

ISSN: 1139-0107

---

# MEMORIA Y CIVILIZACIÓN

ANUARIO DE HISTORIA

---

16/2013

---

REVISTA DEL DEPARTAMENTO DE HISTORIA,  
HISTORIA DEL ARTE Y GEOGRAFÍA  
FACULTAD DE FILOSOFÍA Y LETRAS  
UNIVERSIDAD DE NAVARRA

Judith Bronstein

*Servus pauperum Christi: the Hospitallers' Services to pilgrims in the  
Latin East, XI-XIII Centuries*

*Servus Pauperum Christi: los servicios de los Hospitalarios a los peregrinos en el  
Oriente latino, siglos XI-XIII*

pp. 219-236



Universidad  
de Navarra

---

# *Servus pauperum Christi: the Hospitallers' Services to Pilgrims in the Latin East, XI-XIII Centuries*

*Servus pauperum Christi: los servicios de los Hospitalarios a los peregrinos en el Oriente latino, siglos XI-XIII*

---

**JUDITH BRONSTEIN**

University of Haifa. Oranim College (Israel)  
judith\_bronstein@hotmail.com

RECIBIDO: JUNIO DE 2013  
ACEPTADO: OCTUBRE DE 2013

**Resumen:** Dos rasgos principales caracterizan el renacimiento religioso del siglo XI: un crecimiento de la peregrinación a los lugares santos y un nuevo énfasis en la actividad apostólica y evangelizadora. La combinación de los dos lleva a la creación de una de las instituciones religiosas más originales del Este: el Hospital de San Juan, establecido poco antes de 1071 como hospicio para los peregrinos pobres y enfermos que llegaban a Jerusalén. Este artículo analiza sus orígenes y actividades en cuanto organización internacional establecida para el servicio de los peregrinos y de los pobres en el Oriente Latino desde el siglo XI al siglo XIII

**Palabras clave:** Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén. Peregrinos. Servicios y actividades.

**Abstract:** Two major features characterized the religious revival of the eleventh century: a growth in pilgrimage to holy places and a new emphasis on apostolic and evangelical activity. The combination of the two lead to the creation of one of the most original religious institutions in the East: The Hospital of St. John, established some time before 1071 as a hospice for poor and sick pilgrims coming to Jerusalem. This paper analyses its origins and its activities as an international order established for the service of pilgrims and the poor in the Latin East from the XIth to the XIIIth centuries.

**Keywords:** Hospital of Saint John. Pilgrims. Services and activities.



...As there was no approach to the Holy City except through the hostile lands, pilgrims had usually exhausted their traveling money by the time they reached Jerusalem. Wretched and helpless, a prey to all the hardships of hunger, thirst and nakedness, such pilgrims were forced to wait before the city gates until they had a gold coin, when they were permitted to enter the city. Even after they finally gained admission and visited the holy places one after another, they had no means of resisting even for a single day... since there was no one to offer shelter to the wretched pilgrims of our faith, thus afflicted and needy to the last degree, the holy men who dwelt in the monastery of the Latins in pity took from their own means and, within the space allotted to them, built a hospital for the relief of such pilgrims<sup>1</sup>.

Thus did William of Tyre, the chronicler of the kingdom of Jerusalem, described the establishment of the Hospital of St. John, one of the most original religious institutions in the East. The paper examines the various services provided by the Hospitallers to pilgrims in the Latin East from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries as well as the pilgrims' contribution to the Order; creating by this a relation of mutual dependence.

In about 1070, almost 30 years before the crusaders conquered Jerusalem, a hospice or hospital for Latin pilgrims was founded and supported by a group of merchants from Amalfi. It was attached to the Benedictine monastery of Sancta Maria Latina<sup>2</sup>. It possibly cared for pilgrims and paupers of both sexes<sup>3</sup>. At some point, a small hospice dedicated to Mary Magdalene was set up, to care for female pilgrims. The increasing number of pilgrims arriving at Jerusalem in the eleventh century and their pitiful state required, as explained by William of Tyre, the establishment of a third hospice, to be known as the hospital of St. John. This hospice, which was at first, probably, for men only, was located between St. Mary of the Latins and the fifth century Byzantine church of St. John the Baptist. Because of its closeness to St. Mary of the Latins, its members adopted an almost religious life as Benedictine lay brothers and *conversi*.

<sup>1</sup> William of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon*, ch. XVIII, 5. English translation William of Tyre, *History of the Deeds*, ch. XVIII, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Hamilton, 1997, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Richard, 1982, p. 89; Luttrell- Nicholson, 2006, p. 6. For a recent study on the history and archaeological remains of the Hospital in Jerusalem see Pringle, 2007, pp. 192-208.

After the crusaders' conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 the Benedictine attachment dissolved and the Hospital, now under the influence of the canons of the Holy Sepulcher, adopted some aspects of the Augustinian rule, which was more suitable for their charitable activities<sup>4</sup>. It has been recently argued that at this early stage the Hospital was a hospice for pilgrims and the sick coming to Jerusalem, based on the Western model of monastic hospitality<sup>5</sup>.

The Hospital was well known to pilgrims coming to Jerusalem after 1099. Saewulf, the British pilgrim who visited the Holy city as early as 1102-03, wrote of «the hospital, where there was a monastery dedicated to St. John the Baptist»<sup>6</sup>. Very early endowments given to the Hospital in the late eleventh and very early twelfth century attest to its rising reputation. Godefroy of Bouillon, at some point before his death, in 18 August 1100, granted to the Hospital the casal of Hessilia and two ovens in Jerusalem<sup>7</sup>. His brother and successor, Baldwin I, not only reconfirmed this and additional grants given to the Hospital throughout his kingdom, but also granted, according to Albert of Aachen, to «the Hospital and the poor of Christ» a tenth of the spoil taken after his victory over the Egyptians in the plains of Ramla in 1101<sup>8</sup>.

Appreciation of the Hospital's welfare activities was expressed also by the papacy. In recognition of «the piety and earnestness of the Hospital work (*Hospitalitas*)», Pope Paschal II complied with the request made by Gerard, the Hospital's ruler, to take the Hospital under the protection of the Holy See. Paschal's bull *Pie postulatio voluntatis*, of 1113, is the first step taken to turn the Hospital into an independent, highly developed, charitable order of the Church. Paschal II took the Hospital under his protection, freed the election of the master from outside interference, exempted the Order from the payment of the tenth and confirmed the subordination of its European estates to the master. Paschal confirmed the Order's present and future possessions, which had been acquired, or

<sup>4</sup> Luttrell, 1997, pp. 38-42; Riley-Smith, 1967, pp. 32-52; Barber, 2000, pp. 149-151.

