

EDUCATION AND
INTELLECTUAL LIFE

Evidence for the presence of institutions of higher learning in Crusader Jerusalem is very slim. There were obviously some such establishments in the city, but they may not have amounted to very much, especially when compared to contemporary institutions in the West. Centres of theological study were certainly to be found in the city, such as the cathedral school of the Holy Sepulchre where one of the masters, and possibly the head of the school, was the future cardinal John of Pisa. Under him studied perhaps the best-known intellectual of the kingdom, the future chronicler and archbishop William of Tyre. He was author of the most important of the contemporary histories of the Latin East, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Seas*, and of a lost work on the history of oriental rulers, both written under the patronage of King Amaury. But even under such a distinguished personage as John, institutions of this type must have been of limited quality, cut off as they were from the intellectual scene in the West. Benjamin Kedar goes so far as to state that it was impossible to pursue higher learning in Jerusalem's cathedral school, or elsewhere in the Frankish Levant.¹ Probably, therefore, most local intellectuals, like William of Tyre, spent several years of study in institutions in the West. Amongst the few noted intellectuals of the Holy Land were clergy from Jerusalem, such as Rogero Fretel, who wrote a treatise on the Holy Places, and two Augustinian priors, Achard and Geoffroi, who wrote poems on the history of the *Templum Domini*.²

In view of the presence of several hospitals in Jerusalem, one of them very large with a medical staff numbering around 143 and up to 2,000 patients, we can speculate on the existence of some type of institute tutoring in the art of medicine.³ This may have been a small medical college possibly attached to the hospital itself.⁴ No doubt medicine and other disciplines were also privately taught, and there is definite evidence for tutoring in Jerusalem by philosophers, physicians and those learned in other fields who had studied in the West or in the neighbouring countries.⁵

While apprenticeship to many trades could be on the level of a personal tutoring in the shop or workshop, some disciplines were certainly taught in schools. This would have been the case for manuscript writing and illumination, sculpture, icon and fresco painting and other fine arts. Unfortunately, other than the manuscript illumination carried out in the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre which has been discussed by Hugo Buchthal and Jaroslav Folda (see below, pp. 194, 197) the sources, and consequently modern historians are silent on these matters.

THE POPULATION



As already noted, with the occupation of Jerusalem in 1099 and the elimination of the Muslim and Jewish residents, the city remained almost uninhabited.¹ Most of the Crusaders left the city almost immediately after its capture and in the entire area under Frankish control the Crusader forces had been severely reduced.² The people remaining in Jerusalem probably consisted of a few soldiers, some Eastern Christians and members of the Latin clergy.

Conditions in the city were desperate. William of Tyre describes thieves taking advantage of the empty cities in the kingdom at this time.³ The demographic problems, however, were difficult to alleviate, and a decade and a half later conditions showed little sign of improvement.⁴ By the middle of the twelfth century, however, the situation had significantly improved. Sources mention communities of settlers from the West and East. John of Würzburg gives us an extensive and enlightening list which clearly portrays the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the city: 'For there are Greeks, Bulgarians, Latins, Germans, Hungarians, Scots, Navarrese, Bretons, English, Franks, Ruthenians, Bohemians, Georgians, Armenians, Jacobites, Syrians, Nestorians, Indians, Egyptians, Copts, Capheturici, Maronites and very many others [in the city].'⁵ The recovery of Jerusalem was achieved through the measures already mentioned, including the colonization of the north-eastern quarter of the city with families of Eastern Christians brought from Transjordan, attracting commerce to Jerusalem and improving the lot of the citizens by abolishing taxes on certain goods brought by merchants into the city, attracting pilgrims and also putting an end to the common practice of absentee landlordship.⁶ But perhaps above all else, what rejuvenated the city was the development of pilgrimage, which involved the identification or re-identification of pilgrimage sites, the rebuilding of churches, particularly the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the construction of hospices, hospitals, markets, money exchanges and other institutions aimed at reviving the pilgrimage movement, which was in many ways the medieval equivalent of the tourist industry. These combined measures proved to be effective. It has been estimated that Jerusalem eventually had around 30,000 residents, equal to the population of the two main port cities, Acre and Tyre, and comparable to the populations of Pisa, Florence and London.⁷

