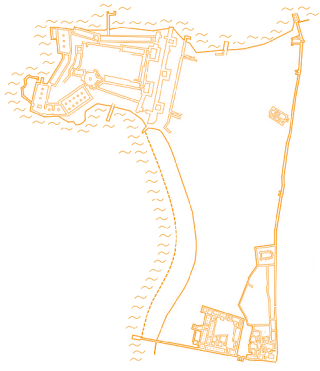
Crusader towns of the military orders: from the Levant to the Baltic



Abstract: This paper examines the archaeology, urban plans, and history of towns founded by military orders in the Levant and the Baltic regions. First, the analysis compares the 13th-century development of Templar Atlit (Israel) and Teutonic Elbląg (Poland). These two towns are shown to have developed in an almost identical way. They were similar in size, function, and origin, and both held important relics. Their contemporary development represents a unique point of confluence, as Atlit was one of the last crusader towns to develop in the mainland Levant, while Elbląg was one of the first such settlements in the Baltic. Thus, in the second part of the study, the development of each town is positioned in the broader context of settlement and modernization processes that occurred in both the Latin Levant and Central Europe. An overview of the chronology and structure of the new towns founded in these frontiers demonstrates that, in each region, the military orders were not the first Latin agents involved in establishing new settlements. Instead, the knights drew from earlier practices of other, secular and religious institutions, particularly the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre, and gradually learned to use them to build their own, increasingly autonomous positions.

Keywords: military orders, Baltic, Levant, towns, crusades

Tomasz Borowski[1]

[1] University of Warsaw, Faculty of Archaeology

Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 35.1 | Borowski 2026: 445–482
https://doi.org/10.37343/uw.2083-537X.pam35.1.09
received 7 March 2026 | received in revised form 3 August 2026 | accepted 3 August 2026 | available online 10 November 2026
© 2026 the author(s) | This is an open access article under the CC BY license, Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 Int. (CC BY 4.0)
(https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/legalcode)

COMPARING FRONTIERS

Some 30 years ago, Jonathan Riley-Smith suggested that crusader states established in the Eastern Mediterranean may have more in common with other frontier realms established on the borders of the Latin world than with core areas in Western Europe, notably France (Ashtor et al. 1992: 354). His approach, which emphasized the importance of crusading as a pan-regional "experience" and which was termed "pluralist" by Constable (2001: 10–15), has done much to expand the theoretical and geographic framework of crusader studies beyond the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Indeed, there is little doubt that Jerusalem was but one of several crusader states in existence, and by no means the most enduring one. Nonetheless, somewhat surprisingly, there is still no widely accepted definition of what a crusader state is. Thus, to avoid confusion, the definition adopted for the purposes of this study is simple: a crusader state is a distinct type of realm, newly founded as part of crusader warfare on the frontier of Latin Europe, in territory previously inhabited predominantly by a non-Latin population (for broader discussion, see Borowski 2015: 58–65).

Although the scope of crusader studies has clearly broadened in recent decades, there have been surprisingly few comparative analyses that bring together material from different crusader frontiers, particularly the Baltic and the Levant (notable exceptions include Pluskowski, Boas, and Gerrard 2011). In archaeology especially, Pluskowski (2018: 108) notes that research continues to focus on the particularisms of individual sites, chronology, and architectural analyses, without attempting broader, supranational, problem-oriented comparative studies.

The need for conducting more interregional studies can be illustrated even within the framework of a single crusader frontier. For instance, English studies of crusader art in the Levant (Folda 2008; Boas 2017: 209–213) tend to focus on data from Israel and major sites in Syria but often make little mention of extensive cycles of crusader-period frescoes in Lebanon, which are studied mainly by French scholars, for example, at Bahdidat (with images of Latin donors), Kaftun (where a 12th-century icon is preserved), Maad, and the city of Amioun (for an overview, see Immerzeel 2009). In the Baltic, similarly, there are few Polish studies dealing with crusader Livonia, and Latvian and Estonian scholars rarely focus on Prussia. Opportunities for such comparisons are often limited to articles focusing on either of the smaller regions being presented jointly in edited volumes (for example, Blomkvist 1998; Czaja and Radzimiński 2013; Pluskowski 2019a; 2019b) or as part of larger castle- or city-oriented series such as *Castella Maris Baltici* and *Lübecker Kolloquium zur Stadt archäologie im Hanseraum*. Joint presentation of papers focusing on different regions, however, does not exploit the full potential of interregional comparative studies. A commendable example of such research is the volume edited by Stevens and Czaja (2022), which includes five papers providing compelling comparisons between medieval towns in the crusader

Baltic and those in Ireland and Wales. Focusing on important themes such as the position of the native population (Czaja and Stevens 2022), the position of women (Girsztowt and Youngs 2022), the shaping of urban spaces (Maciakowska and Maleszka 2022), and urban legislation (Maleszka and Możdżeń 2022), these works directly answer Riley-Smith's call and serve as an inspiring point of reference for this research.

The near absence of Eastern Mediterranean–Baltic comparisons is particularly surprising because, despite their geographical distance, these two macro-regions share many characteristics. They are the only two European frontiers where crusader warfare led to the establishment of new crusader states. Their Latin political establishments were expressions of the same cultural phenomenon, involving the presence of the same institutions created by the crusader movement: the military orders. This, in turn, entails additional similarities important from the perspective of studying crusader urbanism. For instance, when comparing the Latin East with Western Europe, Prawer (1980: 116) sensibly admitted that, while in the West the founding of new cities was related to steady population increase and the overpopulation of older settlements, the situation in the Levant was different. The crusader states suffered from a constant lack of manpower and frequent raids that took a heavy toll on both the countryside and the cities under Latin control. These features, described by Prawer as unique to the Latin Levant, are closely paralleled by the situation in 13th-century Livonia and Prussia, where the size of Latin communities was limited, and most settlers lived either inside fortified strongholds or in urban communities immediately adjacent to them. There was no overpopulation of the countryside due to the ravages caused by the crusader conquest and the uprisings that followed it.

Major cities in both crusader frontiers were heavily dependent on links with Western commercial centers: Italian trading republics in the Levant and the Hanse in the Baltic. The role of Lübeck in Prussia and Livonia paralleled that of Venice, Pisa, and Genoa in the Levant (Jensen 2001: 75–76). Ports located in the cultural cores served as points of departure for crusaders, pilgrims, and settlers, supplying crusader states with manpower and resources that were essential for their survival. This dependency was exploited by cities in the core areas to dominate the commerce of urban centers under crusader rule, particularly Acre and Riga. In the Baltic, the fact that the Teutonic Order was included as a member of the Hanse did little to change that dynamic, as the knights were wary of Prussian or Livonian merchants challenging their authority (Dollinger 1997: 89). Nonetheless commercial activities were fundamental to the functioning of the Latin Levant and the Baltic, as both these regions served as transit areas on major long-distance trade routes connecting Western and Eastern markets. Thus, crusader metropolises were places of profitable economic exchange, often specializing in "rich trades" of prestige goods such as furs in Livonia or spices in the Kingdom of Jerusalem (for a discussion of the role of long-distance trade in maintaining frontier communities, see Stein 2005: 12).

Such similarities form a firm basis for more comprehensive, in-depth comparisons. Recognizing them offers an opportunity to present "crusader cities" as an independent subject of study, a phenomenon comparable to "crusader castles", a concept that has been broadly applied to strongholds located beyond the borders of the crusader states in the mainland Levant, for example, in Cilicia and Greece (for examples, see Molin 2001).

ATLIT AND ELBLĄG: NEW STRONGHOLDS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS

ORIGINS

Common characteristics shared between urban centers in the crusader Levant and the Baltic regions are well illustrated by the similarities between Templar Atlit and Teutonic Elbląg. Both centers were developed by the military orders on unoccupied land (*in crude radice*) in the first half of the 13th century: Atlit in 1218 (Pringle 1993: 69) and Elbląg in 1237 (Długokęcki 1992: 137). They were founded at the peak of crusader activity, at a time when the number of new crusader states was still increasing [*Fig. 1; Table 1*]. The construction of both strongholds was possible thanks to assistance offered to the military orders by secular crusaders: the building of Atlit was supported by a Flemish knight, Walter of Avesnes, and by Austrian and Hungarian forces of the Fifth Crusade (Johns 1947: 15), while Elbląg was secured and built with resources transported by two ships, named "Pilgrim" and "Friedland", donated to the Teutonic Order, together with fighting men, by Henry III, Margrave of Meissen (Nicolaus von Jeroschin 2010: 78–79).

Table 1. Crusader states listed together with the years in which they existed. Baltic dioceses incorporated into the Teutonic Order were not included

Crusader state	Region	Period of existence
County of Edessa	Levantine mainland	1098–1144
Principality of Antioch	Levantine mainland	1098–1268
County of Tripoli	Levantine mainland	1109–1289 (1302)
Kingdom of Jerusalem	Levantine mainland	1099–1291
Kingdom of Cyprus	Greek Mediterranean	1191–1489 (1572)
Latin Empire of Constantinople	Greek Mediterranean	1204–1261
Principality of Achaea	Greek Mediterranean	1205–1430
Duchy of Athens	Greek Mediterranean	1204–1456
Hospitaller Rhodes	Greek Mediterranean	1306–1522
Bishopric of Riga	Baltic	1188–1561
Bishopric of Dorpat	Baltic	1211–1558
Bishopric of Ösel-Wiek	Baltic	1228–1561
Teutonic Livonia	Baltic	(1204) 1237–1561
Bishopric of Warmia	Baltic	1243–1466
Teutonic Prussia	Baltic	1226–1525

It is worth noting that the Teutonic knights were involved in the initial stages of building Atlit (Johns 1947: 16). It is possible, therefore, that they drew on this Levantine experience when they moved to the Baltic and Elbląg some 19 years later. The potential transfer of architectural solutions from Teutonic castles in the Levant to the Baltic has been discussed in the past and largely rejected as unlikely (see, for example, Jóźwiak and Trupinda 2012: 19–33; Pluskowski 2013: 100). These considerations, however, focused on castles built solely by the Order, such as Montfort and Amouda, which did not have a fortified urban settlement attached to them.

Both Atlit and Elbląg included a castle and a walled town that served as an outer line of their defenses.[1] In both cases, the appearance of the town was not a spontaneous development but rather formed part of the original design of the new stronghold. The dating of the earliest structures in the civilian area of Atlit, particularly the stables and the southeast tower of the town wall (Johns 1931: 120; 1947: 81, 87), as well as the chronology of its recently identified outer line of rock-cut defenses [*Fig. 2*], indicate that the urban nucleus was planned simultaneously with the castle.[2] Work on its construction probably began soon after 1220 or, as Pringle (1997a: 3) suggests, around 1225. The new Latin community had its own court of burgesses before 1250 (Johns 1931: 120; John of Ibelin 2003: 604).

The development of the town in Elbląg was equally rapid. The site is referred to as a *civitas* as early as 1238, in a document issued on 13 January by Herman Balk, the Teutonic Master of Prussia, in which he donated land to the Dominicans so that they could build a church and a monastery, *in civitate nostra plantationis novelle Elbine dicta* (Nawrolska 2012: 35;

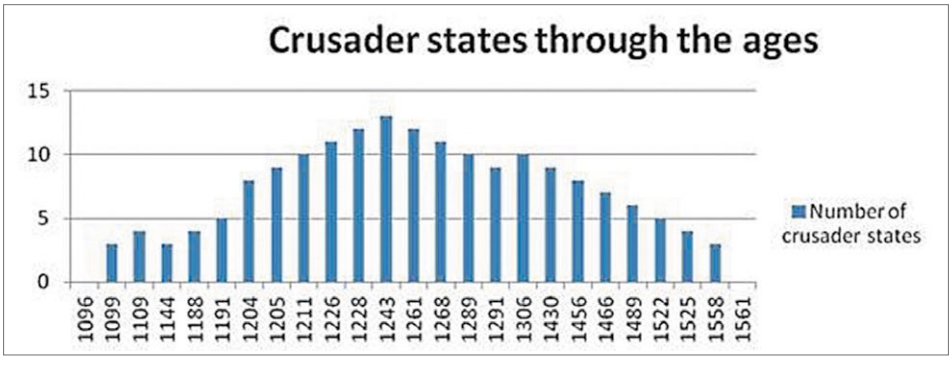


Fig. 1. The number of crusader states in chronological order (Graph T. Borowski)

1 Some prominent scholars, such as Varditt-Shotten (personal communication), refer to the walled area next to the Templar castle in Atlit only as a "suburb", rather than as a town. The author believes that the characteristics listed in this study justify describing it as a town. Thus, I follow the example of Johns (1947), Pringle (1993a), and Boas (2017), who referred to this area as a town.

