

THE HOSPITALLERS, THE MEDITERRANEAN AND EUROPE

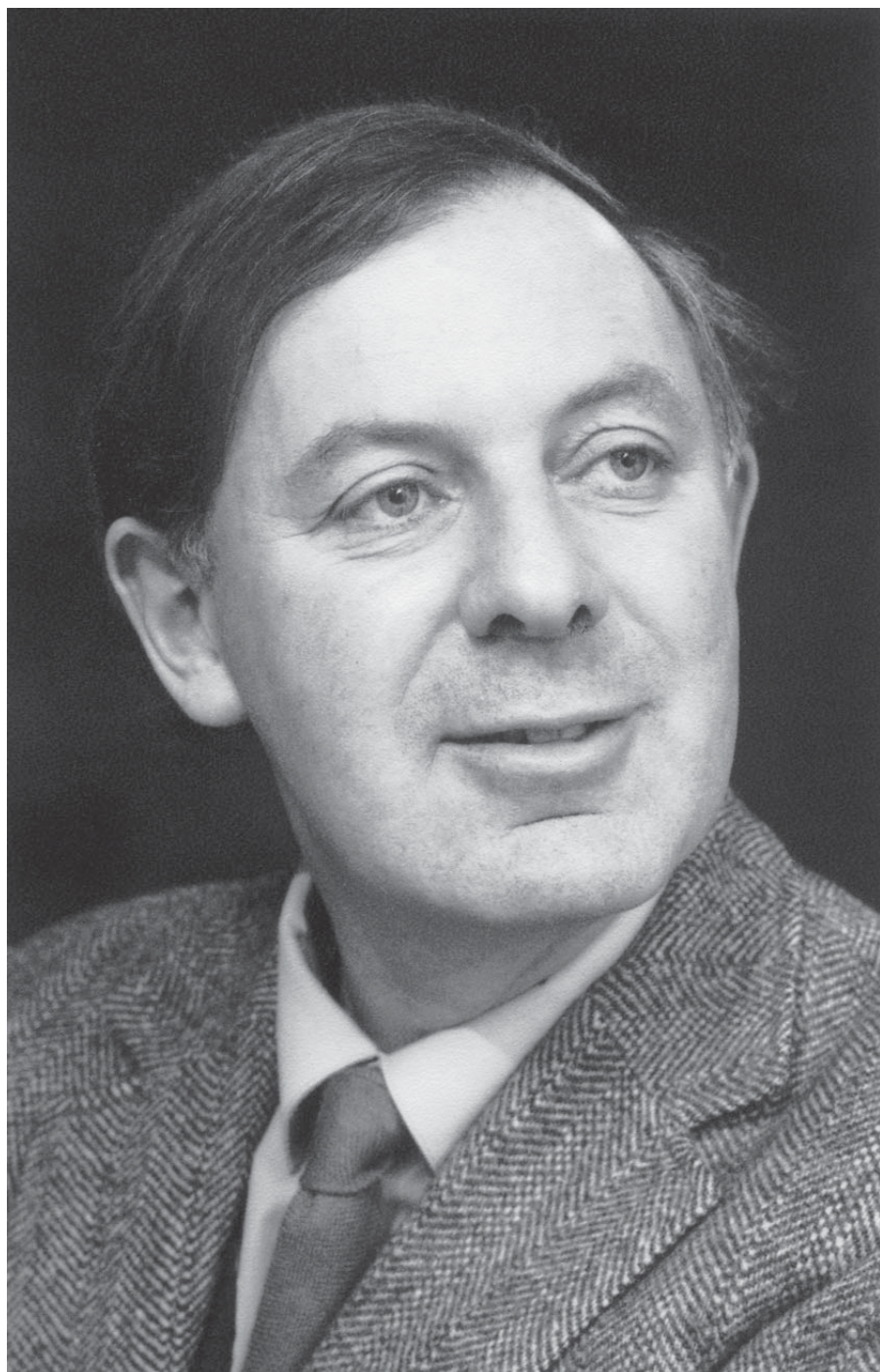
ROUTLEDGE

FESTSCHRIFT FOR ANTHONY LUTTRELL



EDITED BY
KARL BORCHARDT, NIKOLAS JASPert AND
HELEN J. NICHOLSON

THE HOSPITALLERS, THE MEDITERRANEAN
AND EUROPE



Professor Anthony Luttrell

The Hospitallers,
the Mediterranean and Europe
Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell

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Editors

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Image Detail from an engraving taken from *Historia von Rhodis* by Guillaume Caoursin, Strasburg, 1513. Reproduced with kind permission of the Curator of the Museum of the Order of St John.

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Editors' Preface

Anyone who studies the Hospitallers or the history of the late medieval Mediterranean will know Anthony Luttrell either in person or through his numerous publications. Anthony Luttrell's 75th birthday falls in October 2007; it is an established custom in the academic world that this occasion should be celebrated by the publication of a festschrift. As each of the three editors has profited greatly over many years from Anthony Luttrell's expertise and generous friendship, we decided to organise this collection of essays as a mark of appreciation and gratitude. Twenty-one friends and colleagues from ten different countries have been able to write papers in time. In keeping with the nature of the volume and as an expression of the individual contributors' appreciation to its intended recipient, the editors allowed contributors to select their own topic, rather than attempting to impose a structure. The result is a wide-ranging and sometimes controversial collection of papers, whose subjects range from the period of the first crusades in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries to the beginnings of the Early Modern period in the sixteenth century and even touch upon present-day problems of the military-religious orders. Not only are the Eastern Mediterranean, Cyprus, Rhodes and Malta discussed but also the possessions and problems of the various military-religious orders in their European bases, from the Iberian Peninsula and Ireland in the west to Hungary and the Levant in the east. We know that this is only a small and by no means representative sample of scholars from all over the world who are grateful for all the inspiration and information they owe to Anthony Luttrell. It sheds some light on Anthony Luttrell's remarkable achievement that no single editor felt able to master such a long span of time and so many different geographical and social settings. Michael Gervers has written an introductory essay pointing out some important topics and merits of Anthony Luttrell's research. The three editors wish to thank him and all other contributors warmly for all their work. Our special thanks are due to John Smedley and the editorial staff at Ashgate, who are about to publish the sixth Collected Studies Series volume of Anthony Luttrell's articles, and without whose kind support this festschrift would not have been possible. We hope that it will help to highlight some of the important historical questions where Anthony Luttrell's work has had great influence.

