In Laudem Hierosolymitani

Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar

Crusades – Subsidia 1

Edited by
Iris Shagrir, Ronnie Ellenblum
and Jonathan Riley-Smith

Routledge

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Introduction

In a rare autobiographical piece Benjamin Z. Kedar revealed a cherished childhood memory of Heinrich Heine's poem "Wo?", recited to him by his father in early childhood. The poem, whose rhymes enraptured him even before he could read, remained charming and meaningful throughout his life. His translation of the poem into Hebrew appeared in the Haaretz Literary Supplement twice in recent years. The poem is reprinted here:

Wo wird einst des Wandermüden	אֵיפֹ֫ה יִמְצָא נוֹדֵד יָגֵעַ
Letzte Ruhestätte sein?	מְנוּחָתוֹ הָאַחְרוֹנָה?
Unter Palmen in dem Süden?	בַּדָּרוֹם מִתַּחַת תֹּ֫מֶר?
Unter Linden an dem Rhein?	עַל הָרַ֫יִן בְּצֵל תִּרְזָה?
Werd' ich wo in einer Wüste	הָאִם יַד זָר תִּטְמָנֵנִי
Eingescharrt von fremder Hand?	בַּמִּדְבָּר אֵי-שָׁם?
Oder ruh ich an der Küste	אוֹ אָנוּחַ בַּחוֹלוֹת
Eines Meeres in dem Sand?	לְחוֹפוֹ שֶׁל אֵיזֶה יָם.
Immerhin! Mich wird umgeben	כָּךְ אוֹ כָּךְ, אוֹתִי יַקִּיפוּ,
Gotteshimmel, dort wie hier,	שָׁם כְּמוֹ כָּאן, שְׁמֵי-הָאֵל,
Und als Totenlampen schweben	וְכִמְנוֹרוֹת-מֵת יְרַחֲפוּ
Nachts die Sterne über mir.[1]	מֵעָלַי כּוֹכְבֵי-הַלַּיִל.

Its exciting images suggest themes that seem to have turned up often in Kedar's academic career: the wayfarer across land and sea, the native soil left behind, the rupture between the cool European homeland and the faraway sunny south, and the critique of a religiosity obsessed with holy places. But most vivid is the perception of the universality of human existence, which underlies Kedar's scholarship.

Benjamin Z. Kedar was born in Nitra, Czechoslovakia, the Jewish community of which dates back to the early Middle Ages. As a child, he was forced to flee with his family the terror of war and persecution that came with the German invasion of Czechoslovakia. Upon immigrating to the very young state of Israel as an eleven-year-old boy, he naturally confronted the strains of displacement and the challenge

[1] Where is this way-wary rover's / Final resting-place to be? / Where the southern palm-frond hovers? / By a Rhenish linden tree?
Will I find in desert places / Shallow grave by alien hand? / Will I rest where sea-surf races / Buried in a sandy strand?
There as here! Earth will be lustered / By the Lord's celestial light, / And as burial lamps, the clustered / Stars will shine on me at night.

From Heinrich Heine, *Songs of love and grief : a bilingual anthology translated in the verse forms of the Originals*, translated by Walter W. Arndt with a foreword and notes by Jeffrey L. Sammons, Evanston, Ill. : Northwestern University Press, 1995, pp. 186–87.

of cultural adjustment. His family settled in the heart of the citrus-grove region of Israel, among *sabras*, native-born Israelis, to whom the hardships experienced by Europeans of the early 1940s were largely unknown. He integrated well into his new homeland. He changed his last name from Kraus to Kedar, completed his military service in the years 1956–1958, and later became involved in campaigning for public morality. In the early 1960s, he studied history and sociology at the Hebrew University with the eminent teachers of the time, Joshua Prawer and Jacob Katz, whom he extolled warmly when they passed away. His MA thesis was written under Prawer's direction in 1964–1965. Kedar's training under Jacob Katz, himself a student of Karl Mannheim, and Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt, contributed to his lifelong adherence to sociological approaches in historical research.

Kedar wrote his PhD thesis in Yale University under the supervision of yet another great teacher, Robert S. Lopez, and submitted it in 1969. Lopez was a mentor of an unusual type. Innovative and provocative, he conferred on Kedar a passion for micro-details and macro-history, inspiring enthusiasm together with a touch of irony. When Kedar came back to Israel in 1969, he immediately joined the faculty of the Hebrew University. In 1973 he was drafted as a reserve soldier and served as a communications non-commissioned officer during the Yom Kippur War. These weeks produced his first published book, *October 1973: The Story of an Armored Battalion* (1975, in Hebrew). This slender volume describes succinctly and minutely the day-to-day experience of the war, and presents the historian's task at its most essential: as the testimony of an inquisitive and candid eye-witness. The late Yehoshua Arieli wrote on its back cover: "The book preserves the memory of soldiers, alive and dead, in a truthful and respectful manner, allotting equal attention to minor and major incidents. The restrained, matter of fact, almost prosaic description reflects faithfully the mood of the combatants." The forward to this book was written by the then division commander, who later became Israel's prime minister, Ariel Sharon. Ever since, Kedar has remained an avid and sometimes critical observer of current trends and ideas in Israeli culture and society, and his articles on contemporary issues have appeared occasionally in Israel's daily newspapers.

Throughout his teaching career at the Hebrew University Kedar was considered a very stern yet admired teacher. He constantly stimulated his students to engage in independent thinking, and he underscored time and again the capacity of young students to offer a fresh and original outlook. The courses he taught reflected his wide-ranging interests in medieval society and economy, intellectual life and mentality, political, ecclesiastical and military history. Undergraduates used to line up before his office door to get back their carefully corrected essays. He read the drafts of his students' dissertations with the utmost attention, systematically correcting misplaced commas and accents, and often suggesting alternative or complementary ideas. Many of his PhD students, who now hold posts in academic institutions in Israel and abroad, bear witness to the high level of training they received from him. His pupils can testify to his incomparable devotion to their

progress, to his constant encouragement to present and publish their work, and to the sleepless nights they spent working on the medieval manuscripts that he uncovered and always chose to read first with his advanced students.

A major theme in Kedar's scholarship is the juxtaposition of the innovative against the traditional, of the unconventional against the commonly accepted. And he has always probed both historical and current issues as corresponding to wider social trends. His academic activity expresses ideas and interests that have evolved over years. As a young high-school pupil in the heart of so-called Little Tel Aviv, he questioned the widespread account of the town's historical topography; this interest resurfaced more than three decades later in the aerial photo analysis of sites in Israel in his bestseller *The Changing Land: Between the Jordan and the Sea. Aerial Photographs from 1917 to the Present* (1991). This book, presented in a popular format, demonstrates the ideas held by Kedar about the meaning of historical evidence, the conditioned and biased readings of landscapes and the existence or in-existence of an un-biased historical writing. The School of History, which he established at the Hebrew University in 1999, was a realization of his long-nurtured belief that historical teaching and research should be conducted within the widest possible context, avoiding as much as possible the common fragmentation into miscellaneous 'histories'.

Kedar has always been driven by a passion for the discovery of unknown and unexpected phenomena that modify our understanding of the past, not only in textual sources but in material remains as well. He has only re-examined topics when errors needed correcting or fresh findings were available. This is exemplified in his 1992 article "The Battle of Hattin Revisited," in which he combined a critical examination of contemporary sources and modern research, with a meticulous examination of archaeological remains. He actually walked the area on foot, measuring the distances between the resting places of the Frankish army and calculating the water capacity of the local springs.

Outside Israel the impact of his learning and personality has been felt most strongly on the world of crusade scholarship. Three characteristics stand out. The first is his innovative approach to a wide range of issues, relating both to the crusades and to the Latin East, and his ability to change thinking through a rigorous and imaginative treatment of source-material that has often been ignored by others. Examples are his transformation of our understanding of the relationship of crusading and conversion, the working of the hospital of St John in Jerusalem, the topography of Acre, the decrees of the Council of Nablus, learning in the Latin kingdom and the settlers' relations with the indigenous. Secondly, he is a natural leader. This was exemplified in his insistence on the need for a journal dedicated to the subject. He had to overcome the scepticism of colleagues, who thought the project was too ambitious and doubted whether a specialized periodical of this sort was needed. His judgment was triumphantly vindicated and the success of *Crusades* has been very largely due to his drive and enthusiasm. Thirdly, he has always shown a concern to uphold standards. As editor of *Crusades* he combines in a rare fashion

a commitment to the highest level of scholarship with an understanding of the need to encourage young historians.

The rarity of autobiographical material in his oeuvre is offset by the way his personal history is reflected in the topics that have preoccupied him in his academic writing. A perusal of his work of nearly four decades leaves little doubt that the themes he chose to probe were in one way or another carved from his own experiences. These themes, it seems, crystallize into an intellectual biography which is both scientific and personal. Thus, he has dedicated essays to issues of cultural disruption and displacement. In several articles he has dealt with the destiny of the Jewish people in the Middle Ages and the implications of religious contact and conflict, including the persecution of the Jews in 1096, the Jerusalem massacre of 1099, and Expulsion as an issue in world history. His books, *Merchants in Crisis* (1976) and *Crusade and Mission* (1984) also deal with individuals moving across cultural realms. His interest in personal names and their social function sheds special light on his own change of personal name, adopting a double first name full with connotations, being the Hebrew first names of Theodor Herzl, the founder of modern Zionism. One may dare to speculate that Kedar's interest in the medieval practice of medicine reflects, perhaps, his life as a son of an admired physician.

There is widespread appreciation of Kedar's scholarship in Israel and throughout the world. He served as president of the Society for the Study of Crusades and the Latin East in 1995–2002, as a chairperson of the board of the Israel Antiquities Authority since 2000, and as director of the Institute for Advanced Studies in Jerusalem (2001–2005). He was elected a member the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities in 1998 and has served as chairperson of its Section of Humanities since 2001. He was elected a corresponding fellow of the Medieval Academy of America in 2005. His academic and intellectual activities express the comprehensive worldview of a historian who is acutely aware of historical and current social trends. While he has more than once admonished against the conflation of personal or national sentiment into historical analysis and has upheld history written *sine ira et studio*, he is above all a historian engaged in his community and committed to it.

I. S., R. E. and J. R.-S.

Benjamin Z. Kedar: List of Publications

1967

1 "Noms de saints et mentalité populaire à Gênes au XIVe siècle," *Moyen Age* 73 (1967), 431–46.

1969

2 "Again: Arabic *rizq*, Medieval Latin *risicum*," *Studi Medievali* 10/3 (1969), 255–59 [reprinted in No. 66].

1971

3 "The Jewish Community of Jerusalem in the Thirteenth Century," *Tarbiz* 41 (1971/72), 82–94 [in Hebrew].

1972

4 "Canon Law and Local Practice: The Case of Mendicant Preaching in Late Medieval England," *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* 2 (1972), 17–32.

5 "The Passenger List of a Crusader Ship, 1250: Toward the History of the Popular Element on the Seventh Crusade," *Studi Medievali* 13/1 (1972), 267–79 [reprinted in No. 66].

1973

6 "Notes on the History of the Jews of Palestine in the Middle Ages," *Tarbiz* 42 (1972/73), 401–18 [in Hebrew].

7 "Toponymic Surnames as Evidence of Origin: Some Medieval Views," *Viator* 4 (1973), 123–29.

1974

8 "The General Tax of 1183 in the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem: Innovation or Adaptation?" *English Historical Review* 89 (1974), 339–45 [reprinted in No. 66].

9 "Between Arabs and Crusaders, 634–1291," in Dan Bahat, Benjamin Z. Kedar and Ze'ev Vilnay, *The Continuity of the Jewish Community in the Land of Israel* (Tel Aviv, 1974), pp. 35–68 [in Hebrew].

1975

10 O*ctober 1973: The Story of an Armored Battalion*. Tammuz: Tel Aviv, 1975. 143 pp. [in Hebrew].

11 (with A. Kaufman) "Radiocarbon Measurements of Medieval Mortars: A Preliminary Report," *Israel Exploration Journal* 25 (1975), 36–38.

12 "Notices on the Jews of Palestine in 18th-Century Protestant Sources," in *Erez-Israel*, vol. 12 (Jerusalem, 1975), pp. 203–6 [in Hebrew].

1976

13 *Merchants in Crisis: Genoese and Venetian Men of Affairs and the Fourteenth-Century Depression* (Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 1976) 260 pp.

14 "Segurano–Sakran Salvaygo: Un mercante genovese al servizio dei sultani mamalucchi, c. 1303–1322," in *Fatti e idee di storia economica nei secoli XII–XX. Studi dedicati a Franco Borlandi* (Bologna, 1976), pp. 75–91 [reprinted in No. 66].

15 "R. Yehiel of Paris and Palestine," *Shalem* 2 (1976), 307–12 [in Hebrew].

1977

16 (with Eliyahu Ashtor) "Una guerra fra Genova e i Mamlucchi negli anni 1380," *Archivio Storico Italiano* 133 (1975), 3–44 [published in 1977].

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18 "Chi era Andrea Franco?" *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* 91 (1977), 371–77.

1978

19 (with G.A. Mook) "Radiocarbon Dating of Mortar from the City-Wall of Ascalon," *Israel Exploration Journal* 28 (1978), 173–76.

1979

20 Ed.: *Jerusalem in the Middle Ages. Selected Papers*. Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi: Jerusalem, 1979. 400 pp. [in Hebrew].

21 "A Commentary on the Book of Isaiah Ransomed from the Crusaders," in *Jerusalem in the Middle Ages*, pp. 107–11 [in Hebrew].

22 "The Jews of Jerusalem, 1187–1267, and the Role of Nahmanides in the Re-Establishment of their Community," in *Jerusalem in the Middle Ages*, pp. 122–36 [in Hebrew].

23 "Jerusalemite Jews in Genoese Famagusta," in *Jerusalem in the Middle Ages*, pp. 197–205 [in Hebrew].

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1980

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1981

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1982

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30 "Ein Hilferuf aus Jerusalem vom September 1187," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 38 (1982), 112–22 [reprinted in No. 66].

31 "Masada: The Myth and the Complex," *The Jerusalem Quarterly* 24 (1982), 57–63.

1983

32 (with Christian Westergård-Nielsen) "Icelanders in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Twelfth-Century Account," *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 11 (1978–79), 193–211 [published in 1983; reprinted in No. 66].

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1984

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1985

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40 (with R. Denys Pringle) "La Fève: A Crusader Castle in the Jezreel Valley," *Israel Exploration Journal* 35 (1985), 164–79 [reprinted in No. 66].
41 "L'*Officium Robarie* di Genova: un tentativo di coesistere con la violenza," *Archivio Storico Italiano* 143 (1985), 331–72.
42 "The Arab Conquests and Agriculture: A Seventh-Century Apocalypse, Satellite Imagery, and Palynology," *Asian and African Studies* 19 (1985), 1–15.

1986

43 Ed., with Gabriella Airaldi: *I comuni italiani nel Regno Crociato di Gerusalemme. Atti del colloquio di Gerusalemme, 24–28 maggio 1984*. Collana storica di fonti e studi diretta da Geo Pistarino, 48. Genoa, 1986. 695 pp.
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47 "Aerial Israel: A Historian's Infatuation," *Ariel* 65 (1986), 58–71.

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52 (with Etan Kohlberg) "A Melkite Physician in Frankish Jerusalem and Ayyubid Damascus: Muwaffaq al-Din Yaʿqub b. Siqlab," in *The Medieval Levant*, pp. 113–26 [reprinted in No. 66].
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80 (with Etan Kohlberg) "The Intercultural Career of Theodore of Antioch," in *Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean. Studies in Honour of*

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1997

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THE HOLY LAND, ARCHAEOLOGY AND ICONOGRAPHY

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De Plaga que facta est in Hierusalem eo quod Dominicum diem non Custodiebant: History into Fable?

Amnon Linder

A Introduction

The *De plaga que facta est in Hierusalem eo quod dominicum diem non custodiebant* chronicles a series of afflictions that struck the inhabitants of Jerusalem – Christians, Jews and Muslims – and their attempts to propitiate God. The Jewish and Muslim rites of atonement resulted in further, even harsher calamities, while the Christians' three-day fast earned a respite and a revelation to a "servant of God" that these afflictions were imposed because Sunday was not correctly observed. The patriarch of Jerusalem decreed, consequently, that Sunday was to be correctly observed, and a great prosperity descended upon the land. The text of *De plaga* was published twice, by P. Jaffé and by R. Priebsch, but each of these editions represented a version transmitted in a single manuscript rather than a critical edition. The first part of this study consists of such a critical edition (based on ten manuscripts), a necessary condition for tackling the problems of *De plaga*'s authorship, literary genre, goals and meanings. These issues are discussed in the second part of the present study.

B Manuscripts

1 Göttweig, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 211, olim XIV. 164 (HMML 3481), fourteenth-century (G). Its main component is *Postilla de tempore* (fols. 1r–148r); a later copyist added on the final pages several historical-liturgical short pieces, among them *De plaga*.[1]

Fols. 159r–159v: no title. This text derives directly from archetype α. Fairly accurate, it introduces, nevertheless, several errors typical to family γ, mainly the inane corruption of "ambonem" to "arborem".

2 Graz, Universitätbibliothek, Cod. 302 (HMML 26,220), Chorherrenstift Seckau, 1384–85 (S), a compilation of sermons and hagiographic-liturgical pieces. Our text is included in the manuscript's portion copied in 1385, and as in manuscript H and possibly M it is copied after the sermon *De die dominica* (Inc. "Veneranda est nobis dies sancta").[2]

[1] V. Werl, *Manuscripten-Catalog der Stiftsbibliothek zu Göttweig*, vol. 1 (1844), p. 355 (photo-print of a hand-written catalogue).

[2] Anton Kern, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Graz*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1942), pp. 168–70.

Fol. 233r: *De eodem* (it follows *De die dominica*); *De plaga que facta fuit in Iherusalem eo quod diem dominicam non servaverunt*. This is a γ^1 copy: it shares with H against all the other manuscripts the inflated number 86,000 (emended by a second hand to 86) and the variant "postquam." It is not an apograph of H, however, for it contains an important passage omitted in H ("et predaverunt – igne cremaverunt") as well as the word "multitudo," another omission in H. Nor was it the exemplar of H, for several of its readings differ from the correct readings transmitted in H and it omits "triduanum," present in H. The passage "deinde servus dei – fuit revelatum" in S, finally, differs from the parallel passage in H to such an extent that S could not possibly be the source of H. S and H relate to each other, consequently, as congeners rather than as exemplar and apograph. The fact that both G and H associate *De plaga* with the Sunday sermon *Veneranda est nobis* is another indication of the close relationship between these two manuscripts, and – possibly – of the constitution of the archetype α.

3 Herzogenburg, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 35 (HMML 3269), Austria, fourteenth-century, a miscellany of theological, homiletic and liturgical works (H).[3]

Fols 138r–138v: *De plaga que facta fuit in Hierusalem eo quod dominicum diem non servaverunt*, with a second title in the margin – *De septem plagis*. A γ^1 copy, congener of S (see above, no. 2), produced by a German-speaking copyist: he corrupted "per villas" to "per filias."

4 Hessische Landes-und-Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt, Cod. 768, copied in the middle of the fifteenth century in the Augustinian Chorherrenstift Ewich (D). This is a predominantly historical and hagiographic compilation: it comprises Eusebius's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Ado's *Martyrologium*, apocryphal *historiae* and three hagiographic *Passiones*. It derives from an eleventh or twelfth-century exemplar, for its latest texts date from the mid-eleventh century (Petrus Damiani's *De exitu animae* and *De duobus ducibus altercantibus* by Maiolus Scotus [1042–61]), while the bulk of the manuscript is taken by much earlier works – Eusebius's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and at least two ninth-century texts (Ado's *Martyrologium* and Heito's *Visio Wettini*).[4]

Fols. 128v–129r: *De pena eorum qui dominicum diem celebrare non curaverunt*. D and K share a considerable number of omissions, peculiar variants and one significant error against all the other manuscripts: both give the number of the cremated martyrs as 24. As D omits a passage found in K ("fuerunt interfecti circa Hierusalem") – producing a mutilated, verbless phrase – it follows that K was the exemplar and D the apograph. A common variant ("plaga magna") and a common omission ("[misit] illis") shared with R suggest an ultimate source – hyparchetype β – common to DKR. Manuscript

[3] Photo-print of Herman Lein's machine-typed Catalogue (Wien, 1949), and Hope Mayo's extensive Catalogue (Collegeville, 1985).

[4] Kurt Hans Straub and Herman Knaus, *Die Handschriften der Hessischen Landes-und-Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt*, vol. 4 (Wiesbaden, 1979), pp. 193–94.

R, however, is a maverick (see below); it could not mediate, therefore, between α – or β – and K. This conclusion is supported by the following hypothetical reconstruction of the process in which the number of the cremated martyrs was corrupted from 27 (as in R) to 24 in K (and its apograph D): the copyist of K overlooked the baseline stroke of the Caroline Minuscule U in "XXUII" and counted its two minims together with the following two minims, thus arriving at the number "XXIIII". The considerable deviation of K (and even more so D) from archetype α – and most probably from hyparchetype β as well – render both D and K largely useless for the establishment of the original text.

5 Cologne, Dombibliothek, Cod. 70 (Darmst. 2062) (HMML 35,087), Germany, tenth/eleventh century (K). A collection of sermons and two works bearing on the origins of liturgical observances – an extract from Gregory of Tours on the origins of the Great Litany and *De plaga*.[5]

Fol. 209r: *De plaga quae facta est in Hierusalem eo quod dominicum diem non observaverunt*. See above, no. 4. Jaffé published this text in Appendix VIII to his above-mentioned catalogue, pp. 109–10.

6 Melk, Benedictine Abbey's Library, Cod. 531 (olim 588 L. 7, HMML 1447), fifteenth century (L). A miscellany of theological, hagiographic, canonical and homiletic texts, the latest of which were composed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[6]

Fol. 88r: *Dicta plaga que facta fuit in Iherusalem eo quod diem dominicam non servaverunt*. A typical γ copy, identifiable by this hyparchetype's errors ("Gregorius" replacing "Georgius" and the number of 70 casualties instead of 80 during the Watermelon War) as well as the characteristic errors of G. Its own peculiar errors consist in the corruption of "Sancti Sabae" to "Sancte Sabine" and "monachos" to "monacahas." These idiosyncratic errors and L's divergence from GHS in variants and omissions prove that it did not mediate between G and HS, nor between γ and HS.

7 Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 12,515, Cistercian Abbey of Reitenhaslach, first half of the thirteenth century (R). It carries Isidore's *Sententiae*, and on its last two pages – fols. 77v–78r – three texts copied by three early thirteenth-century hands. Our text, untitled, is the first of the three.[7]

Copy R derives from hyparchetype β: it shares with it the number of St. Sabas martyrs as 27, and – together with DK – a variant and an omission. A highly maverick copy, it exhibits peculiar variants and rephrases entire

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[5] Philip Jaffé and Wilhelm Wattenbach, *Ecclesiae Metropolitanae Coloniensis codices manuscripti* (Berlin, 1874), p. 23, and Appendix VIII (pp. 109–10); *Handschriftenzensus Rheinland. Erfassung mittelalterlicher Handschriften im rheinischen Landesteil von Nordrhein-Westfalen*, Hrsg. Günter Gattermann, bearb. von Heinz Finger (Wiesbaden, 1993); Diane Warne Anderson, *The Medieval Manuscripts of the Cologne Cathedral Library*, vol. 1: *Mss. 1–100* (Collegeville, 1997), (e-edition).

[6] Photo-print of the hand-written *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Monasterii Mellicensis O.S.B. servantur*, vol. 2 (*mss. 235–707*), pp. 813–816.

[7] Carolus Halm and Guilielmus Meyer, *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, tomus 2 pars 1 (Munich, 1874).

passages. It has no progeny, and its independent testimony is practically useless for the reconstitution of α.

8 Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 15,122, Augustinerchorherrenstift Rebdorf, completed in 1390 (M). The bulk of this manuscript is given to the nearly contemporary collection of sermons by Johannes Militsch, preceded by four theological works, among them one by Matthew of Cracow (another contemporary, and, like Johannes Militsch, connected with Prague). Three pieces were later copied on the last two pages, among them a sermon for Sunday followed by *De plaga*. They are, therefore, later than 1390, the date on which the copying of the preceding works was completed.[8]

Fol. 247v: *De plaga dei quae facta est in Ierusalem eo quod dominicum diem non custodiebant*. This copy derives directly from α: it does not exhibit the distinctive errors of lines β and γ. Though generally reliable, it presents some singular omissions, errors and variants, as well as one rephrased passage ("brucus quorum – folia earum").

9 Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 21,557, Benedictine Abbey of Weihenstephan (W). The greater part of this manuscript (fols. 13r–133r) was produced in the eleventh century and contains a rich selection – mainly from Bede – of historical works (Bede's *Martyrologium*, *Generationes ab Adam usque ad Christum* and *De plaga)*, computistical and cosmological treatises. Arno Borst assigns it to Freising after 1006.[9]

Fol. 103r: no title. This is another reliable copy, a direct descendent of archetype α, though not entirely free from idiosyncratic readings. Particularly noteworthy are the omission of the passage "et predaverunt – alia monasteria," due to a "leap from the same to the same" – from "monasteria et" to "monasteria et" – and the awkward designation of the number of the dead during the plague in Jerusalem; it misled the German translator in *Diu vrône Botschaft* (no. 10, below). Priebsch published this text in *Diu vrône Botschaft* … (see below), pp. 67–70.

10 *Diu vrône Botschaft zu der Christenheit*, ed. Robert Priebsch (Graz, 1895), pp. 66–70 (V). This German poem, preserved in a single thirteenth-century manuscript, comprises two components: the "Letter from Heaven" legend in its "Jerusalem version" (vv. 43–776), and a rhymed translation of *De plaga* (vv. 778–878). Priebsch dated the complete poem to the late twelfth/early thirteenth century, located its composition in the Abbey of Weihenstephan, and identified the Latin source of the second component with manuscript W. V is valuable,

[8] Carolus Halm (et alii), *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, tomus 2 pars 3 (Munich, 1878).

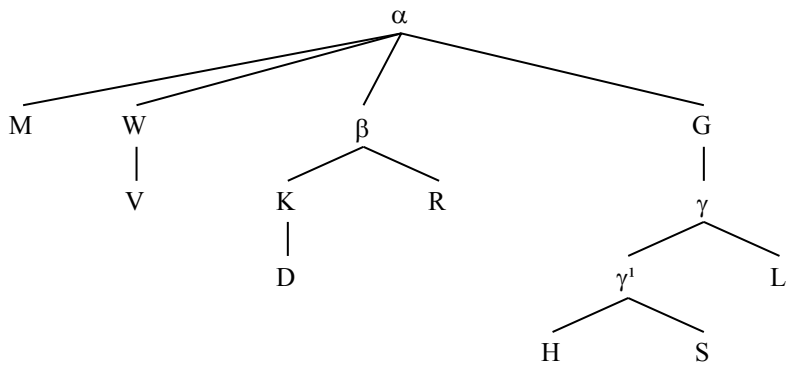
[9] Carolus Halm and Guilielmus Meyer, *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, tomus 2 pars 4 (Munich, 1881); Arno Borst, *Die karolingische Kalenderreform*, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica 46 (Stuttgart, 1998), p. xxiii.

therefore, as witness to the way W was understood and misunderstood,[10] but worthless for the purpose of reconstructing archetype α.

C Textual Transmission

The geographical distribution of *De plaga* can be deduced from the German – specifically South-German – provenance of its manuscripts, in general attribution (K) and in the specific identifications of the monastic establishments of Ewich (D), Göttweig (G), Herzogenburg (H), Melk (L), Rebdorf (M), Reitenhaslach (R), Seckau (S) and Weihenstephan (W). Its chronological range extends from the tenth/eleventh century (K, W) through the thirteenth (R, V), the fourteenth (G, H, M, S) and the fifteenth (D, L). It is a short text: only 275 words in the present edition. Its preservation depended, therefore, on its inclusion in miscellanies and on blank pages of manuscripts. It was usually inserted in homiletic-historical ensembles, a strong indication that it was regarded as an *exemplum*. This explains, to some extent, its malleability, the apparent facility with which it was reworked and transformed. The flexibility of homiletics – a genre particularly responsive to immediate circumstances and used to illustrate rather than define truths – clearly reflected on its ancillary material. Considerable textual instability resulted also from *De plaga*'s anonymous parentage: with no authorial attribution and, consequently, with no recognised authority – not even a false one – to shield it from arbitrary textual changes, it was highly vulnerable to alterations, over and above the usual wear and tear common in "normal" manuscript transmission.

The following stemma charts the historical relationships between the texts transmitted by the ten manuscripts and the three posited hyparchetypes of *De plaga*, displaying its progressive transformation through five centuries of textual tradition.



[10] See the fantastically inflated numbers in V, produced by misinterpreting the value of the horizontal bar above numerals in W (vv. 799 [110,168 in place of 68], 811 [5000 in place of 60]), and the wrong identification of the two sides in the war around Jerusalem as Christians on the one hand and Jews and Pagans on the other (vv. 805–812).

The textual tradition of *De plaga* proceeded, consequently, along three distinct lines.

1 Largely uncorrupted texts were transmitted in manuscripts M and W.
2 A new line – marked by two successive corruptions of the number of the cremated martyrs of St. Sabas – opened up in hyparchetype β, known from the agreement of manuscripts KR; and K beget D. Hyparchetype β appeared not later than the tenth/eleventh century, its *terminus ante quem* determined by the date of manuscript K.
3 The third line started with manuscript G, which engendered hyparchetype γ, which sired manuscript L and hyparchetype γ^1, which generated, in turn, manuscripts HS. While the GHLS family shares common errors and variants, each of its three stages is identifiable by its peculiar errors.[11] All four manuscripts were produced in the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries.

We are now in a position to reconstruct archetype α, written not later than the tenth/eleventh century (the dates of K and W determining the *tempus ante quem*), on the basis of the common readings of manuscripts GMV and hyparchetype β (only slightly divergent from α).[12] The other witnesses are largely useless for this purpose: V depends exclusively on W, D depends on K, hyparchetype γ derives from G, and hyparchetype γ^1 depends on hyparchetype γ. In reconstructing α the common readings of the entire group GKMRW and, secondarily, those of GMW, are, in principle, superior to the variants offered in manuscripts DHLS.

D Critical Edition

Sigla
D Hessiche Landes-und-Hochschulbibliothek, Darmstadt, Hs. 768 (Ms. no. 4).
G Göttweig, Cod. 211 (Ms. no. 1).
H Herzogenburg, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 35 (Ms. no. 3).
K Cologne, Dombibliothek, Cod. 70 (Ms. no. 5).
L Melk, Cod. 531 (Ms. no. 6).

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[11] G corrupted "ambonem" to "arborem" (also in HLS, hence γ and γ^1) and omitted ".c." – the number of the persecuted monks of St. Sabas (also in LS, hence γ and γ^1; H omits the entire sentence) as well as "Hierusalem" (also in LS, emended in H), "per [monasteria]" (also in JLS), "vidit [unus]" (also in S, hence γ and γ^1; HL supply the obvious omission). G is also the source of the following variants, shared by HLS: "letaniam facere", "vice triduanum fecerunt" (though not in S), and "custodierunt". Hyparchetype γ corrupted "Georgius" to "Gregorius", the number of the killed on one side in the Watermelon War from 80 to 70 (both in HLS, hence γ^1), and "potuerunt" to "poterant." Hyparchetype γ^1 inflated the number of the dead in the epidemic from 86 to 86,000 (in HS, though "milia" erased by corrector in S).

[12] Marked by the corruption of the number 28 (the St. Sabas martyrs), the variant "plaga magna" and the omission "illis [deus]."

M Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 15,122 (Ms. no. 8).
R Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 12,515 (Ms. no. 7).
S Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 302 (Ms. no. 2).
V *Diu vrône Botschaft zu der Christenheit* (Ms. no. 10).
W Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 21,557 (Ms. no. 9).

De plaga que facta est in Hierusalem eo quod dominicum diem non custodiebant[13]

In diebus[14] Georgii[15] patris sanctissimi[16] fuit magna plaga[17] facta in Hierusalem super Christianos et[18] Sarracenos et[19] Iudeos. Primo anno venit[20] terraemotus[21] a pascha usque in[22] pentecosten, cotidie tribus vicibus[23], et ex[24] ipso terraemotu fuit tribulatio magna.[25] Secundo anno[26] venit locusta et brucus[27] innumerabilis[28] multitudo,[29] et comederunt omne foenum[30] terrae et omnes cortices arborum et folia usque ad[31] radices earum.[32] Tertio anno[33] venit mortalitas,[34] ita ut per unam portam

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[13] De pena eorum qui dominicum diem celebrare non curaverunt D; De plaga que facta fuit in Hierusalem eo quod dominicum diem non servaverunt *with another title in the margin* – De septem plagis H; De plaga quae facta est in Hierusalem eo quod dominicum diem non observaverunt K; Dicta plaga que facta fuit in iherusalem eo quod diem dominicam non servaverunt L; De plaga dei quae facta est in Ierusalem eo quod dominicum diem non custodiebant M; De eodem (*the preceding piece is a sermon* De die dominica). De plaga que facta fuit in Iherusalem eo quod diem dominicam non servaverunt S; *no title* GRW.

[14] in illis diebus [illis *crossed through*] M.

[15] Georgii DKM; Georii GRV; Georigi W; Gregorii HLS.

[16] sanctissimi patris H; patris summi DK.

[17] plaga magna DKR.

[18] *om*. L.

[19] et super M; atque super W.

[20] fuit S.

[21] motus H; *om*. M.

[22] *om*. G; in KRW; ad M.

[23] terre motus *inserted by 2nd hand on margin* M.

[24] in ipso G.

[25] magna tribulatio S.

[26] secundo vero anno S.

[27] brucus et innumerabilis multitudo G; brucus quorum innumerabilis multitudo commedit fenum terre et cortices arborum et folia earum M.

[28] in mira S.

[29] *om*. H.

[30] fructum L.

[31] in RW.

[32] eorum RW; arborum S.

[33] tercio vero anno R.

[34] mortalitas tanta R; mortalitas vite H.

civitatis[35] Hierusalem[36] exierunt[37] corpora hominum[38] inter viros et[39] mulieres et parvulos lxxxvi.[40] Quarto[41] anno[42] fuerunt interfecti[43] circa[44] Hierusalem[45] propter unam cucurbitam,[46] de una[47] parte lxxx, de[48] alia vero parte lx hominum.[49] Quinto vero[50] anno[51] fecerunt Sarraceni predas[52] per villas[53] et per[54] monasteria,[55] et predaverunt Iordanem et tria alia monasteria, et Sancto Saba monasterio c monachos plagaverunt, et xxviii igne cremaverunt.[56] Et ipso[57] anno[58] fuit[59] siccitas magna, et[60] pro ipsa siccitate coeperunt Iudei facere[61] laetaniam[62] et pluviam

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35 *om*. DK.

36 *om*. LS.

37 exirent DK; deportata sunt M; deportarentur R.

38 hominum permistui sexus et etatis M; hominum virorum et mulierum cum parvulis R.

39 *om*. H.

40 octoginta sex D; lxxxvi GKMR; 86orum L; octoaginta sex milia H; 86 milia (milia *erased*) S; x (*with a curling horizontal bar above*).lxxx.vi. W; sehs und achzech liute und zehen und zehenzech tûsent hundert V (v. 799).

41 quarto igitur R; quarto vero KW.

42 anno venit fuerunt (venit *erased*) G.

43 anno interfecti sunt R.

44 in L.

45 fuerunt interfecti circa Hierusalem *om*. D.

46 propter cubarbitam H; propter unam incurbitam M; propter unam turbicam S.

47 duna W.

48 et de G.

49 octoginta … sexaginta homines D; lxx … lx[a] hominum H; lxxx … lx homines GK; 70 … 60 homines LS; lxxx … lx hominum MR; lxxx (*horizontal bars above the first and the last two* xs) … lx (*horizontal bar above* x) W; … von einem teile... ahzech man und wîp/ dô verluren ouch den lîp/ funfzech hundert juden und heiden V (vv. 807, 809–811).

50 vero *om*. M.

51 quinto anno vero H.

52 predas plurimas R.

53 villa G.

54 per *om*. GHLS.

55 per filias et monasteria; et – cremaverunt *om*. H.

56 monasteria et predaverunt Iordanem et tria illa monasteria et sancti Sabe monasterio monachos centum plagaverunt, viginti quatuor igne cremaverunt D; monasteria et predaverunt Iordanem et tria alia monasteria et de sancti Sabe monasterio monachos plagaverunt et xxviii igne cremaverunt G; monasteria et predaverunt Iordanem et tria illa monasteria et sancti Sabae monasterio monachos c plagaverunt, xxiiii igne cremaverunt K; monasteria et predaverunt Iordanem et tria alia monasteria et de sancte Sabine monasterio monachas plagaverunt et 28 igne cremaverunt L; monasteria et deperdaverunt Iordanem et tria monasteria et de sancti Sabe monasterio monachos plagaverunt et xxviii igni cremaverunt M; monasteria Jiordanem et iii monasteria et in monasterio sancti sabe monachos c occiderunt xxvii igne cremaverunt R; monasteria et predaverunt Iordanem et tria alia monasteria et de Sabo monasterio monachos plagaverunt et 28 cremaverunt S; et predaverunt – cremaverunt *om*. H; et predaverunt – alia monasteria *om*. W; si ersluogen und erstâchen/ von dem munster sancti Sâbaâ/ hundert muniche und verbranden dâ/ aht und zweinzech V (vv. 816–819).

57 illo DK; eo H.

58 in ipso autem anno R.

59 facta est H.

60 magna ita ut iudei facerent letaniam et postularent pluviam et maior siccitas facta est R.

61 siccitate fecerunt Iudei facere M; facere *om*. DK.

62 letaniam facere GHLS.

postulaverunt,[63] et venit siccitas maior,[64] ita ut omnes[65] mori[66] putaverunt.[67] Ut[68] viderunt[69] Sarraceni quod Iudei impetrare non potuerunt,[70] coeperunt et ipsi eorum facere[71] laetaniam,[72] et venit grando et[73] tempestas. Tertia autem vice[74] fecerunt Christiani[75] triduanum[76] ieiunium, et misit illis[77] deus[78] pluviam. Post hec[79] vidit[80] unus servus dei[81] per visionem angelum domini[82] ad se venientem, qui dixit ei:[83] Ista[84] tribulatio et ista plaga venit super homines, eo[85] quod diem dominicum[86] non[87] custodiunt.[88] Deinde[89] ipse servus dei[90] venit ad Georgium patriarcham, et indicavit ei sicut revelatum illi[91] fuerat, et[92] tunc[93] dominus patriarcha ascendit[94] in

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[63] postulaverunt pluviam DK; postulabant HL; postulare GMS.

[64] et siccitas maior G; et siccitas magus [*sic*] augmentata est H; et siccitas maiorata est L; et siccitas immorata est S.

[65] homines DK.

[66] mori se RW.

[67] potaverunt H; putabant L; putarent KS.

[68] et DHS; quod videntes sarraceni ceperunt et ipsi facere letanias pro siccitate et venit grando maxima et tempestas R.

[69] viderunt autem [autem *erased*] W.

[70] poterunt G; poterant HLS.

[71] facere eorum M.

[72] letanias DR.

[73] ac GL.

[74] vice triduanum fecerunt christiani ieiunium et misit GHL.

[75] fecerunt et christiani R.

[76] *om*. S.

[77] *om*. DKR.

[78] dominus W.

[79] post hec DGKLR; postquam HS; post hec autem angelus domini aparuit cuidam sancto dicens ista R; post M; postea W.

[80] *om*. GS.

[81] servus dei *om*. DK; vidit homo unus servus dei M.

[82] dei DGHKLS; domini MRW.

[83] qui ei dixit S.

[84] ista plaga et tribulatio venit H; ista tribulatio et hec plaga ideo facta est eo quod diem dominicum noluerunt observare homines R.

[85] eo *om*. M.

[86] dominicum diem DK.

[87] *om*. H.

[88] custodiunt MW; custodierunt G (servaverunt *erased*) HLS; observaverunt DK.

[89] deinde ipse servus dei venit ad Georgium patriarcham et indicavit ei DKMW [domini]; deinde servus dei venit ad Gegorium patriarcha G; deinde servus dei ad Gregorium patriarcham ivit et indicavit ei H; deinde servus dei ad Gregorium patriarcham ibat et indicavit ei L; deinde servus dei qui visionem viderat venit ad Georium patriarcham et indicavit ei visionem R; deinde servus dei aggrediens Gregorium patriarcham indicavit ei ut sibi fuit revelatum S; deinde ipse servus domini venit ad Georgium patriarcham et indicavit ei W.

[90] domini W.

[91] illi revelatum DKM; ei HL; ei revelatum G.

[92] et *om*. DGKHMS.

[93] *om* L; tunc quoque DGK; tunc dominus patriarcha summa dili[g]entia precepit diem dominicum a vespera ad vesperam celebrari et quicumque non custodisset anathematizaretur. Post hec autem venit abundantia magna super terram. R.

[94] astandit M.

ambonem,[95] et iussit custodire[96] diem dominicum[97] a vespera usque ad vesperam, et qui[98] non custodisset[99] diem dominicum[100] anathematizaretur,[101] et[102] coeperunt postea observare diem dominicum, et venit habundantia super terram.[103]

E Meaning, Historicity and Authorship

De plaga is meaningful in several ways. It is, in the first place, an explicitly aetiological story as well as a cautionary tale about the institution of the correct observance of Sunday from Vespers to Vespers.[104]

It carried latent meanings as well, anchored on the perceived correspondence between story and plot. A "plot" is defined here as an authoritative belief bearing on an anthropological, cosmological, theological or moral issue and rendered into an elementary, virtually formulaic narrative;[105] such bare plots were usually expanded into more elaborate stories that were widely accessible in the Scriptures and in cognate authoritative sources. Comprehending stories involved, consequently, matching them against their plots, usually through a mediating authoritative story, ascending from the given narrative to the animating belief. This type of decoding was regularly applied in making sense of the world and in unveiling truths in the light of the Scriptures. As meaning depends, in this case, on correspondence, our best approach would be, first, to look for a formal structural analogy between story and plot, and, second, to identify significant narrative elements – events and key terms – that were common to both story and plot. Analyzed in this way, *De plaga* comes out as a composite story, corresponding to two Christian archetypal plots: a theodicean postulate on suffering and an ordeal-type contraposition of Christianity with Judaism and Islam.

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95 arborem GHLS.

96 custodiri M; custodire et observare W.

97 dominicum *om*. L; dominicum diem D; dominicam H.

98 quicumque M.

99 custodiret KM; custodivisset GL.

100 diem dominicum *om*. M; eum DK.

101 anathematizatur DG.

102 tunc ceperunt populi diem dominicum observare et venit DK; et ceperunt diem dominicum postea observare GL; et ceperunt diem dominicum postea cum omni veneratione observare et evenit eis omnis habundantia desuper(?) H; et ceperunt postea diem dominicum observare M; et ceperunt diem dominicum observare S; et coeperunt postea observare diem dominicum W.

103 terram etc. G.

104 In manuscript K, it is associated with another aetiological story concerning a liturgical observance – an extract from Gregory of Tours' *History* narrating the institution of the Great Litany.

105 An extended discussion of this method of analysis will be out of place here. It echoes, to some extent, the Aristotelian concept of "plot" (μυθος), and owes much to Hayden White's approach as expounded in "Interpretation in History" and "The Historical Text as a Literary Artifact" in his *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore, 1978), pp. 51–80, 81–100, and "The Question of Narrative in Contemporary Historical Theory," in *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore, 1987), pp. 26–57.

The theodicean plot narrates collective human suffering as a divinely ordained, predetermined sequence of afflictions, and justifies it as a punishment for sin and as a stimulus for meritorious virtue. It implies accountability: the conviction that the individual is ultimately responsible for his or her choice of either virtue or evil and deserves the predetermined outcome of that choice. Among its more powerful Biblical mediating instances are the narratives of the Ten Plagues of Egypt,[106] the Plagues of Retribution in *Leviticus*,[107] the Last Tribulations in the Synoptic Gospels[108] and the two series in the Johannine *Revelation* – the Seven Trumpets of Judgment and the Seven Last Plagues.[109] They are not homogeneous; while the Apocalyptic Plagues are explicitly penal, the Last Tribulations are only tacitly so, and the Plagues of Retribution as well as the Ten Plagues of Egypt combine punishment with potential benefit, in that the suffering they inflict is perceived as a potential source of deterrence and rehabilitation. The principle of accountability, likewise, is shown to be essential to the Apocalyptic Plagues and the Retributive Plagues as well as the Ten Plagues of Egypt, although the Ten Plagues' narrative insists that God "hardened" Pharaoh's intransigence, subverting, in effect, the argument from personal accountability. Commentators re-established this principle in several ways, glossing over the divergence from the theodicean fondamentals.[110]

The *De plaga*'s story corresponded to the Biblical versions of the theodicean plot in five ways. First, it reproduced the Biblical configuration of a sequential, phased series of afflictions. Secondly, it acknowledged the dual purpose of the afflictions, penal as well as remedial. It becomes fully and explicitly meaningful, in effect, only towards its end, when this dual purpose is publicly recognized and promptly acted upon by the patriarch, in the spirit of the comment in the *Glossa ordinaria*: "Plage Egiptiorum eruditio sunt filiorum Israel."[111] Thirdly, similar to those Biblical stories it employs ordinal numbering. This was an effective way of highlighting the sequential structures of both plot and story but also of investing them with the mystical qualities recognized to certain numbers, mainly seven, commonly perceived as a symbol of plenitude and finality.[112] The evolution of the number of the afflictions in *De plaga* from five to seven through the addition of drought and tempest to the original five is probably due to the author's vacillation between five, the number of the Plagues of Retribution and of the Last Tribulations (his immediate sources in this matter), and the prominence of the number seven. He managed, finally, to have both. Fourthly, *De plaga* corresponds closely to the Last

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[106] Ex. 7–11.

[107] Lv. 26.

[108] Mt. 24.4–13; Mc. 13.5–26; Lc. 21.8–28.

[109] Apc. 8–11; 16–17.

[110] See, for example, Augustine (*Quaestiones in Hepteuchum*, ed. Iosephus Zycha, *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* vol. 28 (Vienna, 1895), Lib. 2 (*Exodus*). 18, pp. 100–101, also vol. 29, p. 108); Bede (*In Pentateuchum Commentarii*, *Exodus*, 7, PL 91:301).

[111] *Glossa ordinaria*, *Exodus*, vol. I, p. 129.

[112] Typical observation by Haymo of Halberstadt: "Quia septenarius numerus saepe pro universitate ponitur … " (*Expositio in Apocalipsin*, 5.16, PL 117:1118).

Tribulations and the Plagues of Retribution – and to some extent to the Ten Plagues as well – in its choice of disasters that are natural and earthly rather than supernatural phenomena. Its earthquake, pestilence, war, persecution and drought conform to the pool of afflictions common to these two stories; the locusts could have flown over from the Ten Plagues. One looks in vain for the Apocalyptic Plagues with their great burning mountain that was cast into the sea, the monstrous man-killing locusts or the fallen burning star. Fifthly, and finally, *De plaga* echoes three of these Biblical stories – the Ten Plagues of Egypt, the Plagues of Retribution, and the Seven Last Plagues – in using the defining term "plaga" in its title (in all variants) and in its opening and closing sections.[113]

A second plot underlies *De plaga*'s account of the attempts made in Jerusalem to propitiate God and bring the drought to an end in the form of a contest, lost by the Jews and the Muslims in the first two rounds and won, finally, by the Christians: this is the agonistic plot of election and rejection, embodying Christianity's belief in its unique mission and ultimate triumph. Its most obvious Biblical instance was the ordeal in which Elijah confronted the prophets of Baal and Ashera: both ordeals were intended to stop a drought, were conducted as a contest with two other religions/rites, and on both occasions a three-day fast preceded the miraculous conclusion. The Elijah-ordeal story was, however, too rigorously monotheistic for most Christian authors, for it embodied the belief that the supernatural originates only in God and bears witness, therefore, to God alone. It ill-suited a Christian world perceived as teeming with supernatural phenomena that originated directly either in God or in the Devil and were, consequently, either evil or divine. The Christian rendering of the ordeal plot was, consequently, much more complex than its Biblical prototype and better attuned to the sensibilities of a Christian public.

It comprised two principal types: the agonistic ordeal and the passion-type ordeal. They appear either separately or in a combined form, with the first leading up to the second. The agonistic ordeal declares the exclusive truthfulness of Christianity by means of a contest – usually organized by some public authority – fought between the champions of God (Christians) and those of the Devil (Pagans, Jews, philosophers, magi and heretics) and decided by means of a supernatural revelation. The Christian champion wins by performing the stipulated supernatural tasks – miraculous healing, resuscitation of the dead, bringing down a temple, exorcising demons and similar feats – with powers stronger than those of his adversary, on the principle that the divine is mightier than the diabolic.[114] The passion-type ordeal, grounded on the Passion of Christ, is essentially spiritual, within the martyr's soul. His imitation of Christ is fully tested and confirmed when

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[113] " … fuit plaga magna facta … et ista plaga venit … ."

[114] Sylvester declares, in his ordeal against the Jew Zambri: "maiora certamina daemonum divinis auxiliis superantur" (Boninus Mombritius, *Sanctuarium sive Vitae Sanctorum*, Novam editionem curaverunt duo monachi Solemenses, t. 2 (Paris, 1910), p. 527; this collection is mainly based on the pre-twelfth-century *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum* – see Gerhard Eis, *Die Quellen für das Sanctuarium des Mailänder Humanisten Boninus Mombritius* [Germanische Studien, Heft 140, (Berlin, 1933)].

he overcomes the terrors, the pains and the temptations that the Devil launches into that "agon." The supernatural enters this conflict initially through the Devil, for the martyr has no use for the protective miracle; he craves death. Miracles derived from the divine do not appear, consequently, prior to the actual winning of the ordeal and they proclaim the outcome rather than secure it. They are primarily associated, therefore, with the triumphant death – with the glorification of the martyr's corpse, with the physical objects that relate to the passion and, eventually, with its recurring commemoration. Nevertheless, divinely derived miracles are sometimes inserted into the proceedings: a martyr is nourished in prison by a gleaming dove, severed limbs are miraculously reattached, starved lions shrink away from their intended prey, spiked wheels turn powerless to harm the martyr but with lethal effect on persecutors. These are throwbacks to the agonistic ordeal-plot, and although they diverge from the right story line and obscure its full meaning as a passion-plot they do not cancel it. Although the passion-type ordeal is, above all, an inner personal struggle, it has an important public dimension as well, a feature it shares with the public agonistic ordeal; the watching crowd in the arena as well as the future audience are fully aware of the "championship" of the martyr, and recognize his triumph when it is publicly confirmed through authenticating public miracles.

The passion-type ordeal was often conceived in "vertical" terms of total dominance and obedience, the sovereignty of God negating that of Caesar and obedience to God entailing disobedience to Caesar. The agonistic ordeal, on the other hand, was perceived as an open demonstration, a fair contest fought on level ground, with both protagonists given a sporting chance. Genuine recognition of the truth requires the freedom to persuade and to be persuaded, and this is how Christian hagiography recounted, in numerous foundation-legends, the expansion of the Church in a hostile world.[115] The origins of Roman Christianity were thus traced back to St. Peter's agonistic ordeal against Simon Magus, the champion of Paganism, and again to the contest won by St. Sylvester, initially against the Jews under the watchful eyes of two pagan umpires, and subsequently against the dragon, the typical symbol of Paganism. Similar traditions depicted John the Apostle in agonistic ordeals against the philosopher Craton and subsequently the priests of Diana and the priest Aristodemus, and St. Catherine disputing with the philosophers and the rhetors in Alexandria. The subsequent mass conversions of both the vanquished champions and the watching crowds were perceived as an integral part of the proceedings.[116] The ordeals of this type that were attributed to St. Bartholomew in India and to SS Simon and Jude against the Zoroastrian magi

[115] This is how Constantine defines the aim of the disputation he organizes between Sylvester and the Jews: "… in unum conveniant ut … mutua sensuum suorum altercatione agentes ad veritatis nos faciant indaginem pervenire … veritatem ostendant …", Mombritius, *Sanctuarium*, t. 2, p. 515.

[116] St. Catherine was informed by an angel on the eve of the disputation "superatis rethores, et multi credent per te …" Mombritius, *Sanctuarium*, t. 1, p. 285. Conversion was sometimes stipulated in the original agreement, as in the ordeals between St. John and the priests of Diana (*op. cit*., t. 2, p. 59), likewise between Sylvester and the Jews (*op. cit*., pp. 525, 527–29) and the Pagans (*op. cit*. pp. 528, 530).

in Mesopotamia were partly foundation-legends bearing on the origins of Eastern Christianity, and partly demonstrations of Christianity's innate missionary vocation both within and without the frontiers of the Roman world.

De plaga represents a particular category of this ordeal: the Jerusalem agonistic plot. Originally dominated by the passion-type, ordeal plots located in Jerusalem tended to assume an agonistic form from the fourth century onwards. The regeneration of Jerusalem as a major Christian centre under Constantine and his successors intensified the awareness among Christians of the competing claims of Judaism on that city. The Jews of Jerusalem played the Devil's champions against St. Helena in the agonistic ordeal plot of the Invention of the Cross, where they appeared as instrumental – though unwilling – in the Invention and in the miraculous authentication of the True Cross, mainly in the person of Judas, subsequently baptized as Kyriakos. Jews were called again to play the part of the Devil's vanquished (and subsequently baptized) champions in relation to the Apparition of the Cross on 7 May (351). Although it was usually perceived in the light of the Victorious Cross Apparition to Constantine, a distinct tradition (at least since Sozomen) saw it in the context of the conflict between Christianity and Judaism as well as Paganism.[117] The Apparition (following a widespread earthquake) over Mt Olivet in 419 provides us with another striking instance of that perception in the West: while Marcellinus Comes reports that it resulted in a mass conversion of pagans and the miraculous appearance of gleaming crosses on their tunics,[118] Augustine adds the Jews to the list of the baptized and attributes the miraculous appearance of crosses on clothes to them alone.[119] With the Muslim occupation of Jerusalem, another contestant entered the arena, but the traditional anti-Jewish ordeal plot persisted, and as late as 932 accounts of an ordeal-type confrontation in Jerusalem – decided by a miracle and

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[117] The fifth-century Sozomen records conversions of Jews and Pagans throughout the empire under the impact of the Apparition (*Εκκλησιαστικη ιστορία*, 5.5, ed. Joseph Bidez, Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller 50 (Berlin, 1960), p. 143); the same information is still given by the fourteenth-century Nicephoros Kallistos (*Εκκλησιαστικη ιστορία*, 9.32, the Paris ed. of 1630, Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca 146, col. 352). A late Armenian source (fifteenth-century?) loctaes the conversion of the pagans and the Jews in Jerusalem (Ernest Bihain, "Une vie arménienne de saint Cyrille de Jérusalem", *Le Muséon*, 76 (1963), 346). A specific Jewish-Jerusalemite context is emphasized in Georgios Kedrenos's account (in the eleventh century) of an identical Apparition under Julian the Apostate: it was associated with the doomed effort of the Jews – under orders from Julian – to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem. That Apparition was even "more luminous than the one under Constantius" and miraculous crosses appeared on the clothes of Christians, Jews and Pagans in Jerusalem, Antioch and other cities, "and the more the Jews and the Pagans rejected it impudently, the more they found it imprinted on their clothes" (*Συνοψις ιστοριων*, ed. Immanuel Bekker, (1838–9, in: PG, 121 col. 584–5). Cyril's Letter was recently studied by Oded Irshai: "Cyril of Jerusalem: The Apparition of the Cross and the Jews", *Contra Iudaeos: Ancient and Medieval Polemics between Christians and Jews*, ed. Ora Limor and Guy G. Stroumsa (Tübingen 1996), 85–104.

[118] Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon*, ad a. 419, ed. Theodor Mommsen, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores Antiquissimi 11.2:74.

[119] Sermo 19.6, ed. Cyrillus Lambot, CCSL 41 (1961), 258.

leading to the baptism of the Jews – spread from Jerusalem to Europe.[120] An anti-Muslim posture is implied in those accounts of the Easter Holy Fire miracle that emphasized the role of the Muslim authorities in testing the miracle's authenticity. The *De plaga*'s account attributes to the Muslim authorities a similar supervisory role (reminiscent of the role played by the pagan umpires in the Sylvester's ordeal), but recounts, nevertheless, a fully trilateral ordeal, with the three religions/rites competing for a miracle and the final victory conferred on the Christians.

As a cautionary tale on the correct duration of Sunday, *De plaga* should be examined against the historical background of the drive in the West to promote Sunday and regulate its observance in public worship and compulsory rest. The Carolingian reformers were largely inspired in this by the Biblical Sabbath,[121] but, wary of falling into the error of "Judaizing" through a literal following of the Biblical prescriptions,[122] they devised their own casuistic code. Increasingly minute and precise, it distinguished between the proscribed and the permissible and established the role of the faithful in the Sunday's celebration. The duration of Sunday – the exact times of its beginning and end – was, obviously, of a considerable importance in this context.

Three types of Sunday duration are documented in our sources. The "natural" determination of the day by daylight, from sunrise to sunset, specifically condemned by Isidore[123] and utterly incompatible with the prevalent notion that the day consists of twenty-four hours,[124] was possibly more common than the ecclesiastical sources would let us believe: a Sunday duration from morning to Vespers was enjoined in the *Episcopal Chapters* of Haito of Basle as late as 806–812.[125] The second type,

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[120] " … Hierosolymis christianos et Iudeos contendere pro sua invicem religione, Iudeos etiam Sarracenos pecunia conducere, ut eis suam legem adiuvarent christianorum religioni pretendere [etc.]" (the entire document edited in Ernst Dieter Hehl and Horst Fuhrmann, *Die Konzilien Deutschlands und Reichsitalien 916–1001*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Concilia 6:1 pp. 110–14).

[121] Compare Hrabanus Maurus's reasoning: "Observemus ergo diem Dominicam, fratres, et sanctificemus illam, sicut antiquis de sabbato praeceptum est, dicente legislatore: 'A vespera usque ad vesperam celebrabitis sabbata vestra'" (Homilia 41, *In dominicis diebus*, PL 110:77).

[122] For example, c. 14 of the Synod of Verneuil (755), repeating verbatim c. 28 of the Third Council of Orleans (538) (*Capitularia Regum Francorum*, ed. Alfredus Boretius, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Capit. 2/1:36).

[123] "Abusive autem dies unus est spatium ab oriente sole usque ad occidentem" (Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiae*, 5.30, PL 82:215).

[124] Precise definitions in Isidore's *Etymologiae* (ibid.), adopted and elaborated by Bede (*De temporibus*, 2, PL 90:281–282; *De temporum ratione*, 5, PL 90:309, 313–316; *De computi ratione*, PL 90:581). All the historical durations they surveyed – from dawn to dawn, from evening to evening, from midnight to midnight and from midday to midday – comprised 24 hours.

[125] "… pronuntiandum est, ut sciant tempora feriandi per annum, id est omnem dominicam a mane usque ad vesperam" (c. 8, *Capitula Episcoporum*, ed. Peter Brommer, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, t. 1 (1984), p. 212).

"a vespera in vesperam," was attested in the West since Leo the Great.[126] Bede mentioned it in a casual (hence valuable) reference to contemporary practice,[127] and it was enjoined by the ecclesiastical laws of King Wihtred of Kent, passed at the Witenagemot of Berghampstede in 696.[128] It was subsequently reintroduced in the *Admonitio generalis* of 789,[129] promulgated throughout the ninth century[130] and promoted in the Canonical collections of Ansegis,[131] Benedictus Levita,[132] Regino of Prüm[133] and Burchard of Worms,[134] to become, finally, the normative Sunday duration in the West. The duration of the third type is documented in both official and non-official sources on the Continent and in Britain, Ireland and Iceland. It opened on either Saturday's Vespers (as in the *Cáin Domnaig*)[135] or noon, and concluded on Monday's Matins or dawn,[136] comprising, in effect, a substantial part of Saturday as well as the nights of both Saturday and Sunday.[137]

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[126] Epist. 9, *Ad Dioscorum*, c. 1, PL 54:626 (referring to the common practice of starting Sunday on Saturday's Vespers).

[127] "… populus Israel … festa … omnia sua, sicut et nos hodie facimus, vespere incipiens, vespere consummaverit" (*De temporum ratione*, 5, PL 90:315–316).

[128] Arthur West Haddan – William Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, t. 3 (Oxford, 1871), p. 235.

[129] *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, ed. Alfredus Boretius, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Capit. 2/1:55.

[130] In the Council of Frankfort in 794 (No. 21, *op. cit*., p. 76), the *Capitulare Missorum speciale* of 802(?) (*op. cit*, p. 104), the *Capitula Vesulensia* of the second quarter of the ninth century (c. 40, *Capitula Episcoporum*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, t. 3, ed. Rudolf Pokorny (1995), 292), the *Capitula Eporediensia* from about 840–50 (c. 8, *op. cit*., p. 241), the *Capitula* of Herrard of Tours from 858 (c. 2, *Capitula Episcoporum* Monumenta Germaniae Historica,, t. 2, eds. Rudolf Pokorny and Martina Stratmann (1995), p. 127), the *Capitula* of Walter of Orleans from 869/870 (c. 15, *Capitula Episcoporum*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, t. 1, ed. Peter Brommer (1984), 191), and the *Capitula Ottoboniana* from ca. 889–900 (c. 30, *Capitula Episcoporum*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, t. 3, ed. Rudolf Pokorny (1995), 131).

[131] 1.15, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. Alfredus Boretius, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Capit. 1:399.

[132] 1.65, ed. F. H. Knust, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Leges section 2/2:49.

[133] *De ecclesiasticis disciplinis et religione Christiana*, 1.69, PL 132:190.

[134] *Decretorum Liber*, 2.71, PL 140:640.

[135] The *Sunday Epistle* in the *Cáin Domnaig* determines the limits of Sunday from Saturday's Vespers to Monday's Tierce or "the end of Monday morning" (#6, in J.G. O'Keeffe, "Cáin Domnaig: I. The Epistle concerning Sunday", *Ériu* 2 (1905), 195). *Cáin Domnaig* opens with the declaration: "The sanctity of Sunday [extends] from vesper time of Saturday to the end of matins on Monday" (#1, Vernam Hull, "Cáin Domnaig", *Ériu*, 20 (1966), 161).

[136] The non-official sources are examined below. Some of the official promulgations are: *Capitula Florentina* from the second quarter of the ninth century (c. 10, *Capitula Episcoporum*, ed. Peter Brommer, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, t. 1 (1984), 223); *Leges ecclesiaticae Regis Edgardi*, from 967 (Benjamin Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England* (1840), 112; c. 5, Mansi, *Concilia*, 17b:513 and *Liber legum ecclesiasticarum*, from 994 (c. 24, Mansi, *Concilia*, 19:186) – see Frederick Tupper, "Anglo-Saxon Daeg-Mael," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 10 (1985), 133–134; *Concilium Ansanum* from 990 (c. 7, Mansi, *Concilia*, 19:102).

[137] Theodulf of Orleans, *Second Capitular*, c. I.19, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, *Capitula Episcoporum*, ed. Peter Brommer, t. 1, (1984), 152. Theodulf determined that sexual abstinence should be observed on the nights of all Saturdays, Sundays, festive days and fasts; this practically extended the Sunday observance to the preceding night.

These three types of duration were equally grounded in the common undertaking of promoting Sunday, though they were not equally supported by the canonical legislation: the second type predominates in these sources, the third rarely appears, and the first is almost nonexistent. These proportions do not indicate the prevalence of each of the three, however, nor their respective significance for the faithful; while canon law, normative by definition and speaking for the ecclesiastical establishment, strongly advocates the second type, other sources, expressing different sensitivities, favour the third and its ideational assumptions. Ps. Bede's *Visio Pauli Apostoli*, for example, specifies that the tortured souls in Hell are granted compassionate rest from their torments on Sunday, whose duration corresponds to the third type, and the angel in that vision righteously concludes: "Qui custodierit diem Dominicum habebit partem cum angelis Dei."[138] But it is the "Letter from Heaven" literature that constitutes the best proof that the "unofficial" Sunday was more rooted in the pietistic – probably also popular – perspective than the "official" Sunday.[139] That *Letter* – purporting to disseminate a heavenly missive – journeyed round the Christian world in several languages and versions since the sixth century, exhorting the faithful to observe Sunday fully and properly under threat of terrible punishments. Other injunctions were progressively added along the way on a variety of pastoral issues, such as tithe giving, loans on interest, occultism and the crusade, but Sunday's observance always remained the *Letter*'s principal objective. It was a call for action, usually an agitated and fanatical call, and it was frequently condemned by the ecclesiastical authorities from its very appearance. Bishop Licinianus in 584 did not consider "such inanity worthy of being read,"[140] Pope Zacharias in 745 was of the opinion that Aldebert – who propagated this document – went literally mad,[141] and the same *Admonitio generalis* of 789 that imposed the duration of Sunday from Vespers to Vespers condemned, in no uncertain terms, that "epistola pessima et falsissima."[142]

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[138] Ps. Beda, *Homilia* 100, PL 94:501–502.

[139] Useful studies and bibliographies in: W.R. Jones, "The Heavenly Letter in Medieval England," *Medievalia et humanistica* n.s. 6 (1975), 163–178; Dennis Deletant, "The Sunday Legend," *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 15 (1977), 431–51; Clare A. Lees, below; and, particularly, Michel Van Esbroeck, "La Lettre sur le Dimanche, descendue du ciel," *Analecta Bollandiana* 107 (1989), 267–84. For a cognate literary genre, the 'Sunday Lists,' see: Clare A. Lees, "The 'Sunday Letter' and the 'Sunday Lists'", *Anglo-Saxon England* 14 (1985), 129–51.

[140] "Ego enim … non patienter ferens, nec dignum ducens naenias ipsas perlegere, statim scidi, et eas in terram proieci" (quoted in Robert Priebsch, *Letter from Heaven on the Observance of the Lord's Day*, Oxford (1936), p. 1).

[141] "Pro certo … predictus Aldebertus in insaniam conversus est, et omnes qui hac utuntur commentata epistola, parvulorum more absque sensu sunt, et muliebri errore insaniunt" (quoted in Robert Priebsch, *Letter from Heaven*, p. 4 – it is considerably different from the text quoted by Fabricius, *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, vol. 1, Hamburg, 1703, p. 309).

[142] "Item et pseudografia et dubiae narrationes, vel quae omnino contra fidem catholicam sunt, et epistola pessima et falsissima, quam transacto anno dicebant aliqui errantes et in errorem alios mittentes quod de celo cecidisset, nec credantur nec legantur (etc.)" (No. 78, *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, ed. Alfredus Boretius, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Capit. 2/1:60).

A common plot underlies both *De plaga* and the Latin versions of the *Letter* in eight of its earliest (pre-thirteenth-century) witnesses:[143] the theodicean plot, correlating "plagues" with the observance of Sunday. Both genres depict similar series of "natural" afflictions – locusts, epidemics and mortality, pagan persecution, drought, tempest and various atmospheric disturbances, famine, earth tremors and brigandage – and present them as punishments and warnings. The *Letter*'s list is much more elaborate: among its more idiosyncratic afflictions one notes the winged serpents specifically assigned to torment women, whirlpools at sea, livestock mortality, rapacious wolves and rabid dogs, fire and frost – but its core-list indicates a clear affinity with that of *De plaga*. Furthermore, both stories locate in Jerusalem the climax of their narrative – the supernatural revelation on the true significance of the plagues. These early *Letter* versions usually identify the start of the chain-letter diffusion with the apparition of the heavenly missive in Jerusalem, either through the mediation of the Archangel Michael or an unnamed angel [144]

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[143] M. Van Esbroeck identified two main Latin redactions ("La Lettre sur le Dimanche, descendue du ciel", *Analecta Bollandiana* 107 (1989), 270–75); four of our eight witnesses match the first redaction, the other four the second. The first four are as follows: 1) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 9550, eleventh-century, Ober-Altaich, fol. 1r, ed. Hippolyte Delehaye, "Note sur la légende de la Lettre du Christ tombée du ciel", in his *Mélanges d'hagiographie grecque et latine* (Bruxelles, 1966), pp. 155–156 (originally published in *Bulletins de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, Classe des Lettres, [Bruxelles, 1899]) (= O); 2) The text of a twelfth-century manuscript from Todi, published by Amaduzzi (Rome, 1773), repr. by Migne, *Dictionnaire des apocryphes*, t. 2 (1858), cols. 367–69 (=T); 3) Paris, Bibliotèque Nationale de France, MS. lat. 12,315, twelfth-century, Corbie, fol. 37v–40r, (=C); 4) Paris, Bibliotèque Nationale de France, MS. lat. 5302, fols. 52v–53r (=R). The four other witnesses are: 5) A text published by Baluze in 1780, from a copy made from a Tarragona manuscript and found among the papers of Pierre de Marca (d. 1164), ed. Johannes Albertus Fabricius, *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, vol. 1 (Hamburg, 1703), pp. 309*–313, and again in Robert Priebsch, *Letter*, pp. 35–37 (=B); 6) Paris, Bibliotèque Nationale de France, MS. lat. 12,270, twelfth-century, from Corbie, ed. Hippolyte Delehaye, "Note sur la légende," pp. 157–59 (=P); 7) London, British Library, Add. 19,725, a tenth-century fragment, St. Maximin in Treves, fols. 87v–88r, largely illegible; this is the third and last letter in the series of three, with the traditional prologue, exhortations but almost no affliction (= L); London, British Library, Add. 30,853, Spain/Gaul (?), eleventh-century, edited in: Hippolyte Delehaye, "Un examplaire de la lettre tombée du ciel," *Recherches de science religieuse* 18 (1928), 164–169 (=N).

[144] Aldebert's version in 745 (Van Esbroeck, "La Lettre sur le Dimanche," p. 271), B, C, L, R. The Jerusalem episode opens also the Icelandic *Leidar-visan* (Robert Priebsch, *Letter*, p. 15). A Roman origin appears in the Irish *Cáin Domnaig*: the letter is dropped on the altar of St. Peter in Rome and is found by the "Abbot of Rome" who vouches for its authenticity (O'Keeffe, "Cáin Domnaig," p. 139). This is a later version of B (or a cognate text), imported from Rome by returning pilgrims – the text attributes this transfer to the sixth-century Abbot Conall Mac Coelmaine "… who had gone on a pilgrimage to Rome … then wrote with his own hand the Epistle of Sunday from the Epistle which was sent from Heaven unto the altar of Peter the Apostle in Rome" (O'Keeffe, "Cáin Domnaig", p. 203). Following B, it opens the list of calamities with "brucus" and "locusta", but the Irish pilgrim imagined them into horrendous monsters found "in certain eastern parts" – the "bruchae", whose "hairs are pins of iron and they have fiery eyes," and the locusts with their "wings of iron" (O'Keeffe, "Cáin Domnaig", pp. 193, 195). A Jerusalem origin, on the other hand, was attributed to the Letter associated with the *Cáin Domnaig* in the *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters* under the year AD 884 (Priebsch, *Letter*, p. 14).

or the direct Invention of the letter by a priest,[145] similar to the angel's apparition in Jerusalem to a "servant of God" and that priest's role in publicizing the divine message in *De plaga*. When Rome appears in these accounts, it is merely as the last stage in the move to the West.[146] The two genres diverge, however, on the duration of Sunday: while *De plaga* advocates the "official" second type, whenever these *Letter* witnesses specify duration they promote the "unofficial" third.[147] If one should hazard a guess, it was *De plaga* that converted the *Letter*'s characteristic duration from the third type into the second rather than the other way round. The "official" duration was thus supplied with a miraculous, aetiological story over against – and in the exact mould of – the competing "unofficial" third type.

De plaga purports to chronicle a real historical episode, well defined in time and place. The fact that it embodies metahistorical plots in the service of a cause does not imply, necessarily, that it is fictional: truthful history, properly emplotted and skilfully put to use, can be just as serviceable in advancing a cause as a fable, perhaps more so in a culture that prizes historical truth over fable. Medieval Christianity firmly believed that the History of Salvation was historically true, and one would assume that this mode of inquiry after truth was extended to other historical explorations as well. Yet that culture was, at the same time and in a paradoxical manner, not infrequently tolerant of *pia fraus*, endorsing dishonesty in the service of the higher good. Is *De plaga*, then, a history or a fable?

Philip Jaffé qualified it as "narratiuncula fabulosa,"[148] and on first reading modern students would tend to concur. The role of the supernatural in the story, the sheer weight of the two archetypal plots behind it, the highly symbolic nature of the first plague – the earthquake is closely associated with the Passion and it is reported in our text to have occurred, precisely, between Easter and Pentecost – and the manifest absurdity of two of the plagues – an earthquake recorded as comprising no less than one hundred and fifty tremors, three tremors a day in fifty days, and a ferocious war around Jerusalem fought over a watermelon [*sic*.!] – all these seem to indicate a fable and to deny the story any veracity. On closer reading, however, Jaffé's verdict begins to crumble. It is true that *De plaga*'s seven catastrophes resemble sets of afflictions widely used as *topoi* in various contexts – as chastisement for religious transgression as well as for evil, illegitimate rulers (the *tyrannus*/*rex iniustus* concept),[149] and in historiographical plots of recurring

[145] P.

[146] The Aldebert letter, L, P.

[147] Explicitly in C, O, N, R, T; also, according to Priebsch, L and Ms. Vienna, National-Bibliothek, 1355, a fourteenth-century manuscript which he classified as cognate to L (*Letter*, p. 7): I did not find in L, however, the specific passage quoted by Priebsch. Imprecise instructions such as "custodire diem sanctum dominicum" in B probably refer to this particular duration.

[148] Jaffé and Wattenbach, *Ecclesiae Metropolitanae*, p. 23.

[149] The Isidorean commonplace "rex a recte agendo/regendo" was frequently reproduced, most opportunely at moments of serious political changes, like the dynastic changes from the Merovingians

cycles of catastrophes – but this resemblance is not enough to qualify them as fictional: they could have really happened in the given time-set or quite close to it. Furthermore, the "five years" span should not be taken too literally, but as a rough estimate at best, as no more than convenient time segment large enough to comprise relatively protracted events such as drought, war and epidemics in a sequential series. Even that sequence need not be perfect, for some of its phases certainly overlapped: the last three plagues in *De plaga*, for example, are clearly presented as coterminous, occurring on one and the same year.

Historicity shall be confirmed, firstly, when the seven plagues – or most of them – are identified and dated, and, secondly, if the plagues thus identified are shown to have occurred in close proximity and roughly in the designated order. Four of the seven plagues are, indeed, recorded in contemporary sources and can be positively identified as real historical events that took place in 796–97: the Watermelon War [*sic.!*], the general anarchy with the persecution and the martyrdom at St. Sabas, the drought and, finally, the epidemic in Jerusalem. The identification of the remaining three is more problematical, mainly because of the scarcity of local sources; the view from centres such as Constantinople or Antioch seldom encompassed distant, brief and geographically limited events of no major political or religious significance. It was also substantially belated by reason of the slow movement of information, and characterized – mainly in the annalistic historiography – by the foregrounding of lengthy and complex sets of events into their more prominent stages, either final or initial.[150] One can offer, nevertheless, a highly probable identification for the earthquake and the locusts, although the tempest remains entirely uncorroborated.

De plaga states that in a war around Jerusalem "propter unam cucurbitam" in the fourth year, one side suffered eighty dead and the other sixty. This is largely confirmed by the twelfth/thirteenth historian Ibn al-Athir, who reports fierce fighting between two coalitions of Bedouin tribes throughout Syria in 792/3 and again in 796, in a war that started as a quarrel over a watermelon. The southern tribes suffered eight hundred dead against the six hundred casualties of the northern tribes (three hundred, in another report cited by the same author),[151] in a striking analogy to the numbers (reduced by a factor of ten) given in *De plaga*. Michael the

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to the Carolingians and, again, to the Capetians. See Theophanes' summation on the "impious" (ασεβης) Iconoclast Emperor Leo and the list of tribulations inflicted on the Christians as a result of his religious and civil administration and the "tyrannous and unlawful manner he wielded power" (τυραννικως και ουκ εννομως τω κρατει χρησαμενος): the secession of Italy, earthquakes, famines, epidemics, heathens' rebellions (in this order, *Χρονογραφια*, ed. Carolus de Boor, vol. 1 [Leipzig, 1883], p. 413). It was available in the West in the Latin translation of Anastasius Bibliothecarius (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca 108:1367).

[150] A typical example in Theophanes' two recapitulations of the persecution practiced for five years against the Christians in the Holy Land (it was virulent already in 796–97, as we have seen) under the years 809 and 813, which were marked, respectively, by the death of Haroun-al-Rashid and the arrival in Constantinople of refugees from Palestine (*Χρονογραφια*, pp. 484, 499).

[151] Identification of the Watermelon War and detailed discussions of the war and the numbers of casualties in Michael Assaf, *History of the Arab Rule in Eretz-Israel* (Tel-Aviv, 1935), pp. 239, 356–57 (in Hebrew), and Moshe Gil, *Palestine during the First Muslim Period (634–1099)*, Part 1 (Tel-Aviv,

Syrian (following the contemporary Dionysius of Tell-Mahre) specifies that the war started in Palestine in 793.[152]

In the fifth year, *De plaga* reports Muslim depredations throughout the country, the destruction of monasteries (on the Jordan and three others) as well as the maltreatment of one hundred monks and the cremation of twenty-eight in the monastery of St. Sabas. This information is confirmed by the contemporary Jerusalemite *Passio* of the Martyrs of St. Sabas (Bibiotheca hagiographica Graeca 1200).[153] Written by Stephen the Younger, a Sabaite monk who witnessed the events,[154] it describes briefly the anarchy that spread in the land in 797, the pillaging and devastation of villages and cities and the destructive raids aimed at the monasteries of Euthymius and Chariton, and records in detail the martyrdom of the monks of St. Sabas on 19 March[155] 797.[156] While the entire community endured the persecution in one form or another, a group of eighteen monks suffered martyrdom by cremation. The *Passio* also corroborates two more plagues, the epidemic and the drought: it integrates them into the story.[157] The great drought, assigned in *De plaga* to the fifth year as the sixth plague, is recorded in the *Passio* as follows: "Immediately, on the same night of their glorious sleep (= martyrdom), while a drought (ανομβρια) was endured during that year in the monastery, such copious rain fell on account of their intercession and petition that it filled up all the cisterns and tanks." The epidemic appears in *De plaga* in the third year, and the *Passio*

1983), p. 235 (in Hebrew). I am grateful to Emmanuel Sivan for providing me with a translation of Ibn al-Athir's text and for his useful comments.

[152] Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, 12.3., ed. and trans. Jean-Baptiste Chabot, vol. 3 (Paris, 1905–6), p. 8.

[153] Edited by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Pravoslavnyj Palestinskij Sbornik*, t. 19, issue III (Saint-Petersburg, 1907), pp. 1–41. The Georgian translation, completed between 807 and 821, supplements the missing parts in the Greek original; see Robert P. Blake, "Deux lacunes comblées dans la Passio xx monachorum Sabaitarum," *Analecta Bollandiana* 68 (1950), 27–43; Paulus Peeters, "De codice hiberico bibliothecae Bodleianae," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 31 (1912), 301–318.

[154] Christian Hannick, "Hymnographie et hymnographes Sabaïtes," in: *The Sabaïte Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, ed. Joseph Patrich (Leuven, 2001), p. 223.

[155] This date is corroborated by the several Georgian Menologies since the tenth century (George Garitte, *Le Calendrier Palestino-Géorgien du Sinaiticus 34 (Xe siècle*) [Bruxelles, 1958], p. 179), by the Menology copied by Gregory Prochory in the Holy Cross Monastery in Jerusalem ca. 1038–1040 (Paulus Peeters, "De codice hiberico bibliothecae Bodleianae," *Analecta Bollandiana* 31 (1912) 301–18) and by the Sirmondian Synaxary of Constantinople (*Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, Acta sanctorum, November, vol. 4, *Propylaeum*, ed. Hippolyte Delehaye (1902), col. 548). A St. Sabas Typicon from the twelfth-thirteenth century commemorates these martyrs on the 20th, however (A. Dmitriewski, *Opisanie liturgitseski rukopisej*, 3 [St Petersberg, 1917], p. 42), and the same date is found in the *Menologium Basilianum* in its second half (March-August) which is based on a manuscript from Grotaferrata (PG, 117:360), and in a Greek-Italian Typicon copied in 1292 (A. Dmitriewski, *Opisanie liturgitseski*., 1 [Kiev, 1895], p. 851). The later date has become normative in the Byzantine liturgy; see *Μηναια του ολου ενιαυτου*, 4 (Rome, 1898), p. 116.

[156] Venance Grumel, "L'ère mondiale dans la date du martyre des vingt moines sabaïtes", *Revue des Études Benedictines* 14 (1956), 207–8, demonstrates the accuracy of the chronological indications offered in the *Passio*, refuting François Halkin, "Saint Théoctiste, moine Sabaïte et martyr (+797)", *Analecta Bollandiana* 73 (1955), 373–74.

[157] #45, Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Pravoslavnyj Palestinskij*, p. 35.

moves it to the end of the story – that is, still in 797 – as an immediate punishment for the persecution: the Barbarians were "destroyed by plague, famine and desolate death" ("νοσω και λιμω και οικτιστω θανατω διεφθαρησαν").

Identifying an earthquake in Jerusalem close to 796–97 is problematical, because our knowledge of the history of the seismic activity in the region depends on random, incomplete and frequently unverifiable information. Chroniclers tended to record only major tremors,[158] and as they were unable to determine the geographical extent of a given tremor their records probably underestimated rather than overestimated its true dimensions. Furthermore, only few dates and locations are satisfactorily validated, and one must rest content, quite often, with tentative and approximate identifications. The lists of seismic activities dressed by modern historians are considerably divergent, a telling symptom of these difficulties.[159] They signal two earthquakes in Jerusalem in the second half of the eighth century, following the disastrous tremor of 748–50 (dates vary): one between 758 and 775 and another between 775 and 795 according to Arvanitakis (he does not cite his sources, alas), while Amiran *et alii* date the first to 756 and the second to between 756 and 780. Guidoboni records only one earthquake, in 756. The second earthquake is, therefore, the more likely candidate for the role of *De plaga*'s serial earthquake, but the approximate dates offered in the lists are much too broad for comfort; they range between 756–75 at the low end and 780–95 at the highest. Our sources document, however, an intense seismic activity in the Eastern Mediterranean in April-May 796, when strong earthquakes hit Crete, Alexandria and Constantinople.[160] Was Jerusalem spared? One would be sorely tempted to contemplate an earthquake on that date, for it would fit extremely well with all the other plagues in 796–97 and because these three earthquakes in 796 occurred roughly in the time designated in *De plaga*, Easter in 796 falling on 3 April; but we lack, sadly, any hard evidence to support such a speculation. The next positively recorded earthquake in Jerusalem occurred in 808.

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[158] Theophanes, for example, qualified most of the eighth-century earthquakes he recorded in his *Χρονογραφια*, as "great" (μεγας, pp. 383, 412, 418, 422), "very great" (μεγαλος, p. 399), "fearsome" (φοβερος, p. 412), "the most fearsome" (φοβερωτατος, pp. 464, 470), "utterly fearsome" (πανυ φοβερος, p. 470), "not minor' (ου μικρος, p. 430) – he recorded only three earthquakes as simple σεισμοι (pp. 412, 416, 418).

[159] See, in chronological order: G.L. Arvanitakis, "Essai sur le climat de Jerusalem: Essai d'une statistique des tremblements de terre en Palestine et en Syrie," *Bulletin de l'Institut Egyptien*, 4eme ser., 4 (1903), 178–89; Venance Grumel, *La chronologie*; *Tremblements de terre* (Paris, 1958), pp. 477–81; K.W. Russell, "The Earthquake Chronology of Palestine and Northwest Arabia from the 2nd through the Mid-8th Century A.D.", *The British and American School of Oriental Reasearch* 260 (1985), 37–59; Emanuela Guidoboni, *I terremoti prima al Mille in Italia e nell'area mediterranea* (Bologna, 1989), pp. 710–11; David H.K. Amiran, E. Arieh and T. Turcotte, "Earthquakes in Israel and Adjacent Areas: Macroseismic Observations since 100 B.C.E.," *The Israel Exploration Journal* 44 (1994), 260–305.

[160] Guidoboni, *I terremoti*, p. 711, nos. 225–27. Anastasius (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, col. 1404) – following Theophanes (*Χρονογραφια*, p. 470) – qualifies the Crete earthquake as "valde terribilis" (φοβερώτατος) and that of Contantinople "nimis horribilis" (πανυ φοβερος).

The second plague, the locusts – unless it was strictly local and, therefore, totally unnoticed by the major chroniclers – was probably identical with the widespread locust plague of 784. Recorded by Michael the Syrian who quotes on this matter Dionysius of Tell-Mahre, an eyewitness to the event, it covered the entire Jazira and moved subsequently to the west, to Syria.[161]

The above conclusions are tabulated as follows (positive identifications in **bold**):

Plague	**Year**	**No.**	**Corroborating Source**	**Date**
Earthquake	1	1	Amiran *et alii*; Arvanitakis, Grumel, Guidoboni	756–80 or 775–95, 796(?)
Locusts	2	2	Michael the Syrian	784
Epidemic	3	3	Passio xx monachorum	**797**
Watermelon War	4	4	Ibn al-Athir, Michael the Syrian (=Dionysius)	**793, 796**
Persecution, St. Sabas' Martyrs	5	5	Passio xx monachorum	**797**
Drought	5	6	Passio xx monachorum	**797**
Tempest	5	7		

The historicity of *De plaga* is confirmed, consequently, on the grounds that four of the seven plagues are positively identified and dated to 796–97 and two others to the preceding decade, and, above all, that two plagues – the Watermelon War and the martyrdom at St. Sabas – are identified as specific, unique events. All the other plagues recurred regularly throughout the eighth century, either singly or in almost identical clusters lasting between five and ten years (and they do appear together in real life, obviously); they are "soft" in the sense that their identification usually depends on "harder" additional and external evidence. Michael the Syrian records three such clusters between 729 and 810: 739–45,[162] 762–65[163] and 803–10,[164] besides two shorter episodes comprising two plagues each in 729[165] and 784.[166] A fictional *De plaga* could have been modelled on – and a historical *De plaga* identified with – any of these clusters, but for the unique historical events of the Watermelon War and the martyrdom at St. Sabas; they determine the time and the

[161] Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, 12.1, vol. 3, pp. 4–5.

[162] Earthquakes, floods, drought, famine, epidemic, tempest (Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, 11.21, vol. 2, [Paris, 1901], pp. 505–510).

[163] Locusts, hail storm, earthquake (Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, vol. 2, 11.25, [Paris, 1901], p. 524).

[164] Earthquake, locusts, famine, tempest, anarchy (Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, 12.5–6, t. 3, [Paris, 1905–6], pp. 18–23).

[165] Earthquake and epidemic (Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, 11.21, t. 2, [Paris, 1901], p. 504).

[166] Locusts, famine during three years (Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, 12.1, vol. 3, [Paris, 1905–6], pp. 4–5).

place of their particular cluster, identify the "softer" plagues in it and corroborate its overall historical veracity. *De plaga* chronicles, accordingly, real historical events that took place in Jerusalem and the Holy Land mainly in 796–97, with a possible extension backwards to ca. 780.

Once *De plaga* is recognized as a historical record (within the limits of its genre, obviously) rather than a pure fable, one is better placed to address the question of its authorship. As an anonymous work completely unknown from other sources, it cannot be attributed to a particular author, but it can be assigned to a period not far removed from the events it records.

Written most probably in Europe, its opening – "In diebus Georgii patris sanctissimi" – is problematical in that the martyrdom at St. Sabas occurred under Patriarch Elias II, who was succeeded, probably in the course of that same year (797), by Georgios; the reference to Georgios could thus be maintained only in regard to the last two plagues, but it might have arisen, alternatively, from a confusion between the actual time of the afflictions and the time when information on them reached the West – shortly after the events but already in the pontificate of Georgios and through his envoys. The text refers to that pontificate in a past tense and indicates, consequently, that *De plaga* was written after 807, for on that year the Carolingian Court was notified that Thomas succeeded Georgios to the see of Jerusalem.[167]

The *De plaga*'s information on the seven afflictions was received from Jerusalem; in this case, again, the Watermelon War and the martyrdom at St. Sabas are determinants for the whole cluster. That war was completely ignored by both Anastasius Bibliothecarius and Landulfus Sagax; it could not have been received from either. And the St. Sabas martyrdom could not have been received from any western hagiographical source for that cult was entirely unknown in medieval Latin Europe (I have failed to find it in even one medieval Latin martyrology).[168] *De plaga*'s emphasis on the cremation of the martyrs ("igne cremaverunt") seems to reflect the immediate reaction to the event in Jerusalem: the same emphasis is evident in the rubrics of this commemoration in its earliest (Georgian) liturgical sources in Jerusalem,[169] while the rubrics of the later Eastern sources – for example, the Synaxary of Constantinopole[170] – ignore the cremation and employ general

[167] His envoys arrived there in 807 together with the ambassador Abdalla, bearing presents from Haroun-al-Rashid (*Annales Laurissenses* and *Einhardi Annales*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica SS, 1:194). The *Annales Maximiniani* for 803 still designate Georgius as Patriarch (ed. Georg Waitz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores, 13:23).

[168] It is also absent from the tenth-century copy of the Typicon of the Great Church in Constantinople (Juan Mateos [ed.], *Le Typicon de la Grande Église, Ms. Sainte-Croix no. 40, Xe siècle*, t. 1 [Rome, 1962], p. 250); its reception in Constantinople is to be assigned, apparently, to a later date.

[169] G. Garitte, *Le Calendrier*, p. 179.

[170] *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, AA SS November, vol. 4, *Propylaeum*, ed. Hippolyte Delehaye (1902), col. 548.

terms such as αθλησις, αναιρεσις, πατερες μαρτυρες, οσιοι. Another indication of immediacy is the *De plaga*'s reference to twenty-eight martyrs, an obvious corruption of eighteen – the true number of the cremated monks. This number was subsequently – before long, though – raised in Jerusalem to twenty by adding two more martyrs, one (Sergios) who was beheaded during the raid and another who died later from his wounds.[171] This augmentation is already documented in the *Passio*, composed sometime after Thomas, a monk of St. Sabas at the time of the martyrdom, became higoumene of the Old Laura (that is, after 797) but before his consecration as patriarch in 807.[172] It is noteworthy, furthermore, that the medieval liturgical sources of this commemoration do not designate a specific number in their rubrics, similar to other famous groups of martyrs (four, seven, forty, an entire legion, eleven-thousand …); the current denomination "The Twenty" is quite modern.

News about the martyrdom reached Aix-la-Chapelle as early as 799, when an envoy of the patriarch arrived at Charles's court,[173] for Alcuin already knew in ca. 800 about the persecution in Jerusalem, and encouraged the new patriarch to endure it like a true Christian.[174] The court was made aware of conditions in Jerusalem again by December 800 through Zacharias, a palace chaplain, who had just returned from Jerusalem accompanied by two monks, one of them from St. Sabas, and the news spread eventually throughout the empire.[175] A further visit to Aix-la-Chapelle by two envoys of Patriarch Georgios is signalled in 803,[176] and another embassy – including, again, a monk of St. Sabas – is noted in 807.[177] With four embassies from Jerusalem between 799 and 807, and with monks of St. Sabas taking part in at least two of them, one can safely assume that information about the martyrdom at St. Sabas reached the Carolingian court – and the empire at large – within a decade after the event and probably on its immediate aftermath.

The actual incorporation of this information in *De plaga* occurred in the ninth/tenth century, between 799/800 and the production of its earliest known manuscript

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[171] The original number – 18 – is specified in #34 (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Pravoslavnyj*), p. 26; the addition of Sergios in #37, p. 27, and the final number of twenty in #40, p. 32.

[172] #30 (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Pravoslavnyj*), p. 23.

[173] *Einhardi Annales*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores 1:187; *Annales Laurissenses*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores 1:186.

[174] Alcuin, Epistola 210, in: *Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, t. 2, ed. Ernestus Duemmler, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Epistolae. 4:350–351.

[175] Alcuin, Epistola 214, in: *Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, p. 358; *Annales Nordhumbranes*, ed. R. Pauli, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores 13:156; *Einhardi Annales*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores 1:189; *Annales Laurissenses*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores 1:188. The keys and the standard brought from Jerusalem symbolised in western eyes the role invested on the emperor – that of "defender" and "Advocatus." The *Annales Nordhumbranes* specifies even further: "Rogabant eum, ut christianae religioni subdita sancta coenobia conserveret, regeret ac defenderet et contra insurgentes gentes exurgeret …" (Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores 13:156).

[176] *Annales Maximiniani*, ed. Georg Waitz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica 13:23; *Annales Iuvanenses Maiores*, ed. Georg Waitz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica 13:87.

[177] *Annales Laurissenses* and *Einhardi Annales*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores 1:194. Another emissary monk was a German (Georgius, originally Egilbaldus) serving on Mount Olivet.

in the tenth/eleventh century. It is impossible to be more precise than that, though one could conjecture a date closer to 799/800 on grounds of the following considerations. First, *De plaga* transmits unique information (the Watermelon War and the St. Sabas martyrdom) absent from all the known sources; it was therefore derived from oral rather than written sources and set down, consequently, in close proximity to the time of its reception. Second, if *De plaga* represents a response to concrete occurrences in the West – as we have assumed – one should look for historical situations reasonably close to 800 that corresponded to the situation described in that work, that is, a cluster of afflictions interpreted on theodicean grounds. Such a correspondence would suggest a two-way relation between a model and its imitation, *De plaga* interpreted as either a source of inspiration to action or a historiographical projection of that same action, or both. Historical situations of this type are documented in 805, when the Capitulary of Thionville decreed that "Si evenerit fames, clades, pestilentia, inaequalitas aeris, vel alia qualiscumque tribulatio, ut non expectetur edictum nostrum, sed statim depraecetur Dei misericordia,"[178] and when, in more practical terms, employing the specific expression "plaga" and referring to the destruction of churches in Jerusalem, the Capitulary of Aix-la-Chapelle of 810 obliged all priests "ut … admoneant populum ut aelimosinam dent, et orationes faciant, propter diversas plagas quas assidue pro peccatis patimur" and called, furthermore, to send alms to Jerusalem "propter aecclesias Dei restaurandas."[179] The *Encyclica de ieuniis generalibus* from November 810 specified that three fasts of three days each were to be universally observed, and detailed the list of afflictions as follows: "terrae sterelitas … aeris … intemperies … pestilentia … paganorum gentium … bella continua: multa praeterea quae … enumerare longum est".[180] A Capitulary from 811 corroborates this information.[181]

These lines of reasoning cannot be taken as demonstrations, of course. The first depends on an "argumentum ex silentio": it would collapse if relevant new sources were discovered, and is undermined by the theoretical possibility that such relevant sources did exist in the past but have not survived to tell their tale. The second does not claim to offer more than a possibility, and is weakened by the fact that the dispositions of 805 were issued again in 856[182] and incorporated in the highly influential works of Ansegis[183] and Benedictus Levita.[184] The writing of *De plaga* could have been inspired by these texts, therefore, at any time since 805.

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[178] No. 4, ed. Boretius, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Capit. 2/1:122–23.

[179] Nos. 5, 18, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Capit. 2/1:153, 154.

[180] *Capitularia regum Francorum*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Leges 1:164–165.

[181] Ed. Boretius, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Capit. 2/1:162.

[182] *Hlodowici II Imp. Capitula excerpta*, No. 19, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Leges 1:443.

[183] No. 112, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Leges 1:409–410.

[184] Lib. I, Nos. 246, 270, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Leges 2:59, 86.

The proposed dates of 805/810 should be seen, therefore, as a plausible conjecture rather than a confirmed dating.

De Plaga has been shown to be, consequently, a credible historical record emplotted on a theodicean plot (mediated through several Biblical Plagues narratives) and on the agonistic ordeal plot in its Jerusalem subtype. As a historical record, it is a valuable addition to our meagre body of knowledge on the history of the Holy Land in the late eighth century: it corroborates information provided by other sources, it is the only source bearing on the destruction of the monastery of St. John the Baptist on the Jordan in 797, and its reference to the number of the persecuted monks of St. Sabas – 100, augmented by the 28 (originally 18) cremated martyrs – tallies reasonably well with the number of the monks of St. Sabas given in the *Commemoratorium de casis Dei vel monasteriis* from ca. 808 – "monachi cl".[185] As an aetiological *exemplum*, finally, it contributes to a fuller knowledge and understanding of the Latin literature that accompanied the liturgical and social establishment of Sunday in Carolingian Europe, conjointly and over against the "Letter from Heaven" genre.

[185] Titus Tobler and Augustus Molinier, *Itinera Hierosolymitana et descriptiones Terrae sanctae*, 1.2 (Geneve, 1880), p. 303. Tobler, signalling an empty space between "C" and "L" in the unique manuscript of this text, hesitated between "C" and "X" as a presumed missing numeral, and opted, finally, for the first (Titus Tobler, *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae* [Leipzig, 1874, repr. Hildesheim, 1974] p. 376); *De plaga* corroborates, however, the second. A considerably higher estimate – five hundred monks – was proposed in: Milka Levy–Rubin and Benjamin Zeev Kedar, "A Spanish Source on Mid–Ninth–Century Mar-Saba and a Neglected Sabaite Martyr," in: *The Sabaïte Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, ed. Joseph Patrich (Leuven, 2001), pp. 67–68.

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Gestures of Conciliation: Peacemaking Endeavors in the Latin East

Yvonne Friedman

In principle, medieval Muslims and Christians alike believed that the encounter between them should be restricted to Holy War.[1] Nonetheless, the period from 1098 to 1291 was in actuality punctuated by peaceful contacts and interludes of varying length, as Jean Richard has shown.[2] Indeed, some 120 treaties are attested for the period.[3] However, following the focus of the chronicles, research has been channelled more to the history of crusader warfare than to peacemaking efforts, notwithstanding Peter Holt's work on Mamluk treaties and Michael Köhler's work on the Seljuqs and Ayyubids.[4] Among historians of the crusades and the Latin East, Professor Kedar is exceptional for directing attention to the extra-battlefield relations between the enemies and the resultant cultural convergence that emerged from their encounter in the East. Here, I build on his groundbreaking research to examine the function of gestures as bearers of better- or less-understood cultural messages in Christian–Muslim contacts, during, and in the aftermath of, battle.

In the quest to track medieval peace processes, the conspicuous absence of treaty texts makes reliance on literary sources like chronicles imperative. Treaties and their terms must be viewed as an outcome of a more complex process, which in the Latin East underwent a shift from informal mediation to formal diplomacy; at both ends of the spectrum, gestural language constituted an essential component. As is the case for religious beliefs and mores, both parties to the Muslim–Christian conflict had their own heritage of symbolic nonverbal language.

Symbolic behaviour played an unusually significant role in Christian–Muslim negotiations during the two-hundred-year history of the Latin kingdom. It is to be understood in the context of the overall importance of symbols of power in the Middle Ages, especially in the case of encounters between enemies who often shared no common language and had to bridge a wide gap of religious and cultural differences. Whereas polyglot mediators and translators could overcome linguistic problems, the deep mistrust stemming from different cultural concepts had to be

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[1] Tomas Mastnak, *Crusading Peace: Christendom, the Muslim World, and Western Political Order* (Berkeley, 2002); Rudolph Peters, trans., "The Chapter on Jihad from Averroes' Legal handbook *Bidāyat al-Mudjtahid*," *Jihad in Medieval and Modern Islam*, Nisaba, vol. 5 (Leiden, 1977).

[2] Jean Richard, *The Crusades: c.1071–c.1291*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, 1999), p. 294.

[3] Yvonne Friedman, "Peace and Peacemaking Processes between Christians and Muslims in the Medieval Latin East," forthcoming.

[4] Peter M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290): Treaties of Baybars and Qalawun with Christian Rulers* (Leiden, 1995); Michael A. Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient: Eine Studie über das zwischenstaatliche Zusammenleben von 12. bis ins 13. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1991).

bridged by symbolic acts – usually rituals of power – for all to see and understand. These gesture-based rituals could initiate, facilitate or seal negotiations.

Anthropologists using history, or historians using anthropological paradigms, have found the medieval period an especially fertile field of research. This is particularly so because of the prominence of symbolical rituals in political events.[5] Yet a caveat is necessary here. Philippe Buc has warned historians playing with theories about medieval rituals that there can be no anthropological readings of rituals depicted in medieval texts, only anthropological readings of medieval textual practices or medieval practices reconstructed by the historian using text, with full sensitivity to its status as text.[6] Thus, any use of medieval descriptions must be guided by the question of what their authors thought about events that historians identify as ritual, and why and from what perspective these authors recorded these rituals.

Vital to the peacemaking process in the Latin East, whose protagonists came with divergent, actual and symbolic traditions, was the reaching of a common language and the erosion of cultural barriers. A shared or learned language of gesture as well as formal mediation by diplomats conversant with both languages and cultures comprise an inseparable part of the phenomenon described here. Obviously, in the context of the Latin East it was often necessary to discover a way to bridge immediately the differences between the divergent traditions. When the treaties were in fact pacts of surrender or payment of tribute, as was the case in many of the earlier agreements, it may have been easier for the crusaders to accept local usage, which was to their benefit. When mutual termination of hostilities was involved, mistrust and cultural disparities surfaced more strongly.

Clearly, the battlefield was one venue in which there was a pressing need for universally understood gestures, as a way to end hostilities and initiate negotiations. One had to give an unmistakable sign of wanting to cease conflict, a universally and quickly understood sign, like the modern raising of a white flag or raising both arms – which symbolize not holding any weapons. Medieval soldiers apparently had their own gestural language, which, although not always obvious to us, must have been clear to them. In the following example from 1150, a Syrian soldier used gestural language to convey a message to the Latin army during the Latin retreat from the territory of Edessa. Having given over their last holdings to the Byzantines, the Latins were under attack from the army of Nur al-Din following their retreat:

> The Turks, overcome with wonder at the incomparable perseverance of the Christians, now ceased to follow our army.
>
> Humphrey, the constable, armed with his bow, was pursuing the retreating infidels a little apart from the army when a soldier from the enemy's rank approached him.

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[5] David Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power* (New Haven, 1988), p. 12; Gerd Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik. Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt, 1997), pp. 126–53.

[6] Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Rituals: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton, 2001), Introduction, pp. 1–15.

> Laying down his arms, he clasped his hands, first on one side, then on the other, in sign of reverence (repositis armis et iunctis alternatim ad latus minibus signum exhibens reverentie). He was a confidential retainer of a very powerful Turkish noble who was bound to the constable in a fraternal alliance and that very closely. This man had been sent to greet Humphrey and to inform him of conditions in the hostile army. He reported that Nur al-Din intended to return with his army to his own land that very night, for all the provisions in his camp were exhausted and he could not pursue the Christians farther.[7]

According to William of Tyre, this *miles* had engaged in diplomatic relations with the kingdom's constable before, so there must have been a background of mutual understanding that made Humphrey put down his bow. That is the first, simple level of the gesture described here. Yet, it seems odd that Nur al-Din had any need to report his situation or plans to the enemy. It appears that the larger purpose of conveying this information was as part of a conciliatory agreement to end the skirmishing on both sides. William, who knew with hindsight that the sad exodus was in fact the end of Christian rule of Turbessel, and that the region would shortly fall to Nur al-Din, thought it important to emphasize the enemy's appreciation for the Latins' steadfast march; the enemy had no such awe of the "effeminate Greeks." Although the hand-clasping gesture was clear to both protagonists, it was apparently rather unusual, as William found it necessary to describe the details. Suggestive of modern football players showing appreciation for a goal, performed with raised hands, it seems that it not only signified the laying down of weapons, but also appreciation, a prelude to agreement. Other battlefield gestures, such as giving the banner to the vanquished as a sign of protection, or grasping the victor's legs to arouse his pity, as elaborated in the conquest of Jerusalem by the First Crusade,[8] did not lead to negotiation or treaties and did not in fact prove effective.

Gesture also played a significant role in diplomatic contacts in the wake of military engagements. Indeed, even if treaty terms have not survived in the Latin East, the chroniclers have preserved details of gesture-rich diplomatic encounters and ceremonies, and there is also pictorial evidence for peacemaking or diplomatic encounters between the parties.[9] On the one hand, gestural language belongs to the sphere of natural human behaviour and some of its aspects, like gestures of humility – bowing, kneeling, and prostration – have universal signification.[10] Similarly,

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[7] William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. Robert B.C. Huygens, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 63, 63a (Turnhout, 1981). Trans. Emily Atwater Babcock and A.C. Krey as *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea* (New York, 1943), 17.17.

[8] For the different descriptions of the conquest of Jerusalem, see Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The Jerusalem Massacre of July 1099 in the Western Historiography of the Crusades," *Crusades* 3 (2004), 15–75.

[9] For the use of illuminations as historical text, see Michael Camille, "Art History in the Past and Future of Medieval Studies," *The Past and Future of Medieval Studies*, ed. John Van Engen (Notre Dame, 1994), pp. 363–82.

[10] "To place oneself beneath another person is clearly a sign of inferiority. Indeed this meaning is so widespread among social mammals that one wonders if it does not have some common source, perhaps in their perception of space or in the reinforcement of dependent, infantile behaviour. Nevertheless, the kind of inferiority a prostration represents is not inherent in the physical act. Still less does the act

the relationship between rank and any difference in elevation was known to, and understood by, both sides. As we shall see, other gestures were culture-specific, and their signification had to be learned. By way of background, I begin with one of the first documented efforts at peaceful contacts or negotiations by the crusaders in the Latin East, which demonstrates the mediator's role. It took place outside Antioch in 1098, when the crusader council decided to negotiate with Kerbogha of Mosul, who had laid siege to their newly conquered city. Taking the evidence of the *Gesta Francorum* at face value, the mediators chosen, Peter the Hermit and Herluin the translator, were hardly suitable. Tact was not one of Peter's main characteristics, and while the holy hermit may have been a prominent figure in the crusader camp, he cannot have been regarded as such by Muslim-Turkish standards. Although they used an interpreter, not surprisingly, the mission failed.[11]

Albert of Aachen provides an example of a more successful encounter, in which the transmission of pertinent knowledge helped to bridge the cultural gap. After the crusader victory at Antioch in 1098, the ruler of ʿAzaz in Syria received the following advice from one of his knights, who had married a crusader captive: "Now if you will trust my advice you will waste no time *making* Godfrey, duke of the Christian army…, *your friend with right hands pledged*."[12]Although the prince, says Albert, recognized this advice as sensible, he chose to proceed via the diplomatic channels and usage with which he was familiar: "He sent a messenger of the Christian faith, a Syrian by race, a wonderfully eloquent man, to Duke Godfrey at Antioch." After presenting himself and praising Godfrey, he delivered an oral message: "We are speaking to you, we request assistance of you, we are making a treaty with this assurance by which you may be certain of having our trust always. Ridvan of the state of Aleppo has become our enemy… And I have decided not to meet and resist him with any assistance of the Turkish princes, but to put our defence in your hands, if you do not refuse to trust me and to help." Godfrey let it be known through messengers that he did not trust the prince's intentions. The latter decided to proceed a step further and to give his son Muhammad as a hostage, a diplomatic guarantee familiar to, and accepted, by both sides. According to Albert, the treaty was then signed "with an enduring vow" and a promise of assistance.[13]

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convey any information about the world. They are explained in the cultural framework through their analogies with similar liturgical gestures (as one knelt before God or saints)." Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, 1992), p. 301.

[11] *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum: The Deeds of the Franks and Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, ed. Rosalind Hill (London, 1962), p. 66.

[12] Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington, Oxford Medieval Texts (forthcoming), 5.7 (earlier edition, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades Occidentaux IV [Paris, 1879].

[13] Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, pp. 348–9. Cf. William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, 7.3: "...servitium suum cum devotionem spondit, indissolubili nexu federi ei se cupiens obligare. Et ut verbis eius planiorem haberet fidem et nulla ex parte de eius promisso dubitaret, filium suum eum destinat obsidem, orans et petens ut a presenti eum solvat periculo, condignam pro meritis tempore oportuno retributionem percepturus." Cf. Esther Pascua, "South of the Pyrenees: Kings, Magnates and Political Bargaining in Twelfth-century Spain," *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001), 101–20, which cites

The use of diplomatic mediators, conversant with the language and religion of the other side, was a convention of Muslim-Byzantine diplomacy for centuries before the crusaders' arrival,[14] and to ʿUmar of ʿAzaz, that must have seemed the safest and most efficacious way to proceed. In this instance, the advice of a cultural mediator, the captive wife of his knight, was not fully heeded, perhaps due to the unfamiliarity of the gesture of extending the right hand. But she was able to indicate who should be approached. The manner in which the information was exchanged is, however, typical of relations between Latin Christians and Muslims in the East. Highborn captives were often employed as diplomats, utilizing in negotiation the linguistic tools and cultural knowledge acquired in captivity.[15] Moreover, giving hostages was a well-known guarantee in both the West and in the East and, in this case, was the chosen means for bridging the gulf of mistrust.[16]

After the Franks fulfilled their promise to assist the ruler of ʿAzaz, the treaty was renewed in the sight of three hundred knights. One feature of this ceremony was Duke Godfrey's bestowal of "a helmet marvellously inlaid with gold and silver and a hauberk of great beauty" on Prince ʿUmar of Azaz. This unmistakably western description (found also in Spain) has Godfrey confirming the treaty as he would have with a vassal. In eastern diplomacy the exchange of gifts usually constituted a preliminary stage in negotiations, but ʿUmar could hardly have resented the western usage in this case.[17] Writing almost a century later than Albert, William of Tyre adds further details, even depicting ʿUmar as giving the feudal oath of fidelity, "The prince knelt on the ground and with bowed head, returned thanks, first to the duke and then to the other chiefs…and gave the oath of fidelity…and obedience (*prono capite, defixis in terris genibus…fidelem obligavit et tradidit*),"[18] whereas Albert has him swear friendship and love. It is no simple matter to decide which descriptions reflect actual practice and which reflect the chroniclers' perception of what the gesture of receiving gifts meant in the feudal society.

In the East, the usual procedures for treaty making included bowing, kneeling, and the bringing of gifts, generally performed not by the ruler himself, but by a

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terms used in Spanish treaties: "confederatio et amicicia, pacem et veram amiciciam, pax et concordia, bonam fidem et convenientia…contra omnes" (ibid., p. 113).

[14] John Haldon, "'Blood and Ink': Some Observations on Byzantine Attitudes towards Warfare and Diplomacy," *Byzantine Diplomacy*, ed. Jonathan Shepard and Simon Franklin (Aldershot, 1992), pp. 281–94; idem, *Warfare, State and Society in the Byzantine World, 565–1204* (London, 1999).

[15] Yvonne Friedman, *Encounter between Enemies: Captivity and Ransom in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Leiden, 2002), pp. 117–18.

[16] Adam J. Kosto, "Hostages during the First Century of the Crusades," *Medieval Encounters* 9, 1 (2003), 3–31.

[17] Raymond of Aguilers (Raymond d'Aguilers, *Le 'Liber' de Raymond d'Aguilers*, ed. John Hugh and Laurita L. Hill [Paris, 1969], p. 88) claims that Godfrey took hostages from the castle as guarantors of future loyalty. Kamal al-Din (writing in the thirteenth century) describes the revolt of ʿUmar, the summoning of Frankish allies, the retreat of the Aleppan army and the giving of ʿUmar's son as hostage (Kamal al-Din ibn al-ʿAdim, "Zubdat al-Halab fi ta'rikh Halab", *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens orientaux* [Paris, 1872–1906], iii:595).

[18] William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, 7.4.

proxy, his messenger. A messenger sent to the Byzantine court or the court of the ʾAbbasid caliph was expected to kiss the ground in front of the ruler, to bow, and to kneel. Acceptance of his gifts was seen as a sign of favour, and he was, as a rule, not allowed any physical contact with the ruler.[19] In the above-cited story of the treaty with ʿUmar of ʿAzaz one can discern some basic elements also found in additional peacemaking encounters: (1) the importance of the clasping of the right hand, unfamiliar to the eastern ruler and essential to the westerner; (2) bowing and kneeling, apparently meaningful to both sides; (3) oath taking, a guarantee essential to both sides; (4) the assurance of hostages; and (5) gifts given as part of the diplomatic exchange. All or some of these elements appear intertwined in the different diplomatic encounters. The remainder of this paper focuses on only two of these features – the right hand and the bestowing of gifts.

A telling example of the role of gestures comes from William of Tyre's account of the treaty contracted between the Frankish king Amalric and the Fatimid vizier Shawar in 1167, which was ratified by the young Fatimid caliph al-ʿAdid. Note the central role of extending the right hand; naturally, this was but one of the many gestures utilized:

> These terms met with the approval of both parties, and in token of his agreement to the treaty the king extended his *right hand* (*dexteram dedit*) to the caliph's representatives. At the same time, however, he sent Hugh of Caesarea, a young man of admirable wisdom and discretion (*circumspectus*) far beyond his years, with several others to obtain the caliph's ratification of the covenant by the *hand* of Hugh (*in cuius manu calipha iuxta consonantiam placitam pacta firmaret*), according to the stipulations agreed upon; for the sultan's guarantee alone in this matter seemed insufficient.[20]

The ceremony of extending the right hand is done here by proxy, by the mediator, the noble diplomat Hugh of Caesarea. In this instance the Franks were clearly the stronger party, as proven by the large sum Shavar was willing to pay as tribute, of which half was paid immediately.[21] Frankish primacy is attested by their ability to force the caliph to accept their gestures of treaty-making:

> The Christians then requested that the caliph confirm this statement with his own *hand* as the king had done. At first, the courtiers who surrounded him, as well as his counsellors and gentlemen of the chamber…were shocked at the suggestion, as a thing utterly beyond comprehension. Finally, however, after long deliberation, at the persistent urging of the sultan, he very reluctantly extended his *hand* covered. Then, to the consternation of the Egyptians, who were amazed that anyone should talk so freely to their supreme lord, Hugh of Caesarea said to him: "Sire, good faith has nothing to conceal, but when princes bind themselves together in true loyalty everything ought to be open; and everything which is inserted in good faith in any pact should be confirmed or refused with frank

[19] Cf. al-Tabari, *The History of al-Tabari*, 34, trans. Joel L. Kraemer (Albany 1989), pp. 165–68.

[20] William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, 19.17.

[21] Yaacov Lev, *Saladin in Egypt* (Leiden, 1999), p. 58, citing the Mamluk historian Nuwayri (1279–1332).

sincerity. Therefore, unless you offer your *bare hand* we shall be obliged to think that, on your part, there is some reservation or lack of sincerity."[22]

Although courteous, Hugh left no doubt as to who was dictating the terms. William of Tyre, himself a diplomat on occasion and very aware of the importance of etiquette, describes the scene with obvious relish, consistently highlighting the difference between the diplomatic usage of the different sides: "Finally, with extreme unwillingness, as if it detracted from his majesty, yet with a slight smile, which greatly aggrieved the Egyptians, he put his *uncovered hand* into that of Hugh. He repeated, almost syllable by syllable, the words of Hugh as he dictated the formula of the treaty and swore that he would keep the stipulations thereof in good faith, without fraud or evil intent."[23] William of Tyre's triumphant tone was apparently based on the description given by Hugh himself.[24] "Twisting the caliph's arm" by forcing him to extend his bare right hand, as well as to repeat the formula dictated by the Christian side, was clearly seen as a diplomatic victory for the Franks.

In describing oaths of cooperation between Christian participants in the crusades, Albert of Aachen depicts the use of the practice of giving the right hand several times.[25] Although clearly predominant there, the gesture of giving the right hand was not limited exclusively to western usage. In cases of treaties between enemies, extending the right hand represents a gesture of trust, indicating the placing of one's strength in the hands of the other side. At the same time, it has the connotation of a solemn oath. A third, connected meaning of this gesture, frequently used by Albert, is surrender: giving the right hand as a sign of submission by an individual or a city, or as a captive's signal that he no longer poses a threat to the captor.[26] The pre-eminence of the right hand was known in Arab and Muslim culture as well,[27]

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[22] William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, 19.17.

[23] William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, 19.19: "Petentibus igitur nostris ut hoc propria manu firmaret, sicut dominus rex fecerat, prima facie visi sunt qui ei familiarius astabant auriculares et cubicularii, penes quos consiliorum regiorum erat auctoritas, rem nimis tanquam a seculis inauditam abhorrere, tandem vero, post multam deliberationem et soldani diligentiam instantiam, manum porrigit invitus nimium, sed velatam. Cui predictus Hugo de Cesarea, multum admirantibus et stupentibus Egyptiis quod tam libere summo principe loqueretur, dixit: 'Domine, fides angulos non habet, sed in fide media, per quam se obligare solent principes, omnia debent esse nuda et aperta et cum sinceritate et colligari et solvi convenit universa, que fidei interpositione pactis quibuslibet inseruntur: propterea aut nudam dabis, aut fictum aliquid et minus puritatis habens ex parti tua cogemur opinari.' Tunc demum invitus plurimum et quasi maiestati detrahens, subridens tamen, quod multum egre tulerunt Egyptii dexteram suam in manum domini Hugonis nudam prebuit, eundem Hugonem, pactorem formam determinantem, eisdem pene sillabis sequens, tenorem conventorum bona fide, sine fraude et malo ingenio se observaturum contestans."

[24] William declined to mention the part of another messenger, the Templar.

[25] Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 1.5, 3.13, 4.16.

[26] Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 3.11 (clasping right hands; cf. the ceremony of *homagium*); 6.32, 9.6, 10.14, 11.13, 11.17.

[27] Joseph Chelhod, "Pre-eminence of the Right: Based upon Arabic Evidence," *Right and Left: Essays on Dual Symbolic Classification*, ed. Rodney Needham (Chicago, 1973), pp. 239–62.

but in the east, physical contact with a ruler was a special sign of grace. Therefore, for the caliph, being forced to give his hand was indeed humiliating.[28]

The two treaties referred to above, a half-century apart, were both treaties of military cooperation against a Muslim rival. This, however, was not the most frequent type of agreement in the Latin East, where most treaties were contracted to end war between the enemy sides, further accentuating the lack of trust. The language barrier that usually existed between the belligerents enhanced the importance of readily comprehensible symbolic gestures like gift-giving, or kneeling and bowing.

In September 1192, during the protracted negotiations for a *hudna* between Richard I of England and Saladin, this basically western usage of extending the right hand to seal a treaty is attributed to both sides. Thus Baha' al-Din claims that Richard, who was too sick to read the draft, said: "I have no strength to read this, but I herewith make peace and here is my hand," and that Saladin said to the Christian envoys: "If you can accept these terms, well and good. I give you my hand on it."[29] Thus, according to the Muslim chronicler, this gesture had become part of the conventions of treaty-making on both sides. It seems then that a process of mutual acculturation had taken place in the period since Godfrey's meeting with ʿUmar of ʿAzaz.

Illustrations provide another source for deciphering the gestures of peace. Matthew Paris' illustration of the treaty between the ruler of Karak and Richard Lion-Heart in 1240 is a veritable mine of information.[30] (See Fig. 1.) In it, the leaders meet – Richard by proxy as usual in the East – midway between their strongholds, which reflects the usual practice of treaty making on neutral ground, attested in Muslim–Christian treaties in Spain,[31] but not in the East where Saladin twice refused to meet Richard I of England and sent messengers instead. But Baha' al-Din's theoretical description of a meeting between his master and Richard of Cornwall provides exactly this *mise-en-scène*: "The meeting should take place on the plain with their troops surrounding the two of them."[32] Their armed troops watch from a distance. More pertinent to our theme, both sides kneel and give their right hands. Note, however, the differences in the kneeling gesture. According to John Burrow, kneeling on one knee preserves some honour, unlike the bowing gesture that signifies surrender.[33] They remove their helmets and touch shields, all trust-enhancing gestures meant to show that one is placing his safety in the adversary's

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[28] Cf. Baha' al-Din's description of Saladin's modest behaviour: "Whenever the sultan shook hands with someone he would not let go his hand until that person had taken the initiative to do so" *The Rare, and Excellent History of Saladin by Baha' al-Din Ibn Shadad*, trans. Donald S. Richards (Aldershot 2001), p. 35.

[29] Baha' al-Din, *History*, pp. 229, 230–31.

[30] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 16, Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, fol. 139v.

[31] Robert I. Burns and Paul E. Chevedden, *Negotiating Cultures: Bilingual Surrender Treaties in Muslim-Crusader Spain under James the Conqueror* (Leiden, 1999).

[32] Baha' al-Din, *History*, p. 156.

[33] John A. Burrow, *Gestures and Looks in Medieval Narrative*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Narrative 48 (Cambridge, 2002), p. 19.

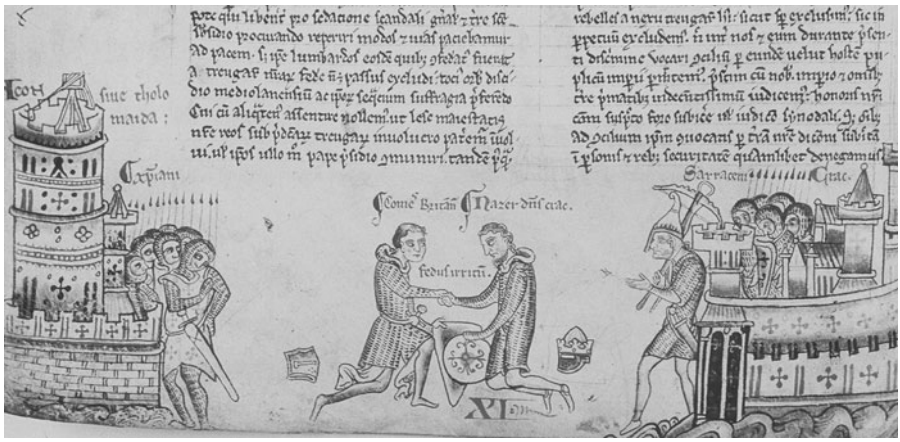

Fig. 1 Peter of Brittany signing a treaty with the ruler of Crac (Karak). Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 16, fol.139v. Reproduced courtesy of the Parker Library and The Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, England.

hands. As we have seen, some of the gestures found here have textual attestation. Undoubtedly both sides were aware of their importance and their signification.[34]

By way of contrast, the miniature showing the citizens of Edessa accepting Baldwin I as their ruler (Fig. 2),[35] painted in Acre toward the end of Frankish rule, reflects a more eastern usage: Baldwin receives the Edessan representatives seated on a throne and flanked by armed guards. Unlike a western ceremony of homage, the citizens approach him from a distance, kneel bareheaded, and bear gifts. Baldwin's lifted hand with its raised finger means attentiveness and shows his readiness to listen and to speak to them. Significantly, no physical contact takes place. Similarly, the illustrations for the *Maqamat al-Hariri* show the narrator and his friend Abu Zayd approaching eminent personages – in one instance a qadi, in the other a ruler.[36] (See Fig. 3.) In both of these instances, rank is clearly defined by

[34] When Richard II of England came to France in 1396 to marry Isabella, both kings bared their heads, bowed "a little" and took each other by the hand. When people hold out a hand or take somebody by the hand, this is not the same as shaking hands; that is a later gesture showing equality. Thus when Wat Tiler (1381 revolt) shook hands with King Richard, this was seen as insulting. The French chronicler describes a clasp – "il prist le roy par la mayne" – but has only an English word for the defiantly gesture "et schaka sa brace durement et fortement." See Raymond Firth, "Verbal and Bodily Rituals of Greeting and Parting," *The Interpretation of Ritual* (London, 1972), pp. 1–38, especially p. 37.

[35] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 9084, fol. 42r. Published by Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957), plate 136c. Similar illuminations depict Tancred receiving tribute from local satraps. Reproduced by courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

[36] *Maqamat al-Hariri*, London, British Library, MS Add 22114, fols. 66r and. 18v. Cf. *Maqamat al Hariri, Paris*, Bibliothèque nationale, MS 5847, facsimile, fol. 26r.

Fig. 2 Turkish and Armenian satraps offering gifts to obtain a treaty. William of Tyre, History of Outremer (Old French translation), Paris, Bibliothèque national, MS fr. 9084, fol. 42r. Reproduced courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris.

elevation. The ruler is seated, whereas the approaching protagonists stand lower, bowing forward slightly with an extended hand, but, again, in no way touching the more exalted personage. These two types of ceremony – the first western and the second eastern – are corroborated in medieval chronicles, particularly ones penned by diplomats.[37]

Hands play a role in the ratification of Baybars's treaty with the Latin kingdom in 1268 as described by Muhyi al-din Ibn ʿAbd al-Zahir (1223–93), the head of the royal chancery under Baybars and Qalawun, and a court biographer:

> I was an ambassador together with the Amir Kamal al-Din b. Shith to take the king's oath. The sultan sent us with the gift of twenty of the prisoners of Antioch, priests and monks. We entered Acre on 24 Shawwal (7 July 1268) and were received by a numerous gathering. The sultan had instructed us not to demean ourselves before [the king] in sitting or speech. When we entered to him, we saw him sitting enthroned together with the masters [of the Orders] and we would not take our seat until a throne was placed for

[37] Baha' al-Din's detailed description of the ceremonial aspects of the treaty between Richard the Lionheart and Saladin in 1192 includes the "taking of hands" (*History*, p. 231). He also relates a delay in the oath-taking ceremony, attributed to the fact that the Christians "do not take an oath after eating" and that they had eaten that day. Perhaps this was a way of gaining time to convince Richard to sign the treaty. The mediators were apparently successful in setting international policy behind the backs of the rulers who had sent them to negotiate in their name.

Fig. 3 Abu Zayd appealing to the governor, *Maqamat al-Hariri*, British Library, London, MS Add. 22114, fol. 66r. Reproduced courtesy of the British Library, London.

> us opposite him. The *wazir* put out the hand to take the letter, but we would not hand it over until the king put out his hand and took it.[38]

To my mind, Peter Holt's suggestion that Baybars's messengers' insistence on Hugh de Lusignan accepting their message with his own hand is in deliberate retribution for the 1167 meeting between Hugh of Caesarea and the Caliph al-ʿAdid exaggerates the fame William's story had acquired.[39] It should rather be seen as yet another example of different, or clashing cultural symbols and rituals. Like their instructions not to sit lower than the king, the messengers' behaviour was probably meant as an affront to the king. Whether connected to the former incident a century earlier or not, to the Mamluk envoys, placing the letter in the king's hand was insulting, whereas it was normal Western practice, portrayed in numerous illuminations showing envoys to the Byzantine emperor holding on to the same letter he accepts.[40] (See Fig. 4.) In the eyes of the eastern report by Shafi ibn Ali the envoys' gesture and the speech were so insolent that they prompted Hugh to threaten them with force. In the eyes of the West, it was their words that provoked the king's anger.

Thus, each of the parties to the Christian–Muslim conflict in the Latin East brought a different understanding to gestures involving hands, the right hand in particular. If in some cases, the cultural gap was overcome by explanation, or by a not-so-subtle application of force, when Saladin and Richard I of England engaged in negotiations, some mutual understanding and shared use of hand gestures had been achieved.

Gifts were another important feature of medieval negotiations, and of non-hostile relations, in both East and West. Indeed, gifts in the medieval west have recently been described as of "central importance…in the articulation of any non-hostile relationship at the time. An accord is inconceivable without the attendant gifts to cement it. No association could possibly be established unless it was viewed in terms of gifts, generosity and acceptance."[41] In eastern practice, on the other hand, gifts were normally given by the party seeking to initiate negotiations, which, at least in theory, was the weaker side. In the case of the gift made by Godfrey to the ruler of ʿAzaz, this condescending largesse on Godfrey's part seals the treaty, emphasizing the inequality between the sides. Jean Starobinski sees the gift as ruinous because of the inequality it entails, and claims that "there is only one antidote to this deleterious role: the contract, which is a relation of power, but a

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[38] Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, p. 70.

[39] Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, p. 70 n. 4.

[40] See, for example, the illuminations depicting messengers to the Byzantine emperor and those on the Becket leaves. See Boulogne sur Mer, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 142, fol. 60v; Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Plu. LXI, 10, fol. 70v; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 9084, fol. 272r, and the Becket leaves, now at the British Library, depicting the messenger to the pope and to Becket..

[41] Esther Cohen, "Introduction," *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power and Gifts in Context*, ed. Esther Cohen and Mayke B. de Jong (Leiden, 2001), p. 7.

Fig. 4 The Byzantine Emperor receiving a letter from a messenger, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 9084, fol. 272r. Reproduced courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris.

relation nonetheless."[42] There is, however, another well-known gesture in the East that may have made it easier for the ruler of ʿAzaz to accept the gift, namely, the bestowing of honour or investiture by giving a robe of honour.[43] Not used as such by the laity in the West, it perhaps served nevertheless as a meeting point between the different cultural concepts.

As noted, the bringing of gifts belonged to the gestural sphere of diplomacy-initiating encounters in the East. In Fig. 2 we see the oriental satraps bringing Baldwin horses and gold. This could, of course, have been part of the treaty itself:

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[42] Jean Starobinski, *Largesse*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Chicago, 1997), p. vii.

[43] See Stewart Gordon (ed.), *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture,* The New Middle Ages (Houndmills, 2001) for a comparative study in the east and west.

tribute paid for an armistice or truce, a usual and very useful way of conducting affairs in the first decade of the Latin rule in the East. Bringing gifts as a trust-enhancing gesture was part and parcel of negotiations in the East, a longstanding procedure in Byzantine-Muslim parleys. These gifts could be prominent captives – separate and apart from the large bulk of captive exchanges being negotiated – or a costly gift, fit for a ruler, or even a special dish. The crusader ruler seated on a throne very similar to that of the Byzantine emperor, the world superpower of the East in Frankish eyes, who receives gifts from bowing or kneeling messengers, is obviously a manifestation of power and might. Nonetheless, I think the illuminators here truthfully depict the oriental mode of peace gestures: bringing tribute and humbly asking for peace. From the oriental perspective, gift-giving carried only a meaning of initiating negotiations.

The rejection of gifts sent by Baybars to initiate negotiations by the besieged garrison at Safad in 1266 led to a violent counter-reaction: after conquering the city, Baybars executed all the Templars.[44] In describing the event, the Templar of Tyre writes that Baybars sent the Templars in the castle a gift, "after the custom of the Saracens," in this case evidently failing to evoke any trust. The men in the castle used mangonels to hurl the gifts back and this made the sultan swear that he would put them all to the sword. In the West, on the other hand, gifts marked the culmination of the agreement-reaching process, and usually signified the hierarchical relationship between the parties – the more prominent side gave a gift to the lesser. Not to accept was tantamount to effrontery, if not a declaration of war.

Following Marcel Mauss's *Essai sur le don*,[45] anthropologists emphasize the need for reciprocity in gift-giving. As it creates some sort of obligation on the part of the recipient, it is sometimes a dubious blessing. In the words of Arnoud-Jan A. Bijsterveld:

> Gift exchange is defined as a transaction to create, maintain or restore relations between individuals or groups of people. The reciprocity is an essential element of this exchange. A gift has the capacity to create those relationships, because the initial gift obliges the recipient to return some other gift in the future. Because of the counter-gift, gift-giving is not restricted to one occasion: *do ut des*, it is an episode in a continuous social relationship. Gifts and counter-gifts, landed property, money, objects, brides and oblates act as a means of social integration.[46]

In the encounter between enemies, gift-giving can work to initiate talks or to seal a mutual obligation, according to cultural background. Here too, as with right

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[44] The Templar of Tyre, *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro*, ed. Laura Minervini (Naples, 2000), p. 108.

[45] Marcel Mauss, *Essai sur le don, forme archaïque de l'échange*, in *Sociologie et Anthropologie* (1925), trans. Ian Cunnison, *The Gift* (London, 1966).

[46] Arnoud-Jan A. Bijsterveld, "The Medieval Gift as Agent of a Social Bonding and Political Power: A Comparative Approach," *Medieval Transformations*, ed. Cohen and de Jong (Leiden, 2001), pp. 123–56.

hands, Richard I of England exemplifies what I see as a process of acculturation. When al-ʿAdil initiated peace negotiations by sending Richard "seven valuable camels and an excellent tent," Richard was severely criticized for accepting the gifts.[47] Later, when Richard wanted to initiate talks with Saladin, he sent him two falcons, specifying what he would like in return, although it is not clear if these were really meant as a gift or as a pretext to spy on the enemy.[48]

The falcon, a hunting bird, was in and of itself a symbol of peace, as hunting was the favourite pastime for non-belligerent warriors among both the eastern and western nobility. Hunting – the use of arms outside the battlefield – symbolized peaceful encounters, somewhat similar to modern sports. This can be shown, for example, by the Bayeux tapestry where a herald rides with a falcon on his shoulder to prove his peaceful intentions.[49] Usamah ibn Munqid's colourful description of the two rivals Amir Muʿin-al-Din and King Fulk of Jerusalem hunting together conveys the same meaning.[50] Thus, if in fact carried out, Richard's gesture, which is not mentioned by the Latin sources, had dual layers of meaning. It is interesting to note that Baha al-Din claims that the gift was only accepted on the explicit condition that Richard accept a comparable present.[51] At the same time al-ʿAdil made a point of emphasizing that the initiative had come from the English king; in other words, by oriental standards, he was the weaker party. The gift of a falcon as part of a peace treaty is further illustrated by a western illumination to William of Tyre's chronicle showing the Hungarian king returning the hostages to Godfrey of Bouillon. The two leaders clasp right hands and a falcon sits on the Hungarian king's arm, this hunting bird being a gift to seal the agreement[52] (see Fig. 5). The importance of gifts in the eastern tradition of negotiations is further illuminated by the *Kitab al-Hadaya wa al-Tuhaf* (The Book of Gifts and Rarities) apparently compiled a generation

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[47] *Itinerarium peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* 4.31, trans. Helen J. Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade* (Aldershot, 1997), p. 273; cf. Ambroise, *Estoire de la guerre sainte*, lines 7410–11, trans. Merton J. Hubert and John L. La Monte, *The Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart* (New York, 1941), p. 291.

[48] Baha al-Din, *History*, pp. 155–56: According to Bahaʾ al-Din, the king said: "It is the custom of princes when they camp close to another to exchange gifts. I have something suitable for the sultan and beg permission to convey it to him." Al-ʿAdil replied, "You may do that on condition that you accept a comparable present." The envoy then asks for fowls to feed the birds and al-ʿAdil jokes, "So the king needs chicken and fowls and wishes to get them from us on this pretext." The conversation ended with al-ʿAdil emphasizing that the initiative for talks came from the crusader side.

[49] Wolfgang Grape, *The Bayeux Tapestry: Monument to a Norman Triumph* (Munich, 1994), p. 92.

[50] "When I went in the company of al-amir Muʾin al-Din to ʿAkka to the king of Franks, Fulk, son of Fulk, we saw a Genoese… He brought with him a large molted falcon. Al-amir Muʾin-al-Din asked the king to give him that falcon. The king took it with the bitch from the Genoese and gave them to al-amir Muʿin-al-Din." Usamah ibn Munqidh, *Kitāb al-iʿtibār*, trans. Philip. K. Hitti, *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usamah ibn-Munqidh* (New York, 1929), p. 226.

[51] Usamah ibn Munqidh, *Kitāb al-iʿtibār*.

[52] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 9081, fol. 16v: Godfrey and King of Hungary.

Fig. 5 The King of Hungary returning hostages to Godfrey of Bouillon. William of Tyre, History of Outremer (Old French translation), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fr. 9081, fol. 16v. Reproduced courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris.

before the First Crusade.[53] Gifts given to Muslim rulers are carefully described, valued and detailed; there was evidently a special treasury where royal, diplomatic gifts were kept and registered.

Thus, as a gesture, gifts had multi-level meanings. They could be an expression of superiority and affluence, a trust-enhancing opening for negotiations or a sign of friendship, but they were always, as modern anthropologists have noted, a sign of relations and social contact. In sum, they represented that most important function of all the gestures discussed: a means of communication in which actions speak louder than words.

Some historians attribute the importance of gestures to the weakness of literacy. As seen from the examples discussed above, the Middle Ages knew both gestures and literacy, although their balance changed from one century to the next. Gestures publicly transmitted political and religious power and gave legal actions a living image. They bound together human wills and bodies.[54] In the case of intercultural encounters, gestures acquired an even more important role, acting to ratify agreement. But the fact that mediators and diplomats were needed to explain or enforce these gestures shows that they did not always function as a cultural bridge, but rather as an impediment to mutual understanding. In many cases, the language of force ruled, with the victor imposing his bodily language on the vanquished as yet another facet of inferiority, one that being public and visible carried a greater effect for propaganda than a written treaty.

In the late thirteenth century, when the Franks were the underdog, this forcible indication of primacy through gesture in diplomatic encounters finds vivid illustration. I have already noted how in 1268 the Mamluk sultan Baybars sent his emissaries to King Hugh in Acre with strict instructions not to sit below the Frankish king. The importance attached to these instructions emerges from the eastern illustrations of how a ruler is approached. When the discussion became heated, the king threatened the emissary with his troops, who stood behind him. After ascertaining whether he had a safe conduct, the emissary said, "Let the king know that in Khizanat al-Bunud, which is a prison in the sultan's realm in Cairo, there are Frankish prisoners more in number than these."[55] This answer was undoubtedly calculated as an insult to the Frankish king, showing that he had in fact no choice but to ratify the treaty and that the cessation of hostilities was in Baybars' hands. But the answer has additional implications. The safe-conduct of an emissary was part of the long-established rules in encounters between the enemies, and if violated, the prisoners in Cairo could pay for this infringement with their lives. In

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[53] *Kitab al-Hadaya wa al-Tuhaf*, trans. Ghada al-Hijjawi al-Qaddumi, *Book of Gifts and Rarities*, Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs 29 (Cambridge, Mass., 1996).

[54] Jean-Claude Schmitt, "The Language of Gestures in the West: Third to Thirteenth Centuries," *A Cultural History of Gesture*, ed. Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg (Ithaca, 1991), pp. 59–70, especially, p. 60.

[55] Holt, *Mamluk Diplomacy*, pp. 70–71; Ibn al-Furat, *Ta'rikh*, in Ursula Lyons and Malcolm C. Lyons, *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders* 2 (Cambridge, 1971), p. 129.

other words, the Franks had to abide by the rules of exchanging captives, acquired in the Latin East, but this by no means guaranteed that Baybars would adhere to the same rules.

As the final example strikingly demonstrates, in the final analysis, the main factor underlying treaty making remained the subtle language of power. Ultimately, the victorious side dictated its verbal and gestural language to the vanquished. Although I have noted some instances in which the belligerents came to share the other side's usages and mores through a process of learning, in cases where the gap in power was prominent, gestures, as well as peace terms were often dictated, not negotiated. Even so, the means of mutual communication that developed into formal diplomacy continued to play a significant role in these adversarial encounters.

The Medieval Evolution of By-naming: Notions from the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem

Iris Shagrir

The study of the personal names of the Frankish settlers in Outremer has shown the Franks' double allegiance to the cultures of both their European homeland and their new one in the Levant; this is the picture that also seems to emerge from recent studies on varied cultural dimensions of the Latin states in the East. In this paper, I wish to begin an examination of the evolution of by-names and explore their distribution and special characteristics in the Latin kingdom. Following an overview of the general evolution of by-names, I will attempt to identify the types of preferred by-names and the types abandoned, and to look at the special role of toponymic by-names and their possible link to migration and mobility. These observations may also contribute to the understanding of the processes in Western Europe, as the current state of the research is such that different and sometimes contradictory findings exist. The use of by-names in the kingdom of Jerusalem increased steadily over the period of the Kingdom's existence. The prevalence of by-names rose from 40 per cent in 1100, to just over 60 per cent by the end of the thirteenth century. This trend is in accordance with corresponding developments in western Europe, where a gradual increase of by-name usage is documented during the middle of the eleventh century and thereafter the increase is more widespread and steady.

The by-name is the ancestor of the surname, or the family name. It is distinguished from a surname by being a non-hereditary descriptor, which changes with every generation and is not necessarily applied to other family members. By-names are usually categorized into four main types: a) toponymic (or locative), alluding a place-name, or to a non-particular topographic element (Balduinus de Lisabona, Petrus de Vallis); b) a personal name or a form of a personal name (Petrus Amalricus, Rogerius Constantini); c) an occupational descriptor (Guido Aurifaber, Lambertus Sutor) and names relating to office or social status (Guillelmus Ligius, Bonofilius Contadini); d) a nickname or sobriquet, denoting a personal or a physical quality (Gerardus Amorosus, Hugo Blancus). To these may be added by-names relating ethnicity (Herveus Brito).

Clearly, changes in naming practices, in this case the growing frequency in the use of by-names, accompanied wider social and cultural processes. Several possible incentives contributed to the addition of by-names in the Middle Ages, none of which need be seen as exclusive. Among these factors are demographic increase and growing sophistication and standardization of bureaucratic and taxation procedures, which required officials to practice greater accuracy. An added by-name may have also been an indication of the individual's growing public activity, social affiliation, public consciousness, and also reflect a perception of the name as

a social marker implying, for example, assets, or a privileged office or position.[1] By-names could therefore be attached spontaneously by officials concerned with avoiding confusion in their documents, or might be self-generated by individuals or families. In the higher social strata, the inherent motivation to distinguish lineages from one another may have played a special role; this distinction could be achieved by the double means of re-using personal names and by adopting by-names. By-names in this case often tend to be toponymic, thus identifying families or family members with properties (Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin of Boulogne). Evolving dynastic consciousness may have also used the means of naming, to establish or enhance family memory.

An intriguing issue is the question of the correlation between homonymity and the increased use of by-names, which is often underscored in the literature on the evolution of naming systems. By-names, according to this view, were added in order to promote clarity and avoid the confusion created by the growing proportion of homonyms.[2] The explanation has reasonable merit. Yet, the statistical findings on the correlation between homonymity and by-naming in different regions in western Europe have been complex and inconclusive. Studies conducted in France indicate that in some regions the appearance of the second element (by-name) preceded the condensation of the name stock, and suggest that the disappearance of single names became more pronounced only when the stock of names shrank by about 50 per cent. On the other hand, findings from the south-west of France, for example, where the contraction of the name stock occurred earlier than in other parts, show that the addition of a surname also occurred earlier. Studies emphasize that all over France the process was very slow.[3] C. Clark, in her study of the English naming patterns links homonymy in medieval England with an over-reliance on a few preferred personal names, but maintains that the exact cause of the evolution will probably remain unknown.[4]

The picture is clearer in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Here, a strong correlation is found between contraction of the stock of first names and the preponderance of

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[1] These possible factors are discussed by Monique Bourin and Pascal Chareille, "En forme de conclusion générale: bilans et projets," *Genèse Médiévale de L'anthroponymie Moderne, II–2: Persistances du Nom Unique*, eds. Monique Bourin and Pascal Chareille (Tours, 1992) pp. 301–321. On surnames, especially toponymic, see also discussion by Katharine S.B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People. A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents, 1066–1166* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 34–38, Benjamin Z. Kedar; "Toponymic surnames as Evidence of Origin: Some Medieval Views," *Viator* 4 (1973) pp. 123–29; and David Postles, "Notions of the Family, Lordship and the Evolution of Naming Processes in Medieval English Rural Society: A Regional Example," *Continuity and Change* 10 (1995) p. 170.

[2] Marie-Thérèse Morlet, *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de familles* (Paris, 1997), p. 8.

[3] Bourin and Chareille, "Bilans et projets," p. 306; Monique Bourin, "France du Midi et France du Nord: deux systèmes anthroponymiques," *L'Anthroponymie: Document de l'histoire sociale des mondes méditerranées médiévaux. Actes du colloque international. Collection de l'École Française de Rome*, 226 (Rome, 1996), pp. 179–202, at pp. 190–192.

[4] Cecily Clark, "Anthroponymy," *Cambridge History of the English Language* II, (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 551–587, at p. 567.

by-names. This correlation, which may indeed suggest causality but by no means stipulates it, is at present a finding unique to the Frankish kingdom in this period.[5] Indeed, as the correlation between the condensation of the stock of personal names and the expansion of by-naming seems to be complex, it is possible to conceptualize an inverted causal relationship between the two, namely that the condensation of the stock of personal names was a product of the growing use of by-names, itself a result of causes from outside the anthroponymic system, like a desire to create and preserve family identity and memory of origins.[6]

The growing preference of saints' names is a linked phenomenon. The popularity of saints' names operated as an agent in the spread of homonymity. Saints' names comprise a relatively fixed pool of deliberately limited choices, more so given the rising popularity of central saints (like the apostles). This process is well documented in medieval western Europe. A singular attempt to ascertain the relationship between the use of saints' names and the use of by-names was performed with the data of the Frankish kingdom of Jerusalem. An analysis of the rapidity of these two phenomena found that the increase in use of saints' names occurred faster than the increase in use of by-names. This suggests that the restriction of name choices may have induced the addition of by-names.[7] Apparently, holding a by-name facilitated choosing a popular first name, or, conversely, naming after a highly popular namesake may call for applying a by-name. Consider for instance the name John, a preferred name in the Ibelin family (along with Balian). Around the middle of the thirteenth century, there were five active and prominent Johns of Ibelin, who were unavoidably designated also by lordship, title or some other by-name, such as "junior."[8]

The particular type of toponymic, especially locative, by-names warrants special attention as it brings up another factor which could have played a role in promoting the use of by-names: migration and social mobility.

Studies of by-names in England reveal the specific link between toponymic by-names and migration into towns: about half of the documented individuals with by-names carry a toponymic by-name. Consequently, many studies focus on aspects of migration revealed through toponymic surnames. These studies trace

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[5] In the Latin kingdom the groups of holders and non-holders of by-names are of similar size. Yet non-holders of by-names carry a greater variety of personal names. This may imply that those with by-names, having another element of identification, use popular personal names more often than people without by-names. For more details, see Iris Shagrir, *Naming Patterns in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 40–42.

[6] On family memory, see Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance* (Princeton, 1994), pp.73–80. On the links between naming and kinship structures, see Monique Bourin, "How changes in Naming reflect the Evolution of Familial Structures in Southern Europe (950–1250)," in *Personal Name Studies of Medieval Europe. Social Identity and Familial Structures*, eds. G.T. Beech, M. Bourin and P. Chareille (Kalamazoo, 2002), pp. 3–13.

[7] Shagrir, *Naming Patterns*, pp. 52–54

[8] John of Beirut ('Old Lord'), 1205–1236; John I of Arsur, 1241–58; John II of Beirut, 1247–64; John of Jaffa (jurist), 1247–66; John II of Arsur, 1277–1309. See Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility of the Kingdom of Jerusalem 1174–1277*, pp. 316–317; *RRH*, index, under "Ibelin."

patterns of migration, migration distances, social mobility and economic processes. The relationship among these factors has been explored by several scholars. Eilert Ekwall used toponymic by-names to calculate the extent and range of migration among Londoners of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries; the strengths of his method and the criticism it met were indicated by Peter McClure who also analyzed the evidence retrieved from by-naming patterns of changing rural-to-urban migration patterns, as well as of demographic and economic changes.[9] Benjamin Kedar noted a distinct relationship between toponymic by-names and the trading profession, suggesting that a specific locative may have been adopted for marketing proposes. The example Kedar provides demonstrates this: a spice merchant may call himself "de Tripoli" to enhance his reputation, by associating himself with a major market in the Levant.[10] This last example brings up self-motivation as yet another possible cause for adding a by-name; while it is often assumed that individuals had to be labelled by others for purposes of identification and convenience, we should not exclude the possibility that certain individuals wanted to adopt a distinguishing descriptor for themselves. Moreover, it is conceivable that a self-adopted by-name is more likely to be a distinct locative rather than a general toponym.

From the eleventh to the thirteenth century, evidence exists for the persistence of the single name, the increasing use of by-names, and the sporadic use of hereditary surnames. In thirteenth-century Europe by-names had already become widespread, but the naming system was still to be in flux for about two hundred years. These processes were slow and variable by region, gender and social status.[11]

The process in the Latin kingdom appears to correspond to the process in Western Europe. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the system was still inconsistent, by-naming was increasing but not universal. Consequently, a person could be ascribed different by-names, as in the case of, as prominent a figure like Baldwin of Ibelin (d. c.1188), who appears as son of Barisanus of Ramla in 1148, as Balduinus de Mirabello in 1162, as Balduinus de Mirabella filius Barisani in 1165, as Balduinus de Ibelin dominus Mirabelli in 1166, simply as brother of Hugo and Barisan of Ibelin in 1168, as Balduinus Ramatensis and Ramarum in 1171 and 1174, and finally as Baldoinus d'Ybelin.[12] The inconsistency is not the unique characteristic

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[9] Peter McClure, "Patterns of migration in the late middle ages: the evidence of English place-name surnames," *Economic History Review* 2nd ser., 32 (1979), pp. 167–82, at p. 167; Eilert Ekwall, *Two Early London Subsidy Rolls* (Lund, 1951), pp. 49–71; Percy H. Reaney, *The Origin of English Surnames* (London, 1967), pp. 36–57.

[10] Kedar, "Toponymic Surnames," p.123. See also Robert S. Lopez, "Concerning Surnames and Places of Origin," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 8 (1954), pp. 6–16.

[11] Bourin and Chareille, "Bilans et projets," pp. 301–21. Research on the evolution of the surname, and the process by which the individual surname has turned into a family name, is currently conducted under the auspices of the CNRS and the Laboratoire de Médievistique Occidentale de Paris (LAMOP), directed by Patrice Beck, Monique Bourin and Pascal Chareille.

[12] *RRH* 252, 370b, 419, 423, 449, 492, 518, 649. While it is true that the changing by-name reflects changes in seigniorial position, note for example the inconsistent use of "Ibelin", or the omission of any by-name in 1168, when Baldwin was already Lord of Mirabel. Another, probably different, Balduinus

of any specific social group,[13] though usually members of the nobility are better identified than others.[14] Hereditary surnames, too, did not form a significant portion of the by-named population in the Latin kingdom, although infrequent instances may suggest their existence, as in the case of Adam Costa *juvenis* and Adam Costa *senex*, who both witnessed an act of Frederick II in Acre in 1229.[15]

The spread of by-names has often been described as having occurred initially among the higher social classes. This description assumes that the higher classes needed to be better identified because of their land holdings and the services they owed. Also, for the nobility, by-names relating to estates were markers of status and a sign of dignity, and therefore spread among them earlier and faster. Thus, it was the high nobility who created a fashion which lower nobility imitated, and subsequently other social classes. However, an imitation mechanism cannot be simply assumed,[16] and it is not universally ascertainable in medieval studies. Some studies found that from the end of the eleventh century and throughout the twelfth, the use of by-names was remarkable among the nobility, but not unique to it.[17] Monique Bourin suggested an alternative interpretation of the process, proposing that it was not only the nobles, but also the burgesses, who headed the transformation of the anthroponymic system through the addition of by-names. An apparently related hypothesis was proposed by Jean-Louis Biget, assuming a link between social mobility and the growing use of saints' names. According to Biget's interpretation, individuals who had ventured out of the safe nest of home, family, village or parish and moved into towns, bestowed the symbolic and ubiquitous protection of a saint upon their children, and consequently, the tendency to use a restricted repertory of saints' names necessitated attaching a descriptor (mostly occupational or locative) to the personal names of new urban residents.[18] Studies

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de Rama appears in 1153 (*RRH* 283, cf. Joseph Delaville le Roulx, *Cartulaire Général des Hospitaliers de Saint Jean de Jérusalem*, vol. 1 (Paris 1894), p. 168–69, no. 219.

[13] "Notaries sometimes showed little consideration for the desiderata of future historians" remarks Robert S. Lopez in "Concerning Surnames," p.14.

[14] Heinrich Rüthing, "Der Wechsel von Personennamen in einer spätmittelalterlichen Stadt. Zum Problem der Identifizierung von Personen und zum sozialen Status von Stadtbewohnern mit wechselnden oder unvollständigen Namen," in *Medieval Lives and the Historian. Studies in Medieval Prosopography*, eds. Neithard Bulst and Jean-Philippe Genet (Kalamazoo, 1982), pp. 215–26; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, p. 32; Reaney, *Origin of English Surnames*, pp. 296–97.

[15] *RRH* 1003. These two are specifically mentioned here because their first name and the by-name are identical. Other individuals in the Latin Kingdom carry this by-name or surname: Arnold Costa (*RRH* 243), and Peter Costa (*RRH* 618), who appears with John Costa in *RRH* 619. The obvious other example of the Ibelin family should also be mentioned.

[16] Stanley Lieberson, *A Matter of Taste* (Yale, 2000), p. 169.

[17] See Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, "Le nom refait," *L'Homme* 20 (1980), p.78; Anne Lefèvre-Teillard, *Le nom, droit et histoire* (Paris, 1990), p. 27; Monique Bourin, "Tels Père, Tels Fils? L'héritage du nom dans la noblesse languedocienne (XIe–XIIIe siècles)," *Genèse médiévale de l'anthroponymie modern III*, pp. 191–209; Postles, "Notions of Family," pp.169–98.

[18] Bourin, "France du Midi et France du nord," p.192; Jean-Louis Biget, "L'évolution des noms de baptême en Languedoc au moyen âge," *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 17 (1982), pp. 297–341, at p. 334.

from England indicate too a greater necessity to ascribe descriptors to immigrants from rural areas into towns.[19]

Again, the findings from the Latin kingdom provide a clear insight. Amongst the different Frankish social groups, it was the burgess class who headed the trend of adding a by-name in the twelfth century. The nobility did not lead the process, as in various regions of Catholic Europe.[20] Rather, the Frankish nobility seems to have caught up with the trend, and in the thirteenth century the nobles and non-nobles shared the trend to an equal extent. In the Frankish kingdom, as in Catholic Europe, the slowest social group to adopt by-names was the clergy.[21]

The two interpretations, one perceiving the process as originating in the nobility and the other as originating in the urban populace, need not be thought of as incompatible. Members of both groups had to be identified clearly. Among nobles, significant contributing factors were the concentration on a limited dynastic stock of first names and the decreasing frequency of many Germanic names, along with an attempt to create a dynastic-onomastic identity using both first names and by-names, including an emphasis upon land possessions as toponymic descriptors. On the other hand, among the urban populace, partly due to the changing preferences in personal names – primarily a preference for saints' names – partly due to the fact that the citizens were tax-paying individuals by definition, by-names were a growing necessity. The nature of the urban population, including immigrants, merchants, professional craftsmen, members of guilds and other urban organizations, contributed to the expansion of not just imposed by-names, but of self-styled ones as well. The same dynamic that operated in the spread of certain types of first names in towns could have operated in spreading the practice of using a by-name. In addition, the two groups partly overlapped as members of the urban elites in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were occasionally landowners of noble descent.[22]

The study of by-names in the Frankish society, like the study of names in medieval and post-medieval Europe in general, presents methodological obstacles. Much caution is required in interpreting by-names correctly. The by-names in an immigrating society such as the Frankish in the Latin East originated from various medieval languages and may appear in vernacular, Latin or Latinized forms. The linguistic complexity requires consulting many different dictionaries, which may

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[19] Reaney, *Origin of English Surnames*, pp. 296–98. This tendency is also revealed in the use of composite by-names among town dwellers, which is, however, rare in the Latin kingdom. An example is Paulus Philippus Lebel, *RRH* 1037.

[20] See Bourin, "Bilan de l'equête," *Genèse médiévale de l'anthroponymie modern* I, pp. 238–43; Bourin and Chareille, "Bilans et projets," *Genèse médiévale de l'anthroponymie modern* II–2, pp. 311–18; Postles, "Notions of Family," *Continuity and Change*, 10 (1995), pp. 169–70.

[21] For studies on the expansion of surnames, see *Genèse médiévale de l'anthroponymie moderne: Persistances du nom unique*, II–1, II–2. For clergy, "L'anthroponymie des clercs," *Genèse médiévale de l'anthroponymie modern* II–1. A preliminary attempt to differentiate between types of by-names used by different social groups is presented in Cecily Clark, "Socio-economic status and individual identity," in *Words, Names and History*, ed. Peter Jackson (Woodbridge, 1995), pp. 100–13.

[22] David Nicholas, *The Growth of the Medieval City* (London, 1997) p. 116.

themselves be imperfect or inadequate.[23] Moreover, toponymic by-names, which comprise a good part of the by-name repertory here as elsewhere, are usually easy to notice, but not as easy to interpret. Many toponymic by-names may provide limited and sometimes ambiguous information, due to variations and changes in spelling, scribal corruption of foreign place-names, identical place names that may have existed and still do in different regions, and names that refer to places which have by now vanished from the map. Also to be noted is that standardized methodological tools for the study of surnames are still being developed, attempting to address both the great variety of forms of documentation and the large scale of quantified data from different periods and areas.

For this survey, I employ the database constructed for the study of the naming patterns in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem,[24] which also contains by-names.

The by-named population of the Latin kingdom, meaning the individuals who have a second element of naming, consists of 3,287 individuals out of 6,170 individuals recorded for the study. For the purpose of analysis, the individuals were divided into six nearly equal and roughly generational periods, as follows: 1100–1129; 1130–1159; 1160–1189; 1190–1219; 1220–1249; 1250–1291. The data refer only to male adults who appear in legal and commercial documents in the Frankish East in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Of the total by-named population, I was unable to identify with certainty 25 per cent of the by-names (815 out of 3287).

As indicated in the beginning of this paper, the primary phenomenon to note concerning by-names in the Frankish kingdom is their growing prevalence over the period 1100–1291. It is the same evolution that occurs in Western Europe at the time. The by-names that carry out this evolution are interpreted and categorized according to four types. These types are indicated here, with examples and specific reference to the characteristics of the by-names found in the Frankish kingdom.