2 The dating of the rock-cut defenses was discussed by E. Galili and A. Ronen during the conference "The Latin East in the 13th century", commemorating the 800th anniversary of "Atlit Castle", held at the University of Haifa, 31 January–2 February 2018.

2014: 441–442). Evidently, only one year after construction of the Teutonic castle began, a sizable population of Latins had already settled in its vicinity. In 1242, the Hospital of the Holy Spirit was founded there, and on 10 April 1246, Teutonic Grand Master Heinrich von Hohenlohe confirmed that the Latin community had city rights modeled on the town charters of Lübeck (Nawrolska 2006: 393; 2012: 36).

Atlit and Elbląg were intended to serve as pillars of crusader presence in their respective regions. As such, they were attacked soon after construction began: Atlit repelled Mamluk attacks in 1219 and 1220 (Johns 1947: 20), while Elbląg withstood Prussian sieges during the uprising of 1242–1244 (Biskup and Labuda 1986: 141–144; Urban 2003: 74; Nawrolska 2012: 37). These early successes paved the way for their further rise in status. Regulations compiled at the request of the Teutonic Grand Master and the chapter of Outremer, by Eberhard von Sayn, during his visit to the Baltic region, most likely in 1251, stated that Elbląg was to become the seat of the Teutonic Master of Prussia and the most important convent of the province. This role is indicated by its 13th-century seal, which bore an inscription *Sigillum fratrum domus Theutonicorum in Prusia* (Jóźwiak and Trupinda 2007: 135).

From 1261, Elbląg was, for many years, home to the bishop of Warmia, who conducted his affairs and received papal legates there (Czacharowski 1992: 30). General chapters presided over by the Grand Master himself were occasionally held in Elbląg, for example, in 1279, 1296, and 1303



Fig. 2. Rock-cut outer line of defenses protecting Atlit (Photo T. Borowski)

(Jóźwiak and Trupinda 2007: 137). In 1246, the Grand Master gave permission to open a mint in the city, and from 1277 Elbląg became the location of the main Teutonic Order hospital in Prussia (Nawrolska 2004: 309, 313). The stronghold also had a shipyard (Haftka 1999: 82), which, judging from excavated fragments of ship hulls reused as flooring in some of the houses, was active at least from the second half of the 13th century (Nawrolska 2006: 407).

Atlit also quickly rose to prominence; it soon became one of the three most important Templar possessions in the Levant, together with Tartūs and the castle in Acre, which remained in the Order's hands until the final collapse of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1291. Oliver of Paderborn praised Atlit and noted that, thanks to its construction, the Templars could leave the sinfulness and filth of Acre and settle there until Jerusalem was restored (for a full account of the building of the castle, see Oliver of Paderborn 1894: 169–172). Although the Templar headquarters remained in Acre, some central institutions, such as the Templar prison, were moved to Atlit (Friedman 2021). The castle played a central role in the Order's affairs; for instance, after the defeat at the Battle of La Forbie in 1244, Templars remaining in the Levant gathered in Atlit to elect their new master, William of Sonnac (Johns 1947: 27).

LOCATION, SIZE, POPULATION

The coastal locations of Atlit and Elbląg are another similarity. They ensured secure lifelines connecting the new strongholds with the West and with other crusader outposts in their regions. Both sites had seaports, which offered a chance of safe retreat in the case of a successful Muslim or pagan attack; they could be used to transport manpower and resources and encouraged commerce, which provided economic stimulus facilitating the growth of the new towns.

Commercial activity is indicated by numerous imports excavated in both settlements. Ceramics recovered from Atlit were among the first comprehensively analyzed assemblages of medieval pottery in the Eastern Mediterranean (Johns 1933). The collection, discussed later by Pringle (1982; 1986), Boas (1991; 1994), and Riavez (2001), resembles material from larger urban centers in the region, particularly Acre (Stern 2012: 23, 36–37, 43, 46, 57, 59–64, 70, 77–80, 91). It includes imports from a wide range of regions, including Acre (Acre Plain Wares: AC.Pl. 3), Beirut (Beirut Cooking Wares: BE.CW.2), Antioch (Port Saint Symeon Ware: NSY.GL.4), Cyprus (Cyprus Cooking Ware, CY.GL.3 and CY.GL.5 from workshops in Lemba, Paphos, and Kouklia), Byzantium (high-handled amphorae attributed to the northern coast of Asia Minor), southern Italy and Sicily (Proto-maiolica: SIT.GL.2, 3 and SIT.GL.4, attributed to a production site in Agrigento), and even Spain or northern Africa (unglazed jars: SP/NA.PL). Given that most of these vessels were discovered in the suburb (Johns 1947: 89), their presence indicates that settlers in this area were prosperous enough to maintain maritime trade links and pay for a range of imports, most of which probably reached Atlit via Acre.

Contemporary ceramics recovered from the old town in Elbląg also include numerous 13th-century imports, such as colorful glazed wares from Dutch and Danish workshops (mostly jugs), proto-

stoneware (olive-colored or decorated with an iron-rich slip) produced in the Rhineland and Lower Saxony, painted glazed jugs from Saintonge, as well as wares from Surrey and Scarborough (Nawrolska 1999: 375). The list can be complemented by dietary remains, such as cod from Bergen and even nutmeg apples recovered from layers dated dendrochronologically to the 13th century (Nawrolska 1999: 379). Remains of large 13th-century kilns discovered in both towns (Johns 1933: 137; Nawrolska 2006: 396) indicate that their inhabitants engaged in industrial production. Elbląg quickly became a regional production center, with archaeological traces of crafts involving leather (particularly leather shoes), wood, antler, and fish bone (Nawrolska 2006: 396–408), while industry in Atlit may have been limited to serving the needs of the castle (Pringle 1997a: 7). This was probably due to the worsening political and security situation in the Latin Levant (the town was sacked by Baybars in 1265), although remains of installations designed to extract salt from seawater (Pringle 1997b: 14) suggest that Atlit, too, produced goods for export.

Perhaps the most striking characteristic shared by the two towns is that, despite the markedly different geographies, traditions, and levels of urbanization in the Levant and the Baltic, Atlit and Elbląg were of almost identical size [*Fig. 3*]. The walls of the town of Atlit enclosed an area of approximately 220 m × 600 m (about 13 ha), and the dimen-

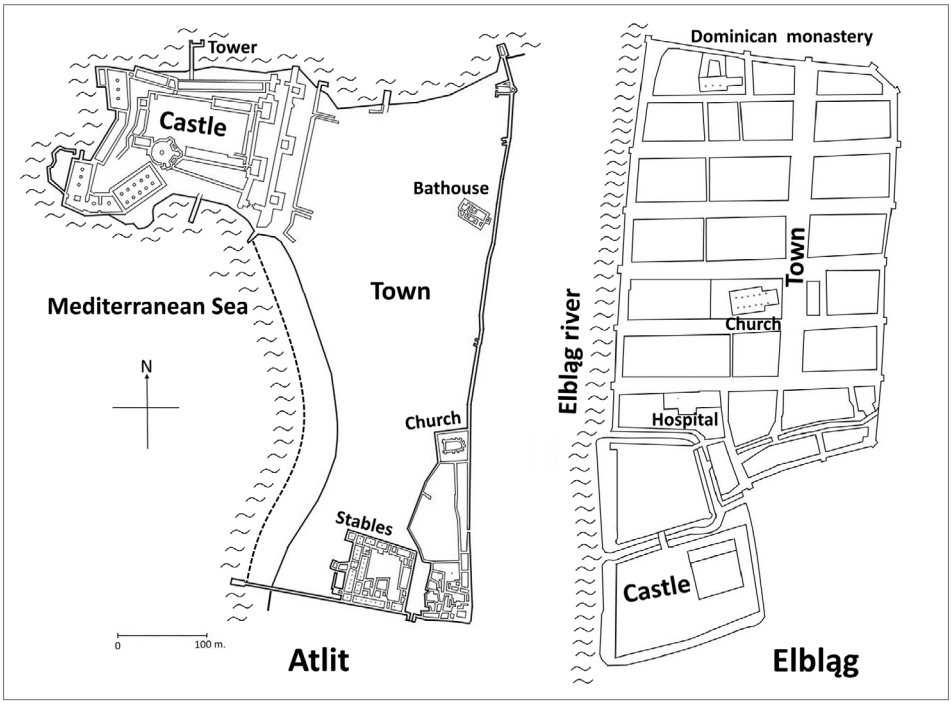


Fig. 3. Plans of Atlit and Elbląg in the 13th century, shown at the same scale (Adapted by T. Borowski from Johns 1947 and Hauke and Stobbe 1964)

sions of the walled town of Elbląg were approximately 300 m × 450 m (again, approximately 13 ha). The similarity is somewhat distorted if one considers that neither town was an ideal rectangle. In Elbląg, the southern part of the town was enclosed by the northern bailey of the Teutonic castle, while in Atlit, the town's western and northern extents were limited by the sea. Johns (1931: 112) estimates that only 9 ha of the town were habitable and densely built over, although this may be too conservative, given that, as Boas (2006: 33) suggested, the coastline in the 13th century might have run farther to the west than it does today.

Even assuming that the urban area of Atlit was slightly smaller than that of Elbląg, the similarity between the towns is telling, especially given how different their cultural environments were. In the Levant, large metropolises such as Tyre had thrived for thousands of years prior to the arrival of the crusaders. In early 13th-century Prussia, on the other hand, there were no major urban centers at all. This indicates that, regardless of the differences between the regions where they operated, the two military orders had similar expectations regarding the initial size of their new frontier towns and were capable of mustering similar numbers of settlers to inhabit them. This, in turn, suggests that the initial economic potential of the new strongholds was also similar. That is, both Atlit and Elbląg received investment and generated enough wealth to sustain a similar number of civilians living in their proximity.

The size of these communities is difficult to assess. However, a rough estimate is possible based on comparisons with other urban centers founded in the crusader states. In the 1180s, the population of Al-Bira (Magna Mahumeria) comprised 141 families, that is approximately 500–750 people (Prawer 1980: 127; Pringle 1985: 148; 1997b: 3). The town was planned along a single street approximately 350 m long (Pringle 1997b: 36), indicating an overall size of around 6–7 ha, which is smaller than that of Atlit. In the Baltic, the population of medieval Viljandi, which was founded by the Teutonic Order in the 13th century and had a walled area of 10.2 ha, is estimated to have reached about 1000–1500 people (Põltsam-Jürjo 2008: 40; Bernotas 2013: 267). Another walled town founded in Livonia by the Teutonic Order in the 13th century, Uus-Pärnu, covered 7 ha (Bernotas, Kriiska, and Vunk 2008: 156) and had 600–1000 inhabitants (Laakmann 1956: 118–144; Põltsam-Jürjo 2008: 40–41; Czaja 2013: 235–236). For the earliest period, one can assume that the lower estimates are more likely, which is compatible with the data for Al-Bira and suggests a ratio of around 100 people per hectare [*Fig. 4*]. On this basis, one can speculate that 13th-century Atlit could accommodate 900–1400 people, while contemporary Elbląg could have had a population of 1000–1500.

Additional insight regarding the size of the population of Atlit is provided by the Latin cemetery located on the outskirts of the town (Johns 1947: 92–93). It is the largest Latin cemetery recorded in the mainland Levant, and recent studies estimate that it may contain more than 2000 burials (Gleize and Dorso 2019). The cemetery dates to the 13th century and was intensively used over a short period of time, which is consistent with

historical records suggesting that Atlit was occupied for less than 80 years. It contains burials of adults of both sexes, as well as children. Some skeletons have marks of violent trauma and combat injuries. Even if the cemetery was used for the burials of pilgrims (which may be indicated by one potential pilgrim staff buried with an individual), as well as for militants from the Templar forces and the knights and servants living in the castle, the number of burials within it is remarkable. Given that some additional graves were identified in the churchyard within the town walls (Johns 1947: 77), it seems likely that the population of Atlit was higher, despite the smaller populated area postulated by Jones, and may have matched the number of inhabitants of Elbląg.

Interestingly, the size of both towns, at least in the initial phase of their development, was not related to the size of lands assigned to them by the military orders. In order to fulfill their extensive military and institutional functions, both strongholds became administrative centers of substantial territories. Yet, the diminished size of the Kingdom of Acre in the 13th century meant that there was little land available to the Templars, and thus the territories of Atlit, though significant in the Levantine context, were much smaller than those of Elbląg. The exact borders of Atlit's possessions are difficult to reconstruct with precision due to the loss of the Templar archives and the political instability of the Latin frontiers in the region. There are indications, however, that the Templars sought to consolidate lands under their control around Atlit. In 1232, they purchased the village of Arames, identified with the site of Khirbat el Harâmis, approximately 13 km southeast of the castle, and in 1255 they acquired Cafarlet, identified with the stronghold of Kafr-Lām, some 6 km to the south (Khamisy 2014: 163–164).