Karl Borchardt, Würzburg and Munich
Nikolas Jaspert, Bochum
Helen Nicholson, Cardiff



Figure A Clerks in the rent office producing the very records of which Anthony Luttrell, and the editors and contributors to this volume have made so much use. Image taken from *Stabilimenta Rhodiorum Militum* by Guillaume Caoursin, Ulm, 1496. Reproduced with kind permission of the Curator of the Museum of the Order of St John.

Introduction

In Honour of Anthony Luttrell

Michael Gervers

It is somewhat humbling to recognize how little is known about the past, despite the centuries that western scholars have devoted to studying it. One may well wonder, then, where the history of the Hospitallers would have been without the dedicated research and publishing of Anthony Luttrell. For the past fifty years Tony has done more to interpret the Order's activities than all those who have gone before him. We hope and expect even more from him in the years to come.

Every one of the 230 articles and host of monographs listed in his bibliography is a reflection of a brilliant academic career which saw him leave Bryanston School in Dorset for Oriel College, Oxford in 1951, whence he graduated in 1954. His last year at Oriel was spent as the De Osma Student at the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan (Madrid), and from then on the Mediterranean region became his home. The following year found him at the Colegio Mayor Ximénez de Cisneros at Madrid University, supported by the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, while from 1956 to 1958 he was the Rome Scholar in Medieval Studies at the British School in Rome. He completed his studies at the Scuola Normale Superiore in the University of Pisa and in 1959 received the MA, D.Phil. from Oxford. With degrees in hand, he set off immediately to teach. Over the next quarter century he was attached to, or lectured in history at Swarthmore College (Pa.), Edinburgh University, and the (Royal) University of Malta. He returned to Rome for an extended interlude from 1967 to 1973 as Assistant Director and Librarian of the British School.

After 1977 Tony pursued his research, holding one prestigious grant after another. He spent 1977–78 and 1984–85 in the School of Historical Studies at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton. The period 1978–79 found him at the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (IRHT/CNRS, Paris), and 1980–81 in the Center for Byzantine Studies at Dumbarton Oaks. From 1982 to 1985 his work was supported by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Also in 1985, as a Fellow of the Gladys Kriebel Delmas Foundation, he carried out research in the Veneto. The Vicente Cañada Blanch Senior Fellowship, which he held in 1986–87, took him back to Spain, while support from the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation brought him to the University of Würzburg in 1987–88. For the two following years he was a Leverhulme Research Officer with the Venerable Order of St John of Jerusalem at Clerkenwell in London, while 1992–93 saw him again in Rome, as the Balsdon Senior Fellow at the British School. He completed 1993 with the IRHT/CNRS, this time at its new headquarters in Orléans.

There has never been a break in his research and writing, and the Knights of the Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in Rhodes and Malta have

been great beneficiaries of his patient examination of their archives. However, the Knights alone were not enough for Tony in Malta. During the 1970s and 1980s, when he lived there with his family for extended periods, he turned the very soil of the island itself in search of clues to its early and medieval history. Two of his five monographs, edited works and collected essays about Malta, are devoted to the excavation of the churches in the *casal* of al Millieri. These publications attracted considerable interest, in part because so little was known about the history of the island before the Knights. Sumner McKnight Crosby, then head of the Department of Art History at Yale, congratulated Tony ‘for his enthusiasm and determination’ in publishing *al Millieri: A Maltese Casale, Its Churches and Paintings*, and for having ‘given medievalists a new insight into Mediterranean culture’.¹ *Speculum*’s reviewer applauded the method, but questioned the importance of the site: ‘*al Millieri* marks out ground rules for a serious examination of the archival and material records of a rural settlement in a complex historical site in the Mediterranean. The question now becomes one of determining which sites will in fact repay the scholarly effort invested in them.’²

Repaying the scholarly effort was not the point. Archaeology has always been a fascination for Tony, as also a method; and one which he applies to his great advantage and success when working in the archives. This is shown especially by his monograph on the mausoleum and castle at Halikarnassus and by the discovery of the lost papal castle at Sorgues near Avignon, his article on which was published as a book in French translation. The archives, too, are excavation sites, and from the detail comes the historical narrative. ‘Among the reasons for [the] relative obscurity [of Hospitaller Rhodes]’, wrote Jonathan Riley-Smith, ‘are the fact that the sources are so extensive that mining them will be a lifetime’s work.’³ Mining the sources, both archival and archaeological, is precisely what Tony has spent his life doing, and more.

Tony is known not only for his scholarship, but also for his scholarly generosity. All those of us who have come into his ever-expanding intellectual orbit have profited from his sagacity, wisdom, knowledge and encouragement. We are unanimously grateful for his friendship and support. Pierre Bonneaud applauds Tony’s ‘limitless interest for new approaches and his availability to offer his assistance and help to newcomers in the field of research dedicated to the Military Orders’.⁴ Jochen Burgtorf recalls how meeting Tony as an undergraduate led him to his current pursuit: ‘Tony ... mentioned a few names, among them Albert of Schwarzburg. Almost twenty years later Albert of Schwarzburg is still on my mind as I work on the prosopography of the Hospitallers’ central convent. Little did I know, on that day back in 1988, that Tony Luttrell had just introduced me to my future research.’⁵

1 *The Art Bulletin*, 61/3(1979), p. 482.