1 Toponymic or locative by-names. These by-names may refer to either specific place-names like a village, town, region or country, or to indefinite locations. This category is subdivided into three sub-groups: European toponyms; "local" toponyms, referring to the lands dominated by the Franks in the in Syria and Palestine; and a third sub-group of indefinite locations which indicate topographic elements, landscape, or types of domicile, such as "de Montibus," "de Ponte," "de Castello," "de Valle," "de Porta," "de Vinea," etc.

A particularly problematic type is the ethnonym, such as Langlois, l'Aleman Picard, Normannus and Britto. These by-names may be classified as sobriquets,

[23] For reference and identification, several dictionaries and books were used, including Theodor Graesse, *Orbis Latinus. Lexikon lateinischer geographischer Namen des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, (Braunschweig, 1972); Morlet, *Dictionnaire des noms de famille*; Albert Dauzat, *Dictionnaire des nom de famille et des prénoms de France*; Emidio de Felice, *Dizionario dei nomi italiani*; Basil Cottle, *The Penguin Dictionary of Surnames*; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, Alan V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Dynastic History* (Oxford, 2000). For a discussion of dictionaries, see David Hey, "Recent Advances in the Study of Surnames," *The Historian*, 80 (2003), pp. 13–17.

[24] Shagrir, *Naming Patterns*, pp. 15–22.

but may also be considered toponymic by-names. The use of large geographical units as by-names, as opposed to names of small towns and villages, may be a unique characteristic of long-distance migration, given that the immigration to *Outremer* is the first large-scale and long-distance European immigration.

2 A personal name (anthroponym) or a form of a personal name. These may indicate relationship to either parent, as with Raimundus Constantini or Raimundus Ermengaudi, and thus may appear in the genitive case, or simply as an additional personal name, like Raimundus Constantinus. The last example demonstrates yet again the inconsistency in the practice of by-naming, as Raimundus Constantini and Raimundus Constantinus, who appear in 1177 and 1184 witnessing charters of Raymond of Tripoli, are probably the same person. Thus, if the additional first name is not in genitive case, the interpretation may be ambiguous. It is unclear whether these by-names reflect a short-hand for a fuller indication of affiliation (as in *x filius y*) or not, because various forms exist, such as Bartholomeus filius Georgii and Rainaldus Masueri filius Rainaldi Masueri.

3 Occupational by-names. These may appear in Latin or in different forms of vernacular, as with *faber, faure, lefevre*. Whether these occupational by-names should be interpreted literally is a question with no precise answer, though in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, compared to later periods, literal interpretation is probably more often valid. A few rare by-names denoting office and status are also included in this category. Designation of status or office only rarely appears in the documents as a part of the name, such as Robertus comes, Guillelmus ligius, Petrus burgensis, as opposed to the more common construction, as in Milo de Planci, *senescalus regius*.

4 A nickname (sobriquet) in this study is usually a descriptive by-name given in addition to (not instead of) a first name. It refers to a mental or a physical quality, as in Paganus cum testa, Hugo bona mente, Johannes Paillart. Nicknames are indeed a flexible category. Apart from the fact that the meaning of a nickname may often be ambiguous – Terricus de Inferno, Guido de Finemundo, and Guibertus Piscis (where Piscis may refer to an occupation or a personal trait) – undeniably the options and variations are infinite, and thus liable to many orthographic inconsistencies.

The most common of these four types of by-names in the Latin kingdom is the toponymic by-name. The distribution of the 2,475 identified by-names is as follows:

Toponymic and ethnonymic by-names	1680	68%
Nicknames	335	13%
Anthroponymic/ patronymic by-names	282	11%
Occupational and status by-names	209	8%

This distribution does not include the 815 not identified by-names (25 per cent of all individuals with by-names).[25]

The toponymic by-names comprise the majority of the by-names in use over the whole period of study. Their frequency seems to have remained roughly even from 1100 to 1291.[26] This is a high proportion, which may be characteristic of communities composed mostly of immigrants. It seems to present a higher proportion than in western Europe, although in Europe, as well, toponymic by-names are the majority. European findings presently reflect isolated locations, and more quantified data from western Europe will provide a better understanding. Indications from extant studies conducted with respect to southern France in the thirteenth century show slightly lower rates among the nobility and lower ones among peasants. In England, a study by Percy Reaney found that among London immigrants in the early thirteenth century toponymic surnames gradually became more numerous, and by the end of the century were common and still increasing.[27]

The majority of these toponymic by-names denote European places of origin ('de Carcasona', 'Andegavensis'). The European toponyms are 62 per cent of all toponymic by-names of the Latins in the East. Their frequency remained relatively stable over the period.

On the other hand, local toponyms – by-names reflecting places in Syria and Palestine such as "de Ioppe," "de Accon" – amount to 28 per cent of all toponymic by-names in the studied period. Their frequency is relatively static throughout the period. General toponymic by-names ("de Montibus," "de Foresta") are about 10 per cent of toponymic by-names.

The second most common type of by-name is the nickname (Magnus, Homodei) at 13 per cent. The frequency of the nickname type rose slightly from 9 per cent to 13 per cent. The anthroponymic by-name, or patronymic, such as Hugonis, Hugo, Godefridus, Egidius, and Umberti, is 11 per cent, and its proportion remained even throughout the period. The less common type of by-name was the occupational by-name, such as Archerius and Faber (8 per cent); this type also remained even throughout the period of study.

The increasing use of hereditary surnames was concurrent in Western Europe with the proliferation of by-names. Both processes were slow, and characterized by a great regional and social variation. There is evidence of hereditary transmission of surnames in most regions of France during the course of the twelfth century, but the

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[25] If one includes the unidentified group, the distribution of all 3,287 individuals with by-names is: toponymic and ethnonymic: 51 per cent; nicknames: 10 per cent; anthroponymic: 8 per cent; occupational and status: 6 per cent. I have excluded the unidentified by-names in order to achieve a more accurate picture, because the unidentified by-names consist of a quarter of all by-names and their proportion over time is unstable: they begin as 16 per cent in the twelfth century and reach their peak of 29 per cent in the middle of the thirteenth century. However, in both ways of calculation (including and excluding the unidentified group), the ranking of the four types remains the same.

[26] Ranging between 72 per cent and 68 per cent, with a peak of 74 per cent in 1190–1219.

[27] Monque Bourin, "Tels Père, Tels Fils?", p. 203; Reaney, *Origin of English Surnames*, pp. 22 (table), 45.

system stabilized in a general fashion only around the end of the fifteenth century. Legislation mandating the use of surnames (family names) in most cases did not precede practice but followed it.[28] Indeed, some surnames became hereditary already in the eleventh century, well before by-names themselves became a common phenomenon.[29]

Though the data from the Latin kingdom are not of a genealogical nature, evidence of hereditary surnames exists. Well known are the upper-class families of *Outremer*, first and foremost the Ibelin family, but also Embriaci, Falconberg, Parented,[30] Gernier,[31] Porcellet, Barlais, Morosini and others, of which several members carry the same surname.[32] As one might expect, nobles and landholders seem to be prominent among holders of a shared family surname, as in the cases of William of La Mandalée (Amigdala) and his son James of La Mandalée, of the thirteenth-century Frankish nobility,[33] Hue de Viliers son of Jofrei de Villers,[34] the brothers Hugo and Odo de Calmunt, Fulk and Adam Niger, Hugo and Philip de Logis, and Amalric and Baldwin de Bethsan. Several instances of shared surname by two or more family members may indicate that it was not restricted to the landholding nobility, as in the cases of Adam Costa *juvenis* and Adam Costa *senex*, mentioned above, the brothers John and Simon de Treucis, and William and Roland de Balma, appearing as brothers in 1197, who may be related to Peter Raymond de Balma, who appears in 1139, and to Bertrand de Balma who appears in 1232.[35]

Conclusion

The Franks of the East used by-names at an ever increasing rate over the kingdom's existence. Within these by-names, the dominant type was the toponymic by-name,

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[28] On the process in the Middle Ages and later legislation concerning surnames, see Lefèvre-Teillard, *Le nom*, pp. 25–48.

[29] For a by-name to be considered a hereditary surname, it has to be applied to all descendants, not only to the son inheriting the estate, as was frequently the case. The surname is definitely considered a surname when it is transferred also to wives and daughters-in-law. Such a pattern is documented in the Nice area in the end of the thirteenth and in the fourteenth century: André Compan, *Étude d'anthroponymie provençale. Les noms de personne dans le comté de Nice au 13e–15e siècles* (Paris, 1975). On the application, still unstable at the end of the thirteenth and in the early fourteenth century, in Paris, see Karl Michaëlsson, *Études sur les noms de personne français* (Uppsala, 1927), pp. 142–43.

[30] See Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 181.

[31] See Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 193.

[32] Regarding the prevalence of hereditary surnames among the upper classes of large Italian cities, already in the tenth and eleventh centuries, see observations (but not data) in Lopez, "Concerning Surnames," pp. 7–10.

[33] *RRH*, nos. 978 and 1002.

[34] *RRH*, no.1252 (year 1256).

[35] Their name probably refers to Baume in southern France. Peter Raymond de Balma's name may itself indicate a southern French origin, and his appearance in a charter of Raymond II of Tripoli supports that. The brothers William and Rolland appear in Cyprus around 1200 (*RRH* 737, of the year 1197, and *RRH* 780, of 1201), and so does Bertrand, in 1232.

namely by-names referring to either a specific place (a locative) or to an unspecific geographical element. The two phenomena are common to both European society of the time and to the Latins in the East, and this reinforces the phenomenon observed in the study of first names: the strong nexus between the Europeans of the West and the settlers in the East. At the current state of research, a detailed comparison with the European patterns still awaits more quantified data from other regions. It seems, however, that the rate (68 per cent) of toponymic by-names in the Holy Land is relatively high and may be a particular attribute of communities composed mostly of immigrants.

Within this large group of toponymic by-names, clearly the most frequent ones were those referring to European place names (62 per cent), and their frequency is relatively stable throughout the kingdom's existence. A few possible explanations may be offered for their dominance. A strong linkage to Europe may have fostered adherence to a by-name reminiscent of the distant place of origin, a home left behind. Or it may be interpreted as a sign of constant immigration and infusion of new names, evincing the attractiveness of the Holy Land, but also the unstable nature of the immigrating community. As indicated above, the use of places of origin as by-names was typical to immigrant communities, mainly in the larger cities of Europe. It is not surprising to observe a similar phenomenon in the Holy Land, a prominent destination of long-distance immigration in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. On the other hand, local toponyms served to form 28 per cent of all toponymic by-names. Their proportion rose between 1160 and 1220, and then returned to their initial level.

Considering the other types of by-names, it appears that nicknames rose slightly, patronymic or anthroponymic by-names remained even over time, and the occupational by-names remained relatively static as well. In fact, no dramatic changes can be discerned in the internal distribution of by-names and the patterns seem quite stable, except for the growing use of by-names in general. In other words, the groups analyzed seem to keep their relative proportions over the period of study. This finding differs from the main finding concerning personal names. In personal-naming patterns, significant evolutions occurred throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In by-names, on the other hand, the volume increased but the patterns were stable.

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Islamic Preaching in Syria during the Counter-Crusade (Twelfth–Thirteenth Centuries)

Daniella Talmon-Heller

One of many medieval manuscripts that Professor Kedar has unearthed and edited (and kindly brought to my attention) is an anonymous Latin survey of the forces Saladin amassed in 1189–1191 for the siege of Acre. The author of this text claims, that the caliph of Baghdad had promised the remission of sins to any Muslim who would join Saladin's campaign, and, that the preachers who had propagated this idea throughout the Orient successfully mobilized great forces.[1] Obviously wrong to assign to the Muslim caliph the religious prerogatives of the Roman pope and his enthusiastic support of the military campaigns in the Levant at that time,[2] the anonymous author was undoubtedly correct to assert that Muslim preachers preached *jihād* and encouraged conscription for the counter-crusade. He was probably also correct to claim that Saladin relied on the assistance of preachers, though not necessarily in the manner he ascribes to him. According to a comment of Saladin's companion and biographer Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, Saladin "always sought out Fridays for his battles, especially the times of Friday prayer, to gain the blessing of the preachers' prayers on the pulpits."[3]

Apart from that, Saladin repeatedly employed the preacher's pulpit (the *minbar*), or rather the event of its erection in a newly conquered church, or in a mosque restored to Islam after having served as a Frankish church, as a symbol of Islam and Muslim victory over the Christians. Under his orders a *minbar* and *qibla* (niche pointing towards Mecca) were fixed in the cathedral church of Acre in preparation for "the first Friday noon prayer to be held in the coastal plain after the day of victory" (11 July 583/1187).[4] Accordingly, the scribe and propagandist ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī announced the victory in Acre in one of his epistles saying: "and churches became mosques … and altars became podiums for Muslim preachers."[5] The climax of the re-appropriation of usurped mosques was the removal of the golden cross that had been towering over the dome of Qubbat al-Ṣakhra since its inauguration as the church of Templum Domini. The return of Islam to the Ḥarām

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[1] See B.Z. Kedar, "A western survey of Saladin's forces at the siege of Acre," in *Montjoie. Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, ed. B.Z. Kedar et al. (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 113–122.

[2] On the meagre assistance the Caliph al-Nāṣir was prepared to offer Saladin at that point see Andrew S. Ehrenkreutz, *Saladin* (Albany, 1972), p. 215; Donald S. Richards, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin* (Aldershot, 2001), p. 109.

[3] Richards, *History of Saladin*, p. 72. Nūr al-Dīn is quoted expressing similar expectations regarding intercessory prayers (*duʿāʾ*) of jurists, Qurʾān reciters, ascetics and sufis (see Yaacov Lev, "The Social and Economic Policies of Nūr al-Dīn (1146–1174)," *Der Islam* 81 (2004), 225.

[4] Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn fī Akhbār al-Dawlatayn,* ed. Muḥammad H.M. Aḥmad (Cairo, 1998), 2:282.

[5] Abū Shāma, *al-Rawḍatayn*, 2:290.

al-Sharīf and the renewal of communal prayer and Friday preaching in al-Aqṣā in September 1187, were completed with the transportation to Jerusalem of the splendid *minbar* that had been commissioned by Nūr al-Dīn in Aleppo twenty years earlier. In anticipation of the reconquest of Jerusalem, it had been decorated with a long inscription, rich with proclamations of the victory of Islam and the defeat of infidels. Strikingly, ʿImād al-Dīn likened the *minbar*, while it remained in the mosque of Aleppo – awaiting, as it were, its installation in Jerusalem by Saladin – to "a sword in the scabbard of protection".[6]

In the following pages I will examine the relationships between preachers and rulers in Syria (*al-Shām*) during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the political and spiritual roles of preachers. First, I intend to draw profiles of *khaṭīb*s – preachers who were responsible for delivering the formal Friday sermon at the communal mosques – and of *wuʿāẓ* – preachers who provided exhortation at voluntary assemblies, on various occasions and locations.[7] I will discuss their education, inherited and gained social status, messages and strategies of preaching in the specific setting of counter-crusade Syria. Due to the fact that there are hardly any extant protocols of relevant sermons at our disposal, we will have to rely on biographical dictionaries, chronicles, and didactic literature of sorts.

Khaṭībs

*Khaṭīb*s were designated by an official decree from the ruling sultan. Ideally – that is, in the early Muslim state – the Friday noon sermon (*khuṭba*) was the duty and prerogative of the caliph. During the course of the third/ninth century, most caliphs and local rulers resigned altogether from delivering sermons themselves and delegated the task to the charge of professional preachers. Hence, the mention of the ruler's name in the *khuṭba* was regarded as an expression of his subordinates' fidelity, one of the two standard tokens of sovereignty (along with minting coins).[8]

In medieval Syrian towns, *khaṭīb*s ranked among the highest and best-paid religious functionaries.[9] They were usually chosen from among men affiliated with

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[6] Abū Shāma, *al-Rawḍatayn*, 2:343, 355–57; Yasser Tabbaa, "Monuments with a message: Propagation of *jihād* under Nūr al-Dīn," in *The Meeting of Two Worlds*, ed. Vladimir P. Gross (Kalamazoo, 1986), pp. 233–35; Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades. Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 151–61.

[7] For a short typology of Islamic preachers see Julia S. Meisami, "oratory and sermons," in: Meisami and Paul Starkey, *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Literature* (London and New York, 1998), 2:593. For studies of Islamic preaching see, for example, Johannes Pedersen, "The Islamic Preacher: *wāʿiẓ, mudhakkir, qāṣṣ*," in: *Ignaz Goldziher Memorial Volume* (Budapest, 1948), 1:226–51; ibid, "The Criticism of the Islamic Preacher," *Die Welt des Islams* 2 (1953), 215–31; Jonathan P. Berkey, *Popular Preaching & Religious Authority in the Medieval Islamic Near East* (Seattle and London, 2001).

[8] Adam Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam*, trans. Salah al-Din Bukhsh and David S. Margoliouth (New York, 1975), pp. 317–19.

[9] See Louis Pouzet, *Damas au viie/xiiie siécle – Vie et structures religieuses d'une métropole islamique* (Beirut, 1986), pp. 131–36; Abū Shāma, *Tarājim Rijāl al-Qarnayn*, ed. Muḥammad Z.

the school of law (*madhhab*) of the ruler. This was by no means a matter of legal necessity; rather it was a political expediency, undoubtedly intended to strengthen the ruler's natural base of power. Thus, Nūr al-Dīn, a Ḥanafī, appointed Ḥanafīs, whereas the Shāfiʿī Ayyūbids preferred Shāfiʿīs (with the exception of al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā (1218–1227), who was a zealous convert to the Ḥanafī school of law).[10] Ḥanbalīs and Mālikīs were hardly ever appointed to the pulpit in the great mosques of the more important Syrian towns, unless they had previously converted to the *madhhab* of their rulers.[11]

Most *khaṭīb*s belonged to a small number of local well-established elite families, whose members held the post (along with other high-ranking religious and administrative posts, such as *qāḍī*, *muḥtasib*, *madrasa*-professor, supervisor of charitable endowments, treasurer, and even *wazīr*)[12] for several generations in a row. Despite this hereditary principal, which must have reflected contemporary conceptions of continuity and advantages of lineage rather than what we now regard as nepotism,[13] quite a few preachers were chosen from among the many emigrants who flocked to Syrian towns at the time.[14] For example: one of the preachers of al-Mizza (a suburb of Damascus) at the beginning of the thirteenth century was a native of Mayyāfīriqīn and another was from Mosul. In Hebron (al-Khalīl) a native of Fez served as *khaṭīb* and *imām*. Saladin appointed an emigrant from Malaga for the pulpit of the mosque of al-Aqṣā some time after the reconquest of Jerusalem.[15] Some of these newcomers, however, went on to establish their own "dynasties" of preachers.[16]

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al-Kawtharī (Beirut, 1947, 1974), p. 188; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Damascus, 1956), p. 53.

[10] See my "Fidelity, Cohesion and Conformity within *madhahib* in Zangid and Ayyūbid Syria" in *The Islamic School of Law: Evolution, Devolution, and Progress*, ed. Peri Bearman, Rudolph Peters, Frank Vogel (Cambridge Mass., 2006, pp. 94–116).

[11] For examples, see Louis Pouzet, "Maghrébins à Damas au vii/xiii siécle," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 28 (1975), 182.

[12] See Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾat al-Zamān fī Taʾrīkh al-Aʿyān* (Hyderabad, 1951–52), 8:394; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, ed. Suhayl al-Zakkār (Damascus, 1988–89), 3:1211, 1297–98, 7:3312–16; Abū Shāma, *Tarājim*, pp. 32, 117; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār banī Ayyūb*, ed. G. al-Shayyāl, Saʿīd ʿA.-J. ʿAshūr and Ḥasanayn M. Rabīʿ (Cairo, 1953–77), 4:313; Anne-Marie Eddé, *La principauté Ayyoubide d'Alep (579/1183–658/1260)*, (Stuttgart, 1999), pp. 253–54, 363; Pouzet, *Damas*, pp. 133, 157.

[13] See Shlomo Dov Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 5 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967–93), 2:320, and, for example, Abū Shāma, *al-Rawḍatayn*, 1:208, about the nomination of a young inexperienced grandson of a reputable preacher.

[14] See Joan E. Gilbert, "Institutionalization of Muslim Scholarship and the Professionalization of the ʿUlamaʾ in Medieval Damascus," *Studia Islamica* 52 (1980), 105–35.

[15] Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh*, 51:183. Abū Shāma tells us that the choice of the preacher for the first sermon in the liberated city was preceded by great anticipation, probably among the *ʿulamāʾ* who vied for it (Abū Shāma, *al-Rawḍatayn*, 2:344–45).

[16] Abū Shāma, *Tarājim*, pp. 71, 79, 109–10; Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾat al-Zamān*, 8:511.

In rural communal mosques, preachers were often locals, who had acquired some religious training outside their villages. Aḥmad ibn Qudāma (d. 558/1163), whose "life" is told by the Damascene scholar Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Maqdisī (d. 643/1245), is a good example. Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn writes: "My grandfather, shaykh Aḥmad ibn Qudāma, may he rest in peace, traveled to acquire religious knowledge (*ʿilm*) and then came back to Jammāʿīl [in the vicinity of Nablus] and settled there. The people benefited from his recitation of the Qurʾān, and from his knowledge. He used to preach on Fridays to people who had assembled from several villages, and recite *ḥadīth* to them."[17]

The service of a *khaṭīb* in twelfth-thirteenth century Syria continued until death or dismissal: any time from one month up to thirty-seven years. *Khaṭīb*s were prone to lose their jobs on the occasion of a change of government, which sometimes involved the replacement of the dominant school of law by another. In some cases (few in number, as far as we can judge from our sources), preachers were dismissed if they forfeited the ruler's trust or openly criticized him, or if other *ʿulamāʾ* complained that they were incompetent to preach. In 645/1247 al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb suspected several dignitaries of Damascus, amongst them the *khaṭīb*, of disloyalty and allegiance to his adversary, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl. They were banished from the city and, needless to say, lost their jobs.[18] Shams al-Dīn Yūnus, the son of Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dawlaʿī (d. 635/1238), *khaṭīb* of the great mosque of Damascus, substituted for his father, who was away on a diplomatic mission. When the *qāḍī* and some other dignitaries of Damascus claimed that he did not have the proper qualifications (*ahliyya*), he had to resign.[19]

Preaching on Fridays was not a full-time job, of course, and almost every *khaṭīb* held other occupations during his term of appointment. Typically, *khaṭīb*s served also as *imām*s (prayer leaders) or as *mudarrisūn*, professors of Islamic law or tradition (*ḥadīth*) in one or more of the plethora of institutions of learning that flourished in Syria at the time.[20] The shaykh who was designated by Saladin as prayer-leader and preacher of the hastily arranged mosque in the appropriated cathedral church of Acre in July 1187, for example, was appointed in charge of all other senior religious posts in Acre as well: judge, *muḥtasib*, and supervisor of *waqf* foundations.[21] A few *khaṭībs* were sent on diplomatic errands: to the caliph in Baghdad, to negotiate with

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[17] Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Al-Qalāʾid al-Jawhariyya fī Taʾrīkh al-Ṣāliḥiyya*, ed. Muḥammad A. Duhmān (Damascus, 1949, 1980), 1:68.

[18] Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾat al-Zamān*, 8:766–7.

[19] Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ*, ed. Bashār ʿA. al-Maʿrūf, 25 vols. (Beirut, 1986), 23:25; Abū Shāma, *Tarājim*, p. 110; Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾat al-Zamān*, 8:710. See the case of ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Sulamī, below.

[20] Nikita Elisséeff, "Le monuments de Nūr al-Dīn," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 13 (1949), 5–43; Gilbert, "Institutionalization"; R. Stephen Humphreys, "Politics and Architectural Patronage in Ayyubid Damascus," ed. Clifford E. Bosworth et al., *Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis* (Princeton, 1989), pp. 164–65.

[21] Abū Shāma, *al-Rawḍatayn*, 2:282.

enemies such as the Khwārizmshāh (at Diyar Bakr)[22] or the ruler of a rival Syrian principality, or to receive an oath of allegiance for a new sultan.[23]

Regarding propaganda for *jihād*, the first *khaṭīb* who preached, clear and coherent, against Muslim disarray and initial indifference in the face of the defeat of 1099, was ʿAli Abū Ṭāhir al-Sulamī (d. 499–500/1106). Speaking in the great mosque of Damascus in 498/1105, al-Sulamī deplored the neglect of *jihād*, the fragmentation of the Islamic world, and the moral decline amongst Muslims of his time. A strikingly isolated voice to have recognized, at that early moment, the magnitude of the threat the crusaders posed, al-Sulamī depicted them as enemies of the faith. He urged the "sultans of the country, and those prominent persons … who follow them, drive away insignificant things and sluggishness, and go to fight the *jihād* ..." He glorified *ṭalab al-shahāda* (the intentional quest for martyrdom) of the Companions of the Prophet during the great conquests, and called for its revivification.[24] Some fifteen years later, the Shiʿī *qāḍī* Abū al-Faḍl b. al-Khashshāb (d. 528/1133–4) of Aleppo joined the troops of the Artuqid amīr Il-Ghāzī at Balaṭ (513/1119) to deliver the Friday *khuṭba.* According to the Aleppan historian Ibn al-ʿAdīm (d. 660/1262), he gave "an eloquent sermon … that reduced the people to tears," and made them determined to fight.[25]

Aḥmad b. Qudāma, the above mentioned Ḥanbalī *khaṭīb* of the village of Jammāʿīl – then under Frankish occupation – must have also preached against Muslim compliance. According to the narration of Shaykh Aḥmad's grandson Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Maqdisī, when the Frankish seigneur of Jabal Nāblus endeavoured to prevent him from preaching and plotted against him, Aḥmad b. Qudāma fled to Muslim-ruled Damascus, and called on his congregation to go after him. Dozens of relatives and devotees from eight different villages were prepared to leave their homes and orchards and take the risky path to Damascus following his example, which he himself likened to that of the Qurʾānic Prophet Ibrāhīm (Abraham) and his flight from the land of the unbelievers.[26] They all settled in Damascus collectively, relocating, after some time, to Jabal Qāsyūn (on the outskirts of Damascus), where they built their own neighbourhood upon the instructions of Shaykh Aḥmad. The first edifice he ordered to construct, with appropriate ceremony, was a mosque.[27]

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[22] Head of a host of mercenaries from the Euroasian steppe (Joseph Drory, "Al-Nāṣir Dāwūd: A Much Frustrated Ayyūbid Prince," *al-Masāq* 15 (2003), 162.

[23] Abū Shāma, *Tarājim*, pp. 109–10, 155; Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾat al-Zamān*, 8:593; Humphreys, *From Saladin*, p. 305.

[24] Emmanuel Sivan, "La genèse de la contre-croisade: un traité damasquin du debut de xiie siécle", *Journal Asiatique* 254 (1966), 204; ibid, *L'Islam et la Croisade* (Paris, 1968), pp. 142–50; Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, pp. 105–8, 165ff.; Neil Christie and Debbora Gerish, "Parallel Preaching: Urban II and al-Sulamī," *al-Masāq* 15 (2003), 144–46.

[25] Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-Ḥalab fī Taʾrikh Ḥalab*, ed. Sāmī al-Dahhān (Damascus, 1954, 1968) 2:188; Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, p. 109.

[26] For bibliography on different aspects of this episode, see Daniella Talmon-Heller, "Arabic Sources on Muslim Villagers under Frankish Rule," ed. Alan V. Murray, *From Clermont to Jerusalem* (Brepols, 1998), n. 1.

[27] Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Al-Qalāʾid*, 1:68.

In later years, Aḥmad b. Qudāma, and other Ḥanbalī preachers from his clan who sermonized at the congregational mosque on Jabal Qāsyūn, enjoyed considerable authority. The formal roles of leading the communal prayers and preaching to the congregation on Fridays represented only a fraction of their functions. Shaykh Aḥmad's son, Abū ʿUmar (d. 607/1210) negotiated peace in cases of strife within the community, and intervened at the courts of rulers on behalf of his people. He was regarded "like a father to the community (*kāna li-l-jamāʿa ka-l-ab*)," committed to the material and spiritual needs of his people.[28] After Abū ʿUmar's death, his brother, the renowned jurisconsult Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn Qudāma, preached in the great mosque of Jabal Qāsyūn. He, too, was recognized as the head of his community, and was venerated and obeyed by the people ("*kāna shaykh jamāʿatihi, muṭāʿan fīhim*"). Muwaffaq al-Dīn clearly regarded keeping the Ḥanbalī émigré community together among his primary tasks.[29] Ibn Qudāma's cousin, Shaykh ʿImād al-Dīn al-Maqdisī (d. 614/1218), with whom he used to rotate his duties as preacher and prayer leader in the mosque of Jabal Qāsyūn, reached out beyond Ḥanbalī circles. He used to spend many hours in the congregational mosque of intra-muros Damascus, teaching Qurʾān and *ḥadīth* "to the people," amongst whom were a number of "Kurds, Bedouins and foreigners."[30]

Moral leadership and intellectual impact, on a wider scale than that of the Banū Qudāma, may be safely attributed to the Shāfiʿī scholar and preacher ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Sulamī (d. 660/1262), the most influential legal authority in Syria at his time. Popular practices were al-Sulamī's first target of exhortation. His early sermons in the great mosque of Damascus were dedicated to an attack on *ṣalāt al-raghāʾib*, the supererogatory prayers that were held in brightly lit mosques between the two evening prayers on the first Thursday night of the month of Rajab. Al-Sulamī regarded those prayers as an unwarranted innovation (*bidʿa*). He also found fault with many minor details of the ritual; the very details that must have attracted large numbers of devotees to those prayers. His repeated oral deliveries, the polemical treatises he composed on this issue, and the pressure he exerted on the political authorities of his day to ban the prayers met with little success. Another scholar, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī, issued a *fatwā* in favour of the prayers, and "overruled" the dictum of the stricter *muftī* and preacher.[31]

Al-Sulamī boldly spoke up also against the humiliating treaty the Ayyūbid ruler of Damascus, al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl had signed with the Franks in 638/1240. He condemned

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[28] Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 22:5–9.

[29] Ibn Rajab, *Al-Ḍhayl ʿalā Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila*, ed. Muḥammad H. al-Fiqī (Cairo, 1952–3), 2:58, 195.

[30] Ibn Rajab, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2:95.

[31] Abū Shāma, *Tarājim*, 170; ibid., *Al-Bāʿith ʿalā Inkār al-Bidaʿ wa-l-Ḥawādith*, ed. H. Salmān (Riyad, 1990), pp. 149–50; Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyya al-Kubrā*, ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ M. al-Ḥulū and Maḥmūd al-Tanūḥī (Cairo, 1971), 8:251–55. See also Daniella Talmon-Heller, "Religion in the Public Sphere: Rulers, Scholars and Commoners in Zanjid and Ayyubid Syria (1150–1260)," ed. Miriam Hoexter, Shmuel Nehemia Eisenstadt, N. Levtzion, *The Public Sphere in Muslim Societies* (Albany, 2002), pp. 49–50.

the territorial concessions promised by al-Ṣāliḥ in return for an alliance against his own (Muslim) brother, and the ruler's turning a blind eye on the sale of arms to the Franks. Al-Sulamī refrained from mentioning al-Ṣāliḥ's name in his *khuṭba* and from praying for him. Consequently, he was dismissed from his position as *khaṭīb*, imprisoned in the citadel and subsequently exiled from town. He continued to voice his criticism in Cairo, warning against religious laxity, theological error and lack of zeal for the *jihād* against the Franks.[32] A conversation that, as it were, took place between al-Sulamī's arch-enemies, is quoted in *Ṭābaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, the biographical dictionary of prominent Shāfiʿīs, in order to provide evidence for al-Sulamī's greatness. Addressing "the kings of the Franks," the Ayyūbid al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl boasts that he had punished al-Sulamī, his great *qasīs* (he uses the Christian-Arabic term for priest), for criticizing concessions to the Franks, and had held him in prison for their sake (*li-ajlikum*). Instead of expressing admiration for al-Ṣāliḥ, the kings of the Franks unexpectedly (but in accordance with a well-known literary topos) side with al-Sulamī and reply: "Had he [al-Sulamī] been our priest, we would have washed his legs and drank the water!"[33]

In some of his *fatwā*s, al-Sulamī discusses the art of preaching. He approves of reference to mundane matters and current events during sermons only on the condition that thereby the audience is incited to perform a relevant religious duty. His examples include *jihād* in times of war, prayer for rain (*ṣalāt al-istisqāʾ*) during a drought, or pious acts (*aʿmāl ṣāliḥa*) during the month of Rajab.[34] In another *fatwā* he deplores the practice of colleagues who praise rulers in office in the course of their sermons. He condemns in sharp words even the routine use of the laudatory titles (*alqāb*) regularly employed by Ayyūbid rulers. Al-Ṣāliḥ warns fellow *khaṭīb*s that if they phrase their supplications (the very supplications that Saladin regarded so highly!) in false terms (using *al-ʿĀdil* – "The Just" – for a tyrant, or *al-ʿĀlim* – "The Learned" – for an ignoramus, for example) their power of intercession (*shafāʿa*) will become null and void.[35] We may, however, assume that most other *khaṭīb*s were more wary of the perils of a confrontation with their patron-ruler, an experience al-Sulamī himself has had.

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[32] Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 8:243; Humphreys, *From Saladin*, pp. 266–267; Sivan, *L'Islam*, pp. 147–152. See also Eric Chaumont, "al-Sulamī," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition (Leiden, 1997), 9:812–813.

[33] Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 8:244.

[34] Al-Sulamī, *Fatāwā*, ed. Muḥammad J. Kurdī (Beirut, 1996), pp. 326, 393–394, 483–488. About the sanctity of Rajab, see Meir J. Kister, "Rajab is the month of God," *Israel Oriental Studies* 1 (1971), 191–223.

[35] Al-Sulamī, *Fatāwā*, pp. 400–401. For more on this issue, see Tabbaa, "Monuments," p. 231; Michael Cook, *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 125 n. 76.

Wuʿāẓ

From early Islam onwards, popular informal preaching was known by the largely overlapping terms *qaṣaṣ* (story-telling), *waʿẓ* (exhortation) and *mudhakkara* ("reminder").[36] If the preacher designated as *wāʿiẓ* ever was at the "lower end" of the field,[37] his expertise was institutionalized and "gentrified" in eleventh-century Baghdad. In the twelfth-century, *wāʿẓ* was integrated into the curriculum of madāris and held on prestigious podiums.[38] Yet, the *wāʿiẓ*, unlike the *khaṭīb*, was not formally appointed by the ruler. He was less bound by conventions and could perform in a more spontaneous and "charismatic" manner, on any day of the week, at different hours of the day. *Majālis al-waʿẓ* (assemblies of exhortation) took place in religious institutions such as the great mosque and its courtyard, neighbourhood and village mosques, the *muṣallā* (a large open space, usually reserved for the festival prayers), *madāris* and shrines, and also in cemeteries, during funerary processions, on the grounds and *dīwān*s of citadels or palaces, and in open spaces.

Wuʿāẓ of twelfth-thirteenth-century Syria were men affiliated with the great mosque, the *madrasa* and the court; namely, part and parcel of the religious elite of Ayyūbid Syria. They had cordial relations with rulers and high dignitaries, who arranged for *majālis al-waʿẓ* and often attended them. Nūr al-Dīn, for example, invited the popular preacher of Irbil, Abū ʿUthmān al-Muntajab, to Syria, to preach and perhaps also to join a raid, and offered him a large sum of money (which the preacher is said to have piously refused). He also often held assemblies of exhortation in his citadel.[39] Saladin and his sons used to come to the assemblies of the Ḥanbalī preacher Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm ibn al-Najiyya (d. 599/1203) and pay him respects, together with generous emoluments that allowed the preacher to lead a lavish lifestyle. One of the honours bestowed upon Ibn al-Najiyya was an invitation to deliver the first *waʿẓ* sermon in the al-Aqṣā Mosque after the liberation of Jerusalem.[40] Saladin's younger sister Rābiʿa Khatūn (d. 643/1246) established a *madrasa* for Nāṣiḥ al-Dīn ibn al-Ḥanbalī (d. 634/1236), a member of Saladin's entourage during the conquest of Jerusalem in 1187 and a well-known preacher, who had travelled from his native Damascus to Cairo, Aleppo, Irbil, Medina, Jerusalem and Baghdad on numerous preaching tours. She attended the inaugural

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[36] Bernard Radke, "Wāʿiẓ,", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, 11:56; Khalil ʿAthamina, "Al-Qaṣaṣ: Its Emergence, Religious Origin and Its Socio-political Impact on early Muslim Society," *Studia Islamica* 76 (1992), 53–74; Berkey, "Storytelling," pp. 53–73; Berkey, *Popular Preaching*, pp. 14–15.

[37] As Berkey seems to imply (Berkey, *Popular Preaching*, p. 4).

[38] Berkey, *Popular Preaching*, pp. 53–54; Merlin L. Swartz (ed. and trans.), *Ibn al-Jawzī's Kitāb al-Quṣṣaṣ wa-l-Mudhakkirīn* (Beirut, 1986), pp. 27–29.

[39] Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾat al-Zamān*, 8:515; Lev, "Nūr al-Dīn," p. 222.

[40] Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾat al-Zamān*, 8:515; Abū Shāma, *al-Rawḍatayn*, 2:346; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh*, 50:398–400.

lecture at the *madrasa* herself, seated behind a curtain.[41] Saladin's nephew al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam established a deep and enduring friendship with the preacher Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī (d. 655/1257) – to whom a long portion of the remainder of this paper shall be devoted – probably on the basis of their common dedication to the Ḥanafī school of law, which they both had adopted in adulthood.[42]

An invitation to convene an assembly of exhortation was one of the honours bestowed by rulers on visiting scholars. Nūr al-Dīn called the famous jurisconsult Quṭb al-Dīn al-Naysābūrī and the Baghdadi ʿAbd Allāh b. Najīb al-Suhrawardī to make a detour from the route of their pilgrimage (*ziyāra*) to Jerusalem, and address the Damascene audience. Mentioning that event, the historian Abū Shāma pays tribute to Nūr al-Dīn's piety and special attentiveness to exhortation ("*istimāʿ li-l-mawʿiẓa*").[43] At the court-citadel of Aleppo, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir offered "the seat of the preacher" to two honourable guests, who happened to pass through the city in 604/1207: the Ḥijāzi scholar Tāj al-ʿAlāʾ (d. 610/1213) and the caliphal delegate Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī.[44] In 612/1216 it was Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, sent to Aleppo on a private mission by al-Malik al-Ẓāhir's brother al-Ashraf Mūsā, who preached in the citadel. He used the occasion to proclaim the very recent seizure of Antioch by the Armenian king Leo II (whom he names Ibn Laʾun). At that moment, on the eve of the fifth crusade, the relationship between al-Malik al-Ẓāhir and Bohemond of Antioch was rather unfriendly, so Leo's success must have been considered good news in Aleppo.[45]

In spite of their close contacts with rulers, surprisingly few preachers are accused of flattery and sycophancy in our sources. It seems, on the contrary, that as a whole the prestige of *wuʿāẓ* was scarcely stained by their ties with the ruling elite. But perhaps we should not be surprised after all: quite a few of the Zangid and Ayyūbid rulers were genuinely popular and were considered to be sincerely pious and respectful towards men of religion.[46] Also, at that stage in Islamic history the early ideal of the independent scholar, unpolluted by the favours of rulers, was no longer really upheld, not even among conservative Ḥanbalīs.[47]

For the public, an assembly of exhortation was a favorite pastime, interwoven with societal and religious dimensions. It provided some, if not all, of the following pleasures: a professional recitation of the Qurʾān, an admonition flavoured by

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[41] Ibn Rajab, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2:193–201; R. Stephen Humphreys, "Women as Patrons of Religious Architecture in Ayyubid Damascus," *Al-Muqarnas* 11 (1994), 40, 46.

[42] See Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī's long and affectionate eulogy of al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam (*Mirʾat al-Zamān*, 8:644–652).

[43] Abū Shāma, *Al-Rawḍatayn*, 1:52, 55. See also Berkey, "Storytelling, Preaching and Power in Mamlūk Cairo," *Mamlūk Studies* 4 (2000), 63.

[44] Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya*, 4:187–188; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kurūb*, 3:180; Humphreys, *From Saladin*, pp. 138–140.

[45] Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, 8:579–80. (See S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols. (Penguin Books edition, 1987), 3:137–38.

[46] See Lev, "Nūr al-Dīn," and Talmon-Heller, "Religion," pp. 52–55.

[47] See Cook, *Commanding*, pp. 123–27.

touching tales about the righteous contrasted with threatening accounts of the sinful, verses of poetry, an update from the Frankish frontier, some world news, a discussion of questions of faith and practice, entertaining anecdotes, and, best of all, scenes of tearful penitence and dramatic conversions. For the perceptive listener, the *majlis* also offered more than a glimpse into the intricacies of local politics and power relations.

Assemblies of exhortation would invariably begin with a session of Qur'ān-recitation, a ritual of paramount importance in public and private devotional life, bound to arouse pious sentiments in the audience. An artistically performed Qur'ān recitation was also an aesthetic experience, highly appreciated by medieval (and contemporary) Muslims.[48] Reference to the way the rest of the *majlis* was conducted may be found in, of all sources, a thirteenth-century "manual" to the Syrian underworld, al-Jawbarī's *al-Mukhtār fī Kashf al-Asrār*. Al-Jawbarī devoted one chapter of his book to crooks who made their living pretending to be men of religion, or pious destitutes. In his amusing description of a fake sermon, the session of Qur'ān recitation (during which the so-called preacher discreetly consumed his lunch) was followed by a very emotional exhortation, with ample mention of God, tales of righteous men, renunciation of this world and fearful descriptions of the hereafter. People were moved to weep with the quack, who had reddened his eyes in advance with an ointment of mustard seeds soaked in vinegar. Many declared themselves penitents (*tawwābūn*). At the climactic moment, a musician came up to the pulpit and handed his tambourine to the preacher. The latter, in line with the strictest negative attitude towards music and merry-making characteristic of the Ḥanbalī school of law, threw the instrument to the ground and smashed it to pieces. He completed the musician's penance by clipping his hair and then recited a few moving lines of poetry. The audience reacted with hysterical cries of approval. People surrounded the "preacher", hailed him, showered presents upon him, and carried him home on their shoulders.[49]

Sermons of Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, who was considered to be the master preacher of Syria (*wāʿiẓ al-Shām*, or *raʾīs al-wuʿāẓ*), actually followed a similar pattern. Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī had settled in Damascus at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Except when on preaching tours all over Syria and the Jazira, he spent most of the remaining fifty years of his life there, engaged in teaching Islamic law, writing the history of his times, and preaching. In his heyday he was so popular, that those particularly eager to hear him on his weekly Saturday morning assemblies were obliged to spend the preceding night in the proximity of the great mosque, on mats and bales of hay.[50]

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[48] See, for example, William A. Graham, *Beyond the Spoken Word* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 96 ff.

[49] Al-Jawbarī, *Al-Mukhtār fī Kashf al-Asrār* (Cairo, 1353h), pp. 20–21. See also Clifford E. Bosworth, *The Medieval Islamic Underworld. The Banū Sāsān in Arabic Society and Literature* (Leiden, 1976).

[50] Abū Shāma, *Tarājim*, pp. 48–49, 69, 195.

In an autobiographical passage he includes in his chronicle, Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī claims that during a sermon he delivered in Damascus in 604/1207, just before one of his departures from town, more than five hundred penitent men clipped their *nāṣiya* (lock of hair on the forehead) in a symbolic gesture of penance.[51] A sermon he gave in the summer of 607/1210 (shortly after a three-year truce between the Ayyūbid ruler al-Malik al-ʿĀdil and the Frankish king Amalric had expired) ended with another enormous pile of the hair of penitents. The hair reminded him of "the story of Abū Qudāma," a ninth-century veteran of many raids against the Christians of Byzantium, who was also a storyteller, and he related it to the audience. The story – a tale of a woman who willingly sacrifices her long plaits of hair, her husband and her young courageous son for the cause of *jihād* and refuses condolences[52] – had an electrifying effect on Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī's audience. He tells us that a crowd of people headed by the governor (*wālī*) of the city of Damascus and other dignitaries surrounded him when he descended from the pulpit and escorted him to the larger space of the *muṣallā*. From that point, the crowd continued in the direction of the Frankish-held territory and was joined by three hundred armed men from the village of Zamlakā. They stopped in Nablus, where Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī gave a second sermon, this time in the presence of the Ayyūbid governor of the principality of Damascus, al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā. Sibṭ awarded him with the hair of penitents he had collected in Damascus, and a raid on adjacent Frankish settlements followed. Happily, Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī and his followers, even if inspired by the example of martyrs of old, suffered no martyrdom themselves. They returned to Damascus alive, victorious and heavy with plunder.[53]

Jihād was a recurrent theme in Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī's exhortations. While the first Damascene preacher of the counter-crusade, the above-mentioned ʿAlī b. Ṭāhir al-Sulamī directed his appeals to "the bunch of sultans of the country," calling them to arouse and lead the *jihād*,[54] Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī usually addressed the topic in compliance with a specific request of one "sultan" or another. Such was the case towards the end of 616/1219, after the fall of the Egyptian town of Damietta to the forces of the Fifth Crusade, when the Ayyūbid ruler of Damascus al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam asked him to encourage popular recruitment. People who heard Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī's exhortation seemed ready to enlist, but when the time came, their dignitaries put recruitment off, claiming that war is for men of war, namely for the professional army.[55] In a sermon delivered during the winter of 626/1229, upon

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[51] On the clipping of the *nāṣiya*, see Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, ed. and trans. Samuel M. Stern and C.R. Barber (London, 1967), 1:227; and the view of a contemporaneous Muslim scholar: al-Sulamī, *Fatāwā*, pp. 325, 327.

[52] See my "Muslim Martyrdom," pp. 134–35 for a more detailed account and annotation, based on Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Jalīs*, pp. 106–7 and Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya*, 10:4596–99.

[53] Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾat al-Zamān*, 8:544–5; Abū Shāma, *Tarājim*, p. 69; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-Nihāya* (Beirut, 1993),13:70.

[54] Christie and Gerish, "Parallel Preaching," pp. 143–44.

[55] Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾat al-Zamān*, 8:604. On the circumstances, see Humphreys, *From Saladin*, pp. 162–70. For details see Talmon-Heller, "Martyrdom," p. 135.

the specific instructions of al-Nāṣir Dāwūd b. al-Muʿaẓẓam (and in line with his own convictions, as he somewhat apologetically adds), Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī attacked al-Naṣir's rival, al-Malik al-Kāmil, for delivering Jerusalem, "the first of the two *qibla*s," to Frederick II). Lamenting the fate of the holy city, he condemned – in a rare act of outright criticism of political authorities – the treacherous Muslim kings who signed the much debated accord of Tall al-ʿAjūl (February 626/1229) and allowed Jerusalem to fall yet again into the hands of the infidels.[56] Once al-Kāmil and his coalition took over Damascus, Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī was obliged to leave with his disinherited patron al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, and for the following seven years continued his preaching in Karak, Nablus and Frankish-ruled Jerusalem.[57]

Of his own initiative, so it seems, on the 28th of Ramaḍān 627/15 July 1230, Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī conducted a special prayer on behalf of al-Malik al-Ashraf, who was engaged in combating Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārizmshāh in Anatolia, an enemy considered wild and unpredictable. Curiously, so he notes in his chronicle *Mirʾat al-Zamān*, a cloud of thick mist covered the assembly at the end of the prayer. When it was lifted, Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī joyously announced al-Ashraf's victory. Ten days later, news from the battlefield arrived and confirmed his "vision." Moreover, so he tells us, the battlefield had been covered by mist at the very same time as the assembly in Damascus, to the advantage of al-Malik al-Ashraf and his men.[58]

Al-Malik al-Ashraf, just like Saladin, must have acknowledged the power of the intercessory prayers of the assembled congregation of Muslims. It was in accordance with an explicit request of his, that Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī devoted a sermon to the merits of prayer. It was based on a treatise that al-Malik al-Ashraf held in particular esteem: the *Maqāṣid al-Ṣalāt* (the purports of prayer) by the above-mentioned scholar and *khaṭīb* ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Sulamī.[59]

While the importance of prayer and other pious practices was a topic regularly addressed in assemblies of exhortation, theology was usually avoided. Only on rare occasions did Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, and probably other preachers as well, venture into the realm of theology, and touch upon thorny questions such as the attributes of God (*ṣifāt Allāh*) and God revealing himself to man (*ruʾyat Allāh*).[60] One of Ibn al-Jawzī's guidelines for popular preaching, which his grandson quotes, was to stick to basics and leave aside complicated theological matters that simple minds

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[56] Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾat al-Zamān*, 8:654; Ibn Wāṣil, 4:245; Humphreys, *From Saladin*, p. 203.

[57] See Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī's autobiographical passage in *Mirʾat al-Zamān*, 8:714, and Joseph Drory, "Al-Nāṣir Dāwūd: A Much Frustrated Ayyubid Prince," *Al-Masāq* 15 (2003), 176.

[58] Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾat al-Zamān*, 8:662. For an Anatolian version of the story see El-Eflaki's account in Clement Huart, *Les saints des devices tourneurs. Récits traduits du persan et annotés* (Paris, 1918), 1:17, 38–40 (I owe this reference to Nicholas Trépenier). For a third version – a present-day historian's account of the unexpected victory of the Ayyūbids at that battle – see Humphreys, *From Saladin*, p. 219.

[59] Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 8:239. Al-Sulamī's *Maqāṣid al-Ṣalāt* was published by ʿA. Kh. al-Ṭabāʾ (Damascus, 1413/1992–3).

[60] Abū Shāma, *Tarājim*, p. 73; Ibn Rajab, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2:59. For other examples of popular preachers addressing complicated theological problems, see Berkey, *Popular Preaching*, p. 77.

could not comprehend.[61] But perhaps it was not only the lack of proper religious education of part of the audience that made him reluctant to discuss theology. Obviously, the first and foremost goal of sermons was to supply devotees with a meaningful religious experience rather than with knowledge. And, in twelfth-thirteenth-century Syria there may have been a general reluctance to touch debated issues, so as not to provoke disagreement and strife. Unity, rather than intellectual debate, was the agenda of *majālis al-waʿẓ*, and the contents, as well as the rhetoric and non-verbal devices, were chosen accordingly.

Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī always felt gratified when tears – presumably tears of remorse and repentance – appeared in the eyes of his listeners. Al-Yunīnī (d. 726/1326), the Damascene historian who wrote a sequel to Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī's chronicle, claims that the latter had only to utter several simple words or poetic verses of his own composition, in order to reduce his audience to tears.[62] Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī himself notes with envy, so I imagine, that at one of the sermons of his grandfather three people died, overcome by their excitement (*li-wajdihim*).[63] He proudly tells of sturdy men – such as the amīr ʿAlī Ibn Salār (d. 634/1236–7), leader of twenty *ḥajj* caravans – who wept throughout his sermon.[64] In contrast, he gives a somewhat malicious account of what he considered to be a lengthy sermon of Nāṣiḥ al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī, who substituted for him in the great mosque of Damascus while he was away from town. He claims that when Nāṣiḥ al-Dīn preached, "hearts remained unmoved, eyes remained dry, and people dispersed and left in the middle of the *majlis*."[65]

In the minds of medieval Muslims, weeping was probably connected to piety through the example of well-known early ascetics (the *bakkāʾūn*) who constantly wept either over their sins or out of compassion for other sinners, or as a result of their anxious anticipation of the final judgment. Tears were also thought to have a purgative effect on sins ("wash" them away), or, in a Muslim simile, serve as a shield from the fires of hell, and of eschatological punishment.[66] Several modern authors address the phenomenon of weeping at public religious gatherings. William Christian, speaking of "religious weeping" in early modern Spain, explains that "the pain, pious tenderness or sorrow that accompanied weeping were part of an economy of sentiment that could influence God," and were thought to provoke

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61 See *Ibn al-Jawzī's Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ*, pp. 226–28, and Abū Shāma, *Tarājim*, p. 104.

62 Al-Yunīnī, *Dhayl ʿala Mirʾat al-Zamān* (Haydarabad, 1954) pp. 39–43.

63 Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾat al-Zamān*, 8:415. Ibn al-Jawzī mentions the uninhibited expression of excitement and ecstasy (wajd) by women, who cry aloud "as if in labour" and sometimes throw off their upper garment and stand up (see Berkey, Popular Preaching, p. 31).

64 Sibṭ ibn al- Jawzī, *Mirʾat al-Zamān*, 8:579.

65 Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾat al-Zamān*, 8:701.

66 Alexander Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism. A Short History* (Leiden, 2000), p. 17; Giovanna Calasso, "La dimension religieuse individuelle dans les textes musulmans médiévaux, entre hagiographie et literature de voyages: les larmes, les emotions, l'expérience," *Studia Islamica* 91 (2000), 41, 53.

his mercy.[67] Berkey points out a social function of weeping at sermons – as a kind of safety valve, easing the acceptance of social realities for those who may have reasons to revolt against them.[68]

Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī's moral teaching, as far as we can learn from his didactic writing,[69] is indeed mild. True, he does not spare the great and mighty fearful descriptions of the fate of the oppressor after death: all his riches and companions gone, lying alone in his shrouds "in the house of rot and decay" on the dirt and hard rock, his pretty face unrecognizably disfigured, awaiting hell-fire.[70] But at the same time, rather than rebuke the wrongdoers for specific deeds, he chooses to comfort the oppressed, assuring them that they are closer to God, who will surely answer their prayers. He quotes the Prophet saying that the man who obeys him and his delegates (the latter-day ruler) equals the obedient servant of God, and comparing the rebel to the men of the Jāhiliyya.[71] A *ḥadīth* he quotes, according to which God is willing to forgive sins against Him, but does not forgive wrongdoing towards other believers unless redressed, conveys a message of sympathy towards the oppressed, perhaps especially towards the lower orders, yet telling them to wait patiently for God and his agents to put things right.[72]

Merlin Swartz finds that *majālis al-waʿẓ* in twelfth-century Baghdad were "frequently an occasion for criticizing the political authorities, and sometimes a call for reforms that were inimical to their political interests."[73] I am unable to say the same of Syrian *majālis* of the twelfth and thirteenth century. I have not found Syrian *wuʿʿāẓ* frequently critical of political authorities, nor calling for a reformed society (they did, of course, call for reformed individuals). According to my interpretation, in Zangid and Ayyūbid Syria *majālis al-waʿẓ* were in the hands of men who formed part of the religious establishment, and had only to gain from a close symbiotic relationship with the ruling elite.

Conclusions

In the Zangid and Ayyūbid domains, both *khaṭīb*s and *wuʿʿāẓ* usually ratified generally agreed-upon Islamic norms and beliefs. Under the political circumstances of that

[67] Berkey, *Popular Preaching*, p. 49; William A. Christian, "Provoked Religious weeping in Early Modern Spain," in *Religious Organization and Religious Experience*, ed. J. Davis (London, 1982), pp. 97–98, 107.

[68] Berkey, "Storytelling," pp. 71–72; *Popular Preaching*, pp. 68, 49.

[69] Namely, his *Al-Jalīs al-Ṣāliḥ wa-l-Anīs al-Nāṣiḥ* (the Good Companion and Intimate Advisor), ed. Aḥmad al-ʿIsawī (Tanta, 1991), and *Kanz al-Mulūk fi Kayfiyyat al-Sulūk* (The Treasure of Princes on the Fashion of Behavior), ed. Gosta Vitestam (Lund, 1970).

[70] Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Jalīs*, p. 59.

[71] Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Jalīs*, p. 33.

[72] Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Jalīs*, p. 36.

[73] Merlin L. Swartz, "The Rules of the Popular Preaching in Twelfth-Century Baghdad, According to Ibn al-Jawzi," in *Preaching and Propaganda in the Middle Ages. Islam, Byzantium, Latin West*, eds. George Makdisi et al. (Paris, 1983), p. 224.

age, namely the threat of external enemies, the detrimental political fragmentation (that had been overcome by Saladin for a very short period only), and the broad popularity of the ruling dynasty, preachers seem to have aimed at buttressing personal piety on the one hand and social solidarity on the other. Conformity resulting in internal unity was preferred to confrontation.

Preachers played a role in mobilizing rulers and enlisting citizens for the cause of *jihād*, emphasizing that it is the religious dimension of the struggle against the crusaders within the more comprehensive ideology of *iḥyāʾ al-sunna* (the Sunni revival). The imagery of revival was prominent in the discourse of that period. A simple man from the neighbourhood of al-Qarāfa in Cairo is said to have exclaimed, at the end of a *majlis* given by the Damascene traditionalist ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī around 597/1199: "We resembled the dead until al-Ḥāfiẓ [ʿAbd al-Ghanī] came and took us out of our graves (*mā kunna illā mithl al-amwāt, ḥattā jāʾa al-Ḥāfiẓwa-akhrajanā min al-qubūr*)!"[74] Praise for the good preaching of Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī was formulated in the following phrases (quoted in his own works, as exclamations of prominent Damascene scholars who attended his assemblies): "Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf conquered the Syrian littoral (*al-ṣāḥil*) and made Islam victorious, and you, Yūsuf, revived the Sunna in all of Syria (*al-Shām*);" and: "Through you God has revived the Sunna and subdued *bidʿa*. These lands were conquered by you, as Jerusalem was conquered by your namesake, Yūsuf."[75]

Here, then, we find ourselves back to square one, with the sultan and the preacher depicted as confronting the Frankish enemy jointly, albeit with a "twist." If the anonymous Latin author (who triggered this discussion) suggested that the sultan fought while the preachers supplied soldiers, and Bahāʾ al-Dīn suggested that the sultan fought while the preachers prayed for him, the *ʿulamāʾ* of Damascus asserted that actually both sultan and preachers were conquerors. And this colours their collaboration in a new colour altogether.

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[74] Ibn Rajab, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2:11.

[75] The first saying is attributed to ʿImād al-Dīn ibn Qudāma (Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾat al-Zamān*, 8:587–88), the second to Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn Qudāma (idem, 628).

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Three Stages in the Evolution of Rural Settlement in the Kingdom of Jerusalem during the Twelfth Century

Adrian J. Boas

Recently published studies dealing with Frankish military architecture refer to the various "generations" of castle-building in the Latin East.[1] These papers attempt to show how Frankish fortifications developed in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries in accordance with a changing political situation and in an effort by the Franks to counter the improved capabilities in siege warfare of their Muslim enemy. With notable resourcefulness, the Frankish-castle builders introduced elements of design and planning from the West and adopted ideas of fortification from the Byzantine and Muslim examples with which they came into contact. The outcome of their efforts was a significant advance in the design, quality, and defensive capabilities of Frankish fortifications.

However, defensive needs were only part of the picture. The Frankish castle was more complex, defence being only one of several functions that it was intended to fulfil. Many of the castles played a pivotal role in the implementation of Frankish urban and rural administration. There is evidence suggesting that in the latter activity castles preceded the so-called "manor houses" or rural estate centres and that, when the political situation deteriorated and incursions or invasion threatened, castles once again replaced non-military administrative buildings. It may enhance our understanding of the developments in twelfth-century rural settlement if we examine the relationship between non-military buildings and castles. What I wish to do here is to tie architectural developments in rural administrative buildings to the changing conditions in the kingdom of Jerusalem prior to 1187. It should be kept in mind that, despite a growing body of research on Frankish rural sites, our understanding of the architectural development of many of these sites is still somewhat rudimentary, and consequently any attempt at drawing up a chronological framework for these developments remains hypothetical.

Frankish rural settlement in the East during the twelfth century fluctuated between periods of security and insecurity and the vicissitudes of this activity are reflected in archaeological remains (see Fig. 1). In broad terms we can divide the period between July 1099 and October 1187 into three phases of changing security conditions: a) a period of conquest and occupation and the establishment of Frankish hegemony over the local peasant population; b) a period of consolidation,

[1] Denys Pringle, "Crusader Castles. The First Generation," *Fortress* 1 (1989), 14–24; Ronnie Ellenblum, "Three Generations of Frankish Castle Building in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem" in *Autour de la Première Croisade*, ed.Michel Balard, Paris, 1996, pp. 517–51; Michael Ehrlich, "Crusaders' Castles – the Fourth Generation: Reflections on Frankish Castle-Building Policy during the 13th Century," *Journal of Medieval History* 29 (2003), 85–93.

Fig. 1 Map of sites mentioned in the text.

expansion and Frankish rural settlement; and c) a period of renewed insecurity when the Franks once again found themselves on the defensive. In archaeological remains, we can trace a sequence of three consecutive developments in rural settlement that parallel these three historical phases: a) the construction of fortified administrative outposts; b) the establishment of unfortified or semi-fortified manor houses, farms and villages; and c) the fortification or refortification of rural sites – castles, estate centres and monasteries. In order to illustrate this sequence, we can look at examples from each of the three stages.

Phase One: 1099–c.1140: Conquest and Occupation and the Construction of Fortified Administrative Depots

The occupation of Jerusalem in July 1099 was followed by a period of about two decades during which the territory of the kingdom of Jerusalem was carved out. During this process towns were occupied and enemies were repressed both by military actions, beginning with the defeat of the Fatimid army at the Battle of Ascalon in August 1099, and through the construction of castles in strategic places.[2] At the same time and in the following decades, the Franks established their control over the local peasantry and developed the framework of their rural administration. The control of the countryside was achieved through a number of complementary actions. One of these was the application of a system of rules and regulations based partly on Muslim practices that preceded Frankish rule and partly on western rural administrative procedures.[3] In order to apply this system, local stewards were appointed by the landowners. An additional element was the construction of fortified outposts, which were to serve as centres of rural administration, as residences and headquarters of rural administrators and as depots for the taxes collected in kind from the peasant population. The effective collection of taxes was certainly one of the principal functions of this system. In this first phase of Frankish rule, a period of Muslim incursions and internal insecurity, these outposts probably always took the form of fortified buildings: towers and small enclosure castles.

Type One: The Square or Rectangular Keep

Square or rectangular keeps were the most common type of building constructed by the Franks in the countryside of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the early decades

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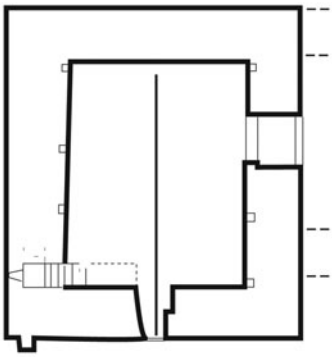
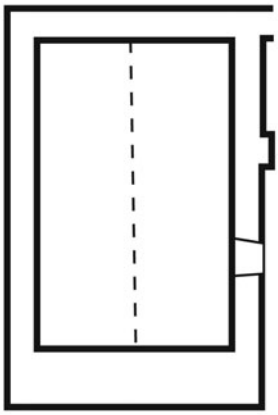
[2] The castles include Betgibelin, Blanchegarde, Ibelin, Gaza, Kerak and Castellum Arnuldi.

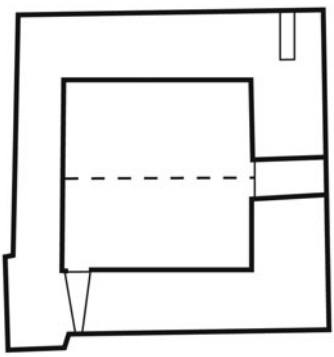
[3] Joshua Prawer, "Palestinian Agriculture and the Crusader Rural System", *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 143–200; Jean Richard, "Agricultural Conditions in the Crusader States", in K.M. Setton (gen. ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, vol. V, (Wisconsin MI, 1985), pp. 251–66; Jonathan Riley-Smith, "Some Lesser Officials in Latin Syria", English Historical Review 87 (1972), 1–26; *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277* (London, 1973), pp. 40–61.



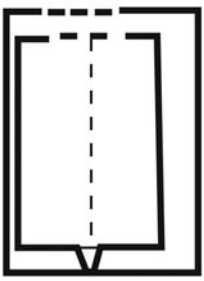
1. Ar-Ram (after Pringle, 1983)



2. Castle of St. Elias
(after Ellenblum, 1998)



3. Mirabel (after Pringle, 1997)



4. Bir Zait
(after Ellenblum, 1998)

Fig. 2 Keeps.

of the twelfth century (see Fig. 2).[4] Occasionally they were built within towns or villages and served as both administrative centres and places of refuge in times of threat (for example: the towers at al-Bira, which served as a refuge in 1124; Buria (Dabburiya), to which the villagers fled during Saladin's invasion into Frankish territory in 1182; and Bethsan (Bait She'an), which the inhabitants found an unreliable refuge in 1183).[5] Outside settlements, towers were intended to fulfil a primarily defensive role in frontier regions or at vulnerable points along the roads and passes, as was the case with towers like Districtum (near ʿAtlit), Castel des Plains (Yazur) and Malduim on the road from Jerusalem to the River Jordan. Some keeps were built for specific purposes. A tower at Trefile near Castellum Regis (Miʾiliya) in western Galilee was constructed to defend the workers at the quarry during the construction of the headquarters of the Teutonic Order at nearby Montfort. Once the larger castle was built, this tower, which could be viewed from Montfort, may also have played a role in its defence. Several of the larger Frankish castles such as Beaufort, Chateau Pelerin (ʿAtlit), Saphet and Toron des Chevaliers (Latrun) originated as towers that were eventually either replaced by or formed the nucleus of larger fortresses.

However, keeps located in rural areas far from the frontiers occasionally seem not to have been built primarily to defend roads or passes or to serve as refuges (although these may well have been additional functions). Many of the keeps constructed in the first half of the twelfth century must have been built in a countryside still largely empty of Frankish settlers and in such cases they were most probably intended primarily to serve as fortified outposts for the representatives of landowners in the hostile countryside, in other words as early centres of Frankish administration of the largely Muslim rural population.

In such two-storey keeps, a steward representing the landowner would reside and perform his various duties in the administration of the hostile peasant population, the prime task probably being overseeing the orderly collection of taxes. The upper floor would serve his domestic needs and perhaps be the place of meetings between the steward and the peasants. The ground floor would have served as a storage depot for the agricultural produce and livestock taken from the peasants as tax payments to be transported to the cities.

An example of such a keep is located near the village of ar-Ram, 8 kilometres north of the Old City of Jerusalem. Following a survey carried out by Denys Pringle with the support of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (BSAJ) in 1981–82, it was possible to see that the keep formed the first stage of this courtyard

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[4] Denys Pringle notes that recent archaeological research has identified over 75 keeps within the Kingdom of Jerusalem. See "Towers in Crusader Palestine", in *Fortification and Settlement in Crusader Palestine* (Aldershot, 2000), Part VIII, p. 1.

[5] On al-Bira, see Fulcher of Chartres, *Gesta peregrinantium francorum,* in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades,* Historiens Occidentaux, 3 (Paris, 1866), III: 33: 2 (English translation, F.R. Ryan, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095–1127* (Knoxville, 1969), pp. 265–66). On Bait She'an see William of Tyre, XXII:27 (26). On Buria, see William of Tyre, XXII:15 (14).

complex.[6] It appears to have been a standard two-storey keep constructed of rough ashlar masonry, measuring 14.3 by 12.7 meters with walls 2.1–2.7 meters thick, with a barrel-vaulted interior, two doors and a staircase leading to the upper level.[7]

Another courtyard complex that may have begun as a keep is the Castle of St. Elias (Taiyiba), located approximately 20 kilometers north-east of Jerusalem. Here the original building may have been a keep measuring approximately 15 meters square.[8] A third complex that underwent a similar process was Mirabel (Majdal Yaba), where the first stage was a tower measuring 13.9 by 13 meters with walls 3 meters thick that was built early in the twelfth century.[9] A keep may have formed the first stage of a courtyard complex at Bir Zait, c. 23 kilometers north of Jerusalem.[10]

Type Two: The First-Floor Hall-House

Possibly parallel with the construction of these administrative keeps in the countryside, a number of hall-houses were built (see Fig. 3). These were somewhat more ambitious structures, although fundamentally they were little more than elongated rectangular keeps. Their elongated form was adopted from the hall-houses which were at this time springing up in the countryside of Europe. This form was more convenient both in its more expansive living quarters, which would also have served for administrative functions, and in the larger storage space it provided on the ground-floor level. Examples of hall-houses can be seen at Bait Itab south-west of Jerusalem, at al-Burj in the northern Jerusalem suburb of Ramot Alon, and possibly at Khirbat al-Lawza, 7.5 kilometers west of Jerusalem, at Khirbat Ain Salman, 13 kilometers north-west of Jerusalem and at Jifna, 21 kilometers north of Jerusalem.

At Bait Itab, the hall-house that formed the first stage of the later courtyard complex measures 29 by 13.3 meters. Like the keeps, it was a defensive building, as can be seen by the slit-machicolation that defended its entrance. Khirbat al-Burj, little of which remains today, measures 10.6 by 27.2 meters. It has a door on its north, an internal cistern, a staircase, wall cupboards and several windows, the presence of the latter suggesting that the ground-floor level may have been used for stabling or some domestic activity rather than storage of farm produce. At Khirbat al-Lawza a large hall is located on the eastern side of the complex. It measures internally 21 by 4.8–5.5 meters and has walls up to 2.2 meters thick. A plastered

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[6] Pringle, *Fortification and Settlement*, 2000, Part V, pp. 164–74, pls. XIXB–XXB.

[7] For a more detailed description, see Ibid., p. 165.

[8] Denys Pringle, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 98, fig. 55.

[9] Ibid., pp. 67–68.

[10] Pringle, *Fortification and Settlement*, 2000, Part V, p. 172. However, recent excavations have raised some doubts as to the Frankish date of this building. See Khaled Nashef and Oamar Abd Rabu, "Khirbet Birzeit Research and Excavation Project 1998," *Journal of Palestinian Archaeology* 1/1, (2000), 12.

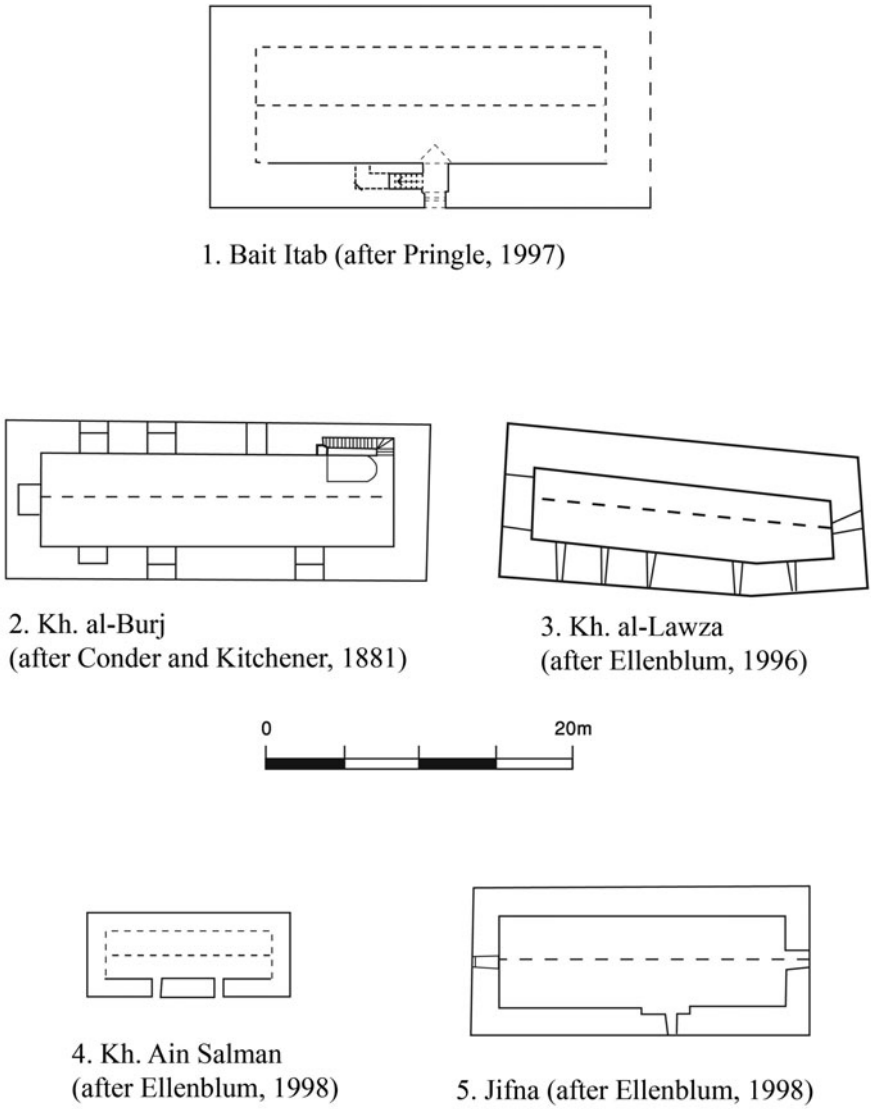

Fig. 3 Phase 1: Hall houses.

floor above is evidence for the existence of the first-floor hall. Along the eastern side at the ground-floor level are five narrow-slit openings, which apparently did not serve as arrow embrasures but were for illumination.[11] At Khirbat Ain Salman, a group of vaulted structures with an enclosure wall includes a hall-house that measures 26.9 by 13.8 meters and has walls 2.1 to 2.8 meters thick. At Jifna, a large vault on the north side of the courtyard building appears to be the ground floor of a hall-house.[12] It measures 27.6 by 12.5 meters and has walls 2.10 to 2.40 meters thick. The door was originally in the long wall to the south and the east and west walls had arrow embrasures.

Type Three: The Enclosure Castle

A third type of fortified administrative building that may have played a role in rural administration in the early decades of the twelfth century was the enclosure castle (*quadriburgium*) (see Fig. 4). It is possible that the Franks, who adopted this well-known design from the still-standing Umayyad examples at Cafarlet (Kafr Lamm) and Castellum Beroart (Ashdod Yam), may have employed it before the 1130s. Unfortunately we still cannot date such examples as Burj Bardawil (located 32 kilometers north of Jerusalem overlooking the road to Nablus) and Castellum Regis (Mi'iliya), neither having undergone systematic excavation, but both may have dated from fairly early in the twelfth century. The earliest such castles for which we know the date of construction, Bethgibelin, Blanchegarde, Ibelin and Gaza, all date to the 1130s and 1140s. These four castles were built primarily to fulfil a military function; they were intended to prevent incursions of Muslim marauders from Fatimid Ascalon into the hinterland of the kingdom. These castles took on a primarily rural administrative function only after the fall of Ascalon.[13]

As the later development of Burj Bardawil so clearly fulfils a role in rural administration, it is reasonable to assume that this was also an important part of the original building's role, although in the early years of the kingdom, defensive needs dictated a defensive form. Pringle examined the structure at Burj Bardawil in 1989.[14] The castle measures 44 meters square, with external walls 2 meters thick and projecting turrets on the corners and midway along the walls. From this survey, it appears that the upper storey of the castle served a domestic function.[15]

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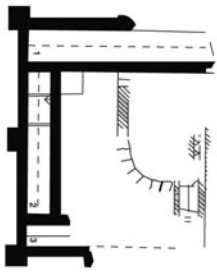
[11] Ronnie Ellenblum, Rehav Rubin and Giora Solar, "Kh. Al-Lawza, a Frankish Farm-House in the Neighborhood of Jerusalem," *Levant* 28 (1996), p. 190.

[12] Meron Benvenisti, "Bovaria-Babriyya: A Frankish Residue on the Map of Palestine," in *Outremer. Studies in the History of the Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer* (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 146–47, fig. 16.

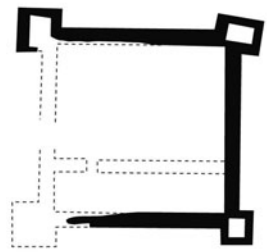
[13] On the importance of these castles to rural settlement, see William of Tyre XII, 25.

[14] Pringle, 2000, Part VII, pp. 30–59.

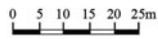
[15] Pringle notes that there was a garderobe chute in the eastern corner-turret which emptied into a vaulted pit below. Ibid., p. 38.

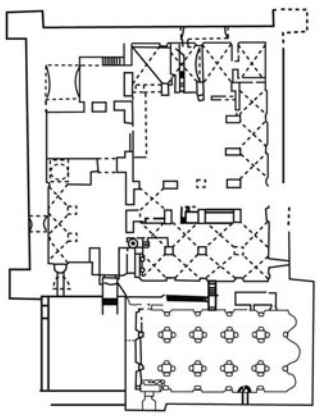


1. Burj Bardawil
(after Pringle, 1994)

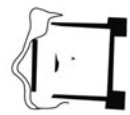


2. Castellum Regis
(after Pringle, 1997)





3. Bethgibelin (after Kloner, 2000)



4. Blanchegarde
(after Rey, 1871)

Fig. 4 Enclosure castles.

Phase Two: c.1140–c.1170: Consolidation and Expansion – the Establishment of Villages and Farmhouses and the Degeneration of Fortified Sites

These first years of occupation were followed by two or three decades of consolidation and growth, a period of increased self-confidence when, as a result of improved internal security, the Franks were able to carry out their administration more effectively. This enabled the expansion of existing administrative buildings and the building of new, larger ones, which in turn improved the effectiveness of their organization.[16] The Franks appear to have increasingly adopted the courtyard design, a design well-suited to the function of collecting taxes paid in kind, as they included several large barrel vaults placed around a central courtyard which could be used to store harvested crops, wine, oil and other manufactured goods and livestock. In addition, they could house certain installations, the most important of these being those built by the administrator for the use of the peasants such as oil and wine presses and installations, such as grain mills and bakeries, which were *bannum*, that the peasants were required to use and pay the landowner. Finally, the vaults could be used to store the administrator's personal goods and stable his horses.

In some cases, such courtyard buildings can be seen to have developed out of fortified structures (see Fig. 5). At ar-Ram the tower became the nucleus of such a courtyard building.[17] The same appears to have been the case at Jifna and Bait Itab, where hall-houses, which, as noted above, were basically elongated keeps, expanded into courtyard complexes, and at Burj Bardawil, where an enclosure castle underwent a similar process.[18] At ar-Ram, a series of large barrel-vaulted chambers were added to the tower, though it was not deemed necessary at this time to fortify them, and at Khirbat al-Lawza, additional unfortified vaulted structures were added to the original hall-house and the newly created courtyard complex was left only partly walled in.[19] In a far less regular manner, Burj Bardawil underwent a similar expansion, which greatly increased its size but would certainly have reduced the effectiveness of the original fortification. Barrel vaults were added on the north and east sides of the quadriburgium, forming a fan-shaped enclosure on the eastern slope of the hill.

Other courtyard buildings were first constructed at this time. These buildings had little or no fortification, being enclosure buildings but not enclosure castles (see Fig. 6). There are no evident defensive works at Aqua Bella, in the original courtyard

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[16] At the same time, in order to establish their own rural presence, the Franks began to set up planned settlements, street villages which, being virtually indefensible, clearly illustrate the improved internal security at this time.

[17] Pringle, 2000, Part V, pp. 163–69.

[18] Ibid., Part VII, pp. 38–40.

[19] R. Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 181.

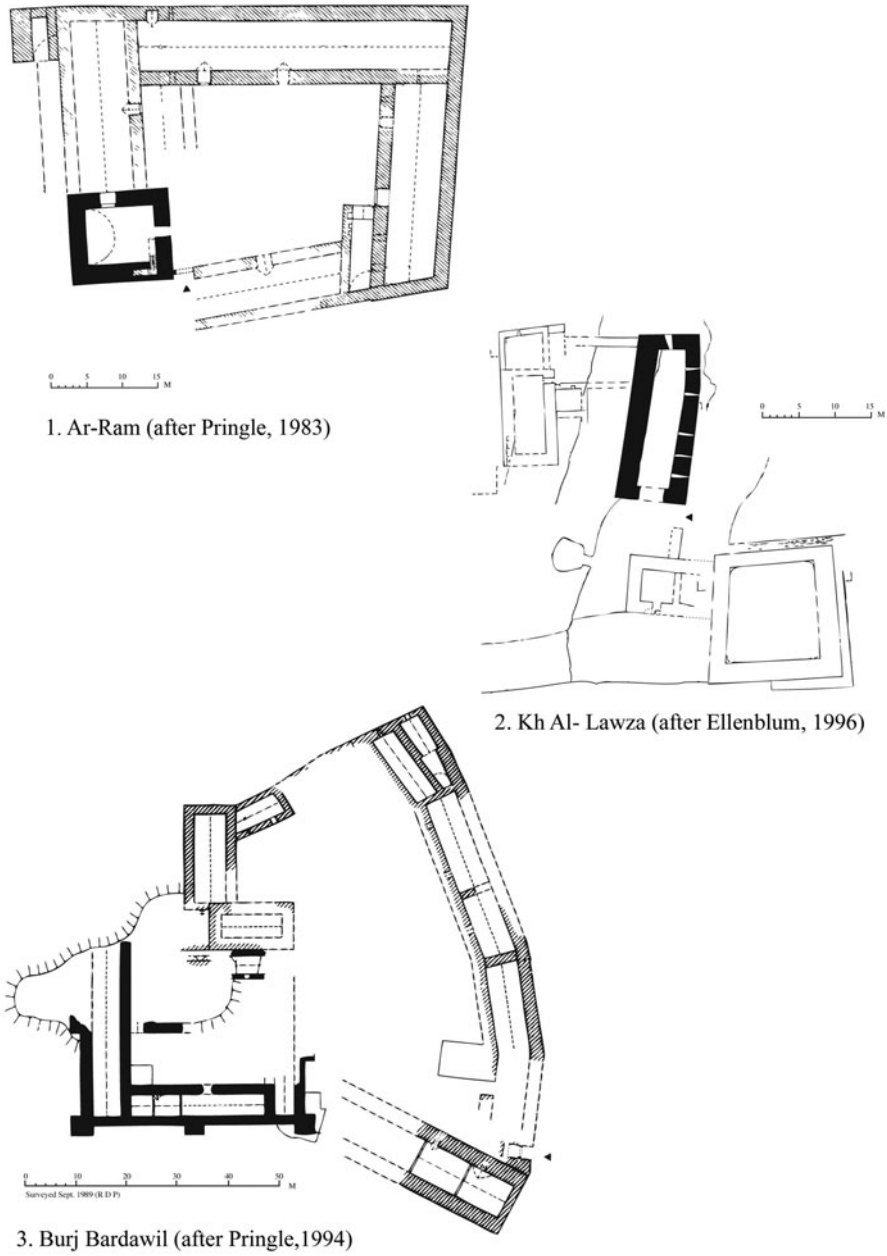
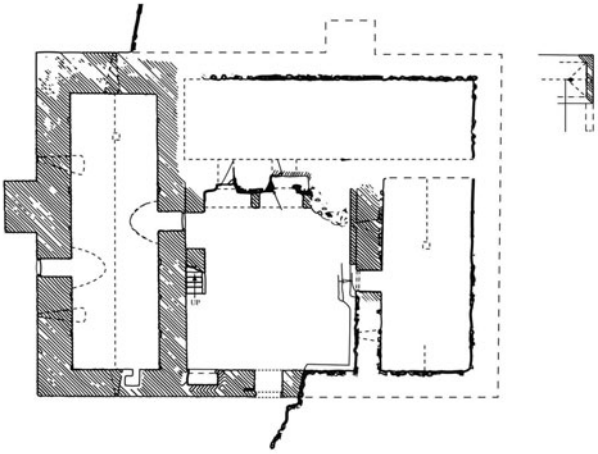
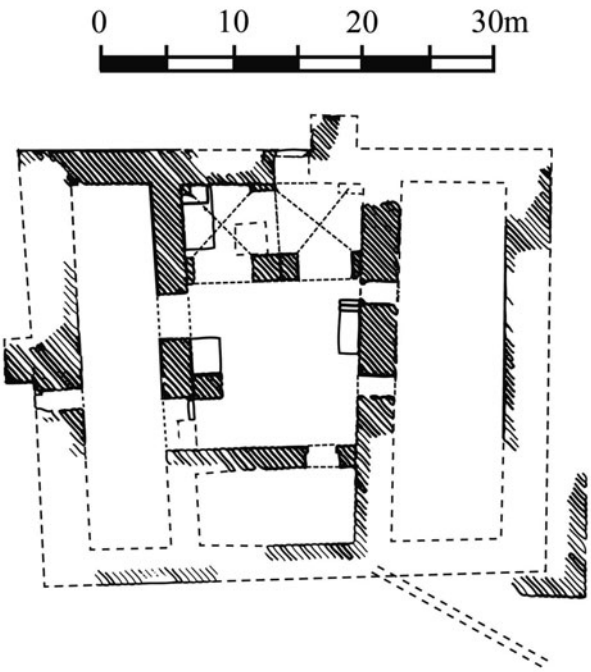


Fig. 5 Phase 2: Expansion of fortified sites.



1. Aqua Bella (after Pringle, 1992)



2. Belmont, inner ward (after Harper and Pringle, 2000)

Fig. 6 Unfortified courtyard buildings.

building of Belmont or at the recently cleared Somelaria. Although the courtyard design itself provided a certain amount of protection, none of these buildings could be considered fortresses. They did not have firing embrasures or battlements, there were no moats, projecting towers or machicolation (except in the gate at Jifna and in the existing doorway of the hall-house at Bait Itab), and the external walls were generally not very thick.

Like the contemporary establishment of unfortified street villages[20], the construction of undefended buildings in the countryside makes it clear that the kingdom had moved beyond the early defensive stage into a period of increased security, which enabled the administration to make use of unfortified buildings, apparently without fear of attack.[21] The improved security probably also made tax collecting more effective and agricultural involvement in general more intensive, and the choice of the courtyard design may perhaps be seen as evidence for the consequent need for more storage space.

Phase Three: c. 1170–1187: On the Defensive: Fortification or Refortification of Rural Sites

In the last two decades of Frankish rule prior to the collapse of the kingdom in 1187, the Franks found themselves once again on the defensive. This was the outcome of a weakening of their own leadership at the very time when they faced a newly unified and increasingly assertive Muslim enemy under the strong leadership of Saladin. The Ayyubid incursions into the kingdom, beginning with Saladin's campaign against Darum in December 1170, reawakened in the Franks a "fortress state" mentality. As the dangers increased, they began a new programme of fortification, which included the strengthening of existing castles through the addition of outer lines of defence (for example in the castles of Bethgibelin, Blanchegarde, Darum and Latrun), the construction of new or largely redesigned castles (Belvoir, and Crac des Chevalier's second Frankish phase), the construction of defences around monasteries (St Samuel) and, in the case of rural administration, the construction of defensive works around some of the previously unfortified rural estate centres (see Fig. 7). The most obvious example of this last development is the conversion of the courtyard building of Belmont into a full-scale castle through the construction of a double line of outer defences. Another example is the addition of fortifications constructed around the courtyard building at the Castle of St Elias.

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[20] Adrian J. Boas, "Street Villages and Rural Estate Centers: The Organization of Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," in A.M. Maeir, S. Dar and Z. Safrai (eds.), *The Rural Landscape of Ancient Israel, (British Archaeological Reports International Series 1121)* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 138–40.

[21] Similarly, the construction of a church on the southern side of the castle of Bethgibelin, which required the removal of the south-east corner tower, suggests that at the time when it was constructed fears of attack had somewhat diminished.

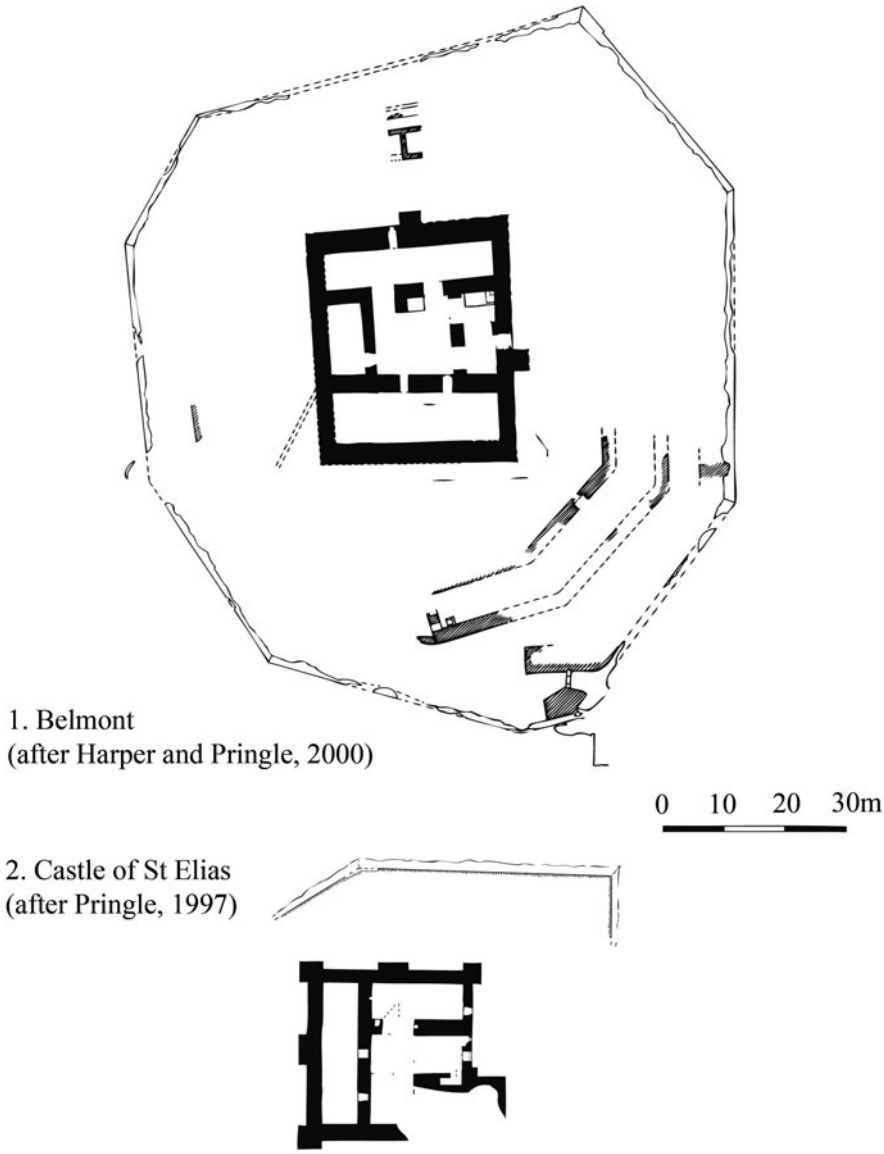

Fig. 7 Phase 3: Fortification of rural sites.

The development of Belmont in the face of this new threat is possibly typical of the manner in which Frankish rural administrators reacted to the declining security. Prior to this period, the building at Belmont had been similar to other rural courtyard buildings, such as the nearby Hospitaller building at Aqua Bella. The original rectangular structure measured 33 by 39/41 meters with walls 2.6–3.8 meters thick. On the ground floor level, it consisted of barrel-vaulted chambers on three sides of a courtyard, the fourth (eastern) side being roofed with two groin-vaulted bays. The main entrance flanked by a solid projecting turret was on the east and there was a narrow postern, similarly flanked by a turret, on the north. As at Aqua Bella, other than the turrets there were no real defensive works.[22]

With the renewed Muslim threat in the 1170s, the Hospitallers decided to fortify this building. They enclosed it within a polygonal vaulted range and, beyond that and parallel to it, built a defensive wall with a talus, berm and an outer gatehouse to the south. They thereby converted what had fundamentally been an unfortified rural estate centre into a concentric castle. The fact that the earliest reference to Belmont in the twelfth century, written by the German pilgrim Theoderich in 1169, connects the name with a region rather than a castle, suggests that there was no fortified building here at the time of his visit.[23] The fortified outworks may date to shortly before Saladin's arrival in September 1187.

As at Belmont, at some time, possibly around 1175 when it came into the hands of Joscelin III of Courtenay, the Castle of St Elias was surrounded by a polygonal wall with a talus and became a concentric castle. Precisely the same transformation took place at the Premonstratensian monastery of St Samuel (Montjoie, Nebi Samwil) where outer defences were constructed to fortify this monastery and way-station. They were apparently still under construction when Saladin arrived in September 1187.

Discussion

There is sometimes very little distinction between those medieval buildings that we define as houses and those we define as castles. Although towers were sometimes built to defend roads and mountain passes, most of them were probably intended to fulfil a primarily domestic function as houses for the representatives of Frankish landowners, containing areas for work and storage as well as domestic space (as indeed is true of houses in general). Only occasionally did these buildings take on a passive military role as places of refuge.

The changing conditions of internal security in the kingdom of Jerusalem required changes in the types of buildings that were constructed to house Frankish

[22] Nor is there any evidence for these turrets having served a military function.

[23] Theoderich records that the "…mountain regions are called Belmont". Theoderic, *Libellus de Locis Sanctis*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaeualis*, vol. CXXXIX, Ch. XXXVIII, p. 184).

administrators. In the early years of the kingdom, at a time when Muslim incursions into the hinterland were frequent and the Frankish hold on areas outside of the cities was fragile at best, small-scale fortresses in the form of solidly built tower-keeps or hall-houses best fulfilled this function. However, these buildings would have been too limited in storage space for the effective performance of their chief function, to store taxes taken from the local peasantry, mostly in the form of agricultural produce.

When the Franks strengthened their hold on the kingdom through the conquest of territory and the construction of castles, the improved internal security permitted the construction of less defensive rural administrative centres, and in many cases the Franks altogether abandoned defensive designs and constructed buildings that were more appropriate to their administrative function. These were the courtyard buildings, consisting of spacious, barrel-vaulted halls ranged around a central courtyard with domestic quarters on an upper level and with few or no defensive elements. These buildings either swallowed up or entirely replaced the earlier towers and hall-houses. Their presence in the Frankish countryside would seem to point to a great improvement in the internal security of the kingdom of Jerusalem around the middle of the twelfth century. This scenario is supported by the parallel establishment of planned, unfortified, and virtually indefensible Frankish street villages such as those at al-Qubeibe, al-Bira and al-Kurum.

The final stage in this sequence appears to have been a return to fortified buildings in the 1170s, which came as a result of the growing threat of invasion by Saladin. At this time, alongside the construction of new and larger castles, the existing castles, monasteries, and rural administrative buildings were fortified by the construction of curtain walls, towers and moats. [24]

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[24] Sources for the plans used in above figures are: Claude Conder and Herbert Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine*, vol. III (London, 1881); Ronnie Ellenblum, Rehav Rubin and Giora Solar, "Khirbat al-Lawza, a Frankish Farm House in the Judean Hills in Central Palestine", *Levant* 28 (1996), pp. 189–98; *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1998); Richard Harper and Denys Pringle, *Belmont Castle. Excavation of a Crusader Stronghold in the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 2000); Amos Kloner and Michael Cohen, "The Crusader Fortress at Beth Guvrin" *Qadmoniot* xxxiii, no. 1 (119) (Hebrew) (2000), 32–39; Denys Pringle, "Two Medieval Villages North of Jerusalem: Archaeological Investigations in al-Jib and ar-Ram", *Levant* 15 (1983), 141–77; "Aqua Bella: The Interpretation of a Crusader Courtyard Building" in Benjamin Z. Kedar ed., *The Horns of Hattin* (Jerusalem, 1992), pp. 147–67; "Burj Bardawil and Frankish Settlement North of Ramallah in the Twelfth Century", *The Frankish Wars and their Influence on Palestine*, ed. Kahil Athamina and Roger Heacock (Birzeit, 1994), pp. 30–59; *Secular Architecture in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1997); Emmanuel G. Rey, *Etude sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des croises en Syrie et dans l'Ile de Chypre* (Paris, 1871).

Frankish Castles, Muslim Castles, and the Medieval Citadel of Jerusalem

Ronnie Ellenblum

Is it possible to formulate guidelines that will enable differentiation of Frankish castles from Muslim ones? Is it possible to distinguish Frankish elements of fortification from later Muslim additions (or vice versa)? There are no clear-cut answers to these questions. Since Ayyubid and Mamluk sultans refortified and rebuilt many of the "crusader castles," the dating of their elements and fragments is ambiguous and uncertain. Even some of the well-known visual representations of the Frankish presence in the East, such as Crac des Chevaliers, Safad, and Karak were partially built by the Muslims and cannot be regarded simply as "Crusader Castles." Other well-known sites, such as Shaubak or Qaqun, were almost totally rebuilt anew by the later Muslim castle builders.[1]

When writing an article published over fifteen years ago, I realized that the problem is not limited to fragments of castles only, and that sometimes a complete Ayyubid or a Mamluk castle such as the castle of al-Subayba, was considered a twelfth-century Frankish castle although it was never mentioned before the thirteenth century and there is no reason to assume that it was built by the Franks and not by the Muslims. Evidently, the scholars who studied the history of this castle, one of the largest in the eastern hemisphere during this period, found it difficult to believe that such a beautiful fortress was built by the Muslims and not by the Franks. The history of the castle of al-Subayba, was therefore "Frankisized."[2]

The difficulty of distinguishing between early Muslim, Frankish, Ayyubid, and Mamluk phases of major castles is evident even in the case of the citadel of Jerusalem. Many modern studies refer to the citadel as an early Muslim fortress and most of the modern descriptions of the Frankish siege of Jerusalem in 1099

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[1] For Baybars's building activities in Karak, Shaubak, and Qaqun, see Ibn Shaddad al Halabi, *Tarikh al-Malik al-Zahir*, ed. Ahmad Hutait (Wiesbaden, 1983), pp. 252–53; Ibn ʿAbd al-Zahir, *Al-Rawd al-Zahir fi Sirat al-Malik al-Zahir*, pt. 4, in Sayeda Fatima Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt* (Dacca, 1956), p. 165; for the thorough reconstruction of Karak after the earthquake of 1293, see Ibn al-Furat, *Taʾrikh Ibn al-Furat*, 8, ed. Qunstantin Zurayq (Beirut, 1936), p. 155; for the total destruction of the outer fortifications of Shaubak during the reign of al-Ashraf in 1293, see Maqrizi, *Kitab al-Suluk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Muluk*, ed. Muhammad Mustafa Ziyada, 12 vols. (Cairo, 1934–73), 1:785. Ibn al-Furat criticized the destruction of the former fortification when he wrote: "The destruction of this castle was a mistake and [the result of a] mismanagement… It is unbelievable," Ibn al-Furat, *Taʾrikh*, 8:156.

For the refortification of Safad and the Beaufort during the reign of Baybars, see Ibn Shaddad, *Tarikh al-Zahir*, pp. 352–53; al-Yunini, *Dhayl Mirʾat al-Zaman*, 4 vols. (Hyderabad, 1954–61), 2:361; for the rebuilding of Qaqun during the reign of Baybars, see ibid., 2:259–60; Maqrizi, *Suluk*, 1:557; Ibn ʿAbd al-Zahir, *Rawd*, p. 275.

[2] The article on the Ayyubid castle of al-Subayba was first written as a seminar paper under the supervision of Benjamin Z. Kedar that eventually became my first published article, see Ronnie Ellenblum, "Who Built Qalʾat al-Subayba?" *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 43 (1989), 103–12.

present the citadel as an existing reality.[3] Such representations indirectly glorify the Frankish conquest by hinting that the conquered Fatimid city was already protected by a formidable medieval fortification in 1099. These studies and representations are less clear about the detailed history of the Early Muslim citadel: who built such a citadel, when, and for what purpose.

The actual plan of the citadel is composed of five towers and a curtain wall. The oldest, tallest, and most fortified of these five towers, the north-eastern one, is known as the "Tower of David," a name that testifies to its relative importance and antiquity, and has become synonymous with the citadel complex as a whole. The podium of this enormous tower, built of massive marginally drafted stones, remains intact from the time of its construction during the reign of King Herod (37–34 BC). The west and north faces of the Herodian podium are further fortified by glacis, usually dated to the crusader period, and its upper parts are built of reused Frankish ashlars and are therefore dated to the later Middle Ages.

The numerous archaeological excavations conducted in the courtyard of the citadel[4] concentrated mainly on the remains from earlier periods, and only few of them dealt with medieval remains. Cedric Norman Johns uncovered in the courtyard the base of a round tower and two walls extending from it to the north and west, and suggested that these ruins are the remains of an "early Muslim fortress"

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[3] Dan Bahat, "The Topography and Toponomy of Crusader Jerusalem," Ph.D diss., (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1990), pp. 1–24 (Hebrew); Joshua Prawer, "The Jerusalem the Crusaders Captured: A Contribution to the Medieval Topography of the City," in Peter W. Edbury, (ed.), *Crusade and Settlement: Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to Raymond C. Smail* (Cardiff, 1985), pp. 1–16, esp. maps on pp. 6, 8, 12; Dan Bahat, "Topography of Crusader Jerusalem," in Joshua Prawer and Haggai Ben-Shammai (eds.), *The History of Jerusalem: Crusaders and Ayyubids (1099–1250)* (Jerusalem, 1991), pp. 68–71 (Hebrew); Adrian J. Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades* (London and New York, 2001), pp. 73–78.

[4] Cf. Titus Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem und seinen Umgebungen... Mit artistischer Beilage*, 1 (Berlin, 1853), pp. 179–96; Conrad Schick, "Der Davidsthurm in Jerusalem," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palastina-Vereins* 1 (1878), 226–37, map on p. 226; idem, "Das Thalthor im alten Jerusalem," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palastina-Vereins* 13 (1890), 31–36, map on p. 288; H. Kümmel, *Materialen zur Topographie des Alten Jerusalem* (Halle, 1906), pp. 90–91.; Louis-Hugues Vincent and Félix-Marie Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, 2 (Paris, 1926), pp. 91–93. The plan was drawn by Edward Aldrich and John F.A. Symonds and was published as an appendix to Georges Williams, *The Holy City*, 2nd ed. (London, 1849). For the excavations carried out in the Citadel, see Cedric N. Johns, "Excavations at the Citadel, Jerusalem: Interim Report, 1935," *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* 5 (1936), 127–31; idem, "Excavations at the Citadel, Jerusalem 1934–9," *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statements* (1940), 36–58; idem, "The Citadel – Jerusalem: A Summary of the Work since 1934," *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* 14 (1950), 121–90; idem, *Guide to the Citadel* (Jerusalem, 1943–44); Ruth Amiran and Avraham Eitan, "Excavations at the Citadel of Jerusalem," *Israel Museum News* 4/1 (1969–70), 21–23; idem, "Excavations in the Courtyard of the Citadel, Jerusalem, 1968–1969, Preliminary Report," *Eretz-Israel* 11 (1973), 213–18 (Hebrew); idem, "Jérusalem, Cour de la Citadelle," *Revue Biblique* 77 (1977), 564–70; Hillel Geva, "Excavations in the Courtyard of the Citadel of Jerusalem, 1979–80, Preliminary Report," *Israel Exploration Journal* 33 (1983), 55–71; René Sivan, *Tower of David* (Jerusalem, 1983); Giora Solar, "Jerusalem, Citadel Moat," *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 3 (1984), 47–48. For the most extensive study of the history of the Citadel from the thirteenth century onward, see Max Van-Berchem, *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum*, part 2, I (Cairo, 1922), pp. 129–68.

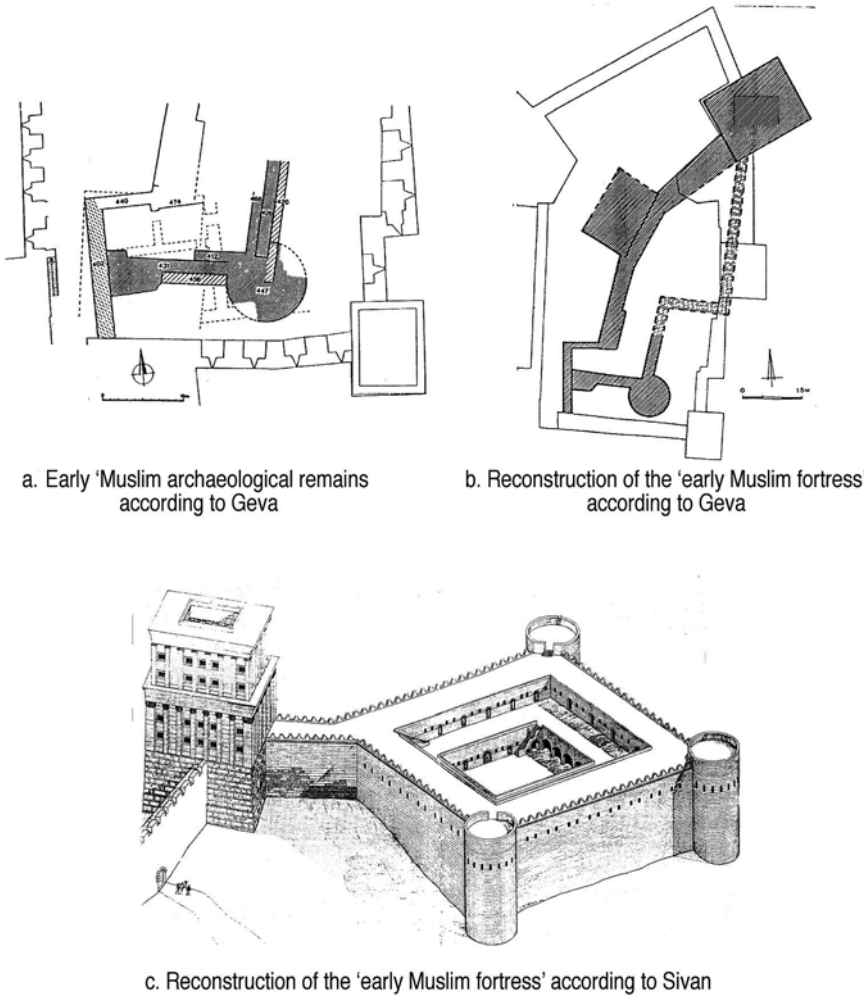

Fig. 1 Archaeological remains and reconstructions of the "Early Muslim Fortress."

(638–1099) that existed there before the arrival of the Franks. Geva and Sivan, who followed him in excavating the courtyard, did not question this basic assumption but suggested different reconstructions for the assumed "early Muslim fortress" (see Figs. 1a, b, and c).[5]

In any event, Johns' opinion, that a citadel was already constructed next to the Tower of David in the Early Muslim period and that the citadel of Jerusalem acquired its present shape (or a very similar one) during the period that preceded the Frankish siege of 1099, was never contested. The sources describing the Frankish siege and referring to the Tower of David were interpreted as referring to the actual form of the citadel and not to a tower only.

However, as I shall now attempt to show, the first descriptions of the citadel as a well-protected courtyard connected to a separate "Tower of David", are dated to the 1230s. The existence of an early Muslim complex structure, as opposed to a fortified tower, is not corroborated by historical evidence. I will try to show, therefore, that at the beginning of the twelfth century, and most probably until the mid 1230s, the Herodian tower served as the main fortification at the western entrance to the city.

The tower is mentioned for the first time as the "Tower of David" in the fifth and sixth centuries, when it served as a monastery,[6] and in fact there is no hint of the tower having been used for military purposes during the Early Muslim period when, according to Johns, the citadel was supposed to have been constructed.[7] Johns believed, after completing his excavations during the 1930s, that the ruins he had excavated, next to the Tower of David, were the remains of "the new palace

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[5] Johns, "The Citadel – Jerusalem," pp. 122, 158–62. and Geva, "Excavations 1979–80," pp. 69–70; see also Bahat, "Topography and Toponomy," p. 1; Boas, *Jerusalem*, pp. 73–78.

[6] It is first mentioned as a monastery in the *vita* of Petrus the Iberian, apparently written by his disciple Johannes Rufus in the 430s and 440s. For the Syriac version of this book, see *Peter der Iberer*, ed. Richard Raabe (Leipzig, 1895), pp. 44–45; Yoram Tsafrir, "Zion – The South Western Hill of Jerusalem and its Place in the Urban Development of the City in the Byzantine Period," Ph.D. diss., (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1975), p. 38 (Hebrew). Theodorus of Petra, the Cappadocian biographer of Theodosius the Monk, relates that Longinus lived as a monk in the Tower of David "like the bees in a beehive in a cell in the Tower of David the Divine," Theodoros Bischof von Petra, *Vita Theodosii, Der Heilige Theodosius*, ed. Hermann Usener (Leipzig, 1890), p. 13; Antoninus of Placentia wrote: "The Tower is square and built of smooth [stones] and has no roof, and the Christians climb on it in order to pray and live," *Antonini Placentini Itinerarium*, ed. Paul Geyer, in *Itineraria et alia geographica*, *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* 175 (Turnhout, 1965), p. 140. For an inscription discovered several hundred meters to the west of the tower and referred to as "the monastery... in David's Tower," see: J.H. Illiffe, "Cemeteries and a Monastery at the YMCA, Jerusalem," *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine* 4 (1935), 78–80, pl. 48.3. Cf. Johns, "The Citadel – Jerusalem," p. 159.

[7] The late seventh-century descriptions do not mention any military purposes. Adamnanus, who describes the visit of Arculfus to Jerusalem in 670 CE does not mention it at all, although he does note the adjacent gate, Adamnani, *De Locis Sanctis*, ed. Paul Geyer, in *Itineraria et alia geographica*, *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* 175 (Turnhout, 1965), p. 185; Epiphanus the monk says nothing about its function: "And in the western gate of the Holy City is the Tower of David, where he sat in the dust and wrote the Psalms." Herbert Donner, "Die Palästinabeschreibung des Epiphanius Monachus Hagiopolita," *Zeitschrift des deutchen Palästina-Vereins* 87 (1971), 63 (text); 83 (translation).

of the caliph" referred to in some of the Aphrodite Papyri.[8] It is universally agreed that his identification is wrong and that "new palace of the caliph" mentioned in the Aphrodite Papyri, is one of the big palaces that was unearthed during the extensive excavations of the 1960s and 1970s to the south of the Temple Mount, next to al-Aqsâ mosque. Johns who could not have been aware of the existence of the buried palace of the caliph, identified the remains he excavated in the citadel as being the remains of this palace. However, later archaeologists accepted this identification although it is based on a wrong understanding of the Aphrodite Papyri.

The testimonies of the tenth-century Muslim geographers identify the Tower itself with the prayer place of King David (Mihrab Dawud), that was mentioned in the Qurʾan, and do not refer to any adjacent fortification.[9] Istakhri writes that "Mihrab Dawud, [is] a building which rises up high and it would appear that its height reaches 50 cubits of stone and its width 30 cubits. At the top is a construction which resembles a room and that is the *mihrab*."[10] Masʾudi, ascribed the tower to the Roman emperor Hadrian, who "has built... a huge tower [*burj*]... And this tower which is called Mihrab Dawud exists to this day [AH 345], and it is attached to the walls of the city… It was [in the past] a massive building consisting of seven stories but the top floors were destroyed." There can be no doubt that both Istakhri and Masʾudi refer to the Herodian tower and not to an adjacent citadel.[11]

The situation was changed during the tenth century. Muqaddasi, who wrote his book several decades after Istakhri and Masʾudi, was the first to mention that the Tower of David was fortified and put to military use, and that a moat was dug to protect it from the east: "Above the city is a fort [*hisn*], one side of which is against the hillside. The other side is defended by a moat."[12] Muqaddasi mentions a "hisn" and a moat, but there is no evidence that the *hisn* is anything more than the well-fortified tower or that an additional "citadel" was added to the "Tower of David." It would appear that the high tower itself is the *hisn* that "rises high above" the city. Combining the testimonies of the tenth-century geographers together, it appears that by the end of the tenth century the tower had several stories, was protected by a moat and was attached directly to the walls. The moat, mentioned here for the first

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[8] See Harold I. Bell, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* (London, 1907), no. 1403, pp. 75–76. Cf. Keppel A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2 (Oxford, 1969), p. 119.

[9] *Qurʿan*, xxxviii. 21–22: "Has the story of the two adversaries reached thee when they ascended over the wall into the upper chamber (*mihrab*), when they went in unto David and he was afraid of them..." The explicit tradition (one of many), which identifies Mihrab Dawud as being next to Jaffa Gate was mentioned for the first time by Ibn al-Murajja, and can be dated at least back to the middle of the eighth century; see Amikam Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship: Holy Places, Ceremonies, Pilgrimage* (Leiden, 1995), pp. 134–35.

[10] Al-Istakhri, *Masalik al-Mamalik*, ed. Michael Jan de Goeje (Leiden, 1927), p. 57.

[11] Al-Masʿudi, *Kitab al Tanbih wa-ʾl-Ishraf*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1894), p. 128.

[12] Al-Muqaddasi, *Ahsan al-Taqasim fi Maʿrifat al-Aqalim*, ed. M.J. De Goeje (Leiden, 1906), p. 167.

time, still exists on the east side of the "Tower of David." It is well protected by the glacis and barbicans that were added to it during the Frankish reign.[13]

The assumption that the Fatimids, who renewed the walls of Jerusalem, built a new citadel next to the Tower of David is not corroborated by the chroniclers of the eleventh century. The famous commentator on the Qurʾan, Ibn al-ʿArabi, who resided in Jerusalem from 1093 to 1095 and provides us with a very detailed description of the tower and its vicinity, is a good example. In his description of the city (written a few years after the Frankish conquest of 1099) he wrote:

> I saw with my own eyes the Mihrab Dawud in Jerusalem. This is a huge building of hard stone, which cannot be destroyed by undermining. The length of the stones is 50 cubits and the width 13 cubits and the higher the building the smaller the stones become… [During the winter] the building is in the clouds and is not visible because of the height of the site on which it is situated and of its own height. It has a small gate and wide steps and in it there are apartments and dwellings, and on the very top there is a mosque. In the minaret there is a window facing west towards Masjid al-Aqsâ.[14]

Like his predecessors, Ibn al-ʿArabi too does not mention a citadel next to the Tower of David. We can therefore conclude that the common assumption that "[an early Muslim fortress] was erected by the order of one of the Umayyad rulers in the late seventh-early eighth centuries CE to help control the still Christian city of Jerusalem" and that "with minor changes, the citadel existed until the Crusader period"[15] is not corroborated by the written evidence.

Early twelfth-century Latin sources also describe the Tower of David as a tower protected by a moat. The Latin authors, however, use the words *turris* (tower) and *arx* (citadel) interchangeably, just as a century earlier Muqaddasi used the words *burj* (tower) and *hisn* (fort). Fulcher of Chartres, for example, in a very clear description of the tower at the time of the First Crusade, writes: "The lower half of the aforementioned Tower of David [is built] very solidly of large square ashlars sealed with cast lead. If well-supplied with food and provisions, it could be defended, against any enemy attack *by fifteen or twenty men*."[16] Fulcher of Chartres was not present at the city at the time of the conquest. He was in Edessa, and his description of the siege is probably based on other chroniclers, but in the case of Tower of David, which he saw before compiling his chronicle, his description is more reliable. There can be no doubt that Fulcher's description should be applied

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[13] Archaeologists did not find evidence of a moat around the "early Muslim citadel." See Sivan, *Tower of David* (n. 4 above), pp. 24–28; Geva, "Excavations" (n. 4 above), p. 71.

[14] Ibn al-ʿArabi, *Ahkam al Qurʾan*, 4 ed. Muhammad al-Bajawi (Beirut, 1972), p. 1598, in his commentary on sura Sad, verse 22.

[15] Geva, "Excavations," p. 70.

[16] "Praedicta quidem Davidis turris, usque ad medietatem sui ab imo, solide massata est et de lapidibus cementata quadris et magnis et plumbo fusili sigillatis; quae si bene munita cibario fuerit, *quindecim homines vel viginti ab omni adsultu hostium defendere poterunt*." Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), pp. 284–85. Emphasis added.

only to the tower itself, whose lower part is solidly built of large ashlars and whose upper section can be effectively defended by such a small contingent of soldiers.

However, Fulcher of Chartres also writes that after the capture of the city by the Franks five hundred of its inhabitants took refuge *in* David's Citadel – "*Arcem Daviticam*."[17] The number of the refugees is modified by the same author in a different paragraph: "*Some* of the others, Arabs as well as Ethiopians, took refuge *in Arcem Daviticam*..."[18] but although in his second reference he describes the Tower of David as a citadel and not just as a tower, he is referring to the same building. His reports contradict one another. The difference between defending a tower and taking refuge in it might solve some of the contradictions. Five hundred refugees could find shelter in a high tower and the same tower could be defended by *fifteen or twenty warriors*. No citadel, however, could be defended by a small garrison of fifteen or twenty men only.

A similar contradiction appears in the chronicle of Raymond of Aguilers, who was more familiar with the events because of his close association with Raymond of St. Gilles, who seized the tower from the Muslims. Raymond, like Fulcher, claims, at the same time, that "*a part* [*aliquanti*] of the survivors escaped to *the Tower of David* [*ad turrem David*]..." and that the Muslims surrendered the "*arx*" to the Franks [*dederunt ei arcem*]. [19]

The confusion occurs again in a description of the dispute between Godfrey of Bouillon and Raymond of St. Gilles over the ownership of the Tower of David. Albert of Aachen does not hint at the existence of anything else but a fortified and protected tower, although he refers to it as to the "*praesidium Turris David*."[20]

A possible solution to the confusion caused by these references to the Tower of David being at the same time a "tower" and a "citadel" is provided by William of Tyre. While describing the Frankish siege on the city in 1099, he writes: "The Tower of David, a fortification built massively, which is like a fort [*quasi praesidium*] of the city." The Tower of David, according to William, was not a *praesidium* nor was it an *arx* but rather a tower that functioned like a fort. Further in the same passage, he writes that Raymond was forced to abandon his camp because it "was dominated by a tower, which rose high above the camp and protected the gate at its foot."[21]

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[17] "Interea Turci et Arabes, nigri quoque Aethiopes quingenti fere, qui in Arcem Daviticam se intromiserant, petierunt a Raimundo Comite, qui prope turrim illam hospitatus erat, ut pecunia eorum in arce ipsa retenta, vivos tantum eos abire permitteret." Fulcher of Chartres, pp. 308–9.

[18] "Tum quidem alii tam Arabes quam Ethiopes, in Arcem Daviticam fugientes se intromiserunt; alii vero in templum Domini atque Salomonis se incluserunt". Fulcher of Chartres, p. 300.

[19] "Repleta itaque cadaveribus et sanguine civitate, confugerunt aliquanti ad turrem David, et poposcerunt a comite Raimundo securitatis dexteram, et dederunt ei arcem." Raymond of Aguilers, *Le "Liber"*, eds. John H. and Laurita L. Hill (Paris, 1969), p. 151. [Emphasis added.]

[20] Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades Historiens occidentaux*, 5 vols (Paris, 1844–95), 4: 532.

[21] William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. Robert B.C. Huygens, Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis, 63–63a (Turnhout, 1986), 9, 3, p. 424; Cf. also William of Tyre, 8, 19, p. 411.

All the chroniclers, Fulcher of Chartres, Raymond of Aguilers, Albert of Aachen, and William of Tyre, describe a tower only but refer to it as to a "citadel." The interchangeable use and the confusion between the terms *arx*, *turris*, and *praesidium* is not limited to the Tower of David. When the city of Tarsus surrendered to Tancred during the First Crusade, it was agreed that his standard would be raised on *top of the chief citadel* as an emblem.[22] Later, Baldwin convinced the townspeople to remove Tancred's standard from the top of *the tower* and put his own standard there instead.[23] This confusion of terms in Tarsus, Jerusalem, and elsewhere is no coincidence and in my opinion testifies to the rarity of urban citadels at the beginning of the twelfth century. The idea, so dear to many students of medieval Jerusalem, that the term "tower" could refer to a complete citadel ignores the fact the urban *arces* were not so common and abundant in the early middle ages.

The Muslim chroniclers of the First Crusade referred to the tower as Mihrab Dawud. Ibn al-Athir, for example, says that "a group" of defenders shut themselves up in Mihrab Dawud and continued to fight for several days.[24]

None of the later descriptions of the Tower of David, at least until the 1160s, mentions any building adjacent to the tower itself. Saewulf (1102), for example, writes that the entrance to the city was from the west, *under* the "Fortress (*arx*) of King David,"[25] but the Russian Abbot Daniel, who visited Jerusalem four years later in the second half of the year 1107, gives a detailed description of a tower, and not of an enclosed area. The tower is undoubtedly the Tower of David or the Herodian tower:

> The Tower of David... is the tower of the holy prophet David and his home was also here. In this tower the prophet David composed and wrote down the Psalter. The tower is very strong and wonderful, very tall, built of red stone. In its interior there is rock, from which a lot of water erupts. Five iron doors open on to this tower and 200 steps go up to it. A lot of wheat is stored in the tower. It is the headpiece of the whole city and well protected against occupation. It is strongly guarded and no one is allowed in. But with

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[22] "vexillum ipsius Tancredi in cacumine magistrae arcis in signum erigeretur" Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 3, iv, p. 343. Cf. Fulcher of Chartres, p. 206. On the confusing use of the term *arx* in the eleventh century, see Jim Bradbury, *The Medieval Siege* (Rochester, 1992), p. 48.

[23] "…et sine mora vexillum Tancredi de culmine turris est amotum et procul a moenibus in loco palustri viliter ejectum; Baldewini vero signum in ejusdem turris apice promotum est." Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 3, ix, p. 345.

[24] Ibn al-Athir, *Al-Kamil fi al-Ta'rikh*, ed. Carl J. Tornberg, 13 vols. (Beirut, 1965), 10: 283. Goitein is of the opinion that the number of refugees, who were allowed to depart was "many tens, perhaps even one hundred." See Shelomo D. Goitein, *Palestine Jewry in Early Islamic and Crusader Times in the Light of the Geniza Documents* (Jerusalem, 1980), p. 234 (Hebrew); see also Ibn al-ʾArabi, *Ahkam al Qur'an* (n. 14 above), 4:1598.

[25] "Introitus civitatis Ierusalem est ad occidentem sub arce David regis, per portam quae vocatur Porta David." *Peregrinationes tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, ed. Robert B.C. Huygens, with a study of the voyages of Saewulf by John H. Pryor, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 139 (Turnholt, 1994), p. 64, lines 170–72.

the help of the Lord I, the insignificant, was inside this holy tower and I took one of my men with me.[26]

In a description of the city written during the early 1130s, the *tower* is mentioned as being "next to David's gate... on our right..., not far from the place where we enter... The Tower of David is on the west side and it towers above the whole city." This description provides conclusive evidence that the reference is not to a fortress but to the Herodian tower: "The tower now called that of David was built by Herod. Titus and Vespasian, when they destroyed the city, left it standing as a symbol of their victory."[27] John of Würzburg, who visited Jerusalem in the 1160s, was also of the opinion that the Tower of David was built by Herod.[28]

Theoderic, who visited the city in 1169, describes the Tower of David along the same lines as earlier writers, although he adds interesting information. He is the first traveller to the city since Muqqadasi to mention the existence of moats and barbicans surrounding it: "The Tower of David, strongly defended by moats and barbicans, is incomparably strong. It is made of squared stones of enormous size. It stands next to the southern gate, from where the road leads to Bethlehem."[29] His most important addition, however, is the reference to a newly built *palatium* of the king, constructed next to the Tower of David: "[The Tower of David]," he writes "was given to the ownership of the king of Jerusalem together with an adjacent *solarium* and a newly built [*noviter edificato*] *palatium*." (see Figs. 2 and 2a)[30] We may conclude, therefore, that in second half of the 1160s a *solarium* (probably an upper room) and a *palatium* (probably a hall) were built in the vicinity of the formerly *moated* and *barbicanned* "Tower of David."

William of Tyre, who refers to the Tower of David as a "*quasi praesidium*" that "towers above the city below," is the only author to mention "towers, walls, and the barbicans" attached to the Tower of David already during the first Crusade. It is not easy to determine whether the Tower served as the city's *quasi praesidium* until the 1170s when he wrote his chronicle, or if a citadel existed there in 1099

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[26] *Itinéraires Russes en Orient*, trans. Soffiia Petronova B. de Khitrowo (Genéve, 1889), p. 17; for a new translation in Hebrew, see Joel Raba, *Russian Travel Accounts on Palestine* (Jerusalem, 1986), pp. 35–36 (Hebrew).

[27] "Ipse idem Herodes turrem que Iherosolimam supereminet, que et turris David dicitur, fabricavit, quam et Iosepho testante Titus et Vespasianus urbe deleta pro signo victore superstitem reliquerunt. Tante turris fabricus ille se ipsum in balneo inenarrabili lassatus egritudine peremit Iherusalem." *Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth et sa description de la Terre Sainte: histoire et édition de text*, ed. Petrus C. Boeren (Amsterdam, Oxford, and New York, 1980), p. 43, cap. 75.

[28] *Peregrinationes Tres*, p. 98, lines 493–95, and see n. 25 above.

[29] The moat and lower barbican still surround the tower to this day.

[30] "Turris David, incomparabili firmitate ex lapidibus quadratis infinite magnitudinis compacta et iuxta portam australem, que versus Bethleem viam dirigit, sita, cum adiacente solario et palatio noviter edificato, fossatis et barbicanis valde munito, in proprietatem cessit regis Iherosolimitani." *Peregrinationes Tres*, p. 146. For the meaning of *solarium*, see Joshua Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), p. 234, nn. 50, 52.

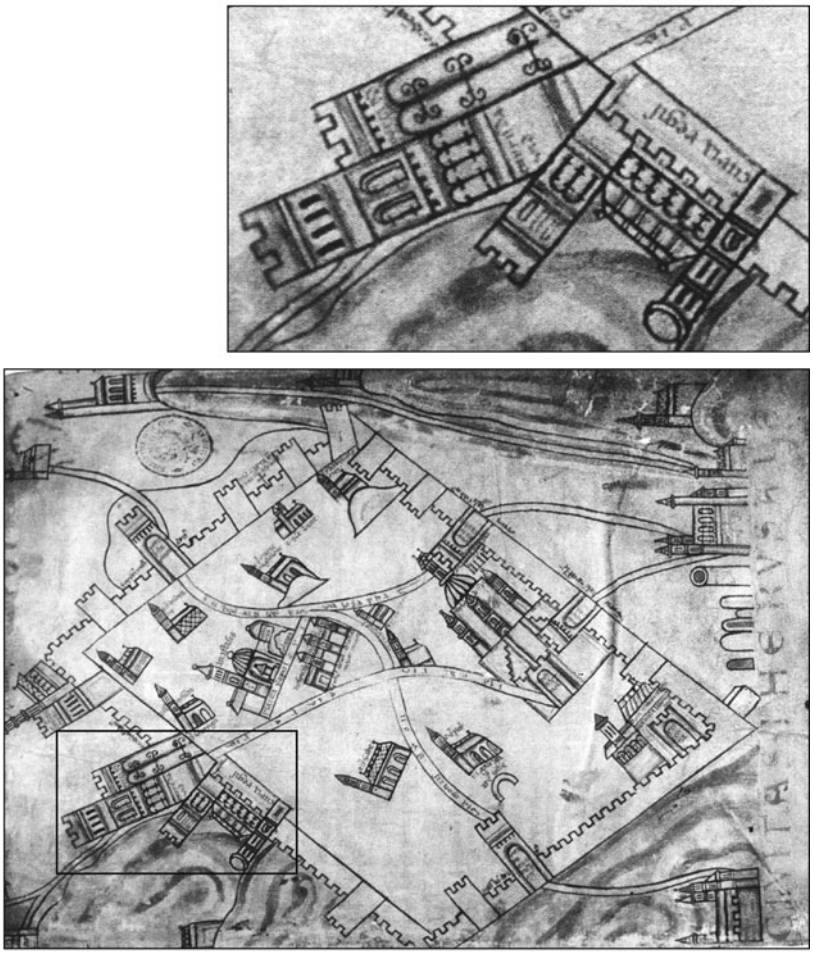

Fig. 2 A 12-century map of Jerusalem, Cambrai. Reproduced courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, MS 466, fol. 1r. with detail of the Tower of David, the Curia Regis and David's gate.

or if a citadel was built there between 1099 and the 1170s.[31] William of Tyre tends to use identical expressions to describe fortifications in other places, where he is possibly using typological formulas,[32] but only a study of later descriptions made by other travellers and chroniclers might disperse the uncertainty over the shape of the Tower of David in the later 1170s.

The Greek traveller Johannes Phocas, who visited Jerusalem in 1185 and indulged in a lengthy discussion about the origin of the Tower of David, did not refer to any addition made to the tower since it was built by Herod. "Next to this tower," he tells us, "there is a gate which leads to the city."[33]

No citadel is mentioned in the Muslim chronicles describing the Ayyubid conquest of the city in 1187, even though these sources elaborate on the history of the city and its fortifications. ʿImad al-Din al-Isfahani writes, for example: "Mihrab Dawud… is a fortified building next to the gate of the city. It was built high at a commanding point and served the governor. The sultan repaired it and installed an Imam, a muʾaddin and guards in it." In 1191, Saladin spent six months repairing the walls of the city, digging a new moat and renovating the towers between Damascus Gate and Jaffa Gate. ʿImad al-Din describes the renovations in detail, but neither he nor any other Muslim chronicler mentions a citadel (*qalʿah*).[34]

At the end of the first decade of the thirteenth century, during the Fifth Crusade, with the Franks threatening to occupy the Egyptian coastal city of Damietta, the Ayyubid rulers, fearing that the whole country would fall into their hands, set out to demolish systematically the fortifications throughout Palestine. Jerusalem was one of the places they ordered to be destroyed. The destruction of the walls of the Holy City is detailed in many Arab and Latin descriptions. They all stress the trauma experienced by the inhabitants of the city and tell how only three buildings were spared destruction: the church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Tower of David, and the Aqsâ Mosque.[35] From a complete description of the havoc recorded by Ibn Wasil, it

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[31] "Non longe ab ea turris David, opere constructa solidissimo, quae quasi praesidium civitatis cum turribus, muris et antemuralibus sibi annexis universae sub se positae praeminet civitati." William of Tyre, 8, 3, p. 385.

[32] W. Giese, "Stadt- und Herrscherbeschreibungen bei Wilhelm von Tyrus," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 34 (1978), 381–409. See also L. Lundgreen, "Das Jerusalem des Wilhelm von Tyrus und die Gegenwart," *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 20 (1909), 973–92.

[33] Iohannes Phocas, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Grecs*., 1, p. 540.

[34] ʿImad al-Din al-Isfahani, *Kitab al-fath al-qussi fiʾl-fath al Qudsi*, ed. M.M. Sahah (Cairo, 1965), p. 145; see also the French translation: Henri Massé, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin*, Documents rélatifs á l'histoire des croisades, 10 (Paris, 1972) p. 565. Bahat, without any documentary support, says: "It is difficult to assume that the citadel itself was not reinforced while the other fortifications of the city were reconstructed." Bahat, "Topography and Toponomy" (n. 3 above), p. 5.

[35] Ibn al-Athir, *Al-Kamil fi al-Taʾrikh* (n. 24 above), 12:327, erroneously dates this event to the autumn of 1219, after the fall of Damietta; see al-Maqrizi, *Suluk* 1–i:204 (fol. 55a), translation in Edgar Blochet, "Histoire d'Egypte," *Revue de l'orient latin* 9 (1902), 483; *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church Known as the History of the Holy Church* (according to Paris, Bibliotheque nationale de France, MS Arabe 302), eds. Oswald H.E. Burmester and Khater Antoine, 4–i (Cairo, 1974), pp. 61–62; Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi, *Mirʾat al-Zaman fi Taʾrikh al-Aʿyan*, facs. ed. by James R. Jewett (Chicago, 1907),

can be learnt that all the towers of Jerusalem were fortified like fortresses and that the Tower of David was a tower like the rest of the towers and not a fortress:

> Then he (al-Malik al-Muʿazzam) began to destroy the towers of Jerusalem and its walls, which were at the height of their strength and power, and Jerusalem stood undestroyed since Saladin rescued her from the Franks. *And every one of her towers was equal to a qalʾah,* and he gathered the stonecutters and the cave diggers and undermined her walls and towers and destroyed them save for the Tower of David, which he left intact.[36]

Ibn Wasil exaggerates in comparing all the towers of the city to fortresses. But as we can see, there is no mention of a separate *qalʾah*.

One of the only two Ayyubid inscriptions found in the citadel refers to the renovation of "the blessed tower." According to Van Berchem, who dated the inscription to 1220, it was transferred from the Tower of David to its present location in the south-western corner of the citadel's mosque when the citadel was built or rebuilt by Muhammad Nasir Ibn Qalaun in the fourteenth century.[37] It could be surmised, therefore, that when the Damascene Sultan al-Muʿazzam renovated the city in 1220 he restored the Tower of David itself and not the alleged citadel.

No other source describing Ayyubid Jerusalem mentions a citadel in Jerusalem: all refer only to the Tower of David.[38] James of Vitry writes: "In the west part (of Jerusalem) is a fortified place, one side of which is the wall of the city, built of square stones joined together with concrete and cast with lead in such a manner that it is virtually impossible to dismantle them and it is called the Tower of David."[39] There is also no hint of the existence of a citadel in sources describing the handing over of Jerusalem to the Franks in 1229.[40]

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p. 395; *L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur*, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades Historiens Occidentaux*, 2:339, 489; see also Abu ʿl-Fidaʾ, *Al-Mukhtasar fi taʾrikh al-bashar* (Istanbul, 1869–70), part III, 2:128.

[36] Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub fi Akhbar Bani Ayyub*, 4, ed. Jamal al-Din Shayyal, ʾAshur Saʾid, and Rabiʾ Hasanayn (Cairo 1953), p. 32.

[37] Van-Berchem, *Matériaux* (n. 4 above), pp. 131–33. The other inscription, excavated by Johns, refers to a renovation carried out approximately in 600/1203 (the date is not clear); but it cannot be established with any certainty from the inscription exactly what renovation it refers to. See Johns, "The Citadel – Jerusalem," p. 170; see also Moshe Sharon, "The Ayyubid Walls of Jerusalem: A New Inscription from the Time of al-Muʾazzam," in Miryam Rosen-Ayalon (ed.), *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet* (Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 179–95; Magen Broshi, "Al-Malek al-Muazzem Isa: Evidence in a New Inscription," *Eretz Israel* 19 (1987), 299–302 (Hebrew).

[38] *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le tresorier*, ed. Marie Louis de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871), p. 192; *Magistri theitmari Peregrinatio*, ed. Johann C.M. Laurent (Hamburg, 1857), cap. ix, p. 26; *Willbrand von Oldenburg*, ed. Johann C.M. Laurent (Hamburg, 1859), p. 26; *Gesta Crucesignatorem Rhenanorum*, ed. Reinhold Röhricht, (Génève, 1882), p. 47.

[39] James of Vitry, *Historia Hierosolimitana*, in *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 2, ed. Jacques Bongars (Hanau, 1611), p. 1079.

[40] Cf. Maqrizi [ed. Blochet], *Revue de l'Orient latin*, 9:525; Abu ʿl-Fidaʾ, *Al-Mukhtasar*, p. 148; *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, 3, ed. Jean-Louis-Alphonse Huillard-Breholles (Paris, 1852), pp. 92, 97.

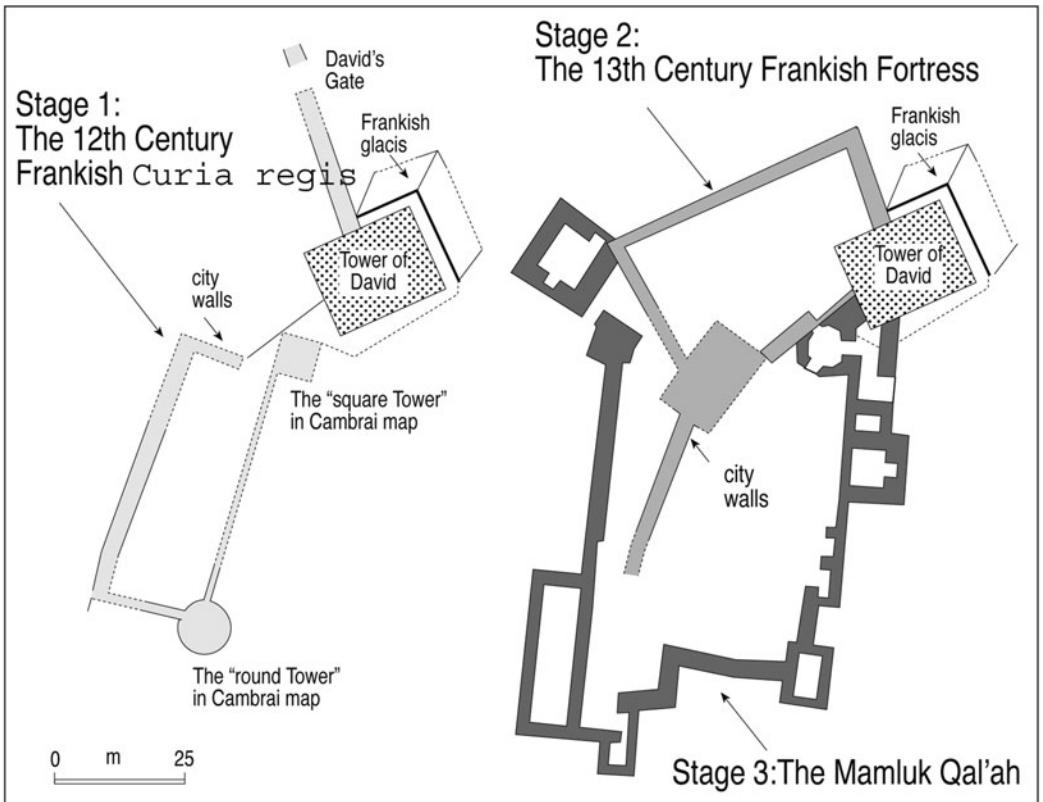

Fig. 3 A possible reconstruction of the development of the Jerusalem Citadel.

Construction of the Citadel of Jerusalem (see Fig. 3 stages 1 and 2)

The first time *a citadel* is mentioned in Jerusalem is during the 1230s when the city was reoccupied by the Franks (1229–39). For the first time, the sources are not ambiguous and practically all of them say explicitly that during the ten years of Frankish rule the Franks constructed a *citadel adjacent* to the Tower of David. The Arabic sources use the word *al-qalʿah* to describe the new monument while the French sources do not hesitate any more between tower and fortress: they clearly refer to the newly built structure as a fortress that was built next to the tower.

Ibn Shaddad al-Halabi, a Muslim geographer and chronicler who was closely connected to the Egyptian court and had access to the royal archives, quotes a letter by al-Malik al-Nasir Dawud to the Caliph al-Mustansir in Baghdad. The letter, written after al-Nasir completed the reconquest of Jerusalem from the Franks, was copied from the original ("then he wrote in his own hand to the Caliph al-Mustansir"). Because the text is couched in flowery language and rhyming prose and includes a long list of preliminary felicitations, as was customary when addressing the caliph, and as it differs from the usual style of Ibn Shaddad, we do not doubt the veracity of Ibn Shaddad's testimony. "One of their barons," wrote al-Malik al-Nasir, "had… built the fortress of the Holy City, during the duration of the treaty, and fortified the fortress and filled it with provisions and weapons of war and peopled it, and he connected it to a tower [*burj*] and its name is the Tower of David, may he rest in peace." The sultan went to the trouble of explaining to the caliph, who was not familiar with the topography of Jerusalem and its fortifications, what the Tower of David was. "It is a huge fort whose bottom floor is constructed as a compact foundation of stone and concrete and chalk. The Franks turned to the fort [*qalʿah*] *and* to the tower [*burj*] after fortifying *them* by coating *them*..." (emphasis added).

Al-Nasir then describes the siege and concludes with the following: "*After your servant had conquered the qalʿah, a group of the cursed fled to the Tower of David*." He clearly distinguishes between the newly built citadel and the ancient tower; in fact the siege of the tower continued for six days after the citadel was taken. (see Fig. 3 stage 1)[41]

Maqrizi confirms Ibn Shaddad's testimony. He writes that in 1239 "during the disputes which divided the Ayyubid princes, *the Franks built a citadel* [*qalʿah*] *in Jerusalem and* designated *Burj Dawud* [the Tower of David] *as one of the towers of this citadel*." He adds, as if to remove all doubt concerning the identity of that very same Burj Dawud: "Burj Dawud was not destroyed when al-Malik al-Muʿazzam ordered the walls of Jerusalem to be destroyed. When al-Malik al-Nasir Dawud heard of the construction of the citadel he turned against Jerusalem."[42]

In the Latin sources too, a citadel that was built next to the Tower of David is first mentioned in the late 1230s. The Rothelin manuscript, which describes the

[41] Ibn Shaddad al-Halabi, *al-Aʿlaq al-khatira fi dhikr umaraʾ al-sham waʾl-jazira*, II, part. 2: *Taʾrikh lubnan, al-urdunn wa-filastin*, ed. Sami Dahhan (Damascus, 1963), pp. 225–30. Emphasis added.

[42] Maqrizi, 1, p. 291 [fol. 75b.].

fall of Jerusalem to al-Malik al-Nasir Dawud in 1239, uses the terms "Tower of David" and the "fortress" side by side for the first time in this context. "When the Tower of David and the fortress (*la Tor David et la fortresce*) were in the hands of the Saracens, they immediately brought their miners and the *tower and the citadel* were taken down and razed to the ground." This detailed description – and the fact that the tower and the fortress are mentioned twice as separate entities – removes all doubt as to the nature of the structure of the city's fortress; it was a citadel, attached to the Tower of David that was built for the first time during the 1230s.[43]

Abu ʾl-Fidaʾ also writes about the existence of a fort in Jerusalem, stating that "he [al-Malik al-Nasir Dawud] destroyed the fort [*qalʿah*] beside the Tower of David."[44] A similar description is given by al-ʿAyni who writes that "at the time when the dispute about which we spoke broke out between the princes, the Franks constructed a citadel in Jerusalem which included amongst its towers that of the Tower of David, of blessed memory."[45]

In short, there appears to be little room for doubt concerning the date of, and the reasons for, the construction of the first phase of the citadel of Jerusalem. The citadel of Jerusalem is therefore another case of modern historians ignoring the Mamluk references to the history of "crusader castles," one that could be added to other castles such as al-Subayba, Karak, Shaubak, and many others that were "Frankisized."

The "Early Muslim Fortress": A Proposed Different Identification

The "newly built" *palatium* of the king, mentioned for the first time by Theoderic in 1169, is also referred to in the medieval map of Jerusalem known as the Cambrai Manuscript. The map, dated by Röhricht to 1150, is of special value for the purpose of a topographical reconstruction of the Frankish city.[46] It is one of the few twelfth-

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[43] *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr dit le Manuscript de Rothelin*, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades HOcc*., 2, cap. xxi, p. 530: "Qaunt li Sarrazin orent la Tor David et la fortresce, il i mistrent tanstost les mineeurz et firent tanstost la tor et la fortresce fonder et agravanter jusques en terre." Janet Shirley, in a recent translation, ignores the wording of the text and translates it as referring to the tower only: "Once the Saracens got possession of the Tower of David, they immediately put their miners into it and had the whole fortress taken down and razed to the ground." See Janet Shirley, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century: The Rothelin Continuation of the History of William of Tyre with part of the Eracles or Acre text* (Aldershot, Brookfield, Singapore, and Sydney, 1999), p. 40.

[44] Abu ʾl-Fidaʾ, p. 173.

[45] al-ʿAyni, Badr al-Din Mahmud b. ʿAli, *ʿIqd al-juman fi taʾrikh ahl al-zaman*, partial edition and translation "Le collier de perles," *Recueil des Hisoriens des Croisades, Historiens orientaux*, 2:1:118.

[46] Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 466, fol. 1r. Reinhold Röhricht, "Karten und Pläne zur Palästinakunde aus dem 7. bis 16. Jahrhundert, II," *Zeitschrift des deutchen Palästina-Vereins* 14 (1891), 87–92; 15 (1892), 34–39, 185–88; 18 (1895), 173–82. For the publication of the plan, see ibid., 14 (1891), 138; Abel, F-M. *Géographie de la Palestine* 2vols. Géographie politique: les villes (Paris, 1938), 2:947; L.H. Heydenreich, "Ein Jerusalem-Plan aud der Zeit der Kreuzfahrer," in *Miscellanea pro Arte: H. Schnizler zur Vollendung des 60. Lebenjahres*, Schriften des pro Arte Medii Aevi, I (Düsseldorf, 1965); Milka Levy, "Medieval Maps of Jerusalem," in Joshua Prawer and Haggai Ben-Shammai

century maps that depict the city in the form of a square and provides topographic details and the relative locations of the various monuments (see Fig. 2).[47] It can be assumed, therefore, that this map was drawn by a draftsman who knew the city better than others. The tower appears in its proper location, in the middle of the western wall of the city, to the south of and very close to David's Gate. Next to the tower to the south appears the Curia Regis (king's palace) that is probably identical with the newly built *palatium* of the king (see Fig. 2a). The eastern flank of the king's palace is depicted as protected by a wall and two towers. The southern of the two towers is round and the other, which is closer to the Tower of David, is square (see Fig. 2a). The wall of the king's palace is drawn at an angle to the Tower of David. Although it might be assumed that the reason for this is ignorance of the rules of perspective and lack of expertise on the part of the draftsman, there would appear to be good reason to believe that here, too, the draftsman was careful to draw a true picture of the existing situation and that the king's palace was in fact built adjacent to the Tower of David and at an angle to it. Theoderic's description, according to which the newly built *palatium* of the king was adjacent to the Tower of David, gives unequivocal support to our assumption that the description appearing on this map is indeed accurate.

That visual depiction is amazingly consistent with the location and form of what Johns labelled an "early Muslim fortress." The round tower is consistent with the location of the round tower on the map and the line of the wall fits the excavated wall that begins from the round tower and heads north, while the position of the square tower should be sought underneath the hexagonal Mamluk building attached to the Tower of David. It would seem that this hexagonal building at the entrance to "David's Tower," for which no explanation has ever been given, is built on the foundations of the square tower protecting the king's *palatium* (Fig. 2a).

The traditional attempts to locate the king's palace in the Armenian Garden[48] or in the courtyard of the police station[49] cannot be reconciled with the evidence provided by both Theoderic and the anonymous draftsman who referred to a palace situated next to the Tower of David. Both locations are too distant to be considered adjacent to the Tower of David,[50] but the "early Muslim fortress" coincides both in shape and location to the remains of the outer wall of the Curia Regis or to the king's *palatium*.

(eds.), *The History of Jerusalem: Crusaders and Ayyubids (1099–1250)* (Jerusalem, 1991), pp. 425–33 (Hebrew); Rudolf Simek, "Hierusalem civitas famosissima," *Codices Manuscripti* 12 (1992), 121–51; Rehav Rubin, *Image and Reality: Jerusalem in Maps and Views* (Jerusalem, 1999), pp. 26, 32–33.

47 Note, for instance, the depiction of the Mount of Olives, the existence of hills in the north-eastern quarter of the city, and the comparatively accurate location of the cross, indicating the point at which the Frankish armies forced their way into the city in 1099.

48 Dan Bahat and Magen Broshi, "Excavations in the Armenian Gardens," *Qadmoniot* 5 (1972), p. 103 (Hebrew).

49 Bahat, "Topography and Toponomy" (n. 3 above), p. 10, n. 1.

50 "Turris David, ... cum *adiacente* solario et palatio noviter edificato, ..." *Peregrinationes Tres*, p. 146.

The archaeological arguments provided by Johns and Geva are not sufficient to support their claim that the remains are actually those of an early Muslim fortress. The stratigraphic context of the "Early Islamic" pottery is not clear. They were not able to identify any floors and the pottery was actually "collected from cisterns that were dug in the Roman foundations." The only ʿAbbasid gold coin (dated 819/820 CE) was found outside the line of the fortifications and not in a stratigraphic context.[51] Moreover, Johns dated the pottery to the later days of the "Early Muslim" period and the fortress, he maintained, existed "almost till the beginning of the Crusader Period."[52] His successors, however, date the same pottery to the earlier centuries of the Muslim period, although there is no archaeological evidence for the existence of a structure there prior to the ninth century.

As the "indicative" pottery was found in an unclear stratigraphic context, without floor levels that would testify conclusively to their age, Johns' and Geva's dating of the round tower to the Early Muslim period still calls for additional evidence, from an archaeological viewpoint. Johns maintained also that the very existence of round towers testified to "Early Muslim architecture." It is sufficient to note that round towers existed in the fortress of Arsuf in order to rebut the argument that round towers were exclusively Muslim.

To sum up: From an analysis of the historical sources it is clear that until the first half of the twelfth century the Herodian tower better known as "the Tower of David" was used as the main fortification of the city. The Franks maintained the governmental role of the tower, housed there a "castellan," and built the king's palace next to it during the late 1160s. Apparently, the Frankish population of the city did not feel the need to construct such a castle within the city. The situation was changed and an urban fortress built during the second Frankish occupation of Jerusalem in the 1230s. The destruction of the walls of Jerusalem during the reign of al-Malik al-Muʾazzam had left the city unprotected and the thirteenth-century Frankish rulers felt the need to protect it by the addition of a citadel. The Frankish citadel was destroyed during the Muslim conquest of the city in 1239 and was rebuilt in its present form by the Mamluk governor of Jerusalem during the reign of Muhammad Nasir Ibn Qalaun.

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[51] Geva, "Excavations" (n. 4 above), pp. 69–70.

[52] Johns, "The Citadel – Jerusalem," pp. 161–62.

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Dialogo di Due Intellettuali Intorno a Gerusalemme (sec. XIII ex.)

Gabriella Airaldi

"Ciò che è consegnato solo alla memoria, con il passare del tempo viene facilmente dimenticato; perciò i filosofi e i sapienti del tempo antico hanno messo per iscritto le cose che consideravano utili ai posteri. Ma poiché nella cronaca del comune di Genova, composta da Caffaro, nobile cittadino genovese, nulla si rinviene sulla conquista di Gerusalemme, Antiochia, Tripoli e di molte altre città dell'Oriente, alle quali presero parte più e più volte uomini di Genova con grande quantità di galee, di navi e di guerrieri e io, Jacopo Doria, consultando attentamente le scritture e i libri del defunto *dominus* Oberto Doria, mio nonno paterno, che certo conobbe perfettamente le cose antiche di questa città, trovata nei suoi scrigni un'antica scrittura stesa dal ricordato Caffaro, che conteneva la presa di Gerusalemme e di molte altre città, ne ho fatto trascrivere l'originale in questo libro, senza aggiungere né togliere nulla, affinché quelle gesta siano qui manifeste a chi leggerà."[1]

L'autore di queste parole, Jacopo Doria, discendente di un'antica e potente casata, amica di imperatori, signora di terre in Liguria e in Sardegna, stirpe di marinai e di ammiragli, di consoli e di capitani del popolo, di guerrieri e mercanti sparsi dall'Europa al Mar Nero, é un attento esegeta delle vicende genovesi e uno dei due intellettuali più importanti in città alla fine del Duecento.[2] L'altro, – l'arcivescovo Jacopo da Varagine – è un domenicano illustre e famoso per i suoi scritti.[3] Pressoché coetanei (il Doria nasce nel '34; il da Varagine tra il '26 e il '30), i due hanno trascorso la loro gioventù in modi completamente diversi. Il primo, diplomatico e guerriero che non disdegna d'impegnarsi in attività di commercio tra Tunisi e Laiazzo, legato allo schieramento filoimperiale della famiglia, ne ha vissuto peripezie e glorie fino al momento in cui la sua stirpe – la più importante del tempo – ha riacquistato completamente il potere, acquisendo, dal 1270 e fino alla fine del secolo, un "capitanato del popolo" condiviso con un'altra fiera gente ghibellina – gli Spinola. Insieme le due famiglie hanno guidato le sorti genovesi, e cioé in quel momento le sorti del mondo. Per la verità erano stati anni di fuoco.

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[1] Cfr. Iacobi Aurie, *Annales*, in *Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori*, a cura di L.T. Belgrano – C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, 11–14 bis (Roma, 1890–1919), V, pp. 3–176. Per le operette relative: Cafari, *De liberatione civitatum Orientis liber*, in *Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori*, a cura di L.T. Belgrano e – C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, 11–14 bis (Roma, 1890–1919), I, pp. 98–124; *Regni Hyerosolimitani brevis istoria*, ibid., pp. 127–48. Per gli aspetti generali: C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, *Jacopo d'Oria e i suoi* (Venezia, 1930); R.S. Lopez, *Benedetto Zaccaria ammiraglio e mercante nella Genova del Duecento* (Messina-Milano, 1933).

[2] P. Lingua, *I Doria a Genova* (Roma, 1994), pp. 71–82.

[3] G. Airaldi, *Jacopo da Varagine tra santi e mercanti* (Milano, 1988).

L'apoteosi angioina e l'azione del regno di Francia, con le loro opzioni mediterranee e complementari sul Regno siciliano, verso Bisanzio e verso Gerusalemme; con le loro strette relazioni con il papato di Roma e più ancora con il grande clan dei Fieschi, sostenuto dagli alleati Grimaldi, avevano reso più difficile, ma mai ostacolato l'intensa operatività economica genovese, che dopo il trattato del Ninfeo del 1261, aveva annodato i capi estremi delle rotte tra il Mar Nero e le Fiandre. Anche in vista di soluzioni alternative al franare delle colonie mediorientali, i genovesi avevano rafforzato il loro impegno nella ricerca di vie alternative verso l'Oriente. C'erano tuttavia anche altri problemi. Utile nel bilanciare la prepotenza angioina, come avevano dimostrato i Vespri siciliani del 1282, la Corona catalano-aragonese aveva ormai svelato la sua pericolosità ed era prossima allo scontro diretto con Genova. Continuava senza soste l'urto secolare con Pisa e con Venezia; anche se, nell'uno e nell'altro caso, prima la battaglia della Meloria (1284) e più tardi quella di Curzola (1298) avrebbero segnato qualche punto a favore di Genova. C'era, infine – forse più pesante di tutto il resto – la guerriglia cittadina, in parte fomentata dall'interno e in parte alimentata dall'esterno, dato che la scomparsa di Carlo d'Angiò nel 1285 non l'aveva comunque frenata.

Jacopo da Varagine, appartenente ad una famiglia legata allo schieramento opposto a quello del Doria, aveva vissuto a lungo lontano da Genova, impegnato in compiti e funzioni che ne avevano preparato l'ascesa nell'Ordine domenicano fino a consentirgli di raggiungere prima la carica di priore della grande provincia "lombarda", che si estendeva a tutta l' Italia settentrionale e poi, dal 1283 al 1285, quella di rettore dell'Ordine. Dopo aver viaggiato in Europa e in Italia, rientrato a Genova, aveva assistito alle turbolenze di una città ancora colpita dalla scomunica per la sua scelta antiangioina, travagliata perfino da una congiura, patrocinata se non aizzata dal vicario apostolico Opizzo Fieschi nel gennaio dell'89. Erano quelli gli anni in cui si consumava definitivamente il destino delle colonie oltremarine. Nel 1289 era caduta Tripoli, nel 1291 anche Acri era perduta. Pur guardando sempre più verso Occidente, i genovesi avevano consolidato la loro presenza tra Cipro e il Mar Nero e stretto un'intesa con l'Egitto. L'abbandono di Acri – ultimo brandello dell'antico Regno gerosolimitano – aveva comunque segnato un punto di non ritorno. L'anno seguente Jacopo da Varagine, tra i possibili candidati alla cattedra arcivescovile già nel 1288, era diventato arcivescovo di Genova.

Grazie alla storia della sua famiglia, così legata all'espansione, Jacopo Doria era perfettamente consapevole che buona parte dei successi dei più antichi e potenti ceppi familiari genovesi aveva le sue radici nella vicenda oltremarina; lo aveva dimostrato per primo Caffaro, facendo principiare i suoi "Annali" dalla presa di Cesarea – tappa[4] essenziale dell'affermazione del monopolio genovese in quelle zone. Ora, di fronte alle tristi vicende oltremarine, ancora una volta qualche voce si alzava a sostegno di una nuova "crociata". Il Doria però non faceva parte di quel

[4] G. Airaldi, "Memoria e memorie di un cavaliere: Caffaro di Genova", *Crusades*, 2 (2003), 25–40; *Blu come il mare: Guglielmo e la saga degli Embriaci*, Genova, 2006.

gruppo. Fratello di Oberto Doria – vincitore alla Meloria e capitano del popolo insieme con Oberto Spinola – e di Lamba, destinato a trionfare a Curzola, dagli anni Settanta (con altri) e poi, dal 1280, da solo, Jacopo si era dedicato alla storia, occupandosi della stesura degli "Annali" ufficiali, operazione che certamente era resa più facile dal fatto che gli era stata affidata anche la cura dell'archivio del Comune. Ma l'annalista Jacopo Doria era qualcosa di più che un semplice raccoglitore di patrie memorie e di preziosi documenti. Era, invece, un, appassionato e attento "costruttore" della memoria. Due erano le vere passioni del Doria, a prima vista difficili da distinguere tra loro tanto egli stesso le confondeva, sovrapponendole e facendone un nodo inestricabile: l'amore per Genova e quello per la sua famiglia. Ma, nonostante le ardenti espressioni per la sua città, poste all'esordio e in calce agli *Annali*, di fatto la sua devozione è completamente consacrata alla grande famiglia alla quale appartiene. Non c'è pagina della sua storia, infatti, in cui non compaia il nome di un Doria. I Doria sono dappertutto, sulla terra e sul mare. Protagonisti di ogni decisione, ne vivono in prima persona le conseguenze, nel bene e nel male. C' è un Doria a governare la Genova ghibellina di fine secolo; ma c'è pur sempre un Doria a capo della seconda flotta crociata di Luigi IX. Innumerevoli poi sono i Doria presenti alla Meloria e a Curzola; molti sono i Doria posti a controllo delle Riviere, della riottosa e difficile Corsica, della lontana – ma essenziale Caffa. Grande parte del traffico mercantile avviene sulle loro galee, pronte a trasformarsi in vascelli guerrieri contro i pirati o ad operare esse stesse *more piratico* contro Pisani, Veneziani, Catalani. Appartengono ai Doria le case all'origine del primo palazzo pubblico.

