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14 The inscriptions of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem

New corpus and perspectives¹

Estelle Ingrand-Varenne

The medieval epigraphy of the Latin East “looks like a scientific desert,” noted Cécile Treffort in 2011.² If this comparison conforms perfectly with the oriental imagery, what does it mean? Generally defined as “exposed” or “monumental” writings³ that reveal traces of an exogenous presence in the East through graphic, linguistic, and memorial manifestations in materials such as stone, metal, and mosaics, such inscriptions are relatively poorly studied. Indeed, apart from Sabino De Sandoli’s *Corpus inscriptionum cruce signatorum Terrae Sanctae*,⁴ and two volumes devoted to Cypriot tombstones under the direction of Brunehilde Imhaus,⁵ most of these texts are studied in a fragmentary and circumstantial fashion, in monographs or as part of more general studies. Proper epigraphic articles, like those by Denys Pringle,⁶ Benjamin Kedar,⁷ Cécile Treffort,⁸ and Pierre-Vincent Claverie,⁹ are rare. The information needed to study the epigraphic documentation of the Latin East in a systematic way remains incomplete, scattered, and sometimes difficult to access. There is unfortunately nothing comparable with the multi-volume *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae* edited by Moshe Sharon,¹⁰ or the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae* that are available for earlier period inscriptions.¹¹

Sabino De Sandoli’s pioneering study of crusader period inscriptions, published in 1974, has, despite its qualities, become outdated with the rapid advances in epigraphic research. Moreover, there have been a range of new studies on the Latin East that can shed new light on these inscriptions. Research on crusades and military orders, the publication of unknown literary and diplomatic sources, and the entry into new fields of study such as daily life in the Frankish East and the use of French in the Levant, provide useful elements for the interpretation of inscriptions in their political, social, and cultural context. In return, this perspective highlights the contribution of the inscriptions: their historical and documentary function and their socio-linguistic value. Above all, it is the archaeological excavations carried out over the past 40 years that have undoubtedly contributed the most, through their many discoveries, with the monumental wall painting of the Jehosaphat Abbey in Jerusalem bearing an inscription of Saint Augustine being one of the most remarkable.¹²

The understanding of inscriptions has evolved considerably, fueled by more than 50 years of research and teaching in medieval epigraphy (notably, in the case of France, at the Centre d'études supérieures de civilisation médiévale, CESCUM, in Poitiers¹³). Since the 2000s, research in epigraphy has been undergoing significant development in connection with new approaches that appeared in the 1990s that emphasised the social aspects of writing in the Middle Ages and medieval literacy.¹⁴ An inscription is now understood as an object of study, with four dimensions: material, textual, contextual, and functional. Breaking down disciplinary barriers, current research now questions graphic practices outside the handwritten world and considers their materiality, the technical implications of their creation, the forms of writing used, and the interactions with their environment during their exposure and use.¹⁵

For all these reasons, the making of a new corpus of the inscriptions of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem has become a necessity, not only to update it with new discoveries, but also to apply new perspectives and approach to this documentation in order to better understand its historical, artistic, and cultural heritage. This chapter will be twofold: first explaining the current state of the project, giving an overview of the corpus that is being collected, and presenting the methodology; the second part will use the case study of the funerary inscription for Peter of Campagnolles in Acre to demonstrate this new approach.

Review and methodology for a new corpus

As early as the twelfth century, the inscriptions of the Holy Land were copied by visitors, from the two German pilgrims John of Würzburg and Theodoricus to Franciscan authors such as Francisco Quaresmi (1583–1650), and Elzear Horn (1690–1744). In more recent times the French Orientalists and archaeologists Melchior de Vogüé (1829–1916) and Charles Clermont-Ganneau (1846–1923), also transmitted the epigraphic documentation of the Holy Land. It is on this material and with the same perspective, as the choice of his title *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesignatorum Terrae Sanctae* shows, that De Sandoli based his corpus.

Sabino De Sandoli (1915–2001), an Italian Franciscan scholar, spent most of his life at the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land, where he was librarian of the Central Library. A completely self-taught man, De Sandoli received no formal training as epigraphist, archaeologist, or medieval historian. The idea and initiative for collecting the inscriptions belonging to the crusader period were not his, but those of a fellow Italian Franciscan, Camillo Bellarmino Bagatti (1905–1990), a seminal figure in Franciscan archaeology, director of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum. Bagatti thought of this project as early as 1939. But, immersed in excavating archaeological sites, the work on Frankish period epigraphy was taken up by De Sandoli, who published the corpus in 1974. It includes 453 Latin and French inscriptions, including some which are no longer physically preserved, made between 1099 and 1291. They

are associated with a large number of sites that formed part of the historical territory of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, from Gaza and Hebron in the south, to Acre and Banias in the north, including what is now the southern area of Transjordan, but excluding Lebanon (an area not examined due to political circumstances). De Sandoli's corpus includes not only epigraphic media in the strict sense of the word (inscriptions and graffiti), but also mason's marks, seals, and coins. In the same vein, a few years later he edited the four volumes of *Itinera hierosolymitana cruce signatorum*.¹⁶

