

## INTRODUCTION

On 18 May 1291 Frankish Acre was taken by the Mamluks and destroyed, marking, as Prawer has written, the end of the history of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> As is well known, during the preceding century Acre was a major urban centre which served as the capital of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and as a major commercial hub. But another important aspect of the thirteenth-century city remains unexplored: Acre housed a considerable number of learned men, some of whom possessed knowledge that was unique and rare. While in Acre, many of these scholars engaged in the accumulation, development and distribution of knowledge in a range of fields such as theology, jurisprudence and geography; some of them composed an impressive number of still-extant texts. These facts raise a variety of hitherto neglected questions. How can one characterize the intellectual and literary activities which took place in the city? Who participated in them? What degree of creativity and originality do they reflect? On what fields did they focus? To what extent were they shaped by intercultural exchanges that took place in and around the city? What was the relation between the intellectual activities undertaken in Acre and those which characterized the West at the time? These questions stand at the centre of the present study.

### ACRE IN EARLIER PERIODS

Acre (Arabic: ‘Akkā, Hebrew: Akko), located at the northern end of the bay of Haifa, is a settlement with a very long history. Mentioned in the Bible (Judges 1.31) as a city which was not taken by the tribe of Asher, Acre was later a Hellenistic city named Ptolemais, and, in the first century, a Roman colony where St. Paul is said to have spent a day on his way from Tyre to Jerusalem (Acts 21.7). Following the Muslim

<sup>1</sup> J. Prawer, *Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1970), vol. II, p. 557.

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conquest, the city served as an Ummayyad, and later Abbasid, naval base and shipyard, with significant works in its port undertaken during the rule of Aḥmad Ibn-Ṭūlūn. In the century preceding the First Crusade, the city saw several dramatic events: it was damaged by a severe earthquake in 1063, taken by the Turcomans in 1074 and captured in 1089 by the Fatimid Munīr al-Dawla al-Juyūshī.<sup>2</sup>

Acre was not captured by the Franks during the First Crusade, but rather as part of their subsequent attempts to extend the young Kingdom of Jerusalem's territory. Having withstood a siege led by Baldwin I in April and May 1103, it was finally taken by the Franks in May 1104 with the aid of a Genoese and Pisan fleet. While some looting and killing followed the city's surrender, inhabitants willing to remain in the city were permitted to do so.<sup>3</sup> Thus the city became home to a varied population which during the twelfth century included Latins, Muslims, Jews and, in all likelihood, Oriental Christians as well.<sup>4</sup> It was a densely populated port city which served both as a gateway for pilgrims from the West and as a significant commercial centre.

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Following the battle of Hattin, the city surrendered, on 9 July 1187, to the forces of Saladin. The whole Frankish population left Acre with whatever property they could carry, while Oriental Christians as well as Jews seem to have been permitted to remain.<sup>5</sup> But the Latins did not give up hope of regaining the city. During the summer of 1189 a Western army began to form around it,<sup>6</sup> gradually growing in the following months, until it was capable of imposing an effective siege. At the same time, however,

<sup>2</sup> M. Gil, *A History of Palestine*, trans. E. Broido (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 251–2, 410, 860; D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. A Corpus, IV. Acre and Tyre* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 3–5.

<sup>3</sup> Prawer, *Histoire*, vol. I, pp. 269–70; H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham (Oxford, 1988), p. 69; Pringle, *The Churches IV*, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Jubayr mentions a small mosque which functioned in the city under the Franks. *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, trans. R. J. C. Broadhurst (London, 1952), p. 318. Muslims were also allowed to worship in a mosque built over the spring of the Oxen, a site Christians and Jews also venerated. Pringle, *The Churches IV*, pp. 165–6. Concerning Jews in twelfth-century Acre, see J. Prawer, *The History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 61–2. The evidence for the existence of Oriental Christian communities in twelfth-century Acre is limited and mostly not unequivocal. Pringle, *The Churches IV*, p. 18; B. Z. Kedar, 'The Eastern Christians in the Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem: An Overview', in M. Gálik and M. Slobodník (eds.), *Eastern Christianity, Judaism and Islam between the Death of Muhammad and Tamerlane (632–1405)*, *Proceedings of the Humboldt-Kolleg, June 25–28, 2008*, Dolná Krupá, Slovakia (Bratislava, 2011), p. 140–2.