E' vero dunque che, tra tutti gli "annalisti" genovesi, Jacopo è l'unico ad essere in tutto e per tutto omologo a Caffaro. Il primo storico di Genova aveva costruito il mito delle origini sulla figura di Guglielmo Embriaco – patriarca genovese di una famiglia-simbolo del sistema genovese al di qua e al di là del mare. Ora le cose erano cambiate: gli Embriaci – un tempo alleati – da molto tempo erano schierati sull'altro versante. I Doria, invece, dopo aver difeso accanitamente e tra molti travagli il loro ruolo, erano ormai dinastia dominante e Jacopo era il loro cantore, l' aedo di un famiglia- simbolo. La sua, che, rispettando l'antico modello e mai inclinando a tentazioni monocratiche, nella proposta diarchica dei capitani del popolo Doria e Spinola, aveva innovato senza innovare. La storia di Genova continuava ad essere la storia dei genovesi; quella dei grandi gruppi familiari che avevano intrecciato i loro destini e le loro fortune con quelli del Comune. Anche per Jacopo Doria – come già era capitato a Caffaro – la celebrazione non poteva dunque che essere univoca.

Jacopo dedica largo spazio alle vicende ultime dell'Oltremare. La sua collocazione familiare gli mette a disposizione una bella biblioteca (*scripturas et libros aevi mei*); ha curiosità antiquarie; ama i documenti, li raccoglie con pazienza, li allinea esaminandone le coerenze, ricreando preziose genealogie, che costellano i margini del *Liber iurium* da lui curato. Ha mente lucida e cultura notevole. Non sembra però uomo incline a nostalgie di alcun tipo, soprattutto quando si tratti di

esperienze concluse. Come esponente del ceto dirigente di una città governata da uomini d'affari, è naturalmente portato o obbligato a guardare avanti. Celebra le capacità di Benedetto Zaccaria quando si tratti di vittorie alla Meloria o a Tarifa; ma il tono diventa freddo quando lo Zaccaria insiste nel voler contrapporsi al destino dell'ormai perente Tripoli; né si dilunga troppo sulla fine di Acri, pur segnalando il grande cruccio del papa e dei cardinali, dei re e dei baroni.

In realtà, tra tutte le notizie registrate, ce n'è una che – già da sola – chiarisce bene in quale direzione stiano muovendosi gli interessi genovesi. Da tempo alcuni gruppi familiari operavano in area iberica, particolarmente in Andalusia e Portogallo. Nel 1291 – scrive Jacopo – Tedisio Doria, Ugolino e Vadino Vivaldi, con altri genovesi misero a punto un viaggio, che nessuno prima aveva osato affrontare. Armarono dunque due galee, le rifornirono di vettovaglie, acqua e tutto ciò che era necessario e con quelle – nel mese di maggio – si diressero verso lo stretto di Ceuta, per navigare – attraverso il mare Oceano – *ad partes Indie* e riportarne utili mercanzie. In quelle galee s'imbarcarono, infine, i due fratelli Vivaldi insieme a due frati minori; ciò colpì profondamente sia chi era presente sia chi ne udì solo parlare. Ma appena ebbero oltrepassato il luogo chiamato Gozora (e cioè pressappoco all'altezza delle Canarie), se ne perse notizia.[5] È impossibile non cogliere la contemporaneità degli eventi. Strana coincidenza: nel mese di maggio cadeva Acri e quasi nello stesso momento si decideva di partire, affrontando un'altra, rischiosa via per arrivare in Oriente, evidentemente passando per l' Occidente. Jacopo non parla nè qui nè altrove di crociata; segnala invece la decisione di partire per un viaggio di esplorazione che ha per sua finalità esplicita il mercato. Anche se raccoglie con rispetto e con cura tutte le antiche memorie relative al grande passato genovese, declinato sul fondamentale contributo alla presa dei Gerusalemme e alla costruzione del regno gerosolimitano; anche se è uomo devoto e lo sottolinea, per Jacopo Doria la storia è solo "il cammino dell'uomo nel mondo". Il repechage delle vecchie testimonianze fa parte dunque soltanto dello scrupolo dello storico, impegnato a celebrare la sua città; il politico invece sembra volgere il suo sguardo ormai altrove.

Altri però sono assai meno tiepidi. Non solo non desistono dal tentare di rovesciare la diarchia, in compagnia dell'accanito vicario apostolico Opizzo Fieschi, sostenitore se non fomentatore di congiure; ma sono seriamente intenzionati a sostenere eventuali progetti di crociata, in buona armonia con gran parte delle genti occidentali, il regno di Francia e Venezia in primis, e in costante riferimento ai khanati mongoli. Tra i molti che a Genova si adoprano in tal senso, da Buscarello Ghisolfi a Galvano di Levanto (che stende il suo *De recuperatione Terresancte*

[5] Sui caratteri del viaggio compiuto da Ugolino e Vadino Vivaldi con le galee "Allegranza" e "Sant'Antonio", armate da Tedisio Doria cfr. B.Z. Kedar, *Merchants in crisis: Genovese and Venetian men of Affaire and the Fourteenth Century Depression* (New Haven and London 1976), pp. 174–77.

dedicandolo a Filippo IV il Bello), c' è ovviamente anche l'"alter ego" di Jacopo Doria, l'arcivescovo Jacopo da Varagine.[6]

L'altro Jacopo è un uomo di chiesa, un domenicano energico, cresciuto nella fase costruttiva dell'ordine al quale appartiene. Ben formato negli studi e nella conoscenza del mondo, quando diventa finalmente –dopo varie vicissitudini- arcivescovo di Genova – dal 1292 al 1298 (sei anni vissuti intensamente), ha già steso la famosa *Legenda aurea*. Diventa il presule di uno dei centri politici ed economici più importanti del mondo proprio negli anni conclusivi della crisi mediorientale. Tocca inevitabilmente a lui il ruolo di contrappunto alla voce "laica" del Doria.

Anche Jacopo da Varagine dedica a Genova una storia. Ma la sua *Chronica* è assai diversa dagli *Annali* del Doria, con i quali ha un solo elemento in comune: celebrare la città e le sue glorie.[7] Per adempiere al suo scopo, tuttavia, il da Varagine usa strumenti del tutto diversi da quelli usati dal Doria, decidendo di far vibrare altre corde, d'altronde ben dichiarate all'interno della complessa impalcatura, nella quale costringe il suo racconto. Per lui la storia della città va inserita nel disegno provvidenziale, che guida il cammino dell'uomo nel mondo. Perciò l'itinerario di Genova, destinata a diventare "capitale della cristianità", comincia fin da tempi lontanissimi, dipanandosi in scansioni sicure e progressive fino all'attualità. Pure l'arcivescovo conosce bene le questioni politiche ed economiche; sa che esistono le lotte di fazione e i problemi nel Mediterraneo occidentale e orientale; che non è facile recuperare ciò che si è forse definitivamente perduto. Ma per lui il nome di Gerusalemme non è soltanto l' alto simbolo di una storia gloriosa, seppur tramontata. Per Jacopo da Varagine, Gerusalemme è e resta la città del Santo Sepolcro. Guerrieri-mercanti senza paura, sempre pronti a battersi gloriosamente contro l'Impero, contro Pisa e contro Venezia, i genovesi, proprio combattendo nella prima crociata come "cavalieri di Dio" e liberando Gerusalemme, hanno consentito alla loro città di raggiungere lo *status perfectionis*, che rappresenta la tappa definitiva della sua crescita e dei suoi successi. Una vicenda cominciata in tempi lontani, cresciuta con la conversione al Cristianesimo, celebrata nell'antico, ma sempre vivo ruolo antisaraceno, sancita dalla crociata, culminata, infine, nell'erezione in sede arcivescovile. Per il pio domenicano, dunque quel che ha scritto Caffaro è prezioso, e ciò che si recupera non é solo testimonianza dei successi genovesi o nostalgica riflessione sul passato. E' soprattutto prova di una perfetta identità cristiana, che é tutt'uno con l' identità genovese. Uomo di pace in patria, Jacopo lo è assai meno quando il suo sguardo si volge al mondo. Nelle dodici parti della sua opera, – un vero manuale di teologia politica comunale – domina la celebrazione della città come sede privilegiata di realizzazione del "bonum commune"; dove mercanti-guerrieri che sono perfetti cristiani, sanno essere anche buoni cittadini. Ecco dunque tornare un appropriato recupero del passato. Splende di nuovo l'astro

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[6] G. Airaldi, *Guerrieri e mercanti* (Torino, 2004), pp. 55–105.

[7] *Iacopo da Varagine e la sua cronaca di Genova dalle origini al MCCXCVII*, a cura di G. Monleone, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, 84–86 (Roma, 1941).

di Guglielmo Embriaco, celebrato da Caffaro come conquistatore di Cesarea e ora – proprio secondo la *Lyberatio* ritrovata da Jacopo Doria – anche come eroe nella presa di Gerusalemme. E d'altra parte non è forse vero che ancora in quel momento i suoi discendenti – unici tra tutti gli Occidentali – tengono ancora Gibelletto? Nulla regge il confronto con l'eroe per eccellenza della storia genovese. E su di lui, primo nella storiografia locale, Jacopo compie un'operazione ardita, legando al suo nome il recupero del "sacro catino", qui presentato – sia pure tra molte prudenze – come un possibile "graal". Caffaro non ne aveva parlato; ne aveva invece trattato-nella storia dedicata all'Oltremare, l'arcivescovo Guglielmo di Tiro; e, tra il 1287 e l'88, lo aveva visitato anche il monaco nestoriano Rabban Sauma, in viaggio diplomatico verso le monarchie europee.[8] Ma non basta. Nell' opera di ricostruzione della memoria, che vuole essere un richiamo ai suoi "cavalieri di Dio", Jacopo recupera anche la storia delle più importanti reliquie genovesi; spiccano tra esse le ceneri di San Giovanni, legate alle prime vicende oltremarine, alle quali l'arcivescovo dedica pure un' apposita operetta.[9] Il passato dunque non è solo aristocrazia delle origini, memoria di glorie perdute, nostalgia. Per il tenace e battagliero arcivescovo esso è invece gloria viva; in qualche misura – ma non ci è dato sapere fino a che punto – é stimolo e sostegno a scelte di guerra "giusta", come Jacopo stesso scrive.[10]

Ma la storia segue il suo corso. Nell'anno che precede la sua morte, l'arcivescovo dovrà addirittura giungere a interporre la sua persona tra chi contende per il potere, nel tentativo di dirimere le fiere lotte che si sono riaccese in città. L'altro Jacopo aveva chiuso le sue battaglie intellettuali ben prima di lui; quando, adducendo ragioni di età e cattiva salute, aveva concluso e presentato ufficialmente i suoi *Annali*. Suo fratello Oberto si era appena ritirato a vita privata, lasciando al figlio Corrado il compito di condurre a termine il mandato. Fosche nubi si stanno addensando su Genova; e la riconquista di Gerusalemme appare di nuovo lontana.

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[8] G. Airaldi, *Guerrieri* cit., pp 19–36.

[9] Iacobi de Varagine, *Legenda translationis beatissimi Joannis Baptistae*. Cfr. L.T. Belgrano, «Due opuscoli di Jacopo da Varagine trascritti dal socio Amedeo Vigna», X (1876), 56–87.

[10] Su questo tema B.Z. Kedar, *Crusades and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton, 1984).

Mongol Provincial Administration: Syria in 1260 as a Case-study[1]

Reuven Amitai

> When Hülegü finished with [the conquest of] Aleppo, he appointed a commissioner over it (*shaḥḥana ʿalayhā*), and scattered governors (*nuwwāb*) in Syria.
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> – Baybars al-Manṣūrī[2]

The Mongol invasion of Syria in 1260 has received a fair amount of attention in scholarly writing[3] and even some popular treatment.[4] Beginning with the siege and taking of Aleppo in January and February of that year, it led to the Mongol occupation of most of the country within a short period, and then culminated in the battle of ʿAyn Jālūt in northern Palestine on 3 September 1260. The results of this battle were the complete defeat of the Mongols by the Mamluk and subsequently the Mongol withdrawal from the country. This in turn permitted the Mamluk

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[1] Much of the research and writing of this paper was done while I was a visiting researcher at the Seminar für Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft Zentralasians at the Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn in November 2004; I would like here to express my gratitude to the Seminar's director and staff. Earlier versions of this paper were first read at a meeting of the Sonderforschung Bereich "Differenz und Integration," at the Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 26 November 2004, and the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society, Philadelphia, USA, 18 March 2005. I would like to thank my colleague Dr. Michal Biran for reading a draft, and making some useful and perceptive comments.

[2] Baybars al-Manṣūrī al-Dawādārī, *Zubdat al-fikra fī taʾrīkh al-hijra*, ed. Donald S. Richards (Beirut, 1998), p. 49. The verb *shaḥḥana ʿalā* means "to appoint a *shaḥna* over." See below for a discussion of this term.

[3] See, for example, John Andrew Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History of the Īl-Khāns," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5: ed. J.A. Boyle (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 350–52 ; R. Stephen Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols: The Ayyubids of Damascus 1192–1260* (Albany, 1977), pp. 333–63; Joshua Prawer, *Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, trans. G. Nahon (rpt. of 2nd ed., Paris, 2001), 2:421–36; Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War 1260–1281* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 26–35 ; idem, "ʿAyn Jālūt Revisited," *Tārīḫ* (Philadelphia), 2 (1992), 119–150; Reuven Amitai, "Mongol Raids into Palestine (A.D. 1260 and 1300)," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1987), 236–255; Peter Thorau, "The Battle of ʿAyn Jālūt: A Re-examination," in Peter Edbury (ed.), *Crusade and Settlement* (Cardiff, 1986), pp. 36–41; John M. Smith, Jr., "ʿAyn ʿJālūt: Mamlūk Success or Mongol Failure," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 44 (1984), pp. 307–44; Bernard Lewis, "ʿAyn D̲jālūt," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 1:786; Dominique Sourdel, "Bohémond et les chrétiens à Damas sous l'occupation mongole," in Michel Balard, Benjamin Z. Kedar and Jonathan Riley-Smith (eds), *Dei gesta per Francos: Etudes sure les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard/Crusade Studies in Honour of Jean Richard* (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 295–99; Anne-Marie Eddé, "La prise d'Alep par les Mongols en 658/1260," *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, 5–6 (1987–88), 226–40.

[4] For example, the 1961 Egyptian movie, *Wā-islāmāh*, and the 1993 BBC documentary *Storm from the East*, which devoted much of one episode to the Syrian campaign of 1260. This book spawned a very good and well-illustrated book for the general public, edited by Robert Marshall, *Storm from the East: From Genghis Khan to Khubilai Khan* (London, 1993). The Mongol invasion of Syria is treated on pp. 181–93, but I would note that the presentation of ʿAyn Jālūt is at variance with my understanding of the conduct of this battle.

occupation over the country and the establishment of their rule up to the Euphrates River, which became the more-or-less clear border between the two powers, which continued in a state of war for the next sixty odd years.[5]

While there are several studies on the political and military aspects of seven odd months of Mongol occupation over most of Greater Syria (with the exception of the crusader territories along the coast), one facet that has never really been examined in any detail is the structure of local Mongol administration in the country. This could well be a useful exercise, and not just for exploring the history of *bilād al-shām*, its fate under the Mongols this year, or its transition from Ayyūbid to Mamluk rule, because it might well contribute – not only in a small way – to our understanding of provincial administration under the Mongols in the area that became known as the Ilkhanate.

There has been a fair degree of research into Mongol provincial administration in western Asia, both in the imperial period and the successor states (Golden Horde, Ilkhanate and Chaghataid Khanate), but due to the uneven nature of the sources much of the resulting discussion has remained of a general nature with occasional examples given from various areas.[6] While we have the detailed and enlightening study of Kirmān and Fārs by Prof. Lambton, who exploited some local (or locally oriented) sources to their fullest, for much of the Mongol-controlled Muslim countries, the picture is less complete.[7] On the whole, it has been difficult to go further than the major cities and get beyond the main representatives of Mongol

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[5] See Reuven Amitai-Preiss, "Northern Syria between the Mongols and Mamluks: Political Boundary, Military Frontier and Ethnic Affinity," in *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands c. 700–1700*, ed. Daniel Power and Naomi Standen (London, 1999), pp. 128–52; Reuven Amitai, "The Resolution of the Mongol-Mamluk War," in *Mongols, Turks and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World*, ed. Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran (Leiden, 2005), pp. 359–90.

[6] For the Ilkhanate, see: A.K.S. Lambton, *Continuity and Change in Medieval Persia* (New York, 1988), pp. 50–51, 205; *idem*, "Mongol Fiscal Administration in Persia," *Studia Islamica*, 64 (1986), 79–99 (esp. 80, note 2) and 65 (1987), 97–123; Bertold Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran: Politik, Verwaltung und Kultur der Ilchanzeit 1220–1350*, 4th ed. (Leiden, 1985), pp. 282–97 (see pp. 296–97 for a cursory discussion of the local government of Syria in 1260). For the Golden Horde, see: B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde: Mongolen in Rußland, 1223–1502* (Leipzig, 1943), pp. 300–16; Donald Ostrowski, *Muscovy and the Mongols: Cross-cultural Influences on the Steppe Frontier, 1304–1589* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 36–46; idem, "The *tamma* and the Dual-administrative Structure of the Mongol Empire," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 61 (1998), 262–77; in both these studies the matter of the administration of the larger Mongol empire is also taken up. For the Chaghadaids in Central Asia, see: Michal Biran, *Qaidu and the Rise of the Independent Mongol State in Central Asia* (London, 1997), pp. 97–101. For Mongol China, see: Elizabeth Endicott-West, *Mongolian Rule in China: Local Administration in the Yuan Dynasty* (Cambridge, MA, 1989). For a general discussion, see: David Morgan, *The Mongols* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 108–9.

[7] See Lambton, "Mongol Fiscal Administration in Persia," mentioned in the previous note. There is also much information about aspects of local administration in George Lane, *Early Mongol Rule in Thirteenth-Century Iran: A Persian Renaissance* (London, 2003), in chapter 5, "The Provinces," where Kirmān and Fārs, as well as Herat, are discussed. It is interesting to note that these studies deal with areas that were on the periphery of Ilkhanid rule, where Mongol authority was relatively indirect. To my mind, the "heartland" of the Ilkhanate has yet to receive a systemic treatment of local administration.

might, variously known as *shaḥna* (more properly *shiḥna*, in Arabic and Persian),[8] *nāʾib* (Arabic),[9] *basqaq* (Turkish),[10] and *darugha* or *darughchi*[11] (Mongolian); the last title is hardly used at all under the Ilkhanids. Paradoxically perhaps, Syria in 1260 may present the possibility of a relatively thorough investigation, even though the Mongols occupied the country for a short period. We have at our disposal relatively thorough and systematic information on various Mongol officials and their local collaborators, as well as some indication of their responsibilities. The extremely rich late Ayyūbid and early Mamluk sources paid much attention to the Mongol occupation of this year, providing many details regarding the names and activities of Mongol governors and other administrators, as well as important local collaborators.[12] At the same time, the main pro-Mongol source for the early

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[8] For the term in general, and the vocalization of *shaḥna* in Persian, see Edward W. Lane, *An Arabic–English Lexicon* (London, 1863–93; rpt. Cambridge, 1984), 2:1514b; Francis Steingass, *A Persian–English Dictionary* (London, 1892), p. 736b. In this paper, I have preferred the form *shaḥna* over the more correct *shiḥna*, as the former was probably more current with the mainly Persian-speaking bureaucrats working for the Mongols. For the institution of the *shaḥna* under the Seljuqs, see A.K.S. Lambton, "The Internal Structure of the Saljuq Empire," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5: *The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, ed. John Andrew Boyle (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 213, 244–46. For the Ilkhanate, see Lambton, "Mongol Fiscal Administration in Persia," 80, n. 2; *idem*, "Shiḥna," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 9:437–438 (with also a discussion of this term for the Saljuq period), where it is written: "In the sources for the Mongol invasions and the Il-Khānate, there is a lack of precision in the use of the term *shiḥna*."

[9] While *nāʾib* (pl. *nawwāb*) literally meaning deputy or *locum tenens*, in late medieval Syria and Egypt (and certainly elsewhere) it was also used in the strict sense of "governor," in other words the deputy of the ruler in a particular location or region. Thus it was certainly understood under the Ayyūbids and Mamluks (see Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, pp. 49–50; Peter M. Holt, "The Structure of Government in the Mamluk Sultanate," in P.M. Holt [ed.], *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades* [Warminister, 1977], p. 530). Whether in the present context, Mongol controlled Syria, it expressed the usage of the Mongols and their representatives or was rather merely a local term applied by Arabic sources to the Mongol commanders, commissioners or other representatives is not completely clear, although the Mongolian–Arabic document referred to below uses *nāʾib* in both languages. Cf. Lambton, "Mongol Fiscal Administration," p. 80, note 2, where it is suggested that *nāʾib* was a synonym for *shaḥna* and *darughachi*.

[10] Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen* (Wiesbaden, 1963–75), 2:241–43 (no. 691); Istvan Vásáry, "The Origins of the Institution of the *Basqaqs*," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 32/2 (1978), 201–8. This is perhaps the place to note that Ostrowski ("The *tamma*," p. 277; *Moscovy and the Mongols*, p. 40), states that the Seljuqs used "*bāsqāq*" as "military governor" in contradistinction to *shaḥna*. I have no idea what is the basis for this suggestion, and I have found no evidence in the sources or research literature that the Seljuqs employed the term *basqaq*.

[11] Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente*, 1:319–23 (no. 193); Endicott-West, *Mongolian Rule in China*, pp. 16–22; Istvan Vásáry, "The Golden Horde Term *Daruġa* and its Survival in Russia," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 30/2 (1976), 187–97; A.K.S. Lambton, "Dārūgha," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 2:162–63, where it is written: "The term is first met in the Ilkhānid period and by the Tīmūrid times it had virtually superseded the term *shiḥna*, the *dārūgha* exercising broadly similar functions to the *shiḥna*."

[12] For a good introduction to this subject, see: Donald P. Little, "Historiography of the Ayyūbid and Mamluk Epochs," in Carl F. Petry (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. 2: *Islamic Egypt (640–1517)* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 412–44. Besides the works cited in the following discussion, I have consulted several other chronicles, particularly those of Abū al-Fidāʾ (al-Malik al-Muʾayyad ʿImād al-Dīn

Ilkhanate, the Persian chronicle *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* by Rashīd al-Dīn,[13] also provides many details on this matter and can be profitably compared to the Arabic sources.

In general, in the period before the appearance of Hülegü around 1255 in the region, Mongol administration in south-western Asia was relatively loosely organized. Mongol forces in the entire region – which by the mid-1240s comprised Iran, the southern Caucasus and eastern and central Anatolia, were controlled by a general, usually residing with most of his troops in the region of greater Azerbaijan, known for its vast pasturage and suitable conditions (at least for the Mongols). These commanders were most notably Chormaghun, Eljigidei and Baichu; the latter was superseded by Hülegü himself upon his arrival in the area (and dispatched to Anatolia). The civilian population was largely under the control of another official, to whom we can refer as "governor-general." From about 1243–44, this was the famous Arghun Aqa, who continued to serve the Ilkhanids after Hülegü's arrival as the main administrator in the eastern part of the realm until this death in 1275. In both cases, these officials were directly answerable to the great khan (known as Qaghan>Qaʾan) in Qaraqorum in Mongolia.[14] Here, we have an example of the dual administration, both military and civil – on a grand scale, in other words over a large swath of conquered territories, which has recently been analyzed by Prof. Donald Ostrowski.[15] It appears, however, that Batu, the khan of the Jochid *ulus*,

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Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī), *al-Mukhtaṣar fī taʾrīkh al-bashar* (Istanbul, 1286/1869–70), vol. 3; al-Dhahabī (Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān), *Taʾrīkh al-Islām* (Beirut, 1407–22/1986–2004), vol. 56; Ibn Kathīr (Abū al-Fidāʾ ʿAbdallāh), *al-Bidāya waʾl-nihāya fī al-taʾrīkh* (rpt., Beirut, 1977), vol. 13; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar wa-jāmiʿ al-ghurar*, vol. 8, ed. U. Haarmann (Freiburg-Cairo, 1971); al-ʿAynī (Badr al-Dīn), *ʿIqd al-jumān fī taʾrīkh ahl al-zamān*, ed. M.M. Amīn (Cairo, 1987–), vol. 1; al-Maqrīzī (Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī), *Kitāb al-sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk*, ed. M.M. Ziyāda *et al.* (Cairo, 1934–74), vol. 1, pt. 2; Ibn Taghrī Birdī (Abū al-Maḥāsin), *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk miṣr waʾl-qāhira* (Cairo, 1930–56), vol. 7. I have, however, generally not cited them, as they contain little or no original evidence beyond that found in the works that I did use.

[13] In this paper I have mainly used the edition by ʿA. ʿAlīzādah (Baku, 1957), 3:67–77 (for the entire episode of the Syrian occupation of Syria and the battle of ʿAyn Jālūt). See now also the new translation by Wheeler M. Thackston, *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jamiʿuʾt-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles. A History of the Mongols*, "Sources of Oriental Languages and Literature," vol. 45 (Cambridge, Mass., 1998–9), 2:502–6.

[14] This is based on the account of events in Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History of the Īl-Khāns," pp. 336–40. See also the entries on each of these personalities in the *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, as well as George Lane, "Arghun Aqa: Mongol Bureaucrat," *Iranian Studies*, 32/4 (1999), 459–82.

[15] Ostrowski, *Muscovy and the Mongols*, pp. 36–46 (=idem, "The *tamma*," passim), who has suggested that the Mongols had a dual form of administration, one official responsible for the military command, and another for civilian affairs. The former was known as the *basqaq*, while the latter was the *daruga(chi)* (and also – by extension – *shaḥna*). As has been seen, a rough division into military and civilian affairs holds in the Mongols territories in the Middle East as well, certainly on a grand scale, and as will be shown in this paper, also on a local scale. However, I have found no evidence that the term *daruga(chi)* was ever applied specifically to the governor of civilian affairs in this large region; in fact it is hardly applied at all there. In addition, *basqaq* is also found only infrequently. It may be that these terms were also not completely identical; nor were they with *shaḥna*. See the comment in Lambton, "Mongol Fiscal Administration," p. 80, n. 2. Elsewhere, Lambton (*Continuity and Change*, p. 205), who writes that *basqaq* was the "provincial revenue official," while the *shaḥna* was the military governor, a distinction that runs counter to Ostrowski's suggestion. It would seem that it was possible,

which controlled the area north of the Black and Caspian Seas that eventually was to be known as the Golden Horde, also exercised some authority in the area, which was to cause much tension after Hülegü's arrival in the area in the second half of the 1250s.[16] We know little about what was going on at a local level in the interim between the initial establishment of Mongol rule in the aftermath of the invasion of Chinggis Khan and the coming of Hülegü some thirty years later. It is clear, however, that many Persian bureaucrats quickly made their peace with the new regime and began to serve the new masters. Among them was Bahāʾ al-Dīn Juwaynī, father of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn and Shams al-Dīn, respectively the governor of Baghdad and chief administrator (*ṣāḥib-i dīwān*) of the entire realm. The former also went on to become the famous historian, author of the *Taʾrīkh-i jahāngushā*.[17] It should be mentioned that scattered throughout the entire region of Mongol control were local princes who submitted to the Mongols on condition of paying tribute, providing soldiers and offering no hint of resistance.[18] In order to ensure compliance, a Mongol commissioner, who was usually known as a *shaḥna* or *nāʾib* (as referred to above, *basqaq* is used less frequently, and *darugha* hardly at all), might be appointed. This was, by the way, often a dangerous job, as the first thing that a rebellious local ruler or local population might do was execute the *shaḥna*; he was therefore a sort of living tripwire, whose fate told the higher Mongol authorities if they had a rebellion on their hands.

Matters changed somewhat with the arrival of Hülegü in the region. Among his brief was to reorganize and tighten control over the conquered area, including reining in local rulers who had already submitted to the Mongols.[19] The impression is that under him the bureaucracy in areas directly controlled by the Mongols was

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and perhaps likely, that the terms received different meanings in various places and times, and even at times there may have been confusion between them. Even so, given Prof. Lambton's familiarity with the sources for the Ilkhanate, I strongly tend to accept her explanation for the administrative nomenclature of Iran and the surrounding countries. Further research is clearly needed, certainly in areas beyond the Golden Horde, Ostrowski's particular area of expertise. I might add, however, that the so-called Rasūlid Hexaglot, gives *shaḥna*, *basqaq* (written: *basjāq*), and *daruga* as equivalents, with an Arabic translation of *amīr al-balad* ("commander of the city"), important evidence that these terms were understood to represent identical or at least similar positions; Peter B. Golden *et al.*, *The King's Dictionary: The Rasûlid Hexagolt: Fourteenth Century Vocabularies in Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Greek, Armenian and Mongol* (Leiden, 2000), p. 202; Endicott-West, *Mongolian Rule in China*, p. 19.

In any event, this problem is not germane to our purposes in the present paper, as the predominant term for Mongol governor or representative in the Persian and Arabic sources is *shaḥna*, although *nāʾib* is also frequently given in these works. In Syria only these last two terms are found, and it is clear that they are at times interchangeable.

[16] Peter Jackson, "The Dissolution of the Mongol Empire," *Central Asiatic Journal*. 32 (1978), 186–244.

[17] Jean Aubin, *Émirs mongols et vizirs persans dans les remous de l'acculturation* (Paris, 1995), pp. 11–28; George Lane, *Early Mongol rule in Thirteenth-Century Iran: A Persian Renaissance* (London, 2003), pp. 177–212.

[18] Some of these local submissive rulers, who came to meet Hülegü upon his arrival in Iran, are given in Boyle, "Dynastic and Political History of the Īl-Khāns," p. 341.

[19] For Hülegü's orders, see: Thomas T. Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism: The Policies of the Grand Qan Möngke in China, Russia and the Islamic Lands* (Berkeley, 1987), pp. 48–49, 77–79; Jackson, "The

better organized than before,[20] but again we often do not have a lot of details. It is thus important to analyze the case of Syria in 1260, in spite of the brevity of Mongol rule there, as the relatively detailed evidence regarding local administration at that time may have implications for the study of provincial rule of the Mongols further east, where they held control for many decades.

As we have examined briefly Mongol administration in Iran and the neighbouring countries before Hülegü's arrival, we should also look at the parallel situation in Syria in the closing years of Ayyūbid rule. Since the death of Saladin in 1193, the Syrian possessions of the Ayyūbid family, and for that matter those beyond the Euphrates in the region known as the Jazīra, as well as south-eastern Anatolia, had generally been under the indirect and sometimes only nominal control from Cairo, where the sultan resided. On the whole, each city was ruled by a more-or-less independent prince from the dynasty. These were not only the major centres like Damascus and Aleppo, but included the middle-sized cities like Hama and Homs, as well as smaller towns such as Baalbek, Baniyas, Tall Bāshir and Karak, the last being in trans-Jordan. Each prince had his own army, financed mainly from the agricultural hinterland around his city, and bureaucracy, which dealt with taxes and other financial matters (including payment to the army), as well as correspondence and related affairs. Under the sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb (d. 1249), who in the 1240s gained control over Egypt and much of Syria (with the major exception of Aleppo), a centralization process went on, with many Ayyūbid princes being replaced by military men as governors. Presumably, most local officials continued in their work in spite of the changes at the top. The death of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb in 1250 left a vacuum that was filled quickly by the ruler of Aleppo, al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, a great grandson of Saladin, who took over Damascus. While some cities, such as Hama and Karak maintained their relative independence vis-à-vis Damascus and Cairo – since 1250 under Mamluk rule – others such as Baniyas and Homs were still under outside control, this time from Ayyūbid Damascus.[21] This might explain the behaviour of their former princes upon the arrival of the Mongols in the country in 1260.

We might note that even before the actual occupation of Syria, there is some interesting information hinting at the future Mongol administration of the main cities of the country. Around the beginning of 1260, having crossed the Euphrates, Hülegü wrote to the governor of Aleppo, al-Muʿaẓẓam Tūrān-Shāh (an elderly son of the famous Saladin), calling on him to submit as follows:

> You are too weak to fight the Mongols (*al-mughul*), and you do not have the power to fight them. We are heading for al-Malik al-Nāṣir and those with him from the army. Accept from us a *shaḥna* in the citadel and one in the city, and we will go towards

Dissolution of the Mongol Empire," pp. 220–22; Morgan, *The Mongols*, pp. 148–49; Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, pp. 11–13.

[20] This is certainly one of the upshots of Lane, *Early Mongol Rule*.

[21] For Ayyūbid Syria, see Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, esp. pp. 283–307 for the reign of al-Nāṣir Yūsuf. See also Anne-Maire Eddé, *La principauté ayyoubide d'Alep (579/1183–658/1260)*, "Freiburger Islamstudien," vol. 21 (Stuttgart, 1999), pp. 162–92.

> al-Malik al-Nāṣir. If we are defeated, you can do what you want: either keep the *shaḥna*s, drive them away, or if you want, kill them. And if we are victorious, we will have nothing against Aleppo, and your lives are protected.[22]

Tūrān-Shāh refused the offer, but the results were in the long run the same: after the conquest of the city and much bloodshed, Mongol representatives, at least one who is referred to as a *shaḥna*, were appointed in the city. In the following discussion, we will examine how this city and this position fitted into the larger scheme of Mongol administration in occupied Syria.

Our examination of the sources reveals five tiers of administration of Syria under the Mongols, as well as a supervisor of judicial affairs. This is not, however, a complete hierarchy, although certain positions are clearly subservient to others. On the other hand, there was a certain amount of overlapping between the responsibility of certain officials, as well as some ambiguity (perhaps deliberate) in the nature of their positions. I will return to this point later. Besides the country as a whole, we have information on the Mongol administration of the following cities: Damascus, Aleppo, Ḥārim, Hama, Homs, Baalbek, Baniyas (and the nearby fortress of al-Ṣubayba) in the Golan, and Karak in trans-Jordan. Due to its importance, we have the most details regarding Damascus, which probably reflects both the biases of the sources, as well as the greater sophistication of the administration of Syria's main city. The situation in Aleppo is also fairly well covered.

One can study the matter of Mongol local administration either by location or by categories of offices. I have opted for the latter, as it will facilitate a more explicit presentation and analysis of each type of position. This, however, poses the problem of seeing how each locality was organized. I hope to alleviate this difficulty by a separate table (Appendix 2), which will also expedite comparison of these places.

The general categories of Mongol administration in Syria were as follows:

1. Mongol military commanders for the whole country, with Ketbuqa at their head
2. Mongol commissioners (known as *shaḥna*s or *nuwwāb*, the plural of *nā'ib*) in cities
3. Other "Mongol" officials, most of whom appear to have been Iranian Muslims
4. Senior local Muslim bureaucrats who willingly joined the Mongols and served them
5. Some Syrian Ayyūbid princes who joined the Mongols and were given some authority in return
6. The head judge for the whole country, also responsible for the *waqf*s (religious endowments).

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[22] Ibn Wāṣil (Muḥammad b. Sālim), *Mufarrij al-kurūb fī akhbār banī ayyūb*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ar. 1703, fol. 149a; Eddé, "La prise d'Alep," p. 229.

I will present items 2 and 3 together, as the evidence regarding them is intertwined in the sources.

1 Mongol military commanders

The overall commander in Syria was Ketbuqa (>Kitbughā in Arabic transcription), a Nestorian Christian of the Naiman tribe, meaning that he may also have been also a Turkish speaker,[23] which would have facilitated communications with the local military elite. In any event, he was perhaps Hülegü's most trusted commander, and time after time is given the command over the Mongol vanguard. With Hülegü's withdrawal from the country in the early spring, he received a force of probably 10,000 Mongol troops (although this may have included small Armenian and Georgian contingents) to guard the country, keeping an eye on both the Franks and Egypt, until the ultimate return of Hülegü, or at least a large army, to continue the offensive into Egypt.

Ketbuqa entered Damascus at the end of Ṣafar 658 (14 February 1260) or perhaps a couple of weeks later. In any event, he remained there for a short time, enjoying local hospitality, before moving just south to Marj Barghūth. There, he received emissaries from the Franks bringing gifts. I will not give his entire itinerary, a subject examined elsewhere.[24] It will suffice to say that eventually Ketbuqa and evidently much if not most of his army moved to the Biqāʿ in present day Lebanon, probably because of its pasturage, apparently remaining there until news of the Mamluk invasion of the country reached him in the summer. Then he gathered his troops and moved south. There is no indication that Ketbuqa interfered with the local Mongol governors, or even with urban affairs, with the exception of dealing with a rebellion in the citadel of Damascus, and ending resistance of the citadel in Baalbek. Ketbuqa was killed at the battle of ʿAyn Jālūt.[25]

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[23] Kirakos Ganjakecʿi, "Sources of the Armenian Tradition", trans. Robert Bedrosian *Kirakos Ganjaketsʿi's History of the Armenians*, (New York, 1986), p. 131 [found also online at http://rbedrosian.com/kg1.htm]; Peter Golden, "Imperial Ideology and the Sources of Political Unity among the Pre-Činggisid Nomads of Western Eurasia," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, 2 (1982), 72 [reprinted in *idem*, *Nomads and their Neighbors in the Russian Steppe: Turks, Khazars and Qipchaqs* (Aldershot, 2003), art. I], suggests that Kitbugha was an Uyghur, but the basis for this statement is unclear. For his origins, see also R. Stephen Humphreys, *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry* (Princeton, 1991), p. 260.

[24] Amitai, "Mongol Raids," pp. 236–39; Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, pp. 30–33.

[25] Ibn al-ʿAmīd (al-Makīn Jirjis), *Kitāb al-majmūʿ al-mubārik*, ed. Claude Cahen, in "'La Chronique Ayyoubide d'al-Makīn b. al-ʿAmīd," *Bulletin d'études orientales*, 15 (1955–57), 173 (The translation of all of the section on the Mongol conquest and occupation of Syria is found in Anne-Marie Eddé and Françoise Micheau, *Chronique des Ayyoubides (602–658 / 1205–6 – 1259–60)*, "Documents Relatifs à l'Histoire des Croisades," vol. 16 [Paris, 1994], pp. 112–20); Baybars al-Manṣūrī, pp. 49–51 (on p. 50, Burj al-Barghūth should be read Marj al- Barghūth); Ibn al-Furāt (Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān), *Taʾrīkh al-duwal waʾl-mulūk*, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat, Ar. 726, fol. 235a; Rashīd al-Dīn, 3:70 (=tr. Thackston, 2:503–6). For Ketbuqa's fate at ʿAyn Jālūt, see Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, p. 41. For an interesting biographical notice of Ketbuqa, see

The second most important Mongol commander is Baydar, whose name is also given as Baydarā in the Arabic sources.[26] Although there is some evidence that he may have had a command in Damascus, and it is hinted that he may have even been equal to Ketbuqa,[27] a closer examination of the material reveals that this is not the case. According to Rashīd al-Dīn, who had access to Mongol oral and perhaps even written sources, Baydar commanded the advance force (*yazak*) in Gaza, clearly holding a subservient rank to Ketbuqa. He withdrew upon the approach of the Mamluks, joined Ketbuqa, fought at ʿAyn Jālūt, and was among those who escaped the battle, evacuated Syria, and informed Hülegü of the defeat.[28]

Ibn al-ʿAmīd, the contemporary Christian official from Damascus who spent at least part of this time in Tyre in order to get away from the Mongols, notes that Ketbuqa came to Damascus along with Baydar and other Mongol "commanding officers" (*al-umarāʾ al-muqaddamīn*). This author mentions none of these by name, but elsewhere we learn of three other commanders. The first was Ḥusām al-Dīn Kushlū Khān, who was sent by Ketbuqa to Nablus. There he encountered a rearguard left by the Ayyūbid al-Nāṣir Yūsuf who was making his way south. Kushlu Khan defeated the Ayyūbid force, and then disappears from the sources. We can note, according to the *laqab* that precedes his name, that he was a Muslim. Before jumping to the conclusion that this is an early example of a Mongol converting to Islam, it is probably more likely that this is a Muslim Turkish (perhaps a former Khwārazmī) commander who had joined up with the Mongols at some point and been given a command of some importance.[29] As we will immediately see, another officer (*muqaddam*) was Il-siban, who was to become the *shaḥna* in Damascus. A third was Salar Beg (>Bīk), a Sönüt Mongol officer of some seniority, who apparently

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al-Yūnīnī (Quṭb al-Dīn Mūsā b. Muḥammad), *Dhayl mirʾāt al-zamān fī taʾrīkh al-aʿyān* (Hyderabad, 1954–61), 2:33–36.

[26] Ibn al-ʿAmīd vocalizes his name as Bayadur, but it is unclear if this was in the manuscript or was an addition of the editor. For the sake of consistency, I will use the form Baydar below, even if a particular text gives Baydarā.

[27] Ṣārim al-Dīn Özbeg (written Uzbak), cited in Levi della Vida "L'Invasione dei Tartari in Siria nel 1260 ricordi di un testimone oculare," *Orientalia*, 4 (1935), 364 of Arabic text, were Ketbuqa is appointed governor (*nāʾib*) of Aleppo and Baydar that of Damascus; al-Maqrīzī, 1:427. There is also an apocryphal story found in Ibn al-Furāt (fols. 240b–241a), where Hülegü appoints Ketbuqa at Aleppo and Baydar at Damascus, because his wise-men predict that only they two will rule Egypt (actually, as the source continues to tell, it predicts that both Ketbuqa and Baydar, also the names of future Mamluk amirs, will became rulers of Egypt, although the latter was for the briefest of times in 1293). See also the discussion in: Amitai-Preiss, "ʿAyn Jālūt Revisited," pp. 124–25; cf. Smith, "ʿAyn Jālūt," p. 311.

[28] Rashīd al-Dīn, 3:73 (=trans. Thackston, 2:505). For Baydar's fate after the battle, see Ibn al-ʿAmīd, p. 175. The Mamluk sources report that Baydar commanded the Mongol force that raided northern Syria later in 1260; Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, pp. 50–52.

[29] Ibn al-ʿAmīd, 174; Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 235b. Rashīd al-Dīn, 3:72 (=trans. Thackson, 2:504, and see note 2), mentions that among the Khwarāzmiyya commanders was Malik Nāṣir al-Dīn Kushlū Khān b. Bīk Arslān. It appears, not just because of the difference in the *laqab*, that these namesakes were not the same individual: one was serving the Mongols, while the other had joined the Mamluks.

took part in ʿAyn Jālūt, survived the battle, fled back across the Euphrates, and was subsequently executed by the Ilkhan for his behaviour.[30]

2 and 3 Mongol urban governors and other Mongol officials (some Muslims from Iran)

We have the most information regarding Damascus, which as Syria's main city and the home of several historians should not come as a surprise. Control of this city had originally been taken by some Mongol envoys – Fakhr al-Dīn al-Mardaghānī, the son of the lord of Arzan (=Erzerum) and one *sharīf* ʿAlī – who were in the camp of al-Nāṣir Yūsuf outside Damascus, when he left for the south on15 Ṣafar 658 (end of January 1260). An important Ayyūbid official, al-Zayn al-Ḥāfiẓī, whom we will encounter below, turned the city over to them, apparently on 19 Ṣafar (4 February), or perhaps a day or two before. Gaining control of the citadel of the city, these envoys – none of whom were apparently Mongols themselves – wrote to Hülegü to inform him of the situation and sent some civilians to make their obeisance. In any event, on 16 or 17 Rabīʿ I (2 or 3 March), the *nāʾib* (literally "representative" but here clearly "governor") arrived, with a *farmān* (royal order) containing their patent of authority. This was Il-siban/shiban al-Tatarī,[31] clearly a Mongol (al-Yūnīnī writes of him: *wa-kāna min al-mughul*), whose Christianity – or at least pro-Christian sympathy – was noted by the sources; Baybars al-Manṣūrī called him an officer, *muqaddam*. He was accompanied by several Iranian and Mongol officials, whose unusual hats (*al-sarāqūjāt*)[32] were deemed worthy of comment. One of the officials, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Kāzī al-ʿAjamī, was mentioned by name by some Arabic sources, who equated him with Il-siban, but from the context it is clear that the latter was the more senior officer.[33] Rashīd al-Dīn's evidence leads us to

[30] Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. B. Karīmī (Teheran, Iqbāl, A.Sh. 1338/A.H. 1959), 1:55 (=trans. Thackston, 1:42); there is some confusion in the text about the exact nature of his position and command, which I cannot discuss here for lack of space.

[31] There is some question whether the name should be read Il-siban or Il-shiban (>Ar. Īl-sibān/shibān). P. Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or* (Paris, 1949), pp. 44–47, notes the confusion between *s* and *sh* in the name Sïban/Shiban, but suggests that the latter is derived from the former, and that this is Central Asian form of Stephan. Another possibility is that the name is Īl-sabān, derived from *el-seven* (= "lover of the kingdom"); my thanks to Prof. Marcel Erdal (Frankfurt University) for this suggestion. The edition of Ibn al-ʿAmīd, p. 173, has Balabān al-Sirrī. This was probably a mistaken reading of Īl-sibān al-Tatarī, due perhaps to a mistake or lack of clarity in the manuscript. Abū Shāma (Shihāb al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ismāʿīl), *Tarājim rijāl al-qarnayn al-sādis waʾl-sābiʿ al-maʿrūf* biʾl-dhayl *ʿalā al-rawḍatayn*, ed. M. al-Kawthārī (Cairo, 1947), pp. 203, 205, clearly has Il-siban, as does Baybars al-Manṣūrī, 48.

[32] For this headgear, see Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente*, 3:242–43 (no. 1232); Étienne Marc Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks* (Paris, 1837–45), vol. 1, pt. 1, 235, note 110 (with many more examples).

[33] Ibn al-ʿAmīd, p. 173 (see Eddé, *Chronique des Ayyoubides*, p. 115, note 2, for the identity and proper vocalization of the names of the envoys); Abū Shāma, p. 203 (gives date of 17 Ṣafar), 205 (mentions the presence of his wife); al-Yūnīnī, 1:349–50, 357; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, 48 (the reading of

same conclusion: After Hülegü had sent Ketbuqa to Damascus, the Mongol *shaḥna* entered the city, accompanied by three Tajik (=Iranian) followers (*nökers*): ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥāshī, Jamāl al-Dīn Qaraqāy Qazwīnī and the Qāḍī Shams al-Dīn Qummī.[34] The Mongol *shaḥna* is surely the *naʾib* Il-siban mentioned above, while ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥāshī – who is listed as one of the Tajik (Iranian) followers of the *shaḥna* – was probably a mistaken reading for ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Kāzī al-ʿAjamī. Not much is said about these functionaries, although they were to seek the advice (*ishāra*) of al-Zayn al-Ḥāfiẓī, not to contradict it, and to treat the people of Damascus well, "not even to extort from them a dirham" according to the contemporary Ibn al-ʿAmīd. This last order may have been followed more in the breach than in the compliance.

The *shaḥna* and his staff are not mentioned very much in the account of the events of the following months. One incident that is mentioned relates to the question of relations between the religious communities of the city. The local Christians, feeling the effects of Mongol religious toleration – a subject worthy of further comment another time[35] – and the abolition of the usual Muslim sumptuary laws, made public displays of their worship that caused much distress to the Muslims. Some Muslim notables went to the citadel to complain to the *nāʾib*, Il-siban the *shaḥna*, who responded by throwing them out after threatening them if they did not desist from their complaints.[36] When news of the defeat at ʿAyn Jalut reached Damascus, a day or so after the battle, the Mongol governor, his assistants and many of their local supporters fled to the north.[37]

We also have some information about Aleppo, although not nearly as detailed as Damascus, and it is somewhat problematic. According to Rashīd al-Dīn, in the

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the Yale manuscript of al-Kāzī, is to be preferred to that of al-Kārī of the London Manuscript, which was adopted by the editor); al-Nuwayrī (Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb), *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab* (Cairo, 1923–1997), 27:389 (this is apparently derived from the previous source); Ibn al-Furāt, fols. 233a-234b. For an additional anecdote showing the pro-Christian sympathies of Il-siban, referred to as the Mongol *shaḥna*, see Ghāzī b. al-Wāsiṭī, *Kitāb radd ʿalā ahl al-dhimma wa-man tabaʿahum*, in Richard Gottheil, "An Answer to the Dhimmis," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 41 (1921), 409–10 (Arabic text=p. 449 of translation), who says that he was a maternal cousin of Hülegü; this source also mentions Qāḍī Shams al-Dīn al-Qummī, called the *nāʾib* of the Mongols. The editor did not understand that the word *bitikjī*, used here to refer to a **Muslim** clerk **not** in Mongol service, is a Turkish term for secretary; see below, note 41.

[34] Rashīd al-Dīn, 3:70 (=trans. Thackston, 2:503). Cf. Ibn Bībī (al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad), *Tawārīkh-i āl saljūq* (=*Histoire des Seldjoucides*), ed. M.T. Houtsma (Leiden, 1902), p. 295 (= Herbert W. Duda [trans.], *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bībī* [Copenhagen, 1959], p. 281) who writes that ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kāzī was the *shaḥna*.

[35] Morgan, *The Mongols*, p. 41, for some general thoughts on this subject, and now see Peter Jackson, "The Mongols and the Faith of the Conquered," in Amitai and Biran, *Mongols, Turks and Others*, pp. 245–90.

[36] Abū Shāma, p. 208; al-Yūnīnī, 1:363; Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 234a.

[37] Ibn al-ʿAmīd, p. 175; Abū Shāma, 208–9; al-Yūnīnī, 1:366. The interesting accounts of the Mongol withdrawal from Damascus, as told by Qirṭāy al-Khaznadārī and al-Nuwaryī, are translated with commentary in Reuven Amitai-Preiss, "Hülegü and the Ayyūbid Lord of Transjordan (More on the Mongol governor of al-Karak," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, 9 (1995–97), pp. 12–16; see below for more details.

aftermath of the conquest of the city, Tūkāl (<Tükel?)[38] Bakhshī was appointed *shaḥna*.[39] The word *bakhshī* that is attached to Tūkāl's name is interesting. Here it probably refers to a learned man of some type, perhaps a Uighur, although it may mean also either a Buddhist leader or even a shaman (although probably not in this context).[40] This *shaḥna* then was most probably of steppe (in other words Mongol or Turkish) origin and was almost certainly not a Muslim. We should, of course, give credence to Rashīd al-Dīn's evidence, but it is noteworthy that Tūkāl Bakhshī is not mentioned by any of the Arabic sources. Ibn Wāṣil, however, does mention a person named ʿIzz al-Dīn *bitikjī* (the clerk), who appears to be an eastern Muslim, perhaps a Uighur, in the service of the Mongols. He is mentioned together with ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī, who is referred to as *nāʾib al-mulk* in Aleppo and will be discussed below.[41] I will return to the question of Aleppo's administration in the following section.

As we shall see, Hama submitted ahead of time to the Mongols, a joint action of local notables and the commander left by its Ayyūbid prince. Hülegü sent a *naʾib* named Khusraw-Shāh, who claimed to be a descendent of the great general of early Muslim history, Khālid b. al-Walīd, an advantage in a Syrian milieu, although he was clearly an Iranian, to oversee the city.[42] Khusraw-Shāh was later bribed not to destroy the walls of the city[43] and after the ʿAyn Jālūt he fled back across the Euphrates.[44]

With regard to Homs, we do not have any information about officials or bureaucrats within the city. We do, however, know of one officer, apparently relatively senior, from there, Ṣārim al-Dīn Uzbak (<Özbeg), who even before the final conquest of Aleppo's citadel made his way to the Hülegü's camp, submitted and then facilitated

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[38] This may be derived from the Turkic word for "perfect"; Gerald Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish* (Oxford, 1972), p. 481b.

[39] Rashīd al-Dīn, 3:69 (=trans. Thackston, 2:503).

[40] Thomas T. Allsen, "The Yüan Dynasty and the Uighurs of Turfan in the 13th Century," in Morris Rossabi (ed.), *China among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and its Neighbors, 10th–14th Centuries* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1983), p. 267; Peter Jackson, "Bakši," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 3:535–6; after Buddhism was suppressed in the Ilkhanate (ca. 1295), *bakhshī* also became to mean a scribe of Turkish or Mongol documents, equivalent to *bitikchi*; see next note.

[41] Ibn Wāṣil (Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sālim), *Mufarrij al-kurūb fī akhbār banī ayyūb*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1703, fol. 152a. Eddé, "La prise d'Alep," p. 233, vocalizes this name as "Baktağī," but *b-t-k-j-y* is clearly seen. Ibn al-Dawādārī, 8:47, gives his name as *k-n-j*-y. Ibn Wāṣil then gives two names or words, evidently Turkish or Mongolian that I have not been able to decipher (since *inter alia* they are missing diacritical points), but which are probably personal names. This is reinforced by the following phrase in the later Ibn al-Dawādārī: *wa-maʿahumā min al-mughul* (read this for the evidently mistaken *mafal* in the text, which does not exist in Arabic to the best of my knowledge) *k-ʾ-k-l-ʾ-gh-h wa-b-gh-r-ʾ-gh-h*; the two words are better renditions of those in Ibn Wāṣil, but still leave me perplexed. For more on *bitikchi*, see Doerfer, *Mongolische und Türkische Elementen*, 2:264–67 (no. 718), where it is translated as "Sekretär, Staatsschreiber."

[42] Ibn Wāṣil, fol. 150a; al-Nuwayrī, 27:388–89; Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, p. 350.

[43] Al-Nuwayrī, 27:391.

[44] Abū al-Fidāʾ, 3:206.

– so he claims – the arrival and submission of his patron, al-Ashraf Mūsā (about whom see below). It is unclear whether Ṣārim al-Dīn ever made it back to Homs (certainly it is not said so explicitly), but eventually he was dispatched by the Ilkhan to Ketbuqa, and even took part in the battle on the Mongol side, although secretly – again according to his claims – he assisted the Mamluks and thus was pardoned after the battle.[45]

For Baalbek, we have a notice from the historian al-Yūnīnī (640–726/1242–1326), himself a native of the city who as a young man experienced the Mongol occupation first-hand, that an unnamed *shaḥna* entered the city not long after the taking of Aleppo, together with Taqī al-Dīn al-Ḥadīthī al-Ḥashāʾishī, a native of Baalbek who was well known for his knowledge of herbs and other plants and had been warmly received by Hülegü. Taqī al-Dīn spoke with the people who remained there about submitting to the Mongols. They agreed and a delegation of notables went off to Damascus, where they were well received. Upon their return to Baalbek, a former Ayyūbid governor, Badr al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Khwārazmī who had joined the Mongols also arrived, now with a *farmān* returning the governorship to him. We can assume that the previously mentioned (albeit unnamed) *shaḥna* remained to supervise this governor.[46]

Finally, we know about one more *shaḥna* who was dispatched relatively late by Hülegü to represent the Mongols in Karak in trans-Jordan. The Ayyūbid prince of this city and the surrounding area was al-Mughīth ʿUmar, who had submitted (or rather reconfirmed a submission he had made many years earlier) to the Mongols and sent his son al-ʿAzīz ʿUthmān to the khan to express this personally (see below). According to al-Nuwayrī, al-ʿAzīz was sent back with an unnamed *shaḥna*. The author adds that this commissioner never reached his destination, because while in Damascus with his charge, news arrived of the Mongol defeat at ʿAyn Jālūt, and he fled along with the other Mongols in the city.[47] Possible confirmation for the appointment of this *shaḥna* is found in a document in Mongolian (with a few words in Arabic) published in 1962 by Louis Hambis that mentions one Sayf al-Dīn.[48] Hambis suggested that this Sayf al-Dīn, who is called in both Arabic and Mongolian (!) *nāʾib*, can be identified with the *shaḥna* noted by al-Nuwayrī. While this identification makes sense and has been accepted by other scholars, including

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[45] G. Levi della Vida "L'Invasione dei Tartari in Siria nel 1260 ricordi di un testimone oculare," *Orientalia*, 4 (1935), 353–76 (Arabic text pp. 358–66). Ṣārim al-Dīn's testimony was cited *in extenso* by Qirṭāy al-Khaznadārī, *Taʾrīkh al-nawādir liʾl-awāʾil waʾl-awākhir*, MS Forschungsbibliothek Gotha 1655. These passages were quoted by Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh al-duwal waʾl-mulūk*, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. Ar. 726, in various places (Levi della Vida gives all the necessary references).

[46] Al-Yūnīnī, 1:352–55.

[47] Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, MS. Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, Codex Or. 2m, fol. 107a (=29:394–95 of the printed edition; see also 29:389). See also Amitai-Preiss, "Hülegü and the Ayyūbid Lord."

[48] Louis Hambis, "La Lettre Mongole du gouverneur de Karak," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungraricae*, 15 (1962),143–46.

the present writer until recently,[49] it is possible that the document is actually referring to another personality from the early fourteenth century. I hope to discuss this issue at length in the near future.

4 Senior local Muslim bureaucrats and officers who willingly served the Mongols

The most famous of these is the already mentioned al-Zayn (or Zayn al-Dīn) al-Ḥāfiẓī, a physician who had gained a great deal of influence at the Ayyūbid court in Damascus. He had long been in contact with the Mongols, had secretly submitted to them, and had covertly worked hard in recent months to weaken Ayyūbid morale, will and readiness to fight the Mongols.[50] With al-Nāṣir Yūsuf's withdrawal from Damascus, he returned to the city and then turned it over to the Mongol envoys: who were later replaced by the Il-siban and his cohorts mentioned above. Al-Zayn collected tribute for the Mongols, and served as their head "contact" throughout the occupation, also arranging for the collection of taxes or tribute to the Mongols and its transference to them.[51] According to Rashīd al-Dīn, he also received administrative control over Aleppo after the execution of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Sāqī,[52] although as will be seen below, there is some confusion about the administration there. After ʿAyn Jālūt he fled over the Euphrates with them, receiving some sinecure from Hülegü. Baybars, however, harboured much enmity towards him, a product *inter alia* of their earlier disagreements before the Mongol invasion. The sultan was eventually able to have him executed by the Mongols, through the judicious use of misinformation fed to them.[53]

A story is told about al-Zayn al-Ḥāfiẓī that sheds some light on the potential for confusion of authority and actual conflict between the various officials appointed by the Mongols. After the suppression of the rebellion in the Damascus citadel, Ketbuqa granted an *amān* (an oath guaranteeing safety) to its two commanders, as well as to the commander of the citadel of Baalbek, which had also initially resisted Mongol control. Al-Zayn, however, thought this too lenient, and circumvented all the Mongols over him by writing directly to Hülegü to complain of this unwarranted leniency. Hülegü thereupon sent an order to Ketbuqa to have these "rebels" executed. The Mongol commander had no choice but to comply, but angry at the circumvention of his authority, forced al-Zayn al-Ḥāfiẓī to carry out the execution

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[49] Didier Gazangnadou, "La lettre du gouverneur de al-Karak: Relations entre Mamelouks et Mongols au XIIIe siècle," *Études mongoles et sibériennes*, 18 (1987), 129–32; Amitai-Preiss, "Hülegü and the Ayyūbid Lord," pp. 8–9. See my forthcoming paper "A Mongol Governor of al-Karak in Jordan?: A Re-examination of an Old Document in Mongolian and Arabic," to be published in *Zentralasiatische Studien*.

[50] Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, pp. 21–23; Eddé, "La prise d'Alep," pp. 234–36.

[51] Ibn al-ʿAmīd, pp. 173–75; Ibn al-Furāt, fols. 234a, 236a, 250a.

[52] Rashīd al-Dīn, 3:69 (=trans. Thackston, 2:503).

[53] Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, pp. 148–49.

with his own hands, warning him that if he refused he himself would be put to death. Al-Zayn indeed carried out the order, not a usual task for a Syrian bureaucrat. Had Mongol rule been prolonged in the country, it is highly likely that other incidents of overlapping and confused authority would have occurred.[54]

Another personality who served the Mongols in Damascus was the physician, philosopher and general polymath Najm al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Lubūdī, who served as the supervisor of the *dīwān* in Damascus. He continued in this position even after the demise of Mongol rule, under sultan Baybars, until his death at the end of 670/1271. Evidently, the Mamluks did not think him compromised or tainted with pro-Mongol feelings like al-Zayn al-Ḥāfiẓī, and saw no need to punish him.[55]

There is some confusing and perhaps contradictory evidence regarding the role of local collaborators in the Mongol administration of Aleppo. Al-Nuwayrī reports that Hülegü had left in charge (*wallā*) there an individual named ʿImād al-Dīn al-Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī, who we know from other sources was a prominent local scholar and teacher in the Harawiyya *madrasa*. How he came to Hülegü's attention or why he received this commission is left unsaid. Ibn Wāṣil mentions him as *nāʾib al-mulk*, together with a Mongol official called ʿIzz al-Dīn Bitikjī (about him, see previous section). There is no explicit mention in the Arabic sources of the *shaḥna* Tūkāl Bakhshī noted above, so it is implied that ʿImād al-Dīn was the "Mongol" governor here. During the initial Mongol occupation, ʿImād al-Dīn complained to Hülegü of the depredations of the Armenian troops in the city; the Ilkhan ordered these outrages to end. ʿImād al-Dīn was ordered to Iraq after the Hülegü left Syria, and was replaced by "a foreign man" (*rajul*[an] *aʿjamiyy*[an]);[56] this may perhaps be the Tūkāl Bakhshī mentioned above, although it is possible that *aʿjamī* refers to a Persian, and not just any foreigner. However, given that no other individual is named in any source, and Tūkāl fits the bill as both foreign and governor, it is a responsible guess that he is the one referred to here. This supposition is strengthened by Rashīd al-Dīn's statement which implies that Tūkāl was appointed *shaḥna* only after the citadel of Aleppo surrendered, several weeks after the city was taken. ʿImād al-Dīn might have been the interim "governor," whose position may have been mainly titular in nature as long as the Mongols were occupying the city in force and the

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[54] Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, p. 355; Eddé, *La principauté ayyoubide*, p. 183.

[55] Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī (ʿIzz al-Dīn), *Taʾrīkh al-malik al-ẓāhir (Die Geschichte des Sultans Baibars)*, "Bilbiotheca Islamica," 31 (Wiesbaden, 1983), pp. 49–50; al-Ṣafadī (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak), *al-Wāfī biʾl-wafāyat*, ed. H. Ritter et al. (Wiesbaden, 1931–), 28:312–13; Eddé, *La principauté ayyoubide*, p. 190.

[56] Al-Nuwayrī, 27:389; Ibn Wāṣil, fol. 152a; Ibn al-Shiḥna (Muḥibb al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥalabī), *al-Durr al-muntakhab fī taʾrīkh mamlakat ḥalab*, ed. Y. Sarkīs (Beirut, 1909), pp. 68–69 (=Jean Sauvaget, *"Les perles choisies" d'Ibn ach-Chihna* [Beirut, 1933], p. 65); Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī (ʿIzz al-Dīn), *al-Aʿlāq al-khaṭīra fī dhikr umarāʾ al-shām waʾl-jazīra*, vol. 1 [northern Syria without Aleppo], ed. Y. ʿAbbāra (Damascus, 1991), pt. 1, pp. 116, 261; Dominique Sourdel, "Les professeurs de Madrasa à Alep aux XIIe – XIIIe siècles d'après Ibn Šaddād," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales*, 13 (1949–51), p. 91; Eddé, "La prise d'Alep," pp. 230, 233, 237.

citadel was still not in their hands. The latter goal being achieved, a regular Mongol *shaḥna* was then appointed.

Be that as it may, ʿImād al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī was not the only local collaborator in Aleppo. The long-standing Ayyūbid wazir of the city, Muʾayyid al-Dīn ʿĪsā Ibn al-Qifṭī, was kept in his position after the Mongol occupation, but died after a few days.[57] His successor as wazir is not specified, although it may be that al-Zayn al-Ḥāfiẓī had some supervisory control from Damascus (see below).

Another local official, this one an officer, was Fakhr al-Dīn Iyās al-Sāqī (literally "cup-bearer"), who had served al-Nāṣir Yūsuf as commander of the citadel in Aleppo before the Mongol invasion. How he had weathered the Mongol attack is unclear, as are the circumstances in which he joined the Mongols. It seems logical, however, that Fakhr al-Dīn had had probably submitted and moved to the Mongol camp before or during the Mongol attack on the city or at least the citadel. Both Rashīd al-Dīn and al-Nuwayrī mention that Fakhr al-Dīn had been appointed commander of the citadel of Aleppo by Hülegü after its submission. Later, he facilitated the surrender of Ḥārim to the Ilkhan (who thereupon ordered the massacre of its population). Fakhr al-Dīn was, however, later executed by Hülegü for his poor administration in Aleppo, after the local population complained to the Ilkhan or perhaps due to the personal grievance of some important personalities to the Ilkhan. According to Rashīd al-Dīn, al-Zayn al-Ḥāfiẓī from Damascus was then made responsible for the "government of Aleppo" (*ḥukūmat-i ḥalab*).[58] This should be taken literally, since al-Zayn al-Ḥāfiẓī was clearly in Damascus, but it seems to reveal his supervisory role in the north (or Rashīd al-Dīn's confusion). It also hints that Fakhr al-Dīn may have briefly enjoyed more authority than command over the citadel. Be that as it may, it should be remembered that a *shaḥna*, Tūkāl Bakhshī was also in Aleppo, holding some form of ultimate authority.

In Hama we have collaboration of a different kind. The Ayyūbid prince of the city, al-Manṣūr b. al-Muẓaffar, had been with al-Nāṣir Yūsuf. With the conquest of Aleppo, they both left for the south, although only al-Manṣūr continued on to Cairo. Before leaving, al-Manṣūr transferred authority to the eunuch (*al-ṭawāshī*) Shujāʿ al-Dīn Murshid, and instructing him to use deceit (*mudāwarāt*) the Mongols, meaning, it would seem, to find a way to submit with as little trouble as possible.

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[57] Ibn al-ʿAmīd, p. 171; Yūnīnī, 1:428; 2:7–8. On this personality, see Eddé, *La principauté ayyoubide*, p. 314.

[58] Rashīd al-Dīn, 3:69 (=trans. Thackston, 2:503); al-Nuwayrī, 27:389; Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī, ed. ʿAbbāra, pt. 2, p. 69; Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī (ʿIzz al-Dīn), *al-Aʿlāq al-khaṭīra fī dhikr umarāʾ al-shām waʾl-jazīra*, partial edition in Anne-Marie Eddé, "La Description de la Syrie du nord de ʿIzz al-Dīn ibn Šaddād," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales*, pp. 32–33 (1980–81), pp. 386–87 (=16–17 of Arabic text) [=Anne-Marie Eddé, *Description de la Syrie du nord* (Damascus, 1984), p. 43]; Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Gregory Abûʾl-Faraj, 1225–1286*, trans. E.A.W. Budge (Amsterdam, 1976, rpt. of London, 1932), 1:436 (cf. the Arabic version of this work: Ibn al-ʿIbrī, *Taʾrīkh mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, ed. A. Ṣāliḥānī [Beirut, 1890], pp. 487–88), where Fakhr al-Dīn was executed after the taking of Ḥārim due to personal accusations made by rivals before Hülegü; Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, p. 349, suggests that Fakhr al-Dīn was "probably a Muslim from Iran or Transoxiana," but Ibn Shaddād's evidence reveals him clearly to have been previously in Ayyūbid service.

Murshid may have helped engineer the surrender of the city, by helping to organize the delegation of notables that went to Hülegü (still in the environs of Aleppo) to effect the submission of the city. Some sources imply that Murshid stayed in the city, but Ibn Wāṣil, who as a local official (although he was already in Egypt) should know, states that he left the city with refugees and headed south before the arrival of the Mongol governor. The commander of the city's citadel, Mujāhid al-Dīn Qaymaz *amīr jāndār*, however, remained in the city and joined up with the Mongols.[59] As is well known, after the battle of ʿAyn Jālūt and the establishment of Mamluk rule over the country, Hama remained an Ayyūbid principality, albeit under Mamluk suzerainty, until the early 1330s.

Mention has been made above of the former Ayyūbid governor of Baalbek, Badr al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Khwārazmī who had joined the Mongols. He arrived in the city after its submission with a *farmān* returning the governorship to him. It seems that the previously mentioned but unnamed *shaḥna* remained to supervise this governor.[60]

For an additional type of local collaboration, that of judicial officials, see section 6 below.

I have drawn attention to several prominent examples of Syrian Muslim collaborators. One only can speculate upon the reasons why major bureaucrats and religious officials joined the Mongols. It is true that not all had done so. Some had made their way to Egypt, such as the bureaucrats (and historians) Ibn Wāṣil and Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī. This exodus of officials was not limited only to Muslims: Ibn al-ʿAmīd tells how he and a number of Christian clerks from Damascus left the city with the coming of the Mongols for relative safety of Tyre.[61] Yet, it would seem that some Syrians, as had many Muslim notables to the east, thought that the Mongols were here to stay, and it made perfect sense to ingrate oneself into the apparent "New World Order." Of course, not only senior officials joined the Mongols, and there must have been plenty of minor ones who either joined the bandwagon of their own will, or felt that they had no choice. In Syria, however, matters did not turn out that way that these collaborators, senior and junior, probably expected. When news of ʿAyn Jālūt arrived at Damascus, many collaborators – referred to as *murtaddūn*, renegades with all of its connotations and thus liable to punishment under Islamic law – fled along with the Mongol governors and his assistants and troops in the city. Some were attacked and killed in the city and outside.[62]

In fact, the collaboration of certain officials and personalities with the Mongols and their co-option into the Mongol administration, touches on the larger issue of pro-Mongol feelings among members of the Syrian political, bureaucratic, religious and social elite (and perhaps other social strata), and not only from among the Christians. This is an important and interesting matter that goes beyond the confines

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59 Ibn al-ʿAmīd, p. 173; Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 233a; al-Nuwayrī, 27:388–89; Ibn Wāṣil, fols. 150a.

60 Al-Yūnīnī, 1:352–55.

61 Ibn al-ʿAmīd, p. 172.

62 Abū Shāma, p. 207 (see there also for the names of local pro-Mongol sympathizers who were killed after news of the victory at ʿAyn Jālūt arrived in Damascus); Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 250b.

of the present essay, and deserves a study of its own right, dealing *inter alia* with the attractions of Mongol rule, which appear to have been inspired by more than just fear and *Realpolitik*.[63]

5 Syrian Ayyūbid princes who join the Mongols

Most of the local Ayyūbid princes, albeit relatively minor ones, willingly, even enthusiastically, joined up with the Mongols. The senior Ayyūbid in Syria was himself caught up by events, and certainly without planning it, found himself in the Mongol service. Only one, of the second rank, al-Manṣūr of Hama, withstood the temptation, and made his way to Egypt, participating on the Mamluk side at ʿAyn Jālūt.

Among the Ayyūbids, the most enthusiastic supporter of the Mongols was al-Malik al-Saʿīd Ḥasan, who had been languishing in prison in al-Bīra on the Euphrates. Released from captivity by the Mongols, he made clear his loyalty to Hülegü and was given his back his old principality of the Baniyas and al-Ṣubayba in the Golan. After his arrival with Ketbuqa in Damascus, he was reported to have worn Mongol clothes, drank wine on Ramaḍān and otherwise contravened the rules of Islam. There is even a report that he converted to Christianity, although I am doubtful of its veracity. Al-Saʿīd fought with the Mongols at ʿAyn Jālūt. After their defeat, he was brought before Quṭuz, who had him executed.[64]

A somewhat more restrained approach was adopted by al-Ashraf Mūsā, the former prince of Homs, who for several years had been forced to be satisfied with the small principality of Tall Bāshir. It appears that he had long secretly submitted to the Mongols; with their arrival in Syria, he went north from Damascus to meet Hülegü near Aleppo. Al-Ashraf returned south after Ketbuqa had arrived in Damascus and then gone to Marj Barghūth, with an order that he would be governor (*nāʾib al-salṭana*) of Damascus and Syria, along with receiving his old principality of Homs back; specific mention is also made of Tadmur, Tall Bāshir and the Euphrates fortress of al-Raḥba. Ketbuqa accepted this new situation, and ordered the governors (*nuwwāb*) in Damascus to follow his orders "for the good of the country (*maṣāliḥ al-mamlaka*)." Bureaucrats and governors (*al-dawāwīn* [sic] *waʾl-nuwwāb*) went back and forth to obtain his agreement. How this exactly complimented or contradicted the regular work of the Mongol administration is left unsaid. I can only assume that al-Ashraf had very little real power, but it was useful for the Mongols to have a local front man with whom they could consult and

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[63] See the preliminary comments in Eddé, *La principauté ayyoubide*, pp. 190–91; Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, pp. 21–22.

[64] Ibn al-ʿAmīd, pp. 171, 175; Ibn Wāṣil, fol. 154a; Yūnīnī, 2:16–17; Ibn al-Furāt, fols. 235a, 249b–250a; Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī (ʿIzz al-Dīn), *al-Aʿlāq al-khaṭīra fī dhikr umarāʾ al-shām waʾl-jazīra: taʾrīkh lubnān waʾl-urdunn wa-filisṭīn*, ed. S. al-Dahhān (Damascus, 1382/1962), 134; Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, p. 45.

who had the appearance of some authority. After Hülegü left the country, al-Ashraf was ordered to Homs, but he was still theoretically the ruler of all of Syria. At some point al-Ashraf was also dispatched to Hama, to convey the order to destroy its walls; as mentioned above, this order was not carried out. The true extent of al-Ashraf's rule is indicted by the fact that he received an *iqṭāʿ* (military allotment) worth 100 horses, the equivalent of that of a battalion commander in the Mamluk army. During ʿAyn Jālūt, he fought with the Mongols, but had secret contact with Quṭuz, and arranged with him to flee the battle with his troops. This helped sway the results in the Mamluks' favour, and resulted in al-Ashraf receiving a pardon from the sultan and being reinstated in Homs as a Mamluk vassal.[65]

The prince of Karak, al-Mughīth ʿUmar, his submission to the Mongols and the dispatch of the Mongol *nāʾib*/*shaḥna*, who never arrived, has been mentioned above. This prince had also long made his official submission to the Mongols, sending an envoy as far as Qaraqorum, although until Hülegü's arrival in Syria he had not sent an acknowledgement to this khan. Al-Yūnīnī relates that al-Mughīth responded favourably to the demand brought by the *qāḍī* Kamāl al-Dīn al-Tiflīsī in the hope of buying time until the situation became clear. In any event, al-Mughīth ʿUmar sent his son al-ʿAzīz ʿUthmān to the khan to express his submission personally. The story of al-ʿAzīz, his meeting with Hülegü and his wife Dokuz Khatun, his return with the *shaḥna*, and his subsequent adventures in Damascus in the aftermath of the news of the Mamluk victory, is especially vivid and interesting, and has come down to us in two somewhat different versions recorded by the Mamluk historians Qirṭāy al-Khaznadārī and al-Nuwayrī.[66] Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī writes that al-Mughīth received from Hülegü the rule over Hebron, in addition to his main principality; this actually recognized al-Mughīth's *de facto* control over the city from before.[67] Al-Mughīth sat out ʿAyn Jālūt in his castle, but Baybars had a long account with him and eliminated him in 1263, turning Karak into a regular Mamluk province.[68]

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[65] Ibn al-ʿAmīd, pp. 171–74, 176; Ibn al-Furāt, fols. 235a, 241b, 251a; al-Yūnīnī, 1:255–56; 377; 2:312; al-Nuwayrī, 27:391; Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, p. 31; cf. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, pp. 350–51. Al-Yūnīnī, 1:377, gives what probably was a more realistic description, when he writes that al-Ashraf was appointed only "to be one of [Hülegü's] governors in Syria" (*an yakūna min jumlat nuwwābihi biʾl-shām*), and adds that throughout the time of Mongol rule, he resided in Damascus. Ṣārim al-Dīn Uzbak (Levi della Vida, pp. 358–66) presents al-Ashraf as a hesitant and fearful collaborator with the Mongols, who had to fetched by Ṣārim al-Dīn himself. This version runs counter to all of the other evidence regarding al-Ashraf's behaviour *vis-à-vis* the Mongols before and during 1260, and may have been an effort to present his patron in a more positive light, and less as a collaborator.

[66] Amitai-Preiss, "Hülegü and the Ayyūbid Lord," pp. 6–8, 12–16, giving translations of the relevant passages from Qirṭāy al-Khaznadārī, *Taʾrīkh al-nawādir*, fols. 65b–66b (who mentions the Mongol *nuwwāb* in Damascus), and al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, MS. Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, Codex Or. 2m, fol. 107a (=29:394–95 of the printed edition; see also 29:389); see also al-Yūnīnī,1:358.

[67] Ibn Shaddād, *al-Aʿlāq*, ed. al-Dahhān, p. 242; Amitai-Preiss, "Hülegü and the Ayyūbid Lord," p. 7.

[68] Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, 19–21, 34, 153; idem, "The Mongols and Karak," 5–16; P. Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Peter M. Holt (London and New York, 1992), pp. 69, 78, 134–36.

Al-Nāṣir Yūsuf was the most important Ayyūbid after the fall of their regime in Egypt to the Mamluks in 1250, moving that year from his previous base in Aleppo to gain control also of Damascus. There is clear evidence that he too had made an earlier submission to the Mongols, but like al-Mughīth, had refrained from extending recognition to Hülegü upon his arrival in the region. In fact, in spite of some dithering and an exchange of letters with the khan, expressing therein varying degrees of militancy, he prepared to oppose the Mongols, gathering his army at the beginning of 1260. But, with the news of the conquest of Aleppo, he withdrew to the south (together with al-Manṣūr of Hama). Eventually drawing close to Cairo, he panicked and turned to the east. Reaching Trans-Jordan, he was then captured by the Mongols and sent on to Hülegü. According to the Arabic sources, the khan named him as ruler of all Syria and even Egypt; while Rashīd al-Dīn reports that this was to only to happen after the Mongols conquered the latter. No one explains how this commission was to coexist with a similar commission granted to his cousin al-Ashraf Mūsā, let alone the authority of Ketbuqa and other Mongol governors and officials. In any event, Hülegü had al-Nāṣir executed upon receiving news of the defeat at ʿAyn Jālūt.[69]

Prof. R. Stephen Humphreys has suggested that the Mongols may have envisioned a set-up in Syria similar to that with the puppet Seljuq sultans in Rum.[70] This may well be true, although from the surfeit of other officials and commanders, it would appear that the Mongols intended to keep the Ayyūbid princes in Syria on a very short leash, and it may be that the overlapping authority given to at least two of them may have been intended to neutralize them even more.

6 Supervisors of the judicial system of Syria

Finally, we might note yet another sort of local collaboration that assisted the Mongols in administrating the country. The Qāḍī Kamāl al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Bundār al-Tiflīsī, who had served as the assistant to the *qāḍī al-quḍāt* (chief *qāḍī*) in Damascus, arrived back in Damascus soon after the Mongol occupation of the city, with a *farmān* from Hülegü, making him head *qāḍī* of all of Syria, and in the Jazīra: Mawṣil, Mārdīn and Mayyāfāriqīn. The last mentioned had yet to be conquered by the Mongols, but their eyes were definitely to the future. No less important, he was also appointed to supervise all the *waqfs* in this area, certainly a choice plum of a job. Why Kamāl al-Dīn received these widespread responsibilities is left unsaid, although as indicated by his *nisba* of al-Tiflīsī he had an eastern, Georgian, provenance and this might have commended him to Hülegü. Little is reported about how he carried out these obligations, except for a mission to Karak on Hülegü's behalf to get its ruler, al-Mughīth ʿUmar, to make a formal submission. This is

[69] Ibn al-ʿAmīd, pp. 174–76; Rashīd al-Dīn, 3:70, 76. Cf. Ibn al-Furāt, fol. 252a, who states that Hülegü had made al-Nāṣir Yūsuf king of Syria and Egypt.

[70] Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, p. 351.

what led to a mission to Hülegü including al-Mughīth's son, al-ʿAzīz, which in turn brought about the dispatch of the *shaḥna* mentioned above. Kamāl al-Dīn's stint in office, however, was short lived.[71] Another *qāḍī*, Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, known as Ibn al-Zakī, from Baalbek soon replaced Kamāl al-Dīn al-Tiflīsī as head *qāḍī* position of Syria, without the locations across the Euphrates mentioned above, after visiting Hülegü's *ordo* (camp). This new head judge soon transferred all kinds of religious sinecures to his relatives and associates.[72]

It is clear that the most complete information is in regard to Damascus, followed closely by Aleppo. This is not surprising, given the importance of the two largest cities in the country, which were also its traditional administrative centres. Significant evidence is also provided in the sources about the Mongol officials and officials who served them in other localities, but this information is more fragmentary. This probably reflects both the less thorough nature of the local administrations as well as the lack of attention devoted to the smaller provincial centres in the sources. To illustrate more clearly the extent and nature of the Mongol administration, the information regarding Damascus (and those country-wide officials based in Damascus or its environs), Aleppo and other cities can be seen in table form (Appendix 2).

We can draw the following conclusions on the basis of the evidence presented above. First, we can see the most of Syria was firmly integrated in the Mongol state, still a united empire stretching across Asia. It is clear then, that the Mongols thought that they were there to stay, and wanted to use it as a base for further expansion. Both the Franks on the coast and the Mamluks in Egypt, therefore, concerned them. Interestingly enough, although Mongol raiders and scouts had traversed Palestine, and there was a small Mongol vanguard in Gaza, there is no indication of Mongol administration there. This particular territory was probably considered too much of frontier region (or just too insignificant) to establish there Mongol officials. I presume that if Acre had been taken and the Franks there had submitted, or the Mongols had moved on to Egypt, some type of administrative system in Palestine would have also been set up by the Mongols.

Secondly, we can see that fairly quickly the Mongols were able to erect a relatively sophisticated system in Damascus and Aleppo, and to a lesser degree elsewhere in Syria. While they brought in their own senior administrators, their system of local government was also based in this province on local cadres whom they were able to co-opt. If this was the state in a province where they ruled for less than seven months, we can speculate that elsewhere where their rule lasted longer a similar situation was also in place. Mongol local administration was fairly complex,

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[71] Abū Shāma, p. 204; Yūnīnī, 1:350, 358, 2:13–14; Ibn al-Furāt, fols. 234a, 238b; al-Ṣafadī, 22:334–35 (who notes his good policies, as well as the high regard that he was held in by the Mongols).

[72] Abū Shāma, pp. 205–6; Yūnīnī, 1:356–57 (where his subsequent activities in Damascus are noted), 1:376; 2:14; Ibn Wāṣil, fol. 153b.

a hypothesis borne out by the sporadic evidence that we have from elsewhere to the east and north of the Euphrates on this matter.

Thirdly, we might note that there was a clear distinction between the military governor of the country, Ketbuqa, who remained with the vast majority of the troops in areas of pasturage, and the commissioners situated in cities responsible for civilian matters, most notably Il-siban in Damascus. While Ketbuqa apparently enjoyed primacy, he rarely interfered with the administration of the conquered population. This distinction bears out the general scheme of dual administration suggested by Prof. Ostrowski, albeit without any evidence that the terms *daraghu(chi)* and *basqaq* were used for civilian and military governors respectively in this area.[73] An indication that this dual system was the norm elsewhere in the Ilkhanate is seen soon after in nearby Iraq, where mention is made of a *shaḥna* in Baghdad, Bahādur ʿAlī al-Khwārazmī, as well as the military commander (*muqaddam ʿaskar al-mughul*) in Iraq, Qara Bugha.[74] I might add, that at least some of the urban commissioners appear to have been military men too (for example Il-siban was called an officer), and they probably had at their disposal a small unit of soldiers to bolster their authority. Still, when serious resistance arose in the citadel of Damascus, Ketbuqa was called in with his troops to resolve the situation. At the same time, the *shaḥna* could be called to join a military force, as ʿAlī al-Khwārazmī did in order to meet the "army" led by the caliph al-Mustanṣir in 1261. There is, however, no evidence that Il-siban joined Ketbuqa in September 1260 in the campaign that culminated in ʿAyn Jālūt.

Fourthly, the actual running of day-to-day affairs, not the least the collection of taxes for the Mongols, was in the hands of local bureaucrats, led by al-Zayn al-Ḥāfiẓī. The *shaḥna*s were there to keep an eye on these officials, to make sure that everything functioned smoothly, and to adjudicate in important matters. While an Ayyubid prince in an out of the way place like the northern Golan may have been left pretty much to his own devices, in a major centre such as Damascus the Ayyubid prince was probably not much more than a titular ruler, providing a fig leaf for Mongol power. In both Aleppo and Hama, the Mongols dispensed with this fiction altogether.

Fifthly, there appears to have been a certain amount of confusion between the responsibilities and authority of the Mongol and local officials in Syria, a clear example of which was the affair that resulted in the execution of the captured commanders of the Damascus citadel. Indeed, there was plenty of room for confusion and mismanagement. Had Mongol control over the province continued

[73] It can be mentioned that the expression "dual administration" is also used in the research literature in two other ways for the Mongols: 1) the "co-existence" of both Mongol officials (or those imported from Central Asia or elsewhere) and local bureaucrats; Lambton, *Continuity and Change*, pp. 54–55; 2) the existence of one legal-administrative system for the nomadic conquerors and another for the conquered sedentary population; Anatoly Khazanov, "The Spread of World Religions in Medieval Nomadic Societies in the Eurasian Steppes," *Toronto Studies in Central and Inner Asia*, 1 (1994), 23.

[74] Al-Yūnīnī, 1:455. See Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, p. 58, where this is a brief discussion of the identity of ʿAlī al-Khwārazmī.

for some time conflicts may well have arisen between various Mongol and local officials, perhaps resulting in rebellions and Mongol repression. This potential confusion may not have been a mere accident or oversight. As Prof. Elizabeth Endicott has written about provincial administration in Yuan China, multiple and overlapping responsibility under the Mongols was apparently a desired condition and a certain reduplication of duties was a norm.[75] Closer to home, the division (and confusions) were common in the local administration of late fourteenth century Iran under Tamerlane.[76] While this is not explicitly stated by Prof. Lambton, the picture that arises from her description of Fārs and Kirmān under the Ilkhanids is not fundamentally different.

Prof. Thomas Allsen has drawn our attention to the basic set of demands that the Mongols imposed on their subordinate states (as seen in an order by Qubilai Qa'an to the ruler of Annam in 1267): 1) the ruler must come personally to court; 2) sons and younger brothers are to be offered as hostages; 3) the populations are be registered; 4) militia units will be raised; 5) taxes are to be sent; and, 6) a *darugha* is to take charge of affairs. From another royal order (to the king of Korea in 1262), another stipulation is seen: the establishment of postal relay stations (*jam*).[77] I might add another one, perhaps more appropriate for the Islamic milieu: the striking of coins giving the name of the great khan, a clear indication of submission.

Due to the short time of Mongol control over Syria, not all of these conditions were realized in 1260. Two Ayyubid rulers (al-Ashraf and al-Sa'īd) came to Hülegü of their own free will, while al-Nāṣir was captured and brought along with some of his family, including at least one son. Al-Mughīth of Karak did not set out for the *ordu*, but sent his son. The latter, however, was not retained at court, but was permitted to return; at this stage, it appears that the Mongols had not demanded hostages from the Syrian princes. Some Ayyūbid units and troops were drafted into the Mongol army (notably that of Homs), although there had not been time to achieve this on a country-wide scale. There is clear evidence of tribute being collected from Damascus,[78] and probably this was similarly done in the other cities (but not explicitly noted in the sources). It would appear, however, that there had not been time to establish, or rather re-establish with a Mongol superstructure, a regular system of tax collection. As we have shown in the above discussion, Mongol commissioners, not called *darugha*s, but rather *shaḥna*s or *nuwwāb*, were appointed in most of the conquered cities, certainly the major ones. Even in this short occupation, the Mongols managed to strike silver coins in several denominations,

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[75] Endicott-West, *Mongolian Rule in China*, pp. 45–56.

[76] Ibid.; Beatrice F. Manz, "The Office of Darugha under Tamerlane," *Journal of Turkish Studies*, 9 (1985), p. 64.

[77] Allsen, "The Yüan Dynasty and the Uighurs of Turfan," p. 261.

[78] Ibn al-'Amīd, p. 173. Besides cash and cloth, the senior Mongols in the city were treated every day to a *tazgu* (in text *al-ṭargū*), that is, a meal that also symbolized submission.

thereby providing a powerful and accepted symbol of their own authority in the area.[79] Two stipulations that were not fulfilled at this stage were the execution of a census[80] and the establishment of postal relay stations. This was surely due to the short term of Mongol rule and had matters turned out differently there is no reason to think that they would not have been instituted.

Mongol plans for the province of Syria were cut short by the Mamluk victory at ʿAyn Jālūt. While much of the population would suffer Mongol raids (and an occasional invasion) in the future, and in some locations (for example, Aleppo) the effects of 1260 would take decades to eradicate, the populace of most of Syria enjoyed in the first few generations of Mamluk rule a relatively organized administration controlled from Egypt and a high degree of security. It is, of course, an open question whether, in the long run, the inhabitants of Syria were the luckier for having Baybars and Qalawun's officials in charge instead of those of Hülegü, Abagha and Arghun. But one cannot help but wonder if the long-term effect of Mongol rule and administration in Syria would have been vastly different from that described by Prof. Lambton for Mongol-controlled Kirmān and Fārs: "Fiscal chaos was accompanied by an unprecedented degree of extortion and widespread expropriation."[81] There may have been many advantages to Mongol rule, but the financial well-being of the subjects and the long-term economic prosperity of a particular region were not always among them. Although it may not be obvious from my discussion of Syria in 1260, in the plethora of senior office holders and their overlapping responsibilities one can perhaps already see the seeds of such trends had this country remained under Mongol rule.

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[79] Stefen Heidemann, *Das Aleppiner Kalifat (AD 1261): vom Ende des Kalifates in Bagdad der Aleppo zu den Restaurationen in Kairo* (Leiden, 1994), pp. 243, 285; Nitzan Amitai-Preiss and Reuven Amitai-Preiss, "Two Notes on the Protocol on Hülegü's Coinage," *Israel Numismatic Journal*, 10 (1988–89), p. 125. Heidemann, p. 268, explains that the identification by E. de Zambaur, "Contributions à la numismatique oriental," pt. 2, *Wiener Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 37 (1906), pp. 160–61 (no. 318), of a coin from Aleppo carrying Hülegü's name struck in A.H. 661 is mistaken, and was actually minted in Sinjār; cf. Eddé, "La prise d'Alep," p. 239 and note 39.

[80] For the importance of the census for mobilizing human, financial and other resources, see Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism*, pp. 116–43.

[81] A.K.S. Lambton, "Mongol Fiscal Administration in Persia (Part II)," *Studia Islamica*, 65 (1987), 123.

Appendix 1
Summary of Events: The Mongol Occupation of Syria in 1260

- Beginning of year: Mongols under Hülegü cross the Euphrates from Jazira
- 2 Safar (18 January): Beginning of Mongol attack on Aleppo
- 9 Safar (25 January): City of Aleppo taken
- 15 Safar (31 January): al-Nāṣir Yūsuf withdraws south from Damascus
- 19 Safar (4 February): Mongol envoys enter Damascus
- Early February: Ketbuqa sent south with division of troops
- 29 Safar (14 February): Ketbuqa enters Damascus (around this time sends force to Palestine and trans-Jordan); soon goes to Marj Barghūth
- c. 25 February: Citadel of Aleppo taken; soon afterwards, Ḥārim taken 16 or 17 Rabiʿ I (2 or 3 March): Mongol *shaḥna* and associates enter Damascus Rabiʿ II (March–April): Mongol raiders from south are back in Damascus
- March–April: Hülegü leaves Syria for Azerbaijan. Reached Akhlāṭ on 26 Jumada II/7 June 1260
- 15 Jumada I (28 April): Ketbuqa puts down rebellion of citadel in Damascus
- Early Rajab (June 1260): al-Nāṣir Yūsuf brought before Ketbuqa, sent on to Hülegü
- Mid-July: Mamluk army leaves Cairo
- 25 Ramaḍān 658 (3 September 1260): Mamluk victory at ʿAyn Jālūt.

Source: Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, chapter 2.

Appendix 2
Summary of Mongol Administration in Syria

Office	Damascus & all of Syria	Aleppo	Hama	Homs	Baalbek	Northern Golan	Karak
1 Overall military command	Ketbuqa						
2 *Shaḥna/nāʾib* of the city	Il-siban	Tūkāl Bakhshī	Khusraw-Shāh		Mentioned but unnamed		Unnamed *shaḥna* who never reaches Karak
3 Other "Mongol officials" of Iranian origin	*ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Kāzī al-ʿAjamī *Jamāl al-Dīn Qirqāy (?) Qazwīnī *Qāḍī Shams al-Dīn Qummī and others not specified (including Mongols)	ʿIzz al-Dīn *bitikjī*					

4 Senior Ayyūbid officials (wazir, etc.), officers or other senior local personalities now serving the Mongols	*al-Zayn al-Ḥāfiẓī (general administrative control) * Najm al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Lubūdī (supervisor of the *dīwān*)	* Muʾayyid al-Dīn ʿĪsā Ibn al-Qifṭī (wazir who soon died) *ʿImād al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī (called *nāʾib al-mulk*,but unspecified role; transferred to Iraq) * Fakhr al-Dīn (al-) Sāqī (commander of citadel) * al-Zayn al-Ḥāfiẓī may have had some supervisory role from afar	*Shujāʿ al-Dīn Murshid (eunuch of Ayyūbid prince who evidently leaves before coming of Mongol governor) *Mujāhid al-Dīn Qaymaz (commander of citadel)	Ṣārim al-Dīn Uzbak	Badr al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Khwārazmī (former Ayyūbid governor of city)		
5 Ayyūbid princes who submit and then serve the Mongols as "rulers of country"	al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā, then al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf (appointed but does not serve)			al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā (along with Tadmur, Tall Bāshir and al-Raḥba)		Al-Malik al-Saʿīd Ḥasan	Al-Malik al-Mughīth ʿUmar (also given control over Hebron)
6 Head *qāḍī* and *waqf* supervisor (in Syria and beyond)	Kamāl al-Dīn ʿUmar al-Taflīsī, then Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-Zakī (only in Syria)						

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A New Text of the *Annales de Terre Sainte*

Peter W. Edbury

In 1884, Reinhold Röhricht and Gaston Raynaud published in parallel two versions of a Latin Syrian narrative they dubbed the *Annales de Terre Sainte*.[1] These texts were written in Old French and, through a series of brief annals, recounted the history of the crusades and the Latin East from 1095 to 1291. It was immediately clear that material from similar versions of these texts was embedded in both the *Gestes des Chiprois* and the late Italian compilation known as the *Chronique d'Amadi*, and (for the 1240s onwards) in the *Estoire de Eracles*.[2] It was also clear that Marino Sanudo had incorporated a Latin translation of substantial sections of these annals into his *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*.[3] In 1960, Alfonso Sánchez Candeira published a Spanish version that broke off with the entry for 1260.[4] Historians have frequently made use of the information to be found in the *Annales de Terre Sainte* and the associated sources; indeed, for the thirteenth century they comprise an essential series of narratives which, despite their brevity, contain a significant body of otherwise unknown data.

A third Old French version of the *Annales* that can be set alongside the two published by Röhricht and Raynaud is to be found in the Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Pluteus LXI.10, and it is with particular pleasure therefore that I am able to offer an edition of this text to Benjamin Kedar who has himself so often unearthed hitherto overlooked sources and drawn them to scholarly attention. This manuscript is well known. It contains the Old French translation of William of Tyre's celebrated history. It has attracted attention because it alone preserves a version of the continuation of this work that takes the narrative beyond 1275 to 1277[5] and also because it has a unique section relating to the years 1191–97.[6] Furthermore, it has an impressive series of miniatures. Jaroslav Folda has argued that the manuscript was copied in Acre in 1290 or 1291, on the eve of

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[1] *Annales de Terre Sainte*, ed. Reinhold Röhricht and Gaston Raynaud in *Archives de l'Orient Latin* 2 (1884) documents, pp. 427–61.

[2] *Les Gestes des Chiprois* in *Receueil des Historiens des Croisades, Arm* 2: 651–872; *Chronique de Amadi* in *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi*, ed. René de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1891–93), 1; *Le estoire de Eracles empereur* in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens occidentaux* 2: 436–81.

[3] Marino Sanudo, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*, ed. Jacques Bongars in *Gesta Dei per Francos* (Hanau, 1611; repr. Jerusalem, 1972), pp. 206–32.

[4] "Las cruzadas en la historiografía española de la época: traducción castellana de un redacción desconocida de los 'Anales de Tierra Santa'," ed. Alfonso Sánchez Candeira in *Hispania: Revista Española de Historia* 20 (1960), pp. 325–67.

[5] *Eracles*, pp. 473–81.

[6] Louis de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l' île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan* (Paris, 1852–61), 3: 591–97; *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184–1197)*, ed. Margaret Ruth Morgan (Paris, 1982), pp. 9–14, 108–98.

the city's capture by the Muslims.[7] The text of the *Annales* occupies folios 1r–8r. The nineteenth-century editors of the Continuations of William of Tyre considered it to be a summary of their main text, and alluded to it as such in their edition of the section covering the years 1275–77. In fact, it is not a summary but an independent text, which, as these same editors acknowledged, included snippets of information that are not to be found elsewhere.[8] The nineteenth-century edition of the Continuations of William of Tyre appeared in 1859, but since then, so far as I am aware, only Jaroslav Folda has mentioned the presence of the *Annales* text in this manuscript.[9]

The Florence version of the *Annales* ends with the events of 1277. It is written in the same hand as the bulk of the William of Tyre text that follows[10] and so, assuming that Folda's dating is correct, it predates the fall of Acre and therefore predates both the versions published by Röhricht and Raynaud, each of which concludes with the events of 1291. While the language differs markedly, the information it contains generally parallels the others closely, although, from the late 1250s onwards, it sometimes diverges appreciably. It is closer to the text preserved in Röhricht and Raynaud's MS B than that in their MS A, but, in common with the other versions, its contents become steadily more significant as the thirteenth century progresses. There is, however, not a vast amount of material that is to be found here and nowhere else. A few examples of unique information may, however, serve to give the flavour of what it has to offer, although it should be emphasized that this list is by no means exhaustive. The Florence *Annales* alone notes that in 1260 the Christians destroyed the church of St. Nicholas outside the walls of Acre when preparing to defend themselves against an anticipated Mongol assault; that in 1268 Guy, the new archbishop of Nazareth, had previously been prior of the same church; and that Balian of Ibelin lord of Arsur's death in 1277 occurred on 29 September.

The discovery of this text raises important questions about the interrelationship of the various versions and the other associated narratives, and also about the process of composition. Where, when and how these texts were assembled deserve further consideration, and by placing them in their cultural context it may be possible to gain fresh insights into the intellectual *milieu* of the Latin East in the thirteenth century. These are complex issues and ones to which I hope to return on another occasion.

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[7] Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275–1291* (Princeton, 1976), pp. 111–16, 192–96 and plates 140–65.

[8] *Eracles*, p. 473 n. e, p. 478 nn. a, e.

[9] Folda, *Manuscript Illumination*, p. 111.

[10] Folda, *Manuscript Illumination*, p. 116 n. 201.

Note

In the edition that follows I have kept textual emendations to a minimum. I have made no attempt to correct mistakes in personal names, although a number are present, for example, the text confuses 'Bohemond' and 'Raymond' in the princely house of Antioch, and calls the short-lived Pope Innocent V (1276) 'Clement'.

Florence: Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Ms Pluteus LXI.10, fos. 1r–8r

Bien est droit et raison que chascun doit savoir en quel tens et en que saison et en quel an de l'incarnation Nostre Seignor Jhesu et quant les granz meutes des Crestiens ont esté emprises et faites por la sainte terre de Jherusalem, ou le dous beneoit Jhesu Crist, fiz de la beneoite Vierge Marie, se deigna tant humilier que por nos sauver vost recevoir mort et passion en la crois, laquel avoit esté ou servage des mescreanz .cccc. et .lxxxx. anz, une horre bien et autre horre mal, le peuple Crestien qui abitoit selonc ce que les seignages chamoient. Desquelz meutes fu la premiere esmeute[1] par Pierre li Ermites, a qui Deu dona grace en ce fait.

A mil et .lxxxxv. anz de l'incarnation Nostre Seignor Jhesu Crist Urbain qui lors <…> assembla un grant consille a Clermont ou qu'il fit doner la cruis as pelerins por passer en la terre sainte.

A mil et .lxxxxvi. anz murent les pelerins por passer en Surie et firent leur chevetaine Godefroi de Buillon duc de Loherene.

A mil et .lxxxxvii. anz fu prise Nique par les pelerins.

A mil et .lxxxxviii. anz fu prise Antioche.

A mil et .lxxxxviiii. anz fu prise la sainte cité de Jherusalem et Godefroi de Buillon fu esleu a roi. Et en cest an meismes desconfirent noz genz les Turs de Babiloine devant Escalone.

A mil et cent anz morut Godefroi de Buillon et fu roi apres lui Baudoin son fere qui fu apellé le premier roi de Jherusalem.

A mil et .c.i. an fu prise Cesaire.

A mil et .c.ii. anz fu la segonde bataille de ciaus de Babiloine es plains de Rames qui Baudoyn le premier roi desconfist.

A mil et c.iii. anz fu prise Accre.

A mil et .c.v. anz fu la tierce bataille de ciaus de Babiloine et de noz genz. Et en cest an morut Raymont le conte de Toulouse.

A mil et .c. et .vii. anz pelerins qui aloient de Japhe en Jherusalem desonfirent les Turs d'Escalone.

A mil et .c. et .viii. anz Hue de Saint Homer sire de Thabarie ferma le Thoron en la terre de Sur. Et en cest an Bertrant fiz le conte de Tholouse ariva devant Triple. Et en cest an vindrent les Geneveis et pristrent Gibelet.

A mil et .c.viiii. anz fu prise Triple[2] et en fist seignor Bertran fiz le conte de Tholouse, qui en fist homage au roi de Jherusalem.

A mil et .c.x. anz fu prise la cité de Barut et celle de Seete.

A mil et .c.xiii. anz fu la quarte bataille que le roi Baudoyn desconfi les Sarrasinz a Thabarie.

A mil et .c.xv. anz fu fermé le chastel de Mont Real.

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[1] Manuscript: esmthue

[2] Manuscript repeats: Triple

A mil et c.xviii. anz Baudoyn le premier roi de Jherusalem morut en la terre d'Egypte entre Faramie et Laris, et fu coronés a roi Baudoyn de Borc qui fu le segont roi de Jherusalem.

A mil et .c.xxiii. anz fu la quinte bataille de ciaus de Babiloine que Baudoyn le segont roi desconfist vers Jherusalem.

A mil et .c.xxiiii. anz fu prise Sur.

[**1v**] A mil et .c.xxvi. desconfist le roi Baudoyn les Sarrasinz a Margesafar, et ce fu la siste bataille.

A mil et c. et .xxxi. morut Baudoyn le segont roi, et fu roi apres lui Fouque d'Anjo qui estoit baron sa fille.

A mil et .c.xliii. fu mor le roi Fouque, et en son leuc fu coronés Baudoyn son ainz né fiz.

A mil et .c.xlvii. Conrat l'emperere d'Alemaigne et Loys le roi de France qui estoient passés en Surie assegererent Domas et ne la pristrent mie.

A mil et .c.liiii. anz fu pris de Sarrasinz Baudoyn le quart roi.[3]

A mil et .c.lxiii. anz morut Baudoyn le quart.

A mil et .c.lxiiii. anz fu fait roi Amauri son frere.

A mil et .c.lxv. fu rendu le chastel de Harenc. Et en cest an fu desconfit Buemont prince d'Antioche et le conte de Triple et asses des barons et menés en prison a Halape.

A mil et c.lxvii. anz ala le roi Amauri en Egypte et prist Alixandre et Belbeis. Et au segont an chassa il Salahadin de champ. Et au tiers an il asseia Damiate par l'aye des Grex de Costantinople mes la prist mie. Et les Sarrasinz pristrent Belinaz des Crestiens.

A mil et .c.lxx. anz fu le grant crolle qui abati moult de terres de Crestiens et de Sarrazins; ce est asaveir Triple, Arche, Valenie, Gibel, La Liche, Antioche et pluisors autres cités, et ce avint a la feste Saint Pierre et Saint Pol.

A mil et .c.lxxiiii. morut le roi Amauri, et fu roi apres lui Baudoyn son fiz qui puis fu mesel.

A mil et .c.lxxvii. anz le segont jor de delier Baudoyn li roi mesiau par la vertu de la sainte crois desconfist Salahadin a Mongisart.

A mil et .c.lxxviiii. anz se combati le roi Baudoyn et Salahadin a Margelyon, et ne lor avint pas bien porce qu'il laissierent la voire crois a Thabarie. Ainz furent desconfit. Et fu en celle desconfiture frere Eudde de Saint Amant maistre del Temple et Baudoyn de Ybelin et pluisors autres chevaliers.

A mil et .c.lxxx. anz morut Loys le roi de France, et fu roi apres lui Phelippe son fiz.

A mil et .c.lxxxi. an fu coronés a roi de Jherusalem Baudoyn le petit qui fu fiz dou marquis Guillaume Longue Espee et de Sebille suer le roi mesel.

A .m. et .c.lxxxv. anz morut le roi Baudoyn le mesel.

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[3] Evidently a blundered reading: other versions note Baldwin's capture of Ascalon s.a. 1154.

A .m. et .c.lxxxvi. anz morut le petit roi, et fu coronee Sebille sa mere et Gui de Lesignan son mari.

A mil et .c.lxxxvii. anz le premier jor de mai fu occis le maistre de l'Hospital frere Rogier des Molins et le mareschal dou Temple frere Jaques de Mailli devant Casal Robert. Et au quart jor de juignet furent desconfit les Crestiens a Quarne Hatin, et fu la perdue la sainte crois et fu pris le roi Gui. Et cel jor meismes fu Accre rendue as Sarrasinz et a Salahadin. Et au quart jor de septembre li fu rendue Escalone, et en celui jor oscursi le souleill. Et au segont jor de octovre li fu rendue la sainte cité de Jherusalem et tot le roiaume fors Sur.

A .m. et .c.lxxxviii. anz vint le marquis de Monferar a Sur.

A .m. et .c.lxxxviiii. ans le rei Gui, [**2r**] apres ce qu'il fu delivré de la prison Salahadin, asseia Accre.

A .m. et .c.lxxxx. anz fu neé l'emperor Fedric au flum dou Salef, et fu enterrés en Antioche. Et pape Celestin corona Henri son fiz a empereor. Et en cel an le roi Phelippe de France et le roi Richart d'Engleterre vindrent au siege d'Accre. Et le roi Richard prist en son venir l'isle de Chypre de Kyrsac. Et en cel an comensa l'ordre de l'Hospital des Alemanz.

A .m. et .c.lxxxxi. an le roi de France et celui d'Engleterre recovrerent Accre des Sarrasinz a .xi. jors de juing.

A .m. et .c.lxxxxii. anz le roi Gui acheta Chypre dou roi Richart et si en fu saisi. Et les Haississins tuerent le marquis. Et le conte Henri espousa Ysabel, la fille le roi Amauri, qui fu feme Hamfroi dou Thoron.

A mil et .c.lxxxxiii. le roi Richart fist trives a Salahadin et recovra Japhe, Arsur, Cesaire et Cayphas. Et en cel an il s'en ala outremer, et fu agaitie et pris en Ostericheе.

A mil et .c.lxxxxiiii. anz morut le roi Gui, et son frere Heymeri fu coronez de Chypre apres lui. Et Lyvon le sire d'Ermenie prist Buemont prince d'Antioche et le tint en prison.

A mil et .c.lxxxxv. anz ala le conte Henri en Ermenie et delivra Buemont le prince d'Antioche de prison, et fist mariage de la fille Rupin, qui estoit mere de Lyvon et de Raimont l'ainz né fiz dou prince. En cel an le conte Henri chassa les Pisanz d'Accre, et en cel an meismes s'acorderent a lui et retornerent en Accre.

A mil et .c.lxxxxvi. anz morut Salahadin. Et Seiffedin son frere toli le roiaume de Babiloine et de Domas de ces nevous. Et en cel an morut le patriarche Heymeri d'Antioche, et fu fait patriarche Pierre d'Engolesme qui estoit evesque de Triple.

A mil et .c.lxxxxvii. anz rendirent les Sarrasinz Gibelet as Crestiens. Et en cel an fu fait pape Innocent. Et maistre Fouque preescha la crois en France. Et l'empereor Henri prist Puille et Cesille. En cel an manda il le secors en la terre de Jherusalem. Et le conte Henri de Champaigne chay de la fenestre dou chastel d'Accre aval et morut. Et le Heidel prist Japhe.

A mil et .c.lxxxxviii. anz le roi Heimeri de Chypre espousa la royne Ysabel de Jherusalem. Et l'arcevesque de Maience corona Lyvon a roi d'Ermenie. Et en cel an

fu recoverte la cité de Baruth, et les Alemans assegierent le Thoron et ne le pristrent mie. Et adonc morut l'empereor Henri.

A mil et .cc.i. morut Buemont le prince d'Antioche, et fu fait prince Raymont son fiz qui estoit conte de Triple. Et en cel an secha le flum d'Eygpte, et y ot en la terre grant famine et grant cherestie.

A mil et .cc.ii. fu le crolle qui abati Sur, Accre, Gibelet, Arches et une partie de Triple et moult autre cités de Crestienz et de Sarrasinz cheytent.

A mil et .cc.iii. entra le roi Lyvon en Antioche devers le chastel le jor Saint Martin et prist jusques au Temple et demora dedenz .iii. jors.

A mil et .cc.iiii. anz l'estoire dou conte de Flandres et dou duc de Venise amenerent le fiz l'empereor Kyrsac et le mistrent en Costantinople si que Marchofle le tua, dont le conte [**2v**] de Flandres et le duc de Venise assegierent Marchofle et pristrent lui et la cité, et le firent saillir dou pillier aval, et eslurent le conte Baudoyn a empereor. Et en cel an mandi le roi Heymeri l'estoire de Chypre et de Surie en Egypte et destrurent Fouhé et en amenerent grant gaain.

A mil et .cc.v. morut le roi Heymeri.

A mil et .cc.vi. prist le prince Buemont Nefin et Gibelacar dou sire de Nefin qui estoit revelé contre lui.

A mil et .cc.vii. fu coronés lempereor Othes, et le roi Phelippe d'Alemaigne fu tué.

A mil et .cc.viii. se revela la comune d'Antioche contre le prince Raymont par le conseill dou patriarche Pierre d'Angolesme, et mistrent en Antioche les chevaliers que le prince avoit chassiez, si que le prince dessendi de son chastel tos armés et desconfi les chevaliers et la comune et prist le patriarche et le mist ou chastel en prison dont il en morut.

A .m. et .cc. et .x. anz vint le roi Johan en Accre et espousa la royne Marie, et le patriarche les corona a Sur.

A mil et .cc.xi. le roi Hugue de Chypre espousa la reyne Aalis. Et en cel an Gautier de Monbeliart ala par mer en Damiate et prist Borge et amena grant gaain.

A mil et .cc.xii. l'avant dit Gautier de Monbeliart ala en Romanie et prist Satalie et illeuc fu occis.

A mil et .cc.xiii. fu la bataillle d'Espaigne. Et en cel an desconfi Lascre le soudan dou Coine et l'occist el champ. Et en cel an tuerent les Hasississins Raymont le prince d'Antioche.

A mil et .cc.xiiii. anz fu tué le patriarche Aubert en la procession dedenz l'iglise de Sainte Crois en Accre. Et fu fait patriarche Raoul evesque de Saiete. Et en cel an desconfist le roi Phelippe de France l'empereor Othes au pont de Bovines, et Loys son fiz desconfist le roi Johan en Peito. Et en cel an le roi Johan d'Engleterre devint home de l'yglise de Rome et dou pape et li dona treu d'Engleterre.

A mil et .cc. et .xv. anz pape Innocent le tiers tint consille general por le secors de la terre de Jherusalem et trova la campane devant Corpus Domini.

A mil et .cc.xvi. anz fu rendue Antioche a Rupin par l'atrait de Acharie le seneschal d'Antioche. Et en cel an morut l'empereor Othes et le roi Johan d'Engleterre.

Et Federic qui l'on apeloit l'enfant de Puille fu esleu a empereor et coroné a roi d'Alemaigne. Et morut aussi pape Innocent, et fu fait pape Honoire.

A mil et .cc.xvii. anz le roi de Hongrie et le duc d'Osteriche alerent en Surie. Et la grant croisiee des Hongres et des Alemans alerent au Gor et a Monte Tabor. Et les Templiers fermerent Chastiau Pelerin. Et le roi Johan et le patriarche firent fermer le chastel de Cesaire.

A .m. et .cc. et .xviii. anz morut le roi Hugue de Chypre en la cité de Triple et fu enterés en l'yglise de l'Hospital de Saint Johan. Et en cel an ala l'ost de Surie en Damiate. Et en cel an vint maistre Pelage, qui estoit evesque d'Albane et legat de l'yglise de Rome et le prince des Romains.

A mil et .cc.xviiii. pristrent les Crestiens Damiate des Sarrasinz, et le prince Buemont toli Antioche a [**3r**] Rupin son nevou par l'atrait de Guillaume Farabel. Et cel an morut le roi Lyvon d'Ermenie.

A mil et .cc.xx. anz fu coronés Federic a empereor.

A mil et .cc.xxi. perdirent les Crestiens Damiate a l'issue d'aoust.

A mil et .cc.xxii. anz retorna le legat a Rome. Et le roi Johan et le patriarche Raoul et le maistre de l'Hospital, frere Garin de Mont Agu, alerent o lui. Et lors parla le roi Johan au pape dou mariage de sa fille a l'empereor, et la fu otroie par la dispensacion de pape Honoire. Et Phelippe, fiz de Raymont le prince d'Antioche, espousa la fille dou roi Lyvon d'Ermenie. Et apres avint que le baill d'Ermenie le prist et le mist en sa prison dont il morut. Et en cel an fu le crolle en Chypre qui abati Baphe.

A mil et .cc.xxiii. retorna de Rome le patriarche Raoul. Et Phelippe le roi de France morut en cel an, et Loys son fiz fu coronés a roi.

A mil et .cc.xxiiii. vint l'evesque de Pact et aporta l'anel a Ysabel la fille le roi Johan de par l'empereor Federic. Et en cel an morut le patriarche Raoul, et apres lui fu esleu a patriarche Girot. Et le baill d'Ermenie prist le roi Phelippe fiz dou prince Et en cel an Buemont fiz dou prince espousa Aaliz la royne de Chypre.

A mil et .cc.xxv. anz fu coronee la fille dou roi Johan a Sur, et passa la mer a l'empereor, et ala o lui Symon l'arcevesque de Sur et Belleem seignor de Seete.

A mil et .cc.xxvi. anz vint le conte Thomas en la Surie, et fu baill d'Accre de par l'empereor Federic. Et lors comensierent les Alemans a fermer le chastiau de Monfort.

A mil et .cc.xxvii. anz le patriarche Girot, qui estoit legat general, et le duc de Lambro et l'arcevesque de Vincestre et l'evesque de Excestre vindrent en Surie. Et en cel an morut Phelippe de Ybelin, et fu fermés le chastiau de Seete, et morut frere Garin de Mont Agu, maistre de l'Hospital, et aussi morut Coreidin qui estoit soudan de Domas.

A mil et .cc.xxviii. vint l'empereor Federic et ferma Japhe. Et la royne Aalis se parti dou mariage de Raymont le fiz le prince d'Antioche.

A mil et .cc.xxviiii. anz l'empereor Federic fist la trive au Quemel, et li fu rendu Jherusalem et Lidde et Nazereth. Et l'empereor vendi le roiaume de Chypre a .v. baills et si dona feme au roi et puis s'en ala. Et en cel an fu la bataille de Chypre,

que le seignor de Baruth desconfist les .v. baills, et si y fu occis Gautier de Cesaire et Girart de Mont Agu.

A mil et .cc.xxx. anz fist faire le patriarche Girot les .ii. tours de Jahpe devers Escalone. Et cel an fu reconsiliee l'yglise dou Sepulcre. Et vint le patriarche d'Antioche qui estoit legat de la court de Rome.

A mil et .cc.xxxi. vindrent les Lomguebars et pristrent Baruth, et assegierent le chastel sanz prendre, et si s'en partirent hontousement.

A mil et .cc.xxxii. anz alerent les Longuebars en Chypre par le conseill de Amauri Barlais et de Heymeri de Bessan et de Hue de Gibelet, si que le sire de Baruth et ses enfanz alerent [**3v**] apres, et les Geneveis aveuc eaus, et les desconfirent. Et se fu la segonde bataille de Chypre. Et la royne Aalis ala de Chypre en France por recouvrer le conté de Champaigne. Et le patriarche Girot ala a Rome porce que l'empereor Federic l'avoit acuzé au pape et si avoit perdue la legacion. Et puis, quant il vint devant le pape, il li dona la legacion perpetuelment en son patriarchie.

A mil et .cc.xxxiii. Buemont le prince d'Antioche morut, et fu prince son fiz Buemont. Et fu rendu le chastel de Cherines au seignor de Baruth.

A mil et .cc.xxxiiii. anz vint l'arcevesque de Ravene en la legacion. Et le prince Buemont espousa la fille au conte Pol de Rome. Et en cel an fu ars Mumusart.

A mil et .cc.xxxv. revint la royne Aalis de Champaigne.

A mil et .cc.xxxvi. morut Johan de Ybelin, seignor de Baruth. Et son nevou Johan de Cesaire et le Temple et l'Ospital alerent assegier Monferant.

A mil et .cc.xxxvii. furent desconfit les Templiers a Trepessac. Et le patriarche Girot vint de Rome. Et Hue l'arcevesque de Nazereth morut, et aussi Pierre l'arcevesque de Cesaire morut, et le Sseiraf, seignor de Domas, morut aussi.

A mil et .cc.xxxviii. morut le patriarche Girot, et aussi le Quemel qui estoit seignor de Domas et de Babiloine. Et le Johet si fu seignor de Domas.

A mil et .cc.xxxviiii. vindrent en Accre le roi de Navarre et le conte de Bertaigne et le conte de Montfort et le duc de Borgoigne et le conte de Bar et le conte de Nevers et autres chevaliers asses. Et en cel an meismes les desconfi le Roc, un grant amiraill, entre Gadres et Escalone, et fu pris le conte de Montfort, et le conte de Bar morut, et asses autres chevaliers y ot que pris que mors. Et Raoul de Saisson espousa lors la royne Aalis.

A mil et .cc.xl. anz fu faite la trive o le Salah qui estoit sire de Domas et a rendi Saphet au Temple et Biaufort et tote la terre de Jherusalem. Et en cel an vint le conte Richart. Et morut Belleem le seignor de Seete. Et s'en retorna le roi de Navarre et le conte de Bertaigne. Et adonc ferma le conte Richart Escalone.

A mil et .cc.xli. an Johan de Ybelin, fiz dou sire de Baruth, fist fermer le chastel d'Arsur. Et le conte Richart aferma la trive o le soudan et delivra le conte de Monfort et les autres chevaliers qui le Roc avoit pris a la desconfiture dou roi de Navarre. Puis s'en retorna en son pays. Et morut pape Gregoire, et le souleill oscurzi, et le siege demora un an et .viiii. mois sanz pape.

A mil et .cc.xlii. anz alerent les Templiers et sire Jofrei de Sargines et le Melec Johet a Escalone ensi que le Nasser et l'ost de Babiloine assaillirent la herberge dou

Temple et y ressurent les Sarrasinz grant domage, et les Crestiens guerpirent de nuit leur herberges et alerent a Japhe. Et en cel an requist la royne Aalis le roiaume de Jherusalem et l'ot.

A mil et .cc.xliii. les Templiers et Joffrei de Sargines tindrent herberge a Japhe, et le Salah qui estoit seignor de Domas vint as molins [**4r**] des Turs por afermer la trive a noz genz. Mais il les engingna et ne fist point. Et lors asseia le sire de Baruth l'Ospital de Saint Johan. Et en cel an fu grant guerre en Accre entre les Franceis et les Suriens.

A mil et .cc.xliiii. anz fu fermee la trive au seignor de Domas et o le Nasser son nevou, et rendirent Jherusalem et le Temple Domini et tote la terre dou flum en sa fors Naples et Jerico. Et en cel an vint le patriarche Robert. Et fu feru adonc des Haississins le sire de Baruth dont il fu mahaignies dou destre bras. Et en cel an vindrent les Horesmins qui desconfirent noz genz a Forbie, et fu pris le maistre de l'Hospital, frere Guillaume de Chastiau Nuef, et le conte Gautier et son nevou Jaque, et Pierre arcevesque de Sur, et Raoul evesque Saint Jorge, et les .ii. fiz dou sire dou Boutron, et frere Hugue de Monlai mareschal dou Temple, et pluisors autres chevaliers y furent que mors que pris. Et fu prise la cité de Jherusalem, et mis a l'espee tos les Crestiens qui dedenz estoient.

A mil et .cc.xlv. pape Innocent le quart desposa l'empereor Federic. Et en cel an morut Aubert le patriarche d'Antioche.

A mil et .cc.xlvi. anz morut la royne Aalis, et son fiz le roi de Chypre prist la seignorie d'Accre.

A mil et .cc.xlvii. vint le soudan de Babiloine et prist Tabarie et asseia Escalone par mer et par terre, et manderent lors cil de Surie querre secors en Chypre. Et le roi de Chypre manda .viii. galees et .ii. galions et .c. chevaliers, et en fu chevetaine Johan de Ybelin seignor d'Arsur, et alerent a Escalone, et Deu manda une fortune de tens dont .xxi. galees de Sarrasinz et une nave rompirent devant Escalone. Et en cel an morut Belleem de Ybelin le seignor de Baruth le quart jor de setembre. Et les Sarrasinz pristrent Escalone en la moitie de octovre.

A mil et .cc.xlviii. anz ariva en Chypre le roi Loys de France a .xxviii. jors de setembre.

A mil et .cc.xlviiii. anz a .xxx. jors de mai mut le roi de France de Chypre por aler a Damiate, et si ariva au quart jor de juing, et au quint jor prist la terre, et au siste jor li fu rendue la cité de Damiate. Et le roi de Chypre tolli la baillye d'Accre a sire Johan Foinon. Et au septembre apres fu une guerre de Pisanz et de Geneveis qui dura .xxii. jors. Et en cel mois fu une grant tempeste en mer dont .lxxii. vaissiaus que granz que petis brisierent au port d'Accre. Et devant Damiate furent brisiees .xxii. naves et .x. vaissiaus sanz les autres qui brisierent par la riviere. Et a .xxviii. jors de novembre mut le roi de France de Damiate por aler a la Mensorre, et y parvint la a .xxii. jors de delier. Et a .viii. jors de genvier brisierent noz genz a Bessan une herberge de Turquemanz. Et a .viii. jors de fevrier vint un Bedoyn au roi de France si enseigna le gué dou flum de Tenis, dont noz genz passerent et pristrent la Mensorre, car les Sar[**4v**]rasinz l'abandonerent. Robert le conte d'Arteis

et le Temple, qui fesoient l'avant garde, s'embatirent dedenz la ville et leur genz corurent au gaain. Les Sarrazins, qui virent leur mauvais contenement, lor corurent sus et asses en occistrent, car le conte Arteis, frere le rei de France, y fu perdu, que om ne sot qu'il devint. Et y fu occis le conte de Salebiere et Raou de Cossi. Si recovrent les Sarrazins la Mensorre.

A mil et .cc.l. anz a l'entre d'avrill faillirent les viandes en l'ost. Et au quint jor s'en parti li rois o tot son ost por venir en Damiate, et come il furent venuz a un casal qui a nom Sarmensac fu le roi desconfit et pris et tote la chevalerie. Si avint que la meismes fist il pais as Sarrazins, et por la raenson de lui et des autres rendi il Damiate et tos les prisoniers qui avoient esté pris en celle guerre et par dessuz .c. .m. mars d'argent. Et les Sarrasinz delivrerent le roi et ses freres et tos les prisoniers qui avoient esté pris dou tens l'empereor jusques alors. Et le segont jor de mai les Turs de Babiloine occistrent leur soudan, et covint que le roi lor jurast la trive si come il avoit fait au soudan, et ensi fu delivré. Et a .xiii. jors de may vint le roi et ses .ii. freres en Accre et ferma le borc. Et a l'entree d'aost se partirent d'Accre por aler en leur pays Amfous le conte de Poitiers et Charle le conte d'Anjo et Guillaume le conte de Flandres. Et ou mois de setembre Henri le roi de Chypre espousa Plaisence fille de Buemont le prince d'Antioche et conte de Triple. Et le maistre de l'Hospital frere Guillaume de Chastiau Nuef fu delivré de la prison de Babiloine et vint en Accre a .xviii. jors de octovre. Et en cel an le jor Sainte Lucye morut l'empereor Federic. Et le premier jor de fevrier fu desconfit le soudan de Halape en Egypte, et perdi .xxvii. .m. homes, et de cil d'Egypte morurent .ii. m. Turs.

A .m. et .cc.li. an a .xviii. jors de mars le roi de France mut d'Accre et ala fermer Cesaire. Et en cel an pape Innocent le quart se parti de Lyon sur le Rone et ala en Gene. Et Nicolle Arcir fu fait arcevesque de Sur et vint en Surie. Et a .viii. jors de genvier morut Buemont prince d'Antioche, et fu fait prince Buemont son fiz.

A mil et .cc.lii. anz a .xv. jors d'avrill ala le roi de France fermer Japhe. Et en cel an sa mere, la royne Blanche, morut. Et Buemont le prince d'Antioche ala a Japhe au roi de France aveuc sa mere Lucie porce que le roi le feyst chevalier, et il le fist. Et en cel an Julien le seignor de Seete espousa la fille Heiton le roi d'Ermenie.

A mil et .cc.liii. anz le soudan de Domas fist pais a ciaus d'Egypte, et engignierent le roi de France. Et au mois de mai vindrent ciaus de Domas devant Accre et abatirent Doc et Recordane. Et puis alerent a Seete et la pristrent et occistrent bien .viii. cenz persones et enmenerent bien .cccc. en prison a Domas. Et a l'issue de meis de juign le roi de France ala fermer Seete. Et en cel an [**5r**] morut le roi Henri de Chypre et aussi Nicolle l'arcevesque de Sur. Et si fu esleu arcevesque Gille qui avoit esté vesque de Damiate. Et morut aussi Gui de Mimars qui estoit evesque de Baphe, et Gautier qui estoit evesque d'Accre morut aussi. Et Haiton, le roi d'Ermenie, ala a Tatars.

A .m. et .cc.liiii. anz le roi Loys de France vint en Accre a .xxiiii. jors de mars et fist chevalier Belleem de Ybelin le fiz dou sire d'Arsur, qui puis espousa Plaisence la royne de Chypre. Et a .xxiiii. jor d'avrill le roi de France et la royne s'espouse et ses enfanz monterent sur mer, et lendemain qui fu le jor Saint Marc a l'orre de

vespres firent voille dou port d'Accre. Et a .xxiiii. jors de mai morut le roi Conrat. Et a .x. jors de juing Marguerite la dame de Seete morut. Et a .viii. jors de juignet morut Robert patriarche de Jherusalem. Et a .xxii. jors de juignet ariva le patriarche d'Antioche en Accre. Et a .xxvii. jors de setembre Heudde evesque de Tosquelane, qui vint legat aveuc le roi de France en Surie, monta sur mer et s'en ala outremer. Et Buemont le prince d'Antioche espousa Sebille la fille dou roi d'Ermenie le quart jor de octovre. Et le pape Innocent morut au meis de decembre, et Renaut l'evesque d'Oiste si fu pape et fu apelé Alixandre. Et comferma a l'Hospital de Saint Johan Mont de Tabor.

A mil .et. cc.lv.[4] anz fu faite la trive dou soudan de Domas et dou conte de Japhe, Johan de Ybelin, qui adonc estoit baill dou reiaume de Jherusalem, et fu hors de la trive Japhe et la seignorie de Rames. Et en cel an le cardenal Octevien entra en la terre de Puille aveuc l'ost dou pape, et si li fu rendu Sciege et Sipont et Saint Lorens et Mont Angle et tote la terre jusqu'a Optrente.

A mil et .cc.lvi. anz maistre Florens ariva en Accre tot sacré evesque d'Accre le jor de Saint Johan. Et en cel an por la maison Saint Sabbe comensa la meslee entre les Geneveis et les Veniciens, et furent desconfit les Veniciens par les Pisanz, qui lor furent encontre qui estoient jurés as Geneveis, et fu leur rue corrue et robee. Et frere Renaut de Vigier qui estoit maistre dou Temple morut, et frere Thomas Berart fu maistre.

A mil et .cc.lvii. anz ou mois de juignet le seignor d'Arsur qui estoit baill dou roiaume de Jherusalem por lui et por les homes de la seignorie, et les conselles do comun de Gene d'Accre por eaus et por leur comun jurerent ensemble d'aidier et de maintenir et de deffendre l'un l'autre contre totes genz par mer et par terre de leur cors et de leur gent et de leur avoir. De quei il avint que les Geneveis se partirent dou sairement qu'il avoient as Pisanz, et se ralierent les Pisanz et les Veniciens ensemble. Et fist tant le seignor o l'aye de Geneveis qu'il assegierent les Pisanz et les Veniciens et furent a ce menés que les Pisanz rendirent leur tors au sire d'Arsur. Et apres ce vint en Accre conselle des Pisans un vaillant home de Pise qui avoit nom Siguer de la Sacete. Et de Venise vint chevetaine Lorens Teuple qui amena o lui .xiiii. galiees et .ii. naves, et maintenant comensa [**5v**] la grant guerre en Accre des Pisanz et Veniciens o les Geneveis. Et furent au comensement encloz les Pisanz et les Veniciens par le seignor. Mes apres vint Buemont prince d'Antioche et amena o lui sa suer la royne Plaisence de Chypre et son fiz Huguet, qui esteit heir dou reiaume de Jherusalem, et par l'atrait dou maistre dou Temple et de Johan de Ybelin conte de Japhe tindrent la partie des Pisanz et des Veniciens, et furent encloz les Geneveis. Apres vint le Rous de la Turque, chevetaine de .xlviii. galees et de .iiii. naves devant Accre la vigille Saint Johan, et les Pisanz et les Veniciens armerent .xlii. galiees, et lendemain qui fu le jor Saint Johan le Baptiste se combatirent ensemble et furent desconfit les Geneveis et perdirent .xxviii. de leur galiees. Et lors fu finee la guerre, et se partirent les Geneveis d'Accre, et les Pisans

[4] Corrected in manuscript from: lxxv

et les Veniciens abatirent leur tor et presque tote leur rue. Et en cel an pristrent les Tatars Baudac et tote la terre de Perce et occistrent le halife. Et adonc fu occis Johan l'Alemen le sire de Cesaire en son chastel de Cesaire si come il dormeit en son lit. Et morut lors Johan de Ybelin seignor d'Arsur.

A mil et .cc.lviiii. anz a .xviii. jors d'avrill vint en Accre legat, frere Thomas de Lentin de l'ordre des Preeschors et evesque de Beleem. Et la royne Plaisence vint en Accre le premier jor de mai et fist baill de la terre Jofroi de Sargines qui estoit seneschal dou roiaume. Et cel an ala a Rome Jaque le patriarche de Jherusalem por delivrer Saint Ladre de Betaine des mains de l'Hospital de Saint Johan, que le pape lor avoit doné.

A mil et .cc.lx. anz pristrent les Tatars Halape par force et mistrent a l'espee quanqu'il troverent, et tote la terre de Haman de la Chamelle et de Domas, et vindrent ou reiaume de Jherusalem, et alerent vers le Crac, et pristrent le soudan, et puis pristrent Saete. Et por paor d'iaus cil d'Accre taillierent tos les jardins qui estoient pres de la ville et abatirent totes les murailles et tors qui estoient dehors la ville et l'yglise Saint Nicolaz et les vaz[5] qui estoient ou sementire, et comensierent afaire une barbecane entor la ville. Et en cel an meismes par l'enortement de ciaus d'Accre issirent cil de Babiloine et estoit lors soudan un qui anomoit en surnom le Goutous et se combatirent as Tatars ou plain de Thabarie et les desconfirent le tiers jor de setembre, et depuis la desconfiture, si come il tornoient en Babiloine, un Turc qui anomoit Bendoudar occist le soudan, et quant il l'ot occis si fu fait soudan de Babiloine. Et Julien le seignor de Seete vendi lors Seete et Beaufors au Temple, dont Haiton le roi d'Ermenie se tint mal apaie, porce qu'il avoit sa fille a feme, et vost rendre au Temple ce qu'il avoient doné. Et en cel an Johan de Ybelin le sire de Baruth et les Templiers et la chevalerie d'Accre alerent brisier un herberge de Turquemanz qui estoit au Thoron des chevaus outre le Saphet .xii. milles, et furent desconfit et fu pris le sire [**6r**] de Baruth et frere Mahé le Sauvage comandor dou Temple et autres freres et chevaliers dou sciecle asses, et asses en y ot de mors. Mes il furent mis a raenson et delivrés dedenz .xv. jors.

A mil et .cc.lxi. aliena le sire d'Arsur Arsur a l'Hospital de Saint Johan. Et en cel an morut pape Alixandre le jor de Saint Urbain, et fu fait pape a .xxviiii. jors d'aoust maistre Jaque qui estoit patriarche de Jherusalem. Et en cel an Pallialogue prist Costantinople. Et la royne Plaisence morut, et Hugue de Lesignan ressut le bailliage de Chypre.

A mil et .cc.lxii. anz fu Antioche assegiee de Sarrasinz. Mais par l'atrait dou roi d'Ermenie les Tatars s'esmurent contre eaus si qu'il laissierent le siege et s'en partirent. Et en cel an Charle le conte d'Anjo et de Provence, frere le roi Loys de France, asseia Marseille, et cil dedenz se tendirent a lui par force dont il en fu seignor, et mist bailli et justisier en la ville de par lui.

A mil et .cc.lxiii. anz Bendocdar le soudan de Babiloine vint devant Accre a .xiiii. jors d'avrill et lendemain corut jusque es portes de la ville et par force mist la

[5] Manuscript B: vaisiaus. Cf. Sanudo (p. 221): lapides cimiterii

gent dedenz. Et fu navrés Jofrei de Sargines, et pluisors autres chevaliers et sergenz y ot asses mors et navrés. Et fu la ville en grant aventure. Et l'achaison por quei il vint fu porce que le Temple et l'Ostpital ne vodrent rendre leur esclas si come il l'avoient otroie por la trive faire, et le soudan voloit aussi rendre les siens. Mes le conte de Japhe rendi ses esclaz au soudan par quoi il li tint bien la trive. Et en cel an vint Henri le fiz dou prince Raymont d'Antioche en Accre et sa feme Ysabiau qui fu fille dou rei Henri de Chypre et de la royne Aalis, par qui la seignorie dou reiaume li escheeit, et requistrent as seignors d'Accre le baillage dou reiaume de Jherusalem et l'orent sanz ce que om lor feyst homage ne sairement, porce qu'il n'avoient amené aveuc eaus l'eir. Si s'en retorna la dite Ysabel en Chypre et laissa son baron baill en Accre. Et lors s'en parti d'Accre por aler outremer l'evesque de Beleem qui estoit legat en Surie. Et a .xxiiii. jors de setembre vint en Accre Guillaume patriarche de Jherusalem et legat de tote Surie. Et Henri frere dou prince d'Antioche fu fait baill en Accre.

A mil et .cc.lxiiii. anz vindrent de Venise .lviii. que galiees que tarides et alerent devant Sur et combatirent la cité, mais il n'i forfirent neent ainz s'en retornerent sanz riens faire, car Phelippe de Montfors qui lors en estoit seignor se defendi bien et biau d'iaus. Et morut lors pape Urbain le quart. Et Johan de Ybelin seignor de Baruth et Huet qui estoit heir de Cesaire et Ysabel feme de Henri fiz dou prince morurent aussi. Et fu fait pape maistre Gui le cardenal evesque de Sabine qui fu evesque de Nerbone, et fu apelé Climenz le quart. Et Charles le conte de Provence fu fait senator de Rome perpetuelment et manda a Rome son vicaire. Et lors desconfist le roi de Castelle celui de Grenate ou il occist moult de Sarrasinz. Et adonc vint en Accre Olivier de Termes.

A mil et .cc.lxv. anz Bendocdar le [**6v**] soudan de Babiloine a .viii. jors de mars prist la cité de Cesaire et a .xv. jors de mars asseia le chastel d'Arsur et tant le combati que le dereain jor d'avrill le prist par force. Et lors apparut l'estoille de colmete. Et Hugue de Lesignan qui estoit baill de Chypre vint en Accre por secors, et amena o lui bien .c. et .xxx. que chevaliers que sergenz a cheval. Et en cel an Symon de Montfort qui estoit conte de Lexestre et avoit a feme le suer le roi d'Engleterre porchassa tant vers les barons de la terre qu'il prist le roi et son frere le conte Richart, qui estoit apelez roi d'Alemaigne, et Odoart fiz le roi, et les tint en prison. Mes Odoart issi de prison et se ralierent o lui ses homes, et il se combati a Symon de Montfort et le desconfi et occist. Et en cel an meismes Charle le conte d'Anjo et de Provence fu coroné a Rome a roi de Cesille par le comandement de pape Climenz et entra en Puille et se combati a Manfrei a Bonivent et le desconfi et occist. Apres vint a Saint Germain Laguillier et la occist asses de la gent de Mamfrei. Et adonc vint en Accre le conte de Nevers et sire Erart de Nantueill et Erart de Valeri et furent bien .lx. chevaliers.

A mil et .cc.lxvi. Bendocdar le soudan de Babiloine vint devant Accre le segont jor de juing et demora .viii. jors; puis se parti et ala assegier le Saphet et le prist a .xxii. jors de juignet, car cil dedenz se rendirent sauve leur vies. Mais il lor tint mal covenances, car il lor fist a tos coper les testes. Apres se parti un amiraill de

l'ost dou soudan qui avoit nom Semelmot, et en mena partie de l'ost et entra en la terre d'Ermenie par force et la corut et fist grant domage, car un des fiz le roi y fu occis et l'autre pris et mené en prison en Babiloine. Et en cel tens morut le conte de Nevers de quei grant domage fu en la terre d'Accre. Et el meis d'aoust vint en Accre Hugue de Lesignan baill de Chypre qui amena o lui belle compaignie de genz d'armes. Puis firent une chevauchee, lui et le Temple et l'Ospital et les Alamanz et les chevaliers franseis et moult autres genz a cheval et a pie, et alerent vers Thabarie. Le cri se leva par la terre, et les Turs dou Saphet vindrent et s'enbuschierent vers le plain d'Accre en un leu qui a nom le Caroublier, et si come les nostres retornoient il ferirent a l'avant garde qui chevauchoit bien .iii. liues devant les autres, c'est asaveir l'Ospital et les Alemans et la compaignie sire Jofrei de Sargines, et les desconfirent et asses en occistrent. Et en celle saison morut Johan de Ybelin conte de Japhe. Et Joceaume arcevesque de Cesaire morut aussi. Et Gille arcevesque de Sur morut outremer.

A mil et .cc.lxvii. le <.ii.>[6] jor de mai Bendocdar le soudan de Babiloine corut devant Accre soudainement et occist moult de genz, et lendemain s'en parti et ala au Saphet, et a .xv. jors de mai revint arieres devant Accre et fist taillier tos les jardins qui estoient devant la ville et abatre les tors des jardins. Et a .xvi. jors d'aoust ariverent au port d'Accre .xxviii. galies de Geneveis et fu chevetaine Luque de Grimaut et ardi[**7r**]rent .ii. naves de Pisanz et y demorerent .xii. jors. Et en ce vindrent .xxviii. galiees de Veniciens et troverent une partie des galiees de Geneveis au port d'Accre, car les autres estoient a Sur; si en pristrent .v. aveuc tote la gent. Et en celle saison morut Hugue le dreit heir de Chypre ou meis de novembre, et apres fu coroné a roi Hugue de Lesignan le jor de noel. Et le corona le patriarche Guillaume de Jherusalem qui se trova lors en Chypre. Et en cel <an> se croisa le roi Loys de France et ses enfanz et le roi de Navarre et moult d'autres contes et barons de France et d'Engleterre et d'Alemaigne et d'Espaigne por passer en Surie.

A mil et .cc.lxviii. morut le pape Climenz le quart. Et en cel an Charles le roi de Cesille desconfist Coradin o tot son ost qui estoit venuz d'Alemaigne par l'atrait des Pisanz, et li fist coper la teste. Et en cel <an> Bendocdar prist Japhe et laissa aler la gent. Et puis se parti de Japhe et ala devant Biaufort et le prist par force des Templiers a .xv. jors d'avrill. Puis s'en ala en Antioche et la prist de venue et moult y ot perdu grant peuple dedenz la cité que mors que pris. Et adonc fu delivré de la prison de Babiloine Lyvon fiz dou roi d'Ermenie en eschange de Sangor, qui estoit parent Bendocdar, que les Tatars avoient pris. Et en cel an morut Henri arcevesque de Nazereth, et fu fait arcevesque Gui qui estoit prior de Nazereth.

A mil et .cc.lxviiii. fu un crolle en Ermenie qui fondi .v. chastiaus et .iii. abayes d'Ermins et bien .xii. casaus. Et adonc morut Jofrei de Sargines en Accre. Et en cest an fu coronés Hugue de Lesignan a roi de Jherusalem. Et fu lors si grant cherestie en Surie que le mui dou froment valut bien .viii. besanz. Et le mecredi devant noel Robert de Cresetes et Olivier de Termes et le sire de Passi et bien .cc. chevaliers

[6] Supplied from manuscript B

alerent en enbuschement bien a une liue fors d'Accre, si que l'ost dou Saphet les surprist et ferirent sur noz genz, et tant y ot des Sarrazins que les noz ne <le>s porent soufrir, car l'on dit que Bendocdar le soudan y fu en persone o .iiii. m. chevaucheors, et si i fu occis Robert de Creseques et le frere Olivier de Termes et auquanz chevaliers.

A mil et .cc.lxx. anz a .xxi. jor d'avrill morut Guillaume qui estoit patriarche de Jherusalem et legat de Surie et evesque d'Accre. Et ou mois de juing mut le roi de France et ses enfans et le roi de Navarre et pluisors autres contes et barons et asses chevaliers et sergenz por venir en Surie, et alerent a Tunes. Et morut devant Tunes le roi de France[7] et son fiz Johan Tristan et le roi de Navarre et pluisors autres vaillanz homes. Puis se parti l'ost de Tunes par grant avoir que le roi Charles en ot, et vin<t> a Trapes et la orent si grant fortune de tens que presque totes les nes perirent. Et en cel an occistrent les Haissisins Phelippe de Montfort en sa chapelle a Sur. Et en cest an Bendocdar le soudan de Babiloine vint en la terre de Triple et corut tote la terre et vindrent au borce dou Margat et mistrent le feuc. Puis alerent a chastiau et assegierent la tor et la prirent [**7v**] par force. Ce est de Chastel Blanc et pristrent bien .iii. .m. persones dedenz dont le fiz dou soudan qui se nomoit en surnom Melec Sayt les mena devant le Crac et la les delivra et laissa aler porce que ce estoit le premier gaain qu'il avoit fait et si plot moult au soudan son pere.

A mil et .cc.lxxi. asseia il le chastel dou Crac de l'Hospital et tant destrainst cil dou chastel que par enginz que par mines que par combatre qu'il se rendirent a lui sauve leur vies et fu a .viii. jors d'avrill. Et a .viiii. jors de mai Odoart fiz dou roi d'Engleterre ariva en Accre, et Johan fiz le conte de Bertaigne, et Guillaume de Valence, oncle de Odoart, et Thomas de Clarre. Et en setembre vint en Accre Eymont le frere Odoart. Et a .xviii. jors de mai fu rendu le chastiau de Gibelacar as Sarrasinz. Et en juing par la volenté de Deu brisierent .xi. galiees de Sarrasinz a Lymesson. Et a .viii. jors de juing asseia Bendocdar Montfors des Alemans, et a .xii. jors de juing se rendirent cil dedenz a lui sauve leur vies. Et a .vi. jors de juignet vint le soudan Bendocda devant Accre et lendemain s'en ala. Et a .xx. jors de juignet Odoart et sa gent et les gens d'Accre alerent brisier Saint <Jorge>[8] et y forfirent poi. Et a .x. jors de Novembre s'en parti d'Accre Theobalde qui fu esleus a pape de Rome. Et a .xxiiii. jors de novembre alerent noz genz brisier Quaquo et .ii. herberges de Turquemans et occistrent bien .m. et .v. cenz Sarrazins, et amenerent moult de bestes groces et menues.

A mil et .cc.lxxii. anz a .xxii. jors d'avrill fu faite la trive de Hugue de Lesignan, roi de Jherusalem et de Chypre, et de Bendocdar le soudan de Babiloine, et n'i avoit en la trive a Crestiens que le plain d'Accre sanz plus et le chemin de Nazereth. Et en mai s'en ala Eymont frere de Odoart. Et a .xxviii. jors de juign fu navré Odoart en sa chambre des Haississis. Et a .xii. jors d'aoust Guillaume de Valense son oncle s'en passa outremer. Et a .xiii. jors de setembre s'en ala Johan fiz le conte de Bertaigne.

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[7] Manuscript: roi de Tunes

[8] Supplied from Manuscript B

Et a .xxii. jors de setembre s'en passa Odouart. Et a .viii. jors de octovre ariva en Accre frere Thomas de l'ordre des Preeschors patriarche de Jherusalem et legat de tote Surie et en leuc de evesque d'Accre. Et ou meis de delier Bendocdar passa les Aigues Freides et chassa les Tatars qui avoient assegiee la Birre, mes il perdi de sa gent bien .iii. m. Turs. Et a .xxi. jor de mars Eymont l'Estrange espousa la dame de Baruth.

A mil et .cc.lxxiiii. anz ou meis de mai fu le consille dou pape et des prelaz a Lyon sur le Ronne. Et adonc morut Olivier de Termes.

A .m. et .cc.lxxv. anz morut Buemont le prince d'Antioche et conte de Triple. Et a .xxv. jors de mars Bendocdar corut la terre d'Ermenie et mist a l'espee quanque il trova. Et en cest an vint en Accre Guillaume de Rossillon chevetaine de serjans le roi de France. Et lors morut Julien qui fu sire de Seete.

A mil et .cc.lxxvi. anz a .x. jors de jenvier morut maistre Gedair pape de Rome qui ot non Gregoire. [**8r**] Puis fu fait pape Climens le quint et il morut le tiers jor apres a Arles. Et a .xviii. jors de juing fu neé devant Sur Henri le pere dou roi Hugue de Jherusalem et de Chypre. Et en cest an morut pape Climens, et puis fu fait pape Adrian, et morut en cest an meismes.

A mil et .cc.lxxvii. anz a .viii. jors de mai vint en Accre le conte Rogier de Saint Severin o .vi. galiees de par le roi Charle, et li fu livré le chastel d'Accre, et li jurerent les frairies et les homes liges dou roiaume. Et ou mois de juing fu occis en Chypre Nicolle sire de Cesaire. Et ou mois de juignet morut Bendocdar a Domas. Et a .xxvi. jors de setembre morut frere Thomas qui estoit patriarche de Jherusalem et legat de tote Surie. Et a .xxviiii. jors de setembre morut Belleem de Ybelin sire d'Arsur.

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An Icon of the Crucifixion and the Nativity at Sinai: Investigating the Pictorial Language of its Ornamental Vocabulary: Chrysography, Pearl-dot Haloes, and Çintemani

Jaroslav Folda

Throughout the many remarkable contributions which Benjamin Kedar has made to the study of the Crusades, he has consistently maintained a deep interest in the relationships and interactions between European Christians and the crusaders from the West, and the peoples of the Near East including the Eastern Christians, the Muslims, the Jews and even the Mongols. In a 1998 article he explored and reshaped our received ideas about crusader relations with the Oriental Christians in the Levant.[1] In his well-known book, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims*, he forcefully challenged the idea that the crusades to regain the Holy Land and the mission to evangelize the Muslims were the unrelated responses of Christian Europe to Islam.[2] In other studies he has also fruitfully investigated the Christian presence in debate with Buddhists at Karakorum in 1254, and looked into other important religious convergences. He has, for example, studied with great interest shared worship at religious sites by crusaders, Eastern Christians, and Muslims.[3]

It is with his interest in the cultural and religious convergences of the crusaders, the Eastern Christians and the Muslims in mind that I propose to discuss a particularly intriguing icon now in the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai. It is an icon about which I have also written in the Festschrift for Nurith Kenaan-Kedar. In that article I investigated the visual language mostly in terms of figural issues in the context of the Near East about the year 1300. In this article I would like to address the visual language in terms of particular aspects of the decorative vocabulary in this icon that warrant specific identification and attention. I propose that in different ways and to different degrees the ornament reflects the convergence of cultures and artistic traditions in the Near East at that time. It is my

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[1] Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Latins and Oriental Christians in the Frankish Levant, 1099–1291," *Sharing the Sacred: Religious Contacts and Conflicts in the Holy Land*, eds. A. Kofsky and G.G. Stroumsa (Jerusalem, 1998), pp. 209–221.

[2] Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission* (Princeton, 1988).

[3] Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The Multilateral Disputation at the Court of the Grand Qan Mönke, 1254," *The Majlis: Interreligious Encounters in Medieval Islam*, eds. H. Lazarus-Yafeh, M.R. Cohen, S. Somekh, and S.H. Griffith (Harrassowitz Verlag, 1999), pp. 162–183, and idem, "Convergences of Oriental Christian, Muslim, and Frankish Worshippers: The Case of Saydnaya," *De Sion exibit lex et berbum domini de Hierusalem: Law, Liturgy and Literature in the Middle Ages*, Essays presented to Amnon Lindner, ed.Y. Hen (Turnhout, 2001), pp. 59–69.

Fig. 1 Icon showing the Crucifixion and the Nativity, Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai, *c*. 1300, 43.9 × 30.8 cm. Reproduced courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria expedition to Mount Sinai.

hope that Beni Kedar will find the spirit and the content of this discussion to be appropriate as a contribution to a volume of studies gathered in his honour.

The image in question includes the Nativity and Crucifixion of Christ in a small devotional icon.[4] (See Fig. 1.) The basic imagery can be seen as follows. Beginning with the scene of the Nativity in the lower register, we can observe that the holy family forms the core of the image and that they are joined by a group of four angels who appear above in the starry sky with the star of Bethlehem directly over the Child. The ox and ass look into the manger, breathing on Jesus to keep him warm. At the bottom of the image, Joseph sits looking up at the Virgin and Child, and the two midwives give the baby Jesus his first bath. Three shepherds are located to the right, one in a striking furry blue garment, one gesturing to the angels and one seated in a cross-legged pose playing a pipe. Their animals apparently wander over the landscape on both the right and left sides of the scene. And in the middle register at the right side, we see the three Magi, two of whom kneel and offer gifts for the Child. There are inscriptions identifying the two main figures by abbreviations: "MHP OV", and "IC XC", for "Mother of God," and "Jesus Christ" respectively.

The lower scene is separated from the upper scene by a striking red border, outlined in white, with a row of golden lozenges decorating its surface. The upper scene of the Crucifixion features Christ alone, dead on the cross, with two mourning angels, all set against a starry sky. At his right side, there is Mary sorrowing and gesturing towards Christ. She stands by the cross with three companion women. At his left side, John is also sorrowing in deep contemplation. He stands with a soldier who gestures vigorously toward Jesus. Again here, inscriptions identify the three main figures; the abbreviations are: "IC XC", "M[HP]", and "IW", for "Jesus Christ," "Mother (of God)," and "Johannes".

Taken separately the components of each of these scenes are familiar and recognisable, but looked at closely, the way each of these elements is represented – their visual language – is interesting and unusual, pictorially and formally. With all components taken together, each scene offers a very particular interpretation of the event from Christ's life. Then, looked at as a pair of scenes, the icon overall presents a remarkable devotional image with clear eucharistic significance.

One of the most notable features of this icon is its nature not only as a holy image, but also as a work of art that is imbedded strongly in the fabric of the multicultural artistic traditions of the Christian Near East about 1300. It is a work probably produced, as I have argued elsewhere, by the hand of an Arab Christian painter in a dramatic and distinctive style, which engages with a number of high

[4] On this icon, see, Doula Mouriki, "Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century," *Sinai: Treasures of the Monastery*, ed. K. Manafis (Athens, 1990), p.120, and fig. 71, p. 197; Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Icon-Tact: Byzantium and the Art of Cilician Armenia," *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Art, Religion, and Society*, eds., T.F. Mathews and R.S. Wieck (New York, 1994), pp. 74–80, 98; and most recently, Helen C. Evans, "226. Icon with the Crucifixion and the Nativity," *Byzantium: Faith and Power: 1261–1557*, ed. Helen C. Evans (New York, 2004), p. 370; J. Folda, "An Icon of the Crucifixion and the Nativity at Sinai: Investigating its Visual Language," *Pictorial Languages and their Meanings*, ed. C.B. Verzar and G. Fishhof (Tel Aviv, 2006), pp. 119–32.

art traditions in some depth. Those traditions include Byzantine, crusader, Coptic, Syriac, and possibly Ethiopian and Armenian Christian traditions, as well as Muslim and Mongol non-Christian ones. The Nativity/Magi image below probably relates most closely to a carved relief from the Coptic church of al-Muʾallaqa in Cairo, (see Fig. 2) and the Crucifixion above is clearly a Gothic three-nail version most probably known to this artist from crusader sources. The engagements with these various traditions can also be seen however, in certain ornamental and decorative aspects of the icon, which one might pay little attention to at first glance, but which, when considered carefully, are well worth serious consideration.

The issue of the ornament is important and there are three aspects that I wish to discuss here.[5] I refer firstly to the golden highlighting, which appears uniquely on the angel's wings in both the Crucifixion and the Nativity scenes. This chrysography is a major development of Middle Byzantine painting that was later adopted by certain crusader painters as well, and it appears here more related to the Byzantine tradition than otherwise, as I shall argue. Secondly, there are the pearl-dot haloes that appear on the principle holy figures and notably on the angels as well. Significantly they do not appear on the three Magi. These halo types are characteristic of crusader painting and form another ornamental contribution to the richly multicultural artistic traditions found on this icon. Thirdly, I refer to the three-dot pattern in a triangular configuration, which appears as a repeated motif on the garments of certain figures in both scenes as well. This design, which is called çintemani in later Turkish art of the Ottoman period, is a popular and widespread motif in medieval art in the Near East and in Europe. In the case of this icon it will be important to attempt to locate the sources of these ornamental motifs that may have stimulated the interest of our artist. All of the ornamental aspects of this icon, the chrysography, the pearl-dot haloes, and the çintemani design, are indications of the multicultural context in which this work was produced. I shall attempt to clarify which cultures were involved and thereby shed further light on the meaning and content of this remarkably intriguing work.

[5] The most important recent theoretical discussion of ornament with special relevance to Near Eastern art is that of Oleg Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament* (Washington, D.C., 1992). The content of this brilliant discussion was first given as the A.W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts at the National Gallery of Art, and is published as volume 35 in the Bollingen Series, sponsored by the Bollingen Foundation.

Fig. 2 Door panel from the church of the Virgin, al-Mu'allaqa, Old Cairo, showing the Nativity of Christ with the Three Magi, *c*. 1300, 31 × 13 cm. Reproduced courtesy of The British Museum, London.

Chrysography:[6] Golden Highlighting on the Angels Wings

The use of chrysography as an artistic idea in painting appears to have been re-invented[7] by the Byzantines in the middle Byzantine period, apparently derived from cloisonée enamel work, as found for example in various luxury manuscripts and icons. Subsequently, it is clear that both the crusaders in the Holy Land and the Italian painters of the Dugento enthusiastically appropriated this idea for their own use in the thirteenth century. In this icon, it appears that an Arab Christian painter has drawn on aspects of the Byzantine tradition for his use of chrysography on the wings of the angels.

The nature and development of chrysography has been little studied in Byzantine art, but we can see that by the twelfth century it was quite widespread in icon painting as a means of emphasizing the sacredness of holy figures. Among the holy figures indicated in this manner, angels have a special place in the development of chrysography, as is evidenced by selected examples taken from the great collection of icons now in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. Angels can receive lavish golden highlighting both on the draperies over their body and on their wings as seen on the famous late Comnenian Annunciation icon now at Sinai dating to the late twelfth century.[8] Here, the chrysography on the wings is selective and is focused on highlighting the outlines of the feathers on the upper part of the wings in a pattern of hairpin loops anchored by a strong golden line. Other angels may have decorative patterns on the wings only marginally related to the feather patterns, as we see on an icon of the archangel Michael from the early thirteenth century.[9] Here the wings are outlined with paired golden lines that contain "v" forms within, and there are linear extensions from the inner lines that feature paired diagonals to reference the feathers in abstract decorative patterns. Finally, a third mode of chrysography for angels wings is found on selected other icons such as the scenes on an iconostasis beam and on a tetraptych, both from the late twelfth century and also at Sinai.[10] On the Nativity scene of the iconostasis beam, the chrysography on the angels wings is simplified to a single golden line outlining the wing, with a series of gold lines pendant to the outline that suggest the feathers. In the Annunciation scene on the tetraptych, we find a similar type of chrysography, but here the chrysographic outline has thickened at the top of the wing to become a golden panel area, curved on the top and straight on the bottom. It is a variation on this third type of chrysography, but it is a significant variation.

