

# THE HORNS OF HATTIN

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# The Lost Crusader Castle of Tiberias

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On the evening of 2 July 1187 a messenger, sent from Tiberias by Princess Eschiva, arrived on horseback in Saforie, where the Latin Kingdom's army was preparing to encounter the invading forces of Saladin. The messenger informed King Guy of Lusignan, Raymond III of Tripoli—the husband of Princess Eschiva—and the barons that Saladin had laid siege to Tiberias early that morning and that his men were about to storm the town. (The Muslims indeed breached the walls and took Tiberias by midday, with Eschiva and her men taking refuge in the town's citadel.) The king decided, against the better advice of Raymond of Tripoli, to leave Saforie early in the morning and try to relieve beleaguered Tiberias, a decision which led to the disastrous defeat at Ḥaṭṭīn two days later.

Contemporary accounts of Saladin's attack on Tiberias imply that the town's citadel was located within the walls. Otherwise how could the Franks find refuge within, having failed to defend the town's outer fortifications? However, V. Guérin and E. Rey, who wrote in the second half of the nineteenth century on the historical geography of Palestine, claimed that the crusader castle of Tiberias stood outside the walls of the medieval town. According to them, the castle built by Dāhir al-'Umar in 1749 on a small hill northwest of the town, had been erected on the remains of the crusader citadel of Tiberias.<sup>1</sup> J. Prawer, in his monumental study of the history of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, tended to accept the view of Guérin and Rey as to the location of the crusader castle,

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- <sup>1</sup> V. Guérin, *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine*, 3: *Galilée*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1880), 1:250-251; E.G. Rey, *Les colonies franques de Syrie au XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1883), p. 447. [Later research established that the castle was built by Dāhir al-'Umar's son in about 1754; cf. U. Heydt (Heyd), *Dāhir al-'Umar, Ruler of Galilee in the Eighteenth Century* (Jerusalem, 1942), p. 91 (in Hebrew); Ze'ev Bruck's map of Tiberias in O. Avissar, *The Book of Tiberias* (Jerusalem, 1973), p. 210 (in Hebrew). Ed.]

probably because the remains of this structure were, until recently, hidden beneath later constructions.<sup>2</sup>

While studying the history of the Principality of Galilee in the twelfth century, I found not only that the crusader castle of Tiberias had been built inside rather than outside the town but was able to locate it exactly.<sup>3</sup> Fortunately, the data I obtained from written sources were recently confirmed by the incidental unearthing of the remains of the crusader castle within the medieval part of Tiberias.

In the first part of this paper I present the historical evidence concerning the citadel and in the second part Eliot Braun discusses its archeological aspects.

### [1]

The existence of a crusader castle within the walls of Tiberias is manifested not only in the chroniclers' accounts of Saladin's attack on Tiberias on the eve of the Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn. The continuator of William of Tyre recounts that in May 1187, on leaving Tiberias to join the crusader camp in Saforie, Raymond III told his wife Eschiva and her bailifs to take to their boats and find refuge in the sea, should they not be able to defend the town against Saladin, and wait there till he came to save them.<sup>4</sup> It is difficult to see how the defenders of the castle were to leave it, under siege, and reach the lake, were the castle located outside the town, far from the lake's shore. This inference as to the citadel's location is further confirmed by a thirteenth-century Syrian historian and geographer, Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī, who used good twelfth-century sources. He wrote that "the Franks built in Tiberias a citadel on the sea shore."<sup>5</sup>

On 5 July 1187, after his great victory at Ḥaṭṭīn, Saladin descended to the Sea of Galilee to complete the conquest of Tiberias. He promised Princess Eschiva safe conduct to Tripoli if she surrendered. She accepted his terms, handed the citadel over to Saladin, and departed for Tripoli with her men.<sup>6</sup>

Saladin thus received the castle of Tiberias undamaged, but it did not remain so for long. In the spring of 1190 the large crusader army of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa approached the south coast of Asia Minor. Saladin received

2 Prawer, *Histoire*, 1:255.

3 Z. Razi, "The Principality of Galilee in the Twelfth Century," (Unpublished MA dissertation, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1970), pp. 99-101 (in Hebrew).

4 "et comanda a sa feme et a ses baillis que se il veissent l'esfors de Salahadin, qu'il fust si grant qu'il ne se peussent defendre, que il se meissent es veissiaus, et se meissent en garnison en la mer, et il les secorroit prochainement." *Cont. WT*, c. 29, p. 43; cf. c. 32, pp. 44-45. M. Baldwin, in his study of Raymond III of Tripoli, notes that this passage indicates that the castle of Tiberias was close to the lake's shore. However, he adds that "the absence of any definite information makes any definite statement impossible." M. W. Baldwin, *Raymond III of Tripolis and the Fall of Jerusalem (1140-1187)*, (Princeton, 1936), p. 148.

5 Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī, *al-A'ldāq al-Ḥaṭṭīra fī dhikr umarā' al-Shām wa'l-Djazīra*, ed. S. Dahhān (Damascus, 1963), p. 132.