De Sandoli did not just make an inventory, but made a genuine effort to edit the texts, mentioning sources and highlighting whenever he could their palaeographical, linguistic, and religious aspects. From a modern epigraphical viewpoint, however, his work lacks critical perspective and details, for example, concerning the sources that transmitted these texts, their archaeological context, the exact location, and the dating of the inscriptions. Some famous examples are missing, such as the ivory binding plates of the psalter of Melisende. The dating is often given without explanation on the criteria used. The situation is similar for the inscriptions only known from manuscripts. The work stands in stark contrast with the full epigraphic entries of Denys Pringle's monumental study of the *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, supplying the historian and epigraphist a complete overview of each monument down to its graphic landscape and the general context of its sources.¹⁷ Rightly, P.-V. Claverie mentioned in 2013 "the difficulties of Frankish epigraphy," trying to correct some onomastic and chronological confusion.¹⁸

De Sandoli's goal was to do another corpus to cover the whole crusader territory of Lebanon, of Syria, and the county of Edessa, but the project never came about. Denys Pringle, as well as Cécile Treffort, has filled some of this gap by publishing 24 inscriptions from southern Lebanon.¹⁹ Since De Sandoli's 1974 publication archaeological discoveries have added 29 new inscriptions to the collection. In addition to the large mural painting of the Abbey of Jehoshaphat, which contains three of them, several texts, mainly in lapidary form, and almost always in a fragmentary manner, have been found. Some of these have been, or are due to be, published, including: the Shomrat kibbutz markers inscribed with the name *Janua*;²⁰ an epitaph for a woman who died in 1218, found in the Montmusard district of Acre;²¹ inscriptions from the Gethsemane cave in Jerusalem;²² and fragments discovered in the 1990s in Acre,²³ at Mount Carmel,²⁴ and Belvoir Castle.²⁵ But many others remain unpublished and are being studied.

The preliminary inventory I made in 2019 accounts for 310 inscriptions in Latin script from the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, excluding bulls, seals, coins, and glyptographic signs. Thus, the "extreme epigraphic shortage" and even the "almost total absence of medieval inscriptions" noted by Clermont-Ganneau in 1874 can no longer be held as true.²⁶ In fact the opposite may now be said, and that we have an abundance of epigraphic data. By comparison, the former Poitou-Charentes region in France (25,000 km²), more

or less the equivalent of the combined surface area of the State of Israel and southern Lebanon, and considered a region rich in epigraphic documentation, yielded only 251 inscriptions dated to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.²⁷ Nevertheless, the number of 310 inscriptions must be taken with some reservations for two reasons. Undoubtedly this is not complete – other inscriptions found in excavations may not yet have been brought to our attention and the work of searching for these pieces is still in progress; on the other hand, the very unity of an inscription is sometimes elusive (both the material and textual unity), and does not always correspond to the one noticed in the edition. To give a concrete example, Queen Melisende's psalter accounts as one, although there are 37 separate inscriptions on the upper binding plates and seven on the lower binding plates.

Finally, the resumption of the corpus of inscriptions of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem benefits from a twofold editorial renewal: the establishment of new transcriptions according to well-established editorial standards; and an electronic format giving visibility and accessibility (open access), ensuring the durability and interoperability of data. The proposed edition will follow the protocol of the *Corpus of Inscriptions of Medieval France*.²⁸ The very heart of each entry is made up of the text itself, in three different versions, with the image: 1) the transcription that emphasises the visual and graphic elements; 2) the critical edition which gives the meaning in current standards; 3) the translation which facilitates understanding. Before and after the text, each entry provides information on the inscription: first, a descriptive and practical sequence (sometimes preceded by an introduction of the building in which the inscription is or was found) indicates its function, form, precise location, current state, dimensions, and proposes a dating with an indication of which criteria it is based on. Then, the bibliographical details are given, retracing the transmission of the text, without claiming to be exhaustive, and a long palaeographical commentary is given just before the reading of the text in order to explain it. The final part is the commentary that aims to clarify the meaning, the structure, the formulas, the biblical, liturgical or literary sources of the inscription, and to give a broad historical and epigraphic context.

In addition to the print publication, the appropriate tool for this purpose is TITULUS,²⁹ a digital medieval epigraphy project held at the CESC in Poitiers. With the support of the TGIR Huma-Num,³⁰ TITULUS intends to propose a new digital edition of inscriptions, focusing on the visual and scriptural aspects (the shapes of the letters, the abbreviations, the letter plays, the use of the white space, and punctuation marks).

A case study or how to make an inscription speak

The study of the funerary stone inscription of Peter of Campagnolles is an example of this new approach and shows how we make an inscription “speak” if we consider all the aspects of the epigraphic object.³¹ Arriving from southern France, Peter of Campagnolles was the treasurer of the Hospital in

Acre when he died in 1206, as revealed by his funerary inscription, after being one of the Hospitaller *officiales* according to a charter of 1204.³² His inscription is one of 71 funerary texts known for the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, preserved or transmitted by manuscripts, mainly concentrated in the three cities of Acre, Jerusalem, and Tyre. However, it should not be forgotten that in a number of cases, particular among more prominent persons, those dying in the Latin East were not buried there. Instead their bodies were often repatriated, and thus their epitaphs appear in the West.³³