We get an interesting portrayal of the physical appearance of the population of Crusader Jerusalem from the accounts of 'Anonymous Pilgrims'.⁸ According to these

sources, the Franks were bareheaded and clean-shaven, the Greeks grew their beards long, the Syrians trimmed their beards and the Georgians wore their hair and beards long. The latter wore tonsures: those of the clergy round and those of the laymen square.⁹ Unfortunately this is about the most detailed description of the dress of Jerusalemites in the Frankish period. We can add to this description the appearance of members of the military orders and the form of their dress, described, among other places, in the rules of the orders themselves. By a Papal grant of 1145 the Templars were permitted to wear a long, belted, white hooded mantle (like that worn by the Cistercians). It had a red cross on the left breast. According to the more detailed description in their rule, the brothers wore habits of white, black or brown and white cloaks signifying purity and chastity. The dress was unadorned with finery such as fur. The Hospitallers wore a black mantle (like the Benedictine and Augustinian habits) decorated with a white cross on the breast. The leper knights of St Lazarus wore a black and white robe with a green cross. Because of the heat, in summer the Templars were permitted to wear white linen shirts. On their feet they wore boots. Pointed shoes and shoe laces were forbidden, from which we can surmise that pointed, laced shoes were fashionable among the secular population.¹⁰ The Hierarchical Statutes of the order, believed to date from around 1165, mention other items of dress such as squirrel-hair robes that the Master could give as gifts to noble friends of the order.

Classes

The population was divided by class distinctions into nobles and burgesses. There were internal divisions within these classes. The burgesses (*burgenses*) included labourers and the poor, who are scarcely heard of but no doubt formed a considerable part of the citizenry of the town.

The Latin nobility had its own hierarchy consisting of the high nobility, the baronage and lesser knights (*chevaliers*), divisions based primarily on economic station and family origins.¹¹ The lesser knights formed the majority of the urban knightly class. Prætor called them ‘simple salaried warriors’.¹² Many of them were poorer than the commoners but retained their superior status and the privileges that went with it.

The burgesses were a well-organized class of non-noble tradesmen and property owners (mainly urban property or small holdings nearby held in burgage tenure), by and large of peasant origin, former serfs who in the East quickly adapted to urban life. They had few obligations in comparison to non-noble townsmen in the West. These consisted of military service, particularly the defence of the city but also participation in military campaigns, and the payment of a nominal rent.

Burgesses in Jerusalem were involved in the typical urban occupations. There were tanners, smiths, bakers, butchers, cooks, brewers, and various other craftsmen and vendors.¹³ There were no guilds in the Latin East, but there were organizations that perhaps approached them, such as the goldsmiths’ corporation which is referred to in a charter of 1135.¹⁴

Within the burgesses was a lower class consisting of poor traders and people without property. There were no Latin serfs in the East, although parallels can be drawn

between the serfs of Europe and the non-Christian population of the kingdom. However, this has little relevance in a discussion of Crusader Jerusalem, where the non-Christian population was almost non-existent. There are, however, references and hints to the existence of what may have been a fairly substantial poor class. In written sources there are occasionally allusions to their presence in twelfth-century Jerusalem. First, a certain Germain is recorded as having built fountains in the city to provide water for the city's poor.¹⁵ Second, this same Germain gathered labourers in a square in the city for one of his philanthropical projects.¹⁶ These labourers represent part of the city's unemployed who were reduced to seeking work on a daily basis. Third, a large number of children in the city were abandoned by their parents and had to be looked after by the Hospitallers.¹⁷ Fourth, after the city was occupied by Saladin in 1187, a fairly large number of the citizens, perhaps as many as 20,000, could not afford to ransom themselves though the ransom demanded by Saladin was not extremely high: ten bezants for a man, five for a woman and one for a child.¹⁸

Communities

Apart from social status, the citizens were divided into various religious and ethnic communities. Like John of Würzburg, the Anonymous Pilgrim lists Franks (Latins), Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, Georgians, Jacobins (Jacobites) and Nestorians. The Latins included Germans, Spaniards, Gauls, Italians and other European nations.¹⁹ Relationships between the ruling Franks and the other Christian communities varied. The Latins permitted the Eastern Christians to retain their churches, with one exception – the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, from which all Eastern Christians were expelled immediately after the conquest in 1099. When the new church was opened in 1149, Armenians and Jacobites were permitted to occupy the old Byzantine chapels on the western side of the southern courtyard.²⁰

Intermarriage at all social levels improved the relationship between the Latin and Eastern Christian communities.²¹ Although distinctions were retained, Hans Eberhard Mayer notes that the bourgeois Franks made certain inroads in the twelfth century, as for example in affairs of state such as waiting on the king during the coronation feast or serving as witnesses to royal charters.²² This was not the case with the Greeks and Syro-Christians of Jerusalem.