6 Ernoul, p. 174; *Cont. WT*, c. 44, p. 56; Ibn al-Aṭhīr in RHC HOr. 2:687.



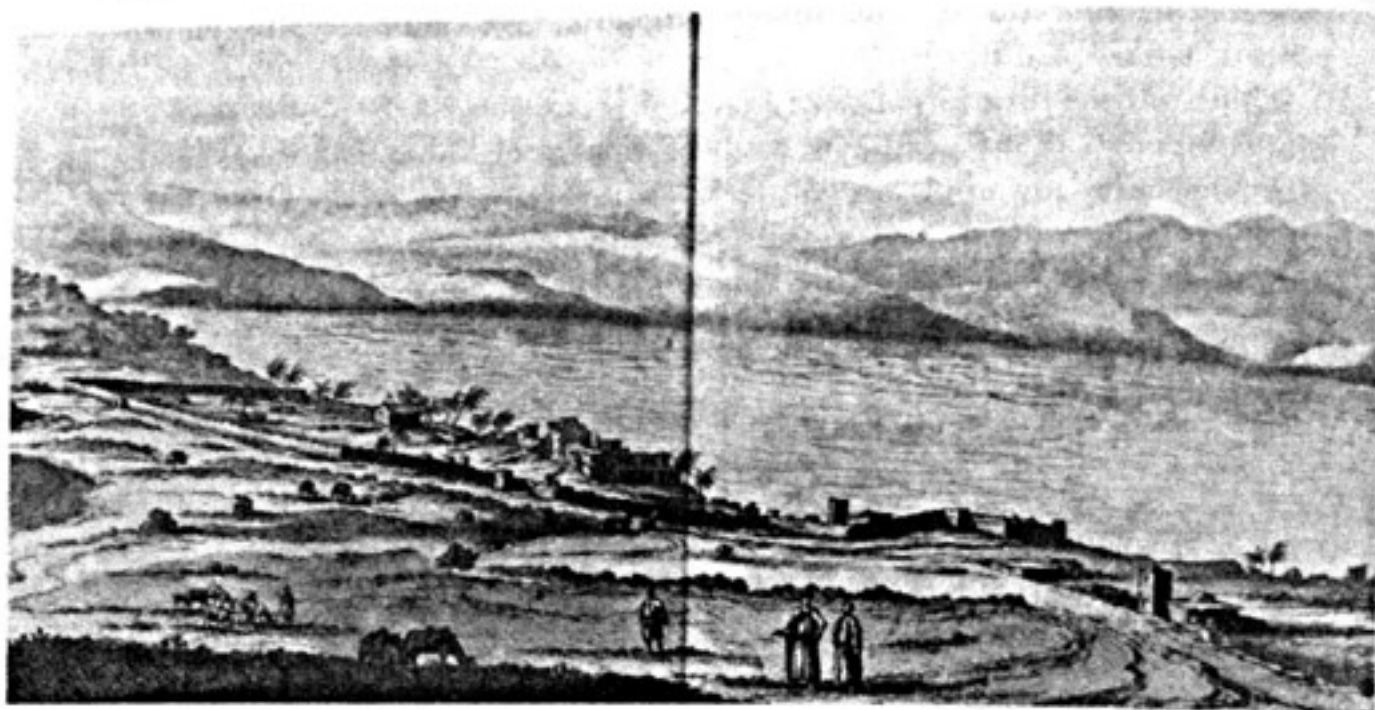


Fig. 1. General view of Tiberias, 1679 (Corneille Le Bruyn, *Voyage au Levant*, [Paris, 1700<sup>s</sup>, pl. 173)

alarming reports as to the size and strength of the emperor's army. He estimated that his forces would not be able to continue the war against the Franks in Tyre and around Acre, and at the same time defend all the strategic strongholds in Palestine. Therefore he ordered his men to destroy several fortified positions in order to prevent the crusaders from using them to their advantage. Among the sites mentioned, one finds the castle of Tiberias.<sup>7</sup>

It appears that the castle suffered severe damage in 1190 and remained in a state of disrepair for the next fifty years. In 1241 the Franks regained control over Galilee as a result of the agreement between Richard of Cornwall and the sultan of Egypt. Odo of Montbéliard received the Principality of Galilee in his wife's right and began to rebuild the castle of Tiberias.<sup>8</sup> The Franks, however, failed to hold Tiberias for long. In 1247 an Egyptian army, led by the emir Fakhr al-Dīn, attacked Tiberias and took it on 17 June.<sup>9</sup>

Medieval written sources provide us with only few details concerning the citadel, yet accounts by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century travelers prove quite illuminating. Jean de Thevenot, who visited Tiberias between 1629 and 1634, saw the remains of a large "château" inside the town on the shore of the

<sup>7</sup> Abū Shāma in RHC HOR. 4:462. For a fuller discussion of Saladin's reaction to Barbarossa's crusade, see R. Grousset, *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1936), 3:14-17.

<sup>8</sup> *Eracles*, p. 432. See also Runciman, *Crusades* 3:218-219.