More comprehensive data come from the peace treaty of 1283, which lists 16 Latin-held locations in the area of Atlit. Archaeological research and surveys iden-

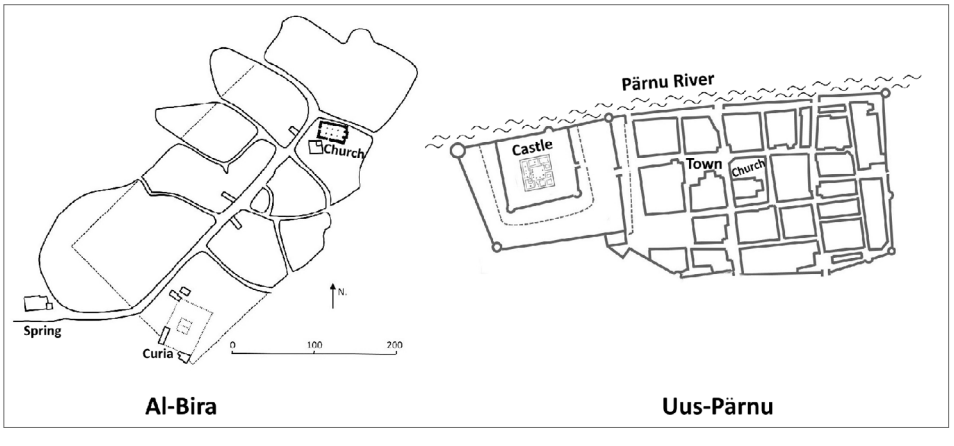


Fig. 4. Plans of al-Bira and Uus-Pärnu in the 13th century, shown at the same scale. The earth and timber fortifications of Uus-Pärnu were replaced by walls in the 14th century (Adapted by T. Borowski from Pringle 1997b and Borowski 2010)

tify 12 such sites [*Fig. 5*]. The list includes two minor fortifications and indicates that, despite the losses inflicted by Baybars (Harâmis was already listed as a Mamlūk possession at the time), the lands of Atlit were the last significant Latin possession left south of Acre. The castle secured the coastal plains and western hills of the Carmel, but its dominions did not extend farther than 5–6 km inland.

The commandery of Elbląg, on the other hand, covered large swathes of land, extending more than 150 km from the Vistula Lagoon deep into Prussia [*Fig. 6*].

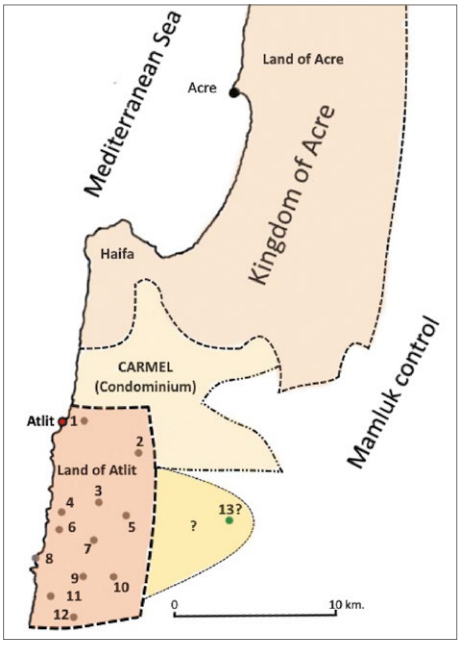


Fig. 5. Estimated extent of lands under the control of Atlit in the late 13th century based on identified localities held by Latins in 1268 and 1283. 1 – Kh. Dustry, 2 – Kh. Hajal, 3 – Kh. Jaba, 4 – al-Sarafand, 5 – Nahal Mehrel, 6 – Kafr Lām, 7 – Kh. al-Sawāmir, 8 – Tantūra, 9 – Kh. al-Tūs, 10 – Kh. al-Sulaymāniyyāt, 11 – Kh. al-Mazra'a, 12 – Kh. al-Haddithiyya, 13 – Haramis (lost by 1283) (Adapted by T. Borowski from Khamisy 2014)

Around 1400, this territory contained approximately 95 settlements, including fortified outposts, villages, mills, and six smaller towns (Mortensen, Mortensen, and Wenskus 1968). In the mid-13th century, however, much of this area was depopulated by warfare or inhabited by a hostile Prussian population, so its size and economic potential did not have a decisive impact on the early development of Elbląg [*Fig. 7*]. Instead, the emergence and prosperity of the new town were determined by the same factors as those of Atlit: overseas investment, the presence of settlers, and the protection offered by the military order.

PLAN, PUBLIC BUILDINGS, AND ARCHITECTURE

Reliance on the military orders is clearly manifested in the plan of both towns. The urban areas of Elbląg and Atlit were attached to the military orders' castles in such a way that their position and shape resembled an outer bailey. Their town walls were integrated with the castles' defense systems and offered no protection on the side facing the castle. This placed the burgesses in an inferior position, making the urban community spatially and militarily dependent on the will of the knights from the convent. This arrangement was largely dictated by the security conditions within the crusader states and characterizes numerous towns in both the Latin Levant and the Baltic; examples include Uus-Pärnu, Viljandi, Valmiera, Grudziądz, Karak, Tartūs, Caesarea, and others.

Many crusader towns, for example, Nablus, Ramla, and Safed in the Levant and Ventspils and Kuldiga in Livonia, were completely subordinated to the

castle and had no defenses of their own. The subservient status of the crusader towns led to tensions between the burgesses and the landowning elites. In the Baltic, this resulted in open warfare between the Teutonic Order and towns: in the late 13th century with Riga (Borowski 2010: 41–43; Bombi 2020), and in the late 15th century with the federation of Prussian towns headed by Gdańsk, Elbląg, and Toruń (Czaja 1999: 160–207; Urban 2019).

Though wars with cities did not erupt in the Latin East, there are indications that similar tensions occurred in the Kingdom of Jerusalem as well. When jurors of Levantine courts of burgesses sought to exercise their authority over knights holding city property, they were frequently subjected to insults and outrages, so that it was occasionally even difficult to find volunteers to serve on the court (Prawer 1980: 269).

The virtual absence of urban autonomy in the Latin Levant was also expressed by the fact that Levantine towns, unlike those in the Baltic, did not

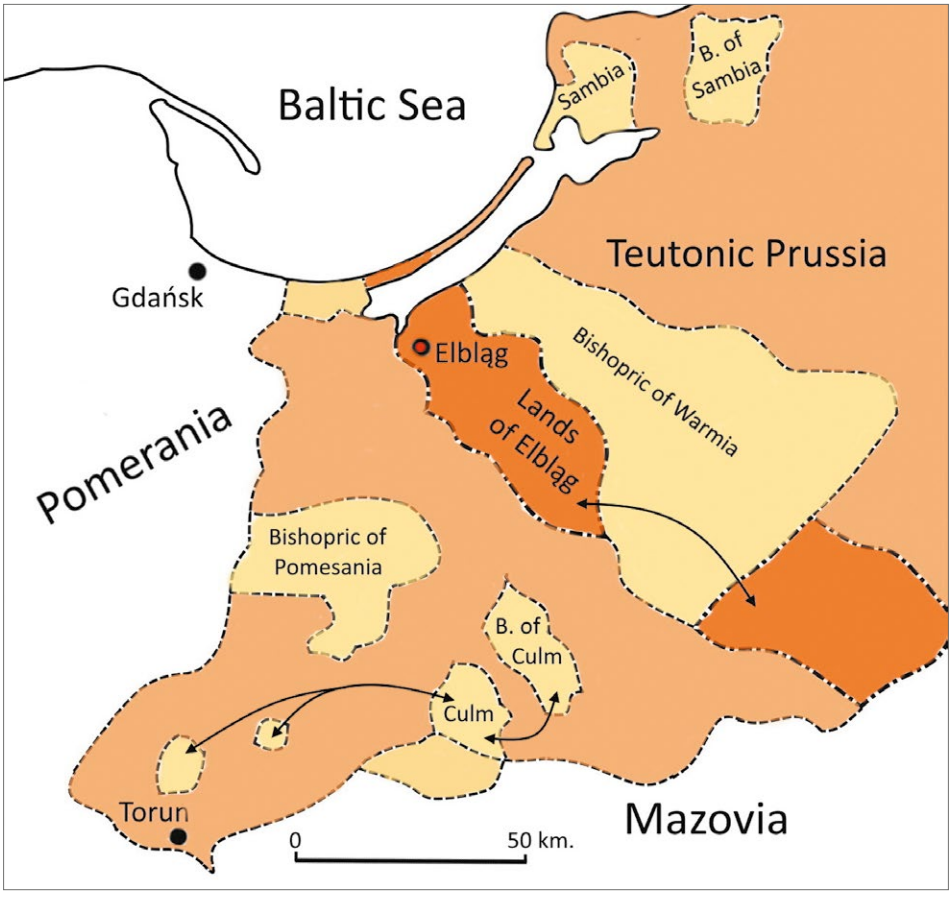


Fig. 6. Lands under the control of Elbląg in the late 13th century (Adapted by T. Borowski from Mortensen, Mortensen, and Wenskus 1968)

have city halls. Other communal buildings, however, functioned in crusader towns in both regions. In Atlit, some public buildings have been traced close to the castle but not excavated (Johns 1935: 57). The town had an aqueduct that supplied it with water (it crossed the moat at the northern gate), as well as a bathhouse attached to a bakery with three domed ovens (Johns 1947: 88–89).[3] More recently, remains of a medieval bathhouse (*ḥammām*) were also cleared and documented in the outer settlement of Marqab, though most of its visible remains may date from the Mamluk period (Takáts 2019: 32). Elbląg also had bathhouses in the crusader period, the oldest being situated near High Bridge on Elbląg River, and others close to the Smith's Gate and on Castle and Kumiela streets (Nawrolska 2004: 311–312).

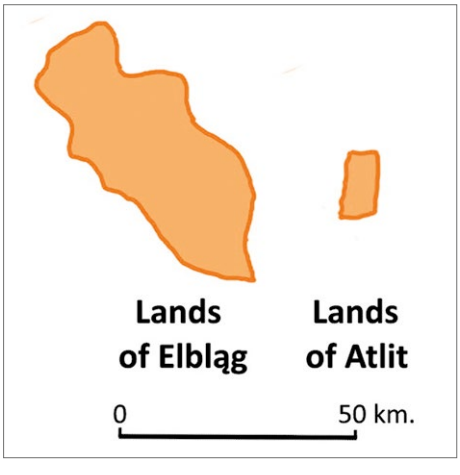


Fig. 7. The northern portion of the lands of Elbląg and the lands of Atlit, shown at the same scale for comparison (T. Borowski)

The first written reference to waterworks in Elbląg, related to the Kumiela Canal, dates to 1275, and many of its elements, including wooden and stoneware pipes, channels, wells, and troughs, have been excavated in the town area. The earliest were dated to the late 13th century (Sowina and Kulczykowski 2017: 55–56). Public and communal buildings, therefore, were present in both examined towns already in the 13th century, though only in the Baltic did urban institutions have enough time to develop and mature. In the mainland Levant, the process of urban emancipation, illustrated by the gradual rise in the importance of courts of burgesses, which in 1269 started issuing documents with their own seals, was slower and was ultimately stopped by the collapse of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1291 (Prawer 1980: 294).

Poor preservation does not allow the reconstruction of the street layout of Atlit. The location of the main causeway crossing the marshes around the city (Johns 1931: 113), as well as the positions of the city gates, however, indicate that urban life was concentrated along principal thoroughfares: one running north–south from the southern gate, and the other running east–west from the eastern gate to the castle. There was no central piazza comparable, for example, to the one in Famagusta (Borowski 2018), but commercial activity probably also took place near the harbor. In this sense, Atlit's layout resembled the spatial organization of Elbląg, which also lacked a central market

3 Initially, Johns (1931: 129) suggested that the building was converted into a bathhouse by the Mamluks. He based this argument on the presence of a Gothic keystone reused in its hypocaust. Later, he rejected that possibility in favor of a Latin-period date (Johns 1947: 89), and this dating has been widely accepted (Pringle 1997b: 22; Smithline, Stern, and Stern 2013: 103).

square and was oriented along the main street, running south from the Market Gate and the harbor along the western edge of the town (Nawrolska 2013: 81).

