

## **THE HOSPITALLER COMPONENT OF THE STANDING ARMY OF THE LATIN KINGDOM 1099 -1291**

The Latin Kingdom was a kingdom at war. Once Jerusalem fell to the Crusaders in 1099, the kingdom was carved into 3 great principalities besides the Royal territory – this was the County of Tripoli, the Principality of Antioch and the County of Edessa. A Crusader-Armenian kingdom was also formed north of Antioch. But even by the time of Baldwin's accession following the death of Godfrey of Bouillon in 1100, the Franks maintained only a precarious hold over the greater part of Palestine.<sup>1</sup>

We speak of a kingdom born of blood and with blood maintained. Daimbert Archbishop of Pisa, Duke Godfrey and Count Raymond in a letter from Jerusalem dated August 1099 to Pope Paschal following the taking of Jerusalem wrote : “ If you would desire to know what was done with the enemy whom we found there, know that in Solomon's Portico and in his Temple our men rode in the blood of the Saracen up to the knees of their horses.”<sup>2</sup> One might add that it was not only Saracen blood but also innocent Jewish blood which was so ruthlessly spilled in the City, holy to all three Faiths.

The history of the kingdom from its initial carving up till its complete annihilation is a fine example of heterogeneous geo- politics, religious wars, internecine fighting and ideologies and principles which could shift from time to time. It was also unique in that during most of its short duration it was in a state of potential and perennial war, although it is incorrect to state that it lacked periods of peace. Even at its strongest, the Kingdom was in the very heart of enemy territory, albeit an enemy often divided in tribes, politics, interests and even faith.<sup>3</sup>

In using the term Standing Army with regard to the Latin kingdom one may not assume the standard significance of the same term in Europe even within the same period of time. The situation in the East could be as shifty as the moving sands of the desert. We do not speak of socio-dynamism born of improved social conditions but rather a trend resulting from the weakening of the Latin Kingdom, ruthlessly progressive and constantly weakening its defense.<sup>4</sup> An example of this can be easily shown by considering the difficulty of extracting feudalistic military duty.

The concept of feudalistic army raising, so well known in Europe at the time was, with many limitations, also operative to a certain extent in the Kingdom of the Latin East . However it was associated with a chronic manpower shortage and progressively ineffective central government management. There were major differences between the military obligations of the fief holders between the Latin Kingdom and the European counterpart of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, whereas in Europe a man's military feudal duty would often allow a period in the year for harvesting, such duty in the Latin Kingdom could imply a full twelve month stretch. Furthermore it was possible for one man to owe feudal service to more than one

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<sup>1</sup> Runciman, S., *A History of the Crusades Vol.II* p .4.

<sup>2</sup> Payne, R., *The Dream and the Tomb* p.103

<sup>3</sup> Riley – Smith, J., *The Atlas of the Crusades* p.26

<sup>4</sup> Buttigieg,G.G., *The Order of the Hospital, Feudal Levies and Feudal Duties*. L-Ospedaliier Malta 2002

Lord . The previous Muslim *iqta* were replaced by a number of fiefs, some of which were of ecclesiastical property with no associated military duty at all.



*The Battle of Hattin – a great victory for Saladdin with terrible repercussions for the Latin Kingdom  
(Reproduced from a medieval manuscript)*

Furthermore these already dubious feudalistic arrangement suffered a further mortal blow after the terrible loss of the Battle of Hattin in 1187, when the Crusading states led a precarious existence.<sup>5</sup> large portions of the Frankish peasantry left the countryside for the safer Crusader cities. As a result, areas which previously yielded their own precious men in arms, were now, either abandoned or re-inhabited by the muslim indigenous population - reverting to their previous *iqta*. Hattin proved a turning point of the worst possible scenario and in truth it did signal the beginning of the end of the Latin Kingdom. Before Hattin, for example, formidable militias could be assembled at times of need - Antioch could call up to 700 knights, Tripoli up to 200-300 and the large kingdom of Jerusalem a good 1000. After 1187 and the signal loss of Hattin, locally raised militias only attained importance in the coastal cities which expanded with the shrinking of the crusader hinterland. This paralleled the establishment of the great Italian merchant

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<sup>5</sup> Fedden, R., Thomson, J. *Crusader Castles* p.70

communities like the Pisans and the Genoese which, however, besides fighting the Muslim, at times resorted to fighting one another.