<sup>9</sup> al-'Aynī in RHC HOR. 2:1:200 (who gives the date of conquest); *Eracles*, pp. 432-433; Abū'l Fidā' in RHC HOR. 1:125; *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders. Selections from the Tārīkh al-Duwal wa'l Mulūk of Ibn al-Furāt*, ed. and trans. U. and M.C. Lyons, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1971), 2:11 (see also 2:1).

lake.<sup>10</sup> Eugène Roger, visiting the town in 1657, encountered the remains of a citadel encircled by a moat full of water coming from the Sea of Galilee.<sup>11</sup> Twenty-two years later, in 1679, Corneille Le Bruyn made detailed drawings of Tiberias and its surroundings. In the first of these drawings (see fig. 1) one can clearly see a substantial citadel inside the town directly on the waterfront and towering above the town walls, while no remains whatsoever are to be seen on the hill north of the town, upon which Ḍahīr al-'Umar's son Ṣulaybī built his castle about seventy years later. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that Robinson, who investigated Ṣulaybī's castle thoroughly in 1838, came to the conclusion that no remains prior to the eighteenth century could be found on this hill.<sup>12</sup>

Le Bruyn's second drawing (see fig. 2) suggests that the crusader castle of Tiberias was situated inside the town along a small bay. It was at least two stories high and its two towers, at the northeastern and southeastern corners, reached well into the lake, creating between them a kind of a protected anchorage. It seems plausible to assume that this castle was also the palace of the princes of Galilee. Richard Pococke, who visited Tiberias at the beginning of the eighteenth century, found the remains of the crusader citadel still visible inside the town.<sup>13</sup> The earthquake of 1837, however, and the great flood of 1934 probably destroyed a large part of the citadel's remains. Moreover, after the flood, the British authorities built a straight embankment along the lake's shore in order to avoid further inundations.<sup>14</sup> This embankment, named the Lido by the British and the Sea Street by the Israelis, covered entirely the area where one should look for the remains of the crusader citadel. Le Bruyn's drawings suggest that it was situated under the Lido, between the present-day church of St. Peter and the Maimonides Synagogue.

Unfortunately the sources do not inform us about the date of the citadel's construction. Admittedly, the chronicler Albert of Aachen recorded that when Godfrey of Bouillon came to Tiberias in December of 1099, after its conquest by Tancred, he helped the latter to rebuild a castle. According to Albert, the castle was built on the steep of a mountain and was encircled by a dyke and a strong wall.<sup>15</sup> The small hill north of Tiberias, upon which Ḍahīr al-'Umar's son built his castle, cannot possibly fit the location of the castle of 1099 described by Albert of Aachen. Moreover, Godfrey of Bouillon stayed in Tiberias a few days only, and had neither the time nor the manpower to construct a new castle. It is

10 Jean de Thevenot, *Relation d'un voyage au Levant, 1629-34* (Paris, 1665), p. 426 [See also the drawing made in 1517 by Francese Camorid which shows the "castello" of Tiberias about the middle of the town's shoreline. The drawing is reproduced in Avissar, *Tiberias* (note 1 above), p. 384. Ed.]

11 Eugène Roger, *La Terre Sainte*, (Paris, 1664), p. 70.

12 E. Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea*, 3 (Boston, 1841), p. 329.

13 Richard Pococke, *A Description of the East and some other Countries*, 2 (London, 1766), p. 68.

14 Avissar, *Tiberias* (note 1 above), pp. 135-136.

15 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, RHC HOcc. 4:517.