History of the transmission

The inscription of Peter of Campagnolles comes from Acre, but its exact location in the city during the Middle Ages is not known. Nevertheless, as the deceased belonged to the Hospitaller order, Denys Pringle hypothesised the inscription would have come either from the church of St. John or from the Hospitallers' extramural cemetery.³⁴ Before analysing the text, let us take history in reverse, looking closely at the circumstances of its discovery by Clermont-Ganneau in 1889, and exploring its object biography. The inscription constituted a secondary discovery since it was a squeeze of the text, that is to say a copy made by laying dampened paper over the incised surface which is then beat with a brush and let to dry. This epigraphic squeeze was made and sent by one of the local correspondents of the epigraphist, 'Isa (or Ayssa) Kouboursy, who also worked to collect documents for the numismatist Félicien de Saulcy.³⁵ The squeeze given to Clermont-Ganneau was "of poor execution" in his own words. Clermont-Ganneau's idea was to bring the stone to the Louvre Museum (Paris, France), in order to launch the "beginning of a collection of a great interest for our national history"³⁶ but these plans, although at an advanced stage, were interrupted with the death of his correspondent. Clermont-Ganneau then lost the track of the owner, "some Arab mason" as he wrote. Three elements are particularly remarkable in this story: the market value of these inscriptions, their heritage value, and their role in the construction of a national history in France of the Third Republic. The stone was then acquired by the Orthodox Palestine Society – a lay scientific and charitable institution founded in 1882, dedicated to the study of the Holy Land – and placed in the museum adjacent to the Russian Orthodox Church on the Mount of Olives.³⁷ Where exactly are the stone and the squeeze today? The purpose of this project is also to find all the originals, examine and verify them, and then photograph them: the investigation has only just begun.

In a way, the story of the stone of Peter of Campagnolles is symptomatic of the movements that affect many inscriptions. Contrary to the idea of stability and the physical and textual immobility so inherent in epigraphic documents, it is necessary to take into consideration the movement of an inscription from one point to another, at various points in the object's biography from the medieval period to the present. Whereas this is not the primary vocation of an inscription, as opposed to the frequent movements of objects which are

intrinsically mobile (crosses, reliquaries, ritual objects, weapons, and jewelry), they are part of the life of the epigraphic documents.

Graphic description and transcription

In the absence of the stone, it is not possible to give a technical analysis of the engraving. Thus, the following remarks are based only on the photograph of the squeeze and must therefore be taken with reserve and critical distance. The support is a very small stone, a piece of grey marble, measuring 18 x 14 cm and 4.5 cm thick. There is no trace of ruling, and the stone presents an irregular manner of writing, perhaps due to the lack of preparatory lines guiding the letters. The irregularity of the writing contrasts with the content and the language of the text, which uses conventional formulas. This is a significant detail because none of the stone inscriptions from the Latin East exhibit profoundly engraved ruling, except the stone inscription for Roger de Sayette (or Saïda) located in the Beirut Museum by Camille Enlart,³⁸ in contrast to inscriptions produced in medieval France during this period.

Transcription:

ANNO : AB : INCARNATI
OĒ DNĪ : M°: CC°: VI. XV°: KĻ
NOVBR : [.]IIT : FR : PET
DE : CAMPAIGNOLIS :
THESAURARIVS AC
CON : O : HOMO QID : ME
[.]SPICIS: QVOD: ES

Critical edition: Anno ab Incarnatio(n)e D(omi)ni MCCVI XV **k(a)**
l(endas) nov(em)br̄i(is) [ob]iit fr(ater) Pet(rus) de Campaignolis,
thesaurarius Accon(is). O homo q(u)id me [a]spicis quod es ...

Translation: The year of the incarnation of the Lord 1206, on 15 calendas November [16 **e**ctober] died brother Peter of Campagnolles, treasurer of Acre. O man who looks on me, what you are ...

The inscription is composed of seven lines; even if the last formula is not entirely developed, the text can be considered as complete, contrary to De Sandoli's opinion in his edition, because this unfinished expression is characteristic of the brief style of medieval inscriptions. This approach to brevity can be summarised in five words: select, condense, rhythm, evoke, and suggest. More than a lack of space, it is a real aesthetic and created an active dialogue with the reader and his memory who is required to bridge the gap and

participate in the construction of the text.³⁹ Seven words are abbreviated, by contraction indicated with a straight tilde (for *Incarnacione, Domini*) or by elision without any diacritical mark (for *novembris* with also a contraction, *frater, Petrus, Acconis*). This visual and graphic brevity shows the condensation and expansion movements of the text, and emphasises the central lines (4 and 5) with the name and the function of the brother. The lettering is a mixture of capital and uncial forms (used for all the E, the H, the N, and the M, 2 T); the final E of *Incarnacione* is closed by a thin stroke. The engraver, who was certainly not a professional, used the interpunctuation, that is to say the division of writing into words thanks to dots (three in the major part of the text, two in the last line), but let two graphic sequences (*Incarnacione Domini, thesaurarius Acconis*).⁴⁰

Material and typology of inscription

The stone used for this funerary inscription is particularly small, but it is not an isolated case. In fact, there are a substantial number of small inscribed stones with funerary texts (defined at no larger than 33 x 29 cm) found in the northern part of the kingdom (Tyre and Sidon). The smallest is the text for Petrus, son of Sergius Capuanus deceased around 1190 in Tyre (formerly preserved in Cluny Museum in Paris, but stolen in 1991) measuring 15 cm x 15 cm.⁴¹ Another treasurer of the Hospital, Thomas Mauzu, who died in 1275, also had a small marble funerary stone, 29 cm long and 20 cm high, found in Acre.⁴² Four more examples can be given in this crusader state.⁴³ The wide use of such small stones contrasts with the rarity of what was the most common support in European epigraphy for funerary texts inscribed in the second half of the Middle Ages: the large tomb slab, with or without the effigy of the deceased and the epitaph inscribed around the edges.