Franks (Latins)

The term 'Frank' does not necessarily mean someone originating in France or even in francophone lands. It is a generic term (*al-franj* in its Arabic form), which was applied by Easterners in the Crusader period when referring to anyone coming from the West. Thus it could be used to refer to a German, an Italian or a Scandinavian.²³ Germans were a prominent group among the pilgrims in the Middle Ages. This was true not only in the Crusader period. In the Fatimid period, in one extreme case in 1065, a single convoy of 12,000 pilgrims from Germany and Holland travelled to Jerusalem.²⁴

Italians, so prominent a part of the Frankish community in the larger coastal towns, were hardly represented in Jerusalem. Other communities are known only through

brief references in documents. These include Hungarians, Spaniards and other nationalities.

Greeks

The Greeks, also known as Chalcedonians, formed the largest Christian community in Jerusalem prior to the Crusader period. Under Frankish rule they were ousted from their position of domination and were ejected from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by the Latin patriarchs, Arnulf and Daimbert. However, the Greek Orthodox community retained a strong presence in the Holy City throughout the twelfth century and Greek clergy were eventually reinstated in the church.²⁵

Syrian Christians (Suriani)

This is a generic term used by the Franks to describe Eastern Christians who spoke Arabic but used Greek in their liturgy and followed the Orthodox rite. For the latter reason they were also known as Melchites: members of the King's or Imperial Church. Prior to the arrival of the Crusader army in 1099 most of the Syrian Christian community had been expelled from the city together with the Greeks, because the Fatimids doubted their loyalty in the face of the imminent Christian assault. Indeed, participation of the Eastern Christians in the defence of the city during the siege was probably only half-hearted if it existed at all.²⁶ Nonetheless, it seems that many of them received no better treatment from the conquering army than did the Jews and Muslims.²⁷ Later the situation improved, and during the period of Frankish rule the Syrian communities in the kingdom were the recipients of the favourable regard of the Frankish leadership. According to John of Ibelin, they requested and received the privilege of being ruled by their own customs and administered in their own courts.²⁸

Monophysites

Most of the non-Latin Christian community in Crusader Jerusalem belonged to the different Monophysite sects who spoke Arabic and used Syriac (Western Aramaic) in their liturgy. These included Jacobites, Abyssinians, Armenians, Copts and Georgians.

The Jacobites were one of the largest minority groups of Christians in Jerusalem. This Monophysite sect, named after its founder, Jacob Baradaeus, was centred in the monastery of St Mary Magdalene in the north-east quarter of the city. They were comparatively well favoured by the Franks and the metropolitan of Jerusalem, Ignatius (1125–38), was highly regarded by the Frankish leadership. Baldwin II and Fulk referred to him as 'an angel from heaven'.²⁹ Some of their customs must have seemed rather strange to the Franks. According to Theoderich, the Jacobites used trumpets on their feast days after the fashion of the Jews.³⁰

Armenians were present in Jerusalem from at least the fifth century, and possibly earlier. The Armenian community fared better than other Eastern sects under Frankish rule. This was in part due to their strong and independent noble class who were treated by the Franks as equals.³¹ Political marriages were arranged between the Frankish leadership and Armenian nobility; for example Arda, the wife of Baldwin I, was from

Armenia. However, there was another very expedient political reason behind the high regard in which the Armenians were held. Only recently expelled from their homeland around Lake Van, the Armenians had, since the late eleventh century, relocated around the Taurus and Anti-Taurus mountains and in Cilicia (the kingdom of Lesser or Cilician Armenia). Here they had very rapidly (by the middle of the twelfth century) become an important regional power. As such they formed a physical barrier against Byzantine aspirations to retake Antioch from the Franks.³²