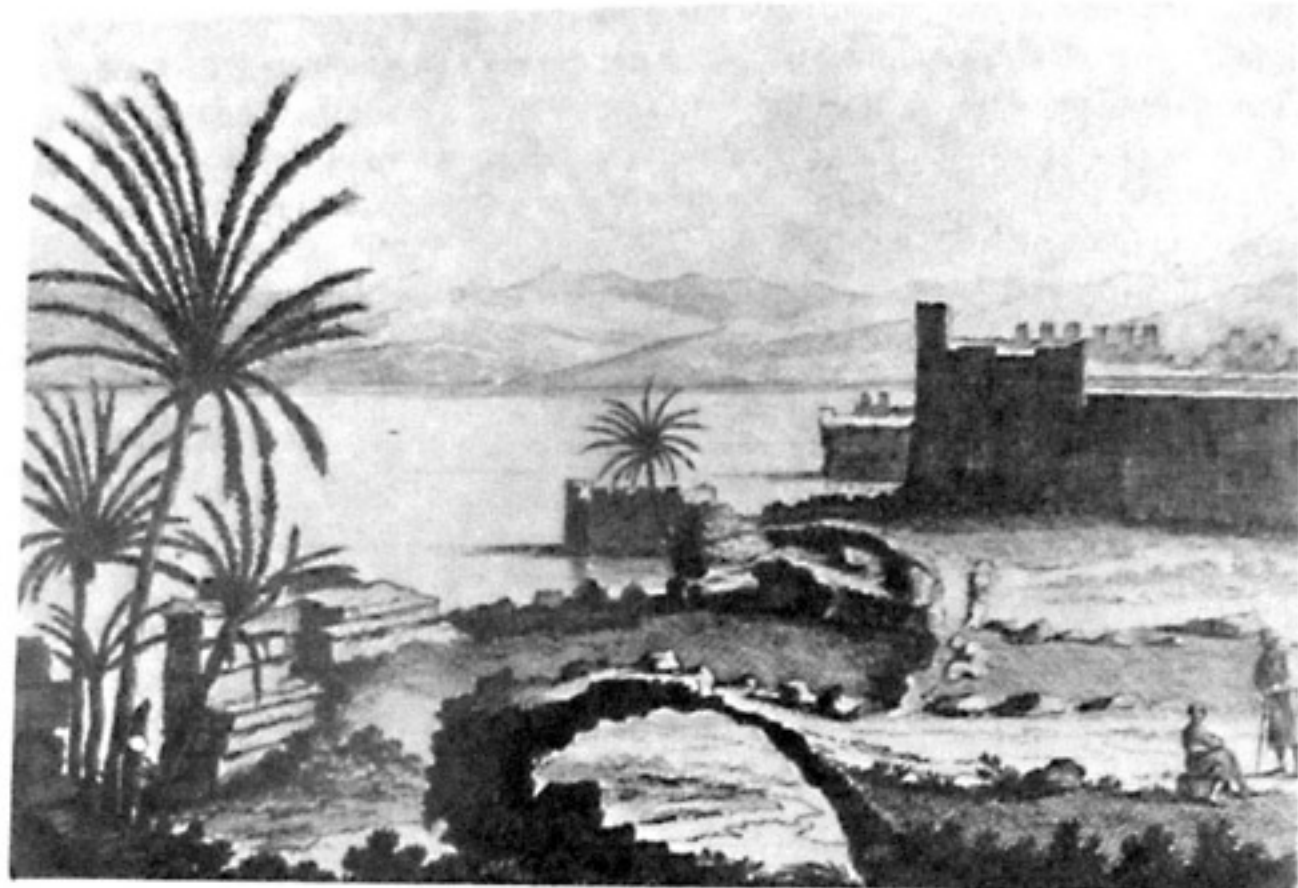


Fig. 2. Tiberias, 1679: Part of the castle, viewed from the North (Corneille Le Bruyn, *Voyage au Levant*, [Paris, 1700], pl. 174)

therefore more plausible to assume that the crusaders merely restored an existing fortification, one located to the south and not to the north of the eleventh-century town. Southwest of medieval Tiberias rises the steep and high mountain of Berenice, named by the Arabs "Qaşr bint al-malik." On the summit of this mountain King Herod Antipas built, in the first century A.D., a large fortified palace.<sup>16</sup> Nāşir-i Khusraw, the Persian traveler who visited the area in 1047, was greatly impressed by its remains, which he called a "castle."<sup>17</sup>

It seems that Godfrey and Tancred decided to look for a fortified place near Tiberias not because the town was unwalled, as Prawer argues,<sup>18</sup> but because of the poor condition of its walls. According to Nāşir-i Khusraw, Tiberias in 1047 had a strong wall which encircled the town and touched the water line in its southern and northern corners.<sup>19</sup> However, in 1071 and again in 1075 the Turkoman general Atsîz conquered Tiberias; on the second occasion he massacred the population and pillaged the town.<sup>20</sup> The local authorities

16 C.R. Conder and H.H. Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine. Memoirs*, 3 vols. (London, 1881-83), 1:412; G. Schumacher, "Researches in the Plain North of Caesarea, 2: Tiberias and its Vicinity," *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement* (1887), 86-88.

17 Nāşir-i Khusraw, *Diary of a Journey Through Syria and Palestine*, trans. G. Le Strange, PPTS 4.2 (London, 1893), p. 18.

18 Prawer, *Histoire* 1:255.

19 Nāşir-i Khusraw, *Diary*, p. 17.

20 See the account by Sibî b. al-Djawzî utilized by M.E. Quatremère, *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte et sur quelques contrées voisines*, 2 (Paris, 1881), p.





further support for it with the addition of similar remains of the same structure found in nearby soundings. Subsequent study of artistic renderings and photographs gives us some idea of the later history of this building and of its rather sad fate.

#### THE BRAUN EXCAVATION

In 1977, at the behest of the late Nethanel Tefilinsky, Antiquities Inspector for Eastern Galilee, the present writer was called to investigate remains of a substantial wall [W 2] of fine ashlar masonry, uncovered by bulldozing activity some 30 meters to the east of the Dinur excavation. Work was to be carried out in a small, open, rectangular space between the Plaza Hotel on the south and some remaining structures of Old Tiberias on the east and north.<sup>27</sup> Actual archeological activity was confined to two smaller triangular plots; the site was, during the excavation, bisected diagonally by the construction of a promenade and a garden c. 7 meters wide. The open space to the north of this passage is called Area A. It is bounded on the east by the wall of the Municipal Museum (formerly the al-Bahri, i.e., "seaside," mosque, dating from c. 1882),<sup>28</sup> and on the north by a vaulted building of stone masonry [Plate 11, A and fig. 3]. Area B, to the south of the promenade, similarly triangular, is today located within the courtyard of the Plaza Hotel.

It was in Area A that W2, oriented north/south, initially attracted the attention of the Antiquities Inspector. It was found to be preserved to more than 2 meters in height and to extend from W10, its southern facade, to more than 20 meters north of W1 of the vaulted structure.<sup>29</sup>

At its southern end W2 forms a non-bonded corner with the line of W6 but extends beyond this line where it ends in a facade [W10] of the same fine ashlar masonry characteristic of W2. Presumably the corner thus formed is a portion of the southeast tower of this citadel.