<sup>5</sup> Concerning Oriental Christians, see Prawer, *Histoire*, vol. I, p. 658. With regard to the Jews, see Prawer, *The History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 2000), p. 257 [Hebrew].

<sup>6</sup> Prawer, *Histoire*, vol. II, pp. 41–2; Mayer, *The Crusades*, p. 142.

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Saladin's forces reacted by besieging the besiegers and creating, as it were, a double siege. This epic conflict, which included numerous battles, lasted for almost two years until the Muslim city surrendered to the Western armies on 12 July 1191. Thus was formed the Second Kingdom of Jerusalem, which was to last until the spring of 1291 with Acre as its capital.

The intellectual arena with which this study is concerned grew out of the unique circumstances which characterized thirteenth-century Acre. Among these a central place should be given to the constitution of the city's permanent and transient populations. Thirteenth-century Acre's population consisted of numerous groups, the most dominant of which was comprised of people of Western origin.<sup>7</sup> This general category may be divided more carefully: among the city's residents were speakers of both French and Provençal, as well as different groups of Italian origin, concentrated mainly in the quarters of Genoa, Venice and Pisa. Speakers of German and English were also represented in the city.<sup>8</sup> The evidence for the residence of a significant Oriental Christian population in the city during this period is much more significant than that available for the twelfth century.<sup>9</sup> The city certainly hosted numerous Orthodox churches; the Armenians had a hospital in the city at least during 1190–2; Acre had a Jacobite bishop; there was a Nestorian community in the city; and the Maronites may have had a church there.<sup>10</sup> As is seen in what follows, Coptic presence in the city is also well documented. During the thirteenth century the presence of Oriental Christians increased because of the economic opportunities the city offered, as well as because of an inclination of Oriental Christians to leave territories which the Franks lost to the Muslims or which were threatened as a result of the Mongol advancement.<sup>11</sup>

The Jewish community which had already existed in the city during the twelfth century, and whose existence was probably not dramatically interrupted by the events of 1187–91, evolved into a very significant one during the next century.<sup>12</sup> This was at least partly the result of a growing inclination of Jews from the West, many of whom belonged to the most learned parts of Jewish society, to immigrate to the Holy Land. Because

<sup>7</sup> D. Jacoby, 'Society, Culture, and the Arts in Crusader Acre', in D. H. Weiss and L. Mahoney (eds.), *France and the Holy Land* (Baltimore, MD, 2004), p. 97.

<sup>8</sup> D. Jacoby, 'Aspects of Everyday Life in Frankish Acre', *Crusades* 4 (2005), p. 84.

<sup>9</sup> Much evidence regarding the presence of such groups in the city is presented in Chapter 6.

<sup>10</sup> Kedar, 'Eastern Christians', pp. 140–2. On Greek Orthodox institutions in Acre, see also Jacoby, 'Aspects', p. 87; D. Jacoby, 'Three Notes on Crusader Acre', *ZDPV* 109 (1993), pp. 83–8; J. Richard, 'La confrérie des Mosserins d'Acre et les marchands de Mossoul au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *L'Orient Syrien* 11 (1966), pp. 451–60.

<sup>11</sup> Jacoby, 'Aspects', pp. 84–5; Jacoby, 'Society', pp. 102–3. <sup>12</sup> Prawer, *Jews*, pp. 62, 258.