After the loss of Hattin, most of the Military Orders' castles in Syria were lost, Krak des Chevaliers and Margat remaining the only important strongholds.<sup>6</sup> Following Hattin and pari passu with the diminishing feudal *servitum debitum*, although not solely for this reason, the Latin Kingdom came to rely more and more on the Monastic Military Orders for its standing army. This was especially so as Syria gradually united its Muslim strength and then also joined with Egypt. The increasing strength of Hospitaller and Templar paralleled the diminishing rule of the Lords of the Kingdom, putting the Orders in an enviable position of power and glory.

One must not distort facts by saying that the Monastic Military Orders with the feudally raised men at arms formed the only components of the Army. Mercenaries for example, were increasingly employed, with a corresponding increase in financial burdens. Such mercenaries, when Christian, could be local or imported from the West, including knights who held no fiefs but would do war service for and instead of less war minded fief holders. At times whole mercenary armies were hired especially in the last years of the Crusader states. Even Muslim mercenaries were at times employed.<sup>7</sup> For example, the Alawites and the Nusayris, both Shia of the Syrian coastal mountains were known to be bought both by Crusaders as well as by Sunni Muslims. The same applied to the Jabiliya tribes in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Certain tribes or armies could provide fighting service on certain occasions and be allies with no payment on other battlefields. An example can be found in the armies of Lesser Armenia(Cilicia) which could provide up to 4000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry and were especially useful to the Crusaders in the 12<sup>th</sup> century as their services to the Fatimids diminished.

The role of indigenous troops, although beyond the scope of this paper, cannot be underestimated. For example the Maronite Christians of both Syria and Lebanon contributed immensely to the light infantry of the army of the Latin Kingdom.<sup>8</sup> They were also excellent archers and were also highly experienced in mountainous terrain warfare. Most crusader cavalry outside the European contingents were the turcoples<sup>9</sup> acting as both archers and or as light cavalry without bows and arrows. Georgian troops also offered both infantry and armoured cavalry, being especially proficient with the javelin and the bow and arrow. Some states could be both friend and foe at different times – an example would be Trebizond, the armies of which were very experienced with lances and composite bows. Sometimes even prisoners of war who had been converted to Christianity would make useful contributions to the standing army. These were usually men trained in Byzantine cavalry techniques or the art of war of the professional Islamic armies.

Visiting pilgrims themselves, would at times, end up as part of any locally raised militias in time of emergency. This could be a single or a group of pilgrims and it could be a fully trained knight and a professional fighter or a simple peasant bereft of all knowledge of the art of war. Perhaps under an extreme form of this

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<sup>6</sup> Riley – Smith, J., *The Atlas of the Crusades* p.106

<sup>7</sup> Nicolle, D., *The Crusades* p.17

<sup>8</sup> Nicolle, D., *The Crusades* p.55

<sup>9</sup> Nicolle, D., *The Crusades* p.26

category one could consider the presence of the Crusades from the second to the seventh, for these would often, though not always, be engaged in war along the standing army. In a period of time of just under 800 years, 8 such crusades left their bloody hallmark on the Holy Land. While these battles raged, standing army often merged in blood and logistics with crusader new comer, and shared in success and more often failure. I feel that it is correct to speak of failure rather than success as being the signal mark of the Crusades for though the first acquired Antioch Edessa and Jerusalem and the third third took Acre ( and lost Hattin !) no other military conquests can be boasted of. The 6<sup>th</sup> may be considered a diplomatic but certainly not a military success., and the second, fourth, fifth ( although Damietta was taken), seventh and eighth crusades were complete failures.<sup>10</sup>

In considering the role of the Monastic Military Orders as part of the standing army of the Latin Kingdom, one must consider the shifting geo-political time frame of the moment. Firstly, it was the Order of the Hospital as well as that of the Temple which were the main representatives of the Monastic Orders to seriously contribute to the standing army of the Latin East although the Teutonic Order did have its moments and the Order of St Lazarus was essentially an offspring of the Hospital . Although this paper concentrates on the Hospitallers, the Templars were often the other half of the Monastic order's rise in the development of military strategy as well as in the increasing political strength which both orders enjoyed especially after the loss of the battle of Hattin in 1187. But, firstly, a little look at the background of these Orders, with special reference to the Order of the Hospital.