2 F.K.B. Toker, *Speculum*, 54/2 (1979), p. 400.

3 *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, 61/1 (1998), p. 148.

4 Pierre Bonneaud, e-mail, 14 February 2007.

5 Jochen Burgtorf, e-mail, 5 February 2007.

It is not only Tony's intellectual generosity and fervent curiosity that have been shared by friends and colleagues alike, but also the proverbial hospitality of the Luttrell household. So many of us have spent delightful days in their tiny, perfect house on Perfect View, and now on Richmond Place, or in Malta, or wherever his charming wife, Margaret, might be. These can be considered working visits, and to work with Tony is, as Elizabeth Zachariadou recalls, also working with Margaret: '[Tony] volunteered to translate the manuscript of my book, *Trade and Crusade*,⁶ from Greek English to English English. He recruited his very nice wife Margaret ... Poor Margaret was obliged to work very hard with my text as if Tony's efforts were not sufficient. Both of them wanted to turn it into perfect English.'⁷ 'The lifestyle is very English', writes Karl Borhardt, 'only the breakfast is not: a Swiss nanny employed by Tony's parents is responsible for the fact that some kind of "Müsli" continues to be served.'⁸ Nicholas Coureas 'was made to dig in the garden'.⁹ In another cooperative venture, Tony and Margaret have brought up two fine daughters, Marina and Cecilia, who are both following the family tradition of research, writing, preserving and protecting.

Thankfully, many of the articles in Tony's extensive bibliography are available in Variorum reprints, including one to be published in this, his seventy-fifth year. A recent venture into relatively new territory is the informative introduction to a book on Hospitaller women, co-edited with Helen Nicholson.¹⁰ As critical of his own work as he can be in his reviews of that of others, he describes it as being 'not entirely satisfactory but should be a step forward'.¹¹ Every one of Tony's publications about the history of the Hospitallers, of Malta and Rhodes, and of related matters in art and archaeology, has always been, and will surely continue to be, innovative and a step forward.

The contributors to this volume, and the many thousands of students and scholars around the globe who know him through his books and articles, fully concur with David Jacoby about Tony's scholarship, and one particularly outstanding omission: 'I told him more than once that he is too much of a perfectionist, that we all eagerly await his synthesis on the Hospitallers, that he is the only one capable of producing it, and that it would be unfortunate, given the huge amount of material he has assembled, if he would not do so. It would be worthwhile, I think, to remind him of our expectations.'¹² We offer this volume to you, then, Tony, in recognition of our appreciation of the high level of scholarship you have set for us, and as a reminder that there is still one more major mountain to scale.

6 Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade: Venetian Crete and the emirates of Menteshe and Aydin*, Bibliothèque de l'Institut hellénique d'études Byzantines et post-byzantines de Venise, no. 11 (Venice, 1983).

7 Elizabeth Zachariadou, e-mail, 13 February 2007.

8 Karl Borhardt, e-mail, 6 February 2007.

9 Karl Borhardt, e-mail, 6 February 2007.

10 Anthony Luttrell and Helen J. Nicholson, eds, *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 2006).

11 Personal note of 2 February 2007.

12 David Jacoby, e-mail, 6 February 2007.

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PART 1
The Crusader Period

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Chapter 1

A Note on Jerusalem's *B m rist n* and Jerusalem's Hospital¹

Benjamin Z. Kedar

On 5 Ramadan 438, a date that corresponds to 5 March 1047, *N ser-e Khosraw*, a Persian civil administrator turned pilgrim and traveller, arrived in Jerusalem. In his detailed description of the city we read:

Jerusalem has a fine, well endowed *B m rist n* [hospital]. Many people are given drugs and elixirs. The physicians who are there receive salaries from the endowment for this *B m rist n*.²

This passage attests to the existence, in eleventh-century Muslim Jerusalem, of a true hospital – that is, a hospital in which salaried physicians attend to patients. Such hospitals, which were exclusively medical institutions, are known to have existed elsewhere in the realm of Islam. For instance, in 872 Ahmad b. T l n, ruler of Egypt, founded a hospital at Fust t (Old Cairo), each ward of which was reserved for a different illness. In 981 'Ad d al-Dawla, who ruled a large part of the Islamic empire in the second half of the tenth century, built a large hospital in Baghdad; the well-equipped institution, which came to be known as al-'Ad di hospital, had 24 physicians, whose number in 1068 had risen to 28.³

In the realm of Islam, professional medical treatment was also quite commonly available outside of hospitals. The Cairo Geniza, that vast repository of discarded documents written in the Hebrew script that constitutes a major source for the history

1 An earlier version of this paper was presented at the symposium 'Medicine and Disease in the Crusades', held in January 2005 at the Wellcome Trust Centre for the History of Medicine, University College, London.

2 *Sefer Nameh. Relation du voyage de Nassiri Khosrau en Syrie, en Palestine, en Égypte, en Arabie et en Perse pendant les années de l'hégire 437–444*, ed. and trans. C. Schefer, (Paris, 1881), p. 21; my thanks to Professor Reuven Amitai for having translated this passage for me. W.M. Thackston's translation locates the *B m rist n* in Jerusalem's eastern part: *N ser-e Khosraw's Book of Travels (Safarn ma)*, trans. W.M. Thackston, Jr., Persian Heritage Series 36 (Albany, NY, 1986), p. 23. The translation appears to be based on an edition defective at this point.

