on two royal charters, does not appear to play a large role at court. Hugh is quite popular, appearing as a witness on several royal documents, and plays an active role in military matters. Perhaps Hugh believed that the image of the city's impregnable front gate tower would serve him better than the image chosen by his father.

There are marked differences between Gautier I and Eustace and Hugh's seals. First, the main defensible element in Eustace and Hugh's seals has changed from a donjon to a main gate tower. Second, Eustace and Hugh's seals portray a single archway with closed doors whereas Gautier I's has two open archways. Third, Eustace and Hugh offer a very limited view of the city's defences, showing only one tower and its adjacent walls with no way to see past them, while Gautier I's lays out the extent of the city's fortifications in plain view. Lastly, Eustace and Hugh's seals reinforce the fact that the city is fortified through the inclusion of crenellations, a detail which is absent from Gautier I's seal. All of these stylistic differences would suggest that Eustace wanted to demonstrate his seigneurial power through the image of strong, fortified walls as did Hugh – an image which is not represented successfully on Gautier I's seal. These differences would also suggest a change in attitude towards the city's fortifications between Gautier I's and Hugh's lordships; the city's strength lay with its walls and not its keep.

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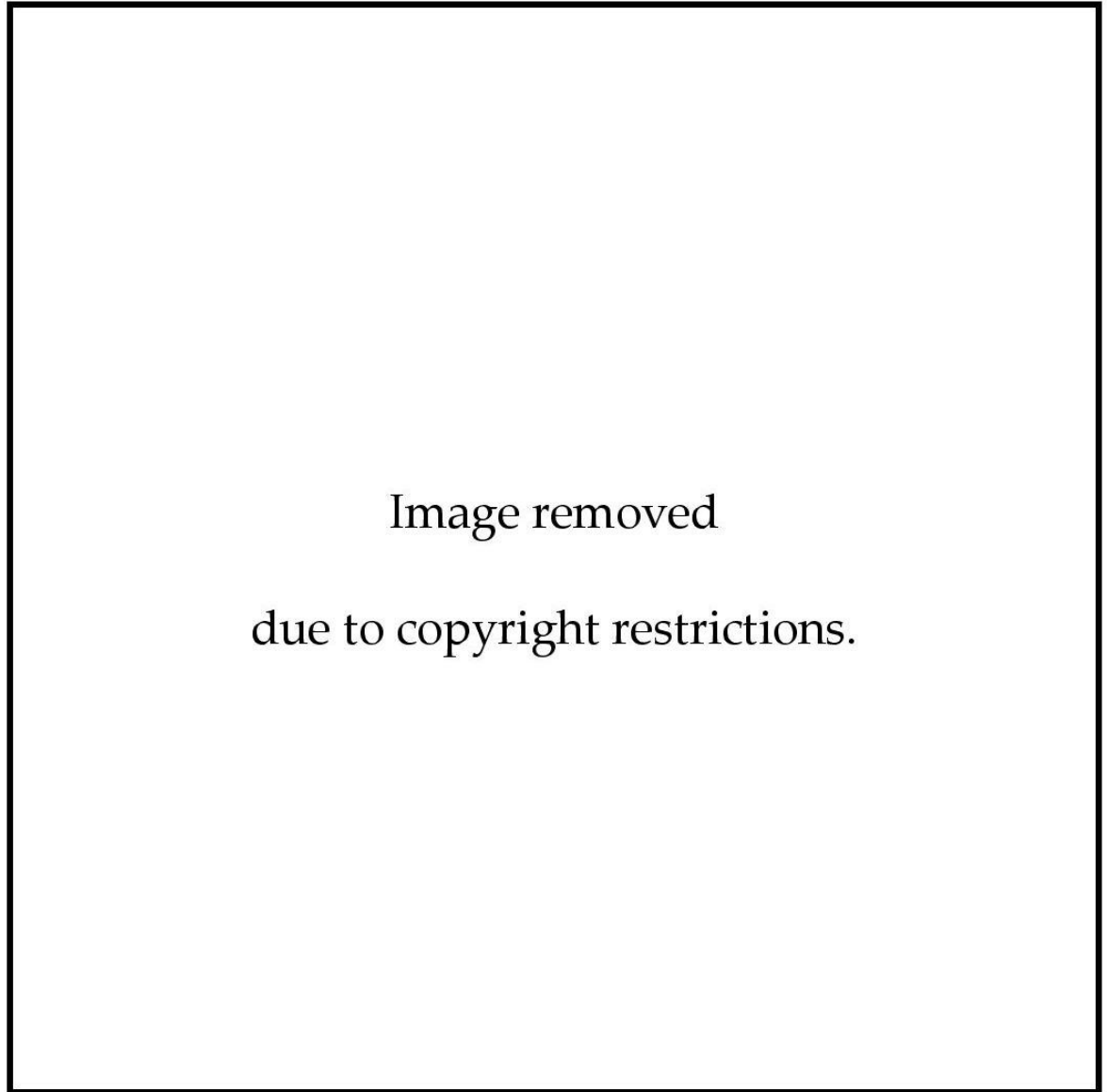
Figure 5.69: A – Seal of Eustace; B – Sketch of Gautier I's seal; C – Seal of Hugh; D – Sketch of Hugh's seal; E – Sketch of Gautier II's seal; F – Sketch of Julianne and Adhémar de Lairon's seal (Eidelstein 2002: Plate B; Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: Plate XVIII n.2; Gersht and Muzeon Sedot-Yam (Israel) 1999: 79 n.18; Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: Plate XVIII n.1, Plate XVII n.8 and n.7)

Whether the seal's stylistic choices are true representations of Caesarea's physical walls, the fortified image continues to be used by Gautier II, and again by Julianne and her husband Adhémar, to demonstrate their seigneurial power. Gautier II's seal is very similar to that of Eustace and Hugh although it includes two additional crenellated towers. This seal was used in 1182, the same year that a council was held at Caesarea to discuss plans for thwarting Saladin (William of Tyre 1976 II: 485). It may be that the addition of these towers, whether actual or simply iconographic, is a result of this threat. Although there is no mention in the chronicles, Gautier II may have had the walls augmented or he may have wanted to convey to the other barons of the realm that he had the power and resources to do so. This may also have been the case with Lady Julianne and Adhémar's seal.

Lady Julianne and Adhémar de Lairon's seal is the largest and most elaborate of all the seal examples; measuring approximately 4.6 cm in diameter compared to 3–3.5 cm. It is the only example depicting the walls after Saladin's destruction of Caesarea in 1190–1191. Hazard (1974: 368 n.54) believes that the lavishly decorated walls are a depiction of how "the then-shattered fortifications" would have looked two decades before. This is a possibility. Alternatively, Lady Julianne may have kept a seal design similar to that of her predecessors as homage to the city's once great fortifications. Lady Julianne received her fief during a tumultuous time and as such creating continuity with the past would have enabled her to communicate her ability to deliver a prosperous future. Perhaps she was using this lavish image to advertise her ability to render the walls to their former glory or to render the walls to a new height. In this scenario, Caesarea's city walls are directly associated to Lady Julianne's power to control the resources and wealth necessary to rebuild and upkeep these monumental structures (see section 2.3).

Another possibility is that the walls continued looking very similar to their pre-1190 appearance throughout the early thirteenth century. I believe this for two reasons: firstly, even though there is no mention in the chronicles of the walls being rebuilt between 1190 and 1207, seventeen years is ample time in which to rebuild or repair the city's fortifications. Moreover, Saladin's destruction of the walls may not have been all encompassing; after Ascalon's destruction in 1191, its walls were rebuilt by King Richard I

in just over two months (see section 4.6.2). Even to the present day, the remaining ruins of medieval Caesarea, having succumbed to destructions in 1265 and 1291, are considerable.

Secondly, in February, 1206, Lady Julianne grants the Teutonic Order the Tower of Mallart and another smaller tower on the east side of the city's walls (Boas 2006: 63; Pringle 1995: 89; Röhricht 1893: 216 n.810; Strehlke 1869: 32–33 n.40, 123 n.128) (see section 5.5.3). It seems unlikely that she would give the knights structures that no longer existed or were "shattered." Therefore, I believe that the walls on the seal represent actual standing fortifications which would have been rebuilt or repaired by Lady Julianne and are, like the walls on Gautier II's seal, a representation of her seigneurial power. This is only emphasized by the fact that her name appears alongside Caesarea's walls, on the reverse of her seal.

5.5.3 MONUMENTAL SYMBOLS OF SEIGNEURIAL POWER AND CONTROL

More than the iconographic representation of Caesarea's walls, Lady Julianne also used the physical walls as monumental symbols of her seigneurial power and control. Lady Julianne exerted her power and control by donating sections of the monumental fortifications to the Teutonic Order but retained the right to use these defences should the need arise (see section 2.3). Below is a critique of the *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, a text which documents this transaction, followed by a discussion of the donation.

The *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, transcribed by Strehlke (1869), provides information on the early history of the Order of the Teutonic Knights. The Order began as a field hospital during the siege of Acre in 1190 and became a permanent hospital during the Third Crusade in 1191. It gradually turned into a military-religious Order monopolized by the knightly class (Mayer 1975: 9). The *Tabulae* is a collection of the Order's possession as well as *generalia*, specifically papal charters which granted specific rights that could be claimed wherever the Order had establishments or possessions in the Christian world (Mayer 1975: 11).

Strehlke's (1869) edition, unlike earlier editions by Hennes (1845–1861) and Duellius (1727), which are based on the provincial archives of the Order, is based on the Cartulary of the Order of the Teutonic Knights. The Cartulary was the earliest attempt to assemble

the archive material into one codex. It was initiated in the early 1240s and was likely complete by the late 1260s (Mayer 1975: 11). Strehlke divided the *Tabulae* into seven parts, the first of which concerns us here. Part I contains a list of possessions and donations of the Teutonic Order in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and some parts of the Mediterranean (Mayer 1975: 67). This section was most likely transcribed at the seat of the Master in Italy, in 1243. It was written in a bookhand by a single scribe with some later additions by another scribe (Mayer 1975: 28, 67, 70–71, 78).

The *Tabulae* states that in February of 1206, Lady Julianne, with the consent of her husband and her son, Gautier III, donated the Tower of Mallart (*turrem Mallart*) and another smaller tower (*parvam turrem*) on the east side of Caesarea's walls, as well as houses and a garden located next to the eastern part of the city's wall (*murorum civitatis*), to the Teutonic Order (Boas 2006: 63; Pringle 1995: 89; Röhricht 1893: 216 n.810; Strehlke 1869: 32–33 n.40, 123 n.128). This property was granted to the Teutonic Knights but Lady Julianne reserved seigneurial control over these defences: "they must hand over [the towers] to the lord of Caesarea if they should be necessary against his enemies; but once peace has been established between them, the…brothers shall have the towers (*turres*) back again" (Strehlke 1869: 32–33 n.40; quoted in Pringle 1995: 100). Lady Julianne first demonstrates her seigneurial power through her ability to gift the towers which she presumably paid to have built and then retains ultimate control over them should the need arise.

This dynamic is not a singular event in Frankish history. The Teutonic Order was granted substantial sections of Acre's city wall from 1192 onwards. Henry of Champagne granted the Order a length of the east wall up to Saint Nicholas' Gate in 1193 and King Amaury gifted the tower over Saint Nicholas' Gate to the Order in August 1198. As the scribe in the *Tabulae* recounts:

> [the] brothers shall have nothing in the gate (*porta*) that is under the tower (*turre*), through which one comes into and goes out from the town (*villa*), and may not erect anything de novo in the area about the tower (*turris*), and shall not be able to give the same tower (*turrem*) to anyone, nor sell it nor transfer it; and if their strong religious order should be changed to another [e.g. the Templars], they shall resign the said tower (*turrem*) to me or to my successors as lords of the kingdom. Moreover, if on account

> of war with our enemies or for any other reason that may befall
> the said tower (*turris*) should be necessary to me or my successors
> as lords of the kingdom, if we so wish the tower (*turre*) shall be
> given back to us (Strehlke 1869: 28–29, n.35; quoted in Pringle
> 1995: 99).

While there is a clear trend of Frankish élites donating buildings there are also records of élites selling (as opposed to donating) lands and smaller casals. So then why gift sections of a wall and not sell it? I argue the reasoning is twofold: firstly, to maintain ultimate control over vital defences; and secondly, to maintain good standing with the religious military orders both for diplomatic reasons and to buy redemption for the afterlife. Two examples of this intangible contract include: Hugh's gift of land and revenues to the church of Santa Maria Latina to save his father and grandfather's souls; and Julianne's gift of land and casals to the Hospitallers for the salvation of her parents' souls (see section 5.5.1 above). These terms may not have been explicitly stated when giving the gifts to the Teutonic Order but I believe that this motive played a part.

Conversely, why would the Order wish to receive these defences? Perhaps they wished to gain prestige through owning such monumental defences since their association would communicate the Order's power. I believe, like with the lords and ladies, the Order also wished to buy redemption for their souls. I argue that the towers were considered by medieval contemporaries to be a type of fortified ecclesiastical structure. As discussed below in section 5.6.3 (and above in section 5.3), those involved in the refortification of Caesarea's fortifications, including King Louis IX, would be pardoned by Rome. Thus, those involved in the construction or upkeep of these structures may have earned their redemption in the next life.

Therefore, through the historical as well as the sigillographic evidence presented above, Caesarea's monumental walls were used as both symbolic and literal manifestations of seigneurial power and control throughout its Frankish biography. Eustace, Hugh and Gautier II's seals focussed on strong military walls, a necessary symbol considering the imminent Ayyubid threat. While Lady Julianne's seal represents either the memories of the past or a hope for the future and the ability to deliver this hope. Moreover, Lady Julianne exerts her seigneurial power, and attempts to redeem her soul, by gifting

magically charged towers to the Teutonic Order. The magical function of the city walls is further explored in the following analytical section.

5.6 ANALYSIS: CAESAREA'S FRANKISH WALLS

Frankish sculpture and Roman spolia have been used at two distinct points during the wall's biography to add an aesthetic or an apotropaic (or magical) function to their physical protection (see section 2.4.1). During the Frankish occupation of 1101–1187, two griffins, sitting atop spoliated columns, adorned a church dedicated to Saint Lawrence. The church was situated along the city's eastern wall and lent a level of magical protection through its proximity, a function which was reinforced through the inclusion of apotropaic creatures and spoliated Roman elements used in the church's floor. During the next chapter of the wall's biography, during King Louis IX's refortification of 1251–1252, decorative brackets and columns were included in the eastern and northern towers to serve a similarly apotropaic function. In addition to these sculptural elements, many spoliated Roman columns were included in the monumental walls for structural, aesthetic and apotropaic motives (discussed in section 5.6.3 below). The sculptural and architectural evidence shall now be discussed in section 5.6.1, followed by an analysis of the griffins and the Church of Saint Lawrence (see section 5.6.2 below).

5.6.1 GRIFFINS AND THE CHURCH OF SAINT LAWRENCE

In 1101, King Baldwin I's army along with the Genoese fleet captured Caesarea. In exchange for their part in the siege, King Baldwin I granted the Genoese one third of the city (William of Tyre 1976 I: 437). Three days after the siege a small church, likely a former mosque, was rededicated to Saint Lawrence, the patron saint of the Genoese (Pringle 1993: 180). In January 2003, part of a sculpture was discovered during conservation work in the northeast corner of the city's medieval wall (Porath 2004) (see section 5.4.2). I propose that this sculpture was part of a pair of griffins that sat atop two spoliated columns, flanking either a side entrance or the window of the Church of Saint Lawrence. This church would have abutted or at least sat very close to Caesarea's eastern wall. To begin, I shall describe the architectural remains of the northeast corner tower in greater detail. In the discussion that follows in section 5.6.2 I shall explain why I believe that the northeast corner tower contains the remains of the lost Church of Saint Lawrence. Moreover, I will analyse the

apotropaic functions that the griffins and the church played in relation to Caesarea's city wall.