<sup>5</sup> Edgington, 2011, pp. 205-206.

<sup>6</sup> Saewulf, in Huygens, 1994, p. 67.

<sup>7</sup> *Cartulaire général*, 1894-1906, no. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Baldwin's confirmations: *Cartulaire général*, no. 20: «et de omnibus que ad utilitatem pertinent hominum, iccirco ut nullus homo vel femina ab hodierno die ac deinceps sit ausus ea inquietare, vel auferre Hospitali Iherosolimitano et pauperibus Christi»; and no. 28; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*. pp. 584-585. For this battle and endowments granted by Baldwin see also Prawer, 1963, vol. I, pp. 178-79 (in Hebrew); Riley-Smith, 2012, p. 20.

would be acquired, «...for the said *Xenodocheum*...for the support of pilgrims and for the needs of the poor...»<sup>9</sup>. *Pie postulatio voluntatis* states the Order's aims – the support of pilgrims and care for the poor. Those who wished to fulfill these targets joined a community bound together by a religious way of life. This combination of service to the poor with a religious life was the key for their salvation. This was clearly expressed in the first clause of the rule of the master Raymond du Puy (c. 1153): «all the brethren, engaging in the service of the poor, should keep the three things with the aid of God, which they had promised to God: that is to say, chastity and obedience...and to live without property of their own: because God will require these three things of them at the Last Judgment»<sup>10</sup>. The Hospitallers were *servi pauperum Christi*, serfs of the poor of Christ, and should nurse the poor as if every man or woman were Christ himself<sup>11</sup>. The spiritual benefits from this service were reiterated in the statutes of the master Roger des Moulins (1182). The statutes call upon the commanders of the Order's houses to serve the sick, saying that «by these good deeds they may deserve to have their rewards in the glories of heaven»<sup>12</sup>. These ideals were not alien to twelfth-century spirituality; they were influenced by the canonical movement which saw its vocation in service to the poor<sup>13</sup>.

Although the Hospital of St. John in Jerusalem had been established to provide shelter and food for pilgrims, both healthy and sick, coming to the city<sup>14</sup>, the Order's sources, papal bulls, as well as ample documentation which has come to light in recent years, show its development into a highly-sophisticated public hospital: the Hospital took in the poor and pilgrims, whatever their religion or sex. It could accommo-

<sup>9</sup> *Cartulaire général*, no. 30: «ad sustentandas peregrinorum et pauperum necessitates». English translation from King, 1934, pp. 16-19; Riley-Smith, 2010, pp. 15-16; Luttrell, 1997, pp. 42-43. The Hospital was fully exempted from patriarchal and episcopal jurisdiction only in 1154, see *Cartulaire général*, no. 226.

<sup>10</sup> *Cartulaire général*, no. 70. Rule of Raymond of Puy. English translation from King, 1934, p. 20.

<sup>11</sup> This notion appears in almost all of the Order's documents, in different versions, see, e.g., *Cartulaire général*, no. 70, clause 1.

<sup>12</sup> *Cartulaire général*, no. 627. For the Hospitallers' perception of their aims and spiritual reward see Bronstein, 2007, pp. 39-47.

<sup>13</sup> Brodman, 1998, pp. 2-5; Brodman, 2001, pp. 384, 395-396; Constable, 1996, pp. 148-150, 236-240.

<sup>14</sup> William of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon*, XVIII, 5. Susan Edgington explains that at this time the Hospital was in fact a hospice or hostel for pilgrims and the sick coming to Jerusalem, based on the model of the Western tradition of monastic hospitality, see Edgington, 2011, pp. 205-206.

date 1.000 patients in times of peace and up to 2.000 in times of war. They were distributed in eleven wards, among these wards for sick women, including one devoted to obstetrics. It employed four physicians and four surgeons, as well as a number of blood letters, barbers and nurses and wet nurses for abandoned babies or orphans<sup>15</sup>. Yet, in spite of the fact that the Hospital provided advanced medical care<sup>16</sup>, it seems that its main preoccupation was to nurse and bring back to health exhausted pilgrims and poor people who came into the city. This, as Susan Edgington has pointed out, was achieved by providing for their spiritual and physical comfort. They were given comfortable sleeping accommodation; clothing and an impressive diet intended to bring the sick to good health. This included, for example, the provision of the best quality meat (the flesh of young four-legged animals such as goats, lambs and pigs), hens and chickens cooked in a rich sauce and well seasoned with saffron, fresh fish, rice with chickpeas, tarts made of eggs and cheese as well as a rich variety of vegetables and fruit including pomegranates, apples, pears, plums, figs, grapes and raisins<sup>17</sup>.

Much of what has just been described had come to light in recent years from an account of an anonymous author, probably a German monk who visited the Hospital in Jerusalem in the 1180s. He wrote that to the Hospital came Catholic pilgrims of all nationalities, who in the course of their journey to the Holy Land were struck by thieves or grave illnesses<sup>18</sup>. From his description we also learn that some of these pilgrims came to the Hospital not only to receive, but also to give, comfort. «The noble pilgrims», he wrote, «...addressed in an honorable manner a request for help from the hospital. By which they will be taken care of for all their needs by the brothers, who will refrain from looking at them as servants when they have lost everything. Except if by divine exhortation, one spontaneously wills to be led to bow to offer to the poor of Christ food and drink»<sup>19</sup>. This paragraph indicates that, out of devotion, some of



<sup>15</sup> Theoderic in Huygens, 1994, pp. 157-158; John of Wurzburg in Huygens, 1994, p. 131; Kedar, 1998, pp. 3-26; Edgington, 1998, pp. 27-34; Riley-Smith, 1967, pp. 71-74; Mitchell, 2004, pp. 61-85.

<sup>16</sup> The sophistication of the Hospital in Jerusalem has generated an on going debate as to its sources of influence: Western or Eastern (Islamic or Byzantine) hospitality and medicine. For a recent view of this debate see Mitchell, 2004, pp. 217-218; Kedar, 2007, pp. 9-10; Edgington, 2011, pp. 72-73.

<sup>17</sup> Edgington, 1999, pp. IX-XXV and 2005, pp. 21-37; Kedar, 1998, p. 18; Riley-Smith, 2012, pp. 71-74; Bronstein, 2013.

<sup>18</sup> Kedar, 1998, p. 22.