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settling or residing in Jerusalem at the time was difficult, these usually made Acre their home. Thus, many Jews, predominantly of northern French origin, ended up in Acre, contributing to the development of a major Jewish community. A recently discovered document provides extraordinary evidence for the relations between Jews and Franks in the city. While the document can only partially be read, it clearly shows that a Jew based in the city is lamenting a Frankish defeat, probably that of 1250, that he receives letters from Christians and that he is in some kind of contact with a ‘provincial’, which probably refers to an office holder in one of the mendicant orders.<sup>13</sup> This supports the general impression that thirteenth-century Acre provided a relatively convenient environment for Jews.<sup>14</sup>

An important issue remains the presence of Muslims in thirteenth-century Acre. While there is no evidence for an operating mosque in the thirteenth-century city or for a permanent Muslim community living there, some individuals of this faith must have resided in Acre. Among these one can count captives who served as slaves in the city as well as Muslims in the process of converting to Christianity.<sup>15</sup> Be that as it may, members of such social groups are unlikely to have had a direct impact on the city’s intellectual environment and are thus of little relevance for the present study. Indeed, I did not come across any mention of a work attributed to a Muslim resident of thirteenth-century Acre.

While it is out of the scope of the present work to assess the size of the city’s population, it is possible to say something about the relative weight of its two main components: the Latins on the one hand and the Oriental Christians on the other. Kedar has shown that while in Jerusalem non-Latin ecclesiastical buildings made up about 45 per cent of the total, in Acre they constituted only about a tenth.<sup>16</sup> It is thus highly probable that the Latin population was considerably larger than the Oriental Christian, and that thirteenth-century Acre was of a significantly more Western character than twelfth-century Jerusalem. This would have also been the result of the massive building activities the Franks undertook in the city,

<sup>13</sup> S. Glick (with Y. Schwartz, A. Levin and A. Grossman), *Seride Teshuvot of the Ottoman Empire Sages: From the Cairo Genizah in the Elkan Nathan Adler Collection of the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America*, 2 vols. (Ramat Gan, 2016), vol. II, pp. 589–95 [Hebrew].

<sup>14</sup> There is, however, one piece of evidence for an incident of Christian persecution of Jews in the city. This comes from a recently discovered Halakhic notebook which, unfortunately, says only that ‘it happened once in Acre that the gentiles wished to do evil to Israel’. S. Emanuel, ‘Pages from the Halakhic Notebook of a Thirteenth-Century Pilgrim’, *Ginzei Qedem* 7 (2011), p. 151. Nothing else is known about this occurrence.

<sup>15</sup> See pp. 53–4, 114.

<sup>16</sup> B. Z. Kedar, ‘A Review of: Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, A Corpus*, III’, *Israel Exploration Journal* 60.1 (2010), p. 123.

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particularly in sections of land which were annexed to it only during the thirteenth century.

In addition to these permanent groups, the city also attracted a great transient population which participated in two major fields of activity: commerce and pilgrimage. During the thirteenth century Acre's importance as a centre of trade grew to the extent that by the middle of the century the city rivalled Alexandria and Constantinople, becoming, according to Abulafia, 'the capital of a whole network of trade routes'.<sup>17</sup> It served as an outlet to the West for the overland trade from Asia, but at the same time was also a warehouse for goods in transit, fulfilling an important role in their concentration and distribution. Consequently, the income from the commercial activity in Acre, at least till the late 1250s, seems to have been huge.<sup>18</sup> As a major trade centre the city was frequented by numerous merchants and peasants from both Christian and Muslim regions. Among these were, for example, Oriental Christian and Muslim peasants who would bring daily basic victuals to the city, as well as Venetians returning from Damascus with high-quality silk textiles, or Tuscans leaving to Egypt with cloth.<sup>19</sup>

The second kind of population which spent short periods of time in the city was that of pilgrims. Before 1187, Acre was an important transit station for pilgrims on their way to the holy sites located mainly in and around Jerusalem. One can assume that it was in Acre that pilgrims made logistical preparations such as the hiring of guides or horses and donkeys. Following 1191, with Jerusalem remaining in Muslim hands (except for the brief interlude of 1229–44), Acre's importance for pilgrims increased, to the extent that it became itself a significant site with an institutionalized pilgrimage route established within its walls.<sup>20</sup> In other words, Acre now functioned not merely as a gateway into the Holy Land, but as a sacred space in its own right. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that in addition to pilgrims hailing from the West, the city was probably also visited by Oriental Christian pilgrims.<sup>21</sup>

Before moving on, it would be worthwhile to briefly mention one additional characteristic of the city which should be borne in mind when

<sup>17</sup> Pringle, *The Churches IV*, pp. 8–9; D. Abulafia, 'Trade and Crusade, 1050–1250', in M. Goodich, S. Menache and S. Schein (eds.), *Cross Cultural Convergences in the Crusader Period* (New York, NY, 1995), p. 19.