Located within King Louis IX's northeast corner tower are the remains of the Church of Saint Lawrence, which were later incorporated into King John de Brienne's fortifications. Portions of two of the church's rooms survive (referred to here as the eastern and western rooms) (see figures 5.70 and 5.71). The church's eastern room has two arched doorways, one to the north and one to the east. I suggest that these were posterns, added during King John de Brienne's refortification, and were later blocked by the rubble fill of King Louis IX's walls and glaçis (see figures 5.72 and 5.74). The church's northern wall, spanning the length of both rooms, is comprised of small, nicely tooled ashlars. This wall is twelve courses high on the eastern side of the northern postern, but would have been higher given the two surviving put-logs (holes used for wooden scaffolding during construction). To the west of the northern postern, only six courses of these ashlars survive. The rest of this wall is comprised of different sized stones which have been stacked in a slapdash manner. I believe that this section of wall was damaged during al-Mu'azzam 'Isā destruction in 1219–1220 and that the wall was crudely rebuilt sometime between the 1228–1252 refortification with the stones, readily available from the recent destruction, to provide stability for the rubble core of the new city wall. The church's, or possibly the later tower's, floor was paved using ashlar stones. In the church's western room, three spoliated Roman marble blocks, one of which is a cornice with CI and CII type decorative elements (Turnheim and Ovadiah 1996: 285–290), were incorporated into the northern edge of the floor (see figure 5.73).
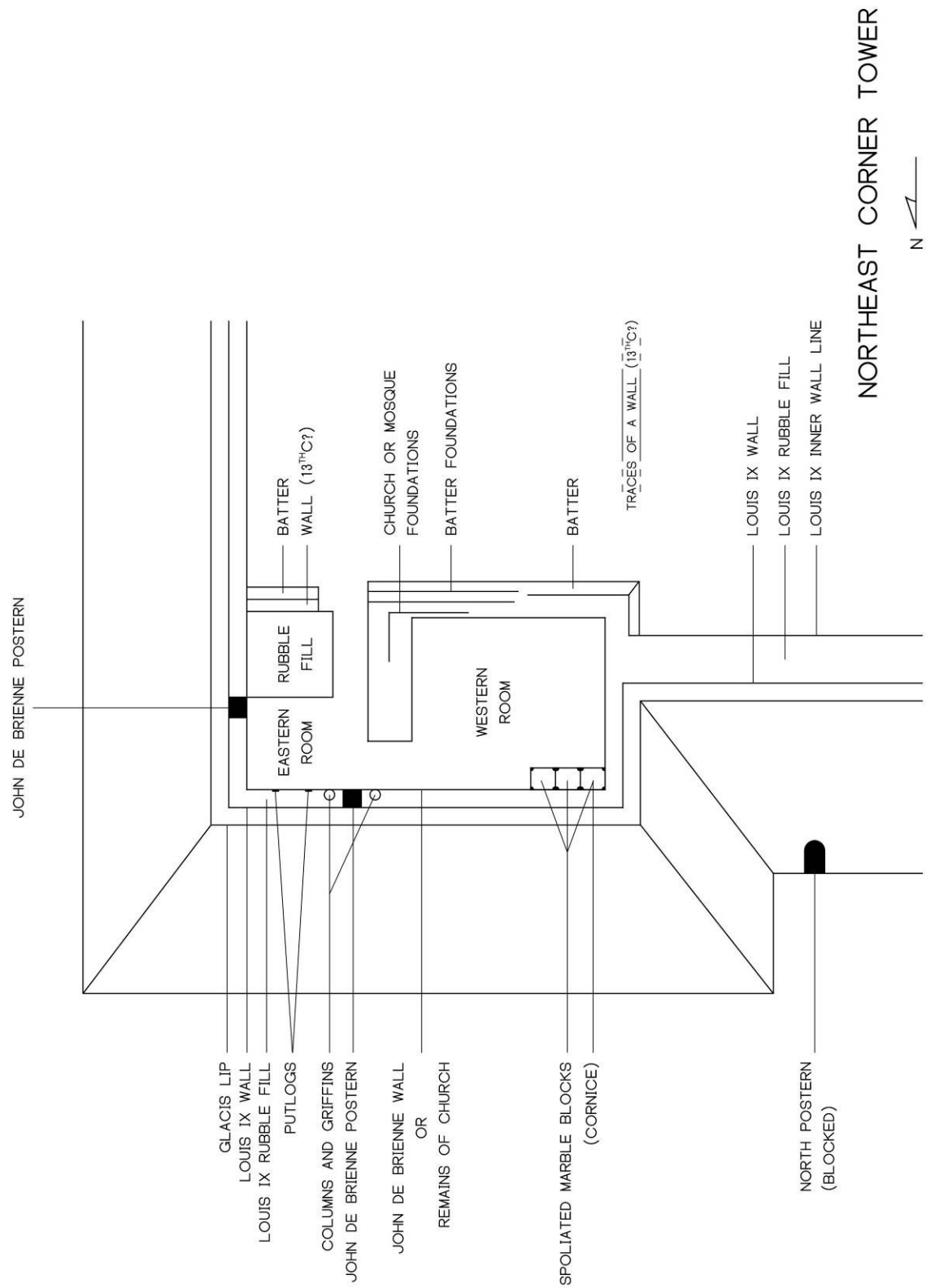
Figure 5.70: Schematic plan of the northeast corner tower. Drawing not to scale
(A. Charland and T. Christian)

Figure 5.71: General view of the northeast corner tower, northeast (A. Charland)

Located in between the church's northern wall and the 1251–1252 rubble fill, and flanking the northern postern, are two stone sculptures sitting atop spoliated carved capitals which in turn have been placed on top of two grey granite Roman columns (see figure 5.74). These sculptures were discovered in January 2003 during conservation work carried out on the medieval wall. They were found on top of the capitals, which were exposed during Levine and Netzer's excavations in 1975–1976 (Levine 1986b: 182; Levine and Netzer 1978: 73; Porath 2004) (see figure 5.75). It is evident from the initial excavation as well as from Porath's photographs that the western sculpture has since been rotated so that it currently stands facing the inside of the tower. According to Porath (2004), the sculptures are characteristic of Romanesque art, dating from the end of the tenth century to the second half of the twelfth century. They share many similarities with Italian sculptures of the same date (see section 5.6.2).

Figure 5.72: Postern located in the northeast corner tower, possibly dating to King John de Brienne's 1217's refortification, facing east (A. Charland)

Figure 5.73: Floor of the western room of the twelfth century church with three spoliated Roman architectural elements. The one located on the far left is a cornice, facing north (A. Charland)

The base of each sculpture survives, but only the western sculpture has retained part of its decoration. It depicts a sitting creature with two front and two back paws and a long curving tail with feathers coming out of its end (see figure 5.76 and 5.77). Porath (2004) generically describes this creature as a "demon" but it could be a number of Romanesque creatures such as a lion, a winged-lion, a monkey, a sphinx, or a senmurv, which is a winged quadruped with bird's feathers for tails (Bliss 1987: 136). Above all these, it seems most likely that it was a griffin, a mythological creature with the head and wings of an eagle and the body of a lion, as this would explain the creature's paws and feathers. It would have been paired with either another griffin, a lion, or possibly a winged-lion as these are often seen together, examples of which can be seen at the churches of Saint Giovanni and Saint Nicola in Bari, Italy (Garton 1984: 245, Plate 34; 259, Plate 54b). Unfortunately, a more definite identification cannot be made until the rest of the sculpture, or its twin, is discovered.

Figure 5.74: Two stone sculptures sitting atop spoliated carved capitals which in turn have been placed on top of two grey granite Roman columns, located in the northeast corner tower, facing north (A. Charland)

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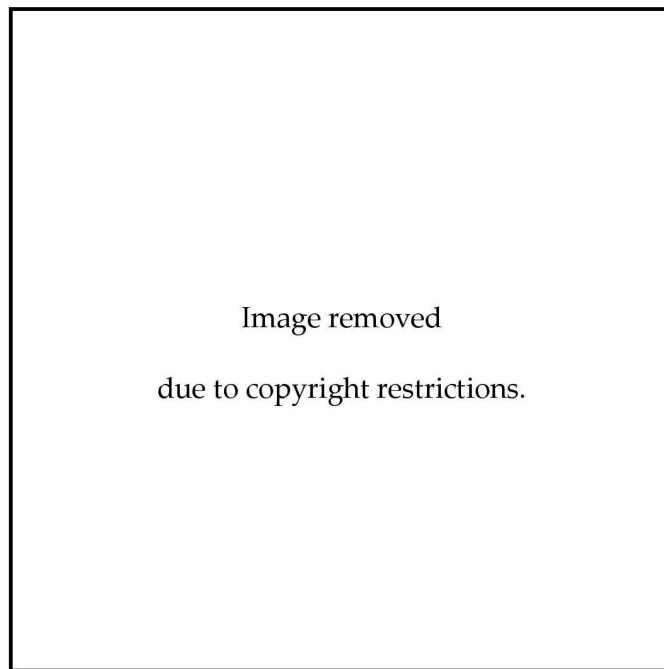
Figure 5.75: Photograph taken during 1975–1976 excavations in the northeast corner tower showing the position of the two sculptures, facing north (Levine 1986b: 182)

According to Porath (2004), the griffins would have faced outward from the church's northern façade and the city wall would have been located further north than King Louis IX's wall. I believe that the griffins would have flanked either one of the church's windows or secondary entrances rather than its main portal as this would have had an east-west orientation (see figure 5.78).

Originally it was thought that the griffins' columns formed part of a monumental gate erected during the Byzantine period and was later incorporated into the city wall built during the Early Islamic Period (Levine and Netzer 1978: 73), and more recently that these columns were part of a Byzantine colonnaded street, following the *cardo maximus*, a Roman street which ran the length of King Louis IX's eastern wall (Pringle 2012: pers. comm., 24 July 2012; Patrich 2011: 102). There are two large columns standing upright and buried deep located along the eastern wall, just south of the northeast tower, which the recent French expedition attributes to the *cardo maximus* (see figure 5.79) (Mesqui *et al.* 2010: 14; Mesqui *et al.* 2008: 5). However, Porath (2004) believes that these columns, along with the Romanesque sculptures, adorned the northern façade of a building built during the Frankish period, but prior to King Louis IX's refortification. Given that the northeast tower's columns are smaller in diameter and do not align with the larger upright columns, I believe that Porath's conclusion is the most likely and that these columns were

probably spoliated either from the colonnaded street or elsewhere on the site for the purpose of adorning the twelfth century Frankish church.

Figure 5.76: Close-up of the surviving griffin from the northeast corner tower, facing north (A. Charland)

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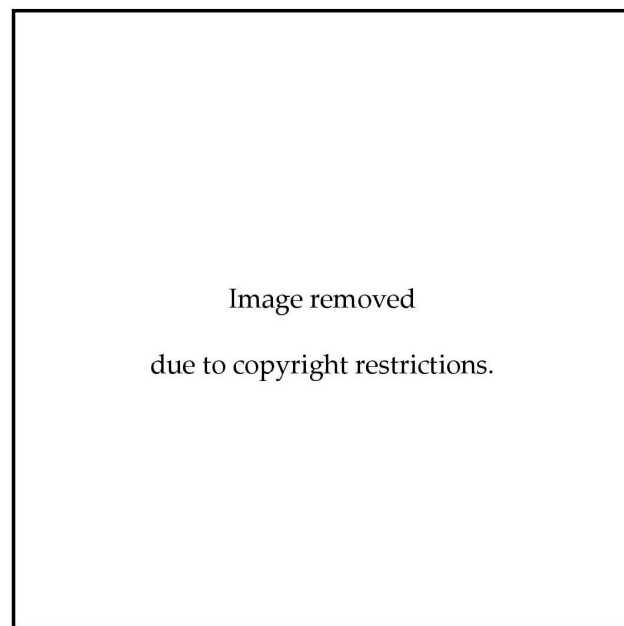
Figure 5.77: Drawing of the Romanesque griffin (Porath 2004)

LOCATION OF CHURCH AND WALLS
PRE-1217 REFORTIFICATION

NORTH WALL

COLUMNS
AND
GRIFFINS

EAST WALL

CHURCH

N
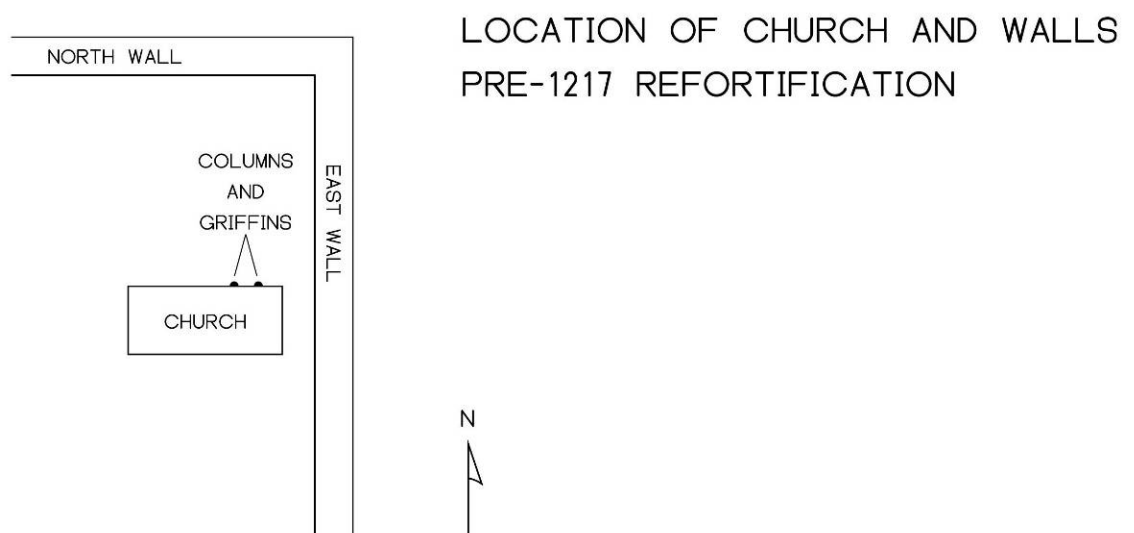
Figure 5.78: Schematic plan of the location of the church and city walls before the 1217 refortification by Kind John de Brienne. Drawing not to scale (A. Charland and T. Christian)

Figure 5.79: Two columns located along the eastern wall. They may have belonged to the ancient *cardo maximus*, facing north (A. Charland)

The northeast tower's ashlar flooring continues beyond the reused church through a doorway leading south. Just south of this doorway there is another wider doorway. The walls flanking this entrance follow the inner line of the tower which joins the city's eastern wall. It is three courses high and is built on top of a three-course batter. This wall continues west of the doorway where it meets another wall, the most intact of the tower's inner walls, running along the western side of the tower and joining King Louis IX's northern wall. In this western wall section are the remains of a structure built from very large stones, possibly Roman or Byzantine in origin. The tower's ashlar flooring continues beyond its inner walls and there is a small section of wall that continues south of the tower's western wall (see figure 5.70), however more excavations are necessary to ascertain the full extent of the ashlar flooring and this wall section.

During the construction of King Louis IX's walls, the remains of King John de Brienne's tower were filled in with earth and the griffins and columns were incorporated into the new wall's rubble core (Porath 2004), thus accounting for the griffins' good state of preservation. This would also explain why this portion of the northeast tower survived the later, partial destructions in 1265 and 1291. By filling in the tower, the floor level would have been raised significantly. Therefore, when King Louis IX's walls – targeted by Baibars and again by Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl as much for their military strength as for their Frankish character (see section 5.7) – were torn down to the lip of the *glaçis* it would appear that the entire tower would have been destroyed. However, the 1265 and 1291 partial demolitions left King John de Brienne's remaining walls relatively intact and the griffin sculptures relatively *in situ* below floor level.

5.6.2 THE MAGICAL PROTECTION OF CAESAREA'S GRIFFINS

I argue that the northeast corner tower contains the remains of a church due to the presence of a griffin carved in the Romanesque style (see figure 5.76). At first glance, I believed this sculpture to be a simple aesthetic embellishment, but with further research it became apparent that it was ecclesiastical in nature and thus pointed to the presence of a church. The griffins and the manner in which they are positioned, sitting atop a spoliated capital and column, are the key to the religious identification. During the eleventh and especially the twelfth centuries, symbolical animals played a conspicuous part in the ornamentation of ecclesiastical architecture. According to Evans (1896: 92–93):

> It was deemed a hard hit at the devil, and a masterly stroke of pious policy, to press beasts of evil omen and Satanic significance into the service of the Church, and force them to assist at the celebration of holy offices. They were therefore embroidered on sacerdotal vestments and sculptured in the chancel and the chapels and around the altars of the sanctuary, where religious rites were usually performed. Later, towards the close of the twelfth century, they began to take possession of the windows, portals, arches, and pinnacles, and finally extended to the whole exterior of the edifice, no part of which was safe from their encroachments.

These apotropaic beasts were not the invention of the artist, but rather were fashioned according to the traditions of the Catholic Church (Evans 1896: 93). The sculptures were meant to depict lessons with a biblical or moral character and were often based on subjects depicted in medieval bestiaries (Druce 1919: 42; 1920: 35).

Griffins originated in ancient Egypt and the Middle East but information about them existing as real creatures comes from classical sources (Armour 2010: 455). They are first mentioned in Herodotus, and then later described in Pliny's *Natural History* as vicious beasts that waged war with cyclopes for the gold that they mined (Bliss 1987: 133). The griffin has had many contrasting symbolic interpretations. In the Middle Ages, griffins were seen as strong, fierce beasts that represented avarice, devils, or tyrants (Armour 2010: 455; Druce 1919: 44). One interpretation claims that the griffin represented carnal passion, and to fight a griffin was to fight this vice (Evans 1896: 99). Conversely, the griffin is interpreted as a symbol of Christ; a conclusion owed to the beast's presence in Dante's *Purgatorio*. In this contested interpretation the griffin's eagle side is said to represent Christ's divinity, while the lion is said to represent his humanity (Armour 2010: 455). The griffin has also been said to symbolise supernatural and temporal power, valour, magnanimity, and knowledge (Payne 1990: 28). Moreover, the griffin is known for its association with guarding, and are thus frequently seen in pairs, sometimes confronting each other (Bliss 1987: 133).