Only three fragmentary tomb effigies bearing epitaphs are known for the Latin kingdom.⁴⁴ This type of slab came into widespread use at the beginning of the thirteenth century and was employed until the seventeenth century. From the period 1250 to 1450, such tomb slabs make up around 70% of the extant French funerary inscriptions.⁴⁵ This type is common throughout Europe, excluding Greece and Russia. This Western form of funerary monument also spread widely in the East: in addition to the Holy Land, examples are found in Cyprus, on the island of Rhodes, and in Turkey.⁴⁶ The number of tomb slabs found in the Latin kingdom is very small in comparison to both the Western European and the Eastern corpus. This impression could be “un effet de sources” due to the numerous destructions and transformations of the built environment that occurred over the centuries, beginning in the Middle Ages; moreover, the excavations are far from being complete. Nevertheless, it is somewhat surprising that we have not found more fragments. Undoubtedly this type of slab had a certain price, both of the slab effigies discovered represent clerics of high rank: an archbishop and a bishop or abbot. There is perhaps above all a chronological difference in the use of slabs in funerary



Figure 14.1 Tomb for Raoul de la Blanche Garde, thirteenth century. Cathedral of Saint Sophia, Nicosia, Cyprus. Picture: Jean Michaud CIFM/CESCM Poitiers

epigraphy between the various regions of the West and the East. The practice increased at the end of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, with the fall of Saint-Jean-d'Acre in 1291. Tomb slabs with effigies in Cyprus mostly belong to the fourteenth century. Though the slab was the most common medium in Cyprus from the thirteenth,⁴⁷ the works that were realised during this century are less frequent and are varied and idiosyncratic in format compared to later examples, for instance the epitaph of a knight in Nicosia (Fig. 14.1).⁴⁸ In France, there is a clear distinction between the north (including Burgundy and Normandy where tomb slabs were abundant; the tomb for Calon of Saulx is just one of the examples (Fig.14.2)) and the south. Lisa Barber has noted that



Figure 14.2 Tomb for Calon of Saul, 1270, Archaeological Museum of Dijon, department of Côte-d'Or, Burgundy. Picture: Jean-Pierre Brouard CIFM/CESCM Poitiers

in the southwest, the first examples appeared in the second half of the thirteenth century (in 1263 and 1287) and that it is only from 1290 that a series of tomb slabs appeared in the Occitan capital of Toulouse and its region.⁴⁹ It is not the purpose of this article to explain all the reasons of this almost absence, but would be an interesting avenue for future research.⁵⁰

What kind of funerary text was carved for Peter? The term “epitaph” in an etymological sense is not appropriate here, because the precise relation with the grave is not known. Moreover, the inscription does not evoke the body of the dead (for example with the formula *hic jacet* or *hic requiescit*) or the tomb.⁵¹ This text is part of the typology of obituary inscriptions (from the verb *obiit*), that always use the same structure: date of the death + *obiit* + name of the deceased. Some of them do not mention the year, and are very close to the necrology manuscript (liturgical manuscript used as a calendar for the commemoration of the dead) and the cyclical liturgical time. These inscriptions are generally embedded in the walls of the church or cloister, as in Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges in South Western France.⁵² The typology of text employed for Peter of Campagnolles and the small size of the support suggest that it was located in a wall, perhaps surrounded by similar inscriptions for other Hospitallers in Acre. The relationship to the space is particularly relevant: the names of the dead were placed on stones in the church walls, thus supporting the community in a symbolic and physical way; they were “active stones” with an architectonic role.⁵³

The formulas

The text for Peter is an aggregation of formulas.⁵⁴ Except for his position, we learn nothing about his life or his moral qualities. The formula of dating, *anno ab incarnatione Domini*, is very common in medieval epigraphy, particularly in the Romanesque period.⁵⁵ But, the formulas in the second part of the text are more revealing. Brother Peter was probably from the Languedoc, as suggested by his patronymic name (there was a Hospitaller foundation in Campagnolles, department of Hérault). Analysis of the written form of this patronymic name in the inscription (*campaignolis*) reveals a Gallicism that echoes the French form, *Champagnoles*, that was employed in the thirteenth century, as Pierre-Vincent Claverie explained.⁵⁶ We can refine his hypothesis and affirm that the author of this inscription probably came from the South of France, specifically from Languedoc or County of Toulouse, the same region as the deceased. The apostrophe to the reader that concludes the text, *o homo qui me aspicias*, was mainly employed in epitaphs preserved in Languedoc-Roussillon, from the last quarter of the twelfth century, even if the earliest known example is from Evreux (Normandy) at the beginning of the eleventh century.⁵⁷ We find it in 1180 in Magalas,⁵⁸ then in Narbonne in 1199⁵⁹ and in 1206, in the epitaph of the cleric William of Thézan, the exact contemporary of Peter,⁶⁰ in la Tour-sur-Orb in 1223⁶¹ and 1230,⁶² in Toulouse in 1260,⁶³ in Villeneuve-lès-Maguelonne in 1283,⁶⁴ in Narbonne in 1289,⁶⁵ in Montesquieu in 1298,⁶⁶ and at the end of the thirteenth century in Nîmes,⁶⁷ Marseille,⁶⁸ and Limoges.⁶⁹ In 12 of these 14 examples, the formula *qui me aspicias* introduces the meditation *quod sum eris quod es fui*, a version of which also occurs in the epitaph of Peter of Campagnolles.⁷⁰ Moreover, the two inscriptions from La Tour-sur-Orb (Figs. 14.3 and 14.4) offer assistance in deciphering the significance of