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<sup>10</sup> Miller, D., *Brassey's Book of the Crusades* p.16.



### *Knight offering prayer*

The concept of “warfare in Christ’s name” which emerged at the time of the inception of the first Crusade had ramifications which spilled into social, administrative, legal and even geo-political implications. Alongside the fiery preaching of Pope Urbanus II at Claremont, came the blessing of the creation of a new order of monkhood. Originally based on the basis of the Cistercian Order this was a completely new concept – the idea of the warrior monk. This Order had a dual hierarchy, that of a monkhood as well as an order of warriors and specifically warriors of a noble birth. For the first time a religious order was being associated with the spilling of blood, although its chaplains who would offer the sacrifice of the mass were to wear gloves and protect themselves from the active spilling of blood. Such spilling of blood for Pope and Christ carried the reward of Heaven<sup>11</sup> for as Gregorius wrote in 1075, the Pope “promises eternal blessings, absolving them from all sins”.<sup>12</sup> At Clermont, Pope Urbanus II solemnly promised that “Whoever for devotion only, not to gain honour or money, goes to Jerusalem to liberate the City of God, may substitute this journey for all penance.”<sup>13</sup> These monks of war were to create new orders of monkhood as well as new orders of knighthood and would

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<sup>11</sup> Nicholson, H., *The Knights Hospitaller* p.15

<sup>12</sup> Robinson, I. *Pope Gregory VII and the Soldiers of Christ.* p.174

<sup>13</sup> Riley – Smith, J., *The first Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* p.29

eventually be renowned among Christian and Muslim among other things for their military prowess.



*The Monks of War – Sanctity through Prayer*

The Order of the Hospital which as we shall see was an indispensable flank of the Standing Army in the Latin East, was born in 1098 purely as an Order of monks caring for pilgrims<sup>14</sup>. It was initially primarily an Order of carers and healers under the adage of *Obsequium Pauperum*. Under the second master Raymond du Puy (AD 1125 – 1158) it first altered its Rule and Constitution from Benedictine to Augustinian.<sup>15</sup> This implied a change from the cloister to the outside world with a scope to tend, care and heal and later on to take to arms too. This military arm would later on perform as well as the Order of the Temple which, in turn, was set up in 1118 with purely militaristic and religious duties. By the twelfth century, the Knights of the Hospital as well as those of the Temple and to a much lesser extent the Teutonic Order, were an established economic power based on their military prowess. The Order of St Lazarus, founded for both leprous knights and healthy brothers in the 1130s received both Hospitallers and Templars

<sup>14</sup> The New Knighthood Barber p. 6

<sup>15</sup> Puddy, E., *The Order of St John in Norfolk* p6

but in military action it tended to work more with the Templars.<sup>16</sup> It is thought that the first loose evidence of Hospitaller military action is in 1126 as the Order had a “constable” grade and this means a marshal which in turn implies military activity.<sup>17</sup> By 1140 we find documented evidence that the Hospitallers were an effective military power in that the Order’s Master – Raymond du Puy – was in a position to make a strong strategic suggestion to the War Council. In this case, unfortunately, this was a disastrous decision in that du Puy’s idea to attack Damascus served to unite a previously fragmented Syria against the Christians. At about the same time the Hospitallers along with the Templars started playing major roles in the constitutional affairs of the Crusader States not only in the High Court in Jerusalem but also in Tripoli and Antioch. The Masters of the two major religious orders and the Patriarch of Jerusalem each held one of the three keys of the royal treasure in Jerusalem – evidence enough of their importance and esteem.