In this context, it is worth noting that, despite the use of different building materials and the different natural conditions, the architecture of Elbląg and Atlit also features important similarities. For example, both towns were surrounded by a moat, and their main gateways were planned as towers (Johns 1947: 76; Nawrolska and Nawrolski 1985: 390). Both castles were home to communities of knights; their plans were oriented around central courtyards and included chambers such as chapter houses, dormitories, and chapels (for similarities in the planning principles of castles belonging to different military orders, see Mol 2012). One surprising similarity is the use of latrine towers. Although it has not previously been identified as such, the position of the northern tower in Atlit indicates that it most likely served as a latrine. Built on a reef, directly above the sea, and accessible from the main castle via a bridge, it was well positioned to dispose of waste. Its lavatory function is also suggested by the fact that other castle latrines emptied in the same area, into the sea through rectangular slots in the northern walls (Johns 1947: 64–65). The northern tower also had a military function, as it offered flanking protection to the castle defenses. Its location and roles, therefore, were the same as those of latrine-dansker towers, which from the second half of the 13th century became distinctive features of Teutonic castle architecture in Prussia [*Fig. 8*].



Fig. 8. Latrine-dansker tower projecting from the walls of the Teutonic castle in Toruń, Poland. Below the tower was a channel of running water into which waste was discharged (Photo T. Borowski)

Early danskers were built, for example, in Grudziądz, Malbork, and Balga (Chęć 1997: 133), and studies indicate that Elbląg also had at least one such tower (Jóźwiak and Trupinda 2012: 391–392).

These similarities do not necessarily imply direct architectural links between Atlit and Prussia. They demonstrate, however, that military technology in the regions under examination was comparable and involved similar planning and architectural solutions.

The full list of architectural features shared by Atlit and crusader castles in the Baltic is beyond the scope of this study, but it includes wooden hoarding overhanging the walls (preserved in Olsztyn, southeast of Elbląg), as well as designs of outer defenses. The entrance to the castle in Atlit was guarded by a double line of fortifications designed so that the inner, higher line of walls commanded the outer, lower one. This arrangement, even when breached, formed a permanent barrier preventing siege machinery, battering rams, or scaling towers from being brought close to the inner walls. This system, present in various Levantine fortifications, including the defenses of Montmusard (Johns 1947: 37), was also widely adopted in 13th- and 14th-century Teutonic castles in the Baltic, including Viljandi in Livonia and Brodnica in Prussia (Wiewióra and Borowski 2016: 34–43).

RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE

Religiosity represents an important sphere of life in which Elbląg and Atlit show remarkable parallels. The construction of both strongholds was part of the crusader war effort and was thus presented to Christians as spiritually meritorious. The religious vocation of these new foundations was expressed through the names they were given. Atlit was known as Château Pèlerin or "Castle of the Son of God" (Johns 1947: 17), on account of the belief that Saint Mary and the infant Christ had taken refuge in a cave in front of the castle; this was probably the as-yet unlocated pilgrimage shrine of Saint Mary of the Marshes (Pringle, personal communication), which was called the Cave, or Pit, of the Virgin by Roccoldo de Monte Croce and is said to have been located four miles from Atlit (Pringle 1998: 257; 2016: 374).

Similarly constructed names were given to new Teutonic strongholds in the Baltic as well. Though "Elbląg" derives from the Prussian name of the river upon which the site was located, nearby towns were called Christburg (Dzierzgoń) or Mons Angelorum (Pokrzywno). Teutonic castles named Marienburg, after the patron saint of the Order, were built in both Prussia (Malbork) and Livonia (Alūksne).

In 1220, Pope Honorius III granted an indulgence of 20 days to those who supported the building of fortifications in Atlit with their alms (Johns 1947: 22; Burgtorf 2008: 94). In 1233, crusaders visiting Elbląg were also awarded an indulgence of ten days by Pope Gregory IX, as long as they venerated the relic of the True Cross [*Fig. 9*] held there by the Teutonic Order (Nicholson 1993: 118; Pluskowski 2013: 125).

Military orders were among the principal depositors of relics in the Latin world and used these assets to increase the religious significance and popular

appeal of their holdings (Borowski and Gerrard 2017: 1095–1099). The Teutonic knights transferred to Elbląg the fragment of the True Cross given to them by Frederick II Hohenstaufen, after they were the only military order to support the excommunicated emperor during his journey to the Holy Land and his coronation in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as king of Jerusalem. Thanks to its direct association with Christ and the Holy Land, it soon became the most important relic in 13th-century Prussia and was carried with the Teutonic Order's armies during campaigns against Baltic pagans (Gładysz 2004: 46). Thus, Elbląg emerged as an important center for pilgrimage and was made into a crucial element of the new sacred landscape created by the Teutonic Order in Prussia (Leighton 2018: 477).



Fig. 9. 14th-century Teutonic reliquary of the True Cross from Elbląg; the relics have been removed from the heart of the crucifix for the duration of the exhibition in Malbork (St. Nicholas Cathedral, Elbląg | photo T. Borowski)

A pilgrim text of approximately 1231 attests that the Templars also embellished Atlit with an important relic of the early 4th-century martyr Saint Euphemia of Chalcedon, which they probably obtained from Constantinople after it was sacked in 1204 (Folda 2005: 134). By the late 13th century, the fortress had also acquired a biblical association: the pilgrim Philip claimed that outside the castle there was a stone on which the Virgin Mary had rested (Nicholson 1993: 117).

Associations with Christ, angels, or saints, as well as the presence of relics, positioned new settlements within the wider holy geographies of the two crusader frontiers and provided an additional incentive to defend them. They made the new strongholds familiar to visitors and may have motivated religiously minded settlers to settle there. As relics were perceived as mediums through which a saint's will could be manifested, their possession was presented as a certificate of a saint's favor, or even of divine favor (Nicholson 2002).

Veneration of relics brought to the new sites is also attested in the material record. At the back of the base of the altar of the parish church in Atlit, there is a cavity that was evidently intended to receive a deposit of relics (Johns 1947: 78), although it is unknown whether these were additional particles of Saint Euphemia or remains associated with another saint. In Elbląg, a pewter ampulla decorated with a depiction of Christ's face and dated to the 14th century was excavated from one of the city's latrines (Nawrolska 2010: 323). Fragments of 46–50 relics are preserved inside the reliquary made in Elbląg in 1388 for its Teutonic command-

er, Thiele Dagister von Lorich. Only 33 of them are signed, in different handwriting styles, on small strips of parchment. Among those that were identified are two pieces of the Cross of Saint Andrew, *de peplo b. virginis Mariae*, and particles of the remains of saints Valerius, Anna, Helena, Agatha, Ambrose, Lucia, Ursula, Lambert, Anastasia, Barnabas, and Bartholomew (Woźniak 2001: 484). The reliquary was probably displayed at the altar of the Teutonic castle chapel in Elbląg. Both the interior and exterior bear depictions of Thiele wearing the white mantle of the order and praying to Christ and the Virgin Mary. On the exterior, Thiele is assisted by Saint Barbara, while on the interior she is additionally accompanied by Saint Catherine of Alexandria and, in the lower panel, Saint Dorothea of Caesarea, Saint Margaret, Saint Peter, and Saint Paul [*Fig. 10*].



Fig. 10. Interior of the 14th-century reliquary of the Teutonic commander of Elbląg, Thiele von Lorich (Polish Army Museum | photo T. Borowski)

The prominent position of Saint Barbara and Saint Catherine is indicative of the important role that the cult of female martyr saints had in shaping the religiosity of the military orders (Borowski and Gerrard 2017: 1074). As patrons and protectresses, female martyrs were presented as spiritual alternatives to noble ladies courted by secular knights. This provides another spiritual parallel with Atlit, as Templar veneration of Saint Euphemia of Chalcedon reflected the same religious tradition.

TOWNS OF THE MILITARY ORDERS

THE BALTIC: MID-13TH TO EARLY 16TH CENTURY

Similarities between Atlit and Elbląg, particularly in terms of their origin, size, plan, trade connections, and acquired religious significance, are not coincidental. They indicate that the processes that took place in the crusader Baltic paralleled earlier and contemporary developments in the Latin Levant. Elbląg and Atlit form part of a large set of crusader towns established by the military orders on the Baltic and Levantine frontiers. Their parallel development represents a unique moment of confluence, as Atlit was one of the last new urban centers founded by the military orders in the mainland Latin Levant, while Elbląg was one of the first such cities in the crusader Baltic. In order to understand the context of these foundations, that is, to reconstruct the process of emancipation through which the military orders became founders of urban centers and, consequently, rulers of increasingly autonomous realms, one ought to investigate towns of the military orders established prior to Atlit in the Levant and after Elbląg in the Baltic.

As one of the earliest towns of the military orders in the Baltic, established soon after Chełmno, Toruń, Viljandi, and possibly Tallinn and Cēsis, Elbląg's growth was one of the first testing grounds for the Teutonic Order, introducing strategies of conquest and colonization that made up the urban pillars of the knights' budding Baltic state. The growth of these early towns paved the way for waves of subsequent urban foundations that consolidated Teutonic control over Prussia and Livonia. By 1326, the urban area of Elbląg had expanded to 24 ha (Nawrolska 2013: 80) [*Table 2*].

Table 2. Settlements with city rights in the crusader states of Prussia and Livonia in the early 16th century. The list includes Eastern Pomerania, conquered by the Teutonic knights from Poland after 1308, and northern Estonia, acquired by the Order from Denmark in 1346

Chronology	Cities belonging to the Teutonic Order		Cities belonging to bishops	
	Prussia	Livonia	Prussia	Livonia
1201–1283	8	3	3	5
1284–1300	8	1	3	
1301–1320	5	1	6	
1321–1340	17		8	
1341–1360	19	4	2	1
1361–1380	2	1	2	3
1381–1410	11			
1410–1525	3			
Total	**73**	**10**	**24**	**9**

The full study of the chronology and regional specifics of this process is beyond the scope of this paper. By the early 16th century, however, the Teutonic Order possessed 73 towns in Prussia (Biskup 1980; Czaja 2000) and ten in Livonia (Borowski 2010: 200; Czaja 2013). Nearly all were planned as extensions of the Teutonic Order's fortifications in a manner similar to Elbląg and Atlit [*Fig. 11*]. Only approximately 10 towns exceeded 1500–2000 inhabitants in the medieval period; these include Tallinn, Gdańsk, Elbląg, Toruń, Kaliningrad, and probably Chełmno. The other 90% remained smaller or similar in size to that planned for Atlit, which shows how difficult it was for new crusader towns to develop into major metropolises, even over the course of a few centuries.

Towns founded in the crusader Baltic had autonomous status, often modeled on the charters of the earliest urban communities in their region; in Prussia these were the charters of Chełmno and Toruń (1232), while in Livonia the charter of Riga (1201) served as the model. These in turn were modeled on earlier charters given to major cities in the west: Magdeburg (before 1188) and Lübeck (1160). The growth of the Teutonic Order's crusader towns, therefore, while rooted in the crusader tradition of the Levant, was also connected to the broader process of urbanization and economic development of Central Europe known as *melioratio terrae*, the improvement of land (Körmendy 1995).

Fueled by a steady flow of German settlers, urbanization began in earnest in the early 13th century and gradually led to the establishment of a network of new, autonomous urban communities across the northeastern frontier of Latin Europe (Gawlas 2005). Moving from west to east, this process included parts of the Holy Roman Empire, Pomerania (Rębkowski 2001), Bohemia (Leśniewska 2004), Hungary, and Poland. The earliest town charters in Poland were issued for Złotoryja (1211) and Lwówek (1217), which were both located in Silesia, the westernmost region of the old Polish kingdom (for an overview of the process of founding new towns in medieval Poland before 1370, see Kamińska 1990). By the late 14th century, waves of new urban foundations had reached Ruthenia and Podolia, recently annexed by Poland (Dybek 2004), as well as Lithuania and the Orthodox principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. Among new towns founded for Latin settlers in the East were, for example, Kamianets-Podilskyi, which obtained town charters modeled on those of Magdeburg in 1374 (Kurtyka 2011: 108), and Roman, which was probably founded via a *locatio civitas* process by Roman I of Moldavia around 1392 (Rădvan 2010: 525).