The outer faces of W2 and W10 are, to the extent they were exposed, vertical. Walls 6 and 7, perpendicular to W2, form a solid mass of masonry which, in the uppermost courses preserved, is more than 7 meters thick. Wall 6 slopes outward steeply, broadening at its base [see sections A-A, B-B]. A fault in its solid facade suggests earthquake damage; a reminder of the probable reason for the complete

27 During the 1970s much "urban renewal" was undertaken within the old walled city of Tiberias. Most of the buildings were razed to the ground and below, the walls breached at several points, and high-rises and parking lots constructed on the ruins.

28 Cf. Avissar, *Tiberias* (note 1 above), p. 249.

29 Subsequent to the excavation it was possible to investigate within the vaulted building which had previously been filled with rubble. It was verified that W2 continues to the north serving as the western wall of the vaulted hall and extending beyond. In modern foundation pits, several meters further to the north of this vaulted building, was found evidence that this same wall [W2] extended at least to that point. Unfortunately there was no possibility of continuing the excavation nor could the underground portions of the ruins be surveyed before they were reburied.



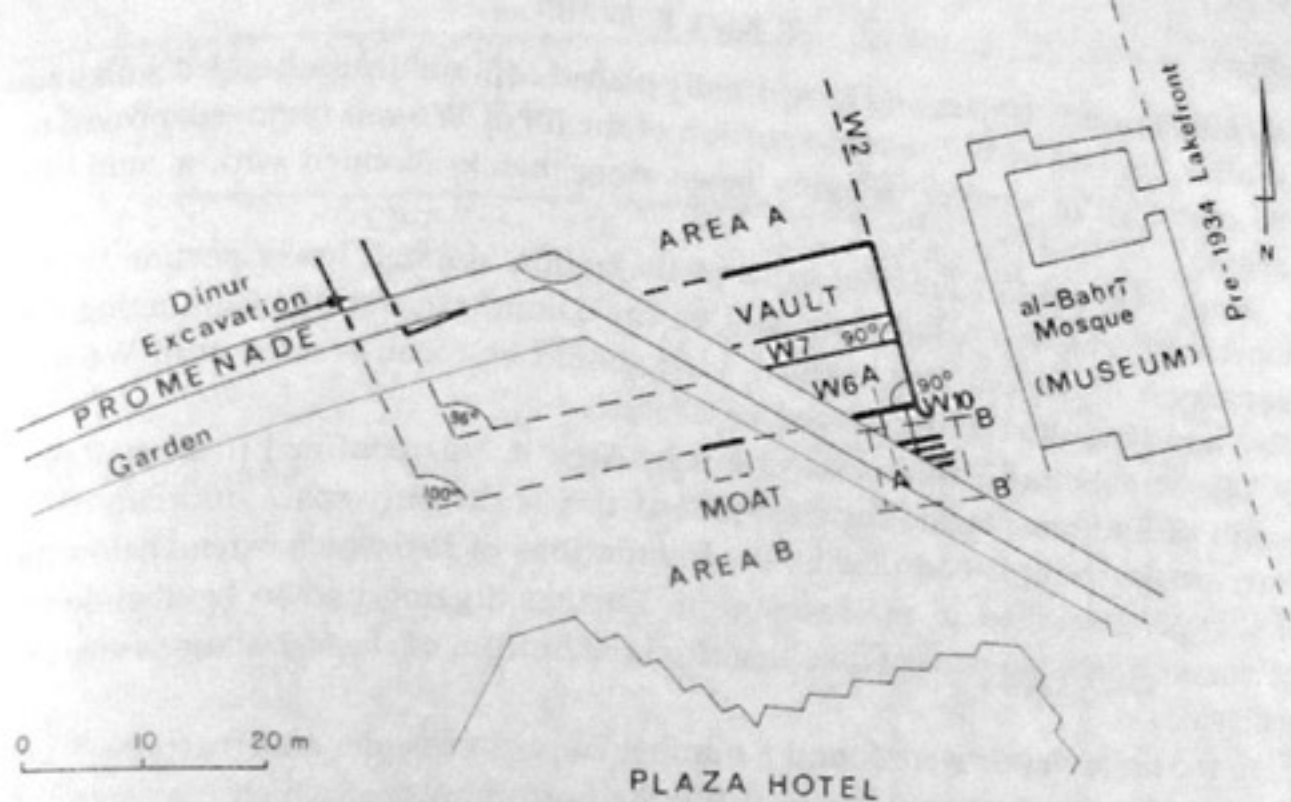


Fig. 3. Crusader Castle—plan of the excavation. Note: The mosque is positioned above the corner tower of the fortress