3 See for instance S. Hamarneh, 'Development of Hospitals in Islam', *Journal of the History of Medicine* 17 (1962), 366–84; M.W. Dols, 'The Origins of the Islamic Hospital: Myth and Reality', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 61 (1987), 367–90; L.I. Conrad, 'The Arab-Islamic Medical Tradition', in L.I. Conrad et al., *The Western Medical Tradition, 800 BC to AD 1800* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 135–8.

of the area between north-western Africa and India – and especially of Egypt and Palestine – in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, amply attests to this availability. ‘In the Geniza papers’, writes Shelomo Dov Goitein, ‘we find a Jewish doctor, and often more than one, in many a little town or large village and occasionally Christian and Muslim colleagues are mentioned as well. The prescriptions preserved indicate that even for humdrum cases of constipation or of the loosening of bowels a doctor was consulted.’⁴ In the event of serious illness, even a man of limited resources could benefit from a consultation of several doctors; this happened for instance in Ramle, Palestine, in about 1060.⁵ There were oculists, physicians treating wounds, healers specializing in stomach troubles, experts in bloodletting, and professional veterinarians, one of whom treated a donkey that had suffered a dislocation while carrying building materials.⁶

During roughly the same period as that in which the Persian traveller N ser-e Khusraw described the Jerusalem *B m rist n* with its salaried physicians, a rich Amalfitan by the name of Maurus established a *hospital* in Jerusalem, and another in Antioch. So reports the contemporary chronicler Amatus of Montecassino (born ca. 1010) in his *Ystoria Normannorum*, which covers the period 1016–78; the chronicle survives only in an Old French translation dating from ca. 1300.⁷ A short, anonymous notice about Archbishop John of Amalfi (ca. 1070–ca. 1082) reports that he made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where he was received by Amalfitans who, a few years earlier, had established there two *hospitalia*, one for men and one for women.⁸ The Jerusalem-born William of Tyre, writing about a century later, proffers more details: merchants from Amalfi founded a monastery in honour of the Virgin Mary near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and located there an abbot and monks from their country. A convent was later erected nearby and, finally, a *xenodochium* for pilgrims, healthy or sick.⁹

What was the nature of the Amalfitan ‘hospital’ in Jerusalem? The eleventh-century West had no counterparts to the contemporary hospitals of the Islamic world,

4 S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, vol. 2: *The Community* (Berkeley, 1971), p. 241.

5 Goitein, p. 254; for the Arabic text (in Hebrew letters) and a Modern Hebrew translation, as well as for the approximate date, see M. Gil, *Palestine during the First Muslim Period (634–1099)*, 3 vols (Tel Aviv, 1983), 3: 61–4 (in Hebrew).

6 Goitein, pp. 255–6. However, the assertion (p. 251) that even eleventh-century Ramle possessed a hospital divided into different wards, appears to derive from an incorrect reading: see Gil, *Palestine*, 2: 214.

7 ‘Et [Maurus] avoit fert cert hospital en Anthioce et en Hierusalem; o la helemosine de sa richesce les soustenoit.’ *Storia de’ Normanni di Amato di Montecassino, volgarizzata in antico francese*, ed. Vincenzo de Bartholomaeis, *Fonti per la Storia d’Italia* 76 (Rome, 1935), p. 342. On Amatus see F. Avegliano in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 1 (Munich and Zurich, 1977–80), col. 513. For the original Latin title of his chronicle see *Chronica monasterii Casinensis*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores* 7:728.

8 F. Ughelli and N. Coleti, *Italia sacra*, vol. 7 (Venice, 1721), col. 198.

9 Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 63, 63A (Turnhout, 1986) (hereafter WT), 18.5, pp. 815–16.

where salaried physicians regularly attended to patients and medical lore accumulated. It is symptomatic, from this point of view, that when, in the late eleventh century, Constantine the African translated into Latin *The Complete Book of the Medical Art* by 'Al ibn al-'Abb s al-Maj s, he omitted the advice to visit hospitals in order to gain medical knowledge, for hospitals in which such knowledge could have been acquired did not yet exist in the Latin West.¹⁰ Should we conclude therefore that the Amalfitan 'hospital' was merely a hospice of the type then current in the West? Possibly so. But an alternative hypothesis – namely, that the Amalfitans were influenced to some extent by the superior medical practice of the Islamic world – is also conceivable.

When the Amalfitans established their Jerusalem 'hospital,' presumably some time after the middle of the eleventh century, they were no newcomers to the Muslim Levant. There is evidence for the voyage of one Leo Amalfitanus to Egypt in 978.¹¹ The eleventh-century Christian chronicler Yahy of Antioch reports that when in May 996 the suspicion arose in Cairo that the fire that had consumed 16 warships in the city's arsenal was started by 'Romish merchants from Amalfi', the mob alongside Berber soldiers massacred 160 of the Amalfitans and looted their wares. Other Amalfitans were able to escape.¹² This means that there may have been a colony of perhaps as many as two hundred Amalfitans in Cairo at the time.¹³ Two Geniza letters attest to the presence of Amalfitan merchants in Egypt in the mid-eleventh century, while a third mentions a Jewish merchant's voyage from Alexandria to Amalfi, via Constantinople and Crete, in the same period.¹⁴ Indeed, it has been hypothesized that the Amalfitans provided naval assistance during the Fatimid conquest of Egypt in 969, secured a favourable commercial status in return, and thus became predominant among the Latin Christians who traded in the Muslim East.¹⁵ At any rate, it is plausible to assume that the Amalfitans who decided to establish a 'hospital' in Jerusalem were cognizant of the availability of professional medical services in the Islamic world. Indeed, the existence of Jerusalem's *B m rist n* could hardly have escaped them. Given

10 See D. Jacquart, 'Le sens donné par Constantin l'Africain à son oeuvre: les chapitres introductifs en arabe et en latin', in *Constantine the African and 'Al ibn al-'Abb s al-Ma s. The Pantegni and Related Texts*, ed. C. Burnett and D. Jacquart (Leiden, 1994), p. 79.

11 See A.O. Citarella, 'Patterns in Medieval Trade: The Commerce of Amalfi before the Crusades', *Journal of Economic History* 28 (1968), 544, quoting the *Codex diplomaticus Cavensis*, I:114–15.