It would appear that the medieval craftsmen at Caesarea wanted to harness this creature's dual significance when adorning the twelfth century church. In so doing, the griffins would have served a magical apotropaic function, guarding the church and its worshippers vigilantly against mortal vice as well as against spiritual devils. This use of

apotropaic creatures is not a singular event. According to Gonnella (2010: 108), "Assyrians and Hittites used 'guardian' figures, both full statues of lions, sphinxes, and griffin demons and little terracotta figurines that were buried under thresholds, to prevent evil from entering." Griffins, as well as other mythical representations, can be found in other Frankish sites, as well as in other medieval examples from France and Italy. The Church of the Ascension in Jerusalem possesses fourteen carved capitals, two of which depict confronting griffins (see figure 5.80).

It is believed that these were sculpted during the second quarter of the twelfth century and possess analogous examples in the Qubbat al-Mi'raj, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and in the southwest of France (Enlart 1925–1928 I: 125; Folda 1995: 272–273, 259–266, Figure 8, Plate 8.A.6a-x; Kühnel 1977: 43 Figure 10, 47, 49 Figures 24–26; Pringle 2007: 83–86 Plate XLIII e and n). Another example of fantastical apotropaic decoration can be seen in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The lintel of the eastern portal features a siren and a centaur as well as other naked figures entangled with foliage (see figure 5.81). According to Kenaan-Kedar (1999: 184), "It represents the forces of evil, the devil and the infidels, symbolized by the siren and centaur (which were common symbols of sin and seduction), and serves, therefore, as a counterpart to the historiated program of the western lintel with its message of triumph and salvation."

Returning to Caesarea's griffins (see figure 5.82), many stylistic parallels can be seen in Italian cathedrals, particularly from the southern Apulian region. Several late twelfth century and early thirteenth century cathedrals have portals and windows that are flanked by statues of lions supporting columns, which are topped with griffins. Examples of these guardian figures include: the portal of Monte Sant'Angelo; the portal of San Leonardo di Siponto; the portal of Bisceglie Cathedral; the portal of Ruvo Cathedral (see figure 5.83); and the portal, window, and side entrance of Bitonto Cathedral (Bertaux 1968 II: 82) (see figures 5.84 and 5.85). Given the transmission of artistic and architectural styles across the Mediterranean during the Frankish era, it is highly possible that Caesarea's griffin was carved by an Italian sculptor.
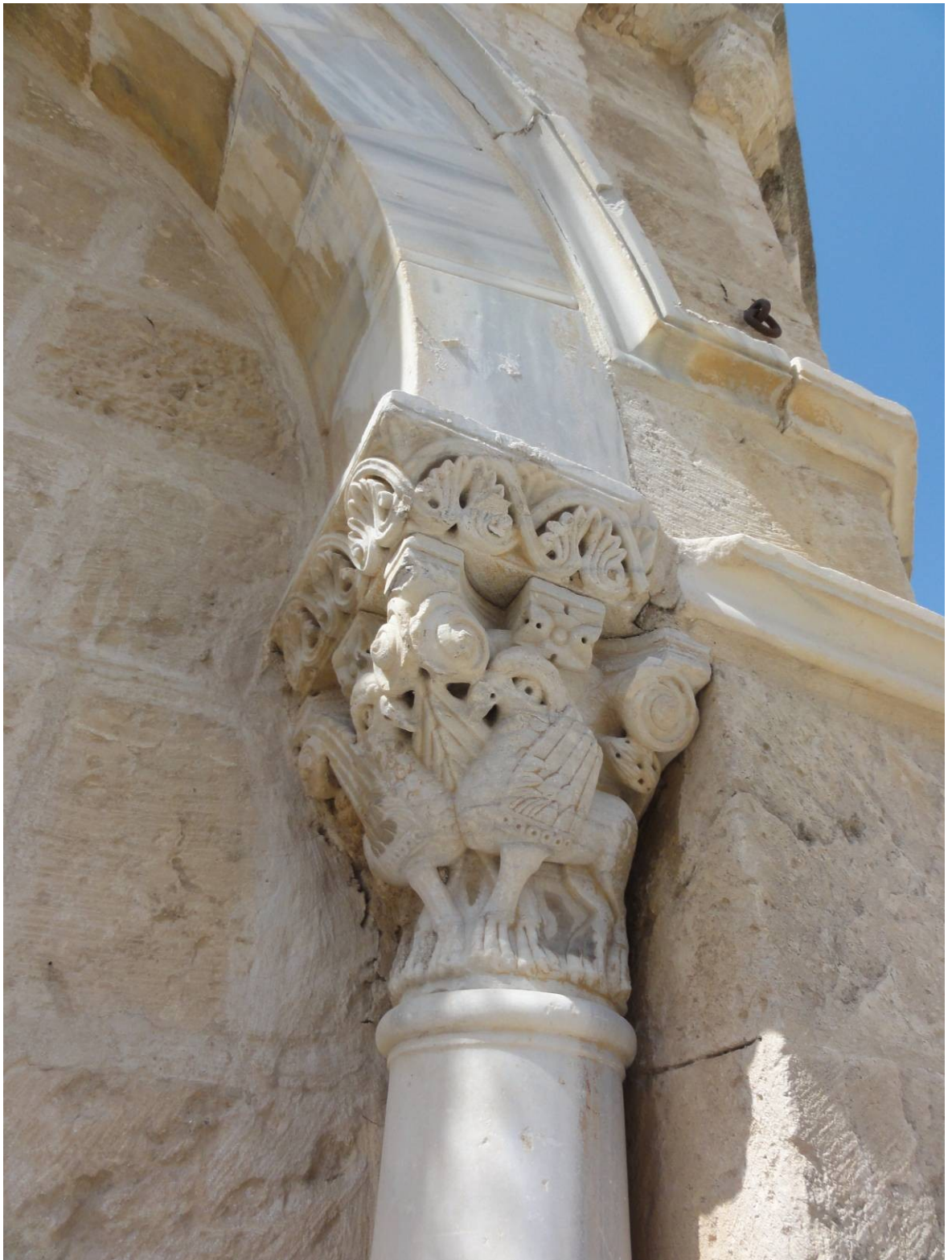
Figure 5.80: Capital depicting confronting griffins from the Church of the Ascension in Jerusalem (User:Mattes 2011)

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Figure 5.81: Section of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre's eastern lintel depicting a centaur and a siren intertwined with foliage (Hadassah 2008)

These Italian analogues, as well as the presence of griffins, now led to the identification of the lost church as being that of Saint Lawrence. Why do I believe this church to be that of Saint Lawrence and not another ecclesiastical building? The griffin has been used by the Genoese on their seals and coat of arms from as early as 1193 (Bascapé 1969–1978 I: 249, Table III Figure 5; de Dainville 1952: 261) (see figure 5.86). The griffin's Italian analogues, as well as the griffin's symbolic significance to the Genoese, are what led me to believe that the Romanesque griffin was an apotropaic adornment of the previously lost twelfth century Church of Saint Lawrence.

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Figure 5.82: A – General view of griffin sculptures; B – Drawing of the griffin (Porath 2004); C – Side view of the griffin; D – Front view of the griffin; E – Tail-side view of the griffin (A. Charland)

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Figure 5.83: Main portal of Ruvo Cathedral (Webb 2009)
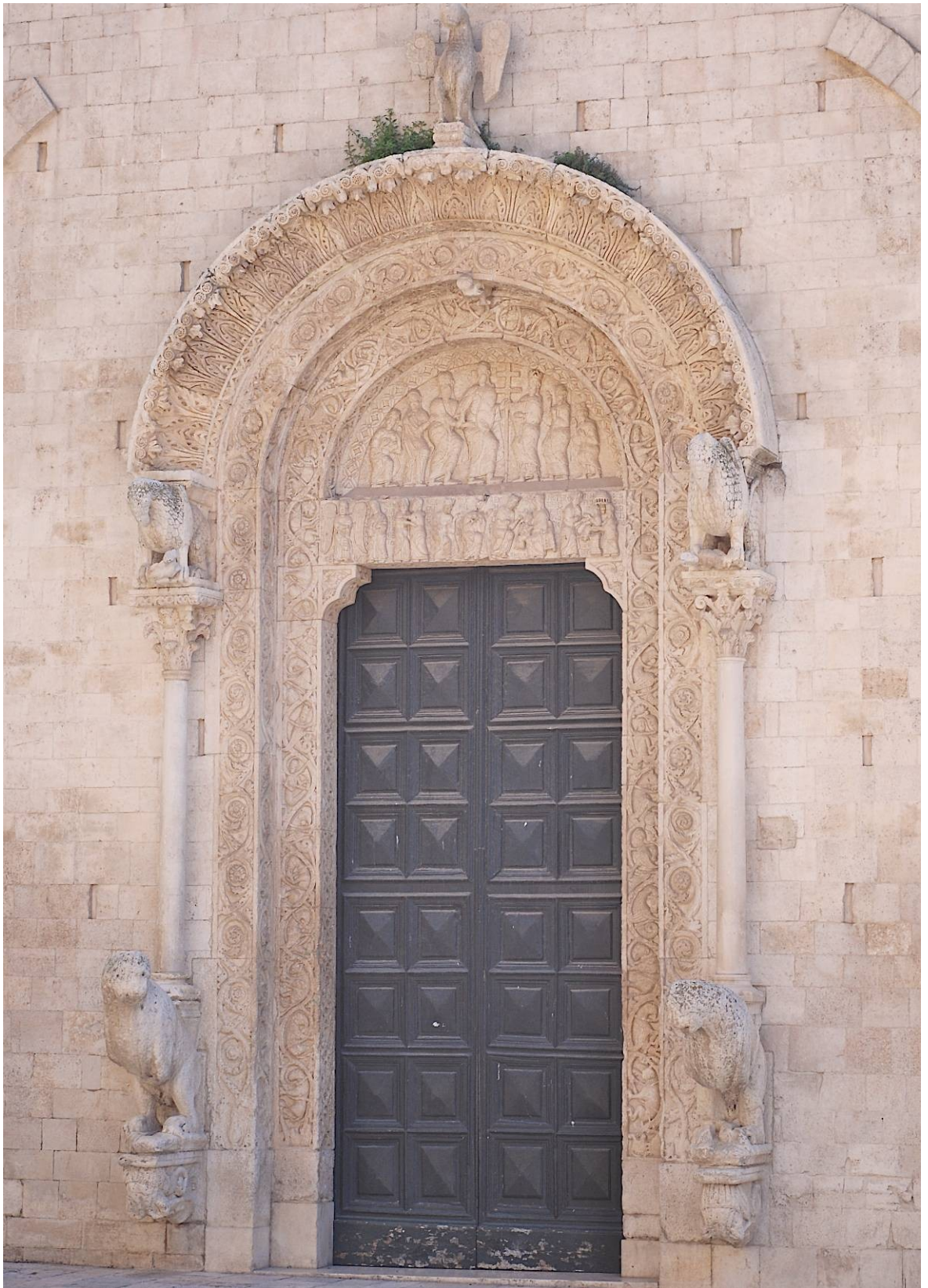
Figure 5.84: Main portal of Bitonto Cathedral (foto daniel 2008)

Figure 5.85: Griffin sitting atop a column which is resting on a lion, adorning the window of Bitonto Cathedral (foto daniel 2009)

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Figure 5.86: Genoese seal from 1193 depicting a griffon on top of a fox and eagle. Measuring approximately 5.15 cm (de Dainville 1952: 261)

Lastly, the location of the church may have been due to pragmatic reasons. Using the remains of a pre-existing mosque would have been easier than building a new structure. However, I believe that the church was situated near the city walls to lend the urban defences magical protection. Many other sites have churches that sit in close proximity or have been incorporated into the city walls. For example, the city of Ascalon has the remains of two religious buildings located near its city wall: the Maqam al-Khidr or 'the Green' is a mosque located in the centre of the city's sea wall and may have been used during the Frankish occupations but there is no clear evidence that it was ever converted; and there is also a twelfth century church standing inside the city's east wall, just south of

the Jerusalem Gate (Pringle 1993: 63, 68) (see figures 4.2, 4.14, and 4.17). The town of 'Atlit also had two churches enclosed within its defences: a Templar chapel was incorporated into the castle walls; and a parish church was located close to the town wall (Pringle 1993: 71–72, 75) (see figure 5.87). Furthermore, a chapel was located within Jerusalem's Saint Stephen's Gate (now Damascus Gate) (Hunt 1982; Pringle 2007: 306–310). It has been argued that the chapel was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and that the city's gate may have been placed under Her protection (Hunt 1982: 197 n.49; Pringle 2007: 310).

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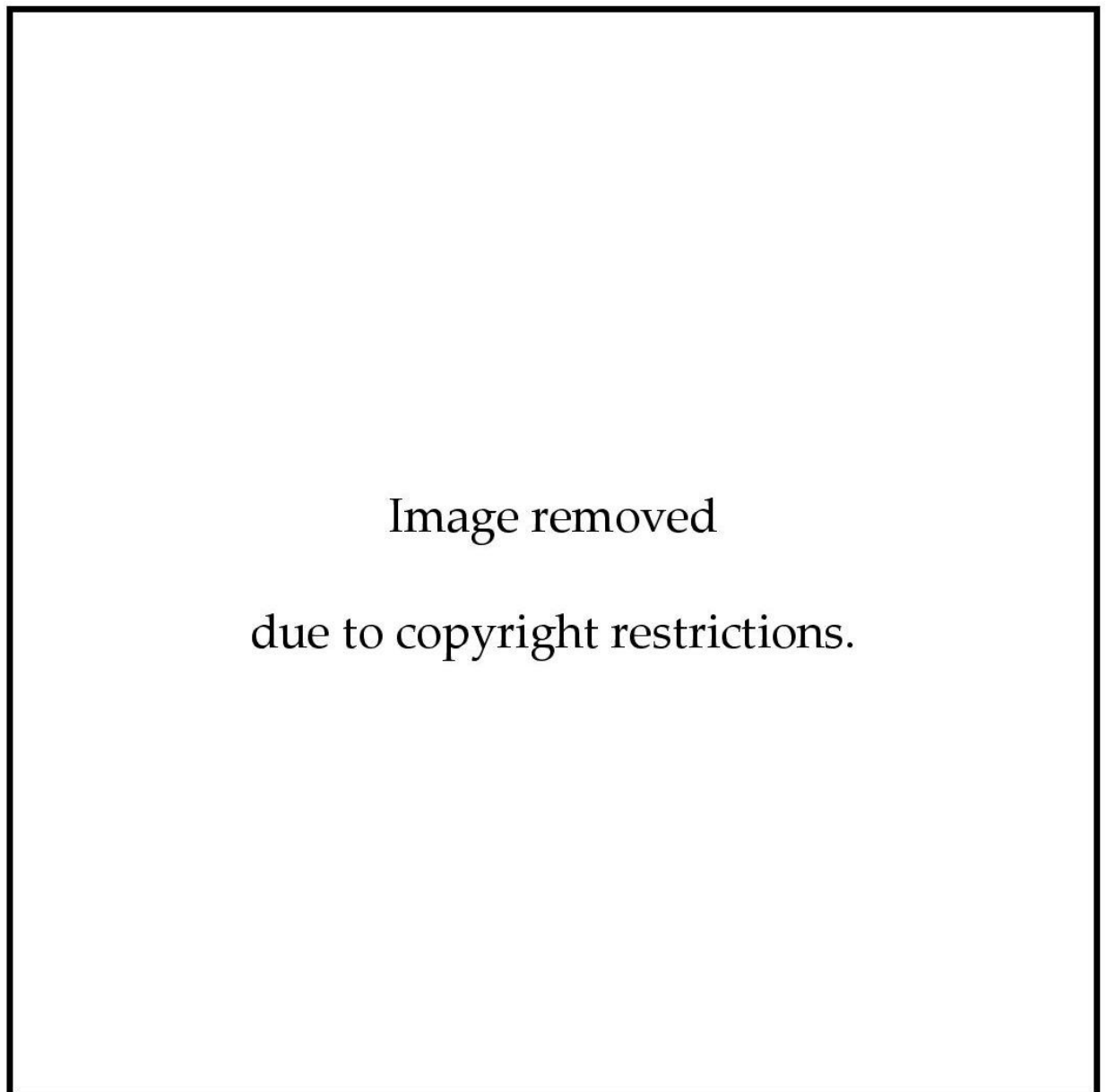
Figure 5.87: Plan of 'Atlit Castle showing the proximity of the city's churches to the defences (Pringle 1993 70 figure 23, after Johns 1947)

I argue that Caesarea's griffins were placed on top of a re-used capital and column flanking either a window or portal such as the Italian examples. The choice to blend spoliated columns and capitals with the apotropaic griffins makes this combination all the more magically significant with regard to Caesarea's walls. Thus Caesarea's Church of Saint Lawrence, with the help of the guardian griffins, would have provided a magical protective function for the city walls (see section 6.3). This function could have continued past Saladin's destruction since King John de Brienne and King Louis IX may have wanted to incorporate the church's ruins into their new fortifications to take advantage of past apotropaic protection. In addition to using the ruined church, as well as ancient spolia, King Louis IX also employed new decorative elements to amplify the wall's magical protection.