<sup>19</sup> Kedar, 1998, pp. 25-26. «*Nobiles peregrini, propriis parcentes sumptibus vel non valentes fodere*

these pilgrims stayed to serve in the Hospital, and as a result, from being served by the servants of Christ, they became servants themselves. They could have joined the Order as brethrens, confratri or consorores, or associated *ad terminum*, in other words, pilgrims who served at the Hospital in Jerusalem for a fixed period of time<sup>20</sup>. This is, for example, the case of Godric of Finchale, the English merchant who later on in life became a hermit. Godric took the cross twice and came to the East as a crusader. His journey is portrayed as one of repentance and inner conversion; he was a devoted pilgrim and adopted a life of severe abstinence and frugality. He visited many of the holy places and it is significant that as part of his repentance he opted, in the course of his second visit to Jerusalem around 1100, to stay for a few months preaching to the sick in the Hospital in Jerusalem<sup>21</sup>. For Godric his service at the Hospital was a stage towards an eremitical life in Finchale.

Other pilgrims might have come to the East with the intention of finishing their days in Jerusalem. In the 1140s Adelaide, a noble woman from Arles, who had come to the city and died in the Hospital, left instructions according to which all her properties at home, including land, houses in Arles and revenues from various maritime taxes, should be granted to the Order's priory of St. Gilles and its commandery in Trinquetaille<sup>22</sup>. This donation is a significant example of the varied ways pilgrims were linked to the Order, but it also exemplifies the contribution made by pilgrims to the Holy Land and, and as in this case, to the expansion of the Order's properties overseas which resulted also, in assistance, extended by the Order to pilgrims in Europe<sup>23</sup>. The Hospitaller com-



*aut erubescerent mendicare, hospitalis petito subsidio illic honorifice recolliguntur, eodem alimento illis ac fratribus per omnia communication, nullius tamen ab eis subiectione famulatus exhibita quamdiu inhibet perendinaverit, nisi quis divino admonitu spontanea voluntatis pro ductu se Christi velit pauperibus inclinare in cibi eorum ac potus administracione».*

<sup>20</sup> The service *ad terminum* was a common practice: pilgrims and crusaders attached themselves to a religious institution, and vowed, out of devotion, to serve it for a fixed period of time, see Riley-Smith, 1999, pp. 157-159.

<sup>21</sup> Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de vita*, p. 57. On Godric's crusades as a stage towards an eremitical life see Tyerman, 1996, pp. 26-27; Jotischky, 1995, p. 169; Riley-Smith, 1999, pp. 155, 166.

<sup>22</sup> *Cartulaire général*, no. 141. «Domina Adalis, que fuit dicta uxor Bertrandi Veirune, Jherosolimam venit et in domum Hospitalis Jherusalem, cujus se esse sororem recognovit, mortua fuit...». On Adela see also Selwood, 1999, p. 127; Carraz, 2005, p. 178; Giordanengo, 1978, p. 200. Giordanengo has a different interpretation to this charter: he believes that Adela first traveled to Jerusalem and then died as a donat in Trinquetaille. In either case we can see the strong connection between pilgrimage to the Holy Land and donations to the Order in Europe.

<sup>23</sup> Malcolm Barber has shown the enormous expenses required for the building and maintaining of



mandery of Trinquetalille, in the town of Arles, as we will see in the last part of this study, seems to have had an important role in assisting pilgrims and crusaders on their way to St. Gilles, Marseilles and the Holy Land.

The Hospital of St. John in Jerusalem and its charitable work has been greatly admired by pilgrims of different religions coming to the city. Godfrey III duke of Lorraine, granted the Order a house in Brussels in 1183, praising the hospital whose work he had observed during a recent pilgrimage to Jerusalem, «seeing in it the indescribable anointing of the Holy Spirit, which is poured out and humbly bestowed on the poor and imbecile and infirm»<sup>24</sup>. After praising the Hospitallers and the Templars for their bravery and military skills, the anonymous author of the *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre ierosolimitane*, who seems to have visited the Kingdom of Jerusalem between 1168 and 1176, wrote that along with their military activities, the Hospitallers «take care of the poor and sick»<sup>25</sup>. The Jewish pilgrim Benjamin of Tudela, who visited the Holy Land between 1166 and 1171, described the Hospital in Jerusalem as a place where «all the sick who come thither are lodged and cared for, in life and in death»<sup>26</sup>.

Indeed, not only did the Hospital provide shelter, food and the best medical treatment available, it also cared for the free burial and for the souls of the dead. In 1143 William, Patriarch of Jerusalem, granted the Hospital the site of Akeldama (the Field of Blood, on the Southern slope of the Hinnon Valley opposite to Mount Zion), which was being used for the burial of poor pilgrims since Byzantine times and, due to its past, was part of the pilgrims' itinerary<sup>27</sup>. The Hospitallers had probably buried poor pilgrims in this site before they were granted full possession of the place by the patriarch. After 1143 they built a sumptuous church dedicat-

---

the Order's hospitals in the fourteenth century, see Barber, 2000, pp. 160-161.

<sup>24</sup> *Cartulaire général*, no. 649: «videns autem in ea inenarrabilia Spiritus Sancti Crismate; que in paupers et imbeciles et infirmos habundantur et humiliter sunt ergota». See also Nicholson, 1993, p. 63.

<sup>25</sup> Kedar, 2006, pp. 125-126 and 119-120 on the author and date of writing.

<sup>26</sup> *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, p. 22.

<sup>27</sup> *Cartulaire général*, no. 159: *ecclesiam quamdam, que in agro qui Acheldemach dicitur sita est, ubi peregrinorum sepeliuntur corpora, cum tota ejusdem agri terra*. Akeldama (the Field of Blood, Potter's Field) which according to the Gospel of St. Matthew has been bought with the 30 pieces of silver returned by Judas Iscariot to the Jewish priests, and used for the burial of strangers and pilgrims since Byzantine period and a place visited by pilgrims see Pringle, 2007, pp. 222-223.