12 C. Cahen, 'Un texte peu connu relatif au commerce oriental d'Amalfi au X^e siècle', *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* NS 34 (1953–54), 62; English translation and commentary in R.S. Lopez, *The Tenth Century: How Dark the Dark Ages?* (New York, 1959), pp. 28–9. According to the Muslim chronicler al-Musabbihī the number of murdered Amalfitans was 107.

13 Cf. C. Cahen, 'Le commerce d'Amalfi dans le Proche-Orient musulman avant et après la Croisade', *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1977, p. 292.

14 Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 1: *Economic Foundations* (Berkeley, 1967), pp. 46, 325, 329. For the approximate dates of these letters see Citarella, p. 544. The letter mentioning the voyage of more than 70 days to Amalfi is translated in S. D. Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders* (Princeton, 1973), pp. 42–5.

15 Citarella, p. 545; Cahen, 'Le commerce', pp. 292–3, 300.

that the Jerusalemite al-Muqaddas, writing in the 980s, reported that in al-Sh m (that is, Syria/Palestine) the physicians were generally Christians,¹⁶ one may hypothesize that the Amalfitans hired some Oriental Christian physician(s) to provide professional medical treatment in their new establishment.

This hypothesis is supported by a close reading of the above-mentioned anonymous notice about Archbishop John of Amalfi. The notice reports that in the two *hospitalia* the Amalfitans had erected in Jerusalem some time before the archbishop's arrival, 'infirmi curabantur'.¹⁷ Now, it has been claimed that the term *infirmus* refers to the disabled and the weak (who may, however, also be suffering from some disease), whereas the terms *egroti* and *egrotantes* refer unequivocally to the sick.¹⁸ However, the phrase 'infirmos curare' is biblical; Christ enjoined the Apostles: 'infirmos curate',¹⁹ a charge that has always been understood to mean, 'Heal the sick'. We may therefore conclude that when the anonymous notice asserts that 'infirmi curabantur' in Jerusalem's Amalfitan *hospitalia*, it is the healing of the sick that is being referred to – although, unlike the Muslim *B m rist n*, the *hospitalia* did not treat only the sick. Before mentioning the curing of the sick, the anonymous notice spells out that the *hospitalia* were erected 'ad homines et mulieres recipiendos, in quibus et alebantur'. In other words, the primary function of the *hospitalia* was to provide shelter and food for pilgrims from the West. In addition, the sick among them were offered a cure. Writing in the 1170s or early 1180s about the beginnings of the Jerusalem Hospital, William of Tyre makes the same point when he asserts that to the pre-1099 *xenodochium* were gathered both the healthy and the sick (*sanos vel egrotantes*).²⁰ It should be noted that the earliest reference to sick people in the post-1099 Jerusalem Hospital appears in Albert of Aachen's account that in 1101 a messenger of Count Roger of Apulia – that is, Roger Borsa, Bohemond's brother – brought to Jerusalem 1,000 bezants, one-third of which was earmarked 'in sustentatione hospitalis languidorum et ceterorum inuvalidorum'.²¹ 'Languidus' and 'inualidus' usually mean 'sick' and 'feeble,' respectively.²²

Ample documentation from the 1180s, much of which has come to light in recent years, leaves no doubt that the Jerusalem Hospital of the Knights of Saint John by that time served, *inter alia*, as a true hospital in which salaried physicians attended to a

16 Al-Muqaddas, *The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions (Ahsan al-Taq s m f Ma'rifat al-Aq l m)*, trans. B. Collins (Reading, 2001), p. 153.

17 Ughelli and Coleti, *Italia sacra*, col. 198. Bruno Figliuolo, referring to the same column, quotes mistakenly 'infirmi cenabantur': B. Figliuolo, 'Amalfi e il Levante nel Medioevo', in *I comuni italiani nel Regno Crociato di Gerusalemme*, ed. G. Airaldi and B.Z. Kedar, *Collana Storica di Fonti e Studi* 48 (Genoa, 1986), p. 591 n. 66.

18 P.D. Mitchell, *Medicine in the Crusades: Warfare, Wounds and the Medieval Surgeon* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 64.

19 Matt. 10:8; see also Matt. 10:1, where 'ut ... curarent omnem languorem et omnem infirmitatem' is understood to mean 'to cure every kind of ailment and disease.'

20 WT 18.5, p. 816.

21 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosalimitana*, ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington, *Oxford Medieval Texts* (Oxford, 2007) Bk 7, ch. 62, p. 574.

22 See A. Blaise, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens*, 2nd edn (Turnhout, 1967), s.v.

large number of patients, and its daily routine resembled in many important respects that of hospitals in the Islamic world and Byzantium.²³ At present, our documentation does not mention salaried physicians, or professional medical treatment in the Jerusalem Hospital at an earlier date.²⁴ But, as we know, the earliest mention of a phenomenon in the available documentation must not be regarded as constituting proof of that being actually the phenomenon's earliest occurrence. The phenomenon may have occurred earlier; it may have developed gradually. Possibly its earliest form took shape already with the establishment of the Amalfitan *hospitalia*. For these were not erected on a cultural *tabula rasa*. They were established in an area about whose medical services we are quite well informed, by people who were no newcomers to the Muslim Levant.

23 See the Latin text edited by B.Z. Kedar, 'A Twelfth-Century Description of the Jerusalem Hospital', in *The Military Orders*, vol. 2, ed. H. Nicholson (Aldershot, 1998) pp. 3–26, reprinted in Kedar, *Franks, Muslims and Oriental Christians in the Latin Levant: Studies in Frontier Acculturation* (Aldershot, 2006), Study X; and the Old French text edited by S. Edgington, 'Administrative Regulations for the Hospital of St John in Jerusalem Dating from the 1180s', *Crusades* 4 (2005), 21–37. The Latin text has been re-edited by A. Beltjens, 'Le récit d'une journée au grand hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem sous le règne des derniers rois latins ayant résidé à Jérusalem ou le témoignage d'un clerc anonyme conservé dans le manuscrit Clm 4620 de Munich', *Société de l'Histoire et du Patrimoine de l'Ordre de Malte*, 14, Numéro special (2004), 3–79. On some of the professional and ethical deficiencies of this re-edition see R.B.C. Huygens, 'Editorisch Verfehlt zum Hospital von Jerusalem', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 61 (2005), 165–67.