5.6.3 KING LOUIS IX'S APOTROPAIC MONUMENTAL WALLS

During Caesarea's last great refortification of 1251–1252, King Louis IX displayed his wealth and power through this monumental enterprise (see section 2.3). This surge of activity was prompted by the overthrow of the relatively peaceful Ayyubids by the aggressive Mamluks (Hazard 1975: 88). King Louis IX employed Gothic sculptures as well as spolia in his monumental walls for aesthetic as well as apotropaic purposes. Examples of the Gothic ornamentation can still be seen in the city's eastern and northern gatehouses and comprise decorated brackets and capitals (see section 5.4.3 and figures 5.25–5.32, 5.39–5.40, and 5.88–5.89). Spoliated features, including Roman columns and marble pieces, as well as the ruins of a twelfth century church, have been incorporated at various points throughout Caesarea's town wall. King Louis IX created a protected space, a space that was protected by strong monumental walls as well as by the addition of apotropaic spolia and ecclesiastical decorations. First I shall discuss the use of Frankish motifs chosen to adorn the gates surrounding the city's walls, followed by an analysis of the wall's spolia.

The Gothic sculpture seen throughout the city's gates is reminiscent of ecclesiastical decoration. I believe that these religious adornments indicate that the walls served a religious as well as a defensive purpose. As Guillaume de Saint-Pathus (1899: 110) explains in his *Vie de Saint Louis*, those who helped in the construction of the walls would be pardoned by Rome (see section 5.3). It would appear that contributing to the

construction of a city's defences was seen as rendering a service to the Church and was thus repaid through redemption (see section 5.5.3).

The sculptures in King Louis IX's walls comprise two types of motif, namely figural and vegetable. The east gatehouse has eight brackets, each with a distinctive decoration. Beginning in the northeast corner and working around the hall in a counter-clockwise direction they include: indistinct foliage, possibly a flower and stem motif; oak leaves; six-petal flowers; a plain conical shape, possibly from the modern reconstruction; a ruined bracket with no discernable motif; a cherubic Atlas; weathered foliage which may be a combination of small figures and oak leaves or fleur-de-lys; and lastly, another ruined bracket (see description in section 5.4.3 as well as figures 5.25–5.32 and 5.88). The north gate contains four beautifully sculpted capitals covered in carved foliage, one in each corner of the hall (see figures 5.39, 5.40 and 5.89).

These decorations, especially the Atlas, the six-petal flowers, and the oak leaves, are derived from classical examples and can be seen to adorn many ecclesiastical buildings (Enlart 1925–1928 I: 106; Frazer 2012: 349). One example is that of Bellapais Abbey in Cyprus. Its cloister decorations contain brackets carved with foliage and figures and bear striking similarities to those found in Caesarea. Caesarea's motifs, like the earlier griffins standing guard over the Church of Saint Lawrence (see sections 5.6.1 and 5.6.2 above), were chosen for their apotropaic functions – not only to decorate the space but also to protect it by using evil subjects.
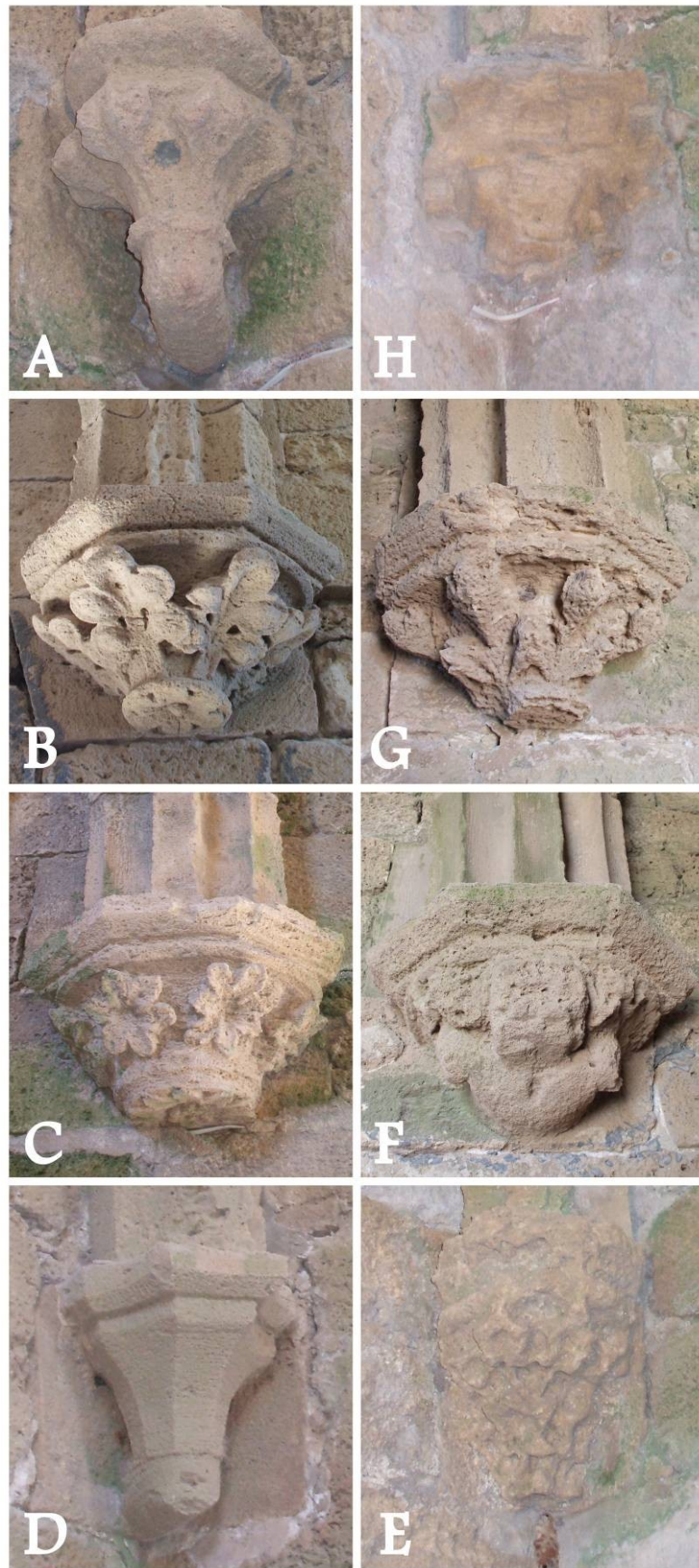
Figure 5.88: Brackets from the east gate: A – stem and petal motif (northwest corner); B –
oak leaves (south of 'A'); C – six-petal flowers (south of 'B'); D – conical reconstruction
(southwest corner); E – ruined (southeast corner); F – cherubic Atlas (north of 'E'); G –
fleur-de-lys (north of 'F'); H – ruined (northeast corner) (A. Charland)

Figure 5.89: The north gate capitals. A – northwest corner; B – northeast corner;
C – southwest corner; D – southeast corner (A. Charland)

The images in the east and north gate also served as visual reminders of this protection. Using symbolic imagery in this manner can be seen in many ecclesiastical institutions. For example, the doorway leading to the twelfth century nun's refectory at Sinningthwaite Priory in Yorkshire had a carved serpent next to it. The serpent may have served as a reminder to the nuns of the temptation and fall of Eve (Gilchrist 1994: 155, 157). With these symbolic messages in mind, the small cherub-like Atlas from Caesarea's eastern gatehouse may have been press ganged to endure the weight of the vault, in addition to that of the cosmos. This image may have served as a reminder to the Franks of the consequences of loosing a war. The oak leaves could have been sculpted for their association with ancient gods including Zeus, Jupiter, and Thor (Frazer 2012: 358, 361, 364). Moreover, the brackets would have served as physical reminders that the space within the city walls was magically protected.

There are also two Gothic elements, a keystone roof boss attached to some rib-vaulting and a corbel (or possible machicolation base), located on the ground surrounding the northeast corner tower (see figures 5.90 and 5.91). These elements would suggest that the

Gothic embellishments were utilized in more areas than the northern and eastern gatehouses.

In addition to using classical imagery, King Louis IX also included physical reminders of the ancient world into his monumental defences. He used spolia to fulfil a number of considerations: firstly, as a matter of economy and practicality; secondly for aesthetic reasons; and thirdly for reasons of meaningful re-use (see section 2.4.1). Firstly, columns were readily available at Caesarea and laying them vertically across the width of the walls contributed to the physical strength of the walls and helped guard against mining. This can be seen in the city's most southwestern tower, located southeast of the citadel. Sections of the tower's south and eastern walls have spoliated columns dispersed evenly to create a sort of 'checkerboard' effect (see figures 5.56 and 5.57) (see figures 4.24–4.29) The strength of this technique is confirmed in Ibn al-Furāt's recounting of Baibars's siege of Caesarea (see section 5.7). As the chronicler explains:

> This citadel, known as al-Khadrā' (the Green), was one of the most strongly fortified of its kind. For Louis (al-Raidāfrans) had had granite pillars carried there which he had arranged with skill. No finer construction was to be seen in al-Sāhil, nor any stronger or loftier, for round it was the sea whose water flowed in its moats. It could not be mined because of the granite columns used crosswise in its construction, and even were it undermined it would not fall (Ibn al-Furāt 1971 II: 70).

Even though an amount of exaggeration can be expected from primary sources, to make the Mamluk triumph all the more impressive, it is still apparent that spoliated columns were known to have a practical, strengthening purpose.

Figure 5.90: Roof boss and sections of rib-vaulting found near the northeast corner tower (A. Charland)

Figure 5.91: Corbel, or possible base of machicolation, found at the base of the northeast corner tower's western wall, facing east (A. Charland)

Other economic re-use can be seen in the city's eastern gatehouse which has two columns positioned in its southeast corner. These would have been visible until the completion of the *glaçis*, after which they would have been completely hidden (see figure 5.19). There is also a lone white column protruding from the *glaçis* in roughly the centre of the eastern wall (see figure 5.4) (see plan of Caesarea, figure 5.3). The doorways in the northern, eastern, and southern gatehouses each utilize spoliated marble; they are located at the top and base of the doorways and possess holes where the wing-door's hinges would have rested. Moreover, the eastern gate's main doorway is lined with a spoliated column that has been cleft in half. There is also a number of stray column fragments as well as a column base in the city's moat which suggest that these may have once been part of the defences.

Secondly, King Louis IX may have included the Roman elements for aesthetic purposes. Many of the re-used columns are very colourful and create a striking impact on the viewer. The southern tower's 'checkerboard' pattern was created by systematically placing columns of different styles and colours throughout the contrasting sandy coloured ashlars. Another example of this contrasting effect can be seen in the west gate of Belvoir's inner bailey (see figure 5.92) as well as in the Mamluk voussoirs in the al-Qayqan mosque in Aleppo (see figure 5.93).

Thirdly, I argue that King Louis IX used spolia in Caesarea's walls for reasons of meaningful re-use. King Louis IX's used these meaningfully-charged materials to display his triumph over the past as well as for the purpose of providing his defences with magical protection. For example, the most visual elements, the re-used columns, were turned on to their sides and incorporated into the walls in a deliberate manner so that they could be seen, as is evidenced in the southwestern 'checkerboard' tower. King Louis IX may have wanted to convey his triumph over the ancient world, perhaps over their pagan faith. There are many examples of this type of propagandistic re-use, particularly of the Muslims demonstrating their triumph over the Franks (Flood 2001: 41–72; Gonnella 2010: 103 n.8, 108). One example are the upside down columns of Hama, as Herzfeld (1943: 47) explains:

> Abu'l-Fidā did not need a special inspector to commit the mistake of setting [the columns] into the wall upside down. He

had taken part in the siege and conquest of 'Akkā, Saint-Jean d'Acre, the last stronghold of the crusaders, by Sultan Ashraf Khalīl, son of Kalā'ūn, in 690 H, (1291 A. D.) and had been present at Khalīl's triumphal entry in Damascus, where the Frankish prisoners of war carried their standards upside down, munakkas. Bahā al'Dīn ibn Shaddād, in his history of Saladin, says: "Saladin turned the cross that was on the Kubbat al-Sakhra in Jerusalem upside down, nakkasa, it was enormously large, and Allah made Islam triumph by his hands, an overwhelming victory." Khalīl brought the doorway of Saint-Jean d'Acre to Cairo, to serve as a door of the madrasa which Ketbogha had begun to build in 695 and which Khalīl's brother nāsir Muhammad, the friend of Abu'l-Fidā completed in 703. So the columns of Hama were given to Abu'l-Fidā to let him have part in their barakāt, blessings or magical power. They were put into the wall upside down for reasons of sympathetic magic, in order to perpetuate the triumph (quoting van Berchem 1894–1903 I: 154, 551).

The 'checkerboard' tower's use of spolia could have also been used for their potential magical protection. According to Gonnella (2010: 109–111), magical qualities have been associated with columns in both Muslim and Christian traditions. In particular they were known for their healing properties as well as for performing miracles. Therefore, columns may have been utilized in the city's defences, not just for reasons of economy, but for their association with magical qualities. There are even examples of "fake" columns being used in a similar decorative manner to mimic the originals, such as at the Gate of Victory (*bāb al-Nasr*) in Aleppo (Gonnella 2010: 111) (see figure 5.94). Such magical motivations would also explain the column re-use seen in the al-Qayqan mosque (see figure 5.93).

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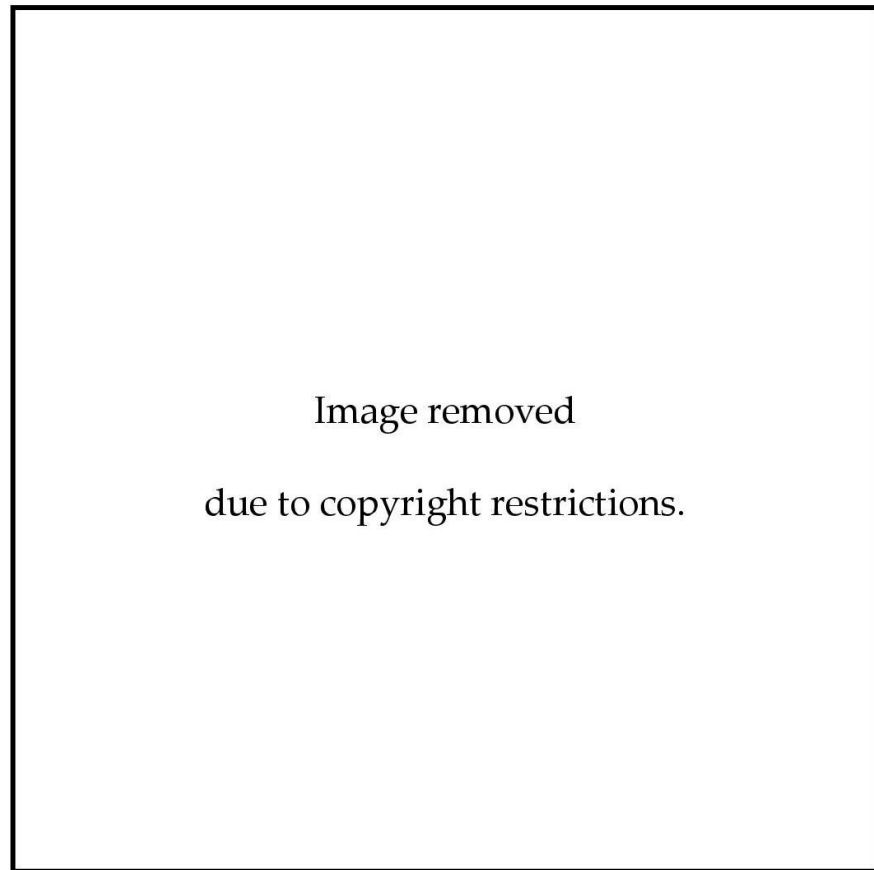
Figure 5.92: The west gate of Belvoir's inner bailey (Sobkowski 2007; see also Kennedy 1994: 60, plate 21)