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[6] Chrysography, defined as the golden highlighting of holy figures and the settings associated with them in icon painting and manuscript illumination – but rarely in fresco painting – is a topic as yet largely unstudied in Byzantine, Crusader and Italian art.

[7] Although chrysography is found in a few pre-iconoclastic icons now preserved in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, it appears to have died out and then been reintroduced, especially in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in Byzantium.

[8] Mouriki, "Icons," pp. 107–108, and fig. 29, p. 160.

[9] Mouriki, "Icons," p. 114, and fig. 41, p. 170.

[10] Mouriki, "Icons," pp. 106–108, and fig. 26, p. 156, and fig. 28, p. 158, respectively.

It is significant because this type of chrysography is not used by crusader artists on the angels in their icons. More importantly, it does appear to be the basic type of chrysography we find on the Crucifixion/Nativity icon under study. Note how the wings of the angels on our icon are quite flat, almost geometric and very simplified in form. On those wings the chrysography has been applied with a golden outline, and then inside the outline there is a golden panel (with a curved top and a straight bottom) at the top of the wing, from which a series of pendant golden lines appear. I propose that our artist is appropriating this Byzantine type of chrysography for this icon, chrysography which is reserved only for the angels and does not appear on any of the other figures. This suggests very strongly that our artist must have seen and carefully studied Byzantine icons from which he has learned this ornamental technique. While it is not absolutely certain that the artist visited St. Catherine's Monastery, it seems likely that he did and certainly he could not have seen a richer collection of icons at any other place in the Near East around 1300.

Pearl-dot Haloes: Golden disks circled in red [or black] with white pearl-dot decoration

While pearl-dot haloes are not necessarily found only on crusader icons, the fact is that the crusaders used them extensively, so extensively that Kurt Weitzmann identified them as a crusader feature.[11] On the icon considered in this paper, the nimbi are golden discs outlined in red on which white dots appear, presumably suggesting pearl-encrusted haloes. The crusaders, of course, use these pearl-dot motifs on both red and black circlets, and their popularity is visible on well over a third of icons in the group now identified as crusader, or "western influenced." In the recent exhibition of crusader icons contained in the great "Byzantium: Faith and Power" show at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (spring 2004), no fewer than twelve examples were on display.[12] Some haloes are quite elaborate, some are done with great elegance, and some are rather simple with comparatively large white dots to suggest the pearls. In our icon, the large white dots are placed on thick red circlets to produce haloes for sixteen figures. The fact that our artist was using this style of halo suggests that he must have been quite familiar with crusader icon painting of which the greatest number of readily accessible examples, then as now, was apparently located at the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai.

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[11] Kurt Weitzmann, "Four Icons on Mount Sinai: New Aspects in Crusader Art," *Jahrbuch der Osterreichischen Byzantinistik*, 21 (1972), 289, reprinted in Kurt Weitzmann, *Studies in the Arts at Sinai* (Princeton, 1982), p. 397.

[12] In the catalogue for *Byzantium: Faith and Power, 1261–1557*, ed. Helen C. Evans (New York, 2004), see nos. 212, 214, 216, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 239, 231, 232, 235.

Çintemani:[13] Textile design as a manifestation of the Near Eastern cultural context

One finds in the medieval art of western Europe and in the art of the crusaders in the Holy Land the widespread appearance of an ornamental design seen in this icon on several figures. It is very rarely found in Byzantine art. I refer to the three-dot design in a triangular configuration that is presented in a repetitive pattern over the garments of the two kneeling Magi, the pipe player and the servant assisting the midwife in the image of the Nativity, and on the cloak of the soldier in the image of the Crucifixion. The questions to be raised here about this ornamental design are the following. What is the origin of this design? How was this design transmitted to and from the Near East? What is its meaning? What does the appearance of this design mean as part of the specific imagery of this icon in particular around the year 1300?

Although this pattern can be seen in widespread medieval examples, its use is by no means universal and certain special concentrations of its appearance can be noted. However, partly because this design has no name in the medieval period, and partly because it does not have a name in the medieval art historical literature, it is rarely if ever discussed. It is only much later, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in fact, that it is identified as the çintemani design at the Ottoman court, where it became a distinctive symbol of that empire and a design associated with the dress of the sultan and his family.[14] The Turkish word, *çintemani*, appears to be derived originally from Sanskrit, *chinta mani*, meaning "auspicious jewel."[15] Prior to its Turkish and medieval appearances moreover, it is found in the religious beliefs and artistic works of Hinduism and Buddhism with the connotation of a magic jewel with special powers.[16] One early artistic example of çintemani is found on frescoes in the Buddhist shrine at Miràn in Turkestan from the third century AD.[17] With reference to its means of transmission, we know that sericulture – the production

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[13] I would like to thank my colleague, Patricia Thompson, whose M.A. thesis at the University of North Carolina, "'Discepolo di Notte' and 'Glorioso Principe': Titian's Last Prado *Entombment*," (2002), first introduced me to çintemani in the context of Renaissance painting in Venice and Ottoman textile design. I have benefited from her bibliography and an appendix in the thesis which dealt with Renaissance and pre-Ottoman appearances of the çintemani design, and these have been important starting points for my discussion below.

[14] Spectacular examples of late fifteenth-, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ottoman kaftans with çintemani are published by, Julian Raby and A. Effeny, *IPEK: The Crescent and the Rose* (Istanbul and London, 2001), pp. 30 and 93, pls. 46, 66, and 75, and by P.T. Baker, "Textile Patterns on Royal Ottoman Kaftans," *Silks for the Sultans: Ottoman Imperial Garments from Topkapi Palace* (Istanbul, 1996), pp. 41, 58–87.

[15] R.S. McGregor, *The Oxford Hindu-English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1993), p. 314.

[16] The Buddhist origin of the design is discussed by J. Bowker, *The Oxford Dictionary of World Religions* (Oxford, 1997), p. 224. Raby and Effeny, *IPEK*, pp. 298–299, and Priscilla Soucek, "Cintamani," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 3, (London and Boston, 1987), 3: 594.

[17] Benjamin Rowland, *Art and Architecture of India*, 2nd ed. (Harmondsworth and Baltimore, 1959), p. 105.

of silk – was introduced into the Byzantine world from China in the sixth century and presumably the çintemani design came from the Turkestani or Indian region along the silk routes sometime later. Because there is no word yet signifying it in medieval art and no modern English equivalent for the Turkish word,[18] I propose to refer to the medieval design also as çintemani, with the understanding that the Sanskrit word is much older than the medieval period and our usage pertains to the design only, and carries none of the Hindu or Buddhist religious content.

Where do we find the çintemani design in medieval art and what is its significance?

Although occasional examples may be seen in Byzantine art, the overwhelming indication is that çintemani was not a pattern of major importance for Byzantine artists or the Byzantine silk industry before 1300, which is the period of our concern here.[19] This lack of interest carries through in the paucity of painted examples in manuscripts, monumental painting or icons before 1300.[20]

What we can see, however, is the existence of çintemani on early silk from central Asia that made its way westward. One such example, from the (circa) seventh/eighth century, is the Shroud of St. Colombe and St. Loup, now in the cathedral treasury of Sens. Çintemani appears on the shoulders and haunches of the blue quadrupeds above and below the paired lions.[21] A second early example is found on the silk of St. Josse, now in the Louvre, where the design appears on the paired elephants.[22] These examples seem to indicate that, in the early period, the design appeared on eastern silks that came to western Europe as gifts, rather than being the products of a Mediterranean-based silk industry. This aspect of the origin and spread of the çintemani design in early medieval Europe seems clear in principle, but will need further investigation and discussion as to its specifics.

We find that during the eleventh century and later, into the thirteenth century, versions of the çintemani design begin to appear with greater frequency in the West. In all of these artistic examples, the design appears on garments that could be interpreted to represent luxury silk. We find it in Germany and England in manuscript

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[18] The word 'çintemani' does not appear in the Oxford English Dictionary, nor can it be found in the Oxford Turkish-English dictionary. Although it appears to be a word which is not in common modern usage, except with reference to textile design, there exists a restaurant with this name in one of the luxury hotels in Istanbul.

[19] Anna Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk Weaving: A.D. 400 to A.D. 1200* (Vienna, 1997), pp. 34–43.

[20] The only Byzantine example known to me is in a fresco of the Virgin nursing the Christ Child, in the narthex of the Patriarchal church in Pec. See C. Bertelli, ed., *Medioevo e Rinascimento in Kosovo*, (Milan: Skira, 2001), p. 38. The model for this image is said to be Italian, from N. Italy. Ibid., p. 34 and nt. 14. My thanks to my colleague, Pat Thompson, for drawing my attention to this example.

[21] Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk Weaving*, p. 198 (M104), pls. 44b and 49a.

[22] Muthesius, Byzantine Silk Weaving, p. 197 (M101), pl. 9b. This silk is dated before 961.

illumination such as the Hitda Codex[23] and the Lectionary of St. Erentrude,[24] or the Winchester Bible[25] and the Westminster Psalter.[26]

We also find çintemani in Spanish panel painting[27] as well as in Italian and French fresco painting – at S. Angelo in Formis[28] and at St. Savin,[29] respectively – and in various other painted works in France.[30] Çintemani is also widely found represented in Gothic manuscript illumination in Paris, from the *Bibles Moralisées* to the second half of the thirteenth century,[31] but we note that by the latter period it seems to appear mainly on backgrounds and not on the garments of the figures in the miniatures. It is also interesting that in the St. Louis Psalter only one figure among all the figures depicted, namely Joseph with his special coat on folio 17v, has this design and that it does not appear elsewhere. These examples are all painted, which could have been inspired by direct contact with silks containing this design or, no doubt more likely in most cases, with other painted examples of this motif.[32]

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[23] Darmstadt, Landesbibliothek, MS 1640, c. 1000–1020, fols. 21 and 117. See Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, 2, *Books*, 2nd ed. (London, 1999), pls. X, XI. Note the çintemani on the robes of the Virgin and Joseph in the Nativity, and on the cloak of Christ in the Storm at Sea.

[24] Munich, Staatsbibliothek, CLM 15903, 1150–1170, fol. 17, Adoration of the Magi. See C.R. Dodwell, *Painting in Europe: 800–1200* (Harmondsworth and Baltimore, 1971), fig. 189.

[25] Winchester Cathedral Library, Bible, c. 1180, fol. 198, initial "V" with prophet Hosea. See François Avril, "Les arts de la couleur," in *Les Royaumes d'Occident* (Paris, 1983), p. 224, fig. 189.

[26] London, British Library, MS Royal 2.A.XXII, c. 1200, fol. 12v, Annunciation. See C.M. Kauffmann, "Psalter: The Westminster Psalter," *English Romanesque Art: 1066–1200* (London, 1984), p. 131, no. 82.

[27] Altarpiece from Santa Maria de Avia, Barcelona province, c. 1200. See P. de Palol and Max Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art in Spain* (New York, 1966), p. 177, pl. 50. Altarpiece by the Master of Valltarga in Cerdana, Gerona province, c. 1200. See, de Palol and Hirmer, *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, p. 179, pl. 51.

[28] Otto Demus, *Romanesque Mural Painting*, trans. M. Whittall (London, 1970), figs. 29–30 and pp. 294–297.

[29] Demus, *Romanesque Mural Painting*, figs. 131, 132, 134, 137, 138, 140, and pp. 420–423.

[30] See, for example, the Limoges enamel plaque now in Florence in the Bargello, c. 1185; Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, "Les arts précieux," *Les Royaumes d'Occident* (Paris, 1983), p. 326, fig. 289, a standing wise virgin with her oil lamp. There is also the Christ from the St. Sever Apocalypse: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 8878, c. 1070; Avril, *Les Royaumes d'Occident*, p. 185, fig. 153. See also the Virgin and Child in the Lyon Bible: Lyons, Bibliotheque Municipale, MS 410, Virgin and Child Eleousa in an initial, "O", c. 1200. Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination* (Ithaca, NY, 1982), p. 273, no. 75.

[31] See, for example, the background of the historiated initial "D", fig. 381, Henry VIII Psalter, after 1253 (London, BL, Yates Thompson MS 18, fol. 140); the cross in the Crucifixion, fig. 375, Franciscan Missal, c. 1255 (Assisi, Museo del Sacro Convento, fol. 103v); the background and stem of the initial "R", fig. 367, St. Corneille Missal, c. 1250s (Paris, BNF, MS lat. 16824, fol. 150); the garments of the figures in the historiated initial "P" of the Rouen Missal c. late 1250s, fig. 276 (Rouen, Bibl. Mun., MS Y-50, fol. 159), and Ezekiel's cloak in the historiated "E" from a Bible, c. 1250, fig. 271 (Boulogne sur Mer, Bibl. Mun., MS 4, fol. 64). See Robert Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1977), for the figures mentioned here.

[32] A number of these works are notable because of the Byzantine influence evident in the style and/or iconography of their masters. One wonders because of this if the appearance of çintemani in Byzantine silk might not have been more widespread than the few extant examples would lead us to believe, at least before 1200?

Çintemani also appears on three dimensional examples, sometimes painted on the surface of a sculpture.[33] More frequently however, it appears as a set of carefully drilled holes arranged in a triangular configuration and distributed in a repetitive pattern. We find such examples c. 1170, such as that used by Benedetto Antelami in his monumental Deposition from the Cross done in northern Italy, where each of two of the women at the foot of the cross has her garments decorated with this design.[34] There are also numerous French examples, as in a seated Christ Enthroned in bronze from the early twelfth century[35] or one of the standing figures in the right tympanum from the façade of St. Gilles du Gard.[36] But perhaps the most interesting example is the Christ from the capital in St. Martin du Plaimpied,[37] well-known because of its close stylistic ties with the Nazareth capitals in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Çintemani is continued into the thirteenth century and later in some areas of western Europe, in Paris in manuscript illumination, and especially in Italy as in Venice and central Italy.

It would be premature to try to draw any firm conclusions from these examples selected more or less at random. But what they seem to indicate is the following.

1 This design was most popular in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries in the West.
2 It was quite widespread in western Europe at the time that pilgrimage and the crusades were forming strong links between East and West, and the import of luxury silks was growing. In fact, we can propose as a possible hypothesis here that the growth of the appearance of çintemani in the West in this time period corresponded to a period of greater contact with the eastern Mediterranean and the growth of the silk industry in Italy, as well as increased volume of commerce in the importation of luxury silks from the East.
3 When it appeared on figural representations, it was usually given to a figure of some importance, although there is no systematic indication of rank or status indicated through a consistent symbolic code. The fact that there are so many examples of this design spread so widely in western Europe at this time is quite provocative and challenges us to account for the popularity of the pattern and the stimuli that inspired it.

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[33] An interesting example of a painted sculpture is the Virgin and Child Enthroned, know as "la Diège" now in the church in Jouy-en-Josas. The sculpture is made of wood and the Virgin's robe has çintemani design, but further study is needed to determine is the paint is original or restored. See, Xavier Barral i Altet, "Le Bois de l'Artisan au chef-d'oeuvre," *Les Royaumes d'Occident* (Paris, 1983), p. 350, fig. 307.

[34] X. Barral i Altet, "Architecture, Sculpture et Mosaique," *Le Temps des Croisades* (Paris, 1982), p. 63, figs. 59, 60.

[35] Christ Enthroned from the chasse of St. Babolin, church of Le Coudray-Saint-Germer, northern France. See the image reproduced in *Les Royaumes d'Occident* (Paris, 1983), p. 367, fig. 347.

[36] See the standing figure of "Ecclesia" on the right tympanum: Whitney S. Stoddard, *The Façade of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard* (Middletown, CT, 1973), p. 76, fig. 101.

[37] Paul Deschamps, *Terre Sainte Roman* (Abbaye Ste Marie de la Pierre-qui-vire, 1964), p. 245.

Further study will enable us to say much more about these issues with greater precision, but within the confines of this paper, we can make the following observations. Çintemani was very popular in western Europe and seemed to appear along routes that were otherwise associated with Byzantine influence. These routes may obviously also have been main commercial routes, but it remains to be investigated to what extent the silk trade had anything directly to do with the dispersal of the design. Indeed, its spread raises the difficult question of how ornament as a motif travelled in the medieval world.

In the Near East, with regard to the crusaders, çintemani was also a design of some significance that we can find on a number of important thirteenth-century works of art, both manuscripts and icons. In light of our findings above about çintemani in twelfth-century Europe, it is perhaps surprising to find that virtually no figure in twelfth-century crusader art has garments that are decorated with this motif. Çintemani appears only as a purely decorative design on the frames and backgrounds of historiated initials.[38] In the thirteenth century the situation changes dramatically, and numerous figures receive garments copiously covered with the çintemani design.

Compared to Paris, the number of crusader manuscripts done in Acre in the second half of the thirteenth century with the çintemani design appearing in their illustrations seems to reflect a higher percentage in our extant evidence. The nature of the examples is also interesting. There is very little evidence of the çintemani design in manuscripts produced before 1250, but from 1250 to 1280 we find abundant examples in Acre and Antioch. Certain codices from Acre have çintemani designs on the garments of the human figures. There are a few examples in the Arsenal Bible and the Perugia Missal, numerous examples in the Padua Old Testament selection manuscript, in the Brussels *Histoire Universelle* and in the British Museum *Histoire Universelle*. In other codices, such as the Dijon *Histoire Universelle*, the design only appears on the frames of the miniatures. In Antioch, the *History of Outremer* now in the Vatican has a modest number of examples on the robes of certain figures and a few tiny floral versions on the initials. However the nature of the use of the çintemani design changes dramatically when the Paris-Acre Master arrives in Acre from Paris. In every one of his codices where abundant çintemani appears, starting with the last seventeen miniatures of Paris, BNF MS fr. 9084, and continuing with Boulogne sur Mer MS 142, and Florence, Laurenziana MS Plu.LXI.10 (all *History of Outremer* manuscripts), the design is found only as part of the ornamental vocabulary of the borders. There is not one example where it appears on the garments of human figures. The same phenomenon occurs with

[38] See, for example, the Sacramentary and Missal of the Holy Sepulchre, Rome, Bibl. Angelica, MS D.7,3, fol. 151v, pl. 27b; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 49, 4v, pl. 22a; and Paris, BNF, MS lat. 12056, fol. 234v, pl. 28d. In Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957).

Fig 3 Icon showing Saint Sergius on horseback, with kneeling female donor, Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai, *c*. 1260s, 28.7 × 23.2 cm. Reproduced courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria expedition to Mount Sinai.

the *Histoire Universelle* manuscript, Paris, BNF MS fr. 20125, prepared by his assistant.[39]

When we look at the icons said to be "western influenced" or crusader, surprisingly perhaps there are only 12 examples of the use of the çintemani design out of a total number of over 120. This appears to suggest that a smaller percentage of the icons received this design than we find with the manuscripts. Nonetheless, what is interesting is that among the icons with this design, a number of very important ones were chosen to receive it, such as the well-known icon of St. Sergius with a female donor, where his scarlet cloak bears the çintemani design. (See Fig. 3.) Furthermore, it is among the icons produced in one or other version of the Veneto-Byzantine crusader style that the larger number of examples is found. So, we find the design on the following icons:

1 The bilateral icon of the Crucifixion and the Anastasis
2 The icon of St. Sergius with a female donor
3 The icon of Sts. Catherine and Marina
4 The icon of three standing military saints
5 The icon of two standing male saints.[40]

Among the icons drawn in the Franco-Byzantine crusader style, we find çintemani on the following examples:

1 The Acre Triptych (scenes of the life of the Virgin)
2 The Maestas Domini.[41]

Even though the number of crusader icons is proportionally speaking comparatively small compared to the number of manuscript examples we have, this may be caused by the fact that the design was very seldom used in icon painting in general. We have noted how little the Byzantines seemed to be interested in the design. Obviously the crusaders had to introduce the design from other sources when it came to icon painting, because their Byzantine models did not include it.

How do we explain the presence, indeed the popularity, of çintemani among the crusaders in the absence of similar enthusiasm among the Byzantines in icons or manuscripts, or the Armenians in manuscript illumination? The answer may lie in crusader interests farther East, and in particular with their overtures to the Mongols. The story of Christian missionaries to the Mongols is well known and needs no

[39] For illustrations of all of the manuscripts mentioned in this section, see the following publications: Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at St.Jean d'Acre, 1275–1291* (Princeton, 1976), and idem, "A Crusader Manuscript from Antioch," *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia: Rendiconti*, 42 (1969–1970), 283–298.

[40] Kurt Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 20 (1966), figs. 27, 28, 48, 49, 50.

[41] Weitzmann, "Icon Painting", fig. 43, and Weitzmann, "Four Icons on Mount Sinai," fig. 11.

repetition here. Suffice it to say that from the mid-thirteenth century, that is just before and at the time spent by King Louis IX of France in the Near East and the various popes from Innocent IV on to the end of the century, Christian emissaries such as Giovanni de Piano Carpini, William of Rubruck, and Ricoldo di Monte Croce, went eastward, along with more famous travellers, such as Marco Polo, to visit, preach to, trade and treat with the Mongols.[42] And it was precisely at this time and a bit earlier that the Mongols had developed a strong interest in luxury textiles.

Linda Komaroff writes: "from the beginning of their rule, the Mongols appear to have gone to great lengths to obtain luxury textiles and to control the sources of their production." Furthermore, "… luxury textiles were a significant component of trade within Asia and beyond it into Europe, …" As a result of this Mongol interest and the policies they pursued to control this trade in their empire, these textiles became well known and we find reflections of them in Ilkhanid manuscript illumination from the Middle East at this time. Again, Linda Komaroff writes: "Only a few illustrated manuscripts survive from the late thirteenth century; in the depictions of the new Mongol rulers and ruling elite that they contain, the conqueror's ethnicity is conveyed not only by their physiognomies and costumes but also specifically by the fabrics of which their clothes, accoutrements, and even horses' accessories are made, …"[43] There is evident concern to depict specific types of luxury textiles, and one of the designs found is çintemani. In the Shi'ite encyclopedia, *Rasâ 'il Ikhwan as-Safâ* (The Epistles of the Sincere Brethren), 1287, from Baghdad, the author is depicted on fol. 3r in a robe covered with çintemani.[44] In the *Marzubannama* (Book of the Margrave) from Baghdad, 1299, turbaned figures to the left and right of the enthroned prince wear robes with this design.[45] Two figures from a page of the Great Mongol *Shahnama* (Book of Kings), c. 1330s, probably from Tabriz, may also wear a version of the çintemani design.[46]

The significance of these Muslim and Mongol examples is important for the issue of this design in the crusader examples cited and on the various figures found on our icon. For one thing, here we have the intent to represent a specific type of luxury textile. Secondly, the characteristics of the textile are similar, that is, there is a strong base colour, either red or blue in many cases, on which the triangular three-dot design is rendered in white. And third, we see the çintemani appear in the same

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[42] See, for example, G.A.F. Davydov, *The Silk Road and the Cities of the Golden Horde* (Berkeley, 2001), pp. 26–33.

[43] Linda Komaroff, "The Transmission and Dissemination of a New Visual Language," *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353* (New York, 2002), pp. 171–73.

[44] Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (Geneva, 1962), p. 99.

[45] Komaroff, "The Transmission and Dissemination of a New Visual Language," p. 172, fig. 200.

[46] Robert Hillenbrand, "The Arts of the Book in Ilkhanid Iran," *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353* (New York, 2002), p.163, fig. 190. The representation of luxury textiles in the Great Mongol *Shanama* is quite extraordinary, and there are examples of a wide variety of silks. It may be that in the instance cited above, the çintemani design is combined with another pattern.

relatively small scale in size, quite different from the greatly enlarged components that seem to characterize the Ottoman versions at the sultan's court later on.

How then should we interpret and explain the appearance of the çintemani design on our icon? One important fact is that the artist is much more likely to have had the idea to use the design from looking at crusader paintings, either in icons or manuscripts, than he would have from looking at Byzantine icons or manuscripts, or Armenian manuscripts. Nor is it likely that the artist would have seen this design in Syriac or Coptic manuscripts or wall paintings. One major question is, however, whether the artist could have been stimulated by having seen this design on luxury silks from the Far East, in addition to, or instead of, the examples he might have seen in Near Eastern painting, whether crusader or Mongol? Overall, the presence of such abundant use of the design in this icon may suggest more interest in the luxury silks from the East to which the artists were presumably exposed. Whatever future research may provide, one should remember that the Christians in the Near East were being exposed more directly to the cultures of the Mongols, the Muslims, and even the Buddhists at this time, as a result of the missionary expeditions to the Mongol khans and the commercial contacts along the silk road made by Marco Polo and others. As G. Paquin has said "with the Mongols came Buddhist priests,"[47] and there is no doubt that Christian missionaries encountered Buddhists at Karakorum in 1254. Clearly the cultural and economic interchange was generating increased opportunities for Christian artists working in the Near East, whether crusader or Eastern Christian, to be exposed to Mongol, Mamluk and even Buddhist art because of this, along with art from the varied Christian traditions.

The presence of chrysography, pearl-dot haloes, and çintemani on this icon possibly painted about 1300 by an Arab Christian artist, perhaps in Cairo or Syria, or even at Sinai, raises some important questions about the dynamics of cultural interpenetration in the late thirteenth-century Mediterranean world. Just as the existence of chrysography on Byzantine and crusader panel paintings formed a strong context for Italian artists to develop their own use of this important technique and imagery, so here the putative Arab Christian painter of this icon seems to have been strongly influenced by Byzantine examples in a very direct way. In this case it seems that the artist may have worked in close proximity to a major collection of icon paintings from which he could draw ideas to use in his work, ideas that would be acceptable to his patron both conceptually and with regard to cost.

At the same time that he was using Byzantine chrysography on his icon, he appropriated the imagery of the pearl-dot haloes based on crusader sources. Because we may reasonably imagine that he was using these sources at the same time, their existence in a proximate location is important to consider. The collection of icons at the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, where the two motifs could be found together, is surely the most likely prominent source for him to have seen them.

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[47] Gerard Paquin, "Çintamani," *HALI*, 64 (1992), 111.

The use of çintemani is equally significant, but its use may have been derived from very different sources, with very different results. Even though the use of chrysography is limited to the angels' wings on this icon, the çintemani design is spread over several figures that range in importance in the two scenes. Its source for the artist may well have been through contact with Eastern luxury silks or from the stimulation of seeing this painted design on crusader paintings or other Near Eastern ones. The artist would not necessarily have experienced this in the Monastery of St. Catherine, but that possibility cannot be ruled out. It is, however, more likely that if the stimulus was from seeing luxury silks, the contact was made in a commercial centre such as Cairo, Alexandria, Damascus, Aleppo or even Acre.

The proposal here, made in very broadly brushed strokes, is that just as religious and cultural interchange can be evidenced in the history of Christian missionaries and diplomatic emissaries to the Mongols in the mid- and later thirteenth century, visual evidence for artistic interchange is to be found in this icon as well. Its visual language is mainly Christian as befits a holy image presumably made for a special patron by an Arab Christian painter possibly working at St. Catherine's, in Cairo or somewhere in Syria, but that language is, as I have attempted to argue, extremely rich and nuanced. I propose that its ornamentation proclaims influence from Byzantine sources, in terms of its chrysography, and crusader sources, with the pearl-dot haloes, while the çintemani design suggests the artist's interest in eastern silk patterns that may have come via the Mongols from the Far East, although contemporary crusader icons and possibly even manuscript painting might also have been a source.

In sum, I think this icon demonstrates in visual terms the creativity of an Arab Christian artist, who was working about the year 1300 and who may have lived in Cairo, but who travelled (on pilgrimage?) to the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. Although the patron is unknown, the strong programmatic message proclaiming the eucharistic presence of the body and blood of Christ indicates that it may have been done for a cleric or an extremely devout Eastern Christian. For this purpose the strongly traditional medium of icon painting is used to bring together a rich variety, one might almost say an ecumenical variety, of Christian imagery drawn from Byzantine, crusader, Coptic, Syrian and possibly Armenian and Ethiopian sources, as well perhaps as luxury silks from Mongol or Mamluk commercial sources. Clearly the core of the figural imagery is Eastern Christian and this unifies and determines the integrity of the program, but the varied ornamental vocabulary from Byzantine, crusader and Eastern sources has its own important role to play. And the fact that the balance of elements – figural and ornamental – is maintained and none is allowed to predominate specifically bespeaks an Arab Christian painter living under Mamluk rule who is asserting Near Eastern Christian religious and cultural identity.

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A Deposit of Twelfth-century Medieval Seals at Caesarea: Evidence of the Cathedral Archive of St. Peter

Robert Kool

By any standard, finds of Frankish period seals in controlled excavations are events of the rarest occurrence. Even more so is the find of a deposit of no less than three medieval seals unearthed during excavations within the walls of the crusader town of Caesarea.[1] The seals originated together from the same unstratified context in the 'podium' area where king Herod, founder of Caesarea, erected the *Sebasteion*, a large temple dedicated to Rome and Augustus.[2] There, over its remains on which afterwards a Byzantine church and a mosque were erected, Frankish masons constructed during the twelfth century a large three-aisled cathedral church dedicated to St Peter flanked by streets and several monumental buildings.[3]

The three lead seals are all contemporary and date to the second half of the twelfth century.[4] They were all issued by high-ranking officials of the Latin church active in the Frankish kingdom: a seal of the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, Amaury of Nesle (1158–1180), the highest ranking church official in the Kingdom of Jerusalem; a seal of Pope Alexander III (1159–1180) issued at Rome; and a seal of the canons of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

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[1] The excavations were conducted by Dr. Y. Porath of the Israel Antiquities Authority in 1992. I thank Dr. Porath for allowing me to publish this small but important deposit in this volume presented to my teacher and mentor, Professor Benjamin Z. Kedar.

[2] Area F5, Locus 12201, Reg. No. 35991–3; Kenneth. G. Holum, "The Temple Platform progress report on the excavations," in Kenneth G. Holum, Avner Raban, Joseph Patrich, eds., *Herod's Temple, the provincial governor's praetorium and granaries, the later harbour, a gold coin hoard and other studies*, *Journal of Roman archaeology Supplementary Series* No.35 (Portsmouth, Rhode Island, 1999), pp. 13–34.

[3] Denys Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom: A Corpus: I: A–K excluding Acre and Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 166–79. According to Pringle, the medieval basilica was erected directly on top of the Herodian structure. For the discovery of the medieval period street and adjoining buildings see Holm, "The Temple Platform," pp. 31–34.

[4] The use of lead for sealing was adopted in the Frankish East from the early twelfth century. Lead seals were less susceptible to the more extreme climate changes of the East. At first only the kings of Jerusalem sealed with lead (possibly since 1103). See Hans E. Mayer, *Das Siegelwesen des Kreuzfaherstaaten* (München, 1978), pp. 9–17. Descriptions of such seals from surviving charters indicate that their use, at least among the higher clergy, was introduced already in the first decade of the twelfth century. See Harry W. Hazard, "The Sigillography of Crusader Caesarea," in Deckran K. Kouymjian, *Studies in Honor of G.C. Miles* (Beirut, 1974), p. 361, No.1, especially note 1.

Fig. 1 Front and back of lead seal showing Amaury, Patriarch of Jerusalem (1158–1180). Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority, Jerusalem, Israel. Photo: Clara Amit.

1 Reg. No. 35991, Loc.12201. IAA No. 1-2007-2402.
Amaury, Patriarch of Jerusalem, 1158–80 CE.
Obverse: Christ walks right, head facing. He wears a beard and is nimbate. He holds in his hand the double cross, symbol of the patriarchal office.
Inscription left:
ANA
Σ .....
Ανα/σ[*τασις*]
Reverse cross between two stars, beneath inscription.
AMALRICUS
SCE RESURREC
.....ECCLESI
.. ..T.IAR
...
Amalricus/ S(an)c(tae) Resurrec/[tionis] Ecclesi/[ae Pa]t[r]iar/[cha]
Greyish-brown, pressed seal, slightly indented at upper string channel entrance with channel hardly visible.
42.41 grams, 42 × 45 milimeters.
Cf. G. Schlumberger 1943, *Sigillographie de l'Orient latin*: p. 76, No. 10.

A native of Nesle, south of Arras in Northern France, Amaury officiated as chaplain of the royal court before being nominated prior of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (1151–58).[5] William of Tyre described him as a well educated but simple and

[5] Hans E. Mayer, *Die Kanzlei der latinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Schriften, Band 40, I–II (Hannover, 1996). pp. 135–36.

unpractical cleric.[6] With the support of Queen Melisende (1131–43), he was elected patriarch of Jerusalem in 1158, apparently *contra iuris regulas* and against the will of his ecclesiastical peers.[7] Among his most vocal opponents were two of the most prominent clergy of the kingdom, Radulf bishop of Bethlehem who made a direct appeal to Pope Hadrian IV, supported by the presumable addressee of the papal seal (see below), Ernesius archbishop of Caesarea.[8] Eventually, Amaury's nomination was confirmed. During his long twenty-two year tenure as patriarch, Amaury played an important role in some of the key political events of the Latin kingdom during the second half of the twelfth century. He assisted in the coronation of two kings, Amaury in 1162 and Baldwin IV in 1174. During his office, the Latin Church asserted its ownership over landed property and added two new dioceses, Hebron and Petra.[9] He also authored an encyclical letter to all bishops in the West (1169) to mobilize the European nobility and church against the growing threat of Saladin.[10] Amaury was succeeded by Heraclius, archbishop of Caesarea.[11]

2 Reg. No. 35992, loc. 12201, F5, IIn, IAA No. 1-2007-2403.
Pope Alexander III, 1159–81 CE, Rome.
Obverse: inscription in pearled border.
ALEX
ANDER
PPIII
Alex/ ander/ Papa III
Reverse: Three-quarter facing heads of the saints Peter and Paul.
Both heads are surrounded by pearl-dotted halos and between them a cross. St. Paul to the left, has a high forehead, moustache and a long pointed beard. St. Peter to the right, has fully curly hair and short beard. Above them, an abbreviated Latin inscription:
SPASPE
S(anctus) P(etrus) S(anctus) P(aulus)
Brownish, very lightly indented at string channel entrances.
42.94 grams, 31 × 34 milimeters.

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[6] *"Vir commode litteratus sed simplex nimium et pene inutilis"*. See William of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon*, 18.20 and 22.4, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis, 63–63a (Turnhout, 1986), pp. 11–12 and p. 75.

[7] William of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon*, 18.20, pp. 4–15.

[8] William of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon*, 18.20, pp. 4–15; Mayer, *Kanzlei der latinischen Könige*, pp. 135–36.

[9] Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin church in the Crusader States* (London 1980), pp.77–79.

[10] Paul Riant, "Six Lettres relatives aux croisades," *Archives de l'Orient latin* 1 (Paris 1881), pp. 386–87.

[11] William of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon*, 22.4; Marshall W. Baldwin, ed., *The first hundred years: A History of the Crusades* I, Kenneth .M. Setton (gen. ed.) (Madison, Wisconsin, 1969), p. 597.

Fig. 2 Front and back of lead seal showing Alexander III, Pope (1159–1181). Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority. Photo: Clara Amit.

Cf. W. de Gray Birch 1900, *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Vol. VI, No.21721; G. Glücksmann, R. Kool "Crusader Period Finds from the Southern Wall Excavations in Jerusalem," *Atiqot 27* (1995) 3–4, No.1.

Elected pope in 1159, Alexander III's papacy was dominated by his struggle to contain Frederick I Barbarossa imperial ambitions and a subsequent eighteen-year long church schism (1160–77). The Third Lateran Council (1179) over which he presided marked the apogee of papal authority in the twelfth century. Under this "lawyer pope" (c.1159–81), the Roman curia became the accepted court of appeal and its chancery issued more than seven hundred sealed edicts. Many of these dealt with the Christian presence both lay and ecclesiastical in the Holy Land, showing Alexander III's deep involvement in the affairs of the Latin Kingdom. Upon his election, Alexander III demanded from King Baldwin III of Jerusalem a recognition of his claim to the papal throne. His claim was confirmed at a special council convened in Nazareth (1161) before an assembly of barons and clergy.[12] The above seal was used by the papal chancery only for sealing important privileges and formal documents, and indicated that the attached document must have been a papal bulla (Baldwin 1940:201ff; Glücksmann and Kool: 89–90).

3 Reg. No. 35993, loc.12201, F5, IIN, IAA No. 2-2007-2404.
Greek Orthodox Canons of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, twelfth-thirteenth century (probably before 1181).
Obverse: Central figure, standing to the right, nimbate. In front suppliant(?). On the left, two suppliants hold the figure's arm. Wreath border.
Reverse: inscription

[12] William of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon*,18.29, 1–46; Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 76.

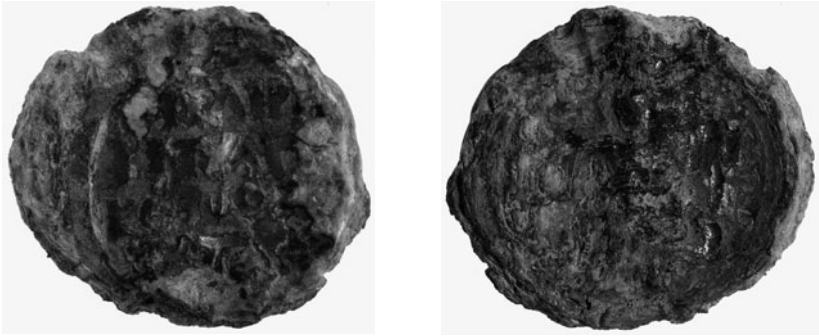

Fig. 3 Front and back of lead seal showing Greek Orthodox canons, Church of the Holy Sepulchre, *c*. end 12th to early 13th. Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority. Photo: Clara Amit.

.ΙΚΛΙΡ.
ΚΙΤΥΛΓ...
ΚΣΒΟΥΟ
..ΤΑΦ..
[ο]ι κλιρυ/κ(ο)ι του αγ[ιου]/κ(αι) σβουο/[ου]ταφ[ου]
Greyish, heavily corroded and pressed, indented at upper channel entrance.
17.91 grams, 31 milimeters.
Cf. Seyrig C. Morrison and W. Seibt. *Les sceaux de la collection H. Seyrig conservés à la bibliothèque Nationale de Paris* (Paris, 1991), 173–4, No.253.

With the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099, the church of the Holy Sepulchre was regarded as the paramount and exclusive symbol of Latin rule and was monopolized by the Latin Church hierarchy.[13] However, under Baldwin III (1143–63) and his successor Amaury (1163–74), possibly under influence of their Byzantine spouses, Greek Orthodox clergy were readmitted on a permanent basis. Those serving in the Holy Sepulchre, at least five in number, were recognized as canons independent from the Latin chapter.[14] Possibly like their Latin counterparts they had landed interests in the diocese of Caesarea or dealings with its cathedral church there.[15]

[13] See Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Intellectual Activities in a Holy City: Jerusalem in the twelfth century," in: *Sacred space, shrine, city, land*, Benjamin Z. Kedar and R.J. Zwi Werblowsky, eds. (New York 1998), pp. 127–39.

[14] See Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 170–71.

[15] Property and landed rights of the Latin chapter in Caesarea were confirmed in charters issued by Amaury of Nestle and Alexander III in 1169–70: see *Le Cartulaire du Chapitre du Saint-Sepulchre de Jérusalem*, ed. Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, Paris, 1984, pp. 292–301, Nos. 150–51. Another charter, dated earlier to 1166, details the sale of land by the lords of Caesarea to the Latin chapter, see Bresc-Bautier, *Cartulaire*, pp. 271–72, No.139. This same charter mentions the presence at Caesarea of a certain Georgius, an eastern Christian, with whom the Latin chapter had important dealings, indicating the presence of eastern Christian population there.

Medieval seals and, even more, deposits of seals are extremely rare finds in excavations.[16] Only a handful of these (mostly single finds) have been found in the Eastern Mediterranean over the years in medieval contexts. A similar papal *cum* patriarchal seal was found in the southern wall excavations in the 1970s in a crusader complex abutting the Templars' main headquarters situated on the Temple Mount.[17] It contained an identical seal of Alexander III and a patriarchal seal of Aimery, patriarch of Antioch (1142–94). An identical patriarchal seal of Aimery of Nesle was found during the excavations of the twelfth-century *villeneuve* of Emmaus in the 1940s.[18] Other excavation finds of papal seals were made in medieval Corinth and more recently in Nea Paphos and Limassol on Cyprus.[19] Relatively large quantities of stray-finds of similar seals were made in Tyre.[20]

Both the highest lay and ecclesiastical officials residing in Caesarea stamped seals emulating the *droit de coin*, the right to sign documents. This right was reserved to a small group of feudal barons and higher clergy in the kingdom of Jerusalem.[21] In recent years a number of seals of the lords of Caesarea and its archbishops were published but their provenance is either unclear or taken from European manuscript

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[16] I only know of one other example of a similar deposit of seals found in an excavation indicating the possible presence of an archive: the deposit of five papal bullae from a destruction layer of a medieval building constructed over the Chrysopolitissa basilica in Nea Paphos. See note 19 below.

[17] Robert Kool and Gabriela Glücksmann, "Crusader Period Finds from the Temple Mount Excavations in Jerusalem," *'Atiqot* 26 (1995), pp. 87–104.

[18] Lev Y. Rahmani, "On some Medieval Antiquities from the Holy Land," *Israel Exploration Journal*, 21 (1971), 55, note 3. For the excavation of Qubeibeh, see Bellarmino Bagatti, *Emmaus-Qubeibeh: The results of excavations at Emmaus-Qubeibeh and nearby sites (1837, 1887–90, 1900–1902, 1940–44)*, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Collectio maior 4 (Jerusalem, 1993). On the archaeological and historical significance of the site, see Ronnie Ellenblum, *Frankish rural settlements in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 92 and Adrian Boas, "Domestic Architecture in the Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem," unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Jerusalem, 1997), pp. 232–36, 270–71.

[19] For Corinth, see Gladys R. Davidson, *Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, Vol. XII, *The Minor Objects* (Princeton 1952), pp. 327–28, No. 2823. A bulla of Honorius III (1216–77) was among the surface finds at the Lusignan castle of Saranda Kolones at Nea Paphos. Another five papal bullae came from a destruction layer of a medieval building constructed over the Chrysopolitissa basilica in Nea Paphos: two of Gregory IX (1227–41), two of Innocent IV (1243–54) and one of Alexander IV (1254–61). Another seal of Innocent IV appeared during a rescue excavation in Limassol in 1993 together with a hoard of medieval coins near the remains of a church apse below a mosque. See Anne Destrooper-Georgiades, "Coins and a Papal bulla found in Limassol at the Jami Kebir Mosque," *Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus* (1997), pp. 319–322, esp. n. 4 and 5. In addition, the museum of Nea-Paphos displays a seal of Honorius III (1216–27), found in the vicinity of Sarindakoles castle. (I am indebted to D.T. Ariel of the Israel Antiquities Authority for this information.) Destrooper-Georgiades also noted the stray-find of a much later bulla of Eugenius IV (1431–47) in the vicinity of Kyreneia.

[20] Jean Claude Cheynet, Cecille Morrisson, Werner Seibt, *Les sceaux byzantins de la collection Henri Seyrig* (Paris, 1991), pp. 243–51. Of the fifteen medieval ecclesiastical and lay seals published by Cheynet, six were stray-finds from Tyre.

[21] Hazard, *Sigillography*, pp. 360–61.

collections.[22] Three stray-finds from Caesarea were published: an unknown seal of Archbishop Baldwin II (1141–57), a seal of Hugh Grenier (1154–74), lord of Caesarea and recently, a seal of Eustace Grenier (1105/10–1123).[23] Two other seals belonging to archbishops of Caesarea were reportedly collected from the sand dunes surrounding present-day Caesarea and remain unpublished.[24]

The dates of the above three seals (all approximately between the 1160s and 1181) do not post-date the capture of the town by Saladin's forces. In my view, this strongly suggests that they were part of an archive that was destroyed when the town and its cathedral were looted and ruined by the Ayyubid forces led by Badr ad-Din Dildirim and Gharas ad-Din Qilij after the battle of Hattin in July 1187.

All three seals approximately date to the period from the 1160s to the 1180s, during which crusader Caesarea had developed into an important Frankish town with strong walls and a citadel.[25] Contemporary sources identify two groups of functionaries within the fief as the most likely recipients for the above seals during this period of the Frankish settlement: the secular rulers of the lordship of Caesarea and the cathedral chapter of St. Peter headed by the archbishop of Caesarea.

The hereditary lordship of Caesarea together with the surrounding hundred villages was granted in 1110 to Eustace Grenier (?–1123), one of the knights in the retinue of Geoffrey of Bouillon on the first Crusade. This family, originally of simple knights, became within one generation an integral part of the ruling elite of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.[26] Eustace Grenier was actively involved in the administration of the kingdom and was nominated to high positions: constable of the kingdom (1120–23) and *bailli* (regent) in 1123; he commanded the kingdom's army during the captivity of King Baldwin II. The dating of the seals suggests

[22] Hazard, *Sigillography*, pp.361–68 gives a detailed description eighteen wax and lead seals – many of them now lost – issued by ecclesiastical and lay lords of Caesarea between 1108 and 1264; Gustave Schlumberger *Sigillographie de L'Orient Latin* (Paris, 1943), pp. 42–44, 94–96. Schlumberger published seals of three archbishops but none are related to the period of the seals described in this paper. They are two of Evremar (1107–1123?) and five seals of two thirteenth-century archbishops, Peter (?–1244) and Matthew (1277–1280). Of the five lay seals, only one, of Hugues Grenier (1154–74), fits into the above time-span. Also the seal of Peter, archbishop (1199?–1235), which formed part of the Seyrig collection published Cheynet, *op.cit*. p.246, dates to a later period.

[23] Arnold Spaer, "Archbishop Baldwin II of Caesarea," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 140 (1980), 193–94; Joseph Ringel, *Cesarée de Palestine, Etudes historiques et archeologiques* (Paris, 1976); see also Rivka Gersht, ed., *Sefer Museion Sdot-Yam LeAtiqot Caesarea*, [Book of the Antiquities Museum of Sdot Yam, Caesarea] (Kibbutz Hameuhad, 1999), p. 79, No. 18. The seal was found in the aftermath of excavations in 1960, during a clearing work of the moat surrounding the medieval city of Caesarea. Deposits of earth-fill originating from the moat were thrown into the sea nearby and the seal was subsequently found in shallow water by a member of the kibbutz of Sdot-Yam and was added to its collection. I thank A. Berman for this information. See also Adolfo Edelstein, "A New Seal of the Frankish Lords of Caesarea Maritima," *Israel Numismatic Journal* 14 (2002), 245–47.

[24] Personal communication, A. Berman. The seals are kept in a private collection.

[25] Harry W. Hazard, "Caesarea and the Crusaders," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Supplementary Studies* 19 (1975), 79–114; Pringle, *Churches*, pp. 166–182.

[26] Another branch of the Grenier family received the lordship of Sidon. See John La Monte, "The Lands of Caesarea in the Period of the Crusades," *Speculum*, 22 (1947), 145–61; also Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem 1174–1277* (London, 1973), p. 22.

two of his offspring as possible receivers of the bullae: Hugh Grenier (1154–74) and Guy Grenier (1174–82). Of these, Hugh represents the most likely candidate. Hugh ranked among the most important barons of Outremer in his generation, serving in the royal household and accompanying Kings Baldwin III and Amaury on their military campaigns into Egypt, where he played a key role as mediator. His name appears on numerous royal documents and he undoubtedly corresponded with important personages like the patriarch of Jerusalem or the prior of the Holy Sepulchre, the chapter of which held large tracks of arable land in the lordship.

However, the absence of a lay seal in the above group, and the fact that all seals are of high church officials, in particular the presence of a papal seal, makes it more convincing that these seals were attached to documents addressed to a high church official in Caesarea, most likely the metropolitan of Caesarea.

Immediately after the capture of the town in 1101, the crusaders restored the see of Caesarea to its metropolitan status and installed the first Latin archbishop there. Together with the canons of the Holy Sepulchre Church (seal No.3) and the archbishop of Nazareth, the archbishop of Caesarea ranked among the highest church officials in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, directly subordinate to the Latin patriarch in Jerusalem (seal No.1).

Among the twelve archbishops that served the see in the next 160 years, there are only two who, chronologically speaking, could have been the recipients of these bullae: Ernesius (1157–75) and Heraclius (1175–80). Of these two Ernesius appears the most likely candidate. His rule closely parallels the date during which these bullae could have been issued (1160–1180). Ernesius belonged to a small circle of churchmen well connected with key members in both the ecclesiastical and royal bureaucracies. A nephew of the late patriarch William of Malines (1130–47), Ernesius held the position of patriarchal chancellor under two patriarchs – the above mentioned William and his successor Fulcher of Angoulême (1146–57) before becoming archbishop. He initially opposed the election of Amaury of Nesle to the patriarchal see of Jerusalem, but seems to have served under him amicably, accompanying Amaury on an aborted mission to Europe in 1169 to raise economic and military aid against Saladin. Ernesius also served as a royal ambassador to the Byzantine court, bringing back to Tyre in 1167 the future wife of King Amaury, Maria Comnena, grand-niece of the Byzantine emperor.[27]

The presence of Alexander III's seal in Caesarea as part of a 'hoard' of seals significantly strengthens the theory that the seals were part of a metropolitan archive. Since this seal could only have been used for a papal bulla (see above), it seems highly unlikely in my opinion that a knight or baron, rather than a high ranking church official, could have been the addressee of such an important and relatively rare contemporary document. In fact all but one – addressed to the king of Jerusalem – of the bullae sent by Alexander III to the Holy Land, were addressed to

[27] William of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon*, 20.1, pp. 1–14.

church institutions or military orders.[28] Also, a large number of the seven hundred sealed edicts issued by Alexander III's chancery were encyclical edicts addressed to all the churches of a particular area. It seems thus highly plausible that an important church official like the archbishop of Caesarea, in this case Ernesius (1157–75), received a copy of such a document attached with the papal seal and deposited it at the metropolitan archive located in or near the cathedral of St. Peter.

[28] *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* II, Jaffe-Loewenfeld, eds. (Leipzig1885–8), pp. 145–418; Rudolf Hiestand, *Papsturkunden fur Templer und Johanniter: Archivberichte und Texte*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen (Göttingen 1990).

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Notes on Some Inscriptions from Crusader Acre

Denys Pringle

In 1974, the late Fr Sabino de Sandoli identified eight texts in Latin and nine in French that were attributable to Acre.[1] In fact one of these is now known to have come from Ascalon,[2] though this "loss" is partly compensated for by another fragmentary text (no. 14 below) of which Fr de Sandoli was unaware. In a number of cases, the readings of these texts that have been proposed up to now can be seen to be defective when compared with the published illustrations or (where they survive) with the surviving monuments themselves. In certain instances, it is also possible to advance some new interpretations, in particular concerning the identity of the people named on them. The aim of this paper is therefore to present a re-edition of the texts themselves, accompanied where appropriate by short historical commentaries. As illustrations of most of these monuments already exist in print and in most cases are reproduced in de Sandoli's book, it has seemed unnecessary to replicate them all again here.

The group of seventeen texts that result from this exercise are mostly epitaphs from medieval Acre's churches and cemeteries, though one (no. 10) also refers to the building of a church, another (no. 13) may well be from a building associated with the Hospitallers rather than from a tomb, and a third (no. 17) is too fragmentary to tell what it was from. Four of the epitaphs refer to members of the Order of St. John (nos. 1, 2, 7, 14), one to an archbishop of Nazareth (no. 9), one to a provincial prior of the Brothers of the Sack (no. 11), one to a burgess (no. 4), and two to knights (nos. 5, 8). Two of the epitaphs are of women, one being buried with her husband (no. 8), the other possibly as a benefactor of the Teutonic Order (no. 6).

In editing the texts the following conventions have been observed:

[·] lacuna on the stone, the number of suspended stops indicating the assumed number of missing letters;
( ) expansion of an intentional contraction;
‹ › expansion of an unintentional contraction or accidental omission;
A̲ doubtful reading, where only part of the letter survives;
{ } letter or letters included by mistake.

I am most grateful to my colleagues Peter Edbury and Helen Nicholson for commenting on an earlier draft of this paper.

[1] *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesigantorum Terrae Sanctae (1099–1291)* [hereafter *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesigantorum Terrae Sanctae (1099–1291)*], Pubblicazioni dello Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, XXI (Jerusalem 1974), pp. 299–318.

[2] *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesigantorum Terrae Sanctae (1099–1291)*, pp. 305–6, no. 407; cf. Denys Pringle, "King Richard I and the Walls of Ascalon,", *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 116 (1984), 133–47; repr. in idem, *Fortification and Settlement in Crusader Palestine* (Aldershot, 2000), ch. III.

1 Epitaph of Peter of Campinolles, Treasurer of the Hospital (1206)

Ch. Clermont-Ganneau published a reading of this text made from a squeeze sent to him by ʾIsa Kouboursy in 1889. Although he attempted to obtain the stone itself for the Musée du Louvre in Paris, his correspondent died and the stone was lost.[3] Subsequently, it was obtained by the Orthodox Palestine Society and placed in their museum attached to the Russian Orthodox Church on the Mount of Olives.[4] It is a piece of grey marble, measuring 18 × 14 cm and 4.5 cm thick. The lettering is a mixture of uncial and capital forms. The stone's small size suggests that it would have been inset into a larger tomb slab. Although its exact provenance is unknown, the identity of the deceased, if correctly surmised, suggests that it would have come either from the Church of St. John or from the Hospitallers' extramural cemetery.

anno : ab : incarnati
o(n)e d(omi)ni : m^{o}:cc^{o}:vi . xv^{o} : k(a)l(endas)
nov(em)br(is) : o[b]iit : fr(ater) : pet(rus)
de : campaignolis :
thesaurarius ac
con(ensis) : o : homo q(u)i {o} : me
a]spicis quod : es

On 16 October, AD 1206, died Brother Peter of Campinolles, Treasurer of Acre. O man who looks on me, what you are …

Clermont-Ganneau, followed by de Sandoli,[5] completed the final phrase: … *fui, quod sum eris* (… I was, what I am, you will be.). A brother of the Hospital named Petrus de Campinoll(es) was among those Templars and Hospitallers who assisted at the confirmation of the will of Albert de Castro Vetulo in Acre on 11 June 1204.[6] On the basis of this inscription, it is possible to suggest that he became treasurer after Anselm of Lucca, who is mentioned in that position in May 1201, and that he was himself succeeded by Brother Richard, who was treasurer in December 1207.[7]

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[3] "Une inscription des croisades de Saint-Jean-d'Acre," *Études d'archéologie orientale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1880–97), II:151–2.

[4] 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), no. 41.

[5] *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesigantorum Terrae Sanctae (1099–1291)*, pp. 302–3, no. 405.

[6] *Cartulaire general de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint–Jean (1100–1310)*, II, pp.41–2, no. 1197; *RRH Ad*, p. 52, no. 797a.

[7] J. Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre (1100–1310)* (Paris, 1904), pp. 412; *Cartulaire general de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean (1100–1310)*, II, pp. 8–9, no. 1146 (1201); pp. 78–79, no. 1276 (1207); *RRH*, p. 208–9, no. 784 (1201); p. 221, no. 824 (1207).

2 Epitaph of Peter of Vieille Bride, Master of the Hospital (1242)

This text was discovered during clearance of the crypt of the Church of St. John and was first published by Z. Goldman in 1962.[8] It consists of four and a half lines of text carved on a large slab of white marble (overall 181 × 52 cm and 8 cm thick), broken into six pieces. As Joshua Prawer pointed out,[9] this was more than just an epitaph, as the second part was evidently intended as a piece of official Hospitaller propaganda, to be displayed in a prominent position on the wall of a much frequented passageway below the church. It also seems that more was meant to follow but was never written, for the fifth line breaks off incomplete and guidelines are marked out for a further three lines of text below it. In line 3, the *Amen* is followed by a fleur-de-lys.

† anno : ab : incarnacione : domini : m:cc:x:l:ii : obiit : frater : petrus : de : veteri : brivato :
octavus : magister : sancte : domus : hospitalis : ierusalem : post : occupationem : sanc
te : terre : xv : k(a)l(enda)s : octobris : cuius : a(n)i(m)a : requiescat : in : pace : amen ♠
cuius : tempore : com[es
montis : fortis : et : alii : barones : francie : a captivitate : babilonie : liberati : fuerunt :
du[m : ric
ardus : comes : [cor]nubie : ca[str]um : erigeret : ascalone :

In AD 1242 died Brother Peter of Vieille Bride, eighth master of the Holy House of the Hospital of Jerusalem after the occupation of the Holy Land, on 17 September. May his soul rest in peace. Amen. In his time the count of Montfort and other barons of France were freed from captivity in Cairo, while Richard, earl of Cornwall, was building the castle in Ascalon.

Peter de Vieille Bride, a native of the Auvergne, succeeded Bertrand de Comps as master of the Hospital in late 1239 or early 1240, having earlier been grand commander.[10] He was the eighth master after Garnier of Nablus, in whose time Acre had been reconquered by the crusaders.[11] It was during his brief period as master that the Hospitallers negotiated with al-Sāliḥ Ayyūb, sultan of Egypt, for the return of those Christians, including Amaury of Montfort, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Bait Hanun, near Gaza, in November 1239. The treaty freeing the

[8] "Newly Discovered Crusaders' Inscription in Acre (Preliminary Report)," *Christian News from Israel*, 13.1 (1962), 33–34, pl. IV; idem, "Découverte à Acre d'une inscription de l'époque des croisades," *Nouvelles chrétiennes d'Israël*, 13 (1962), 8–10; cf. *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesigantorum Terrae Sanctae (1099–1291)*, 303–5, no. 406, fig. 131; Bernard Dichter, *The Orders and Churches of Crusader Acre* (Acre 1979), p. 56; Sylvia Rozenberg (ed.), *Knights of the Holy Land: The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Israel Museum Catalogue, 422: Jerusalem, 1999), p. 318, no. 91.

[9] "Military Orders and Crusader Politics in the Second Half of the XIIIth Century," in J. Fleckenstein and M. Hellmann (eds.), *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas* (Vorträge und Forschungen, 26: Sigmaringen 1980), pp. 217–29 (at pp. 223–24 n.17).

[10] Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers*, pp. 183–84; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c.1050–1310* (London, 1967), pp. 174–75.

[11] Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers*, p. 408.

prisoners and awarding the Hospital Bait Jibrin and Ascalon was confirmed by Richard, earl of Cornwall, in March 1241, while he was completing the construction of the castle in Ascalon, and was finally implemented on 23 April.[12] Peter most likely died outside the walls of Acre, on 17 September 1242, in the "new vineyard," where the convent was encamped while the Hospital itself was under siege from the Genoese and Templars, supported by Balian of Ibelin, lord of Beirut.[13]

3 Epitaph (1251/9)

This inscription is believed to have come from Acre and now forms part of the collection of Dr. Selah Merrill in the Semitic Museum in Harvard. It was published by T.F. Wright and Ch. Clermont-Ganneau in 1901.[14]

[+ici : gist : … qui]
t]respas[sa : en : lan :
d]e lincairn[acion n
ostre seignor [ih(es)u
crist : m : cc : li[…
a demi : iul[…

[+ Here lies … who] died [in the year of the] incarn[ation of] Our Lord [Jesus] Christ 1251 (*or* 1252, 1253, 1254, 1259), in mid July.

The name of the month in line 6 could alternatively be *julot*, *juilot*, *juil*(*le*), *juillet*, or *juignet* if it was July, or possibly *juin*, *juign* or *juign* if it was June. If *a demi* corresponds to the ides, the date would strictly be either 15 July or 13 June.

[12] Philip of Novara, ed. Silvio Melani, *Guerra di Federico II in Oriente (1223–1242)* (Naples 1994), pp. 218–20 fols. 120–23 (216–19); "Annales de Terre Sainte," ed. Reinholt Röhricht, *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, II.ii, p. 440; Matthew Paris, *Chron. Majora*, ed. H.R. Luard, RS, LVII.iv, pp. 138–44; "Eracles," *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens occidentaux*, II, ch. XXXIII.49, pp. 419–20; "Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr" (Rothelin), *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens occidentauxc*, II, chs. XXXIV–XXXVI, pp. 554–56; Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers*, p. 185; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John*, pp. 175–78; Joshua Prawer, *Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Paris, 1975), II:283–7.

[13] Philip of Novara, ed. Silvio Melani, pp. 222–6 fols. 126–27 (222–23); Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers*, pp. 186–89; Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John*, pp. 179–80.

[14] *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement* (1901), 407; cf. *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesigantorum Terrae Sanctae (1099–1291)*, pp. 311–2, fig. 138, no. 414.

4 Epitaph of James the Soapmaker (1257)

This text was recorded by Ch. Clermont-Ganneau.[15]

+ ici : gist : iaque
le saboni(er) : q(ui) : trep
asa : al segunt : i
or : de genvier : en
lan : m : cc : lvii:

Here lies James the Soapmaker, who died on 2 January 1257.

James and his brother Thomas, identified as soapmakers (*saboneri*i, *de Saboneris*), are recorded as renting a house or houses next to a Genoese *palazzo* in the "covered street" in an inventory of Genoese property in Acre drawn up on 14 July 1249.[16]

5 Epitaph of Nicolas Antiaume (1260/6)

This text was found in Acre, in December 1923, inscribed on a piece of broken marble (17.5 × 16 cm, letter heights 16–20 mm).[17]

+] ici : gist : nico[las …
m] : antianme q(u)i : tre[spasa an lan
de l:incarnacion : n[ostre seignor
i]h(es)u x(ri)st c(hri)st : m:cc:lx[… a …
i]ors : de : iungne[t: dieu ait
pi]tie : de : lar]me de lui

Here lies Nico[las …] Antianme, who died in AD 1260–89 [on the …] day of June. [May God have pi]ty on [his] soul.

The letter at the beginning of line 2 might alternatively be *i* or *a*: if *m*, it might possibly be a contraction of *m*(*esire*) (see below). In line 4, the name of Christ has accidentally been repeated, albeit in a different form.

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[15] *Album d'antiquités orientales: recueil des monuments inédits ou peu-connus: art – archéologie – épigraphie* (Paris 1897), pl. 47; cf. *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesigantorum Terrae Sanctae (1099–1291)*, 312, fig. 139, no. 415.

[16] Ch. Cornelio Desimoni, "Quatre titres des propriétés des genois à Acre et à Tyr," *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, II.ii, pp. 213–30 (at pp. 217, 220); *RRH*, 310–1, no. 1182.

[17] F.-M. Abel, "Une inscription médiévale de Saint-Jean d'Acre," *Revue biblique*, 33 (1924), pp. 388–90; *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesigantorum Terrae Sanctae (1099–1291)*, pp. 319–1, no. 413.

Nicolas Antiaume (Anteaume, Antelmus, Antelin, Ancelin) was a member of an important burgess family of Acre and a noted jurist.[18] He was the son of Raymond Antiaume, who appears along with his relative Guy in the entourage of Henry of Champagne in 1193 and was regarded by Raoul of Tiberias as having the best knowledge of customary law of all the burgesses of the kingdom.[19] Nicolas himself was evidently knighted at some point in his career, as he is normally referred to as *sire* or *mesire*. He was praised by Philip of Novara for his legal ability both in and out of court,[20] and was consulted for legal advice by John of Ibelin on behalf of the *bailli* of the kingdom of Armenia.[21] He accompanied Queen Yolanda, when she went to Italy in 1225 to marry the emperor Frederick II, and witnessed confirmations of privileges made to the Teutonic Order by the imperial pair in January 1226.[22] He seems to have returned to Syria after her death in 1228. In 1231, he was in the entourage of the *bailli* of the kingdom, Balian of Sidon,[23] and in 1236 was listed among the emperor's men in witnessing in Acre the sale of *Saphet la Cathemon* (Kh. Katamun) to the Teutonic Order.[24] In November 1235, he had exchanged his house near the Hospital in Acre for another one adjacent to it, belonging to the order of St. John.[25] From June 1243 onwards, while Queen Alice and her husband Ralph, count of Soissons, were acting as regents for the young King Conrad, Nicolas Antiaume and Philip, lord of Tibnin, were made guardians of the citadel of Acre.[26] Another house in which Nicolas had formerly had a part share is mentioned in an inventory of Genoese properties in Acre in June 1249.[27] This reference has been taken to indicate that he was already dead by that time.[28] According to his tombstone, however, he would have died sometime after 1260. As he was certainly

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[18] See Joshua Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford 1980), pp. 289–90; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277* (London, 1973), pp. 121, 124, 128, 160, 215, 240.

[19] *RRH*, p. 190, no. 710; *Tablulae Ordinis Theutonici ex Tabularii Regii Berolinensis Codice Potissimum*, p. 25, no. 29; Philip of Novara, "Livre," *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades Lois*, I, ch. 57, p. 523; "Abrégé du Livre des Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois," *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades Lois*, II, ch. 28, p. 339.

[20] Philip of Novara, "Livre," *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades Lois*, I, ch. 49, p. 525; cf. "Abrégé du Livre des Assises," *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades Lois*, II, ch. 28, pp. 339–40.

[21] John of Ibelin, *Le Livre des Assises*, ed. PeterW. Edbury (Leiden–Boston, 2003), ch. 131, p. 315.

[22] *RRH*, p. 256, nos. 974–75; *Tablulae Ordinis Theutonici ex Tabularii Regii Berolinensis Codice Potissimum*, pp. 47–49, nos. 58–59.

[23] *Cartulaire general de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean (1100–1310)*, pp. 424–25, no. 1996; *RRH*, p. 268, no. 1027.

[24] *RRH*, p. 280, no. 1073; *Tablulae Ordinis Theutonici ex Tabularii Regii Berolinensis Codice Potissimum*, pp. 66–67, no. 84.

[25] *Cartulaire general de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean (1100–1310)*, II, pp. 493–94, no. 2126; *RRH*, pp. 227–8, no. 1063.

[26] John of Ibelin, *Livre*, ed. Edbury, appx. 8, p. 810; cf. P.W. Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 74–5; Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility*, p. 215.

[27] Desimoni, "Quatre titres des propriétés," p. 214, no. 1; *RRH*, p. 309, no. 1181.

[28] Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, p. 290; Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility*, p. 124.

dead by the time that John of Ibelin was writing, around 1264–6,[29] the year of his death should therefore be placed in the early to mid-1260s.

Nicolas's son, Balian, is mentioned between 1250 and 1277.[30] Other probable relations include John Antelmi (Antelmus), mentioned between 1249 and 1254,[31] and Roland Antelmi, who was holding *la Hadia* (Kh. al-ʿAyadiya, H. ʿUza) in 1254.[32]

6 Epitaph of Isabel de Hana[… (1273–?)

The stone on which this text is inscribed was found by A. Zemer in the 1960s near the western wall of the Franciscan cemetery in the eastern part of Acre, outside the Turkish walls.[33] It is 26.5 cm long, 12 cm high and 0.7 cm thick, and is now preserved in Acre Municipal Museum. Below the second line runs a continuous undulating vine frieze.

…] isabel : de : hana[…
…]uiii : idvs : maii : […

Here lies] Isabel de Hana[…
who died] on 8 May […

In a comprehensive review of the historical, cartographic and archaeological evidence relating to the topography of the eastern part of Acre in the thirteenth century, Benjamin Kedar has suggested locating the complex of buildings known to have been associated with the hospital of the Teutonic Knights in the area around the present Franciscan cemetery, where this inscription was found.[34] Although Fr de Sandoli admitted that the chances for identifying the Isabel of the inscription were slim,[35] one possible identification that escaped his notice may lend support to Kedar's ideas concerning the location of the Hospital of the Teutonic Order.

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[29] *Livre*, ed. Edbury, ch. 131, p. 315.

[30] "Abrégé du Livre des Assises," *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades Lois*, II, ch. 28, p. 339; *Lignages d'Outremer*, ed. M.-A. Nielen, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades, XVIII (Paris 2003), pp. 76, 121; *RRH*, pp. 313–14, no. 1189; pp. 330–31, no. 1259; *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi*, 2 vols., ed. L. de Mas Latrie (Paris 1891), I:214; Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, p. 290.

[31] Desimoni, "Quatre titres des propriétés," pp. 215–21, no. 2; *Cartulaire general de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean (1100–1310)*, II, pp. 764–6, no. 2693; *RRH*, pp. 310–12, no. 1182; p. 322, no. 1220.

[32] *Cartulaire general de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean (1100–1310)*, II, p. 772, no. 2714; *RRH*, p. 320, no. 1212.

[33] Benjamin.Z. Kedar, "The Outer Walls of Frankish Acre," *Atiqot*, 31 (1997), 157–80 (at pp. 172, 178 n.20, fig. 18); cf. *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesigantorum Terrae Sanctae (1099–1291)*, p. 306, no. 408, fig. 133; cf. Rozenberg (ed.), *Knights of the Holy Land*, pp. 318, 328, no. 94.

[34] Kedar, "The Outer Walls," p. 172–73, plan 4*c*.

[35] *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesigantorum Terrae Sanctae (1099–1291)*, p. 306.

Among the documents from the Teutonic Order's archive surviving in Venice is one that records the sale in the court of burgesses in Acre, on 4 August 1273, of a property lying in the Syrian quarter of the city. This property, described simply as *un heritage*, was sold for 280 bezants by a lady named Set Lehoue, with the consent of her husband, Jorge le Haneisse, and of their son, Faet, to a Lady Isabel (*dame Ysabiau*), daughter of another person named Jorge.[36] If, as Marie-Louise Favreau-Lilie has plausibly suggested,[37] Lady Isabel was a relative of the vendors, it would seem perfectly possible to identify her with Isabel de Hana[…], mentioned on this inscription. Other considerations could also tend to support such a hypothesis. For instance, if Isabel had died in the hospital of the Teutonic Knights, donating her property to the order, this could explain how the document came to be in the order's archive in the first place; and if her tomb, or at any rate her epitaph, was originally located within the precincts of the church and hospital of St. Mary of the Germans, rather than in the order's extra-mural cemetery, the case for locating them in the vicinity of the present Franciscan cemetery is further strengthened.

7 Epitaph of Brother Thomas Mausu, Treasurer of the Hospital (1275)

This text was recorded by Ch. Clermont-Ganneau.[38]

+] ici gist : frere : to
mas : mausu : tresori
er : d(e) : lospital : s : iohn
q(u)i : trepassa : le : i° : ior :
d(e) : septe(m)b(re) : la(n) : d(e) : li(n)car(nation)
ih(es)u : crist : m° : c°c : lxxv° :
priez : tuit : p(or) : sarme:

Here lies Brother Thomas Mausu, treasurer of the Hospital of St. John, who died on 1 September AD 1275. May all pray for his soul.

[36] Riccardo Predelli, "Le reliquie del'archivio dell'Ordine Teutonico in Venezia," *Atti del Reale Istituto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, 64.2 (1904–5), 1377–1463 (at pp. 1444–45, no. 62); Marie-Louise Favreau-Lilie, "The Teutonic Knights in Acre after the Fall of Montfort (1271): Some Reflections," in Benjamin Z. Kedar, Hans Eberhard Mayer and R.C. Smail (eds.), *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jersualem, presented to Joshua Prawer* (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 272–84 (at pp. 273–75, 282–83).

[37] "The Teutonic Knights in Acre," p. 274.

[38] *Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 22 (1894), pp. 276–77; *Album d'antiquités orientales*, pl. 47; cf. *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesigantorum Terrae Sanctae (1099–1291)*, pp. 313–14, fig. 140, no. 416.

Thomas Mausu, or Mauzun, is mentioned as the preceptor of the vault of St. John of Jerusalem in Acre in September 1264.[39] By 9 August 1273, he had become treasurer of the Hospital in Acre, where he is mentioned taking part in a property transaction in the bishop's house.[40] He may have succeeded Joseph de Cancy, who was treasurer in October 1271.[41] Thomas is again referred to as treasurer on 7 October 1273.[42] It is not known who succeeded him, however, as the next treasurer of the order to be recorded was Bernard du Chemin in June 1299.[43]

8 Epitaphs of Walter of Meinne-Abeuf and his wife Alemanne (1278)

This text is carved on the reverse face of a marble slab (55 × 48.5 × 5 cm), the front face of which, carved in low relief with a now-defaced cross, appears to have formed part of the decorative scheme of a Byzantine church. It was acquired by Ch. Clermont-Ganneau in the 1880s and is now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris.[44]

+ ici: gist : sire : gauti
er : meinne : abeuf :
qui : trespasa : an :
lan : de : lin : carna
{a}cion : notre : seig
{g}n^{o}r : ih(es)u : cri(s)t : m^{o}: cc^{o}:
: lxx : viii : a xx : iors : de :
: iu(ill)e :

+ Here lies Sir Walter Meinne-Abeuf, who died in AD 1278 on 20 July.

Below and to the right of the text is carved the dead man's shield, with three bands, the colours unfortunately lacking. Subsequently another four lines of text were added, running both sides of the shield. Because of lack of space before the shield, one of the *i*'s of the date has been squeezed in above.

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[39] *Cartulaire general de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean (1100–1310)*, III, pp. 91–92, no. 3105; *RRH*, 349–50, no. 1334; cf. *RRH Ad*, 88, no. 1334; Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers*, p. 414.

[40] *Cartulaire general de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean (1100–1310)*, III, pp. 296–7, no. 3514; *RRH*, p. 362, no. 1389; cf. Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers*, p. 412.

[41] *Cartulaire general de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean (1100–1310)*, III, pp. 259–60, no. 3433; *RRH Ad*, p. 93, no. 1382a.

[42] *Cartulaire general de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean (1100–1310)*, III, 300–1, no. 3519; *RRH Ad*, 94, 1391a.

[43] *Cartulaire general de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean (1100–1310)*, III, no. 4464; Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers*, p. 412.

[44] "Nouveaux monuments des croisés recueillis en Terre Sainte," *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, 2.1 (Paris 1884), pp. 457–64 (pp. 457–59, pl. I*ab*); cf. *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesigantorum Terrae Sanctae (1099–1291)*, pp. 308–10, fig. 136, no. 412.

esc espouze // ma
dame aleman(n)e // qui
trespasa a xxv^{i}i // iors
dou mois daous // t

And his wife, Lady Alemanne, who died on 27 August.

Walter of Maynebuef (Mainebuef) is listed among the men of John of Ibelin, lord of Beirut, in September 1256[45] and November 1261.[46] It would be tempting to identify him with Lord Menebof, from whose relative, Lady Hensalme, the Teutonic Order purchased five carrucates of land in *Saphet* and a vault sometime before c.1243. Unfortunately this transaction is known only from a brief mention in a *pancarte*, which appears to describe Hensalme as Menebof's mother-in-law (*emimus a domina Hensalme, soceri* [for *socere* or *socru*?] *domini Menebof*).[47] This character may also perhaps have been the knight named Maineboef, who is mentioned in 1232.[48] Two other Mainebuefs are recorded, however, both of them probably relations: Girart or Gerard Mainebuef in 1252, 1263 and 1269;[49] and Bartholomew Meinebuef, a man of Julian, lord of Sidon, who is mentioned in 1254 and 1258.[50]

9 Epitaph of William of St. John, Archbishop of Nazareth (1290)

Two joining pieces of this stone were found in 1962 and are now in the Municipal Museum in Acre (113 × 91.5 [c.2.00] × 5.5 cm). They represent the lower part of a tomb slab, which appears to have depicted the figure of a standing bishop, wearing vestments and holding a staff. He is flanked by a pair of colonnettes, which probably supported some form of architectural canopy over his head. A small unidentified

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[45] Predelli, "Le reliquie," pp. 1436–37, no. 49; *RRH*, p. 328, no. 1250.

[46] Predelli, "Le reliquie," pp. 1439–40, no. 54; *RRH*, pp. 341–42, nos. 1307–8, 1310; *Tablulae Ordinis Theutonici ex Tabularii Regii Berolinensis Codice Potissimum*, pp. 106–11, no. 119–20; p. 114, no. 122.

[47] *RRH*, 135, no. 510(25); *Tablulae Ordinis Theutonici ex Tabularii Regii Berolinensis Codice Potissimum*, 124, no. 128. As this item is listed with other transactions relating to Tyre, the land probably lay in *Saphet le Cathemon* (Kh. Katamun), in the territory of Tibnin (*Toron*), which the order acquired in 1236 (see note 24 above). Alternatively it may perhaps have been in *Saphet des Alemauns* (Kh. Safta ʾAdi), between Shafa ʿAmr (*Saffran*) and Duyuk (*Doch*), in the plain of Acre (cf. "Les chemins et les pelerinages de la Terrre Sainte" (text B), ed. H. Michelant and G. Raynaud (eds.), *Itinéraires à Jérusalem et descriptions de la Terre Sainte rédigés en français aux XIe, XIIe & XIIIe siècles*, Publns. de la Société de l'Orient latin, sér. géog., III (Geneva, 1882), p. 198).

[48] *RRH*, p. 271, no. 1039.

[49] *Cartulaire general de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean (1100–1310)*, III, pp. 135–36, no. 3213; pp. 192–93, no. 3326; *RRH*, pp. 315–16, no. 1200; p. 346, no. 1324; p. 357, no. 1371.

[50] *Cartulaire general de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean (1100–1310)*, II, p. 761–63, no. 2688; *RRH*, p. 321, no. 1217; p. 332, no. 1265; *Tablulae Ordinis Theutonici ex Tabularii Regii Berolinensis Codice Potissimum*, pp. 96–97, no. 114.

figure is shown kneeling at his feet to the left. Running clockwise around the margin of the stone and facing inwards are two lines of text. The inner one was evidently written first, while the outer one appears to continue the same text.

A photograph of this stone was first published in 1969.[51] Although Fr Sabino de Sandoli also included a photograph in his corpus, [52] his suggested reading was almost immediately superseded by a detailed discussion of the text that was published the same year by Joshua Prawer. In this, Prawer convincingly identified the tombstone as that of William of St. John, a Templar chaplain who was appointed archbishop of Nazareth in 1288.[53]

If we assume that the text started along the top of the stone, on the part that is now missing, it might perhaps be expanded as follows:

Inner text:

[Ici : gist : guillaume : de : sainct : jehan : // archevesque : de : Nazaret : qui : fu : elus : en : lan : de : linca]rnacion : n(ost)re : seignor : ih(es)u : crist : m // : cc : lxx[xvii : xvi]ii : iors : entrant : iuignet : // pries : dieu : por : lame : de : lui : e tot[…

[Here lies William of St. John, archbishop of Nazareth, who was elected in the year of the inca]rnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ 1288, 14 June. Pray God for his soul and all […

Outer text:

… il trespassa d]ime(n)che : le : derain : ior : de iuignet : // en lan [de : lincarn]acion n(ost)re seignor ih(es)u c // rist : m : cc : lxxxx.

… he died] on Sunday 31 July in the year [of the incarn]ation of Our Lord Jesus Christ, 1290.

The date of 14 July 1288 (or the 18th day before the calends of June), which Prawer proposed restoring to the inner line of text, is provided by a letter of Pope Nicholas IV confirming William's appointment as archbishop. In fact, he had already been elected before that date, but the election was disputed. His consecration took place sometime after 1 August 1288.[54]

Prawer gave three reasons for regarding as "extremely improbable" the reading of the first surviving word of the outer line of text as *dimenche*: (i) the last day of July in 1290 was a Monday, not a Sunday; (ii) the letter form that might be

[51] E. Sivan, "Palestine during the Crusades (1099–1291)," in M. Avi-Yonah (ed.), *A History of the Holy Land* (London, 1969), pp. 223–56 (at p. 236).

[52] *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesigantorum Terrae Sanctae (1099–1291)*, 314–16, fig. 141, no. 417.

[53] "A Crusader Tomb of 1290 from Acre and the Last Archbishops of Nazareth," *Israel Exploration Journal*, 24 (1974), 241–51, pl. 54; cf. Rozenberg (ed.), *Knights of the Holy Land*, p. 318, no. 92.

[54] E. Langlois (ed.), *Les Registres de Nicolas IV* (Paris 1886), nos. 165–69, 175–77; Prawer, "A Crusader Tomb," pp. 248, 250.

interpreted as *m* differs from the other *m*s in the inscription, and might equally be read as a ligatured *on* or *or*; and (iii) the abbreviation sign above the "*m*" should have been placed above the *e* if it was meant to indicate the contracted *n* of *dime*(*n*)*che*. He therefore proposed restoring the word as a name: *Ioneche*, *Io*(*a*)*neche* or *Io*(*ha*)*neche* (or possibly *Io*(*an*)*neche*?), which he took to represent a form of John. As no saint named John is associated with 31 July, which the twelfth-century Jerusalem church identified as the feast of St. Germanus of Auxerre, Prawer was led to suggest that *I*(.)*eche* was part of the name of the bishop, *Guillaume de Iohaneche*.[55] Unfortunately this would be an odd point for the name of the deceased to appear in the text. One would at least expect him to be mentioned by name before the section recording his election as bishop. There also appears to be no justification for inserting the words *qui trespassa* after it, as Prawer proposed thus: [*ici gist archevesque de Nazaret Guillaume*] *I*(*?*)*erche* (*qui trespassa*) *le derain ior de iuignet*.[56] There remains a faint possibility that *I*(.)*eche* might refer to St. John the Evangelist, whose feast day the early Jerusalem church celebrated on 30 July, in addition to commemorating St. James and St. John on 29 December;[57] but there is nothing to suggest that this feast day was still being held by the Latins in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Despite Prawer's reservations, *dimenche* therefore seems more likely to be the correct restoration. Inconsistencies in letter forms are common in inscriptions of this period, and the misplacement of the abbreviation mark is equally unremarkable. It may also be noted that in the early Middle Ages the day would normally have been reckoned to begin at dusk;[58] if William had died on the evening of Sunday 30 July, he could therefore quite easily have been said to have died on the last day of the month.

10 Epitaph of Ebule Fazle (undated)

This inscription survives on a piece of marble forming the mullion of a window in the Jamiʿ al-Raml, or Sand Mosque. The inscription runs around the edge of the central of three medallions, which are carved in low relief (diam. 22 cm). The text was first published by Camille Enlart on the basis of a personal observation made on site and a defective squeeze communicated to him by Count du Mesnil du Buisson.[59]

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[55] Prawer, "A Crusader Tomb," pp. 245, 250.

[56] Prawer, "A Crusader Tomb," p. 250.

[57] Michel Tarchnischvili (ed.), *Le grand lectionnaire de l'église de Jérusalem*, 2 vols. (*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orietalium*, 189, 205 [Scriptores iberici, 10, 14]: Louvain 1959–60), II, p. 24 para. 1117; cf. I, p. 16 para. 53.

[58] C.R. Cheney, *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History* (London, 1945), p. 9 n.1

[59] Camille Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem: architecture religieuse et civile*, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, VII–VIII, 2 vols. + 2 albums (Paris, 1925–28), II:31–3, fig. 175*bis*; cf. N. Makhouly, *Guide to Acre* (Jerusalem, 1941), pp. 91–92; N. Makhouly and C.N. Johns, *Guide to Acre*, 2nd revised edition (Jerusalem 1946), pp. 92–93; *Corpus Inscriptionum*

+ o homi(n)es q(u)i tr(a)nsitis p(er) viam i(n) caritate rogo vos orare p(ro) anima mei mag(ist)ri ebuli fazle h(uius) eccl(es)ie edificato(ris)

+ O men who pass this way, in charity I ask you to pray for the soul of me, Master Ebule Fazle, builder of this church.

Enlart suggested that the name of this man may have been Eble Fazie or de Fassia, noting that Eble was a name frequently found in Languedoc, the Auvergne, Poitou and occasionally Italy, while the consul of Narbonne in Famagusta around 1300 was a certain Bernard Faxia. On this basis, he suggested identifying the church as that of St. Mary of the Provençals.[60] Claude Cahen, however, has raised the interesting possibility that the name could be a Latinized rendering of the Arabic name Abuʾl-Faḍl, implying that the donor was an oriental Christian who may have joined the Latin church.[61] As the stone is in reuse, one cannot be certain, without archaeological investigation, that the building to which it relates was the predecessor of the present Jamiʿ al-Raml, although that seems a reasonable assumption.

11 Brother Richard de la Chape, Provincial Prior of the Brothers of the Sack

This stone, smashed into at least six pieces, was recorded by Ch. Clermont-Ganneau in 1894. Apart from a missing area around the zone of impact, it appears remarkably complete, though difficult to read from the published photograph.[62]

+ ici g[is]t : frere : ric
h[ard :]dila : chape
: g(rant) : [pr]ior : p(ro)uincial
des : freres : depen(it)a(n)
ce : ih(es)[u] : crist : de la
ter(r)e : sainte : [..

+ Here lies Brother Richard de la Chape, grand provincial prior of the Brothers of Penitence of Jesus Christ in the Holy Land.

Crucesigantorum Terrae Sanctae (1099–1291), 301–2, fig. 129, no. 404; Dichter, *Orders and Churches of Crusader Acre*, p. 22.

[60] Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, pp. 32–33.

[61] Claude Cahen, "Une inscription mal comprise concernant le rapprochement entre maronites et croisés," in S.A. Hanna (ed.), *Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies in Honor of Aziz Suryat Atiya* (Leiden, 1972), pp. 62–63; cf. David Jacoby, "Crusader Acre in the Thirteen Century: Urban Layout and Topography," off-printed from *Studi medievali*, 3rd series, 20.12 (1979), p. 36 n.184.

[62] Clermont-Ganneau, *Album d'antiquités orientales*, pl. 47; idem, *Comptes-Rendue de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, ser. 4, 22 (1894), 276; *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesigantorum Terrae Sanctae (1099–1291)*, p. 317, fig. 143, no. 419; Dichter, *Orders and Churches of Crusader Acre*, p. 115. For an alternative reading, see the additional note on p. 209

In line 2, *dila* is evidently to be interpreted as *de la*. Line 3 seems to begin with a three-point separation mark, of which only the two lower dots are visible. There follows a single letter, which may be taken as the lower part of *g*, though it could alternatively have been *c*, *d*, *e*, *o*, *q*, or *t*. There is then another separation mark and space for two letters before *ior*, which is more clearly legible. De Sandoli and Dichter took the second of those letters to be *s*, but so little of it remains that *r* appears just as possible. The contraction of *pro* in *provincial* is indicated by the lower arc of the *p* crossing the vertical stroke.

De Sandoli identified Brother Richard as a chaplain of the order. De la Chape, however, seems more likely to be a family name. Peter Chape (Cappe, Chappe) for example, appeared as witness to charters of King Hugh I and Queen Alice of Cyprus in 1217 and 1218.[63]

The order of the Brothers of Penitence of Jesus Christ (*Fratres de Pœnitentia Jhesu Christi*), also known as the Brothers of the Sack, were founded in Provence sometime before 1251. On 10 May of that year, on instructions from Pope Innocent IV, the bishop of Toulon conferred on their general chapter the rule of St. Augustine. Alexander IV confirmed the order's rule in 1255 and their habit in 1257. By 1258, the order had priories spread throughout five provinces: Provence, France, Spain, Italy and probably England, to which were later added Germany and the Holy Land.[64] According to the *Pelrinages et Pardouns de Acre*,[65] a text that David Jacoby has now redated to between 1258 and 1264, pilgrims visiting the house of the *Fréres desakés* in Acre would be granted an indulgence of 140 days.[66] In 1274, however, the Council of Lyons ordered that all mendicant orders, except for the Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites and Austin Friars, should be disbanded. In the case of those, such as the Friars of the Sack, who had been granted papal approval, the process of disbandment was gradual: their members were encouraged to seek admittance to other orders, their abandoned houses reverted to the holy see and the proceeds of the sale were used to support crusades or for other charitable purposes.[67] The house in Acre had probably been abandoned by November 1285, when Pope Honorius IV instructed the patriarch of Jerusalem to sell it to the Templars for a suitable price, which would then be commuted into part of the papal subsidy to the Holy Land.[68] The instruction to sell the house was repeated by Pope Nicholas IV

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[63] *RRH*, p. 240, no. 896; p. 241, no. 900, p. 242, no. 903; p. 244, no. 912; cf. *Lignages*, ed. Nielen, pp. 114, 123, 124.

[64] R.W. Emery, "The Friars of the Sack," *Speculum*, 18 (1943), 323–34 (at 323–25).

[65] Michelant and Raynaud (eds.), *Itinéraires à Jérusalem*, p. 235.

[66] "Pilgrimage in Crusader Acre: The *Pardouns dAcre*," in Y. Hen (ed.), *De Sion exibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem: Essays on Medieval Law, Liturgy, and Literature in Honour of Amnon Linder* (Turnhout, 2001), pp. 105–17.

[67] G.D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum noua et amplissima collectio*, 31 vols. (Florence–Rome 1759–98), XXIV:96–97; Emery, "Friars of the Sack," pp. 326–27.

[68] M. Prou (ed.), *Les registres d'Honorius IV*, Bibl. des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 2s, 7 (Paris, 1888), col. 196, no. 255; Dichter, *Orders and Churches*, p. 115.

to the bishop of Sidon in April 1288;[69] but it seems that the sale to the Templars never took place, for the following year the pope ordered it to be sold instead to the Austin Friars.[70] Whether or not this sale was ever effected before Acre fell to the Mamluks is not recorded.

12 Epitaph of William (undated)

This stone was found in 1937–8 during road construction between the municipal gardens and the eastern Turkish rampart. This was possibly the area in which the cathedral of the Holy Cross was located.[71] The text appears to represent the right-hand part of a four-line inscription.

+ hic iacet]guiłł(elmus)
……..]edeus
……]m . a(n)i(m)a s
ua requiescat in p]ace . am(en)

Here lie] William […]edeus […] May his soul [rest in] peace. Amen.

Although the two *l*s of Guillelmus are crossed, the final part of the contraction mark is missing. In lines 2 and 4, there are contraction marks over the *i* of *anima* and over the *am* of *amen*; there is also a stop before *anima* and another before *amen*. The lack of any such stop after *anima* raises the possibility that *animas* should be treated as one word; however, the formula *cuius anima requiescat in pace. amen* is so commonplace[72] that an alternative involving 'souls' (accusative) seems unlikely. If the stops are being used consistently, it would appear therefore that they separate phrases or sentences rather than words.

13 Epitaph or Building Inscription (undated)

This text was inscribed on a piece of marble, broken into three pieces, that was recovered from the ruins of a house near the walls of the city in the 1880s. It is now

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[69] E. Langlois (ed.), *Les registres de Nicolas IV*, Bibl. des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 2s, 5 (Paris, 1888), p. 21, no. 123; Dichter, *Orders and Churches*, p. 115.

[70] Langlois (ed.), *Les registres de Nicolas IV*, p. 530, no. 3379; Emery, "Friars of the Sack," p. 328.

[71] *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, 8 (1939), pp. 174, 176; cf. *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesigantorum Terrae Sanctae (1099–1291)*, 307, no. 410; Kedar, "The Outer Walls of Frankish Acre," pp. 169, 178 n.17, fig. 14.

[72] *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesigantorum Terrae Sanctae (1099–1291)*, pp. 64–5, no. 74; pp. 147–8, no. 200; and no. 2 above.

known only from a drawing published by G. Schumacher.[73] It appears to represent the left-hand part of a text, written in uncial script; but how large the missing part was is uncertain.

+] ceste : o[euvre fu faite en lan de lin
carnacion ih(esu) c[rist m cc …
agathe : auge[…
hugue revel[…
aume destor[…
comence ord[…

+] This [work was erected in the year of the in]carnation of Jesus C[hrist …

It is uncertain if this text represents part of an epitaph or an inscription recording the construction of a building, such as a house, a church, a hospital or possibly even part of the town wall. If the stone were from a tomb, it might be possible to interpret it as having been erected for Agatha by Hugh (lines 3–4), or by Agatha for Hugh, the two perhaps being husband and wife. It is unusual in Crusader inscriptions of this period, however, for the person who erected the tomb to be mentioned by name. If this were a tomb inscription, it is therefore more likely that Agatha was the deceased and that Hugh, her husband or father perhaps, was mentioned in order to identify her family connections. The remaining part of the text could possibly then have consisted of a prayer or a pious quotation; but, if so, too little of it is left to allow much sense to be made of it. Line 5 might perhaps be the ending of a word such as *royaume*, followed by a part of the verb *destorner* (to turn something or someone away, prevent, avoid). In line 6, *comence* presents no difficulty, while the second word could perhaps have been *ordre* or some part of the verb *ordener* or *ordiner* (to arrange or put in order).

There remains the alternative possibility, however, that the letters in line 5 also formed part of a name, such as [*Guill*]*aume de Stor*[…], or *des Tor*[…]. Such a person could have been another male relation of the deceased Agatha. Another possibility, however, is that the inscription had been inserted into the wall of a building and that the names listed in lines 3–5 were those of the people who had contributed in some way to its construction or endowment. The plausibility of this suggestion is increased by consideration of the names themselves. Fr de Sandoli read the second name as *Hugh Neuci*[…]. However, although the form of the letters *r* and *n* are very similar on this inscription, the first letter of the second name seems closer to *r* than to *n*. The penultimate letter of this name, which de Sandoli took to be *c*, might as easily be an *e* with the central bar either missing or simply not recorded by Schumacher. The final letter appears to be an *l* with the lower bar

[73] G. Schumacher, "Recent Discoveries at Caesarea, Umm el Jemal and Haifa," *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement* (1888), 134–41 (at p. 140); *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesigantorum Terrae Sanctae (1099–1291)*, p. 316, fig. 142, no. 418.

obscured by a crack in the stone. The second name may therefore be read: *Hugh Revel*. This name appears frequently in texts relating to thirteenth-century Syria and Palestine but in each case it is the same man, the celebrated Hospitaller brother, who was castellan of Crac des Chevaliers from 1242 to 1247, grand-preceptor between 1253 and 1257, and finally master of the order from 1258 until his death in 1277.[74] The third name, [*Guill*]*aume de Stor*[…], may also very possibly be identified as a Hospitaller: William de Scorsellis (de Scorcelles, de Scorzellis, de Scorscellis, des Corcellis, Descorcelles, de Corcellis, de Courcelles). He is first mentioned in 1240 and by 1248 had become marshal.[75] Although he relinquished that office by 1256, he continued to witness acts as a senior member of the order until as late as October 1271 and in 1273 left the Holy Land to act as the order's principal representative at the council of Lyons.[76]

If, as therefore seems very possible, the inscription contains the names of at least two significant members of the order of St. John, Hugh Revel and William de Scorcellis, who was Agatha? Only two people named Agatha are mentioned in Acre around the period in question, both of them in documents relating to the Hospital. On 2 April 1245, two brothers, the knights John and Simon de Treucis, with the consent of their mother Agatha, sold the Hospital three carrucates of land, a threshing floor (*area*) and a house at *Casale album* in the plain of Acre;[77] and, on 14 April 1260, the knight John Grifus, with the agreement of his wife Agatha, daughter of George of Vienne, returned to the Hospital a property in Montmusard that he was holding from them, as well as the rent of 16 bezants that Isabel, wife of the late Ada Montifredus, had been paying for it.[78] Now it does not seem possible to identify the Agatha in the inscription with either of these two ladies; however, these documents may serve to illustrate the kind of transaction that might perhaps have given rise to Agatha Auge[…] being mentioned in the text, as donor of either the funds or the property that made the building work possible.

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[74] Delaville le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers*, p. 211–29, 408. 410, 432; Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John*, pp. 186–9; C. Humphrey-Smith, *Hugh Revel: Master of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, 1258–1277* (Chichester 1994).

[75] *Cartulaire general de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean (1100–1310)*, II, pp. 574–75, no. 2245 (1240); pp. 673–75, no. 2482 (1248); *RRH*, pp. 285–86, no. 1097 (1240); p. 306, no. 1164 (1248); *Tablulae Ordinis Theutonici ex Tabularii Regii Berolinensis Codice Potissimum*, pp. 70–1, no. 89 (1240).

[76] *Cartulaire general de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean (1100–1310)*, II, pp. 814–15, no. 2810 (1256); pp. 880–3, nos. 2934–35 (1259); III, pp. 58–60, no. 3045 (1262); pp. 96–97, no. 3120 (1265); p. 166, no. 3283 (1267); pp. 253–54, no. 3422 (1271); pp. 259–60, no. 3433 (1271); *RRH*, p. 328, no. 1247 (1256); p. 335, nos. 1280–1 (1259); p. 345, no. 1322 (1262); p. 350, no. 1337 (1265); p. 354, no. 1356 (1267); p. 359, no. 1378 (1271); *RRH Ad*, 93, no. 1382a (1271); "Eracles," *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens occidentauxc*, II, ch. XXXIV.17, p. 484 (1274); Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John*, pp. 143, 182, 285.

[77] *Cartulaire general de l"Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean (1100–1310)*, II, pp. 627–28, no. 2353; *RRH*, p. 301, no. 1135; cf. R. Frankel, "Topographical Notes on the Territory of Acre in the Crusader Period," *Israel Exploration Journal*, 38 (1988), 249–72 (at pp. 258–59, 263).

[78] *Cartulaire general de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean (1100–1310)*, II, 886–88, no. 2949; *RRH*, 338, no. 1291.

14 Epitaph (undated)

This text is written on a fragment of the top left-hand corner of a marble panel (overall 15 × 12 cm) with an enclosing moulding and flat border, c.7 cm wide, found during clearance of the crypt of the church of St. John in 1921.[79] Two lines of inscription, with letter heights of 2.5 cm, are written across the top border. As the first part of the inscription is missing, it seems likely that the panel represented one of a series, quite possibly forming part of a tomb chest, with the inscription written along the upper borders of the panels. The name of the deceased and the date are unfortunately both missing.

+ ici gist … qui tresp]assa : de : c[este vie …
en l'an de l'incarnatio]n : ih(es)u : cris[t : …

Here lies … who]departed from this [life … in the year of the incarnatio]n of Jesus Chris[t …

15 Epitaph (undated)

This text came to light in Acre in 1901.[80]

+ hi]c . iac[et …
…]sainre[… cuius anima requiescat in
pac]e ameh[

In the last line *ameh* should no doubt be read as *amen*.

16 Epitaph (undated)

This text was recorded by Ch. Clermont-Ganneau.[81]

hic] sepult[us est …
…]suidos[…
…]piti[…

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[79] The present description and reading are made from a rubbing in the archives of the former Palestine Department of Antiquities, housed in the Palestine Archaeological (Rockefeller) Museum, Jerusalem, inspected by kind permission of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

[80] A. Jaussen and Hughes Vincent, "Notes d'épigraphie palestinienne," *Revue biblique*, 10 (1901), 570–80 (p. 576), no. 19*bis*; *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesigantorum Terrae Sanctae (1099–1291)*, pp. 317–8, no. 420.

[81] *Album d'antiquités orientales*, pl. 47; cf. *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesigantorum Terrae Sanctae (1099–1291)*, p. 307, fig. 134, no. 409.

17 Fragmentary Inscription

A squeeze of this text was also published by Ch. Clermont-Ganneau.[82]

dominator : ro[…

The first letter of the second word might alternatively be *b*, though it is identical to the letter preceding it.

Additional note on No. 11 (pp. 203–5 above)

Consultation of Ch. Clermont-Ganneau's own reading of this text,[83] which was made from the stone itself rather than from a photograph, suggests a more convincing reading of the prior's name (lines 2–3) and also provides the beginning of another line. Clermont-Ganneau read the name as *frere : ric / h[ard : ben]oit : chape / ro(n)*. The family name Chaperon, written with an abbreviation mark over the *o*, is perfectly consistent with the evidence of the photograph and may readily be accepted. The name Benoit, however, seems less plausible, as the first legible letter is clearly *d* rather than *o*, and although the next letter could be *i* the final one does not resemble a *t*. As Chaperon is masculine, the earlier proposed reading of these letters as *dila* (for *de la*) must also now be discarded. A possible alternative reading for them is *a]dr(i)a(n)* or *an]dr(i)a(n)*, with the final *n* abbreviated as in Chaperon. The full text might therefore now be read:

+ ici g[ist] : frere : ric
h[ard : a]dr(i)a(n) : chape
ro(n) : [pr]ior : p(ro)vincial
des : freres : depen(it)a(n)
ce : ih(es)[u] : crist : de la
ter(r)e : sainte : [qui
tr[epassa : …

Here lies Brother Richard Adrian Chaperon, provincial prior of the Brothers of Penitance of Jesus Christ in the Holy Land, who died on …

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[82] *Album d'antiquités orientales*, pl. 47; cf. *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesigantorum Terrae Sanctae (1099–1291)*, p. 308, fig. 135, no. 410.

[83] *Comptes-Rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, ser. 4, 22 (1894), 276, no. 1.

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Acre au regard d'Aigues-Mortes

Jean Richard

L'implantation d'un port maritime à Aigues-Mortes, à quelques kilomètres du littoral de la Méditerranée, sur les bords d'une lagune reliée tant à la mer qu'au Rhône par un des bras issus de ce fleuve, peut apparaître comme quelque peu artificielle. Précédemment, le débouché du Languedoc sur la mer se trouvait à Saint-Gilles, situé sur les bords du Rhône, siège d'une puissante abbaye et chef-lieu d'un comté, dont la bourgeoisie marchande avait résisté aux efforts de Gênes pour s'assurer le contrôle du commerce languedocien. Charles de la Roncière a montré comment "le port du XIIe siècle" était entré dès la fin de ce siècle en décadence, la création en 1217 des foires de Beaucaire lui ayant porté le dernier coup.[1] C'est finalement Aigues-Mortes qui devait prendre sa place dans des conditions qui ont fait l'objet d'un beau livre de Georges Jehel.[2]

Pour caractériser cette nouvelle fondation, ce dernier a trouvé une heureuse formule: Aigues-Mortes fut "un port pour un roi." De fait, et pour la première fois dans l'histoire de la royauté française, le domaine royal des Capétiens s'ouvrait sur la mer, à la faveur de la cession par le comte de Toulouse au roi de ce qui allait constituer les sénéchaussées de Beaucaire et de Carcassonne et de la possession par lui d'une portion du littoral méditerranéen qui permettait de créer une ville nouvelle apte à se doter d'une vocation portuaire. Certes, Aigues-Mortes n'était pas au bord même de la mer; mais c'est là le lot commun de ces villes du golfe du Lion, golfe dont les tempêtes sont fréquentes; elles s'installent ordinairement en retrait par rapport au rivage. Il allait suffire de donner plus d'importance et de rectitude au canal qui prit le nom de "grau du Roi" et qui la reliait à la mer.

Le site d'Aigues-Mortes annonçait d'emblée que la ville nouvelle aurait une vocation méditerranéenne: mais quelle pouvait être cette vocation dans l'esprit du jeune roi qui affirmait ainsi son autorité sur une portion du littoral? Le souci de développer l'économie des nouvelles sénéchaussées par l'ouverture d'un débouché maritime ne paraît pas, à cette date, avoir pu jouer un grand rôle. Mais, dans les années qui avoisinent 1240, où les pensées du roi se portent sur Aigues-Mortes, c'est le souci de la Terre Sainte qui est présent à l'esprit de l'héritier de Philippe-Auguste, lequel avait pris la mer en 1190 pour participer à la croisade et avait continué jusqu'à sa mort à se préoccuper du destin des Lieux Saints.

On a relevé, dans un document de 1235, la mention d'un navire marseillais, le *Paradis*, qui avait fait relâche à Aigues-Mortes pour y charger des toiles à destination de la Syrie franque, ce qui prouve que l'utilisation de cet atterrage

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[1] Charles de la Roncière, *Histoire de la marine française* (Paris, 1909, 2e éd.), 157–61.

[2] Georges Jehel, *Aigues-Mortes: un port pour un roi. Les Capétiens et le Méditerranée* (Le Coteau, 1985).

n'était pas chose nouvelle.[3] Mais c'est en août 1239 que plusieurs des croisés, qui sous le commandement de Thibaud de Champagne allaient participer à la "croisade des barons," se sont embarqués à Aigues-Mortes.[4] Il n'est pas inutile de souligner que Saint Louis n'avait pas été laissé en dehors de l'organisation de cette croisade, lui qui avait contraint les féodaux rebelles (et parmi eux Thibaud lui-même) à s'engager dans l'armée qui allait combattre les sultans ayyûbides et qui se fit en quelque sorte représenter au sein de celle-ci par son connétable, Amaury de Montfort, chargé du port de la bannière royale. L'attention du roi fut-elle ainsi attirée sur l'utilité de ce point d'embarquement pour la croisade? Toujours est-il que dès lors le développement d'Aigues-Mortes apparaît comme étant lié à ces expéditions d'outre-mer. Il n'est pas inutile de citer à ce propos une lettre adressée au roi par le pape Clément IV, en date du 21 septembre 1266 – ce pape qui, dans le siècle, s'était appelé Guy Foulcois et avait servi le roi dans ses pays de Languedoc, ce qu'il rappelle dans ce texte en précisant qu'il connaît "visuellement" Aigues-Mortes.[5]

Le pape rappelait la construction par Saint Louis de la "tour Constance," qui assurait la sécurité des pèlerins et des marchands en partance pour la Terre Sainte (ut tam peregrini quam etiam mercatores in Terram Sanctam exinde profecturi cum rebus suis salvi consistere soleant); il justifiait l'entreprise de fortification qui devait doter la ville d'une enceinte complète, et pour laquelle il autorisait le roi à lever un impôt sur les marchands qui visiteraient la ville, par le rôle dévolu à ce port (nullum alium portum habens regni tui peregrinis accommodum qui, prae ceteris, fidei censo accensi, ad Terrae Sanctae subsidium sepius se accingunt). A ses yeux, Aigues-Mortes avait donc vocation à être le port de la croisade pour le royaume de France, plus animé qu'aucun autre par la dévotion aux Lieux Saints.

De fait, Saint Louis tenait beaucoup à ce qu'Aigues-Mortes apparût comme la fenêtre ouverte dans son royaume sur la "terre de Promission." On sait comment, en juillet 1254, lors de son retour de Terre Sainte, alors que des vents contraires empêchaient son navire de faire voile vers l'ouest, il fallut les instances de la reine Marguerite et de ses conseillers pour qu'il acceptât de prendre terre à Hyères, en terre provençale (alors aux mains de son frère Charles d'Anjou), au lieu de débarquer à Aigues-Mortes.[6]

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[3] Par la voie du Rhône, en effet, les tissus en provenance de la Bourgogne ducale ou comtale (telles les toiles de Besançon) et les laines de ces pays arrivaient commodément à Aigues-Mortes: Francesco Pegolotti le note pour le début du XIVe siècle dans sa *Practica della mercatura*, ed. Allan Evans (Cambridge, Mass., 1936, réimpr. New-York, 1970), p. 233.

[4] René Grousset, *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem* (Paris, 3 vols., 1934–1936), III:373. La majorité des croisés s'était embarquée à Marseille.

[5] Texte dans Edmond Martène, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, II (Paris, 1717), n° 379, pp.405–6. Traduction dans Nicolas Lasserre, *Histoire populaire d'Aigues-Mortes*, 2e éd. (Paris, 1937), rééditée en 1980 avec préface de M. Gouron, pp.198–99. L'analyse figurant dans Edouard Jordan, *Les Registres de Clément IV* (Paris, 1893–1912), sous le n° 1128, est très médiocre.

[6] Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, éd. Jacques Monfrin (Paris, 1995), §§ 652–54.

"Un port pour un roi," donc; mais pour un roi hanté par la perspective du pèlerinage de la Terre Sainte et de la croisade. Ainsi se présentait la nouvelle fondation. Rappelons quelques dates: c'est le 5 décembre 1246 que le pape autorisait l'acquisition par le roi des terres d'Eglise incluses dans le projet de construction , et en 1248 que l'abbaye de Psalmodi cédait ses droits au souverain.[7] Les premiers travaux sont donc d'assez peu antérieurs à l'octroi des franchises accordées aux habitants en date de 1246, conçues sur le modèle habituel des privilèges concédés aux villes neuves du domaine royal.[8]

Mais les bourgeois de la ville nouvelle avaient d'autres aspirations et ils pensaient qu'une extension de ces privilèges assurerait à leur ville un développement beaucoup plus important. C'est ce qu'ils exposent dans un mémoire adressé au roi par leur soin et dont le texte, conservé sans doute dans les archives de la sénéchaussée de Beaucaire et passé dans celles de Nîmes, a été traduit en 1568 par Buache et publié depuis lors à plusieurs reprises.[9]

Ce mémoire n'est pas daté, mais il a sans doute été élaboré au plus tard au cours des mois de 1248 où Saint Louis préparait son départ. Les bourgeois sollicitaient la réalisation de travaux de voirie qui amélioreraient l'accès à la ville. Mais ils demandaient aussi le changement du nom de celle-ci; car, disaient-ils, celui-ci était "horrible et odieux pour beaucoup"; une appellation plus séduisante (ils proposaient "Bona per forsa" …) aurait été de nature à attirer de nombreux habitants … Dans le même but, ils demandaient que fussent attribués aux bourgeois d'Aigues-Mortes, les mêmes privilèges qu'à ceux de Beaucaire – ville de foires – et les mêmes libertés, immunités et franchises qu'aux marchands de Nîmes, notamment l'exemption des droits de leyde et de péage. Aux étrangers, on demanderait de payer une taxe d'un denier par livre de leurs marchandises "au profit de l'œuvre du port et de la ville."

Jusqu'ici, rien de très inhabituel. Mais ce qui nous retiendra, c'est une autre requête que nous citerons intégralement:

> En vue de donner à cette ville un accroissement considérable, en vue d'augmenter l'honneur, le profit et l'exaltation que notre seigneur en retire, que notre seigneur le roi de France fasse ou fasse faire en sorte que les marchands, les bourgeois, tous et chacun des habitants de ladite ville, présents et futurs, soient libres et exempts de la chaîne d'Acre, comme les Vénitiens, les Génois et les Pisans. Que notre seigneur le roi obtienne que lesdits habitants de ladite ville aient une rue ou un terrain en Acre où ils puissent

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[7] Nous renvoyons ici, pour tout ce qui concerne cette fondation et ses suites, à l'ouvrage déjà cité de Jehel.

[8] Jehel, p.117.

[9] Nous devons ces indications à notre confrère Alain Venturini, directeur des Archives départementales du Gard, qui nous a donné la cote de ce document dans les archives anciennes de la ville de Nîmes (SS 17, pièce no 2), et les références correspondantes: Léon Ménard, *Histoire civile, ecclésiastique et littéraire de la ville de Nismes* (Nîmes, 1750), I, preuves, 77–79; F. Em. di Pietro, *Histoire d'Aigues-Mortes* (Paris, 1821), pièces justificatives, no 9, pp.481–85. Nous lui devons aussi l'hypothèse concernant l'origine de cette pièce, dont nous donnons le texte d'après Lasserre, pp. 189–92.

> demeurer et recevoir, comme en ont les Vénitiens, les Génois et les Pisans.[10] De même, qu'ils aient à Acre un consul de leur dite ville et un bayle royal; que ce consul soit nommé par les quatre consuls de ladite ville, et qu'il soit habitant de ladite ville d'Aigues-Mortes, accompagné de sa femme et de sa famille. Et si les consuls ne peuvent se mettre d'accord tous les quatre, par une élection unanime, sur cette désignation d'un consul à Acre, que celui qui sera désigné par trois d'entre eux soit institué bien que le quatrième n'y consente pas ou y contredise. Que ce consul institué par les quatre consuls, ou le cas échéant par trois, siège à Acre pendant trois ans sans interruption, et qu'il ait la prééminence sur tous les gens d'Aigues-Mortes qui viendront et demeureront à Acre, avec l'exercice de toute juridiction et tout pouvoir de coercition sur tous de la même façon, sous la même forme et avec le même salaire que le consul de Pise qui s'y trouve. Les trois ans révolus, il devra revenir à Aigues-Mortes et pendant les dix années qui suivent, même pour un temps, il ne pourra de nouveau être institué consul à Acre.

Ce que demandaient les bourgeois d'Aigues-Mortes, c'était une situation comparable pour ceux d'entre eux qui fréquenteraient le port d'Acre à celle des communes italiennes les plus favorisées, Gênes, Pise et Venise (nous sommes avant la "guerre de Saint-Sabas" qui vit les Génois perdre leur situation à Acre et, en contrepartie, supplanter les autres à Tyr). Il est frappant de constater qu'Acre est la seule ville d'outremer avec laquelle Aigues-Mortes envisage un commerce permanent. Le premier privilège, c'est l'exemption du droit frappant les marchandises que les navires d'Occident apportaient à Acre ou en remportaient (la "droiture de la chaîne"); le second, c'est la possession d'un quartier (dénommé "rue") où, à l'instar des trois communes privilégiées, ils auraient leur église paroissiale, leur "loge" (le palais du consul) et le bâtiment servant de logement aux marchands et d'entrepôt aux marchandises. Ceci, dans leur esprit, entraîne la reconnaissance d'une sorte d'exterritorialité, matérialisée par la présence d'un consul, auquel aurait été associé un juge royal comme l'étaient les consuls d'Aigues-Mortes,[11] ce consul devant rendre la justice à ses compatriotes.

La requête des bourgeois d'Aigues-Mortes se place dans toute une série de démarches tendant à faire jouir d'autres villes des avantages concédés aux trois principales villes maritimes par les gouvernants des états latins du Levant: depuis la troisième croisade, ces démarches se sont multipliées. On sait comment les Marseillais n'hésitèrent pas à s'adresser à un atelier de falsificateurs pour pouvoir produire les actes leur accordant les privilèges convoités.[12] Le départ en croisade du

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[10] La référence à ces trois villes données comme jouissant de la plénitude des droits à Acre se rencontre par exemple dans le privilège concédé par Guy de Lusignan aux Amalfitains en 1190 (Reinhold Röhricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani, 1099–1291* (Innsbruck 1892), n° 690).

[11] C'est ainsi que nous comprenons la mention de ce "bayle": à la différence des communes italiennes, Aigues-Mortes relevait de la seigneurie du roi de France, et le consul, investi par la ville, devait représenter le roi. Mais on voit mal comment se serait harmonisée la présence d'un tel officier avec l'appartenance d'Acre au royaume de Jérusalem.

[12] Hans E. Mayer, *Marseilles Levantehandel und ein akkonisches Fälscheratelier des 13. Jhdts* (Bibliothek des deutschen historisches Instituts in Rom 38, Tübingen, 1972). Sur l'acquisition de ces privilèges, leur accroissement et les faits nouveaux qui intervinrent au temps de la troisième croisade, cf. Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie, *Die Italiener im Heiligen Lande (1098–1197)* (Amsterdam, 1988).

roi de France, allant porter secours aux Latins d'Orient peu après le désastre qu'avait été la défaite de la Forbie, précédé du sac de Jérusalem par les Kharezmiens, devait apparaître aux habitants de la nouvelle ville comme un moment favorable pour obtenir cette situation favorisée.

Saint Louis prit-il à son compte les aspirations de ses bourgeois qui souhaitaient joindre à la fonction de point de départ et d'arrivée des pèlerins et des croisés une vocation marchande comparable à celle des trois plus grands ports italiens, qui devaient leur situation exceptionnelle à leur longue implication dans la conquête et le maintien sous la domination franque de la grande métropole commerciale de la Syrie latine? Rien ne permet de le dire.

Mais quel accueil les gens d'Acre pouvaient-ils réserver à une requête de ce genre? On peut supposer que les avantages concédés aux nouveaux venus, telle l'exemption des droits d'entrée et de sortie des hommes et des marchandises, pouvaient leur apparaître comme un manque à gagner pour les finances de la ville et de la seigneurie et que la création d'une nouvelle zone échappant au contrôle des autorités de leur ville ne rencontrerait pas que des assentiments. Mais ces abandons pouvaient ne pas être dépourvus de contrepartie. Il suffit d'évoquer l'acte d'août 1258 où l'on voit les autorités acconitaines – le bayle du royaume de Jérusalem, la haute cour, le syndic de la seigneurie – concéder à la commune d'Ancône un quartier, avec son église, son palais, son "alberge," en stipulant qu'Ancône leur fournirait en cas de nécessité un secours de cinquante hommes d'armes.[13] On était il est vrai, en pleine "guerre de Saint-Sabas," et les Acconitains avaient besoin d'alliés contre les Génois et les barons de leur parti.

Mais en 1248, et venant du roi de France, une requête de ce genre ne pouvait passer que par le détenteur de la couronne de Jérusalem, et celui-ci, malgré le refus de le reconnaître qui avait été le fait du parti guelfe, restait aux yeux de l'Occident l'empereur Frédéric II. Saint Louis avait eu l'occasion de s'adresser à lui pour obtenir l'autorisation de ravitailler ses troupes dans le royaume de Sicile; Frédéric la lui avait accordée en novembre 1246, à une condition: c'est que ceci ne pût pas profiter aux gens d'Acre, considérés par lui comme des rebelles, donc mis au ban des pays où s'exerçait son autorité.[14] Le moment aurait été mal choisi pour lui présenter une demande susceptible, précisément, d'apporter un accroissement de richesse ou de puissance à cette cité. Cette demande, en tous cas, n'eut pas de suite.

Mais elle a son intérêt en nous apprenant ce que représentait, pour une ville naissante, dotée d'un port déjà actif, la perspective d'une ouverture sur la grande ville de la Syrie franque. Dans leur supplique, les requérants font valoir que la création à Acre d'un quartier administré et peuplé par leurs concitoyens donnerait à leur ville un essor nouveau; elle attirerait à elle les ressortissants des grandes cités marchandes et développerait son activité économique au point de quadrupler

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[13] Röhricht, *op. cit.*, n° 1259.

[14] Jean–Louis-Alphonse Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi, 11 vols.* (Paris, 1852–61), VI, 1:466–67.

les revenus que le roi en tirait. C'est dire que les relations marchandes avec le principal emporium de la Syrie franque leur apparaissaient comme le trafic majeur qui pouvait s'effectuer à partir du nouveau port créé pour et à l'occasion d'une croisade, et que seule une implantation durable, dans un quartier jouissant d'une autonomie judiciaire, avec l'exemption des droits de douane, donnerait à ce trafic les conditions essentielles pour lui permettre de rivaliser avec celui des cités qui avaient fondé leur fortune sur ce commerce. Avoir une "rue" à Acre, la cité qui était en relation avec quasi-tous les ports méditerranéens (que l'on consulte dans la *Practica della Mercatura* la liste des lieux dont Pegolotti donnait l'équivalence des poids et mesures avec ceux d'Acre "quand elle était aux mains des chrétiens"), c'était entrer dans le cercle des grandes villes marchandes. Le modèle qu'ils se proposaient était celui de Gênes, Pise et Venise; il devait rester hors de leur portée. Ce sont les Marseillais, les Catalans, qui devaient parvenir à rivaliser avec ces dernières.

Il ne devait pas suffire en effet de disposer d'un quartier doté de son église, de la loge d'un consul, de magasins et de logements, de ne pas payer de droits sur les marchandises à l'entrée et à la sortie, de ressortir à leur propre justice, voire de jouir d'exemptions sur les droits à acquitter au marché comme en avaient acquis les ressortissants de ces grandes villes,[15] pour s'égaler à celles-ci. Il fallait bâtir un réseau commercial, et, en Languedoc, Nîmes et Montpellier allait contrôler l'essentiel du trafic. Aigues-Mortes avait ses atouts, notamment parce qu'y aboutissaient les voies fluviales et routières qui partaient des villes de foires de Champagne, et des tissages bourguignons et francs-comtois; mais elle n'avait pas l'exclusivité de ces exportations.

Quant aux ambitions concernant la possibilité de supplanter Gênes ou d'autres cités d'Italie, elles se sont vite dissipées: c'est à un Génois, Guillaume Boccanegra, que Saint Louis allait confier le gouvernement de la ville, qui devint en quelque sorte un relais entre Gênes et la France.[16] La ville est restée un point de départ pour les expéditions maritimes des rois de France, que ce soit pour la croisade de Saint Louis en 1270, pour la campagne de Philippe III contre l'Aragon, et encore en 1319 quand on prépare une croisade en Orient; mais le port continue à recevoir des navires marchands, et c'est à bord de l'un d'eux que s'embarque en 1326 l'envoyé de Charles IV au sultan, Guillaume Bonnesmains.[17] Néanmoins, depuis que Montpellier est entré dans le domaine royal, Aigues-Mortes décline, et son déclin coïncide avec celui des croisades qui lui avaient donné naissance.

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[15] Cf. Jean Richard, "Colonies marchandes privilégiées et marché seigneurial: la fonde d'Acre et ses droitures," *Le Moyen Age*, 59 (1953), 325–40, réimpr. dans *Orient et Occident au temps des croisades. Contacts et relations* (London, 1976), X; David Jacoby, "The fonde of Crusader Acre and its tariff. Some new considerations," *Dei gesta per Francos. Etudes sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard*, éd. Michel Balard, Benjamin Z. Kedar et Jonathan Riley-Smith (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 277–94.

[16] Jehel, pp. 137–43.

[17] Jehel, 153 sq.: "la postérité d'un rêve"; La Roncière, pp. 249–59.

A l'aube de ce destin, c'est Acre qui attirait la pensée des hommes qui envisageaient pour leur ville un brillant avenir. Se doter, à l'instar des grandes villes italiennes, du comptoir acconitain qui représentait toutes les possibilités d'un essor économique, telle avait été la perspective qu'ils avaient voulu faire envisager à Saint Louis. C'eût été la consécration de l'accession d'Aigues-Mortes au rang de grand port méditerranéen, et nous avons constaté que cette perspective n'était pas étrangère à d'autres villes. Ainsi est-ce à Acre que se situaient les espoirs de ceux qui concevaient pour leurs villes un destin de métropoles commerciales. Le cas de la petite ville languedocienne peut ainsi nous apparaître exemplaire.

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Sharing Sacred Space: Holy Places in Jerusalem Between Christianity, Judaism, and Islam

Ora Limor

One of the most intriguing phenomena in the study of sacred space and pilgrimage to holy places is how believers of different faiths may share sanctity. Scholars and historians of religion have not infrequently noticed that the nature of a holy place retains its sanctity when it changes hands. Once a site has been recognized as holy, the sanctity adheres to it, irrespective of political and religious vicissitudes.[1] Nowhere else, perhaps, is this rule more applicable than in the Holy Land. Over the past two thousand years, the country has changed hands repeatedly, generally in major wars of conquest that brought new rulers into power. These wars have also changed the official religion of the country. During the first millennium CE, it passed from Jewish to pagan rule, then becoming Christian and Muslim; in the second millennium it was successively Muslim, Christian, again Muslim, and finally Jewish. The changing religion of the rulers did not necessarily affect the inhabitants' faith; in fact, members of different religions were always living side by side, practicing different degrees of coexistence. While some of their holy places and the sacred traditions associated with them are exclusive to one religion, many others are shared by two of the three faiths or even by all three. Unfortunately, only rarely has the sharing of traditions become a foundation for dialogue and amity. For the most part, it has become a bone of contention; dialectically, in fact, the greater the similarity and the reciprocity, the greater the argument, rivalry, and competition, each group of believers straining to confirm its own exclusivity and prove its absolute right to the tradition and the holy place. Such tensions are particularly prominent in Jerusalem. The city as a whole is sacred to the three religions, and certain areas in it are venerated by all three, sometimes for very similar ideological reasons. The Temple Mount – the site of the Temple – and the Mount of Olives – the site of the resurrection and the Last Judgment – are obvious examples. In addition, several holy places in and around Jerusalem are venerated by members of more than one religion. Prominent examples are David's Tomb on Mount Zion, Samuel's Tomb north of Jerusalem, Rachel's Tomb between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, and the Tomb of the Prophetess Huldah on the Mount of Olives.[2] The

[1] On sacred space, see Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane* (New York, 1959); idem, *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (New York, 1958), pp. 367–387; Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago and London, 1987); David Frankfurter, "Introduction: Approaches to Coptic Pilgrimage," in *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt*, ed. David Frankfurter (Leiden, 1998).

[2] To the best of my knowledge, a comprehensive survey of holy places in medieval Palestine that are shared by several religions has yet to be carried out. Josef Meri cites many examples of shared rituals in local saints' tombs toward the end of the Middle Ages, mainly in Syria: Josef W. Meri, *The Cult of Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria* (Oxford, 2002). Meri writes that Jews, Muslims,

phenomenon of sharing also exists outside Jerusalem, for example in Galilee, and outside Palestine in general, as in Syria, Iraq, Egypt, and Morocco.[3] Apart from sites hallowed by members of all three religions, Jews, Christians, and Muslims, there were also some sacred to members of only two. The Tomb of the Virgin Mary in the Vale of Jehoshaphat and the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives are examples of Christian holy places also venerated by Muslims.[4] These different sites exemplify sharing to different degrees and in different ways. Furthermore, the more one examines the phenomenon, the more one realizes that the category of "sharing" obscures a considerable variety of interfaith relations. Sometimes the sharing is ideological, believers of different faiths agreeing on the content of the traditions associated with a certain place; sometimes it is the ritual that is shared. This article will be concerned with the different meanings of "sharing" and their significance in the history of religions.

Benjamin Z. Kedar, in an article about Saydnaya, north of Damascus, the site of a shared medieval ritual venerating a miraculous icon of Mary, has proposed a typology of cults shared by different worshippers, comprising three types: (i) A convergence of space only – members of different religions assemble in a place sacred to them all, but they share no cult, each group worshiping on its own; (ii) an in-egalitarian convergence – members of one religion perform the service, the others merely attending; and (iii) an egalitarian convergence – members of different faiths share a religious ceremony.[5] The third type is rare, and Kedar mentions one single example: In 1317, Jerusalem experienced a serious famine, in the course of which all the city's wells dried up and the inhabitants were left with no source of water other than the spring of Silwan. All the inhabitants – Muslims, Christians, and Jews –assembled in the open and prayed for rain; their prayers were answered on the third day.[6] Josef Meri cites another case: in 1311, when a plague broke out

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and Christians were in contact with one another; they criticized one another's devotion, shared rituals, and entertained similar perceptions and similar expectations from the encounter. There was a kind of *communitas* among believers of different faiths, as they formed friendships or business associations while worshiping their God, venerating saints, and participating in celebrations. See especially Meri, *The Cult of Saints*, 123, pp. 286–87.

[3] For Syria see Meri, *The Cult of Saints.*

[4] The phenomenon of Muslims praying in Christian churches is relevant to our subject, but space considerations preclude any discussion here. See Suliman Bashear, "Qibla Musharriqa and Early Muslim Prayer in Churches," *The Muslim World* 81 (1991), 267–282; Amikam Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship: Holy Places, Ceremonies, Pilgrimage* (Leiden, 1995), pp. 138–141; A. Arce, "Culte islamique au tombeau de la Vierge," *Atti del Congresso Assunzionistico Orientale* (Jerusalem, 1951), pp. 177–93.

[5] Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Convergences of Oriental Christian, Muslim, and Frankish Worshippers: The Case of Saydnaya," *De Sion exibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem: Essays on Medieval Law, Liturgy and Literature in Honour of Amnon Linder*, ed. Yitzhak Hen (Turnhout, 2001), pp. 59–69.

[6] Joseph Drori, "Jerusalem in the Mameluk Period," in *Jerusalem in the Middle Ages. Selected Papers* (Jerusalem, 1979), p. 177 (Hebrew). In this connection, it is worth recalling the Christian polemicist Inghetto Contardo, who proposed to his Jewish disputants that they pray together, using a text acceptable to Jews, Christians, and Muslims. His proposal, including a suggested text, was rejected by the Jews. See *Die Disputationen zu Ceuta (1179) und Mallorca (1286): Zwei antijüdische*

in Damascus, Jews, Christians, and Muslims, young and old, marched together in procession, holding their sacred scriptures, reciting prayers and supplications.[7] Both cases concern crisis situations, possibly explaining the believers' willingness to pray together. It is clear from the descriptions that such common prayer is possible only in neutral territory – out in the open – not in a space sacred to one of the religions. An ancient example of such a shared ritual, also held out in the open but not necessarily in a time of emergency, comes from the sacred cite of Mamre, in Hebron.[8] Both Eusebius and Sozomen describe a local cult, of a regional nature, that took place at Mamre, revolving around the patriarch Abraham and the angels who came to visit him. The centre of the site was the oak tree growing there, under which, by tradition, Abraham had entertained the angels (Genesis 18). As told by Sozomen:

> Here the inhabitants of the country and of the regions round Palestine, the Phoenicians and the Arabs, assemble annually during the summer season to keep a brilliant feast; and many others, both buyers and sellers, resort there on account of the fair (*panēgyris*). Indeed this feast is diligently frequented by all nations: by the Jews, because they boast of their descent from the patriarch Abraham; by the pagans, because angels there appeared to men; and by Christians because He who has lately revealed himself through the Virgin for the salvation of mankind once appeared there to the pious man. The place is moreover honoured fittingly with religious exercises. Here some pray to the God of all; some call upon the angels, pour out wine, or burn incense, or offer an ox, or he-goat, a sheep or a cock … The place is open country and arable and without houses, with the exception of the buildings around Abraham's oak and the well he prepared …[9]

Sozomen is describing an "international" fair, during which multi-faith festivities were held in the open with the participation of Jews, Christians, and pagans. All of them venerated the sacred tree and the nearby well, together with the hallowed figures associated with them, namely, Abraham and the angels. This was probably a regional egalitarian ritual, a festival for inhabitants of the region of all faiths, which at this time began to attract people from afar as well.[10] The common veneration of Abraham, the local saint, the open-air ceremony, and the distance from Jerusalem, the centre of the establishment, created the proper conditions for the syncretistic cult performed at the site.

Schriften aus dem mittelalterlichen Genua, ed. Ora Limor, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters* 15 (München, 1994), pp. 232–33, 277.

[7] See Meri, *The Cult of Saints*, p. 36 (Source: Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidaya wa-al-Nihaya fi-al-Tarikh*, ed. A.M. Mu'awwad et al., 14 vols. (Beirut, 1994), 14.50 [711H]). Meri writes: "Any Jew or Muslim could pray for rain. Yet, collective supplication, particularly at the tombs of saints as at synagogues and mosques, was generally believed to be more efficacious than individual supplication" (Meri, p. 121).

[8] Aryeh Kofsky, "Mamre: A Case of a Regional Cult?," *Sharing the Sacred: Religious Contacts and Conflicts in the Holy Land*, eds. Arieh Kofsky and Guy G. Stroumsa (Jerusalem, 1998), pp. 19–30. On regional cults, see R.P. Werbner (ed.), *Regional Cults* (London, 1977).

[9] Sozomenus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2, ed. J. Bidez and G.C. Hausen, Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller, 50 (Berlin, 1960), pp. 54–56. English translation: Kofsky, "Mamre," pp. 24–25.

[10] Kofsky, "Mamre," p. 27.

The shared ritual at Mamre in late antiquity was apparently not so exceptional. The anonymous traveller of Piacenza known as "Antoninus", who toured the Holy Land before 570, describes a ritual shared by Jews and Christians at the Patriarchs' Tomb in Hebron, not far from Mamre. Here, too, the ceremony was held outdoors, in an unroofed court. The partition between believers of the two faiths could hardly veil the cooperative nature of the ritual. They were sharing both an idea – veneration of the Patriarchs, a space – the sacred tombs, and a custom – praying and burning incense. As the traveller tells the story:

> The basilica has four porticoes and no roof over the central court. Down the middle runs a screen. Christians come in on one side and Jews on the other, and they use much incense. [11]

The traveller goes on to describe the local Christian festival of David and Saint James, noting that Jews from the whole region flock to the ceremonies, burning incense and bringing gifts to the ministering priests.[12]

Antoninus was an inquisitive and fervent pilgrim, and his colourful account tells us much of regional cults and local customs that other sources ignore. Among other things, he cites interesting evidence of veneration of the Virgin Mary among Jewish women in Galilee. These Jewesses, "good looking and full of kindness," boasted to the traveller that they were related to Mary and had inherited their sterling qualities from her.[13] Perhaps this is an allusion to a local cult of Mary celebrated in Galilee around sites and objects associated with her, in which both Jewish and Christian women took part.[14] Religious barriers were in fact crossed in various places in the East – most often Christian holy places that were frequented by Muslims as well,

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[11] Antoninus Placentinus, *Itinerarium*, 30, ed. P. Geyer, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 175, (Turnhout, 1965), p. 144; English translation: John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster, 2002)^2, p. 143.

[12] Antoninus, *Itinerarium*; see Ora Limor, "King David's Tomb on Mt. Zion: The Origins of a Tradition," in: *Jews, Samaritans and Christians in Byzantine Palestine*, eds. D. Jacoby and Y. Tsafrir (Jerusalem, 1988), pp. 11–23 (Hebrew); Eadem, "The Origins of a Tradition: King David's Tomb on Mt. Zion," *Traditio* 44 (1988), 453–62. For the memorial ceremonies for David and James, see below.

[13] Antoninus, *Itinerarium* 5: "The Jewesses of that city are better-looking than any other Jewesses in the whole country. They declare that this is Saint Mary's gift to them, for they also say that she was a relation of theirs" (English translation: Wikinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, p. 132). According to John Rufus, the biographer of Peter the Iberian, Peter was venerated not only by Christians but also by Jews and Samaritans: "God wrought by his hands [Peter's] many wonders and signs and casting out demons, not only on believers and Christians, but also on Jews and Samaritans, and especially on those inhabitants of the village and of the city of Jamnia [in Palestine] and its surroundings." *The Life of Peter the Iberian*, ed. and German trans., R. Raabe (Leipzig, 1895), pp.126–27. See also: D. Frankfurter, "Syncretism and the Holy Man in Late Antique Egypt," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 11 (2003), 339–385. In this article, the holy man is examined as a type of a regional prophet.

[14] On regional cults in Galilee, see Elchanan Reiner, "From Joshua to Jesus: The Transformation of a Biblical Story to a Local Myth. A Chapter in the Religious Life of the Galilean Jew," *Zion* 61 (1996), 281–318 (Hebrew); English version in *Sharing the Sacred: Religious Contacts and Conflicts in the Holy Land*, eds. Arieh Kofsky and Guy G. Stroumsa (Jerusalem, 1998), pp. 223–71.

such as Saydnaya near Damascus[15] or al-Matariyya near Old Cairo,[16] but we also have evidence in rare cases of Jewish participation. Arnold von Harff, at the end of the fifteenth century, describes a cave sacred to Mary near Bethlehem, which used to be visited by people of all faiths.[17] In all these places, miracles were said to take place – all places of local cults, remote from the established centre, and non-institutionalized.

However, as also follows from Kedar's proposed typology, sharing of various kinds took place not only on the periphery, but even at more central sites, closer to the religious centre. In what follows, an attempt will be made to examine two such sites, both sacred tombs in Jerusalem: The Tomb of King David on Mount Zion, and the Tomb of Huldah the Prophetess, Saint Pelagia, or Rabiʾa al-ʾAdawiyya on the Mount of Olives. Though both sites are tombs, as is the case in many shared holy places, they were "shared" in very different ways. After briefly describing the two places in question and their main characteristics, I shall try to compare them, in an attempt to understand the reasons for the considerable, even extreme, difference in the mode and nature of the "sharing" that they represent. I hope that in so doing I shall contribute to a continuation of the discussion initiated by Kedar with his typology, and to throw light on some of the resultant religious phenomena.

The Tomb of David on Mount Zion

Christians, Jews, and Muslims believe that King David is buried in an ancient tomb on Mount Zion, which is even today a site of ritual and prayer. The tomb is in a small chamber on the ground floor of a building on Mount Zion, southeast of the Church of Dormition. In the building are several rooms side by side and upon one another, with visible remains of a Franciscan friary and church erected there in the fourteenth century on the ruins of the crusader church of Mount Zion (twelfth century), which itself was built on the remains of the Byzantine church of Zion. On the second floor is a room known as the Cenacle, the medieval chamber of the Last Supper, preserved in almost its original – late twelfth-century – form. The chamber of David's Tomb, directly beneath the Cenacle, is an elongated chamber, aligned north-south, with a narrow apse in its northern wall, in the direction of the Temple Mount. Standing before the apse is a large stone sarcophagus covered by a green velvet drape on which the name of David, King of Israel, is embroidered.

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[15] For Saydnaya, see Kedar, "Convergences"; Bernard Hamilton, "Our Lady of Saidnaya: An Orthodox Shrine revered by Muslims and Knights Templars at the Time of the Crusades," *The Holy Land, Holy Lands and Christian History*, ed. R.N. Swanson (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2000) (Studies in Church History 36), pp. 207–215; Daniel Baraz, "The Incarnated Icon of Saidnaya Goes West: A Re-examination of the motif in the light of new manuscript evidence," *Le Muséon* 108 (1995), 181–91.

[16] Kedar, "Convergences," pp. 59–60.

[17] *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff*, trans. and ed. Malcolm Letts (London, 1946), p. 189.

Where was David's tomb shown during the Second Temple period? There is no knowing. Josephus reports traditions that the tomb was in Jerusalem but does not specify any site.[18] In the Acts of the Apostles, in the account of the assembly that is considered in Christian theology to mark the foundation of the Church, which was held according to tradition on Mount Zion, Peter says to the people of Jerusalem that "the patriarch David ... both died and was buried, and his tomb is with us to this day" (Acts 2:29), and some authorities have suggested that the statement was actually made at the site of the ancient tomb of King David – a conjecture that can hardly be confirmed. If there was indeed an ancient tomb on Mount Zion associated with David, sources from late antiquity and the early Middle Ages do not refer to it. Perhaps the destruction of Jewish Jerusalem and expulsion of its Jews, together with the building of Aelia Capitolina on the ruins, caused the tradition to disappear, together with other Jewish traditions. At any rate, beginning in the fourth century, when the curtain rises on the map of Christian holy places, all sources place David's tomb in the outskirts of Bethlehem. As Eusebius writes in the *Onomasticon*: "Bethlehem in the territory of Judah is distant from Aelia six miles to the south, on the road leading to Hebron. There one is shown the tombs of Jesse and of David," and Jerome adds in his Latin translation: "Bethlehem, the city of David."[19] The location of the tomb in Bethlehem is surely due to the identification of Bethlehem as the city of David, based on the statement in the Bible that David and the kings of the House of Judah were buried in the city of David (1Kings 2:10). This tradition, reported by many pilgrims, survived at least till the end of the seventh century.[20] Around the year 680, Adomnàn, the scholarly abbot of the Isle of Iona wrote, on the basis of an account by the Gallic pilgrim Arculf:

> [The tomb of David] is in the centre of the pavement of the church without any ornament superimposed. There is a low stone coping around it, and it has a brightly shining lamp always placed above it. This church is erected outside the walls of the city in a valley nearby which adjoins the hill of Bethlehem on the northern side.[21]

The Venerable Bede, in his work on the holy places, which relies on Adomnàn's work, also repeats the tradition, though he is critical of it: "I have said this following the account of Arculf, Bishop of the Gauls, but Esdras clearly writes that David was buried in Jerusalem."[22] Arculf is indeed the last traveller to report the tomb near Bethlehem. Some time later the tradition of David's tomb returned to Jerusalem and became established on Mount Zion. This was presumably the result of the memorial

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[18] Josephus, *The Jewish War*, VII, pp. 392–393.

[19] Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. E. Klostermann, Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller, XI, I, pp. 42–43.

[20] For a summary of the traditions, see Limor, "The Origins of a Tradition."

[21] Adamnan's *De Locis Sanctis*, 2, 4, ed. Denis Meehan (Dublin, 1958) (Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 3), pp. 76–77.

[22] Beda Venerabilis, *De Locis Sanctis*, 7, ed. I. Fraipont, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 175, p. 265; English translation: Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, p. 223.

ceremonies that the Christians held for David at the church of Zion.[23] Evidence of such ceremonies comes from ancient liturgical works of the Jerusalem church, from which we learn that from a very early date, perhaps as early as the second half of the fourth century, the Jerusalem church held a ceremony on Mount Zion on December 25 to commemorate King David and Saint James "the Less," known as "brother of the Lord," the first bishop of the Jerusalem church (and of the Christian church in general). Later, when the Jerusalem church accepted December 25 as the date of Jesus' birth, the memorial ceremonies for David and James were delayed for one day, to December 26.[24]

During the Byzantine period, memorial services were held in the church of Zion for various Christian figures, though it was known that they were not buried there. Saint James's tomb, for example, was identified in the Vale of Jehoshaphat, not far from where he was traditionally put to death by the Jews.[25] Hence the memorial ceremony for King David in the church of Zion does not necessarily contradict the tradition of his tomb near Bethlehem. Nevertheless, all the figures for whom such services were held in that church were associated with it in some way. The connection of David and James to the church of Zion may have been due to the senior status of the church, which matched their own importance. The Church of Zion was considered the first Christian church, erected by the Apostles immediately after Jesus' ascension. It was called *Mater Ecclesiarum*, "mother of churches," and the Christians associated it with the scriptural verse, "For out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem." Among the precious objects shown to pilgrims was the cornerstone "that the builders had rejected," symbolizing Jesus himself.[26] David and James were the founding fathers of that church, and the verses recited during the ceremonies held in their honour confirm this assumption.[27] Just as David had conquered the city and established the first Zion, so James was the founder of the new Zion, namely the Church. They complemented one another as the New Testament complemented the Old.

But David's position in Christianity was even stronger: He was the founder of the royal dynasty from which, as Christians believed, Jesus himself was descended, a scion of the House of David. It seems plausible that the identification of David with Zion and the memorial ceremonies held there in his honour were also responsible for the tradition that ultimately located his burial there too. The first evidence to that effect comes from Muslim sources. In the tenth century, Al-Masʾudi (d. 956) refers to "the Church of Zion that was mentioned by David, may he rest in peace ... They [= the Christians] believe that the Tomb of David was there." Other tenth- and

[23] I discussed this at length in my "The Origins of a Tradition."

[24] Athanase Renoux (ed.), *Le Codex Arménien Jérusalem 121*, Patrologia Orientalis 168 (Turnhout, 1971), pp. 366–369; Michel Tarchnischvili (ed.), *Le grand lectionnaire de l'église de Jérusalem*, 1, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 189 (Louvain, 1959), pp. 14–15.

[25] Theodosius, *De situ Terrae Sanctae*, 9, ed. P. Geyer, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 175, p. 119.

[26] Antoninus, *Itinerarium*, 22.

[27] See above, note 24.

eleventh-century Muslim authors also mention the tradition.[28] The Provençal historian of the First Crusade, Raymond of Aguilers, lists several traditions in the Church of Zion, the first of which mentions the tombs of David, Solomon, and St. Stephen.[29]

The last believers to begin to venerate the tomb were, of all people, the Jews. The first source to mention the site – Benjamin of Tudela, at the end of the 1160s – does so in a critical, polemical vein: "On Mount Zion are the sepulchres of the House of David, and the sepulchres of the kings that ruled after him. The exact place cannot be identified."[30] This was surely an attempt to challenge the validity of the local tradition. Benjamin indeed places the real tomb of David and the other kings of the House of David on Mount Zion, but elsewhere, at a closed, sealed, inaccessible site. "The exact place cannot be identified" implies that the place currently known as the tomb, in the Church of Zion, is not the real one.

Ultimately, however, the visible tomb prevailed. After the crusader period, when the Muslims returned to Jerusalem as victorious rulers, the church of Mount Zion was partly destroyed and the tomb was no longer part of it; then the Jews, too, accepted the tradition.[31] For some time, the site was not explicitly referred to as "David's Tomb," but as "David's Shrine" or "David's Tower"; only in the fifteenth century did the Jews, too, begin to call it simply "David's Tomb." As Meshullam of Volterra writes in 1481:

> On top, near the burial of David, is the church of Saint Francis. And the site of the burial of David is a building with a large iron gate. The Ishmaelites [= Muslims] hold the key, and they venerate the place and worship there.[32]

The situation described by Meshullam, the tomb being in Muslim hands, is one stage in the very chequered history of the tomb in the Late Middle Ages. During the fifteenth century, there were diplomatic negotiations and violent clashes between the Franciscans, who had been appointed by the pope in the fourteenth century as custodians of the holy places and established themselves on Mount Zion, and the Jews, who tried to get control of the Tomb of David. The shared tradition thus became a bone of contention between Jews and Christians (minority versus minority). In the end, it was the tomb that in fact led to the eviction of both groups from Mount Zion. In 1452, the tomb was converted into a mosque, though it was

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[28] A. Elad, "Sihyawn," *Enc. of Islam*, new edition, 9, pp. 571–73; H.Z. Hirschberg, "The Tombs of David and Solomon in Moslem Tradition," (Hebrew), *Eretz-Israel* 3 (1954), 213–220.

[29] *Le 'Liber' de Raymond d'Aguilers*, eds. J.H. and L.L. Hill (Paris, 1969), pp. 138–139.

[30] *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. Marcus N. Adler (New York, 1907), p. 24.

[31] Elchanan Reiner, "Overt Falsehood and Covert Truth: Christians, Jews and Holy Places in Twelfth-Century Palestine," (Hebrew), *Zion* 63 (1998), 157–88; idem, "A Jewish Response to the Crusades: The Dispute over Sacred Places in the Holy Land," in *Juden und Christen zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp (Simaringen, 1999), pp. 209–31.

[32] *Masa Meshullam meVolterra beEretz Israel bishnat* 1481, ed. A. Yaari (Jerusalem, 1949), pp. 71–74.

later restored briefly to Christian hands; finally, in 1524, the Franciscans were driven from the mount. The chapel on Mount Zion became the "Ibn Daoud" mosque and both Christians and Jews were forbidden entry.[33]

Thus, since the late middle ages David's Tomb has been a "shared" holy place – but it does not fit any of Kedar's categories. From the very point in time at which the tomb came to be hallowed by believers of all three religions, it has become a disputed site, a bone of contention, where no compromise is possible.

Three in One Tomb

High up on the Mount of Olives, very near the enclosure of the church of the Ascension, is an ancient burial chamber, reached by a steep flight of stairs.[34] In the chamber stands a large, ancient sarcophagus with velvet drapes. A Christian tradition, dating to the sixth century, identifies it as the tomb of Saint Pelagia, a beautiful courtesan of Antioch, who repented her sins and became a hermit. A Muslim tradition, documented since the twelfth century, names the person buried in the tomb as Rabiʾa al-ʾAdawiyya, the most famous saint of early Islam and an important figure in Sufi tradition. Finally, in the fourteenth century, we first hear of a Jewish tradition that the chamber was the last resting place of the prophetess Huldah, who was active during the reign of King Josiah of Judah. Who were these three women, and how – if at all – were they connected?[35]

As we learn from her *Vita*, Pelagia, whose beauty, wealth and dissolute life style were notorious among the Christians of Antioch, converted to Christianity after hearing a sermon by a bishop named Nonus. He persuaded her to repent her sins, and she freed all her slaves, distributed her money among the poor, and devoted herself to studying the tenets of the Christian faith. After being baptized she donned male garb – clothing supplied by Bishop Nonus – and travelled to the Holy Land. There she secluded herself in a cave on the Mount of Olives, which she did not leave till her dying day. The people of Jerusalem, convinced that a male hermit named Pelagius was living in the cave and astonished at his piety and self-denial, kept him supplied with bread and water through a small window. Pelagia soon died, and

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[33] On the Christian-Jewish struggle for control of Mount Zion and David's Tomb, and the ensuing anti-Jewish measures taken by the Venetians, see among others Joshua Prawer, "The Friars of Mount Zion and the Jews of Jerusalem in the Fifteenth Century" (Hebrew), *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society* 14 (1948/49), 15–24; David Jacoby, "The Franciscans, the Jews and the Problem of Mount Zion during the Fifteenth Century: A Reappraisal" (Hebrew), *Cathedra* 39 (1986), 51–70.

[34] For the structure of the tomb, see Jon Seligman and Rafa Abu Raya, "A Shrine of Three Religions on the Mount of Olives: Tomb of Hulda the Prophetess; Grotto of Saint Pelagia; Tomb of Rabiʾa Al-ʾAdawiyya," *Atiqot* 42 (2001), 221–36. See also Rafa Abu Raya, "Muslim Sites on the Mount of Olives: A Historical and Archeological Study" (Arabic), M.A. thesis (Al-Quds University, Jerusalem, 1999).

[35] See at length Ora Limor, "The Tomb of Pelagia – Sin, Repentance and Salvation on the Mount of Olives" (Hebrew), *Cathedra* 118 (2006), 13–40.

only when her body was being prepared for burial was it discovered that she was a woman – Pelagia of Antioch, of whose beauty nothing further remained. Pelagia was buried in the cave where she had chosen to live, and the first report of the site as a holy place comes from the anonymous traveller of Piacenza, mentioned above.[36] In the middle ages, the site became a favourite among pilgrims, who in their reports highlight the special link between it and the concepts of sin and expiation; they also refer to a popular custom, according to which visitors to the tomb would squeeze through the narrow gap between the tomb and the wall, as a sign of atonement for their sins.[37]

In 638, Jerusalem fell to the Muslims and various sites in the city became holy to them as well. The fame of Pelagia's Tomb as a site associated with sincere repentance, as well as the Muslims' goal, as the new masters of the city, to appropriate its sanctity as well, may explain the location of the burial of Rabiʾa al-ʾAdawiyya in the cave, despite the well-established tradition that she had been buried in the city of Baṣra, where she had lived and died. The tradition of Rabiʾa al-ʾAdawiyya held fast to the tomb on the Mount of Olives, despite scholarly censure and competing traditions – that it was the tomb of another Muslim saint, also named Rabiʾa. To this day, the site is known among Muslims as the tomb of Rabiʾa al-ʾAdawiyya.[38]

In the fourteenth century, we first hear of a Jewish tradition associated with the tomb, as being the burial place of the prophetess Huldah.[39] Like the tradition of Rabiʾa, this tradition too emerged "from grass roots," originating among the believers who came to frequent the tomb and pray there; it too earned scholarly disapproval, as it clashed with an ancient Jewish tradition according to which Huldah was buried within the walls of Jerusalem. Yehosef Schwartz (1804–65), an early geographer of the Land of Israel in the nineteenth century, bewailed the fact that the Jews had dragged Huldah to this place and were frequenting "impure" places. While he understood how ignorant worshipers could have been misled, he nevertheless held that Jews praying at the tomb were guilty of idolatry.[40]

In both Judaism and Islam, therefore, we have a similar process. The tomb of a woman, venerated by Christians and particularly popular as a place for the expiation

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[36] Antoninus, *Itinerarium*, 16.

[37] On this custom and its meaning, see Limor, "The Tomb of Pelagia." See also L.H. Vincent and F.M. Abel, *Jérusalem Nouvelle* (Paris, 1914), pp. 401, 406.

[38] On Rabiʾa, see Margaret Smith, *Râbiʾa the Mystic and her Fellow-Saints in Islâm* (Cambridge, 1928), pp. 140–43; "Rabiʾa: Her Words and Life in ʿAttar's Memorial of the Friends of God," in *Early Islamic Mysticism: Sufi, Qurʾn, Miʾraj, Poetic and Theological Writings*, ed. Michael A. Sells (New York, 1996), pp. 151–169; *Women of Sufism: A Hidden Treasure*, ed. Camille Adams Helminski (Boston and London, 2003), pp. 25–34; Julian Baldick, "The Legend of Râbiʾa of Basra: Christian Antecedents, Muslim Counterparts," *Religion* 20 (1990), 233–247.

[39] The first source to mention the tradition is Estori ha-Parḥi in his *Kaftor va-Feraḥ* (Jerusalem, 1897), Ch. 6, p. 101 (see also p. 76).

[40] Yehosef Schwartz, *Sefer Tevuʾot ha-Aretz* (Jerusalem, 1900) [repr. 1979], pp. 348–352. On the tradition of Huldah's tomb, see *Entziklopedia Talmudit* 25, s.v. "Yerushalayim," col. 334 and note 420, and Appendix to "Yerushalayim," col. 717 and note 169. See also Y.Z. Horowitz, *Yerushalayim be-Sifrutenu* (Jerusalem, 1964), pp. 140–141.

of sins, is embraced by believers of other faiths as well. The Muslims and the Jews reburied there, as it were, an important woman of their own faith – it was after all a woman's tomb. Moreover, both Muslims and Jews found a woman who was somehow associated with the idea of repentance. Rabiʾa was known for her ascetic way of life, and she taught that sincere repentance was the foundation of the simple believer's way of life. Huldah, for her part, had been the prophet whom King Josiah requested to intercede with God for him and his people; and she replied that the people would indeed be punished, but not in Josiah's reign, as he had repented (2Kings 22:14–20; 2Chron. 34:22–29).

The link between the three saints may in fact be strengthened on a deeper, perhaps even subversive, plane. Some versions of Rabiʾa's biography in the poet Farid al-Din ʾAttar's *Memorial of the Saints* report that after she had been released from slavery, before becoming an ascetic, she had joined a troupe of musicians – an action that may be interpreted as becoming a courtesan.[41] Only later did she regret this step and become a penitent. In this version, Rabiʾa is almost the twin of Pelagia. While Huldah was never associated with such a risqué biography, Talmudic tradition does associate her with the sin of prostitution and atonement for that sin. The Sages of the Talmud cite her genealogy:

> Huldah was a descendant of Joshua ... R. ʾEna Saba cited the following in objection to R. Nahman: "Eight prophets who were also priests were descended from Rahab the harlot, namely, Neriah, Baruch, Serayah, Mahseyah, Jeremiah, Hilkiah, Hanamel and Shallum." R. Judah says: Huldah the prophetess was also one of the descendants of Rahab the harlot (BT, Megillah 14b).

Thus Huldah, albeit indirectly, preserves the idea of penitence as the basis for the tomb's sanctity and its association with sincere repentance from a life of sin.

Talmudic tradition has it that Huldah was buried within the walls of Jerusalem. Muslim tradition locates Rabiʾa's tomb in her city, Baṣra. Traditions of holy places, however, are immune to scholarly criticism, and the motives that originally reburied both women on the Mount of Olives kept those traditions in place. To this day, the tomb is still known by its three names. The alternating names, however, should not mislead us: Behind them lie three similarly structured traditions.

Two Tombs – Two Types

The two tombs described here represent different aspects of the phenomenon of shared holy places. Both are sacred to the three faiths that share Jerusalem. The

[41] Baldick, quoting the tradition, questions the connection between the repentance tradition and the tomb, writing that "it is not clear whether the legend of her being a musician was invented before her veneration at Pelagia's tomb, and led to the belief that she was buried there, or whether it arises out of that belief and Pelagia's own story." Baldick prefers the former alternative, p. 237 and note 41.

brief survey of their history presented above indicates the significant differences in believers' attitudes to their sanctity and to the very possibility of sharing that sanctity. The root of the difference, I believe, lies in the entirely different ideas underlying the two tombs and the entirely different needs that they satisfy.

David's Tomb is associated with a key figure in Jewish and Christian religion, a figure richer in theological, historical, and eschatological meanings than any other biblical hero. As with many other places in Jerusalem, David's Tomb is a textual holy place, that is, a place whose sanctity derives from the sacred text, which therefore occupies a special place as a cornerstone of sacred geography.[42] Just as Jews and Christians shared the belief in King David's significance as founder of the messianic dynasty, they shared the veneration of his tomb. This sharing, however, did not result in interfaith brotherhood, any more than the two religions' sharing of the Old Testament had done: quite the contrary. Just as each religion claimed to have the one and only key to understanding the Scriptures, each claimed absolute possession of the Tomb of David, and hence of David himself. David's Tomb, an earthly representative of David himself, demanded the exclusive loyalty of the believers, Jews and Christians. Furthermore, because of David's symbolic position in the faith system of the two religions, all the tensions and hostility between them were channelled into that one site. As a result, the shared tradition only gave rise to fierce competition, with the clashing interpretations sometimes assuming violent proportions. David's Tomb functions, therefore, as a central juncture, one might say even a nerve centre, in the age-old struggle of Jews and Christians for the Holy Scriptures, for the Holy Land, for the right to be considered God's chosen people, and for the truth. The dispute around it, ostensibly a dispute over a geographical site, embodies a titanic theological struggle that has never been settled.

Pelagia's Tomb is a holy place of a completely different nature. The theological status of the figures associated with the tomb is nowhere near the critical status of King David.[43] Moreover, while David's Tomb represents a strong, firm, tradition, which has held fast to the site despite changing times and rulers, Pelagia's Tomb has replaced the name of the woman buried there in accordance with the needs of visiting believers. Dialectically speaking, the shared belief in the figure of David at his tomb has been a basis for contest, whereas in Pelagia's Tomb, the divergence of views as to the identity of the person buried there have mitigated the competition and made sharing possible.

In the Late Middle Ages, Pelagia's Tomb functioned like any other saint's tomb; it was a site for expiating rituals and even for miracles. For example, a Russian monk from Novgorod, who visited Jerusalem in 1456, wrote:

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[42] See Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York, 1978), pp. 17–18. The authors define pilgrimages to sacred sites associated with the founders of religions as "prototypical pilgrimages."

[43] This is the case, at least, with respect to Pelagia and Huldah. Rabiʾa al-ʾAdawiyya occupies a more central place in Islamic tradition.

> Annexed to the holy Church of the Ascension of Christ, on the south, is the chamber of our mother, the sainted nun Pelagia. The chamber has two compartments; to the first lead eight steps, and to the second, eleven. They all descend, for they have been cut deeply into the mountain. Her tomb is on the right, to the south. Above the tomb, at its end, on the wall, is her footstep. The head of the tomb is very close to the southern and western walls of the chamber. Pilgrims enter and first confess by her tomb, confessing all their sins to God. Afterwards each alone walks around the tomb of Saint Pelagia three times. Sometimes the sainted nun, working wonders, will capture some person because of grave sins, holding fast for one or two hours, and then release [him or her]. There is a small chamber in the wall, facing the east. There Saint Pelagia used to sit and pray. There is a strong odour of incense here.[44]

The saint interred in the tomb is presented here as interceding with God for the sinner, as done by other saints in the Byzantine region since late antiquity.[45] In light of her qualities, her ascetic practices, and mainly the importance of atonement in her life, she was assumed to possess special powers to work wonders and subdue forces of evil. Her prayers would open the gates of heaven.