24 Mitchell (*Medicine*, p. 64) believes to have identified the earliest reference to the provision of medical treatment in the Jerusalem Hospital in the text which Wilkinson dubbed 'Work on Geography' and dated to 1128–37. The Latin text, published by de Vogüé, reads: 'In Jerusalem Xenodochium sive Muscomion; Xenodochium grece, latine peregrinorum et pauperum susceptio. Muscomion id est hospitale ubi de plateis et vicis egrotantes colliguntur et foventur.' M. de Vogüé, *Les églises de la Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1860), p. 427. Wilkinson translates: 'In Jerusalem is the Xenodochium or the Nosokomion. The Greek word xenodochium translated into Latin is a refuge for travellers and poor people. Nosokomion is the hospice which cares for the sick people taken into it from the squares and alleys.' J. Wilkinson et al., *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099–1185* (London, 1988), p. 200. It should be noted, however, that Wilkinson marks the passage in question with a vertical side line, which, according to his introduction (p. 13), means that he believes it to have been added after the death of Fretellus, who (according to his understanding of P.C. Boeren's introduction to the edition of Fretellus (Amsterdam, 1980)) died in 1157 (p. 12). Moreover, one should bear in mind that Hans Eberhard Mayer, in his review of Wilkinson's book, warned scholars to remember that Wilkinson's 'Work on Geography' is a conjecture, and to abstain from using it as if it had really existed in this form: H.E. Mayer in *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 45 (1989), 204–5. On the other hand, one should note the similarity of the phrase 'hospitale ubi de plateis et vicis egrotantes colliguntur et foventur' to William of Tyre's statement on the early Jerusalem *xenodochium*, 'ubi tales sanos vel egrotantes colligerent, ne de nocte per vias iugularentur, et in eodem loco congregatis de reliquiis fragmentorum utriusque monasterii, tam virorum quam mulierum, ad cotidianam sustentationem qualemqualem aliquid ministraretur.' WT 18.5, p. 816.

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Chapter 2

The Templars, the Syrian Assassins and King Amalric of Jerusalem

Bernard Hamilton

William of Tyre reports that the Master of the Syrian Assassins sent an ambassador to Jerusalem who told King Amalric that the Master had diligently read the New Testament and had become convinced that the Muslim faith was erroneous. He had therefore banned its practice in his dominions, and he and his subjects wished to receive Christian baptism. He made only one condition: that he should be freed from the annual payment of 2,000 bezants in tribute to the Knights Templar. The king was overjoyed. He agreed to this condition and offered to compensate the Templars for their loss of revenue. The Assassin ambassador was given a royal safe-conduct, but as he was about to enter his own territory he was ambushed by a group of Templars, one of whom, Walter of Mesnil, killed him. This led to a confrontation between the Order and the crown. Odo of St Amand, the Master of the Temple, claimed that judgment in this case was reserved to the pope, but despite this Amalric seized Walter of Mesnil and imprisoned him in chains in the royal fortress of Tyre. William of Tyre places these events between Saladin's attack on Transjordan in September 1173 and the death of Nur ad-Din in May 1174.¹ He was in a position to be well informed about them: at the time he was tutor to the king's son and had been commissioned by Amalric to write the history of the kingdom. By the time he wrote this part of it, he had become chancellor and had charge of the royal archive.²

News of these events reached England, where they were mentioned by Walter Map in his *De Nugis Curialium*. James Hinton argued that this part of the work was written in 1181–2, but as Christopher Brooke has pointed out, it is impossible to be quite certain that a particular anecdote was not added at a later date.³ If this story was recorded by Walter in 1182, then it must be independent of William of Tyre, whose *History* was then unfinished and therefore not available in Western Europe.⁴

1 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, 20, 29–30, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 63, 64A (Turnholt, 1986) [henceforth WT], pp. 953–6.

2 P.W. Edbury and J.G. Rowe, *William of Tyre. Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 13–31.

3 J. Hinton, 'Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium*. Its plan and composition', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 32 (1917), pp. 81–132; Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium. Courtiers' Trifles*, Dist. I, c. 22, ed. and trans. M.R. James, revised by C.N.L. Brooke and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1983), pp. xxiv–xxxii, 66–9.

4 Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, pp. 28–31. For further discussion, see p. 26 of this volume below.

Walter reports that the Assassins held discussions chiefly with the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, which suggests that he was drawing on a different source, possibly an oral one. The only other writer to mention the Frankish–Assassin discussions is James of Vitry, Bishop of Acre (1216–28) in his *Historia Orientalis*. His account is very like that of William of Tyre, but includes one piece of additional information.⁵

The negotiations between King Amalric and the Assassins have received cursory treatment from most historians. Bernard Lewis says merely that: ‘William of Tyre records an abortive approach by the Old Man of the Mountain to the king of Jerusalem, proposing some form of alliance.’⁶ Hans Mayer also reports the story told by William of Tyre, but says nothing about the religious content of the negotiations.⁷ Marshall Hodgson considers this episode in his history of the Assassin Order and takes the religious dimension of the discussions very seriously, but his treatment is brief.⁸ Farhad Daftary mentions William of Tyre’s account, but does not discuss it, in his monumental history of the Ismailis.⁹ Peter Willey mentions it only briefly in his survey of the archaeology of Ismaili castles.¹⁰ Jerzy Hausinski has examined William’s story at more length and takes the religious issues seriously, but largely ignores the political context in which these talks took place.¹¹ The one writer who shows awareness of the political and religious complexity of the issues involved in these negotiations is Malcolm Barber in his history of the Templar Order, but he is not able to devote very much space to discussing them.¹² This episode needs to be investigated in more detail.