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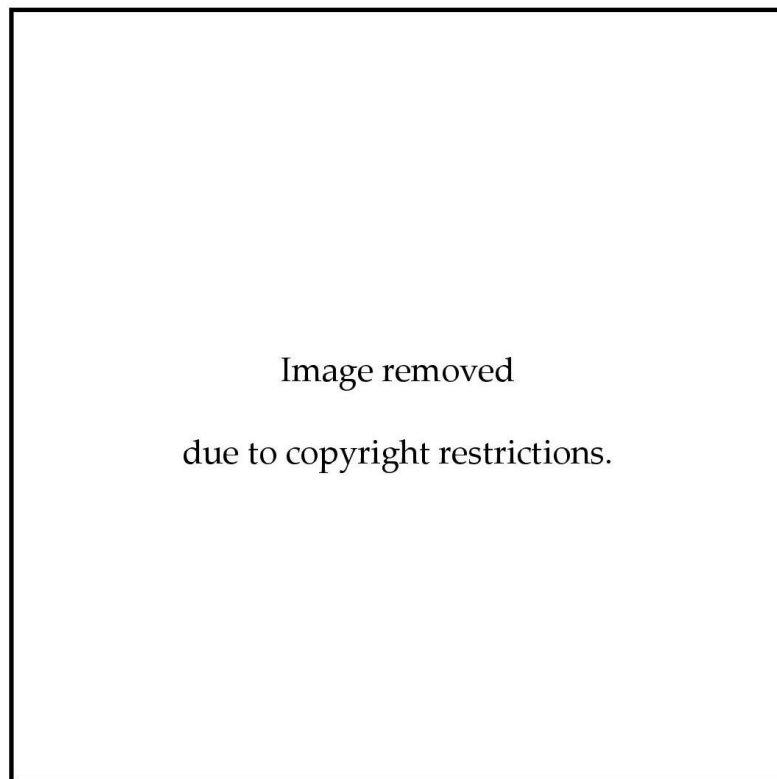
Figure 5.93: The Mamluk mosque of al-Qayqan in Aleppo. Also note the use of spoliated column shafts throughout the structure (Gonnella 2010: 112 figure 10)
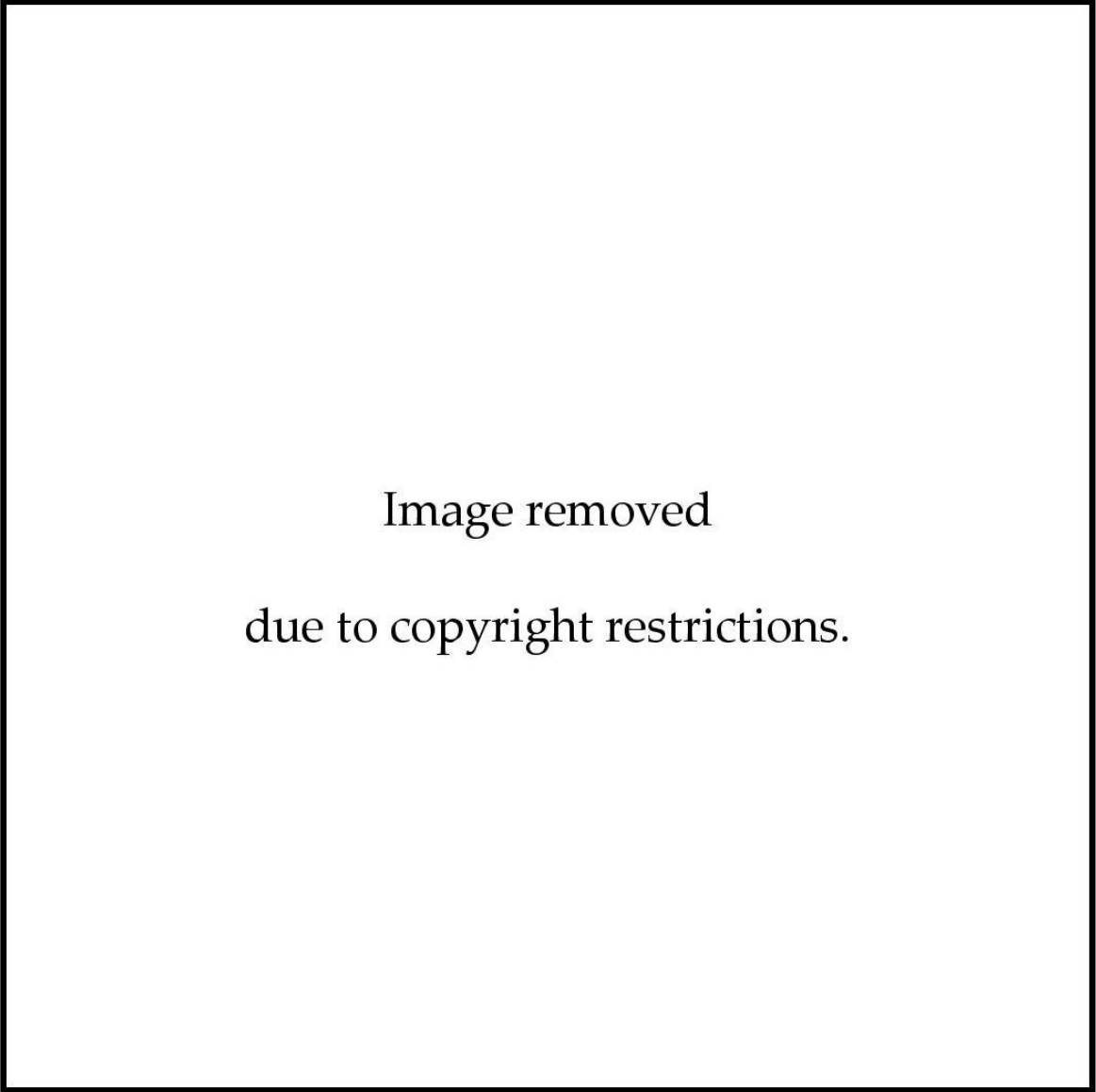
Figure 5.94: "Fake" column shafts used to decorate the Gate of Victory (*bāb al-Nasr*) in Aleppo (Gonnella 2010: 111)

The gateways leading into King Louis IX's Caesarea may have also benefited from this magical treatment. Re-used column pieces were placed in each corner of the north, south and eastern gateways to hold the hinges of the doors. In addition to this apparent practical re-use, these spolia may have been used for magical considerations. As Gonnella (2010: 108) explains: "City gateways were and still are often protected by shrines and talismans – the city wall shielding the inhabitants from both natural and supernatural hostile incursions." For example, Aleppo's Gate of Victory is visited for the healing qualities provided by its fingernail talisman - a spoliated Greek inscription incorporated into its walls (Gonnella 2010: 105, 108) (for other examples of spoliated apotropaia in gateways see Flood 2006). The spoliated column pieces in Caesarea's gates may have been thought to hold magical properties such as adding a sort of talismanic protection to the city's walls.

I argue that the magical protection afforded by ancient spolia was then further strengthened by King Louis IX's incorporation of the medieval ruins of the Church of Saint Lawrence into his northeast corner tower (see sections 5.6.1 and 5.6.2 above). By including these ecclesiastical elements, especially the apotropaic griffin, in addition to the ancient spolia and Gothic decoration, these would have added to the city's magical apotropaic protection.

Therefore, King Louis IX's use of ancient and medieval spolia as well as Gothic decoration would not only reinforce the physical barriers created by Caesarea's walls, but also reinforce the impact on the viewer, communicating both the Franks' strength, their control of wealth, and their appropriation of past magic.

5.7 ANALYSIS: FOILED BY FORCE AND A FIERY PERFORMANCE

Here we come to the final phase of Caesarea's medieval biography. During the summer of 1264 Baibars besieged the territory surrounding Caesarea and 'Atlit. On February 27, 1265, Baibars and his army encircled Caesarea and attacked (Ibn al-Furāt 1971 II: 88). What ensued was a ruthless performance of force (see section 2.2), effectively turning King Louis IX's walls from an object of military strength and apotropaic protection to that of defeat and Mamluk victory.

5.7.1 OBJECT OF FRANKISH DEFEAT AND MAMLUK VICTORY

The events surrounding Caesarea's demise are recounted in the *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa'l-Mulūk*, written by Nāsir al-Dīn Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rhmān al-Hanafī (known as Ibn al-Furāt). Ibn al-Furāt (734–807 A.H./1334–1405 A.D.) was born in Cairo and although he was from a good family the only important position he held was as a *khatīb* (one who gives the address in the mosque) at the local *madrasa* in Old Cairo (Ibn al-Furāt 1971: 261; Massoud 2007: 34). His work, the *Tārīkh al-Duwal*, was used heavily by historians including al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Hajar, Ibn Qādī Shuhba, al-Jawharī, Ibn Iyās, and possibly Ibn Khaldūn, al-'Aynī and al-Malatī (Massoud 2007: 34).The backbone of Ibn al-Furāt's work is Ibn Duqmaq's *Nuzhat al-Ansām*. According to Massoud (2007: 36), Ibn al-Furāt, for the most part, copied Ibn Duqmāq's text word-for-word or slightly changed the wording. But despite this, the text is a wealth of knowledge and provides lots of in-depth additional information, possibly due to the inclusion of non-written or verbal sources (Massoud 2007: 36).

The siege and destruction of Caesarea were enacted like a three-act play. Upon their arrival, Baibars and his army attacked immediately. As Ibn al-Furāt recounts:

> Baibars immediately encircled the city and the Muslims attacked it, throwing themselves into its trenches; using iron horse pegs together with tethers and halters on to which they clung, they climbed up from all sides and set up their banners there. The city gates were burnt and its defences torn away, while the inhabitants fled to the citadel. The Sultan sent letters with the good news to the regions and to the Atabek Faris al-Din. He then set up his mangonels against the citadel (Ibn al-Furāt 1971 II: 70).

Every step of Baibars's systematic siege is done in a very deliberate and visual fashion. The Mamluks begin by climbing the walls and displaying their banners, thus establishing and displaying their control of the entire line of the city walls immediately. Their capture of the city's fortifications is then reinforced through the burning of the gates. If the Franks cannot see the Mamluk banners, they are sure to see the fires. Not only would the flames be more obvious than the banners, but they would serve as a visual and physical reminder that escape through the city walls was no longer an option.

It is at this point in the siege when there is a clear shift in the city wall's function. Through Baibars's use of the wall in his very visual performance, he is turning the defences into an advertisement for his victory. But more than this, Baibars has turned the city walls, an object that previously demonstrated monumental power and apotropaic protection, into an object of Frankish defeat.

During the second act of this play of destruction, Baibars pushes forward with the siege:

> The Muslims continued to attack [the citadel], bombarding it with their mangonels. At one moment the Sultan [Baibars] would be shooting arrows from the top of a church in front of the citadel, at another, he would mount and plunge into the sea waves to fight…The Sultan remained steadfastly at the front of the fighting. He did not go out to his dihlīz [tent or pavilion acting as a sort of administrative headquarters] but stayed in the church with a company of crossbowmen, shooting away and preventing the Franks from climbing to the top of the citadel (Ibn al-Furāt 1971 II: 70–71, 259).

During these stages of the battle, Baibars focuses his attention on Caesarea's citadel. He orchestrates the assault from a church. This presumably refers to the Cathedral of Saint Peter, which occupies an elevated position and offers a vantage point over the city and its surrounding defences (see section 5.4.5 and figure 5.59). Baibars increases the terror through the use of mangonels and arrows, constricting the Franks' movements within the citadel.

Caesarea's end comes just six days after Baibars first laid siege to the city. Ibn al-Furāt describes the final scenes:

> Then, on the night of Thursday, half-way through Jumada I, the month already mentioned (5 March), the Franks came and surrendered the citadel with its contents. The Muslims climbed up to it from the walls, burned its gates and entered it from above and below, while the call to morning prayer was made from its top. The Sultan went up to it and then shared out the city between his emirs, his personal officers, his mamlukes and his halqa, after which he began the work of demolition. He dismounted and, taking a pick-axe in his hand, he started on this work himself. Seeing him, the Muslims imitated him, setting to work themselves, while he took part in this himself with his own hands, getting a coating of dust (Ibn al-Furāt 1971 II: 71).

In this final act, the battle ends the way that it began with the citadel's gates being set on fire. Baibars and his army enter the castle from all entrances, completing their conquering performance through prayer and lastly by demolition. Whether or not Baibars actually took part in the city's demolition, the chronicle stresses his involvement throughout the performance until the very end. Not only did Baibars personally take part, getting dirty in the process, but he also provided an example for the rest to follow. In so doing, Ibn al-Furāt is insuring that Baibars receives full recognition for his triumphal victory. It is interesting to note that even though the chronicle is adamant that Baibars's destruction was complete (Ibn al-Furāt 1971 II: 72), enough of the fortifications remained to justify a second demolition in 1291 by Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl. Considering that substantial ruins still remain on the site today it would appear that the complete physical destruction of the city's defences was not the main goal. I argue that Baibars goal was to assert his dominance over the Franks as well as to disable the defences rather than erase all trace of them (see section 6.4).

Therefore, King Louis IX's apotropaic monumental walls, walls that were an object of Frankish monetary wealth, power, and both physical and magical strength, were reduced to rubble through a visual and destructive performance. The physical strength of the Frankish walls were thus negated and turned into an object of Mamluk victory. Therefore, through an execution of power Baibars effectively razes (or executed) Caesarea's defences.

5.8 CONCLUSION

By analysing different pieces of historical and archaeological evidence throughout Caesarea's medieval biography (see section 2.2) it is evident that the city walls performed many diverse military and social functions between 1099 and 1291. Throughout the Frankish occupation, Caesarea's city walls were used as iconographic and physical representations of monumental seigneurial power (see section 2.3). The lords and ladies of Caesarea used a stylized image of the city's defences as a visual advertisement that they possessed the power, wealth and control necessary to upkeep military fortifications. The impressive walls depicted on the seals, whether real or fantasy, communicated the lords' and ladies' ability to either build or maintain such monumental architecture. This is made apparent through the stylistic changes seen in the seals belonging to Eustace Granier,

Gautier I, Hugh, Gautier II, and in particular to the seal belonging to Julianne and Adhémar de Lairon (see section 5.5.2).

Lady Julianne and Adhémar de Lairon's seal, dating to 1207, is the most elaborate and, given its date, is the most intriguing. The lavish walls depicted on this seal come during a time when the walls are thought to be in a state of disrepair. As such, the ornate walls depicted on their seal may have had several purposes: to remind onlookers of Caesarea's past strength; to advertise their ability to rebuild and/or improve the walls; or to demonstrate that the walls have already been repaired and are superior to the previous walls. Beyond being iconographic representations of power, Lady Julianne also used the city's physical fortifications to exert her seigneurial power and attempt to redeem her soul. This is made evident through her donations of two towers to the Teutonic Order in 1206 (see section 5.5.3).

Turning to Caesarea's remaining physical walls, decoration, including both new and re-used sculptural elements, was employed for aesthetic as well as protective purposes (see section 2.4.1). During the twelfth century, a mosque residing in what is now the northeast corner tower was converted into a church dedicated to Saint Lawrence. This church, adorned by guardian griffins, afforded the city walls apotropaic protection through its proximity (see section 5.6.2). This protection continued past the church's 1190 destruction since its ruined walls were then incorporated into King John de Brienne's new fortifications in 1217.

This magically charged spolium was then re-used once more during the next phase of Caesarea's biography during King Louis IX's monumental refortification of 1251–1252. Along with spoliated Roman architectural elements, King Louis IX also used Gothic decorations throughout the city walls to provide military and magical protection (see section 5.6.3). Many of the motifs used on the eastern gate's brackets are based on classical examples, employed for their religious associations and for their linked tales of morality, such as the cherubic Atlas bracket. The religious significance of King Louis IX's walls is also evident through the papal pardon that was granted for participating in the defences' construction.

The last dramatic episode of Caesarea's biography comes with the razing in 1265 by the Mamluk Sultan Baibars as recounted in Ibn al-Furāt's *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa'l-Mulūk* (see section 5.7). During this final siege, Caesarea's city walls were conquered through a performance executed by Baibars who orchestrated the siege from the city's cathedral (see section 2.2). The walls were branded with banners and the gates were destroyed with fire, turning what was once an object of Frankish power and protection, into an object of Frankish defeat and Mamluk victory.

Therefore, through the sigillographic, sculptural, architectural, and historical evidence, Caesarea's city walls provide tangible as well as magical protection. Moreover, the defences' image, as well as their physical architecture, is exploited to convey seigneurial power and control. In the following chapter, the themes of 'Power,' 'Magic' and 'Domination' as they apply to Caesarea and Ascalon's city walls are discussed further, drawing in other examples from different sites to demonstrate the efficacy of my approach to the field.

6 DÉNOUEMENT: UNRAVELLING THE CITY WALLS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we come to the final stages of the thesis. Like the dénouement of a play, unravelling the final mysteries of the plot, the purpose of this discussion chapter will be to display the effectiveness of my approach in analyzing medieval city walls by deconstructing the various functions performed by Ascalon and Caesarea's defences. Moreover, this chapter will reveal that these two case studies are not isolated examples but are, in fact, a demonstration of the analytical potential of city wall studies as well as the wider field of Medieval archaeology.

In Chapters 4 and 5 above, I analyzed the different functions of the city walls found at each site by applying different theoretical concepts, mainly those of biography, monumentality, and memory (see Chapter 2), to a range of data from multiple disciplines, such as architecture, spolia, sculpture, contemporary chronicles, and documentary seals. Upon reflection, three main thematic categories emerged during analysis, namely that the walls were used as demonstrations of power, provided a magical and/or a religious function, and were used as objects of domination and victory.

In this chapter, I argue that the city walls can be defined, firstly, as walls of power (see section 6.2). This theme encompasses the creation and exploitation of monumental city walls and their image as a means of expressing élite, community, and mythical power. The second theme examines the magical and religious functions of city walls (see section 6.3). The walls were decorated with apotropaic sculptures and adorned with religious inscriptions to augment the physical protection of the urban defences. Lastly, a theme of domination and victory became apparent when analyzing the spolia and historical evidence (see section 6.4). These functions demonstrate that the city walls performed various roles in addition to that of military protection, thus fulfilling one of the main aims of this thesis (see section 1.3).

6.2 WALLS OF POWER AND MONUMENTALITY

In this section I discuss the theme of power and how people from different classes of society perceived and exploited the city walls. The walls surrounding the medieval cities of Ascalon and Caesarea were built to provide protection for the inhabitants, but these monumental structures were also built at the behest of powerful people who wished to advertise their wealth, influence and authority (see section 6.2.1). They also held the memories of the community who helped build the walls, thus serving as a visual reminder of their achievement and serving as a source of pride (see section 6.2.2). City walls could also become imbued with powerful memories, such as the memories of an adversary, like the Richard the Lionheart myth, thus adding another obstacle to an already worthy adversary and providing another motive for their destruction (see section 6.2.3).