ed to St. Mary, above the burial site, which became a station for pilgrims. The dead were buried in a charnel-pit, which allowed the Order to cope with a large number of bodies they had to dispose of every day<sup>28</sup>. Ludolph of Suchen, a German pilgrim who was in the Holy Land from 1340-1361, describes this process: «The Field of Blood has an exceeding deep pit dug in it, with a vaulted roof above it. This vault is pierced with round holes, through which holes dead bodies are cast into it»<sup>29</sup>. The number of dead pilgrims and poor the Order cared for their burial must have been great, due to the hardships of their travel and the poor state by which many of the pilgrims must have arrived in Jerusalem, as well as their exposure to diseases and epidemics<sup>30</sup>. John of Würzburg wrote in the 1160s that more than 50 patients died in the Hospital every day<sup>31</sup>. The Order's commitment to the dead, whether members of the Order or not, had been regulated in its statutes, which also gave explicit instructions about the burial of pilgrims and the services for the deceased. The statutes of master Jobert, of 1177, decreed, for example, that «the bodies of pilgrims or of other Christians, who should die after the Hour of the Vespers, should be buried the next day; and in the Hospital, where they should have died, let them not lie upon their beds (biers) without a light. And the next day, before Prime, they should be carried to the church and, after mass, should be buried»<sup>32</sup>. Jonathan Riley-Smith has demonstrated the importance Akeldama and the Hospital in Jerusalem had for the Hospitallers in the twelfth century. The fact that the Order provided for all of the pilgrims' needs: caring and nursing, praying and burying, was the reason for their growing prominence, not less than their military activities. Moreover, Riley-Smith has shown that the Order's comprehensive care for pilgrims coming to Jerusalem contributed to the Church and the crown's aim to enhance the place of the city as a major cult center<sup>33</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> Riley-Smith, 2008b, pp. 171-172.

<sup>29</sup> Ludolph von Suchem's, *Description of the Holy Land*, p. 112; Felix Fabri gives a very long description about the poor state of the place in the 15th century, see Felix Fabri, *The Book of the Wanderings*, p. 534.

<sup>30</sup> Malaria, Dysentery, gastrointestinal diseases, Trachoma (eyes' infection), scurvy are only some of the diseases typical to the area, or to which, do to travel conditions, etc., crusaders and pilgrims could have been exposed to, see Mitchell, 2004, pp. 1-2.

<sup>31</sup> John of Würzburg in Huygens, 1994, p. 131. For a description of the site see Pringle, 2007, pp. 222-223; Boas, 2006, p. 49.

<sup>32</sup> *Cartulaire général*, no. 504.

<sup>33</sup> A visible expression of this program is the expansion and re-building in the 1140s of important

Apart from Jerusalem, the Order provided medical treatment for the poor and pilgrims in other Hospitals it owned in the Levant: they must have been running a hospital in Mont Pelerin before it was finally transferred to them, in December 1126, by Count Pons of Tripoli<sup>34</sup>. A few months before this transference was concluded, a Catalan pilgrim on his way to Jerusalem, fell ill and died in Tripoli. In his last will he donated to the Hospital of St. John in Jerusalem, which, as the charter of donation emphasizes, had been constituted for the poor, all he owned in the town of Oliana, in Lerida. The charter was witnessed by *Bertranni, prioris Hospitalis Montis Peregrinorum*<sup>35</sup>. In addition, they had a hospital at Turbessel, in the county of Antioch, and another in the town of Nablus, in the kingdom of Jerusalem. In 1156 King Baldwin III decreed that all the possessions left by pilgrims, who died in the town without a will, should be given to that Hospital<sup>36</sup>.

The Hospitallers had a hospital also in the city of Acre. They possessed property in Acre since 1110 and a commandery in the North part of the city. Theoderic, the German pilgrim, wrote in the 1160s that the Hospitallers built a magnificent house there<sup>37</sup>. There is only scattered information about the Order's hospital in Acre, but being the kingdom's major port, with a rising pilgrims' traffic, the Order seems to have built a hospital there already in the first half of the twelfth century. An agreement between the Hospitallers and the bishop of Acre from 1175, refers to the Order's right of anointing pilgrims, healthy or sick, living in the Hospital<sup>38</sup>. Before the fall of the city in 1187, the hospital in Acre must have been a significant institution, at the head of which stood a *hospi-*

shrine churches in and around Jerusalem, Riley-Smith, 2008, pp. 165-179.

<sup>34</sup> *Cartulaire général*, no. 79.

<sup>35</sup> *Cartulaire général*, no. 75; on this donation see also Barber, 2000, p. 150.

<sup>36</sup> *Cartulaire général*, nos. 244, 355, 79, 104; *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, no. 321: «*quotquot insuper peregrine a castello Beleismo usque ad Lubanum, et quotquot a perrone illo qui terminus terram Cacho atque Malvarum dividit usque ad memoratum Lubanum, intestate obierint in via, et quotquot etiam Neapoli sine testamento obierint, omnem eorum substantiam absque omni contradictione habendam pretaxato Hospitali confirmo*».

<sup>37</sup> *Cartulaire général*, nos. 20, 471, 663. The commandery was admired by Theoderic, a German pilgrim who visited the Holy Land in the early 1170s, see Theodericus, *Libellus de locis sanctis*, p. 43 where he described it as a *domus magnifici*. For a detailed description of the Hospitallers' expansion in Acre in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries see Jacoby, 1997, pp. 200-204; Riley-Smith, 2008a, pp. 753-764.

<sup>38</sup> *Cartulaire général*, no. 471. In this agreement the bishop also promised that whenever the chaplains of the cathedral church of the Holy Cross visited the sick, whether citizens or pilgrims, he would exhort them to give alms to the Hospital; Riley-Smith, 1967, p. 405.

*talarius Acconensis*<sup>39</sup>. With the loss of Jerusalem in 1187 and the recovery of Acre in the course of the Third Crusade, the Hospitallers moved, in 1192, their headquarters to the city, which became the *de facto* capital of the kingdom. The Order's headquarters were the center nerve of a large international organization<sup>40</sup>. An ongoing archaeological excavation has revealed extensive building activities conducted by the Hospitallers, to meet their growing needs in the course of the thirteenth century: they almost tripled the size of their old compound and added large warehouses, new conventual buildings, as well as an advanced sewage system<sup>41</sup>. These excavations have yet to reveal the *Ospital des Malades*, as it is known in the Order's sources from the thirteenth century<sup>42</sup>. The Hospital must have been impressive: having to care for an expanding population living in a city which, due to the fall of Jerusalem in 1187, had become the capital of the kingdom, as well as nursing pilgrims, crusaders and merchants coming to its port. King Andrew II of Hungary expressed his admiration for the work of the Hospital in Acre which cared for an innumerable number of poor and fed them generously<sup>43</sup>. The Hospitallers also buried the dead in the town's cemetery of St. Nicholas where they built a chapel dedicated to St. Michael. They aimed at turning the site into an itinerary station by linking it with the holy past, like it has been done in Akeldama and, as Anthony Luttrell has shown, in other Hospitaller churches in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The Hospitallers also promised indulgences to pilgrims visiting the church<sup>44</sup>.