<sup>18</sup> Pringle, *The Churches IV*, p. 9; J. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem 1174–1277* (London, 1973), p. 64.

<sup>19</sup> Jacoby, 'Aspects', pp. 89–90; Abulafia, 'Trade and Crusade', p. 19.

<sup>20</sup> Jacoby, 'Society', p. 101. Regarding this see also Jacoby, 'Pèlerinage médiéval et sanctuaires de Terre Sainte: La perspective vénitienne', *Ateneo veneto*, Anno CLXXIII, 24 (1986), pp. 27–8.

<sup>21</sup> L. Minervini, 'Outremer', in P. Boitani, M. Mancini and A. Vârvaro (eds.), *Lo spazio letterario del medioevo*, 2. *Il medioevo volgare*, vol. 1, *La produzione del testo* (Rome, 2001), pp. 637–8.

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one explores its culture. As a capital of the kingdom, Acre housed numerous institutions. To mention just several of them, it accommodated the headquarters of the Hospitaller, Templar and Teutonic orders.<sup>22</sup> Additionally, throughout the thirteenth century the patriarchs of Jerusalem, who headed the church in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, resided in the city, and houses of the Franciscan and Dominican orders were established there. Acre also housed the kingdom's High Court as well as a Burgess Court, a Market Court and a so-called Court of the Chain.<sup>23</sup>

Acre's importance and affluence are reflected not only in written sources but also in the wealth of impressive physical remains which are continuously being revealed. During the past several decades archaeologists have been able to advance greatly in their work, exposing more and more vestiges of the Frankish city under the Ottoman one. Inter alia, they have brought to light significant remnants of the Hospitaller compound; streets and private houses in what is known as the Youth Hostel excavation; parts of a vaulted street possibly belonging to the city's Genoese quarter; the Church of Saint Andrew; and a public bathhouse. Furthermore, ceramics found in the city, and originating in a great variety of regions such as Iberia, Sicily, Greece and China, attest to its importance as a centre of commerce.<sup>24</sup> Notably, new archaeological finds studied along with written and visual source material also advance our understanding of the city's dimensions. Until 1187, the Franks seem to have used the outer walls as left by their Muslim predecessors. Due to various reasons, some already mentioned, the city's population grew significantly following 1191. This led to the building of new outer walls, which expanded the city towards the east and the north. The northern section that was thus annexed to the city was a suburb known as Montmusard.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Pringle, *The Churches IV*, pp. 19–20.

<sup>23</sup> For the various courts operating in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, see J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London, 1972), pp. 114–21, 145–51, 153–6; for the Court of the Chain, see also D. Jacoby, 'Crusader Acre in the Thirteenth Century: Urban Layout and Topography', *Studi medievali*, 3rd series 20 (1979), p. 16.

<sup>24</sup> There is ample literature about Acre's archaeology. For a recent work that sums up earlier research but also includes much, often previously unpublished, information on recent excavations, see E. Stern, 'Acre during the Crusader Period and Its Maritime Aspects in the Light of Archaeological and Recent Historical Research', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Haifa (2015) [Hebrew with English abstract]. The aforementioned fourth volume of Pringle's *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* is also most useful.

<sup>25</sup> The problem of Acre's outer walls received considerable scholarly attention. Especially significant are Stern, 'Acre during the Crusading Period', pp. 169–73; B. Z. Kedar, 'The Outer Walls of Frankish Acre', *Atiqot* 31 (1997), pp. 157–80; D. Jacoby, 'Montmusard, Suburb of Crusader Acre: The First Stage of its Development', in B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer and R. C. Smail (eds.), *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer* (Jerusalem 1982), pp. 205–17.