The name ‘Assassins’ was given by their enemies to the Nizarite Ismailis, a radical Shi’ite group. The term is derived from the Arabic word *hashish*, hemp. Their leaders, it was claimed, supplied this drug to their élite followers and, having made them dependent, coerced them into murdering the victims whom they named. These rumours would seem to have been unfounded, because the Assassins owed their success to excellent coordination of hand and eye, precisely the qualities that would be impaired by drug addiction.¹³ The Nizarite movement had been founded by Hasan-i-Sabbah, a Persian Ismaili, who in the years 1078–94 sought to start a revolution in the lands of the Abbasid Caliph on behalf of al-Mustansir, the Fatimid Caliph of Cairo, whom the Ismailis acknowledged as lawful Imam. The Ismailis believed that

5 James of Vitry, *Libri duo, quorum prior Orientalis sive Hierosolimitana, alia Occidentalis Historiae nomine inscribuntur*, I, 14 (Douai, 1597) pp. 42–3.

6 B. Lewis, *The Assassins. A Radical Sect in Islam* (London, 1967), p. 5.

7 H.E. Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 10th edn (Stuttgart, 2005), p. 153.

8 M.G.S. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins. The Struggle of the early Nizari Ismailis against the Islamic World* (The Hague, 1955), p. 204 (cf. pp. 175–8).

9 F. Daftary, *The Ismailis. Their History and Doctrines* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 398.

10 P. Willey, *Eagle’s Nest. Ismaili Castles in Iran and Syria* (London, 2005), pp. 46–7.

11 J. Hausinski, ‘On alleged attempts at converting the Assassins to Christianity in the light of William of Tyre’s account’, *Folia Orientalia* 15 (1974), pp. 229–46.

12 M. Barber, *The New Knighthood. A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 100–5.

13 F. Daftary, *The Assassin Legends* (London, 1994), pp. 88–94; Hodgson, *Order of Assassins*, p. 134.

an Imam had the right to designate his successor, but when al-Mustansir died in 1094, his designated heir, Nizar, was set aside and imprisoned by the ambitious vizir of Egypt, al-Afdal, in favour of his younger brother, al-Mustali, who was married to al-Afdal's sister. Hasan-i-Sabbah refused to recognise al-Mustali as Imam, but continued to give his allegiance to Nizar, claiming to be the *hujjah*, the living proof of the unseen Imam, and his representative. Hasan's followers later claimed that Nizar's infant son had been smuggled out of Egypt and brought to the castle of Alamut, where he lived as the Hidden Imam. Hasan was faced with a practical problem: hitherto he had been able to count on the support of the Fatimid Caliphate in his struggle with the Abbasids, but he was now left with the task of organizing a revolution throughout the entire Islamic world, single-handed.¹⁴

Hasan sent preachers, *dais*, throughout much of the Muslim world to gain support for the Nizarite cause. They met with considerable success, because there was widespread discontent in both the Abbasid and Fatimid empires about the ways in which the Caliphs were being manipulated by warlords, and many of the new adherents, while looking to Hasan as their religious leader, were the political subjects of other rulers. Hasan also gained control of other castles and their surrounding regions. Most of his subjects were peasants, but from them and from his religious adherents elsewhere he raised troops who garrisoned his castles and formed his armies.¹⁵ He also trained a select group of warriors as assassins, *fidais*. They were not thugs, but religious zealots who were sent on missions to kill some of the political and religious leaders of the Islamic establishment. The *fidais* needed great courage and dedication, for the chances of their escaping after fulfilling their mission was often very slight. The daggers which they used to kill their victims were said to have been ritually consecrated,¹⁶ and Hasan taught that those who died in the service of the Imam would be assured of Paradise. Some assignments involved long-term planning, because the *fidais* had to serve for many years in the retinues of princes before they were trusted enough to approach them closely. Although the *fidais* were few in number, they had a high success rate and inspired considerable fear throughout the Abbasid and Fatimid empires.¹⁷

The Frankish conquests which followed on from the First Crusade caused confusion among the Muslim rulers of Syria and Palestine. Hasan hoped to profit from this chaos and sent agents there in about 1100, but it was not until the 1130s that the Nizarites were able to establish a permanent power base in the Jabal Bahra. This mountainous region, adjacent to the Crusader states of Antioch and Tripoli, had been partially, but never totally, subdued by the Franks.¹⁸ William of Tyre, writing in the 1170s, says that the Assassins had ten castles in this area and ruled over some

14 Daftary, *Ismailis*, pp. 336–51.

15 Hodgson, *Order of Assassins*, pp. 62–81.

16 Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, IV, 16, ed. I.M. Lappenberg in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores* 21: 179.

17 Hodgson, *Order of Assassins*, pp. 82–4.

18 P. Deschamps, *Les châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte. III. La défense du comté de Tripoli et de la principauté d'Antioche* (Paris, 1973), pp. 36–43.