In 1136 King Fulk of Jerusalem gave the Order the castle of Bethgibelin<sup>18</sup> at the key position of Beit Jibrin on the road from Gaza to Hebron, placing the fate of Latin Syria and Palestine in their hands. This was followed in 1144 by the mighty Krak de Chevaliers and a number of other strongholds including Akkar. Eventually, the Hospital was garrisoning several castles and strongholds along the borders with Islam. Between 1163 and 1169 the Order owned extensive property and was also employing Hospitaller brothers-in-arms within its army. The secular lords of Outremer continued to bestow lands and castles to the Hospitallers while they withdrew to their luxurious coastal abodes. The possession of Castles made the Order an indispensable arm of defense in the Latin East for Castles were the backbone of defence in a kingdom deeply surrounded by its mortal enemy.



*Hisn al-Akrad Castle in Syria – also known as Krak de Chevaliers, could garrison up to 2000 men*

Initially the Crusader kingdom used the old Byzantine castles but soon a new net of fortifications sprouted rapidly from the hot deserts of South Jordan to the cold mountains of Asia, organized in two main groups, namely a coastal one from Korykos in Cilicia to Ascalon and Gaza in Palestine and another less tight, more haphazard in-land one. The great castles like Krak des Chevaliers, Saone and

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<sup>16</sup> Barber, M., *The New Knighthood* p 38

<sup>17</sup> Cartulaire-General, Vol. I, No. 74.

<sup>18</sup> Cartulaire – General, Vol. I, No.116

Beaufort linked the two series. The coastal net proved virtually invincible for almost two hundred years whereas the inland fortification system was repeatedly breached by the enemy. However, the strength and defense of the kingdom lay in its fortifications and the Monastic Military Orders by the mid-twelfth century were essentially in control of the great majority of these castles. This was the result of both increasing military prowess, skill and dedication as well as the increasing financial resources of both orders. Count Raymond went as far as drawing up a treaty that he would never make peace with the Muslims without their consent.<sup>19</sup>

Castles, were prohibitively expensive to maintain. For example, in 1144, partly as a result of paralyzing financial increases in maintenance, the strategic Krak des Chevaliers was handed over to the Order of the Hospital by count Raymond II and forty two years later, Count Raymond III gave it the equally formidable castle of Margat.<sup>20</sup> Krak was so massive that it could garrison up to 2000 men. Castles needed men and men cost money, but castles were still prized possessions. Thus we find that in 1210 Pope Leo II repaid Hospitaller military support with the Castle of Camardesium and the town of Sifilke in Cilicia, above which it towered.<sup>21</sup> The Order also occasionally purchased strategic castles from the fief holder. Thus the castle of Margat, was originally purchased by the Hospital from the fief of the Mazoirs, a prosperous family originating from the French Midi.<sup>22</sup>

Within fifty years of the birth of the Order of the Hospital, this brotherhood of warrior monks was already an indispensable part of the standing army of the Latin Kingdom maintaining permanent defense at the fortifications entrusted to its care as well being ever ready to join, buttress or lead attacks and campaigns against the Muslim. By the mid-twelfth century the armies of the Monastic Orders of the Hospital and the Temple constituted the main defence of the Latin Kingdom, the Hospital acquiring fifty six castles and the Temple fifty three.<sup>23</sup> In the twelfth century this represented a good 35 per cent of the lordships in Outremer.<sup>24</sup> Following the loss of the battle of Hattin in 1187 there is no doubt that the Hospitallers as part of the Monastic Military Orders moved into the first category of defenders of the kingdom. . It was as if the blood of the 230 martyred Hospitallers and Templars on Mount Hattin fed their respective Orders to achieve greater glory and seek a martyr's death.

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<sup>19</sup> Stevenson, ., *The Crusaders in the East*, p.147

<sup>20</sup> Riley – Smith , *Knights*, pp. 55,68.

<sup>21</sup> Fedden, R., Thomson, J. *Crusader Castles* p.105

<sup>22</sup> Fedden, R., Thomson, J. *Crusader Castles* p.67

<sup>23</sup> Barber, *Supplying, the Crusader States: The Role of the Templars*. p.315.