Figure 14.3 Funerary inscription for Géraud of Aniane, 1223, Boussagues church, La-Tour-sur-Orb, department of Hérault. Picture: Jean Michaud CIFM/ CESC M Poitiers

the construction *qui* in line 6 of Peter's epitaph. La Tour-sur-Orb is 40 km from Campagnolles. The succession of the 3 letters QIO in Peter's inscription should not be read as *q(u) i o (die)*, as P.-V. Claverie proposed, but as *q(u) id*, the neuter form of the interrogative pronoun *quis*, with a D uncial, very rounded, as found in the inscriptions from La Tour-sur-Orb, and very close in appearance to the letter O due to his form if we do not see the tiny left stroke. Given the irregular letterforms made by the engraver, the proper reading is doubtless *q(u) id* which is besides very common in this rhetorical formula, while *hodie* is never found.

The use of these two formulas in an inscription from the Latin East suggests that the author of the epitaph was from the same region as the deceased and that there was a memory of these funerary expressions. One

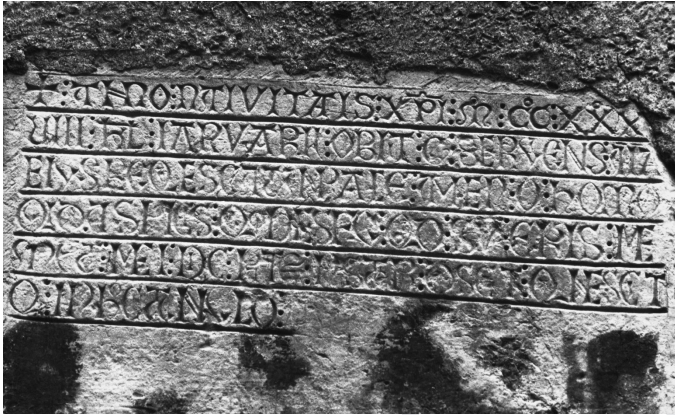


Figure 14.4 Funerary inscription for Guillaume Sergent, 1230, Boussagues church, La-Tour-sur-Orb, department of Hérault. Picture: Jean Michaud CIFM/CESCM Poitiers

can ask whether the presence of these formulas reveals just a habit or if it was a real mark of identity – geographic and cultural – through the language. This example suggests, on one hand, that epigraphy was not constrained or limited by a unique, indigenous Latin East style and that the composers of texts could draw on rhetorical ideas familiar to them from other sources. On the other hand, it casts in relief one of the means of transmission and reception of the concepts that influenced the development of epigraphy in the Latin East.

Conclusion: New perspectives

As I remarked, the text for Brother Peter of Campagnolles is one of the 71 funerary inscriptions of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. This number is surprising and generates a number of questions: the texts dealing with death represent only 23% of the whole corpus, whereas it concerns sometimes 60–70% of the epigraphic documentation in France. On the 200 tomb stones of ‘Atlit cemetery, no alphabetic inscription was engraved, only crosses, tools, or combination of the two. Beyond this observation, are there specific epigraphic features related to the Kingdom of Jerusalem? How should we define these? Can we legitimately speak about an “Outremer epigraphy” as we do about “Outremer French”?⁷¹ Or a crusader epigraphy as we do about “crusader art”,⁷² one combining Byzantine – perhaps also Arabic influence – with traditions from the Latin West?

The publication of a corpus, which aims to serve historians, archaeologists, and art historians, as well as linguists and literary scholars, will also question

and understand this graphic practice for itself. Through this durable writing, the Franks reintroduced the Latin alphabet into the graphic landscape of the East where it had almost disappeared since the death of the emperor Heraclius (641), unlike Greek, Arabic, Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, and other writings. They thus graphically, as well as spatially, materially, and politically, seized holy places and territories. But this “exposed” writing in Latin characters cannot be thought of alone in the polygraphic and multilingual environment of the East. The restoration work on the churches of Abu Gosh⁷³ and Bethlehem⁷⁴ shows the co-existence and even the intricacy of these writings within the same space. This co-existence of different inscriptions creates the potential to deeply study this shared graphic practice, which perhaps had neither the same functions, the same meanings, nor the same uses, particularly in their relationship to places and sacred texts. And in the future may allow us to propose a comparative anthropology of Latin, Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, Armenian epigraphic writings. From this perspective, a corpus of inscriptions from the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem is not an end in itself. The survey must be extended by changing the geographical and chronological scale, to cover the whole of the Eastern Mediterranean, from Greece to Egypt, from the seventh to the sixteenth centuries.