Given this broad context of colonization and urban development, it is tempting to portray the activities of the Teutonic Order in the Baltic as an expression of Central and Eastern European developments rather than a phenomenon linked to crusader presence in the mainland Levant. This is particularly so

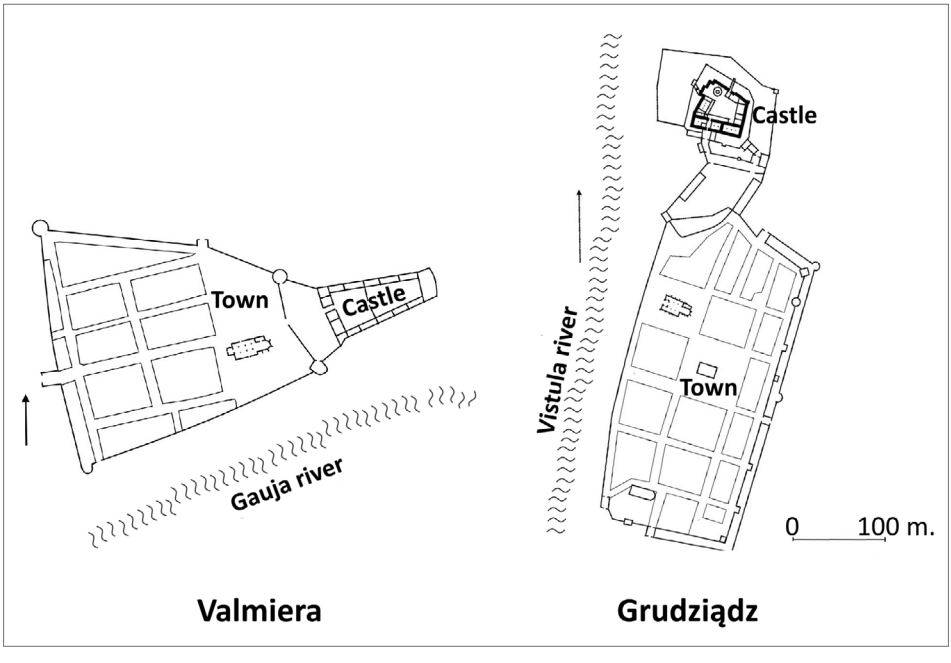


Fig. 11. Teutonic towns in the Baltic: Valmiera in Latvia and Grudziądz in Poland, shown at the same scale for comparison (Adapted by T. Borowski from Borowski 2010 and Heise 1894)

because the military orders were also involved in the protection of other Central European frontiers. The Teutonic knights briefly held the land of Borza in the Eastern Carpathians (1211–1225), which bordered the pagan Cuman state in the western sphere of the Black Sea steppes (Papacostea 2013: 31–32), and the Hospitallers were granted extensive lands south of the Carpathians in 1247 (Rădvan 2010: 123).

Such a regional perspective, however, does not exclude the possibility of a broader, more distant connection, demonstrated by the similarities between Elbląg and Atlit. The processes of founding new towns and *melioratio terrae* in Central Europe, particularly in established Christian monarchies such as Poland or Hungary, were not directly related to the crusader movement. The involvement of the military orders in these processes, however, and their ability to utilize them to conquer, maintain control, and develop sizable dominions were firmly rooted in earlier Levantine practices. That is where the military orders first developed crusader towns.

THE LEVANT: MID-12TH TO EARLY 13TH CENTURY

Contrary to Prawer's (1980: 142) assertion that after 1187 there were no new settlements founded in Latin Outremer, the founding of Atlit was not an isolated example of 13th-century crusader town building in the Levant. Although the number of such foundations indeed decreased dramatically after Hattin, recent discoveries indicate that Templar activities in Atlit can be compared to contemporary, early 13th-century investment in the town attached to the Hospitaller castle in Marqab [*Fig. 12*]. Excavations and surveys conducted in the area from 2010 to 2017 identified remains of a walled settlement dated to the 13th century and showed little evidence of its survival into the 14th century (Major 2016: 123; Takáts 2019: 31–34). Like the town of Atlit, it too was spatially and militarily dependent on the castle and covered a similar area of approximately 10 ha (the entire fortified compound covered 16 ha). In the central part of the settlement, there was a cemetery and a chapel, around which remains of half a dozen houses were detected. Recovered fragments of frescoes indicate that the chapel was painted twice, and the quality of its interior plaster was better than that used in the Hospitaller castle chapel above.

The relative wealth of local inhabitants is also indicated by large quantities of imported pottery, including Sgraffiato wares of Saint Symeon type, Syrian and Cypriot wares, as well as Italian proto-maiolica, which was absent from the castle. It has been suggested that settlers who populated the new Hospitaller town came from nearby Valenia, which had been abandoned by 1212 (Major 2016: 126). The population probably followed the bishop of Valenia, who moved to the suburb (?) of Marqab with his chapter in 1188 (Riley-Smith 2012: 112). This recalled the later arrangement between the Teutonic Order and the bishop of Warmia, before the bishop moved from Elbląg to his own residence later in the 13th century.

Furthermore, in addition to the bishop's Latin flock, the settlement in Marqab was also inhabited by Syrians whose disputes were resolved in the *Cour des Syriens* (Riley-Smith 1967: 460). Although there

is no evidence that the town had a court of burgesses, its urban development can be seen as part of the rise of Marqab as the center of an autonomous Hospitaller palatinate that was increasingly independent of the rulers of Antioch and Tripoli (Riley-Smith 1967: 465).

Another town developed by a military order in the 13th century was Safad, which was reoccupied by the Templars in 1240–1241 (Barber 1994: 164–165). Its size is difficult to assess because it was not fortified, but a civilian settlement existed near the castle when Baybars conquered it in 1266 (Pringle 1998: 206). The settlement had a market and is listed by John of Ibelin as one of the sites with a court of burgesses. Its location was recently confirmed by the discovery of remains of Crusader-period dwellings on Jerusalem Street, to the west of the Templar castle (Barbé 2016: 67).

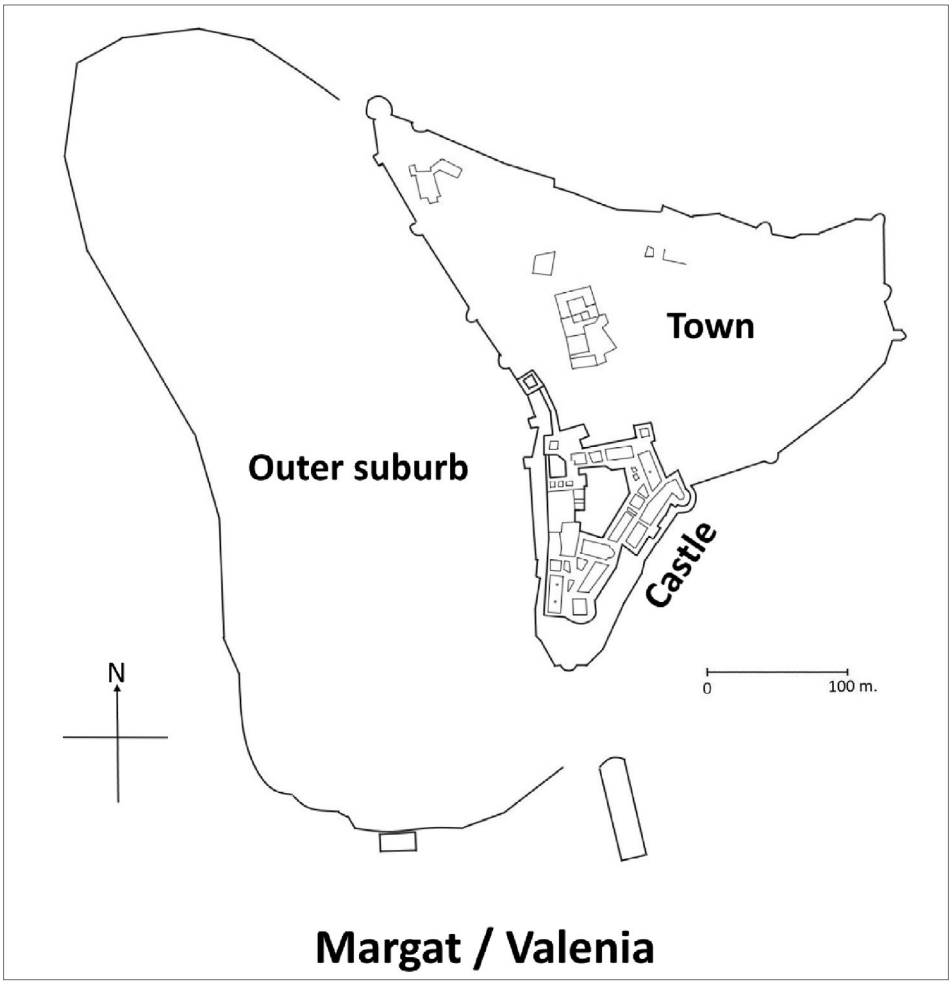


Fig. 12. Plan of the castle and the town of Margat in the 13th century (Adapted by T. Borowski from Major 2016)

The development of Safad, however, was not a new foundation, as the site belonged to the Templars prior to 1188; it was granted to them by King Amalric in 1168 (Barber 1994: 86). Similarly, in 1220 the Teutonic Order came into possession of the walled town of Mi'ilya (Khamisy 2013: 15); in 1260 the Templars obtained Sidon, and in 1261 the Hospitallers obtained Arsuf (Boas 2006: 38–41, 58–60). In the 13th century, the latter two orders also shared the coastal town of Jableh (Binysh 2017: 40), but, again, these settlements were not founded by the military orders.

The first crusader towns established by the military orders in the Levant, the true predecessors of Atlit and Elbląg, date to the mid-12th century (for an overview, see Pringle 1997b: 3–6; Boas 2006: 38–92), but the process can be illustrated by the orders' involvement in the building campaign that sought to encircle Fatimid Ascalon. Spearheaded by the Jerusalem monarchs, this ambitious project was conducted over approximately 20 years and resulted in the founding of several new settlements, two of which were entrusted to the military orders. The later of the two was Gaza. The site was abandoned in 1149, when King Baldwin III built a castle there and offered it to the Templars, together with its surrounding territories. Soon afterward, a civilian settlement developed near the castle and was eventually surrounded by a wall. As in Safad, poor preservation makes it impossible to assess the size of this settlement, but it was described as populous by al-Idrīsī in 1154 and as a large walled town, like Ascalon, by Theoderic around 1175 (Pringle 1998: 208). According to John of Ibelin, Gaza had a court of burgesses and received enough investment to warrant the construction of at least two largely preserved churches: a large parish church for Latin burgesses and a smaller Orthodox one for non-Latin settlers (Pringle 1998: 216). This was a significant urban development, given that Gaza remained under Latin rule for less than 40 years, until 1187, and was a frontier outpost constantly exposed to attacks.

The earlier of the two foundations was Beit Guvrin, where a castle was built by King Fulk of Anjou and granted, together with ten nearby villages, to the Hospitallers in 1136 (Cohen 2004: 68). In time, a civilian settlement emerged next to this fortress and, unlike in the case of Gaza, the survival of the Hospitaller archive provides evidence that the Hospitallers' initiative was crucial in this process. Before 1160, Master Raymond of Le Puy granted Latins who settled in Beit Guvrin a document comparable to a *charte de peuplement* (a town charter), which included privileges that were confirmed in 1168 and after 1177 (Delaville Le Roulx 1894: 272–273, No. 399; 350, No. 509). This invaluable source was discussed numerous times (Prawer 1980: 121; Boas 2006: 73; Nader 2006: 106), because it provides detailed information on how the new settlement was founded. Despite the Muslim sack of the site in 1158, the local community in the 1160s comprised 32 settler families of Latin freemen, that is, 100–160 inhabitants. They came from both Western and Levantine locations, including Auvergne, Gascogne, Lombardy, Poitou, Catalonia, Burgundy, Flanders, and Carcassonne, as well as from nearby Hebron, Jerusalem, de-Ramis (al-Ram or Ramla),

and one individual (a refugee?) from Edessa. The Hospitallers granted them farmland, a *borgesie* tenure of two *carrucae* (approximately 6–8 ha), which was subject to taxes paid in kind. Much like town charters in the Baltic, the document refers to customs of older Latin settlements in the region. When listing penalties for offenses, the text refers to "the fines known and customary in Jerusalem", and when it deals with the division of booty taken from the Saracens, it states that it should be done according to "the custom of Lydda, which by another name we call Ramla".

The new settlement eventually obtained its own court of burgesses (Prawer 1980: 125) and a partially preserved parish church, which was built adjacent to the southern wall of the Hospitaller castle (Cohen 2004: 70; Pechuro, Kloner, and Cohen 2011: 51). This unusual location lowered the defensibility of the fortress (in the course of its construction, part of the castle's southeastern tower was demolished) and suggests that the town was also located nearby. Indeed, the walled outer bailey of the Hospitaller castle covers approximately 1.5 ha, which, according to the proposed ratio of 100 people per hectare, could accommodate 100–160 civilians. However, no traces of civilian dwellings were uncovered when this area was excavated (Boas 2006: 73), so the location of the crusader settlement remains unclear. It is possible that it was planned as a larger town and thus was positioned outside of the bailey, where it had space to grow. This supposition is supported by the fact that Beit Guvrin, like Gaza, also had an Orthodox church (so far unlocated), which in 1173 was given to Archbishop Meletus by Master Jobert of Syria (Pringle 1993: 101).