60,000 subjects.¹⁹ The Syrian Assassins were governed by masters appointed by and responsible to the Grand Masters of Alamut, who were known to their followers as the Sheikh, or Elder, and to the Franks as ‘The Old Man of the Mountains’.²⁰

The Frankish rulers of Antioch and Tripoli reacted very differently to these new neighbours. Raymond of Poitiers, Prince of Antioch (1135–49), allied with the Nazirite leader Ali ibn Wafa against their common enemy, Nur ad-Din of Damascus, and both of them were killed fighting against him at the battle of Inab in 1149.²¹ This tradition of goodwill was maintained by Raymond’s son, Bohemond III, who in 1180 granted the fief of Bikisrail, situated near the northern border of Nizarite territory, to the Order of St James of the Sword. Among the estates of the fief listed in Bohemond’s charter was ‘the castle of Gerennes with its appurtenances, except for the estates which we have given to the Sheikh of the Assassins [Vetulo Assideorum]’.²²

Raymond II of Tripoli (1137–52) had lost Rafaniya and much of the surrounding territory in the Orontes valley to Zengi of Mosul in 1137. He took defensive measures by creating in 1144 what amounted to a palatinate lordship centred on Crac des Chevaliers for the Knights of St John. Included in the grant were the lost lands in the Orontes valley, if they could be recovered from the Saracens.²³ In 1151 Zengi’s son and successor, Nur ad-Din, sacked Tortosa and although he left no garrison there, the citadel and the other fortifications had been badly damaged and the castellan could not afford to restore them. In 1152 Raymond made the fief of Tortosa into what was in effect a Templar palatinate lordship, which adjoined the small lordship which that Order already held at Chastel Blanc (Safita).²⁴ Later that year Nizarite *fidais* fatally stabbed Raymond II as he rode through the city gate of Tripoli.²⁵

The Nizarites had no quarrel with Christians, and Raymond was the only important Frankish leader to be killed by them before the Third Crusade. It is possible that this was their response to Raymond’s foundation of the Templar lordship of Tortosa. Certainly the Templars fought the Nizarites at first, but by King Amalric’s reign a peaceful solution had been found. James of Vitry, writing some 50 years later, relayed information perhaps supplied by the Templars: ‘For they [the Assassins] were at that time [c. 1173] tributary to the brethren of the Temple, paying them two thousand bezants each year in order to hold securely a certain part of their territory, for [the Templars] had been accustomed to launch many attacks against it because

19 WT, 20, 29, p. 953; Willey, *Eagle’s Nest*, pp. 216–45.

20 Lewis, *Assassins*, pp. 97–124; C. Nowell, ‘The Old Man of the Mountain’, *Speculum* 22 (1947), pp. 497–519.

21 WT, 17, 9, pp. 770–2; Ibn al-Qalanisi, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, trans. H.A.R. Gibb (London, 1932), p. 292.

22 H.E. Mayer, *Varia Antiochena. Studien zum Kreuzfahrerfürstentum Antiochia im 12 und frühen 13 Jahrhundert* (Hanover, 1993), pp. 116–17.

23 J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050–1310* (London, 1967), pp. 55–6.

24 J. Riley-Smith, ‘The Templars and the castle of Tortosa in Syria: an unknown document concerning the acquisition of the fortress’, *English Historical Review* 84 (1969), pp. 278–88; Barber, *New Knighthood*, pp. 81–3.

25 WT, 17, 19, pp. 786–7.

it was so near.²⁶ The English chronicler, William of Newburgh, explained that the normal Nizarite scare tactics did not work against the Templars: '[The Old Man of the Mountain] knew that it was a useless act if one of his servants should by chance kill a Master of the Temple, because the Templars would soon appoint another one who would strive more fiercely to avenge the death of his predecessor.'²⁷

Like all Ismailis, the Nizarites distinguished between the literal meaning of the Qur'an and of sharia law and the spiritual truths which they enshrined. They also had inherited a cyclical cosmology which was, in part at least, Gnostic in origin, and they 'worked out a cyclical ... view ... of religious history, in terms of the eras of different prophets recognized by the Qur'an'.²⁸ But when they first settled in the Jabal Bahra, the Nizarites conformed to the observances of the sharia and, in the eyes of their Frankish neighbours at least, appeared no different from any other Muslim community.

This changed during the reign of the fourth Master of Alamut, Hasan II (1162–66), who, on the 17th day of Ramadan in 1164, held a solemn assembly at which, speaking as the *khalifa*, the vicegerent of the Imam, he declared that the Day of Resurrection had come. He seems to have intended this to be understood in a spiritual rather than a literal sense. His followers could still experience physical death, but from that time forward they could, while still in this life, enjoy a full vision of God, made manifest through the representative of his Imam, a vision which would continue in Paradise after their deaths. Those who rejected this revelation were damned, because their wilful blindness shut them out, in both this world and the next, from sharing in the contemplation of God. Since a new dispensation had begun, the old dispensation was at an end and Hasan's followers were no longer bound to observe the ritual laws of Islam: the new dispensation was inaugurated with a banquet held in the middle of the fast of Ramadan.²⁹

When this happened, the Master of the Syrian Assassins was Rashid ad-Din Sinan, described by William of Tyre as 'a very eloquent man with a keen mind and a good intelligence'.³⁰ The biography of him by the Ismaili Abu Firas, written in 1324, was largely hagiographical.³¹ A more straightforward account is given by Kamal ad-Din of Aleppo (1192–1262) in his biographical dictionary. He reports that Sinan, a native of Basra, was trained at Alamut in the reign of the Grand Master Muhammad I (1138–62) in the company of the future Grand Master Hasan II. When Hasan came to power in 1162 he sent Sinan to Syria as his representative. At that time Abu Muhammad was Master of the Syrian Nizarites, but after his death Sinan was appointed new Master by the Grand Master.³² The *Bustan*, a contemporary Shi'ite

26 James of Vitry, *Historia Orientalis*, c. 14, pp. 42–3.

27 William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, IV, 24, ed. R. Howlett, Rolls Series 82 (I) (London, 1884), pp. 364–5.

28 Daftary, *Ismailis*, p. 139.

29 *Ibid.*, pp. 386–9; Hodgson, *Order of Assassins*, pp. 148–57.

30 WT, 20, 29, p. 953.

31 S. Guyard, 'Un Grand Maître des Assassins au temps de Saladin', *Journal Asiatique* 7 ser., 9 (1877), pp. 387–489.

32 B. Lewis, 'Kamal al-Din's biography of Rasid al-Din Sinan', *Arabica* 13 (1966), 231–4.