The two tombs thus represent two very different types of holy place, answering to the needs of different kinds of visitors: veneration and awe in the face of the distant, kingly, glory of the father of the messiah, as against the intimate embrace of the beloved, supportive figure of the saint atop the Mount of Olives. A principled theological position open only to controversy, as against a religious practice that answers to the immediate needs of believers and permits sharing.

When does sharing build a bridge, and when does it create barriers? Given the stories of the two sites described above, we may assume that to the extent that the holy site in question is more institutionalized and closer to the centre of religion, and to the extent that the tradition represented there is more central to the structure of the faith, exclusivity will be emphasized and border-lines more sharply marked. A syncretistic ritual is feasible at sites more remote from the geographical, institutional, and ideological centre, and it may be viewed as a "grass-roots" religious phenomenon, rooted in the needs of the believers. Yehosef Schwartz, deploring the phenomenon, writes about Pelagia's tomb: "In our time [= mid nineteenth century], however, the Ishmaelites permit entry to anyone who gives them a silver coin (a few pennies), and sometimes there are three kinds of people there: Jews, Ishmaelites, and Christians, coming to pray in that place."[46]

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[44] Joel Raba, *Russian Travel Accounts on Palestine* (Jerusalem, 1986) (Hebrew), pp. 114–15. Descriptions of the tomb in Jewish and Muslim literature are more general and less picturesque than those of Christian travellers. Nevertheless, members of other religions clearly also considered their saints as intermediaries who would intercede for those praying to them. For the tomb in more recent times, see Zeev Vilnay, *Holy Tombstones in the Land of Israel* (Jerusalem, 1951) (Hebrew), pp. 195–98; Vilnay, *Jerusalem: The Old City* (Jerusalem, 1962) (Hebrew), p. 156.

[45] Peter Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," *Journal of Roman Studies* 41 (1971), 80–101.

[46] Schwartz, *Tevuʾot ha-Aretz*, p. 352.

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Der Prophet und sein Vaterland. Leben und Nachleben von Reinhold Röhricht

Hans Eberhard Mayer

Nemo propheta acceptus est in patria sua. (Lucas 4, 24.)

Auf das Zitat ist Verlaß. Es kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen, daß Reinhold Röhricht der bedeutendste Kreuzzugsforscher war, den Deutschland hervorgebracht hat. Aber sein Vaterland hat wenig Notiz genommen von ihm. In das zu seiner Zeit führende biographische Nachschlagewerk Deutschlands, die *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, wurde er nicht aufgenommen, weil er noch lebte, als 1889 Band 29 erschien, in dem das Stichwort „Röhricht" hätte enthalten sein müssen. Aus demselben Grund fehlt er auch in den Nachtragsbänden, weil diese über das Jahr 1899 nicht hinausgingen.

Schon als Röhricht noch in Berlin an der Luisenstädtischen Realschule unterrichtete, wurden ihm andere vorgezogen. Er hatte damals im Schulprogramm dieser Schule für 1872 seine Abhandlung über *Die Kreuzfahrt des Kaisers Friedrichs II.* veröffentlicht und 1874 den ersten Band seiner *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* folgen lassen. Hierin findet sich eine überarbeitete Fassung der Abhandlung aus dem Schulprogramm und eine weitere umfangreiche Arbeit über die Kämpfe des Sultans Saladin mit den Christen in den Jahren 1187 und 1188, ferner gab er dort eine französische Übersetzung von Teilen der Chronik Aleppos von Kamal-ad-Din aus der Feder von Sylvestre de Sacy heraus, die sich im Berliner Nachlaß von Friedrich Wilken gefunden hatte. Zusammengenommen war dies noch nicht viel im Gegensatz zu Röhrichts späterer rastloser Publikationstätigkeit, begründete aber immerhin so viel an Ruf, daß man vorübergehend in Aussicht nahm, daß er eine Expedition des Deutschen Reichs nach Tyrus begleiten solle, die der Reichskanzler Otto von Bismarck 1874 in der Hoffnung aussandte, in der dortigen Kathedrale die Gebeine Friedrich Barbarossas zu finden, woraus denn, hätte man sie gefunden, ein deutsches Nationalheiligtum entstanden wäre, man dachte an den Kölner Dom als neue Grablege, was jedenfalls die Vision des Expeditionsleiters Johannes Nepomuk Sepp war.[1] Dieser empfahl auch, zwei Säulen aus der in Tyrus ausgegrabenen Kirche auf dem Berliner Schloßplatz aufzustellen, „gekrönt einerseits mit dem deutschen Reichsadler in Erz, andererseits mit dem preußischen Wappenriesen".[2] Diese Zierde blieb der Hauptstadt Gottlob erspart. Die unmittelbaren Vorbereitungen der Expedition hatten erst Heinrich von Abeken vom Auswärtigen Amt, danach der Chef des Reichskanzleramtes Martin von Delbrück in die Hand genommen. Expeditionsleiter wurde der Münchener Professor und

[1] Hans Prutz, *Kaiser Friedrich I. Grabstätte* (Danzig, 1879), p. 3.

[2] (Johannes Nepomuk) Sepp, *Meerfahrt nach Tyrus zur Ausgrabung der Kathedrale mit Barbarossas Grab* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 291.

Abgeordnete der bayerischen Volkskammer Johannes Nepomuk Sepp (1816–1909), den außer Enthusiasmus und einer früheren Reise in die Region 1845–1846, deren Resultate er glücklich 1863 publizierte, kaum etwas dazu befähigte, denn in seinen Publiktionen ersetzte er wissenschaftliche Methode durch ultramontane Begeisterung, der er um 1870 und dann bis zum Kulturkampf durchaus einen Schuß Bismarckverehrung beizumischen wußte.[3] Aber seit 1872 hatte er das Projekt bei Bismarck betrieben.[4] Es war wohl die Einsicht in Sepps Unzulänglichkeit, die das Reichskanzleramt dazu bewog, ihm einen fähigen Mediaevisten beizugeben. Vorgesehen war zuerst Reinhold Röhricht.[5] Woran dies scheiterte, ist nicht mehr zu ermitteln, die Schulakten, in diesem Falle der Luisenstädtischen Realschule, ergeben dazu nichts, und Röhricht selbst hat sich, soweit ich weiß, dazu nicht geäußert. Dann fragte man Georg Waitz, den Sepp von der Frankfurter Nationalversammlung 1848 her kannte, der aber die Strapazen nicht auf sich nehmen wollte. Das Rennen machte schließlich der Berliner Privatdozent Hans Prutz, der über Kreuzzüge bisher nicht publiziert hatte, dem aber die Expedition zum Anlaß wurde, später darüber zu arbeiten, vor allem in seiner das Fach befruchtenden *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin, 1883). Prutz hatte aber gerade in drei Bänden die Biographie *Kaiser Friedrich I.* (Danzig, 1871–1874) veröffentlicht, was ihn im Hinblick auf den Zweck der Expedition empfahl und ihm auch die Berufung auf eine Professur in Königsberg einbrachte. Im Vorwort seines Expeditionsberichtes stattete Prutz an den "werten Freund" Röhricht, "dem jederzeit teilnehmenden, hilfsbereiten und tätig eingreifenden Mitarbeiter auf dem Gebiete der Kreuzzugsforschungen",[6] einen so betonten Dank ab, daß man glaubt, hier ein schlechtes Gewissen schlagen zu hören, denn so intensiv war die Freundschaft keineswegs, Röhricht hat in einer Rezension über Sepps Expeditionsbericht zwar primär Sepp wegen der ganzen Expedition kritisiert, aber auch Prutz keineswegs geschont, und in einem Brief Röhrichts an Sepp vom 4. Juni 1879 heißt es: "Herr Professor Prutz fragte mich ebenfalls vor 4 Wochen wegen des leidigen Druckfehlers Lotovicus für Cotovicus, obwohl ich niemals sonst mit ihm in Briefwechsel gestanden und auch, als er hier in Berlin war,

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[3] Zu Sepps Methoden siehe Haim Goren, "*Zieht hin und erforscht das Land.*" *Die deutsche Palästinaforschung im 19. Jahrhundert*, Schriftenreihe des Instituts für deutsche Geschichte der Universität Tel Aviv 23 (Göttingen, 2003), pp. 147–66. In einer Rezension in der *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 2 (1879), 257–58 von Sepps Schrift *Kaiser Friedrich I. Barbarossas Tod und Grab* durch Johann Gildemeister heißt es zu Recht: "Der Verfasser verkennt den Ernst der Wissenschaft … Eine bis ins einzelne gehende sachliche Kritik dieser Lucubrationen wird ernstlicherweise niemand verlangen können."

[4] Sepp, *Meerfahrt*, Aktenbeilage, p. 365. Die nationale Begeisterung war mehr auf seiten Sepps als Bismarcks, denn nicht einmal der Nachruf auf Sepp im *Biographischen Jahrbuch und Deutschem Nekrolog* 14 (1909), 206 verschweigt, daß Bismarck hier politische Schulden bei Sepp zurückzahlte, denn dieser hatte im Juli 1870 in der bayerischen Kammer die süddeutsche Mobilmachung für den Krieg gegen Frankreich durchgesetzt.

[5] Sepp, *Meerfahrt*, p. XIX.

[6] Hans Prutz, *Aus Phönizien. Geographische Skizzen und historische Studien* (Leipzig, 1876), pp. XII, XVIII.

oft monatelang ihn nicht gesehen".[7] Im nachhinein mag Röhricht froh gewesen sein, daß er nicht an der Expedition teilgenommen hatte, denn sie war ein völliger Fehlschlag. Barbarossas Grab wurde natürlich nicht gefunden und die erst lange später von Deichmann untersuchten 15 Kisten mitgebrachter steinerner Reste des untersuchten Baues rechtfertigten den Aufwand nicht.[8] Wohl aber wurde der Bau für künftige Grabungen ruiniert, da es Sepp und Prutz an jeglicher Grabungserfahrung fehlte, keine Grabungsprotokolle geführt, keine stratigraphischen Untersuchungen angestellt wurden und der ganze große Bau in einem Monat um und um gewühlt wurde. Im Anschluß an die beiden Expeditionsberichte kam es zu einer hier nicht hergehörenden lebhaften polemischen Debatte um das Grab Friedrich Barbarossas.[9]

Der entscheidende Schritt in Röhrichts äußerer Laufbahn war die am 6. September 1875 erfolgte Versetzung von der Luisenstädtischen Realschule als Oberlehrer an das Berliner Humboldtgymnasium mit einem Gehalt von jährlich 4800 Mark inklusive 900 Mark Wohnungsgeldzuschuß. Das Gehalt erhöhte sich im Juli 1878 auf 5400 Mark, im Januar 1882 kurz vor der Verleihung des Professorentitels vom 22. Mai 1882, auf 6000 Mark.[10] Das Anfangsgehalt war für damalige Verhältnisse respektabel, denn als der große Mediaevist Paul Fridolin Kehr (1860–1944) am 25. März 1895 zum ordentlichen Professor an der Universität Göttingen ernannt wurde, setzte ihm dasselbe Preußische Unterichtsministerium ein Jahresgehalt von 3800 Mark zuzüglich eines Wohnungsgeldzuschusses von 540 jährlich aus.[11] Röhricht, der allerdings 18 Jahre älter war als Kehr, hatte schon anfangs am Humboldtgymnasium als Oberlehrer geringfügig mehr bezogen als Kehr als Ordinarius, und 1895 hatte er mit 6000 Mark im Jahr nicht unbeträchtlich mehr als Kehr.

Am 6. Februar 1889 legte Röhricht dem jungen Kaiser Wilhelm II. (1888–1918) drei seiner Schriften, darunter die zweite Auflage der *Deutschen Pilgerreisen nach*

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[7] Die Rezension in *Literarisches Centralblatt für Deutschland* (1879), col. 292 f., wo ausgeführt wird, der eigentliche Zweck der Expedition sei verfehlt worden, "und, wie Prof. Prutz als Historiker wissen mußte und Prof. Sepp wissen konnte, war dies vorherzusehen." Die Rezension ist nach der Art der Zeitschrift ungezeichnet, doch replizierte Sepp im selben Band col. 497–499, es folgt col. 499–500 eine "Richtigstellung vom Herrn Referenten, " und diese ist nun von Röhricht gezeichnet. Der Brief im Nachlaß Sepp in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München, Seppiana, Karton 65.

[8] Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann, "Die Ausgrabungsfunde der Kathedrale von Tyrus, " *Berliner Museen* 56, Heft 3 (1935), 48–55.

[9] Hans Prutz, Rezension von Sepp, *Meerfahrt*, in *Historische Zeitschrift* 41 (1879), 496–502; Sepp, *Friedrich I. Tod und Grab* (1879); Prutz, *Kaiser Friedrich I. Grabstätte* (1879); Paul Scheffer-Boichorst, "Barbarossas Grab," *Im neuen Reich* (1879), 693–701; Johannes Nepomuk und Bernhard Sepp, "Das Resultat der deutschen Ausgrabungen in Tyrus, " *Historische Zeitschrift* 44 (1880), 86–109; Hans Prutz, *Replik*, ibid. pp. 110–115.

[10] Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, I. HA, Rep. 76–VI, Sekt. 14aa Nr. 12 Band 2. Ferner ibid., I. HA, Rep. 76–VI, Sekt. 14z Nr. 48 Band 1, fol. 65 und 85.

[11] Schreiben des Unterrichtsministers an Kehr vom 6. April 1895. Dazu kamen bei Kehr allerdings die von der Zahl der Hörer abhängigen Kolleggelder, doch waren Kehrs Hörerzahlen in Göttingen nicht sehr hoch und schwankten zwischen 2 und 28 (Michèle Schubert, "Paul Fridolin Kehr als Professor und als Akademiemitglied in Göttingen (1895–1903), " *Archivalische Zeitschrift* 82 (1999), 87–89.

dem Hl. Lande (Gotha, 1889) vor mit der Bitte, sie in die kaiserliche Hand- und Hausbibliothek einzureihen.[12] Die Reaktion war kalt. Das Preußische Ministerium der geistlichen, Unterrichts- und Medicinalangelegenheiten teilte Röhricht am 11. März 1889 mit, der Kaiser habe dem Minister die Angelegenheit ohne weitere Bestimmung zur Erledigung übertragen, und das Ministerium gab Röhricht die Bücher kommentarlos zurück![13] Ein großes Interesse am Hl. Land war damals jedenfalls beim Ministerium nicht vorhanden. Einem anderen Lehrer desselben Gymnasiums namens Dr. Zelle, der am 5. Juni 1891 um eine Reisebeihilfe in das Hl. Land nachgesucht hatte, teilte das Ministerium am 19. Juni mit, es fehlten hierfür die Mittel.[14]

Ganz anders als 1889 lagen die Dinge im Jahre 1898. Am 28. Februar dieses Jahres überreichte Röhricht seinem obersten Dienstherren, dem preußischen Unterrichtsminister Dr. Julius Bosse (1892–1899), einige seiner Bücher, darunter erneut die bereits erwähnten *Deutschen Pilgerreisen nach dem Hl. Lande* (1889), vor allem aber seine monumentale *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem* (Innsbruck, 1898), die er des Umfangs von 1105 Seiten wegen in zwei Bände hatte binden lassen.[15] Sie enthalten am Ende eine Bibliographie Röhrichts bis 1898, die 77 Nummern auflistet und ihn als einen der besten damaligen Kenner der Geschichte der Kreuzfahrerstaaten ausweist.

Das Geschenk erfolgte gewiß nicht ohne Nebenabsicht, denn schon damals war es in Berlin bekannt, daß der Kaiser noch in diesem Jahre Palästina besuchen werde. Röhricht selbst spricht davon in seinem Begleitschreiben an den Minister. Tatsächlich geht der Plan in seriöser Form auf das Frühjahr 1897 zurück und im Winter 1897/1898 wurde entschieden, daß der Kaiser im Herbst 1898 an der Einweihung der deutschen evangelischen Erlöserkirche in der Jerusalemer Altstadt teilnehmen werde. Im Frühjahr 1898 begannen die Reisevorbereitungen. Am 11. Oktober 1898 brach der Kaiser mit der Kaiserin Auguste Viktoria von Berlin aus auf, besuchte zunächst den Sultan in Konstantinopel und erreichte am 25. Oktober mit seiner Yacht Haifa. Vom 29. Oktober bis 3. November hielt er sich in Jerusalem auf, wo am 31. Oktober die Erlöserkirche eingeweiht wurde. In Jerusalem und Bethlehem absolvierte der Kaiser neben den offiziellen Verpflichtungen auch ein anstrengendes Besichtigungsprogramm und hatte schon zuvor mit Jaffa und der Templerburg Atlit (Château Pèlerin) Kreuzfahrerstätten besucht. Mit Caesarea und Latrun standen weitere Kreuzfahrermonumente auf dem Programm. Auf der Rückreise, die das Kaiserpaar am 4. November antrat, besichtigte man noch

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[12] Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, I. HA, Rep. 76–VI, Sekt. 14z Nr. 48 Band 1 fol. 229–230.

[13] Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, I. HA, Rep. 76–VI, Sekt. 14z, Nr. 48, Band 1, fol. 231.

[14] Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, I. HA, Rep. 76–VI, Sekt. 14z, Nr. 48, Band 1, fol. 259.

[15] Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, I. HA, Rep. 76–VI, Sekt. 14z, Nr. 48, Band 1, fol. 302–3.

historische Stätten in Libanon und Syrien und gelangte am 26. November wieder nach Berlin.[16]

Der Kaiser reiste mit enormem Gefolge. Die Wagenliste für die Fahrt von Haifa nach Jaffa zählt 80 Wagen auf.[17] Daneben veranstalteten Berliner Reisebüros Sonderfahrten, die durchaus offiziösen Charakter hatten, so wenn bei einer mit 201 Teilnehmern ausgerechnet jener preußische Unterrichtsminister Julius Bosse mitreiste,[18] dem Röhricht im Februar seine Bücher geschenkt hatte. Sein Ministerium war ja auch für die geistlichen Angelegenheiten zuständig, so daß er natürlich bei der Einweihung der Erlöserkirche dabeizusein hatte, im sparsamen Preußen dies aber anscheinend selbst finanzieren mußte.

Aus der Wagenliste ergibt sich, daß zwei Professoren zur unmittelbaren Entourage des Kaisers gehörten. Für die Kunst war Hermann Knackfuß von der Kasseler Kunstakademie zuständig, der sich einen Namen als Historienmaler gemacht hatte und im Mittelmeergebiet schon ausgiebig gereist war, für die arabischen Dinge reiste der Orientalist Bernhard Moritz mit. Wilhelm II. liebte es, sachverständige Professoren auf seine Reisen mitzunehmen, die ihm das jeweilige Land und seine Geschichte erklären konnten. In Italien führte ihn Paul Fridolin Kehr. Das war bekannt und wenn Röhricht seine große Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem dem Minister zusandte, als dieser und der Kaiser ihre Palästinareise planten und dies noch mit einem expliziten Hinweis auf diese Reise in Röhrichts Begleitschreiben, dann darf man sicherlich annehmen, daß er hoffte, er werde auch daran teilnehmen dürfen. Er wäre für die mittelalterlichen Überreste ein idealer Führer gewesen. Aber natürlich war es mehr als fraglich, ob der Minister, der privat reisen mußte, im Osten einen seiner Gymnasiallehrer als Mitglied der kaiserlichen Entourage treffen wollte.

Für die Gabe vom Februar 1898 hatte der Minister am 12. März 1898 gedankt.[19] Aus einem Randvermerk ergibt sich, daß die Bücher auch tatsächlich in der Privatbibliothek des Ministers Bosse landeten, "Sr. Exzellenz des Herrn Chefs", wie die Marginalie formuliert. Der konnte die Werke für seine Reisepläne im Dunstkreis des Kaisers ja auch gut brauchen. Seine Gruppe sollte nach dem Reiseplan am 18. Oktober in Triest oder Genua in See stechen, am 25. Oktober in Jaffa ankommen und ab 29. Oktober mehr oder minder das Programm des kaiserlichen Paares teilen, am 11. November dann wieder in Europa ankommen.[20]

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[16] Ernst Freiherr von Mirbach, *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar im Hl. Lande im Herbst 1898* (Berlin, 1899). Alex Carmel, *Die Siedlungen der württembergischen Templer in Palästina 1868–1918*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg, Reihe B, Band 77 (Stuttgart, 1973) 157–65; Alex Carmel und Ejal Jakob Eisler, *Der Kaiser reist ins Hl. Land. Die Palästinareise Wilhelms II. 1898. Eine illustrierte Dokumentation* (Stuttgart, 1999).

[17] Carmel und Eisler, *Der Kaiser reist ins Hl. Land*, p. 74 f.

[18] Faksimile ibid., p. 60.

[19] Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, I. HA, Rep. 76–VI, Sekt. 14z, Nr. 48, Band 1, fol. 304.

[20] Faksimile des Reiseprogramms bei Carmel und Eisler, *Der Kaiser reist ins Hl. Land*, pp. 55–56.

In der von Röhricht wahrscheinlich erhofften Richtung reagierte der Minister natürlich nicht. Aber Röhricht ließ nicht locker. Es muß Anfang September gewesen sein, als er dem Kaiser sechs seiner Schriften überreichte, natürlich über die Kreuzzüge, denn über anderes arbeitete er kaum noch. Man weiß nicht, welche Titel es waren, denn hier enthalten die Akten kein Schreiben Röhrichts an den Kaiser. Aber dieser stand unmittelbar vor dem Aufbruch in den Orient (11. Oktober 1898). Jetzt ging alles sehr schnell, die Akten tragen Eilvermerke wie *Eilt* oder *Eilt sehr*. Wilhelm II. beauftragte sein Geheimes Zivilkabinett mit Recherchen über Reinhold Röhricht, die nur den Schluß zulassen, daß er erwog, Röhricht mit nach Palästina zu nehmen. Am 12. September 1898 richtete das Geheime Zivilkabinett aus Potsdam eine Anfrage an das Unterrichtsministerium in Berlin, Röhricht habe die beiliegenden sechs Schriften überreicht, doch fordere der Kaiser vor seiner Antwort eine Äußerung des Ministeriums über die Persönlichkeit des Verfassers.[21] Das macht nur Sinn, wenn er sich vergewissern wollte, ob Röhricht als Mitglied der kaiserlichen Entourage tragbar wäre. Um den kaiserlichen Dank aussprechen zu lassen, mußte sich Wilhelm nicht über Röhrichts Charakter informieren. Nun aber, als die Sache in der Hand der Bürokratie des Zivilkabinetts lag, wurde man vorsichtiger, als es der Kaiser persönlich gewesen wäre. Neben der Charakterstudie forderte das Zivilkabinett nämlich eine ministerielle Äußerung darüber an, ob im Falle der Annahme der Werke der Ausdruck des Allerhöchsten Dankes als eine genügende Erwiderung der Aufmerksamkeit anzusehen sei. Wilhelm war ein konstitutioneller Monarch und konnte nicht ohne weiteres in die Zuständigkeiten seiner Minister hineinregieren. Dieser Teil der Anfrage ist ebenso ungewöhnlich wie die Aufforderung zu einer Charakterbeurteilung, zumal es ja ein eingespieltes Verfahren gab, nämlich durch das Ministerium ohne weitere Rückfragen den Dank des Herrschers aussprechen zu lassen. Das Zivilkabinett hatte den Ball in eleganter Weise dem Ministerium zugespielt, welches das Außergewöhnliche des Verfahrens natürlich durchschaut haben wird. Wenn Röhricht nach Palästina mitreisen sollte, so mußte das Ministerium jetzt anregen, ihn wegen seiens Sachverstandes auf die unmittelbar bevorstehende Reise mitzunehmen.

Das Ministerium antwortete am 17. September 1898.[22] Aus einer Marginalie ergibt sich, daß die Sache Röhricht so eilig gewesen war, daß er auch ein defektes Buch nach Potsdam geschickt hatte – als Geschenk an den Kaiser! Die Charakterstudie fiel so aus, daß Röhricht, hätte er sie gekannt, damit zufrieden gewesen wäre. Ansonsten aber, so schrieb der Minister dem Kaiser: „Die Auszeichnung, welche ihm (scil. Röhricht) durch die Annahme der überreichten Werke seitens Seiner Majestät zuteil werden würde, ist durchaus würdig, andererseits würde meiner und aller Erachtens der Ausdruck Ew. Dankes als eine genügende Erwiderung seiner Aufmerksamkeit anzusehen sein“. Die herzlose Antwort war für den

[21] Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, I. HA, Rep. 76–VI, Sekt. 14z, Nr. 48, Band 1, fol. 311.

[22] Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, I. HA, Rep. 76–VI, Sekt. 14z, Nr. 48, Band 1, fol. 312–13.

konstitutionellen Monarchen Wilhelm bindend, nachdem der Hof gefragt hatte, wie man es mit der Reaktion halten solle. Am 20. September 1898 teilte das Geheime Zivilkabinett dem Ministerium mit, der Kaiser habe die Bücher entgegengenommen und ersuche das Ministerium, seinen Dank auszusprechen.[23] Jetzt eilte plötzlich nichts mehr, denn mit der Ausführung dieser Ordre ließ sich das Ministerium Zeit bis zum 13. Oktober, als es Röhricht den kaiserlichen Dank aussprach[24] – zwei Tage, nachdem der Kaiser zu seiner Orientreise von Berlin aufgebrochen war. Minister Bosse mußte nicht befürchten, im Orient einem seiner Gymnasiallehrer konfrontiert zu werden. Als Röhricht starb, hatte er Jerusalem, Jaffa, Akkon, Haifa und die Kreuzfahrerburgen des Ostens nie gesehen. Man kann nur hoffen, daß er von dem subtilen ministeriellen Dolchstoß in seinen Rücken nie erfahren hat.

Die Doppelbelastung durch Lehramt und Forschung forderte ihren Tribut. Schon 1879, als seine größten Werke noch bevorstanden, schrieb er an Sepp: „Leider ist meine literarische Muße sehr knapp infolge der Amtsgeschäfte und ich bin nur durch die möglichst ökonomische Zeiteinteilung imstande, überhaupt etwas zu schaffen. Beatus ille, qui procul negotiis“.[25] In einem ungezeichneten, für die äußere Laufbahn wenig erhellenden französischen Nachruf auf Röhricht in der *Revue de l'Orient latin* 10 (1903-1904; erschienen 1905), 543–548 wird ausgeführt, man habe sich gewundert, daß er nur eine *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge im Umriß* (Innsbruck, 1898), aber keine große allgemeine Geschichte der Kreuzzüge als Pendant zu seiner *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem* geschrieben habe. Der Verfasser des Nachrufes hatte ihn hierzu ermuntert, doch Röhricht hatte ihm geantwortet „Le fardeau serait trop lourd pour mes vieilles épaules“. Am 28. April 1904 teilte das Provinzialschulkollegium dem Ministerium mit, Röhricht habe ein ärztliches Attest vorgelegt, wonach er seine dienstlichen Pflichten aus gesundheitlichen Gründen nicht mehr erfüllen könne und beantrage Beurlaubung für die Zeit vom 1. April bis 30. September 1904, was das Provinzialschulkolleg befürworte. Er sei bereits vom 1. Oktober 1903 bis 31. März 1904 beurlaubt gewesen. Gezeichnet von Friedrich Theodor Althoff, dem legendären Leiter der Hochschulabteilung im Preußischen Unterrichtsministerium, der ab 1897 auch die Abteilung Höhere Schulen leitete, steht am Rande dieser Mitteilung *Genehmigt*. Im Oktober 1904 wurde Röhricht wegen Krankheit vorzeitig pensioniert.[26] Der französische Nachruf deutet an,

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[23] Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, I. HA, Rep. 76–VI, Sekt. 14z, Nr. 48, Band 1, fol. 318.

[24] Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, I. HA, Rep. 76–VI, Sekt. 14z, Nr. 48, Band 1, fol. 319.

[25] München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Seppiana, Karton 65, Brief vom 21. 6. 1879.

[26] Nachruf in der *Revue de l'Orient latin* 10 (1903–1904; erschienen 1905),p. 547. Die Schulakten des Humboldt-Gymnasiums enthalten nichts über Pensionierung und Tod Röhrichts, doch werden sie ab 1904 sehr dürftig. Das letzte, was sie über Röhricht enthalten, ist die Verleihung des Roten Adlerordens vierter Klasse im September 1904 anläßlich seiner bevorstehenden Pensionierung zum 1. Oktober (Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, I. HA, Rep. 76–VI, Sekt. 14z, Nr. 48, Band 2, fol. 5). Dieser Orden war die übliche Auszeichnung für Gymnasiallehrer, die in den Ruhestand traten, zum selben Termin wie Röhricht erhielten ihn in Preußen acht weitere Lehrer.

das Ministerium habe sich Röhricht gegenüber bei der Bemessung der Pension knauserig gezeigt, was Röhricht schmerzlich berührt habe. Zum Ausgleich regte der Verfasser eine Gedenkschrift für den am 2. Mai 1905[27] verstorbenen Röhricht an, aber dazu kam es nicht.

Zu Beginn der siebziger Jahre des vorigen Jahrhunderts wollte ich dem Zustand ein Ende machen, daß Röhricht in den deutschen biographischen Nachschlagewerken fehlte. Inzwischen hatte die Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften mit der Bearbeitung der *Neuen Deutschen Biographie* als Nachfolgerin der *Allgemeinen Deutschen Biographie* begonnen. Ich schlug dem damals verantwortlichen Redakteur, Dr. Hans Jürgen Rieckenberg (†), einen kleinen Artikel über Röhricht vor und rannte damit bei ihm offene Türen ein. Mit der Bearbeitung machte ich mir Mühe und reiste in das Zentralarchiv der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik nach Merseburg, wo damals die Akten des Preußischen Unterrichtsministeriums über Röhricht lagen. Dann schickte ich den Artikel nach München an Dr. Rieckenberg.

Einige Zeit nach der Wende, als die Merseburger Akten wieder an ihren Berliner Stammplatz im Geheimen Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz gekommen waren, arbeitete ich den Artikel entsprechend um und konnte nun auch noch weitere Schulakten aus dem Berliner Landesarchiv benutzen. Am 29. April 1993 schickte ich die überarbeitete Fassung erneut an die *Neue Deutsche Biographie* in München.

Nun galt es abzuwarten, bis der richtige Band der *Neuen Deutschen Biographie* erscheinen werde. Mein Erstaunen war groß, ebenso mein Unmut, als mir im Jahre 2004 Band 21 der *Neuen Deutschen Biographie* (erschienen 2003) zu Gesicht kam, in dem mein Artikel hätte erscheinen müssen. Er war aber nicht gedruckt worden und weil das das einfachste war, hatte man mich von der Absicht, ihn wegzulassen, mit keinem Wort schriftlich oder mündlich verständigt. Der verantwortliche Redakteur für Band 21 war Dr. Franz Menges. Er hat die Entscheidung, den Artikel nicht zu drucken und mir davon nichts zu sagen, zu verantworten. Im Nachhinein werden budgetäre Zwänge ins Feld geführt. Die Frage, ob denn nicht mindestens durch konkludente Handlungen ein Vertrag zustandegekommen war, der einzuhalten war, hat man sich anscheinend nicht gestellt.

Oleum et operam perdidi. Aber das war zu verschmerzen. Wirklich ärgerlich an der Sache war, daß Röhricht nun erneut nicht zu den erinnernswerten Deutschen

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[27] Der französische Nachruf gibt als Todestag 2. Mai, doch alle deutschen Nachrufe, die verzeichnet sind im *Biographischen Jahrbuch und Deutschem Nekrolog* 10 (1907), *213, geben übereinstimmend den 1. Mai. Eine Todesanzeige der Witwe Ida Röhricht, geborene Schiller, in der Vossischen Zeitung vom 4. Mai 1905 hat kein Todesdatum, eine redaktionelle Notiz der Vossischen Zeitung vom selben Tag hat 2. Mai, wonach ich mich hier richte. Eine Sterbeurkunde war nicht erhältlich. Röhricht wohnte seit langem im Berliner Bezirk Prenzlauer Berg in der Weißenburger Straße (heute Kollwitzstraße) 76. Beim Standesamt Prenzlauer Berg wurde sein Ableben aber nicht beurkundet (Auskunft des dortigen Standesamts vom März 1993), vermutlich weil er in einem Krankenhaus außerhalb des Bezirks verstarb und sein Tod daher in einem anderen Bezirk beurkundet wurde. Um an eine Sterbeurkunde zu kommen, müßte man aber die Anschrift der Klinik wissen.

gezählt wurde. Ich drucke deshalb nachstehend meinen Artikel über Reinhold Röhricht in dieser Festschrift so, wie ich ihn 1993 der *Neuen Deutschen Biographie* einreichte, nur das Trodesdatum habe ich vom 1. Mai auf den wahrscheinlicheren 2. Mai korrigiert. Die internationale Kreuzzugsforschung kann dann selbst entscheiden, ob Röhricht a) die Aufnahme in die *Neue Deutsche Biographie* verdient hätte und b) ob der nachstehende Artikel seiner Person adäquat ist.

Röhricht, Reinhold (eigentlich Gustav Reinhold), Lehrer und Historiker, * 18. 11. 1842 Bunzlau (Schlesien) als dritter Sohn eines Müllers, † Berlin 2. 5. 1905.

Nach dem Besuch des Gymnasiums in Sagan (1852–62) studierte Röhricht in Berlin Theologie und wurde 1866 zum Licentiat promoviert. Anschließend lehrte er in Berlin Religion, Hebräisch und Deutsch für die oberen, Latein und Griechisch für die unteren Klassen, und zwar 1867–68 am Dorotheenstädtischen Realgymnasium, 1868–75 an der Luisenstädtischen Realschule und von 1875 an als Oberlehrer (seit 1875) und Professor (seit 1882) bis zu seiner Pensionierung 1904 am Humboldtgymnasium. Röhricht war der bedeutendste Kreuzzugsforscher Deutschlands, der in den besten Traditionen des 19. Jh. und mit unermüdlichem Fleiß neben den Pflichten seines Lehramts grundlegende Werke schrieb, die sich durch die Fülle der gebotenen Details auszeichnen und aus denen die Kreuzzugsforschung noch heute zehrt. Von besonderer Bedeutung und bis heute unersetzt sind seine *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem* (Innsbruck, 1898 mit Bibliographie des Verfassers am Ende) und sein Urkundenverzeichnis *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani* (Innsbruck, 1893 mit Additamentum 1904).

Weitere Hauptwerke: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (2 Bände, Berlin, 1874/78); *Scriptores quinti belli sacri* (Genf, 1879); *Testimonia minora quinti belli sacri* (Genf, 1882); *Syria sacra* (Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 10, 1887); *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Geographie und Topographie Syriens* (ebenda); *Bibliotheca geographica Palestinae* (Berlin, 1890); *Die Deutschen im Heiligen Lande* (Innsbruck, 1894) sowie eine Fülle kleinerer Schriften und Aufsätze.

Literatur: Nachruf in den *Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina–Vereins* 1905, S. 61–63. Akten über seine Lehrtätigkeit im Geheimen Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin in I. HA, Rep. 76–VI, Sekt. 14 aa Nr. 12 Band 2; I. HA, Rep. 76–VI, Sekt. 14 z Nr. 48 Band 1 und 2; I. HA, Rep. 76–VI, Sekt. 14 b Nr. 2 Band 1. Außerdem Landesarchiv Berlin, Außenstelle Breite Straße, Bestand Humboldtgymnasium (Rep. 20–02). Ca. 70 Briefe von Röhricht nachgewiesen in der Zentralkartei der Autographen (vorerst nur für alte Bundesländer) in der Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin; weniges nachgewiesen ebenda, Handschriftenabteilung, Verzeichnis des Alten Bestandes.

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MENTALITY, LAW, JEWS AND WORLD HISTORY

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Naming Pains: Physicians Facing Sensations

Esther Cohen

"English, which can express the thoughts of Hamlet and the tragedy of Lear, has no words for the shiver or the headache … The merest schoolgirl when she falls in love has Shakespeare or Keats to speak her mind for her, but let a sufferer try to describe a pain in his head to a doctor and language at once runs dry."[1] Those were the thoughts of Virginia Woolf, a lifelong sufferer and a lifelong artist in the shaping of English words, upon the problem of communicating pain sensations among people. Language falls short of expressing sensations. But why bother searching for words when a scream would do just as well? The scream, however, is only a primary manner of conveying pain. It conveys the basic information, but is often unsatisfactory for sufferers as a socially inadequate way of expressing their sensations. Furthermore, it is reserved for sufferers and nobody else. At a higher, more complex level, we find the language-specific exclamation "ouch!" or "ay!", for example. This expression does no more than the scream, but it is more socially acceptable. On a tertiary level, there is the linguistic lay description ("a stabbing pain in the side") and finally, a specifically medical description, reserved for experts.[2] In fact, the last two levels are the only ones to convey information. Since the clear, unmediated expression of pain and its transmission is of the utmost importance to sufferers and healers, and a mere primary scream does not convey enough information.

Furthermore, within specific cultural contexts, imparting knowledge of one's sensations can have a multitude of meanings transcending the purely sensory field. In twentieth-century lay culture, the claim of a headache could be a code-word for refusing marital sex on specific occasions. Within the context of late medieval Christianity, the same headache (or other pains) could be a sign of blessedness. Saints Francis, Catherine of Siena, and several other holy women who felt Christ's stigmata in their own bodies, hastened to publish the fact as a vindication of their extreme, often contended and questionable, piety. Beneficiaries of miraculous cures could read a sudden stab of pain as heralding the cure. Conversely, sensing pain during a judicial ordeal could signal that the sufferer was guilty as suspected. Finally, suffering in Hell was most certainly the wages of sin. Other cultures have their own interpretations of pain as a sign of spiritual virtue or its lack. Contrary to Christianity, in Buddhism, one hopes to transcend pain, not to feel it. And each language evolved its own culturally bound vocabulary to describe pain.

Cross cultural studies of pain expression have shown that different languages perform this task in different ways. Thus, Thai has fifteen different words for pain

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[1] Virginia Woolf, "On Being Ill," in *Collected Essays* (New York, 1967), 4:194, quoted in Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (Oxford, 1985), p. 4.

[2] Anthony Diller, "Cross-Cultural Pain Semantics," *Pain* 9 (1980), 11.

that are not quite synonymous; there is one generalized term, while all the rest denote specific types of pain. Though the semantic fields are not hard and fast, at least in the context of lay descriptions, and combinations of different terms might produce altogether new meanings, the basic vocabulary does exist. Furthermore, it consists of verbs, rather than adjectives, as in western languages.[3] Japanese has different words for sufferers of different status; Khamti has four different types of itching pain, each with its own descriptor.[4] By contrast, western languages are much poorer. They use nouns and adjectives, but those rarely differentiate between different types of pain. Early in the study of pain, Roselyne Rey claimed that different terms in the Hippocratic corpus meant different types of pain, or different sources.[5] Helen King, who followed suit, agreed with the principle, but allocated different meanings to the same words.[6] A third student of ancient Greek medicine, Peregrine Horden, found that most Greek terms, at least within Hippocratic medicine, were fairly synonymous and inexact, and that only one term is specifically reserved for childbirth labour.[7]

No similar attempt has been made at decoding later Greek medical texts or Latin ones (originals or translations from Greek). Latin has several words to denote pain, but none of them is indicative of a specific type of pain. *Dolor* is the common term, in both medical and colloquial speech. *Cruciatus* and *tormentum* appear mostly in the context of punitive suffering of pain, but indicate no typology. *Maeror* could indicate either physical pain or emotional anguish and grief, but is no more specific. *Poena* as pain is a late medieval usage, and carries no specific meaning either. These terms are literary devices to enrich language, but have no semantically circumscribed clinical fields. Consequently, in trying to describe types of pain, authors (medical or lay) had to resort to descriptors. The only manner in which sensations can be communicated is by use of literary devices: similes, metaphors, and metonymy. Had Virginia Woolf been Thai, she might have encountered less frustration in trying to describe a headache. "Pain – a long snake with scales and fangs and breathing fire." "It feels like a pair of pliers on the optic nerve," "It's as though the devil pulls his pitchfork out only to heat it up and put it back."[8]

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[3] Diller, "Cross-cultural Pain Semantics," 10, 12.

[4] Diller, "Cross-cultural Pain Semantics," 21–23.

[5] Roselyne Rey, *The History of Pain*, trans. Louise Elliott Wallace, J.A. Cadden and S.W. Cadden (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1995), pp. 10–43; she claimed that *odyne* was mainly used by the Cnidian school of Hippocratean medicine for localized pain, whereas the school of Cos favoured *algema* as a generalized term (pp.18–19).

[6] Helen King, "The Early Anodynes: Pain in the Ancient World," in *The History of the Management of Pain*, ed. Ronald D. Mann (Carnforth, Lancashire, 1988), pp. 51–62, claiming that *ponos* was often used for long-lasting, dull pain, while *odyne* meant a sharp, piercing pain (p.58).

[7] Peregrine Horden, "Pain in Hippocratic Medicine," in *Religion, Health and Suffering*, eds. John R. Hinnells and Roy Porter (London, 1999), pp. 295–315, at p. 302, referring to *odis*, but not excluding either *odyne* or *ponos*.

[8] Jean E. Jackson, *Camp Pain, Talking with Chronic Pain Patients* (Philadelphia, PA, 2000), pp. 152, 163; the anthropological literature on pain and its expressions in recent years is vast; for the most

This phenomenon is no empty theoretical speculation. Semantic poverty may be both the result of relative insensitivity and its cause. One cannot assume that unnamed sensations exist. The existence of a word to describe the sensation reifies it. Do we feel, like the Hindus, four different kinds of itching? Do we consider the pain of a nobleman as inherently different, in kind and not only in degree, from that of a peasant woman? Though we cannot prove it, it is entirely possible that minds conditioned to the existence of specific categories of sensation might not even register the peculiarity and difference of phenomena that have never been named or categorized. The poverty of western languages may well have dulled our awareness to things we cannot describe, even to ourselves.

The most common situation, however, in which people expect, and are expected, to show their sensations in a manner comprehensible to their surroundings, is illness or wounds – the medicalized setting. It is not merely the question of attracting the necessary attention for palliation. Voicing physical anguish may bring help, but professionals, up to the present, may choose to respond or disregard such manifestations.[9] Pain, its situation and its character, are symptoms that might allow physicians to diagnose a malady. While other symptoms, attainable by independent means (such as pulse, fever or the colour of urine) could also convey information, the knowledge of a patient's sensations could stand as a symbolic sign to indicate another problem. Knowing what type of pain it is, its location and duration, is something that medieval physicians and surgeons valued greatly. Alleviation was a secondary goal, often relegated by academic physicians-authors to lowly clinicians. "Pain was easier to deal with from a neurological than from a clinical point of view. The task of interpreting its verbal and behavioural representations was, on the whole, best left at the bedside and kept out of the treatises."[10] Though these words were written about Galen (c. 129–c. 211), they could just as easily apply to many present-day practitioners as much as they do to medieval academic physicians.

While inadequate or indifferent alleviation of pain may be a constant problem, the diagnostic and prognostic importance of pain has decreased over the centuries with the introduction of new, laboratory-based tools of disease indicators. Medieval physicians, however, could not count blood-cells or x-ray broken bones. They had to rely upon external manifestations of disease or injury, and upon the testimony of the sufferer. Hence, understanding, locating and classifying pain was of the utmost importance for them. They had no choice but to question their patients and try to elicit information. But the basic condition for such a dialogue was a mutually comprehensive vocabulary of pain. Unless both patient and healer agreed on what a throbbing or a sharp pain meant, no conclusions as to the significance of the sensation could emerge.

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important, see Gillian Bendelow, *Pain and Gender* (Harlow, 2000), and *Pain as Human Experience*, ed. M.J. Delvecchio Good et al. (Berkeley, 1992).

[9] See, for example, Ben A. Rich, "Moral Conundrums in the Courtroom: Reflections on a Decade in the Culture of Pain," *Cambridge Quarterly of Healthcare Ethics* 11 (2002),180–90.

[10] Horden, "Pain in Hippocratic Medicine," p. 308.

In her masterful survey of the history of pain, Roselyne Rey claimed that a rich vocabulary indicated sensitivity to pain.[11] I would argue that a paucity of terms indicates precision of usage, rather than sensitivity or insensitivity of healers. A concise, limited vocabulary for describing pain may not arouse literary sympathies and imaginative impressions, but it would most likely ensure efficient patient–healer communication. A universal, mutually comprehensible vocabulary, could also serve another equally important need. If pain had meanings, those meanings could be categorized, classed, organized into a coherent body of theoretical knowledge. In other words, a stable vocabulary could become the basis for taxonomy of pain.

Taxonomy is an extremely important source for past frames of mind. Zoologists could choose whether to classify animals by their consumption value to humans (as edible or inedible), or by their skeletal formations (as vertebrate or invertebrate); from there, they could proceed to subdivide their categories into domestic edible animals and wild edible animals, or, among the vertebrate, into mammals, reptiles, and avian. Similarly, different taxonomies could simultaneously apply to pain. Henri de Mondeville classified pain as tolerable or intolerable.[12] Obviously, as a surgeon his first thought was treatment and sedation. Physicians, however, were more interested in pain as a set of clues. In order to determine the cause of pain, physicians queried the perception and description of pain *as described by the patient*: sharp, heavy, diffuse, throbbing. In order to decide whether the pain was sharp and localized or extensive, diffuse, and wandering, one did have to ask as well as examine the patient.[13]

The western medical tradition of naming and classifying types of pain begins, in fact, not with the Hippocratic corpus, but with Galen's work, specifically with his *Of the Affected Parts* (*De interioribus*). The second book of this treatise consists mostly of a vitriolic diatribe against the Syrian physician Archigenes (c. 75–c. 129), who had tried to build such a taxonomy in a book of an identical title to Galen's, with the aim of creating a foolproof diagnostic tool. The gist of Galen's argument against Archigenes is that it is impossible to categorize types of pain independently from the specific organ in which the pain resides, and that therefore such categories of pain were useless. A heavy pain in the liver meant something completely different from a heavy pain in the head. Pain could be investigated in more than one way, for the pain resulting from humoral imbalance (*dyscrasia*) resided only in the affected part, while pain resulting from a swelling was felt both in the affected organ and in the surrounding ones. Shooting pains were equally typical of plain headaches and of one-sided ones (*hemicranea*). Galen insisted that the most important factor was the location of the affected organ, not the type of pain.

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[11] Rey, *History of Pain*, pp. 36–37. In addition to the sources quoted above in notes 5–7, see also Albert Souques, "La douleur dans les livres Hippocratiques," *Bulletin de la société française d'histoire de la medecine* 32 (1938), 1:209–309, 2:178–86, 33 (1939) pp. 37–48, 131–44.

[12] Henri de Mondeville, *Die Chirurgie Des Heinrich Von Mondeville*, ed. Julius Leopold Pagel (Berlin, 1892), pp. 176, 193.

[13] Mondeville, *Chirurgie*, p. 394.

Moreover, he insisted that, as pain was ineffable and intransmissible, the only person who could write about all the types was a properly trained physician who had felt them all personally, possessed all the qualities to analyze them and had conducted his research by thoughtful observation and without any self-pity or subjectivity. Even Galen himself had misdiagnosed his pain:

> I remember that I once had a pain as if I were pierced by a trepan deep in the abdomen (*dolorem vehementissimum, ut mihi viderer in intimo ventre terebro perforari*), particularly at the exact spot where we know that the urethras descend from the kidneys to the bladder. Shortly after [rectal] application of oil of rue and by straining hard to evacuate I excreted it under sever pain (*simul gravissimo dolore*) together with a transparent humour … I believed that a stone was impacted in one of the urethras. At least I had that impression from the piercing type of pain. But when the pain subsided after the discharge of the humour, it became evident that the cause of pain was not a stone and that neither the urethra nor the kidney was the affected part but that the pain came from the intestines, and most likely from the large bowels.

Pain, in his conclusion, was not a certain guide to diagnosis, and taxonomy was not much of a guide. The description of colic pain as a boring, penetrating sensation, claims Galen, comes also from patients: "This kind of pain appears as if it were caused by the application of a trepan, as suggested by the patients themselves. In other cases the pain feels as if one were being impaled by a sharp stick."

The one physician who had attempted to create one, Archigenes, had committed every possible mistake. The adjectives he had used to describe pain were *nomina absurda*, wrongly placed, obscure, and meaningless. What exactly, rhetorically asked the indignant Galen, did Archigenes mean by comparatives like *dulcior, imbecillior, obtusior, minus molestum*? Humours could be salty or sweet, but not pains; vision can register colours, but pain has no colour. And what was the meaning of *dolor ulcerosus*, *punctorius*, *infixus*, or *lacerans*? As far as Galen could make out, all attributions, if comprehensible at all, were diagnostically wrong. Thus, Archigenes had most carefully described liver pain as "tractorius et inherens et stupidus est, atque atrocius urgens"; which definitely did not describe liver pains. As far as Galen was concerned, he might as well have described pain as red or blue.[14]

This invective was taken up more than a millennium later in Arnau de Villanova's work. Arnau's *Doctrina Galieni* is an elaboration on Galen, and when it comes to criticizing Archigenes for his use of descriptors, Arnau was far clearer, and even more vicious, than Galen. After listing all of Archigenes' descriptions of pain (including several Galen had omitted), Arnau pithily adds:

> Even if it is useful to name things not only according to the fashion of the learned, but also as the lay name it, it still does not exempt Archigenes from having erred. Even if some patients call a certain pain furious or acute, nobody would describe himself as

[14] Claudius Galenus, *On the Affected Parts*, trans. Rudolph E. Siegel (Basel, 1976), pp. 47–48, 50–52, 64–71; *Opera omnia*, ed. C.G. Kühn (Leipzig, 1824), 8:80–2, 87–89, 121–37.

> suffering an oily or salty or viscous pain, or any other similar one. If indeed he used these names because of a poverty of words for describing types of pain, he was still guilty of inadequate usage. Assuming that pain accompanied by a greater or lesser constriction could be described metaphorically as sharp or astringent taste, nevertheless by no stretch of similarity can pain be described as sweet, for all pain afflicts rather than causes pleasure. If he called a less powerful pain sweet, it would have been better to name it weak.[15]

Arnau's expansion of Galen makes the most basic point about descriptive ploys: if they are to work in the medical field, they are not meant to excite the listener's imagination. They are meant to convey information, and Archigenes' flowery poetic flights did nothing of the sort. His problem was not poverty of vocabulary, but the opposite, an embarrassment of descriptors. His descriptors merely misled everyone, patients and physicians alike. As both Galen and Arnau had noted, Archigenes, in his haste to provide descriptors, had also confused typology with intensity. A sharp pain may be strong or weak, of long or short duration, focused or diffuse, and might also appear in specific organs of the body.[16]

Perhaps as a result of his irritation with Archigenes, Galen did produce the first coherent theoretical interpretation of pain, incidentally also describing a few types.[17] Heavy pain was related to the liver and the kidneys. Deep-seated pain (*infixus*) pertained to the ears, the eyes and the teeth. Stretching pain (*tensivus*) belongs to the skin, and lung diseases are characterized by a stabbing (*punctorius*) pain.[18] He also distinguished between *laborare* (pain that is a symptom only, as the pain in the throat and loss of voice) and *vexari*, the direct suffering of an organ.[19] All these types, however, appear piecemeal, without any coherent structure or taxonomy. Galen's only contribution to taxonomy was actually in his commentary on a Hippocratic aphorism, in which he claimed that all the numerous types of pain could be subsumed under three or four categories. Indeed, he named four categories: sharp and localized (*acutus*, *pungitivus*, *ulcerativus*), diffuse (*extensivus*), swelling

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[15] "Quod si res non solum convenit nominare secundum modum usitatum a sapientibus, set eciam modo vulgi, nondum excusatur Archigenes ab errore. Nam licet aliqui pacientes vocent aliquem dolorem rabidum vel acutum, tamen nullus conqueritur se pati dolorem acetosum aut salsum sive viscosum et consimilis. Si vero propter nominum penuriam hec nomina transumpserit ad denotandum species dolorum, adhuc erravit inconvenienter transumendo. Nam licet dolor qui est cum constriccione maiori vel minori possit per similitudinem ad saporem ponticum vel stipticum sic nominari, tamen nulla similitudine potest dolor aliquis dulcis vocari, cum omnis dolor affligat et de se non delectet. Quod si dulcem nominet dolorem, ideo quia parum affligit, tunc conveniencius debilis nominabitur." Arnau de Villanova, *Doctrina Galieni de interioribus*, ed. Richard J. Durling, *Opera medica omnia* 15 (Barcelona, 1985), p. 337.

[16] All these variables, and several more, were taken into consideration in the present-day typology built for clinical use in the McGill pain questionnaire. See Ronald Melzack, "The McGill Pain Questionnaire," in *Pain Measurement and Assessment*, ed. Ronald Melzack, (New York, 1983), pp. 41–47.

[17] Rosa María Moreno Rodríguez and Luis García-Ballester, "El dolor en la teoría y práctica médicas de Galeno," *Dynamis* 2 (1982), pp. 3–24.

[18] Galenus, *Affected Parts*, 46–47, 50–51, 57, 64; *Opera omnia*, 8:78–79, 88–89, 103, 121.

[19] Galenus, *Affected Parts*, 72; *Opera omnia*, 8:138–39.

(*inflativus*), and heavy (*gravativus*).[20] Nevertheless, Galen did not stick to his own rules: his writings are littered with loosely employed adjectives. He also occasionally used descriptions that would have done Archigenes proud, such as "[A] pain … so intense, that some, vanquished by the torture, choose death"[21]

Thus we find that late in the first century a physician tried to create a fluid, imaginative, but confusing language of pain descriptors, and that within one generation this effort produced a pithy condemnation from the greatest and last of the Hippocratic physicians of the day, who himself used adjectival descriptors in quite an haphazard manner. Though this vocabulary was originally Greek, Latin translations of Galen's works were consistently popular throughout Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, and his terminology survived into the following centuries in the West.

And yet, this is precisely the period when Roman non-medical culture was supposed to have become sensitive to pain and pain expressions. Due perhaps to the influence of Christianity,[22] Romans became increasingly voluble when speaking and writing about their pains. Bearing in mind that writing is never an unmediated outpouring of feelings, such a development would indicate something of a cultural revolution in what was or was not acceptable for expression. Writing genres were clear and uncompromisingly rigid, and physical discomfort was either something one could discuss in oratorical or epistolary writings or a forbidden theme. Thus, the fact that two Hellenistic physicians, one who had remained in his native land and one who had adopted Roman culture, came to two different conclusions as to how one ought to name pain is indicative of the difference between the rather loose Greek usage and the stricter Roman standards. Galen, writing in his native Greek, argued for strict description, but could not practice it.

There is no question, however, that in the following centuries lay descriptions of pain could be elaborately flowery. Perhaps the best-known example is that of Augustine, who only once in his entire *City of God* spoke of miraculous cures (Book 22, chap. 8).[23] Here, as part of the legitimating of Christianity, Augustine recorded twenty-one such cases.[24] The first one is the lengthiest and most detailed, and also the most dramatic – precisely because nothing happened, other than the drama imbued by the narrator's art. The story concerns the anal fistulae that afflicted a certain Carthaginian notable named Innocentius. Innocentius, it appears, had had several

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[20] *Opera omnia* 12:545–46; 17/2:335.

[21] "[D]olorem … tam vehemens, ut nonnulli cruciatu victi sibi ipsis mortem consciscant." Galenus, *De morborum causis liber*, in *Opera omnia*, 7:57.

[22] See Judith Perkins, *The Suffering Self: Pain and Narrative Representation in the Early Christian Era* (London, 1995). I am not convinced that Christianity, fairly insignificant in the first two centuries of its existence, could have wrought such a change of mentality.

[23] *Sancti Aurelii Augustini de civitate Dei libri XXII*, ed. B. Dombart ad A. Kalb (Leipzig, 1929); Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 48 (Turnhout, 1955), pp. 815–27.

[24] For a medical analysis of these cases, see Jean-Paul Rassinier, "Miracles et pathologie dans l'oeuvre de saint Augustin," *Le corps et ses énigmes au Moyen Âge*, ed. Bernard Ribémont (Caen, 1993), pp. 133–56.

of these and had undergone surgery to drain and heal the fistulae. But the surgeons had missed one of them, and he continued suffering from it. The story, however, is not about pain of fistulae but about fear of pain of surgery. As might be expected, "in that operation he had suffered long-continued and acute pain;" and when he found out he needed a second one, he first expelled the domestic physician who told him the bad news (though the physician was not responsible for the botching of the first operation). The responsible surgeons, backed by a famous local physician, said they would cure the fistula by medication, but failed to do so. When finally a second outside opinion, this time of a doctor from Alexandria, confirmed that he needed another operation, Innocentius reacted violently: "Agitated with excessive fear, he was terrified, and grew pale with dread;" an entire group of clergymen, together with Augustine and Alypius (not yet priests, but his house-guests) were "besought with pitiable tears, that they would do him the honour of being present next day at what he judged his funeral rather than his suffering. For such was the terror his former pains had produced, that he made no doubt he would die in the hands of the surgeons." When they all went to pray, "he cast himself down, as if some one were hurling him violently to the earth, and began to pray; but in what a manner, with what earnestness and emotion, with what a flood of tears, with what groans and sobs, that shook his whole body, and almost prevented him speaking, *who can describe!*" [italics mine] The next morning, when the surgeons arrived, it was discovered that the fistula was cleanly healed. It had not begun healing, but looked like an old scar.[25] In another miracle, a local physician who had long suffered from gout was tortured by black devils in his dreams in order to prevent him from getting baptized. "[T]hough they trod on his feet, and inflicted the acutest pain he had ever yet experienced, he refused to obey them … [he] was relieved in the very act of baptism, not only of the extraordinary pain he was tortured with, but also of the disease itself."[26]

Another non-medical author who bequeathed eloquent pain descriptions to posterity a century later was Gregory the Great. Perhaps as a result of his own ill-health, Gregory had written a great deal about pain. When he wrote exegesis, he did so on the book of Job (*Moralia in Job*), expatiating on Job's suffering and fortitude. When he wrote letters (and he was a compulsive correspondent), he often complained to his interlocutors about his pain. When describing visions in his *Dialogues*, he took his readers for a tour of hell, to see the writhing sinners howling in pain. Not surprisingly, Gregory's biographers also spoke extensively of his pains.[27] Let us hear Gregory describing his gout in a letter:

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[25] *De civitate Dei* 22:8, pp. 816–18. English translation *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church* 2 (Grand Rapids, MI, repr. 1979), pp. 484–86.

[26] *De civitate Dei* 22:8, p. 819.

[27] Donna C. Trembinski, *Narratives of (Non) Suffering in Dominican Legendaries: Explorations and Explanations*, (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Toronto, 2004), pp. 29–145.

> For a long time now I have not been able to get out of bed. Sometimes the pain of gout tortures me, and sometimes it runs throughout my body like fire. And often both the fire and the pain contend with each other in me, so that I am left breathless. I have no wish to add more than I have said of the illness. But briefly I shall say that the infection of noxious humours so sucks me out that it is punishment for me to live, and I look forward to death, which, I believe, is the only remedy for my sufferings.[28]

Gregory appears to try describing two different sensations, one which he terms simply *podagrae dolor* (presumably localized at the specific spot of the gout), and another, which is a diffuse, burning sensation (*se ignis expandit*). One tortures (*cruciat*), while the other moves. So distinct are the two sensations that they seem to be contending in him for dominance over his wracked body. The description is full of imagination. No diagnosis is necessary, becausee gout has already been detected. Might the diffuse burning signify another disease? Gregory does not seem to think so; at least he does not name any. He conveys the intensity of the two separate pains through his [presumably rhetorical] wish for death.

Four centuries, and a chasm even deeper than time, between doctorspeak and layspeak separate Galen from Gregory I. And yet, the Latin vocabulary had changed very little during that time. As far as western medicine was concerned, pain terminology changed little until the early influx of Arabic medicine in the eleventh century. The arrival of Arab science through the writing of Constantine the African (d. 1087) did provide a simple typology of pain.[29] Mindful of Galen's formidable shadow, Constantine attempted to fit his categories into a correlation of pains with humours, and kept his typology four-fold. He was very likely relying, as he did in all of his work, upon an Arab tradition,[30] and his four categories were neither Galen's nor the ones subsequently followed by western academic physicians. His starting point, as that of almost all medieval physicians, was that pain resulted from a sudden change. The change, consequently, was inevitably a humoral alteration. Thus, his first two categories, *gravis* and *tensivus*, are both the result of a plethora of cold humours and a thinning of the blood, probably black bile and phlegm. *Calefactivus* and *dolorosus* were the opposite, the result of too much acute, fiery humours, choler and blood. The hot and dry humours generated a great motion of fluids, resulting in heat and pain, and sometimes in fever. If the humours boiled and

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[28] "Multum enim iam tempus est, quod surgere de lecto non ualeo. Nam modo podagrae dolor cruciat, modo nescio quis in toto corpore cum dolore se ignis expandit. Et fit plerumque ut uno in me tempore ardor cum dolore confligat et corpus in me animus que deficiat. Quantis autem aliis necessitatibus extra haec quae retuli infirmitatis afficiar, enumerare non ualeo. Sed breuiter dico quia sic me infectio noxii humoris inbibit, ut uiuere mihi poena sit, sed mortem desideranter exspectem, quam gemitibus meis solam esse credo posse remedium." Gregorius Magnus, *Registrum epistolarum*, ed. Dag Norberg, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 140 (Turnhout, 1982), bk. 11, letter 20, pp. 889–90; see also letter 8:29, p. 550 and 11:26, p. 898.

[29] Constantinus Africanus, *Opera* (Basel, 1539), book 7, chapter 14, "De labore et dolore."

[30] Gotthard Strohmaier, "Constantine's Pseudo-Classical Terminology and Its Survival," in *Constantine the African and ʿAli ibn al-ʿAbbas al-Maĝūsī: The "Pantegni" and Related Texts*, ed. Charles Burnett and Danielle Jacquart, *Studies in Ancient Medicine* 10 (Leiden, 1994), pp. 90–98.

did not putrefy, it was merely *dolorosus*, not *calefactivus*, and manifested itself as acute pain in the entire surface, as in the pain of a wound.[31]

Constantine lived in Monte Cassino, and his work was closely tied to the nearby school of Salerno, the dominant centre of pre-scholastic medical learning. It is thus logical to find the same attempt at correlation in the Salernitan school, in the late twelfth-century work of Maurus of Salerno. Maurus counted six types of pain, four of them directly connected to the four humours: *infixivus*, *pungitivus*, *aggravativus*, *extensivus*, *deambulativus*, *congelativus*. The first four resulted from specific humours, respectively blood, choler, phlegm, and melancholy, while the latter two were the results of ventosity and cold.[32] Presumably, the addition of the latter two categories was the result of clinical observation, which did not necessarily fit in with theoretical humoral frameworks. Salernitan masters prided themselves on being practicing physicians as well as academics, and the result was a compound list that might not have made much philosophical sense, but that did fit practical experience.[33]

The big change came with the Latin translations of the writings of Abu Ali al-Husain ibn Abdallah ibn Sina (Avicenna, 980–1037). Avicenna, both philosopher and physician, built a different scheme of pain, with full theoretical explanations and interpretations. The Latin translation of the *Canon* became a classic of western universities during the thirteenth century. Before the arrival of Arab medicine, western medicine had confined itself to attempting pain relief without inquiring too far into causes, effects and nature of pain. Further developments only came when Gerard of Cremona's (1114–87) translation of Avicenna's *Canon* reached Latin readers in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

Perhaps due to the intrinsic difference between Arabic and Latin, which inevitably affected analyses of sensations that had names, Avicenna distinguished no less than fifteen types of pain. Though familiar with Galen's legacy, he chose to completely disregard it in the matter of pain typology. He did adopt Galen's dicta concerning the causes of pain, but not the types. However the typology worked in Arabic, in Latin it looks as though Gerard of Cremona had plumbed the depths of his synonym thesaurus, having had great trouble transposing pain categories from Arabic to Latin and floundering in unclear terminology: "*Pruritivus, asperativus, pungitivus, compressivus, extensivus, concussivus, frangitivus, laxativus, perforativus, acualis,*

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[31] Constantine the African, "De morborum cognitione et curatione", in *Opera* (Basel, 1539), book 7, chapter 14, "De labore et dolore."

[32] Maurus Salernitanus, "In Hippocratis aphorismos commentarium," in *Collectio Salernitana*, ed. Salvatore de Renzi (Naples, 1856), 4:539–40. On Maurus of Salerno, see Morris H. Saffron, "Maurus of Salerno: Twelfth-Century 'Optimus Physicus' with his Commentary on the Prognostics of Hippocrates," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s. 62 (1972), pp. 5–104.

[33] Danielle Jacquart, "'Theorica' et 'practica' dans l'enseignement de la médecine à Salerno au XII siècle," in *La science médicale occidentale entre deux renaissances (XII s.–XV s.)* (Aldershot, 1997), 7:102–10.

stupefactivus, pulsativus, gravativus, fatigativus, mordicativus."[34] After listing these categories, Avicenna went on to explain each one's meaning, though the explanations were often as obscure as his definitions.[35]

It is possible to risk translating some of these terms, assuming that a throbbing or spreading pain is the same now as it was in the first century, or in the eleventh. But it is doubtful whether we can achieve a precise rendering that would explain a diagnosis based upon such translations. One might well argue that the incomprehension is ours, stemming from distance in time and one linguistic transition too many, but Galen had faced the same problem within the Hellenistic Greek tradition, across the few decades of usage since Archigenes, and had ended up rejecting the entire method. Many terms, after all, lose or change their meaning with time, translation and transmission.[36] The usages of late Medieval Latin physicians indicate that one linguistic transition – from Arabic to Latin – was already one too many. Obscure eastern herbs and drugs, simply transliterated into total gibberish by Gerard's pen, were the least of it. Pharmacists could argue that herbs with impossible names simply did not exist in the West, but pain could not be declared an elusive Arab import. It was there, and needed comprehensible names. Clearly, medieval physicians found the full list puzzling at best or meaningless at worst. Of the fifteen, I have found only five in constant use by medieval physicians and surgeons, either in textbooks or in *consilia*: *extensivus*, *gravativus*, *mordicativus*, *pruritivus*, and *pungitivus*, categories that obviously meant something to Latin writers. Avicenna's list was overcrowded with categories rendered obscure by translation, but at the same time, it was also inadequate, for western authors who discarded the Arab descriptors came up with other terms: *inflativus*, *congelativus*, *calefactivus*, *corrosivus*, *infixivus*, and several more. Though Avicenna's influence upon theories of pain was considerable, Arnau de Villanova was later to accuse him of doing nothing but confusing Latin physicians.[37]

Coming finally to late medieval medical writings, there are some clear differences between the learned surgeon tradition and the purely medical one. But far more obvious is the difference in genre: *consilia* are far more eloquent than textbooks. Though it is doubtful that medical *consilia* were genuinely addressed to patients (most were meant for a medical readership),[38] they were meant to sound like advice to the afflicted, and therefore took more notice of pain than academic textbooks did. The same authors who stuck to a rigid list of terms in their properly academic writing

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[34] Avicenna, *Canon*, English trans., pp. 249–51. For general complaints about Gerard's translations, see Roger French, *Canonical Medicine: Gentile da Foligno and Scholasticism* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 186–93.

[35] For example, Avicenna, *Canon*, bk. 1, fen 2, doct. 3, chap. 11, fol. 43v; bk. 3, fen 1, tract. 2, fols. 173r–180r.

[36] For the loss of meanings during translation in pharmacological medieval work, see John M. Riddle, "Theory and Practice in Medieval Medicine," *Viator* 5 (1974), pp. 179–83.

[37] Arnau, *Tractatus*: "maiorem partem medicorum latinorum infatuat" (219).

[38] Nancy G. Siraisi, *Taddeo Alderotti and His Pupils: Two Generations of Italian Medical Learning* (Princeton, 1981), pp. 270–73.

felt free to recur to the language of lay people: pain could be *fortissimus*, *vehemens* (perhaps the most common descriptor), *intensus*, *intolerabilis* or *inordinatus*, all of which denoted the intensity, rather than the nature of the pain; it could be *continuus*, indicating a constant sensation, or *nocivus*, indicating its effects. It could burn (especially when those suffering from stones in their bladder passed urine), bother, infest or torture. All of these terms, which had no technical meaning, were interlaced with the standard terminology in *consilia*.[39] Clearly, medical and lay vocabulary were different, even in Latin.

But the so-called technical vocabulary was no more stable. Bernard de Gordon (c. 1260–c. 1318), who taught at Montpellier, was dismissive of the Avicennian vocabulary:

> There are many types of pain according to Avicenna and, according to Galen, they can be reduced to three or four, as he says in the [commentary on the Hippocratic] aphorism *spontaneous labours generate illnesses* and in his book *Regimen of health*, that there is a pain called sharp (*acutus*), stabbing (*pungitivus*), ulcerative pain; there is another [called] *extensivus* pain; another is *inflativus* and another *gravativus* or aposthemous. If there are other kinds, they can be reduced to these.[40]

In Bologna, Bartolomeo da Varignana, Bernard's almost exact contemporary (c. 1260–1318) cited three main categories: *congelativus*, *pulsativus*, *aggravativus*; in addition, he also mentioned *perforativus*, *corrosivus*, *pungitivus*, and *mordicativus*.[41] Like Bernard, Bartolomeo was an academic physician, a scholastic university professor, but his categories were different. Obviously owing nothing to Galen, they are faintly reminiscent of Maurus's division; these are the only two to specify *congelativus* pain as a category. All of the other descriptors were already

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[39] The terms were culled from the following list of *consilia*: *Consilia magistri Bartolomei Montagnane ... Consilia domini Antonij Cermisoni* (Venice, 1525), fols. 52vo, 54ro, 94ro; *Consilia magistri Bartolomei Montagnane*, Rome, BAV MS. Lat. 2471, 157vo–175ro, 209vo–211ro; Mondino dei Liuzzi, "Pratica de accidentibus secundum magistrum Mundinum," ed. Giuseppe Caturegli, *Scientia veterum: collana di studi di storia della medicina* 107 (Pisa, 1967), 24; Arnau de Villanova, *Arnaldi Villanovani philosophi et medici summi Opera Omnia* (Basel, 1585), 1504; Ugo Benzi, *Consilia medica* (Venice, 1523), fols. 10ro, 63ro; Giovanni da Imola, *Praestantissimi medici et philosophi clarissimi D. Ioannis Bauerij de Imola. Consiliorum de re medica sive morborum curationibus liber* (Strasbourg, 1542), 20ro, 67vo, 135ro.

[40] Bernard de Gordon, *Lilio*, 1:186: "Et iterum species doloris multae sunt secundum Avicennam; sed secundum Galenum omnem possunt reduci ad 3 aut 4 …" Galen super aphorismum 5um, 2ae partis, 'labores spontanei etc.' This arbitrary citation of Galen's commentary to the Hippocratic Aphorisms is misleading. Galen's writings are littered with descriptions of pain, but he does not consider them accurate descriptors, merely adjectives. For medieval writers, he was simply the authority opposite to Avicenna, and, having found a useful quote, they held on to it. Avicenna was not well accepted in Montpellier, where Bernard taught, and his work did not become obligatory reading until 1340; see Danielle Jacquart, "La reception du Canon d'Avicenne: Comparaison entre Montpellier et Paris aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles," in *Histoire de l'école médicale de Montpellier* (Paris, 1985), pp. 69–77.

[41] Cited in Nancy G. Siraisi, *Taddeo Alderotti and His Pupils: Two Generations of Italian Medical Learning* (Princeton, 1981), p. 223.

in Avicenna's work, barring *corrosivus*, which Varignana was the only physician to mention.

What stands out in these attempts is the refusal to follow blindly in past traditions, be they classical or Arab, and an insistence on trying to form a coherent, serviceable vocabulary. Furthermore, like his contemporary in Montpellier and like any well-trained scholastic, Bartolomeo formed his knowledge into a hierarchy of main categories, resorting to other descriptors only as mere phenomena, not types. This sort of flexibility allowed one to use many names without assuming that they were "real" categories.

Bernard de Gordon's four-fold scheme had several other advantages beyond its simplicity and clarity. First, two of his four categories are explicitly connected with specific ills: ulcers and aposthemes. A categorization that linked symptoms directly with specific syndromes (*pace* Galen's warnings) was far more useful than a long vague list. Second, it created a hierarchy of categories and subcategories of pain, also useful for diagnostic purposes. This was what Avicenna had failed to do. A coherent hierarchy of perception, attributing a descending scale of importance to different sensations, was the most useful tool practitioners could have. Mondeville had reached for such a scheme when he classified pain as either tolerable or intolerable, but he did not build the entire framework.[42]

In a conceptual world that saw four as the constitutive number of seasons, compass points, elements, and corporeal humours,[43] a fourfold division of pains made sense. Though after Constantine and Maurus the attempt to equate specific pains with corresponding humours was rare, such a division linked sensations, pain especially, with the entire framework of the body and the universe. It broke down neatly into two opposites: just as there were dryness and humidity, north and south, so the categories of pain concerned place: acute [localized] as opposed to extensive [diffuse], and extension: inflative [swelling] as opposed to gravative [heavy].

One can see how this division worked in descriptions of pain in *consilia*. It was either *gravativus et extensivus* or *pungitivus et mordicativus*.[44] It could also be only a single descriptor, but never both gravative and inflative, for example, for they were opposites in the same category, and such a description was an oxymoron. Thus, Avicenna's cumbersome list had shrunk to two main categories, one denoting the localization of pain and the other its nature. Each category comprised the two opposite manifestations, localized or diffuse, swelling or concentrating. This was

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[42] Mondeville, *Chirurgie*, 176, 193.

[43] Danielle Jacquart and Claude Thomasset, *Sexualité et savoir médical au moyen âge* (Paris, 1985), p. 68.

[44] I am not sure what the antonyms of the last two descriptors are; all of them were written by Bartolomeo Montagnana, *Consilia magistri bartolomei montagnane* (Venice, 1525), cons. 20, fol. 56r-v, cons. 57, fol. 101r, cons. 129, fol. 199r; *Consilia magistri Bartolomei Montagnane*, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. Lat. 2471; Cristoforo Barzizza, *Introductorium practicae medicinae* (Pavia, 1494), fol. 141v: "dolor pungitivus vel mordicativus vel ulcerativus"; 156v: "dolor extensivus cum gravitate."

a systematic hierarchy, which made sense of pain while mirroring other universal and anatomical schemes.

Thus both southern French and northern Italian schools of medicine simplified the vocabulary of pain through a hierarchy of primary and secondary descriptors, and the system worked. Bernard did imply that there were other descriptors too, but that they could be subsumed into four main headings and were of no ontological value. Moreover, he did not consider those subcategories worth listing in detail. Possibly he thought they were no more than unimportant, imprecise synonyms for the same phenomena rather than meaningful classifications. Henri de Mondeville, surgeon rather than academic, used those descriptors freely and profusely: *tolerabilis*, *intolerabilis*, *fortis*, *ventosus*, *furiosus*, *inflammativus*, *ponderosus*, *deambulativus*, *intercutaneus*, and so forth, in each case as needed. He could describe a certain type of pain as "a pain that comes from the blood, piercing, tolerable, non-inflammative," which phlebotomy could cure. In contrast, a paralyzing, intercutaneous, stabbing and itching pain came from an excess of bile.[45] Pain could be a burning sensation, "so that it seems to him that occasionally a flame passes through his shoulders."[46] Here one sees the surgeon's more clinically centred attitude. His descriptions (rather than categories) were far more diverse and fluid than those of Bernard de Gordon, aiming not so much at a taxonomical hierarchy, but at practical, accurate description.

All these terms were part of a fairly flexible vocabulary, based on four general types, but often including several others. There was no clear-cut methodological taxonomy, but the repetition of certain terms does indicate that they were inculcated as technical, professional terms rather than plain descriptors, such as vehement or strong pain. Furthermore, the general need to list types of pain, despite Galen's furious objections, does indicate that the idea of pain description was indeed prevalent.

The vocabulary, however, was in Latin, while the contacts between physicians and patients were conducted in vernacular. Was there a parallel vocabulary for daily clinical use? A glance at the Middle English work of surgeon John Arderne (fl. c. 1370) shows a total lack of any kind of pain vocabulary. All he uses is synonyms: "ake," "anguysch," and "suffre."[47] Since Middle English is hardly devoid of pain descriptors, both Latinate and Anglo-Saxon, one can only attribute this sparse language to Arderne himself. By contrast, the vernacular translations of Henri de Mondeville rendered his neutral "corrosion" of cancer in far more imaginative language: "The torment of a gnawing tumour was underscored in the vernacular translations, which preferred "*ronger*," "*fretting*," or "*fressen*" over the Latinate

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[45] "dolor a sanguine fixivus tolerabilis non inflammativus," "dolor ex colera est deambulativus, intercutaneus, pungitivus, pruritum faciens." Mondeville, *Chirurgie*, p. 396.

[46] "dolor inflammativus, ita quod sibi videtur quod per spatulas suas flamma ignis transeat aliquando." *Ibid*., 395. Cf. Bernard de Gordon, *Lilio*, 1:187.

[47] John Arderne, *Treatises of Fistula in Ano, Haemorrhoids and Clysters*, trans. D'Aracy Power, *Early English Text Society* (London, 1910), pp. 100–101.

"corrosion."[48] Chiara Crisciani, researching the work of Michele Savonarola (1385–1462), has shown that vernacular Italian versions of medical and surgical texts could be far richer in metaphors and imaginative language of pain than the tradition-bound Latin ones.[49]

Michele Savonarola, in a vernacular treatise, spoke of gout victims who cannot walk or sleep, lose the taste for food, constantly vomit, need medication, can neither drink nor have sex, and are constantly feverish – all because of their pain.[50] Savonarola knew his Galenic and Avicennian definitions, but chose another set of seven pains: *extendente*, *comprimente*, *frangente*, *stupido*, *pulsante*, *fatigante*, *mordicante*.[51] They appear in various types of gout, all according to the humoral complexion of the patient: the sanguine will suffer extended pain, the choleric acute mordicative pain. Because the author was dealing with a specific illness, he could concentrate upon each type of pain with a detailed description.

Instead of writing for his patron a standard treatise on gout (it is dedicated to Savonarola's patron, Niccolo d'Este, marquis of Ferrara), Savonarola used an anthropomorphic ploy, a dialogue between *Gotta* and *Medicina*. Gout, daughter of Messer Lamentable (*Rincrescieuile*) and sister of Spider (*Ragnolo*) and Rat (*Topo*), is a magnificent queen and ruler. She has come a long way from her humble beginnings. Being a daughter, she says, she inherited from her father the countryside, but found the peasants much too active and healthy to develop Gout. Her brothers had fared no better: the spider found his webs in wealthy houses cleaned twice a day, and the rat could not reach the food for fear of cats and traps.[52] When the three met again, bewailing their various fates, gout suggested they change places, so that she got all of the sedentary people, "the great masters, popes, cardinals, lords, knights, gentlemen, etc." The dialogue develops, Medicine giving learned speeches about the reasons for gout and pain, with declarations concerning the nature and types of pain, quoting all the standard wisdom on the subject.[53] Not to be outdone, Gout, *Madonna Gotta*, has a band of soldiers under her command, and Medicine has an army too, and intends to fight her. Gout considers herself a ruler, has a court

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[48] Luke Demaitre, "Medieval Notions of Cancer: Malignancy and Metaphor," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 72 (1998): 609–37, at p. 624.

[49] Chiara Crisciani, "Histories, Stories, Exempla, and Anecdotes: Michele Savonarola from Latin to Vernacular," in *Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Gianna Pomata and Nancy Siraisi, forthcoming. I am grateful to Gianna Pomata for drawing my attention to this work, and to Chiara Crisciani for allowing me to quote her unpublished work and introducing me to Savonarola's vernacular treatise. See also Eadem, "Michele Savonarola, tra università e corte, tra Latino e volgare," in *Filosofia in volgare nel medioevo*, ed. Nadia Bray and Loris Sturlese (Louvain-la-Neuve, 2003), pp. 433–49.

[50] Michele Savonarola, *De gotta la preservatione e cura* (Pavia, 1505).

[51] Savonarola, *Gotta*, canto 1.

[52] The motif of the spider and the Gout who each complains of his habitation goes back to Petrarch's letters. See Francesco Petrarca, *Le familiari*, ed. and trans. Ugo Dotti, (Rome, 1994), 3:72–77.

[53] "… il dolor non sia altro che uno affannoso et alla natura molesto sentire; … siche il soluere di continuo o vero mala complexion como dicono philosophi et medici dello dolore sono cagion factiua." Savonarola, *Gotta*, canto 1.

and ambassadors who warn the noblemen of her imminent arrival, and faithful chamberlains – the seven types of pain – and a lady-in-waiting, fever. The lords who suffer from gout can tell the pains apart, for they all wear their lady's livery. Her magnificent captain is coitus, and his squad commanders are all the things that cause gout – bad air, too much food or drink, sleep in the middle of the day. Her words are law and she enacts statutes. Those who transgress her prohibitions are punished with pain. She discusses at length, for the benefit of her *brigata*, the lifestyle necessary to ease the pains of illness; this, so that her army would know whom not to attack.

Savonarola's entire tractate is written as a parody of court life. It is also a *consilium* for the marquis, who suffered from gout. Not surprisingly, it contains far more metaphoric language than any impersonal text. The very same Savonarola, still writing in vernacular (although his Latin production was prodigious), produced a tractate of gynaecology with remarkably simple language. One of the few to refer directly to childbirth labour and to speak of it extensively, he limits himself to one term only, "*dolori*," and with obvious reason. In a childbirth situation, types of pain are unnecessary. This is not a lack of sympathy, or of real gynaecological experience. "At such a time, with such pains and changes, you must be governed like a gravely ill woman."[54] Savonarola goes on to say that the physician's (or midwife's) actions should be guided, among other things, by the strength or weakness of the pains. The pain might complicate the delivery, for women insist on walking around during contractions, "not wishing to suffer the pains." Had they stood still, the pains – and the contractions – would have been stronger, and the delivery shorter. When the parturient woman felt her pains in front, and descending near the pubis, then she would know that delivery was near. The physician's most startling piece of advice to the woman is to scream loudly, even if her pains are not yet severe, so that all present, her husband included, will take pity on her.[55]

The lack of an obligatory linguistic tradition, then, could work both ways. To an imaginative, articulate, and expressive writer like Savonarola, it could be an inspiration to enliven his writing beyond what the learned tradition allowed. But to an inarticulate surgeon like Arderne the freedom from traditional descriptors meant doing without any at all. Pain was pain. Arderne could employ the occasional synonym, but nothing else. The difference lies also between the physician and the surgeon: the latter was not expected to diagnose illnesses, but only to treat them through prescribed surgery, and therefore had no need to interpret pain, only to deal with the pain of surgery by whatever means he could.

The richness of the vernacular vocabulary probably has more to do with its intended audience, which was partly lay, than with the linguistic transition. Witness to this can be found in those Latin texts that were used as basis for vernacular

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[54] Michele Savonarola, *Ad mulieres Ferrarienses de regimine pregnantium et noviter natorum usque ad septennium*; published as *Il trattato ginecologico-pediatrico in volgare di Michele Savonarola*, ed. Luigi Belloni (Milano, 1952), p. 109.

[55] Savonarola, *Ad mulieres Ferrarienses*, pp. 111–12, 116, 121.

sermons: legendaries and saints' lives. Though Latin, these texts contain a far richer vocabulary than medical texts. The passions of saints called into existence descriptions of pain in all linguistic forms. Pain was not only *dolor*, it was *tormentum* and *cruciatus* (both borrowed from the world of judicial practice), it could be exquisite (*exquisita tormenta*), it could afflict (*affligere*), invade, molest, and so forth.[56] Whatever Virginia Woolf lacked in English was definitely not lacking in medieval Latin religious literature. If physicians did not use this vocabulary, it was largely for the same reasons as Galen had set forth. It did not serve their purpose. Hyperbole was not what physicians required, and comparing medical to lay speech, or deducing the poverty of language from medical terminology, is not possible.

The one area of lay writing that could indicate social as well as medical mores is of the type I have surveyed in late antique writing: that is, people who deliberately set out to describe pain. I must stress that, unlike antique and modern literary conventions, this area does not necessarily include correspondence. A case in point is the final illness and death of Bianca Maria Visconti (d. 1468), duchess of Milan and widow of Francesco Sforza. Her final illness began in May, and, during the entire period until her death in October, she and her physicians actively corresponded with her son, Galeazzo Maria Sforza, and with several other friends, reporting on her illness in great detail.[57] Bianca Maria herself never used the word "dolore" in her correspondence. Her physicians did mention occasionally that she suffered "moderate" or "a little" pain. Six days before her death, her physician Ambrogio Griffi notified the duke of his mother's deterioration, insisting that her pain (hitherto almost unmentioned) had eased. Three days before her death, in a report on her health, it is mentioned that she was "not without some pain." In the whole correspondence, her physician Benedetto Riguardati only once used the word "torture." He was referring not to his patient, but to the frustration of her doctors (*Sed id quod maxime torquentur animi medicorum*).[58] These words were written five days before the duchess's death. No matter how careful the therapeutic treatment, physicians spent little attention upon sensation and symptoms.[59]

This epistolary convention was clearly prevalent among the higher circles of Italian writers. Indeed Petrarch, probably the founding father of the new style of letter-writing, had already avoided discussions of personal pain in his rich correspondence. The one genre in which one finds exorbitant, albeit vague, descriptions of pain is religious literature. Without a suffering God, it seems, language faltered, just as Virginia Woolf had insisted.

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[56] See Trembinski, *Narratives*, pp. 61–65; 80, 136–37.

[57] Marilyn Nicoud, "Expérience de la maladie et échange épistolaire: Les derniers moments de Bianca Maria Visconti (Mai-Octobre 1468)," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, moyen âge*, 112 (2000), pp. 311–458.

[58] Nicoud, "Maladie et échange épistolaire," pp. 337, 393–94, 438, 440, 446.

[59] Cf. Michael R. McVaugh, and Luis García-Ballester, "Therapeutic Method in the Later Middle Ages: Arnau De Vilanova on Medical Contingency," *Caduceus* 11 (1995), 73–86.

Given the paucity of description and descriptors, one would have expected the limited but existent medical vocabulary to filter down into lay circles. That it did not, is evidence of the distance between lay and professional circles. Pain description had become, during the Middle Ages, almost a matter of professional discourse alone. It was due to return to lay writing only in the sixteenth century. Until then, even Avicenna's fifteen descriptors were too much. A narrow, rigidly delimited vocabulary was the tool physicians wanted when speaking amongst themselves, and this stance imbued medical attitudes in general.

Did All the Land Belong to the King?

Susan Reynolds

Whatever the differences in their understanding of feudalism in its non-Marxist sense, most medieval historians agree that fiefs, as the characteristic form of feudal property, enjoyed less than what are now considered full rights of property. Definitions of fiefs generally say that they were originally granted by kings or lords, with the grantor reserving rights in them so that property in them was divided between him and the fiefholder. Although property rights in most societies, including our own, are often in practice divided, there is held to be something so peculiar about their division in feudal society that the very words "property" and "owner" are often rejected. "Tenure" and "tenant" are considered more appropriate.[1] In what is called "feudal theory," all property would be held as fiefs directly or indirectly under the king. From this viewpoint, England after the Norman Conquest was a completely feudalized kingdom.

Anglophone historians talk of feudal society as forming a pyramid, hierarchy, ladder, or chain of tenure, with the king at the apex. Some textbooks and encyclopedias, along with occasional works of scholarship, say or imply that, because all who held land under any feudal king were merely his tenants, all the land really belonged to him.[2] Historians of countries where some non-feudal (allodial) property survived do not go quite so far, but fiefs there are still seen as originating in grants by lords who retained rights in them that count as more than rights of government, so that property at each layer of the resulting hierarchy might be seen as at least slightly incomplete.[3] French historians, however, perhaps because of the traditional association of feudalism with a weak monarchy, have tended to concentrate on relations lower down the hierarchy, so that land is more likely to be seen as "really" belonging to nobles than to the king.

My contention is that both these ways of thinking about feudal property are based on post-medieval models of feudalism rather than on medieval sources. Medieval law did not, even in England, derive property rights in general from grants by kings, let alone suggest that kings owned all the land in their kingdoms in such a way as

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[1] For example, Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, trans. L.A. Manyon (London,1965), p. 115; H.J. Berman, *Law and Revolution* (Cambridge, MA, 1983), p. 312; both quoted and discussed in Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford, 1994), p. 51.

[2] For example, Joseph Strayer, "Feudalism," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. J. Strayer, 5 (New York, 1985), p. 55; *Columbia Encyclopedia*, ed. Paul Lagassé, 6th ed. (New York, 1993), p. 980; *Oxford Children's Encyclopedia* (Oxford, 1991), 2:172; D. Luscombe, "The Formation of Political Thought in the West," in *Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought*, ed. J.H. Burns (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 157–73, at pp. 160–61; R.C. Van Caenegem, "Government, Law and Society," ibid., pp. 211–51, at pp. 160–61, 200, 205–6; R.H.C. Davis, "What Happened in Stephen's Reign," *History* 49 (1964), pp. 1–12, here p. 6.

[3] For example, Bloch, *Feudal Society*, p. 383; F.L. Ganshof, *Feudalism*, trans. P. Grierson, 3rd ed. (London, 1964), p. 165; Jacques Le Goff, *La civilisation médiévale* (Paris, 1977), pp. 124–25, 594.

to reduce the rights of their subjects in their own lands. Belonging means different things in different contexts.[4] Kingdoms, after all, belonged not only to their kings but to their peoples. In neither case was the belonging supposed to be a property right that overrode that of individuals. All we know of disputes about property, and of the condemnation of some royal seizures of it as unjust, shows that it did not. Academic lawyers debated whether everything (not just land) in the empire belonged to the emperor or everything in a kingdom to its king, but this was in every sense an academic argument, which derived, not from the kind of superior property right that historians call feudal, but from the reading of Roman law texts. The dominant view among academic lawyers came to be that a king merely had jurisdiction and rule over his kingdom and could take his subjects' property only in case of emergency and for the common good.[5] That seems to have been what was accepted outside academic discussion, while the right, to take an individual's land for the common good, with compensation, was exercised in practice by local communities as well as rulers.

I concentrate in this brief survey on the way that ideas of what historians call feudal property developed and diverged in France and England, not because I see France as representing the whole of continental Europe, or even western Europe, with England as an exception, but because models of the non-Marxist variety of feudalism as it has developed since the seventeenth century seem to have been based on a combination of the ideas about these two countries. Historians of other countries seem, so far as I can see, to have used and adapted the combination without affecting the basic model.

I have argued elsewhere that evidence from before the twelfth century suggests that rights and obligations then attached to land in France did not generally conform to the feudal pattern. Nobles and free men did not generally owe military service because of the grant – or even the supposed grant – to them or their ancestors of anything like fiefs. Their lands were not generally called fiefs and were held with as full, permanent, and independent rights as their society knew. When from the twelfth century their lands came to be called fiefs it was for most a change of name rather than of substance. Their land still seemed to carry the same rights. Where obligations increased, it was not because of any theory about fiefholding, but because government was becoming more systematic, demanding, and bureaucratic. When rulers took dues and services from land or confiscated it by way of punishment, that was less the manifestation of a superior right of property than of governmental power used in a way that made sense in an agricultural society where land was the basis of power and wealth – a society of Marxist feudalism, perhaps, as distinct from one with a feudal pyramid of tenure.[6]

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[4] For example, Lucy Mair, *Introduction to Social Anthropology* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 138–39.

[5] Kenneth Pennington, *The Prince and the Law* (Berkeley, 1993), pp. 15–30, 113–15; Jean Dunbabin, "Government," in *Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought*, pp. 477–519, at pp. 490, 513.

[6] Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, passim.

When the authority of French kings increased in the thirteenth century, the entrenchment of custom prevented them from seigniorial jurisdictions that had acquired legitimacy through long custom. What they could do, and did, was to use their lawyers and bureaucrats to bring local jurisdictions under supervision through a hierarchy of courts with their own court at the top. This hierarchy of jurisdiction had fewer layers than models of the feudal pyramid suggest, for although jurisdictions were attached to the noble properties that came to be called fiefs, many of them had very little. Most transfers of property, whether called fiefs or not, were not made by what historians call subinfeudation, but put the new owner under the jurisdiction of the grantor's lord, rather than the grantor. They did not therefore affect the pattern of more significant jurisdictions which, despite much dispute about their boundaries and content, seems not to have changed much until the Revolution.

Although later historians, who assumed that feudalism conflated jurisdiction with property, would interpret the hierarchy of jurisdiction as also a hierarchy of property, Beaumanoir in the thirteenth century does not seem to have been fussed about any confusion of property and jurisdiction, while John of Paris in 1302 took the difference between them as a given at one stage of his argument.[7] It only became a problem when professional lawyers began to argue hard cases about their clients' rights and academic lawyers tried to work out rules. Practising lawyers improved their procedures and skills of argument from the bits of Roman law they learnt from academics, and from the equally academic law of fiefs that went with it. The mid-fourteenth-century Grand Coutumier de France makes the distinction between the dominium directum of a lord and the dominium utile of his vassal that academics had devised and worked on since the twelfth-century.[8] Neither this nor the further divisions that Bartolus, Baldus, and others proposed, however, related clearly to actual variations in parcels of rights and obligations in contemporary property or to lawyers' arguments about high, middle, and low jurisdiction.[9] It was, moreover, only in the fifteenth century that any of the scholars extended this particular analysis of different kinds of dominium to distinguish the dominium altum, superior, or eminens of the ruler.[10] When French lawyers took up the first, two-fold division it

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[7] Philippe de Remi, Sire de Beaumanoir, *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, ed. A. Salmon (Paris, 1900), fol. 295, 1641; cf. commentary by G. Hubrecht in vol. 3 (Paris, 1974), pp. 46–7; John (Quidort) of Paris, *Über königliche und päpstliche Gewalt* c. 8, ed. F. Bleienstein (Stuttgart, 1969), p. 98.

[8] [Jacques d'Ableiges], *Le Grand Coutumier de France*, ed. F. Laboulaye and R. Dareste (Paris, 1868), p. 234, distinguishing *la seigneurie directe* from *la prouffitable*; Robert Feenstra, "Der Eigentumsbegriff bei Hugo Grotius im Licht einiger mittelalterliche und spätscholastischer Quellen," in *Festschrift für F. Wieacker*, ed. O. Behrend and others (Göttingen, 1978), pp. 211–34; idem, "*Dominium* and *ius in re aliena*: the origins if a civil law distinction," in *New Pespectives in the Roman Law of Property*, ed. Peter Birks (Oxford, 1989), pp. 111–22; idem, "*Dominium utile est chimaera*: nouvelles réflexions sur le concept de propriété dans le droit savant," *Revue d'histoire du droit* 66 (1998), 381–97.

[9] Bernard Guenée, *Tribunaux et gens de justice dans le bailliage de Senlis à la fin du moyen âge* (Paris: Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg fascicule 144, 1963), pp. 93–9.

[10] R. Summenhart, cited by Feenstra (1978), pp. 217–18; Francisco de Vitoria, cited ibid. p. 219.

did not, therefore, immediately promote the idea of a pyramid of property rights with the king at the top.

The way the idea of a hierarchy of rights developed in France needs much more work both on the academic treatises and the records of practice. In the meantime, I suggest that the construction of a conceptual feudal pyramid did not really begin until French academic lawyers in the sixteenth century tried to make historical sense of the account of the origin of fiefs in the twelfth-century Lombard Libri Feudorum, on which the academic law of fiefs was based. This meant envisaging all fiefs as originally granted from above, which had made better sense for the properties known as benefices or fiefs in twelfth-century Lombardy than it did for the noble fiefs of late medieval and early modern France. As the discussion developed we can see that, though it used the vocabulary and categories of the law of fiefs, it was concerned less with the origin of fiefs than with sixteenth-century French politics and the power of the monarchy.[11] French writers now attributed to the king the dominium directum of all fiefs in the kingdom. Charles Du Moulin, whose work came to be much respected, maintained that, despite the existence of allods, the greater part of the lands of the kingdom was known to be de dominio directo regis, and held of him mediate vel immediate. The king was nevertheless universal lord, not as dominus seu proprietarius of his kingdom, but as its administrator, in respect of jurisdiction and for the protection of property.[12] Fidelity was owed to him much more as king than as supreme feudal lord: royal jurisdiction was something special and different from feudal jurisdiction, for all subjects were clients and men of the king more than of anyone else, even their own lords.[13] Jean Bodin distinguished between seignorial monarchies, in which the prince became lord of his subjects and took their property by force of arms, and royal or legitimate monarchies, where he retained only la seigneurie directe, allowing his subjects their full property rights and governing them justly according to the law of nature. Most of Europe – Bodin reckoned – now enjoyed government by royal monarchy: in England, although William the Conqueror had taken the country by force and seized all property, he had contented himself with la seigneurie directe.[14]

During the seventeenth century, the king's directe was used to support higher claims, culminating in Louis XIV's statement that kings had the full and free disposition of their subjects' goods for the good of the state.[15] Although this suggests

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[11] William F. Church, *Constitutional Thought in Sixteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, Mass.); David Parker, "Absolutism, feudalism and property rights in the France of Louis XIV," *Past & Present* 179 (2003), 60–96.

[12] Charles Du Moulin, *Prima pars commentariorum in consuetudines parisienses* I *De Feudis* 1.5.49; 3.4.8; 3.4.17; 68.1.5; 68.2.13: *Opera*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1681), 1: 78, 133, 135, 657, 661.

[13] Ibid. 1.6.12: *Opera*, 1:95.

[14] Jean Bodin, *Six livres de la republique* 2.2–3, ed. Christiane Frémont and others, 6 vols. (Paris, 1986), 2:34–45.

[15] Louis XIV, *Mémoires de Louis XIV pour l'instruction du Dauphin*, 2 vols. ed. Charles L. Dreyss (Paris, 1860), p. 209; cf. his more practical statement quoted in David Parker, "Sovereignty, absolutism, and the function of the law in seventeenth-century France," *Past & Present* 122 (1989), 36–74.

ideas of absolutism rather than modern ideas of non-Marxist feudalism, it seems to have developed from the older discussions of dominium directum. A hundred years earlier, the link between the two had been made clear by James VI of Scotland (later James I of England). Land in Scotland, he says, had all belonged to kings before it was distributed to others. The king remained "Dominus omnium bonorum and Dominus directus totius Dominii, the whole subjects being but his vassals, and from him holding all their lands as their over-lord." The same, he thought, applied in England as a result of the Norman Conquest. The king could take land from his lieges, though that would be unlawful. A good king, though above the law, ought to keep it of his own good will.[16] Scots law had been incorporating bits of the academic law of fiefs along with Roman law since the fourteenth century, so that its vocabulary was familiar,[17] but James presumably took his ideas about royal authority and dominium from Bodin, whose Six Livres he had in his library.[18] Among French lawyers his view of royal rights over land did not prevail. Although feudal jurisdictions and feudal law were highly contentious in eighteenth-century France, ideas about a feudal hierarchy with the king at the top do not seem to have developed much farther until after the feudal law had been formally abolished in 1789. When nineteenth-century French historians began to elaborate their ideas about it, they incorporated in it some significant variations from English historiography.

What English history contributed to the historiography of feudalism came first, as my references to Bodin and James I suggest, from interpretations of the Norman Conquest. Important as the Conquest was to historians of England from the twelfth-century on, they could not conceptualize it as introducing anything like feudalism until they had begun to learn what French scholars had made of the law of fiefs that had developed out of the Libri Feudorum,[19] It is true that there is much in English medieval records that, once the model had been invented, seems to fit it. The Norman Conquest offers historians the best example of a European king giving out lands that were thereafter called fiefs and were held from him. Closer investigation, however, has made it clear that William did not at once expropriate all the English, while some of his followers just took land with, at most, subsequent confirmation from him.[20] In what sense William had owned what he gave is less

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[16] James I, *Political Writings*, ed. Johann P. Sommerville (Cambridge, Eng., 1994), pp. 73–75; "The library of James VI," ed. G.F. Warner, *Miscellany of the Scottish Historical Society* 1 (Scottish Historical Soc. 15, 1893), pp. xiii–lxxv, here pp. xlii, liii.

[17] Susan Reynolds, "Fiefs and vassals in Scotland: a view from outside," *Scottish Historical Review* 82 (2003), pp. 176–93, here pp. 190–91.

[18] Thomas Craig, *Jus feudale* (London, 1655), was probably written too late (*c*. 1598–1606: John W. Cairns, "Craig, Cujas, and the definition of *feudum*," in *New Perspectives in the Roman Law of Property*, ed. Peter Birks (Oxford, 1989), pp. 75–84) for James to have used it, though cf. I.16,7, p. 151.

[19] F.W. Maitland, *The Constitutional History of England* (Cambridge, Eng. 1908), p. 142; Henry Spelman, *Reliquiae Spelmanniae*, ed. E. Gibson (London, 1698), pp. 1–46.

[20] Robin Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England* (Cambridge, 1991).

clear: whatever validity there is in the legal maxim that one cannot give what one does not have,[21] it has not always applied to rulers. One of the nobles to whom the thirteenth-century pope, Innocent IV, offered the kingdom of Sicily commented that the offer amounted to saying: "I give or sell you the moon; go up and take it."[22] Though I am (sadly) not here concerned with the crusader states, it is tempting to suggest that they, like post-conquest England, may furnish examples of rulers giving land that they did not have, whether because it was still to be conquered or because the recipient had already conquered it and wanted a legitimate-looking title: property rights always need to be recognized by governments. In England, the information in Domesday Book about the owners of estates in King Edward's time suggests that, just as William disingenuously claimed to be Edward's heir, the new estate holders disingenuously derived at least part of their title from their English predecessors. Royal confirmation was useful, even if only in the form of an entry in Domesday,[23] but later lawsuits traced title to ancestors, donors, or vendors, whether kings or anyone else.

Although Domesday Book has traditionally been held to show a hierarchy of property held from the king, this may have been an unintended result of its layout. It does not explicitly say that the great churches or most of the laymen who were later called tenants-in-chief held their lands of or from the king. The verb *tenere* need not imply incomplete or subordinate rights.[24] Domesday says that William himself holds (tenet) the terra regis, as Edward the Confessor had held (tenuit) it before him. What made the apparent hierarchy of property in Domesday permanently significant were the demands of government that became entrenched during the next century. Kings used the survey's lists to take succession dues and quotas of military service from those listed at the head of each county and subjected them to wardship and marriage controls. These tenants-in-chief, as they came to be called, passed on the burdens to those who held land under them by knight service. In so far as royal demands were provoked by the wars that followed the Norman Conquest, all this resulted from it, but the system was not part of pre-existing Norman or French custom. When the word *fief* came into general use in the twelfth century, it was applied to any free and heritable property, irrespective of services.

Meanwhile the custom developed in England of transferring property by what historians call subinfeudation, so that until the law changed in 1290 most transfers there, unlike in France, created a new layer of property rights. This oddity, like military service and the "feudal incidents" of relief, wardship, and so on, would become part of the general model of feudalism. In spite of the conclusions later drawn from the hierarchy of property rights, however, I know of no evidence that people in medieval England thought that all land derived from royal grants, let

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[21] *Digest* 50.17.54 (Ulpian), in *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, ed. T. Mommsen and others (Berlin, 1954), 1:922.

[22] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H.R. Luard (Rolls Series 57, 1872–83), 5:457.

[23] James C. Holt, "1086" in *Domesday Studies*, ed. J. Holt (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 41–64.

[24] Further discussed in Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, pp. 345–49.

alone that it all belonged to the king in any but the political sense that it was part of his kingdom. I have found one possible exception in an argument about land in a lawsuit of 1350 that "tout fut in luy [the king], et vient de luy al commencement."[25] Though the eighteenth-century lawyer, William Blackstone, thought that *tout* referred to all the land in England, it could perhaps have meant merely all the rights in the land in dispute, which had recently been the subject of a royal grant.[26]

Because so much more jurisdiction in England was reserved to royal courts, than in France, the distinction between it and property was clearer. Thirteenth-century enquiries into all jurisdictions exercised by subjects suggest that the principle that all jurisdiction was delegated from the king was not seriously contested. The only direct challenge to it seems to have come from an earl who appeared in court waving a rusty sword and saying that his ancestors had come with William the Bastard and conquered the land as partners with him. If true, the story suggests that at least one landowner had indeed confused rights of jurisdiction with property rights, which were not at issue, but also that he for one denied the origin of all property in royal grants.[27]

As the vocabulary of English common law developed, *tenere* became the standard verb to express property-holding. Categories of property came to be described as tenures, without any implication of less than what were thought of as the full rights of free and heritable property. The fifteenth-century treatise on Tenures by Thomas Littleton listed the categories, not according to their place in a hierarchy of enfeoffment, but according to their rights and obligations. Littleton started with fee-simple, "fee" being both the law-French and English translation of feodum, and the tenant in fee-simple being one who had lands or tenements for himself and his heirs for ever.[28] When "tenant" began to acquire its modern connotation of something less than full property rights is unclear. Commenting on Littleton early in the seventeenth century, Edward Coke explained that the holder of land "is called a tenant or holder, because all the lands and tenements in England, in the hands of subjects, are holden mediately or immediately of the king." His allusion to the absence of allods may imply that he knew something of the academic law of fiefs, but real knowledge appears first in the work of his contemporary, Henry Spelman. Spelman argued, not that William I had introduced "feuds or tenures," but that he "first brought in the Servitudes and Grievances of Feuds, viz. Wardship, Marriage, and such like, which to this day were never known to other Nations that are govern'd by the Feodal Law." Spelman glossed tenens as "Anglis idem quod

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[25] *Le Second part de les Reports des Cases en ley ... [Edward III]* (London, 1679): Mic. 24 Edward III, no. 70, cited in Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 5th ed. 4 vols. (London, 1773), 1:51 as no. 65.

[26] Paul Brand, who knows these legal sources much better, doubts my interpretation.

[27] Donald W. Sutherland, *Quo Warranto Proceedings under Edward I* (Oxford, 1963), p. 82 n.

[28] Thomas Littleton, *Tenures* 1.1.1a, in Edward Coke, *First part of the Institutes of the laws of England*, 15th ed., 3 vols., ed. F. Hargrave and C. Butler (London, 1794), comment on ibid. [no pagination].

vassallus exteris and teneo as tenere terras de aliquot": the word *de* may perhaps suggest the shift in meaning.[29]

Spelman's "feodal law" was so different from English common law that it could only be used historically, without affecting legal practice. Blackstone contrived what became the orthodox, if unconvincing, combination of the two kinds of law by maintaining, in what F.W. Maitland called "his easy attractive manner," both the "absolute right, inherent in every Englishman" to the free use of his property, and the "fundamental maxim and necessary principle (though in reality a mere fiction) of our English tenures 'that the king is the universal lord and original proprietor of all the lands in his kingdom; and that no man doth or can possess any part of it, but what has mediately or immediately been derived as a gift from him, to be held upon feudal services'" , as "tenements" held by "tenants."[30]

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, most French and English medieval historians wrote about their own countries but started from ideas of feudal society that implied a set of characteristics which, despite national variations, presupposed a general "feudal system" or "feudalism." This involved looking at other countries, if only to notice hitherto unnoticed aspects of one's own country's feudalism that might be read into its sources as part of the system.[31] The concept of feudalism was meanwhile enlarged to encompass aspects of medieval society that older ideas about feudal law had ignored.[32] As early medieval society was thought to have lost the Roman sense of the public good, the relation between lord and vassal was left as its strongest bond. That made the conflation of property with jurisdiction or government a natural consequence, while lords and vassals fitted into the hierarchy of fiefholding adopted from the Libri Feudorum. English lawyers meanwhile continued to maintain the Blackstonian doctrine of the king as supreme owner and everyone else as merely "holding" estates in land under him.[33] Blackstone had called it a fiction, but the idea that the words "tenure" and "tenant" represented a distinctively feudal conception of property seems to have been too attractive to question. It passed into French historiography along with the assumption of subinfeudation as the normal method of transfer. Modern French dictionaries give a feudal significance to words like tenancier and tenure that is less clear in the

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[29] Henry Spelman, *Reliquiae*, ed. Edmund Gibson (London, 1698), pp. 1, 46; idem, *Glossarium Archaiologium* 3rd edn. (London, 1687), p. 534.

[30] Blackstone, *Commentaries*, 1:138, 2: 51, 59; Maitland, *Constitutional History*, p. 142.

[31] For example, lords' rights of wardship, implicitly generalized, though with qualifications, as feudal, by Bloch, *Feudal Society*, p. 202, despite Spelman, above, and F.P.G. Guizot, *Cours d'histoire moderne: histoire de la civilisation en France depuis la chute de l'empire romain jusqu'en 1789*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1829–32), 4:307.

[32] Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900–1300*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1997), pp. xvi–xviii, supplementing Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, pp. 17–34.

[33] For example, Joshua Williams, *Principles of the Law of Real Property*, 2nd ed. (London, 1849), p. 16; cf. the comments of Maitland in T. Cyprian Williams, "The fundamental principles of the present law of ownership of land," *Solicitors' Journal* 75 (1931), pp. 843–48, and in Frederick Pollock and F.W. Maitland, *History of English Law*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Eng., 1911), 2:2–3.

medieval examples in Godefroy or Ducange,[34] while French legal historians can describe "la conception de la tenure" as pervading the relations of lords and vassals, lords and peasants.[35]

The result, I suggest, is a model that combines elements drawn from both French and English traditions of historiography, but is used in different ways in each. In so far as the premise implied in ideas of a feudal hierarchy of tenure leads some Anglophones to the conclusion that all land really belonged to the king, it suggests an intriguing paradox: it is the stereotypically empiricist English (along with some Americans) who carry the argument through to its plausibly logical, if empirically bizarre, conclusion, while the French, stereotypically more given to theory and generalization, do not. They are surely right, though their interpretation of the feudal hierarchy makes more sense in the context of post-medieval ideas about medieval society and law than in that of medieval records of landholding and litigation or medieval treatises on law or property.

The idea that all land in feudal societies belonged to the king has meanwhile been taken, sometimes under the flags of the British and French empires, to societies outside Europe.[36] This playing down of traditional rights of property, profitable as it could be to new rulers, may have owed less to ideas of feudalism than to those of Oriental Despotism.[37] Exploration of either possibility would, like saying more that needs to be said about European feudalism, take up too much space for my present purpose. That purpose is to offer this preliminary and rash exploration of the subject to Beni Kedar in testimony of my gratitude for the kind and stimulating encouragement he has given me in my struggles with feudalism and comparative history. His first letter to me telling of his interest in my arguments about fiefholding and vassalage was especially valuable because it came out of the blue from a complete stranger who was also a learned historian of the Middle Ages. Since then he has suggested further aspects of the subject for me to consider and has contributed to the discussion his own discovery of a manuscript that suggests that the Libri Feudorum was known in the kingdom of Jerusalem. I am very grateful to him.

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[34] For example, *Trésor de la langue française ... du XIXe et du XXe siècle*, 16 vols. (Paris, 1994), 16:52, 95; P. Robert, *Le grand Robert de la langue française*, 9 vols. (Paris, 1985), 9:222, 239; Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française*, 10 vols. (Paris, 1880–1902), 7:669–71, 678–80, 683; Charles du Fresne, Seigneur Ducange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, ed. Léopold Favre, 10 vols. (Paris, 1883–87), 8:57–60, 65; though cf. *La grande Larousse encyclopédique*, 10 vols. (Paris, 1960–4), 10:247.

[35] P. Ourliac and J. L. Gazzaniga, *Histoire du droit privé français* (Paris, 1985), p. 221.

[36] For example, on India: François Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire A.D. 1656–1668*, trans. and ed. A. Constable and V.A. Smith, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1916), pp. 5, 211, 224; Baden H. Baden-Powell, *The Land Systems of Ancient India*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1892), 1:217–24; Brendan O'Leary, *The Asiatic Mode of Production* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 18, 263–65, 293; but on Japan: E. Ikegami, *The Taming of the Samurai* (Cambridge, MA, 1995), pp. 51–52.

[37] For example, J.J. Burlamaqui, *Principes du droit naturel et politique*, 3 vols. (Geneva, 1764), pp. 275–76.

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Medieval Treasure Troves and Jews

Michael Toch

The principal part in Christopher Marlowe's play *The Jew of Malta* (first produced at the Rose Theater, Bankside, London, in 1591) is a thoroughly despicable character. His money and estates confiscated by the governor of Malta to pay an overdue indemnity to the Turks, *Barabas*, who has hidden the greater part of his gold and jewels in his former home, induces his daughter, *Abigail*, to feign conversion to Christianity, that she may re-enter the home, now a cloister, to obtain the hoard (Act 1, Scene 2):[1]

Barabas: Ten thousand Portagues, besides great Perles,
Rich costly Jewels, and Stones infinite,
Fearing the worst of this before it fell,
I closely hid.
Abigail: Where father?

Fig. 1 Erfurt treasure. Reproduced courtesy of Maria Stürzebecher, Weimar.

[1] Roma Gill, ed., *The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe, 4: The Jew of Malta* (Oxford, 1995), 1.2, pp. 17, 19, 20.

Fig. 2 Erfurt ring. Reproduced courtesy of Maria Stürzebecher, Weimar.

Barabas: in my house my girle.
There have I hid close underneath the plancke
That runs along the upper chamber floore,
The gold and Jewels which I kept for thee.
The boord is marked thus † that covers it.

Fiction or fact? We know of a large number of treasure troves and hoards attributed to Jews in medieval Europe. Confining ourselves to central Europe with its superior records, we shall have a closer look at some of the better-documented ones, in order to single out a major difficulty: how can a treasure be identified as Jewish? Is it permissible to ascribe almost any medieval find to Jews and to the persecution of Jews, as done without many qualms by some leading practitioners of numismatics and history?[2] Having assembled our material, we shall turn to some further questions: what did Jews hide of their possessions, why did they do so,

[2] For instance Peter Berghaus, "Der mittelalterliche Goldschatzfund aus Limburg/Lahn," *Nassauische Annalen* 72 (1961), 40–41; Hans-Ulrich Geiger, "Vivilin, der Jude, und das Gold als Zahlungsmittel im mittelalterlichen Bern," *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 58, 4 (2001), 252; Wolfgang Schmid, "Die Jagd nach dem verborgenen Schatz. Ein Schlüsselmotiv für die Geschichte

Fig. 3 Erfurt ring. Reproduced courtesy of Photoarchiv der Thüringer Allgemeinen Zeitung.

and how frequently? In other words, can one discern any Jewish particularity in this regard? In a third and last part, a look at literature and fables will take us into modern times.

I

In September 1998, in the course of archaeological excavations a treasure trove was found in a cellar wall in the center of the German town of Erfurt.[3] It contained

des Mittelalters?" in *Landesgeschichte als multidisziplinäre Wissenschaft. Festgabe für Franz Irsigler zum 60. Geburtstag*, eds. Dietrich Ebeling and others (Trier, 2001), p. 382.

[3] No conclusive analysis of the find exists yet. My thanks for information and photographs go to Thüringer Allgemeine Zeitung; to Maria Stürzebecher of Weimar, who writes a thesis on the jewelry; and to Reinhold Ruf, Trier.

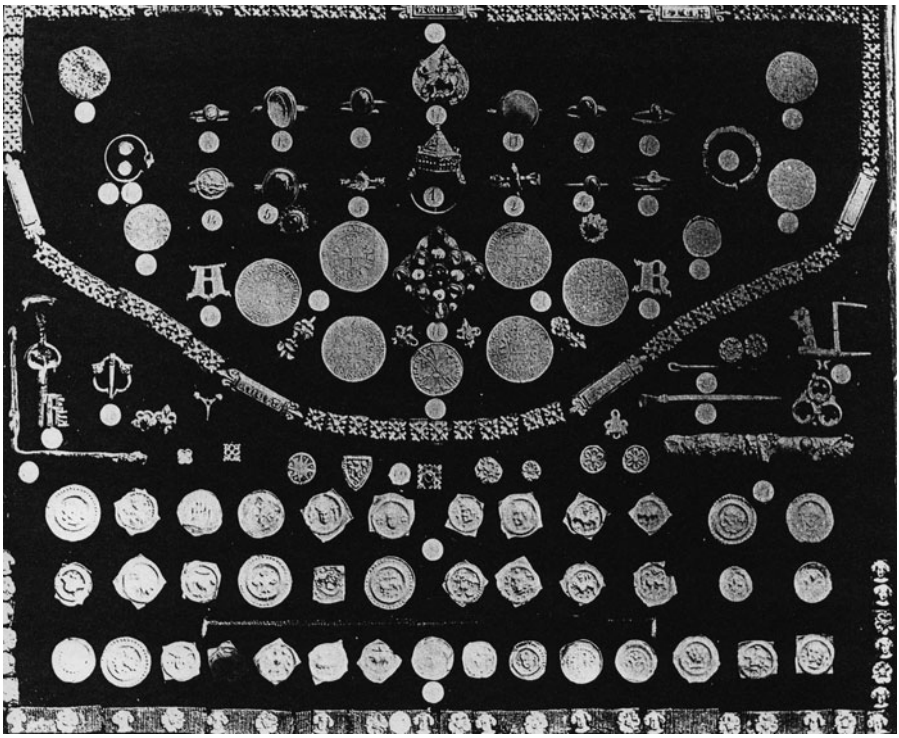

Fig. 4 Colmar treasure. *Le trésor de Colmar, publié à l'occasion de l'exposition présentée au musée d'Unterlinden, Colmar*, 29 mai–26 septembre 1999. Paris and Colmar 1999, p. 13.

the following items (Fig. 1): 3140 silver coins of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, most of them French Tournois, the latest one coined from 1328 onwards; 14 stamped silver ingots; a large amount of table silver and jewelry, amongst them rings, brooches, chains, pendants, appliqué work, clasps, and two bridal belts with Latin and German inscriptions. Most remarkable is a golden ring with the Hebrew inscription *Mazal Tov* (Figs. 2–3). The treasure was found on a spot near the late medieval Erfurt synagogue, in the area between Krämerbrücke, Fischmarkt and Michaeliskirche where most Erfurt Jews lived before 1349.

Both ring and location prove beyond doubt that the person who owned and hid the trove was a Jew. Thanks to recent research by Reinhold Ruf of Trier one might even dare an approximate identification. A French Jew appears to have inhabited the site of the find, most probably one of those who had settled in Erfurt and acquired there landed property after the expulsion of Jews from the Kingdom of France in

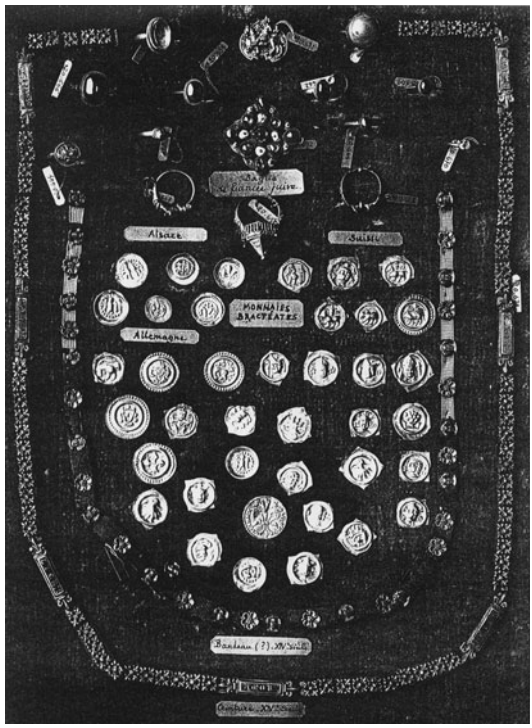

Fig. 5 Colmar treasure. *Le trésor de Colmar, publié à l'occasion de l'exposition présentée au musée d'Unterlinden, Colmar*, 29 mai–26 septembre 1999. Paris and Colmar 1999, p. 14.

1306.[4] This would explain the otherwise peculiar preponderance of French coins in the trove.

In 1863, a treasure trove was discovered in the wall of a private house in the French (in medieval times German) town of Colmar.[5] It contained the following items: 384 silver coins, 1 gold coin, silver table ware, jewelry of gold and silver including two bridal belts and 15 rings (Fig. 4–5). One further ring bore the same Hebrew letters *Mazal Tov* (Fig. 6). The coins date the time of hiding to around 1348/1349. The location was a corner house at the meeting of rue Weinemer (formerly Strüchelgasse) and rue Berthe-Molly (formerly Judengasse). By two criteria, presence of a clearly Jewish element and location, the Colmar trove too definitely belonged to a Jew.

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[4] Information supplied by Reinhold Ruf, Universität Trier, Institut für Geschichte der Juden.

[5] Catherine Leroy, "La découverte du trésor de Colmar," in *Le trésor de Colmar*, publié à l'occasion de l'exposition présentée au musée d'Unterlinden, Colmar, 29 mai–26 septembre 1999 (Paris and Colmar, 1999), pp. 12–17; Elisabeth Taburet-Delahaye, "Les bijoux du trésor de Colmar," in *Le trésor de Colmar*, pp. 19–55.

Fig. 6 Colmar ring. *Le trésor de Colmar, publié à l'occasion de l'exposition présentée au musée d'Unterlinden, Colmar*, 29 mai–26 septembre 1999. Paris and Colmar 1999, p. 44.

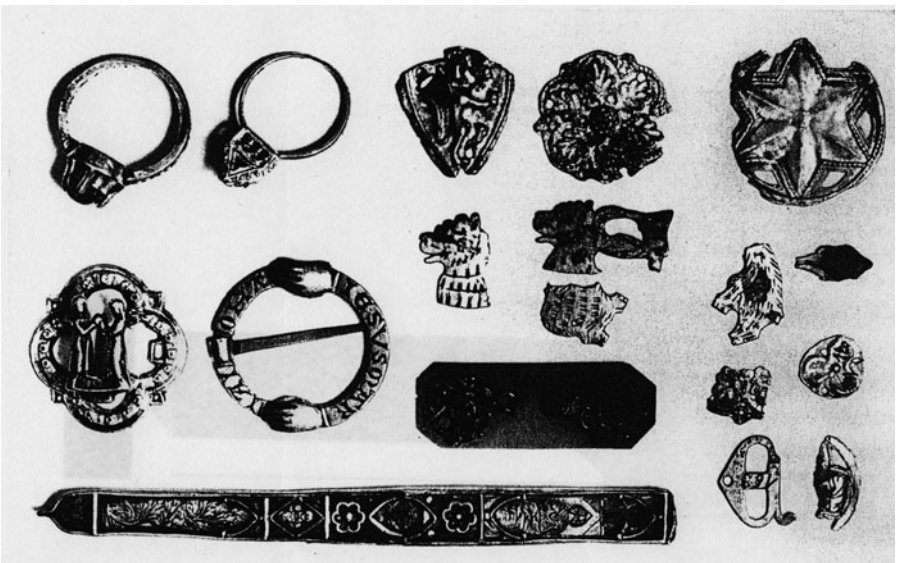

Fig. 7 Weissenfels treasure. *Le trésor de Colmar, publié à l'occasion de l'exposition présentée au musée d'Unterlinden, Colmar*, 29 mai–26 septembre 1999. Paris and Colmar 1999, p. 15.

Fig. 8 Weissenfels ring. *Le trésor de Colmar, publié à l'occasion de l'exposition présentée au musée d'Unterlinden, Colmar*, 29 mai–26 septembre 1999. Paris and Colmar 1999, p. 55.

Erfurt and Colmar of the high and late middle ages were home to important Jewish communities. Not so Weißenfels on the River Saale in Saxony. In that place, nothing is known of Jews except a persecution around 1350.[6] Nevertheless, here too a Jewish trove was found in 1826. The circumstances of the find were barely recorded and there is no certainty that today's inventory actually represents the integral trove.[7] Only the jewelry is known, which provides a rough dating to the first half of the 14th century (Fig.7). Among the pieces was a further ring with the Hebrew felicitation *Mazal Tov* (Figs. 8–9).

These then are the three treasure troves from medieval Germany that can safely be attributed to Jews. The hidings of Erfurt and Colmar were apparently connected to the great persecution at the time of the Plague (1348–50). For Weißenfels, the dating and circumstances remain undecided, but roughly point to the same period. All three troves contain rings bearing the Hebrew felicitation *Mazal Tov* and characterized by a very peculiar artistic shaping in form of a house or turret. These are the earliest examples known to the author of a distinctive tradition of Jewish

[6] Zvi Avneri, ed., *Germania Judaica*, 2, (Tübingen, 1968), pp. 874–75.

[7] A query to the owner of the trove, Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg, Halle, was unanswered. But see Leroy, "La découverte," p. 16. I could not locate M. Sauerlandt, "Ein Schmuckfund aus Weissenfels von Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Cicerone* XI (1919), 520.

Fig. 9 Weissenfels rings. Internet, public domain.

rings that were to become very popular in the early modern centuries, especially in Italy.

Jewish tradition frowns upon marriage rings decorated with precious stones or elaborate goldsmith work. Rather, it favors the plain ring. According to one opinion, this derives from the archaic custom of bride purchase, which eventually changed into the bestowal of the marriage ring. Since actual acceptance of the ring by the bride is essential to make the marriage binding, a ring representing the purchase should be easy to value, thus no ornamentation or stones. Our rings however are anything but plain. They are large and heavy and definitely not designed for daily use. Experts in art history and folklore see them not as marriage rings to be worn day-in day-out, but rather as ceremonial rings for either betrothal or wedding.[8] The structure on top shaped like a house or turret is mostly interpreted as a miniature model of the Jerusalem temple. Similar to the breaking of a glass at the wedding ceremony, this would make our rings part of a custom that combines the memory of the destruction of the Temple with the joy of marriage. By another view, the structure symbolizes the synagogue or the family perceived as an edifice, and it might also have served as a container for aromatic herbs. Most probably, such rings

[8] The different opinions are listed by Israel Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1896/1993), pp. 180–84, as well as by Daniel Sperber, *Customs of Israel*, part 4 (Jerusalem, 1995), pp. 143–49 (Hebrew). My thanks go to Prof. Elisheva Ravel, Jerusalem, who pointed me to the latter item.

Fig. 10 Ketubah, Krems, Austria, 1392. Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, *L'Art juif. Orient et occident*, Paris 1975, p. 131.

were bestowed at the marriage ceremony, as in Fig. 10, a marriage contract of 1392 from the Austrian town of Krems.

Were it not for the Hebrew letters and the iconography of the ceremonial ring, the Jewish identification of the troves from Erfurt, Colmar and Weißenfels would remain tenuous. A few further cases will illustrate the problem. In 1978 a treasure trove was found during the excavation of a street level place of business at Judengasse 10 in the Austrian town of Salzburg.[9] Again, the location is the Jewish quarter of the town before and after 1349. The trove was stored in a large pot of dark-brown terracotta and buried about 60 cm deep in the ground. It contained 28,000 (!) silver pennies from Salzburg, from further parts of Austria and from Southern Germany, as well as smaller amounts of *grossi* from France, Venice and Serbia. In addition, there were silver pieces from at least two sets of belts, and three clasps. The dating of the coins, before 1293, points to the years 1290–1300 as the time of burial. This might be connected to the political crisis in the governance of the archbishopric of Salzburg in 1290, which for a time created a climate of insecurity.

In 1996 large-scale archaeological excavations were carried out in the center of medieval Regensburg around Neupfarr square, which had served until 1519 as center of the Jewish quarter of the town.[10] Hidden in three ceramic vessels buried

[9] Bernhard Koch, "Ein mittelalterlicher Münzschatz aus der Stadt Salzburg," *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 93 (1979), 45.

[10] I am much in debt to curator Marianne Schmidt, document Neupfarrplatz, Amt für Archiv und Denkmalpflege, Municipality of Regensburg, for photographs and for the printed publication of the find:

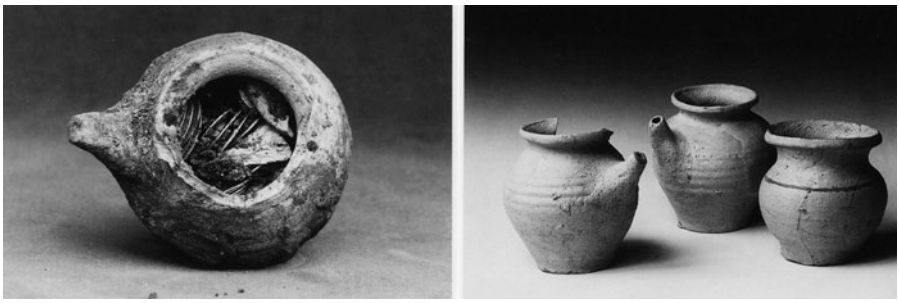

Fig. 11 Regensburg treasure. Reproduced courtesy of the Museen der Stadt Regensburg. *Der Goldschatz*, p. 10.

30 cm deep under the clay floor of a cellar, a trove of 624 gold coins was found (Figs. 11–12). The latest coin, fresh from the mint, stems from after 1387. Thus it stands to reason that the trove was hidden in the context of the troubles beginning in the summer of 1388, when the dukes of Bavaria laid siege to the city. Similar to Salzburg, this was a general crisis not confined to Jews. Rather than the composition and date of the find, its circumstances and locality make Jewish ownership much likely. Over the centuries, two more treasures were recovered from the same square.[11] In 1913, 55 gold coins, hidden in the same year 1388, were found when a medieval house was demolished. In 1512, a bricklayer apprentice was clearing the plaster flooring in the house of a Jew and allegedly discovered a sum of 700 to 800 ducats. The secret was leaked to the town authorities and thus became public. Very quickly the German emperor demanded the find as his regal right, but failed against vigorous resistance by the town council. Arguing that the trove amounted only to 383 Hungarian gold florins and that its discovery had not been achieved by sorcery or other forbidden tricks (*mit kainer vorbetrachtüng, aberglaüben noch verboten künsten*), the council kept the lion share, but agreed to compensate the craftsman and the Jewish house-owner with minor sums.[12]

In Cologne the whole northern part of the medieval Jewish quarter was excavated in 1953, leading to the discovery of a trove of around 290 coins (Fig. 13).[13] Most of them were Tournois of the Cologne archbishop Walram of Julich, who died in 1349. There were also a good number of gold pieces. It is most likely that the trove was buried at the time of the great massacre in 1349. Thanks to older and more recent research we have a very good idea of house-ownerships in the Jewish quarter of

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Museen der Stadt Regensburg, ed., Der Goldschatz vom Neupfarrplatz (Regensburg, 1997).

[11] Gerd Stumpf, "Der Münzschatz," in *Der Goldschatz vom Neupfarrplatz,* pp. 13, 20.

[12] Raphael Straus, ed., *Urkunden und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der Juden in Regensburg 1453–1738* (Munich, 1960), pp. 277–78, no. 793.

[13] Otto Doppelfeld, "Die Ausgrabungen im Kölner Judenviertel," in *Die Juden in Köln von den Ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Zwi Asaria (Cologne, 1959), p. 89; Rosemarie Kosche, *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden zwischen Rhein und Weser im Mittelalter* (Hanover, 2002), p. 158.

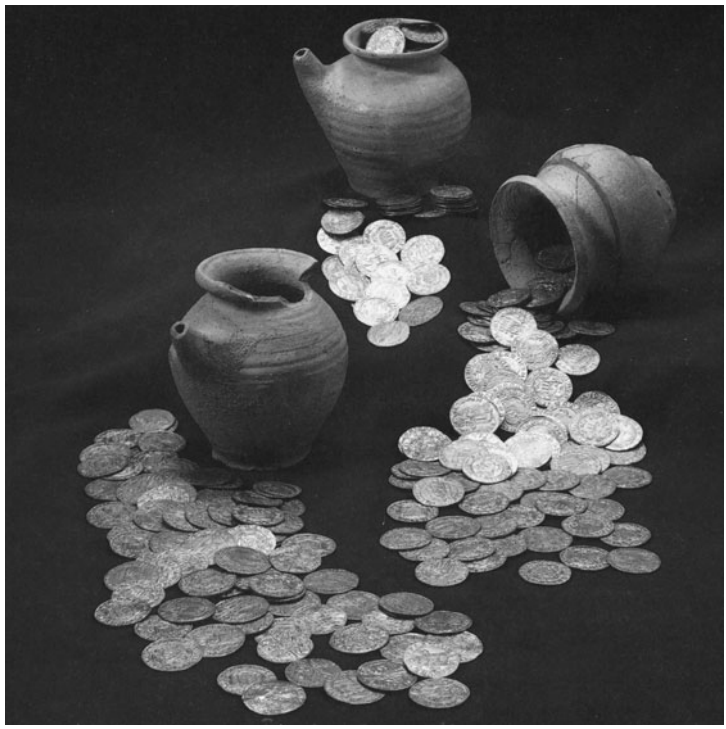

Fig. 12 Regensburg treasure: document Neupfarrplatz. Reproduced courtesy of the Stadtarchiv Regensburg.

Cologne (Fig. 14).[14] The trove was found in the backyard (plot no. 40) of the house in plot no. 39, which from 1347 at the latest had belonged to Joel ben Uri Halevi of Dortmund. However, by 1349 Joel was already deceased, but had left two daughters who most probably hid the coins at the onset of the Plague persecution.

Even though lacking a specific iconography, in Salzburg and Regensburg the location and circumstances of the finds, in Cologne in addition also the date of burial, make a Jewish identification highly probable. Indispensable for such decisions is a thorough knowledge of house ownership. Sadly, for many places and communities, especially the smaller ones, we do not possess such information. A further three examples of highly publicized finds will demonstrate the problem.

The earliest trove is the artistically most valuable and appreciated find ever to be made in Germany. This is the so-called treasure of Empress Gisela, later re-attributed to Empress Agnes. Sewage workers discovered it in 1880 in Mainz, in the cellar nook of an allegedly burnt-down medieval house situated next to the synagogue

[14] Adolf Kober, *Grundbuch des Kölner Judenviertels 1135–1425* (Bonn, 1920); Doppelfeld, "Die Ausgrabungen im Kölner Judenviertel"; Matthias Schmandt, *"Judes, cives et incole": Studien zur jüdischen Geschichte Kölns im Mittelalter* (Hanover, 2002), p. 270.

Fig. 13 Coins from the Cologne treasure. Otto Doppelfeld, "Die Ausgrabungen im Kölner Judenviertel", in *Die Juden in Köln von den Ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Zwi Asaria, Cologne 1959, p. 83.

at the meeting of Stadthausstraße and Schusterstraße.[15] It was thus located right in the center of the medieval Jewish quarter of Mainz.[16] The treasure contained a golden jewel-collar, a lattice-like breast ornament, two disc-like clasps, four cone-like clasps, a large and a small bossed clasp, two pairs of crescent earrings, two pins and nine rings. Initially, the jewelry was regarded as the possession of Empress Gisela (c. 990–1043), wife of Emperor Conrad II. However, according to newer studies it could only stem from the mid-third of the 11th century onwards. This leaves as the highest lady in German lands Empress Agnes (c. 1025–1077), wife

[15] Mechthild Schulze–Dörrlamm, *Der Mainzer Schatz der Kaiserin Agnes aus dem mittleren 11. Jahrhundert* (Sigmaringen, 1991); Schulze-Dörrlamm, "Schatz der Kaiserin Agnes aus Mainz (Vitrinen 6–8)," in *Das Reich der Salier. 1024–1125. Katalog zur Ausstellung des Landes Rheinland-Pfalz* (Sigmaringen, 1992), p. 262.

[16] Arye Maimon, Mordechai Breuer and Yacov Guggenheim, eds., *Germania Judaica* 3 (Tübingen, 1995), p. 787.

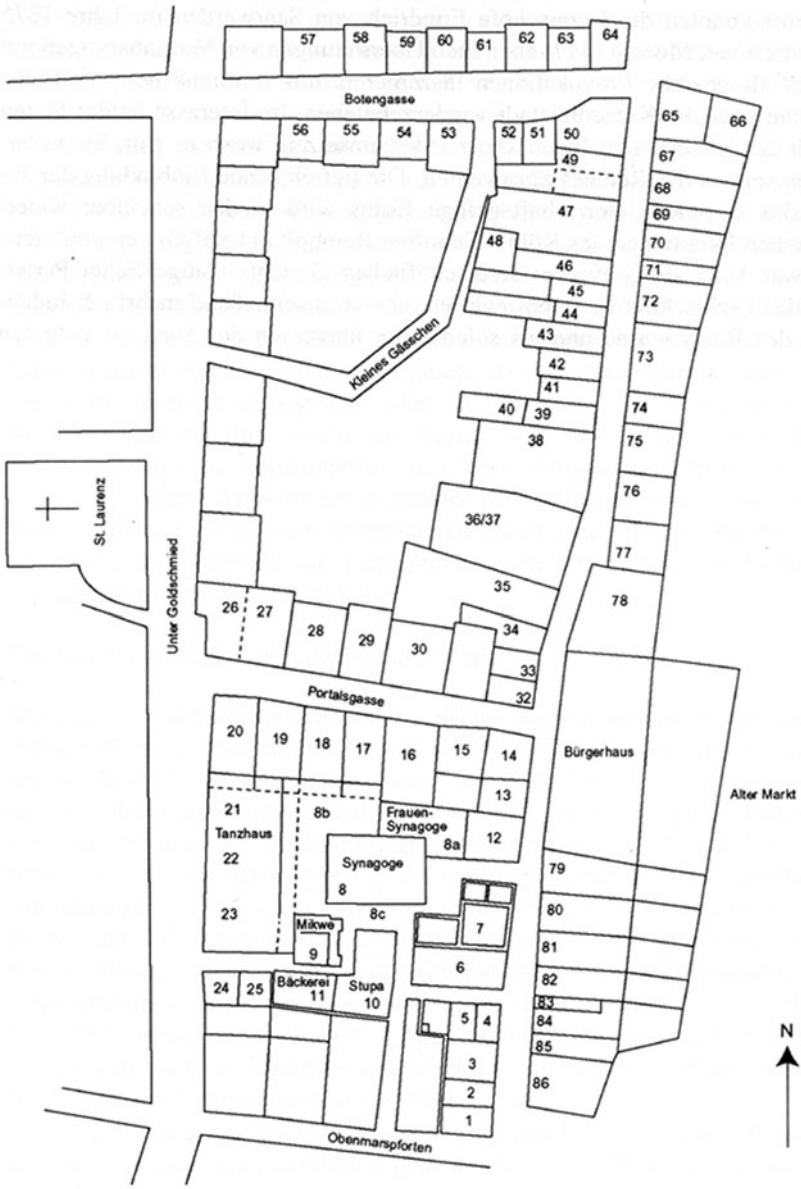

Fig. 14 Map of the Jewish quarter in Cologne. Mathias Schmandt, *Judes, cives et incole. Studien zur jüdischen Geschichte Kölns im Mittelalter*, Hanover 2002, p. 270.

to Henry III, to whom the treasure was thus attributed. Direct evidence that such exquisite ornaments could only belong to an empress is still missing. According to the organizers of the exhibition "The Empire of the Salians" (Speyer 1992), the trove was apparently pawned to a Jew of Mainz, who then perished in the great massacre of 1096 and whose house was burned down. This is possible, but not more than that. As of 1999, the alleged fire damage on the pieces has been dropped, and with them the direct link to the persecution of 1096.[17] Still, at least one Jew of late eleventh century Mainz seems to have kept his valuables hidden in the cellar. This was Yitzhak ben David, the best known of the numerous Rhenish Jews who preferred death to forced baptism in 1096. The Hebrew Chronicle reports that on 27 May 1096, two days after his baptism, Yitzhak

> Went to his ancestral house to look for the treasures hidden there since the days of his father; he came to the cellar and discovered that the enemies had not touched anything. Then he thought in his heart: "what benefit does this money offer me? No silver or gold accompanies a person into the other world, but only repentance and pious works."[18]

With such thoughts began Yitzhak's passage towards a spectacular and till today highly controversial suicide. It should be noted that research is now more than ever divided over the question, whether the so-called Hebrew Chronicles on 1096 are to be read as straightforward accounts of the happenings of that year, or rather as texts more akin to the genre of *exempla* literature.[19]

Little less considerable is the find from the Polish town Środa Śląska (known in German as Neumarkt in Schlesien). In 1988, a veritable royal treasure was salvaged from the municipal garbage dump, out of the waste of a number of houses demolished in the medieval town center: parts of a crown, rings and other jewelry, as well as over 4,000 silver coins and 38 gold coins.[20] Sadly, the treasure has not yet been fully published. The time horizon of the coins has been stated to be "before 1350," which is not very helpful. The art historian Jerzy Pietrusiński argues that the

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[17] Antje Krug, "Der sogenannte 'Mainzer Goldschmuck der Kaiserin Gisela': 1. Fundgeschichte und Erwerb," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* n.s. 41 (1999), 8.

[18] Eva Haverkamp (ed.), *Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen während des Ersten Kreuzzugs* (Hannover, 2005), pp. 376–77 (my translation).

[19] For the source and the understanding of the Hebrew term "hidden treasures" used here, see the discussion between Jeremy Cohen and Israel Yuval: Jeremy Cohen, "The 'Persecutions of 1096' – From Martyrdom to Martyrology: The Sociocultural Context of the Hebrew Crusade Chronicles," *Zion* 59 (1994), 192; Israel Yuval, "'The Lord Will Take Vengeance, Vengeance for his Temple' – Historia sine ira et studio," *Zion* 59 (1994), pp. 409–410 (both articles in Hebrew). In a recent book Jeremy Cohen has amplified his linguistic-literary approach: Jeremy Cohen, *Sanctifying the Name of God: Jewish Martyrs and Jewish Memories of the First Crusade* (Philadelphia, 2004), esp. pp. 91–105. See also Israel Yuval, "*Two Nations in Your Womb." Perceptions of Jews and Christians* (Berkeley, 2006).

[20] Jerzy Pietrusiński, "Herrscherschmuck aus der Schatzkammer der Luxemburger im Goldschatz von Neumarkt in Schlesien (Środa Śląska)," *King John of Luxembourg (1296–1346) and the Art of his Era: Proceedings of the International Conference, Prague, September 16–20, 1996*, ed. Klára Benešovká (Prague, 1998), pp. 189–200; idem, "Le trésor de Środa Śląska: insignes royaux et joyaux européens des XIIe et XIVe siècles," *Quaestiones medii aevi novae* 2 (1997), pp. 151–68.

trove consists of outdated and unused jewelry belonging to the Luxembourg dynasty, which was pawned to Jews from Środa Śląska. However, written sources inform only of a small and insignificant Jewish community.[21] There is no indication which house yielded the treasure or who owned it. Of business relations of local Jews with the Bohemian dynasty only a single loan is known.[22] Thus, the identification of the owner of the trove as Jew is hard to establish.

A similar conclusion must be reached for yet another spectacular trove, found in the year 1969 on a farm in the village of Lingenfeld, near the old road from Speyer to Germersheim. It was made up of six silver vessels filled with more than 2369 silver coins as well as with broken and intact pieces of jewelry. The coins date the time of burial to 1345–55. The composition of the trove, especially the apparently noble origin of vessels and jewels, is taken to imply that they were pawned to a Jewish usurer. This man then allegedly buried his cash and more valuable pawns while fleeing the persecution in Speyer at the time of the Plague. Since the owner did not recover the treasure, he must have perished in the persecution.[23] Archeologists have now dropped the initial claim that the vessels are ritual Jewish objects. Nevertheless, they are so sure of the Jewish attribution of the Lingenfeld trove that its presentation was declared to be one of the highlights of the exhibition "European Jews in the Middle Ages" (Historisches Museum der Pfalz, Speyer, November 2004 to March 2005).[24]

II

So much for valuables dug out of German ground and attributable with more or less certainty to Jews. [25] This, however, far from exhausts our topic. A large number of written sources, in Latin and especially in Hebrew, tell of the hiding and finding

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[21] *Germania Judaica* 2 (see above, note 6), p. 578; *Germania Judaica* 3 (see above, note 16), pp. 948–49.

[22] Otto Meinardus, ed., *Das Neumarkter Rechtsbuch und andere Neumarkter Rechtsquellen* (Breslau, 1906), pp. 237–38.

[23] Günter Stein, "Der Schatzfund von Lingenfeld," in: *Geschichte der Juden in Speyer,* ed. Bezirksgruppe Speyer des historischen Vereins der Pfalz (Speyer, 1981), pp. 65–72. For a differing interpretation, see Elisabeth Nau, Münzumlauf im ländlichen Bereich mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Südwest-Deutschlands," in *Die Grundherrschaft im späten Mittelalter*, ed. Hans Patze, Vorträge und Forschungen Bd. XXVII (Sigmaringen, 1983), 1, pp. 106–8.

[24] http://www.zum.de/Faecher/G/BW/Landeskunde/rhein/kultur/museen/speyer/ausstell/lingenfeld.htm

[25] For completeness' sake, one might mention the finds from Münster and Limburg/Lahn: Peter Ilisch, "Le trésor de Münster (Westphalie) et les trésors rhénans contemporains," in *Le Trésor de Colmar* (see above, note 5), pp. 118–19; Peter Berghaus, "Der mittelalterliche Goldschatzfund aus Limburg/Lahn," *Nassauische Annalen* 72 (1961), 39–40, and there a list of further finds alleged to be Jewish. For the methodological problems between Jewish history and archaeology, see Michael Toch, "Jüdisches Alltagsleben im Mittelalter," *Historische Zeitschrift* 278 (2004), 342–45.

of Jewish possessions.[26] Thus the statement of a renowned scholar of numismatics cannot stand: "Unsere Urkunde ist der einzige mir bekannte schriftliche Beleg für den Versuch von Juden, ihr Barvermögen und ihre Preziosen zu retten."[27] We shall use this wealth of sources, together with the archaeological findings, to answer the questions put at the outset of this paper. They were: what did Jews hide of their possessions? How, where and why did they do so? How common was this type of behavior?

What was hidden? As we have seen, above all cash in remarkable quantities, as well as more modest sums, preferably gold coins but also silver ones. Some troves contained only coin, others currency together with other valuables. These might be precious metal, silver ingots or gold nuggets. The earliest extant reference to a Jewish trove in Europe, a Hebrew query from Germany or Northern Italy of the late tenth or early eleventh century, alludes to *mammon*, which in context can be understood to mean precious metal or simply money.[28] Very common is jewelry and table silver. These might be private family property or pawns from money lending. The wedding rings were surely family heirlooms, as might be some of the bridal belts found in a number of troves. In the early modern centuries such belts were priced possessions and handed down from generation to generation.

The composition of troves has been described by a chronicler who reports for the year 1336 that the Bohemian king, before setting out on a military expedition against Austria, gave orders to dig up the Prague synagogue. Nearly two thousand marks in "gold, silver and pennies" were found.[29] The same point is made in a Responsum by Jacob ben Moshe Molin (called *Maharil*): "whether he has in his chest money, or silver, or gold in pieces that are not jewelry."[30]

An idea of the order of magnitude can be gotten from the sad affair in Überlingen on lake Constance.[31] In 1429, the local Jews were accused of participation in an alleged ritual murder in nearby Ravensburg. After two years of arrest and torture, twelve of them were sentenced and burnt on the stake; another eleven saved their lives by converting to Christianity. The town confiscated their property and used the tombstones of the Jewish graveyard for building purposes. Shortly after that, the council ordered the houses of the Jews to be searched and their backyards to be dug up. The bounty in cash, outstanding debts, proceeds from the houses, household

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[26] The Hebrew sources in the following are quoted from the data base "Responsa Project" Version 12+, Bar-Ilan University (Ramat Gan, 2004). See the subsequent notes for the printed editions.

[27] Geiger, "Vivilin" (see above, note 2), p. 252.

[28] Joel Mueller, ed., *Responsa of the Geonim East and West* (Berlin 1888/Jerusalem 1966), no. 212. According to Abraham Grossman, the Responsum most probably belongs to Meshulam ben Calonymus, Ms. Montefiori 98, 123 r', Jews College, London. I thank Abraham Grossman and Israel Yuval for their (conflicting) views on "mammon."

[29] Josef Emler, ed., *Chronicon Aulae Regiae*, Fontes rerum Bohemicarum 4 (Prague, 1884), p. 331.

[30] Jakob Molin-Maharil, *New Responsa*, ed. Y. Satz (Jerusalem, 1977), no. 40.

[31] Moritz Stern, ed., *Die israelitische Bevölkerung der deutschen Städte. 1. Überlingen am Bodensee* (Frankfurt/M., 1890), pp. 12–13, 18–21.

goods, and wine, amounted to 6117 gold florin. However, this was far from the end of the affair. Thirty years later, in 1462, a widow was staying as a guest in one of the former Jews' houses. There she found 402 Rhenish florins and 180 ducats. Another thirty years later, in 1496, two town citizens, owners of a yet another formerly Jewish house, discovered the sum of 1459 Rhenish florins, 52 ducats, and 1 penny. The two were indemnified with a "Verehrung" and the town council took the lion share. Obviously stimulated by this find, the housemaid and her friend, a mid-wife, one day later took to exploring the house and indeed struck gold. The town council compensated them with 60 Rhenish florins, indicating yet another sizable find.

How and in what places were treasures hidden? The Talmud recommends burying as the safest way: "Shmuel says, money is not kept but in the ground."[32] The context is the legal problem of the limits of liability of a person trusted with safeguarding possessions that were subsequently stolen. If the safe-keeper hides them in the ground, he is not culpable. If he fails to do so, he is responsible. The medieval sages who commented on this dictum for centuries, were of course aware that the Talmud was written in a still rural society: "one interprets that this was written because in that generation thieves prevailed and people inhabited ramshackle huts in the fields" (thus a Responsum by Shimon ben Zemah Duran of Majorca, Spain and Algiers, first half of the fifteenth century).[33] Very similar Joseph ben Shlomo Colon (northern Italy, second half of the fifthteenth century): [this was written] when they lived in derelict houses in the fields, but today one does not need to hide in the ground but can keep [valuables] in a chest in a place safe from thieves, because we do not dwell in dilapidated houses."[34]

As shown by the archaeological and written record, medieval Jews clearly preferred to bury their valuables in the ground, despite their better living conditions as town inhabitants. Not surprisingly, the most popular places were cellars and backyards. In addition, one hid in the wall[35], in the attic[36], beneath the bed[37], in the chimney[38], in the latrine[39], in barrels in the wine cellar[40], even in

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[32] *Babylonian Talmud*, Tractate Baba Metziah 42a.

[33] Shimon ben Zemah Duran, *Responsa* (Jerusalem, 1960), part 4, no. 26.

[34] Joseph ben Shlomo Colon, *Responsa* (Jerusalem, 1973), no. 131.

[35] For instance Meir of Rothenburg, *Responsa*, part 4 (print Prague), no. 759, and many more references.

[36] Yitzhak ben Moshe, *Or Saruah* (Zitomir, 1862), no. 132.

[37] Israel Isserlein, *Trumath ha-Deshen* (Warsaw, 1882/Bnej Brak, 1970), part A (Responsa), no. 333.

[38] Israel of Bruna, *Responsa* (Jerusalem, 1960), no. 241.

[39] Gerd Mentgen, *Studien zur Geschichte der Juden im mittelalterlichen Elsaß* (Hanover, 1995), p. 190, note 401, quotes Leopold Müller, "Aus fünf Jahrhunderten," *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg 26* (1899), 156, note 2 (non videtur).

[40] Arthur Goldmann, ed., *Das Judenbuch der Scheffstrasse zu Wien* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1908), p. 128. The text variations are exactly reproduced by Gabriele Brünnel, *Di' Winer Gesero: Quellentext oder Märtyrerlegende?* Hausarbeit für die akademische Abschlußprüfung, Universität Trier (Trier, 1988), p. 22. I thank Prof. Hava Turniansky/Jerusalem, who pointed me to this deserving thesis. For a Sephardic parallel, see Shimon ben Zemah Duran, *Responsa* (Jerusalem, 1960), no. 11.

books[41]. A thoroughly unlucky Jew of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century bought from a non-Jew a quantity of tin to cover his roof, changed his mind and sold it to another Jew. Later it turned out that this was silver covered with a coat of tin.[42] In at least one documented case, Jews attempted to deposit their valuables with trustworthy non-Jews.[43]

Why hide? There is no need to dwell extensively on this question. Our archaeological findings tightly fit the history of persecution, which (not only in the Middle Ages) was always connected to expropriation. The Yiddish sources on the great persecution in Austria in 1420/21 (*The Vienna Gezerah*) concisely make the connection: at the beginning of the affair the poor Jews were expelled; then the rich ones were arrested and tortured to declare their hidden treasures; only at the end of the long drawn-out tragedy the desecration of the host was raised as a pretext for the death sentence.[44] Two aspects would surely suggest to Jews the wisdom of hiding their possessions: their special vulnerability as religious and social minority, and the possession of comparatively extensive movable valuables, be it as private property or as pawns and merchandise.[45]

Still, persecution was only part of the story. Sometimes the context was trifling, as in one of the Responsa of Rabbi Israel Isserlein (Wiener Neustadt, Austria, first half of the fifteenth century): "because of the fire that broke out on the Sabbath you dug holes to hide your valuables."[46] In the "Book of Pious" (early thirteenth century) we read of a moneylender who had retained coins declared invalid by the king. The writer warns against hiding such coins from the bailiffs in (apparently) holy books, not because this was illegal but in order to safeguard against sacrilege.[47] Quite often valuables were hid not because of Christian avarice but rather for internal family tensions: arguments over inheritance and the wish to protect the property of daughters and widows. Typically, such occurrences took place in extended households, where the presiding patriarch tends to lump all accessible valuables into his own pot. Such situations were more frequent in the Sephardic realm,[48] but also came about in Ashkenaz.[49] As we shall see shortly, yet another common

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[41] *Book of Pious*, ed. Reuben Margaliot (Jerusalem, 1970), no. 899.

[42] Yitzhak ben Moshe, *Or Saruah* (Zitomir, 1862), no. 71.

[43] Geiger, "Vivilin" (see above, note 2).

[44] Goldmann, *Judenbuch*; Brünnel, *Winer Gesero* (both above, note 40); Samuel Krauss, *Die Wiener Geserah vom Jahre 1421* (Vienna–Leipzig, 1920), p. 6 and note 39, p. 99 and note 550.

[45] For movable property and in general for the prosperity of significant parts of the Jewish population see M. Toch, Between Impotence and Power – the Jews in the Economy and Polity of Medieval Europe, in *Poteri economici e poteri politici. Secc. XIII–XVIII*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi, Atti della XXX Settimana di Studi, Istituto Francesco Datini, Prato (Florence 1999), pp. 221–43.

[46] Israel Isserlein, *Trumath ha-Deshen* (see above, note 37), no. 60.

[47] *Book of Pious* (see above, note 41), no. 899.

[48] Maimonides, *Responsa*, ed. Jehoshua Blau (Jerusalem, 1958), no. 229; Shlomo ben Aderet, *Responsa* (Jerusalem, 1960), no. 75; Yitzhak bar Sheshet, *Responsa* (Jerusalem, 1975), no. 325.

[49] Irving Agus, *Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg, his Life and his Works as Sources for the Religious, Legal, and Social History of the Jews of Germany in the 13th Century* (Philadelphia, 1947/New York, 1970), no. 663.

concern was to hide parts of the property from the internal tax levy of the Jewish community. Thus Jews hid from one another as much as they hid from Christian authorities and neighbors.

How widespread a phenomenon? Medieval Christians took hidden treasures of Jews as an obvious fact, as in the cases, already quoted, of the Vienna Gezerah of 1420/21, the prompt digging operation in Überlingen in 1431, and of the Bohemian king in Prague 1336. In 1389, in the same city of Prague the common people took the initiative. After a particularly nasty pogrom, they dug up the devastated Jewish quarter; with such zeal that the aldermen, fearing the king's wrath, had to seal the gates and send out armed guards.[50] In Speyer, which the owner of the Lingenfeld supposedly fled in 1349, the town council beat the rabble to it and immediately after the pogrom sent bailiffs to block the streets and sift through the ruins of the houses for valuables and money. One of them stole part of the plunder and took off for Strasbourg, where he was eventually apprehended.[51] Thus, by the late Middle Ages the almost instinctive assumption of the booty to be had from Jewish troves was not unfounded.

Jewish sources too evidence a well-established routine of hiding valuables. This is indicated by the impressive quantity of legal deliberations on the matter by medieval sages. A further clue is the legal principle in use all over the Ashkenazic realm, namely that hidden treasures were viewed as integral part of private property and were therefore taxable. Maharil, the already mentioned Jacob ben Moshe Molin (1360–1427) thus wrote in a Responsum: "it is our custom that a person pays [taxes] from everything he has in his hands and hidden, even though he makes no profit from it."[52] The counter-argument put forward as a minority view, namely that a trove did not produce income but rather served as a savings account for widows and orphans, was not accepted by most rabbis.[53] It was also rejected by the representatives of the communities of the duchy of Steyern assembled at an unknown date in the year 1415/16 in Wiener Neustadt. Rather, they bound themselves to the following constitution, which was duly recorded in German by a ducal scribe:[54]

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[50] Frantisek Graus, *Struktur und Geschichte. Drei Volksaufstände im mittelalterlichen Prag* (Sigmaringen, 1971), p. 54.

[51] *Germania Judaica* 2, p. 779 and note 47.

[52] For instance Jacob Molin-Maharil, *Responsa*, ed. Y. Satz (Jerusalem, 1979), no. 121.

[53] For instance: the counter argument by Menahem of Merseburg, *Nimukim*, was brusquely rejected by Jacob Molin ("my heart stutters in face of this argument"): see previous note.