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Acre was, then, a city of considerable size which housed a varied permanent population and attracted a substantial and diverse transient one, as well as immigrants of different religions and geographical origins. It was a rich centre of trade, as well as a significant location for pilgrims. But at the same time, thirteenth-century Acre was a city whose inhabitants often had good reasons to fear for their future. To mention just two examples, in April 1263 the Mamluks raided the city's suburbs, destroying the cemetery of St. Nicholas, and in May 1267 they killed a large number of people working in the fields outside the city, later destroying some mills and towers.<sup>26</sup>

The city's residents were certainly aware of their fragile position. This is reflected, firstly, in various attempts to improve Acre's defences.<sup>27</sup> Thus, for instance, the approach of the Mongols in 1260 drove the city's inhabitants to cut trees, demolish towers in nearby gardens and take tombstones from the cemetery of St. Nicholas for reuse in the city's defences.<sup>28</sup> The residents' understanding that they faced a serious threat can also be seen through evidence from outside the military field. The Hospitallers, for example, decided to transfer an important part of their archive, as well as a precious relic, to France sometime before 1283.<sup>29</sup> Various agreements which mention the possibility that Acre would fall to the hands of the Muslims reflect the same kind of sentiment,<sup>30</sup> as do these words, written by an anonymous author in 1273:<sup>31</sup>

However, it is known among the Christians, that there is no place which Baibars desires to subdue as much as the city of Acre . . . some of us therefore assert that he pretends to be merciful toward the Christians so that the city of Acre would have a good opinion of him and would fully trust him, as if he were a friend, in order that, when the right time would be observed, he would be able to capture and hold it.

The city's population was thus very much aware of the imminent dangers. What is perhaps more surprising, or at least noteworthy, is that

<sup>26</sup> Pringle, *The Churches IV*, p. 11.    <sup>27</sup> Pringle, *The Churches IV*, p. 11.

<sup>28</sup> Pringle, *The Churches IV*, p. 10; R. Röhrich and G. Raynaud (eds.), 'Annales de Terre Sainte', *Archives de l'Orient Latin* 2 (1884), p. 449.

<sup>29</sup> Jacoby, 'Society', p. 98.

<sup>30</sup> See, for example, an agreement dated 1261 in E. Strehlke (ed.), *Tabulae ordinis Theutonicis* (Berlin, 1869, reprinted Toronto, 1975), pp. 106–9, and, in particular, p. 108. For further evidence, see D. Jacoby, 'Refugees from Acre in Famagusta around 1300', in M. J. K. Walsh, T. Kiss and N. Coureas (eds.), *The Harbour of all This Sea and Realm: Crusader to Venetian Famagusta* (Budapest, 2014), pp. 57–8.

<sup>31</sup> *Notitia*, p. 328. 'Verumptamen apud christicolos notum est, quod nullum locum tantum desiderat [Baibars] subiugare sicut civitatem Acon . . . unde nonnulli nostrorum autumant, quod ipse se fingit ad Christianos clementem, ut civitas Aconensis bonam de se habeat opinionem et plene tamquam de amico confidat, quatenus observato tempore possit eam postmodum capere et possidere.'



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during the decades in which the threats to the city increased, people not only continued to live their lives in Acre, but – as we see later – intellectual activity in it flourished more than it ever did before.

Thus, this sizable and wealthy capital, home to the kingdom's most important institutions and to a heterogeneous population, was simultaneously a peripheral city, occasionally threatened and eventually captured and destroyed. Against this background, the present study aims to portray and analyse the intellectual activity that took place in Acre, while investigating the intercultural exchanges that it involved.

#### THE CONCEPT OF 'INTELLECTUAL ACTIVITY' IN MEDIEVAL HISTORIOGRAPHY AND IN THE HISTORY OF THE LATIN EAST: SOME INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The object of this study is to provide a picture of what may be described as the web of concerns, knowledge, ideas and attitudes within which the authors of thirteenth-century Acre worked, and to which, in turn, they contributed. Obviously, the texts and the authors who composed them offer only a point of departure for the study of this cultural environment, in which numerous additional agents, belonging to a range of social and cultural groups, operated.