The Armenian community in Jerusalem had earlier been located in different parts of the city. These probably included the area to the north-west, outside the city walls, which is now occupied by the Musrara neighbourhood, the part of Mount Zion within the present city walls where the Armenian Quarter is now located, and an area on the summit of the Mount of Olives. By the Crusader period it seems that the areas outside the city walls were no longer occupied by them, but they retained their quarter in the south-west of the city. Prawer suggests that at the time of the visit of the Armenian Catholicos Gregory Bahlavouni to Jerusalem in 1142, to participate in the Second Council of Jerusalem held on Mount Zion, the Armenians received permission to build a hospice near their church, the Cathedral of St James, to accommodate Armenian pilgrims.³³ At the same time, or perhaps two decades later when the Armenian King Thoros II (1152–68) visited the court of Amaury in Jerusalem, the cathedral may have been enlarged. The Armenians had their own bishop in Jerusalem, whose authority extended beyond the cathedral and adjacent hospice to include other properties in the city, such as the chapel of St Mary in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

A third important Armenian to arrive in Jerusalem around this time was the patriarch of Alexandria, who fled there in 1172 following Saladin's occupation of Egypt in 1168. He brought with him seventy-five codices which formed the foundation of the library of St James. Prawer suggests that he may have settled in St Sarkis (Abu Sirjah), a monastery he himself founded outside the city in the region of Bethany, in order not to come into conflict with the existing Armenian leadership in Jerusalem.³⁴ However, this does not appear to have been successful; he died soon afterwards, and it was believed that the Armenian bishop was behind his death. He was buried in the cathedral of St James.

There were also Copts in Jerusalem. Theoderich refers to them as Nubians (*Nubiani*).³⁵ Another minority group, also resident in the Holy Land from quite early times, was the Georgian community. In the Crusader period they were located in the Church of the Holy Cross outside the city to the west, which predated the Crusader period and was restored in the twelfth century. Here, according to tradition, grew the tree from which the cross on which Christ was crucified was made.

Muslims and Jews

After the Frankish conquest of Jerusalem and the expulsion of the surviving defenders, Baldwin banned non-Christians from returning to the city.³⁶ Despite this injunction some Muslims, along with Jews, returned to the city during the twelfth century; they are recorded on occasion as merchants, pilgrims or expert craftsmen, and perhaps also as inmates of the hospital of St John. In 1118 Muslims were among the mourners at the funeral of Baldwin I when the king's body was carried into the city on Palm

Sunday.³⁷ Also, as already noted, Muslim merchants are mentioned in an edict of 1120 which remitted taxes on certain goods brought into the city.³⁸ Jewish pilgrims are recorded during the twelfth century.³⁹ Although the Spanish Rabbi Abraham Hiyya (c. 1120–29) wrote, ‘Not even one Jew is to be found in Jerusalem in our own days,’ one Jew is recorded to have settled in the city at least as early as 1146, and by around 1170 the Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela mentions Jewish dyers living near the Tower of David.⁴⁰ Rabbi Petachia of Ratisbon, who visited the city between 1174 and 1187, mentions a single Jewish dyer named Rabbi Abraham who was required to pay the king a heavy tax for permission to remain in the city.⁴¹ Possible additional evidence for the presence of Jews and Muslims in Crusader Jerusalem comes from the cartulary of the Order of the Hospitallers and from an anonymous document located in Munich, which deals with the hospital of St John and which has been interpreted as suggesting that non-Christians were treated in the hospital.⁴²

With the Muslim recovery of the city in 1187 there was a revival of the Jewish community in Jerusalem, and the Spanish Jewish poet al-Harizi, who visited the Holy Land around 1217, mentions Jewish settlers from France, the Maghreb and Ascalon.⁴³ However, when in 1229 the city was reoccupied by the Franks under the terms of the Treaty of Jaffa between Emperor Frederick II and the Egyptian Sultan al-Malik al-Kâmil, the Muslims retained the Temple Mount but the Jews were once again expelled from the city. During this brief Frankish reoccupation a limited agreement was reached which allowed Jewish pilgrims to visit the Holy Places and permitted the residence of a single Jewish dyer.⁴⁴ On the other hand, it seems that Muslim residents were able to remain in Jerusalem in this period: al-Malik al-Kâmil requested the presence of a *qâdî* or magistrate to represent the interests of Muslim residents who remained in the city and of Muslim pilgrims.⁴⁵ After the Khawarizmian conquest of 1244 the Jewish community was re-established.