[54] Arthur Zuckerman, "Unpublished materials on the relationship of early 15th century Jewry to the central government," in *Salo Wittmayer Baron Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of his 80th Birthday*, eds. Saul Lieberman and Arthur Hyman (Jerusalem, 1974), English Section, 2, pp. 1085–86. The assembly and its decisions are confirmed by Israel Isserlein, *Trumath ha-Deshen* (see above, note 37), no. 342. I thank Yacov Guggenheim/Jerusalem who pointed me to the tax document. The original text goes as follows: "Das ist der ayde, den die Judenmaister gemacht habent, den ain yder Jud sweren sol: … er sol sein hab schreiben an alle list vnd schalkait, es sey Silber oder Silberes wert … Es sey das er selber Innehat oder das er zubehalten hat geben in ander leutt hennde …, es sey gelt schuld mit briefen oder an brief, …, es sein pfannt oder berayt pfenning, die er hat offennlich oder verporgen, es sein klaynat, offenlich oder verporgen, es sey das er silber verporgen hab, es sey das das seine vordern verporgen

> This is the oath made by the masters (elders) of the Jews, which shall be sworn by every Jew: … he shall write down his property without cunning and ruse, be it silver or equivalent … Be it in his own hands or that he has handed it over for safekeeping to others, …, be it money owned by letter of debt or without letter, …, be it pawn or ready pennies, which he possesses openly or hidden, be it jewelry, openly or hidden, be it silver hidden by him, or hidden by his forefathers, be it that he has inherited the trove, be it that he has never seen the trove and never had any intent of making a profit from it.

We can deduce that hidden treasures made up such a significant part of the total capital that there was a healthy interest to avoid its taxation. On the other hand, with such a considerable source of revenue communities found it difficult, if not impossible to forego taxation. From each angle, taxation is yet more clear evidence for a widespread and economically significant practice of hiding valuables. Both owners and authorities found themselves struggling to control treasure troves. King John Lackland already understood this when he confirmed in 1201 the privileges of the Jews of England: "Know that we have conceded and by this present charter of ours confirmed to our Jews in England that excesses which may arise among them except those which belong to our crown and justice, as homicide, mayhem, premeditated assault, burglary, rape, theft, arson, and treasure-trove."[55]

On both ends of the European Diaspora Jews used the terms "hidden" and "treasures" interchangeably. In a question addressed to Yitzhak bar Sheshet (1326–1408), the foremost Sephardic sage of his time, the riches of Majorcan Jews were described thus: "houses full with all the best, treasures of silver and merchandise, things hidden and concealed, precious stones and pearls, caves full of gold dinars."[56] The Yiddish chronicles on the tribulations of Austrian Jews in 1421 are very different in tone, but (in our present context) carry the same message. By one version the Jews were tortured to reveal their *hafuross* (pits, diggings). Another version uses as synonym the term *ozoross* (treasures).[57]

III

Hidden treasures were thus a significant phenomenon in the lives of medieval Jews and their Christian neighbors. Small wonder than that similar to so many other features of Jewish life, they made their entry into literary imagination. We have already seen two literary works that took up the Jewish trove to drive a dramatic plot: Christopher Marlowe's Barabas of Malta and the Hebrew Chronicle's Yitzhak

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habent, es sey das er die verporgnuss geerbt hab, ob dieselbe verporgnüss nye gesehen habe vnd hat auch nye müt gehabt, das er dhainerlay damit gewinnen wolt."

[55] Joseph Jacobs, ed., *The Jews of Angevin England: Documents and Records* (London, 1893), p. 214. The text most probably goes back to the time of King Henry's II succession to the throne in 1154: Jacobs, p. 215.

[56] Yitzhak bar Sheshet, *Responsa* (Jerusalem, 1975), no. 153.

[57] Brünnel, *Winer Gesero* (above, note 40), p. 16.

ben David, the repentant convert of 1096. In both cases the underlying topic is wealth with all its moral and religious pitfalls. This universal theme is also taken up, with relish, in a work already quoted a number of times, the "Book of Pious," a collection of exempla of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century unsurpassed for its extent and variety of topics. One of its tales goes thus:[58]

> In one town there was a large community and rich people and they were filled with pride by all this wealth and did not dedicate themselves to study … And there was a wise old man who said: know that unless you dedicate yourself to study and repent, I would not be surprised if the town [that is the community] will be destroyed. As long as the old man was alive nothing happened. But when he died a king came and oppressed the town and they gave the third [of their property] by oath; and he spoke to them, swear to me on your Thorah that you have given me the full third of all your property. Then there came informers and said to the king that those people had hidden money beneath the ground. He spoke to them: you have sinned against your Thorah and sworn a false oath, and he led them into captivity and destroyed the town; all this to fulfill the word of the old man.

The post-medieval literary career of our topic reflects an important development. In the legends spun by Jews after the medieval period around hidden treasure, an important element characterizing previously both reality and literary treatment changes. The trove is no longer a metaphor for wealth, but becomes one for poverty. This might have to do with the general change in the construction of reality in legend and fairy tale, maybe also with the increased borrowing by Jews from the literatures of their environs. As a more tangible background one might add the decisive demographic changes from medieval to early modern times: the move of the centers of Jewish life from western and central to eastern Europe, the rapid demographic growth since the 18th century, and especially the pauperization of large parts of European Jewry. As medieval exempla literature turns into early modern legend, most significantly the legends of the Hassidim, the topic is no more the hiding of a treasure but rather its discovery; not the safekeeping of ones own property but rather the transcending of insufferable reality. The moral and religious lesson to be drawn: for such miraculous assistance one must be poor, pious and filled with undoubting love of God.

Let us conclude with two examples for this last twist to the topic (before the one occasioned by the Holocaust, which lies outside our purview). They are taken from the best newer Jewish literature is able to muster. Martin Buber in his *Tales of the Hasidim* has one story titled "The Treasure under the Bridge":[59]

> There was once a poor, God fearing Jew who lived in the city of Prague. One night he dreamt that he should journey to Vienna. There, at the base of a bridge leading to the King's palace, he would find a buried treasure. Night after night the dream recurred until, leaving his family behind, he traveled to Vienna to claim his fortune. The bridge,

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[58] *Book of Pious*, (see above, note 41), no. 212 (my translation).

[59] Martin Buber, *Tales of the Hasidim: The Later Masters* (New York, 1948), pp. 245–46.

> however, was heavily guarded. Every day the poor Jew spent hours pacing back and forth across the bridge waiting for his chance. After two weeks time one of the guards grabbed him by the lapels of his coat and demanded gruffly, "Jew! What are you plotting? Why do you keep returning to this place day after, day?" Frustrated and anxious, he blurted out the story of his dream. When he finished, the soldier, who had been containing his mirth, broke into uncontrollable laughter. He stopped laughing long enough to say, "What a foolish Jew you are believing in dreams. Why, if I let my life be guided by visions, I would be well on my way to the city of Prague. For just last night I dreamt that a poor Jew in that city has, buried in his cellar, a treasure which awaits discovery." The poor Jew returned home. He dug in his cellar and found the fortune. Upon reflection he thought, the treasure was always in my possession. Yet, I had to travel to Vienna to know of its existence.

Much more fantastic is the literary spin given to legend and fairy tale by Samuel Joseph Agnon in his novel "The Bridal Canopy". It appeared in 1931 under the more fitting Hebrew title *Hakhnassat Kalah* and is probably the ultimate literary rendering of the Jewish *shtetl* of Eastern Europe.[60] It tells of a Jewish Don Quixote, a Hassid by the name of Reb Yudel, a man entirely passive in his temper and eminently unfit for the storms of life. Yielding at last to the pressure of his energetic wife Fromet, Judel sets out to find dowries for his three daughters. He rambles through the Jewish villages and towns of Galicia, meets the strangest of people, talks and talks, and finally returns home empty-handed. At the close of the novel, it is only a miracle that enables Yudel to carry out his human and religious duty to marry off his three daughters. It is doubtful whether Agnon was conscious of the Christian parallel in the legend of St. Nicholas of Myra/Bari. Rather than have a poor nobleman send off his three marriagable daughters to prostitution for lack of dowries, he tossed the necessary money (or golden apples) into their bedroom (Fig. 15). With Agnon there is of course no nobleman, no prostitution and no saint, but rather a miraculous rooster. Agnon did not invent his *gallus ex machina*, but most probably took it from yet another Hassidic legend.[61] The rooster, designed for the pot to make a betrothal meal, takes off, leading mother and daughters in pursuit to the outsides of town. This is how Agnon describes the chase:[62]

> Finally the cock fled into a cave and hid there. They chased him up to the mouth of the cave, and saw that something inside ignited like fire. Pessele started to cry, fire, fire, woe to us that the cock got into the fire and burns. Bluma answered with a sob, not only the cock is burning, but also the whole town of Brod. Let us cry Brod is burning. Then the youngest Gittele said, never in my whole life have I seen fire that burns but does not

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[60] Samuel Joseph Agnon, *The Bridal Canopy* (New York, 1937); idem, *Hakhnassat Kalah* (Jerusalem, 1931/1947/1998).

[61] Which appeared after 1914 in an anonymous booklet under the Hebrew title "Sihot Yekarim," with reprints from 1930 and 1947 in the National and University Library, Jerusalem. See Meir Bussak, "On the sources of the work of S. J. Agnon," *Mabua* 21 (Jerusalem, 1988/9), pp. 141–71 (Hebrew), also on the Internet: http://www.daat.ac.il/daat/kitveyet/mabua/lemakor-2.htm.

[62] Agnon, Hakhnassat Kalah, pp. 394–99 (my translation).

Fig. 15 St Nicholas and the Three Virgins. Wood painting, altar piece, Church of St Francis, Poniky, Slovakia, *c*. 1512. Reproduced courtesy of the Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, Krems, Austria, picture 7013430.

smoke. They looked and saw that the fire was no fire, but a treasure of gold coins and precious stones and jewels, whose sparkle lit the cave from end to end. There they stood and took fright and cried Shmah Israel, because they thought this to be sorcery. But when the treasure did not sink into the ground and the precious stones did not turn into water, they knew that this was no sorcery but a real treasure. Their lips began to form a smile that grew and grew until their hearts turned over and they stretched their arms and filled their aprons. When the aprons were full, the treasure disappeared and the cave went dark. But their hearts were filled by a growing light.

Comparative History and World History: Contrasts and Contacts

Diego Olstein

Introduction

B.Z. Kedar's wide interests, beyond the Mediterranean area and the medieval period encompass the realms of both comparative and world history. However, the relationship between these apparently related branches of historical writing is complicated and even controversial. The aim of the present paper is to arrange the different patterns of communication between comparative and world history. Originally, both branches developed independently, self-enclosed and articulated by the publication of particular journals and book series. Nevertheless, the detachment from the traditional unit of research, the nation-state or the previous geo-political units, adopted by both historiographical fields, resulted in the development of a two-fold relationship. On the one hand, an exclusivist approach attempts to separate between these fields and even undermine the assumptions of the other one. On the other hand, an inclusive approach attempts to combine the assumptions and procedures of both comparative and world history. The presentation of these isolated, exclusivist and inclusive patterns of communication will map both the irreconcilable assumptions and the possible combination of comparative and world history.

B.Z. Kedar Comparative and World Historian

An important portion of Kedar's work on the Mediterranean area during the medieval period offers a remarkable comparative dimension. His main argument in *Merchants in Crisis*, the decline in merchants' self-confidence and the change in their *modus operandi* following the economic downturn of the fourteenth century, relies on a triple comparative design. Firstly, by contrasting the period under scrutiny with the thirteenth century he assesses the singularity of the economic conditions. Secondly, by stressing the crucial agreement between the indicators observed in Genoa and Venice, he corroborates the above-mentioned change of mood. Finally, by presenting the different political conditions in both cities and therefore neutralizing this variable, he is able to connect the psychological dimension with the economic conditions.[1]

[1] Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Merchants in Crisis: Genoese and Venetian Men of Affairs and the Fourteenth-Century Depression* (New Haven, 1976).

In *Crusade and Mission* the comparative dimension is again conspicuous. To begin with, the very point of departure regarding missionary activity is a comparative one. That is to say, the contrast between the different approaches of the Catholic Church to evangelization of its northern and southern frontiers fosters the research into the relationship between crusade and mission. While northern and central Europe were Christianized, evangelization in the Islamic world was regarded as futile. The reason for this difference – a ban on missionary activity in the Islamic lands – is the trigger for the intermingling of conquest and preaching. Moreover, this general trend is, once again, comparatively depicted by referring to the regional commonalities and singularities across Catholic Europe, Byzantium, Islamic Spain and Christian Spain.[2]

Another framework in which Kedar explicitly combines medieval and comparative history is that of a work-team, to which he contributed, gathered around a cross-boundary phenomenon: Muslim existence under Christian rule. The collection of articles, arranged geographically, provides a comparative view that highlights a long list of common features that existed in Iberia, Sicily, and the Crusader Kingdom regarding the experiences of Muslim communities. The crucial agreements resulting from the comparison consist of legal conditions such as freedom, religious toleration, property rights enforcement, judicial autonomy and a ban on the criticizing of Christianity and missionary attempts. In addition, some idiosyncratic contrasts are also provided. For instance, the disparity between the fines imposed for the murder or rape of Muslim subjects in different areas, the allowing or forbidding of mosques, and the extent of conversion.[3]

However, Kedar practices comparative history beyond the medieval period as well. In *The Changing Land: Between Jordan and the Sea* he gathered, selected, and matched aerial photographs of rural and urban landscapes dating from World War I, from the 1940s, the late 1960s, and from the 1990s. His comparative strategy in this case is "to allow the reader to confront, through the visual texts proffered by aerial photography, some of the physical changes that took place during this stormy century in a number of localities throughout the country." This "do-it-yourself" comparative exercise is a well-known approach in comparative history, as we can see in the comparative historical journals. Less frequent, however, is the immediate contrast obtained by switching from one unit under comparison to the next, a resource that John Elliott labelled in his book on Richelieu and Olivares "a historiographical Wimbledon."[4]

Moreover, besides the history of the medieval Mediterranean culture and comparative history, Kedar takes a third historiographical path, that of world

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[2] Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton, N.J., 1984).

[3] James M. Powell, ed., *Muslims under Latin Rule, 1100–1300* (Princeton, N.J., 1990).

[4] Benjamin Z. Kedar, *The Changing Land: between the Jordan and the Sea: Aerial Photographs from 1917 to the Present* (Israel, 1999); John H. Elliott, *Richelieu and Olivares* (Cambridge, 1984), p. 6.

history. The first example of a study in world history entails a worldwide search following procedures of exclusion. The result is a typology that matches up types of political organizations and methods of exclusion. Deportation appears as typical of empires, political exile as characteristic of city-states and corporate expulsion as recurrent in the emergent European state system. This last particular form of exclusion, defined as the banishment of an entire category of subjects beyond the physical boundaries of a political entity, emerged from a singular conjuncture. Its origins lie in the convergence between an irrational motivation, the delimitation of the spiritual boundaries of the Christian society, a rational means of execution and the increasing capability of secular rulers to protect their realms. Its functionality derives from conditions such as the limited size of European incipient states and their efficient machinery. From these conditions resulted the gradual replacement during the Middle Ages of massacres with corporate expulsion. Kedar's conceptualization and study of the previously neglected phenomenon of corporate expulsion offers a new perspective to the prolonged search by world history for understanding the uniqueness of the West.[5]

In another article, Kedar examines the types of war that resulted in major turning points in both national and world history. He identifies five categories of such wars in national history and four in world history. The five categories of war as turning points in national history include four types characterized by immediate transformations – elimination of a political entity, creation of a political entity, change of regime and abortion of significant transformations already underway – and one type of war, the impact of which becomes evident in the long run in either international relations, the social structure, the economy, the culture or the collective psychology. The four types of war as turning points in world history comprise not only world wars, but also regional wars that affected the world at large, wars fought across large regions of the world and wars that resulted in the emergence of new civilizations.[6]

The amazing ease with which Kedar combines the writing of both comparative and world history, however, is exceptional. It is true that comparative and world history share the basic features of macro-historical approaches: detachment from the nation-state or the previous geo-political units as their unit of research, formulation of extensive inquiries and reliance on mainly secondary sources. It is also true that the *American Historical Review* has assumed since 1999 that comparative and world history are closely enough related as to combine them into a single category. But the relationship between these two branches of historical knowledge is far from being well established. It is complicated, on occasions controversial, and only seldom dealt with. The next three sections will depict the three modes of

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[5] Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Expulsion as an Issue of World History," *Journal of World History* 7:2 (1996), 165–80.

[6] Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Wars as Turning Points in History," in Asher Susser, ed., *Six Days–Thirty Years. New Perspectives on the Six Day War* (Tel Aviv, 1999), pp. 17–28.

relationship between comparative and world history: self-enclosure, the exclusivist approach and the inclusive approach.

The Isolated Origins of Separated Categories and Networks

Whereas both comparative and world histories have been written since the 1920s, the present inquiry focuses on these historical fields after their consolidation around a specialized journal, although evolution occurred during different periods. The journal *Comparative Studies in Society and History* was founded in 1958. In the editorial note, Thrupp formulated its aim as a bridge communicating scholars dealing with similar general problems. Through the framing of broad questions as common guides and the regular exchange of hypotheses and findings, comparative history would reveal a broad common path of development in different national units, in addition to discovering the true uniqueness of all of them. In the same year, the first issue of *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin* appeared. Its aim was to supplement erudition on discrete topics by proposing a general issue for comparison through several units. This endeavour would expose the analogical relationships of cause and effect and parallelisms across units, revealing in this way the common character of development beneath the singular national paths. The striking simultaneity and similarity between the aims of these journals could represent the beginning of comparative history as a distinctive field, so far only sporadically practiced.[7]

Much more recent is the consolidation of the study of world history, which also initially experienced an unsystematic phase. Again, to a significant extent the establishment of a specialized journal accomplished the articulation of the field. In the first issue of the *Journal of World History* (1990), Bentley stated that the aim of this new perspective on history was to transcend national frontiers and study forces such as population movements, economic fluctuations, climatic changes and the transfer of technologies. The adoption of the global community as a unit of analysis is, therefore, its outstanding feature.[8] The goals of comparative and world histories, as stated in their foundational journals, reveal their common ground and their singularity, as well as a somewhat unclear distinction between the two.

An important common feature of comparative and world history is their transcendence of national boundaries, which has constituted the distinctive feature of history since its establishment as an academic discipline. However, their singularity comes from their particular methods of transcending those boundaries. The method of comparative history to transcend the boundaries is analytical, while that of world history is substantial. The object of study defined by comparative history is the commonalities and differences of any particular phenomenon, process

[7] Sylvia Thrupp, "Editorial," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 1 (1958), pp. 1–5; Alexandre Eck, "La société Jean Bodin pour l'histoire comparative des institutions," *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, 1 (1958), pp. 7–9.

[8] Jerry Bentley, "A New Forum for Global History," *Journal of World History* 1 (1990), iii–v.

or institution, in various units enclosed by national boundaries. In the case of world history, it is rather the objects of study itself that transcend these boundaries.

This conceptual distinction is clearly reflected in the topics presented by each journal and the method of approaching them. *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin pour l'histoire comparative des institutions*, as the journal was renamed from the second issue onwards, dedicates several volumes to a particular topic, such as childhood, rural communities, custom, punishment or strangers. The comparative method in use is that of aggregation, that is the successive presentation of monographs arranged chronologically or geographically. Once provided with this valuable raw material, the reader is able to transcend the specific – national, civilizational, epochal – and to search for comparative conclusions.

Comparative Studies in Society and History (*CSSH*) does not offer such a unifying principle of organization. Instead, it includes several paths towards comparative history. Perhaps, the type of article more closely related to the original editorial note is the one that establishes the differences and agreements between several units around a particular problem, for example "Labour and Sugar in Puerto Rico and Jamaica, 1800–1850." However, most of the articles in the journal are specific. The editorial board addressed this situation from 1963 onwards by grouping the monographic articles under wider titles – retroactively designated "series" in 1970 – such as *Political Types, Literacy and Society* or *Immigrants and Associations*. However, many of the broader titles are idiosyncratic. When, on the other hand, they are recurrent, for example *Social Mobility, Urbanization* or *Usury*, the reader must gather all the monographs and comparative articles under these general titles, aided by the subject index or occasional editorial forewords that relate the current issue with the earlier ones. Only a few special issues were dedicated to one topic. The organization of these few volumes is akin to the *Recueil's* structure.

To sum up, the comparative historical journals offer both comparative articles and more or less efficiently organized monographs relating specifically to the same general issues, recurrent in several units, which enable the readers to proceed with their own comparison. The *Journal of World History* (*JWH*) clearly offers a different type of scholarship. Most of its topics are trans-boundary by definition: the impact, contacts, links, integration diffusion, and migration from at least one unit to at least another one. These units are generally large geographical networks that extend throughout one or more regions, continents, ocean basins, or hemisphere. There is also the examination of a particular subject (piracy, democracy, porcelain, or expulsion) on a world scale.

Nevertheless, despite this clear-cut difference, both fields remain related. On the one hand, the commonalities revealed by the analytical application of comparison can enlighten world history by revealing substantial phenomena or processes that transcend national boundaries. On the other hand, substantial phenomena or processes that transcend national boundaries can be approached comparatively in order to understand the ways in which they proceeded through the different units involved. This feature is also traceable through the specialized journals, for

example *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, which provides comparative perspectives on trans-boundary phenomena, such as transfer of technology or cultural diffusion. Similarly, the *Journal of World History* includes comparative articles on worldwide phenomena, such as government, nationalism and imperialism. This tension between clear-cut difference and compatibility between comparative and world history generates two modes of communication.

Imposing Boundaries on the Boundary-less

One possible result of the consolidation of world history as a well-established sub-field can be its enclosure as well as that of comparative history within its own categories and networks. Effectively, one approach to the coexistence of two boundary-less historical sub-fields is the construction of clear-cut boundaries between them. While depicting the uses of comparative history, Kocka states:

> Comparative works so defined must not be confused with relational historical works which do not necessarily seek similarities and differences between two units of investigation – e.g. France and Germany – but deal with their mutual influences and the interplay between them. The more in the practice of historical research comparison and relational history appear together, the more important it becomes to keep them conceptually separated.[9]

Frank formulated this neutral construction of a boundary between the boundary transcendent historical fields in a partisan vein:

> For however useful it may be to relate the same thing through different times, the essential contribution of the historian to historical understanding is successively to relate different things and places at the same time in the historical processes.[10]

These quotations insist on the clear-cut distinction revealed above between the aims of comparative and world history: to draw a distinction or to show a relationship between units. Moreover, they add another fundamental dimension to that distinction: the definition of time and space. The procedure of contrast implies that the units under comparison are self-enclosed. Accepting this assumption enables the historian to select for comparison different units from the entire time span. World history refutes this diachronic freedom of election. By focusing on the relationship between units, world history undermines the analytical closure imposed on them. And since simultaneity is a requirement for relationship, the synchronic dimension of time prevails for world historians.

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[9] Jürgen Kocka. "The Uses of Comparative History," in Bjork Ragnar and Molin Kare, eds, *Societies Made up of History* (Sweden, 1996), pp. 197–98.

[10] Andre G. Frank, "A Plea for World System History," *Journal of World History*, 2 (1991), 10.

Therefore, the common feature of studies that transcend national boundaries results in totally different paths of inquiry. If, for instance, a phenomenon such as empire is comparatively studied, then the Roman, Spanish and British empires can be compared. These were the empires studied by Syme in order to elucidate the causes of the disintegration of an empire. Presumably the absorption of local elites into imperial institutions, as in the case of Rome, warranted stability. On the other hand, the Creole aristocracy of the Spanish empire, which was never employed in high-level administration, led to the disruption of the Spanish empire. A similar outcome occurred in North America, as the integration of the local elite into the imperial machinery was only partial. Similarly, Brunt compared the Roman and British empires in order to understand the reasons for their collapse and found that modern conditions fostered a more rapid imperial decline. The world history perspective, on the other hand, will stress synchronicity of the phenomenon as its salient feature as well as its worldwide consequences. McNeill points out to the simultaneous emergence of empires across Eurasia at the beginning of the Common Era: Roman, Parthian, Kushan, and Han. This simultaneity resulted in the "first closure of ecumene," which means the encompassing of North Africa–Eurasia by bordering states. This political situation favoured transportation, communication, trade, and migration, but was also responsible for epidemics, which caused the collapse of empires and of the "closure" itself. Similarly, Bentley focuses on the cross cultural-contacts made possible by the stability that resulted from the simultaneous existence of empires.[11]

Even if the units under comparison are contemporaneous, the conceptual gap remains, as exemplified by the "modernization" and "dependence" approaches to the history of Latin America. From the comparative perspective of the modernization approach the amount of capital available for investment, the impact of feudal institutions and the presence of a dual economy are crucial factors for the differing results in North and Latin American development. However, in the view of world historians, it is precisely the connection between these contrasted units and the particular type of relationship between them that stimulates development to the north of Río Grande and, simultaneously, underdevelopment to its south.[12] Nevertheless, despite these considerable gaps, an inclusive approach balances the exclusivist mode.

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[11] Ronald Syme, *Colonial Elites. Rome, Spain and the Americas* (Oxford, 1958); P.A. Brunt, "Reflections on British and Roman Imperialism," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 7 (1964–65), 267–88; McNeill, W.H. *The Rise of the West: a History of the Human Community* (New York: New American Library; London: New English Library, 1963). Jerry H. Bentley, *Old World Encounters. Cross-Cultural Contacts and Exchanges in Pre-Modern Times* (New York, 1993).

[12] André Frank, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America: Historical Studies of Chile and Brazil* (New York, 1969)

New Rapprochement Attempts

Even before the emergence of world history as a distinctive historical perspective, Hodgson had already noted its problematic relationship with comparative history. In an article dedicated to the conditions of historical comparison, he stressed the importance of taking into account the relationship in which each compared unit is involved vis à vis its region. For example, although both Vikings and Polynesians were engaged in exploration, the former were part of a wider configuration – the Oikoumene – while the latter were isolated.[13] This preliminary suggestion has become a key for the attempts being made in recent years to adjust comparative and world history. McMichael has provided a second key by defining the "incorporated comparison." This type of historical comparison, instead of juxtaposing several units, adopts connected and mutually conditioning processes as its subject of comparison.[14] In recent years, several endeavours of comparative world history which share one of these two orientations have evolved.

Among the many books that have lately addressed again the question of the rise of the West, Pomeranz in *The Great Divergence* accomplishes this task by combining comparative and world history. Claiming that comparison and connections are indistinguishable, his methodology departs from the comparison between selected parts of his units – Europe, China, Japan and India – which are similarly positioned within their worlds. Then he moves progressively toward those units as a whole, to still larger units, such as the Atlantic basin, and finally he adopts the whole world as the unit of analysis. From the global perspective he is able to make comparisons between two parts of the whole and observe how their position and function shape their nature.[15]

The other path of combination resembles the principle established by McMichael. The first example of this is provided by recent historical research on globalization. In this case, one process is compared at two chronological stages: the last part of the twentieth century and the second half of the nineteenth century. This strategy has become a major current trend in the research on economic globalization in history.[16] The recurrent comparison between "today globalization" and the "first

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[13] Marshal Hodgson, "Conditions of Historical Comparison Among Ages and Regions," in Edmund Burke, ed., *Rethinking World History. Essays on Europe, Islam, and World History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993), pp. 267–87.

[14] Philip McMichael, "Incorporating Comparison within a World-Historical Perspective: An Alternative Comparative Method," *American Sociological Review*. 55:3 (1990), 385–97.

[15] Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton, N.J., 2000).

[16] Giovanni Arrighi, "The Global Market," *Journal of World-Systems Research*, 5:2 (1999), 217–51; Paul Bairoch, *Economics and World History: Myths and Paradoxes* (Chicago, 1993); Robert Feenstra, "Integration of Trade and Disintegration of Production in the Global Economy," *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 12:4 (1998), 31–50; Jeffery Sachs et al., "Economic Reform and the Process of Global Integration," *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity* 1(1995), 1–118; George Soros, "The Capitalist Threat," *The Atlantic Monthly*, 279:2 (1997), 45–58; George Soros, *The Crisis of Global Capitalism* (New York, 1998); Jeffery Williamson. "Globalization and Inequality Then and Now:

great globalization" of 1850–1914 results in either crucial agreement or crucially different conclusions. Conspicuous among the first kind of conclusions are economic openness, export/GDP ratios, lowering of tariff rates, rate of capital flow and the "hegemonic stability" provided by a single state that has sufficient power to influence or coerce other states, as in the case of the British empire and United States hegemony. On the other hand, the conclusions oriented towards the differences draw attention to the qualitative distinctions between the two waves of globalization of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by stressing, *inter alia*, the drop in cost of transfer of ideas, the acceleration of the information flow and the decentralization of production.[17]

Chase Dunn attempted a similar project while dealing with the multiplicity of world systems. Dealing with the debates regarding the existence of world systems dating from the fifteenth century, the thirteenth and 3000 BCE, he assumes that these claims do not exclude each other but require a comparative analysis. Therefore, once again a world-encompassing process is compared throughout several chronological stages. In his "Cross-World-System Comparisons" (1995) he claims that world systems range from small to global in terms of the populations linked and the spatial extent of interactions. From the contrast of similarities and differences, ten types of world system are presented: nomadic foragers, sedentary foragers, big man, simple chiefdoms, complex chiefdoms, primary states, primary empires, secondary empires, commercializing systems and the modern world system. Thereafter, he provides a more parsimonious scheme of four types of world systems – kin-based, tribute-based, market-based, and socialist – relying on a clearer comparative design that contemplates variations in information flows, politico-military competition, trade in prestige goods and the bulk goods trade.[18]

In short, during recent years several attempts have been made to profit from the combination of a world-scale historical research and a comparative design. This combination has been possible either by concentrating on the functional relationship of the units compared to the whole, or by comparing a world process at different historical stages.

The Late 19th and Late 20th Centuries Compared," *National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper 5491*(Cambridge, Mass., 1996); Philip McMichael, "World System Analysis, Globalization, and Incorporated Comparison," *Journal of World-Systems Research*. 6:3 (2000), 668–90.

[17] Richard Baldwin, and Philippe Martin, "Two Waves of Globalisation: Superficial Similarities, Fundamental Differences," *National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper 6904* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999); Michael Bordo et al., "Is Globalization Today Really Different than Globalization a Hundred Years Ago?," *National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper 7195* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999); Robert Chase, "The More Things Change ... Learning from Other Eras of 'Unprecedented' Globalization." *SAIS Review.* 20:2 (2000), 223–29.

[18] Christopher Chase-Dunn, "Cross-World-System Comparisons," in Stephen Sanderson, ed., *Civilizations and World Systems: Studying World-Historical Change* (Walnut Creek, Calif., 1995); Christopher Chase-Dunn, and Thomas Hall, *Rise and Demise: Comparing World-System* (Boulder, CO, 1997).

Conclusions: Examining the Limits of Detachment and Inclusiveness

The relationship between comparative and world histories has been a somewhat neglected historiographical issue. It is clear that comparative and world history have been developing as two distinct fields. However, by transcending the specialized character of traditional historical scholarship, they have usually been regarded as closely related since the appearance of world history. Probably reacting to this misleading impression, both comparative and world historians have established clear boundaries between the two supra-national fields. Comparative history is about contrasts obtained by detaching. World history is about interplays revealed by relating. However, with the consolidation of world history and keeping in mind the previous clear-cut delimitation, an attempt is currently under way to articulate the procedures of comparative and world history. One path explored is that of contrasts made up of the relationship to the whole instead of detachment from it. The second path is that of contrasting between the same kinds of interplay occurring on a global scale.

Although providing a preliminary scheme of the relationship between comparative and world histories, this paper obviously oversimplifies their complex relationship. Similarly, it also gives less attention to B.Z. Kedar's simultaneous embracement of comparative and world history, which triggered the above discussion, than it deserves. A complete account of his enterprises in these historical sub-fields should also include his consistent application of the comparative method across his studies, the research into the history of comparative historiography, the teaching of seminars on comparative history, the coordination of an annual international workshop on comparative history and the founding of the sub-field of world history at the Hebrew University.

THE CRUSADES, THE MILITARY ORDERS AND COMMERCE

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Pope John X (914–928) and the Antecedents of the First Crusade

Bernard Hamilton

The work of ninth-century popes in defending Rome against Muslim attacks has rightly been seen as an important element in the formation of the crusading ideal and special credit has been given to John VIII (872–882), who offered spiritual rewards to those who died fighting in that cause.[1] Yet John VIII's efforts met with failure and shortly before his death Muslim raiders established a permanent base on the Garigliano river (now known as the Liri), near Gaeta.

These marauders acknowledged the suzerainty of the Aghlabid emirs of Kairouan and were on good terms with the city-states of Naples, Amalfi and Gaeta, whose prosperity largely rested on trade with the Muslim world. Moreover, the rulers of Gaeta also welcomed them as a buffer between themselves and Capua.[2] But the Garigliano settlement also formed a point of entry for Saracen war-bands wishing to plunder central Italy. Monasteries and their treasures were particularly attractive to these raiders, just as those of northern Europe were to their Viking contemporaries. In 881, they attacked S. Vicenzo at Volturno and, in 883, the abbey of Montecassino.[3] They later entered the Papal States, where they sacked the monastery of Subiaco[4] and in 898, after seven years of severe harassment, they forced the community of the great imperial foundation of Farfa in the Sabina to abandon their abbey and split into three groups, which sought refuge respectively within the walls of Rome, Rieti and Fermo.[5]

The Saracen raiders infiltrated all parts of the Papal States. Able-bodied peasants were sold into slavery, and many villages and farms were left deserted. In 906, for example, Pope Sergius III made a grant to enable the Bishop of Silva Candida to restore his cathedral, because the estates of that diocese had been laid waste by

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[1] Etienne Delaruelle, "Essai sur la formation de l'idée de croisade," *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique publié par l'Institut Catholique de Toulouse* 42 (1941), 24–45, 86–103; 44 (1944), 13–46, 73–90; 54 (1953), 226–39; 55 (1954), 50–63.

[2] Hilmar C. Krueger, "The Italian Cities and the Arabs before 1095," in *A History of the Crusades*, gen. ed. Kenneth M. Setton, I, *The First Hundred Years*, ed. Marshall W. Baldwin(Philadelphia, 1958), p. 49; Charles-André Julien, *History of North Africa: Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. From the Arab Conquest to 1830*, rev. ed. by Roger Le Tourneau, trans. John Petrie, ed. C.C. Stewart (London,1970), pp. 41–50.

[3] Nicola Cilento, "Le incursioni saraceniche nell'Italia meridionale," *Italia meridionale Langobarda* (Milan–Naples, 1966), pp. 175–89. Jules Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin, depuis l'avènement du Basile Ier jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands (867–1071)*, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 90 (1904), pp. 130–31.

[4] Recorded in a bull of Pope Leo VII, *Il Regesto sublacense dell'undecimo secolo*, 17, eds. Leoni Allodi, G. Levi (Rome, 1885), pp. 46–47.

[5] Abbot Hugh, *Destructio monasterii Farfensis*, in Gregorio di Catino, *Il Chronicon Farfense*, ed. U. Balzani, Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 33, 34 (Rome, 1903), I, pp. 31–35.

the "nephandissima Saracenorum gente".[6] The chronicler Benedict of St. Andrews monastery on Monte Soratte reports: "[The Saracens] conquered the Roman Campagna with the sword and laid it waste with fire; the lands of Ciculano [south of Rieti], the Sabina, the cities of Narni and Orte and Nepi were brought under their rule."[7] The raiders also patrolled the approach roads to Rome, seizing pilgrims and envoys and holding the rich among them to ransom.[8] The Saracens could not penetrate the walls of Rome, but the prosperity of the city was seriously weakened by their disruption of the pilgrim traffic and their devastation of the rural hinterland. This is reflected in the decline of monasticism there. In 806, there had been forty-seven religious communities in Rome, but by 932 only nineteen at most remained.[9] Benedict of Soratte lamented these events in his idiosyncratic Latin: "regnaverunt Agarenis in Romano regno anni xxx. Redacta est terra in solitudine, et monasteria sancte sine laudes."[10]

While these raids were taking place, the descendants of Charlemagne fought each other for the imperial title. The papacy was drawn into those disputes and was adversely affected by them: between 896 and 904, seven popes and one antipope held office. During those troubled years, nobody had the power to coordinate opposition to the Saracens of the Garigliano. When, in 905, the Emperor Louis III of Provence was defeated and blinded by Berengar of Friuli, king of Italy, and took no further part in Italian affairs, the ensuing imperial vacancy indirectly benefited Pope Sergius III (904–11) who was able to keep clear of wider political conflicts.[11] He restored order in the city of Rome in conjunction with Theophylact, Senator of the Romans, who combined the offices of Magister Militum, commander of the military establishment, with that of Vestararius, controller of the papal treasury.[12]

As effective lay ruler of Rome, Theophylact must have agreed to the appointment of Sergius's successors, Anastasius III (April 911–June 913) and Lando, who died shortly after 5 February 914. The next pope, John X, had been archbishop of Ravenna since 905. The Election Decree of 769 enacted that the pope should be

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[6] Gaetano Marini, *I papiri diplomatici* (Rome, 1805), no. xxiv, pp. 32–34.

[7] *Benedicti Chronicon*, ed. Giovanni Zucchetti, Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 55 (Rome, 1920), p. 153. The common assertion that Saracinesco in the hills to the east of Tivoli was a Saracen settlement is unfounded, Pierre Toubert, *Les structures de Latium mediéval. Le Latium méridional et la Sabine du IXe à la fin du xiie siècle*, 2 vols., Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 101, I, (Rome, 1973), p. 406.

[8] Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis*, II. 44, ed. P. Chiesa, Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis 156 (Turnholt, 1998), p. 53.

[9] *Le Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Louis Duchesne, 2nd ed., ed. C. Vögel, 3 vols. (Paris, 1955–7), II:22–25; Bernard Hamilton, "The Monastic Revival in Tenth-Century Rome," *Studia Monastica* IV (1962), 35–46.

[10] *Chronicon*, p. 153.

[11] Ferdinand Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, trans. G. A. Hamilton, 8 vols. (London, 1900–9), III:216–43; Paolo Brezzi, *Roma e l'Impero medioevale (774–1252)* (Bologna, 1947), pp. 83–105.

[12] *Il rotolo opistografo del Principe Antonio Pio di Savoia*, eds. Antonio Ceriani, G. Porro (Milan, 1883), p. 19; William E. Lunt, *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (New York, 1934), I:3–6.

chosen from the priests and deacons of Rome,[13] but since the late ninth century bishops with sees near to Rome had occasionally been translated to the papacy, though this was forbidden by canon law. Even so, there was no precedent for the election as pope of a bishop from so distant a see as Ravenna.

As archbishop of Ravenna, John had corresponded with Theophylact,[14] and both men, like Pope Sergius III, were committed opponents of Pope Formosus (891–96) whose controversial election had caused a schism in the Italian Church. [15] Liudprand of Cremona, writing a generation later, alleged that John, while still a deacon, had been the lover of Theophylact's wife, Theodora, and that she was responsible for his elevation to the Holy See.[16] Cardinal Baronius, who believed this account to be true, described John X's pontificate as a time when Christ was asleep in the ship of Peter, "and, what was worse, it would seem, was that there were no disciples who might wake the sleeping Lord with their loud cries, for they were all themselves asleep and snoring".[17] Yet although Theodora was a powerful woman, the heiress of a noble Roman family, with a palace on the Aventine, who was addressed as Senatrix,[18] there is no contemporary evidence that she had any part in John X's appointment and in her lifetime she was regarded as a devout woman of exemplary character.[19] It seems likely that, as Fedele suggested, Liudprand, who had a deep distrust of powerful women, based his story on a pro-Formosan source hostile to John X and Theophylact.[20] Moreover, had Theophylact and Theodora wished to appoint John X as pope, they would surely have done so in 911 when Sergius III died. The delay suggests that a new influence was at work in Rome during the papal election in 914, that of Alberic of Spoleto.

Alberic, born c.870, had begun life as a soldier of fortune, and by c.899 had been confirmed as marquis of Spoleto by Berengar of Friuli, king of Italy.[21] He married Theophylact's daughter Marozia, but this cannot have happened until after the death of Sergius III, whose mistress she had been.[22] Alberic and Marozia's son,

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[13] *Concilium Romanum a. 769*, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica Concilia, II (Hanover and Leipzig, 1906), pp. 74–92.

[14] *Il rotolo*, p. 19.

[15] Ernst Dümmler, *Auxilius und Vulgarius: Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte Papstthums im Anfange des zehnten Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1866); C. Gnocchi, "Giovanni X," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 55 (Rome, 2000), pp, 568–71.

[16] Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis*, II:48, pp. 54–55.

[17] Cesare Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici* XV, (Lucca, 1744), p. 572.

[18] G. Schneider Graziosi, "La *domus Theodorae* sull'Aventino," *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma* 42 (1914), pp. 320–42.

[19] *Eugenii Vulgarii Epistolae*, in Dümmler, *Auxilius und Vulgarius*, pp. 146–47; Pietro Fedele, "Teodora nella liturgia," in *Scritti varii di erudizione e di critica in onore di Rodolfo Renier* (Torino, 1912), pp. 157–69.

[20] Pietro Fedele, "Ricerche per la storia di Roma e del papato nel secolo decimo," *Archivio della Società romana di storia patria* [henceforth *Archivio della Società romana di storia patria*] 33 (1910), 222–26, 34 (1911), 417–19.

[21] Girolamo Arnaldi, "Alberico di Spoleto," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* I (Rome, 1960), pp. 657–59.

[22] This is recorded in some manuscripts of the *Liber Pontificalis* II, p. 243.

Alberic of Rome, was old enough to organise a successful coup in 932, and this suggests that his parents were married no later than 913.[23] Alberic may well have suggested John of Ravenna as pope, because John, like himself, had close ties with Berengar of Friuli, whom he was to crown as emperor in 916.[24] Certainly Alberic and John X worked closely together. Benedict of Soratte reports that, immediately after his election, John X sought Alberic's advice about how to expel the Saracens from the Papal States.[25] That entailed destroying their base on the Garigliano, which could only be achieved with the help of the Byzantine emperor, who ruled Apulia and Calabria directly and was suzerain of most of the other south Italian Christian rulers.[26]

After 902, when the emir Abdallah II of Kairouan was assassinated, the Saracens of the Garigliano could no longer count on Aghlabid support, for a revolt broke out in the emirate led by Shi'ite Isma'ili rebels on behalf of Ubaydallah al-Mahdi, founder of the Fatimid caliphate.[27] Atenulf I (d.910), prince of Capua-Benevento, therefore sent his son Landulph to Constantinople to ask Leo VI for help against the Garigliano corsairs, but to no avail. Leo Marsicanus, writing in the mid-eleventh century, supposed nevertheless that the expedition of 915 was a delayed response to Atenulf's request, [28] but the changes of ruler that took place in Byzantium after Leo VI's death in 912 make this unlikely.

Leo's only son, Constantine VII, born in 905, was the child of his fourth marriage to Zoe Carbonospina. Because the Byzantine Church did not recognise fourth marriages, Leo was excommunicated by the Patriarch Nicholas Mysticus in 906, but obtained a dispensation from Pope Sergius III and perhaps also from the three oriental patriarchs in 907. Leo then procured the deposition of Nicholas and the appointment of the elderly ascetic, Euthymius, as new patriarch. The emperor was reconciled to the Church and Zoe was acknowledged as Augusta by the Senate, though Euthymius refused to proclaim her as empress. When Leo died in 912, his brother Alexander became senior emperor, reinstated Nicholas Mysticus as patriarch and expelled Zoe from the palace. Alexander died in 913, having appointed Nicholas regent for the young Constantine VII, but in February 914, Zoe organised a successful coup. Euthymius refused to become patriarch again because of his great age[29] and Zoe therefore allowed Nicholas Mysticus to remain in office provided

[23] Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, II.48, III. 46, pp. 55, 92; Benedict, *Chronicon*, p. 166. Benedict first mentions the marriage in 915, but does not say that it occurred then. He affirms that Alberic took Marozia "non quasi uxor sed in consuetudinem malignam," p.158. It is possible that the marriage was uncanonical because Alberic had contracted a previous marriage, which had not been dissolved.

[24] Barbara Rosenwein, "The Family Politics of Berengar I, King of Italy," *Speculum* 71 (1996), 247–89; *Gesta Berengarii imperatoris*, IV.80–208, ed. Ernst Dümmler, Beiträge zur Geschichte Italiens im Anfange des zehnten Jahrhunderts (Halle, 1871), pp. 397–401.

[25] *Chronicon,* pp. 156–57.

[26] Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, pp. 132–58.

[27] Julien, *North Africa*, pp. 46–54.

[28] *Chronica Monasterii Casinensis*, I.52, ed. Hartmut Hoffmann, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores XXXIV (Hanover, 1980), p. 133.

[29] He is said to have been professed as a monk in 842.

that he proclaimed her empress and took no further part in secular affairs.[30] It seems most unlikely that Zoe's first major foreign policy decision on becoming regent was to accede to the request that the late Count Atenulf of Capua-Benevento had made to her dead husband several years before. Liudprand of Cremona, writing in the 950s when some participants in the Garigliano campaign, such as Docibilis II of Gaeta (915–54) were still alive, reports that the 915 expedition was sent in response to an appeal from John X, acting on the advice of Landulf III of Capua-Benevento.[31]

Zoe must certainly have received a legation from John X in the summer of 914, since it was customary for popes to announce their election and to send a profession of faith in a systatic letter to the patriarch of Constantinople. If Liudprand's account is true, then John X must, on the advice of Landulf III, have charged his legates with a mission to the imperial court as well as to the patriarch. Although some scholars argue that there would not have been time between the election of John X in March 914 and the Garigliano expedition in the following spring for such negotiations to have taken place,[32] the legates could certainly have reached Constantinople in time. In 1097, Robert of Normandy and Stephen of Blois left Brindisi with their crusade contingents on 5 April and reached Constantinople on 14 May.[33] Papal envoys would have travelled faster than an army, provided that they could use the direct road, the Via Egnatia, which ran from Durazzo to the capital. That would only have been possible if Byzantium had been at peace with Bulgaria. Nicholas Mysticus, while regent, had negotiated peace with Tsar Symeon in August 913[34] and, although Zoe later reversed this policy, the first evidence for renewed conflict comes from September 914 and was confined to the Adrianople region.[35] Thus John X's legates could have left Rome in June 914 and arrived in Constantinople by August.

If this timing is approximately correct, the decision by the regent and her advisers to mount an expedition to Italy must have been taken very quickly. Zoe, of course, would have wished to cooperate with the new pope because the validity of her marriage, and therefore of her right to be regent, depended on the dispensation granted by his predecessor, Sergius III. This was an important consideration, for in 912, when first restored to power, Nicholas Mysticus had urged Pope Anastasius III to reverse Sergius III's ruling and, although he had not done so, this showed

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[30] The best source for these events is *Vita Euthymii Patriarchae Constantinopolitanae*, chs. xiii, xvii, xxii, ed. with English trans. Patricia Karlin-Hayter (Brussels, 1970), pp. 86, 108, 136–37, 193–95. See also, Venance Grumel, ed., *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, I (ii) (Socii Assumtionistae Chalcedonenses, 1936), nos. 611–13, 625–29, 632, 650, pp. 140–41, 146–47, 149, 158.

[31] Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapadosis*, II.51, pp. 56–57.

[32] Barbara M. Kreutz, *Before the Normans: Southern Italy in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1991), p. 78.

[33] Heinrich Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie de la première croisade (1094–1100)* (Paris, 1902), pp. 63, 71.

[34] John V.A. Fine, *The early Medieval Balkans. A Critical survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century* (Ann Arbor, 1991), pp. 144–48; Graham A. Loud, "A re-examination of the 'coronation' of Symeon of Bulgaria in 913," *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. 29 (1978), 109–20.

[35] Steven Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus I Lecapenus and his Reign* (Cambridge, 1929), p. 83.

that the matter could not be treated as definitively closed.[36] Equally, Zoe needed a convincing victory to demonstrate to her opponents that she was a competent ruler, and circumstances appeared to favour Byzantine intervention in Italy.

The Fatimid caliph of Kairouan had captured Sicily from the Aghlabids in 910, but, in 913, a successful rebellion by the Arab nobility of Palermo had brought the Sunnite Ibn Qurhub to power and the island made its submission to the 'Abbasid caliph, al-Muqtadir.[37] In the winter of 913–14, a Fatimid army invaded Egypt and occupied Alexandria and the Fayum. This caused the 'Abbasid court to organise a relief expedition, which reached Egypt in the spring of 915.[38] The Byzantine government must have been aware of these preparations by the late summer of 914 and have realised that neither of the caliphs nor Ibn Qurhub would be free to intervene on the Italian mainland in 915 or to prevent a Byzantine fleet from entering the western Mediterranean. To take advantage of this situation, swift action was called for.

Zoe appointed a new governor for Byzantine South Italy, the Patricius Nicholas Picingli, who appears to have reached Bari in the autumn of 914.[39] He was probably accompanied by the papal legates who would have informed John X of the regent's agreement. Nicholas was assigned extra troops and a naval force, but those warships had to be built in Constantinople during the winter of 914–15 and did not reach the western Mediterranean until the spring of 915.[40] As anticipated, the passage of this fleet was uncontested by the Islamic powers. Zoe had empowered Nicholas Picingli to confer high honours on rulers who were prepared to cooperate with Byzantium. Landulf III of Capua-Benevento received the double honour of Antypatos and Patrician, while his brother and co-ruler Atenulf II was made a Patricius, as was Gregory IV, duke of Naples.[41] These titles were not simply honorary, but conferred real power and influence in the Byzantine polity.[42] Guaimar II, prince of Salerno, also joined the league,[43] but it is not known whether Mastalo, prefect of Amalfi, did so.[44]

A serious problem was caused by the unwillingness of John I of Gaeta and his son Docibilis II to cooperate. They did not consider that the title of Patrician would offset the problems that war against the Saracens of the Garigliano would entail. The

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[36] T. Venni, "Giovanni X," *Archivio della Societa romana di storia patria* 59 (1936), 47; Grumel, *op. cit.*, II (i), no. 635, p. 1151.

[37] Aziz Ahmad, *A History of Islamic Sicily* (Edinburgh, 1975), pp. 25–26.

[38] Julien, *North Africa*, p. 56.

[39] Vera von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina nell'Italia meridionale dal IX al XI secolo* (Bari, 1978), p. 80.

[40] Hélène Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* (Paris, 1966), p. 102.

[41] Von Falkenhausen, *Dominazione*, p. 34; *Chronica ... Casinensis*, I.52, p. 134.

[42] Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *Le Livre des Cérémonies*, ed. and tr. Albert Vogt, 2 vols. (Paris, 1940), 3:II(ii), pp. 64–65; W. Esslin, "The government and administration of the Byzantine Empire," in *The Byzantine Empire.* II, *Government, Church and Civilization, Cambridge Medieval History*, IV (ii), ed. Joan M. Hussey (Cambridge, 1967), p. 20.

[43] *Chronica ...Casinensis*, I.52, p. 134.

[44] Kreutz, *Southern Italy*, p. 79.

commercial interests of Gaeta would certainly suffer, and if the campaign succeeded the buffer between their lands and those of the counts of Capua-Benevento would be removed, while if it failed, their own lands, which bordered the corsair settlement, would be severely ravaged. Yet without the cooperation of Gaeta, it was doubtful whether a successful blockade of the Muslim settlement would be feasible.

John X took the initiative in resolving this crisis by agreeing to cede the papal patrimonies of Fondi and Traietto, comprising some 200 square miles of territory to the north and west of Gaeta, to John and Docibilis in return for their adhesion. This grant also included all property in that area that belonged to the Roman nobility. In addition, the Roman representatives agreed to pay the dukes of Gaeta 1,000 mancuses when they ratified the treaty.[45] This agreement claims to be a re-issue of a grant made to Gaeta by John VIII (872–882). Part of the text of John VIII's grant is preserved in a *placitum* of 1014, but its authenticity has been questioned. Arnaldi could reach no firm conclusion about this evidence, but pointed out that there is no reason to suppose that, even if the grant of John VIII is genuine, it was ever implemented.[46] In this he is surely correct, for the confirmation of a grant of lands which they already owned would not have been an inducement to the rulers of Gaeta to take part in the war. The grant was made with great solemnity: the Roman senators, Theophylact and John, together with eleven members of the military and curial aristocracy of Rome (who pledged the assent of a further seventeen noblemen), authorised the grant "on the orders and with the authority of the lord Pope John X." The document was witnessed by Nicholas Picingli, Landulf and Atenulf of Capua-Benevento, Guaimar of Salerno and Gregory of Naples. In addition, these south Italian rulers offered to pay an annual indemnity of 1,000 mancuses to Gaeta if the Saracens inflicted severe damage on her lands. In this document, the members of the league set out their objectives:

> The gifts and grants have been made [to Gaeta] in perpetuity, so that you may, for love of the Christian faith, struggle and persevere in driving the Saracens from all the lands of the Apostles and from the territory of Benevento and from all regions … and we in our turn promise never to make peace until we have driven them from the whole of Italy.[47]

Benedict of Soratte reports that the first action against the Saracens took place in the north of the Papal States, where Aciprando of Rieti, leading a mixed force of Lombards and men from the Sabina, joined battle with the Saracens outside the

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[45] The *solidus mancusus* was a south Italian gold coin, either Byzantine or Arabic in origin.

[46] Girolamo Arnaldi, "Le fase preparatoria della battaglia del Garigliano del 915," *Annali della facoltà di lettere e filosofia* IV (1954), pp. 129–44. The text of John VIII's alleged donation is in Erasmo Gattola, *Ad historiam abbatiae Cassinensis accessiones* (Venice, 1734), pp. 109–10; Paul F. Kehr, *Italia Pontificia* VIII (Berlin, 1935), no. 5, p. 82.

[47] The text is preserved in a fourteenth-century copy made at Fondi, now in the Vatican Archive, ed. Otto Vehse, "Das Bündnis gegen die Sarazenen vom Jahre 915," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 19 (1927), 202–4. Cf. H. Zimmermann, ed., *Papsturkunden, 896–1046*, I, *896–936* (Vienna, 1984), no. 40, pp. 48–49.

walls of the ruined city of Tribulana and the Saracens were routed with the help of St. Peter.[48] He then reports an uprising by the men of Nepi and Sutri, which resulted in a Christian victory at Baccano, some twenty miles north of Rome on the Via Cassia. Benedict continues: "hearing about this, the Saracens who were in the county of Narni at Orte, and those who were in Ciculi[49] all hastened to join their leader who was living on the river Garigliano."[50]Arnaldi suggests that these were spontaneous uprisings under local leaders, not part of a wider plan, but that does not seem very plausible.[51] Narni and Orte were near the duchy of Spoleto, and Alberic presumably supplied the Lombards who took part in the fighting near Rieti, while Theophylact, the Magister Militum, owned estates near Nepi and Sutri.[52] This strongly suggests that Alberic and Theophylact began systematically to root out the Saracen settlements in the States of the Church, beginning in the north. Similar attacks must have been made on the Saracen settlements in the centre and south of the States. It is probable that Alberic, who was a professional soldier, was in overall command of this stage of the campaign, which would explain why he was not present when the treaty with Gaeta was ratified. Benedict's comment that the defeated Saracen war-bands withdrew to the Garigliano seems plausible: the commander there would have encouraged them to do so once he recognised the strength of the forces massing against him.

The siege of the Saracen camp began in May 915 and lasted for three months. The estuary of the Garigliano was blockaded by the Byzantine fleet, perhaps reinforced by vessels from Naples and Gaeta. The land siege was conducted by Nicholas Picingli, commanding the reinforcements sent from Constantinople, together with detachments of Byzantine troops stationed in south Italy,[53] while the rulers of Naples, Gaeta, Capua-Benevento and Salerno were all present with contingents of armed men. Pope John in person accompanied the Roman army, led by Theophylact, and they were joined by Alberic with a detachment from Spoleto. The blockade proved very effective and in August, when Muslim food-supplies were almost exhausted, the Christian high command ordered an attack on the camp from all sides simultaneously. There was fierce fighting and some members of the garrison broke through the Christian lines and fled into the hills, but they were later tracked down and killed almost to a man.[54] Benedict of Soratte singles out the Marquis Alberic for praise on account of his bravery.[55] Liudprand of Cremona reported how: "Sts Peter and Paul were seen on that battlefield by devout men, and

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[48] Zuchetti identified this place as Trebula Mutuesca, now called Monteleone, to the south of Rieti, Benedict, *Chronicon*, p. 157, n. 2.

[49] An area to the south of Rieti.

[50] Benedict, *Chronicon*, p. 157.

[51] Arnaldi, "Le fase", pp. 123–29.

[52] Inscription found in 1743, in Pietro Luigi Galletti, *Del Vestarario della Santa Romana Chiesa* (Rome, 1758), p. 46.

[53] Von Falkenhausen, *Daminazione*, p. 131, n. 190.

[54] *Chronica ... Casinensis*, I.52, pp. 134–35.

[55] Benedict, *Chronicon*, p. 157.

as Christians we believe that it was through their prayers that the pagans were put to flight and their own followers were victorious."[56]

The victory was widely celebrated throughout the Christian world. The Patriarch Nicholas Mysticus wrote to congratulate Nicholas Picingli.[57] The Garigliano campaign was not merely a personal triumph for the Byzantine governor, but also a vindication of the judgment of the regent Zoe who had authorised it. John of Gaeta, initially a reluctant ally, built a tower on the site of the battle to celebrate the victory and his dedicatory inscription is now incorporated in the campanile of Gaeta cathedral.[58]

Pope John, who had both initiated and facilitated the campaign, made a triumphal entry into Rome, with the Senator Theophylact and Alberic of Spoleto.[59] John was regarded as a war-hero, because not only had he accompanied his troops to the siege, he had also fought alongside them, as he later explained in a letter to Archbishop Herman I of Cologne:

> By the mercy of Almighty God … unworthy though I am … We remain unharmed in body, and as a result of the Divine compassion … through me, though I am a sinner, and through my efforts, the Saracens, who for some sixty years have laid this land waste and have held it as if it were their own, have been scattered. I opposed them myself with my own body for the salvation of Christians, and on a second occasion I went into battle against them in my own person, and with the help of Christians paid for by us with the treasures of the churches of God. Consequently, many captives held in wretched conditions for many years have returned to their own land rejoicing, the churches which had been destroyed have been restored and echo once more each day with the praises of God. Let the whole world rejoice and give thanks together to Almighty God …[60]

Although the victors of the Garigliano did not succeed in their wider aim of driving the Saracens "from the whole of Italy", they decisively ended Muslim attacks on central Italy and the States of the Church and the approach roads to Rome once more became safe for pilgrims and others travelling to the holy city. The agrarian economy of the Papal States gradually returned to normal, many of the ruined monasteries, including those of Farfa and Subiaco, were rebuilt, and within a generation Prince Alberic of Rome (932–954), with the help of St Odo of Cluny, was able to promote a movement of monastic reform in the city of Rome and the Papal States. This contributed to the papal reform movement of the eleventh century, as many of its Roman leaders were trained in this monastic tradition.[61] The

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[56] Liuprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis*, II.54, p. 57.

[57] Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople, *Letters*, Greek text with English tr. ed. R.J.H. Jenkins and Leendert G. Westerink, *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* VI (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D.C., 1973), no. 444, pp. 458–59.

[58] Pietro Fedele, "La battaglia del Garigliano dell'anno 915 ed i monumenti che la ricordano," *Archivio della Societa romana di storia patria* 22 (1898), 199–211.

[59] *Liber Pontificalis*, II, p. 240; Benedict, *Chronicon*, p. 158.

[60] Zimmermann, *Papsturkunden* I, no. 41, pp. 70–71.

[61] Hamilton, "Monastic revival," *Studia Monastica* IV, pp. 35–68.

Garigliano campaign thus had important long-term consequences for the Christian West.

In many ways it was like a dress rehearsal for the First Crusade. John X organised a joint offensive by Byzantine and Latin Christian forces to expel Muslim invaders from central Italy and to protect the holy places of Rome, together with the pilgrims who visited them, while those who took part were aided by the visible presence in battle of Sts Peter and Paul. Yet although Fliche briefly acknowledged the importance of John X's contribution to the evolution of the crusading ideal: "pour la première fois sous son pontificat la direction de la guerre contre les Sarrasins a appartenu au Saint-Siège,"[62] such praise is rare. For although John X is mentioned in general histories of the crusades,[63] he has received singularly little recognition from those who write about the development of the crusading ethic. Delaruelle, in his very full treatment of this theme, does not mention him at all,[64] while Erdmann mentions him only once in his monograph on this subject. Though misunderstanding John's claim to have taken part in the fighting, he cites him as an example of a pope who by his mere presence on the battlefield came close to infringing the canon law enactment that prohibited the clergy from performing military service.[65]

Pierre Toubert has given a just appreciation of the importance of John X's contribution, through the Garigliano campaign, to the stability of the Papal States.[66] A similar recognition should be given to his role in the wider struggle between the Christian and Islamic powers for control of the Mediterranean world, of which the crusades were later to form a part.

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[62] Auguste Fliche, "Les origines de l'action de la papauté en vue de la croisade," *Revue de l'histoire ecclésiastique* 34 (1938), 771.

[63] For example Peter Partner, *God of Battles. Holy Wars of Christianity and Islam* (London, 1997), p. 57.

[64] See n. 1 above.

[65] Carl Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, revised ed. Marshall W. Baldwin, trans. Marshall W. Baldwin and Walter Goffart (Princeton, 1977), p. 25.

[66] Toubert, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 972–73.

Papal War Aims in 1096: The Option Not Chosen

Bernard S. Bachrach

The Muslim invasion and conquest of some of the richest and most populous parts of the Eastern Roman empire during the century following the death of Muhammad in 632 initiated a long-term war of Christian reconquest that ultimately failed when Constantinople fell to the Ottomans in 1453. This lengthy effort at Reconquista, to use a term favoured in regard to the Spanish vindication of their homeland from Muslim domination with a final victory in 1492, did not encompass a constant state of hostilities for a period of more than seven centuries. Rather, there was intermittent warfare interspersed with episodes in which the Byzantines gained temporary advantages against their enemies, and other periods when the Muslims were more, rather than less, successful.[1]

One of the most successful periods for the Byzantines in this long and drawn out conflict with the Muslims was under the leadership of the emperor Alexius I Comnenus (1081–1118) between the years 1097 and 1099.[2] During this brief period, the Muslims were put on the defensive. The Byzantines made substantial territorial gains against the forces of Islam. The Christians enjoyed a series of victories including the capture of fortress cities such as Nicaea and Antioch. This period of success was due, in large part, to the effective deployment of very large numbers of western troops against Muslim assets. Specialists in western medieval history, of course, refer to this episode in Byzantine military history as the "The First Crusade".[3]

The Need for a large Army

During the last several decades of the eleventh century, the East Roman government was in dire need of a large field army to thwart further Muslim conquests, and, more particularly, to take back territory that had been lost to the Turks. Basil II (d. 1025) had undertaken a fundamental reorganization of the Byzantine army during the later tenth and early eleventh centuries. Characteristically there was an increasing reliance on mercenaries, and a concomitant decrease in the utilization of citizens in

[1] Still basic are George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. Joan Hussy, (New Brunswick, NJ, 1957); and A.A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire, 324–1453*, 2 vols., rev. Eng. trans. (Madison,Wisconsin, 1958).

[2] The basic study of Alexius remains F. Chalandon, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis Ier Comnène. 1081–1118* (Paris, 1900).

[3] The best account of Christian victories during the period is provided by John France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge, 1994).

East Roman expeditionary forces.[4] The success of these new style armies brought wealth and prosperity to the empire through the reconquest of rich territory from both Muslims and Christians. Byzantine victories under Basil, in turn, brought relative peace and prosperity to the homeland. Peace resulted in an increase in the tax base, and led to a pattern of economic and demographic growth.[5]

However, civil strife over the imperial succession following the death in 1028 of Constantine VIII, Basil's brother and successor, diverted the attention of the government and the army from offensive military operations to internal problems. As a result, the Muslim armies, this time composed largely of Turks, once again were able to loot and then conquer Byzantine territory. The Turks reversed much of what the Byzantines had accomplished, including most spectacularly, the capture of Antioch. The combination of civil strife and enemy military success seriously diminished the resources of the East Roman government, and weakened its ability to recruit and to support large mercenary armies on an ongoing or even a regular basis.[6]

This situation reached a low point on 26 August 1071 when a Turkish force under the leadership of Alp Arslan won a decisive victory at Manzikert over a Byzantine mercenary army. This force may have been some 50,000–60,000 strong, the largest mobilized in almost a half-century under exceptionally stringent economic conditions, which placed a heavy burden on scarce resources. This East Roman army, led by the emperor Romanus Diogenes, was defeated and the emperor was captured because, in large part, these mercenaries did not remain loyal to their employer. Romanus's release by his Turkish captors following a humiliating treaty resulted in his return to Constantinople, deposition and blinding.[7] These events were followed by yet another bout of civil strife aimed at selecting a successor. In this context, however, it is important to emphasize that the Byzantines rapidly came to recognize two major points of weakness with regard to their military establishment. First, placing trust in mercenaries drawn largely from eastern sources, such as Khazars, Georgians, Alans, Uzes, and Armenians, a process that had been so successful for

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[4] For general background, see Hans-Joachin Kuhn, *Die byzantinische Armee im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1991).

[5] Ostrogorsky, *History*, pp. 265–279, is still useful.

[6] See, for example, Claude Cahen, *Orient et Occident au temps des Crusades* (Paris, 1983); W. Felix, *Byzanz und die islamische Welt im frühen 11 Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1981); and Jürgen Hoffmann, *Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im byzantinischen Reich (1071–1210) Untersuchungen über Unabhängigkeitsbestrebungen und ihr Verhältnis zu Kaiser und Reich* (Vienna, 1974).

[7] The battle of Mantzikert has received a great deal of attention. Basic is A. Friendly, *The Dreadful Day. The Battle of Mantzikert, 1071* (London, 1981). The Muslim sources were effectively examined by Claude Cahen, "La campagne de Mantzikert d'après," *Byzantion* 9 (1934), 613–642; and the Greek sources were reviewed in the wake of Cahen's study by Spyros Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor* (London, 1971), pp. 96–103. In military terms, the actual losses suffered by Romanus's mercenary army would appear to have been rather slight because many deserted or defected prior to battle. For the estimate that casualties were low, see J.C. Cheynet, "Mantzikert. Un désastre militaire?" *Byzantion* 80 (1981), 410–438. France, *Victory in the East*, p. 153, accepts Cheynet's estimates.

Basil II, was now understood to have become hazardous.[8] Secondly, due to territorial losses and civil strife, the funds needed to pay large numbers of mercenaries, even those who might be thought trustworthy, were becoming decreasingly available for raising the types of armies that were needed to sustain major offensive military operations aimed at territorial reconquest.[9]

The military situation deteriorated thoroughly in the wake of the disaster at Manzikert. Shortly thereafter, Byzantine government officials contacted Pope Gregory VII (1073–1085). The East Romans encouraged the pontiff to mobilize a Christian army in the West in order to provide the aid that was needed to stop the Muslims from overrunning the remainder of the empire. On several occasions, Gregory tried to encourage various western leaders to provide military support to help the Byzantines. He even planned to lead the army himself.[10] However, a congeries of problems, which we broadly label the "Investiture Contest", seriously undermined the pope's ability to pursue such an active policy with regard to the East.[11] Nevertheless, contacts between the Byzantine court and Gregory's successors continued in regard to securing western military support for the East Romans. Indeed, as late as 1095, shortly before the famous speech delivered at Clermont in November of the same year, Urban II received envoys from Alexius I at the Council of Piacenza. These men were seeking military aid from the West, and it seems clear that the pope promised to send armed forces.[12]

In the decades following the defeat at Manzikert, the Byzantine government continued to raise mercenary forces for its wars against the Muslims but only in rather small numbers. Some mercenaries had been and continued to be recruited into previously institutionalized military units on what would appear to have been long-term contracts. The best example of such a force was the Russo–Scandinavian

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[8] See Peter Charanis, "The Byzantine Empire in the Eleventh Century," in *A History of the Crusades*, I, 2nd ed., ed. Marshall W. Baldwin (Madison, 1969), pp. 192–193, 201–203, 213–214.

[9] For a survey of the undermining of Byzantine resources between 1025 and 1081, see Charanis, "The Byzantine Empire," pp. 193–205; and regarding local responses, see Hoffmann, *Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im byzantinischen Reich*, pp. 5–20; 77–82. For an excellent appraisal of mercenaries, see Jonathan Shepard, "The Uses of the Frank in Eleventh-Century Byzantium," in *Anglo-Norman Studies*, XV (1992), 275–305.

[10] H.E.J. Cowdrey, "Pope Gregory VII's 'Crusading' Plans of 1074," in *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem, Presented to Joshua Prawer*, ed. B.Z. Kedar, H.E. Mayer, and R.C. Smail (Jerusalem, 1982), 27–40; and Alfons Becker, *Pabst Urban II (1088–1099)*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1964, 1988), see volume two, *Der Papst, die griechische Christenheit unter der Kreuzzug*, pp. 294–300.

[11] H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII, 1073–1085* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 70–270.

[12] See, for example, Dana Munro, "Did the Emperor Alexius I ask for aid at the council of Piacenza, 1095?" *The American Historical Review*, XXVII (1922), 731–733. In general, scholars agree that the emperor made a request for military aid. See, for example, H.E.J. Cowdrey, "Pope Urban II and the Idea of Crusade," *Studi Medievali*, 3rd series, 36 (1995): 721–742; and reprinted with the same pagination in H.E.J. Cowdrey, *The Crusades and Latin Monasticism, 11th–12th Centuries* (Aldershot,UK, 1999), p. 729. For an interesting treatment of the sources on this matter, see Jonathan Shepard, "Cross-purposes: Alexius Comnenus and the first Crusade," in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, ed. Jonathan Phillips (Manchester, New York, 1997), pp. 113–114.

Varangian guard which numbered perhaps 5,000 or 6,000 effectives.[13] Following Duke William's victory in England in 1066, Anglo-Saxon fighting men, who often are counted among the Varangians, are seen to have flocked to Constantinople to sign on as mercenaries to fight for the East Roman government.[14] Other groups of mercenaries, such as those led by the Norman captains Herveus, Robert Crispin, and Roussel of Bailleul, are reported to have served at one or another time under Byzantine leadership.[15] Roussel's group, which only numbered some 3,000 effectives, proved to be so unreliable that his forces had to be punished.[16] Apparently, the 500 mercenaries sent from Flanders by Count Robert the Frisian in 1089 were more amenable to discipline.[17] This latter group seems to have been hired on a short-term contract. The Flemish soldiers remained in East Roman service for less than two years.[18]

However many mercenaries Alexius may have been able to hire prior to 1095, it is clear that he simply was not able to mobilize a sufficient number of effectives to reconquer the lands, and especially the fortress cities, that had been taken by the Muslims. Alexius's lack of a sufficiently large force, affirmed by his request at Piacenza for western troops, is perhaps best illustrated by two failed campaigns at reconquest that he did undertake. Following the capture of Nicaea in 1080 by the Turks, Alexius, on two separate occasions, tried and failed to retake the city. The emperor established the initial siege of Nicaea in 1081, very shortly after coming to the throne, and the second was put in place in 1086.[19] These failures to take Nicaea were particularly damaging to the Byzantine government. The city was not only a key strategic asset, which dominated the eastern shore of Lake Ascania, but was located less than 200 kilometres from Constantinople along the Roman road. Indeed, the fact that Kilij Arslan made Nicaea the Turkish capital in the west is *prima facie* evidence that he regarded the Byzantines as unable to undertake a successful offensive strategy of reconquest with the forces that an East Roman emperor could muster under normal conditions.[20] Indeed, as Alexius would seem

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[13] Regarding the Varangian guard, see S. Blondal, *The Varangians of Byzantium*, trans., rev. and rewritten Benedikt S. Benedikz (Cambridge, 1978), which remains basic.

[14] J. Godfrey, "The Defeated Anglo-Saxons take service with the eastern Emperor," *Battle Conference*, 1 (1978) 63–74.

[15] See the studies by G. Schlumberger, "Deux chefs normands des armées byzantineaux XIe siècle," *Revue Historique*, XVI (1881), 289–303; and Louis Bréhier, "Les Aventures d'un chef normand en Orient," *Revue des cours et conférences de la faculté des lettres de Paris*, XX (1911), 172–188.

[16] France, *Victory in the East*, p. 153, accepts the figure for the size of Roussel's force.

[17] Concerning this group, see France, *Victory in the East*, p. 101.

[18] Charles Verlinden, *Robert le Frison, comte de Flandre* (Antwerp–Paris–Gravenhage, 1935), pp. 152–157, 168. See also, M.M. Knappen, "Robert II of Flanders in the First Crusade," in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays presented to Dana C. Munro by his former students*, ed. Louis J. Paetow (New York, 1928), pp. 82–83.

[19] These efforts are attested by the emperor's daughter, Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, bk. XI, ch. ii.3 [Anne Comnéne, *Alexiade: régne de l'empereur Alexis I Comnéne (1081–1118)*], 3 vols., ed. and trans. Bernard Leib, 2nd printing (Paris, 1967–1989)); and discussed by France, *Victory in the East*, p. 144.

[20] The claim by Chalandon, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexie I*, pp.155–166; and echoed by Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, pp. 2–3, that Alexius simply wanted some comparatively small

to have understood, a successful siege of great fortress cities such as Nicaea and Antioch would require many tens of thousands of well-trained troops under strong discipline. The only source that could provide these men was the West.[21]

Papal War Aims

From the early 1070s, when Pope Gregory received an initial plea for aid from Constantinople, until Pope Urban II preached what has come to be called the First Crusade in 1095, the papacy struggled with the very complicated problems involved in establishing what we today might well call "a Middle-East policy".[22] As a result of the complexity of the situation, scholars, for more than a generation, have debated the motives of Pope Urban II in preaching the First Crusade.[23] However, there now seems to be something of a consensus among historians, at least those Anglophone scholars who specialize in the crusades. The pope's primary war aim was to have the western armies mustered under the papal banner, and directed by a papal legate, in order to recapture Jerusalem from the Muslims.[24] The Holy City

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groups of mercenaries similar to the force that Robert the Frisian had sent, and that the Byzantines neither wanted nor needed a very large army to initiate an effective reconquest, stems from their failure to understand the nature of siege warfare. Rather, these scholars maintain a romantic view of medieval warfare which places "knights" in the military forefront, even of siege warfare. Regarding the requirements of siege warfare against the great fortress cities of the Middle East, see the discussion by Bernard S. Bachrach, "The Siege of Antioch: A Study in Military Demography," *War in History*, 6 (1999), 127–146.

[21] For the Byzantine role in the success of Crusader sieges, see Bachrach, "The Siege of Antioch," pp. 127–146.

[22] See, for example, Christian Courtois, "Grégoire VII et l'Afrique au XIe siècle," *Revue historique*, 195 (1945), 97–122, 193–226.

[23] For the broad sweep, see Giles Constable, "The Historiography of the Crusades," *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, eds. A.E. Laiou and R.P. Mottahedeh (Washington DC, 2001), pp.1–21. More focused is Jean Flori, *Croisade et chevalerie, Xie-XII siècle* (Paris–Brussels, 1998), pp. 21–25, under the title "Les incertitudes du discours de Clermont"."

[24] A series of articles by H.E.J. Cowdrey makes this point in great detail. See, for example, "Pope Urban II's Preaching of the First Crusade," *History*, 55 (1977), 177–188; and "The Mahdia Campaign of 1087," *The English Historical Review*, 92 (1977), 1–29. Both of these studies have been reprinted in H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Pope, Monks and Crusaders* (London, 1984), with the same pagination. In addition, see, Cowdrey, "The Gregorian Papacy, Byzantium, and the First Crusade," in *Byzantium and the West, c. 850–1200*, ed. J. Howard-Johnston (Amsterdam, 1988), pp. 145–169; "The Papacy and the Origins of Crusading," *Medieval History*, 1 (1991), 48–60; "Pope Urban II and the Idea of the Crusade," pp. 721–742; and "The Genesis of the Crusades: The Springs of the Holy War," *The Holy War*, ed. Thomas Patrick Murphy (Columbus-Ohio, 1974), pp. 9–32; and reprinted with the same pagination in H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Popes, Monks and Crusaders* (London, 1984). The critique of Cowdrey by Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, 2nd ed., trans. John Gillingham (Oxford, 1988) pp. 10–11, is so half-hearted as to strengthen Cowdrey's position.

Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia, 1986), pp. 13–30, argues that freeing the churches, particularly the church of Jerusalem, was Urban's first priority, and the freeing of the city of Jerusalem, itself, was second on his list. This seems to be a distinction without much difference. More important is Riley-Smith's categorical rejection of the view (pp. 21–22), traditionally

was regarded in the West as the centre (lit. the navel or *umbilicus*) of the world, and it was considered a stain on western honour that Jerusalem was in Muslim hands. As a result of Urban's preaching, and that of his surrogates, many tens of thousands of fighting men, along with additional thousands unfit for combat, such as untrained *pauperes*, old men, women, and children, enthusiastically went off on a pilgrimage in arms in order to free the Holy City from the infidels.[25]

In the hierarchy of war aims putatively espoused by Pope Urban, it now is regarded as very likely that he had in mind, as a secondary goal, easing the plight of Christians who were living in the Middle East, if not exactly "a war of liberation".[26] Pope Urban depicted these Christians as suffering not only severe religious persecution but also physical torture and economic destitution at the hands of fanatical and greedy Muslims. Although propriety apparently kept the pope from speaking in graphic detail publicly about the rape of women, both young and old, he appears to have been eager to describe chilling examples of the torture and murder of innocent Christians at the hands of gratuitously brutal Muslim conquerors. Indeed, these are major points highlighted in various versions of his speech that eye witnesses, contemporaries, and near contemporaries produced.[27]

The Option Not Chosen

The papacy's primary war aim, as contemporaries highly publicized it, and as modern scholars now heavily emphasize, was to recapture Jerusalem. Why then was the western army mobilized at Constantinople and not sent directly by sea from the western Mediterranean to Jaffa? As the pope was in a good position to know, much if not most of the territory between Constantinople and Jerusalem, more than 1200 kilometres as the crow flies overland and much longer along the road system, was in enemy hands. In addition, the material conditions, especially the beastly hot climate, and logistic problems, would be hellish for much of any march from the

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espoused by Byzantinists, that Urban's primary aim was to provide aid to the Byzantine government. The Anglophone consensus is noted by Jonathan Phillips, *The Crusades, 1095–1197* (London, 2002), pp. 14–17. Attention, in this context, should also be given to Becker, *Der Papst, die griechische Christenheit unter der Kreuzzug*, pp. 322–376, 398–406, who developed the idea that not only was Jerusalem to be recaptured, but the churches that had been destroyed and the bishoprics that had disappeared were to be restored. This plan, according to Becker included not only the Holy Land but Spain and Sicily, as well.

[25] Cowdrey, "Pope Urban II and the Idea of the Crusade," pp. 732–742, on the importance of Jerusalem to Christianity.

[26] Among some scholars, for example Ralph-Johannes Lilie *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, trans. J.C. Morris and Jean E. Ridings (Oxford, 1993), pp. 1–8 (with the literature in n. 1), believe giving aid to the Byzantines was a very important war aim for Urban. Some even argue (Lilie, p. 2, n. 3, with the literature cited there), that "the crusade was first set in motion primarily for Byzantium" and that "this appears from Urban's Clermont appeal, which lamented especially the situation in Asia Minor and the loss of Antioch."

[27] The old but still useful work by Dana C. Munro, "The speech of Pope Urban II and Clermont," *American Historical Review*, 11 (1906), 231–242, provides a detailed review of the themes.

Byzantine capital to the Holy City. As the situation finally evolved, only a fragment of the crusader force ultimately reached Jerusalem, and it took these dedicated men more than two years from their mobilization at Constantinople to accomplish this goal.[28]

Had the recapture of Jerusalem been Urban's primary war aim, it is argued here, he would have directed the crusader army, mustered throughout France, Germany, and regions beyond the heartland of Europe, to be mobilized in the ports of eastern Spain such as Barcelona, southern France such as Narbonne and Marseilles, and northern Italy such as Genoa, Pisa, and Amalfi. Troops mustered in the more easterly parts of Europe or southern Italy could readily have been mobilized at Venice and Brindisi, respectively. After mobilization in these flourishing ports, an army of sufficient size to capture the Holy City could be transported by sea across the Mediterranean to the port city of Jaffa, where the army could be supplied effectively by sea. From Jaffa, the army would march to Jerusalem, lay siege to the city, and recapture it in the name of Christendom. This entire operation, based upon contemporary knowledge available to Pope Urban and his advisers, could have been accomplished in a single campaigning season with an army of 15,000–20,000 effectives.

Scholars have failed to ask the fundamental question. If the recapture of Jerusalem were Pope Urban's primary war aim, why did he send the army to Constantinople? This question has not been asked, much less answered, because professional historians, quite rightly, bristle at the notion of examining that which did not happen or, more explicitly, dealing with situations contrary to fact. However, this logic, driven to an unreasonable extreme, as in the case of Pope Urban's decision- making, makes it impossible to examine the options, and not simply options conjured up in the imaginations of modern scholars, but options that were available to the actors on the historical stage either to accept or reject. As a result of the failure of modern scholars to examine viable options not taken by Pope Urban, it impossible to understand as fully as possible the choices that, in fact, were made, and those that were rejected, and for what reasons. Indeed, some scholars, who have not been convinced that Urban's primary war aim was the recapture of the Holy City, might well find support for their position were they to see that the pope, indeed, had a viable option to send the crusading army directly to Jerusalem by sea, but rejected it.

As will be seen below, when Urban's unchosen option is examined in some detail, it becomes clear that a campaign directed at Jerusalem from the ports of the western Mediterranean was feasible in both strategic and tactical terms. Therefore, it is suggested here that the pope, in rejecting this option, and sending the army to Constantinople, provides a *prima facie* indication that he did not have the recapture of Jerusalem as his primary war aim. Rather, it seems that he believed that by focusing his speeches and letters and having the sermons and other efforts of his

[28] France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 325–366, for the final victory at Jerusalem.

agents focus their attention on the recapture of Jerusalem, unprecedented levels of enthusiasm possibly could be generated throughout western Europe for a war to recapture the Holy City. The result would be a vast army of pilgrims in arms mustered for war in the East.[29]

It is obvious from the response to Urban's efforts that, indeed, a vast army was mustered in the West in answer to the pope's call to recapture Jerusalem. In short, Urban got the formula right. These results, however, cannot be used to prove that the pope knew, in any meaningful sense, that he would get the response for which he hoped. However, to support the notion that Urban believed that he would be successful, it has been argued that he was highly knowledgeable and insightful. In light of his vast experience and religious sensibilities, it has been suggested that he had his finger on the pulse of the western nobility with regard to their aching need to find redemption for their sinful lives.[30] Thus, by casting the war as a pilgrimage that would result in the *remissio peccatorum*, he knew that he would strike the right chord, and get the very large army that he wanted.[31] As H.E.J. Cowdrey put it: "Contemporaries were not unaware that such pressures made men ready to be stirred by the summons to the Crusade."[32]

Given the lack of direct information, it must remain a matter for speculation whether Urban knew intuitively or believed fervently, on the basis of various indications, that by focusing his war aims on the recapture of the Holy City, he had the right formula for the mustering of a large army. Thus, we must reserve judgment on this matter; despite the fact that we know that he did gauge the sentiments of western Christians quite accurately. By contrast with such speculation, we can be certain that Pope Urban was knowledgeable in regard to the type of call to arms that likely would not work. He was well aware of the failed effort initiated by Pope Gregory VII in 1074, which had the avowed aim of reconciling the Roman and the Byzantine churches by leading a military expedition to aid the East Romans

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[29] As specialists will recognize, this is an argument in support of an aspect of the often debated thesis of Carl Erdmann, *The Origins of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. M.W. Baldwin and Walter Goffart (Princeton, 1977), esp. pp. 306–354, which has been defended by many, and attacked by others, and especially recently by a growing number of Anglophone scholars. See, for example, the introductory observations by Riley-smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, pp. 1–2, with the bibliography cited in the notes. However, none who either have supported or attacked Erdmann would seem to have understood that Pope Urban was not limited to the sole option of sending an army to Constantinople in order to recapture Jerusalem. Urban chose to send the army to Constantinople, contrary to strategic rationality, and not directly to Jerusalem. He did this, because, it is argued here, he wanted a western army, presumably under papal control to be mobilized in the environs of the capital city of the East Roman empire.

[30] See, for example, Cowdrey, "The Genesis of the Crusades," pp. 24–25; and Cowdrey, "The Mahdia Campaign," pp. 22–23, with regard to Pope Urban's abilities and experience.

[31] Cowdrey, "The Genesis of the Crusades," pp. 21–24, with regard to the matter of remission of sins.

[32] Cowdrey, "The Genesis of the Crusades," pp. 21–24, with regard to the matter of sins; and p. 14, for the quotation. In another study, Cowdrey, "The Mahdia Campaign," p. 22, acutely observes: "The foreshadowing of the Crusade during his predecessor's reign may, however, have contributed to Urban II's own mental preparation for his achievement at Clermont in calling it forth."

in their war against the Turks. Yet, Urban recognized himself as the heir of Pope Gregory's "essential aims."[33] As a result, it will be argued here that Urban believed that if he exposed his primary war aims as consistent with the failed aims of Pope Gregory, his effort, too, would fail. The pursuit of a subtle theological nuance, the subordination of the Eastern Church to papal authority, simply had not and, in Urban's view, would not generate the great popular enthusiasm required for waging war in the East. Thus, as implied by Erdmann, Urban duped his audiences in order to raise a large army that was to be sent to the capital of the East Roman empire.[34] This was a carrot and stick approach which would provide Alexius with an army to fight the Turks when he recognized papal primacy.

A Direct Attack on Jerusalem

A wide variety of strategic assets had to be in place in order for a western army, large enough to capture Jerusalem, to go by sea to the Middle East. For example, large numbers of ships had to be available to transport the crusaders to the East. In addition, it was a basic requirement for the westerners to have had considerable experience in the execution of amphibious operations. Further, a more or less safe sea route was needed from the western Mediterranean to Jaffa, Jerusalem's port. Of course, the pope and/or his advisers had to know about the availability of ships and the conditions along the sea route. They also had to be aware of the strategic and tactical situation at both Jaffa and Jerusalem. Finally, the pope had to know that conditions for an overland trek from Constantinople were so much worse than that of the seaborne option that the highly publicised war aim of recapturing the Holy City would be at very serious risk if the former were chosen.

The Western Mediterranean

By 1095, when Pope Urban put in motion his Constantinople-focused strategy for a land campaign, the western Mediterranean was, in fact, a Christian-dominated lake. Pisa and Genoa had conquered Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balaeric Islands. The southern coast of Italy and Sicily were in Norman hands, and the eastern coast of the Iberian peninsula from Barcelona to Valencia was under the control of the Aragonese and the Castilians, respectively. Indeed, even North African ports such as Mahdia were tributary to Christian powers, and Malta was under

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[33] Cowdrey, "The Genesis of the Crusades," pp. 24–25; and Cowdrey, "Pope Gregory VII's 'Crusading' Plans," pp. 39–40.

[34] Recently, Penny J. Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, MA, 1991), p. 3, baldly but accurately characterized Erdmann's position as one of having been "forced to conclude that Urban used references to Jerusalem, the Sepulchre, and pilgrimage merely as hollow slogans designed to deceive pious people, including the clergy, into supporting his secret purpose."

Christian control.[35] From numerous ports in the western Mediterranean, vessels carrying crusaders could sail to various ports in southern Italy and Sicily, or Malta, and perhaps even to the North Africa port of Mahdia, in order to refill their water tanks and obtain other supplies before following the normal "trunk route" to the Christian-held island bases at Crete and Cyprus. From the latter, the journey to Jerusalem's port at Jaffa was a sail of only some 200 nautical miles.[36]

Western Amphibious Operations

Having access to a sea route from the West to Jerusalem was not the only variable of significance under Christian control. Substantial numbers of ships were needed to transport a force of perhaps 15,000–20,000 men with their equipment from the western Mediterranean to Jaffa. In this regard, it is necessary to emphasize that the Italian states, mentioned above, and the Normans operating in southern Italy, were able to mobilize large fleets composed of several hundreds of vessels for amphibious operations as they proved against both the Byzantines and the Muslims. For example, the range of the Pisan fleet is well demonstrated by a successful attack on Muslim-held Sicily in 1063, which resulted in the capture and sack of the fortress city of Palermo.[37]

In terms of normal operations in this region, however, Norman efforts are far more important.[38] Thus, Robert Guiscard, in his war against the Byzantines (1080–1084), landed an army of about 15,000 troops, which included some 1,300 heavily armed mounted soldiers (*milites*) at Avlona.[39] A few years later in 1084, he mobilized yet another fleet, this one estimated to have consisted of some 150 vessels. He defeated a Venetian flotilla off the coast of Corfu, and seized control of the island from its Byzantine garrison.[40] After Robert's death in 1085, his brother Roger took command of Norman military operations, and led a successful sea-land invasion of Sicily, which he took from the Muslims in 1091.[41]

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[35] For the factual record, see Benjamin W. Wheeler, "The Reconquest of Spain before 1095;" Hilmar C. Kruger, "The Italian Cities and the Arabs before 1095;" and Robert S. Lopez, "The Norman Conquest of Sicily," all in *A History of the Crusades*, I, 2nd ed. Marshall W. Baldwin (Madison, 1969), 37–39, 52–53, 61–67, respectively.

[36] John H. Pryor, *Geography, Technology and War: studies in the maritime history of the Mediterranean, 619–1571* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 89–90.

[37] Cowdrey, "The Mahdia Campaign of 1087," pp. 13–14.

[38] The very important study by Matthew Bennett, "Norman Naval Activity in the Mediterranean, c. 1060–c. 1108," in *Anglo-Norman Studies*, XV (1992), 41–58, is an excellent guide.

[39] G.A. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest* (London, 2000), pp. 214–223; and France, *Victory in the East*, p. 75.

[40] Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, p. 222; and France, *Victory in the East*, p. 77.

[41] With regard to the invasion see D.P. Waley, "Combined Operations in Sicily, 1060–1078," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 22 (1954) 118–125; in more general terms, see France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 74–77.

In addition to Christian naval assets already based in the Mediterranean, western fleets operating in the north of Europe carried out large-scale amphibious operations during the second half of the eleventh century. In 1066, for example, William the Conqueror transported an army of some 14,000 effectives, including 2,000 to 3,000 mounted troops with their horses, across the Channel from Normandy to England.[42] Almost two decades later, a second Norman army, reported to have been even larger than the force mobilized in 1066, was transported from Normandy to England.[43] In 1100, William Rufus, intending to use naval assets that long had been available to the Anglo-Norman kings, planned an invasion of Aquitaine by sea with a force of about 15,000 effectives. His naval assets included specially designed vessels capable of transporting 3,000 horses.[44]

The transport of soldiers, animals, and equipment across the Channel during the autumn or along the Atlantic coast around the Cherbourg and Breton peninsulas to Aquitaine, in the same season, was likely considerably rougher, even for heavy northern sailing ships, than operating on the Mediterranean during the height of the approved sailing season.[45] However, the Norman operations, identified above, either were of short duration or were planned to be of short duration, by comparison, for example, with a journey from Marseilles to Jaffa along the traditional trunk route, with frequent stops along the way.[46] Thus, it is important to emphasize that, northern-built ships of the type used by the Anglo-Norman kings and their Scandinavian neighbours had great range and seaworthiness, both in rough northern waters and in the calmer conditions of the Mediterranean. These vessels were very capable of sailing from Britain and Scandinavia through the Channel or down the west coast of the British Isles along the French and Spanish coasts, through the Straits of Gibraltar, and on to the eastern Mediterranean, including the Holy Land.

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[42] For the details on this effort, see two articles by Bernard S. Bachrach: "Some Observations on the Military Administration of the Norman Conquest," in *Anglo-Norman Studies VIII*, ed. R. Allen Brown (Woodbridge, 1986), 1–25; and "On the Origins of William the Conqueror's Horse Transports," *Technology and Culture*, 26 (1985): 505–531. Both are reprinted in Bernard S. Bachrach, *Warfare and Military Organization in Pre-Crusade Europe* (London, 2002), with the same pagination.

[43] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (E version), ad. 1085; and Florence, *Chron*., 2.18 (Nb. John of Worcester, *Chronicle of John of Worcester*, 2 vols., ed. R.R. Darlington, (Oxford, 1995), when completed, will replace both as basic critical edition and erstwhile identification of Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed. Benjamin Thorpe, 2 vols. [London, 1848–1849], II, 35). Even Steven Morrilo, *Wafare under the Anglo-Norman Kings* (Woodbridge,UK, 1994) p. 54, n. 61, despite his doctrinaire commitment to small numbers, accepts this account as accurate.

[44] Bernard S. Bachrach, "William Rufus's Plan for the Invasion of the Mainland in 1101," in *The Normans and their Adversaries: Studies in Honor of C. Warren Hollister*, eds. Richard Abels and Bernard S. Bachrach (Woodbury,UK, 2001), 31–63.

[45] For discussion of the weather, see Bachrach, "On the Origins of William the Conqueror's Horse Transports," pp. 508–509, where the nature of the weather and the roughness of the sea are discussed; Bachrach, "William Rufus's Plan for the Invasion of the Mainland," pp. 39–41; and in more detail, J. Neumann, "Hydrographic and ship-hydrodynamic aspects of the Norman invasion 1066," *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 11 (1988), 221–224. Concerning relevant Mediterranean sailing conditions, see Pryor, *Geography, technology, and war*, pp. 87–90.

[46] Pryor, *Geography, technology, and war*, pp. 89–90.

Of particular interest, in this context, is the custom of both Scandinavian pilgrims to Jerusalem and mercenaries, who were recruited in the north for service in the East, to go by ship from their frigid homeland through the Straits of Gibraltar and then on to their respective destinations.[47] In addition to various Scandinavian ships that operated in the eastern Mediterranean during this period, the sources take notice of vessels from England, Frisia, and Flanders.[48]

Two English fleets were the most important northern naval units operating for military purposes in the Mediterranean, during the same time frame as Urban's decision to send the crusaders to Constantinople rather than to Jerusalem. One of these fleets would seem to have been sent directly from England to operate against Muslim assets in the Eastern Mediterranean. The other appears to have been enrolled as a mercenary naval asset among the Byzantine forces of Alexius I.[49] In any case, either individually or in concert, English troops, using ships from the north that had sailed through the Straits of Gibraltar into the eastern Mediterranean, carried out successful naval and amphibious operations against Muslim held assets. Indeed, these fleets captured and held the two important eastern Mediterranean ports of Alexandretta and Latakia. The latter was located approximately 325 kilometres north of Jerusalem's port at Jaffa.[50]

It should also be noted that just after the crusaders took Jerusalem, a Norwegian fleet, sent by King Sigurd I, helped to capture various Muslim-held ports in the eastern Mediterranean. What is important here is that there is no reason to believe that these northern ships, used in the half-dozen or so years after the launching of the First Crusade, were any different from those that had sailed in the Mediterranean prior to Urban's call for war. Indeed, Sigurd's fleet carried out much the same sort of operation that the English fleets, mentioned above, had successfully executed at Alexandretta and Latakia. In these operations, the Norwegian fleet would appear to have coordinated its efforts with fleets sent from Pisa, Genoa, and Venice. Indeed,

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[47] Paul Riant, *Expéditions et Pèlerinages des Scandinaves en Terre Sainte au temps des Croisades* (Paris, 1865), pp. 45–155.

[48] In addition to Riant, cited above, see for the fleet from Norway, see Richard W. Unger, *The Ship in the Medieval Economy, 600–1600* (London, 1980), p. 129; and for the others see France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 216–220. See also Bernard S. Bachrach, "Some Observations on the Role of the Byzantine Navy in the Success of the First Crusade," *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 1 (2002), 81–100.

[49] The matter of the "English" fleets requires further study. Jonathan Shepard, "The English and Byzantium," *Traditio*, 24 (1973), 53–92, argues that Anglo-Saxons working as Byzantine mercenaries operated fleets in the imperial service. By contrast Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago, 1988), pp. 19–21, argues for fleets from England to the exclusion of Anglo-Saxons serving as naval mercenaries for Byzantium. France, "The First Crusade as a Naval Enterprise," p. 397, n. 24, is likely correct in seeing at least two English fleets, one operating under imperial command and the other coming from England. I hope to take a position on the putative role of Edgar Atheling in the First Crusade sometime in the near future. In the meantime, see Nicholas Hooper, "Edgar the Aetheling: Anglo-Saxon prince, rebel and crusader," *Anglo-Saxon England*, 14 (1985), 197–214.

[50] France, "The First Crusade as a Naval Enterprise," p. 397.

one modern specialist in Mediterranean naval warfare has judged that these northern fleets were "absolutely essential" to the reduction of Fatimid seaports.[51]

The operation of northern ships in the eastern Mediterranean may seem something of curiosity in spite of their documented military effectiveness against both enemy naval assets and fortified installations. By contrast, the mention of Christian- owned and commanded ships from various parts of the western Mediterranean operating in the east are a common place in the sources of the later eleventh century. These references, in fact, include ships not only from the three major Italian maritime cities of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa. Other cities, such as Amalfi, also operated fleets in the eastern Mediterranean. It has been argued that Amalfitan naval architects developed several technical innovations, perhaps derived either from Byzantine or Arab sources, which enabled them to use both sails and oars.[52] The capacity of the Normans in southern Italy and Sicily to raise significant fleets, as seen above, must be considered, as well.

Such frequent references to north Italian fleets, even when they leave the impression that rather large numbers of ships were engaged, and also of northern European fleets, may not be sufficient to convince all scholars that western naval resources were sufficient to transport a crusading force sent directly from the West against Jerusalem. Indeed, even the military effectiveness of the English fleets at Alexandretta and Latakia may not provide compelling evidence for the incurably sceptical, who may believe, contrary to fact, that Jaffa was better defended than the two, above mentioned, Levantine ports. Therefore, in support of the evidence regarding the availability of large numbers of Christian-owned ships, and the military prowess of western Europeans against Muslim assets, it is helpful that some very useful information survives concerning the famous Mahdia campaign of 1087.[53]

In this operation, a naval expeditionary force drawn from the fleets of the cities of Pisa, Genoa, Rome, and Amalfi, was mobilized with an estimated fleet strength of somewhere between 300 to 400 vessels. This flotilla transported to and landed in North Africa an army of some 30,000 men, in other words, a force more than twice the size of the army that William the Conqueror had landed in England some two decades earlier.[54] As will be seen below, the Mahdia invasion force, which landed

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[51] W. Hamblin, "The Fatimid navy during the early crusades 1099–1124," *American Neptune*, 46 (1986), 77, argues that the Christian fleets played a key role here. See also Pryor, *Geography, technology, and war*, p. 115, for the quotation. In general, see Riant, *Expéditions et Pèlerinages*, pp. 73–195; and for a more modern evaluation, Unger, *The Ship in the Medieval Economy*, p. 155, n. 9, with the literature cited there.

[52] Barbara M. Kreutz, "Ships, shipping and the implications of change in the early medieval Mediterranean," *Viator*, 7 (1976), 101–103. Pryor, *Geography, technology, and war*, p. 63, is sceptical of Kreutz's findings.

[53] The basic source for this campaign is the *Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum*, ed. Cowdrey, in Cowdrey, "The Mahdia Campaign of 1087," pp. 23–29; and for additional sources see *ibid*., pp. 1–23, *passim*. The date also is effectively established by Cowdrey (pp. 2–8).

[54] Kruger, "The Italian Cities and the Arabs before 1095," pp. 52–53.

in North Africa, was more than double the size of the Christian army that finally recaptured Jerusalem in 1099. The coalition forces launched against Mahdia, which were raised from the resources, but certainly not the total resources, of a small group of Italian city states, were landed in battle-ready condition on the shore of the North African mainland. The Christian army captured the fortress city of Mahdia and the town's fortified merchant suburb, and forced the surrender of Tamin, the Muslim governor. The latter paid a huge ransom in gold to the invaders, surrendered all Christian prisoners, including slaves, that he held, and gave both the Pisans and the Genoese the right to operate freely in all of the territory, both land and sea, under his supposed jurisdiction.[55]

The Mahdia campaign is important not only because it demonstrated the western capacity to mobilize a large fleet and a large army for amphibious operations against Muslim-held territory. In addition, this campaign secured a position on the North African mainland for the support of western Mediterranean Christian naval operations further to the east. The fact that this campaign was orchestrated by Pope Victor III, and was under the spiritual direction of Bishop Benedict of Modena, who very likely served as papal legate, makes very clear that the Roman pontiff, or at least his advisers, were well aware of the types of military assets that were available for war in the western Mediterranean against the Muslims prior to the First Crusade.[56]

In the context of the successful Mahdia campaign, it is very important that Odo de Lagery, a Champagne noble and former grand prior of Cluny, was Pope Victor's right-hand man and chief adviser.[57] Indeed, Odo, who served as adviser to both Gregory VII and Victor in his capacity as cardinal-bishop of Ostia, not only had consecrated the latter, but succeeded him as Pope Urban II shortly after the great success at Mahdia.[58] Indeed, some accounts, which date the Mahdia campaign to Urban's pontificate, may, in fact, be implicit recognition by informed sources that Odo, and not the pope whom he served, was the driving force behind this very successful amphibious military effort.[59] Whatever may have been the role of the cardinal-bishop of Ostia in promoting the Mahdia campaign in 1087, it is clear that

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[55] Cowdrey, "The Mahdia Campaign of 1087," pp. 1–2; and Kruger, "The Italian Cities and the Arabs before 1095," pp. 52–53.

[56] Regarding the occasional dispute as to whether this campaign was orchestrated during the pontificate of Urban II as contrasted to that of Victor III, see H.E.J.Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius: Montecassio, the Papacy, and the Norman in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 200, 212–213, with the literature cited there. As to whether Bishop Benedict was the papal legate or merely the spiritual leader of the campaign, see Cowdrey, "The Mahdia Campaign of 1087," pp. 16–17; but note that Kruger, "The Italian Cities and the Arabs before 1095," p. 52, is unambiguous in seeing the prelate as a papal legate.

[57] Cowdrey, "The Genesis of the Crusades," pp. 19–20.

[58] Regarding Urban's background see, Cowdrey, "The Genesis of the Crusades," p. 24.

[59] Cowdrey, "The Mahdia Campaign of 1087," pp. 3–9, discusses the case for the date in terms that make clear that all sources did not overtly credit Victor with organizing the expedition. The conclusion by Cowdrey (p. 7), "on all these grounds, therefore, 1087 stands as the true date of the Mahdia campaign", is not, however, at issue.

well after he had been elevated to the papal office, he supported joint-force military operations by both Pisans and Genoese. For example, in 1092, such a joint exercise was successful at Valencia, and the following year, 1093, another joint operation succeeded at Tortosa.[60]

Military Intelligence

In addition to the font of military intelligence that undergirded these successful amphibious campaigns, the pope and his advisers were well-positioned to gather useful information from a vast congeries of sources. For example, there was widely available information of potential military value to the pope and his advisers regarding the situation at Jerusalem, and concerning the problems inherent in the march of a very large army from Constantinople to the Holy City. Concerning a trek from the capital city of the East Roman empire to Jerusalem over a wide variety of possible routes, there were detailed reports, both written and oral, regarding the many thousands of pilgrims who endured the physical rigors of the journey during the later eleventh century and earlier. Such reports were common knowledge throughout the West.[61] In addition, many pilgrims were men of noble status with long experience in war. They were very capable of providing a professional estimate from a military perspective of the problems that would have to be overcome in order for a large army to execute a successful and lengthy overland campaign from Constantinople to Jerusalem.[62]

Many intelligence sources of potential military value were also available concerning the situation in the Holy City and regarding the port of Jaffa. First, the patriarch of Jerusalem was on friendly terms with the papacy, and he certainly was well informed not only concerning the situation within the Holy City, itself, but also throughout his diocese, which included the port of Jaffa. Although the patriarch went into exile at the Byzantine naval base on Cyprus at the time of the First Crusade, he remained in close contact with the West, the East Roman emperor, and with his own church on the mainland.[63] In addition, Pope Urban would appear to have had informants, and perhaps even agents, such as Peter the Hermit, to

[60] Concerning Valencia and Tortosa, respectively, see Reinhard Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le moyen âge*, 2 vols. (rev. ed., Leyden, 1881), II, 140, and Appendix XV, pp. lv–lvi; and Cowdrey, "The Mahdia Campaign of 1087," p. 14.

[61] In general, see, Steven Runciman, "The Pilgrimages to Palestine before 1095," in *A History of the Crusades*, I, 2nd ed., ed. Marshall W. Baldwin (Madison, 1969), 68–78.

[62] Useful information concerning high profile individuals capable of providing key insights into the problems inherent in a march from Constantinople to Jerusalem is to be found in Einar Joranson, "The Great German pilgrimage of 1064–1065," in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays presented to Cana C. Munro by his former students*, ed. Louis J. Paetow (New York, 1928), 3–56; Lucien Musset, "Recherches sur les pèlerins et pèlerinages en Normandie jusqu'à la première croisade," *Annales de Normandie*, XII (1962), 127–150; and E-R. Labande, "Recherches sur les pèlerins dans l'Europe des XIe et XIIe siècles," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, i. (1968), 159–169, 339–347.

[63] Bachrach, "The Siege of Antioch," pp. 139–140.

help him gain information about the situation in the Holy City and its environs.[64] Traditionally, Christians are known to have used holy men or men posing as holy men to work as spies in the eastern Mediterranean region.[65] Further, the same nobles who were well-positioned to comment professionally, regarding the military problems involved in a march from Constantinople to Jerusalem, were also very capable of evaluating the state of the defences in the Holy City and at Jaffa. They could provide information regarding the size of the enemy garrisons, and also on the morale of the Muslim occupying forces. There were also permanent western Christian installations in Jerusalem, such as the so-called hospital of the Amalfitani, which catered both to pilgrims and to merchants. Certainly, the rather permanent residents of Jerusalem, who administered such a hospital, were also positioned to provide valuable information.[66] Last but not least, western merchants could easily obtain information from personal observations and to gather hearsay, as well. Indeed, the Muslims of the Middle East were particularly aware of the intelligence gathering threat posed by western merchants, and undertook considerable efforts to thwart them. As is readily evident from a variety of contemporary Muslim and Christian sources, however, not all counter-measures aimed at stopping intelligence gathering were effective.[67]

Surely, a substantial corpus of available information made clear that fortifications at Jaffa were deemed by the Muslims as incapable of being defended effectively.[68] A western amphibious assault on Jaffa, like those executed at Alexandretta and Latakia prior to the crusade and those executed in the decade following the crusade against the Fatimid ports further to the south, would probably have had little chance of failure.[69] In addition, the Muslim garrison at Jerusalem was clearly not of a size sufficient to hold out effectively against even an ill-equipped besieging force of between 12,000 and 13,000 effectives. Indeed, this was the size of the crusader force that captured the Holy City in 1099 after one or another Muslim government

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[64] One does not have to believe that the Crusade was Peter's idea in order to accept the accounts that he visited the Holy Land prior to the Crusade and had contact with Pope Urban. See E.O. Blake and Colin Morris, "A hermit goes to war: Peter the Hermit and the Origins of the first Crusade," *Studies in Church History*, 22 (1985), 79–107, which should be read carefully on this point in regard to the information that Peter brought back to Rome. For more on the sources, see Colin Morris, "Peter the Hermit and the Chroniclers," *The First Crusade, Origin and Impact* (Manchester, 1997), 21–34. For a very broad treatment, see Jean Flori, *Pierre l'ermite et la première croisade* (Paris, 1999), 67–89, and esp. the additional literature cited p.516, n. 5.

[65] Vassilios Christides, "Military Intelligence in Arabo-Byzantine Naval Warfare," in *Byzantium at War (9th–12th c.)* (Athens, 1997), 271. The entire subject of military intelligence requires more study. The methodological problems noted by A.D. Lee, *Information and Frontiers: Roman Foreign Relations in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1993), are important.

[66] Runciman, "The Pilgrimages to Palestine," p. 75.

[67] Christides, "Military Intelligence," pp. 269–271, outlines some Muslim counter-measures, and assesses their effectiveness.

[68] As noted by France, *Victory in the West*, pp. 326–327.

[69] Pryor, *Geography, technology, war*, p. 115, discusses the fall of Fatimid ports.

had more than two years to prepare for its defence.[70] An army of 20,000 crusaders, fresh from the West, and undaunted by a horrendous two-year campaign through the heart of the Middle East, would need food supplies for their siege of Jerusalem capable of being provided by a single grain ship arriving daily at the port of Jaffa and carrying a load of approximately twenty metric tons of grain.[71] In light of the carrying capacity of Mediterranean grain ships, with average limits in excess of 100 tons, supplying the crusaders at Jerusalem by sea through Jaffa would not have been a difficult task.[72]

Muslim Naval Power

The Fatimid caliphate in Egypt was the only Muslim naval power in the region in 1096–1097. The Fatimids had their main naval base at Alexandria, which was some 400 nautical miles along the basic sailing route south-southwest of Jaffa.[73] By contrast, the Christian-held naval base at Cyprus was only 200 nautical miles north-northwest of Jaffa, and it operated on a year-round basis.[74] Thus, whenever Fatimid scouts at sea might learn that a Christian fleet had left Cyprus, presumably headed for Jerusalem, it would take such intelligence gathered by these spies twice the time to reach Alexandria as it would take the crusaders to reach Jaffa. As a result, upon receiving accurate intelligence, it would require a fully prepared Muslim war fleet based at Alexandria more than four times longer to reach Jaffa than it would the crusader force to reach the port of the Holy City. Of course, this is a minimal estimate, and presumes that a Fatimid war fleet, completely fitted out

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[70] See the discussion of the numbers by France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 330–331. It should be noted in this context, that when the crusaders finally captured Jerusalem, it was no longer in the hands of the Turks but of the Fatimids, who had captured it in 1098 with little difficulty. When the Fatimids learned that the crusaders were about to besiege the Holy City, they reinforced the garrison but to no avail.

[71] Concerning food supplies see Bachrach, "The Siege of Antioch," pp. 141–142.

[72] During the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, cargo ships in the Mediterranean were expected to carry loads in the 95–470 ton range. A capacity of 600 tons would seem to have been an upper limit by the mid-thirteenth century. See Unger, *The Ship in the Medieval Economy*, pp. 123–126.

[73] See Pryor, *Geography, technology, and war*, p. 118, fig. 27. For background concerning the Fatimid fleet, see Yacov Lev, "The Fatimid Navy: Byzantium and the Mediterranean Sea, 909–1036 CE (227–427 AH)", *Byzantion*, 54 (1984), 220–252.

[74] The government at Constantinople maintained a major naval and military base on the island of Cyprus under the command of the island's governor Eustathius Philokales. As part of gaining control of the eastern Mediterranean, the Byzantines recaptured Cyprus in 965 only four years after they captured Crete. See the discussion by Pryor, *Geography, technology, and war*, pp. 102–110. N.b. Eustathius had sufficient troop strength and naval assets available to him on Cyprus, apparently without direct support from Constantinople, to take over the defence of the port at Latakia from Duke Robert of Normandy, and to place a Byzantine garrison there. See the discussion by Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1951–1954) I: 255. By mid-October 1097, the Patriarch Symeon of Jerusalem was enjoying what would appear to have been a very pleasant self-imposed exile on the island, and neither he nor his court seems to have lacked anything. Indeed, the island appears to have served as an off shore headquarters of sorts for the Crusade as well as an entrepôt for storing supplies (Runciman, I, 222).

and manned, was merely sitting in port waiting for the signal to sail north. Any delays in launching the Fatimid fleet would mean that its response to the situation at Jaffa would be even slower. Indeed, in 1099, when a Fatimid fleet finally reached Jaffa, it arrived far too late to stop the Christian capture of the port or to have an impact on the siege of Jerusalem. The Muslims failed, despite the fact that for more than two years they were aware that a crusader army would seem to have had the aim of recapturing the Holy City. Indeed, it seems likely that the Muslim strategy regarding the defence of Jerusalem was based largely on the view that the crusaders, at the end of a very long and debilitating overland march, would not be able to reach the Holy City in sufficient force and with the necessary equipment to undertake a successful investment.[75]

The lack of potential for effective operations by the Fatimid fleet against the crusaders was due, at least in part, to the unavailability of the rapid transmission of intelligence and the need to overcome disadvantages imposed by having to sail greater distances than a crusader fleet. In addition, it is estimated that the total complement of Fatimid war ships at this time did not exceed seventy galleys.[76] The only way that this entire fleet, fully mobilized, could have been in position to interdict a western crusader fleet sailing from Cyprus to Jaffa, would have to have been the result of luck. However, a crusader fleet transporting some 15,000–20,000 troops to attack Jerusalem would be composed of some 300 ships, that is, smaller, but not greatly smaller, than the flotilla that attacked Mahdia successfully a decade earlier.

A western fleet sent to Jaffa, however, would be composed, at least in part, of large, heavy vessels of northern construction with high freeboard as compared to the Fatimid galleys.[77] The naval architecture of the northern ships made them virtually invulnerable to whatever ramming or boarding tactics the smaller and much lighter Muslim galleys might try to execute.[78] Of course, the fire power of the archers and crossbow men in a crusader army, numbering between 15,000 and 20,000 effectives, would have been far greater than the fire power that seventy Fatimid galleys might be able to deploy. In addition, these very roomy northern ships could carry considerable quantities of fresh water, the *sine qua non* for successful deployment over time at sea. By contrast, a Muslim fleet likely would

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[75] Useful information on this point is provided by France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 213–214, 336–337.

[76] Hamblin, "The Fatimid navy during the early Crusades," p. 78, suggests that this may be an exaggerated paper figure, and thus an upper limit at best. See also Pryor, *Geography, technology, and war*, p, 114.

[77] Regarding northern ships, e.g. cogs and hulks, see Unger, *The Ship in the Medieval Economy*, pp. 132–152; and Gilliam Hutchinson, *Medieval Ships and Shipping* (London, 1994), 12–15.

[78] See, Pryor, *Geography, technology, and war*, pp. 120–121, where some later examples are discussed.

come to suffer from a chronic water shortage soon after it had arrived on station somewhere between Cyprus and Jaffa.[79]

All discussion of a possible effort, much less an effective effort, by a Fatimid fleet to interfere with a crusading armada, sailing from Cyprus to Jaffa in 1096–1097, must be tempered not only by the brute facts that undergird the above analysis based upon *Sachkritik*, but by contemporary political realities. During the crucial years under consideration here, 1096–1097, Jerusalem was under Turkish control, which, as made clear above, was not very effective in any case. The Fatimids, however, were more often than not hostile to the Turks. Therefore, they would have had no reason to undertake a concerted and very risky effort to try to protect Turkish interests by attacking a large crusader fleet with a force that, in the bargain, was both numerically and tactically inferior. In fact, it is very clear that the Fatimids gave serious consideration, as early as 1097, to supporting the western effort, and permitting the crusaders to take control of the Holy City.[80]

Conclusion

It is reasonable to believe that Pope Urban and his military advisers knew that in the West sufficient numbers of seagoing vessels could be made available to transport a force of 15,000–20,000 men to Jaffa along the well known and frequently used trunk route that was under Christian control. In addition, it is clear that the westerners also had broad experience in executing successful combined naval-land operations with large armies not only against Christians but also against Muslims. These efforts were known not only to Pope Urban but also throughout Europe.[81] Finally, both Jaffa and Jerusalem remained poorly defended even after the Muslims were very much aware for a period of at least two years that the Holy City was a possible target for conquest by Christian armies. Indeed, Jerusalem was ripe for the taking by a well-provisioned and well-equipped army transported rapidly and safely by sea from the West to Jaffa.

It seems clear that there is a stark contradiction between Pope Urban's avowed primary war aim to recapture Jerusalem, as indicated in his speeches and other

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[79] Concerning the water problem, see Pryor, *Geography, technology, and war*, pp. 75–86, 116–120.

[80] The complicated negotiations between representatives of the Crusaders and the Fatimid government for a period of more than two years is chronicled in detail by Martin A. Kohler, *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen frankischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderren Orient* (Berlin, 1991), pp. 1–72. See the useful summaries provided by France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 165–166, 252–254.

[81] See, for example, Elisabeth M.C. van Houts, "The Norman Conquest through European Eyes," *The English Historical Review*, CX (1995), 832–853, whose work shows the very widespread nature of detailed information concerning the Norman conquest of England. The sources cited by Cowdrey, "The Mahdia Campaign of 1087," pp. 1–23, provides a good survey of the diverse sources that treat the Mahdia campaign throughout Europe. Finally, Waley, "Combined Operations in Sicily, 1060–1078," pp. 118–125, provides a survey of the diverse sources that treat this campaign.

documents, and the strategic option that he chose for the deployment of the crusader army. It is argued here that if the recapture of Jerusalem had been Urban's primary war aim, he would have undertaken a strategy leading to a direct attack by sea on Jaffa. The seaborne option would have kept the crusader army from struggling through a terrible and very dangerous overland trek for more than two years under horrible conditions. There would have been far fewer casualties, and as a result, numerous Christian lives would have been saved. The morale and enthusiasm of the army would have been maintained, and thus significant numbers of crusaders likely would not have deserted. Indeed, only a small remnant of the original crusader army, originally numbering at least 50,000 effectives, finally reached Jerusalem.[82] The fact that the city finally fell cannot be taken as proof that its recapture was Pope Urban's primary war aim. This would be a circular argument at best. Jerusalem, it is argued here, was recaptured not because of papal strategy but in spite of it.

The facts on the ground, as contrasted to the ideals outlined in his speeches and other sources, suggest that Pope Urban's primary war aim was not the recapture of Jerusalem. Rather, it would seem that he wanted to accomplish a goal that required a large papal army, composed, at least in part, of religious zealots, to be mobilized at Constantinople. Or to put it another way, Pope Urban had as his primary war aim obtaining something very important from Alexius, in return for providing the emperor with the possibility of having a large western army with which to reconquer territory lost to the Turks and especially key fortress cities such as Nicaea and Antioch.

It is very clear that Urban promised in 1095 at the Council of Piacenza to send aid to Alexius but did nothing to publicize this commitment in the West.[83] It is suggested here that Pope Urban had as his primary aim the mustering of a very large army in order to reverse the situation, regarded as untenable at Rome, which Cardinal Humbert's maladroit diplomatic mission to Constantinople had exacerbated so fundamentally in 1054.[84] This war aim – that of healing the schism – many scholars have argued, was pressed by Urban in a somewhat coded manner under the rubric of liberating the Eastern Church.[85] Later Byzantine writers,

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[82] The numbers discussed by various scholars are treated by France, *Victory in the East*, pp. 123–142. See also the curious essay by Jean Flori, "Un problème de méthodologie. La valeur des nombres chez les chroniqueurs du Moyen Age, à propos des effectifs de la première Croisade," *Le moyen âge*, XCIX (1993), 398–422.

[83] See, for example, Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 1.

[84] This resurrection of some aspects of the so-called Erdmann-thesis, of course, rests neither on Erdmann's shaping of the source material nor on the background he developed concerning "Germanic" ideas regarding war. Rather, it identifies a strategic option that was available to Urban that the pope did not choose, and of which Erdmann was not aware.

[85] For the argument that this was Urban's code for healing the schism, see Erdmann, *The Origin of the Ideal of Crusade*, p. 330. Cowdrey, "Pope Urban II and the Idea of Crusade," p. 729, admits that "to free the Eastern churches" was one of the pope's goals. However, it is clear that there is no consensus on what the idea of "liberation" means. The situation has been complicated by the fact that some scholars interpret Urban's goal as liberating the churches under Muslim domination and not as freeing the East Roman church from its errors.

presumed to have been working with earlier but no longer extant sources, even credited Alexius with suggesting to Pope Urban that advertising a campaign in the West among enthusiastic Christians to recapture Jerusalem would be an effective way to mobilize an army which then could help in the reconquest of East Roman territory.[86]

The importance of healing the schism had been evident to the papacy for several decades before Urban ascended the fisherman's throne. Pope Gregory VII, very early in his reign, before the Investiture Conflict intervened, had struggled to heal the schism, and even offered to lead an army to Constantinople to help defend the empire. Indeed, it might be argued that this was the pope's highest priority prior to his conflict with Henry IV.[87] Moreover, when the Byzantines proved intransigent, Gregory provided legitimate cover for Norman attacks on the East Roman empire because he believed that a vigorous stimulus was needed for the emperor to recognize papal supremacy. Consistent with this view, he excommunicated the emperors Nicephorus III Botaniates in 1078 and Alexius I in 1080 in order to further papal aims.[88]

Although Gregory's efforts to heal the schism came to naught, the continuing need of the Byzantines for military aid from the West gave Urban new opportunities. In this context, it is not without importance that Pope Gregory VII was regarded by Urban as his model, and the new pope certainly was as interested in healing the schism as had been his predecessor.[89] Thus, Urban began by lifting Alexius's excommunication in 1088, and initially acting in a very positive manner toward the emperor's council which met at Constantinople the following year to deal with the schism.[90] However, it is clear from Urban's reaction to the proceedings of this council that Alexius had yet to move sufficiently along the road to recognizing Byzantine submission to Rome. As the desired relationship between the two was understood by Urban, Rome was to be seen as the Mother Church and Constantinople as her

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[86] Peter Charanis, "Byzantium, the West and the Origin of the First Crusade," *Byzantion*, 17–36; and more particularly Peter Charanis, "A Greek source on the Origin of the First Crusade," *Speculum*, 24 (1949), 93–94. This material and Charanis' argument provide considerable support for this aspect of the Erdmann-thesis.

[87] Frederic Duncalf, "The Councils of Piacenza and Clermont," in *A History of the Crusades*, I, 2nd ed. Marshall W. Baldwin (Madison, 1969), 223–224; also Cowdrey, "The Gregorian Papacy," p. 153, with a variety of nuances, which, however read still makes the religious subjection of Byzantium to Rome the ultimate *desideratum*; and Cowdrey, "Pope Gregory VII's 'Crusading' Plans," pp. 27–37, for more detail.

[88] Cowdrey, "The Gregorian Papacy," p. 157–158, sees these acts as primarily defensive but his argument is not fully convincing. The pope's kindliness toward Gregory II, the Armenian Patriarch, may well be seen also as a political gambit, for which sacrifices were necessary in real time, to help undermine the position of the patriarch at Constantinople vis-à-vis other eastern churches. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, pp. 487–489, maintains his view of Pope Gregory as lacking the instinct for *Realpolitik*, as traditionally understood, when dealing with the Armenian question.

[89] Cowdrey, "The Gregorian Papacy," pp. 161–169.

[90] Bernard Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance* (Paris, 1924), pp. 20–26; and accepted by Frederic Duncalf, "The Pope's Plan For The First Crusade, in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays presented to Dana C. Munro by his former students*, ed. Louis J. Paetow (New York, 1928), 45.

daughter. However, Alexius's council was demanding both a profession of faith from the pope and a systatic letter to confirm their common union. Urban ignored both requests.[91]

At the council of Melfi, later in 1089, Urban's displeasure toward the behaviour of the Greek Church in regard to the council at Constantinople was made manifest to the Greek clergy in the south. Basileios, the Metropolitan of Regio, made clear in a letter to the patriarch of Constantinople that the pope was not about to agree with the position of the Greek Church as published by the council at Constantinople.[92] In this context, I find it difficult to understand the view proffered by Runciman, who, after discussing Basileios's letter, observes "all the same it could be said that any schism that there had been between the two churches was closed."[93] The fact that now Runciman's position has gained support from some English scholars is even more perplexing.[94] Rather, the traditional view presented by Holtzmann, "So endete die Mission des Basileios von Reggio mit einem schrillen Missklang." is to be preferred as being consistent both with the letter and the spirit of the Greek prelate's report.[95]

A very large western army at Constantinople, one that potentially could frighten Alexius while operating under papal warrant, would make it possible for Urban's legate, Adhemar of le Puy, to be in a position to "encourage", if not coerce, the emperor to act properly in regard to healing the schism.[96] Indeed, it is evident that Pope Urban did not fully consult with Alexius in order to make clear to the emperor that a very large army was in the offing.[97] In short, it would seem that Pope Urban sent the crusaders to Constantinople, and expected a *quid pro quo* for providing an army to fight the Turks. Alexius was to abandon the schism with the Roman

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[91] Cowdrey, "The Gregorian Papacy," p. 162, describes the situation, but fails to draw the obvious conclusions. Rather, contrary to the information provided in the sources, he wants his readers to believe that all was going well between Alexius and Urban on the matter of healing the breach. This view is not shared by Walthar Holzmann, "Unionsverhandlungen zwischen Kaiser Alexios I. und Papst Urban II. im Jahre 1089," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXVIII (1928), 38–67; and reprinted in Walthar Holzmann, *Beiträge zur Rechts- und Papstgeschichte des hohen Mittelalters*, *Bonner historische Forschungen*, VIII (1957), 79–105, who provides a much less rosy picture, which is more consistent with the evidence.

[92] See the discussion by Holzmann, "Unionsverhandlungen zwischen Kaiser Alexios I. und Papst Urban II. im Jahre 1089," pp. 94–104; and Peter Herde, "Das Papsttum und die grieschche Kirche in Süditalien vom 11. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, XXVI (1970), 11–14.

[93] Steven Runciman, *The Eastern Schism* (Oxford, 1955), p. 62, for the quotation.

[94] See, for example, Cowdrey, "The Gregorian Papacy," p. 162.

[95] Holtzmann, "Unionsverhandlungen zwischen Kaiser Alexios I. und Papst Urban II. im Jahre 1089," p. 95, for the quotation.

[96] It is clear from Anna Comnena (*Alexiad*, X,v. 4–7), that Alexius was fearful of the large Western army that he learned was to descend on Constantinople. See, for example, the discussion by Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, I, 116–117; and echoed by Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, pp. 2–3. Indeed, Alexius' fears were not unfounded. Clearly, Alexius believed in the danger posed by the large Western army well before he learned of Bohemond's scheme to capture the capital, and took numerous measures to thwart any problems. See the information provided by France, *Victory in the West*, pp. 114–115.

[97] Cowdrey, "The Gregorian Papacy," p. 167.

church, and the patriarch of Constantinople was to recognize papal superiority.[98] How Alexius outwitted the crusaders, and foiled Urban's plan is another story for another time. Nevertheless, the fortuitous fall of Jerusalem in 1099 to a small rump of the western army saved the crusade from failure and Urban's reputation from the dustbin of history.

[98] It may well be that the unsuccessful council of Bari in 1098, which was used by Pope Urban to further the process of unification with the Greek church in southern Italy, was undergirded by the threat inherent in the vast masses of crusaders, whom all could see were a papal army. See the rather different interpretation by Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, pp. 76–77, which is accepted by Cowdrey, "The Gregorian Papacy," p. 167.

Appendix

A Second Option

Despite the evidence presented above, some scholars may yet believe that Pope Urban did not know that the strategy of a direct assault on Jerusalem from the western Mediterranean not only was possible, but was preferable to a lengthy and very risky overland effort. Granting this premise for the moment, it is clear that once the crusader army had been mobilized at the East Roman capital, it was still possible strategically to launch a direct attack by sea on Jaffa, and subsequently to position a force of sufficient size to besiege and capture the Holy City. Had Pope Urban, through his legate, employed a strategy of a direct attack on Jerusalem from Constantinople, the crusading army would have avoided a harrowing march over the course of two years through terribly difficult country in which the very survival of the Westerners was put at grave risk.[99]

Byzantine Naval Assets

It surely escaped the attention of none of the principals in 1096–1097 that Byzantine fleets were largely in control of the eastern Mediterranean north of Cyprus.[100] Indeed, Alexius I worked to reform the Byzantine navy, which, like the army, had been severely weakened prior to his accession to the imperial throne. He restructured Byzantine naval assets by reassigning the provincial fleets and the fleet based at Constantinople in order to create a unified command. He then appointed a commander-in-chief (*megas doux*) to head the force.[101] In the wake of these reforms, a Byzantine fleet under Manuel Boutoumites destroyed a Muslim naval base and a fleet under construction at Kios on the banks of the Gulf of Gemlik in

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[99] Riley–Smith, *The First Crusade*, pp. 68–90, focuses upon the suffering of the crusaders as portrayed by the Latin sources.

[100] In regard to Byzantine naval supremacy, see Pryor, *Geography, technology and war*, pp. 117–120; France, "The First Crusade as a Naval Enterprise," pp. 389–397; and Bernard S. Bachrach, "Some Observations on the Role of the Byzantine Navy in the Success of the First Crusade," *Journal of Medieval Military History*, 1 (2002), 81–100.

France, *Victory in the East*, p. 210, n. 46, is rightly critical of the argument put forth by Archibald Lewis, *Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean, 500–1100* (Princeton, 1951), pp. 225–249, that Byzantine naval power was in decline at this time. Byzantine naval power very likely was actually increasing in an absolute sense. See, for example, Helene Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la Mer* (Paris, 1966). However, Lewis is correct in regard to the relative position of Byzantium because of the growth in naval power of the Italian cities. In short, western Christian naval forces were coming to be a major force in the Mediterranean.

[101] John Haldon, *Warfare, State and Society in the Byzantine World, 565–1204* (London, 1999), p. 96.

the Sea of Marmara. A second Byzantine naval unit, under Constantine Dalassenus, defeated the fleet of Tzachas, governor of Smyrna, in 1092.[102]

Thus, in addition to all of the naval assets discussed above – fleets both from the western Mediterranean and from northern Europe – the Byzantines, themselves, were not without a naval force of some importance. The sea lane south-southwest between Cyprus and Jaffa possibly could be contested by the Fatimid fleet based at Alexandria. However, as seen above, the capacity of such a Muslim fleet to deal effectively at sea with a large crusader force, and especially one strengthened by Byzantine assets, was minimal. Certainly, a potential confrontation with Fatimid naval power was a far inferior risk to the crusader army than the overland trek through which they did, in fact, suffer. The combined naval assets, western and Byzantine, for the transport of a crusader army from Constantinople to Jaffa clearly were available in 1097. Thus, the option could have been employed, in strategic terms, for a force of 15,000 to 20,000 crusaders, mobilized at the Byzantine capital, to be ferried without opposition to the Byzantine naval base on Cyprus and then from there to Jaffa.

[102] Pryor, *Geography, technology, and war*, p. 113; and Haldon, *Warfare, State and Society*, p. 96, who seems to want to downplay Byzantine naval power during this period, and considers these victories evidence for no more than "a respectable imperial presence in the Aegean and Adriatic".

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Knowledge, Power and the Medieval Soldier, 1096–1550

Yuval Noah Harari

On campaign, the gap in operational knowledge between medieval commanders and soldiers was surprisingly small, especially when compared to the late modern period.[1] While Montgomery or Churchill knew infinitely more about the course of the 1944 invasion of France than private John, King Henry V did not know that much more about the course of his 1415 invasion than longbowman Dick. The main reason for this is that in most medieval campaigns, knowledge about the course of the campaign, the objects of this knowledge, its sources, its carriers, its guardians and its consumers were all concentrated at a single point – the frontline. This made knowledge accessible to the soldiers almost as much as to the senior commanders, and more accessible than to the court back home.

Several factors contributed to this concentration and accessibility of operational knowledge. Firstly, medieval armies were usually numbered by the thousands, or by tens-of-thousands at most. Secondly, armies could seldom risk dispersing themselves over large areas, for due to the short duration of even major engagements, a dispersed army could be defeated piecemeal, without its components being able to succor each other. Medieval armies therefore normally stayed concentrated at a single point, marching, camping and fighting as a single body. These two factors combined meant that the army and the campaign – which for late modern soldiers are hopelessly abstract terms – were very tangible realities for medieval soldiers. A World War II soldier was never able to see the entire British army, nor was he able to survey the entire theatre of operations with his eyes. In contrast, a 1415 longbowman standing on a hill could easily see the English army and its immediate theatre of operations in their entirety.

It is true that field armies often detached smaller forces to undertake particular missions, but even such detachments seldom operated independently for more than a few days. And in such cases, once the detachments rejoined the army's main body, news of their actions quickly passed from soldier to soldier around the campfires. Thus the anonymous knight who composed the *Gesta Francorum* was able to give detailed descriptions not only of the actions of the main army of the First Crusade, but also of the forays of various contingents, including forays in which he did not take part personally.[2] Five centuries later, Bernal Díaz del Castillo, a common soldier who wrote an account of the Spanish conquest of Mexico, recounted at one point the fate of a foray in which he did not participate. He explained how he

[1] Throughout the article, "soldier" refers both to common soldiers and to subordinate commanders of lower ranks, whereas "commander" refers only to the army's senior commanders.

[2] For example, *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymytanorum* 4.10–11, ed. and trans. Rosalind Hill (London, 1962), p. 24–27.

nevertheless knew all the minute details about it, saying that "all that I have written about it, happened as I have stated, for one soon learns in camp what happens on a foray."[3]

Thirdly, the slowness of communication made it impractical to exercise operational command from a distance.[4] Consequently, the senior commanders normally accompanied the army on campaign, living and fighting alongside the soldiers. The commanders' billets – which were the heart and brain of the army's command-and-control system – stood but a few yards away from the soldiers' billets. There arrived the information about the enemy's actions or events on other fronts; there war councils gathered and decisions were made; and from there commands were issued and messengers dispatched.[5]

The physical proximity of headquarters meant that soldiers could easily observe when the commanders came together for important meetings, or when messengers, envoys and embassies arrived and were dispatched. For instance, when Fatimid envoys reached the crusader camp at Antioch (1098) to discuss an alliance, everyone could observe their arrival and departure.[6] What was said in high-level conferences could also rapidly become common knowledge. Sometimes no barrier whatsoever insulated these conferences from the soldiery. For example, on the night following the battle of Montlhéry (1465), Charles of Burgundy and his leading commanders and advisors gathered on the field to discuss their options. All around them lay dead bodies, wounded men, and sleeping soldiers. Anyone who was inclined could have easily informed himself of the various views and decisions.[7] During the siege of Bridgnorth (1102), Henry I conferred in an open field with his main magnates in order to decide his strategy. The magnates tried to persuade Henry to make peace with the rebel Robert de Bellême. A large number of common soldiers standing on a nearby hill and watching the conference shouted loudly to the king not to listen to this advice, and convinced him to pursue the war mercilessly.[8] Shakespeare most

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[3] Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España* 142, ed. Joaquín Ramírez Cabañas, 10th ed. (Mexico, 1974 [1955]), p. 306.

[4] Michael Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages: The English Experience* (New Haven, 1996), p. 211; David Nicolle, *Medieval Warfare Source Book*, 2 vols. (London, 1995), 1:265–66, 2:267–68; J.O. Prestwich, "Military Intelligence Under the Norman and Angevin Kings," in *Law and Government in Medieval England and Normandy*, eds. George Garnett and John Hudson (Cambridge, Eng., 1994), p. 25; John R. Alban and Christopher Allmand, "Spies and Spying in the Fourteenth Century," in *War, Literature and Politics in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. C.T. Allmand (Liverpool, 1976), pp. 85–86; Martin Van Creveld, *Command in War* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), p. 22; Yuval Noah Harari, "Inter-Frontal Cooperation in the Fourteenth Century and Edward III's 1346 Campaign," *War in History* 6:4 (1999), 379–95.

[5] See also Van Creveld, *Command*, pp. 22–23, 34–35.

[6] *Gesta Francorum* 6.17, pp. 37–38. See also: Gesta Francorum 10.34–36, pp. 81–86; *The History of the Holy War: Ambroise's Estoire de la guerre sainte*, lines 7354–7415, eds. and trans. Marianne Allen and Malcolm Barber (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 119–20.

[7] Philippe de Commynes, *Mémoires* 1.4, ed. Joseph Calmette, 3 vols. (Paris, 1924), 1:35–36.

[8] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History* 11.3, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1978), 6:26.

probably got things right when he presented the last-minute conference that Henry V and his lieutenants had before Agincourt as a public spectacle.[9]

Even when such conferences were held indoors,[10] their contents could hardly be kept from leaking out. For one thing, the commanders themselves did not stay put inside their billets, but roamed around the camp, and soldiers could easily note their moods, their quarrels, and so forth. For instance, Ambroise writes that when the French leaders intended to leave the army of the Third Crusade, Richard the Lion-Heart went about the army "angry and looking melancholy."[11] Similarly, the personal relations between senior commanders were always public knowledge in medieval armies.[12]

In addition, headquarters were not insulated from the soldiery by physical barriers such as barbed wire or military policemen. For instance, when the rebel leaders of the 1465 War of the Public Weal met at a house in Étampes, the house was left almost completely unguarded. Only after a soldier who was playing practical jokes on his comrades almost hit Charles of Burgundy and Charles of France with a firecracker, did the leaders – fearing that it was an attempted assassination – arm their bodyguards and post them around the house.[13] During the Third Crusade when Richard sat in his tent brooding whether to return to England, he saw an army chaplain passing in front of the entrance and crying. The king called him into the tent and inquired what was troubling him. In reply, Richard received a sermon about the strategic course-of-action he should adopt.[14] When, in 1251, Louis IX came to know that the master of the Templars had made a private treaty with an envoy of the sultan of Damascus, he summoned the master and the Muslim envoy to his pavilion, to annul the treaty and reprimand the master. In order to humiliate the master, Louis ordered that the flaps of the pavilion be raised, so that all the lower ranks of the army could pass by and see what was going on inside.[15]

Even when the flaps of the commander's pavilion were down, information kept flowing out, for medieval headquarters were the centre of social and culinary activities as much as of secret conferences. Commanders not only slept and ate in

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[9] Cf. *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, eds. and trans. Frank Taylor and John S. Roskell (Oxford, 1995), p. 78. For "open" conferences see also Jehan Froissart, *Chroniques de J. Froissart* 1.78.380–384, ed. Siméon Luce, 15 vols. (Paris, 1869–1975), 5:24–33; Jean de Haynin, *Mémoires de Jean, Sire de Haynin et de Louvignies, 1465–1477*, ed. D.D. Brouwers, 2 vols. (Liège, 1905), 1:103; Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, section 147, ed. Jean Dufournet (Paris, 1969), p. 67.

[10] For descriptions of such conferences, see Jean de Joinville, *Vie de saint Louis*, sections 422–29, ed. Jacques Monfrin (Paris, 1995), pp. 208–10; Robert de Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople* 32–33, ed. Philippe Lauer (Paris, 1924), pp. 31–32; Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History* 12.22, 6:278.

[11] Ambroise, *Estoire*, lines 8309–8312, pp. 134–35.

[12] See, for example, Ambroise, *Estoire*, lines 5033–5059, pp. 81–82; *Gesta Francorum* 10.34, p. 80; Clari, *Conquête* 94, pp. 91–92; Ramon Muntaner, "Crònica de Ramon Muntaner" 229, in *Les quatre grans cròniques*, ed. Ferran Soldevila (Barcelona, 1971), p. 870.

[13] Commynes, *Mémoires* 1.5, 1:41–42. On lax security measures in camps, see also *Gesta Francorum* 5.12, p. 29.

[14] Ambroise, *Estoire*, lines 9528–9655, pp. 154–56.

[15] Joinville, *Vie*, sections 511–14, pp. 252–54. See also *Gesta Francorum* 6.15, pp. 33–34.

their billets, but they usually offered lodging and meals there for dozens of knights, hangers-on and horses. When meetings were held there, each participant usually brought along an entourage of his own. Consequently, at all times, and particularly in times of major conferences, headquarters were swarming with pages, grooms, cooks, washer-women, and servants on various household chores.[16] Important news picked up by all these attendants had a very short distance to travel to the soldiers' campfires.[17] Orderic Vitalis recounts that when Henry I besieged La Feré-en-Bray (1118), "men who ate with [Henry]" pried into his secrets and told them to the besieged garrison.[18]

Finally, the senior commanders were not only physically close to their soldiers, but they were also linked to them by very short chains of personal connections. In 1465, only three pairs of friendly ears separated Charles of Burgundy from his meanest archer. Thus one of Charles's close lieutenants was the *conseiller-chambellan* Jacques de Luxembourg, lord of Fiennes. One of Fiennes's friends and retainers was Jean de Haynin, a man of the lesser nobility, who brought with him to the army a retinue of between twelve and twenty common soldiers.[19] Because they all resided in the same small camp, and because they all knew each other from peacetime as well as from several campaigns, a little indiscretion between three friends could easily pass anything that went on in Charles' headquarters to the humblest soldier in his service.

It is consequently not surprising that, for example, soldiers in the Burgundian army of 1465 knew that Burgundian strategy assumed that they would link with the Breton army before giving battle. When the Bretons failed to appear, the soldiers became so angry that the Breton representatives in the camp fled for fear of their reaction.[20] During the Third Crusade, when secret letters from England informed Richard of the deteriorating situation in England and Normandy, and urged him to come home, it was obviously of great importance to keep this information as secret as possible. Nevertheless it soon became common knowledge both amongst the soldiery and amongst the Muslims.[21]

Important information could also reach the soldiers directly, without passing through headquarters first. Medieval armies had neither a formal intelligence branch, nor military policemen or counterespionage personnel responsible for compartmentalizing military knowledge and restricting its flow. Much information was gathered by soldiers on regular operations; by heralds; by returning prisoners-

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[16] For a description of a commander's billet on campaign, see Joinville, *Vie*, sections 408–9, 418, 430, 441, 449–50, 501–4, 566, 583, 595, pp. 200, 206, 210, 216, 220, 222, 248, 250, 280, 288, 290, 294, 296. See also *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, p. 80; Ambroise, *Estoire*, lines 8409–8414, p. 136.

[17] For an example of how quickly news of events in secret conferences spread, see Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History* 12.18, 6:234; Joinville, *Vie*, sections 429–34, pp. 210–12; Ambroise, *Estoire*, lines 5238–5266, p. 85.

[18] Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History* 12.5, 6:200.

[19] Haynin, *Mémoires*, 1:149, 230–31, 257–58, 2:100.

[20] Commynes, *Mémoires* 1.3, 1:22–23.

[21] Ambroise, *Estoire*, lines 8499–8579, 9103–26, 9408–35, pp. 138–39, 147–48, 152–53.

of-war;[22] and by questioning prisoners-of-war and civilians.[23] Information gathered from such sources was often available to the soldiers at least as much as to their commanders.[24]

Even when commanders ordered the dispatch of special reconnaissance missions, the task was normally assigned to regular soldiers rather than to some compartmentalized branch.[25] These soldiers were not bred to a culture of secrecy, and they were not physically or mentally separated from their comrades. They were therefore likely to share any information they gathered not only with their superiors, but also with their comrades.[26]

More "professional" spies were occasionally employed to observe and infiltrate enemy camps,[27] but even such men were quite willing to share their information with the other soldiers. For example, before the battle of Montlhéry, the Burgundian commanders sent an archer called Gobache, who also doubled as an experienced spy, to reconnoiter the royal French army. On his way back from his mission, and before he reported his findings to the Burgundian command, Gobache was met by a group of Burgundian soldiers. They knew Gobache, and probably knew what he was up to, and therefore stopped him and asked: "'Gobache, are they coming?' and he replied: 'Yes' – 'Are they many?' – 'It was impossible to count them, for all the paths are covered with them.'"[28]

That soldiers were comparatively well informed is evident from their writings. Even the writings of men such as Francisco Balbi de Correggio, Elis Gruffydd, Bernal Díaz del Castillo, Jehan de Haynin, Gutierre Diez de Games, Robert de Clari, Ernoul, and the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* – all common knights or private soldiers – describe the strategic and political facets of wars in great detail, and modern historians generally assume that these descriptions are indeed trustworthy. Whereas histories of the American Civil War or the World Wars almost never rely on the writings of common soldiers for their strategic and

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[22] Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years War*, 2 vols. (London, 1990), 1:578; Jehan Le Bel, *Chronique* 12.3–13.3, ed. Jules Viard and Eugene Deprez, 2 vols. (Paris, 1977), 1:61–63.

[23] See, for example, Joinville, *Vie*, sections 215, 584, pp. 104, 290; Commynes, *Mémoires* 1.4, 1:36–37; Ambroise, *Estoire*, lines 6952–6953, p. 112; Christopher Marshall, *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192–1291* (Cambridge, Eng., 1992), pp. 262–63.

[24] See, for example, *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, pp. 62, 68.

[25] For example, *Gesta Francorum* 10.39, pp. 93–94; Le Bel, *Chronique* 12.3–13.3, 1:61–63; Marshall, *Warfare*, pp. 262–67; Prestwich, *Armies*, pp. 211–17; Prestwich, "Military Intelligence," pp. 9–17, 20–22, 27–28; Yuval Noah Harari, "The Military Role of the Frankish Turcopoles – a Reassessment," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 12:1 (1997), pp. 89–92.

[26] See, for example, *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le tresorier*, ed. M.L. de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871), p. 101; *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, p. 64.

[27] Joinville, *Vie*, section 263, p. 130; Nicolle, *Medieval Warfare*, 1:249–50; Marshall, *Warfare*, pp. 262–67; Reuven Amitai, "Mamluk Espionage among Mongols and Franks," in *The Medieval Levant*, ed. B.Z. Kedar and A.K. Udovitch (Haifa, 1988), pp. 173–81; Prestwich, *Armies*, pp. 211–17; Prestwich, "Military Intelligence," pp. 2–4, 9–15, 20–28; Herbert J. Hewitt, *The Organization of War under Edward III, 1338–62* (Manchester, 1966), p. 4.

[28] Haynin, *Mémoires*, 1:56. See also Haynin, *Mémoires*, 1:54–55; *Gesta Francorum* 6.17, p. 36.

political analyses, strategic and political analyses of the crusades, for example, rely to a considerable extent on such writings.

It is true that the writers of memoirs and soldiers on campaign often knew little about events that happened away from the army's main body, such as in enemy headquarters, on far-off fronts, or on the "home front." But this was because their own superiors too knew little about these things. A longbowman in Henry V's army in 1415 knew very little about what was happening in Paris or on the Gascon front at the time, but Henry himself did not know much more. Similarly, before the battle of Montlhéry, Charles of Burgundy was as oblivious to the exact whereabouts of the royal and Breton armies as his meanest archer. So even in respect of grand-strategic and political knowledge, the gap between senior commanders and their subordinates remained small.[29]

So far we have examined only major field campaigns. The gap in knowledge between commanders and soldiers was even smaller in the case of sieges and low intensity warfare. Though during sieges the besieged commanders often tried to hide depressing information from their soldiers, the concentrated nature of siege operations, and the proximity of commanders and soldiers, meant that the gap was never very big. Thus when Saladin's army tried to relieve Acre in 1191–92, or when the French royal army tried to relieve Calais in 1347, every member of the besieged garrisons could easily observe how things were going (in contrast, for example, to the situation in Stalingrad in the winter of 1942–43).

Because during sieges both besieged and besiegers were cooped up together for weeks and months within a very limited area, and because information about events happening on the other side of the wall was one of the most interesting topics of conversation, it was impossible to keep secrets indefinitely. During the 1147 siege of Lisbon, the contents of letters and secret messages that the besiegers intercepted regularly became common knowledge amongst the entire host.[30] One of our main accounts of the siege of Malta (1565) was written by a common soldier called Francisco Balbi de Correggio. Throughout his narrative, Corregio writes extensively about Turkish war councils, Turkish strategy, and even about the bad relations between several senior Turkish commanders. At one point, he explains that

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[29] Harari, "Inter-Frontal Cooperation"; Prestwich, *Armies*, pp. 217–18. The gap could be significantly larger in times of peace, or when senior commanders stayed away from the front. However, in the latter case commanders paid for their superior grand-strategic and political knowledge by suffering from crippling operational ignorance. See Christopher Allmand, "Intelligence in the Hundred Years War," in *Go Spy the Land: Military Intelligence in History*, eds. Keith Neilson and B J.C. McKercher (Westport, 1992), pp. 31–47; Alban and Allmand, "Spies," pp. 73–101; Prestwich, "Military Intelligence," pp. 2–9, 17–19, 22–28; Ian Arthurson, "Espionage and Intelligence from the Wars of the Roses to the Reformation," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 35 (1991), 134–54; Amitai, "Mamluk Espionage"; Marshall, *Warfare*, pp. 262–67; Philippe Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, trans. Michael Jones (New York, 1984), p. 226; Hewitt, *Organization*, pp. 165–68; Nichole, *Medieval Warfare*, 1:249–50, 2:244–46; Prestwich, *Armies*, pp. 211–17.

[30] *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, ed. and trans. Charles Wendell David (New York, 1976), pp. 136–40.

he knew about these things from a young Spaniard called Alphonso, who served in the Turkish army as secretary to the ruler of Algiers, and who escaped during the siege to the fort where Correggio served.[31]

In low-intensity campaigns, in which large numbers of small forces waged war over a wide area, the gap in information actually favored the soldiers. A lowly freebooter captain such as the Bascot de Mauléon who was fighting in southern France in the name of Edward III and later Richard II, knew far more about events in his area of operations than his distant king.[32]

We can therefore conclude that medieval common soldiers had a fairly good understanding of the course of the campaigns in which they fought, and their knowledge of the military situation was not far inferior to that of their commander-in-chief or prince, even if the latter accompanied the army. Though armies and war were transformed in many ways between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries, this remained a constant factor of military reality.

The superior information at the disposal of soldiers was a vital means of empowerment, which enabled soldiers to influence the course of wars. Medieval soldiers and subordinate commanders seldom fought for the war aims of their superiors. Rather, the conduct of campaigns involved a constant tug-of-war between commanders and their subordinates and soldiers, in which each individual or group was trying to secure its own interests. It is well known that soldiers benefited from the weakness of their superiors, who usually lacked the financial, bureaucratic and ideological resources to enforce discipline and obedience. Yet what is often forgotten is that the soldiers' power was also dependent on their own operational knowledge. Thanks to this knowledge, soldiers knew both when their interests were being endangered and how to divert the war to more self-beneficial directions.

When soldiers learned that their commanders formulated plans of which they disapproved, they often reacted by desertion, disobedience, open mutiny, and even betrayal, which not infrequently disintegrated armies and wrecked campaigns. For instance, after Charles of Burgundy conquered Liège (1467), Haynin describes how the soldiers consulted together and tried to gauge Charles's future moves. They concluded that Charles was going to mount an expedition to Normandy, and because this was not to their liking, many went home, and Charles's army disintegrated.[33] After the initial successes of the 1523 English invasion of France, Henry VIII ordered his commanders to winter in French territory. However, when the common soldiers learned of it they mutinied, and began shouting all over the

[31] Francisco Balbi de Correggio, *La Verdadera Relacion de todo lo que el anno de M.D.LXV. ha succedido en la isla de Malta...* (Barcelona, 1568), pp. 38–39.

[32] Jehan Froissart, *Voyage en Béarn* 10–12, ed. A.H. Diverres (Manchester, 1953), pp. 89–110.

[33] Haynin, *Mémoires*, 1:257–9.

camp: "Home! Home!" Under this pressure the commanders broke, and the army retreated back to Calais.[34]

At other times, subordinates continued to serve their superiors, but only after forcing them to adopt a particular course of action. For example, in 1522 the unpaid Swiss soldiers who were the backbone of the French army forced their commander to attack the Imperialist position at La Biccoca against his wishes and better judgment.[35]

There were also occasions when soldiers simply hijacked wars and conducted them by themselves, completely disregarding their superiors' aims and plans. Thus after the kings of England and France made peace in 1360, soldiers on both sides refused to accept the agreement, and went on fighting for their own personal aims.[36] At least until the fifteenth century, princes occasionally followed the lead of the soldiers and embarked on wars simply in order to supply the latter with livelihood. Thus during lulls in Hundred Years War, various French kings supported or even initiated invasions of Switzerland, Italy and Iberia just to employ the freebooters.

On many other occasions, soldiers initiated wars and conducted them on their own authority, without the backing of any territorial polity whatsoever. Aside from countless private wars and feuds, major "international" wars were sometimes initiated and conducted by "stateless armies:" aggregates of soldiers who occasionally acknowledged the nominal overlordship of some territorial polity or prince, but in effect were completely independent. Indeed, some of the most successful European conquest campaigns of the Middle Ages were launched and conducted by such "stateless armies," which ended up founding polities for

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[34] M. Bryn Davies, "Suffolk's Expedition to Montdidier 1523," *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts. Fouad I University* 7 (1944), 41–42. For medieval and early modern military mutinies and desertion, see also: Gervase Phillips, "To Cry 'Home! Home!': Mutiny, Morale and Indiscipline in Tudor Armies," *The Journal of Military History* 65:2 (2001), 312–32; *Gesta Francorum* 9.22, 9.26–27, pp. 56–57, 61–63; Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History* 13.30, 6:484–86; *expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, pp. 140, 166–78; Muntaner, "Crònica" 232, 239, pp. 873–75, 881–82; John Gillingham, *Richard Coeur de Lion: Kingship, Chivalry and War in the Twelfth Century* (London, 1994), pp. 77–79; Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567–1659: The Logistics of Spanish Victory and Defeat in the Low Countries' Wars* (Cambridge, Eng., 1975), pp. 185–87, 198–99, 206–18, 290–92; J.R. Hale, *War and Society in Renaissance Europe*, 2nd ed. (Guernsey, 1998), p. 171; Frank Tallett, *War and Society in Early Modern Europe, 1495–1715* (London, 1992), pp. 116–17; Yuval Noah Harari, *Renaissance Military Memoirs: War, History and Identity, 1450–1600* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 53–54; Jeremy Black, *European Warfare, 1494–1660* (London, 2002), pp. 18–19, 28. For betrayals, see for example Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History* 11.3, 6:22–24; *Gesta Stephani*, ed. and trans. K.R. Potter (London, 1955), pp. 69–71; Villehardouin, *Conquête*, sections 80–81, pp. 47–48; Prestwich, "Military Intelligence," pp. 13–14. Particularly during sieges, it often happened that at least some of the besieged soldiers concluded that the situation was hopeless and made independent terms with the besiegers, betraying the stronghold along with their commanders. See, for example, Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History* 11.3, 6:38; Robert III de la Marck, lord of Florange, *Mémoires du Maréchal de Florange dit le Jeune Adventureux*, ed. Robert Goubaux and P.-André Lemoisne, 2 vols. (Paris, 1923–4), 1:301; Marshall, *Warfare*, pp. 267–70.

[35] Hale, *War*, p. 242.

[36] Froissart, *Voyage* 10, ed. Diverres, p. 91; Kenneth Fowler, *Medieval Mercenaries. Vol. I: The Great Companies* (Oxford, 2001); Contamine, *War*, pp. 158–60.

themselves. Examples of such polities include the Frankish principalities in the Levant, the Latin Empire of Constantinople, the Catalan Duchy of Athens, and Teutonic Prussia. It may even be argued that the Norman principalities that sprang up in preceding centuries in France, the British Isles, Southern Italy and Russia, were all founded by such "stateless armies."[37]

The phenomenon of stateless armies founding a polity for themselves did not disappear at the end of the Middle Ages. The most spectacular European conquests of the Renaissance were done to a considerable extent on the initiative of soldiers. Thus no one ever authorized Cortés and his men to conquer Mexico, let alone commanded them to do so. Though they always claimed to act in the name and on the orders of Charles V, when Cortés and his men landed in Mexico, Charles V did not know that either Cortés or Mexico even existed, whereas Governor Velázquez of Cuba, who raised and sponsored them as a trading expedition, fiercely objected to what they were doing and later sent another force under Narvaez to stop them. The conquistadors' ability to pursue independent strategies and policies was wholly dependent on the superior information at their disposal.[38] The conquests of Peru and of other territories in Central and South America were often conducted under similar conditions. Many of the initial Russian activities in Siberia and of the Portuguese activities in Africa and the Indian Ocean were also largely private enterprises.[39]

Though "stateless armies" were usually headed by great noblemen, major strategic and political decisions were often made in huge assemblies, in which even the poorest soldiers could have a say about the conduct of the war.[40] Thus the crusader army that conquered Lisbon (1147) is described by the author of the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* as an independent political entity,[41] making policy decisions by means of general assemblies.[42] For instance, when King Affonso of Portugal offered the army an alliance, the entire army came to meet him, "rich and poor mixed up together … And when the king inquired who our chiefs were … he was briefly informed that … we had not yet decided on anyone on whom authority should be conferred to make answer for all."[43] After the king made his offer, an

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[37] Unlike the invading Germanic tribes, the invading Normans were war-bands rather than moving polities.

[38] See, for example, Hugh Thomas, *The Conquest of Mexico* (London, 1993), pp. 140–41.

[39] John E. Kicza, "Patterns in Early Spanish Overseas Expansion," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, 49:2 (1992), 229–53; Jeremy Black, *Why Wars Happen* (New York, 1998), p. 55.

[40] For the First Crusade, see: *Gesta Francorum* 8.19, p. 43. Fourth Crusade: Clari, *Conquête* 40, 68, 93–95, pp. 40, 68–69, 91–93; Villehardouin, *Conquête*, sections 44, 97, 147, 196–99, 256–61, pp. 37, 52, 67, 83–84, 102–4; Alfred J. Andrea, *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 188–89; Donald E. Queller, Thomas K. Compton and Donald A. Campbell, "The Fourth Crusade: The Neglected Majority," *Speculum* 49:3 (1974), 441–65. For the Catalan Grand Company, see Muntaner, "Crònica" 219, 221, 228, 230, 233, 239, 240, 242, pp. 860, 862, 869–70, 870–73, 875–76, 881–82, 883, 884. For the conquest of Mexico, see: Díaz, *Historia* 42–43, pp. 71–74.

[41] *expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, p. 56.

[42] *expugnatione Lyxbonensi,* pp. 68–86.