6.2.1 ÉLITE POWER, WEALTH, AND CONTROL

I argue that one of the major functions of city walls is that they were used by the higher echelons of society to display their power, wealth, and control. This theme can be seen throughout Ascalon and Caesarea's medieval biographies. The walls are essentially being used as monumental billboards, cleverly advertising the accomplishments of those in positions of power to the masses. This was achieved in three ways: firstly, by creating inscriptions commemorating their accomplishments and placing them in visible areas. For example, in section 4.5.2 above, I demonstrated how the local *amīrs* and *qādī* placed an Arabic inscription, commemorating the construction of a new tower in 1150, on a wall or tower near one of Ascalon's main gates, thus turning the city wall into a visual display of their power and authority. A similar inscription can be seen during the Frankish occupation of Ascalon. After King Richard I's refortification in 1192, an inscription naming Master Philip (the king's clerk) was created, insinuating that a large portion of Ascalon's walls were funded by the English king, thus serving as a reminder of the seigneurial power and wealth required to construct the city's monumental walls (see section 4.6.3).

Secondly, the Frankish élites used the image of the city walls on documentary seals. Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Lords and Ladies of Caesarea

depicted the city's urban defences on their documentary seals. More than illustrating actual physical fortifications, these iconographic representations were used by the lords and ladies to potentially broadcast the existing strength of Caesarea's walls, the fortifications that could be achieved through their wealth and power, or a link to the past walls that once stood and could exist again (see section 5.5.2). Such advertising can be seen in documentary seals from seven of the fourteen walled towns across the Kingdom of Jerusalem, including: Jerusalem, Sidon, Tyre, Arsuf, Jaffa and Ascalon.

Many of the Kings and Queens of Jerusalem used a similar representation of their city on their documentary seals. The seals used by Baldwin I, Baldwin II (not pictured), Baldwin III, Melisende (not pictured), Amaury I, Baldwin IV, Baldwin V, Guy de Lusignan, Amaury de Lusignan, and Jean de Brienne all display a seated king holding a sceptre in his right hand and an orb in his left on the obverse (except for Melisende's seal which depicts a crown), and the Holy Sepulchre and the Dome of the Rock being protected by the city walls with the Tower of David standing in the centre on the reverse (see figures 6.1 – 6.8) (Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: 2, Plate XVI n.1; 3; 4, Plate XVI n.2; 5–6; 7, Plate XVI n.3; 8–9, Plate I n.1, see also Plate XVI n.4; 9–10, Plate XVI n.5; 10, Plate I n.2; 12, Plate XXI n.7; 13–14, Plate I n.3, based on the drawings in the Biblioteca Comunale di Palermo's Amico Register (n.d.) folio 187, 264, 271, 290; and on the drawing by Paoli 1733–1737 I: Tab. II n.17).

The various representations of Jerusalem vary slightly from each other. On Baldwin I, Baldwin III, and Amaury I's seals the Holy Sepulchre is positioned to the right and the Dome of the Rock to the left of the Tower of David while their positions are reversed on the seals belonging to Melisende, Baldwin IV, Baldwin V, Guy de Lusignan, Amaury de Lusignan, and Jean de Brienne. Moreover, the city walls have stylistic differences. For example, Baldwin I's walls are made up of stones with dots in their centres, while Baldwin II's defences are topped with crenellations. These variations may be due to the artist's interpretation of the city or may reflect actual changes made to the fortifications over time. Regardless of these differences, it is evident that the choice to represent Jerusalem through its city walls and holy monuments did not change much throughout each successive reign thus demonstrating that these structures continued to exhibit the monarchy's power.

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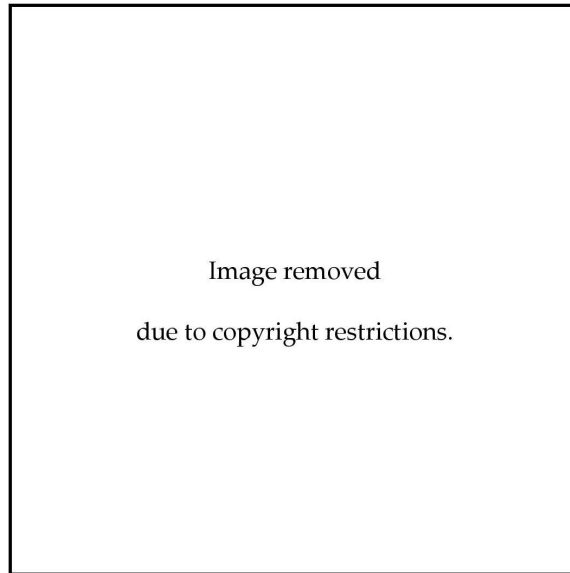
Figure 6.1: Sketch of Baldwin I's seal. The marginal inscription reads: + BALDVINVS DEI GRA · REX · HIERVSALEM : (obverse) and + CIVITAS : REGIS : REGVM : OMNIVM : (reverse) (Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: Plate XVI n.1, after Biblioteca Comunale di Palermo's Amico Register (n.d.) folio 187)

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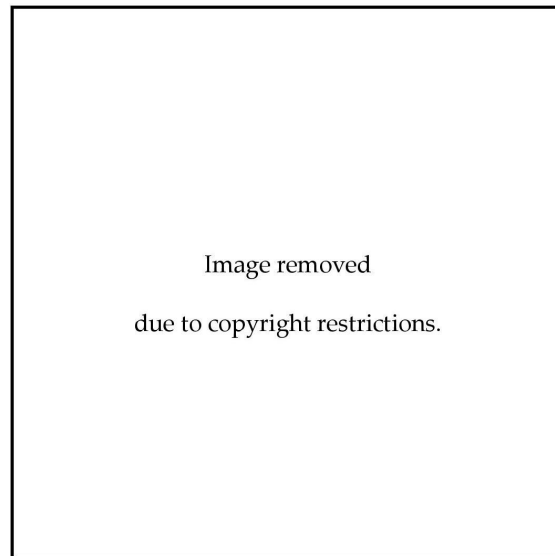
Figure 6.2: Sketch of Baldwin III's seal. The marginal inscription reads: + BALDVINVS : DEI : GRATIA : REXHIERVSALE (obverse) and + CIVITAS : REGIS : REGVM : OMNIVM : (reverse) (Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: Plate XVI n.2, after Paoli 1733–1737 I: Tab. II n.17)

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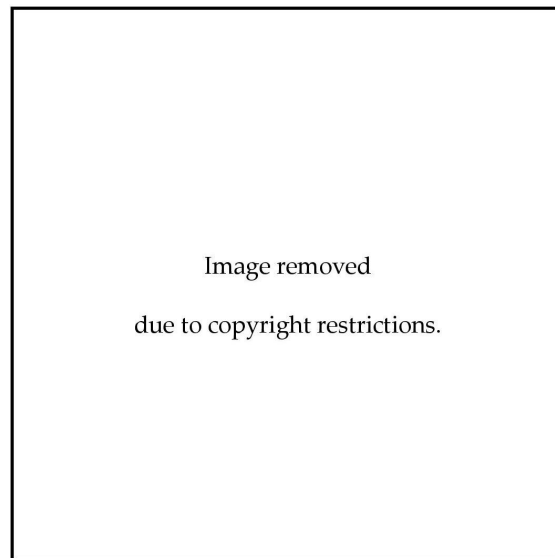
Figure 6.3: Sketch of Amaury I's seal. The marginal inscription reads: + AMALRICVS · DEI · GRATIA · REX · IERVSALEM · (obverse) and + CIVITAS · REGIS : REGVM : OMNIVM : (reverse) (Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: Plate XVI n.3, after Biblioteca Comunale di Palermo's Amico Register (n.d.) folio 271)

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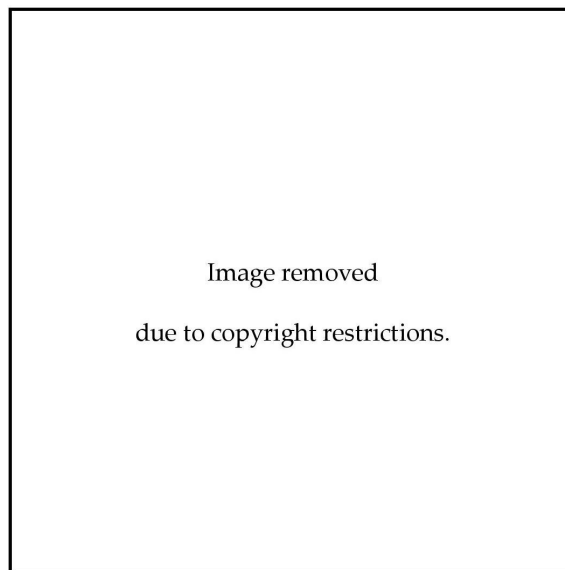
Figure 6.4: Baldwin VI's lead seal. The marginal inscription reads: + BALDVIIIS DEI GRACIA REX IERVSALEM (obverse) and + CIVITAS · REGIS : REGVM : OMNIVM (reverse) (Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: Plate I n.1)

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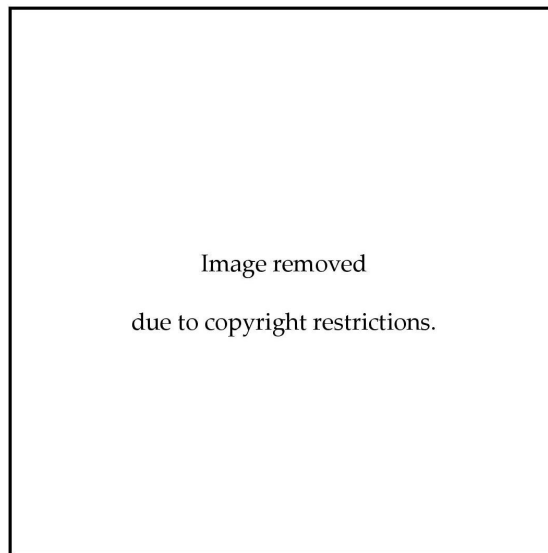
Figure 6.5: Sketch of Baldwin V's seal. The marginal inscription reads: + BALDVINVS DEI GRATIA REX IERVSALEM (obverse) and + CIVITAS REGIS REGVM OMNIVM · (reverse) (Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: Plate XVI n.5, after Biblioteca Comunale di Palermo's Amico Register (n.d.) folio 290)

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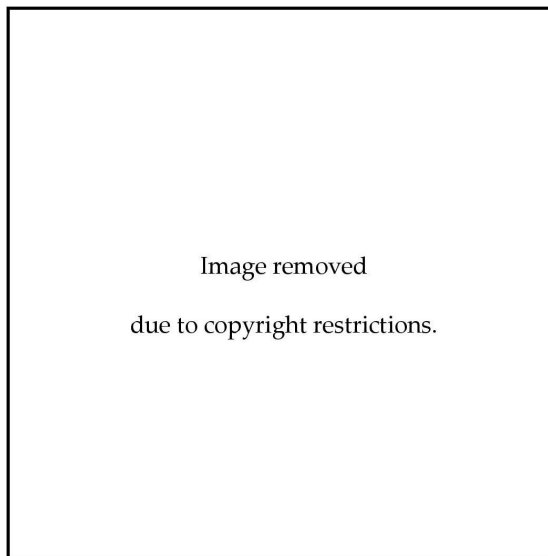
Figure 6.6: Guy de Lusignan's lead seal. The marginal inscription reads: + GVIDO DEI GRACIA REX IERVSALEM (obverse) and + CIVITAS REGIS REGVM OMNIV (reverse) (Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: Plate I n.2)

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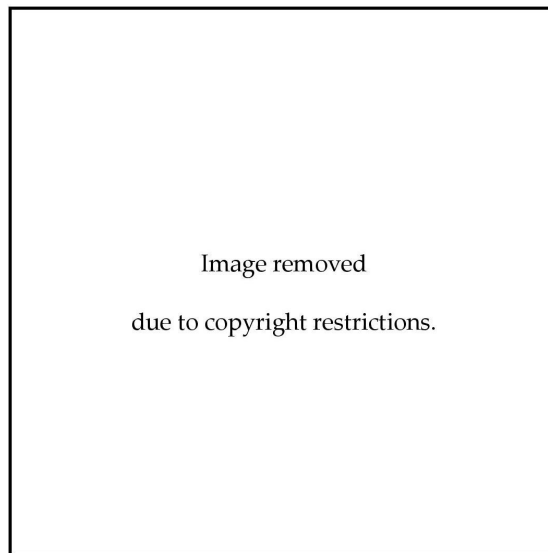
Figure 6.7: Drawing of Amaury de Lusignan's lead seal. The marginal inscription reads: + AIMERICVS : DEI GRA REX IERL'M ET CIPRI (obverse) and + CIVITAS REGIS REGVM OMNIVM (reverse) (Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: Plate XXI n.7)

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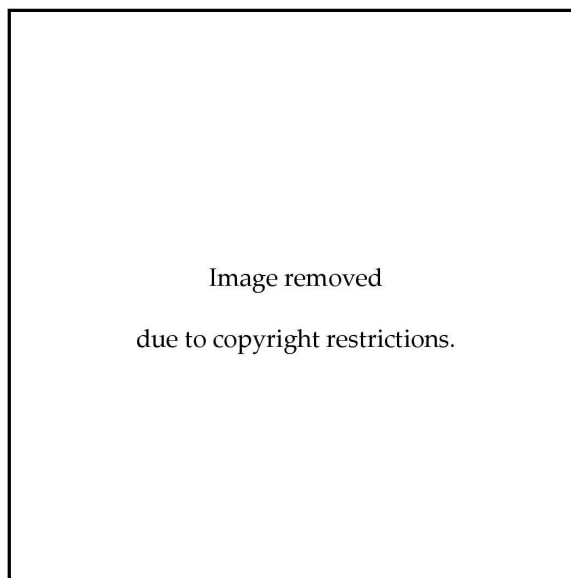
Figure 6.8: Jean de Brienne's lead seal. The marginal inscription reads: + : OH'ES : DEI : GRA : REX : IHRL'M (obverse) and ‡ CIVITAS : REGIS : REGVM OMNIVM (reverse) (Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: Plate I n.3)

Fortifications can also be seen on the seals of other Frankish élites. Renaud (Lord of Sidon), Jean de Montfort (Lord of Tyre), Balian d'Ibelin (Lord of Arsuf), Jean IV d'Ibelin (son of Balian d'Ibelin and Titular Lord of Arsuf), and Hugh II du Puiset (Count of Jaffa and Ascalon) all have very similar seals to those of the lords and ladies of Caesarea, with a mounted knight on the obverse and a depiction of the city's defences on the reverse (see section 5.5.1 and figures 5.63–5.68 and 6.9–6.13) (Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: 55, Plate XIX n.7; 64, Plate XVIII n.7; 65, Plate XVII n.1; 39, Plate XVII n.2; 47–48, Plate XIX n.1, based on the drawings of Paoli 1733–1737 I: Tab. VI n.61; Tab. VI n.64; Tab. VI n.56; Tab. I n.18; Tab. IV n.37).

Even though élite seals present many stylistic similarities, they are by no means static. Balian and Jean IV d'Ibelin's seals demonstrate a distinct shift in their obverse and reverse designs (see figure 6.11 and 6.12). Both seals date to 1269 (Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: 39, 65), but Balian's knight and city walls portray a much stronger military image than that of Jean IV. The knight on Balian's seal is riding straight on, his face is entirely covered by a helm and visor, while Jean IV's knight is turned outwards, his face uncovered. Similarly, Balian's fortifications appear more aggressive than Jean IV's. The latter's city has a more open plan, the main tower has curved decorative elements and the two smaller towers have banners flying from their roofs while the former's defences appear more formidable with a more closed off plan. Arsuf, like Caesarea, was razed by Baybars in 1265. It would appear that both lords were using the city's defences to display their power, one drawing on past military strength and the other on past stability.

Moving away from this pattern is the Countess of Jaffa and Ascalon Sibylle de Lusignan's seal which was appended to a document dating to 1177. In this act, Sibylle concedes a garden, yearly rents, and three towers at Ascalon to the Hospitallers (Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: 48–49, Plate XVII n.4). This seal depicts both Jaffa and Ascalon's city walls but no knight on horseback (see figure 6.14). In addition to this change the city walls depicted are also markedly different from Hugh II de Puiset's seal dating to 1126 (see figure 6.13) (Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: 47–48, Plate XIX n.1). It is unclear which fortifications on Sibylle's seal are attributable to which city as this is not indicated on the seal and little architecture remains at either site to make a comparison (see sections 3.2 and 4.4). Unlike Hugh II, Sibylle utilizes both city walls to demonstrate her control over both of these sites.