Non-Latins might have boosted the number of Beit Guvrin's inhabitants, but it was still a minor town, even by the standards of the crusader states. The fortunate survival of its charter, however, provides one of the earliest examples of a military order utilizing colonization and urban development processes that resemble *locatio civitas*, which transformed Central and Eastern Europe one century later. As was the case in the Baltic, however, the knights in the Levant were not inventing new practices. Their actions in Beit Guvrin built on the example of other Levantine institutions, both secular and religious.

FIRST FOUNDERS OF CRUSADER TOWNS

In the early days of the crusader kingdom, the principal institution capable of founding new settlements was the monarchy. Its capabilities in this regard were demonstrated by the swift construction of Shawbak by King Baldwin in 1115. The new stronghold, called Montreal to celebrate its royal association, included, from the very beginning, an urban settlement inhabited by Latin settlers, who eventually obtained their own court of burgesses (for an overview of Baldwin's activities in Transjordan, see Sinibaldi 2014: 18–20). The military orders could hardly match such initiatives, as the amount of resources available to them in the mid-12th century was incomparably smaller. Their position at the time was comparable to that of other Latin monastic institutions established in the Levant after the First Crusade: notably the Canons of the

Holy Sepulchre. In the early decades of the kingdom, this order initiated an ambitious project of settlement and modernization, which transformed the lands north of Jerusalem (Pringle and Leach 1983: 141–142). The endeavor was centered on lands and 21 villages donated to the Canons by Godfrey of Bouillon (Pringle 1985: 148–149) and included the founding of new Latin settlements.

The best known of the group is al-Bira, which was already referred to in the context of the size of its population in the 1180s (141 families). It was established in the 1120s (Pringle 1997b: 35) and, much like new towns founded through *locatio civitas* in the Baltic, it had a regular plan that differentiated it from the concentric, more organically developed older settlements in the region. The medieval layout of al-Bira was partially preserved until the 1930s (Pringle 1985: 149); the town was oriented along a single street (Shari Maghtarbayn), with a parish church at its northern end and a fortified tower-curia at the southern one [see ***Fig. 4***].

The new town was settled by Latins who came, as was the case in Beit Guvrin, from other Levantine settlements, including Jerusalem, Nablus, Sinjil, Nebi Samuel, al-Ram, and Jaffa, as well as from the West, for example, from Auvergne, Provence, Burgundy, Gascogne, Limoges, Poitiou, Tours, Saint Gautier, Bourges, Catalonia, Valencia, Lombardy, Venice, and Barletta (Prawer 1980: 127). Their community enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy; for example, the settlers could express opinions about the selling of land in the settlement and eventually obtained their own court of burgesses, presided over by the steward of the Canons (Prawer 1980: 131; Pringle 1985: 147). In time, the town also acquired religious significance: the location of its church became associated with the place where the Holy Family discovered that Jesus was no longer with them and went to look for him in Jerusalem (Pringle 1985: 158). This tradition was recorded in the 14th century, but it is most likely older and resembles the way in which Christian credentials were built in Atlit and Elbląg.

The inhabitants of al-Bira in the 12th century included craftsmen; among those attested in the sources are, for example, three smiths, three carpenters, a shoemaker, and a goldsmith (Pringle 1985: 148). The town's principal vocation, however, was the cultivation of vineyards (Prawer 1980: 129). The specialist character of the new foundation is worth emphasizing, as it is another feature that closely resembles *melioratio terrae*. Like al-Bira, the first towns founded in various Central European realms were often also specialist settlements: Złotoryja in Poland specialized in gold extraction ("*złoto*" means gold in Polish), and Trotus in Romania was established for miners brought from the west to extract salt (Rădvan 2010: 546).

Other "new towns" developed by the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre included Bait-Suriq, al-Ram (Pringle and Leach 1983: 174), al-Qubayba, al-Kurūm, al-Haramiyah (Boas 1996; 2017: 65), and most likely Atarot. Although the amount of data we have for these sites varies, all seem to have followed the same pattern: they were wine-growing communities of Latins (Prawer 1980: 134–135) that lived in planned, linear settlements [***Fig. 13***]. Though small, their activities made a lasting impact on the countryside north of Jerusalem: for example, even in the 15th

century, vines and olives cultivated near al-Ram contrasted with the general wilderness of its surrounding area (Pringle and Leach 1983: 161–162).

Similarities between these sites, particularly between al-Bira and al-Qubayba, suggest that they were built by the same workshop hired by the Canons. Their close association was reinforced by the fact that the "customs of Mahumeria" (that is, al-Bira) were used as a model for setting up the administration of other settlements in the group (Pringle 1985: 163), just as the charters of Riga or Chełmno were used as models for determining the status and administrative arrangements of other new towns in Livonia and Prussia, respectively.

Initiatives undertaken by the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre were paralleled by efforts of other religious institutions in the kingdom. In the north, the monastery of Mt. Tabor undertook to colonize Galilee. The results of its efforts can be deduced from a comparison of the list of villages in its lands provided by charters from 1101, 1103, 1106, 1146, and 1254. Eight villages, Capharmater (Kafar Masjir), Caphartamara (Tamra), Salonia (Sārūna), Kara (Qāra), Sollem (Sūlam), Noriz (Nawrah), Tubania (Tab'ūn), and Ieluf (Jālūd), are mentioned in 1103, 1106, and 1146 but not in 1101 and 1254, and two more, Meschia (al-Mashtā) and Caimun (Qaymūn), are mentioned in 1103 and 1146 but not in 1101, 1106, and 1254. This suggests that they might have been established, or re-established, under Latin rule and abandoned after the crusader defeat at Hattin in 1187 (Khamisy 2016: 50). Similarly, several villages in the Safed area, including Har Sifsof, Biriya, Horvat Hermer, Horvat Mantur, En Zetim, Nahal Mahanayim, Horvat Qubaat, Horvat Qetanna, al-Sheick al-Weisi, and Horvat Shema, were occupied or re-occupied only under crusader rule, which again suggests that they were established by Latins, most likely Templars from Safed (Barbé 2016: 73). Horvat Shema, for example, seems to have been occupied only between the mid-12th and early 13th centuries, and remains of domestic pig discovered at the site indicate that it was settled by Christians (Barbé 2016: 69). These foundations, however, are not well documented and may have been limited to the resettlement of the local, most likely Christian, population. The new communities were not necessarily Latin and, either way, do not seem to have included larger settlements that could be qualified as towns, even considering how difficult it is to distinguish the "urban" from the "rural" in the context of crusader frontiers.

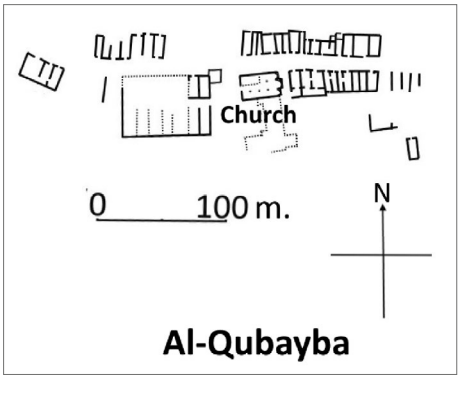


Fig. 13. Plan of the excavated structures of the 12th-century planned village of al-Qubayba (Adapted by T. Borowski from Bagatti 1993)

The transformation of the lands north of Jerusalem by the Canons of the Holy Sepulcher, therefore, remains the principal, well-documented example of early modernization projects carried out on a crusader frontier by a religious order.

The principal elements forming part of this initiative, namely the founding of new, planned, specialist settlements inhabited by Latin newcomers, granting new communities of burgesses a degree of autonomy based on the customs of earlier Latin towns, and developing their religious significance through association with holy sites or relics, became basic tools used by the military orders as well. This occurred first with the help of secular donations, as was the case in Beit Guvrin and Gaza, then jointly with secular crusaders, for example, in Atlit and Elbląg, and finally on their own, when the military orders became undisputed rulers of autonomous domains, particularly in Prussia and Livonia.

THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY ORDERS ON THE LEVANTINE AND BALTIC FRONTIERS

The study began by emphasizing the potential of joint analysis, considering the similarities between developments taking place in different crusader frontiers. These similarities were exemplified by the comparison between Elbląg and Atlit, two contemporary crusader strongholds that developed in nearly identical ways. Identifying their shared characteristics, therefore, provides a convenient starting point for a broader perspective on the role of the military orders in the defense and development of the crusader states of the Levantine and Baltic frontiers.

The founding of new towns in both regions followed a similar pattern and has been shown to form part of similar, broader processes of development and colonization, which sought to expand Western settlement and institutions into new, hitherto peripheral territories. In both the Levant and the Baltic, the military orders were not the first agents to initiate these processes but rather followed the example of older regional institutions, both secular and religious. With time, however, their role developed, and the orders became increasingly autonomous. This rise in status is reflected in their ability to purchase land and found new towns without external assistance.

This process began in the Levant. In the first half of the 12th century, the orders were only capable of developing small towns next to fortifications donated to them by the monarchy. Their position depended on powerful benefactors, for example, the bishop of Valenia, who favored Hospitallers in their quarrel with the Templars, and the bishop of Tartūs, who in 1152 granted the Templars a significant part of his town (Barber 1994: 81).

In the late 12th and 13th centuries, however, such patron-client relationships were reversed as bishops were forced to look to the military orders for protection. The bishop of Valenia had to move his residence to Marqab, while the Templars accumulated lands around Tartūs and thereby inevitably diminished the power and resources of its bishop (Barber 1994: 107). Eventually, both Tartūs and Marqab became urban

capitals of semi-independent Templar and Hospitaller palatinates, respectively, in which the orders held authority over secular knights and freemen (Riley-Smith 2012: 55; Phillips 2014: 75). This development continued in the Baltic, where the Teutonic Order subjugated Baltic bishoprics of Chełmno, Pogezania, Sambia, and Courland by forcing their chapters to adopt the Teutonic Order's rule and began founding numerous new towns without external assistance.

Control of urban centers, and the ability to create new ones, became one of the cornerstones in the development of military orders' autonomy and statecraft. The underlying question is whether the presence of similar practices in the Levant and the Baltic indicates a direct transfer of practices between these two regions by the military orders. Such links may be indicated by several elements, including the transfer of relics from the Holy Land to Prussia, for example, the fragment of the True Cross venerated in Elbląg, or the movement of high-ranking Teutonic Order officials, including the master of the Order, between these two regions (Jóźwiak 2000). Yet, a broader look at the transformation processes unfolding in Central Europe and the Kingdom of Jerusalem indicates that such a direct transfer was not necessary. Processes of conquest and colonization had begun in these two regions before the military orders became capable of using them to their advantage. The more likely explanation builds on Riley-Smith's suggestion from 30 years ago. Latin powers active in these two regions adopted similar strategies because their frontier character posed similar challenges. The only element that changed was the position of the military orders, as by the mid-13th century they were significantly stronger and more experienced than they had been in the early decades of the first crusader kingdom.