[43] *expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, p. 98.

extremely chaotic general discussion commenced, everyone shouting and voicing their opinions, until finally the offer was accepted.[44]

If the leaders disregarded the soldiers' views and took unpopular decisions, stateless armies were even more prone to disintegration or rebellion than the armies of territorial polities. Thus during the First Crusade, when the princes began bickering among themselves for the possession of various territories in northern Syria, the common soldiers forced them to resume the march toward Jerusalem.[45] When, during the Third Crusade, news spread through the army that King Richard intended to attack Ascalon rather than Jerusalem, several contingents and numerous individuals abandoned the army.[46] Later, when the leading noblemen of the army gathered in a council and decided that whatever Richard did, they would go to Jerusalem nevertheless, one of those present slipped away and told the common soldiers of this decision, which caused great rejoicing.[47] The army eventually set out for Jerusalem again, but Richard procrastinated for strategic reasons, believing that taking the city was militarily impossible. The army then split up into two rival factions, each suggesting a different strategy. The leaders of both sides tried to win the support of the soldiers with propaganda campaigns complete with base songs mocking the rival leaders. Many did not wait for a decision to be made and simply left the army and made their way back to Acre.[48]

In the Fourth Crusade, though the leaders tried to conceal that the crusade aimed to conquer Egypt, and later tried even harder to hide the intended diversion to Zara, information about both plans leaked out both to the army assembling at Venice and to crusaders who were still on their way there, causing many to abandon the army.[49] Crusaders who disagreed with the plan to attack Zara, and later with the plan to attack Constantinople, either returned home or made their way independently to the Holy Land.[50] When the Catalan Grand Company swore loyalty to Charles of Anjou and accepted his lieutenant Thibaut de Chépoi as its commander, Thibaut soon found that they consulted him "less than a dog" and that he was "commander of nothing but the wind."[51]

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[44] *expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, pp. 98–110. See also pp. 140, 166–72.

[45] John France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge, Eng., 1994), pp. 311–24; Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols. (Harmondsworth, 1951), 1:260–61.

[46] Ambroise, *Estoire*, lines 7766–7853, 8141–8218, 8309–8362, pp. 126–27, 132–33, 134–35.

[47] Ambroise, *Estoire*, lines 9456–9483, pp. 152–53. See also lines 9656–9731, pp. 156–57.

[48] Ambroise, *Estoire*, lines 10110–10284, 10565–10654, 10714–10757, pp. 163–66, 171–72, 173–74.

[49] Clari, *Conquête* 13–14, pp. 12–14; Andrea, *Contemporary Sources*, p. 214; Queller, Compton and Campbell, "Fourth Crusade," pp. 448–49, 464–65; Jonathan Philipps, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople* (New York, 2004), p. 111.

[50] Villehardouin, *conquête*, sections 49–50, 54, 79, 101–2, 109, 113–18, pp. 39, 40, 47, 53–54, 56, 57–59; Andrea, *Contemporary Sources*, pp. 188–89; Queller, Compton and Campbell, "Fourth Crusade," pp. 441–65.

[51] Muntaner, "Crònica" 236, p. 879.

Politicians and senior commanders slowly acquired a clear edge in information over their subordinates only after the sixteenth century. The famed Military Revolution resulted not only in far larger armies that operated in dispersal over far larger fronts, but also in a deliberate effort on the part of the senior command to deprive soldiers of operational information and of the ability to communicate between themselves.

In the late modern era, senior commanders monopolized the new communication and information-gathering technology that enabled armies to operate in dispersal, whereas the soldiers were left dependent on their traditional means of information gathering – eyewitnessing and gossiping. These of course lost much of their value due both to the growing scale of war and to the fact that general headquarters were now insulated from the soldiers by long distances and a strict regime of secrecy. Theoretically, the soldiers too could have benefited from the new communication technology, but their access to it has been severely restricted in the name of secrecy. Late modern soldiers have been given free access only to those long-distance means of communication that provide them with official propaganda. Thus paradoxically, due to the immense development in communication and information-gathering technology, late modern soldiers know far less about their campaigns than their medieval predecessors.

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Finance and Logistics of the Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa

Alan V. Murray

Introduction

The expedition led by the Holy Roman emperor Frederick Barbarossa was the last great land-based crusade from the West to the Holy Land. The other two major expeditions that constituted the Third Crusade (1189–92), led by Richard the Lionheart of England and Philip II Augustus of France respectively, chose to travel by sea, which subsequently came to be the normal form of passage for crusades to the Levant. The increasing importance of Egypt as the goal of crusades to the East, as well as the progressive loss of Christian territory in Asia Minor to Muslim powers, meant that from the end of the twelfth century up to the fall of the Frankish states in Outremer, every major crusading expedition intended to relieve the Holy Land followed the sea route.

The crusade of Frederick Barbarossa, which left Regensburg in May 1189 and broke up in the East after the death of the emperor on 10 June 1190, offers one of the latest opportunities to study questions of financial logistics in connection with a land-based crusade to the Holy Land.[1] What I mean by "financial logistics" in this context is not the relatively well-studied question of how funds for a crusade were raised, but rather, the more pragmatic issues of how such funds were transported and employed in the course of the expedition. The aim of this paper is to address such questions in the light of both written sources and of a remarkable hoard of coins and treasure that has been discovered in recent times.

This essay further develops ideas presented at a workshop at the University of Sydney on the Logistics of Crusading, the first part of which was published as "Money and Logistics in the Armies of the First Crusade: Coinage, Bullion, Service and Supply, 1096–99," in *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades*, ed. John Pryor (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2006, pp. 229–50). I am grateful for comments to the organiser, John Pryor, and to the participants of the workshop, particularly John France, John Haldon and Benjamin Kedar. For further information and comment, I am indebted to Ulrich Klein, Michael Matzke and Marcus Phillips.

[1] For the organisation and course of Barbarossa's crusade, see, above all, Ekkehard Eickhoff, *Friedrich Barbarossa im Orient: Kreuzzug und Tod Friedrichs I.* (Tübingen, 1977), and Rudolf Hiestand, "Precipua tocius christianismi columpna: Barbarossa und der Kreuzzug," in *Friedrich Barbarossa: Handlungsspielräume und Wirkungsweisen des staufischen Kaisers*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp (Sigmaringen, 1992), pp. 51–108.

Finance of the Crusade

Unlike most other leaders of crusades, the Emperor Frederick had previous experience of an expedition with similar aims and magnitude, because as a young man – having just succeeded his father as duke of Swabia – he had taken part in the Second Crusade along with his uncle Conrad III of Germany.[2] The emperor thus had a first-hand appreciation of the strategic geography of the journey and of the difficulties that any western army might encounter. These insights undoubtedly helped determine that the German expedition was one of the best organised crusades of the twelfth century. This holds true of the initial preparations, which were designed to ensure a high ratio of fully equipped and financed fighting men to non-combatants, and also of the strict and sometimes draconian regulations designed to maintain discipline on the march.

The army that assembled at Regensburg in the spring of 1189 amounted to some 12,000–15,000 men, of whom a high proportion were mounted knights.[3] How were they to be maintained and supplied in the course of a march of some 2,600 kilometers from Regensburg to northern Palestine? Food supplies could of course be carried from home, but there were natural limits on the quantities that could be transported, determined by carrying capacity, rates of consumption and perishability. Dry goods such as grain, flour, and pulses might keep for a considerable time, but it is doubtful whether a land army could carry sufficient amounts of these for the entire journey.[4] In actual fact, the amount of supplies that was carried seems to have been relatively small, especially once armies had gone beyond Constantinople and its hinterland. All medieval armies expected to forage wherever they were, and in hostile territory foraging and plundering would be the norm. However, foraging by itself was unlikely to produce sufficient quantities for the entire journey, and if carried to extremes in friendly, Christian territory, which constituted the greater part of the route, it would create a point of friction with the inhabitants and authorities of the host countries. A prudent leader such as the Emperor Frederick would need to assume that the greater part of the army's alimentary requirements would have to be obtained by purchase en route.

The emperor and his advisers were keen to prevent large numbers of non-combatants travelling with the army, and ordered that crusaders should take sufficient funds for a campaign of two years' duration. The necessary amount is quantified by the chronicler Otto of St. Blasien at 3 marks.[5] If this sum is taken

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[2] Ferdinand Opll, *Friedrich Barbarossa* (Darmstadt, 1990), pp. 31–32.

[3] Eickhoff, *Friedrich Barbarossa im Orient*, p. 77.

[4] Rudolf Hiestand, "Der erste Kreuzzug in der Welt des ausgehenden 11. Jahrhunderts," *Monatshefte für Evangelische Kirchengeschichte des Rheinlandes* 44 (1995), 1–36.

[5] Otto von St. Blasien, *Ottonis de Sancto Blasio Chronica*, ed. Adolf Hofmeister, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores in usum scholarum 47 (Hannover, 1912), p. 45: "Quibus omnibus imperator sequentis anni Maio tempus profectionis constituit, pauperioribus ad minus trium marcarum expensam, dicioribus pro posse expensis preparari indicens,"; "Egentibus autem pondo trium marcarum sub anathemate profectionem fecit interdici."

as referring to money of account, then it implies a total of at least 432d, which is 18d per month, or approximately ⅔d per day.[6] This amount should be regarded as a minimum, as crusaders were urged to take larger sums if they could. It is also noticeable that because Otto expresses the amount as weight (*pondus*), the actual amount required may in fact have been higher in monetary terms, as all German coinages of the time had a silver content that was less than fine silver. In the money of Cologne – the most widely used German currency – 160d were struck from the mark weight of silver, and so the monetary equivalent of three marks of fine silver would actually have amounted to 480d, or 3 marks and 4 shillings.[7]

In the case of the expenses of knights, I have argued elsewhere that useful figures for the costs of twelfth-century military expeditions can be obtained from the so-called *Längeres Kölner Dienstrecht*, a set of regulations from around 1165 governing the service of the ministerial knights of the archbishop of Cologne.[8] This text indicates that when they accompanied their lord the archbishop to an imperial coronation in Rome, knights with an income of five marks and more per annum were each to receive 10 marks (plus 40 ells of cloth) for initial outlay and travel as far as the Alps, and from that point onwards, one mark per month to cover their expenses, which would of course include keep for grooms and other servants, as well as their mounts and pack animals.[9]

This text gives us the useful comparative figure of one mark per month (144d) as the minimum expenses of a knight on a military expedition in the late twelfth century, which we can employ together with the information given by Otto of St. Blasien to calculate an approximate total of the sums required by the crusade. In the event, the crusade took thirteen months to reach Cilicia, where it broke up on

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[6] For the purposes of comparison, money of account is expressed in this essay in terms of marks and pennies (pfennigs) of Cologne (1 mark = 144d).

[7] Walter Hävernick, *Der Kölner Pfennig im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert. Periode der territorialen Pfennigmünze* (Stuttgart, 1930), pp. 38–51.

[8] Murray, "Money and Logistics in the Armies of the First Crusade."

[9] *Quellen zur deutschen Verfassungs-, Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte bis 1250*, ed. Lorenz Weinrich, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, 32 (Darmstadt, 1977), pp. 266–79: "Item ministeriales beati Petri ad coronationem imperatoris cum domino suo archiepiscopo ultra Alpes in expeditionem ire tenentur, illi specialiter, qui V marcas vel amplius in reditibus de eo tenent, preter solum advocatum Coloniensem et camerarium. Hii siquidem duo domi manere debent: advocatus, ut reditus curtium episcopalium colligat et conservet, camerarius reditus telonii et monete. Reliqui vero omnes, qui V marcis vel amplius beneficiati sunt, si archiepiscopus voluerit, sine omni occasione ad hanc expeditionem ibunt, et archiepiscopus cuilibet eorum X marcas ad se preparandum dabit et XXXX ulnas panni, qui schorlot dicitur, ut servos suos inde vestiat, et duobus militibus soumarium unum cum sella et cum omnibus pertinentibus ad sellam et duas bulgas cum tegmine, quod dekhut dicitur, et IIIIor ferramenta equi cum XXIII clavis. Cum ad Alpes ventum fuerit, debet cuilibet militi deinceps per mensem marca una de camera archiepiscopi dari pro expensa sua; hec marca quandocumque et cuicumque tempore debito denegata fuerit, ille miles officialibus curie hoc notificabit et per eos, si potest, hunc defectum stipendii sui recuperabit; si vero per eos recuperare non valuerit, baculum excorticatum super lectum domini sui cum testimonio domesticorum suorum circa noctem deponet, nec baculum illum aliquis ammovebit, donec archiepiscopus dormitum vadens eum illic repperiat." (ch. 4, pp. 268–70).

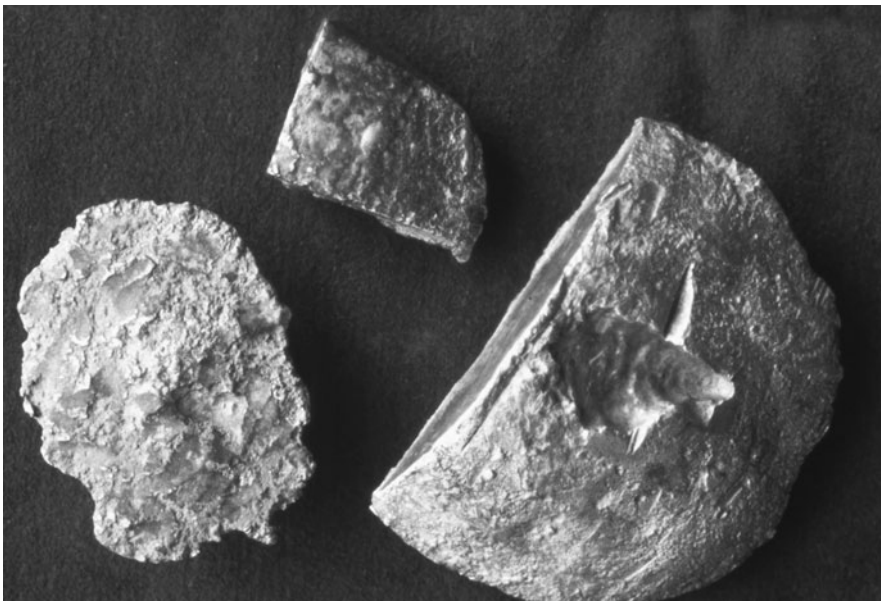

Fig. 1 Ingots from the Barbarossa Hoard.

the emperor's death, without having engaged the Christians' principal enemy, the forces of Saladin. Two years would have thus been a reasonable estimate for the period required for a journey to the Holy Land followed by a campaign against the Ayyubids. The emperor's order that each crusader should take at least 3 marks for a crusade lasting two years would give a total financial provision in the range of at least 36,000–45,000 marks of account for the numbers given above, although if we accept that Otto's sum is expressed as weight rather than currency, this would take the higher figure up to some 50,000 marks. However, if each *knight* required 24 marks for the journey between Regensburg and the Holy Land, then the estimated component of 3,000 knights[10] would have required around 72,000 marks. The evidence of the *Längeres Kölner Dienstrecht* indicates that its figures for knights would also cover the expenses of grooms and other servants; if we take the proportion of one knight to two grooms, which was also employed in the planning for the Fourth Crusade,[11] each such three-man unit would require at least 10 marks for its initial outlay and travel as far as Regensburg, and 24 marks for the remainder of the campaign. An element of 3,000 knights and 6,000 squires would therefore require 72,000 marks from Regensburg to the Holy Land. If we calculate that the remaining 3,000–6,000 men would have required a minimum in the range

[10] Eickhoff, *Friedrich Barbarossa im Orient*, p. 47.

[11] *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedigs*, ed. G.L.F. Tafel and G. Thomas, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1856–57), 1:365–66.

of 9,000–18,000 marks, then we arrive at a grand total of around 81,000–90,000 marks for the whole expedition.

Yet even this sum must surely be regarded as a minimum. The amount of money postulated so far only relates to what would have been necessary to purchase essential supplies. In addition, the emperor, the bishops, territorial princes are likely to have taken considerable households, and additional funds would most probably have been taken, both for the expenditure which was commensurate with the lifestyles, but also for diplomatic and military use in the Holy Land. The crusade clearly had vast sums of money with it, which raises the question as to the form in which the money was taken.

The Evidence of the "Barbarossa Hoard"

The various logistic possibilities for the conveyance of funds can be illustrated from the evidence of one of the most remarkable hoards to have emerged in recent years, discovered in various parcels between 1982 and 1985, which are thought to originate from a single hoard in the Middle East, and which has come to be known among numismatists as the "Barbarossa Hoard." It comprised three distinct elements: coins, un-minted silver and silver jewellery. The dating and provenance of the coins gives a clear indication that the hoard was deposited by German crusaders in the course of Barbarossa's expedition.[12]

The most ergonomically effective means of transporting large amounts of money was in the form of un-minted silver bars or ingots. Ingots could be used to make high-value purchases, or exchanged against local currencies. They could also be cut up into fractions to provide smaller amounts for payment or exchange.[13] While the regular use of ingots for long-distance transactions has been assumed as being common by the central Middle Ages, the "Barbarossa Hoard" represents the first hard evidence of ingots being carried by crusade armies, as it contained several complete ingots or fractions (see Fig. 1). One cannot be certain as to what system of weights, if any, may have been employed in their manufacture. The most widely used standard weight in Germany was probably the mark of Cologne, which was divided into 16 *lot* or half-ounces. There was a certain amount of variation according to

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[12] Ulrich Klein, "Die deutsche Münzprägung gegen Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts und der 'Barbarossa-Fund'," *Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau* 65 (1986), 205–18; Klein, "Die nichtdeutschen Münzen des 'Barbarossa-Funds'," *Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau* 66 (1987), 193–99; Klein, "Die süddeutschen Münzen des 'Barbarossa'-Funds," *Der Münzen- und Medaillensammler: Berichte aus allen Gebieten der Münzen- und Medaillenkunde* 28 (1988), 416–25; Gerhard Stumpf, *Der Kreuzzug Kaiser Barbarossas. Münzschätze seiner Zeit* (München, 1991).

[13] A. Luschin von Ebengreuth, *Allgemeine Münzkunde und Geldgeschichte des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit* (München, 1926), pp. 180–83; Hans van Werveke, "Monnaie, lingots, ou merchandises? Les instruments d'échange aux XIe et XIIe siècles," *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* 4 (1932), 452–68; Wilhelm Jesse, *Quellenbuch zur Münz- und Geldgeschichte des Mittelalters* (Halle an der Saale, 1924), pp. 249–52.

place and period, but the actual weight was generally in the range of 229–35 grams, which became standardised at 233.85 g by the later Middle Ages.[14] The second largest piece from the hoard is an evidently complete ingot, which weighs 57.59 g. This is in the range of 4 *lot* (57.25–58.75 g), and may possibly represent ¼ mark of Cologne weight.[15] Two pieces seem to be the results of a more systematic division, and must therefore have originally belonged to larger ingots: the smaller has been cut twice and weighs 64.27 g, which equates to about 4½ *lot*, and may represent an attempt to produce a piece of silver worth ¼ mark. However, these quantifications are necessarily speculative. It is noticeable that even though the largest ingot has been cut in half, its weight has been adjusted by having an amount of metal scraped away, while the rough surface of the second largest suggests that it was produced by molten metal being poured into a hollow in the ground. Both the approximate weights and physical characteristics of these ingots are indicative of a rough and ready, possibly hurried process rather than careful manufacture, and we may need to consider the possibly that at least some of the ingots were manufactured en route rather than carried from the crusaders' points of departure.

Ingots were practical as long as efficient forms of transport were available. Barbarossa's army made use of ships on the Danube as far as Byzantine territory, and had carts as far as the Hellespont, the point were it was conveyed by sea to Asia Minor.[16] At that point, it would have been necessary to unload and distribute the ingots onto pack animals. It is unlikely that carts were employed by any of the land-based crusades east of the Anatolian plateau, as the roads there generally had sections with steps rather than gradients, and consequently, were impassable to wheeled vehicles. A bigger problem, though, would have been posed by considerations of utility. The biggest expense en route would have been the purchase of provisions, but the high values of ingots would not have been conducive to the large number of regular and relatively low value transactions that must have repeatedly been involved.

The relatively high values of ingots meant that the crusaders must have taken a high proportion of their funds in the form of coin, even though this form of money also had its own drawbacks. The standard coin available in Germany – as in most of Western Europe – was the silver penny. Smaller denominations were available in the form of the obol or halfpenny, or pennies cut into halves, quarters or smaller fragments. The provision of fractions smaller than a penny was facilitated in the German territories by the coining of bracteates, that is coins struck only on one side, which were thinner and larger than the normal pennies, but with the same weight

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[14] *Wörterbuch der Münzkunde*, ed. Friedrich von Schrötter (Berlin, 1930), pp. 371–72; Luschin von Ebengreuth, *Allgemeine Münzkunde und Geldgeschichte des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit*, pp. 163–70; Arthur Suhle, *Deutsche Münz- und Geldgeschichte von den Anfängen bis zum 15. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1955), p. 65; Heinz Ziegler, "Die Kölner Mark in neuem Licht. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Normannorum pondus," *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 98 (1980), 39–60; Harald Witthöft, "Die Markgewichten von Köln und von Troyes im Spiegel der Regional- und Reichsgeschichte vom 11. bis ins 19. Jahrhundert," *Historische Zeitschrift* 253 (1991), 51–100.

[15] Stumpf, *Der Kreuzzug Kaiser Barbarossas*, p. 47.

[16] Eickhoff, *Friedrich Barbarossa im Orient*, p. 47.

and nominal value. Thus, if they wished to take their funds with them in the form of coin, crusaders had no choice but to carry silver pennies, which would necessarily have constituted fairly large quantities. Even if we estimate conservatively that only half of the minimum of the 81,000–90,000 marks required was taken in the form of coin, this would have represented something of the order of 6 million silver pennies being transported by the emperor's army.[17]

The "Barbarossa Hoard" contains around 7,700 complete coins and fragments. The vast majority originate from Germany, with very small numbers from France, Italy, and England. The largest single type is pennies of the archbishopric of Cologne, which account for almost two-fifths of the total; the majority of these are issues of Archbishop Philip of Heinsberg (1167–91). The next highest provenance is the royal mint at Aachen; the Cologne and Aachen issues together account for over half the coins. There are over one hundred coins from each of the ecclesiastical principalities of Metz, Toul, Strasbourg, Basel, Würzburg, Worms and Salzburg, while the remainder consists of dozens of different German issues from all over the empire. Although we cannot be certain as to how the hoard came to be buried, its composition does give valuable information as to the different forms in which wealth was carried. Cologne was undoubtedly the most active German mint in the twelfth century, and the episcopate of Philip of Heinsberg produced the first major increase in Cologne emissions since a long decline in production during the period 1070–1160.[18] The Cologne pennies were renowned for maintaining a good and consistent weight, having a very high silver content within an overall weight of 1.4 grams[19] The coinage of Aachen stood in direct relationship to that of Cologne, and could therefore be regarded as part of a super-regional monetary system based on the Cologne standard.[20] Their status as a kind of standard, widely known currency would make it more likely that they would be readily accepted in transactions en route, at least within the German-speaking territories and – one assumes – in the Frankish states of Outremer.

Coins were also easier to carry. In pennies of Cologne, the minimum funds of 432d required by a crusader would have weighed something more than ½ kg (604.8 g), which could have been carried in leather or cloth bag by an unmounted crusader along with other burdens without difficulty. The higher sum of 24 marks

[17] Calculated as 40,000–45,000 (half the total range) × 144d (d per mark) = 5,760,000–6,480,000d.

[18] D. Michael Metcalf, "Some Further Reflections on the Volume of the German Coinage in the Salian Period," in *Fernhandel und Geldwirtschaft: Beiträge zum deutschen Münzwesen in sächsischer und salischer Zeit*, ed. Bernd Kluge (Sigmaringen, 1993), pp. 55–72; Joseph P. Hoffman, "Documentary Evidence of Anglo-Currency Movement in the Central Middle Ages: Cologne and English Sterling," *British Numismatic Journal* 65 for 1995 (1996), 32–45.

[19] Walter Hävernick, *Die Münzen von Köln. Vom Beginn der Prägung bis 1304* (Köln, 1935), pp. 8–12, 113–32. By contrast, by 1185 many north Italian *denarii* had a silver content of only 0.08–0.2 g each: Philip Grierson, "The Origins of the Grosso and of Gold Coinage in Italy," *Numismatický Sbornik* 12 (1971–72), 33–48 (here p. 35).

[20] Julius Menadier, "Münzprägung und Münzumlauf Aachens in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung," *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 31 (1914), 217–73 (here p. 226).

required by a knight, even if carried completely in the form of the relatively heavy pennies of Cologne, would have weighed 4.8384 kg (3456d). Carrying this amount would not be too onerous during the initial stages of a crusade, as most knights would have had a pack animal available (even if it was shared). However, the transport of both coinage and ingots would have come to constitute an increasing problem if the numbers of pack animals were reduced, which, as we shall see, did occur during the final stages of the expedition.

Finally, although ingots and silver pennies were the main forms in which funds were transported and employed, we should remember that other forms of wealth were probably carried with the army; objects with a high intrinsic value such as jewellery and gold or silver plate could, if necessary, be sold or exchanged for currency or goods. It is even possible that some crusaders – particularly those who had previously been to the East – may have had stocks of gold coinages, which although not issued by the majority of western countries, were used in Byzantium, the Frankish states of Outremer, the kingdom of Sicily and the Muslim world.

Expenditure and Income on the March

The provisioning requirements of a large army on the march would put pressure on the available food supplies of any area it passed through. The Emperor Frederick secured a promise in advance from the Byzantine emperor that sufficient markets would be provided, while he also sent Conrad, archbishop of Mainz, to King Béla III of Hungary to negotiate the crusade's passage, which included fixing prices to be paid for supplies.[21] To some extent these supply problems were foreseen and acted on by the regional authorities themselves. Thus, King Béla distributed flour and oats from two warehouses to the poorer crusaders at Esztergom in the summer of 1189, but despite this and similar benefactions from stockpiles on Serbian and Byzantine territory, the rulers of these countries had neither the resources or the organisation to supply the army themselves for the duration of its passage.[22] Rather, their part was to set up markets where local producers were encouraged to offer their wares in the necessary quantities for sale to crusaders. A further complication in these countries was that mechanisms had to provided for money changing, which was no simple undertaking in view of the great number of different currencies carried by the German army, over ninety of which are represented within the "Barbarossa Hoard" alone.

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[21] "Historia de expeditione Friderici," in *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friederichs I.*, hrsg. Anton Chroust, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rer. Germ. n.s. 5 (Hannover, 1928), p. 15; *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, ed. Georg Waitz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rer. Germ. in usum scholarum 18 (Hannover, 1880), p. 139; *Annales Marbacenses*, ed. Hermann Bloch, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rer. Germ. in usum scholarum 9 (Hannover, 1907), p. 60.

[22] "Historia de expeditione Friderici," pp. 26–30; *O City of Byzantium. Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. Harry J. Magoulis (Detroit, 1984), p. 221.

The problems of agreeing on fair prices and appropriate rates of exchange repeatedly constituted a source of friction between the crusaders and their host countries. The crusaders complained of the disadvantageous exchange rates in Hungary: for two Cologne pennies they obtained only five Hungarian, for two Friesach pennies only four, while for a penny of Regensburg or Krems they obtained only one Hungarian, even though this was "scarcely worth a penny of Verona."[23] Exchange was even more complicated in the Byzantine empire, where, in contrast to the West, monetary values were based not on an intrinsic silver content, but on gold for higher denominations, notably the *hyperperon nomisma*, and on a generally accepted nominal value for the lower ones, which were available in billon and copper. The main type of coin encountered by crusaders was the aspron trachy (called *staminum* or *stamenon* by the crusaders) which had a very low silver content of some 6 per cent. At some time before 1190, a revaluation of the currency had taken place that left the *hyperperon* as being worth 120 *stamina*.[24] Silver seems to have been little used in Byzantium, and it is likely that much of the Greek rural population would have been unfamiliar with the coinages that the crusaders had brought with them from the West. When, after hostilities lasting several months, Isaac Angelos and Frederick Barbarossa concluded the Treaty of Adrianople in February 1190, it was specified that the market prices demanded from the crusaders should be fixed at the same level as if the commodities were being sold to the Byzantine emperor himself, that is, the prices were capped. At same time, an official exchange rate was fixed at 5½ *hyperpera* to the mark weight of silver.[25]

The main reason why a treaty was necessary was that plundering had started to occur during the march from the Byzantine border towards Constantinople, with the market organization being insufficient for the army's needs, a problem that developed into open warfare as the army moved on. After arriving in Thrace, the crusaders largely lived off plunder between November 1189 and February 1190.[26] Where markets *were* made available during this period, they tended to be offered by the Armenian minority rather than the majority Greek population. The army may well have paid out less for supplies between Branchevo and Constantinople than it seized in the form of foodstuffs and valuables from the population of Thrace and Eastern Macedonia. Yet whatever funds were obtained by way of plunder were in

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[23] "Historia de expeditione Friderici," p. 26

[24] Michael F. Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire, 1081–1261* (Washington, D.C., 1969), pp. 14–22.

[25] "Historia de expeditione Friderici," p. 66: "Et quod argenti marca emetur pro yperperis quinque et dimidio et quod mutabitur yperperum pro staminibus centum et viginti, nulla differentia existente inter nova et vetera stamina. Et quod fient exercitui bona mercata in predicto transitu et ultra, sicut locus et tempus dederit, ut vendant ei iusto pretio et sicut debent vendere ipsi Isaacio imperatori, si transiturus esset illinc".

[26] There is evidence from at least one hoard to suggest that one Greek monastery had sent its valuables away to prevent them being looted by the crusaders: Michael F. Hendy, "The Gornoslav Hoard, the Emperor Frederick I, and the Monastery of Bachkovo," in *Studies in Numismatic Method presented to Philip Grierson*, ed. C.N.L. Brooke, B.H.I.H. Stewart, J.G. Pollard and T.R. Volk (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 179–91.

turn probably outweighed by the large sums that Frederick Barbarossa was able to exact from the Byzantine emperor Isaac Angelos; large payments of tribute are mentioned both by the Greek chronicler Niketas Choniates and the Arab chronicler Bahâʾ al-Dîn Ibn Shaddâd.[27]

There is not a single Byzantine coin among the numerous different coinages of the "Barbarossa Hoard." Yet the crusade army must have taken in considerable quantities of Byzantine coins either as tribute or booty, and of course in smaller quantities as a result of innumerable small-scale market transactions. As long as they remained on Byzantine territory, these coins could be used without problem, and of course they would presumably have been more acceptable to the rural population than the unfamiliar silver coinages of the West. The "Barbarossa Hoard" of course represents only a fraction of the money carried by the crusade army at any given time. However, the absence of Byzantine coins would seem to suggest that any Byzantine coinage received by the crusaders was paid out again as soon as possible. Western coinage and silver bullion were evidently hoarded. If western coins had to be used, the tendency may have been in the first place to make use of the bracteates, which could be cut up easily, and of the regional issues, which often had a lesser silver content. The Cologne and Aachen pennies, which had good weight, high silver content and super-regional validity, and form the bulk of the "Barbarossa Hoard," were evidently retained the longest.[28]

Food was relatively scarce during the march from the Byzantine-Turkish frontier through Anatolia and Cilicia and northern Syria as far as Antioch, and so there may have been little to spend money on. Thus, at Philomelion on the edge of Byzantine territory, the crusaders were obliged to pay 1 mark for a loaf, while horses, dogs and mules were being eaten, and thus presumably, bought and sold.[29] What is striking is that this price for a single loaf was more than one hundred times what had been originally estimated as the necessary expenses for supplies for *one day*. These high prices may not only have resulted from scarcity, but also from the inflationary effect of large sums of money available. However, it is likely that these high prices paid were largely being exchanged *within* the army rather than passing out of it. Such food supplies as were available were not being purchased, but seized by those crusaders who remained sufficiently fit, well-equipped and mounted, and it was these who would be in a position to sell on foodstuffs to their less fortunate brethren.

Opportunities for booty in Asia Minor were relatively restricted until the army was well within the territory of the Seljuk sultanate of Rűm, but after the sultan and

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[27] *O City of Byzantium. Annals of Niketas Choniates*, p. 226; Bahâʾ al-Dîn Ibn Shaddâd, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin, or al-Nawâdir al-Sultâniyya waʾl-Mahâsin al-Yűsufiyya*, trans. D.S. Richards (Aldershot, 2002), p. 114.

[28] It is also notable that none of the Cologne pennies, and only one of the Aachen pennies were cut into halves or fractions, suggesting that they were being retained for future use rather than used in transactions.

[29] Eickhoff, *Friedrich Barbarossa im Orient*, pp. 122–23.

his allies had started to harry the German army, the emperor retaliated by attacking and storming Ikonion (modern Konya, Turkey), the Seljuk capital. The crusaders secured the sultan's treasury and other booty consisting of large amounts of gold, silver, gems and purple cloth. The total value of the plunder obtained at Ikonion was estimated by an eyewitness as amounting to some 100,000 marks.[30] This information is confirmed by the evidence of the "Barbarossa Hoard," which contained five pieces of Seljuk jewellery which had been cut up into easily transportable sizes, amounting to a total of 41.09grams[31] Furthermore, the rough and ready appearance of at least two of the silver ingots from the hoard (as described above) may suggest that these had not been carried from Germany, but were produced from silver plundered at Ikonion, which was hurriedly melted down into a more easily transportable form.

After the capture of Ikonion, the sultan came to terms and agreed to offer markets to the crusaders, and so the supply situation was alleviated to a certain extent.[32] The round figure given for the booty from Ikonion is undoubtedly a very rough estimate, but it is nevertheless impressive compared with the amount of money the German army must have been carrying when it left Regensburg. The proportion of the booty secured for the imperial treasury was so great that in the aftermath of the sudden death of the emperor, his son Frederick, duke of Swabia, was able to make large gifts of money to the leaders of the army, but was still in a position to deposit a large treasury in the citadel of Antioch in October 1190.

Conclusions

At the same time that many crusaders must have found themselves enriched, they were suffering greatly from the scarcity of food and water. Although it would seem that by the time that the army had reached Cilicia, the crusaders probably had more money than when they had entered Byzantine territory, but were being increasingly confronted with difficulties in transporting it. Many crusaders had died in battle or from starvation, while the survivors were weakened by wounds, disease and lack of food and water. A great number of mounts and pack animals had died from similar causes or had been slaughtered for food. The Arab chronicler Ibn Shaddâd relates that in Seljuk territory, the dearth of pack animals meant that the starving crusaders simply threw away their baggage, or on occasion, burned great piles of chain-mail,

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[30] "Historia de expeditione Friderici," p. 86: "Post hec domnus imperator cum sequenti se exercitu civitatem ingressus magnifice a filio et sociis excipitur, ubi de spoliis hostium rabies ventris nostri aliquantulum mitigata fuit. Multi etiam de nostris foveas cum tritico et ordeo invenerunt, unde homines et equi ex magna parte recreati fuerunt. Referebant nonnulli, quod rapina in ipsa civitate facta in auro et argento, gemmis et purpura erat ad estimationem ultra centum milium marcarum. In domo namque magni Melchi thesaurus desiderabilis, quem profanus Saladinus illi pro dote cum filia sua contulerat, sicut dicebatur, repertus fuit".

[31] For illustration, see Stumpf, *Der Kreuzzug Kaiser Barbarossas*, p. 48.

[32] Eickhoff, *Friedrich Barbarossa im Orient*, pp. 137–42

helmets and weapons in order to deny these to the enemy.[33] In such circumstances, even the transport of coins and ingots may have been problematic for the crusaders. After Barbarossa died while crossing the river Saleph (Göksu) on 10 June 1190, the army began to break up. The emperor's son, Duke Frederick of Swabia, distributed large sums from the imperial treasury to the leading princes and prelates of the army, presumably as a means of securing their loyalty. However, the majority of the crusaders rapidly broke up into different groups, most of which returned by sea to Germany, although some crusaders continued on to the Holy Land.[34] These smaller groups of crusaders would of course be at far greater risk of attack by Muslims, and it is likely that the burial of the "Barbarossa Hoard" should be understood in the context of the atmosphere of uncertainty and fear that prevailed during this time. However, regardless of the circumstances of burial, the evidence of the hoard – along with the testimony of the contemporary written sources – demonstrates that despite its heavy costs, a land-based crusade still offered a major opportunity for enrichment to its participants.

[33] Bahâ' al-Dîn Ibn Shaddâd, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin*, p. 113.
[34] Otto von St. Blasien, *Ottonis de Sancto Blasio Chronica*, p. 52.

The Chain of the Golden Horn, 5–7 July 1203

John H. Pryor
(with Peter R. Wilson)

The Venetian and Frankish fleet of the Fourth Crusade reached the environs of Constantinople at St. Stephen on 23 June 1203. It crossed to Chalkedon on 24 June and moved upstream to Chrysopolis on 26 June. The army stayed at Chrysopolis for nine days, and at dawn on 5 July the crossing of the Bosporos to the beaches between Galata and St. Phokas was achieved successfully. Byzantine resistance was overcome easily. The Tower of Galata was then besieged and, when it was taken on 7 July, the Chain of the Golden Horn was broken at its anchorage in the Tower and the fleet then streamed into the Horn, scattering all Byzantine naval resistance. (See Fig 1.)

Of the Venetian sources for the Fourth Crusade, the *Historia ducum Veneticorum*, which was compiled shortly after the death of Doge Pietro Ziani in 1229, related that the fleet made land at a place called *Mangana*, where it found a chain which ran from a point of the city to Galata across the Golden Horn. Above the chain there was a great bridge, which ran from the city to Galata, by means of which men came and went to and from the city. One of the Venetians' great *naves*, the *Aquila*, ran at the chain under full sail and broke through it and the bridge, after which the fleet entered the harbour.[1] Andreas Dandolo, writing c. 1343–54, simply rehearsed this account; although, he omitted mention of the bridge.[2] The area known as *Mangana* was on the extreme eastern slope of the acropolis bordering the Bosporos and was so-called from an arsenal of military engines, μάγγανα, which had once been stored there. It had given its name to the monastery of St. George of *Mangana* built there by Constantine IX. By extension, the Venetian sources implied that the chain ran from Galata to somewhere on the acropolis.

The continuation of the chronicle of Ernoul attributed to Bernard the Treasurer recorded that the chain was the thickness of a man's arm and that it was three bow-shots long, which is in fact just about right.[3] The Tower of Galata was where the present-day so-called "Underground Mosque," Yalata Camii Serifi, is in the Karakoy district, about 75 metres inland from the modern shoreline and about

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[1] *Historia ducum Veneticorum*, ed. Henry Simonsfeld, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica *Scriptores*, vol. 14 (Hanover, 1883), 72–97, p. 93.

[2] Andreas Dandolo, *Andreae Danduli ducis Venetiarum chronica per extensum descripta aa. 46–1280 d. C.*, ed. Ester Pastorello, in Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, n.s., tomo 12, parte 1 (Bologna, 1938), p. 278.

[3] Louis de Mas Latrie, ed., *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier* (1871; rpt, Famagusta, 1974), ch. 32, p. 362: "Or vous dirai combien celle kaine estoit longe. Elle avoit bien plus de .III. traities de lonc d'arc, et si estoit bien aussi grosse comme li bras d'un home. Li uns des ciés estoit à une des tours de Coustantinoble, li autres si estoit à une ville d'autre part c'on apiele Peire. … Au cief de celle rue [ville] avoit une tour, là où li ciés de la caine estoit qui de Coustantinoble venoit; … Or vous dirai comment celle tours avoit non. [Ele avoit à non] li Tors de Galatas."

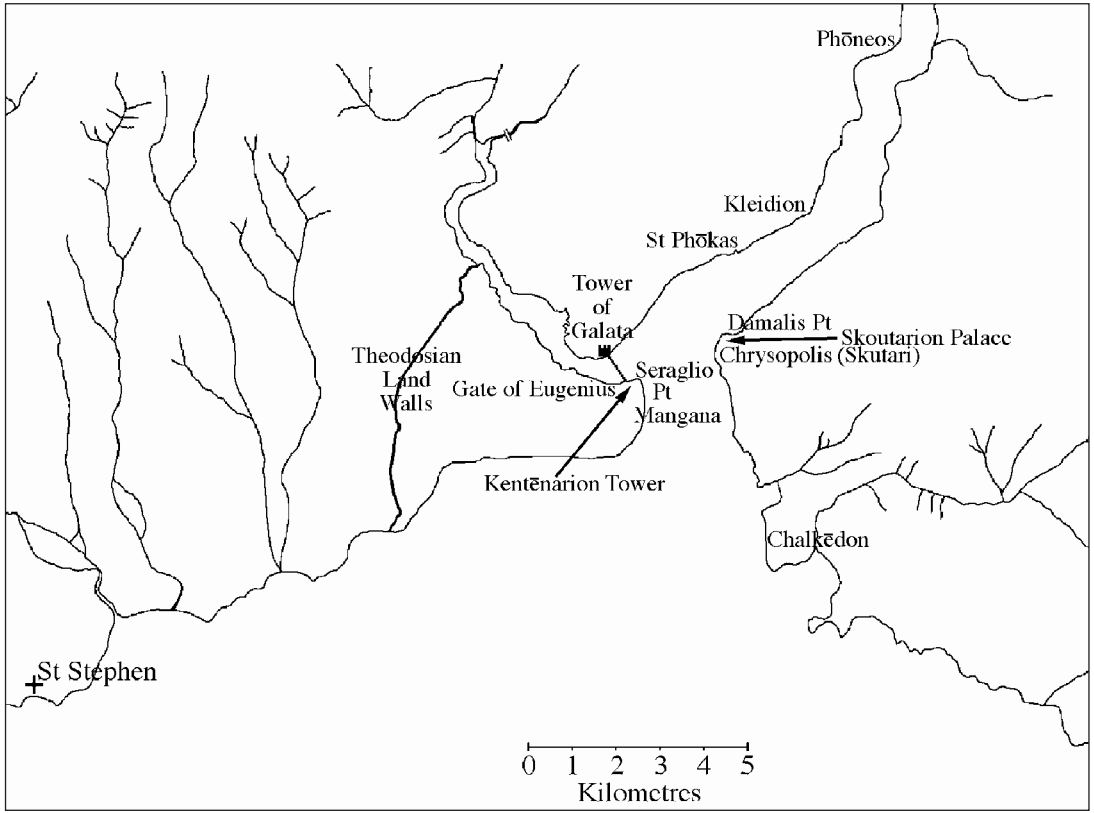

Fig. 1 The engagement of 5–7 July 1203.

150 metres east of the northern end of the modern Galata bridge. The locations of the alternatives for where the chain came ashore, the Gate of Eugenius and the tower known as Kentenarion, can only be guessed at;[4] however, for reasons adduced below it must have been near where the modern International Press Centre is to the east of the terminal for the ferries to the Princes' islands, some 400 metres east of the southern end of the Galata bridge. The distance from the shore at Galata to the sea walls of the city near to where the chain must have come ashore, is about 750 metres. The chain would have run roughly North-West to South-East and, if one was to attempt to break it with a ship, one would need to come in at 90 degrees from the North-East.

As opposed to the two Venetian sources, Bernard the Treasurer recorded that the landing was made North of the Tower of Galata and that the chain was destroyed by those who broke into the Tower on 6 July. One other detail needs to be noted. Although he made no mention of a bridge, Bernard recorded that, of the Greeks who had come from Constantinople to reinforce the Tower garrison, many who had climbed onto the chain to try to flee back to the city were drowned when it was destroyed.[5] Now, to climb onto a chain would have been impossible. At best, one might have tried to haul oneself along it hand over hand. However, if there were some sort of "bridge" above it, that would have been a different matter.

There are three sources which are most authoritative, all three of which were written by men who were there, all three of which agree in all fundamentals, and all three of which make sense. Villehardouin does not.

Hugh of St. Pol, who I have come to regard as the best of all the sources, wrote that the fleet made land at *Cutarium*, Skutari, or rather Chrysopolis in Byzantine terms.[6] Alexios III drew up his forces on the shore opposite. The army then entered its "*naves usarias* (ussurios) *et galeidas* (galias)," that is the sailing ships, the *uissiers*, and the galleys. The Greeks fled before them when they landed and the

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[4] On the chain of Constantinople, see Rodolphe Guilland, "La chaîne de la Corne d'Or," *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 25 (1955), 88–120; rpt in his *Études byzantines* (Paris, 1959), pp. 263–97, and in his *Études de topographie de Constantinople byzantine*, 2 vols. (Berlin and Amsterdam, 1969), 2:121–46 [quod vidi].

[5] Mas Latrie, *Chronique d'Ernoul*, ch. 32, p. 364: "… et si desconfirent les Griffons, qui estoient venu de Coustantinoble pour le tour rescourre. Et mout en i ot de noiés, quant on depeça le caine, qui sus estoient monté, pour fuir en Coustantinoble à garison, car tantost com li Crestien orent prise le tour depecierent il le chaine."

[6] There are three versions of the letter of Hugh of St. Pol to Henry of Louvain and to "R. de Balues." Only in the version of Tafel and Thomas [T/T] of the letter to Henry of Louvain was *Cutarium* mentioned. In the other versions, it was merely said that the fleet made land on the shore of the Bosporos eastwards towards *Ychonium*, Konya. See Hugh of St. Pol, *Epistola* [T/T], "Hugonis, comitis Sancti Pauli epistola de expugnata per Latinos urbe Constantinopoli," in Gottlieb L. Fr. Tafel and Georg M. Thomas, eds, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, 3 vols. (1856–7; rpt, Amsterdam, 1964), 1:304–11, p. 306. See also Hugh of St. Pol, *Epistola* [Annales Colonienses maximi] in *Annales Colonienses maximi*, ed. Georg Waitz, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica *Scriptores*, vol. 17, 723–847, pp. 812–24; Hugh of St. Pol, *Epistola* [Pokorny], ed. Rudolf Pokorny, in "Zwei unedierte Briefe aus der Frühzeit des lateinischen Kaiserreichs von Konstantinopel," *Byzantion*, 55 (1985), 180–209; here pp. 203–9.

army came to the Tower of Galata, where the chain was made fast. Then he wrote of the chain that: "carried on transverse timbers [floats], it 'swam across' the sea." It protected the port and Byzantine ships were drawn up next to it, side to side, blocking access to the port.[7] The Venetians then erected siege engines on their ships that they beached near where the chain came ashore at Galata and the Tower was then assaulted by land and sea. The chain was broken after the Tower was taken on the third day after the landing, 7 July. The Greek ships retired and the fleet then entered the port and captured some of them.

Robert of Clari wrote that the fleet made port at Chalkedon but made no mention of the subsequent move upstream to Chrysopolis. On the day of the crossing, he reported that they "ordered their squadrons and their *nes* and their *uissiers* and their *galies*, and the knights entered the *uissiers* with their horses and got under way."[8] Then Enrico Dandolo and the Venetians went ahead to secure the beach-head, putting crossbowmen and archers in ships' boats, *barges*, in advance to clear the beaches. The Greeks fell back and: "…, then the fleet landed, and when they had arrived [at the shore], then the knights issued forth from the horse transports (*uissiers*) already mounted; for the horse transports were made in such a way that there was a door (*wis*) on them that could be opened easily; and then a bridge could be thrust out by which the knights could issue forth onto land already mounted."[9] He then confirmed that Greek galleys were moored alongside the chain to defend it but that once the tower of Galata was taken and the chain was broken, the fleet entered the port and some of the Greek *galies* and other *nes* in the harbour were captured.[10]

Geoffrey of Villehardouin's entire account of the assault between 5 and 7 July 1203 is almost incomprehensible, containing so many impossibilities and illogicalities that one can only question whether the author of the text as we have it was actually there. On 5 July, the knights supposedly boarded the *huissiers* armed, with helms laced, and with the horses saddled and caparisoned. The other men were in the *nés*, and the *galées* were armed and prepared.[11] Villehardouin wrote

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[7] Hugh of St. Pol, *Epistola* [T/T], p. 306 with variants of [Annales Colonienses maximi], p. 813, in italics and [Pokorny], p. 205, underlined, orthographical variants ignored: "Inde perreximus ad quandam turrim fortissimam, que Galatha nuncupatur *nuncupabatur*, in qua firmabatur maxima catena ferrea grossa nimis, que posita super ligna transuersa mare transnatabat, attingens a turri usque ad muros civitatis. Catena illa portum servabat: juxta quam naves civitatis et galeide galie civitatis cum bargis erant, latere ad latus conjuncte iuncte, nobis introitum transitum prohibentes."

[8] Robert of Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople par Robert de Clari*, ed. Philippe Lauer [1924] (Paris, 1991), § 41, p. 42: "Aprés si ordenerent leur batailles et leur nes et leur uissiers et les galies, et entrerent li chevalier es uissiers avec leur chevax et se misent a le voie; …"

[9] Robert of Clari, *Conquête de Constantinople*, fol. 43, pp. 42–43; esp.: "… tant que li estores arriva, et quant il furent arrivé, si issirent li chevalier hors des uissiers tot monté; que li uissier estoient en tele maniere fait que i avoit wis que on ouvroit bien, si lanchoit on un pont hors, par ou li chevalier pooient issir hors a tere tot monté."

[10] Robert of Clari, *Conquête de Constantinople*, § 44, p. 43.

[11] Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Edmond Faral, 2 vols. (Paris, 1938–9), § 155, 1:154.

that each galley was "*liee*," bound to, a *uissier* in order to make the crossing more freely,[12] and continued on to report that the knights jumped into the sea up to their belts, fully armed, helms laced, and swords in hand.[13] But the entire point about *uissiers* was that they had stern quarter ports from which landing bridges could be run out, thus avoiding the need to do such a thing. There was no reason for them to fail to take advantage of the technology they had. In the next paragraph, Villehardouin reported that the Greeks fled when the knights lowered their lances.[14] However, by his own account, the horses had not yet been landed. So, apparently, the knights had jumped into the water, swords in hand, somehow also coming to have their lances with them and charged the Greeks on foot with lances lowered and put them to flight. Only then, according to Villehardouin, did the sailors begin to open the doors of the *uissiers*, to throw out the bridges, the horses begin to be led out, and the knights begin to mount their horses.[15] The entire account is ridiculous; however, Villehardouin did then describe the landing, the encirclement of the Tower of Galata, and the taking of it next day. The fleet entered the Golden Horn on the 7 July; although, Villehardouin made no mention of the chain and did not explain how it was able to do so, merely commenting that the garrison of Galata had been reinforced by men ferried across from the city in *barges*.[16]

Niketas Choniates had watched the unfolding of events from the walls of the city, even if he did not record them until years later in Nicaea. His account is terse but in fundamental agreement with that of Hugh of St. Pol and Robert of Clari. The landing was unopposed and then the fleet moved to the entrance of the Golden Horn. The Tower of Galata was attacked by land and sea and some defenders fled by sliding down the chain to try to reach the Byzantine ships moored on the inner side of it. The chain was broken after the Tower was taken and the fleet then streamed into the Golden Horn, where some Byzantine ships were taken and others run aground.[17]

The scenario for the first attack on Constantinople is pretty clear. The fleet arrived off Constantinople via the North coast of the Sea of Marmara. It then crossed to Chalkedon and from there entered the Bosporos and moved upstream to Chrysopolis. There was a navigational reason for that. It was not just done on a whim. The Venetian galleys and *uissiers* put out from Chrysopolis early on 5 July

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[12] Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, § 156 (vol. 1, p. 154): "… et chascune galie fu a un uissier liee por passer oltre plus delivreement."

[13] Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, § 156 (vol. 1, p. 156).

[14] Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, § 157 (vol. 1, p. 156): "Et li Greu firent mult grant semblant del retenir. Et quant ce vint as lances baissier, et li Greu lor tornent les dos, si s'en vont fuiant et lor laissent le rivage."

[15] Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, § 157 (vol. 1, p. 156): "… Adonc conmencent li marinier a ovrir les portes des uissiers et a giter les pons fors; et on comence le chevax a traire; et li chevalier conmencent a monter sor lor chevaus, …"

[16] Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, §§ 158–62 (vol. 1, pp. 156–62).

[17] Niketas Choniates, *Nicetae Choniatae historia*, ed. Jan L. van Dieten (Berlin, 1975), pp. 542–43.

with their boats, *barges*, which had been packed with archers and crossbowmen, leading the way to clear the beaches. The sailing ships would probably have stayed in port, as there was nothing they could do until the chain had been destroyed. The galleys would have pointed their bows to the North-West and working only the port oars and the rudders would have used the current to push them crab-like across towards Galata. They would have made leeway all the way until the main current stream was crossed, which explains why they had needed to move to Chrysopolis, above the city. When some few boats' lengths off the beaches, the *uissiers* would have held water with their starboard oars and turned to reverse. The oarsmen would have then backed water until the sterns grounded. It is extremely difficult to steer a boat when backing water so the manœuvre would have been put off until the last moment possible and considerable clearance between adjacent galleys would have been necessary. At that point the ports would have been opened, the landing bridges thrust out, and the mounted knights would have walked their horses ashore and then pursued the Greeks, who had already been driven back by the archers. The Tower of Galata was then besieged and, when it was taken, the chain was broken at its anchorage and the sailing ships then entered the harbour. The story in the later Venetian sources that it was the *Aquila* that broke the chain has to be rejected in the light of the combined authority of the contemporaries who were there. However, the *Aquila* may well have been the first sailing ship to enter the Golden Horn and it may have been this that gave rise to the story in Venice later.

Many questions remain. Why did they not, in fact, attempt to break the chain with an assault by a large ship ramming it at full speed? Don Queller, to whom all possible respect, accepted the story of the *Aquila* and wrote that it rammed the chain at full speed with the assistance of the current and a following wind, as have some more recent writers on the crusade.[18] Queller also wrote that the bow of the *Aquila* was reinforced and iron-clad, an assertion for which I find no evidence. In any case, the story makes no sense. The current at the southern end of the Bosporos is strong along the eastern shore from Phoneos south to Damalis, at least 3–4 knots, frequently greater, especially when the wind is from the North.[19] In a British Admiralty chart of 1881, based on an original French chart of 1854, the

[18] Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: the conquest of Constantinople*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, 1997), pp. 117–18. Queller tried to have the best of all worlds by describing the taking of the Tower of Galata and then also reporting that it was the *Aquila* that broke the chain. However, the whole point of the assault on the Tower was to destroy the chain. Having taken the Tower, why would the Crusaders have left the chain intact so that the *Aquila* had to break it?

Jonathan Phillips follows Queller and Michael Angold also accepts the story of the *Aquila* without explanation. See Jonathan Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the sack of Constantinople* (London, 2004), p. 169; Michael Angold, *The Fourth crusade: event and context* (Harlow and London, 2003), p. 93. Only Jonathan Harris, perhaps following Charles Brand, who also rejected it, correctly rejects the story of the *Aquila* and has the chain destroyed by uncoupling it at Galata after the taking of the tower, thus allowing the ships free entrance to the Golden Horn. See Jonathan Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades* (Hambledon and London, 2003), p. 156; Charles M. Brand, *Byzantium confronts the West 1180–1204* (Cambridge Mass., 1968), p. 238.

[19] Great Britain, Admiralty, *Black Sea Pilot*, 11th ed. (London, 1969), p. 46.

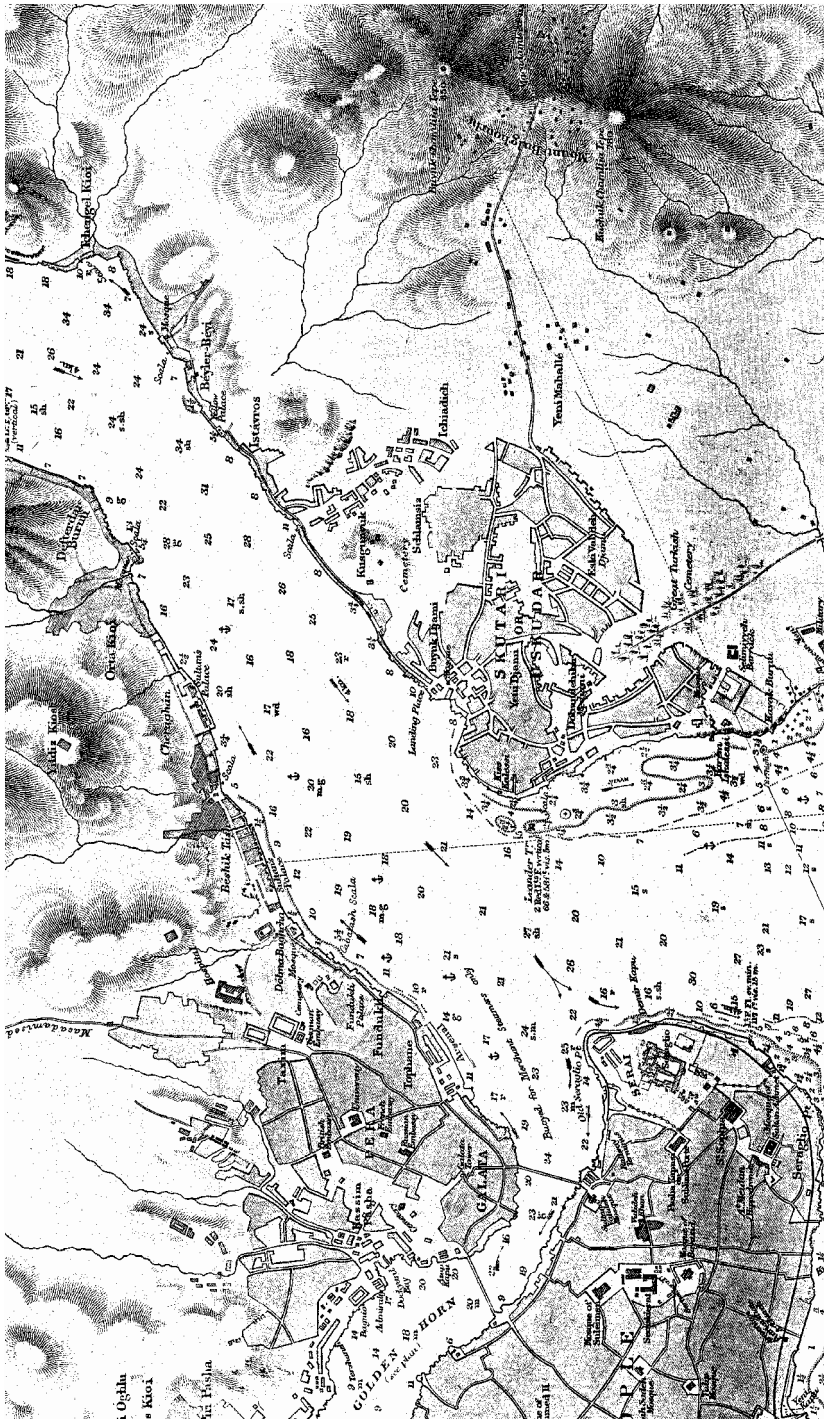

Fig. 2 Great Britain, Admiralty chart 1198 [survey of 1854 corrected to 1881].

current is marked at 4 knots down the Asiatic shore to Skutari and then spearing across to Seraglio Point where it splits and runs at up to 4.5 knots out into the Sea of Marmara.[20] (See Fig. 2.) Four to 4.5 knots is approximately 6.75–7.6 kilometres per hour. By July, the effects of the Russian spring thaw sending billions of tonnes of melted snow down the Russian rivers into the Black Sea and then out through the Bosporos would have had the current at its maximum. The current stream above all else gives the lie to Villehardouin's account at this point. *Uissiers* being towed in such conditions and not using their own power would simply have swung around with their sterns downstream unless they used their own port oars and, if they did, then why tow them? Nothing the helmsmen could have done would have prevented that if they had no power of their own. The galleys would have ended up towing the *uissiers* at 90 degrees to their own sterns and it is highly improbable that they could have maintained their own courses with such a drag to port at the stern. However, the current stream throughout the Bosporos behaves like it does in any running river. Canoeists will be familiar. It sets from point to point as the Bosporos winds, creating eddies or counter currents in the bays opposite. So, it sets strongly from Kleidion across to Damalis Point and then to Seraglio Point, but this creates a counter-current eddying strongly into the southern shore of the Golden Horn, rapidly weakening, crossing to the north shore and then following the shore gently at around a half a knot from Galata to Kleidion.[21] The set of the currents is enough in itself to explain the landings on what was a gently sloping shore north of Galata. It also explains why the Byzantines did not need to run the chain from Galata to Seraglio Point to protect the imperial palace complex on the acropolis. The shore at Seraglio Point was steep and rocky, with deep water immediately offshore and strong currents on both sides. No galley could be beached here to make an assault. The Byzantines anchored the city end of the chain precisely where the current became insignificant and where the shore began to shelve gently west of the acropolis.[22]

There is another consideration. We do not know how many *ussier* horse transports the crusaders had with them at Constantinople because the exact numbers of knights who came to Venice is unknown, as is the number of those who abandoned the crusade *en route*. However, if only a third of the original 4,500 contracted for

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[20] Great Britain, Admiralty, Chart 1198: *The Bosporus* [surveyed by Messrs Ch. Ploix and Manen 1854, with corrections and additions to 1881] (London, 1881), viewed in the Bodleian Library, Geography and Map room, Oxford.

[21] *Black Sea Pilot*, p. 46; Admiralty Chart 1198 (1881). The strength of the northerly eddy current is not given on the chart.

[22] In Istanbul at the end of August 2004, I walked the entire distance from Seraglio Pt to the Galata Bridge, across it, and then north to Kleidion. In some places it is not possible to follow the shore because of private property, but where possible I observed the movement of various bits of flotsam in the water. From Seraglio Pt towards the ferry terminals the current is very strong, at least 3–4 knots to begin with, I would say. By the time that it reaches the Galata bridge, however, it has weakened to nothing. At the Galata bridge it very slowly tracks across the Horn to the other side, and from Galata to Kleidion it maeanders north very gently, no more than a half a knot.

actually arrived at Venice, as stated by Villehardouin,[23] then there may have been 1,500 horses at Constantinople. By the early thirteenth century, the carrying capacity of horse transport galleys was thirty horses. Early Byzantine *χελάνδια* had carried only twelve horses each but by the thirteenth century *chelandia* of Frederick II and *taride* of Charles I of Sicily could carry thirty horses. Assuming that Venetian *uissiers* could do so also, 150 would have been needed to fill the original contract and there may still have been fifty at Constantinople.[24] Now, to land horses from such ships one had to perform the manœuvre known as a Mediterranean beaching. The bow anchors would be dropped while still offshore and the ships would then be rowed over them. They would be reversed by backing water on one side and pulling on the other, would be made ground by the stern by backing water on both sides, and would be made fast to land with a stern cable. It meant using the oars to pivot the galleys on themselves, not an easy thing to do, especially if there was any sort of current or wind. Venetian crews were experienced, of course, but to perform the manœuvre of spinning around 35-metre galleys, the approximate length of early thirteenth-century *uissier* transport galleys, would have required at least 50 metres of shoreline per galley. There were probably up to fifty *uissiers* all attempting to ground simultaneously in battle conditions, and so for them a shore line of at least 2.5 kilometres would have been needed, given that the boats packed with archers, which had grounded ahead of them, would also have taken up shoreline. Coincidentally, it just happens to be around 2–3 kilometres from Galata point to St. Phokas, where the beach begins to run out.

At Constantinople in July at 0700 hours, the wind blows from between North and North-East 62 per cent of the time at a mean wind speed of 7 knots, with calms an additional 22 per cent of the time. By 1300 hours, it has risen to 15 knots averaging 73 per cent from the North to North-East and with calms dropping to a mere 2 per cent.[25] So on 5 July 1203, the crossing of the *uissiers* to the beaches north of Galata would obviously have been made at first light, as Villehardouin reported.[26] Incidentally, the conditions should have been ripe for a large sailing ship like the *Aquila* to run at the chain around midday, should that ever have been considered. On a port tack with the wind at 22.5 per cent, two points, to the starboard stern quarter, conditions ought to have been just about ideal for such an attempt, unless the Venetians were very unlucky with the wind.

Surviving sources allow us to know only five occasions on which the chain was used. Almost certainly it was not run out in times of peace and used for commerce control because none of the many descriptions of Constantinople ever mentioned

[23] Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, § 56 (p. 58). The Venetians prepared: "… si cum de nés et de galies et de uissiers bien a troiz tanz que il n'aüst en l'ost de genz."

[24] John H. Pryor, "From dromon to galea: Mediterranean bireme galleys AD 500–1300," in John S. Morrison, ed., *The age of the galley: Mediterranean oared vessels since pre-classical times* (London, 1995), 101–16, (here p. 115).

[25] *Black Sea Pilot*, Climatic Table for Istanbul (p. 72).

[26] Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, fol. 156 (vol. 1, p. 154): "Et la matinée était belle, un peu après le lever du soleil."

it, and it was only ever used when the city was threatened. Whether it was actually used on other occasions when the city was threatened is unknown. The first was during the Muslim siege of 717–18 when Theophanes the Confessor remarked that Leo III had the chain opened deliberately, hoping to lure the Muslim ships into the Horn and then trap them behind it,[27] a scenario which makes no sense one might add. The second was in 821 when the rebel Thomas the Slav besieged the city and the chain proved unable to keep his forces out for some reason which the sources could not explain.[28] The third was in 969, in anticipation of a Russian attack which did not eventuate, when Leo the Deacon wrote that Nikephoros Phokas "stretched out across the Bosporos [sic!] a very heavy iron chain, which he attached to the tower that is ordinarily called Kentenarion, resting on enormous baulks of wood, and which he fixed to the tower of the castle on the shore opposite."[29] The enormous baulks of wood were "*φιτροὶ μέγιστοι*," probably sections of tree trunks. The fourth occasion was in 1203 when – as we have seen – one and only one of the sources says that the chain was carried on wooden floats and again it was broken. And the last occasion was of course in 1453, when the chain was not broken because it was defended by Genoese, who were also in the Tower of Galata, and other Christian ships and Mehmet II preferred to avoid conflict with them and to find another way. Nicolò Barbaro wrote that the chain was composed of "huge round baulks of wood joined together, the one to the other, with heavy iron [nails?] and with a heavy iron chain." His account makes it quite clear that it was only the large ships lined up behind the chain and defending it with their cannon, five Genoese, one from Ancona, one imperial ship and three from Candia, prevented the Turks breaking the chain. After the city's walls had been breached, two of Barbaro's crew leaped on to a *zòco*, a support log of the chain, and destroyed it with axes.[30] By destroying the float, probably several of them, his own and other galleys were apparently able to sail out over the chain. Michael Kritoboulos confirmed that the Christian ships were moored along the inside of the chain and that they fought off attacks by the Turkish

[27] Theophanes the Confessor, *Theophanis chronographia*, ed. Carl de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1883), A.M. 6209, 1:396.

[28] Genesios, *Βασιλείων τόμοι Δ*, in *Iosephi Genesii regum libri quattuor*, ed. A. Lesmueller-Werner and I. (Hans) Thurn (Berlin and New York, 1978), B.5 (p. 27) "… συνελθόντες ἀλλήλοις ἀπό τε γῆς καὶ θαλάττης κατὰ τὰς Βαρβύσου τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκβολάς, οὐδὲ τῆς σιδηρέας ἐξαρκεσάσης σειρᾶς κωλῦσαι τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἔφοδον πλοίων."; *Theophanes continuatus*, II.14 (vol. 1, p. 58): "… (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδεμιαν κώλυσιν ἢ βοὴθειαν ἡ ἔξαρτισθεῖσα σιδηρᾶ σειρὰ ἐπεδέδεικτο) …"; John Skylitzes, *Ioannis Scylitzae synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. (Hans) Thurn (Berlin, 1973), Μιχαὴλ ὁ Τραυλός.8, (p. 33): "… ἀντισχεῖν ὅλως μὴ δυνηθείσης, ὡς εἴρηται, τῆς ἐκτεταμένης σιδηρᾶς ἁλύσεως, …"; John Zonaras, *Epitome historiarum*, ed. Ludwig Dindorf, 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1868–75), XV.23 (vol. III, p. 393) "ἀλλ᾽ ὁ Θωμᾶς ὁμοῦ τῇ πόλει προσέβαλε κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ θάλασσαν, τὴν σιδηρᾶν ἐκείνην ῥᾷστα διαρρήξας σειράν, …".

[29] Leo the Deacon, *Leonis diaconi Caloensis historiae libri decem*, ed. Carl B. Hase (Bonn, 1828), V.3, pp. 78–9: "… καὶ σειρὰν βαρυτάλαντον ἐκ σιδήρου πεποιημένην ἐπὶ τὸν πύργον ἐνδησάμενος, ὃν Κεντηνάριον κικλήσκειν εἰώθασιν, ἐπὶ φιτρῶν τε μεγίστων ἐφαρμοσάμενος, κατὰ τὸν Βόσπορον ἔτεινε, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ καταντιπέρας Καστελλίου πύργωμα ἀνῆψε."

[30] Nicolò Barbaro, *Giornale dell' assedio di Constantinopoli 1453*, ed. Enrico Cornet (Vienna, 1856), pp. 15, 20, 58.

fleet. He wrote, however, that it was the Turks who actually broke the chain after the city had fallen.[31]

The chain of the Golden Horn of 1204 no longer survives. According to Alberic of Trois Fontaines, it was later taken to Acre. Why, he did not say, and what may have happened to it is unknown, even if his report were true.[32] Niketas Choniates also reported that pieces of the chain, together with some gates of the city, were sent to Syria as trophies.[33] No report from the Holy Land mentions this and there is in fact no evidence of the chain actually ever having been in Acre. However, we do have sections of what is claimed to have been the chain of 1453,[34] and I will assume that the chain of 1204 was of similar dimensions. This is not the place in which to engage in a comparative study of harbour chains, as interesting as it might be to do so. However, the surviving chain in Istanbul is similar to the fourteenth-century chain of Marseilles now at Bordeaux. There is one document from the Angevin archives of Naples that refers to the chain that had been at Trani in the time of Frederick II and which had been 44 *canne* long, a mere 93 metres. Unfortunately, its thickness was not specified. The fourteenth-century chain of Pisa, taken to Florence as a trophy of war and then returned in the nineteenth century, has links 45–50 centimetres long, between 7–8 and 13–15 centimetres wide and with a thickness of 3–4.5 centimetres, very similar to that in Istanbul.[35] I am confident that the dimensions of such chains were fairly standard around the Mediterranean.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, the chain of Istanbul was held in the military arsenal in the old Church of St. Eirene and was photographed there by Van Millingen.[36] (See Fig. 3.) Note the great "grapples" on the top of the pile with two-toothed pincers. At some point in time the chain was removed and sections of it are now held in four Istanbul museums.[37] The largest part is in the Military Museum and this section contains the grapples. They can be easily seen to be hinged on a

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[31] Michael Kritoboulos, *Critobuli Imbriotae historiae*, ed. Diether R. Reinsch (Berlin and New York, 1983), A.24, 28, 37 (3)–(5), 65, pp. 40, 43, 50–51, 74. Cf. Makarios Melissenos, *Chronicon*, in *Georgios Sphrantzes, Memorii 1401–1477. În anexa Pseudo-Phrantzes: Macarie Melisssenos cronica 1258–1481*, ed. Vasile Grecu (Bucharest, 1966), 149–591, III.iv.3 (pp. 382–84), III.v.6 (p. 398).

[32] Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium, a monacho novi monasterii Hoiensis interpolata*, ed. Paul Scheffer-Boichorst, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica *Scriptores*, vol. 23, 631–950, Anno 1202 (p. 881).

[33] Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, p. 595.

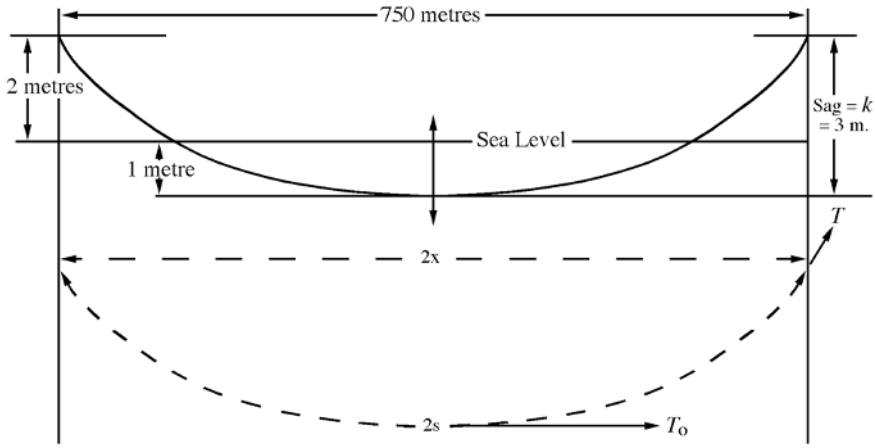
[34] There is some suggestion that the surviving section of the chain in Istanbul was a trophy of war from Rhodes in 1522; however, the authorities in Istanbul are adamant that it was the chain of Constantinople of 1453.

[35] "Documenti ed illustrazioni IX: Castello ed il Porto di Trani (Documenti del Grand Archivio di Napoli)," *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane*, 4 (1879), 333–62, no. XII, pp. 350–52; Marco Tangheroni, ed., *Pisa e il Mediterraneo: uomini, merci, idee dagli Etruschi ai Medici* (Milan, 2003), No. 104.

[36] Alexander Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: the walls of the city and adjoining historical sites* (London, 1899), facing p. 228.

[37] I attempted to find out more about the museum history of the sections of the chain in Istanbul but was unable to gain the necessary permission from the military authorities for the museum staff to correspond with me in time to meet the publication deadline for this volume.

Fig. 3 The chain of Istanbul, photographed by Van Millingen.



great rivet like a pair of scissors so that pulling the handles together would cause the pincers to engage with whatever was wanted. Another small section of fourteen links, unseen by me, is in the Byzantine section of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums. A third, which Beni Kedar and I inspected, consists of seventy-one links and is in the Turkish Naval Museum in Istanbul. The last is a small section of only four links now in the Rumeli Hisarı Castle Museum. On average the iron bars from which the links were made are 131 cm long. They are 16 cm in circumference (5.1 centimetres in diameter). Each link is 55 centimetres long and weighs approximately 20 kilograms.[38] That enables us to do some mathematics. The links obviously interlink, so each covers a distance of approximately 50 centimetres.[39] The entrance to the Golden Horn is approximately 750 metres across, so the chain would have needed an effective 1,500 links, plus more on land at either end, of course. But the weight of the chain over the sea alone would have been around thirty metric tonnes.

The chain would have been designed to prevent the ingress of war galleys in particular and these had both shallow draft and also very little height above sea level when their masts were lowered, a draft of around 1 metre and a maximum height above sea level of 2 metres. If the chain was not in fact floated on timbers but rather stretched out by some form of tensioning, the tension needed if the chain was no more than 2 metres above sea level at either end but no more than a metre

[38] My thanks to Dr. Yesim Anadol, the curator of the Rami M. Koch Museum in Istanbul, who kindly had a link of the Rumeli Hisarı section of the chain weighed and measured while it was on loan to her museum.

[39] Which means that the 71 + 14 + 4 = 89 links in the Naval Museum, Archaeological Museum, and Rumeli Hisar castle Museum, together with the pile in the Military Museum, which I estimate to be no more than two to three times as large as the Naval Museum section, can have stretched no more than 115–150 metres and can be no more than around a fifth of the original chain. Van Millingen apparently realized this because his caption stated that it was only part of the chain.

below sea level in the middle may be estimated. Any higher at the ends or lower in the middle and a galley could slip under or over it. The equation is as follows:

If the chain consists of an integral number of links, n, each 0.50 metres long and weighing 20 kilograms, then the length $2s = n \times 0.50$ and the weight $W = 20n$.

Defining the catenary parameter as on the sketch, the equations governing the configuration of a catenary are:

$$s = c \sinh (x/c) \qquad (1)$$

where

$$c = \frac{(s^2 - k^2)}{2k} \qquad (2)$$

If the sag, k, is fixed at 3 metres, the catenary parameter, c, is given by Equation (2) for each discrete value of n.

Thus $2x$, the separation of the suspension point cannot be specified arbitrarily but must satisfy Equation (1). Thus we have:

N	$2s$	c	$2x$
1501	750.5	23,476.25	750.49

Now the tensions in the chain are:

$$sw = T\sin \psi = T_o \tan \psi, \qquad (3)$$

where w is the weight per unit of length of the chain, that is, 20/0.50 = 40 kilograms per metre and because

$$\tan \psi = \frac{s}{c}; \quad T_o = wc. \qquad (4)$$

Thus for $n = 1501$, $T_o = 939{,}050$ kilograms ≈ 940 metric tonnes and the tension at each end would be very slightly greater.[40]

It would have been completely impossible, therefore, to stretch such a chain across the Golden Horn without floating it on floats. I very much doubt whether even modern metallurgical techniques would be capable of surviving tensions of this order, let alone medieval ones, even if the Byzantines could have created such a tension somehow, which I very much doubt. So the evidence of Leo the Deacon, Hugh of St. Pol and Nicolò Barbaro that the chain was floated on enormous baulks of wood must be accepted.

There is another reason why a floated chain was the best solution. The equation for tensioning an unfloated chain is impossible in any case for the simple reason that any chain put under such extreme tension would not have needed the *Aquila* to break it. It could probably have been broken by a sailboat. The amount of force needed to break any chain or other stretched line is inversely proportional to the tension to which the chain or line is subjected. With a floated chain, the optimum would have been to have it as slack as possible for the specific purpose of absorbing any breaking force such as might have been generated by a large sailing ship,

[40] © Emeritus Professor Peter R. Wilson, Department of Mathematics and Statistics, University of Sydney.

moving directly at it at ninety degrees. If the chain was slack, then such a ship would almost certainly have been dismasted on impact and the chain would have remained unbroken.

A floated chain also makes sense of the claim of the *Historia ducum Veneticorum* that there was a great bridge above it and of Bernard the Treasurer's report that the garrison of the Tower of Galata climbed on to the chain. To float a chain weighing 30 tonnes would have required a very great number of tree trunks cut into baulks and to have then constructed some sort of walkway on them so that the garrison of the Tower could be reinforced or men moved from one defending ship to another if necessary when under attack, would have been common sense. It would not have been a "bridge" as such, but rather a walkway of bearers and planks laid across the floats.

Whatever the case, the obvious conclusion is that the chain of the Golden Horn can only have been as effective as the ships that could be lined up behind it to defend the floats. Destroying the floats would have made the chain sink immediately and ships would have sailed straight over the top of it. Of all the sources, Barbaro was most clear about that, when he reported that the Turkish fleet was kept at bay from destroying the chain only by the large ships with cannon drawn up behind it. None of the Byzantine sources are clear about this, although Genesios, *Theophanes continuatus*, Skylitzes, and Zonaras are tantalizing when they write that the chain could not keep out Thomas the Slav's fleet. One wonders, why not? Thomas had Greek Fire and in the eighth to tenth centuries what other projectile weapon could either prevent enemy ships from grappling with defenders of the chain or else drive defenders off it? Coming in to attack the chain with the prevailing wind behind them and using Greek Fire, Thomas's ships would have been irresistible. Imperial ships behind the chain would not have been able to use their Greek Fire siphons if his admiral chose his weather well.

Admiralty chart 1198 of 1881 marks the depths in mid-channel at the entrance to the Golden Horn at 23–24 fathoms, that is 138–44 feet or 42–44 metres. No medieval ship could anchor in that depth of water. Medieval anchors were too light and the lengths of cable required would have been enormous. Bows could have been tied up to the chain, of course, but how did they stop the sterns swinging around all over the place? Perhaps a rope cable was run across behind the chain and they tied off onto that, or perhaps the ships were simply moored to the chain abeam. In the latter case, it would have been comparatively simple to construct a walkway over them.

Hugh of St. Pol, Robert of Clari, and Niketas Choniates were all clear that in 1203 Greek ships were drawn up along the chain to protect it, but with what? All historians of the Fourth Crusade have been guilty of concluding that by 1203 the Angeloi emperors had allowed the Byzantine fleet to fall into wrack and ruin. I have myself used that "fact" as part of an argument that the Venetians' intended destination for the crusade had to have been Egypt because they supplied a battle fleet of 50 galleys which would have been totally unnecessary

at Constantinople.[41] That argument is sound enough. I want, however, to at least question the parameters. Why do we assume that the Byzantines no longer had any effective naval forces? Because, apart from the fact that what resistance they did mount was ineffective, Niketas Choniates wrote that only twenty decaying, worm-eaten, and unseaworthy hulls, for which he used the diminutive and pejorative term *σκαφίδια*, could be found in the Golden Horn in 1203 to oppose the Venetians. But why did Niketas write that? Because, of course, writing in Nicaea after the event he was searching for explanations of why civilization as he knew it had been extinguished. One of Niketas's strengths as a historian was that he did not invariably try to blame or attribute responsibility to the 'universal other.' He did search for explanations within internal structures of the Byzantine polity. However, not only did he write that only twenty decaying hulls could be found in the Golden Horn in 1203, but he also wrote that these were then ranged behind the chain to defend it and that the Venetians clad their ships with ox-hides as protection against fire, as though they expected to have Greek Fire used against them.[42] None of the Latin sources refer to this and it is impossible to know whether Niketas was reporting what was done or rather what he thought ought to have been done. This does not make a lot of difference either way because, if Niketas was merely reporting what he thought ought to have been done, it means that as late as 1203 the Byzantines still had the capability to use Greek Fire and he considered that the Venetians knew that. As it eventuated, Greek Fire was not used against the Venetian fleet because they and the Frankish crusaders stormed the Tower of Galata, broke the chain that way, and thus enabled the overwhelmingly strong battle fleet to stream into the Golden Horn, scattering what resistance could be mounted. It is significant, however, that Niketas reported the anticipation of an entirely different scenario.

The Chain of the Golden Horn or rather, the Chains, because there must have been many of them over the centuries, were almost certainly deployed only in moments of crisis. They must have been floated on many baulks of tree trunks, and could only ever have been as effective as the naval forces moored behind them to defend the floats.

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[41] John H. Pryor, "The Venetian fleet for the Fourth Crusade and the diversion of the crusade to Constantinople," in Marcus Bull and Norman Housley, eds, *The experience of Crusading. Volume one: Western approaches* (Cambridge, 2003), 103–23.

[42] Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 540–44.

The Hospitaller Commandery of Eterpigny and a Postscript to the Fourth Crusade in Syria

Jonathan Riley-Smith

Professor Kedar has recently written the most authoritative account so far of the activities of the fourth crusaders in Palestine and Syria.[1] It is appropriate that in a paper written in his honour I should discuss the experiences of some of them, as described in the cartulary of the Hospitaller commandery of Eterpigny, south of Péronne in Picardy. The cartulary, which was put together in 1285, was calendared by Auguste de Loisne, but as far as I am aware has never been published.[2] In 1978, Jean Longnon and, in 2002, Yvonne Friedman drew attention to the evidence it contains for crusaders in Palestine early in the thirteenth century,[3] although I will suggest that they have misunderstood the course of events in which these men were involved.

The cartulary contains fourteen charters referring to endowments made to the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem by arms-bearers who were serving, or had served, in the east. Three, dating from 1207 and issued by King Philip II, the Hospitaller prior of France and the bishop of Amiens respectively, relate to a benefaction made on his death bed by Bernard du Plessier.[4] The rest were generated by the gratitude of three other Picard lords – Godfrey of Guise, lord of Sains, Bartholomew of Mézières and John of Villers, lord of Honnecourt – to the Hospitallers for their release from captivity. Three of these charters, which are published in the appendix to this paper, are dated 6 January 1207.[5] They were drawn up in the presence of Patriarch Albert of Jerusalem, who countersealed them, and Archbishop Peter of Caesarea. In each, the donor concerned recognized the benefit conferred by the Hospital of St. John in securing his release, became a *confrater* and recorded his endowment to the commandery of Eterpigny. Gifts to particular western commanderies in gratitude for actions undertaken by the military orders in the east were not uncommon at the time. Each benefactor also witnessed the charters of his confrères, along with twelve

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[1] "The Fourth Crusade's Second Front," in *Urbs Capta*, ed. Angeliki Laiou (Paris, 2005), pp. 89–110.

[2] Cartulaire d'Eterpigny, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, N.A. lat. 927. See Auguste de Loisne, "Le Cartulaire de la Commanderie d'Éterpigny," *Bulletin de la société des antiquaires de Picardie* 25 (1911), 150–213; Joseph Delaville Le Roulx in *Cart Hosp* 1: lxxxiv, although he did not include its charters in his *Cartulaire*; Robert Fossier, *La terre et les hommes en Picardie jusqu'a la fin du XIIIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris and Louvain, 1968) 1:22.

[3] Jean Longnon, *Les compagnons de Villehardouin. Recherches sur les croisés de la quatrième croisade* (Geneva, 1978), pp. 127, 131; Yvonne Friedman, *Encounters between Enemies. Captivity and Ransom in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Leiden, 2002), p. 203–4.

[4] Of Plessier-Rozainvilliers, south-east of Amiens. Cartulaire d'Eterpigny, fols. 24v–25, 101v–102, 105v–106.

[5] For the system of dating in the Latin East, where generally the year changed at Christmas, see Hans E. Mayer, *Die Kanzlei der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, 2 vols. (Hanover, 1996) 2:845–86.

other knights, some of whom came from the same region as Bartholomew, Godfrey and John. None of these men are to be found in other lists of witnesses in the Latin settlements in the Levant.[6] The remaining eight charters record confirmations by the individuals when they got home[7] and by lords,[8] co-owners[9] and family members; one is definitely the resolution of a dispute.[10]

There is independent evidence for John of Villers's crusade. Another of his charters with a different provenance records that he had taken the cross together with his wife and brother-in-law[11] and Geoffrey of Villehardouin listed him among a number of crusaders taken prisoner in the Levant.[12] So his presence among the donors and witnesses makes it almost certain that his two fellow-benefactors were also companions on crusade, as were probably the other twelve witnesses as well.

A substantial number of crusaders had arrived in Palestine in the spring of 1203. A fleet under Jean de Nesle, the castellan of Bruges, which carried a strong force of knights and sergeants and was supposed to have joined Count Baldwin of Flanders at Venice, had sailed on to Syria after wintering at Marseille. A number of French knights led by Bishop Walter of Autun and Count Guigo IV of Forez sailed directly to the Levant from the same port and perhaps in the same ships. Among them were probably John of Villers and his fellow Picards. Totalling 300 knights and many sergeants, this substantial army was joined at Acre by a party under Renaud de Montmirail, who had left the main body of the crusade after the fall of Zadar, and by another group of leading figures, including Count Renard II of Dampierre, which sailed from Apulia on the spring passage.[13]

The kingdom of Jerusalem had agreed a truce with the Ayyubids. It was this that had made directing a crusade to the Levant at this time inappropriate[14] and it is not surprising that King Aimery of Jerusalem at first refused to allow the new arrivals to campaign in Palestine. After an angry scene, more than eighty knights and a body of foot travelled north to join Bohemond IV of Antioch-Tripoli at Antioch

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[6] Cartulaire d'Eterpigny, fols. 21v–22v, 25–26, 57–58.

[7] Cartulaire d'Eterpigny, fols. 18v–19, 19–19v.

[8] Cartulaire d'Eterpigny, fols. 19v–20v, 20v–20bisv.

[9] Cartulaire d'Eterpigny, fols. 54v–55.

[10] Cartulaire d'Eterpigny, fols. 111–114. See also fols. 20bisv-21v, 28v–29.

[11] Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum .amplissima collectio*, 9 vols. (Paris, 1724–33) 1:1039.

[12] Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Edmond Faral, 2 vols. (Paris, 1961) 2:30. See Longnon, *Les compagnons*, p. 126–27.

[13] "L'Estoire de Eracles," *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens occidentaux* 2:246–47; *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. Louis de Mas-Latrie (Paris, 1871), p. 340; Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople,* 1:102–4; Aubrey of Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores* 23:878, 880. See Longnon, *Le compagnons*, p. 60–61, 105–6.

[14] See Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, ed. Peter Orth (Hildesheim/Zürich, 1994), p. 121.

and, apparently, to intervene in his conflict with King Leo of Cilician Armenia.[15] This was a war of succession for the principality of Antioch fought between Leo, whose great-nephew Raymond-Roupen had inherited the rights of the elder, but deceased, son of the previous prince, and the future Bohemond IV, who was the prince's younger son. Although opinion in the east, and even in the papal curia, had been divided over the respective rights of Leo and Bohemond, it seems very odd that a party of crusaders should have chosen this moment to intervene on the side of one of the parties. It may be, however, that their presence in the north was intended to bolster an attempt by the papal legate Soffred of Pisa to find a solution to the conflict.[16]

The truce with the Ayyubids, which was to last for five years and eight months, had been agreed between the kingdom of Jerusalem and al-ʿAdil, the senior surviving member of Saladin's family, on 1 July 1198.[17] It is not clear how large was the region covered by it, but the chaos into which the Ayyubid confederation had fallen after Saladin's death meant that it was not adhered to everywhere; the Hospital of St. John was concerned that it was not itself covered[18] and in January 1199 the patriarch of Jerusalem and the masters of the military orders entered into a separate truce with al-Muʿazzam Isa, al-ʿAdil's son and the ruler of Damascus.[19] Relations between al-ʿAdil and his nephew az-Zahir Ghazi, the ruler of Aleppo, had been particularly bad and open hostility had now given way, on Aleppo's part, to frosty independence.[20]

So it was not entirely clear whether any truce prevailed in the north, which was anyway beyond the bounds of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Following the coast road, the party of crusaders left Christian territory some way north of the Hospitaller castle of Marqab. The Muslim ruler of Jabala, the first town up the coast, who was holding to a local truce he had made with the Hospitallers at Marqab, gave the crusaders provisions but advised them to wait while messengers were sent to Aleppo to arrange for a safe-conduct from az-Zahir before they proceeded, as the next city, Latakia, was not covered by any agreement. The crusaders were in a hurry and, believing they had the necessary strength to fight off any attack upon them, pressed on into the territory of Latakia. They were ambushed and most of them were killed or captured. Among those taken prisoner were John of Villers and Renard of Dampierre. The ambush in Latakia was dated by the Aleppan historian

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[15] "L'Estoire de Eracles," 2:247; *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 341.

[16] See Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940), p. 603–4.

[17] For the terms of the truce, see R. Stephen Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols. The Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193–1260* (Albany, 1977), p. 108.

[18] Santos A. García Larragueta, *El gran priorado de Navarra de la Orden de San Juan de Jerusalen*, 2 vols. (Pamplona, 1957) 2:88.

[19] Aymar Monachus of Jerusalem's letter in James of Vitry, "Historia Hierosolimitana," ed. Jacques Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos* (Hanau, 1611), 1:1125. See Innocent III, *Die Register*, ed. Othmar Hageneder *et al.*, 7 vols. (so far) (Graz/Cologne/Rome/Vienna, 1964–) 2:498–9.

[20] For internal Ayyubid politics, see Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, p. 108–23.

Kamal ad-Din to the year 599, which, if correct, means that it must have taken place before 9 September 1203.[21]

Renard was eventually freed after a long period of captivity. The Hospitallers contributed to his ransom or perhaps paid all of it. In 1233, he gave property to their commandery of St. Amand near Vitry and his son Ansellus added to the endowment.[22] Longnon and Friedman have supposed that John of Villers, who was in the party ambushed at Latakia, and the two other crusaders making endowments in the Cartulary of Eterpigny, had also been ransomed by the Hospitallers,[23] but the language used in relation to their release is very different to that which was employed by Renard and on behalf of his son. Renard stated that the brothers of the Hospital in the land of Jerusalem "ubi per longum tempus in prisonia existeram, cum magno honore redempcionem meam procuraverint." In 1234, the bishop of Châlons recorded that Ansellus's gift was made partly in alms "et partim pro redempcione patris sui qui per eos redierat a prisione de Halape de manibus inimicorum Jhesu Christi."[24] On the other hand, the wording of the charters of Godfrey of Guise, Bartholomew of Mézières and John of Villers implies that they were liberated by force: "de captivitate paganorum liberavit,"[25] "de captivitate paganorum extraxerat."[26] and "de captivitate et carcere paganorum ubi eram captivus me extraxit."[27] So it would be worth looking for some military action undertaken by the Hospitallers in the region which could have forced the Muslims to disgorge their prisoners.

The garrisons at Marqab and Crac des Chevaliers were particularly active at this time, although both castles had been badly damaged in a destructive earthquake in 1202.[28] Perhaps their aggression was a natural reaction to the weakened state they were now in. They attacked on Baʿrin in 1203 and Hamah in 1204,[29] although these towns are some way from Latakia or Aleppo and the expeditions, which must have been organized from Crac des Chevaliers, were failures. Marqab was much closer to Latakia and it is likely that it was still the seat of the order's central convent,

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[21] "L'Estoire de Eracles", 2:247–49; *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 341; Geoffrey of Villehardouin 1:102–4; 2:30–32; Aubrey of Trois-Fontaines, pp. 880, 930; Kamal ad-Din, "L'Histoire d'Alep," trans. Edgar Blochet, *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 5 (1897), 39. See Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 603.

[22] Anatole de Barthélemy, "Chartes de départ et de retour des comtes de Dampierre-en-Astenois IVe et Ve croisades," *Archives de l'Orient Latin* 2 (1884), 197–98, 206–7 (nos 9, 20). See Longnon, *Les compagnons*, pp. 61–62; Friedman, *Encounters*, pp. 203–4; Alan Forey, "The Military Orders and the Ransoming of Captives from Islam," *Studia Monastica* 33 (1991), 276–77.

[23] Longnon; *Les compagnons*, p. 131; Friedman, *Encounters*, p. 203.

[24] Barthélémy, "Chartes," pp. 197, 207.

[25] Cartulaire d'Eterpigny, fols. 19, 19v, 20v.

[26] Cartulaire d'Eterpigny, fol. 21.

[27] Cartulaire d'Eterpigny, fols. 21v, 25v, 57.

[28] See Hans E.Mayer, "Two unpublished letters on the Syrian earthquake of 1202," *Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies in Honor of A. S. Atiya* (Leiden, 1972), p. 295–310.

[29] Jonathan S.C. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus c.1050–1310* (London, 1967), pp. 154–55.

which may have been settled there since the early 1190s.[30] As late as 1206 the brothers were meeting in general chapter in the castle.[31] Chapters-general were by no means always to be convoked to the same place,[32] while the restoration of Marqab after the earthquake may have needed the personal attention of the master and the conventual bailiffs or the building works in the new compound at Acre may have been too disruptive for any meeting to be held there. It is even possible that the order's government had still not made up its mind whether to settle in Acre, although it soon did so.

In 1197, az-Zahir had considered destroying Jabala and Latakia when he heard of the arrival of the German crusade.[33] In the Muslim year 600, which ended on 28 August 1204, he was, according to Kamal ad-Din, so concerned by a Frankish move on Latakia that he had the strongest elements in the city fortifications dismantled, which means, of course, that the place was abandoned by its garrison. The fortress was destroyed.[34] That there was a real threat to Latakia at this time is confirmed by two charters. In December 1204, Bohemond IV promised Guy of Jubail lands and revenues in Latakia and Sahyun should these places fall into his hands[35] and in the following March he likewise granted the Hospitallers property and rent in Latakia, to be held when he or they recovered the city.[36] Unfortunately the text of the second of these charters does not survive and we have to rely on an eighteenth-century calendar entry, but that an assault was being seriously planned is beyond doubt. It is true that the Hospitallers were soon going to find themselves locked in conflict over Antioch and Armenia with Bohemond[37] and this was the last moment for some years in which there could have been any collaboration, but Bohemond himself must have felt some responsibility for the fix in which the crusaders found themselves. The most likely catalyst for their liberation, therefore, is a serious threat to Latakia from an alliance between Bohemond in Antioch and the Hospitallers at Marqab in 1204–5.

I suggest, therefore, that Godfrey of Guise, Bartholomew of Mézières and John of Villers, together with the twelve knights who witnessed their charters, were imprisoned by the Muslims in Latakia. Bohemond and the Hospitallers at Marqab presented such a threat to the city that the Muslims were prepared to abandon it

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[30] Some of the leading Hospitallers in the East were in Marqab in January 1193, when the master and the bishop of Baniyas, whose diocese was almost entirely under the order's control, came to an agreement about tithes. *Cart Hosp* 1:595–6, no. 941 (*RRH*, no. 708). For the bishop, who himself lived in the castle, and was normally a brother priest of the Hospital, see *Cart Hosp* 1:631–32, no 999 (*RRH*, no. 734); Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John*, pp. 411–13. It may also have been significant that a dispute with local Templars degenerated into violence. *Cart Hosp* 1:666–67, no 1069 (*RRH*, no. 751).

[31] *Cart Hosp* 2:31–40, no 1193.

[32] See the rubric to the statutes of 1262. *Cart Hosp* 3:44, no 3039.

[33] See Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 590.

[34] "L'Histoire d'Alep de Kamal-ad-Din," p. 40.

[35] Sebastiano Paoli, *Codice diplomatico del sacro militare ordine Gerosolimitano oggi di Malta*, 2 vols. (Lucca, 1733–37), 1:103.

[36] *Cart Hosp* 2:48, no. 1215 (*RRH Add*, no. 802a). See Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 608–9.

[37] Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John*, p. 153–55.

and free their captives, who were back in Palestine by late 1206. Before returning home, they gathered in the presence of the patriarch and the archbishop of Caesarea and recorded benefactions to their local Hospitaller commandery. The formalities probably took place in Acre, because within a month Archbishop Peter of Caesarea was witnessing charters of the Lady of Caesarea and cannot have travelled far to do so.[38] Godfrey of Guise was home by the beginning of 1208.[39] As for Renard of Dampierre, Aubrey of Trois-Fontaines seemed to suggest that he was held in Aleppo itself; so does the charter issued on behalf of his son.[40] This suggests that as an important prisoner he was transferred straight into az-Zahir's hands and so, being nowhere near Latakia, could not benefit from the Hospitallers' aggression.

[38] *Cart Hosp* 2:64–5, nos. 1250–1 (*RRH* nos. 818–19).
[39] Cartulaire d'Eterpigny, fol. 19v. Dated January 1207, which in this case meant January 1208.
[40] Aubrey of Trois-Fontaines, p. 880; Barthélémy, "Chartes," p. 207.

Appendix

Three Charters Drawn up for Crusaders in the Levant.

1. Godfrey of Guise, lord of Sains, 6 January 1207 (Cartulaire d'Eterpigny, Bibl. nat., N.A. lat. 927,fols. 21v-22v; Loisne, "Le Cartulaire", p. 169–70, no 27).

In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen. Anno ab incarnatione domini nostri ihesu christi m° cc° vii°, sexto die intrantis mensis januarii, indictione decima.[41] Notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam et futuris quod ego Godefridus de Guisa,[42] qui sum de episcopatu Lodunensi,[43] recognoscens bonum quod domus hospitalis sancti johannis iherusalem michi fecit, que de captivitate et carcere paganorum ubi eram captivus me extraxit, reddidi me domus hospitalis confratrem tali conditione quod si in religione aliqua vellem intrare non ad aliam intrare debeam nisi ad illam hospitalem tam in vita quam in infirmitate vel morte ubicunque fuero. Quare providens ego super beneficia que domus hospitalis michi fecit pro anima patris et matris mee et parentum meorum et pro peccatorum meorum remissione coram domino A. venerabili iherusalem patriarcha[44] et domino P. venerabili cesariensis archiepiscopo[45] dono in perpetuum domui hospitalis annuatim septem modios frumenti ad modium de Ham intra Forest[46] et Dolli[47] de terragio vel de decima terre mee de hereditagio qui est ex parte uxoris mee domine Marie. Unde rogo uxorem[48] meam dominam mariam ut hoc donum quod feci hospitali donet et tenere faciat. Ut autem hec mea donatio firma rata et perpetuo hospitali illibata permaneat, dominum patriarcham A. exoravi ut suo sigillo hoc breve roboraret et muniret. Huius rei testes sunt. + Johannes de Vileriis;[49] Girardus de Argival; Hugo de Spinosa;[50] Macharius de Chaplenes;[51] Petrus de Saintes;[52] Halardus de Insula;[53] Simon Platecorne; Rainaldus de Sancto Ciriaco;[54] Terricus de Sancto Ylario;[55]

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41 For the date, see above note 5.

42 Lord of Sains, which was probably Sains-Chevennes (dépt Aisne, arr. Vervin).

43 Laon.

44 Albert of Vercelli, patriarch of Jerusalem, 1205–14.

45 Peter of Limoges, archbishop of Caesarea, 1199–1237.

46 Forest (dépt. Somme, cant. Combles).

47 Douilly (dépt. Somme, cant. Ham).

48 Ms. uxoram.

49 Villers-Carbonel (dépt. Somme, cant. Peronne). He was lord of Honnecourt (dépt Nord, arr. Cambrai, cant. Marcoing; see also Villers-Guislain nearby).

50 Épineuse (dépt.Oise, cant. Clermont).

51 Chapeleine (dépt. Marne, cant. Vassimont).

52 Probably Saintes.

53 Probably Lille.

54 Probably Saint-Christ-Briost (dépt. Somme, cant. Chaulnes).

55 Saint-Hilaire (dépt. Somme, comm. Lanches-Saint-Hilaire, cant. Moreuil).

Guerricus de Vallecort;[56] Bartholomaeus de Maizieres;[57] Symon de Ribemont;[58] Rainaldus de Garci; et Godefridus de Flaveigni.[59]

2. Bartholomew of Mézières, 6 January 1207 (Cartulaire d'Eterpigny,fols. 25–6; Loisne, "Le Cartulaire," p. 171, no 28).

In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen. Anno ab incarnatione domini nostri ihesu christi m° cc° vii°, sexto die intrantis mensis januarii, indictione decima. Notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam et futuris quod ego Bartholomeus de Maisiera, qui sum de episcopatu Ambianensi,[60] recognoscens bonum quod domus hospitalis sancti johannis jherusalem michi fecit, que de captivitate et carcere paganorum ubi eram captivus me extraxit, reddidi me domus hospitalis confratrem tali conditione quod si in religione aliqua vellem intrare non ad aliam intrare debeam nisi ad illam hospitalem tam in vita quam in infirmitate vel morte ubicunque ero. Quare providens ego super beneficia que domus hospitalis michi fecit pro anima patris et matris mee et parentum meorum et pro peccatorum meorum remissione coram domino A. venerabili iherosolimitano patriarcha et domino P. venerabili cesariensis archiepiscopo dono in perpetuum annuatim domui hospitalis modium unum frumenti et unum modium avene in mea grangia. Si unquam uxor mea obierit volo ut heredes nostri donent annuatim. Ut autem hec mea donatio firma rata et perpetuo hospitali illibata permaneat, dominum patriarcham A. exoravi ut suo sigillo hoc breve roboraret et muniret. Huius rei testes sunt. +. Johannes de Vileriis; Gotafridus de Guise; Girardus de Argival; Hugo de Spinosa; Macharius de Chaplenes; Petrus de Saintes; Halardus de Insula; Simon Platecorne; Rainaldus de Sancto Ciriaco; Terricus de Sancto Ylario; Guerricus de Vallecourt; Symon de Ribemont; Rainaldus de Garci; et Godefridus de Flaveigni.

3. John of Villiers, 6 January 1207 (Cartulaire d'Eterpigny, fols. 57–58; Loisne, "Le Cartulaire," p. 171, no 29).

In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen. Anno ab incarnatione domini nostri ihesu christi m° cc° vii°, sexto die intrantis mensis januarii, indictione decima. Notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam et futuris quod ego Johannes de Vilers, qui sum de episcopatu Noviomensi,[61] recognoscens bonum quod domus hospitalis sancti johannis jherosolimitani michi fecit, que de captivitate et carcere paganorum ubi eram captivus me extraxit, reddidi me domus hospitalis confratrem tali conditione quod si in religione aliqua vellem intrare non ad aliam debeam intrare nisi ad illam

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[56] Valcourt (dépt. Oise, comm. Montjavoult, cant. Magny).
[57] Mézières-en-Santerre (dépt. Somme, arr. Montdidier, cant. Moreuil).
[58] Ribémont (either dépt. Aise, arr. Saint-Quentin or dépt. Somme, cant. Corbie).
[59] Flavigny (dépt. Aisne, cant. Corbie).
[60] Amiens.
[61] Noyon.

hospitalem tam in vita quam in infirmitate vel morte ubicunque ero. Quare providens super beneficia que domus hospitalis michi fecit pro anima patris et matris mee et omnium parentum meorum et pro peccatorum meorum remissione coram domino venerabili iherosolimitano patriarcha et domino venerabili cesariensis archiepiscopo dono in perpetuum domui hospitali duos molendinos in una domo, in loco qui appellatur Crocte,[62] in quibus molendinis Hugo de Betencurt[63] habet in redditu annuatim anguillas ducentas vel solidos quinquaginta parisienses. Girardus de Lacrapa[64] habet in dictis molendinis annuatim anguillas centum vel solidos viginti quinque parisienses pro parte sancte marie *de ublier*,[65] a qua ecclesia tenet dictus Girardus redditus. Quidam homo meus habet in dictis molendinis modium unum frumentii et pro uno muerio quem tenet de me, unde meus homo est et pro predicto modio frumenti fit de cetero homo hospitalis. Et ego ipse Johannes de cetero ero quietus et absolutus de elemosina de quatuor hostoriis frumenti quos quibuslibet annis donavi hospitali pro confratria patris mei et domini Galterii de Hunecourt.[66] Ut autem hec me donatio firma rata et perpetuo hospitali illibata permaneat, dominum patriarcham A. exoravi ut suo sigillo hoc breve roboraret et muniret. Huius rei testes sunt. +. Signum proprie manus Johannis de Vilers; Godafridus de Guise; Girardus de Argival; Hugo de Spinosa; Macharius de Chaplenes; Petrus de Saintes; Halardus de Insula; Simon Platecorne; Rainaldus de Sancto Ciriaco; Terricus de Sancto Hylario; Guerricus de Vallecort; Bartholomeus de Maisieres; Symon de Ribemont; Rainaldus de Garci; et Godefridus de Flaveigni.

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62 Creutes.
63 Béthencourt-sur-Somme (dépt. Somme, arr. Nesle).
64 Not identified.
65 Not identified.
66 See above, note 49.

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A Venetian Sailing to Acre in 1282: Between Private Shipping and Privately Operated State Galleys

David Jacoby

One of the distinctive features of medieval Venice was the large-scale intervention of the state in the urban economy, far more extensive than in other contemporary cities of the West. Not surprisingly, this intervention was particularly pronounced in the field of commercial shipping.[1] By the thirteenth century, privately owned and operated Venetian ships were subject to ever stricter state control, and many voyages in the Adriatic and practically all those to the eastern Mediterranean were subject to state regulation or required state licenses. Much attention has been paid to the relation between these types of operation, on the one hand and, on the other, the system inaugurated in 1301 by which state-owned galleys, the so-called *galere da mercato*, were leased or auctioned each year for a single voyage to private operators. The destinations, itineraries and modalities of their sailings were strictly determined and supervised by the state.[2]

There was yet another system, which consisted in the commercial operation of state-owned ships by salaried shipmasters chosen by the state, distinct from ships of the Commune sent on special missions or specially fitted for naval warfare.[3] The precise nature of this system, the reasons for its establishment, and the destinations to which the ships sailed have not been investigated so far. A document drafted on 10 August 1282, edited below, offers invaluable evidence in that respect.[4] It warrants particular attention on several accounts. First, it contains the earliest set of regulations applied to these ships and the only one of the thirteenth century discovered until now. Secondly, twenty out of the thirty clauses in our document

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[1] Overview by Giorgio Zordan, "Le leggi del mare," in Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci, eds., *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, XII, *Il mare* (Rome, 1991), pp. 621–662. See also next note.

[2] Frederic C. Lane, "Merchant Galleys, 1300–1304: Private and Communal Operation," and "Maritime Law and Administration, 1250–1350," both in idem, *Venice and History* (Baltimore, 1966), respectively pp. 194–198 and pp. 227–246; Ugo Tucci, "La navigazione veneziana nel duecento e nel primo trecento e la sua evoluzione tecnica," in Agostino Pertusi, ed., *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV (Atti del Convegno internazionale di storia della civiltà veneziana, Venezia, 1968*) (Florence, 1973), I/2, pp. 821–841; Doris Stöckly, *Le système de l'incanto des galées du marché à Venise (fin XIIIe–milieu XVe siècle)* (Leiden, 1995).

[3] Lane, "Merchant Galleys," pp. 198–200.

[4] See below, Appendix. I have numbered its provisions in order to facilitate the reference to their content and, for the sake of clarity, have separated joined words. The document has been mentioned by Lane, "Merchant Galleys," p. 200, n. 16, and by Stöckly, *Le système de l'incanto*, p. 357, n. 18, who have not perceived its importance. John E. Dotson, "A Problem of Cotton and Lead in Medieval Italian Shipping," *Speculum* 57 (1982), 58 and n. 19, refers to one of its clauses. I wish to thank him hereby for sending me a microfilm of the document.

(pars. 1–3, 5–11, 13–15, 17–18, 26–30) reproduce unknown regulations recorded neither in the maritime statutes issued by the Venetian doges from 1227 to 1255, nor in the extant thirteenth-century registers of the *Maggior Consiglio* of Venice.[5] Finally, our document deals specifically with a round trip between Venice and Acre.

In Venice, instructions delivered to an individual invested by the state with a specific function abroad were listed in a document known as *capitulare* or *commissio*, which was handed over to the individual by the doge before his departure from Venice. The first term appears at the end of our document. The sworn undertaking of the official to fulfil his obligations was recorded in a *promissio*. Two such documents of the thirteenth century referring to the eastern Mediterranean have been published: the *promissio* of the bailo of Constantinople, apparently drafted in 1207, and that of the consul in Alexandria, dated 1284.[6] Our text of 1282, an important addition to these documents, records the sworn statement of a *patronus* or shipmaster entrusted with the operation of a state-owned vessel for a single commercial sailing, jointly with another shipmaster acting as his *socius* or associate.

It begins with the shipmaster's oath in the first person (*iuro*) to act in the best interests of Venice and of the merchants using the vessel's services (par. 1). Several of the following clauses are also couched in the first person (par. 2, 5–23), while others have an impersonal phrasing more or less reproducing resolutions adopted by the *Maggior Consiglio* of Venice (pars. 3–4, 25–30). This is particularly obvious in the hybrid par. 24. After a personal engagement, *teneor et debeo*, "I am obliged and have to," it records sections of a provision adopted in 1269, introduced by the formula commonly used in the registers of Venetian executive and legislative institutions, *Capta est pars*, "the [following] proposal has been adopted."[7]

Our document records the shipmaster's obligations before, during and after the voyage, in accordance with state regulations and the instructions received from the doge and his council (pars. 1, 7). Surprisingly, though, it fails to enumerate in proper chronological order the various operations he was supposed to perform. Instead, these are listed in an inordinate way, some of them being partially repeated in a

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[5] Extant provisions appear in Riccardo Predelli and Adolfo Sacerdoti, eds., *Gli statuti marittimi veneziani fino al 1255* (Venice, 1903) (hereafter: *Statuti marittimi*), and in Roberto Cessi, ed., *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 3 vols. (Bologna, 1931–1950) (hereafter: *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*).

[6] Respectively Robert L. Wolff, "A New Document from the Period of the Latin Empire of Constantinople: The Oath of the Venetian Podestà," *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* 12 (1952) (Mélanges Henri Grégoire, IV), 552–553, repr. in idem, *Studies in the Latin Empire of Constantinople* (London, 1976), no. VI, and David Jacoby, "Le consulat vénitien d'Alexandrie d'après un document inédit de 1284," in Daniel Coulon, Catherine Otten-Froux, Paule Pagès, Dominique Valérian, eds., *Chemins d'outre-mer. Études sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard* (Byzantina Sorbonensia, 20) (Paris, 2004), II, pp. 471–474, with introduction pp. 461–470.

[7] *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 2:58, par. LV.

somewhat different version.[8] It appears, therefore, that the *capitulare* upon which the *promissio* is based is a clumsy compilation of provisions dispersed throughout various state registers. Our text omits the names of the official for whom it was drafted and that of the notary who transcribed it. The last line refers to the date at which it was issued in the same year, *currenti anno*, namely on 10 August 1282. It follows that our document is a copy made in the Venetian chancery in order to serve there as a model. The scribe had a rather poor knowledge of Latin and his work was sloppy, as illustrated by his many mistakes and omissions.[9]

Before dealing in detail with the content of our *promissio*, it may prove useful to consider briefly the commercial use of Venetian state-owned ships before 1282. The earliest relevant source, from 1225, refers to a galley fitted with three sails and one hundred oars and to a bark, both leased by the Commune to an individual for a voyage to the Istrian port of Pola.[10] A similar arrangement was made in 1227 for a *corabium* delivered by the state arsenal to a group of merchants for a journey to Durazzo, from where they would return with a cargo of grain.[11] On the other hand, a *corabium* or *asirus* of the Commune transporting wool from Crete to Venice some time before December 1225 was operated by a salaried official, as revealed by the freight owed by several merchants to the state.[12] A salaried mate (*nauclerius*) seems to have been in charge of the Commune's *asirus* fit for a voyage to Apulia between June and Christmas 1226. His undertaking to uphold Venice's interests is similar to the one found in our document (par. 1).[13] The same arrangement appears to have been made in May 1227 for the journey of another ship of that type to Crete.[14] The *corabium* or *asirus* was a small vessel with a carrying capacity of less than 200 *milliaria* or 95.4 metric tons deadweight.[15] It mainly operated in the Adriatic, while in the Mediterranean it does not seem to have sailed beyond Crete.

It is unclear since when state-owned ships were involved in commercial sailings to more distant regions. The earliest evidence in that respect appears in 1270.[16] All the provisions regarding these ships refer to *naves*, a generic term used in the

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[8] For instance, freight charges are mentioned in pars. 2 and 25, the caulking of the ship in pars. 19 and 22, and the procedures performed by the shipmasters after their return to Venice in pars. 8, 9 and 12.

[9] Examples appear below, nn. 50 and 57, and in the edition of the text: see Appendix.

[10] *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 1:82, par. 131.

[11] *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 1:188, par. 66. The *corabium* was presumably similar to the Byzantine *karabion* and the Egyptian *qarib*, a small undecked ship with lateen sails manoeuvred by steering oars, on which see John H. Pryor, *Geography, Technology and War. Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 649–1571* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 28, 32.

[12] *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 1:37–38, par. 145–148: four cases of unpaid freight charges recorded in the register of the deceased P. Greco. The ship is once referred to as *corabium* and twice as *asirus*; no specific term appears in the fourth recorded case.

[13] *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 1:103, par. 188.

[14] *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 1:185, par. 57.

[15] Ugo Tucci, "L'impresa marittima: uomini e mezzi," in Giorgio Cracco and Gherardo Ortalli, eds., *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, II, *L'età del Comune* (Rome, 1995), p. 639.

[16] *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 2:116, par. XII/I.

thirteenth century for round, two-decked and mostly two-masted lateeners with greater carrying capacity than the vessels mentioned above.[17] This is confirmed by the presence of two scribes on board the *navis* of 1282, for whose shipmasters our *promissio* has been drafted. The Venetian maritime statutes of 1255 required the presence of two scribes on *naves* whose tonnage reached or exceeded 95.4 metric tons.[18] The size of the state-owned *naves* varied. In 1274 it was an unusually large ship. The merchants on board nevertheless complained on 18 August, shortly before departure, that they lacked proper accommodation, presumably because the shipmasters had allocated more space than usual to the cargo.[19] The sailing of 1274 is confirmed by a provision regarding minimum freighting charges, repeated in the following year.[20] Another resolution of 1274, also repeated in 1275, refers to the maintenance of past regulations governing the operation of state-owned *naves*, the election of their shipmasters and the latter's salaries, and envisages the addition of new provisions regarding these issues by the doge and his council.[21] It is noteworthy that these regulations deal with the sailing of a single vessel in each of these two years, and this appears to have been the rule.

The provisions of 1270 provide an important clue regarding the destination of the state-owned round ships. They mention premiums and penalties in a single foreign denomination in connection with their operation, namely the bezant.[22] This is also the case in the *promissio* of 1282 (pars. 2, 22, 26, 29). It is clear, therefore, that these ships sailed exclusively to the Levant. More precise information is provided by our document, one provision of which states the freight rate paid for transportation from Acre (par. 26) and another from Acre and Ayas to Venice (par. 2).[23] Acre was the major port and market of the Frankish Levant, and Ayas in Cilician Armenia had become by the mid-thirteenth century a major outlet of trans-Asian trade in the wake of the Mongol expansion in Asia.[24] The maintenance operations on the ship, discussed below, were to be performed in Acre. This was then the main destination of the single state-owned vessel engaging each year in commercial transportation to the Levant. The additional reference to Ayas implies that the ship would load goods in that port while on the return voyage, if not filled to capacity. In 1274, the Commune sent one galley to accompany the seasonal convoy to Acre and two

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[17] Lane, "Maritime Law," pp. 232–33; Pryor, *Geography*, pp. 30–32; Tucci, "L'impresa marittima," pp. 635–37.

[18] Indirect evidence as to their number is provided by the reference to "one of the scribes" in a provision of July 1282 referring to our ship: *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 2:116–117, par. XII/II. The rule is stated in *Statuti marittimi*, pp. 111–15, pars. XLI–XLII.

[19] *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 2:422, under 18 August.

[20] Respectively *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 2:419, under 13 July (only the rubric has survived), and ibid., 2:66, par. LXXXVII (full text). The issue is discussed below.

[21] Respectively *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 2:418, under 5 July (only the rubric), and ibid., 2:95, par. XXXV.

[22] *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 2:116, par. XII/I.

[23] The two clauses were clearly issued in different years.

[24] For lack of space I omit here references to the extensive bibliography regarding both cities.

others that were to remain there, in addition to the *navis*.[25] From 1275 until the fall of Acre to the Muslims in 1291, there is no further evidence regarding the commercial sailing of a state-owned *navis* to that city, except in our document of 1282. However, there is good reason to believe that such sailings took place once a year. Support for this assumption will be adduced below.

According to a regulation of 1276, the state arsenal of Venice had to maintain continuously four galleys and two other ships (*ligna*), the nature of which is not specified, ready to sail at short notice.[26] It is generally assumed that these vessels were exclusively intended for military operations.[27] Their occasional commercial use, considered here, has been completely overlooked. In 1276, the state arsenal was still incapable of building ships fast enough to replace those that had left. It was envisaged, therefore, that new vessels would be built elsewhere under the supervision of a shipwright employed by the arsenal and, obviously, according to the latter's specifications.[28] As a result it is impossible to determine where the state-owned ship sailing to Acre in 1282 had been built.

The operation of that vessel can be reconstructed, thanks to our document and other sources. The two shipmasters were elected together. According to a regulation of 1270, confirmed in 1274 and 1275, they were at least thirty years old.[29] Their term of office began as soon as they had pledged by oath to fulfil the functions entrusted to them (par. 14), and ended fifteen days after their return to Venice (pars. 9, 12, 24). They jointly obtained the ship and the latter's equipment from the officials in charge of Venice's state arsenal, together with a precise listing of items (pars. 1, 18). The cordage, sails, anchors and military equipment were marked with a special sign, in order to prevent their sale or destruction.[30] Each shipmaster had his own register, in which he recorded every item received in connection with the ship's operation (par. 11). Both supervised the work still required on the vessel, obviously carried out in the arsenal (par. 14). They participated in the selection of the crew, together with officials specially appointed for that purpose (par. 17). The sailors had to be eighteen years old.[31] The required military equipment of private ships was determined since 1255 according to their tonnage, yet in addition it was mandatory for each sailor and the mate to have some specific pieces of armour and weapons.

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[25] *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 2:420, under 31 July, and ibid., p. 424, under 28 August.

[26] *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 2:244, par. IX.

[27] See Ennio Concina, *L'arsenale della Repubblica di Venezia* (Milan, 1984), p. 14.

[28] *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 2:244, par. IX, and another regulation of 1281, ibid., 2:244, par. X.

[29] See above, nn. 16 and 21.

[30] *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 2:242, par. II, a rule adopted in 1264. On anchors, see below.

[31] *Statuti marittimi*, pp. 94–95, pars. XXIIII–XXV, for the age of the sailors.

A new regulation issued in 1280 added crossbows for the best paid sailors.[32] It is likely that these were the *scutiferi* mentioned in our document (par. 16).[33]

The Commune's vessel carried merchandise belonging both to merchants and to the state (par. 1).[34] The proportion of space allocated to the former and the latter is not specified and must have varied. Venetian merchants were not allowed to conclude contracts with private ship operators as long as the state-owned vessel had available space and, what is not expressly stated, remaining carrying capacity (par. 4). Ships were controlled before sailing in order to prevent overloading, which was strictly prohibited.[35] In Venice it was mandatory from 1255 onwards to ship iron, copper, tin or unworked bronze as ballast on private vessels sailing from Venice, in order to enhance the safety of navigation.[36] Our document reveals that merchants were ordered to load on the Commune's vessel half the iron, copper or tin they intended to ship, for which they would pay the low freight of six *grossi* per *milliarium* of 470 kilograms (par. 3).[37]

The shipmasters directed the loading and stowage of the goods on board (pars. 3, 16, 23, 27–28).[38] They were prevented from favouring some merchants at the expense of others in this respect, and any payment they had personally obtained or that had been extracted on their behalf was to be promptly returned (par. 10).[39] As customary, sailors were allowed to take along one chest containing goods (par. 28) and conduct transactions at ports of call in order to supplement their meagre salaries.[40] This favour was denied to the *scutiferi*, clearly because they were better paid than the average sailors in connection with the operation of more sophisticated weaponry. The *scutiferi* were threatened with the confiscation of their chests, should

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[32] *Statuti marittimi*, pp. 96–99, pars. XXVII–XXX; *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 2:70–71, par. CVIII. See Frederic C. Lane, "The Crossbow in the Nautical Revolution of the Middle Ages," in *Explorations in Economic History* 7 (1969–1970), 161–164.

[33] Support for this assumption is adduced below.

[34] On the Commune's goods, see below.

[35] Lane, "Maritime Law", pp. 237–240

[36] *Statuti marittimi*, p. 160, par. CIII; on the use of these metals as ballast, see also ibid., p. 82, par. VI. On the export of iron from Venice to Acre and Tyre, see David Jacoby, "The Supply of War Materials to Egypt in the Crusader Period," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 25 (2001), 114–18, 122–27.

[37] Dotson, "A Problem of Cotton," pp. 56–58, seems to suggest that these metals were carried free of charge, as the maritime statutes of 1255 do not mention any freighting equivalent (on which see below) with respect to them. In fact, they constituted a special class of cargo to which special rates were applied. If their transportation on board state-owned vessels entailed freight charges, this must have also been the case on private ships.

[38] This practice differed from the one applied on private ships, where two of the merchants sending goods on board participated in decisions regarding ballast, together with one of the shipmasters and the mate: *Statuti marittimi*, pp. 79–81, pars. IIII–V. On these ships the *patroni* covered the costs of loading and unloading: ibid., pp. 122–123, par. L.

[39] The meaning of *servicium* as payment or bribe was common.

[40] References to their goods in 1229: *Statuti marittimi*, pp. 57–58, 61, pars. 17, 30; in 1255: ibid., pp. 112–115, 122–123, 127, pars. XLII, L, LV. See also Riniero Zeno, "L'arruolamento nel diritto marittimo medievale," *Rivista di storia del diritto italiano* 13 (1940), 516–17.

they or merchants on their behalf load the latter on board (par. 16).[41] This regulation ensured maximum space for profit-yielding cargo.

It is noteworthy that the provisions of 1270, 1274 and 1275 regarding the state-owned *navis* were all adopted in July or August, except one, thus before the fitting of the ships for sailing.[42] The reference of our document of 1282 to the "present *mudua*" (par. 2) implies that the ship was to leave Venice with the regular seasonal convoy and there was no need, therefore, to specify its itinerary.[43] According to a regulation of 1255, by 15 August ships had to be fully equipped, loaded and ready to sail from San Niccolò di Lido, the best port in the Venetian Laguna, located close to the outlet to the Adriatic.[44] This was not always the case, as hinted by our *promissio* of 10 August 1282, after which the shipmasters had only begun to deal with the preparations for the sailing. The complaint submitted by merchants on 18 August 1274, adduced earlier, confirms that the state-owned ship was already laden, yet she had not yet left by 28 August.[45] Once the state-owned *navis* was stationed at San Niccolò di Lido, at least one of the two shipmasters was to be continuously on board, both in daytime and at night (par. 15).

The rules overseas were somewhat different. One of the shipmasters stayed on the vessel by daytime if necessary and in any event by night, except in case of illness (par. 6). The sailors, who had embarked before the ship was transferred to San Niccolò di Lido, were to remain continuously on board, unless one of the shipmasters granted them shore leave for some valid reason. They were fined five *soldi a grossi* or more for each transgression of this prohibition (par. 20).[46] On 7 July 1282, precisely with respect to our *navis*, it was decided that one of the scribes on board would declare under oath to the shipmasters who among the sailors had evaded the rules, so that he may be punished.[47] After the return to Venice it was the duty of the mate to name the shipmasters and sailors who had not slept on board (par. 30). Denunciations to the authorities were an important mechanism of state control in Venice.

When the ship anchored in a port or along a beach the merchants were to mount guard, if instructed to do so. No one could escape that obligation or be replaced, except for health reasons, under threat of a heavy fine amounting to 25 Venetian *lire a grossi*.[48] The transgressor refusing to pay the fine would incur an additional one amounting to 100 *soldi* or 5 *lire*. Should the shipmaster be unable to collect

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[41] According to a provision of 29 May 1266: *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 2:57, par. LII.

[42] For the exception, see previous note.

[43] On seasonal sailings, see below.

[44] *Statuti marittimi*, pp. 153–54, par. C.

[45] See above, nn. 19 and 25.

[46] This conforms to *Statuti marittimi*, pp. 102–103, par. XXXIIII. However, the time of boarding is not stated in our document.

[47] *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 2:116–117, par. XII/II.

[48] The maritime statutes of 1255 only mention replacement by a servant: *Statuti marittimi*, p. 151, par. XCIIII.

the fines, he would provide the appropriate information to the *advocatores* of the Commune entrusted with their collection within fifteen days after his return to Venice (par. 24).[49] A quarter of the men on board were to mount guard if their total number reached or exceeded sixty-four and, if less, only two of them were positioned at the bow and two at the stern (par. 25).[50] Incidentally, these regulations concerned merchants more than fifteen years old, which implies that occasionally even youngsters below that age accompanied their elders overseas for their apprenticeship in maritime trade. In a port, those on guard were to be fully dressed and booted, in order to be ready for action in case of a hostile attempt to seize the ship or its cargo. The shipmaster could also order the sailors to be on guard duty, if he considered it necessary, and fine them if they failed to comply (par. 21).

The shipmasters ensured the rapid unloading of the cargo (par. 23), at which the entire crew participated, after the vessel's arrival in Acre.[51] One of them at a time supervised the ship's repair and caulking down to the keel (*usque ad columbam*), to be carried out as fast as possible, in any case within less than one month. He received a premium of 1/4 bezant per day for fulfilling that duty, and was fined the same amount if he failed to do so (pars. 19, 22).[52] It is unclear whether these operations required a dry dock at the royal arsenal,[53] or whether they were performed while the ship was beached on the sandy strip along the bay of Acre to the southeast of the city. It was mandatory for caulkers and carpenters among the crew as well as sailors to participate in the required work, and none could be exempted from that duty.[54] One of the shipmasters had to be present when purchases for one bezant or more were made for the ship.[55]

In the Levant it was prohibited under threat of confiscation to embark oil, honey or goat's hair on the state ship (par. 3), although the first two commodities and haired goatskins are listed in 1255 among the goods carried by private vessels.[56]

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[49] On the function of the *advocatores* in that respect: *Statuti marittimi*, pp. 152–53, par. XCVIII.

[50] Two clauses of our document, pars. 24 and 25, delete some sections from a resolution adopted in 1269 (*Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 2:58, par. LV), without which par. 25 in particular cannot be understood. The scribe who copied our document is clearly responsible for the omissions. A statute of 1255 imposed guard duty on the shipmasters of private ships: *Statuti marittimi*, p. 151, par. XCIIII. It is unclear whether this rule also applied to state-owned vessels.

[51] The wording in 1270 is slightly different: the shipmasters, captain and crew should take care to unload goods "as best as possible", clearly to prevent damage: *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 2:116, par. XII/I.

[52] These clauses are in accordance with a provision of 1270 that, however, fails to specify where the work would be carried out. Its wording regarding caulking is *subtus fundum* or "below the waterline," which implies the same work: *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 2:116, par. XII/I.

[53] On the arsenal located east of the Venetian quarter, see David Jacoby, "Aspects of Everyday Life in Frankish Acre," *Crusades* 4 (2005), p. 93.

[54] *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 2:116, par. XII/I.

[55] *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 2:116, par. XII/I.

[56] *Pilum bichi* is goat's hair, like *pelo di becco* in Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. A. Evans (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pp. 157, 379. Oil, honey and haired goatskins, *becune crude cum pilo*, distinct from those *sine pilo* are mentioned in the maritime statutes of 1255: *Statuti marittimi*, p. 161, pars. CV and CVI. These do not list goat's hair separately.

Neither navigation problems nor freight charges explain that prohibition and the connection between these commodities. According to a clause of our document, it would seem that merchants were allocated space on the state-owned ship only if the actual weight of their goods reached or exceeded four cantars of 47 kilograms (par. 4). However, a comparison of that clause with provisions adopted in 1274 and 1275 reveals that the reference is in fact to the payment of a freight charge for four cantars.[57] The regulation of 1275 also prevented merchants from obtaining space on the ship for other merchants by paying an additional minimum charge. Freight charges were not paid at a flat rate. Their calculation was based on the rules established in the Venetian maritime code of 1255, which divided goods into six groups, to each of which a different freighting equivalent was applied.[58] Thus, for instance, pepper would pay the standard rate of six gold bezants per cantar for transportation both from Acre and Ayas to Venice (pars. 2, 26), alum three, and cotton twelve.[59] This rate was based on an exchange value of 24 *soldi a grossi* per bezant (par. 2), lower than the one of 28 *soldi* applied to penalties for overloading in the Levant, stipulated in the maritime statutes of 1255.[60] One may wonder whether the latter higher rate included a surcharge, or whether the former was an intentionally low rate ensuring a competitive edge of state-owned *naves* over private vessels.[61] The provision regarding the minimum freight charge was clearly aimed at reducing the number of contracts required to fill the ship's space.[62]

The shipmasters assigned to each merchant wishing to send goods to Venice space on board proportionate to the total volume of merchandise he intended to ship, should the combined goods of all merchants exceed the vessel's carrying capacity (par. 27). The shipmasters could even remove the sailors' chests and goods

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[57] The omission of this important specification is again due to the scribe. The rubric of 1274 appears to introduce the text preserved in full in 1275: *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 2:419, under 13 July 1274, and *ibid.*, 2:66, par. LXXXVI: *non possit nec debeat habere locum*, *nisi solverit quatuor cantaria Comuni vel inde supra*. From the entire clause, it is obvious that *locus* refers to space for goods, and not for merchants, as illustrated by an undated *promissio* reproducing instructions adopted in 1302 with respect to state galleys: Luigi Fincati, "Splendore e decadenza della marina mercantile di Venezia," *Rivista marittima*, part 2 (1878), 168: *locum competentem pro* (...) *mercationibus*. The reading *mercatoribus* in the corresponding instructions published by Roberto Cessi and Paolo Sambin, eds, *Le deliberazioni del Consiglio dei Rogati (Senato), Serie "mixtorum"*, I (Venice, 1960) (hereafter: *Le deliberazioni del Consiglio dei Rogati*), p. 64, is incorrect.

[58] *Statuti marittimi*, pp. 160–62, pars. CIIII–CX. Commodities not included in these classes required agreements between shipper and operator: see ibid., p. 162, par. CXI.

[59] See Dotson, "A Problem of Cotton," pp. 52–62; provides a thorough discussion of medieval and especially Venetian freighting equivalents.

[60] *Statuti marittimi*, pp. 117–18, par. XLV.

[61] Rates of 23 and 27 *soldi* in payment orders not involving an actual transfer nor an investment of cash between the Frankish Levant and Venice are attested respectively in 1205 (insert in a document of 1209) and in 1209: Raimondo Morozzo della Rocca and Antonino Lombardo, eds., *Documenti del commercio veneziano nei secoli XI–XIII*, 2 vols. (Turin, 1940), 2: 49–50, no. 50, and 2:53–54, no. 514.

[62] Another provision regarding weight or freight appears in a garbled and incomprehensible version in par. 2: *tenentur et debent ponere in dicta navi medium milliarium pro cantario et unum cantarium pro milliario librarum*.

belonging to merchants from the vessel in order to avoid overloading (par. 28).[63] If they had no funds to compensate those who had suffered from that measure, they were allowed to borrow money at a rate not exceeding 35 *soldi a grossi* per bezant, which obviously included interest (par. 29). This was the rate commonly applied in the Frankish Levant both to state and private loans.[64]

As noted earlier, the state-owned *navis* awaited the return voyage for one month at most (par. 19). A maximum period of one month at Acre, between late September and late October, is also attested for other ships, whether directly or indirectly.[65] The vessels anchored in the bay, for lack of space in the harbour. A Venetian statute of 1233 determined that ships carrying pilgrims were to leave Syria, in fact Acre, by 8 October at the latest, unless weather conditions prevented their departure.[66] The last ships leaving Acre sailed in the following weeks. The voyage home lasted much longer than the eastbound journey, the ships reaching Venice only shortly before the onset of the winter.[67]

The shipmasters obtained a salary of 150 *lire a grossi* for the round trip, deducted from the freight charges they collected (par. 13). They were denied any other source of income during their term of office, including shipping space on the vessel they operated. Nor were they allowed to request or receive any additional payment from merchants (par. 10, 13).[68] After returning to Venice, they attended to the ship's business for fifteen additional days. Within that period they secured the rapid unloading of the cargo (par. 8) and returned the vessel in an orderly fashion to the state arsenal, together with its equipment (par. 18). Missing items and the name of the shipmaster at fault were reported in writing to the doge.[69] The shipmasters presented the accounts of their operations to the doge and his council or to those appointed to inspect them, and transferred the profits made during the journey to the Commune's treasurers (par. 12).[70] In addition, regardless of whether they would be requested or not, they were supposed to brief the doge and his council about matters

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[63] See above, p. 400.

[64] In 1286, 1288 and 1289 the Venetian baili in Acre were allowed to take loans at slightly lower maximum rates: respectively *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 3:152, par. 89, 3:201, par. 13, and 3:229–230, par. 198. A sea loan for a journey from Tyre to Venice was granted in 1211 at the rate of 36 *soldi* per bezant: Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo, *Documenti*, 2:69–70, no. 529.

[65] See David Jacoby, "Il ruolo di Acri nel pellegrinaggio a Gerusalemme," in Maria Stella Calò Mariani, ed., *Il cammino di Gerusalemme* (Atti del II Convegno Internazionale di Studio, Bari-Brindisi-Trani, 18–22 maggio 1999) (Rotte mediterranee della cultura. 2) (Bari, 2002), pp. 29, 36.

[66] *Statuti marittimi*, pp. 74–75, par. 5. In 1184, the sailing of a Genoese ship from Acre was delayed until 18 October: *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, trans. Ronald J.C. Broadhurst (London, 1952), pp. 326–27.

[67] For the timing and duration of sailings between Italy and the Levant, which did not basically change over the centuries, see Pryor, *Geography*, pp. 1–6, 36, 51–53; also Fincati, "Splendore e decadenza," pp. 171–74, on a pilgrim ship sailing in 1408 for 33 days from Venice to Jaffa and for 62 days on the return journey.

[68] See above, p. 400.

[69] *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 2:242, par. XXI/II, a rule adopted in 1264.

[70] A resolution of 1254 considers the same issue with respect to all state officials abroad: *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, II, pp. 294–95, par. XV/I.

of interest to the government (par. 9). These would range from state affairs to trade and shipping and issues regarding specific individuals. Intelligence gathering during the voyage was one of the shipmasters' multiple functions.

The operation of state-owned *naves* engaging in profit-yielding ventures raises two questions. Why did the Commune consider it necessary to create its own transportation service, which competed with Venetian private enterprise, and why precisely between Venice and Acre? Several factors may explain its establishment and preservation over the years: the crucial importance of Acre within Venice's maritime trading network, abundantly illustrated, the special requirements of the Venetian quarter in that city, the particular conditions arising in Acre as a result of the fierce competition between Venice and Genoa and, finally, the Muslim threat to the city. These factors are illustrated by the dispatch to Acre of building materials, as well as military and naval equipment from the state arsenal in Venice. Timber, lime and stone were kept in the Commune's storerooms in Acre, according to a report of 1244.[71] Around July 1256, at a time of tense relations between Venetians and Genoese in the city, the Venetian bailo stationed there leased crossbows and other weapons, either for the defence of the quarter or of Venetian ships.[72] In 1286, it was decided to send to Acre 72 tons of ashlars and corbels for the repair and embellishment of the Venetian *fondaco* and other public buildings in the Venetian quarter.[73] Thirty to forty anchors delivered by the state arsenal in Venice were transferred to Acre in August 1288 in order to be leased in case of bad weather to Venetian ship operators, in return for a deposit.[74] The loans taken in the 1280s in Acre to cover defence needs suggest the additional dispatch of military gear from Venice.[75]

Instead of relying upon private vessels, the state must have used its own *naves* for the shipping of materials, weapons and naval equipment to Acre. The yearly round trip of a single round ship began at an unknown date before 1270 and presumably continued until the loss of the city to the Muslims in 1291, as implied by the evidence just adduced for the last decade of Frankish rule. The operation of the vessel was handled as a commercial enterprise. The Commune offered space for private goods on board. The priority it enjoyed over private vessels with respect to transportation (par. 4), combined with apparently attractive freight rates, ensured a full cargo. In addition, the shipmasters were expected to invest in commercial

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[71] Oliver Berggötz, *Der Bericht des Marsilio Zorzi. Codex Querini-Stampalia IV3 (1064)*. Kieler Werkstücke, Reihe C: Beiträge zur europäischen Geschichte des frühen und hohen Mittelalters, herausgegeben von Hans E. Mayer, 2 (Frankfurt am Main, 1990), p. 177.

[72] *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 2:352, par. I/I. On the background, see David Jacoby, "New Venetian Evidence on Crusader Acre," in Peter Edbury and Jonathan Phillips, eds., *The Experience of Crusading*, II, *Defining the Crusader Kingdom* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 240–46.

[73] *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 3:151, par. 82.

[74] *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 3:213, par. 104. On the background, see David Jacoby, "Venetian Anchors for Crusader Acre," *The Mariner's Mirror*, 71 (1985), 5–12, repr. in idem, *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 1997), no. XII.

[75] On these loans, see above, n. 64.

ventures any available state funds collected as freight, after deducting their own salaries prior to the return voyage.[76] They purchased goods that were carried on the ship, sold them, and engaged in other profitable transactions (pars. 1, 5). The transfer of state funds invested in goods rather than cash from overseas to Venice appears to have been quite common in the 1280s. This profit-yielding practice is attested in 1284 by the *commissio* of the Venetian consul in Alexandria and by instructions sent to the Venetian bailo in Constantinople in the following year.[77] The duties of the shipmasters of the state-owned *naves* were far more extensive. Their conduct of commercial and financial transactions overseas was aimed at increasing the profitability of the ships' journeys. This was undoubtedly one of the most original and interesting features in the latter's operation.

The state-owned round ships involved in commercial sailings were replaced by state-owned galleys after the fall of the crusader states of the Levant in 1291. These galleys seem to have been sailing to Ayas by 1294.[78] In any event, they are duly attested by 1301.[79] The regulations of 1302 issued by the Venetian Senate for their operation reflect some important changes with respect to those previously applied to the state-owned *naves*.[80] Apparently, in the 1330s the state entirely ceased its direct involvement in commercial sailings.[81] Instead, it favoured the lease or auction of its own galleys to private operators. The auction of the *galere da mercato*, successfully developed since 1301, ultimately became the favoured system implemented by Venice for the transportation of specific categories of goods in long-distance maritime trade.[82]

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[76] This was the time when the last investments could be made.

[77] See Jacoby, "Le consulat vénitien d'Alexandrie," pp 469–70, and document, p 471, par. 1; and *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 3:116–17, pars. 128, 132.

[78] *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 3:368, par. 72, does not explicitly refer to state-owned galleys, as implied by Stöckly, *Le système de l'incanto,* p. 122.

[79] *Le deliberazioni del Consiglio dei Rogati*, 1: 43–44, par. 159.

[80] *Le deliberazioni del Consiglio dei Rogati*, 1: 63–65, par. 226. These changes cannot be discussed here.

[81] Lane, "Merchant Galleys," p. 198, n. 8.

[82] Stöckly, *Le système de l'incanto,* pp. 49–50.

Appendix

The promissio *of a Venetian shipmaster serving on a state-owned* navis*, 10 August 1282.*[83]

Venice, Archivio di Stato, Miscellanei atti diplomatici e privati, b. 7, perg. n. 235.

1. Iuro ad evangelia sancta Dei proficuum et honorem Veneciarum in hoc facto,[84] et quod simul cum socio meo, navem comunis de qua sum patronus cum omnibus suis corredis et sarcis et totum havere et bona comunis que habebo et ad manus meas pervenerint[85] et bona et havere mercatorum que in ipsa nave fuerint bona fide sine fraude custodiam et salvabo et regam melius et utilius sicut michi videbitur.
2. Et si quod nauliçandum fuerit in ipsa nave, nauliçabo ad melius quam potero pro utilitate comunis, salvo quod mercatores qui cum presenti mudua veniunt [de] Accon tenentur et debent ponere in dicta nave medium milliarium pro cantario et unum cantarium pro milliario librarum. Et illi de Jatia similiter ponere tenentur totidem in dicta navi, et debent solvere pro quolibet cantario biçançios sex ad racionem soldorum viginti quatuor pro quolibet biçançio. Et hoc idem tenentur solvere illi qui erunt [in] Accon, qui cum ipsa navi Venecias venerint.
3. Et non debet poni in ipsa navi oleum, mel [vel] pilum bichi in pena perdendi quod posuerint. De toto autem ferro, ramo et stagno quod portabitur ponere debeant medietatem in ipsa navi comunis, de quo solvere debeant pro uno quoque milliario[86] grossos sex.
4. Nulla enim persona sive aliquis non possit habere locum in navi predicta a quatuor cantariis infra, et quod nulla alia navis vel lignum nauliçare debet donec navis predicta comunis ad plenum fuerit nauliçata.
5. Et havere comunis implicabo, si quod habuero, in illis mercibus et robis que pro utilitate comunis videbuntur, et ipsas vendam vel vendi faciam sicut pro utilitate comunis melius apparebit.
6. Et ego vel socius meus debemus dormire omni nocte in navi nisi occasione infirmitatis remanserit, et in die eciam in ipsa navi habitabo et stabo sicut fuerit opportunum.
7. Et omnia precepta que michi dominus dux cum suo consilio et ordinamenta pro factis ipsius navis michi fecerit vel fieri fecerit, studiosus ero bona fide attendere et observare.

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[83] The scribe often errs in the interpretation of abbreviations, in grammatical forms and in spelling. I have only corrected mistakes that may impair the understanding of the text.

[84] The word has here the meaning of 'enterprise'.

[85] Ms. pervenerit.

[86] Ms. miliaro.

8. Item postquam navis predicta Venecias redierit superstabo et intendam ad facta dicte navis quousque fuerit discaricata.
9. Astrictus sum de prode et honore Veneciarum eundo, stando et redeundo usque ad quintumdecimum diem post meam reversionem in Venecias, infra quos teneor dicere domino duci et suo consilio quicquid sciam esse utile comuni Veneciarum, tam si inde interrogatus fuero quam non.
10. In predictis vel aliquo predictorum amicum non iuvabo nec inimico nocebo per fraudem, et servicium ista occasione non tollam nec tolli faciam, et si tultum[87] pro me fuerit faciam quam citius[88] sciero et potero reddi.
11. Et quicquid recipiam pro facto ipsius navis ordinate cum socio meo scribam in meo quaterno, et socius meus similiter in suo quaterno scribere debet.
12. Et infra quindecim dies postquam Venecias venero, de omnibus que habuero et ad manus meas pervenerint ad comunem Veneciarum pertinentibus reddam et faciam racionem domino duci et consilio vel illis qui prefuerint ad recipiendum raciones comunis, et facta racione dabo et consignabo in manibus camerariorum comunis secundum formas consiliorum.
13. Debeo habere pro meo salario libras centum et quinquaginta pro hoc viatico, quas recipiam de hiis que recepero pro naulo dicte[89] navis. Nec aliud possum vel debeo ista occasione de cantariis vel de aliqua alia re ullo modo vel ingenio habere.[90]
14. Et est sciendum quod postquam iuravero teneor et debeo intendere et superstare laborerium navis,[91] sicut fuerit opportunum.
15. Item postquam navis transierit molum Sancti Nicolai teneor et debeo dormire in navi et stare in die eciam, ego vel socius meus.
16. Item habebo curam et sollicitudinem quod nullus scutifer aliquam casellam possit in navi portare vel ponere, et si posuerit, faciam quod perdat ex toto, et nullus mercator possit dictam casellam vel aliquam tansare, quin perdatur.
17. Preterea debeo esse ad accipiendum marinarios opportunos pro navi, sicut utilius fieri poterit et utilius pro comuni, cum illis personis que constitute erunt propter hoc.
18. Item recipiam a patronis arsane navim, sarcia et alia ad navem spectancia in scriptis cum socio meo, et in reditu meo resignabo omnia ordinate ipsis patronis.
19. Item teneor et debeo facere bruscari navim comunis de qua sum patronus infra unum mensem postquam iuncxerim ad portum Accon, quam cicius potero, usque ad columbam.
20. Item teneor et debeo retinere marinarios in navi et non dare licenciam eis exeundi de navi, nisi iustam et manifestam occasionem in eis esse cognovero.

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87 [*Sic.*], apparently from Italian 'tolto', verb 'togliere'.
88 Ms. cito.
89 Ms. dicte dicte.
90 Ms. habere, above the line.
91 Ms. navium.

Et si quis fuerit qui sine licencia mea vel socii mei de navi exierit, accipiam ei soldos quinque pro qualibet vice qua exiverit, et si michi videbitur maiorem penam, imponam,[92] et dictas penas accipiam, omni occasione remota.

21. Item faciam et ordinabo quod marinarii faciant sentinam navis secundum quod michi videbitur et in illa pena que michi videbitur, quam penam excuciam sicut per me imposita fuerit.
22. Item teneor et debeo superstare ad laborerium navis quando bruscabitur et calcabitur continuo in die, ego vel socius meus, et habere debeo qualibet die qua stabo quartam biçançii, et si non stetero ut dictum est, perdere debeo de bursa mea unam quartam biçançii.
23. Item ero studiosus ad faciendum discaricari navim quam cicius fieri poterit.
24. Item teneor et debeo facere observari formam consilii que talis est: Capta est pars in maiori consilio quod omnes mercatores qui vadunt per mare, quando erunt in portu sive splaça, quando eis custodia advenerit, non possint[93] vel debeant[94] facere fieri guardam pro[95] se nisi pro necessitate persone, in pena librarum viginti quinque, et si illi qui contrafecerint noluerint solvere penam, precipiant eis patroni ut[96] solvant, sub pena aliorum soldorum centum. Et si patroni[97] non poterint excutere quod dictum est, quando Venecias venerint teneantur dicere advocatoribus comunis, et advocatores comunis postea teneantur ipsam penam excutere infra quindecim dies postquam eis dictum erit.
25. Et debeat esse quarta pars hominum ligni pro[98] dicta custodia, videlicet duo in pupi et duo in proda, et quantum steterint in portu debeant dormire vestiti et calciati sub dicta pena, et hoc intelligatur de mercatoribus de .XV. annis supra.
26. Et est sciendum quod de biçançiis qui debent solvi pro cantariis que tollentur in Accon, debeo et teneor accipere sex biçançios de auro pro cantario.
27. Item est sciendum quod dictis cantariis superfluis que non possit navis recipere, hic modus debet teneri quam debent per ratam partiri.
28. Item patroni navis predicte comunis habeant libertatem, quod si debuerint recipere plura cantaria de eo quod viderint navem posse recipere, emovendi[99] cantaria marinariorum et eciam de illis de mercatoribus.

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[92] Ms. imponam, first syllable added above the line.
[93] Ms. possit.
[94] Ms. debeat.
[95] Ms. per; corrected here according to a resolution of 1269: *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, 2:58, par. LV.
[96] Ms. ne; for the correction, see previous note.
[97] Ms. patrotroni.
[98] Ms. quod; for the correction, see above, n. 95.
[99] Ms. emendi.

29. Et si contingerit patronos[100] non habere pecuniam pro emovendis[101] ipsis cantariis opportunis, quod ipsi habeant commissionem accipiendi pecuniam mutuo a soldis .XXXV. infra pro quolibet biçançio.
30. Et est sciendum quod addi debeat in capitulare nauclerii ipsius navis quod teneantur accusare patronos [et] omnes marinarios qui non dormient in navi.

Factum fuit hoc capitulare currenti anno domini millesimo ducentesimo octuagesimo secundo, die decimo augusti decime indictionis.

[100] Ms. patrono.
[101] Ms. emendis.

The Testimony of Brother Henry Danet and the Trial of the Templars in Ireland

Helen J. Nicholson

The testimony of Brother Henry Danet, commander of the Templars in Ireland, was unique among Templar testimonies given during the trial of the order. He was the only Irish brother to make statements during his first interrogation that supported some of the charges against the order. His testimony was transmitted to the inquisitors responsible for the trial in England and included in the collection of testimonies taken from third parties; and in the final summaries produced of the trial in the British Isles it was presented as a confession. However, in fact Brother Henry did not confess to anything. Instead, referring back to his experiences in the East, he made allegations against the brothers of the order in Syria and in Cyprus, specifically those who originated from the Iberian Peninsula. In contrast, two of the friars in Ireland who gave evidence against the Templars claimed that Brother Henry had been a special favourite of the master, Jacques de Molay, and that as a reward for his services the master had made him commander of Ireland for life. The purpose of this paper is to examine these testimonies in the light of actual events in the East and the political situation in Ireland to establish the basis, if any, for Brother Henry's statements and for the friars' hostility against him.

Neither the Templars' testimonies in Ireland nor the allegations made against the order in Ireland have been published in full. A summary was published by David Wilkins in 1737, which omitted most of Brother Henry's testimony, while the allegations made against him by two friars were in one case mis-transcribed and in the other omitted completely.[1] Although early studies of the trial in Ireland relied on Wilkins' summarised version of the testimonies,[2] more recent studies, such as the M.Phil. thesis of Martin Messinger (1988), have been based on the manuscript.[3] To

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[1] *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, ed. David Wilkins, vol. 2 (London, 1737), pp. 358 (the London summary), 376, 378, hereafter cited as 'Wilkins'.

[2] Herbert Wood, "The Templars in Ireland," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* C 25 (1906–07), 363–75; M.H. MacInerny, "The Templars in Ireland," *The Irish Ecclesiastical Review* 5th series 11 (1913), pp. 225–45.

[3] Martin Messinger, "The Trial of the Knights Templar in Ireland," unpublished M.Phil. thesis (University College Dublin, 1988). At the time of writing I had not yet seen M.B. Callan, "'No such art in this land': Heresy and Witchcraft in Ireland, 1310–1360," unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Northwestern University, Evanston IL, 2002). For the inventories of Templar properties in Ireland, see: G. MacNiocaill, "Documents relating to the Suppression of the Templars in Ireland," *Analecta hibernica*, 24 (1967), 183–226.

the best of my knowledge no full study of Henry Danet's testimony has previously been published.

The case against the Templars was summed up by Pope Clement V in his bull of 12 August 1308, *Faciens misericordiam*:

> Magister, preceptores et alii fratres ordinis milicie Templi Jherosolimitanj et eciam ipse ordo, qui ad defensionem Patrimonii eiusdem domini nostri ihesu christi fuerant in Transmarinis partibus deputati, contra ipsum dominum in scelus apostasie nephandum detestabile ydolatrie vicium execrabile facinus sodomorum et hereses varias erant lapsi.[4]

King Edward II of England sent instructions on 20 December 1307 to John Wogan, his justiciar in Ireland, to arrest the Templars, make an inventory of their possessions, and keep the Templars in custody but not in vile prison until such time as he should order otherwise. The writ reached the justiciar on 25 January 1308, and the Templars were arrested on 3 February 1308.[5] The trial, however, did not begin for another two years. The *inquisitores pravitatis heretice* sent by Pope Clement V to conduct the trial in England, Scotland and Ireland were Deodatus, abbot of Lagny in the diocese of Paris, and Sicard de Vaur, canon of Narbonne and papal chaplain, who arrived in England in mid-September 1309.[6] They did not proceed to Ireland themselves but appointed judges-delegate: "Thomas [de Chaddesworth], decanus Dubliniensis, Buidum de Bandmell., Sancti Pauli, Florenc. dyocesis ac Johannem Balla, Clonfertensis, ecclesiarum canonicos," who received a royal safe conduct on 29 September 1309.[7]

The Irish interrogations were based on a short list of around eighty-five charges against the Templars that was used in episcopal inquiries, such as those in the British Isles and in Aragon.[8] The Irish trial proceedings are recorded in Bodleian

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[4] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 454, fol. 4v; Wilkins, p. 329 (slightly amended).

[5] Wood, "Templars in Ireland," pp. 346–48; Messinger, "The Trial of the Knights Templar in Ireland," pp. 16–17; *Foedera, Conventiones, literae et cuiusque generis Acta Publica inter reges Angliae et alios quos in imperatores, reges, pontifices, principes vel communitates* ... , ed. Thomas Rymer, revised by Robert Sanderson, Adam Clarke and Frederick Holbrooke, vol. 2, part 1, 1307–1327 (London, 1818), p. 23; *Calendar of the Justiciary Rolls, or Proceedings in the Court of the Justiciar of Ireland, I to VII years of Edward II*, ed. Herbert Wood and Albert E. Langman, revised by Margaret C. Griffith (Dublin, 1956), pp. 23–24.

[6] Messinger, "The Trial of the Knights Templar in Ireland," p.17; *Foedera*, ed. Rymer, 2.1:88; MS Bod. 454, fol. 1r (Wilkins, p. 329); Vatican Library, MS Armarium XXXV, 147, fol. 1v.

[7] Quoted by MacInerny, "Templars in Ireland," p. 245; Wood, "Templars in Ireland," p. 351; Messinger, "The Trial of the Knights Templar in Ireland," p.17; *Foedera*, ed. Rymer, 2.1:93; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, prepared under the Superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Rolls. Edward II. AD 1307–1313* (London, 1894), p. 192, hereafter cited as *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, AD 1307–1313*.

[8] The short list of charges appears in MS Bod. 454, fols. 7r–8v, and was printed by Wilkins, pp. 331–33. A longer list, comprising some 127 charges, was used in France by the papal commissioners, in the papal states, in Brindisi and on Cyprus: see *Der Untergang des Templer-ordens mit urkundlichen und kritischen Beiträgen*, ed. Konrad Schottmüller, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1887), vol. 2, pp. 119–24. For use of these different versions of the charges, see: Anne Gilmour-Bryson, *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus:*

Library manuscript Bodley 454 fols 134r–155, but this omits the year when events took place. The first date given is on fol. 143r, where it is noted that the date of Brother Richard de Burthesham's first testimony was 6 February. Herbert Wood judged that this must have been 1310.[9] The final date in the trial proceedings is 6 June (fol. 155); on 14 July 1310 King Edward II granted safe conduct through Ireland to the three judges-delegate in Ireland.[10] It would be reasonable to assume that this safe conduct was to allow them to return to England on the completion of their investigations.[11]

All the Templars in Ireland were interrogated three times. In the course of the first set of interrogations, several brothers amended their testimonies, but except for the commander, Henry Danet (whose cognomen was also written as "Tanet" and "Hanet")[12] none said anything that indicated that the brothers were heretics, although some did appear ill-informed or confused over the order's procedures regarding confession and penance.[13] When Brother William de Kilros, the only chaplain of the order in Ireland, was interrogated a fourth time, he made statements that could be interpreted to confirm some of the charges against the order, but in fact proved nothing.[14] In contrast, Henry Danet's testimony contained much information that interested the inquisitors.

Brother Henry Danet indicated that he himself had never committed any of the heretical actions described in the charges, but that other brothers of the order had done so. He had heard that "frater Hugo de Empures qui fuerat loco marescalli apud Tortosam" had left the castle when it was captured, abandoned Christianity and joined the sultan of Egypt.[15] He had also heard that a certain commander of Chastel Pèlerin had received many brothers in a ceremony involving the denial of Christ,

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A Complete English Edition (Leiden, 1998), p. 9 and note 37; Alan Forey, *The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon* (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 79, 106–7 note 30; Alan Forey, "The Charitable Activities of the Templars," *Viator*, 34 (2003), 114.

[9] Wood, "The Templars in Ireland," 354.

[10] *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, AD 1307–1313*, p. 267.

[11] In any case, Henry Danet probably gave his testimony before 16 April 1311. This is the only date in the section of MS Bod. 454 which contains the English third-party testimonies against the Order (fols. 91r–100r; Wilkins, pp. 358–64), including a summary of his testimony at fol. 91r–v: the date occurs on fol. 98v (Wilkins, p. 362).

[12] Hanet: MS Bod. 454 fols. 148r, 149v; Tanet: MS Bod. 454 fol. 151v. Wilkins read 'Tanet' throughout: pp. 358, 376.

[13] The testimonies have been briefly analysed by Messinger, "Trial of the Knights Templar in Ireland," pp. 25–43.