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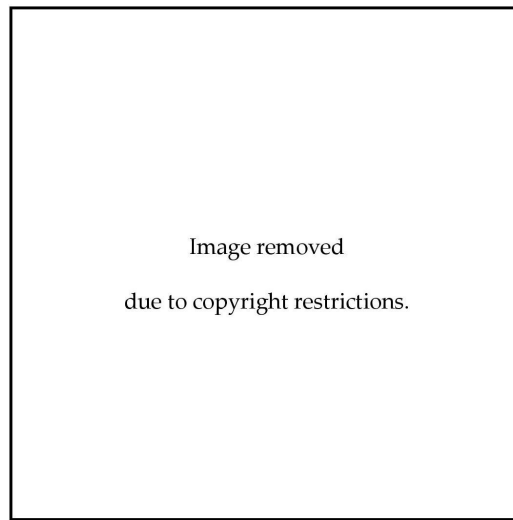
Figure 6.9: Drawing of Renaud, Lord of Sidon's lead seal. The marginal inscription reads:
+ RAINALDVS D(NS) SIDONIS (obverse) and HE(C ETS C)IVITAS. SIDONIS (reverse)
(Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: Plate XIX n.7)

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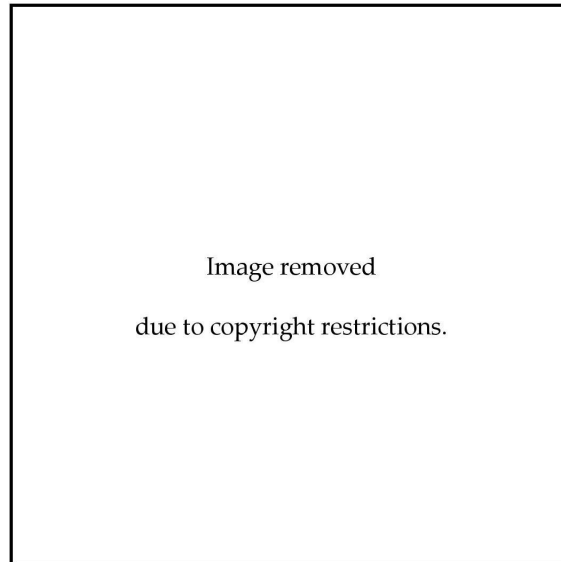
Figure 6.10: Sketch of Jean de Montfort, Lord of Tyre's lead seal. The marginal inscription
reads: + S. IOHAN' MO-TFORT SEGNVR D : SVR E DOV THORON (obverse) and +
DOMINI : TYRI : ECCE : TYRVS (reverse) (Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: Plate XVIII n.7, after
Paoli 1733–1737 I: Tab. VI n.61)

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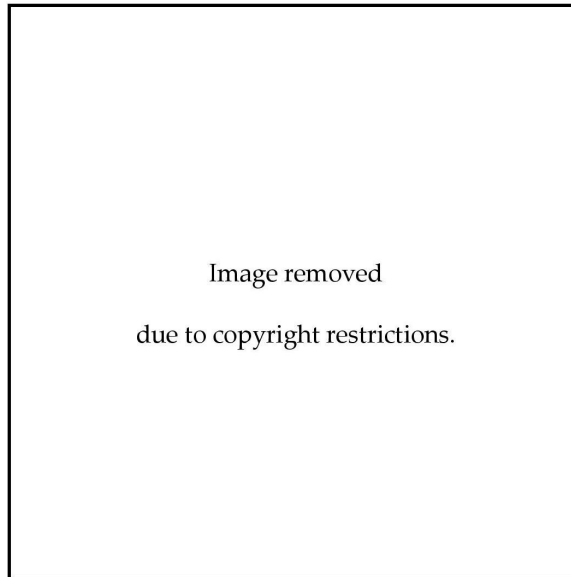
Figure 6.11: Sketch of Balian d'Ibelin, Lord of Arsuf's seal. The marginal inscription reads: + BA : D'YBEL' : S : D ARS : CO'ESTABL : DOV : REAVME : D'IERL'M (obverse) and + : CE : EST : LE : CHASTIAU : D ARSUR (reverse) (Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: Plate XVII n.1, after Paoli 1733–1737 I: Tab. VI n.64)

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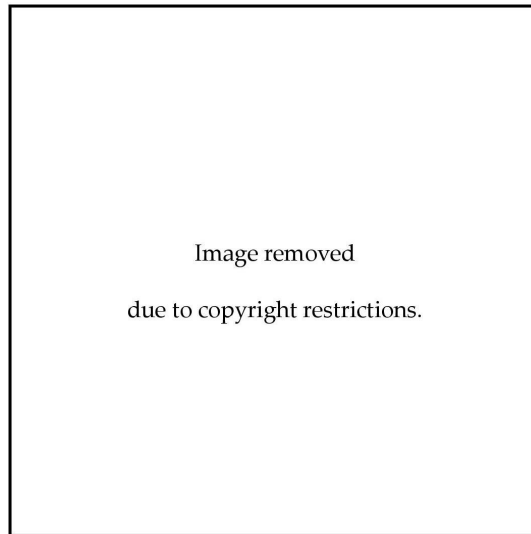
Figure 6.12: Sketch of Jean IV d'Ibelin, Lord of Arsuf's seal. The marginal inscription reads: + S'IOH'IS· D. YBELINO DNS : ARRSVR (obverse) and + CASTRVM : ARSUR (reverse) (Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: Plate XVII n.2, after Paoli 1733–1737 I: Tab. VI n.56)

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Figure 6.13: Sketch of Hugh II du Puiset, Count of Jaffa and Ascalon's seal. The marginal inscription reads: + COMES · HVGO · (obverse) and + CIVITAS · IOPE · (reverse) (Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: Plate XIX n.1, after Paoli 1733–1737 I: Tab. I n.18)

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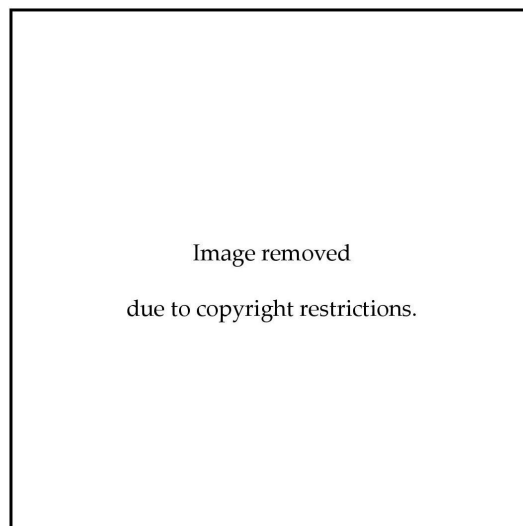
Figure 6.14: Sketch of Sibylle, Countess of Jaffa and Ascalon's seal. The marginal inscription reads: + SIGILLUM · AMAL · REGIS FILIE (obverse) and + IOPP · ET ASCALE COMITISSA (reverse) (Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: Plate XVII n.4, after Paoli 1733–1737 I: Tab. IV n.37)

Lastly, this theme of power can be seen in the walls themselves, particularly through their aesthetic and monumental appearance and the immense cost expended during their construction. This is especially apparent in King Louis IX's monumental refortification of Caesarea from 1251–1252. Through great cost and effort, the king, along with his army, built large walls, measuring at least 10 m high, that were embellished with Gothic sculptural details and magical spolia (see sections 5.6.3). This cost and effort demonstrates the king's power to control the necessary resources to build the monumental fortifications (see sections 5.6.3). This can also be seen at Ascalon through the remains of the Fatimid walls which were built sometime between 1136 and 1151. These monumental walls were built with great skill and at great cost. The wall's facing stones were placed with alternating header and stretchers and incorporated spoliated columns throughout, thus creating an aesthetically pleasing style along its entire circuit (see sections 4.4.2 and 4.5.3).

6.2.2 CIVIC PRIDE AND COMMUNITY ACHIEVEMENT

The city walls were not solely the accomplishment of the élites who funded these enterprises; they were also created through the efforts of the lower levels of society. Through their involvement, the monumental walls became a powerful symbol of their pride and achievement. This can be seen through the architecture and the historical record of Ascalon and Caesarea's walls. Pride and love for Ascalon's Ayyubid walls is especially apparent during their destruction in 1191. According to the chronicles written by Bahā' al-Dīn and Imād al-Dīn, the city's inhabitants loved Ascalon deeply and wept at seeing not just the city's walls, but also their friendly and fertile home being razed (see section 4.6.1).

Conversely, Ascalon's walls became an object of the Franks' achievement when King Richard I united his army during the refortification of 1192. This is made apparent through Ambroise's retelling of King Richard I and his army's journey to Ascalon. The Franks had originally intended to travel to Jerusalem, for many completing their anticipated pilgrimage, however this plan was abandoned causing the army great melancholy and depression. These Feelings were heightened with their travels between Ramla and Ascalon, mainly due to the dangers on the road, the stormy weather and the dispersal of much of the French from the army. The depressed army arrived to an already demolished Ascalon, furthering their despair. King Richard I decided to lift morale by rebuilding Ascalon's broken fortifications, a project that included people of all ranks. By

giving his army a unity of purpose, the walls became a symbol of their achievement. This argument is further demonstrated through the inscription naming Master Philip, clerk to King Richard I, as being responsible for building a section of the wall (see section 4.6.2).

6.2.3 MYTHICAL POWER

In addition to being monumental demonstrations of élite power and civic pride, I have been able to show through this thesis that the walls have the ability to project mythical power. King Richard I's myth began during his life and continued to grow long after his death. The events surrounding the Battle of Jaffa helped in the development of the Richard-myth. During this incursion, the English king escaped what should have been a fatal situation, completely unscathed. Moreover, the Ayyubids, fearing Richard the Lionheart, refused to advance against him (see section 4.6.4). I argue that Saladin's push for the destruction of Ascalon as part of the Treaty of Jaffa can be explained in terms of strategic practicality, but also out of a psychological need to destroy the memory of the legendary king associated with the city's fortifications – a king who was responsible for the massacre at Acre (see section 4.3), and for the loss of face during the Battle of Jaffa (see section 2.4.2). Therefore, Ascalon's walls became a representation of King Richard I's mythical power, thus partly resulting in the city's destruction in 1192.

6.3 MAGICAL AND RELIGIOUS WALLS

The second theme that emerged during analysis is that of magical and religious functions. The Holy Land's city walls were decorated using magically charged spolia and sculptures as well as religious inscriptions and other adornments to lend protection to the city walls. The walls of Ascalon and Caesarea were built using spoliated columns as well as Romanesque and Gothic sculptures which provided apotropaic defence (see section 6.3.1). Furthermore, inscriptional, historical, and sculptural evidence discovered at each site suggests that the walls provided religious defence to their inhabitants. Moreover, the walls held such religious importance that they could be used to buy the redemption of one's soul (see section 6.3.2).

6.3.1 MAGICAL PROTECTION THROUGH SPOLIA AND SCULPTURE

I argue that the city walls were constructed using spoliated elements as well as decorative sculpture for their magical properties. The Fatimids included spoliated columns during the construction of Ascalon's city walls for a number of considerations, including aesthetics, strength, as a display of power, and to provide the walls with magical protection. It is possible that the columns were used due to their Roman past and that they believed that these objects contained a form of residual magic, such as apotropaia, and that by incorporating them into the walls this magic would transfer to the whole of the structure (see sections 2.4.1 and 4.5.4). Such column re-use can be seen in many sites across the Holy Land and Cyprus such as at Aleppo, Sidon, Gibelet, and Saranda Kolones (see sections 4.4.5 and 5.4.4). The practice became so popular that examples of fake columns have been used to create a similar visual effect, such as Aleppo's Gate of Victory (*bāb al-Nasr*) (see section 5.6.3 and figure 5.94). King Louis IX also incorporated Roman columns into his walls at Caesarea because of their association with the classical past and their apotropaic qualities (see section 5.6.3). This link with the past can also be seen through the classical motifs used in Caesarea's east gate.

Caesarea's inner east gate is decorated with eight carved brackets, two of which portray classical motifs including a six-leaf flower and a cherub-like atlas. I argue that these ornamentations were used for their associations with the classical world and that by including them in the city walls lent the fortifications a form of magical protection (see section 5.6.3). A similar function was achieved through the inclusion of religious-inspired decorations.

6.3.2 RELIGIOUS PROTECTION AND ETERNAL REDEMPTION

I argue throughout this thesis that city walls were used for practical defence, but they were also viewed as religious structures which provided an additional form of protection. This religious significance is further substantiated by evidence claiming that castles and other sections of fortifications could be gifted to gain eternal redemption.

This religious protection is evident in Ascalon's Fatimid walls. The city's *glaçis* contains an *in situ* Arabic inscription stating "Dominion (possession) is Allah's" (see figures 4.35–

4.38). Moreover, the 1150 inscription commemorates a newly built tower that is blessed through the use of Qur'ānic verses. The Qur'ānic words "assistance from Allah and speedy victory" are used during the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods to invoke the help of Allah in their war against their Christian enemies, thus imbuing the city walls with Allah's divine protection (see section 4.5.4).

Religious protection can also be seen at Caesarea after King Baldwin I laid siege to the city in 1101. The Church of Saint Lawrence, decorated with apotropaic griffins, was built adjacent to the city walls, possibly to lend the defences the church's religious protection (see sections 5.6.1 and 5.6.2). The practice of positioning religious buildings near a city's fortifications can be seen at several sites. Jerusalem's Damascus Gate has a chapel located within it. 'Atlit castle had an octagonal chapel situated within its walls and another church was located beside the town's wall (see figure 5.87). Moreover, Ascalon has the remains of the Maqam al-Khidr, formerly 'the Green,' mosque positioned in the centre of the city's sea wall as well as a Frankish church located south of the city's Jerusalem Gate (see figures 4.2, 4.14 and 4.17 and section 5.6.2).

Ascalon's walls may have also provided religious protection during the 1153–1187 occupation not only due to the proximity of the Frankish church but also from its Jerusalem Gate and adjacent towers. William of Tyre describes the towers flanking the gate as "*turribus excelsis et solidis*" (see section 4.3) (Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi 1986: 791). The term "*excelsis*" is generally reserved for pre-eminent and divine associations (Latham and Howlett 1986: 830). William of Tyre's decision to describe the towers in this manner suggests that the Jerusalem Gate's towers were seen by medieval contemporaries as being not only "lofty" in a practical sense but also associated with the divine (William of Tyre 1976 II: 219). Thus, the specific use of "*excelsis*" suggests that Ascalon's walls provided the city with both physical and religious protection.

Documentary seals from Tyre suggest that the church also recognized the religious protection of city walls. Seals belonging to the archbishops of Tyre depict the city defences on their reverse much like the seals belonging to the élites of other walled towns such as Caesarea, Jerusalem, Sidon, Arsuf, Jaffa and Ascalon (see sections 5.5.1 and 6.2.1 and figures 5.63–5.68 and 6.1–6.14). Three such seals were collected by Schlumberger *et al.* (1943). Archbishop Foucher d'Angoulême (1130–1157) and Archbishop Frédéric de

Laroche (1164–1173) have very similar looking seals with a bust of an archbishop on the obverse and a depiction of the city's fortifications on the reverse (see figures 6.15 and 6.16) (Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: 90–91, Plate III n.1 and n.3). One example of the reverse of a seal belonging to the thirteenth century Archbishop Bonacours (Bonaventure) de Gloire (1277–c.1290) survives. Differing from his predecessor's twelfth century seals, Bonacours's seal displays the full circuit of Tyre's crenellated city walls with the main gate in the centre flanked by two smaller towers (see figure 6.17) (Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: 91–93, Plate III n.2). I argue that the church chose to use Tyre's defences not just to demonstrate the city's military strength through its fortification but also to show a religious association by juxtaposing the archbishop and the defences on each side of the documentary seals thus reinforcing the argument that city walls were viewed as protective religious structures.