Notes

- 1 My warm thanks to Vardit Shotten-Hallel, Robert Kool, and François Bon for their scientific hospitality and intellectual generosity during my stay at the French Research Center in Jerusalem.
- 2 Cécile Treffort, “Les inscriptions latines et françaises des XII^e et XIII^e siècles découvertes à Tyr,” in *Sources de l’histoire de Tyr*, ed. Pierre-Louis Gatier (Beyrouth, 2011), 222.
- 3 Medieval inscription can be defined as a process of written communication that conveyed information to a general public over a long period of time and, thus, create a perpetual memorial. See Robert Favreau, *Épigraphie médiévale* (Turnhout, 1997), 5, 31.
- 4 Sabino De Sandoli, *Corpus inscriptionum cruce signatorum Terrae Sanctae (1099–1291). Testo, traduzione e annotazioni* (Jerusalem, 1974).
- 5 Brunehilde Imhaus, ed., *Lacrimae Cypriae. Les larmes de Chypre, ou Recueil des inscriptions lapidaires, pour la plupart funéraires, de la période franque et vénitienne de l’île de Chypre*, 2 vols. (Nicosie, 2004).
- 6 Denys Pringle, “Notes on some inscriptions from crusader Acre,” in *In Laudem Hierosolymitani: Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar*, eds. Iris Shagrir, Ronnie Ellenblum, and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Aldershot, 2007), 191–209.
- 7 Benjamin Z. Kedar, “Again: Genoa’s Golden Inscription and King Baldwin I’s Privilege of 1104,” in *Chemins d’outre-mer: Études d’histoire sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard*, eds. Damien Coulon, Catherine Otten-Froux, Paule Pagès, and Dominique Valérian (Paris, 2004), 495–502.
- 8 Cécile Treffort, “Les inscriptions latines et françaises,” and “Une nouvelle inscription d’époque franque découverte à Tyr,” in *Sources de l’histoire de Tyr. II. Textes*

- et images de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge*, eds. Pierre-Louis Gatier, Julien Aliquot, and Lévon Nordiguian (Beyrouth, 2017), 131–133.
- 9 Pierre-Vincent Claverie, “Les difficultés de l'épigraphie franque de Terre sainte aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles,” *Crusades*, 12 (2013), 67–89.
 - 10 Moshe Sharon, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae*, 6 vols. (Leiden; Boston, 1997–2017).
 - 11 *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae. A multi-lingual corpus of the inscriptions from Alexander to Muhammad Vol. 1 Jerusalem, Vol. 2 Caesarea and the Middle Coast, Vol. 3 South Coast, Vol. 4 Judea/Idumea, Vol. 5 Galilee, Vol. 6 Negev*. The whole Corpus is planned to be published by 2020.
 - 12 Jon Seligman, “A Wall Painting, a Crusader Flood Diversion Facility and Other Archaeological Gleanings from the Abbey of the Virgin Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, Jerusalem,” in *Christ is here!: studies in biblical and Christian archaeology in memory of Michele Piccirillo, ofm*, ed. L. Daniel Chrupcała (Milan, 2012), 185–220; Iris Shagrir, “Latin Inscription in the Wall Painting from the Abbey of the Virgin Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat,” in *Christ is here!*, 245–246.
 - 13 The CESC (Centre d'études supérieures de civilisation médiévale, University of Poitiers/CNRS) is internationally recognised in the field of medieval epigraphy: French medieval epigraphy was founded in Poitiers in 1969, and all the documentation for the French territory is centralised there.
 - 14 See the introduction of the volume *Ruling the Script in the Middle Ages. Formal Aspects of Written Communication (Books, Charters, and Inscriptions)*, eds. Sébastien Barret, Dominique Stutzmann, and Georg Vogeler (Turnhout, 2016), 1–24.
 - 15 For example, see: Vincent Debiais, *Messages de pierre. La lecture des inscriptions dans la communication médiévale (xiii^e-xix^e siècle)* (Turnhout, 2009); Antony Eastmond, ed., *Viewing inscriptions in the late antique and medieval world* (New York, 2015); Vincent Debiais, *La croisée des signes. L'écriture et les images médiévale (800–1200)* (Paris, 2017); Estelle Ingrand-Varenne, *Langues de bois, de pierre et de verre. Latin et français dans les inscriptions médiévales* (Paris, 2018); Alessia Bauder, Elise Kleivane, and Terje Spurkland, eds., *Epigraphy in an intermedial context* (Portland, 2018); Tobias Frese, Wilfried E. Keil, and Kristina Krüger, eds., *Sacred Scripture/Sacred Space: The Interlacing of Real Places and Conceptual Spaces in Medieval Art and Architecture* (Berlin, 2019).
 - 16 Sabino De Sandoli, *Itinera hierosolymitana cruce signatorum saec. XII-XIII. 1, Tempore primi Belli Sacri. 2, Tempore Regum Francorum (1100–1187). 3, Tempore recuperationis Terrae Sanctae (1187–1244). 4, Tempore regni latini extremo (1245–1291)* (Jerusalem, 1978–1984).
 - 17 Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. A Corpus*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1993–2009).
 - 18 Pierre-Vincent Claverie, “Les difficultés de l'épigraphie franque”.
 - 19 Denys Pringle, “Crusader Inscriptions from Southern Lebanon,” *Crusades*, 3 (2004), 131–151; Cécile Treffort, “Les inscriptions latines et françaises,” and “Une nouvelle inscription d'époque franque découverte à Tyr”.
 - 20 First published by Rafael Frankel, “Three Crusader Boundary Stones from Kibbutz Shomrat,” *Israel Exploration Journal*, 30 (1980), 199–201.
 - 21 Edna J. Stern, Volume 122 Year 2010, 'Akko, the Educational Campus.
 - 22 Denys Pringle, “Itineraria Terrae Sanctae minora: Innominatus VII and its Variantes,” *Crusades*, 17 (2018), 64, 66.