With the final fall of the kingdom of Jerusalem the Order's conventual hospital in Acre had been moved to Limassol, next to the Order's headquarters, and in about 1310, the hospital moved with the convent to Rhodes. It is important to note that, although much reduced in size and importance, the hospital of St. John in Jerusalem did not stop its activities following the Muslim conquest of Jerusalem in 1187 or the fall of the kingdom in 1291. Felix Fabri, for example, who visited the Holy Land in



<sup>39</sup> *Cartulaire général*, no. 663.

<sup>40</sup> *Cartulaire général*, no. 941. See also Bronstein, 2005, pp. 11-13.

<sup>41</sup> Stern, 2000, pp. 4-12 (in Hebrew); Boas, 2006, pp. 43-49.

<sup>42</sup> For the use of the term *Ospital des Malades* see *Cartulaire général*, no. 2612. See also Riley-Smith, 2008, pp. 177-178.

<sup>43</sup> *Cartulaire général*, nos. 1590-1591, 1602-1603 and also 2896. See also Riley-Smith, 2012, p. 69. On Andrew II and his participation in the Fifth Crusade see Veszprémy, 2009, pp. 89-90.

<sup>44</sup> Riley-Smith, 2008, pp. 175-176; for the creation of a holy past, connected to the Old and New Testament as well as with saints see Luttrell, 2007, pp. 10-11; Riley-Smith, 2010, p. 47.

the late fifteenth century, described pilgrims coming to the Hospital asking for a place to sleep and eat. Fabri portrayed it, however, as a building in ruins, which had room only for 400 pilgrims, whereas in the past it was capable of accommodating 1000<sup>45</sup>.

The Order's Hospitals in Jerusalem and Acre, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, were large complexes which provided pilgrims with professional medical services. In addition to these hospitals, the Order could have given shelter to pilgrims in many of its urban commanderies and in its castles throughout the Latin East. The great castles of Crac de Chevaliers and Margat won the admiration of travelers and pilgrims who visited them. In 1212 the pilgrim Willbrand of Oldenburg, described Margat as a large and strong castle defended by a double wall and many towers, capable of feeding 1000 people in times of peace<sup>46</sup>. King Andrew II of Hungary, who stayed at the castle of Crac des Chevalliers in 1218, wrote that it was the 'key to the Christian lands'<sup>47</sup>. John of Würzburg, a German pilgrim who visited the Holy Land around 1160, commented that, in addition to the money spent for the sick and the poor, the Order spared no expense supplying its castles with skilled military men to protect the Christian lands from the Muslims<sup>48</sup>. It is important to note that, although these descriptions praised the Hospitallers' military strength, a subject which may perhaps seem as not related to the matter at hand, the fortifications of the military orders could have offered further assistance to pilgrims, besides that of shelter and food: they controlled the area and their garrison could provide the pilgrims with an escort<sup>49</sup>. The German pilgrim Theoderic saw, on his way from Jerusalem to the Jordan many towers and houses belonging to the Templars, «whose practice, as also that of the Hospitallers, is to escort pilgrims who are going to the Jordan, and to watch that they not be injured by the Saracens either in going or

<sup>45</sup> Felix Fabri, *The Book of the Wanderings*, p. 395. See also Luttrell, 1994, p. 66; Hume, 1940, pp. 16-17. I have found no evidence for the continuing activity of the Hospital in Acre.

<sup>46</sup> Although Willbrand could not visit Crac, he wrote that it was defended by 2000 warriors. Willbrand was impressed by the Order's fortifications, but he also gave a very grim description of the situation of the kingdom of Jerusalem. He found many of its cities, such as Arsur, Jaffa, and Ramla, destroyed and desolated. Willbrand of Oldenburg, *Wilbrandi de Oldenborg Peregrinatio*, pp. 169-170, 183-185.

<sup>47</sup> *Cartulaire général*, no. 1602.

<sup>48</sup> John of Würzburg in Huygens, 1994, pp. 28, 131-135.

<sup>49</sup> Forey, 2003, pp. 119-125. For Templar castles and towers located along pilgrimage routes in the Kingdom of Jerusalem see Boas, 2006, pp. 102-103.

returning»<sup>50</sup>. The protection of pilgrims is a duty commonly attributed to the Templars, and yet, the militarization of the Order of St. John added a new dimension to the commitment of the Order towards the pilgrims, that of armed protection<sup>51</sup>.

Interestingly, while Theoderic mentions military assistance given by the Order to pilgrims, the Order's sources also refer to military assistance which would have been expected from pilgrims. Due to the constant lack of manpower, pilgrims were considered an important contribution to the Christian armies in the kingdom of Jerusalem, an importance which increased in times of crisis<sup>52</sup>. Before the disastrous Christian defeat at the battle of La Forbie (Harbiya) near Gaza, in October 1244, which resulted in heavy casualties and great territorial losses, including the fall of Jerusalem, urgent letters of appeal were sent by the masters of the military orders to pope Innocent IV. They warned about an acute lack of manpower, describing how throughout the kingdom there were too few knights and pilgrims, and these were scattered and occupied in defending its castles, and therefore unable to save Jerusalem<sup>53</sup>. Pilgrims not only provided active military assistance. They also assisted in the construction and re-building of castles, as was the case with the construction c.1217 of the Templar castle of Chateau Pelerin (Atlit), which was erected with «some pilgrim helpers»<sup>54</sup>. The castle was located nearby a tower (Le Destroit) built in the first half of the twelfth century to protect pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem from bandits' attacks<sup>55</sup>. Pilgrims helped also in the reconstruction of the Templar castle of Safad in the 1240s. The *De Constructione Castri Saphet*, a detailed account of its rebuilding written by anonymous author in the 1260s, allow us a better understanding of the reciprocal relationship between pilgrims

<sup>50</sup> Theodericus, *Libellus de locis sanctis*, p. 46.

<sup>51</sup> Bronstein, 2005, pp. 154-55, in the 1170s some members of the Order, as well as the papacy, expressed their concern at the diversion of resources away from the care of the poor.

<sup>52</sup> Smail, 1995, pp. 94-95; Bronstein, 2005, pp. 35, 71; After two month of stalemate siege in Ascalon, in 1153, King Baldwin III forbade pilgrims coming to the Holy Land to celebrate Easter, to return home. He promised them payment if they would join his forces, and, according to William of Tyre, a great force of pilgrims, knights and foot soldiers did so, see: William of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon*, XVII, 24.