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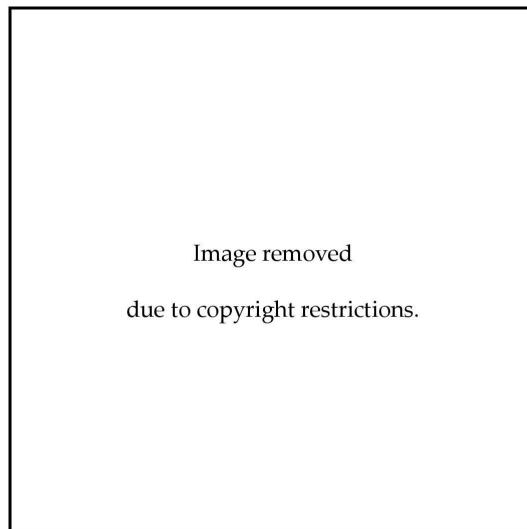
Figure 6.15: Foucher d'Angoulême's seal. Archbishop of Tyre (1130–1157). The marginal inscription reads: + FVCHERIVS ARCHIEPIS (obverse) and + CIVITAS TYRI (reverse) (Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: Plate III n.1)

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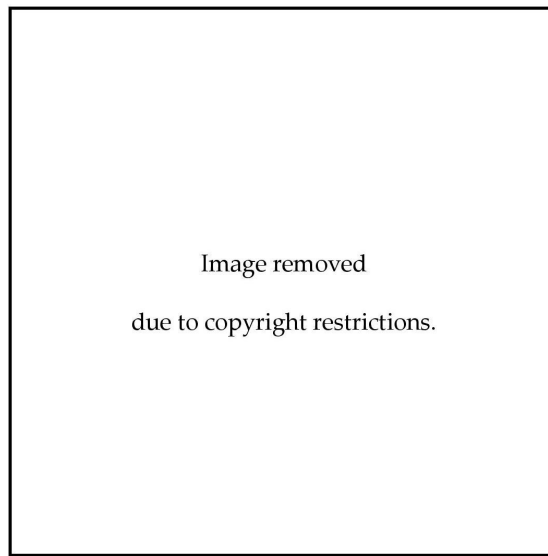
Figure 6.16: Frédéric de Laroche's seal. Archbishop of Tyre (1164–1173). The marginal inscription reads: + S · FRED'(er)ICI TIRENSIS ARCHIEP' (*iscop*) I · (obverse) and + CIVITAS TYRI (reverse) (Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: Plate III n.3)

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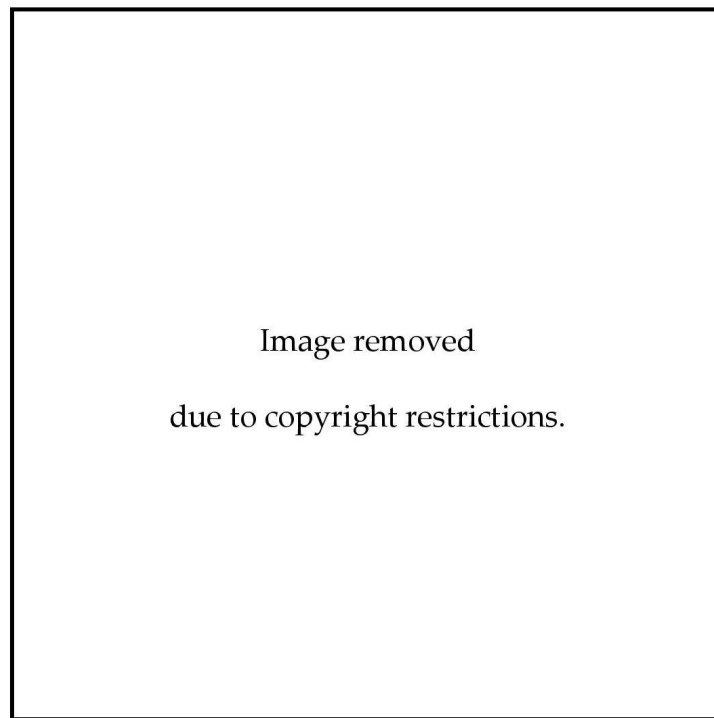
Figure 6.17: Reverse of Bonacours (Bonaventure) de Gloire's seal. Archbishop of Tyre (1277–c.1290). The marginal inscription reads: + TYRVS · METROPOLIS SYRIE (Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: Plate III n.2)

I also argue that King Louis IX's walls incorporated the remains of the ruined Church of Saint Lawrence, along with its griffins, as well as decorating the city using Gothic sculpture in order to provide Caesarea with religious protection (see section 5.6.3). This protection would have been created through the inclusion of religiously-charged spolia and decorations which are usually associated with ecclesiastical structures.

Over the course of this thesis I have seen that city walls as well as other fortifications play a role in attaining eternal redemption. The Lords and Ladies of Caesarea are recorded as giving gifts of casals, towers, and sections of walls to the Teutonic Knights to attain redemption in the afterlife (see section 5.5.3). This can also be seen with the fortifications as Acre, where Henry of Champagne granted the Teutonic Knights a length of the east wall in 1193 and King Amaury gifted a tower in August 1198 (Pringle 1995: 78, 99). In addition to gifting portions of fortifications, those taking part in their construction could be bestowed with a papal pardon; such was the case for those involved in King Louis IX's building project at Caesarea (see sections 5.3 and 5.6.3).

Medieval maps depicting the city of Jerusalem serve as further evidence that city walls were viewed as religious structures. Jerusalem's Frankish era walls followed a somewhat rectilinear shape, similar to the walls standing today. This can be seen through the surviving foundations of walls and towers located either underneath or near the current wall line (Boas 2001: 43–78) (see figures 6.2 and 6.3). However, several medieval maps depict Jerusalem with circular walls, such as the Hague map (1170) and the Uppsala map (twelfth century) (see figures 6.4 and 6.5). These maps are likely reflecting the influence of the T-O world maps which depict Jerusalem as a circle in the centre of the world (Levy-Rubin 1999: 232, 237 n.2). The Cambrai map (twelfth century) depicts Jerusalem with square walls thus suggesting that the people of the time recognized the square layout of the walls (see figure 6.6). The walls depicted in the Cambrai map are still a far cry from Jerusalem's actual plan, but it may be that the walls were being described to the artist or that the artist wanted to present a simplified version of the city's walls.

Figure 6.18: A section of Jerusalem's main curtain wall, built around 1063, is preserved underneath the sixteenth century walls. The section measures between eleven and sixteen courses high. It is located north of the Jaffa Gate and continues up to the northwest corner of the Old City (A. Charland) (see Boas 2001: 46 figure 7.1, 48)

Figure 6.19: The ruins of Jerusalem's southwest tower. The remains measure six courses high and are between 5 m and 5.8 m thick. These foundations are attributed to either the Frankish or Ayyubid periods of occupation (A. Charland) (see Boas 2001: 70–71 figure 7.11)
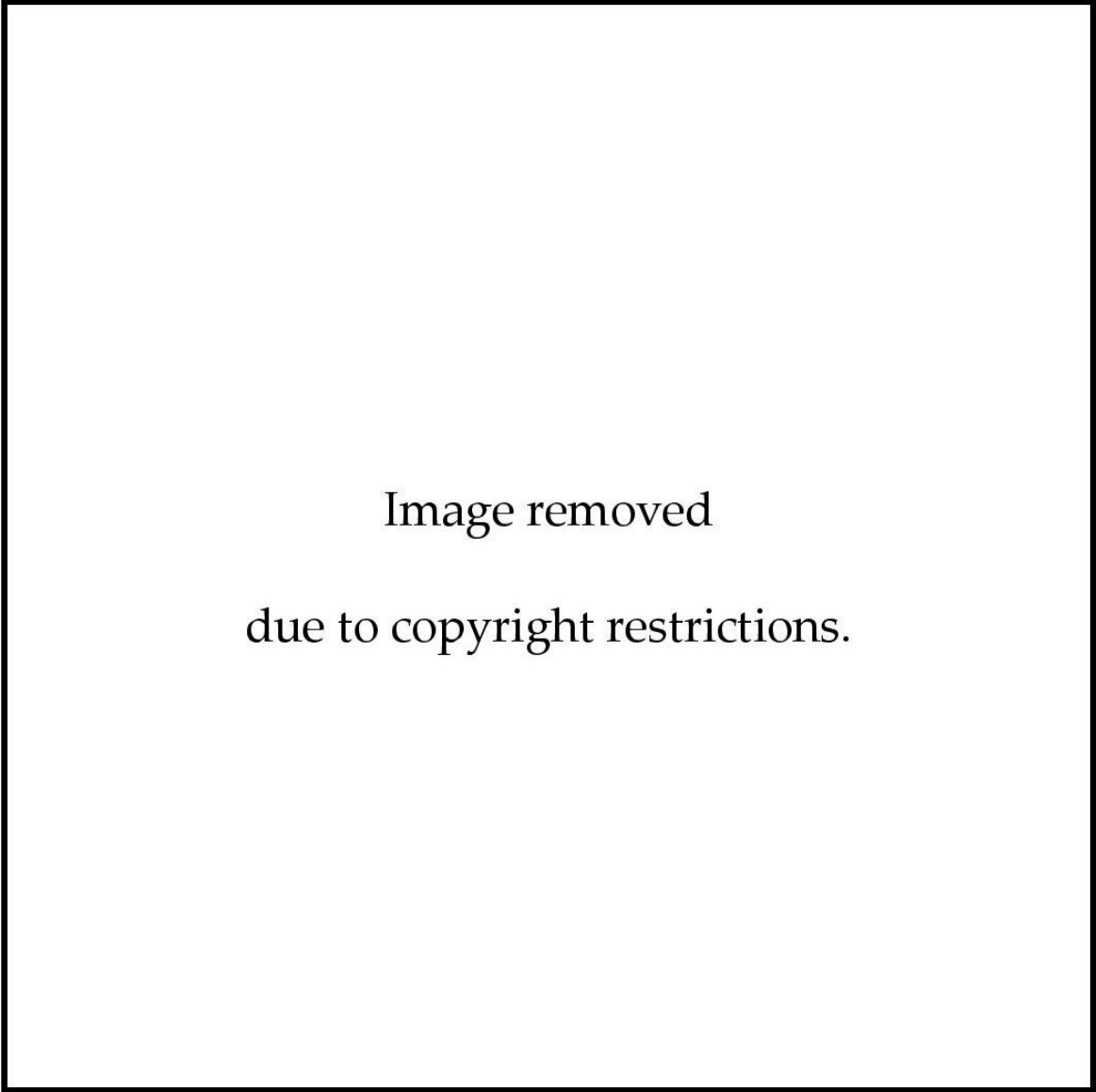
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Figure 6.20: Map of Frankish Jerusalem, 1170; The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS. 76 F5, fol. 1 r (Levy-Rubin 1999: 230 figure 1)

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Figure 6.21: Map of Frankish Jerusalem, twelfth century; Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, MS. C. 691, fol. F.39 (Levy-Rubin 1999: 234 figure 4)

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Figure 6.22: Map of Frankish Jerusalem, twelfth century; Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, MS. B 466, fol. 1 r (Levy-Rubin 1999: 232 figure 2)

An interesting point to note on the Hague and Uppsala maps is the colour of the city's walls. They have been painted blue and as such suggest an association with the Virgin Mary. The imagery used in a sermon given on the Assumption of the Virgin by Aelred, abbot of Rievaulx from 1147–1167, demonstrates how castles were seen as an allegory for Mary's strength. As Aelred says:

> Therefore, brothers, let us make ready a certain castle spiritually, so that our Lord might come to us. Indeed I say to you [do it] boldly, because unless the blessed Mary had prepared this castle within herself, Lord Jesus would not have entered into her womb, nor into her mind, nor would this gospel be read today on her holyday. Therefore let us prepare this castle. Three things make up a castle, so that it might be strong, namely a ditch, a wall and a tower. First the ditch, and after that a wall over the ditch, and then the tower which is stronger and better than the others. The wall and ditch guard each other; because if the ditch were not there, men could by some device get in to undermine the wall; and if the wall were not above the ditch, they could get to the ditch and fill it in. The tower guards everything, because it is taller than everything else. So let us enter our minds, and see how all these things should be brought into being spiritually within ourselves (Aelred of Rievaulx 1844–1864: 195, cols. 303–304; quoted in Wheatley 2004: 78).

This sermon demonstrates one of the medieval attitudes toward castles. As such, the medieval map's blue walls can be read as an allegory of Mary's strength. With this association in mind, Jerusalem's walls, like Mary's womb, can be seen as providing religious protection to those who lived and sought refuge within its walls. Therefore, the city walls were considered to perform a devotional function and as such helps corroborate the idea that the city walls served a religious as well as a military purpose.

6.4 WALLS OF DOMINATION AND VICTORY

The final major theme discovered over the course of this PhD project was that of domination and victory. This theme is particularly apparent in Ascalon when the 1150 Fatimid inscription was spoliated by Sir Hugh Wake II sometime after his arrival in 1240. The knight turned the marble slab 180 degrees and carved his family's shield three times over the Arabic inscription. Moreover, he painted the shields in red which served as a visually contrasting colour to the blue/green paint underneath. I argue that this was done

to assert the knight's dominance and victory over the city, much like the knights had done upon capturing Jerusalem in 1099 (see section 4.7).

This theme was also made apparent during battle. During Caesarea's final encounter with Baibars in February, 1265, the Mamluk sultan demonstrated his victory over the city through a ruthless performance. His men scaled the walls, set up their banners around the city's perimeter, burnt the city's gates, and tore away its defences. The partial demolition of Caesarea's fortifications was more than a pragmatic act of war. Baibars was asserting his dominance over the Franks effectively turning their walls into an object of Mamluk victory (see section 5.7). Using the walls in this victorious manner can also be seen during the Battle of Ascalon in 1153. During this siege, the Fatimids suspended the bodies of dead Templar knights from the city's walls, thus using the walls as a stage to display their (albeit temporary) victory over the Franks (see section 4.3). Therefore Caesarea and Ascalon's walls were both used by the Franks and Muslims to assert their dominance and victory over each other.

6.5 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I believe that the discussion of the themes of power and monumentality, magic and religion, and domination and victory have demonstrated the effectiveness of my biographical and multi-disciplinary approach in analyzing medieval city walls. This method has demonstrated the potential of city walls studies as well as offered the fields of castle studies and Medieval archaeology new avenues to explore in their analyses. An evaluation of this thesis, as well as suggestions for future research will be addressed in the following conclusion chapter.

7 CONCLUSION

7.1 EVALUATION OF WORK

Looking back on the PhD project I believe that my chosen methodology was successful in achieving the aims of this thesis (see section 1.3 and Chapter 3). My approach is significant in the field of castle studies because of the biographical approach (see section 2.2) as well as the inclusion of data from different fields, including archaeology, history, and art, and the inclusion of data from different cultures, including both Muslim and Frankish examples.

Ascalon and Caesarea's walls proved excellent case studies (see Chapters 4 and 5). Their lengthy biographies, having been occupied by the Fatimids, Ayyubids, and the Franks, as well as having been attacked by the Mamlukes, allowed me to address the field's Frankish-centric bias (see section 1.2) by including data from each culture. The case studies also demonstrate the potential for exploring the remaining walled towns which, like Ascalon and Caesarea, were important urban centres with extensive biographies and comparable defences.

This multi-disciplinary data varied depending on each occupation and function being demonstrated. Information from surviving inscriptions, architecture, and historical chronicles was analyzed using the theories of monumentality and memory and revealed that Ascalon's walls were seen as strong defenses that were also used to display seigneurial power and civic pride (see sections 4.5–4.7). The functions of Caesarea's walls were discovered through the analysis of lordly seals, spolia, sculptural elements, as well as historical sources. This evidence, like that of Ascalon, was analyzed using the theories of monumentality and memory, in particular that of spolia (see section 2.4.1), and demonstrated that the walls were used to advertise seigneurial power and control, while also providing physical and magical protection (see sections 5.5–5.7). By investigating both military and social/symbolic functions of city walls by analyzing both the Muslim and Frankish evidence using the theories of biography, monumentality, and memory, I fulfilled the aims of this thesis (see section 1.3).

This project was not without its challenges. I admit that my having no knowledge of Arabic or Latin, limited my ability to engage with many of the primary sources. I had to rely on the translations of others and trust that their readings were in keeping with the original as close as is possible. The limited number of case studies – two sites out of approximately 18 walled towns (Pringle 1995: 103–104) – may also be considered a shortcoming. However, due to the nature of this thesis being a 'proof of concept' for a new approach to city walls, and by extension castle studies, I believe that the substantial amount of evidence analyzed at each site provided more than adequate proof to fulfill the project's aims.

This thesis would have also benefited from a medieval-focused excavation. This level of field work could potentially solve many remaining research questions; particularly regarding the position of earlier fortifications (see section 7.2 below). However, such an enterprise could not be undertaken due to the limited time allowed to complete the PhD project as well as limited funds. Such considerations will have to be kept for a later time and project.

7.2 FUTURE RESEARCH

Each site would benefit from non-invasive recording techniques. For example, standing building surveys including photogrammetric surveys (see section 3.3) of the remaining ruins illustrating different construction phases, much like that carried out on the Citadel of Jerusalem (Hawari 2008: 87–88), the Citadel of Shayzar (Montevecchi 2012: 94–103; Tonghini 2012: 28–32), and the Castle of Shawbak (Drap *et al.* 2009; Drap *et al.* 2012a; Drap *et al.* 2012b; Seinturier *et al.* 2005; 2006; Vannini *et al.* 2002), should be performed so as to preserve this information before it is lost to modern day conflicts or destruction caused by nature.

Limited excavations with a medieval agenda in mind could satisfy several research questions. For example, the location of Ascalon's citadel as originally proposed by Pringle (see section 4.4.4) could be confirmed (or rejected) by placing one or two sample trenches across the small and large plateaux that occupy the northwest corner of the site. Similarly, the position of Caesarea's north wall line, prior to the construction by that of King Louis IX, could be tested by placing trenches north of the current wall line. Moreover, a great

deal of Caesarea still needs to be cleared of brush and overgrowth which are currently obscuring a significant section of the east wall as well as the medieval city itself.

Lastly, the methodology adopted throughout this thesis, particularly the biographical approach and rigorous analysis of sculptural details, could be adopted for city wall and castle studies further afield, including both medieval and more recent constructions.

7.3 FIN

As I write these conclusions, I feel like I am experiencing the end of the first play in a series. I have been introduced to a number of different characters, both human and stone, which require a sequel to explore their lives further. This thesis has served as a 'proof of concept' for the potential of city wall research from the time of the Crusades. Throughout this project it has become evident that the field of crusader castle studies should not be overshadowed by military interpretations, nor should it be eclipsed by symbolic considerations. The field will not mature until its analysis includes both lines of thought. Ascalon and Caesarea have demonstrated that this will be best achieved by including evidence from different fields such as that from, art, sigillography, and history. Analyzed using the theories of biography, monumentality, and memory, this information can then be used to unravel the wall's mysteries and create a narrative thus adding to our understanding of these medieval structures.

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