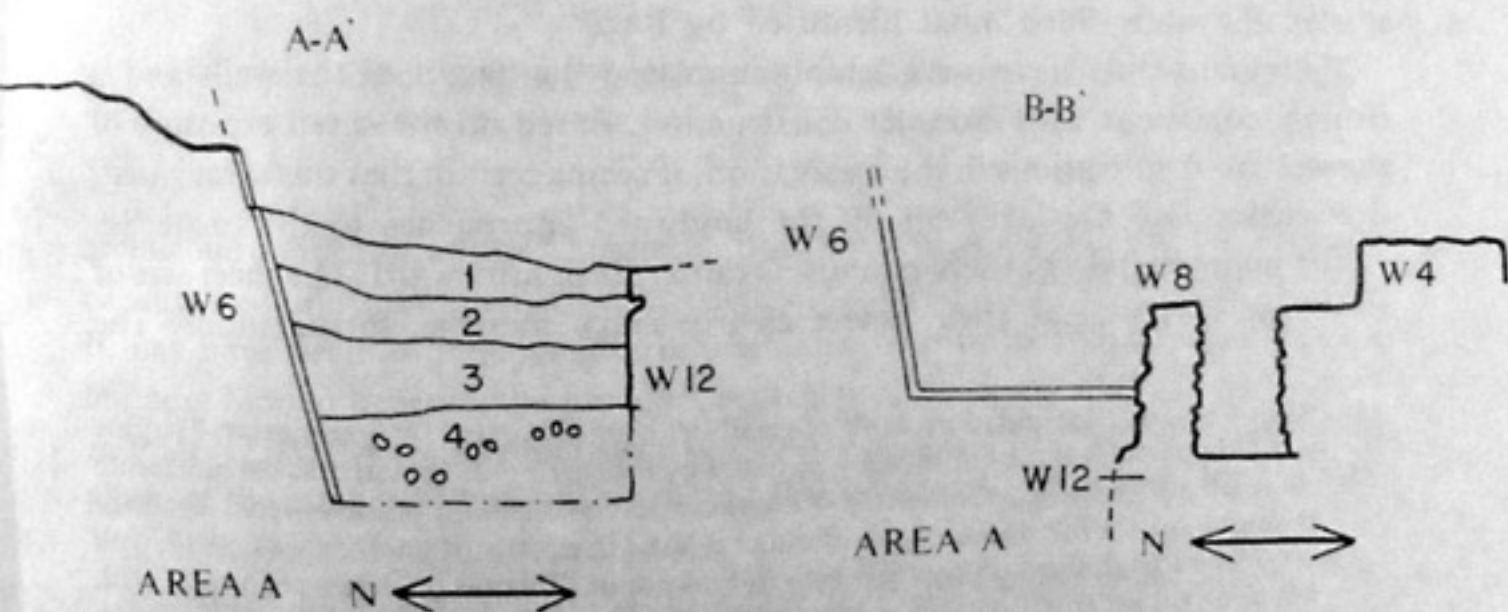


Fig. 4. Sections A-A and B-B showing the fills and walls within the disused moat of the castle

disappearance of the upper portions of so massive a structure. Wall 6 continues to the west into Area B where another portion of its sloping facade was exposed [see plate 4].

The line of W7, clearly visible from the topmost part of this mass, when cleared was also found to have a steeply sloping facade, suggesting that prior to the construction of W6 it was also exposed. In contrast to the facade of W6 with

its fine, smooth ashlar and horizontally placed column drums bonded with lime mortar, the face of W7, where a portion of the fill of W6 was removed, proved to be made up of smaller, roughly hewn stone blocks bonded with a mud-like agent.

Both W6 and W7 are analogous to the major, sloping, lower portion of the external north-west/south-east wall of the Dinur excavation. Continuing the analogy it is obvious that vertical walls should be reconstructed atop W6 and W7 and that these latter served as a glacis.

The actual stratigraphic excavation in Area A was confined to a small plot south of and outside the fortress; indeed this is the only space unoccupied by later structures. It is bounded by the foundations of W6 which extend below the lowest level reached in the excavation. Further digging had to be abandoned because of the high water table; therefore the bottom of the foundations was not reached.

In the upper levels were found a number of post-crusader constructions<sup>30</sup> but beneath them were several layers of fill, the bottommost of which is a deposit of sandy material [indicated in sections A-A and B-B as No. 4] containing large quantities of water-worn sherds. The lack of any sign of a foundation trench for W6 in the sections suggests that this material was deposited after the wall's construction.<sup>31</sup> Clearly this fill is beach material, and it may well be due to lake-water depositions within the moat. Thus W6 was probably a scarp of the south side of the water-filled moat identified by Razi.

The moat would have considerably increased the height of the walls and is entirely consistent with crusader construction. Based on the small exposure of the western fortifications in the excavation, it seems certain that this same moat, debouching into the lake, cut off the landward approaches to the castle.<sup>32</sup>

The interpretation of these remains is rather straightforward. The sheer size of these walls as well as their aspect clearly mark them as fortifications. The

30 Walls 8 and 9 are foundations built of small fieldstones bonded by lime mortar. They are quite fragmentary but can probably be dated by the surrounding matrix to the nineteenth or twentieth centuries. Connected with these levels is also a stone-covered drainage channel. The southern side of this channel is the upper part of another wall, W12, with very deep foundations on top of which W8 was built. There is no evidence to date W12, but clearly it is earlier than the modern walls and its position just outside the fortification places it sometime after the tower ceased to function as such. Just to the east of these walls a patch of recent reinforced concrete (which could not be removed by us) prevented the extension of the probe. Area B, within the courtyard of the hotel (then in its final stages of construction) was covered with a heavy layer of modern debris. No evidence was found beneath this layer other than sandy material with water-worn sherds, suggesting that the upper deposits in section A-A (fig. 3) are phenomena localized in Area A.

31 There are several other possible explanations: [a] the foundation trench was dug in sandy, beach material which filled in the trench without leaving any trace of its excavation; [b] this material is the basal deposit over bedrock, a thesis for which, lacking a control excavation beyond the limits of the moat, there is no proof.