<sup>53</sup> *Chronica de Mailros*, pp. 156-163; On La Forbie see, Bronstein, 2005, p. 23.

<sup>54</sup> Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, pp. 169-72. English translation Barber and Bate, 2002, pp. 82-83.

<sup>55</sup> Boas, 2006, pp. 102, 108-109, 240.

and the military orders. The account emphasized that pilgrims have helped in its building and, once completed, this magnificent castle allowed them to safely visit Nazareth, Mount Tabor and many other holy sites in the Galilee. The *De Constructione Castri Saphet* provides an additional aspect of this mutual benefit, that of information. According to this text the rebuilding of Safad was the result of a pilgrimage made by Benedict of Alignan, Bishop of Marseilles, to St. Mary of Surdenay, near the city of Damascus. There, the Bishop heard of the apprehension of the people in Damascus about the possible reconstruction of Safad. Aware of this, he gathered, on his way back to Acre, important strategic information about Muslim fortifications in the region. He also visited Safad, where he learnt from its castellan about the castle's poor conditions, but also about the enormous advantages the rebuilding of Safad would have for the safety of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. All these he recounted to the Templar master in Acre, who «asked him what he had seen and heard in Damascus»<sup>56</sup>. The *De Constructione Castri Saphet* is a particular detailed account which portrays Benedict of Alignan as an exceptional military oriented pilgrim, and yet, it is possible that other pilgrims, which had ventured into Muslim lands, brought back with them valuable information for the continues activities of the military orders in the Latin East.

Services provided to pilgrims were not, of course, confined to castles and Hospitals in the East. The Hospitallers built also a network of support along major pilgrim's routs in Europe. Although this topic is outside the scope of this study, I would like to conclude by giving a short example.

The link between welfare, charity and the Holy Places turned the Hospital of St. John into a highly popular institution already in its early days. This popularity was expressed by a great wave of donations in the East and in Europe, which were among the main factors in turning the Hospital into an international order; The Hospitaller's houses, commanderies and priories worldwide, were required to send *responsiones*, an annual payment of one third of the produce of their lands or specified goods, to headquarters in Jerusalem and later in Acre<sup>57</sup>. Much of the Hospitallers' income in Europe was, however, never destined for the

<sup>56</sup> Huygens, 1965, pp. 355-387. English translation Barber - Bate, 2002, pp. 84-93. On the reconstruction of Safad see also Barber, 1994, pp. 164-166.

<sup>57</sup> Riley-Smith, 1967, pp. 40, 45, 50-1, 341-71.



Holy Land. It had to provide for the brothers, servants and associated serving in the Order's local commanderies and priories, as well as for pilgrims and the poor<sup>58</sup>. The Order's charitable commitment resulted in the establishment and maintenance of hospices for pilgrims in Europe, in particular in places where the Order's houses were located along major pilgrim and trade routes<sup>59</sup>. Its strategic location made Provence, and with this example I would like to conclude, one of the earliest and major areas of expansion of the Hospitallers, due to its sea and river port-towns which allowed the connection with Italy, Spain and the Latin East, as well as its significant pilgrims' and crusaders' traffic<sup>60</sup>. Charters issued by the Order in the area of Gap, made between 1111 and 1122, illustrate the early and various ways the hospital was linked with pilgrimage: Pierre Brunet, on his way to Compostela, being worried by an illness, gave lands to the hospital's church of St. Martin de Gap. Pierre d'Abon, a local lord, gave his lands to the Hospitallers at Gap when departing on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. On his return, he was received as a Hospitaller by the brothers at Gap<sup>61</sup>.

Many of the Hospitallers's commanderies in Provence, located, along pilgrim routes, could have served also as hospices for pilgrims: this was, for example, the case at their commandery of St. Thomas de Trinquetaille, in Arles<sup>62</sup>, and of their large house in St. Gilles. The Hospitallers established in the town of St. Gilles one of their earliest houses in Europe, which is mentioned as an hospice already in Paschal II *Pie postulatio voluntatis* of 1113. Due to its seniority and strategic location, the house in St. Gilles was to become the most important Hospitaller priory



<sup>58</sup> Bronstein, 2005, p. 77; Forey, 1992, p. 124.

<sup>59</sup> For Hospitaller houses located along pilgrims' routes in Europe see, for example, Luttrell, 1994, p. 74; Pavón Benito and García de la Borbolla, 2000, pp. 571-587; Baldó, 2013, pp. 339-481; Barquero Goñi, 1999, pp. 89-117; González-Paz, 2009, pp. 9-44; Rodríguez-Picavea Matilla and Matellanes Merchán, 1992, pp. 343-363; Bellomo, 2008, pp. 23-24, 262-276.

<sup>60</sup> Le Blévec, 2000, vol. I, p. 68, for the Hospitallers in St. Gilles, pp. 71-75; Selwood, 1999, pp. 111-115; Carraz attaches less importance to the role Templar and Hospitaller houses in Provence had as centers of assistance for pilgrims, explaining that these houses had mainly institutional and economic functions, Carraz, 2005, pp. 101-102.

<sup>61</sup> *Cartulaire général*, no. 4; Luttrell, 1997, p. 48. Another example is that of William Joy of Little Maplestead who went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem some time before c.1245, gave two denarius rent to light the chapel of St. John. *The Cartulary of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in England*, p. XLIV, note 59, and also charter no. 107.

<sup>62</sup> Giordanengo, 1978, pp. 197-199; Carraz, 2005, pp. 263-64 and in general for the presence of houses of the military orders along pilgrims' routes in Provence, pp. 66-67. For an hospice belonging to the order in Aix en Provence see Coulet, 1978, pp. 222-229.



in Europe<sup>63</sup>. It was located in a town which was an important centre for local and international trade and a port of embarkation for crusaders and pilgrims in the course of the twelfth century<sup>64</sup>. St. Gilles was also one of the most important pilgrims' centers in Europe by its own right. It is mentioned, for example, in the itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela, who on his way from the Iberian Peninsula to Marseilles, sailed on the Rhone, and stopped at Arles and St. Gilles<sup>65</sup>. This would have also been the route of many pilgrims on their way to St. Gilles, or other pilgrims' centers such as Santiago de Compostela, Rome or Jerusalem. The Hospital of St. John was located outside the walls, between the town and the Rhone, where all travelers arriving at the port would have to pass on their way to town. Pilgrims, crusaders and paupers could have found comfort within its walls<sup>66</sup>.