- 23 Danny Syon, “New Inscriptions from ‘Akko,” *Akko III. The 1991–1998 Excavations: The Late Periods. IAA Reports. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority*, eds. Eliezer Stern, Danny Syon, and Ayelet Tacher, to be published.
- 24 Robert Kool, “Fragment of a Thirteenth Century Monumental Inscription,” in *The Monastery of St Mary of Mount Carmel: Site Report for the 1988–1992 Excavation Seasons (IAA Reports)*, eds. Edna J. Stern, Fanny Vitto, M. J. Nestler, C. Qualls, and J. Stones, to be published.
- 25 Vardit Shotten-Hallel, Estelle Ingrand-Varenne, “William of Belvoir (?). A short note on even a shorter inscription,” *Crusades* (2019), ~~to be published~~.
- 26 Charles Clermont-Ganneau, “Tombe et portrait d’un évêque croisé de Palestine, contemporain de saint Louis,” *Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 3 (1874), 273.
- 27 *CIFM* I-1 and I-2 (Poitiers, 1974–1975).
- 28 See the introductions of *CIFM* 23 and *CIFM* 25.
- 29 <http://titulus.huma-num.fr/exist/apps/titulus/index.html>
- 30 Supported by the CNRS (the French National Center for Scientific Research), Aix-Marseille University, and the Campus Condorcet, Huma-Num is a French Very Large Research Infrastructure (“Très Grande Infrastructure de Recherche”, TGIR) with international reach devoted to Social Sciences and Humanities.
- 31 This inscription has already been edited, after Clermont-Ganneau, by Sabino De Sandoli, *Corpus inscriptionum cruce signatorum*, number 405, 302–3, and by Denys Pringle, “Notes on Some Inscriptions in Crusader Acre,” 192.
- 32 His career is well known and very well retraced by Jochen Burgdorf, *The Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars: History, Organization, and Personnel (1099/1120–1310)* (Leiden, 2008), 609–610.
- 33 This is the case for Hugh III, duke of Burgundy, deceased in 1192, “who succumbed to a glorious death during an expedition in the East against the infidels whence the remains of his body were transferred in this place [Cîteaux abbey]” as explained on his tomb: *CIFM* 20, numbers 82, 87–8: ... *gloriosa morte occubuit in expeditione orientali contra infideles* ...
- 34 Denys Pringle, “Notes on some inscriptions from crusader Acre,” 192.
- 35 Félicien de Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte. Description des monnaies autonomes et impériales de la Palestine et de l’Arabie Pétrée* (Paris, 1874), 94, 205, 288, 336, 362, 367, 368, 396.
- 36 Charles Clermont-Ganneau, “Une inscription des croisades de Saint-Jean d’Acre,” *Études d’archéologie orientale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1880–97), II, 151–152.
- 37 Information given by Denys Pringle (“Notes on Some Inscriptions in Crusader Acre,” 192): Ms. Catalogue of the Museum of the Mount of Olives, in the archives of the Kenyon Institute (formerly the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem), number 41.
- 38 Camille Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés dans le Royaume de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1925–1929), vol. 1, 168.
- 39 Estelle Ingrand-Varenne, “La brièveté des inscriptions médiévales: d’une contrainte à une esthétique,” *Medievalia*, 16 (2013), 213–234.
- 40 In this inscription, some abbreviations can also play the role of word delimitation and divider. For example, after *kalendas* abbreviated KL, or after *Petrus* written PET, no need of dots. On the epigraphic punctuation, see Estelle Ingrand-Varenne, “Trois petits points. L’interpunctation dans les inscriptions médiévales,” in