32 It is certain that the moat did not circumvallate the castle which fronted directly on the lake. The exposed rampart is analogous to the east side of Belvoir where the moat debouches on two sides into the deep rift of the Jordan Valley at the summit of a cliff.

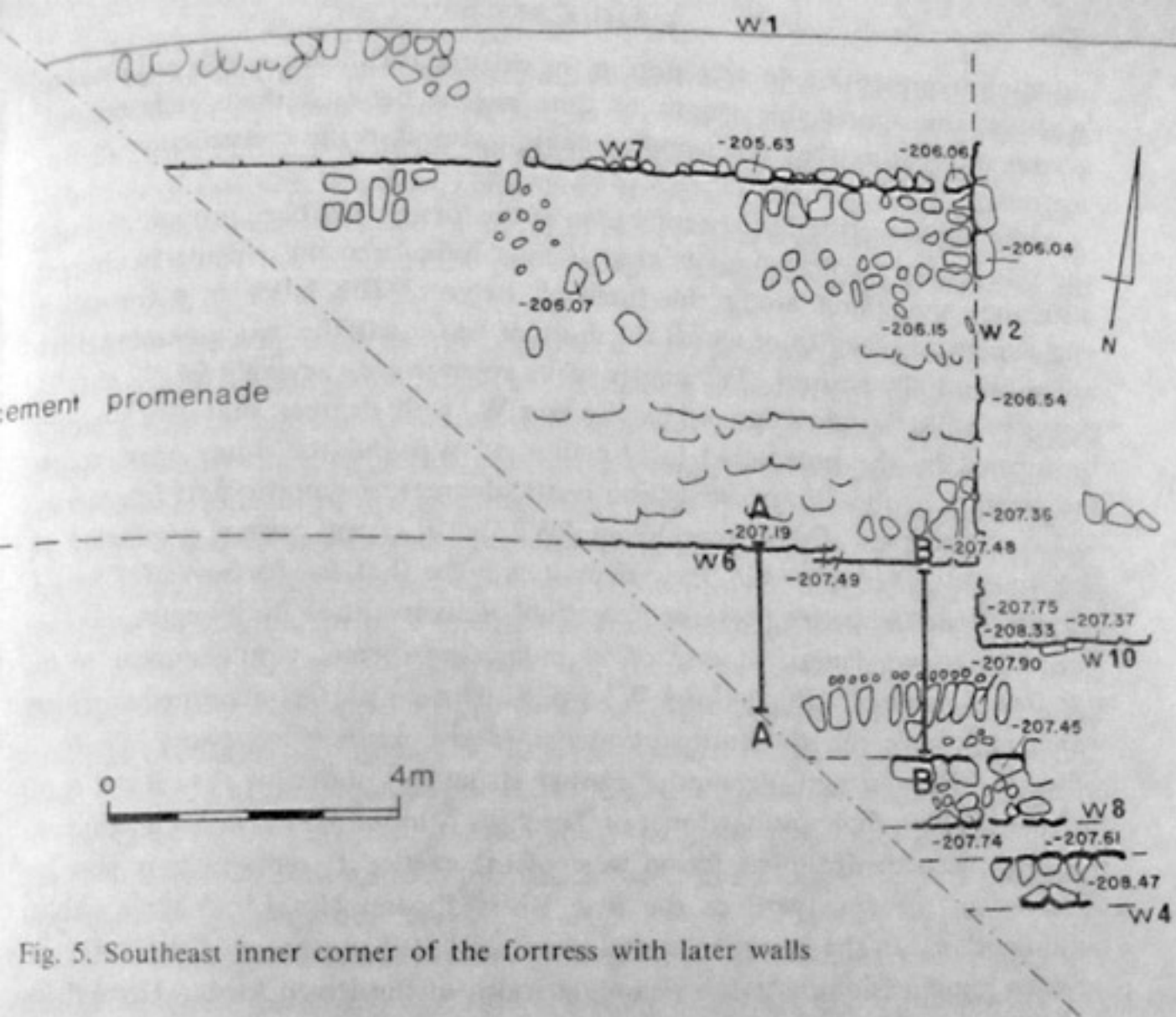


Fig. 5. Southeast inner corner of the fortress with later walls

architectural stratigraphy<sup>33</sup> suggests that W2/W10 is the earliest element encountered, although just what its original function may have been is unclear. It may have been an independent unit or somehow connected to portions of a building hidden beneath the mosque, represented by those vaults clearly visible in Plate 12, B. An equally plausible possibility is that it is simply a construction phase of the citadel. What is clear is that W7, W6, and W1 are not bonded with W2; all were built later, abutting it.

Sometime after the construction of W2/W10 the vaulted building W1 was added, followed by or perhaps contemporary with W7.<sup>34</sup> Wall 6 was the latest

33 Excavation was impossible within the castle compound. The only stratigraphy encountered was in the structural phases and in that small portion of Area A which, although having yielded evidence of occupation, is clearly outside the building.