The Hospital of Saint John, one of the most original religious institutions in the Latin East, had been established some time before 1071 as a hospice for the pilgrims and the poor coming to Jerusalem. This early institution had rapidly developed into an international order, which, as this article has shown, provided pilgrims with comprehensive services such as nursing, physical and spiritual comfort, as well as security for those travelling in dangerous routes in the East. The deteriorating situation of the Latin East in the course of the thirteenth century made, however, this into a mutual dependence, as the Order relayed on pilgrims for monetary as well as for military assistance.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Albert of Aachen. *Historia Ierosolimitana. History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. S. B. Edgington, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2007.
- Baldó, Julia, «La arquitectura religiosa de la Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén en la Navarra medieval: templos con recinto anexo», in *La Orden del Hospital de San Juan de Jerusalén en la Edad Media. Contextos y trayectorias del priorato de Navarra medieval*, eds. J. Pavón Benito and M. Bonet Donato, Pamplona, Euns, 2013, pp. 339-481.
- Baratier, Edouard, *Histoire de la Provence*, Toulouse, Privat, 1969.
- Barber, Malcolm, *The New Knighthood. A History of the Order of the Temple*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994.

<sup>63</sup> *Cartulaire général*, no. 30.

<sup>64</sup> For the importance of the port of St. Gilles, see Baratier, 1969, p. 143; Bronstein, 2013a, pp. 287-309.

<sup>65</sup> *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, p. 4: «This is a place of pilgrimage of the Gentiles who come hither from the ends of the earth. It is only three miles from the sea, and is situated upon the great River Rhone, which flows through the whole land of Provence».

<sup>66</sup> Le Blévec, 2000, vol. I, p. 75.

- , «The Charitable and Medical Activities of the Hospitallers and Templars», in *A History of Pastoral Care*, ed. G. R. Evans, London, Cassell, 2000, pp. 148-168.
- Barber, Malcolm and Bate, Keith (eds.), *The Templars. Selected Sources Translated and Annotated*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2002.
- Barquero Goñi, Carlos, «La Orden de San Juan en el Camino de Santiago. La bailía de Portomarín (1158-1351)», *Cuadernos de Historia Medieval*, 2, 1999, pp. 89-117.
- Bellomo, Elena, *The Templar Order in North-West Italy (1142-c.1330)*, Leiden, Brill, 2008.
- Boas, Adrian, *Archaeology of the Military Orders: A Survey of the Urban Centres, Rural Settlements and Castles of the Military Orders in the Latin East (c. 1120-1291)*, London, Routledge, 2006.
- Brodman, James W., *Charity and Welfare. Hospitals and the Poor in Medieval Catalonia*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998.
- , «Rule and Identity: the Case of the Military Orders», *The Catholic Historical Review*, 87-3, 2001, pp. 383-400.
- Bronstein, Judith, *The Hospitallers and the Holy Land. Financing the Latin East, 1187-1274*, Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2005.
- , «Caring for the Sick or Dying for the Cross? The Granting of Crusade Indulgences to the Hospitallers», in *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe. Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell*, eds. K. Borchardt, N. Jaspert and H. J. Nicholson, Aldershot - Burlington, Ashgate, 2007, pp. 39-47.
- , «El Meditarranismo Sanjuanista: Evolucion institucional y logística en el despliegue de la orden de San Juan (siglos XII-XIII)», in *La Orden del Hospital de San Juan de Jerusalén en la Edad Media. Contextos y trayectorias del priorato de Navarra medieval*, eds. J. Pavón Benito and M. Bonet Donato, Pamplona, Eunsa, 2013a, pp. 287-309.
- , «Food and the Military Orders: Attitudes of the Hospital and the Temple between the Twelfth and Fourteenth Centuries», *Crusades*, 12, 2013b (forthcoming).
- Carraz, Damien, *L'Ordre du Temple dans la basse vallée du Rhône (1124-1312): Ordres militaires, croisades et sociétés meridionales*, Lyon, Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 2005.
- Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint Jean de Jérusalem, 1100-1310*, ed. J. Delaville Le Roulx, Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1894-1906, 4 vols.
- Chronica de Mailros*, ed. J. Stevenson, Edinburgh, Typis Societatis Edinburgensis, 1835.
- Constable, Giles, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Coulet, Noël, «Hopitaux et ouvres d'assistance dans le diocese et la ville d'Aix en Provence, XIIIe - mi XIVe siècle», *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, 13, 1978, pp. 213-237.
- Edgington, Susan B., «Medical Care in the Hospital of St. John in Jerusalem», in *The Military Orders. 2. Welfare and Warfare*, ed. H. Nicholson, Aldershot and Brookfield, Ashgate, 1998, pp. 27-33.
- , «The Hospital of St. John in Jerusalem», in *Medicine in Jerusalem Throughout the Ages*, eds. Z. Amar, E. Lev and J. Schwartz, Tel Aviv, Erets, 1999, pp. 9-25.
- , «Administrative Regulations for the Hospital of St. John in Jerusalem from the 1180s», *Crusades*, 4, 2005, pp. 21-37.
- , «Oriental and Occidental Medicine in the Crusader States» en *The Crusaders and the Near East. Cultural Histories*, ed. C. Kostick, Abingdon and New York, Routledge, 2011, pp. 189-215.
- Felix Fabri, *The Book of the Wanderings of Felix Fabri (Circa 1480-1483 A.D.)*, trans. A Stewart, London, Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1896.
- Forey, Alan, *The Military Orders, from the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1992.
- , «The Charitable Activities of the Templars», *Viator*, 34, 2003, pp. 109-141.
- Giordanengo, Gérard, «Les Hopitaux Arlésiens du XII au XIV siècle», *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, 13, 1978, pp. 189-212.
- González-Paz, Carlos Andrés, «La orden de San Juan de Jerusalén y las peregrinaciones en la Galicia medieval (siglos XII-XIII)», *População e Sociedade*, 17, 2009, pp. 9-44.
- Hamilton, Bernard, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, London, Variorum Publications, 1980.