- Ponctuer l'œuvre médiévale: des signes au sens*, ed. Valérie Fasseur (Geneva, 2016), 215–232.
- 41 Denys Pringle, “Crusader Inscriptions from Southern Lebanon,” *Crusades*, 3 (2004), 137–138.
- 42 Sabino De Sandoli, *Corpus inscriptionum cruce signatorum*, number 416, 313–314.
- 43 The inscription for Gaufridus discovered in Tyre in 1971 (19 x 23) (Cécile Treffort, “Les inscriptions latines et françaises,” number 13, 240–242); the marble slabs for Joseph Timeron almost entire (33 x 29) and for Herbert of Ambre in Sidon (31 x 31) (Denys Pringle, “Crusader Inscriptions from Southern Lebanon,” numbers 5–6, 134–137); the inscription for Nicolas Antiaume found in Acre in 1923, that is almost complete (17.5 x 16) (Denys Pringle, “Notes on some inscriptions from crusader Acre,” number 5, 195–197).
- 44 The lower part of the tomb slab of William of St. John, archbishop of Nazareth, deceased in 1290, is preserved in the Municipal Museum of Acre (Sabino De Sandoli, *Corpus inscriptionum cruce signatorum*, number 417, 314–316). A fragment of the upper right corner of the effigy of a bishop or an abbot, bearing the date 1258, found near Tel Aviv, is now preserved in Oslo (Sabino De Sandoli, *Corpus inscriptionum cruce signatorum*, number 348, 257–258). The third one, for a lay man called Hugo, is in the private part of the Stella Maris monastery in Haifa (Sabino De Sandoli, *Corpus inscriptionum cruce signatorum*, number 378, 281).
- 45 Vincent Debiais, Robert Favreau, and Cécile Treffort, “L'évolution de l'écriture épigraphique en France au Moyen Âge et ses enjeux historiques,” *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 165:1 (2007), 134–135.
- 46 Lisa Barber, “Dalles funéraires gravées à l'effigie du défunt,” *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Midi de la France*, 69 (2009), 153–171.
- 47 Brunehilde Imhaus, ed., *Lacrimae Cypriae*, 1: number 3, 23, 196, 202, 203, 252, 257, 272, 300, 313, 333, 350, 352, 370, 375, 381, 399, 407, 408, 410, 419, 424, 433, 438, 440, 441, 446, 452, 553, but most of them have a large dating, thirteenth to fourteenth century.
- 48 Brunehilde Imhaus, ed., *Lacrimae Cypriae*, 1: 20.
- 49 Lisa Barber, “Dalles funéraires gravées à l'effigie du défunt”.
- 50 For a synthesis of the different burials, tombs and cemeteries in the Crusader States, see Adrian J. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology: The Material Culture of the Latin East* (London, 2005; first publication 1999), chapter 9, 226–236.
- 51 Vincent Debiais, “Écrire sur, écrire dans, écrire près de la tombe. Les aspects topographiques de l'inscription funéraire (IX^e-XII^e siècle),” *Mémoires, tombeaux et sépultures à l'époque romane. Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa*, 42 (2011), 17–28.
- 52 *CIFM* 8, Haute-Garonne numbers 17–34, 54–76, a collection of 44 inscriptions from the thirteenth and fourteenth century.
- 53 Cécile Treffort, “Espace ecclésial et paysage mémoriel (IX^e-XIII^e siècle),” in *Espace ecclésial et liturgie au Moyen Âge, colloque international, Nantua, Ain, novembre 2006*, ed. Anne Baud (Lyon, 2010), 240–242.
- 54 On the mechanism of the formulas in the inscriptions, see Estelle Ingrand-Varenne, “Formule épigraphique et langue: le cas de “*hic jacet*””; in *La formule au Moyen Âge*, ed. Élise Louviot (Turnhout, 2012), 171–190.
- 55 Robert Favreau, “La datation dans les inscriptions médiévales françaises,” *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 157:1 (1999), 11–39.
- 56 Pierre-Vincent Claverie, “Les difficultés de l'épigraphie franque,” 70.

- 57 *CIFM* 22 Eure number 90, 150.
- 58 *CIFM* 12 Hérault number 25, 128–129.
- 59 *CIFM* 12 Aude number 57, 83–84.
- 60 *CIFM* 12 Aude number 48, 71–72.
- 61 *CIFM* 12 Hérault number 69, 175–176.
- 62 *CIFM* 12 Hérault number 70, 176–177.
- 63 *CIFM* 7 number 85, 125.
- 64 *CIFM* 12 Hérault number 87, 192–193.
- 65 *CIFM* 12 Aude number 53, 78–79.
- 66 *CIFM* 11 Pyrénées orientales number 77, 95–96.
- 67 *CIFM* 13 Gard number 41, 50–51.
- 68 *CIFM* 12 Hérault number 51, 76–77.
- 69 *CIFM* I-3, 142–143.
- 70 About the development of *quod es fui, quod sum eris*, see Robert Favreau, *Épigraphie médiévale*, 158.
- 71 See Cyril Aslanov, *Le français au Levant, jadis et naguère. À la recherche d'une langue perdue* (Paris, 2006); see also the articles of Laura Minervini, particularly her “Le français dans l’Orient latin (XIII^e-XIV^e siècles). Éléments pour la caractérisation d’une scripta du Levant,” *Revue de linguistique romane*, 74 (2010), 119–198.
- 72 Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187* (Cambridge, 1995).
- 73 Andreas Hartmann-Virnich, Mohamed Ouerfelli, “L’inscription-graffiti arabe de l’église d’Abu Gosh,” *L’église d’Abu Gosh: 850 ans de regards sur les fresques d’une église franque en Terre Sainte*, ed. Jean-Baptiste Delzant (Paris, 2018), 76.
- 74 Bianca and Gustav Kühnel, *The Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem: the Crusader Lining of an Early Christian Basilica* (Regensburg, 2019) with a new edition of the mosaic inscriptions in the appendix by Erich Lamberz; Vicente Juhász, *Pinturas y grafitos de la Basílica de la Natividad en Belén*, ed. Michele Bacci, [in preparation](#).