[14] MS Bod. 454 fol. 150r (Wilkins, p. 377, with some differences): "dicit quod quando magnus magister audit confessionem fratris alicuius dicti ordinis precepit fratri capellano eum absolvere a peccatis suis, quamvis capellanus confessionem fratrum non audivit." If this was true, it would indicate sloppy procedures within the order but error of ignorance rather than heresy. "Item dicit quod quidem frater dicti ordinis moram trahens apud Killofan cuius nomen ignorat fuerat sodomititus + positus erat in firmaria apud Killofan + ibidem moriebatur." But as Brother William did not name the brother at Kilsaran, his testimony appears to be hearsay rather than fact.

[15] MS Bod. 454, fol. 139v; Wilkins omits; see also the summary on MS Bod. 454, fol. 91r and Wilkins, p. 358.

but he did not know any names.[16] Again, he himself believed fully and correctly in the sacraments of the Church, but at a chapter meeting in Cyprus he had seen a Brother Hugh de la Roche who did not believe in the sacraments, and who was punished by imprisonment as a result.[17] He also saw many brothers from Catalonia and the kingdom of Portugal who did not believe in the sacraments of the Church.[18] He did believe that the grand master, visitor and commanders of the order could release brothers of the order from performing the penances enjoined on them by their chaplains,[19] but did not state that he himself, as commander of Ireland, had ever done this. He did believe that there was suspicion against the order and had often heard from lay people that in chapter meetings one of the brothers was killed, but added that this was not true.[20] He had never heard of any brother adoring a head as charged, but he had heard that a certain brother from Catalonia possessed a bronze head with two faces that would answer questions put to it, although he did not make use of it. Indeed, Brother Henry knew that many lay people in that region possessed such heads for answering questions and did make use of them.[21] However, when he was asked why the brothers had failed to correct the errors within the order, he replied that he did not believe such errors existed and had never heard of such errors: "Respondit quod non credebat tales errores esse + quod nunquam scivit vel audivit de talibus erroribus."[22] When asked about the origin of the alleged errors, he said that they had come from the aforesaid commander of Syria and Brother Hugh "de Empures": "Respondit quod predicti errores haberunt eorum a preseptore de Ciria + ab illo fratere Hugone predico pro eo quod conversabatur cum Saudano babilione ut audivit."[23]

Brother Henry's testimony presents two centres of interest: first, he attributed heretical behaviour to brothers at the order's central convent in the East and in particular to brothers from the Iberian Peninsula; and second, his testimony was inconsistent, first attributing errors to brothers overseas and then denying that there were any errors within the order.

Although Brother Henry had not confessed to any heretical behaviour himself, his claim that many of the Templars of the central convent were guilty of the charges against the order supported the inquisitors' attempt to demonstrate that even though the Templars in the British Isles denied heresy they were nevertheless guilty. All the brothers in the British Isles agreed that they followed a single admission ceremony and obeyed the commands of the grand master and convent, but as the grand master

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[16] MS Bod. 454, fols. 139v–140r; Wilkins omits; see also the summary on MS Bod. 454, fol. 91r and Wilkins, p. 358.

[17] MS Bod. 454, fol. 140r; Wilkins omits.

[18] MS Bod. 454, fol. 140r; Wilkins omits.

[19] MS Bod. 454, fol. 140r, 141r; Wilkins omits.

[20] MS Bod. 454, fol. 141r; Wilkins omits.

[21] MS Bod. 454, fol. 141r; Wilkins omits; see also MS Bod. 454 fol. 91r; Wilkins, p. 358.

[22] MS Bod. 454, fol. 141v; Wilkins omits.

[23] MS Bod. 454, fol. 141v; Wilkins omits.

had confessed to the charges against the order, all the brothers of the British Isles must therefore be guilty.[24] A summary of Brother Henry's testimony was included with the third-party evidence against the order assembled by the inquisitors in London, setting out four crucial points: Brother Hugh "de Empures"'s apostasy; the commander of Chastel Pèlerin who allegedly used an heretical admission ceremony; the allegation that many brothers in Cyprus had heretical beliefs about the sacraments of the Church; and the allegation that a Templar possessed a bronze head with two faces that answered questions. They omitted, however, the story about a brother being killed at chapter meetings.[25] In both the final summaries of the trial, one of which was sent to Pope Clement V for the council of Vienne (1311–12), Brother Henry's testimony was quoted as if it were a confession: [quidam preceptor Castri Pelerini] "multos fratres recepit sub dicta abnegacione" (MS Bod. 454, fol. 140r) became in the summaries "multos fratres fuisse receptos cum abnegacione,"[26] corresponding to Henry Danet's testimony. "Vidit etiam quamplures fratres dicti ordinis et maxime de Catelonie de Regno Portugalie qui non bene credebant sacramento altaris nec aliis sacramentis" (MS Bod. 454, fol. 140r) became in the final summary: "Item, quidam Templarius Angliae receptus in Anglia, qui dicit quod vidit quam plures fratres dicti ordinis qui non bene credebant sacramento altaris nec aliis sacramentis. Item, quod multi ex fratribus non bene credebant ut vidit & audivit."[27] But his evidence was not always quoted precisely. The final summary of the proceedings stated: "quod quidam praeceptor & fratres per eos recepti adorabant idolum,"[28] which is not exactly what Henry Danet said. The summary of his testimony recorded in the London proceedings and his original testimony stated more cautiously that he had never heard that any brother adored idols, except the commander and brother Hugh and the brothers they had received.[29]

Brother Henry's evidence indicated that he was innocent even though others were guilty. However, two of the friars who gave evidence in Ireland indicated that Brother Henry was guilty of bringing the grand master's heretical influence into Ireland.

Brother Richard de Balybyn, former minister of the Order of Friars Preacher in the whole of Ireland and *lector* of the order, was one of the witnesses present while the Irish Templars gave their testimonies.[30] He himself also gave evidence against

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[24] MS Bod. 454, fols. 151r–153v; Wilkins, pp. 378–79 (many omissions).

[25] MS Bod. 454, fol. 91r–v; Wilkins, p. 358.

[26] London, British Library, Additional MS 5444, fol. 175r (published as: "Annales Londonienses," ed. William Stubbs, in: *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, ed. William Stubbs, Rolls Series 76, 2 vols. (London, 1882), 1:3–251, at 181); see also Vatican, MS Armarium XXXV, 147, fol. 1v (published as "Deminutio laboris examinantium processus contra ordinem templi in Anglia, quasi per modum rubricarum," in: *Der Untergang des Templer-ordens mit urkundlichen und kritischen Beiträgen*, ed. Konrad Schottmüller, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1887), 2:78–102, at 79).

[27] London, British Library, Add. MS fol. 181r ("Annales Londonienses", p. 187).

[28] London, British Library, Add. MS fol. 187r ("Annales Londonienses", p. 193).

[29] MS Bod. 454, fols. 91v,141r; Wilkins, p. 358 (omits second reference).

[30] MS Bod. 454, fol. 135r; Wilkins, p. 374.

the order. Although he did not know anything definite in support of the charges in Ireland, he believed that they were guilty:

> vehementer contra eos suspicatur quod talia fecerant pro eo quod magnus magister ordinis + nonnulli eiusdem ordinis preceptores in bulla papali contentes fatebantur quod uniformis est modus ubique in ordine admittendi aliquos in fratres, + idem modus profitendi in ordine, + statuta + ordinaciones que ordinantur pro magnum magistrum + suum Conventum debent per universum orbem in suo ordine observari.[31]

As for Brother Henry Danet:

> Interrogatus si frater Henricus de Tanet magnus preceptor in Hibernia sit participes criminis illius heresis de quo premittitur: dicit quod suspicatur et opinatur vehementer quod idem frater Henricus sit conscius + participes criminis illius pro eo quod idem frater Henricus iuxta confessionem propriam per annum + amplius fuit socius collateralis + concubilaris magni magistri ordinis in partibus transmarinis, a quo magnum honorem equitata vestibus + in alio apparatu necnon + tocius ordinis in Hibernia ad vitam suam si placuerit recepit et optinuit.[32]

Brother Henry was guilty by association: because he had been in the East he was associated with the heresy to which the grand master had confessed. However, Brother Richard Balybyn said more than Brother Henry stated in his testimony, claiming that Brother Henry had been the grand master's *socius*, which meant his official aide.[33] In fact there is no surviving evidence to support this claim.[34] The friar claimed that Brother Henry had been more than simply an administrative assistant: he had been "socius collateralis + concubilaris." "Collateralis" means a helper, associate or confidential official; "concubilaris" may relate to "concubicularis," a room mate, or it may refer to "cubilaris," which means an estate or a resting place – the prefix "con" implies sharing. Brother Richard Balybyn indicated that Brother Henry's relationship to the grand master was very close, as if Brother Henry had been a personal servant, sleeping in his master's bedchamber. As a reward for his labours he had received many gifts, including command over the whole order in Ireland for his lifetime, if he wished.

Brother Roger, prior of the Austin friars in Ireland, gave evidence similar to that of Brother Richard Balybyn. Asked whether he believed the Templars to be guilty, he replied:

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[31] MS Bod. 454, fol. 151v; Wilkins omits.

[32] MS Bod. 454, fol. 151v; Wilkins, p. 378, mistranscribed part of this passage.

[33] On the grand master's *socii* in the kingdom of Jerusalem in the twelfth century, see *La règle du Temple*, ed. Henri de Curzon (Paris, 1886), sections 79, 86, 98, 368; *The Rule of the Templars*, trans. J.M. Upton-Ward (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 39–40, 44, 101. On the grand master's *socii* in the Order of the Hospital in the fifteenth century, see Jürgen Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft im Johanniterorden des 15 Jahrhunderts. Verfassung und Verwaltun der Johanniter auf Rhodos (1421–1522)* (Münster, 2001), pp. 35, 253, 264–65, 591.

[34] My thanks to Alain Demurger for this point.

> credit eos esse verisimiliter reos culpabiles in crimine heresi tum propter confessionem in iudicio factam per fratrem Henricum Danet magnum preceptorem in Hibernia cum aliis fratribus suis, qui confessatus est in presencia sua unam esse professionem tocius ordinis + id quod magnus magister cum conventu suo ordinaverat per totum orbem in illo ordine observabatur, que professio + observanciones sunt detestabiles ut apparet in bulla, maxime de fratre Henrico Danet qui conservabatur cum magno magistro per annum + amplius valde specialiter + familiariter qui recognovit prout bulla testatur se conmisisse illa nephanda crimina in bulla contenta, + idem frater Henricus creatus fuit per dictum magnum magistrum + magnum preceptorem in Hibernia.[35]

Again, he was arguing that the brothers were guilty because they had a single profession and obeyed a grand master who had confessed to heretical beliefs and practices. Brother Roger noted that the grand master had admitted committing "illa nephanda crimina" that were listed in the papal bull *Faciens misericordiam*, while Brother Henry had been with the grand master for a year and more, "specialiter et familiariter," and the grand master created him commander of Ireland. Brother Roger's testimony hinted that Brother Henry Danet had not only shared a room with the grand master, but had committed sodomy with him; his promotion was a reward for his service.

How did these accusations arise? As by his own admission he had been in the East, at the order's central convent, if the Templars were guilty as charged then Brother Henry must have encountered the alleged heretical practices within the order. Yet he was not the only brother in Ireland who had been in the East. Brother Richard de Burchesham or Burthesham had been received in Tripoli, in Syria,[36] yet had nothing to say about such practices in the East.

Were Brother Henry's accusations against the brothers in Cyprus true? The grand master had confessed to heretical practices.[37] However, the trial in Cyprus produced no confessions from the Templars, and in addition no evidence of heresy produced against the order by outsiders.[38] Although Brother Henry specifically named brothers from Catalonia as guilty of not believing in the sacraments, none of the Templars interrogated in the kingdom of Aragon (of which Catalonia formed part) confessed to the charges, even under torture.[39] In fact, the trial in the Iberian Peninsula produced no evidence of Templar guilt.[40] It appears that Brother Henry's accusations were baseless.

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[35] MS Bod. 454, fol. 153r–v; Wilkins omits.

[36] *Tryple*: MS Bod. 454, fol. 134r; Messinger, "Trial of the Knights Templar in Ireland," p. 26; Wilkins, p. 373, reads *Trypel*.

[37] See, for example, Heinrich Finke, *Papsttum und Untergang des Templerordens*, 2 vols. (Münster, 1907), 2:324–29, no. 154; summarised in MS Bod. 454, fols. 2v–3v; Wilkins, p. 330.

[38] *Untergang des Templerordens*, ed. Schottmüller, 2, pp.147–400; Gilmour-Bryson, *Trial of the Templars in Cyprus*, esp. pp. 30–31 on the "vague though unsubstantiated remarks" by the prior of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.

[39] Forey, *Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon*, pp. 86–87.

[40] For the interrogations of the Templars in the Iberian Peninsula, see (for example) Josep Maria Sans i Travé, *La Defensa dels Templers Catalans: Cartes de fra Ramon de Saguàrdia durant el setge de*

Brother Henry specifically mentioned a Brother Hugh "de Empures," lieutenant-marshal, who had been in charge of the castle of Tortosa in Syria and abandoned it to a Muslim besieger. A Brother Hugh of the Temple, son of the *conte d'Enpures* (count of Ampurias), had been captured by the Muslims at Tripoli in 1289. Perhaps he was later ransomed, for the so-called 'Templar of Tyre' (actually the former secretary of grand master William de Beaujeu) recorded that, in 1302, the Templars surrendered the island of Ruad (otherwise known as Arwad, just off Tortosa) to the Mamluks on the advice of Brother Hugh *d'Enpure*. The Mamluk commander, who had promised the Templars safe conduct to wherever they wanted to go, broke his word and had them all taken prisoner to Cairo.[41] As Ruad was often known as "the isle of Tortosa," presumably Brother Henry had confused the town with the island and was referring to Brother Hugh of Ampurias's fatal advice to surrender the island. He could have heard this story after he arrived in the East in the winter of 1305–6 (see below). It is possible that it was this incident that led him to depict the Catalans throughout his testimony as bad Christians.

The unnamed commander of Chastel Pèlerin is unidentifiable, but as brothers were received there[42] if there were any truth in the charges against the Templars at least one commander of Chastel Pèlerin should have been guilty of receiving brothers according to the alleged heretical procedures. This story therefore represented what the inquisitors hoped to hear.

Brother Henry's admission that he did believe that the grand master and other lay officials of the order could release brothers from performing penances enjoined on them by clergy fitted into the general pattern of testimonies in the British Isles, which has been examined by Clarence Perkins. Perkins concluded that "the Templars had failed to keep pace with orthodox theological opinion regarding confession and absolution."[43] This, however, was an error of ignorance rather than the malice that would underlie heresy. The case of the unbelieving Hugh de la Roche was not mentioned elsewhere, not even during the testimonies in Cyprus. "De la Roche"

Miravet (Lleida, 2002); Josep Maria Sans i Travé, "L'inedito processo dei Templari in Castiglia (Medina del Campo, 27 aprile 1310)," in *Acri 1291: La fine della presenza degli ordini militari in Terra Santa e i nuovi orientamenti nel XIV secolo*, ed. Francesco Tommasi (Perugia, 1996), pp. 227–64; Josep M. Sans i Travé, *El Procés dels Templers catalans: Entre el turment i la glòria* (Lleida, 1991); Gonzalo Martínez Diez, *Los templarios en la Corona de Castilla* (Burgos, 1993), pp. 192–252; Aurea Javierre Mur, "Aportación al estudio del proceso contra el Temple en Castilla," *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 69 (1961), 47–100. I am indebted to José María Pérez de las Heras for his generosity in supplying me with information about the trial in Spain.

[41] *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243–1314): La caduta degli Stati Crociati nel racconto di un testimone oculare*, ed. Laura Minervini (Naples, 2000), 241 (477), pp. 401–2 (637–8), pp. 198, 310; *The 'Templar of Tyre', Part III of 'Deeds of the Cypriots'*, trans. Paul Crawford (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 101, 161, and notes.

[42] For example, Robertus le Scot (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bod. 454, fol. 46v; Wilkins, p. 345); Petrus Maurini (Jules Michelet, *Procès de Templiers*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1841–51: repr. 1987), 2:238).

[43] Clarence Perkins, "The Trial of the Knights Templars in England," *English Historical Review* 24 (1909), 447.

was not an uncommon cognomen in the order,[44] and a "Hugo de Rocha" was mentioned in France during the hearings before the papal commissioners.[45] Brother Henry's story is not inherently unlikely, but as the order had punished the brother for his fault the story did not support the charges against the order.[46] The story of the Templars killing a brother in general chapter was echoed by four third-party witnesses in the British Isles, one of whom stated that the rumour was untrue.[47]

Brother Henry's account of the Catalan brother possessing a bronze head that answered questions did not confirm the charge against the order, as he stated that the Templar did not adore the head, begging the question of why he raised the point. Malcolm Barber has demonstrated that the concept of the magical head derived from folklore and tradition.[48] Yet Brother Henry's claim that many Catalans possessed such heads for answering questions suggests a more specific origin for this story. While the Catalans were not popularly connected with divination or magical practices during the medieval period, one part of the Iberian Peninsula was: the city of Toledo in the kingdom of Castile. Philippe Verelst has analysed the medieval tradition:

> si l'on en croit les textes littéraires, la magie était donc, au 13e siècle, une discipline qu'on enseignait au même titre que les sept libéraux … Apparemment il n'y avoit qu'un seul endroit, une seule 'faculté' où de célèbres maîtres transmetaient leur savoir à des disciples triés sur le volet: Tolède. [49]

It was in Toledo that in fiction Renaut de Montalbon's ingenious cousin Maugis learnt his magical arts and Eustace the Monk learnt necromancy.[50] The Cistercian preacher Caesarius of Heisterbach depicted Toledo as the foremost place for the study of magic.[51] The reason for this connection was that Toledo possessed a library

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[44] See, for instance, Marie Luise Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae domus militiae Templi Hierosolymitani magistri: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Templarordens 1118/9–1314* (Göttingen, 1974), pp. 245–47; *Untergang des Templerordens*, ed. Schottmüller, 2:170 n. 4, 181, 193, 195, 202.

[45] Michelet, *Procès*, 2:110.

[46] For the order acting against faults see, for example, *Règle du Temple*, section 573; *Rule of the Templars*, p. 148: as the record notes that the master decided not to bring the case to chapter because it was so offensive, it appears that normally such cases were brought before chapter.

[47] MS Bod. 454, fols. 92v, 97r, 153v; Wilkins gives only the last, p. 379. For French accounts in a similar vein, see Malcolm Barber, *The Trial of the Templars* (Cambridge, 1978), p. 182.

[48] Malcolm Barber, "Propaganda in the Middle Ages: the Charges against the Templars," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 17 (1973), 42–57: here 50–54; Barber, *Trial of the Templars*, pp. 185–88; Malcolm Barber, "The Templars and the Turin Shroud," *Catholic Historical Review* 68 (1982), 206–25. For the speaking brazen head as a stock image, see Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science during the first Thirteen Centuries of our Era*, vol. 2 (New York, 1923), p. 825.

[49] Philippe Verelst, "L'art de Tolède ou le huitième des arts libéraux; une approche du merveilleux épique," in *Aspects de l'épopée romane: mentalité, idéologies, intertexualités*, ed. Hans van Dijk and Willem Noomen (Groningen, 1995), pp. 3–41, here p. 11.

[50] Verelst, "L'art de Tolède," pp. 12–13.

[51] *Caesarii Heisterbacensis monachi ordinis Cisterciensis Dialogus miraculorum*, ed. Joseph Strange, vol. 1 (Cologne, 1851), dist. 1, ch. 33, p. 39; dist. 5, ch. 4, p. 279.

containing Greek and Arabic scientific texts, including material on astrology, medicine and magic. Following the capture of the city in 1085 by King Alfonso VI of Castile, many scholars from western Europe went to Spain to study these texts.[52] In addition, King Alfonso X of Castile (1252–84), "the wise," had produced many books of science and magic drawing on classical texts such as those at his capital city of Toledo.[53] The grimoire *Picatrix*, produced for Alfonso X in 1256, contains a number of references to the use of human heads or images of heads in magical rituals for discovering information.[54] Given this connection of the largest Spanish kingdom with magic, and given the story he had already told of a Catalan brother who defected to the Muslims, Brother Henry Danet could have deliberately or through ignorance confused the Castilian reputation as a centre of excellence for the study of magic with his own dislike of their neighbours the Catalans, and hence accused the Catalans of practising magic. Or does his story reflect an otherwise unknown national or linguistic conflict between the brothers in the convent of Cyprus?[55] In any case, this story underlined Brother Henry's argument that the Catalan and other Iberian brothers were guilty of dubious practices, rather than himself.

Why should Brother Henry have been so anxious to produce evidence against his order, while denying any wrongdoing himself? Although Clarence Perkins judged that Brother Henry's "contradictory statements must have been the result of torture,"[56] there is no definite evidence that torture was used against the Templars in Ireland.[57] However, Brother Henry was in a vulnerable position.

He informed the inquisitors that at the next Eve of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary it would be seven years since he had joined the order: "Respondit quod in vigilis Purificationis Beate Marie proximo futuro erunt vij annos."[58] The Purification is 2 February; Brother Henry gave his testimony on 18–25 February 1310, so that the next Purification would be in 1311.[59] If on 1 February 1311 Brother

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[52] Jean Jolivet, "The Arabic Inheritance," in *A History of Twelfth-Century Philosophy*, ed. Peter Dronke (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 113–48; and "Bio-biographies," in ibid., pp. 443–44, 447–54.

[53] Alejandro García Avilés, "Two Astromagical Manuscripts of Alfonso X," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 59 (1996), 14–23.

[54] *Picatrix: the Latin Version of the Ghâyat Al-Hakîm*, ed. David Pingree (London, 1986), III XI 54, 56, pp. 160–61, IV IX 33, p. 229; David Pingree, "Between the Ghâya and Picatrix I: the Spanish Version," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 44 (1981), 27–56: here 27–28; Willy Hartner, "Notes on *Picatrix*," *Isis* 56 (1965), 438–451: here 448–49.

[55] For such conflicts in the Temple's "sister order" of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, see Anthony Luttrell, "Intrigue, Schism and Violence among the Hospitallers of Rhodes: 1377–1384," *Speculum* 41 (1966), 30–48, although here exacerbated by the Great Schism.

[56] Perkins, "Trial of the Knights Templars in England", p. 445.

[57] The contemporary record of the Kilkenny witchcraft trial of 1324 states that one of the lay witnesses, a servant, was repeatedly flogged to force a confession: Anne Neary, "The Origins and Character of the Kilkenny Witchcraft Case of 1324," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* C 83 (1983), 337 and n. 28. Nothing similar was recorded for the Templar trial.

[58] MS Bod. 454, fol. 139v; Wilkins, p. 376.

[59] MS Bod. 454 fols. 141r, 148r; Wilkins, pp. 376–77; Messinger, "Trial of the Knights Templar in Ireland," p. 24.

Henry would have been in the order seven years, he joined on 1 February 1304. He had spent a year and a half in England (until the start of August 1305), then went overseas ("in partibus ultramarinis"), where he spent two and a half years, and finally came to Ireland where, he said, he would have been for three years on 1 February 1311. In this case, he had arrived in Ireland 1 February 1308, only two days before the arrest of the Templars in Ireland. He did not say where he had travelled from. Even though he implied through his comments against Catalans and Portuguese in the East that he had come from Cyprus, if the friars were correct in saying that he had been the grand master's *socius* he must have come from France. Although in contemporary documents the term "ultramarina" used in the West generally meant the eastern Mediterranean, during the trial of the Templars in Ireland all areas outside Ireland were referred to as "ultramarina," so that either location is possible.

Whether he had been at the order's central convent or travelling with the grand master, the friars could reasonably have believed that Brother Henry did know something about the Templars' alleged heretical practices. The Franciscan friars had held their provincial chapter at Dublin in 1309.[60] Martin Messinger suggested that they had discussed the Templars' affair at the chapter and decided that the Templars were a genuine threat to the Church.[61] But the friars had other reasons for wishing to distance themselves from the Templars.

First, in the British Isles the mendicant orders were closely connected with the Templars. The Order of the Temple had very few priests in the British Isles,[62] and it is clear from the trial testimonies that the mendicants performed priestly functions for the Templars.[63] That being the case, they should have known about the Templars' alleged heretical practices and taken action; yet they had done nothing until King Philip IV of France acted against the order in the autumn of 1307. Therefore the mendicants themselves would have been under suspicion for not reporting heresy. In addition, the Franciscan order was already under suspicion of heresy because of the extremism of the spirituals.[64]

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[60] Aubrey Gwynn and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland* (London, 1970), p. 248, quoting *Analecta hibernica* 6 (1934), 2:147.

[61] Messinger, "Trial of the Knights Templar in Ireland," p. 52.

[62] William de Kilros was the only Templar priest in Ireland in 1308, of the fourteen Templars interrogated. In England, Brothers Ralph of Barton, Thomas of Burton, William of Warwick, John of Stoke, John of Waddon, William of Winchester, Ralph of Evesham and Ralph of Ruston were priests (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bod. 454 fols. 13r–v, 36r, 49v, 54r, 106v, 110v, 111r, 126v; Wilkins, pp. 335, 342, 345, 366, 372: two other 'presbyters' on p. 372 are mistranscriptions) while the priest Roger of Stowe (MS Bod. 454 fol. 32r; Wilkins, p. 342) was a former Templar; a total of 108 brothers were interrogated.

[63] See MS Bod. 454 fols. 91v, 92r–v, 94v, 96r, 97r–v, 151r, 153r–v; Wilkins, pp. 359, 378, 379; omits the rest.

[64] Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 2002), pp. 208–26; David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: from Protest to Persecution in the century after Saint Francis* (Philadelphia, 2001), pp. 67–158.

Second, the Irish-born friars had a record of opposition to the English. Niav Gallagher has noted that Nicholas Cusack, bishop of Kildare 1279–99 and a Franciscan, wrote to King Edward I of England, warning him of "secret counsels … and poisonous colloquies which certain insolent religious of the Irish tongue, belonging to various orders, hold with the Irish and their princes."[65] In 1291, the Irish and English Franciscan friars came to blows at their general chapter, and several of them were killed.[66] These ethnic tensions within the Franciscan order lay under the support of some Irish Franciscans for Edward Bruce's invasion of Ireland in 1315.[67] The Dominican friars in Ireland were also composed of both Irish and Anglo-Irish, and from 1285 there is evidence that the Irish Dominicans discriminated against the Anglo-Irish and encouraged rebellion.[68] The Templars in Ireland were either drawn from the Anglo-Irish and Cymro-Irish populations or had come from England.[69] None bore Irish names. Possibly some friars' opposition to them sprang from these ethnic tensions.

Henry Danet had replaced Brother William de Warenne as commander of Ireland. Warenne, who had been master from 1302,[70] was apparently alive at the time of the arrests,[71] but was not interrogated in February 1310. Several of the friars who gave evidence against the Templars in Ireland mentioned Brother William de Warenne and accused him of being making irreligious statements, although he was not accused of the practices identified in the charges against the order.[72] According to the prior of Athassel (Co. Tipperary) in February 1308, the commander of the Temple in Ireland was related to Edmund le Botiller, who was lieutenant justiciar of Ireland from August 1312. The prior was clearly referring to William de Warenne.[73] Possibly Brother William de Warenne was a descendant of William de Warenne IV (d. 1240), earl of Surrey, and Matilda, daughter of Isabel

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[65] Niav Gallagher, "Two Nations, one Order: the Franciscans in Medieval Ireland," *History Ireland* 12.2 (2004), 16–20: here 18–19.

[66] Gallagher, "Two Nations," 19; John Watt, *The Church in Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1972), pp.78–79.

[67] Gallagher, "Two Nations," 20; Watt, *Church in Medieval Ireland*, p. 80.

[68] Watt, *Church in Medieval Ireland*, pp. 64, 78.

[69] Helen Nicholson, "International Mobility versus the Needs of the Realm: The Templars and Hospitallers in the British Isles in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," in *International Mobility in the Military Orders (Twelfth to Fifteenth Centuries): Travelling on Christ's Business*, ed. Jochen Burgtorf and Helen Nicholson (Cardiff, 2006), pp. 87–101.

[70] See Wood, "The Templars in Ireland," p.333; *Calendar of the Justiciary Rolls or Proceedings in the Court of the Justiciar of Ireland Preserved in the Public Record Office of Ireland: Edward I, Part 2, XXXIII to XXXV Years*, ed. James Mills (London, 1914), pp. 291, 292, 334, 357.

[71] He witnessed the taking of the inventory at Clonaul in Co. Tipperary, 3 February 1308: MacNiocaill, "Documents relating to the Suppression of the Templars," 205; noted by Messinger, "Trial of the Knights Templar in Ireland," p. 9.

[72] MS Bod. 454, fols.151r, 153r–v; Wilkins, p. 378.

[73] Wood, "Templars in Ireland," p. 333; *Calendar of the Justiciary Rolls: I to XII years of Edward II*, p. 36. Messinger, "Trial of the Knights Templar in Ireland," argued that Danet was meant, but could find no evidence. References cited in note 70 above indicate that Warenne was still commander in April 1307, indicating that Warenne was meant.

de Clare, countess of Pembroke and William Marshal I. Matilda married first Hugh Bigod, earl of Norfolk, and second William de Warenne IV; her daughter Isabel by the first marriage married John fitz Geoffrey and was the maternal grandmother of Edmund le Botiller.[74] Those friars who opposed the English government could have resented a religious order that had served that government in Ireland[75] and was closely connected to the highest Anglo-Norman nobility of Ireland. In contrast to the friars, it is striking that no members of the Anglo-Norman nobility gave evidence during the Templar trial; out of a total of forty-two witnesses against the order, only four were laymen and none were of noble birth.

Brother Henry Danet was in a difficult position. He had been in the East at some point in his career and should therefore have been familiar with the Templars' alleged heresies. He was an Englishman who had come to Ireland very recently and was thus a stranger in a society where many of the population disliked the English. His testimony could have been intended to satisfy his interrogators while leaving himself apparently innocent.

If this were the case, his testimony had the required effect. The records of the Church council that decided the Templars' case in Ireland have not survived, but in autumn 1312 Brother Henry Danet was released from prison on bail. There is no record of the Irish Templars being sent to monasteries to do penance, as was done in England, but a regular pension was paid to them.[76] Yet, given that Brother Henry's testimony was included in the summary of the trial produced for the Council of Vienne, it may have contributed to the dissolution of his order.

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[74] Robin Frame, *English Lordship in Ireland, 1318–1361* (Oxford, 1982), p. 344; George Edward Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct or Dormant*, new revised ed., ed. Vicary Gibbs, 13 vols. (London, 1910–59), 5:433–34, 9:590, 12.1:502.

[75] Helen Nicholson, "Serving King and Crusade: the Military Orders in Royal Service in Ireland, 1220–1400," in *The Experience of Crusading*, vol. 1: *Western Approaches*, ed. Marcus Bull and Norman Housley (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 233–52: here pp. 236–38.

[76] Wood, "Templars in Ireland," pp. 357–59.

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Images of Saracens on the Pulpit of Santa Croce in Florence

Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby

Many studies published over the past decades by scholars of history, religion, and literature, have examined western medieval and early modern conceptions of non-Christian groups.[1] A source of inspiration for many of these works was Robert Ian Moore's *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250*, which argues that high medieval, spiritual and secular authorities strove to unite Christian society by identifying and humiliating groups considered enemies of the church.[2] Art historians have also contributed in this area, mostly examining Christian representations of Jews and Judaism[3]. An important contribution to this growing field of literature is Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art*, which offers a systematic and comparative overview of the way in which various non-Christian populations were represented. A case in point is a study examining the way in which Christian society perceived Muslims and the effect of such views on their ideas on mission, conversion, and crusade. Leading studies were written by Richard W. Southern, N.A. Randolph and, most prominently, Benjamin Z. Kedar – his *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslim* – and more recently by John Tolan.[4]

In light of this rich scholarship, which usually focuses on the Middle Ages, I am interested in how the mendicant orders in Florence, often considered the most extreme opponents of non-Christians groups, perceived the Saracens. In this short paper, only the beginning of a work in progress, I shall concentrate on a particular monument, a preaching pulpit in the Franciscan church of Santa Croce in Florence, and on images of the Saracens that appear on it. The pulpit will be examined in

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[1] In 2001, *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* dedicated an entire issue to the subject. See Thomas Hahn, ed. "Race and Ethnicity in the Middle Ages," *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31 (2001), 1. Another example is Shulamit Volkov, ed. *Being Different: Minorities, Aliens and Outsiders in History* (Hebrew), (Jerusalem, 2000).

[2] Robert Ian Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250* (Oxford, 1987).

[3] See, for example, Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1993); Sara Lipton, *Images of Intolerance: The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible Moralisee* (Berkeley, 1999)

[4] See Richard W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1962); Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh, 1960); Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton, 1984); John Victor Tolan, ed. *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam* (New York, 1996); John Victor Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York, 2002). See also Edward Said's influential and provocative study that also touches upon the medieval and early modern periods: Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978).

its historical context, and particularly the religious movement of the Osservanza, San Bernardino's preaching, and the political and religious climate following the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. The themes touched upon are stereotypes and imagination, racial difference and religious intolerance, and visual and rhetorical propaganda. (In this paper, I will be using the term "Saracens", used in the period, which carries a negative association typical of that time, rather than the neutral "Muslims", defining a religious group.)[5]

Let us turn now to the Franciscan church in Florence, Santa Croce. Both the Dominicans and the Franciscans settled in Florence at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The Franciscans came first and established themselves in the hospital of San Gallo. In 1221, they acquired the site of Santa Croce, where they began building their church in 1290. Such famous Dominican preachers as Giordano da Pisa (1260–1311), Domenico Cavalca (1270–1342), Iacopo Passavanti (1300–1357), and Giovanni Dominici (1356–1419) dominated activities in Florence in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and early fifteenth centuries. They were replaced by a large group of itinerant Franciscan preachers led by Bernardino da Siena (1380–1444); he preached in Santa Croce in the years 1424–1425, and his school of followers continued preaching in that church throughout the fifteenth century.[6]

The monument under discussion here is a preaching pulpit, created by the celebrated Florentine sculptor Benedetto da Maiano, located on the south side of the church in the third pier of the central nave (Fig. 1). It is an octagonal structure of white gilded marble that includes five narrative reliefs between elegant fluted colonnettes. The narrative panels depict: The Confirmation of the Franciscan Order, The Trial by Fire before the Sultan, the Stigmatization of Saint Francis, the Funeral of Saint Francis, and the Martyrdom of the Franciscans in Morocco. Below the narratives are finely carved consoles with small niches containing statues of the Virtues: Faith, Hope, Charity, Temperance, and Justice. A base with ornamental motifs and the emblem of the donor, Pietro Mellini, completes the structure. The octagonal design of the pulpit is reflected in the pavement and marks the tomb of Pietro and his family. Above it, an octagonal wooden canopy, under which the preacher would have stood, includes a carved emblem of San Bernardino set on a blue background.[7]

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[5] On terminology, see Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, "On Saracens Enjoyment: Some Fantasies of Race in Late Medieval France and England," *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31:1 (2001),113–42.

[6] There is a vast literature on Bernardino da Siena and his legacy. Three recent books are: Franco Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons: Bernardino of Siena and the Social Underworld of Early Renaissance Italy* (Chicago, 1999); Cynthia Louise Polecritti, *Preaching Peace in Renaissance Italy: San Bernardino and His Audience* (Washington, D.C., 2000); Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby, *Renaissance Florence in the Rhetoric of Two Popular Preachers: Giovanni Dominici (1356–1419) and Bernardino da Siena (1380–1444)* (Turnhout, 2001).

[7] On the pulpit of Benedetto da Maiano in Santa Croce, see Doris Carl, "Il pergamo di Benedetto da Maiano in Santa Croce a Firenze," *Giuliano e la bottega dei da Maiano: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Fiesole 13 –15 giugno 1991*, ed. Daniela Lamberini, Marcello Lotti, and Roberto Lunardi (Florence, 1994), pp. 158–67; Doris Carl, "Franziskanischer Martyrerkult Als Kreuzzugspropaganda an

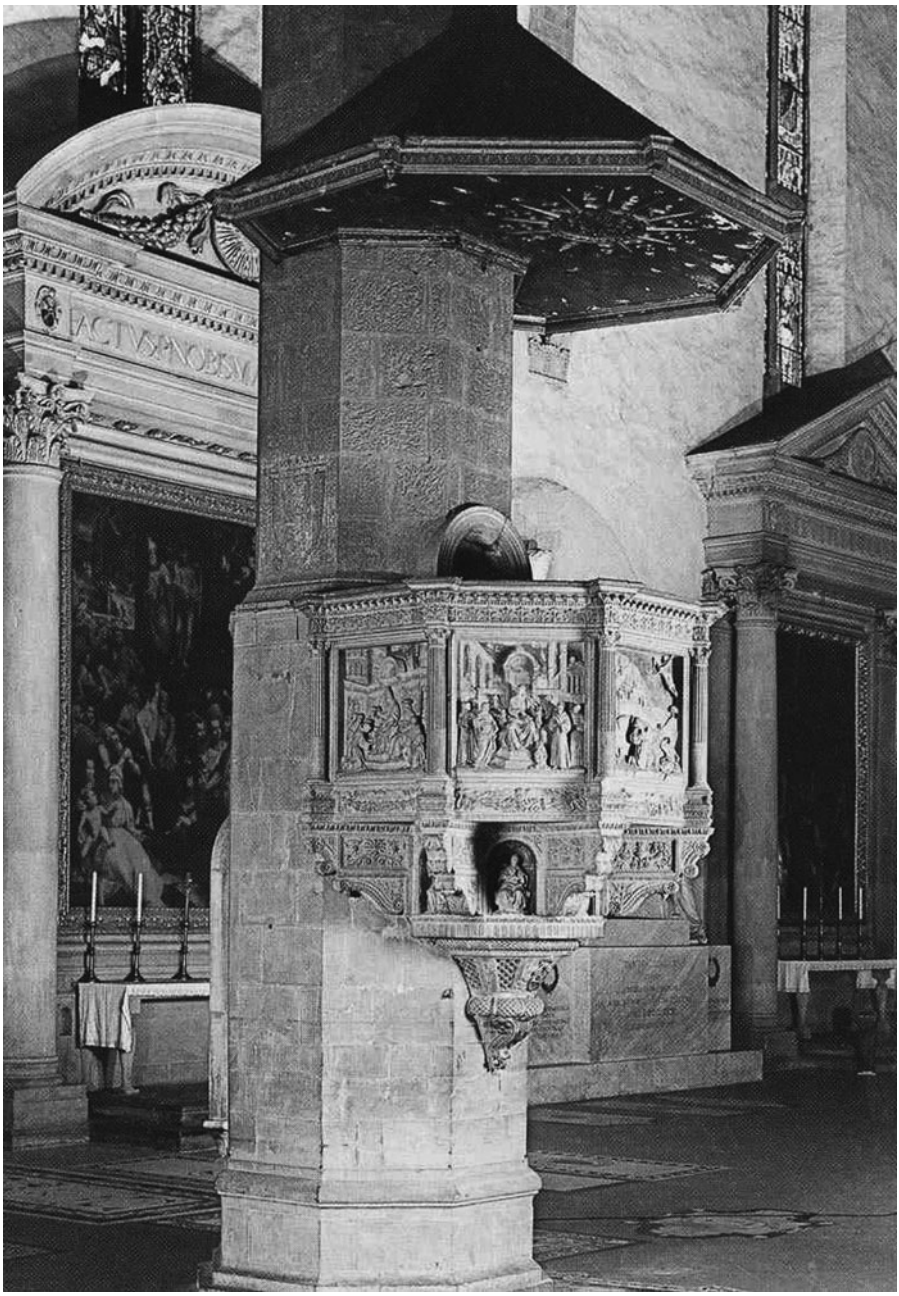

Fig. 1 Benedetto da Maiano, The Pulpit in Santa Croce, 1472–1475. Reproduced courtesy of Alinari, Florence.

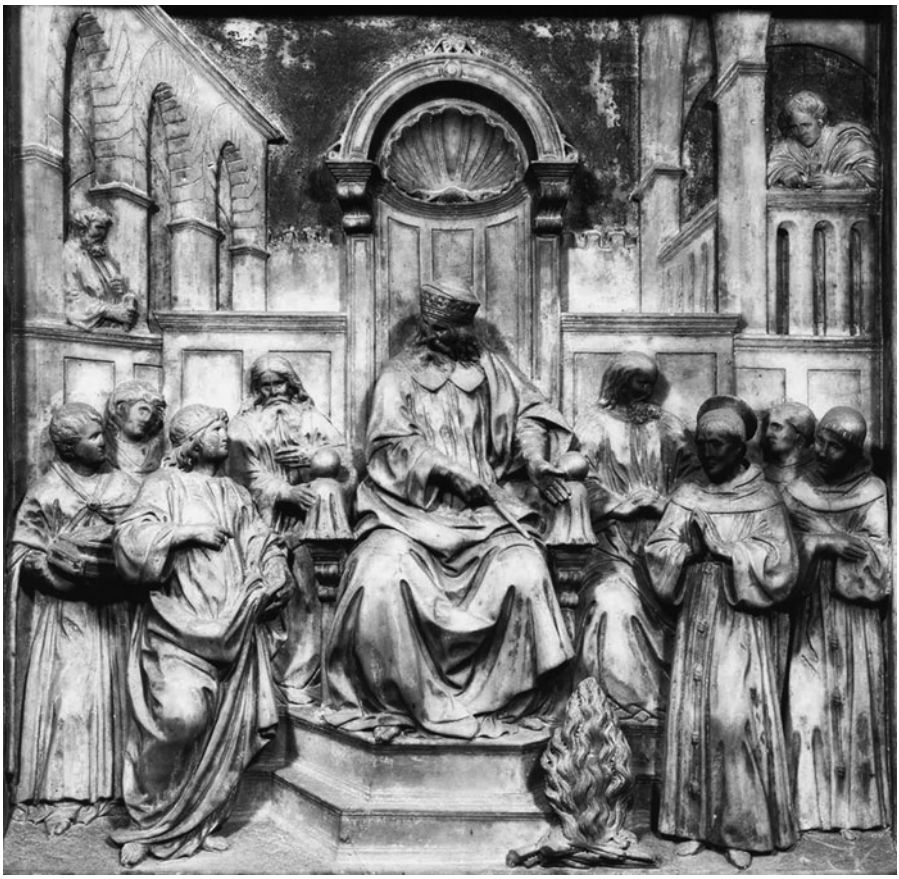

Fig. 2 Benedetto da Maiano, The Pulpit in Santa Croce, 1472–1475, detail: The Trial of the Sultan. Reproduced courtesy of Alinari, Florence.

Scholars disagree about the dates of the commissioning and construction of the pulpit. One possibility, advocated by Pope-Hennessy and based on the artistic development of Benedetto da Maiano, is the period 1472–1475. Supporting this thesis, Piero Morselli, using unpublished documents, showed that in 1472 Pietro Mellini was a member of the opera of Santa Croce and that this position enabled him to contribute this work of art to the church.[8] The most recent suggestion proposed

der Kanzel von Benedetto da Maiano in Santa Croce in Florenz," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 39 (1995), pp. 69–91; Gary M. Radke, "Geometria e misura nel Pulpito di Santa Croce," *Giuliano e la bottega dei da Maiano: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Fiesole 13–15 giugno 1991*, ed. Daniela Lamberini, Marcello Lotti, and Roberto Lunardi (Florence, 1994), pp. 168–95.

[8] On the dates of the pulpit, see Piero Morselli, "Corpus of Tuscan Pulpits" (Ph. D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1978), pp. 99–100.

Fig. 3 Benedetto da Maiano, The Pulpit in Santa Croce, 1472–1475, detail: The Martyrdom of the Franciscans in Morocco. Reproduced courtesy of Alinari, Florence.

by both Doris Carl and Gary Radke, argues for dating the pulpit to around 1485, on the basis of contracts regarding the tombs of the Mellini in the church of Santa Croce and in other churches.[9] In any case, there is no definitive evidence regarding the exact dates; the design, construction, and final installation of this exquisite monument might have spanned the entire period suggested by the scholars, from 1472 to 1487. The length of time is not unreasonable, given the high costs and artistic complexity of the monument.

Images of the Saracens appear in this pulpit's iconography in two scenes: The Trial by Fire before the Sultan (Fig 2) and The Martyrdom of the Franciscans in Morocco (Fig 3). Both represent an encounter between the Franciscans and the

[9] See Carl, "Il Pergamo"; Radke, "Geometria e misura."

Muslim world. The former, depicting The Trial by Fire before the Sultan in 1219, emphasizes the role of the Franciscans as missionaries.[10] According to tradition, Francis followed the crusades to Damietta and had an interview with the sultan of Egypt, al-Kamil. Bonaventure's version, presented in the *Legenda Maior* in 1260, portrays Francis challenging the sultan and his imams to an ordeal by fire to establish which religion was more powerful. The imams refused, and Francis offered to undergo the ordeal alone. The story ends with al-Kamil offering rich gifts to Francis, who declined them and left the Muslim court.[11] Another version, emphasising the merits and generosity of the sultan, was offered by the *fioretti* (the Little Flowers of the Life of St. Francis).[12] This much-favoured version often appears in the popular preaching tradition, most evidently in the sermons of Bernardino da Siena.[13] Francis's dramatic encounter with the sultan became central to the Franciscan legacy and, thanks to Giotto, a frequently depicted scene. In Santa Croce, it appears in two fourteenth-century pictorial cycles by Giotto and Taddeo Gaddi.[14]

In the pulpit relief, The Trial by Fire before the Sultan, an arch draws attention to the sultan, seated at the centre. He wears a dignified gown and his hat is the focal point, as is typical when portraying Saracens.[15] He approaches his four well-dressed imams, who are holding books. Whereas in Giotto's depiction, the attendants are moving away in shame, in Benedetto's version, they are conversing with the sultan. The Franciscan delegation is off to the side, and St. Francis appears small and humble with a simple halo around his head. The two groups are distinct, the Saracens having beards and moustaches, but there is also some resemblance between them and even a sense of dialogue; for example, one of the Franciscans appears to be speaking with one of the sultan's attendants. This scene takes place in a fine architectural setting, based upon Florentine ecclesiastical architecture, which includes Brunelleschian motifs – for example, the throne is fashioned in a Florentine shell niche. The familiar setting has the effect of reducing the distance between the Florentine spectators and the Saracens, who are not depicted as foreigners. Two

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[10] On Francis as missionary and the Franciscan tradition of mission, see Daniel E. Randolph, *The Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages* (Lexington, 1975); Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, pp. 116–31; Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 214–32.

[11] Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1994); St. Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia*, 10 vols. (Ad Claras Aquas-Quaracchi, 1882–1902), 9:579–80.

[12] See *The Little Flowers of the Life of St. Francis*, trans. J.M. Dent (New York, 1912).

[13] See Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena 1427*, ed. Carlo Delcorno (Milan, 1989), 2:1336–37.

[14] On Giotto's Bardi Chapel, see Rona Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict: Saint Francis and Giotto's Bardi Chapel* (University Park and London, 1988). On Taddeo Gaddi's panels, see Andrew Ladis, *Taddeo Gaddi* (London, 1982).

[15] On the importance of headgear in images of the Saracens, see Higgs, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, pp. 174–75. On the representations of Muslims in Italian Renaissance Art, see Anna Contadini, "Artistic Contacts: Current Scholarship and Future Tasks," in *Islam and the Italian Renaissance*, ed. Charles Burnett and Anna Contadini (London, 1999), pp. 1–16.

attractive balconies on each of which stands an intriguing onlooker complete the setting; in particular, the woman is attired according to Florentine dress codes. It might be that these two figures represent the donor and his wife. It was common in Florentine art to include portraits in sacred scenes. For example, in Ghirlandaio's frescoes of the life of Saint Francis in the Sassetti Chapel in Florence's Santa Trinità, there are many portraits of important Florentine figures.[16] In the pulpit tradition as well, patrons were sometimes included in the narrative scenes of the pulpit. For example, the possibility has been raised that in Donatello's double *amboni* for the church of San Lorenzo, members of the Medici family were represented: thus it has been suggested that the two figures at the centre of the *pietà* panel on the western front of the southern pulpit may represent Cosimo de' Medici and his wife, Contessina de' Bardi.[17] Here, then, it may be that the two figures who take no active role in the story represent Pietro Mellini and his wife. In sum, in this relief the Saracens are characterized in a neutral or even respectful manner.

The fifth scene on the pulpit, The Martyrdom of the Franciscans in Morocco, is highly original. According to tradition, Franciscan missionaries went to Morocco in the thirteenth century to convert the infidels, an initiative that ended in their being beheaded. The Martyrdom in Morocco is a scene rarely found in art. One possibly related depiction is Ambrogio Lorenzetti's fresco (1331) in the church of San Francesco in Siena; but it has been argued convincingly that Lorenzetti's fresco represents the martyrdom of the six Franciscan missionaries in Almalyq in central Asia by the Mongol Khan Ali in 1339 and not the earlier martyrdom episodes in Morocco.[18] In Santa Croce, although the scene of the martyrdom does not appear in Giotto's Bardi Chapel, it does appear in Gaddi's panel, probably the artistic source for Benedetto da Maiano's relief.

The Martyrdom of the Franciscans in Morocco is unique in the cycle as a whole in using the technique of continuous narrative, meaning that the same characters appear more than once in actions occurring at different moments and are presented together in a single unified space. The sculptor uses variations in depth to separate the various moments of action: on the left, the friars awaiting their martyrdom; then the martyrdom itself, with the friars in the background shown entering a church; and finally their assumption to heaven.[19]

The artist has drawn attention to the Moroccan sultan and his court by placing a canopy above their heads; while the sultan with an impressive hat, looks aside and talks with one of his attendants, another attendant evinces a gesture of horror at the scene. The focal point of this relief, however, is the figure of the executioner, who

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[16] On portraits in these paintings, see Eve Borsook and Johannes Offerhaus, *Francesco Sassetti and Ghirlandaio at Santa Trinita, Florence* (Doornspijk, Holland, 1981), pp. 36–37.

[17] For Donatello pulpits, see Howard Saalman, "The San Lorenzo Pulpits: A Cosimo Portrait?" *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 30:3, (2002), pp. 587–89.

[18] On Lorenzetti's fresco, see S. Maureen Burke, "The Martyrdom of the Franciscans by Ambrogio Lorenzetti," *Zeitschrift fur kunstgeschichte* 4 (2002), 460–92.

[19] See Lew Andrews, *Story and Space in Renaissance Art: The Rebirth of Continuous Narrative* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 9–11.

is dramatically beheading the friars. Instead of the benevolent sultan at the centre, as in the preceding relief, there is a brutal killer with a distorted body. The two half-naked spectators on the stairs resemble monkeys clinging to bars. Two distinct social classes among the Saracens are depicted: the common executioner and spectators versus the more civilized sultan and his attendants, who are nevertheless responsible for the vicious act. The architecture chosen for this scene is notably different and more Oriental, thus separating the action from the Florentine context.

Two famous cases of martyrdom took place in Morocco in the thirteenth century: one involved five missionaries sent to Marrakesh in 1220, the other seven missionaries sent to Ceuta in 1227. The route of the five Franciscans included Spain, Castile, Portugal, Seville, and finally Marrakesh, where they were martyred because of their persistence in preaching Christianity. St. Anthony of Padua, after seeing the bodies of the martyred friars, had a spiritual experience and decided to join the Franciscans. Then, in 1227, Brother Elias sent seven friars from Tuscany to Morocco. They too preached to the Muslims, were arrested, imprisoned, and finally martyred. Part of a letter written from prison to Hugo, a Genoese priest, has come down to us, in which they view their suffering as imitating the agonies of Christ. These missionaries were idealized in Franciscan legacy as being devoted to God, fervent in spirit, and desperately desirous of converting the Muslims.[20]

There is a debate as to which of these two cases is represented on the pulpit. According to a recent interpretation by Doris Carl, the scene represents the martyrdom of the earlier five missionaries in Marrakesh. Carl bases her claim on the hypothesis that the capuchin-clad figure in the left corner is St. Anthony of Padua. She therefore connects the scene to the martyrdom of 1220, after which Anthony saw the relics of the martyrs and decided to abandon the Augustinian order and join the Franciscans. Carl, who dates the pulpit to around 1485, argues that in 1481 the Franciscan pope Sixtus IV had canonized the martyrs of Marrakesh and that this explains their appearance on the pulpit. She notes that the cult of the martyrs was first venerated by the Augustinian friars at Santa Cruz, Portugal, and that only with the rise of the Turkish threat and the massacre in Otranto in 1480, did the Franciscan pope Sixtus IV canonize these martyrs.[21] While I find Carl's main line of argument connecting the martyrdom scene with the Ottoman threat plausible, I am less convinced regarding her identification of the scene as that of the earlier, Marrakesh incident. First, seven missionaries appear in the scene, not five, which seems to indicate that the representation is of the later case, the martyrdom of the seven Franciscans at Ceuta. The figure that Carl identifies as St. Anthony of Padua appears to me simply to be one of the missionaries waiting for his turn to be beheaded. With regard to the historical context, the martyrs of Ceuta were Tuscan friars and it thus makes sense that in a Florentine institution such as Santa Croce, Tuscan martyrs would be represented.

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[20] On these two cases, see Randolph, *The Franciscan Conception of Mission*, pp. 37–54.

[21] See Carl, "Il Pergamo."

In either case, whether it is the Marrakesh or the Ceuta martyrs that are represented here, the pulpit's iconography should be placed in the context of mendicant crusade preaching campaigns. The fact, that two out of the five scenes deal with an encounter of Franciscans with the Muslim world, either as missionaries or as martyrs, also gains special significance in this historical context. The second half of the fifteenth century, after the fall of Constantinople, is characterized by a call for a crusade against the Turks. In 1443, an encyclical from Pope Eugene IV appealed to all prelates to pay a tenth of their income to support the war against the Turks. There were rhetorical calls by preachers, such as Bernardino da Siena, and writers advocating the crusades, without practical results. In 1453, Constantinople fell to the Ottomans and Nicholas V issued a bull calling for a crusade against the Turks. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who became pope in 1458, taking the name of Pius II, initiated a meeting of the Christian powers in Mantua in 1459 where prospects for a new crusade were discussed. In 1464, Pius II was issuing additional plans for the crusade against the Turks. He set out for Ancona but died there before his plans for the crusade were realized. Pius's successors, Paul II and Sixtus IV, were eager to carry on his endeavours, but no real progress was made. In 1471, the Franciscan pope Francesco della Rovere, who took the name Sixtus IV, published an encyclical letter urging united action by Christendom against the common foe, condemning the Turks and calling for their destruction. This Christian propaganda for a new crusade met with little response in the West. In 1472, Sixtus IV corresponded with Ludovico II Gonzaga of Mantua about how to act against the sultan, and Sixtus began recruiting a fleet with the aim of starting a crusade. He tried to raise support for various crusading plans but met with no success. By 1480, the Turks were invading Rhodes and also Otranto in Apulia. An atmosphere of fear prevailed in Italy, and a league against the Turks that included Florence was established. In 1481, however, Mehmed II died and Otranto was liberated, bringing temporary relief from the pressure. [22]

Crusading sympathy in Tuscany, particularly in Florence, had a long history, going back to the twelfth century. Many Florentines throughout medieval times were active as pilgrims, missionaries, and crusaders, or were at least sympathetic to the crusading movement. The role of the mendicant orders, established in the great convents of Santa Maria Novella and Santa Croce, was crucial in winning sympathy for the crusades in Florence. This tradition continued in the fifteenth century, when Florence openly voiced support for papal crusading efforts and participated in fundraising for the crusade.[23] The main supporters of crusade propaganda in Florence were the Franciscan and Dominican preachers, who acted as virtual papal

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[22] Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204 –1571)*, vol. 2: The Fifteenth Century (Philadelphia, 1978), pp. 314–45; Harry W. Hazard, ed., *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 3: *The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Milwaukee, 1975), pp. 661–65.

[23] On crusade sentiments in Florence, see Roberto Black, *Benedetto Accolti and the Florentine Renaissance* (Cambridge and New York, 1985), pp. 270–76; Franco Cardini ed., *Toscana e Terrasanta nel Medioevo* (Florence, 1982).

envoys, continuing a tradition of mendicant crusade sermons.[24] There was also a growing intensity in the genre of crusade sermons at this time. The preaching of the Dominican Observant preacher Antoninus Pierozzi (1389–1459), Archbishop of Florence, exemplifies mendicant crusade propaganda in the fifteenth century. In his oration before Pope Calixtus III in 1455, Antoninus made an impassioned plea for the crusade against the Turks:

> All the powers of Italy, thus united (and for this reason the more powerful), unanimous in word and purpose, would be able to move against the son of perdition, Mahomet, angel of Satan, most impudent dog, violator of all laws and customs, mystic anti-Christ who fights against everything Christian, in order to destroy his forces and crush his audacity, and to eliminate him from the frontiers of the faithful and to recover the territories seized by him and sacked, and especially that once glorious city of Constantinople now, however, unfortunately captured by him.[25]

Bernardino da Siena might himself have been associated with crusade preaching[26] and his followers – among them Cherubino da Spoleto, Giacomo della Marca, Giovanni da Capestrano, Roberto da Lecce, and Michele da Carcano – were all engaged in crusade preaching campaigns, many of them conducted in Florence's Santa Croce. Cherubino da Spoleto delivered crusade sermons in Santa Croce in 1466 and 1482.[27] In 1443, Giacomo della Marca was nominated by Eugenius IV as an apostle for crusade preaching, along with Alberto da Sarteano, who in 1459, and again in 1463–1464 was active on behalf of Pius II in promoting the crusade.[28] Giovanni da Capestrano, another crusade preacher, was active mainly in Tuscany in the 1450s and 1460s raising funds for the crusade. In art, he is represented with a

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[24] On the traditional role of the mendicants in advocating the crusades see Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, pp. 111–60; Christoph T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Mosel Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge, 2000).

[25] Antoninus, *Summa Historialis*, f. 299: omnes potentiae Italicae simul unitate et inde virtute fortiores effecte unanimes uno ore uno opere uno spiritum fervore concepto proficiscantur contra illum filium perditionis mahometum regem superbie, angelum sathane, canem impudicissimum, omnis legis et morum perversorem, misticum antichristum qui adversatur et extollitur super omne quo colitur. Christianus ad conterendas vires eius et ipsius audaciam reprimendam. Ad illium eliminandum determinis fidelium ad recuperandas terras ab eo captas et pene eversas et praecipue illam olim gloriosissimam civitatem constantinopolitatam nunc autem infelicissime captivatam ab eo.

For a translation and interpretation of this passage, see Peter Howard, "Diversity in Discourse: The Preaching of Archbishop Antoninus of Florence before Pope, People and Commune," *Medieval Sermons and Society: Cloister, City, University*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse, Beverly Mayne Kienzle, Debra L. Stoudt, and Anne T. Thayer (Louvain La Neuve, 1998), pp. 283–307.

[26] On Bernardino's activity as a crusade preacher, see F. Donati, "San Bernardino predicatore delle indulgenze per la crociata," *Bolletino senese di storia patria* 2 (1895), pp. 130–36.

[27] Roberto Rusconi, "Cherubino da Spoleto," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, ed. Benvenuto Bertoni, 55 vols. (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1960–2000), 24:446–53; Bert Roest, *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction before the Council of Trent* (Leiden, 2004), pp. 72–73.

[28] Carla Casagrande, "Giacomo della Marca," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, ed. Benvenuto Bertoni, 55 vols. (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1960–2000), 54:214–21; Roest, *Franciscan Literature*, pp. 56–61.

banner of the crusade.[29] Roberto da Lecce, according to Erasmus, would strip off his habit during his sermons, to reveal the crusader's livery and armour underneath.[30] Michele da Carcano was a crusade preacher who, in 1459 and 1463, gave sermons on behalf of Pius II, and, in 1481, on behalf of Sixtus IV. In Santa Croce, he preached on the crusade cause in 1455, 1462, 1466, and 1467.[31] The content of these militant sermons can be shown to inform the messages of Benedetto da Maiano's pulpit with its ideas of mission, as in Francis' courageous encounter with the Egyptian sultan, and martyrdom, as in the heroic death of the Franciscans in Morocco.

In short, the Saracens are portrayed ambivalently on the pulpit. While there is admiration for the generous Egyptian sultan, combined with interest in his and his courtiers' exotic appearance, the Saracens in the martyrdom scene are dehumanized and shown as animals. While some of the evidence conveys a sense of fascination toward the Saracens, part of it emphasizes their cruelty and savage aspects. I would argue that this conception of the Saracens, typical of Florentine sentiments at that time, was shared by others. The Florentine Luca Landucci (1460–1516) provides an interesting testimony to this ambivalence. In his diary, Luca was often enthusiastic about crusade efforts in Florence; in 1478, for example, he explained that fundraising for the crusades was carried out in several churches in Florence, most notably in the church of Santa Croce where "everyone had to lend aid, at the said churches, to the forces sent against the Turks."[32] He often expressed hope that Florence would join forces against the infidels and unbelievers, and condemned the cruelty of the Turks who were "putting all the villages to fire and flame, and carrying off the girls and women" and were "selling Christians" into slavery. [33] In other parts of his diary, however, he praised the generosity of the Turkish ambassador to Florence for making a gift of exotic animals to the city, and described approvingly the festivities and celebrations to honour him upon his arrival:

> The ambassador of the sultan presented to the Signoria the giraffe, lion and other beasts; and he sat in the midst of the Signoria, on the ringhiera, he speaking and they thanking him by means of an interpreter. A great crowd had collected in the Piazza that morning to see this. The ringhiera was decorated with spalliere and carpets, and all the principal

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[29] Roberto Rusconi, "The Preacher Saint in Late Medieval Italian Art," in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden, 2002), pp. 181–200; Roberto Rusconi, "Giovanni da Capestrano: Iconografia di un predicatore nell'Europa del 400," *Predicazione francescana e società veneta nel Quattrocento*, *Le Venezie francescane* 6 (1989) 31–60; Roest, *Franciscan Literature*, pp. 64–66.

[30] Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 48–50; Roest, *Franciscan Literature*, pp. 62–64.

[31] Roberto Rusconi, "Michele da Carcano," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, ed. Benvenuto Bertoni, 55 vols. (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1960–2000), 19:742–44; Roest, pp. 74–76.

[32] See Luca Landucci, *A Florentine Diary from 1450–1516*, trans. Alice de Rosen Jervis (New York, 1971), pp. 32–33.

[33] See Landucci, *A Florentine Diary*, pp. 26, 183.

> citizens had taken their places upon it. This ambassador remained here several months and was maintained at our cost and presented with many gifts.[34]

Thus the ambivalence toward the Saracens during that period was shared by the Franciscans and by their audiences as well.

In the Dominican church of Santa Maria Novella, on the other side of town, we are confronted with a wealth of images that reflect the complex way the Saracens were perceived by the Dominicans. We find: Muhammad in hell (following Dante's conception) in Andrea Orcagna's fresco, The Last Judgment; the Arab philosopher Avveroes overthrown by St. Thomas Aquinas, in Andrea da Firenze's fresco, The Triumph of St. Thomas, in the Spanish Chapel; the Dominicans converting the heretics, including the Saracens, in Andrea da Firenze's, The Triumph of the Church; the threat of the Turks during the Council of Florence, portrayed in Paolo Uccello's fresco of the Flood, in the Green Cloister; and the cruelty of the Saracens, in Filippino Lippi's sixteenth-century frescoes, at the main altar. I hope to explore this intriguing web of images in the near future.

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[34] See Landucci, *A Florentine Diary*, p. 44.

Economics in Dante's Hell

Steven A. Epstein

Robert S. Lopez, Benjamin Z. Kedar's thesis advisor, believed that teaching Dante's *Divina Commedia* could convey to students everything worth knowing about the Middle Ages.[1] Alongside the always present Lopez taste for irony, he was convinced that Dante's imagination, artistry, and learning were so encyclopaedic that study of the great poem would convey a better understanding of medieval history than what might be gained from reading even Lopez. Dante (1265–1321) appears as an ever-present point of reference in Lopez' own scholarship, with twenty-four references in his classic *The Birth of Europe*, far outnumbering the crusades (8) and only slightly behind his native Genoa (26).[2] By chance, the last paragraph in the final appendix to Kedar's first book on merchants in crisis notes how Dante evoked the atmosphere of Venice's Arsenal.[3] These clues suggest that the poem, a place to look for anything, can serve as a way to find and to understand some ideas about economics and economic history, subjects never far from the minds and careers Lopez helped to shape. Dante did not intend to provide future historians with evidence on these subjects but that should not stop us from exploiting him as a source.

The search for the economics of Dante's Hell can also help to dispel the false notion that medieval people had no working concept of an economy, or even that the economy did not exist.[4] Just because the abstract noun "economics" was not used in this period – by Dante or by anyone else – does not mean that the worlds of work, human choices and exchanges, and the ethical problems surrounding money did not exist. Scholastic thinkers, especially Thomas Aquinas, so well known to Dante, were of course more preoccupied with sin than economics, so they discussed economic problems from a point of view and with a vocabulary alien to modern economists. Dante included in a poem many ideas and expressive language clearly drawn from the practical world of markets in Florence of the late thirteenth century.[5] Scholarly interest in his life has rarely focused on how he made a living, in contrast to his politics, which have received enormous attention. The Alighieri family, petty nobles and property holders, probably lived on rents and the side business of loaning

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I am grateful to Richard Kay for his suggestions and objections.

[1] Robert S. Lopez, personal communication, circa 1980.

[2] Robert S. Lopez, *The Birth of Europe* (New York, 1967).

[3] Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Merchants in Crisis: Genoese and Venetian Men of Affairs and the Fourteenth-Century Depression* (New Haven, 1976), p. 163.

[4] Jacques Le Goff, *Your Money or Your Life: Economy and Religion in the Middle Ages*, trans. Patricia Ranum (New York, 1990) pp. 69–70. His main point was that the church had no economic doctrines and that there were no economic thinkers.

[5] A point amply demonstrated by Joan M. Ferrante, *The Political Vision of the Divine Comedy* (Princeton, 1984), pp. 311–66.

money at interest to unfortunates in need of credit.[6] Dante himself joined the guild of the physicians and apothecaries in 1295, but this was a step necessary to a political career, and there are no clear signs that he practiced either of these trades. Serving as one of the priors of the commune in 1300 was the summit of his public career, and most likely politics and poetry occupied the first thirty-five years of his life. Perhaps wisely investing his wife's dowry and prudently managing his inheritance allowed Dante the luxuries of writing poetry and serving Florence. Deeply affected by the Spiritual Franciscans and their teachings on poverty and wealth, Dante was still a rentier and an investor who would have to turn to patronage for his means of support after being exiled and despoiled in 1302. These practical matters suggest that Dante, making poetry at a time when it was impossible to make a living at it without aristocratic or church patronage to pay the bills, knew the value of a florin. Like all people living on income rather than on wages gained by their own physical labours, he was a close and uneasy student of how money moved from those people to his own pockets.

Scholars have explored in detail Dante's economic thought. Back in 1898, Livio Cibrario was inspired by his uncle Luigi, who for the six-hundredth anniversary of Dante's birth had written a small work on medieval political economy.[7] Cibrario concluded that Dante was a snob irritated by the *gente nuova*, be they climbing merchants or upstart peasants. Writing around the seven-hundredth anniversary of Dante's birth, Giuseppe Garrani regretted that poor Dante was to be claimed by economists as one of their own. He stressed four major themes in Dante's economic thought – the wool and cloth business in Florence, the merchant companies, the suppression of the Templars, and the role of the gold florin in international commerce.[8] These subjects constitute an inevitable set of influences on Dante, but the notice of the Templars is striking because it recalls a vast reshuffling of wealth in Europe that struck many contemporaries, including Dante, as the epitome of greed. Finally, Charles T. Davis deserves credit for emphasizing how Franciscan ideas on poverty deeply influenced Dante's strong views on the subject.[9] This literature shows in detail how scholastic thinking on subjects like usury and the practical world of business in Florence find echoes in Dante's poetry. The most sophisticated scholars, like Davis and Ferrante, look deeply into the poetry for traces of how Dante's language can give us some idea of how he thought about moral problems. Today, moral concerns still appear in economic thought, which

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[6] For these details on his life, see entries on Dante Alighieri and the Alighieri family in *The Dante Encyclopedia*, ed. Richard Lansing (New York, 2000).

[7] Livio Cibrario, *Il sentimento della vita economica nella Divina Commedia* (Turin, 1898), preface and p. 82 for what follows.

[8] Giuseppe Garrani, *Il pensiero di Dante in tema di economia monetaria e creditizia*. 2nd ed. (Palermo, 1967), pp. 13, 17.

[9] Charles T. Davis, "Poverty and Eschatology in the *Commedia*," pp. 42–70 in his *Dante's Italy and other Essays* (Philadelphia, 1984). See also Nicholas Havely, "Poverty in Purgatory: From *Commercium* to *Commedia*," *Dante Studies* 114 (1996): 229–43.

has, as Odd Langholm has observed, become depersonalized, partly as a legacy of scholastic, abstract reasoning.[10] The point of this essay is not to examine Dante as a poet, moralist, or political thinker, but as someone whose habits of mind reveal a proto-economist at work.

Just as it is sometimes better, as the French say, to take a few steps back in order to make a better jump, it is more rewarding in a short essay to explore the economics *in* Dante's Hell. After all, Dante, like most modern economists, was able to assume away all the distracting details of real life from his Hell and instead focus on those imaginative allegories, or models, that served his purposes. Even as an artist, Dante was thinking like an economist when he assumed "Hell" according to rules he largely invented. Because economics is simply the study of human choices, what better place to begin than the destination of those who chose sin and will pay for it forever? Alas, the choice of sin is more interesting in economic terms than the choice of virtue. Also, Purgatory was the place where spiritual goods mattered more than material ones, and in Paradise wealth was, as Ferrante put it, "inexhaustible". Neither of these conditions fit well into economic models.[11] Let us begin with a simple definition that economics is the study of how people maximize their self-interest under constraint, which is just another way of saying that the subject is choice. Every word here merits scrutiny. Hell is the epitome of constraint; the rules of punishment are inflexible. The normal constraints in the real world, things like food, clothing, and shelter, no longer concern the damned. The choice of sin having been made, the sinners are in Dante's memorable phrase now in a place where they must abandon hope, and even this is not a real choice; there are no rational grounds for hope in Hell. Finally, nothing remains to maximize; Hell is a place without utilities (anything useful) and consumption. Desire may still linger in the souls of some of Dante's sinners, but it is as irrational as hope. Hell is as rational a model as any economist might posit.

Since the conditions in Hell contradict every term in the definition of economics, perhaps the search for the economics in Hell is over. Far from it. Economics is also a style of asking questions about how people choose, or indeed make choices about choosing. So, let us look at the problem of sin from this perspective. In addition to being a choice, sin is also a brand name, and the ability or right to label the sinner and make it stick is a powerful market signal. This is one function of the Church, and Dante has neatly broken apart the general brand name of sin into numerous gradations and fine subdivisions. Let us concentrate on the issue of branding. One economist, Samuel Cameron, has (somewhat cynically) observed that "religious leaders need sin like doctors need illness," and in order to stay in business they both

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[10] Odd Langholm, *The legacy of scholasticism in economic thought* (Cambridge, 1998) p. 200.

[11] J. Ferrante, *The Political Vision*, pp. 357, 333. Purgatory and Paradise may indeed provide more evidence on economic history than Hell, but the focus here is on economic thinking. Purg. 15:49–57 states that people would be truly richer if they turned their desires and fears away from material toward spiritual goods.

need to refresh the message from time to time by tinkering with the brand names.[12] Dante, as a lay person, repackaged the Church branding on the seven mortal sins. Both the poet and the institution were in a sense in the sin business; their ability to make the rules and shape public attitudes and choices about sin brought practical rewards – prestige and income – to the rule makers. Cameron considered sins to be externalities – external to genuine human happiness and outside rational choice models.[13] According to this way of thinking as an economist, people pursue self-interest and sometimes the secondary or unintended consequences of their acts are sinful. Dante, more nuanced here, believed that some people intended to advance themselves through bad deeds because they were wicked or had forgotten to take into account the penalty of sin – Hell. The price for miscalculating this risk was indeed steep.

From this perspective, Dante's Hell is filled with risk takers who gambled poorly on their own salvation. Even Guido da Montefeltro's wearing of the Franciscan habit in the end availed him nothing (*Inferno* 27:67–8). Dante places himself in the role of a merchant/pilgrim touring Hell and reporting on the consequences of miscalculated risk. In many ways, *Inferno* is Dante's way of discussing risk in a context where Pascal's wager made no sense. For Dante was convinced that there was a final judgment of sin and only a fool would gamble on that. The only scope for sensible choice was to find the line between damnation beyond hope (Hell) and the chance to atone for or pay for one's errors (Purgatory). Hell is filled with people that the economists describe as preferring risk. They were unwise to make an unfair gamble; they should have known they were bound to lose. People called risk-neutral will generally take a fair gamble; they would risk a stay in Purgatory for the chance to maximize a self-interest like lust or gluttony while still on earth. Kedar, who studied risk in Venice and Genoa, found that in Dante's world, before the plague of 1348, the concept was a positive one and appealed to the adventurous for whom risk was opportunity rather than danger.[14] The people Dante meets in Hell have no more risks to take or choices to make, but they are all lessons on the consequences of sin. The vivid characters that Dante encounters in Hell – for example Brunetto Latini, Francesca, and Ulysses – did have a single choice to make: whether or not to speak. This speech could not help them or accomplish anything other than instructing Dante or perhaps affecting their reputations back in real world. Reputations still mattered to some of the damned like Piero della Vigna, anxious to have Dante correct how the world remembered him (*Inferno* 13:75–7). Was speaking therefore a rational choice? Yes, but for selfless reasons, for the ethical end of helping others, and for bad motives, such as desire for information about the real world above, continued vanity, and lack of remorse.

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[12] Samuel Cameron, *The Economics of Sin: Rational Choice or No Choice at All?* (Cheltenham, 2002), p. 48.

[13] Cameron, The Economics of Sin, p. 26.

[14] B.Z. Kedar, *Merchants in Crisis*, pp. 85–90.

The penalty for the game was *contrapasso*, Dante's term for appropriate retribution – the idea that the punishment should morally fit the crime. *Contrapasso*, with a long history reaching back to Aristotle (and no doubt beyond) and refined by Aquinas, is again one of the most intensely studied aspects of Dante's work. Images of proportionality suffuse the poem; the violent are boiled in blood, the hoarders and wasters struggle against one another. Dante demonstrates that an economy of punishment long predated the supposed eighteenth-century origins of proportion and spectacle as tools with which to discipline and to punish.[15] *Contrapasso* is mentioned explicitly in Inferno 28:142, at the end of Bertran de Born's account of his fate.[16] Bertran is one of the most memorable characters in Hell – his headless trunk carries his head like a lantern and the disembodied head speaks to Dante. Just as this noble sowed discord in life, his brain and body are now separated forever. These imaginative, detailed punishments for specific crimes have preoccupied literary students of Dante's work because they reveal all the powers of an artist creating scenes where allegories of sin and penalty become visible.

Looking at scenes of *contrapasso* from the perspective of economics puts the issues of retribution in a fresh context. In the Florentine world Dante knew, exchanges were supposed to take into account Church teachings on moral rules like the just price and the fair wage.[17] Exchanges were to be equivalent, needs satisfied equally without deceiving or coercing a party or taking advantage of the needs of another. They were, in a word, to be transparent, a major theme in current economic thought. No one could guarantee absolute equivalence (outside Hell), and the moral guidelines left room for honest human errors causing divergences from strict, abstract rules, provided that the intent was not to deceive and that the results were not outrageously unfair. Again, Hell presumed that the model was perfect, indeed divinely ordained, so there the penalties exactly fit the crimes. Time was irrelevant so the merciless retribution never ended. Occasionally this evoked sympathy in Dante as he felt sorry for this or that sinner, but gradually he hardened his heart as the sins became worse and he accepted the fairness of the system. The market in Hell, the way things worked, *always* produced the best results in terms of justice and exchange – if one did this, one received that. Proportionality after death was a perfect model for respecting market outcomes – in a sense one market under God.[18]

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[15] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York, 1978), pp. 92–99, where a notice of Dante would have resulted in a very different context for exploring the body as a locus of power.

[16] All references are to the Italian text in Dante Alighieri, *La Divina Commedia*, ed. and annotated C.H. Grandgent. Revised by Charles S. Singleton. (Cambridge, Mass., 1972).

[17] For background here, see O. Langholm, *The legacy of scholasticism* and Steven A. Epstein, "The Theory and Practice of the Just Wage." *Journal of Medieval History* 17 (1991):53–69.

[18] Thomas Frank, *One Market under God: Extreme Capitalism, Market Populism, and the End of Democracy* (New York, 2000) – a book that would have interested Dante but which does not mention him.

The utilitarians believed that markets worked efficiently because the outcomes of myriads of individual rational choices satisfied or pleased most of the people most of the time, certainly more often than where violence ruled in command economies or bureaucrats prevailed in planned ones. For Dante, the results of a moral market economy should be pleasing to God, not to those evil people who, when their self-serving choices or gambles went awry, would be justly sent to Hell. In Canto 7, where the hoarders and wasters are so numerous, Dante combines our themes by joining the economics of Hell to broader comments on how goods circulate in this one. First, Virgil explains to Dante (*Inferno* 7:66) that all the money these misers or spendthrifts once had can do them no good now; money has no utility in Hell. Dante wants to learn more about the Lady Fortune who is in charge of worldly goods and Virgil is happy to explain at length (*Inferno* 7:70–99). Fortune commands the world's goods and she distributes them from *gente* to *gente*, group to group, really blood to blood. Hence one people thrives while another languishes. Dante's ethnography reveals that he understood the wealth and poverty of nations, but also that these realities changed over time and were therefore historical. Dante is describing a zero-sum game here; the goods of this world are fixed in quantity and wealth simply moves from one group to another. This is a Schumpeterian steady state economy – growing, if at all, so slowly as to be imperceptible to witnesses even as keen as Dante. This moribund economy evinced no striking technological advances or improvements in per capita wealth. Florence was certainly wealthy in conventional terms and Dante knew that. Yet he also conceived of this worldly splendour as a fixed amount, so if Florence and Venice were richer, perhaps Pisa and Acre were poorer.

This static view of wealth and its creation adequately explains parts of the European economy around 1300 as it entered a calamitous century of economic contraction, famine, Malthusian crisis, and plague. Yet even then some prospered, and Virgil explained to Dante that necessity governs these changes: that there were rules constraining how Fortune operated in the world. So this Fortune was not mere chance or a gamble. Necessity implies rules, and Fortune quickly applied them. In *Inferno* 12:85–7 Virgil observes that necessity, and not pleasure, put Dante on the road through Hell. Clearly whatever rules guide necessity do not depend on human choices but some other principle or value. Dante is not clear about the principle, but efficiency is certainly a strong possibility as the main driving force of necessity. In a zero-sum game, every outcome is efficient in the sense that wealth moves to new people, but no efficient choices these strivers make actually affect this outcome. Instead, the results themselves are efficient. As a metaphor, Lady Fortune, with her long pedigree, is the hand that distributes the goods, but Dante notes that she has been criticized (unfairly) as being responsible for wealth and poverty. This seems to be a paradox. Nations and people cannot really do anything but wait their turn at wealth, yet fortune turns the wheel and by necessity some go up and others down. Is there any more to say about the visible hand turning the wheel? Only that in this context it was a sin to oppose Lady Fortune and her

cycles.[19] Also, the "visible hand" evokes Alfred Chandler's sense that management plays a strong role in guiding an economy.[20] In this sense Lady Fortune distributes wealth much as a mid-level manager pushes paper, adding nothing real to the scale or scope of the enterprise.

Fortune's visible hand resembles one of the most famous of metaphors in economics, and one that also has even deeper meaning in Dante's Hell. Adam Smith mentioned the invisible hand only once in his *The Wealth of Nations*, where in discussing how a merchant pursued his own gain he was also "led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was not part of his intention."[21] For Smith, this hand stood for the benefits of free trade not constrained by government, all in the context of comparative advantage that guaranteed consumers the best goods at the lowest prices. In another work, Smith described how the invisible hand led the rich "to make nearly the same distribution of the necessaries of life" as would have resulted from equal shares for all.[22] Again, he emphasized the unintended positive results of private actions. In more general terms, as Emma Rothschild has pointed out, the hand also points to how unintended consequences work for the general welfare, the utilitarian message that private interests can and inevitably do foster the common good.[23] None of this would have surprised Dante. The "common good' was a familiar theme in scholastic thought and the Florentine economy thrived through its advantages in the cloth and banking businesses. But the hand actually conceals two very different ways of looking at how the world and even Hell work to produce any outcomes, for good or ill.

Smith and others like Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill who refined the ideas behind utilitarianism were looking for ways to move beyond the old conflicts of reason and revelation that were the medieval world's principle intellectual legacy. Dante's *Commedia* remained the supreme artistic example of a rational universe in which reason, faith, and love remained the strong forces holding it together. From the perspective of Dante's Hell, we have already seen that the main problem in life was calculating risk and thereby placing some limits on uncertainty. (And all of this occurred nearly a century before the invention of the insurance contract.) As usual, fear was the feeling that was supposed to guide people toward the right choices to avoid damnation. Hope for salvation was still possible in this life and influenced choices in the world, but Hell was by Dante's definition the place beyond hope. Yet

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[19] G. Garrani, *Il pensiero di Dante*, p. 67.

[20] The central thesis of Alfred Chandler, *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977) – no notice of Dante.

[21] Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations Books IV–V* (London, 1999,) p. 32.

[22] Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (Indianapolis, 1984), pp. 184–5.

[23] Emma Rothschild, *Economic Sentiments: Adam Smith, Condorcet, and the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001), pp. 121–3. Rothschild's thesis is that Smith was ambivalent about the invisible hand precisely because it evoked ideas about external agency, like fortune, that were not compatible with the entirety of his thought. Also, in poetic terms, the allegory was inadequate to the rational analysis of fear and uncertainty.

even those in Hell were not free from fear, since they too awaited resurrection and the even more terrifying prospect of final damnation.

A closer look at fear and the invisible hand will tie together this analysis of economics in Hell. Fear was an emotion or sentiment, an example of those "feelings of which one is conscious, and on which one reflects."[24] A feeling like fear was an actual event, it occurred in time and space. It was also a moral sentiment in the sense that, when it was rightly employed, it should guide one to the virtuous path. Dante surely wrote *Inferno* with the aim of creating a fearsome Hell that people would want to avoid, with hope and love serving as more positive moral sentiments impelling people toward the good. Dante himself experienced fear several times in his own Hell, and two antidotes were faith but also a surprising righteous anger. For the utilitarians, fear was an uncertainty or terror that fed anxiety about the future and bred superstition. Rothschild noted a "government by anxiety" and Smith thought fear to be "a wretched instrument of government."[25] Dante, whose life, family, and economic survival were threatened by Black Guelf opponents in Florence, knew fear as a tool of political power, an example of terrorism. Fear caused uncertainty as it inflated the ordinary risks of life and complicated daily choices about where to live and how to survive.

In *Inferno* 9, Dante has set things up so that the terrors of Hell become vivid for his persona on the journey though it. The opening of the Canto has Dante and Virgil standing before the fiery walls of Dis, a seeming insuperable barrier to their onward progress. Dante becomes even more frightened as he sees his so far imperturbable guide turning back. Black air and fog also prevent them from seeing what is going on around them. Virgil warns Dante that they must pass through this, or else...and at this point (*Inferno* 9:13) Dante uses the word "paura," "fear", to describe his own mental state. To make matters worse, the bloodstained three Furies appear and plea for Medusa to come and turn Dante into stone. This of course is a serious threat – Dante is flesh and blood – the only being in Hell against whom Medusa's power would still be effective. He was right to be even more afraid. Virgil warns Dante to turn around to avoid seeing Medusa, should she appear. At this moment, the terrors of Hell have become absolutely real for Dante, almost to the point where he wonders whether Virgil, his companion in adversity and the embodiment of reason, will prove a safe guide. Yet Dante avoids despair, an overwhelming fear that was the worst sin because it denied hope. But, in this instance, reason was still able to offer practical help. Here are the six lines (*Inferno* 9:58–64) that follow Virgil warning Dante to avert his gaze.

> Così disse 'l maestro; ed elli stessi
> mi volse, e non si tenne a le mie mani,
> che con le sue ancor non mi chiudessi.
> O voi ch'avete li 'ntelletti sani,

[24] Rothschild, *Economic Sentiments*, p. 9.
[25] Rothschild, *Economic Sentiments*, p. 13 for both quotations.

mirate la dottrina che s'asconde
sotto 'l velame de li versi strani.

In Robert Pinsky's translation:

He turned me around himself, and to make sure,
Not trusting mine alone he covered my face
With his own hands too. O you whose mind is clear:
Understand well the lesson that underlies
The veil of these strange verses I have written.[26]

Virgil did not wait for Dante to act on his advice but turned him around, and placed his own hands over Dante's to ensure that he would not see Medusa. Here we have four hands, all visible, two belonging to a living person and the others to a spiritual being. These hands intend immediate good consequences for Dante; he will survive to experience more of what he must learn. Even more remarkably, Dante steps out of his own poetry at this moment to draw his audience's specific attention to look beneath these strange verses to fathom the point he intends. Generations of critics have pondered what Dante meant. As a sample, Grandgent and Singleton thought the readers were pointed to see Medusa as an allegory of despair, and how Dante overcomes it with reason's help.[27] Critics have naturally wondered whether the verses Dante mentions extend to the entire poem, or simply the previous tercet and the hands it mentions.[28] Nicole Pinsky goes on to suggest that the passage warns against "excessive or overeager interpretation: it is not always best to see everything plainly and at once." A straightforward economist might simply observe that four hands are better than two. A deeper look, as Dante suggests, might also indicate that these hands, visible only on the page and in our imaginations, allow the journey to continue by keeping Dante from becoming literally petrified.

At this point in the poem, when the travellers appear in a bad spot, Virgil takes his hands from Dante's eyes and directs his attention to the heavenly messenger, the angel who has come to help them. This angel with his wand easily opens a way through the walls of Dis and allows Dante and Virgil safe passage into Lower Hell. Now the economic history of angels remains to be written, but this one also serves as a reminder that there is more to Dante's economics than sheer Hell. Another helping hand, this one sent by higher powers than mere fortune, resolved a crisis that Dante and Virgil could not. At the limits of economics in Hell was the lesson that rational maximizers of self-interest experienced fears and uncertainties while making choices. Dante's poem remains a wonderful source for illustrating that at least one medieval person remained aware that reason did after all have its limits. In Dante's time before the plague, fortune favoured the bold, but as Kedar has pointed

[26] *The Inferno of Dante*. Translated by Robert Pinsky (New York, 1994), p. 71.

[27] D. Alighieri, *La Divina Commedia*, p. 82 commentary on this canto.

[28] Nicole Pinsky suggests the previous tercet. For the broader comments that follow, see her note on p. 318 in *The Inferno of Dante*.

out, a cautious prudence and a careful circumspection became more dominant as uncertainties increased in the later fourteenth century.[29] In Dante's Hell, even assuming perfect competition and an implacable fortune, we see the results of poor choices and unwise gambles.

Immanuel Romano (c. 1261–c. 1332) knew Dante's *Commedia* and wrote in Hebrew toward the end of his life a work called *Ha-Tofet ve-ha-Eden, Hell and Paradise*, an account of his journey through the next world. His perspective was thoroughly Jewish. His only guide is Daniel, there is no Purgatory, no pagan allegories; and certainly no Lady Fortune appears in his work. Evidence on economics is even harder to uncover here, but there are some useful points of comparison to Dante's thinking. Immanuel's Hell is filled with the greedy rich who hated the poor, as the Muslims hate pork, as the cat hates the mouse![30] These rich blame the poor for their own misfortunes. Ignoring the biblical injunction to open their hands to the poor, instead they open their five fingers to snap or clap them to frighten the poor, or they open their hands to show they have nothing there for the poor to claim. Here the image is the tight fist of the miser, a visible, threatening hand open not to help but to humiliate the poor. Another image of the hand is the one belonging to Poverty, which can trip up the rich and cause misery.[31] Here a rich man has the wheel turning under him, and so he loses his wealth and becomes dried up and impoverished. The Lord's hand turned against him for good reasons. No Lady Fortune turned this wheel, and no invisible hand ensured the best outcomes for all. Dante and Immanuel both suffered through adversities and the Christian and Jewish perspectives on economics and justice can be found even in poetry.

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[29] Kedar, *Merchants in Crisis*, pp. 90–4.

[30] For Hebrew text and Italian translation, see Immanuello Romano, *L'inferno e il paradiso*, ed. and trans. Giorgio Battistoni and Emanuele Weiss Levi (Florence, 2000), here pp. 33–4, and pp. 35–6 for what follows.

[31] Romano, *L'inferno e il paradiso*, pp. 91–3 for this story of the sad man in Paradise.

Caffa e il suo porto (secc. XIV–XV)

Michel Balard

"Poi scesemmo verso il porto e videmmo che era meraviglioso. Vi si trovavano pressa poco duecento navi, di guerra o per il trasporto delle merci. Questo porto è fra i più famosi del mondo."[1] L'enfasi di Ibn Battuta, "viaggiatore dell'Islam"[2] non è, certo da prendere alla lettera: benchè sia stato uno scalo frequentatissimo, la colonia genovese del littorale della Crimea non è paragonabile con i porti mediterranei dell'epoca contemporanea. Ma la sorpresa e l'ammirazione di un Marocchino, sbarcato nella Gazaria genovese nel 1334, e che, pocche righe prima, disprezzava una città popolata da Infedeli, ci induce a esaminare da dove viene lo sviluppo straordinario di una città di mare, fondata appena sessant'anni prima dell'arrivo di Ibn Battuta, sulle rovine di una vecchia colonia greca comparsa nell'alto Medioevo. Difatti, le condizioni geografiche, molto favorevoli, e la politica abile del comune genovese spiegano la crescita rapida del porto e della città, chiamati ad essere durante i due ultimi secoli del Medioevo l'*emporium* per eccelenza dei mercanti occidentali nel Mar Nero.

Le circostanze nelle quali la colonia genovese è stata fondata sono ormai ben conosciute. Dopo il loro insediamento a Pera nel 1267, colla benevolenza dell'imperatore bizantino, i Genovesi, ai quali Michel VIII° Paleologo aveva concesso la libertà di commercio nel Mar Nero, hanno dapprima frequentato il vecchio scalo di Soldaia, punto di partenza della prima spedizione dei fratelli Polo verso l'Estremo-Oriente.[3] Ma scontenti dalla concorrenza dei Veneziani, hanno cercato un altro sito per creare uno scalo proprio. Il golfo della vecchia Theodosia si prestava ad un insediamento nuovo, creato, senza dubbio, con il permesso del khan mongolo della Orda d'Oro, sovrano della zona dal 1249 in poi. Non si sa quale tipo di habitat i Genovesi vi hanno trovato negli anni 1270-1275: forse un casale con case occupate da Greci e da Tartari, presso i quali i primi mercanti liguri hanno costruito una piccola città già sviluppata nell'ultimo decennio del secolo, quando vi roga il notaio Lamberto di Sambuceto di cui i 903 atti superstiti ci fanno conoscere le prime tappe della crescita urbana.[4]

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[1] Ibn Battûta, *Voyages*, éd. S. Yerasimos, 3 vols. (Parigi, 1982), 2: 204.

[2] L'espressione è di Herman F. Janssens, *Ibn Batouta "Le voyageur de l'Islam" (1304–1369)* (Bruxelles, 1948).

[3] M. Polo, *La description du monde*, éd. L. Hambis (Parigi, 1955), p. 3.

[4] Michel Balard, *La Romanie génoise (XIIe–début du XVe siècle)*, 2 vols. (Roma-Genova, 1978), t.1, pp. 114–18; Idem e Gilles Veinstein, "Continuité ou changement d'un paysage urbain? Caffa génoise et ottomane," *Le paysage urbain au Moyen Age. Actes du XIe Congrès de la Société des Historiens médiévistes de l'Enseignement supérieur public* (Lyon 1980), pp. 79–131, oggi in Michel Balard, *La mer Noire et la Romanie génoise XIIIe–XVe siècles*, Londres 1989, étude XII.

Alla fine del Duecento, Caffa non era che un piccolo villaggio senza torri e senza mura. Negli atti notarili, il termine *licias* è utilizzato per indicare i limiti della città: si tratta di un fossato, accennato da Niceforo Gregoras e di un terrapieno sormontato da una palizzata interrotta per fare spazio all'unica porta della città.[5] Una difesa così debole non poteva bastare contro l'armata tartara che costringe i Genovesi a ritirarsi nel 1308, dopo otto mesi di feroce resistenza. Essi mettono il fuoco alla città che rimane deserta fino alla morte del khan Tohtu. Il successore, Özbek, permette ai mercanti di ritornare sul posto dopo il 1312. L'*Officium Gazarie*, creato per dirigere la politica del Comune nella zona pontica, istituisce nel 1316 un piano di ricostruzione della colonia con l'*ordo de Caffa*.[6] Il documento distingue una zona centrale, intorno alla cittadella, corrispondente alla superficie della colonia prima della sua destruzione nel 1308, dedicato all'insediamento della popolazione di origine latina (*castrum* e *civitas*, secondo il modello genovese) e d'altra parte i borghi dove il suolo viene affittato alle diverse etnie del luogo.[7] La prima zona è circondata da una muraglia iniziata negli anni 1340 e alla quale collabora il console Gotifredo di Zoagli, con contributi del papa Clemente VI.[8]

Il secondo momento dello sviluppo urbanistico della colonia corrisponde agli anni successivi alla guerra di Chioggia: tra il 1352 e il 1383 accanto al castello e alla *civitas* si sono formati dei borghi popolati soprattutto da Orientali, provenienti dalla vicina campagna, ma anche da qualche Occidentale. In tre anni, tre consoli della colonia furono incaricati di proteggere i borghi: vi costruirono una lunga fila di mura per un arco di circa cinque chilometri, al di là della muraglia interna e che raggiunge la costa in un punto più fortificato degli altri, dove fu edificata nei primi anni del Quattrocento la massiccia torre di San Costantino.[9] Questi ingenti lavori furono gli ultimi nella storia della colonia; dopo il 1400 le autorità genovesi si accontentarono di mantenere o di consolidare quello che c'era. Soltanto il Banco di San Giorgio, concessionario delle colonie pontiche dopo il 1453, adotta per la protezione di Caffa il sistema del debito pubblico, creando dei *loca* per favorire la *fabrica moenium* o gli *officiales fossorum*: rafforzamento dei merli, creazione di anti-fossi e diverse spese di consolidamento appaiono così nei conti della Massaria di Caffa.[10] Dunque, già alla fine del Trecento, la colonia ha sdoppiato il paesaggio urbano della metropoli: da una parte il *castrum* e la *civitas* uniti dalla medesima cinta, dall'altra, borghi *extra muros castri et infra fossum*, secondo lo statuto del

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[5] Niceforo Gregoras, ed. di Bonn, p. 684.

[6] "Imposicio Officii Gazarie," in *Monumenta Historiae Patriae, Leges Municipales*, ed. L. Saluti (Torino, 1838), 1, pp. 377–82.

[7] Michel Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, cit., 1, pp. 202–5.

[8] Elena Skrzinska, "Inscriptions latines des colonies génoises en Crimée," in *Atti della Società ligure di Storia patria* (*ASLi*), 56 (1928), 38–39; A.L. Jakobson, *Srednevekovyj Krym* (Mosca, 1964) 113.

[9] Michel Balard, "Continuité ou changement," cit., p. 87.

[10] Archivio di Stato di Genova (ASG) Caffa Massaria 1465/1, c. 63b; 1465/2, cc. 60b, 95a; 1468/1, c. 58a.

1449,[11] e, al di là della seconda linea di muri, lo spazio aperto e piano dei sobborghi, con le capane di terra cotta dei Tartari, i mulini e in cima ai colli, i boschetti e le terre incolte per l'allevamento del bestiame. Durante il Trecento, un regolamento per lo sviluppo del porto costringe infatti i patroni di navi salpando per il Mar Nero a far scalo a Caffa all'andata e al ritorno, in modo che i dazi pagati (i diritti di anchoraggio) procurassero il denaro per la ricostruzione della città.[12] Così, fin dall'inizio, la crescita di Caffa è legata a quella del suo porto: il Comune ha voluto creare una nuova città portuale, figlia di Genova.

La congiuntura politica era molto favorevole al suo sviluppo. Basta ricordare, dopo il grande storico rumeno Georges Bratianu e Dimitri Obolensky,[13] che l'incontro tra i mercanti occidentali e i Mongoli costituisce un evento di primo ordine nella storia europea. Per la prima volta, dopo i secoli dell'Antichità, il Mar Nero viene integrato alla civiltà cristiana occidentale. Difatti, grazie alla sicurezza offerta agli imprenditori stranieri, relazioni intense si creano tra le sponde del Mar Nero, ormai aperte al commercio italiano e il retroterra del continente asiatico. Tra gli anni 1290 e 1340 molti mercanti occidentali si recano nelle Indie e in Cina, ricalcando le orme di Marco Polo.[14] In queste relazioni, Caffa svolge un ruolo importante, a causa del sito e della situazione della città e, soprattutto, della politica genovese che ha sfruttato bene le condizioni geografiche del luogo.

La colonia è difatti situata al punto dove i monti Aïla calano per lasciare posto a una piccola pianura costiera che viene a morire sulle sponde del Bosforo cimmeriano. Di conseguenza, le communicazioni di Caffa verso ovest, cioè verso Eski-Krim, la capitale del khanato di Crimea nel Quattrocento, sono facilitate. Di là, le vie attraversano la penisola di Crimea verso nord e la legano con la Russia meridionale. Dalla parte del mare, Caffa sfrutta anche condizioni assai privileggiate. La città si è sviluppata sopra un piccolo colle, dominando la riva, mentre il porto si è insediato nella curva del lido, protetta dai venti di ovest e di sud-ovest, ma non da quelli del nord. Benchè sia mediocre, questo porto è l'ultimo riparo prima degli stretti di Kertch, tra il Mar Nero e il Mar di Tana (oggi di Azov). Può quindi controllare la navigazione che si avvia alle bocche del Dono o che ne proviene. Le relazioni terrrestri con l'entroterra sono anche facilitate dallo sbocco, non troppo lontano, di parecchi fiumi - Dono, Dniepro - tra i quali passava nel tempo glorioso dell'impero bizantino il traffico con i principati russi, la famosa strada dei Vareghi.

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[11] Amedeo Vigna, "Codice diplomatico della colonie tauro-liguri," in *ASLi*, 7/2 (1881), 620.

[12] V. Vitale, *Le Fonti del Diritto Marittimo Ligure* (Genova, 1951), pp. 143–44; cf. G. Forcheri, *Navi e navigazione a Genova nel Trecento. Il «Liber Gazarie»* (Genova, 1974), p. 19.

[13] G.I. Bratianu, *La mer Noire. Des origines à la conquête ottomane* (Münich, 1969), pp. 204–24; D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe 500–1453* (Londra, 1974), pp. 50–51.

[14] Robert S. Lopez, *Su e giù per la storia di Genova*, Collana storica di Fonti e Studi diretta da Geo Pistarino n.20 (Genova, 1975), pp. 83–186; Michel Balard, "Precursori di Cristoforo Colombo: i Genovesi in Estremo Oriente nel XIV secolo," *Atti del Convegno internazionale di Studi colombiani (Genova 13–14 ottobre 1973)* (Genova, 1974), pp. 149–64. Idem, *La mer Noire et la Romanie génoise*, cit., étude XIV.

Queste condizioni geografiche favorevoli sono state valorizzate da una politica abile tanto da parte dei Genovesi insediati in Crimea quanto dai Tartari, sovrani dell'entroterra. Genova ha dapprima cercato di dominare tutto l'arco rivierasco della penisola. Uno scoppo raggiunto nel 1365 quando il Comune ha potuto impadronirsi dell'ultimo appoggio dei Veneziani, Soldaia, e costituire la così detta Gazaria genovese, sotto l'autorità del console di Caffa.[15] La zona rivierasca fornisce quindi alla colonia le risorze locali (legno, miele, cera, vino). Nello stesso tempo, l'obbligo imposto dall'*Officium Gazarie* del rilasciare almeno tre giorni a Caffa per le navi genovesi nel Mar Nero ha contribuito allo sviluppo della colonia alla quale ha fornito i redditi dei dazi doganali importanti. Per quel che riguarda il governo dell'Orda d'Oro, al di fuori di tre aggressioni assai limitate e dovute a fattori estranei alla vita della colonia, le relazioni con il khanato sono buone; esse poggiano sui trattati che permettono all'Orda di trare profitto del commercio genovese, o con il prelevamento di qualche dazio tramite il rappresentante tartaro nella colonia, il *tudun*, o colla diffusione dei prodotti dell'industria occidentale trasmessi dai mercanti genovesi. Caffa si trova quindi al punto nodale di una vasta rete di traffico che unisce l'Occidente con le steppe asiatiche e il sud della Russia.

Per sfruttare questi vantaggi, di quale attrezzature portuali dispone la colonia? È da ricordare che Genova stessa si è dotata di una infrastruttura portuale molto tardi: ponti di pietra per l'approdo e lo sbarco, calate in muratura, bitte di marmo per l'ormeggio soltanto nel Trecento. Lo stesso succede per Caffa. Durante i secoli qui esaminati, non si fa menzione di scali di pietra per l'ormeggio delle imbarcazioni. I registri della Massaria non hanno conservato nessuna traccia di allestimenti del porto, di investimenti specifici per facilitare il trasbordo delle merci. C'è quindi da concludere che, durante il periodo della sovranità genovese, Caffa abbia disposto soltanto di un ponte di legno al quale si accedeva da due porte, l'una grande, l'altra più piccola, *hosteum marine magnum* e *hosteum parvum*, quest'ultima nella vicinanza del portico della corte consolare.[16] Un disegno che accompagna il racconto di viaggio di Jean Bordier nel 1607 dimostra l'esistenza di un solo ponte, perpendicolare alla riva. Ancora negli anni 1468 e 1469, viene citato la scala del ponte della dogana,[17] ciò che significa che all'estremità del ponte chiamato in un atto notarile *pons pedaggi Caffe*,[18] verso la città si trovava la *logia pontis et ponderis*, dove si pagava l'*introytus pontis et ponderis*, equivalente del *commerchium* o dei *karati Peyre* pagati negli altri porti genovesi, e dove i *mensuratores* tassavano le merci da pesare. Le navi più grosse non potevano approdare: lo dimostra il fatto che nel 1410, il Comune di Caffa deve pagare le spese di armamento di una barca varata per prelevare la corrispondenza portata da una nave arrivata da Pera.[19] Invece, il

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[15] M. Nystazopolou, *Hè en tè Taurikè Chersonèsô polis Sougdaïa* (Atene, 1965), p. 50.
[16] ASG, Notai, Ognibono Giovanni 1342, c. 38a; Caffa Massaria 1381, c. 173b.
[17] ASG, Massaria Caffa, n.g; 590/1251, c. 80a.
[18] ASG, Not. Giovanni Balbi, atto del 25 luglio 1403.
[19] ASG, Massaria Caffa n.g. 590/1227 (anno 1410), c. 54b.

ponte permette l'approdo del medio e piccolo tonnellaggio, *sacarae*, *lembi*, *monerii*, *barcae* e *barchatae*, utilizzate da Greci o da Armeni per la navigazione costiera.

Un altro elemento di debolezza viene dal fatto che il porto di Caffa non è stato posto sotto una responsabilità specifica. Mentre a Genova l'*officium* dei *salvatores portus et moduli* è incaricato dal 1281 della gestione del porto e dell'utilizzazione dei fondi raccolti dalla tassa di 10% sui legati testamentarii,[20] a Caffa due uffici hanno tra diversi impegni quello di gestire il porto: da una parte, il *sabarbarius* dal quale dipendono i provvedimenti di difesa della città, ma anche, come si vede nel 1455, l'allestimento delle scale marittime;[21] dall'altra l'*Officium provisionis Caffe*, incaricato di provvedere, secondo gli statuti di Caffa del 1449, ai lavori della darsena, ma anche a quelli delle mura e dei fossati, delle fontane e delle cisterne.[22] Benchè esistesse a Caffa il legato testamentario, *decenium portus et moduli*, non si sa a quale ufficio sia stata affidata la gestione dei legati. Un custode della porta della darsena e sei per le navi durante il loro svernamento sono pagati dall'amministrazione comunale.[23]

Sprovvedute di allestimenti stabili, le attrezzature portuali sono nondimeno completate dalle costruzioni tradizionali per l'armamento delle navi: l'arsenale e la darsena. I testi, molto brevi, della Massaria ci hanno trasmesso due parole per definire il luogo di costruzione delle navi a Caffa: da una parte l'arsenale, forse situato al sud della cittadella, è oggetto di piccole riparazioni durante il Quattrocento,[24] dall'altra uno «scario», parola utilizzata in Liguria per denominare un cantiere navale, insediato soprattutto sulle spiaggie delle Riviere. A Caffa, lo scario si trova nella vicinanza della *logia ponderis*, cioè del ponte di approdo per le navi: qui sono costruite al tempo della guerra di Chioggia le galere che sono poi mandate nell'Adriatico contro la flotta veneziana.[25] Di nuovo, nel 1386, una galea di 22 banchi e una galeotta sono costruite nello «scario» di Caffa, ma il termine serve anche a definire la parte della riva da dove sono tirate a terra le galere per lo svernamento.[26] Le vecchie galere o le navi, prese di guerra, vi sono vendute all'asta.[27] Negli ultimi anni della dominazione genovese, l'arsenale viene coperto da un tetto.[28] La darsena è piuttosto dedicata al riparo delle navi: un testo del 1455 la localizza nel quartiere di Vonitica, cioè nella parte settentrionale della riva.[29] Nella vicinanza, il Comune affitta un magazzino per custodire le rami delle sue navi, i pezzi nuovi, fabbricati nella Gazaria genovese, essendo sbarcati direttamente sulla

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[20] L. Grossi Bianchi and E. Poleggi, *Una città portuale del Medioevo. Genova nei secoli X–XVI*, (Genova, 1980), p. 100.

[21] ASG, Manoscritti 849, 1° luglio 1455.

[22] Amedeo Vigna, "Codice diplomatico," p. 598.

[23] ASG, Caffa Massaria 1386, c. 62a e Massaria 1441, c. 350a.

[24] ASG, Caffa Massaria n.g. 590/1228 (anno 1472), c. 69b; 590/1264 (anno 1424–25), c. 56b.

[25] ASG, Caffa Massaria 1381/1382, cc. 85a e 391b.

[26] ASG, Caffa Massaria n.g. 590/1228 (anno 1460), c. 197a; Massaria 1381–82, cc. 87a e 90b.

[27] ASG, Caffa Massaria 1381–82, c. 126b; Massaria 1386, cc. 366a e 62b.

[28] ASG, Caffa Massaria n.g. 590/1257 (anno 1471), c. 39b.

[29] ASG, Manoscritti 849, 1° luglio 1455.

riva.[30] Un faro dedicato a Sant'Antonio e fanali sopra il colle di San Giorgio, al sud della cittadella completano le attrezzature del porto.[31] Non si sa se, come a Genova, una *ripa* con magazzini, depositi, botteghe e alloggi per mercanti, esisteva lungo la costa. Lo statuto di Caffa del 1449 si accontenta di menzionare i caravanserragli all'interno della citadella, sottolineando quindi il legame stretto tra il porto e il *castrum* di Caffa. Ma la questione dell'interpenetrazione delle vie terrestre nel tessuto portuale rimane incerta. Gli scavi effettuati sul luogo si sono interessati alla muraglia, ma non agli impianti economici della città.[32]

Dotato dalle attrezzature di base, il porto ha potuto sfruttare la situazione geografica dei principali punti di scambio, che inferisce un doppio sistema di relazioni con il retroterra: relazioni terrestri con la penisola di Crimea e il sud della Russia, legami marittimi con gli sbocchi delle grandi vie mongole della seta e delle spezie, dove arrivano i prodotti ricercati dell'Estremo Oriente.

Un brano del famoso libro di mercatura di Pegolotti descrive i trasporti terrestri nelle steppe asiatiche all'inizio del Trecento.[33] Le prime tappe del viaggio si fanno con carrette tirate da buoi o da cavalli. Difatti, lo statuto di Caffa del 1449 mette in evidenza l'approvvigionamento della città con carrette provenienti dal contado vicino. Carrette a quattro ruote apportano grano, miglio, orzo, verdure, frutta, legno, sale e carbone.[34] Carrette più piccole a due ruote, chiamate *telegana*, sono caricate dalle stesse merci ma pagano un dazio minore. L'ingresso in città è controllato dal *ihagatarius*, incaricato del vettovagliamento. Dalla campagna vicina provengono anche, sotto la sorveglianza del *ministralis*, incaricato del controllo dei prezzi, dei pesi e misure, le carrette a quattro ruote, piene di cavoli capucci, di cocomeri, di peperoni e di castagne. La città è quindi circondata da giardini e da terre produttive che la forniscono della maggior parte dei suoi approvvigionamenti in prodotti agricoli. Dalla porta Gorgi a ovest della città dove arriva la via che porta a Eski Krim (Solgat), o dalla porta Caihadoris al sud, le vie terrestre legando Caffa all'interno della penisola irrigano tutta la città e si concentrano verso la zona portuale per facilitare l'esportazione delle derate indigene. La vitalità del porto risulta della complementarietà tra vie terrestre e rote di mare.

Accanto alle merci della penisola, le vie settentrionali ed occidentali attraggono i viaggiatori che trovano a Caffa le navi salpando per Costantinopoli o al di là degli Stretti. I pellegrini russi che si recano nella capitale bizantina di solito attraversano Caffa. Nel 1381, l'archimandrita Pimen, eletto metropolita di Kiev e della Grande Russia, con l'appoggio del denaro genovese, è trasportato da Pera a Caffa con

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[30] ASG, Caffa Massaria 1386, c. 98a; Massaria 1420, c. 41a.

[31] ASG, Caffa Massaria 1386, c. 94b; Massaria n.g. 590/1228 (anno 1469), cc. 387a e 389a.

[32] A. Jakobson, *Srednevekovy Krym* (Leningrad, 1964); Idem, *Krym v sredniye veka* (Mosca, 1973); M.G. Kramarovsky, "The Golden Horde and the Levant in the epoch of Fr. Petrarca: trade, culture, handcrafts," *Rivista di Bizantinistia*, 3 (1993), 249–80.

[33] Francesco B. Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, A. Evans (ed.) (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pp. 21–23.

[34] Amedeo Vigna, "Codice diplomatico," p. 649.

una galera del Comune, dietro pagamento di un noleggio di 150 *sommi*.[35] Può allora continuare il suo viaggio verso la nuova sede tramite le vie della Crimea interna. Un altro chierico, Michele-Mityai, nominato metropolita dal gran principe Dimitri, segue la via inversa, tramite una nave genovese di Caffa, per sollecitare a Costantinopoli l'intronizzazione dal patriarca.[36] Teofano il Greco, che adorna la chiesa della Trasfigurazione a Novgorod, lavorò a Caffa prima di andare in Russia.[37] In somma, la colonia genovese è la tappa per eccelenza sugli itinerari che conducono i pellegrini russi verso Costantinopoli o Gerusalemme.[38] E d'altra parte, è un focolaio per la tratta nel Mar Nero: vi passano gli schiavi tartari, circassi, abkhazi o mingreli, acquisiti presso le tribu della costa caucasiana. Le autorità di Caffa, che traggono dei redditi cospicui dai dazi sugli schiavi, costringono i mercanti a rilasciare a Caffa, un obbligo meno pesante nel Quattrocento, quando la tratta scappa dalle mani dei Liguri per passare a quelle dei Greci e dei Sarraceni.[39]

Se le vie verso l'ovest e il nord della Crimea sono accessibili, i legami tra Caffa e le altre colonie genovesi della Riviera si fano tramite cabotaggio, tanto difficili sono le strade littorali. Gli statuti del 1449 impongono agli ufficiali che si recano nella Gazaria genovese di prendere una barca o una piccola nave. Una buona parte degli approvvigionamenti della città arriva via mare: i cocomeri, ma soprattutto i pesci e frutta di mare - storioni, murene, muggini, rombi e ostriche - il consumo dei quali cresce in tempo di quaresima o di digiuno.[40]

Ma il retroterra di Caffa si estende al di là della Crimea. Difatti, la colonia genovese può essere considerata come il punto ultimo della via mongola della seta e delle spezie, la quale, partendo da Khanbalig (Pekino) arriva a Tana, alla bocca del Dono, percorrendo le diverse tappe dell'itinerario di oltre 8.000 kilometri, descritto da Pegolotti.[41] L'ultimo tratto di questa via è marittimo, attraverso il mare di Tana, il Bosforo cimmeriano e lungo la costa della Crimea. I Genovesi vi hanno conquistato una dominazione incontrastabile, benchè i Veneziani, tramite la *muda* di Romania, prolungata da Trebisonda a Tana, abbiano potuto mantenere il loro traffico.[42] Su questo tratto, una vera divisione del lavoro si è istituita. Gli Orientali, Greci e Armeni, patroni di piccole navi, esercitano il cabotaggio e fanno confluire

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[35] ASG, Caffa Massaria 1381–82, c. 301a; cf. Michel Balard, "Byzance et les régions septentrionales de la mer Noire (XIIIe–XVe siècles)," in Ihor Sevcenko e Gennady G. Litavrin, *Acts of the XVIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Selected Papers: Main and Communications (Moscow 1991)*, t.1. *History* (Shepherdstown, 1996), p. 28.

[36] John Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia: a Study of Byzantino-Russian Relations in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 212, 218.

[37] John Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, pp. 140–41.

[38] George P. Majeska, *Russian Travellers to Constantinople in the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, Washington D.C., 1984.

[39] Michel Balard, "Esclavage en Crimée et sources fiscales génoises au XVe siècle," in Henri Bresc (ed.), *Figures de l'esclave au Moyen Age et dans le monde moderne* (Paris, 1996), pp. 77–87.

[40] Amedeo Vigna, "Codice diplomatico," pp. 625–26.

[41] Si veda sopra nota 26.

[42] Doris Stöckly, *Le système de l'Incanto des galées du marché à Venise (fin XIIIe-milieu du XVe siècle)* (Leiden, 1995), pp. 101–19.

verso il deposito centrale della colonia genovese i prodotti del retroterra: sale della zona di Ciprico (ad est di Caffa), storioni e caviale di Matrega, biade dei *caricatoria frumenti* segnalati da Pegolotti.[43] I trasporti di massa sono invece nelle mani degli armatori occidentali che utilizzano navi, cocche e galee per il vettovagliamento di Costantinopoli, di Trebisonda, la capitale dei Grandi Comneni, e delle grandi città dell'Occidente.[44]

I mercanti occidentali non si accontentano di aspettare alle foci del Dono o a Caffa l'arrivo delle caravane mongole. Essi vanno incontro a queste, penetrando nel cuore delle steppe asiatiche. Tutti i viaggi degli uomini d'affari genovesi, che, dietro Marco Polo, si sono recati nelle Indie o in Cina, cominciano a Caffa dove caricano i panni, le telle e le verghe di argento indispensabili per il commercio con i Tartari, dove affluiscono i fardelli di seta o le pellicie molto apprezzate sul mercato occidentale. Ma queste vie intercontinentali non sono state frequentate ugualmente nei Trecento e Quattrocento. Le relazioni regolari tra Caffa e il mondo tartaro non cominciano prima degli ultimi decenni del Duecento - si rammenta il ramarico degli Polo scontenti di non poter commerciare a Soldaia nel 1260. A questa data, la seta cinese, ben conosciuta in Occidente, arrivava tramite Laiazzo, il porto della Piccola Armenia.[45] Lo spostamento verso il nord di quel grande asse del commercio internazionale è stato lento; non funziona davvero prima dell'ultimo decennio del Duecento. Poi i primi disturbamenti nei khanati mongoli appariscono attorno al 1344. L'assedio di Caffa dalle truppe mongole e poi la guerra degli Stretti tra Genova e Venezia interrompono le relazioni, riprese dopo il 1355, ma l'arrivo al potere della dinastia Ming in Cina nel 1368 chiude per secoli il paese ai mercanti occidentali. Ormai, questi devono accontentarsi di percorrere le prime tappe della via del Cataio, come risulta dall'esame dei testamenti di Tana dell'inizio del Quattrocento.[46] Tamerlano ha distrutto le colonie occidentali che si ricostruiscono poco a poco dopo il 1400; i mercanti di Tana si recano fino ad Astrakhan, mai al di là di questa città. Pochi fardelli di seta, perle e pietre preziose caratterizzano un povero filo di traffico, poco paragonabile con la rete degli affari nella prima metà del Trecento.

L'evoluzione dell'entroterra condiziona quindi lo sviluppo o il declino economico della colonia genovese. Diventato in pochi decenni il principale

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[43] Francesco B. Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, pp. 54–55.

[44] Michel Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, 2, pp. 749–68.

[45] Pierre Racine, "Le marché de la soie à Gênes au XIIIe siècle," *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 1 (1970), 403–17; Michel Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, 2, pp. 723–33.

[46] N.D. Prokofieva, "Akty venezianskogo notariya v Tane Donato a Mano (1413–1419)", *Prichernomorye v sredniye veka*, ed. S.P. Karpov, t.4 (Mosca, 2000), pp. 36–174; A.A. Talyzina, "Venezianskij notarij v Tane Cristoforo Rizzo (1411–1413)," *ibid.*, pp. 19–35. Cf. Bernard Doumerc, "Les Vénitiens à Tana au XVe siècle," *Le Moyen Age*, t. 94/3–4 (1988), 363–79; Idem, "La Tana au XVe siècle: comptoir ou colonie?," in Michel Balard (éd.), *Etat et colonisation au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance* (Lyon, 1989), pp. 251–66; Sergej P. Karpov, "Le comptoir de Tana comme le centre des rapports économiques de Byzance avec la Horde d'Or aux XIIIe–XVe siècles," *Byzantinische Forschungen*, XXV (1999), pp. 181–88

emporium delle regioni pontiche, Caffa svolge un doppio ruolo. Da una parte, è l'intermediario quasi di obbligo su una delle vie più frequentate del commercio internazionale, quella che unisce l'Occidente ai paesi dell'Estremo-Oriente, tramite il Mar Nero e le steppe asiatiche. Sotto questo aspetto, controlla un vasto hinterland al quale fornisce i prodotti dell'industria occidentale, vino e verghe di argento per compensare senza dubbio il deficit strutturale degli scambi. Il retroterra lo provvede della seta e delle spezie nella misura in cui si può seguire al sicuro le vie dell'Asia, sotto la protezione della «pace mongola»: vie marittime fino alle foci del Dono e terrestri per la maggior parte del loro percorso nei khanati. Caffa concentra quindi gli scambi tra due mondi e due economie complementari e svolge il ruolo di un porto coloniale che riceve dall'Occidente i prodotti fini e gli trasmette materie prime, di diverso valore.

Ma, d'altra parte, la colonia crimeana diventa, a causa della chiusura delle vie mongole un porto regionale che assicura la distribuzione in un vasto paese dei tessuti occidentali e riceve dalle pianure russe biado, pellicie, miele, cera, dai porti del mar di Tana sale, pesci e caviale, dalle sponde orientali del Mar Nero gli schiavi, un insieme di prodotti indispensabili alle città d'Italia, alla penisola iberica e alle Fiandre, ma anche al vettovagliamento delle città pontiche stesse.[47] L'approvviggionamento di Trebisonda e di Costantinopoli dipende in gran parte dell'attività dei mercanti occidentali, diventati intermediari indispensabili tra le regioni pontiche. In questo sistema economico, creato dagli Occidentali, i mercanti indigeni sono ridotti a un ruolo di provveditori, i quali con piccole navi percorrono le sponde della Crimea con un continuo cabotaggio. Questi indigeni occupano la scala più bassa di una vera gerarchia commerciale.

Varietà degli itinerari, diversità dei mezzi di scambio, gerarchia degli imprenditori, tali sono i caratteri maggiori dell'attività del porto di Caffa nelle sue relazioni con l'entroterra durante i due secoli della dominazione genovese: una situazione del tutto paragonabile con quella del grande porto ligure, polmone della pianura padana, ma anche centro di consumo legato alle importazioni di tutto il mondo mediterraneo. Anche in questo senso, Caffa è una vera figlia di Genova.

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[47] Michel Balard, "Gênes et la mer Noire (XIIIe–XVe siècles)," *Revue historique*, 547 (1983), pp. 31–54.

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Medieval States and Military Orders: The Order of Calatrava in the Late Middle Ages

Sophia Menache

The emergence of embryonic states in the late Middle Ages has received much attention in scholarly research. From the pioneer studies of Robert Fawtier and Bernard Guenée in the 1960s[1] to the more elaborated works in recent years,[2] there has been considerable advance with regard to the emergence of political consciousness in the late Middle Ages and the contribution of monarchy to this process.[3] From the many angles of research, however, one still has scarcely been investigated: the correlation between the emergence of medieval states, the monarchy, and the military orders. The question remains, to what degree did the existence of the military orders affect the emergence of medieval states or did the political elite, the king at its head, regard them as an obstacle? Although the scandalous arrest of the Templars by Philip the Fair in 1307 and the abolition of their Order at the Council of Vienne in 1312 have been the subject of intense research, the studies have focused mainly on the financial needs of the Capetian treasury.[4] Current research does not analyze in detail the correlation, or lack of it, between the centralistic policy of monarchy and the continued existence of the military orders twenty-six years after the fall of crusader Acre.[5] Although some orders found a territorial substitute for the Holy Land – such as Rhodes in the case of the Hospitallers from 1310 onwards,[6] or the north-eastern borders of the Holy Roman Empire in the case of the Teutonic

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[1] Robert Fawtier, "Comment le roi de France au début du XIVe siècle pouvait-il se représenter son royaume?" in *Melanges offerts à M. Paul E. Martin* (Genève, 1961), pp. 65–77; Bernard Guenée, "Etat et nation en France au moyen âge," *Revue historique* 237 (1967), 17–30; *Id.*, "Espace et état dans la France au bas moyen âge," *Annales* 23 (1968), 754–58.

[2] Anthony Smith, "National Identities: Modern and Medieval" in *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, eds. Simon Forde, Lesley Johnson and Alan V. Murray (Leeds, 1995), pp. 23–46; Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion, and Nationalism* (Cambridge, 1997); *Medieval Europeans: Studies in Ethnic Identity and National Perspectives in Medieval Europe*, ed. Alfred Smith (Wiltshire, 1998); Keith Stringer, "Social and Political Communities in European History: Some Reflections on Recent Studies," in *Nations, Nationalism, and Patriotism in the European Past*, eds. Claus Bjorn, Alexander Grant, and Keith Stringer (Copenhagen, 1994), pp. 9–34.

[3] Joseph Strayer, "France: The Holy Land, the Chosen People, and the Most Christian King," in *Medieval Statecraft and the Perspectives of History* (Princeton, 1971), pp. 300–14.

[4] Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 280–313; Idem., "The Trial of the Templars Revised," in *The Military Orders, 2: Welfare and Warfare*, ed. Helen Nicholson (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 329–42; Bernard Guillemain, "Clément V et deux process," in *Finances, pouvoirs et mémoire: Mélanges offerts à Jean Favier*, eds. Jean Kerhervé and Albert Rigaudière (Paris, 1999), pp. 549–55.

[5] For the Iberian context, see Carlos de Ayala Martínez et al., "Las Ordenes Militares en la Edad Media Peninsular," *Medievalismo* 2 (1992), 132.

[6] Anthony T. Luttrell, "The Aragonese Crown and the Knights Hospitallers of Rhodes: 1291–1350," *English Historical Review* 76 (1961), 1–19; Idem., "Feudal Tenure and Latin Colonization at Rhodes: 1306–1415," *English Historical Review* 85 (1970), 755–75; Idem., "The Hospitallers of

Knights[7] – these alternatives not only did not solve all points of conflict with the secular powers, but sometimes even exacerbated them.

Focusing on the biography of Don Alonso de Aragon, this paper deals with the relationship between the Order of Calatrava and the monarchy at the end of the Middle Ages, a few years before King Ferdinand was entrusted by apostolic authority with the rule over of all military orders in the united kingdom of Castile-Aragon.[8] Created to serve primarily the interests of the Castilian kings in the *Reconquista*,[9] the Order of Calatrava represented an important military and political factor that no monarch could neglect. One central issue that quite naturally attracted royal interest was the election to the mastership, which was regarded as the key to royal influence and perhaps even rule over the Order. Accordingly, the focus here is on the election of Don Alonso de Aragon to the mastership of Calatrava in 1443 and his military career. These developments involved a process that, in our view, reflects the increasing tendency of the monarchy to take control of all military orders active in the peninsula, first and foremost those having a strong Iberian identity, such as Calatrava, Alcántara, and Santiago, as opposed to those of a more universal character, such as the Hospital and the former Order of the Temple. Analysis of the developments in the Iberian Peninsula may elucidate the problematic relationship between the monarchy and ecclesiastical institutions thus advancing our understanding of the crystallization of national entities in the late Middle Ages.

The main source for reconstructing the election of Don Alonso and his military career is the manuscript *Historia del invicto Don Alonso de Aragón Maestre de la Orden de Calatrava y Conde de Ribagorza, hijo natural del ínclito Rey Don*

Rhodes: Prospectives, Problems, Possibilities," in *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas* (Sigmaringen, 1980), pp. 243–66.

[7] William Urban, "The Teutonic Order and the Christianization of Lithuania," in *La Cristianizzazione della Lituania: Atti del Colloquio Internazionale di storia ecclesiastica …* (Rome, 1989), pp. 105–35; Karol Górski, "The Teutonic Order in Prussia," in *Communitas, princes, corona regni*, ed. Karol Górski (Torun, 1976), pp. 13–31; Klaus Militzer, "From the Holy Land to Prussia: The Teutonic Knights Between Emperors and Popes and their Policies until 1309," in *Mendicants, Military Orders, and Regionalism in Medieval Europe*, ed. J. Sarnowsky (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 71–81; Hubert Houben, "Nuovi orientamenti nelle ricerche sull'Ordine Teutonico," in *L'Ordine Teutonico nell Mediterraneo*, ed. Hubert Houben (Galatina, 2004), pp. 3–16.

[8] The administration of the Order of Calatrava was formally entrusted by Pope Innocent VIII to King Ferdinand in 1485. The papal privilege was extended in 1493 and 1494, when the Orders of Alcántara and Santiago were also submitted to royal rule. See *Bullarium Ordinis Militiae de Calatrava*, eds. Ignatius Josephus de Ortega et al. (Aranjuez, 1747–61), pp. 285–90, 689–93. A.L. Javierre Mur y C. Gutiérrez del Arroyo, *Fernando el Católico y las Ordenes militares españolas* (Zaragoza, 1955), pp. 287–300.

[9] Joseph O'Callaghan, "The Order of Calatrava: Years of Crisis and Survival, 1158–1212," in *The Meeting of Two Worlds* (Michigan, 1986), pp. 37–54; E. Rodriguez–Picavea Matilla, "Primeras tentativas de jurisdicción territorial de la monarquía castellana: Alfonso V y la Orden de Calatrava," in *Seminario sobre Alfonso V y su época* (Aguilar del Campo, 1992), pp. 361–78. See also E. Solano Ruiz, *La Orden de Calatrava en el siglo XV: Los señoríos castellanos de la Orden al fin de la Edad Media* (Sevilla, 1978).

Juan el Segundo de Aragón y Navarra.[10] Although the script is anonymous, both the linguistic style and its context hint at the possibility that it was written by an admirer of King Juan the Second of Navarre, Don Alonso's father, at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[11] The rich documentation included in the *Historia* allows a unique insight into the changing relationship between the monarchy and the military orders in the Iberian Peninsula with the papacy playing a crucial role in the balance of forces.

Don Alonso de Aragon was the illegitimate son of Juan II, king of Navarre and, later on, of Aragon, as well.[12] As such, Don Alonso was also the nephew of King Juan the Second of Castile and King Alfonso V of Aragon[13] and the half-brother of King Ferdinand the Catholic.[14] Don Alonso was, therefore, related to the most prominent political figures in the late fifteenth century and as such played an important role in the internecine wars that affected the Iberian Peninsula.[15]

Don Alonso's birth date is unclear: his biographer claims that he was twenty-two years old in 1443, when he was elected master of Calatrava,[16] while the papal dispensation of Eugenius IV, extended for this purpose, does not specify his age.[17] Pope Calixtus III, in a document of 1455, estimated that Don Alonso was fourteen years old when elected to the mastership.[18] One may therefore conclude that Don Alonso was born between 1421 and 1429. Under the tutelage of his uncle, King Juan II of Castile,[19] he was sent in his adolescence to the court of King Duarte of

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[10] *Real Academia de la Historia, Colección Luis de Salazar* I–35, Sign 9–609, no. 36203 (henceforth, *Historia)*. The manuscript is described in the *Indice de la Colección de Don Luis de Salazar y Castro*, eds. Baltasar Cuartero and Huerta et al. (Madrid, 1959), xxiii, 173. See also the short biographical essay of José Navarro Latorre, *Don Alonso de Aragón, la espada o lanza de Juan II* (Zaragoza, 1983); Sophia Menache, "A Juridical Chapter in the History of the Order of Calatrava: The Mastership of Don Alonso de Aragón (1443–1444)," *The Legal History Review* 55 (1987), 321–334; Idem., "Una personificación del ideal caballerezco en el medioevo tardío: Don Alonso de Aragón," *Revista de la Universidad de Alicante* VI (1987), 9–29.

[11] I would like to take the opportunity here to thank Prof. Joseph O'Callaghan of Fordham University, who brought the manuscript to my attention and to Prof. Luis García Guijarro from the University of Huesca, who read the paper and made useful comments.

[12] His mother, Leonor de Escobar, was the daughter of an aristocratic family who served in the household of the queen mother and in her old age joined the monastery of St. Mary of Dueñas in Medina del Campo.

[13] On his political career, see, Alan F. Ryder, *Alfonso V the Magnanimous: King of Aragon, Naples, and Sicily, 1396–1458* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 116–74, 252–305, 306–57.

[14] *Historia*, fol. 3r; Jerónimo Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, xv–29 (Zaragoza, 1579), ed. Angel Canellas López (Zaragoza, 1975), p. 313; Lucio Sículo Marineo, *Crónica d'Aragón* (1523, repr. Barcelona, 1974), fol. 66v.

[15] For a general survey of contemporary political history, see Jaume Vicens Vives, *Juan II de Aragon (1398–1479): Monarquía y revolución en la España del siglo XV* (Barcelona, 1953); Joseph O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Cornell, 1975), pp. 545–91.

[16] *Historia*, fol. 4v.

[17] "Religionis zelus rite," (3 September 1443), *Archivo Histórico Nacional, Documentos eclesiásticos de Calatrava*, no. 126.

[18] *Bullarium Ordinis Militiae de Calatrava*, p. 254.

[19] On the reign of Juan the Second, see, Rosemary E. Fox Thurston, *The Tranquillity of the Realm in Fifteenth Century Castile (1406–1474),* Ph. D. dissertation (Fordham University, 1991), pp. 255–304;

Portugal "to be educated more peacefully, though learning the exercises of a knight, thus being free from the unrest that affected Castile at the time."[20] Called back to the Castilian court at the age of eighteen, he was dubbed knight by King Juan, who also bestowed on him his coat of arms, consisting of three parts: a golden castle backed by a red field in the upper-right corner, a crowned lion on a white field below, and the five golden lines of Aragon backed by a red field. After being elected master of Calatrava, Don Alonso added a long cross to the original elements.[21]

Following his return to Castile, Don Alonso became closely involved in the internal wars that affected the kingdom. His anonymous biographer depicts him "fighting as a lion" at the side of the Infantes of Aragon and further estimates, without any risks of objectivity, that "the many battles in which he participated turned him into an experienced soldier and a veteran captain whose courage equalled and even eclipsed [that of] his ancestors, as the king, his father, and all Spaniards and Frenchmen commonly agreed. To all these [one may add] his personal skills on which he prevailed, too, since he was handsome, with beautiful eyes, brown hair, aristocratic height. More tall than short, robust, skilled horseman and expert in the use of arms, people feared [the strength of] his lance. For all these and his many services [to the crown], he truly merited all the many and great benefits which his [royal] uncle bestowed on him."[22] One, if not the most important, benefit alluded to in the last sentence was the king's strong support and, eventually, his attaining for his nephew the mastership of the Military Order of Calatrava.[23]

The candidacy of Don Alonso for the mastership of Calatrava reflects the growing royal tendency to restrain the autonomy of the military orders, thus creating a new balance of power between the Castilian monarchy and the military orders as a whole. Still, the royal trend to foster the nomination of the king's protégés to the mastership of the military orders, especially those of a local character, could hardly be regarded as a new phenomenon in the Iberian Peninsula. In 1409, for instance, the regent of Castile, Fernando de Antequera, obtained the mastership of the orders of Alcántara and Santiago for his two sons. Some years later, the civil wars in Castile brought about the removal of Don Enrique and the administration of the Order of Santiago was then entrusted to the powerful constable, Don Alvaro de Luna.[24] One may therefore conclude that by the fifteenth century, the Iberian

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on his military campaigns, see, Pedro A. Porras Arboledas, *Juan the Second, 1406–1454* (Palencia, 1995), pp. 173–242.

[20] *Historia*, fol. 3r–3v. See also Lucio Marineo Sículo, *Crónica d'Aragón* (1523, repr. Barcelona, 1974), fol. 66v.

[21] *Historia*, 3v.

[22] *Historia*, 4v.–5r.

[23] On the Order of Calatrava and its organization, see, Luis Rafael Villegas Díaz, "La Orden de Calatrava, organización y vida interna," in *Primeras jornadas de historia de las Ordenes Militares* (Madrid, 1997), pp. 29–51.

[24] On later developments, see M.D. Morales Muñiz, "Documentación acerca de la administración de la Orden de Santiago por el príncipe–rey Alfonso de Castilla (1465–1468)," *Hidalguía* 211 (1988), 839–68.

military orders had lost much of their autonomy, which had been strictly defended by all military orders in the not too distant past. The question as to the degree to which this was an Iberian phenomenon, another sequel of the *Reconquista*, is still open to further research.

On a juridical-theoretical level, however, its affiliation with the Cistercian Order endowed the Order of Calatrava with all the benefits of papal exemption, first and foremost the free election of the master.[25] Still, the primary duty of elected masters to pay homage to the Iberian kings substantially undermined their political freedom of action and paved the way for royal interference, if not in the election procedure at least in the masters' policy thereafter. Less affected by the interests of monarchy and the needs of the *Reconquista*, the Cistercian abbots of Morimond, Guido III (1433), John VI (1444), and William II (1468), declared null and void any election performed through external pressure, secular or ecclesiastical, with the consequent excommunication of the candidate.[26] The continuous insistence on election procedures throughout the fifteenth century, nonetheless, hints at the difficulties plaguing canonical elections to the mastership. The increasing political and economic power of the Order, on the one hand, and the financial and military crises of monarchy, on the other, only intensified the points of conflict.[27]

Don Alonso's candidacy to the mastership of Calatrava was encouraged by the approaching death of the master in office, Luis de Guzmán, in early 1443. But Don Alonso was not alone. In the ranks of the Order itself, two high dignitaries coveted the mastership: the *comendador mayor*, Juan Ramirez de Guzmán, and the *clavero*, Fernando de Padilla, who ultimately prevailed over his rival and kept him in prison. Don Luis de Guzmán's death on 24 February 1443 brought about the unanimous, canonical election of Fernando de Padilla by all knights, a fact emphasized in contemporary sources.[28] However, canonical concerns did not enjoy priority in the reasoning of King Juan II of Castile, who demanded the immediate cancellation of the election on the grounds that it had been accomplished without royal consent.[29]

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[25] See the privileges of Alexander III (25 September 1164), Gregory VIII (4 November 1187), and Innocent III (28 April 1199) in this regard, *Bullarium Ordinis Militiae de Calatrava*, 5–6, 22–25, 31–34, 42–46. Joseph O'Callaghan, "The Affiliation of the Order of Calatrava with the Order of Citeaux," *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis* 16 (1960), 271–73.

[26] Joseph O'Callaghan, "*Diffiniciones* of the Order of Calatrava enacted by Abbot William the Second of Morimond, April 2, 1468," *Traditio* 14 (1958), 254, 257–58; Idem., "The Earliest *Diffiniciones* of the Order of Calatrava, 1304–1383," *Traditio* 17 (1961), 255–84.

[27] The military orders offer, in this regard, a faithful example of the challenge that ecclesiastical exemption posed for secular rulers in the late Middle Ages. On parallel developments in Italy, see Carlo M. Cipolla, "Une crise ignorée: Comment s'est perdue la propriété ecclésiastique dans l'Italie du nord entre le XIe et le XVIe siècle,"*Annales E.S.C.* 2 (1947), 317–27.

[28] Francisco de Rades y Andrada, *Chrónica de las tres órdenes y cavallerías de Santiago, Calatrava y Alcántara* (Toledo, 1572), fol. 71r.; *Historia*, fol. 3v–4; Fernán Perez de Guzmán, *Crónica de Juan II*, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles 68 (1875), p. 315.

[29] On royal interference in ecclesiastical elections as a whole, see Oscar Villaroel González, "Las intervenciones regias en las elecciones episcopales en el reinado de Juan II de Castilla (1406–1454): El caso de los arzobispos de Toledo," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 31 (2001), 147–90.

In order to give the knights further food for reconsideration, the king refused to receive the homage of the elected master and proceeded into a frontal attack against the Order's assets throughout Castile.[30]

At this stage, however, Juan's opposition did not cause real detriment to the rather stable position of the elected master, Fernando de Padilla. As the knights and priests of Calatrava wrote to the king, "they elected the master according to the Order's statutes. His royal highness ought not therefore to withhold the result of their election."[31] The new master also enjoyed the support of important dignitaries at the Castilian court, among whom was the heir to the throne, Prince Enrique of Asturias; the Almirante Don Fadrique Enríquez; the Count of Alba, Fernán Alvarez de Toledo; the bishop of Palencia, Gutierrez Gomez de Toledo; and the Count of Haro, Pedro Fernandez de Velasco. In other words, the candidacy of Alonso de Aragon to the mastership of Calatrava – instigated by the Infantes of Aragon and King Juan of Navarre – won for Don Fernando de Padilla the support of all those who opposed the excessive influence of the Infantes of Aragon over the Castilian King. Besides reasons of political antagonism, the opposition to the king's relative found ample justification in the many weaknesses attributed to Don Alonso: being of illegitimate birth and under canonical age, he was also totally ignorant of the affairs of Calatrava. The knights' opposition to the royal candidate further hints at their aspiration – too late, perhaps – to safeguard some of the ancestral privileges of their Order, in particular, ecclesiastical immunity. In this regard, the pope's reaction to the crisis between the royal court and the dignitaries of Calatrava became of crucial importance for the future development of the Order and perhaps of all military orders in the Iberian Peninsula. It was not however for the first time in the history of medieval Spain that the Roman Curia gave precedence to the interests of its royal partners in the *Reconquista* over the interests of the Church in general and those of the military orders in particular.

Early in 1442, King Juan sought a papal dispensation on behalf of his nephew from the impediments of illegitimacy and inferior age. The papal letter acknowledged Don Alonso's high lineage (*de regum prosapia procreatus existis*) and the royal request on his behalf (*ex pro quo carissimus in Christo filius noster Johannes, rex Castelle illustris, nobis super hoc humiliter supplicavit*). It then gracefully established, by apostolic authority, Don Alonso's capability for the mastership of Calatrava or any other ecclesiastical dignity.[32]

Papal dispensation coupled with royal determination and the unexpected death of Fernando de Padilla (22 June 1443)[33] paved the way for the election of Don Alonso de Aragon to the mastership of Calatrava after only three days of deliberations

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[30] Fernán Perez de Guzmán, *Crónica de Juan II*, pp. 611–12; *Historia*, fol. 4.

[31] Fernán Perez de Guzmán, *Crónica de Juan II*, pp. 611–12; *Historia*, fol. 4r.

[32] "Religionis zelus rite," (3 September 1443), *Documentos eclesiásticos de Calatrava*, no. 126.

[33] According to contemporary sources, Fernando was killed by a missile accidentally hurled by one of his knights at the Convent of Calatrava la Nueva. See, Fernán Perez de Guzmán, *Crónica de Juan II*, p. 612.

(18 August). Shortly afterwards, the new master received from King Juan the investiture of the standard of the Order.[34] The concluding sentence in Don Alonso's biography at this stage still hints at the problematical balance between political compulsion and canonical demands: "In this way Don Alonso was elected master [in] the year 1443, at the command of his uncle King Juan, notwithstanding the fact that he had not yet professed." Royal pedigree and political interests clearly won priority in the reasoning of the anonymous writer: "Though his condition as son of King Juan II of Aragon and as nephew of King Juan II of Castile adequately justified his nomination as master of Calatrava, [Don Alonso] deserved it for the many services he has performed [for the Castilian king] from the age of eighteen, when he returned from Portugal until he became twenty-one, when he was elected master."[35] Ample testimony to the degree to which these considerations were shared by at least some ecclesiastical dignitaries, may be found in the letter of confirmation of John VI, abbot of Morimond. The abbot expressed his hopes that the new master "will be beneficial to the defence of the aforesaid rank and its vassals and to the service of God, and of the king of Castile and Leon, and to the peaceful status of the aforesaid kingdom."[36] In other words, John VI of Morimond looked upon serving God and serving the Castilian king as being closely related; a perspective that was rather obviously shared by the king himself. Rather soon, however, the abbot's expectations proved to be no more than wishful thinking, at least with regard to the capacity of Don Alonso to foster the interests and well-being of the Order of Calatrava. Indeed, less than one year after his election, the political process in Castile brought about the formal deposition of Don Alonso from the coveted mastership by a great majority of Calatravan knights.[37]

The Battle of Olmedo (19 May 1444) signalled a turning point in the history of the Castilian kingdom and, in parallel, in the mastership of Don Alonso as well. His father, King Juan of Navarre completely failed in his offensive against Castile and was forced to flee to his own kingdom. Furthermore, the Infantes of Aragon, the closest partners and supporters of Don Alonso, died on the battlefield.[38] These developments in the political arena were closely watched by the knights of Calatrava, who before long translated them into practice for their own benefit. By December, they had gone before the archbishop of Toledo, Don Gutierre, to claim the nullity of Don Alonso's election, which – they argued – had been attained by means of "fear, coercion and violence." The long list of dignitaries who addressed the petition clearly shows that Don Alonso had lost the support of the *sanior pars*

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[34] Testimony of Frey Pedro de Ulloa, *Archivo Histórico Nacional, Documentos particulares de Calatrava*, no. 326, fol. 6v.

[35] *Historia*, fol. 4v.

[36] *Archivo Histórico Nacional, Documentos eclesiásticos de Calatrava*, no. 128, fol. 10r–10v.

[37] The biography records a few acts enacted by Don Alonso concerning his own nomination and his duties toward the abbots of Morimond, as well as one charter of privileges granted to a Castilian town, the name of which was not recorded (February–March 1444); *Historia*, fols. 5v–6r.

[38] Fernán Perez de Guzmán, *Crónica de Juan II*, pp. 614–24; on their political and military career, see, Pedro A. Porras Arboledas, *Juan II, 1406–1454*, pp. 205–12.

in the Calatravan chapter by the end of 1444.[39] Still, the archbishop refused to take a stance – and rightly so, as this was the prerogative of the abbots of Morimond or the pope in their place. The appeal of the Calatravan dignitaries to the archbishop of Toledo, nonetheless, hints at two concomitant processes that had been continuously encouraged by the Castilian monarchy for reasons of political expedience: the weakening of links with the Cistercian abbey of Morimond, on the one hand, and the growing tendency to solve all problems that affected the Order in the Castilian context, on the other.

Pedro Girón – brother of the Prince of Asturias and, as such, a leading member in the Castilian winning party – was eventually elected new master of Calatrava (19 September 1445); he was further confirmed in his charge without further delay by King Juan of Castile.[40] Once again, the papacy fulfilled royal expectations without paying much attention to the results of its unstable policy. In his bull *Regimini universalis ecclesie* (9 January 1446) Pope Eugenius IV confirmed the former master's deposition *in crimine lese maiestatis*, because of Don Alonso's affiliation with the opponents of the Castilian king, an obvious reference to Don Alonso's support of the Infantes of Aragon in the internecine wars that affected the kingdom.[41] In his confirmation of the new master (23 July 1452), Abbot John VII of Morimond reiterated the accusation of lese-majesty, which he complemented with the many infringements of the Order's statutes allegedly perpetrated by Don Alonso.[42]

The peremptory tone of both pope and abbot did not leave room for hope as to Don Alonso's prolongation of the mastership. In practice, however, Don Alonso still enjoyed the absolute support of his other uncle, Alfonso el Magnánimo, king of Aragon, and of his father, Juan of Navarre. Don Alonso did not therefore resign. Besides continuing to claim the mastership, he exercised it in actual practice with regard to the Calatravan assets in Aragon for the next twelve years.[43] The peace treaty between Castile and Aragon in 1455, however, put an end to Don Alonso's claims to the mastership of Calatrava.[44] He was then compelled to submit in an act of humiliation before a public notary (4 March 1455) and to recognize his

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[39] *Archivo Histórico Nacional, Documentos particulares de Calatrava*, no. 326, fols. 7r., 2v.–3r.

[40] Joseph O'Callaghan, "Don Pedro Girón, Master of the Order of Calatrava, 1445–1466," *Hispania* 21 (1961), 342–90.

[41] *Archivo Histórico Nacional, Documentos eclesiásticos de Calatrava*, no. 129.

[42] "Post sic occupatum pro parte magisterium contra iuramentum per ipsum prestitum multa fecit et fieri perpetravit tum contra statuta, diffiniciones et iuramenta per eum prestita ordini antedicto tum etiam adversus dominum suum naturalem dominum regem Castelle et Legionis illustrissimum propter quas omni dignitate fuerat privandus tamquam reus lese maiestatis et tanquam perjurus et de predictis notorie accusatus, diffamatus et convictus, et que negare neque potest neque valet cum sint omnibus manifesta." *Archivo Histórico Nacional, Documentos particulares de Calatrava*, no. 340.

[43] Francisco de Rades y Andrada, *Chrónica de las tres órdenes y cavallerías de Santiago, Calatrava y Alcántara*, fol. 72r.; *Historia* 10r. On the Order's assets in Aragon in the late Middle Ages, see, Alfonso Franco Silva, "Rentas y vasallos de las Ordenes Militares de Santiago y Calatrava en la Corona de Aragón durante el siglo XV," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 18 (1988), 511–23.

[44] Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, vol. XVI–29, p. 121, XVI –34, pp. 142–143, XVI –42, p. 178.

usurpation of the mastership, which he openly confessed had been achieved by the force of his relatives' arms. He further expressed repentance for his uncanonical profession and for his infringement of the Order statutes. According to his own testimony, Don Alonso never wished to be master or to be professed in any military order, but had been induced to do so by his father, Juan of Navarre.[45] This act of repentance, shameful as it was, was not gratuitous, however. Don Alonso received in recompense the considerable sum of 200,000 *maravedies* annually for life.[46] Furthermore, he continued to call himself master of Calatrava until 1476–77, when he was entrusted with the baronage of Villahermosa. Shortly afterwards, he concluded his complete divorce from Calatrava when he married Leonor de Soto. In other words, Don Alonso's claim to the mastership of Calatrava came to an end only thirty-four years after his forced dismissal.[47]

The continuous, though abortive claim to the mastership of Calatrava does not, however, herald the end of Don Alonso's military career. It represented just a change of scenario, in which the framework of the military order was replaced by that of the royal court – first of Navarre, later of Aragon, and toward the end of his life of the kingdom of Castile-Aragon. An important factor in this process was the continuous support of his father, King Juan II of Navarre, coupled with the support of the Aragonese knights of Calatrava, who remained faithful to their dismissed master.[48] This state of affairs hints at the lack of internal cohesion within the ranks of the order; from the perspective of this paper, it suggests, moreover, the deteriorating relations between the Aragonese knights and the Castilian monarchy, which the papacy backed at this stage. Banished from the kingdom of Castile from 1455 onwards, Don Alonso devoted himself to royal interests, especially those of his father, Juan of Navarre, and afterward those of his stepbrother, Ferdinand. In 1449, for instance, Don Alonso was placed in charge of 6,000 warriors in the attack against Cuenca, which culminated in a military reverse.[49] He appears again on the field of battle one year later as the indisputable leader of the Battle of Aybar

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[45] Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, vol. XVI–34, pp. 143–144. In his confirmation of Pedro Girón (22 January 1456), Pope Calixte III repeated these claims almost verbatim. Referring to Don Alonso, the pope claimed: "Numquam intentionem tunc habuisset, praedictum vel alium Ordinem profitendi, prout nec hodie habet, de dicti Regis genitoris sui jussu, et mandato expresso, cui dictus Alfonsus non putavit licitum contradicere, non fervore devotionis, seu zelo religionis inductus, habitum fratrum Militiae hujusmodi assumpsit, et professionem per Magistrum, Milites, et fraters ejusdem Ordinis emitti solitam; licet contrarium in corde et mente haberet, contra diffinitiones, et stabilimenta dicti Ordinis, ac alias minus canonice emissit regularem." "Coelestis successor," *Bullarium Ordinis Militiae de Calatrava*, 254–57.

[46] *Historia*, fol. 12v.

[47] Andrés Bernáldez, *Memorias del reinado de los reyes católicos*, eds. Manuel Gómez Moreno y Juan de Mata Carriazo (Madrid, 1962), p. 75.

[48] On the nobility and the economies of war, see Jon Andoni Fernandez de Larrea Rojas, *Guerra y sociedad en Navarra durante la Edad Media* (Bilbao, 1992), pp. 75–90.

[49] *Crónica de Don Alvaro de Luna Condestable de Castilla*, ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo (Madrid, 1940), pp. 224–29; Alonso de Palencia, *Crónica de Enrique IV*, ed. D.A. Paz y Meliá, 5 vols. (Madrid, 1904), vol. 1, pp. 99–100.

between his father, Juan of Navarre, and his half-brother Carlos, Prince of Viana (23 October 1451).[50] Don Alonso's crucial contribution to the victory at Aybar gained him his father's recognition, concretized in the Pyrenean castle of Cortes with its jurisdiction. King Juan justified this concession on the grounds "of the many and important services [that Don Alonso] gave to the kingdom, by his own will and in complete fealty, with innumerable losses of men and wealth."[51]

King Alfonso V's death on 27 June 1458 paved the way for Juan of Navarre to don the crowns of Aragon and Valencia, coupled with a nominal rule over Cataluña, thus widening the field of action of his natural son as well. From the late 1450s onwards, Don Alonso completely devoted himself to fostering the rule of his father and his half-brother, Ferdinand, especially in the disturbed area of Cataluña,[52] which became a main target of the Castilian offensive. His continuous and crucial contribution on the battlefield led to him being entrusted with the barony of Arenós (17 November 1465). The royal document emphasized, once again, King Juan's recognition of Don Alonso's many merits, particularly his valour and heroism, coupled with his complete devotion not only to his family's interests but to those of the realm, as well.[53] Three years later, Don Alonso received the considerable sum of 50,000 florins to cover his expenses in defending the kingdom (1 January 1468). Almost two years later, King Juan bestowed on him, in Prince Ferdinand's name, the important county of Ribagorza, located at the meeting point of Aragon, Cataluña, and French Gascony (27 November 1469).[54]

King Juan did not remain alone in the praise of his son. Don Alonso's leading military role in the defence of monarchy earned him much praise in historical sources as well. Discussing his important victory in Santa Coloma de Gramanet (26 November 1471), the anonymous biographer reported: "The master [of Calatrava] fought and gave much courage to his warriors, as he was accustomed. And it is well known that the victory was owed to his personal example, which was followed by other captains of the army."[55]

By 1475, a new stage began in Don Alonso's life. Called back to Castile by his half-brother, Ferdinand, Don Alonso devoted the ten last years of his life to the service of the Catholic Kings. Though at first glance the support given by the Calatravan Master Rodrigo Tellez Girón to Doña Juana afforded Don Alonso the opportunity to recover his long-desired mastership, political considerations relegated his request to low priority once again. On the other hand, Don Alonso

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[50] María José Ibiricu Díaz, "Las negociaciones entre el Príncipe de Viana y Castilla el año 1451," *Primer congreso general de historia de Navarra* 3 (1988), pp. 501–3.

[51] *Historia*, fol. 10r.

[52] Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, vol. XVII–40, 44, pp. 415, 418, 428.

[53] *Historia*, fols. 19v–23v . On the county, see, M. Serrano y Sanz, *Noticias y documentos históricos del Condado de Ribagorza hasta la muerte de Sancho Garcés III* (Madrid, 1912).

[54] Following the French retreat from the area, King Juan and Prince Ferdinand extended the privilege to Don Alonso's natural son, Don Juan de Aragon (8 July 1473). See, *Historia*, fols. 25v–26v. Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, vol. XVIII–56, p. 720.

[55] *Historia*, fol. 24v; Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, vol. XVIII–37, pp. 657–58.

was appointed master of the Holy Fraternity (*Santa Hermandad*), the important armed force that played a crucial role in the pacification of the kingdom and in the fight against the Portuguese up to the Treaty of Alcacovas in 1479; and later against the last Moslem strongholds on the peninsula, as well.[56] In parallel, Don Alonso performed an important role at the court of the Catholic Kings in both day-to-day government and diplomatic functions. As a result, following the royal journey to Andalucia, Don Alonso was appointed governor of Castile and Leon; he also accompanied the royal couple to the Cortes of Barcelona (1481), where he was appointed a member of the aristocratic estate. And in 1484, Don Alonso took part in the Cortes of Tarragona together with the kings.[57]

The last stage in Don Alonso's life involved him in the abortive fight against the Muslims during the siege of Granada (1482).[58] Commenting on the futile attempts to breach the walls of Loja, a contemporary chronicler provides us with a dramatic report of the physical decadence of the former master of Calatrava and its consequences: "This foolishness [of Catholic knights] found severe criticism in Duke Don Alonso de Aragon, an experienced warrior who more often than not enjoyed victory when he was at the head of the army. But an illness on his eyes and the obesity that harmed his warrior skills gave false grounds to the youngest, to dismiss the opinions of the illustrious knight."[59] Don Alonso died a few years later, between 8 and 10 October 1485, when escorting the Catholic Kings to Alcalá de Henares.[60]

The short mastership of Don Alonso de Aragon, on the one hand, and his long military and political career, on the other, hint at the status of the military orders in the late Middle Ages and the strategy developed by the Iberian monarchy towards them. The Calatravan Order, like the Temple in the previous century, represented a powerful factor – on military, territorial, and financial levels – that no monarch could ignore. Instead of the religious zeal exhibited by the Most Christian King a century earlier against the Knight Templars, however, the Castilian kings chose a more practical way, one that brought them total control of the orders and their resources in actual practice without involving them in a "holy war" that might hurt their profitable entente with the Holy See. The results proved themselves both in the short term and in the long run. Instead of annulling the military orders – with all their military and economic resources – the Iberian kings could continue to make good use of them to their own profit. The conquest of the kingdom of Granada in

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[56] Don Alonso's disappointment with royal policy encouraged him to consider his immediate return to Aragon at this stage. See, *Historia*, fol. 28v–29r; Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, vol. XIX–49, p. 204; Fernando del Pulgar, *Crónica de los reyes católicos*, ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1943), 1:230–43. Marvin Lunenfeld, *The Council of the Santa Hermandad* (Miami, 1970), pp. 9–14.

[57] *Historia*, fol. 34r; Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, vol. XX–12, p. 292, XX–41, p. 465. Fernando del Pulgar, *Crónica de los reyes Católicos*, pp. 23 ff.

[58] Emilio de Santiago Simón, "El final del Islam granadino: 1464–1492," in *Fernando the Second de Aragón, el rey Católico*, ed. Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada (Zaragoza, 1995), pp. 509–18.

[59] Alonso de Palencia, *Crónica de Enrique IV*, p. 48.

[60] *Historia*, fol. 34r ; Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, vol. XX–44, p. 417.

1492 did not put an end to this perspective; on the contrary, it accelerated the process of royal appropriation of the orders. Still, bearing in mind the expulsion of the Jews only three months afterwards – with all its grave repercussions for the economy of the united kingdom of Spain – it seems that the Realpolitik of the Castilian kings towards the military orders, especially but not only Calatrava, appears to be an integral part, perhaps an even unavoidable result, of the Reconquista, first and foremost, of their close entente with the papacy. The process leading up to the mastership of Alonso de Aragon further shows that the lesson of the Temple was learned: Instead of a long, problematic trial, with all its negative implications for the royal image, the kings of Castile chose a much easier, peaceful, and no less profitable policy of a gradual domination over the military orders with papal blessing. One may therefore recognize that the papacy, the main factor behind the emergence of the military orders and their main sponsor in medieval Christendom, was also one of the factors that brought about their decline at the *"Waning of the Middle Ages"*. The career of Don Alonso de Aragon further shows that, by the mid-fifteenth century, ecclesiastical prerogatives – first and foremost, ecclesiastical immunity – were disregarded as they had never been. They were easily replaced by political considerations and royal interests. It is perhaps a paradox of history that the military orders were defeated not by the Infidel, but by the alliance between king and pope. It was a coalition that allowed, if not fostered, the emergence of national states, such as the united kingdom of Spain at the onset of the modern era. By the end of the Middle Ages, therefore, the survival of the military orders was conditioned no longer on their fighting the Infidel but on their total submission to royal goals and interests.