Dr. Tomasz Borowski
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8113-1229
University of Warsaw
Faculty of Archaeology
tp.borowski2@uw.edu.pl

How to cite this article: Borowski, T. (2026). Crusader towns of the military orders: from the Levant to the Baltic. *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean,* 35.1, 445–482. https://doi.org/10.37343/uw.2083-537X.pam35.1.09

References

Ashtor, E., Balard, M., Constable, G., Kedar, B.Z., Prawer, J., Pryor, J.H., Riley-Smith, J.S.C., Sivan, E., and Smail, R.C. (1992). The crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem—The first European colonial society? A symposium. In B.Z. Kedar (ed.), *The Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn: Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Jerusalem and Haifa, 2–6 July 1987* (pp. 341–366). Jerusalem–London: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi; Israel Exploration Society; Variorum

Bagatti, B. (1993). *Emmaus-Qubeibeh: The results of excavations at Emmaus-Qubeibeh and nearby sites (1873, 1887-1890, 1900-1902, 1940-1944)* (R. Bonanno trans.). Jerusalem: Franciscan Print Press

Barbé, H. (2016). Safed castle and its territory: Frankish settlement and colonisation in eastern Upper Galilee during the Crusader period. In M. Sinibaldi, K.J. Lewis, B. Major, and J.A. Thompson (eds), *Crusader landscapes in the medieval Levant: The archaeology and history of the Latin East* (pp. 55–79). Cardiff: University of Wales Press

Barber, M. (1994). *The new knighthood: A history of the Order of the Temple*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Bernotas, R. (2013). Estonian small towns in the Middle Ages: Archaeology and the history of urban defense. *Ajalooline Ajakiri. The Estonian Historical Journal*, 3(145), 265–297

Bernotas, R., Kriiska, A., and Vunk, A. (2008). Archaeological fieldwork at Pärnu medieval and early modern fortifications from 2007 to 2009. In E. Oras and E. Russow (eds), *Archaeological fieldwork in Estonia 2008* (pp. 155–165). Tallinn: Muinsuskaitseamet

Binysh, B. (2017). Massacre or mutual benefit: The military orders' relations with their Muslim neighbours in the Latin East (1100–1300). In J. Schenk and M. Carr (eds), *The military orders* VI.1. *Culture and conflict in the Mediterranean world* (pp. 30–43). London: Routledge

Biskup, M. (1980). Rozwój sieci miast pruskich do drugiej połowy XVII (The expansion of the network of Prussian cities up to the second half of the 17th century). *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, 28(3), 401–412

Biskup, M. and Labuda, G. (1986). *Dzieje zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach: gospodarka, społeczeństwo, państwo, ideologia* (The history of the Teutonic Order in Prussia: Economy, society, state, ideology). Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Morskie

Blomkvist, N. (ed.). (1998). *Culture clash or compromise? The Europeanisation of the Baltic Sea area 1100–1400 AD: Papers of the XIth Visby Symposium held at Gotland Centre for Baltic Studies, Gotland University College, Visby, October 4th–9th, 1996*. Visby: Gotland Centre for Baltic Studies

Boas, A.J. (1991). *A provenience study of some fine table-wares imported into the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (MA thesis). The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Boas, A.J. (1994). The import of Western ceramics to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. *Israel Exploration Journal*, 44(1/2), 102–122

Boas, A.J. (1996). A recently discovered Frankish village at Ramot Allon. In M. Balard (ed.), *Autour de la Premiѐre Croisade: actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22–25 juin 1995)* (pp. 583–594). Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne

Boas, A.J. (2006). *Archaeology of the military orders: A survey of the urban centres, rural settlement and castles of the military orders in the Latin East (c. 1120–1291)*. London: Routledge

Boas, A.J. (2017). *Crusader archaeology: The material culture of the Latin East*. Abingdon: Routledge

Bombi, B. (2020). Networking at the papal curia as a survival strategy: The Teutonic Order and the crisis of the military orders in the early fourteenth century. In N. Morton (ed.), *The military orders* VII. *Piety, pugnacity and property* (pp. 175–194). London: Routledge

Borowski, T. (2010). *Miasta, zamki i klasztory państwa krzyżowego Zakonu Szpitala Najświętszej Marii Panny Domu Niemieckiego w Jerozolimie nad Bałtykiem: Inflanty* (Cities, castles, and monasteries of the state of the Teutonic Order of St. Mary's Hospital in Jerusalem on the Baltic Sea: Livonia). Warsaw: Volumen

Borowski, T. (2015). *The role of religion in the shaping of identity and social relations in Crusader Famagusta, Cyprus, 1191–1489* (Ph.D. diss.). University of Reading

Borowski, T. (2018). Space, perspective and public preaching. Reconstructing the role and functionality of public squares in the Latin Levant: The case of Famagusta (northern Cyprus). *Material Religion*, 14(4), 500–519

Borowski, T. and Gerrard, C. (2017). Constructing identity in the Middle Ages: Relics, religiosity, and the military orders. *Speculum*, 92(4), 1056–1100

Burgtorf, J. (2008). *The central convent of Hospitallers and Templars: History, organization, and personnel (1099/1120–1310)*. Leiden: Brill

Chęć, A. (1997). Gdaniska jako element architektury militarnej zakonu krzyżackiego (Danskers as an element of the Teutonic Order's military architecture). *Archaeologia Historica Polona*, 6, 123–148

Cohen, M. (2004). The fortification of the fortress of Gybelin. In N. Faucherre, J. Mesqui, and N. Prouteau (eds), *La fortification au temps des croisades* (pp. 67–75). Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes

Constable, G. (2001). The historiography of the Crusades. In A.E. Laiou and R.P. Mottahedeh (eds), *The Crusades from the perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim world* (pp. 1–22). Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection

Czacharowski, A. (1992). Elbing im Ordensland Preussen. In A. Czacharowski and T. Nawrolski (eds), *Elbląg—nowe spojrzenie na średniowieczne miasto. Materiały z międzynarodowej konferencji archeologicznej "Elbląg '86"* (Elbląg—A new perspective on a medieval city. Proceedings from the international archaeological conference "Elbląg '86") (=*Archeologia Elbingensis* 1) (pp. 29–34). Gdańsk: PKZ

Czaja, R. (1999). *Miasta pruskie a zakon krzyżacki: studia nad stosunkami między miastem a władzą terytorialną w późnym średniowieczu* (Prussian cities and the Teutonic Order: Studies on relations between cities and territorial authorities in the Late Middle Ages). Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika

Czaja, R. (2000). Miasta i ich posiadłości ziemskie w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach (Cities and their estates in the state of the Teutonic Order in Prussia). In Z.H. Nowak and R. Czaja (eds), *Państwo zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach: podziały administracyjne i kościelne w XIII–XVI wieku* (The State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia: Administrative and ecclesiastical divisions in the 13th–16th centuries) (pp. 45–66). Toruń: Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu

Czaja, R. (2013). Miasta inflanckie XIII–XVI w. (Livonian cities of the 13th–16th century). In R. Czaja and A. Radzimiński (eds), *Zakon krzyżacki w Prusach i Inflantach: podziały administracyjne i kościelne w XIII–XVI wieku* (The Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia: Administrative and ecclesiastical divisions in the 13th–16th centuries) (pp. 215–240). Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika

Czaja, R. and Radzimiński, A. (eds). (2013). *Zakon krzyżacki w Prusach i Inflantach: podziały administracyjne i kościelne w XIII–XVI wieku* (The Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia: Administrative and ecclesiastical divisions in the 13th–16th centuries). Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika

Czaja, R. and Stevens, M.F. (2022). The place of native populations in the chartered towns of conquered regions: Wales and Prussia as a comparative case study. In M.F. Stevens and R. Czaja (eds), *Towns on the edge in medieval Europe: The social and political order of peripheral urban communities from the twelfth to sixteenth centuries* (pp. 21–45). Oxford: Oxford University Press

Delaville Le Roulx, J. (1894). *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers (1100–1310)* I. Paris: Ernest Leroux

Długokęcki, W. (1992). *Z dziejów szpitala św. Ducha w Elblągu* (From the history of the hospital of the Holy Spirit in Elbląg). Elbląg: Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna im. C. Norwida w Elblągu

Dollinger, P. (1997). *Dzieje Hanzy: XII–XVII w.* (The history of the Hanse: 12th–17th centuries) (V. Soczewińska, trans.). Warsaw: Volumen

Dybek, E. (2004). *Lokacje na prawie niemieckim w ziemi przemyskiej w latach 1345–1434* (Colonization under German law in the Przemyśl Land in the years 1345–1434). Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego

Folda, J. (2005). *Crusader art in the Holy Land, from the Third Crusade to the fall of Acre, 1187–1291*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Folda, J. (2008). *Crusader art: The art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1099–1291*. Aldershot: Lund Humphries

Friedman, Y. (2021). Medieval 'Atlit in the historiography of incarceration. In G. Fishhof, J. Bronstein, and V. Shotten-Hallel (eds), *Settlement and crusade in the thirteenth century: Multidisciplinary studies of the Latin East* (pp. 113–123). New York: Routledge

Gawlas, S. (2005). Przełom lokacyjny w dziejach miast środkowoeuropejskich (A turning point in the history of chartered Central European cities). In Z. Kurnatowska and T. Jurek (eds), *Civitas Posnaniensis: studia z dziejów średniowiecznego Poznania* (Civitas Posnaniensis: Studies in the history of medieval Poznań) (pp. 133–162). Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk

Girsztowt, R. and Youngs, D. (2022). Women in the small-town economy of medieval Wales and Prussia. In M.F. Stevens and R. Czaja (eds), *Towns on the edge in medieval Europe: The social and political order of peripheral urban communities from the twelfth to sixteenth centuries* (pp. 73–90). Oxford: Oxford University Press

Gładysz, M. (2004). *Zapomniani krzyżowcy: Polska wobec ruchu krucjatowego w XII–XIII wieku* (The forgotten Crusaders: Poland and the Crusade movement in the 12th–13th centuries). Warsaw: Wydawnictwo DiG

Gleize, Y. and Dorso, S. (2019). 'Atlit, Crusader cemetery. *Hadashot Arkheologiyot*, 131. Retrieved from https://hadashot.iaa.org.il/Report_Detail_Eng.aspx?id=25609 (accessed: 14.11.2019)

Haftka, M. (1999). *Zamki krzyżackie w Polsce: szkice z dziejów* (Teutonic castles in Poland: Sketches from history). Płock–Malbork: Wydawnictwo Consort; Muzeum Zamkowe w Malborku

Hauke, K. and Stobbe, H. (1964). *Die Baugeschichte und die Baudenkmäler der Stadt Elbing*. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag

Heise, J. (1894). *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Westpreußen, der Kreis Graudenz*. Danzig: Kommissions-Verl. von Th. Bertling

Immerzeel, M. (2009). *Identity puzzles: Medieval Christian art in Syria and Lebanon* (=*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 184). Leuven: Peeters

Jensen, C.S. (2001). Urban life and the Crusades in North Germany and the Baltic lands in the early thirteenth century. In A.V. Murray (ed.), *Crusade and conversion on the Baltic frontier, 1150–1500* (pp. 75–94). Aldershot: Ashgate

John of Ibelin. (2003). *Le livre des assises* (P. Edbury, ed.). Leiden: Brill

Johns, C.N. (1931). Excavations at Pilgrims' Castle ('Atlit): The faubourg and its defenses. *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine*, 1(3), 111–129

Johns, C.N. (1933). Medieval slip ware from Pilgrims' Castle, 'Atlit. *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine*, 3(3), 137–144

Johns, C.N. (1935). Excavations at Pilgrims' Castle, 'Atlit (1932–3); stables at the south-west of the suburb. *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine*, 5(1–2), 31–60

Johns, C.N. (1947). *Guide to 'Atlit: The Crusader castle, town and surroundings, with the prehistoric caves at Wadi el Maghara*. Jerusalem: Government of Palestine, Department of Antiquities

Jóźwiak, S. (2000). Specjalni wysłannicy Wielkich Mistrzów do Prus i Inflant. Przyczynek do funkcjonowania centralnych i terytorialnych organów władzy Zakonu Krzyżackiego w połowie XIII wieku (Special envoys of the Grand Masters to Prussia and Livonia: On the functioning of the central and territorial authorities of the Teutonic Order in the mid-13th century). *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 48(2), 191–203

Jóźwiak, S. and Trupinda, J. (2007). *Organizacja życia na zamku krzyżackim w Malborku w czasach wielkich mistrzów (1309–1457)* (Daily life at the Teutonic castle in Malbork during the era of the Grand Masters [1309–1457]). Malbork: Muzeum Zamkowe

Jóźwiak, S. and Trupinda, J. (2012). *Krzyżackie zamki komturskie w Prusach: topografia i układ przestrzenny na podstawie średniowiecznych źródeł pisanych* (Teutonic Knights' commander castles in Prussia: Topography and spatial layout based on medieval written sources). Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika

Kamińska, K. (1990). *Lokacje miast na prawie magdeburskim na ziemiach polskich do 1370 r.: studium historycznoprawne* (The founding of cities under Magdeburg law in Polish territories up to 1370: A historical and legal study). Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK

Leighton, G. (2018). Did the Teutonic Order create a sacred landscape in thirteenth-century Prussia? *Journal of Medieval History*, 44(4), 457–483

Khamisy, R.G. (2013). The history and architectural design of Castellum Regis and some other finds in the village of Mi'ilya. *Crusades*, 12, 13–51

Khamisy, R.G. (2014). The unratified treaty between the Mamlūks and the Franks of Acre in 1268. *Al-Masāq*, 26(2), 147–167

Khamisy, R.G. (2016). The Mount Tabor territory under Frankish control. In M. Sinibaldi, K.J. Lewis, B. Major, and J.A. Thompson (eds), *Crusader landscapes in the medieval Levant: The archaeology and history of the Latin East* (pp. 39–54). Cardiff: University of Wales Press

Körmendy, A. (1995). *Melioratio terrae: vergleichende Untersuchungen über die Siedlungsbewegung im östlichen Mitteleuropa im 13.–14. Jahrhundert*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk

Kurtyka, J. (2011). *Podole w czasach jagiellońskich: studia i materiały* (Podolia in the Jagiellonian era: Studies and materials). Kraków: Wydawnictwo Towarzystwa Naukowego "Societas Vistulana"

Laakmann, H. (1956). *Geschichte der Stadt Pernau in der Deutsch-Ordenszeit (bis 1558)*. Marburg/Lahn: Johann-Gottfried-Herder-Institut