# SERVUS PAUPERUM CHRISTI: THE HOSPITALLERS' SERVICES TO PILGRIMS

- Hume, Edgar E., *Medical Work of the Knights Hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1940.
- Huygens, Robert B. C., «Un nouveau texte du traité 'De constructione castri Saphet'», *Studi Medievali*, ser. 3, 6.1, 1965, pp. 355-387.
- Huygens, Robert B. C. (ed.), *Peregrinationes Tres. Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, Turnholt, Brepols, 1994.
- Jacoby, David, «Les communes italiens et les ordres militaires à Acre: aspects juridiques, territoriaux et militaires (1104-1187, 1191-1291)», in D. Jacoby, *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean*, Aldershot, Variorum, 1997.
- Jotischky, Andrew, *The Perfection of Solitude: Hermits and Monks in the Crusader States*, University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995.
- Kedar, Benjamin Z., «A Twelfth-Century Description of the Jerusalem Hospital», in *The Military Orders. 2. Welfare and Warfare*, ed. H. Nicholson, Aldershot and Brookfield, Ashgate, 1998, pp. 3-26.
- , «The *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre ierosolimitane*», in Kedar, B. Z., *Franks, Muslims and Oriental Christians in the Latin Levant: Studies in Frontier Acculturation*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2006, pp. 111-133.
- , «A Note on Jerusalem's Bimaristan and Jerusalem's Hospital», in *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe. Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell*, eds. K. Borchardt, N. Jaspert and H. J. Nicholson, Aldershot - Burlington, Ashgate, 2007, pp. 7-12.
- Le Blévec, Daniel, *La part du pauvre. L'assistance dans les pays du Bas-Rhône du XIIe siècle au milieu du XVe siècle*, Rome, École Française, 2000, 2 vols.
- Ludolph von Suchem, *Ludolph von Suchem's Description of the Holy Land, and of the Way Thither, Written in the Year AD. 1350*, trans. A. Stewart, London, Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society 12, 1895.
- Luttrell, Anthony, «The Hospitallers' Medical Tradition, 1291-1530», in A. Luttrell, *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and its Western Provinces, 1306-1462*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 1994, pp. 64-81.
- , «The Earliest Hospitallers», in *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honor of Hans Ebrhard Mayer*, eds. B. Z. Kedar, R. Hiestand and J. Riley-Smith, Aldershot, Variorum, 1997, pp. 37-54.
- , «Préface», in *Studies on the Hospitallers after 1306. Rhodes and the West*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2007.
- Luttrell, Anthony and Nicholson, Helen J., «Introduction: A Survey of Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages», in *Hospitallers Women in the Middle Ages*, eds. A. Luttrell and H. J. Nicholson, Aldershot - Burlington, Ashgate, 2006, pp. 1-42.
- Mitchell, Piers D., *Medicine in the Crusades. Warfare, Wounds and Medieval Surgeon*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Nicholson, Helen, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights. Images of the Military Orders, 1128-1291*, Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1993.
- Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, in *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, späteren Bischofs von Paderborn und kardinal-Bischofs*, ed. H. Hoogeweg, Tübingen, Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins Stuttgart, 1894.
- Pavón Benito, Julia - García de la Borbolla, Ángeles, «Hospitalarios y Templarios en Navarra. Formación patrimonial (1134-1196)», in *Las órdenes militares en la Península Ibérica. 1: Edad Media*, eds. R. Izquierdo Benito and F. Ruiz Gómez, Cuenca, Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2000, pp. 571-587.
- Prawer, Joshua, *A History of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Jerusalem, Bialik Institute, 1963.
- Pringle, Denys, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. Vol. 3. The City of Jerusalem: Corpus*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, 1097-1291*, ed. R. Röhrich, Innsbruck, Libreria Academica Wagneriana, 1893.
- Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de vita et miraculis S. Godrici, heremitae de Finchale*, ed. J. Stevenson, London and Edinburgh, J. B. Nichols and Son, 1844.

JUDITH BRONSTEIN

- Richard, Jean, «Hospitals and Hospital Congregations in the Latin Kingdom during the First Period of the Frankish Conquest», in *Outremer. Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem*, eds. B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer and R. C. Smail, Jerusalem, 1982, pp. 89-100.
- Riley-Smith, Jonathan S. C., *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c.1050-1310*, London, Macmillan - St. Martin's Press, 1967.
- , *The First Crusaders*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- , «Further Thoughts on the Layout of the Hospital in Acre», in Riley-Smith, Jonathan, *Crusaders and Settlers in the Latin East*, Aldershot, Variorum, 2008a, pp. 753-764.
- , «The Death and Burial of Latin Christian Pilgrims to Jerusalem and Acre, 1099-1291», *Crusades*, 7, 2008b, pp. 165-179.
- , *Templars and Hospitallers as Professed Religious in the Holy Land*, Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, 2010.
- , *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant, c.1070-1309*, Houndmills - Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Rodríguez-Picavea Matilla, Enrique and Matellanes Merchán, José Vicente, «Las órdenes militares en las etapas castellanas del Camino de Santiago», in *El Camino de Santiago, la hospitalidad monástica y las peregrinaciones*, ed. H. Santiago-Otero, Salamanca, Junta de Castilla y León, 1992, pp. 343-364.
- Selwood, Dominic, *Knights of the Cloister. Templars and Hospitallers in Central-Southern Occitania, c.1100 -c.1300*, Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 1999.
- Smail, Raymond C., *Crusading Warfare, 1097-1193*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Stern, Eliezer, «The Hospitallers Compound in Acre», *Kadmoniot*, 33, 2000, pp. 4-12 (in Hebrew)
- The Cartulary of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in England. Secunda Camera*, ed. M. Gervers, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1982.
- The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, trans. M. N. Adler, London, H. Frowde, 1907.
- The Rule Statutes and Customs of the Hospitallers, 1099-1310*, ed. E. J. King, London, Methuen & Company, 1934.
- Theodericus, *Libellus de locis sanctis*, eds. M. L. and W. Bulst, Heidelberg, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1976.
- Tyerman, Christopher, *England and the Crusades, 1095-1588*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Veszprémy, László, «André II», in *Prier et Combattre. Dictionnaire européen des ordres militaires au Moyen Âge*, eds. N. Bériou and P. Josserand, Paris, Fayard, 2009, pp. 89-90.
- Willbrand of Oldenburg, «Wilbrandi de Oldenborg Peregrinatio» *Itinerarium Terrae Sanctae', Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor. Buchardu de Monte Sion. Ricoldus de Monte Crucis. Odoricus de Foro Julii. Wilbrandus de Oldenborg*, ed. J. C. M. Laurent, Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs, 1864, pp. 159-191.
- William of Tyre, *History of the Deeds Done Beyond the Sea. By William Archbishop of Tyre*, vol. I, eds. and trans. E. Babcock and A. Krey, New York, Octagon Books, 1976.
- , *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis*, 63-63A, 2 vols., Turnhout, Brepols, 1986.