I have chosen to refer to the activities which stand at the focus of this study as 'intellectual' and to the web I have just described as an 'intellectual arena'. As the word 'intellectual' is a modern creation, this choice requires some justification and explanation. Despite its clearly non-medieval origins, the use of the term 'intellectual' by medievalists already has a respectable tradition behind it. Its most significant entry into medieval historiography is attributed to Jacques Le Goff, whose use of the term is highly suitable for the attempt presented here.<sup>32</sup> Le Goff defines the 'new intellectual work' that appears during the twelfth century as 'the joining together, in an urban and no longer monastic environment, of research and teaching'.<sup>33</sup> In his 1985 introduction he presents a wider understanding of this term, expressing a degree of self-criticism for not including in his original work the populizers, compilers and encyclopaedists, and for not discussing dissemination as a part of the activity of the intellectual milieu.<sup>34</sup> Le Goff hesitates to draw the line between academics in the strict sense and 'litterateurs', adding that 'all those who through their knowledge of writing, their expertise in law and

<sup>32</sup> J. Le Goff, *Intellectuals in the Middle Ages*, trans. T. L. Fagan (Cambridge, 1993). This edition includes, in addition to the original introduction, the introduction to the French 1985 edition in which Le Goff significantly updated his definition of the medieval intellectual.

<sup>33</sup> Le Goff, *Intellectuals*, p. xvii. <sup>34</sup> Le Goff, *Intellectuals*, p. xvii.



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particularly in Roman law, their teaching of the “liberal” arts and occasionally of the “mechanical” arts, enabled the town to assert itself and, notably in Italy, enabled the commune to become a great social, political, and cultural phenomenon, deserve to be seen as intellectuals of urban growth’.<sup>35</sup> In other words, Le Goff offers an inclusive definition of an intellectual, in the medieval context, as practically anyone who is involved in the production and dissemination of knowledge, especially such that is related, directly or indirectly, to written works. It is along these lines that the word ‘intellectual’ is used in what follows.

Discussions of several other aspects of this term offer additional insights relevant to the present study. One important issue is the relation between intellectuals and institutions, particularly the university. Le Goff saw the term ‘intellectual’ as enabling a shift of attention from institutions to individuals.<sup>36</sup> In her elaborate discussion of the term ‘intellectual’, Rita Copeland maintains, on the basis of Le Goff and de Libera’s works, that the ‘formation of the intellectual figure or *habitus* needs the dynamic interaction between the university and its non-professional cultural environment’.<sup>37</sup> These comments bear particular relevance for the study of Acre, which did not house a university (though, as we see in what follows, it did accommodate some smaller study institutions), but whose cultural arena was strongly influenced by individuals trained in major Western study centres, and in which, consequently, interaction between intellectual centres and periphery played an important role.

Another important issue is that of the ‘detachment of the intellectual’. Medieval intellectuals have sometimes been characterized as detached or disinterested, but, as Copeland argues, such a notion is not a useful tool.<sup>38</sup> And indeed, the figures studied later in this work surely had various interests and were not motivated solely by a pure ideal of acquiring and disseminating knowledge. Rather, related to institutions and milieus, they were certainly influenced by a variety of ‘earthly’ motives. Consequently, following Le Goff’s tradition, the present study devotes attention to themes such as the function and status of Acre’s intellectuals.<sup>39</sup>

Little work has been dedicated specifically to the intellectual activity in Acre. The only survey of such activities is found in Jaroslav Folda’s book on illustrated manuscripts from Acre, where in an introductory section

<sup>35</sup> Le Goff, *Intellectuals*, pp. xviii–xix. <sup>36</sup> Le Goff, *Intellectuals*, p. xiii.