Leśniewska, D. (2004). *Kolonizacja niemiecka i na prawie niemieckim w średniowiecznych Czechach i na Morawach w świetle historiografii* (German colonization and colonization under German law in mediaeval Bohemia and Moravia in the light of historiography). Poznań–Marburg: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk; Instytut Herdera

Maciakowska, Z. and Maleszka, A. (2022). Shaping the public space of Danzig and Dublin, 14th–16th centuries: Tensions between the common good and private use. In M.F. Stevens and R. Czaja (eds), *Towns on the edge in medieval Europe: The social and political order of peripheral urban communities from the twelfth to sixteenth centuries* (pp. 142–162). Oxford: Oxford University Press

Major, B. (2016). Where was the town of Valenia located in the thirteenth century? In M. Sinibaldi, K.J. Lewis, B. Major, and J.A. Thompson (eds), *Crusader landscapes in the medieval Levant: The archaeology and history of the Latin East* (pp. 117–130). Cardiff: University of Wales Press

Maleszka, A. and Możdżeń, J. (2022). Urban legislation as an instrument for the formation and regulation of socio-economic life in 14th-century Prussian and Irish towns. In M.F. Stevens and R. Czaja (eds), *Towns on the edge in medieval Europe: The social and political order of peripheral urban communities from the twelfth to sixteenth centuries* (pp. 93–119). Oxford: Oxford University Press

Mol, E. (2012). *Hidden complexities of the Frankish castle: Social aspects of space in the configurational architecture of Frankish castles in the Holy Land, 1099–1291* (=*Archaeological Studies Leiden University* 25). Leiden: Leiden University Press

Molin, K. (2001). *Unknown Crusader castles*. London–New York: Hambledon and London

Mortensen, H., Mortensen, G., and Wenskus, R. (1968). Verwaltung des Ordenslandes Preußen um 1400 (map). In *Historisch-geographischer Atlas des Preußenlandes Lieferung 1*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner

Nader, M. (2006). *Burgesses and burgess law in the Latin Kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus (1099–1325)*. Aldershot: Ashgate

Nawrolska, G. (1999). Archaeological evidence for trade in Elbląg from the 13th to the 17th centuries. In M. Gläser (ed.), *Lübecker Kolloquium zur Stadtarchäologie im Hanseraum* II. *Der Handel* (pp. 373–385). Lübeck: Schmidt-Römhild

Nawrolska, G. (2004). Remarks on infrastructure of the Old Town of Elbląg. In M. Gläser (ed.), *Lübecker Kolloquium zur Stadtarchäologie im Hanseraum* IV. *Die Infrastruktur* (pp. 303–322). Lübeck: Schmidt-Römhild

Nawrolska, G. (2006). Handicrafts in medieval Elbląg. In M. Gläser (ed.), *Lübecker Kolloquium zur Stadtarchäologie im Hanseraum* V. *Das Handwerk* (pp. 393–416). Lübeck: Schmidt-Römhild

Nawrolska, G. (2010). Ampułka pielgrzymia, XIV wiek (Pilgrim's ampulla, 14th century). In B. Pospieszna (ed.), *Fundacje artystyczne na terenie państwa krzyżackiego w Prusach* (Artistic foundations in the Teutonic State in Prussia) I (p. 323). Malbork: Wydawnictwo Muzeum Zamkowego w Malborku

Nawrolska, G. (2012). *Początki Elbląga w świetle źródeł archeologicznych* (The origins of Elbląg in light of archaeological sources). Elbląg: Stowarzyszenie Miłośników Truso

Nawrolska, G. (2013). Przemiany kulturowe w XIII-wiecznym Elblągu efektem spotkania tradycji i obcych wpływów (Cultural transformations in 13th-century Elbląg as a result of the encounter of tradition and foreign influences). *Archaeologia Historica Polona*, 21, 79–100

Nawrolska, G. (2014). The Dominicans in Elbląg. In M. Gläser and M. Schneider (eds), *Lübecker Kolloquium zur Stadtarchäologie im Hanseraum* IX. *Die Klöster* (pp. 441–448). Lübeck: Schmidt-Römhild

Nawrolska, G. and Nawrolski, T. (1985). Wstępne wyniki badań archeologicznych Starego Miasta w Elblągu w latach 1980–1982 (Preliminary results of archaeological research in the Old Town of Elbląg, 1980–1982). *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, 33(4), 383–409

Nicholson, H. (1993). *Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights: Images of the military orders, 1128–1291*. Leicester: Leicester University Press

Nicholson, H. (2002). The head of St Euphemia: Templar devotion to female saints. In S.B. Edgington and S. Lambert (eds), *Gendering the Crusades* (pp. 108–120). New York: Columbia University Press

Nicolaus von Jeroschin. (2010). *The chronicle of Prussia: A history of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia, 1190–1331* (M. Fischer, trans.). Farnham–Burlington, VT: Ashgate

Oliver of Paderborn. (1894). Historia Damiatina. In Oliver of Paderborn, *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, späteren Bischofs von Paderborn und Kardinal-Bischofs von S. Sabina, Oliverus* (pp. 159–280; H. Hoogeweg, ed.). Tübingen: Litterarischer Verein in Stuttgart

Papacostea, Ş. (2013). Terra Borza et ultra montes nivium. Ein gescheiterter Kirchenstaat und sein Nachlass. In K.G. Gündisch (ed.), *Generalprobe Burzenland: neue Forschungen zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens in Siebenbürgen und im Banat* (pp. 30–39). Cologne: Böhlau Verlag

Pechuro, A., Kloner, A., and Cohen, M. (2011). Sculptural fragments of the furniture from the Crusader church at Beth Guvrin. *Levant*, 43(1), 51–77

Phillips, J. (2014). *The Crusades, 1095–1204* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge

Pluskowski, A. (2013). *The archaeology of the Prussian Crusade: Holy war and colonisation*. London: Routledge

Pluskowski, A. (2018). The archaeology of the military orders: The material culture of holy war. *Medieval Archaeology*, 62(1), 105–134

Pluskowski, A. (ed.). (2019a). *Ecologies of crusading, colonization, and religious conversion in the medieval Baltic: Terra Sacra II* (=*Environmental Histories of the North Atlantic World* 3). Turnhout: Brepols

Pluskowski, A. (ed.). (2019b). *Environment, colonization, and the Baltic Crusader states. Terra Sacra I* (=*Environmental Histories of the North Atlantic World* 2). Turnhout: Brepols

Pluskowski, A., Boas, A.J., and Gerrard, C. (2011). The ecology of crusading: Investigating the environmental impact of holy war and colonisation at the frontiers of medieval Europe. *Medieval Archaeology*, 55(1), 192–225

Põltsam-Jürjo, I. (2008). *Liivimaa väikelinn varase uusaja lävel. Uurimus Uus-Pärnu ajaloost 16. sajandi esimesel poolel* (A small town in Livonia on the threshold of the early modern era: A study of the history of New Pärnu in the first half of the 16th century) (Ph.D. diss.). Tallinn University. Retrieved from https://www.digar.ee/arhiiv/en/nlib-digar:18742?fbclid=IwAR2IBKU6udwqpjOoNbUTK8V9WkOW473CRXgv2ICNLXDPM6Rf_IXeuJrqowE (accessed: 3.10.2019)

Prawer, J. (1980). *Crusader institutions*. Oxford: Clarendon Press

Pringle, D. (1982). Some more proto-maiolica from 'Athlit (Pilgrims' Castle) and a discussion of its distribution in the Levant. *Levant*, 14(1), 104–117

Pringle, D. (1985). Magna Mahumeria (Al-Bira): The archaeology of a Frankish new town in Palestine. In P.W. Edbury (ed.), *Crusade and settlement: Papers read at the first conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and presented to R.C. Small* (pp. 147–168). Cardiff: University College Cardiff Press

Pringle, D. (1986). Pottery as evidence of trade in the Crusader states. In G. Airaldi and B.Z. Kedar (eds), *I Comuni italiani nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme: atti del colloquio (Jerusalem, May 24 – May 28, 1984)* (pp. 451–475). Genoa: Università di Genova, Istituto di Medievistica

Pringle, D. (1993). *The churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A corpus* I. *A–K (excluding Acre and Jerusalem)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Pringle, D. (1997a). Notes. In C.N. Johns, *Pilgrims' Castle ('Atlit), David's Tower (Jerusalem) and Qal'at Ar-Rabad ('Ajlun): Three Middle Eastern castles from the time of the Crusades* (pp. 1–14; ed. by D. Pringle). Aldershot: Ashgate

Pringle, D. (1997b). *Secular buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: An archaeological gazetteer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Pringle, D. (1998). *The churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A corpus* II. *L–Z (excluding Tyre)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Pringle, D. (2016). *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187–1291* (2nd ed.). Abingdon–New York: Routledge

Pringle, D. and Leach, P. (1983). Two medieval villages north of Jerusalem: Archaeological investigations in Al-Jib and Ar-Ram. *Levant*, 15(1), 141–177

Rădvan, L. (2010). *At Europe's borders: Medieval towns in the Romanian principalities*. Leiden: Brill

Rębkowski, M. (2001). *Pierwsze lokacje miast w księstwie zachodniopomorskim: przemiany przestrzenne i kulturowe* (First chartered towns in the Duchy of Pomerania: Transformations of space and culture). Kołobrzeg: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk

Riavez, P. (2001). Atlit—ceramica Port St. Symeon 1217–1291, graffite "crociate" del Mediterraneo orientale. *Archeologia Medievale*, 28, 505–532

Riley-Smith, J. (1967). *Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Riley-Smith, J. (2012). *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant, c.1070–1309*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Sinibaldi, M. (2014). *Settlement in Crusader Transjordan (1100–1189): A historical and archaeological study* (Ph.D. diss.). Cardiff University. Retrieved from https://orca.cardiff.ac.uk/id/eprint/69267 (accessed: 11.11.2019)

Smithline, H., Stern, E.J., and Stern, E. (2013). A Crusader-period bathhouse in 'Akko (Acre). *'Atiqot*, 73(1), 71–108

Sowina, U. and Kulczykowski, W. (2017). The first urban water supply systems in the State of the Teutonic Knights: The transfer of hydrotechnical knowledge. In A. Girsztowt, P. Kitowski, and A. Gierszewski (eds), *Origines et mutationes: Transfer – exchange – power* (pp. 51–61). Kraków: Wydawnictwo Libron

Stein, G. (ed.). (2005). *The archaeology of colonial encounters: Comparative perspectives*. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press

Stern, E.J. (2012). *'Akko I, the 1991–1998 excavations: The Crusader-period pottery* I. *Text* (=*IAA Reports* 51/1). Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority

Stevens, M.F. and Czaja, R. (eds). (2022). *Towns on the edge in medieval Europe: The social and political order of peripheral urban communities from the twelfth to sixteenth centuries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Takáts, B. (2019). Applying the most recent technologies in archaeological and architectural documentation at Margat. In P.W. Edbury, D. Pringle, and B. Major (eds), *Bridge of civilizations: The Near East and Europe c. 1100–1300* (pp. 23–34). Oxford: Archaeopress

Urban, W. (2003). *The Teutonic Knights: A military history*. London: Greenhill

Urban, W. (2019). *The last years of the Teutonic Knights: Lithuania, Poland and the Teutonic Order*. Barnsley: Greenhill

Wiewióra, M. and Borowski, T. (2016). Geneza, układ i funkcja parchamów w przestrzeni zamków krzyżackich. Uwagi na marginesie badań archeologiczno-architektonicznych zamków krzyżackich na ziemi chełmińskiej (The origins, layout, and function of parchams in Teutonic castles. Notes on the archaeological and architectural research of Teutonic castles in the Chełmno Land). In J. Gancewski, K. Lisowska, S. Skiendziul, and J.E. Śliczyńska (eds), *Życie społeczno-kulturalne w państwie Zakonu Krzyżackiego (XIII–XVI w.)* (Social and cultural life in the State of the Teutonic Order [13th–16th centuries]) (pp. 25–59). Olsztyn–Warsaw: Instytut Historii i Stosunków Międzynarodowych UWM; Fundacja Agencji Służb Społecznych

Woźniak, M. (2001). Dyptyk relikwiarzowy elbląskiego komtura domowego Thiele von Loricha (A reliquary diptych belonging to Thiele von Lorich, the Elbląg House Commander). In M. Mierzwiński (ed.), *Praeterita posteritati: studia z historii sztuki i kultury ofiarowane Maciejowi Kilarskiemu* (Praeterita posteritati: Studies in art and cultural history dedicated to Maciej Kilarski) (pp. 481–500). Malbork: Muzeum Zamkowe