34 The relationship of W1 to W7 and W6 is unclear. At the topmost preserved portion of their juncture it seems as if W1 might have been placed into a channel cut into W7, thus making it a later addition to the structure. However, this interpretation is not certain. Within the vaulted building the north face of W1 can be observed to descend at least 1.5 meters below the topmost level of the juncture of these walls. The base of W1 has not yet been exposed nor has the inside face of W7. Thus we are left with several options: (a) W1 and W7 are contemporary; (b) W1 and W6 are contemporary; (c) W1 is later than W6; (d) W6 is later than W1.



addition, representing an accretion to the existing fortification. It is not known whether any appreciable length of time passed between these architectural phases or whether they are merely techniques used in the construction of the fortress.

Although very little of the actual plan of the fortress has been brought to light the one extant corner suggests that it may have been an irregularly shaped structure, something along the lines of Belvoir. The latter is a five-sided enclosure, three lengths of which are more or less equal; the two remaining sides are substantially shorter. The angles of its corners are varyingly 96, 97 and 91 degrees, while the angle formed by W6 and W2 is 90 degrees; that which would be formed by the postulated intersection of W6 and the outer north-south fortification of the Dinur excavation is 100 degrees; its counterpart formed by W7 is 96 degrees. The corner tower [W2/W10] is, of course, paralleled at Belvoir and other crusader sites. Thus it may be that the fortress of Tiberias resembles the far better preserved castle of Belvoir although, by extrapolating from the known length of one of its sides, the former would appear to be significantly smaller. By analogy W1 would then be part of a vaulted corridor which may have run the entire perimeter of the castle's courtyard.

Recent discoveries of two contemporary structures underline the centrality of the castle within the crusader town of Tiberias. A monumental crusader church, possibly the cathedral, was found west of the castle; its remains may now be observed in the courtyard of the new River Jordan Hotel.<sup>35</sup> A large public building, dated to the crusader period, was excavated southwest of the castle; its massive remains dominate the rectangle south of the River Jordan Hotel.<sup>36</sup> In addition, the crusader origins of the modern Franciscan church of St. Peter, close to the lakefront in the northern part of Old Tiberias, had been noted long ago.<sup>37</sup> A. Harif has recently suggested that the crusader edifice restored by the Franciscans may have served as the chapel of the crusader castle.<sup>38</sup> This is hardly plausible, as the edifice lies some 210 meters to the north of the southeastern tower of the castle. To include the edifice the castle would have been of truly immense proportions and its plan highly irregular.

#### LATER HISTORY

In an 1837 view of Tiberias, on the eve of the earthquake which destroyed a major part of the town's buildings, a large structure is visible at the location of the crusader castle.<sup>39</sup> The structure no longer dominates the scene as in Le

35 The remains are described by A. Harif, "A Crusader Church in Tiberias," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 116 (1984), 103-109.

36 Y. Stepansky, "Archaeological Research in Tiberias in the Last Decade," *Mi-Tuv Tverya. Journal of the Center for Research on Tiberias* 3 (1986), 26 (in Hebrew).

37 See for example Enlart, *Monuments* 1:48; G. Governanti, *La Chiesa di S. Pietro in Tiberiade* (Jerusalem, 1946).

38 Harif, "Crusader Church," p. 107.

39 Avissar, *Tiberias* (note 1 above), p. 394.

Bruyn's drawing (fig. 1), but whether this is due to the artist's perspective or the actual state of the ruins is not certain. In another drawing, executed after the violent quake of that year by the same artist from the identical vantage point, the buildings in this area appear to have been truncated and large portions of the city walls have been breached or stand in ruins.<sup>40</sup> Obviously the tremor dealt a serious blow to the remains of the crusader castle, destroying most of its superstructure.

By 1850 there appears to have remained only a small portion of the once imposing structure, identifiable in the foundation of a partially preserved, large building with several arches which visibly jut out into the lake on the Tiberias waterfront.<sup>41</sup> By the early part of this century an almost identical view from the south shows no trace of this vaulting. In its place stands the al-Baḥrī mosque.<sup>42</sup> However, a lone, above-surface remnant of the once massive castle could still be discerned by the fourth decade of the present century.<sup>43</sup> In a photograph of the shoreline taken from the lake for the Palestine Department of Antiquities prior to the construction of the Tiberias Lido there are clearly visible the nether foundations of the al-Baḥrī mosque with their large ashlar masonry blocks and a vaulted building which must be identical with that seen from its south side in the lakefront views of the preceding century. Another contemporary photograph of the shoreline (Plate 12, B) shows the minaret of the al-Baḥrī mosque and, to the left of it, a large structure which protrudes into the lake. This structure may have been part of the crusader castle.

It is proposed here that the nether foundations of the mosque seen in Plate 12, A should be identified as the east side of the corner tower W2/W10. Le Bruyn's drawing (fig. 1) and the sandy material in the bottommost part of the sounding in Area A suggest that this tower jugged out into the lake. Nowadays the nether foundations lie below the Lido, which straightened out the waterfront by filling in and adding onto the buildings that protruded into the lake. The present-day waterfront lies at a considerable distance east from its location in crusader and indeed modern times. Consequently, all that is today visible of the crusader castle is a part of the southeastern corner tower and a small portion of the southern wall in Area A.

40 Ibid., p. 395.

41 Ibid., pp. 427, 451.

42 Ibid., p. 455.

43 The vault may have given rise to the notion of a 'sea gate' leading to the mosque. The gate appears on a map of Tiberias drawn up early in this century: Avissar, *Tiberias*, p. 146, No. 14.