<sup>37</sup> R. Copeland, *Pedagogy, Intellectuals, and Dissent in the Later Middle Ages: Lollardy and Ideas of Learning* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 39; A. de Libera, *Penser au moyen âge* (Paris, 1991).

<sup>38</sup> Copeland, *Pedagogy*, pp. 31–3.

<sup>39</sup> For the notion of function in the context of Le Goff’s work on medieval intellectuals, see A. Boureau, ‘Intellectuals in the Middle Ages, 1957–95’, in Miri Rubin (ed.), *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges of Medieval History* (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 148, 152.

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the city is presented as an intellectual centre and the texts produced there during the thirteenth century are listed.<sup>40</sup> Folda does not analyse the texts and does not try – as this is far from the aim of his book – to examine subjects such as the relations between the various texts or the characteristics of the cultural environment in which they were composed. Furthermore, since the publication of his book, the information available concerning works written in the city has increased considerably.

More generally, the intellectual activities undertaken in the Latin East, while not usually considered one of the central themes in the history of the Crusades and the Frankish Levant, are certainly a topic continuously touched upon by historians. Several of the best-known general histories of the Crusades and the Latin East include brief surveys of the intellectual activity in Outremer. As a rule, these evaluations are quite pessimistic with regard to the extent and value of such activities.<sup>41</sup> On the other hand, during the past decades these negative evaluations have been moderated by the careful work of historians such as Benjamin Z. Kedar, Peter Edbury, Laura Minervini, Charles Burnett and David Jacoby, whose research forms the foundation for the present study. To mention just several important examples, Kedar devoted two papers to the discussion of the relations – including exchanges in the sphere of learning – between Franks and Oriental Christians in the Frankish Levant,<sup>42</sup> and Minervini studied the production and circulation of manuscripts, the production of translations and other kinds of literary activities in Outremer.<sup>43</sup> In his work on the knightly culture of Outremer Jacoby touched on related issues,<sup>44</sup> and several studies have been devoted to the

<sup>40</sup> J. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre 1275–1291* (Princeton, NJ, 1976), pp. 8–21. A quite similar survey appears in a more recent study of his *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, from the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 398–404.

<sup>41</sup> Mayer, *The Crusades*, pp. 191–5; J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 527–30; S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1951–4), vol. III, pp. 489–92.

<sup>42</sup> Kedar, 'Eastern Christians', pp. 137–47; B. Z. Kedar, 'Latins and Oriental Christians in the Frankish Levant, 1099–1291', in A. Kofsky and G. G. Stroumsa (eds.), *Sharing the Sacred: Religious Contacts and Conflicts in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1998), pp. 209–22.

<sup>43</sup> L. Minervini, 'Produzione e circolazione di manoscritti negli Stati Crociati: biblioteche e scriptoria latini', in A. Pioletti and F. Rizzo-Nervo (eds.), *Medioevo Romanzo e Orientale. Il viaggio dei testi. III Colloquio Internazionale, Venezia, 10–13 ottobre 1996* (Soveria Mannelli, 1999), pp. 79–96; Minervini, 'Tradizioni linguistiche e culturali negli Stati Latini d'Oriente', in A. Pioletti and F. Rizzo-Nervo (eds.), *Medioevo Romanzo e Orientale. Oralità, scrittura, modelli narrativi* (Messina, 1995), pp. 155–72; Minervini, 'Outremer', pp. 611–48; Minervini, 'Modelli culturali e attività letteraria nell'Oriente latino', *Studi medievali* 43 (2002), pp. 337–48.

<sup>44</sup> D. Jacoby, 'Knightly Values and Class Consciousness in the Crusader States of the Eastern Mediterranean', *Mediterranean Historical Review* 1 (1986), pp. 158–86; D. Jacoby, 'La littérature française dans les états latins de la Méditerranée orientale à l'époque des croisades: diffusion et création', in *Essor et fortune de la chanson de geste dans l'Europe et l'Orient latin: Actes du XIe Congrès international de la Société Rencesvals pour l'étude des épopées romanes (Padua-Venice, 1982)* (Modena, 1984), pp. 617–46.