<sup>24</sup> Barber, M., *The New Knighthood*, p.89.



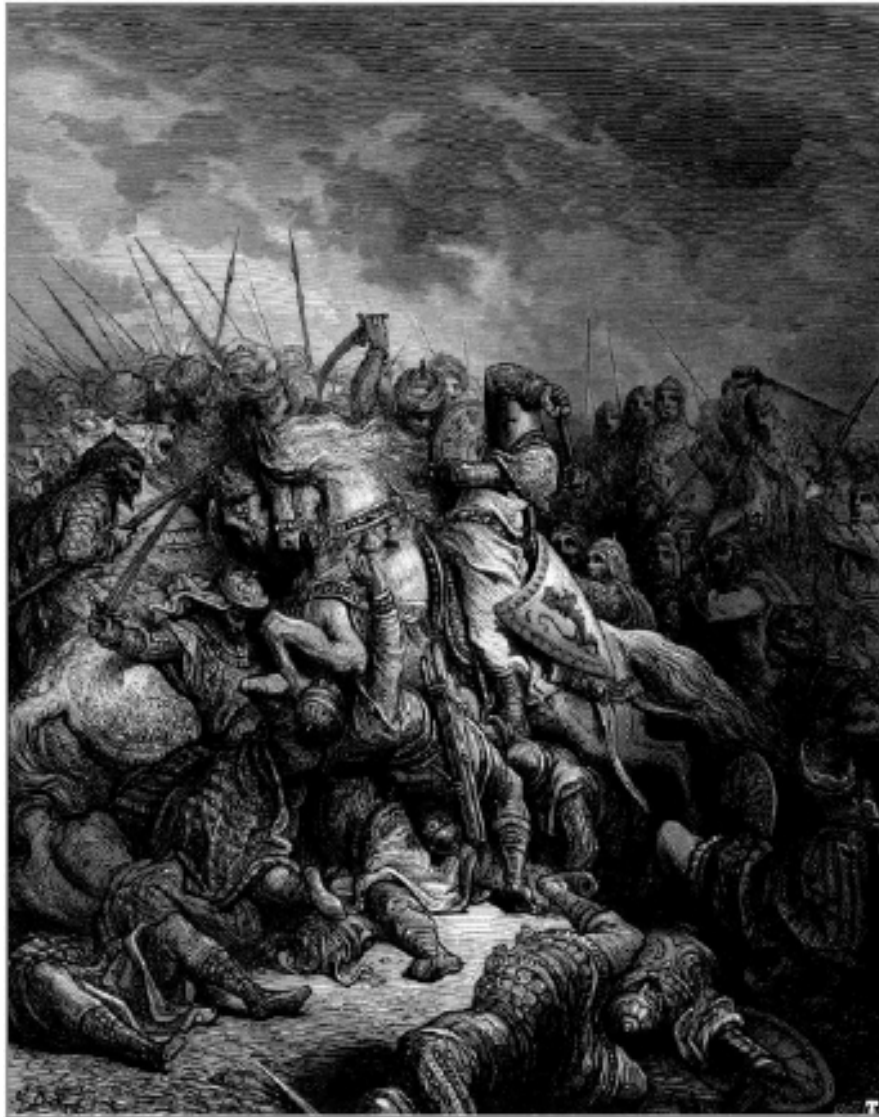
### *Kerak Castle in Jordan*

Combined with the Templars, the Hospitallers could raise a standing army equal and often exceeding the feudally raised crusading host. Furthermore, battle was the knights' constant business. They lived for God and war, their religion furthering their mental and physical capabilities in unique fashion. Their celibate, austere, religious life destroyed all frivolity and human distractions, honing their fighting instinct into frenzied battle at the clarion call. No wonder, the Muslim came to fear these 'mad', "men in red". Furthermore, unlike the feudal armies, who had to be mobilized at time of action, the Knights of the Hospital were always on a permanent state of stand-to. And unlike the poulains, they recognized no friendly neighbouring farmer unless he embraced the cross. They gave no quarter, expected none and were in fact often afforded none as the executions on the slopes of Kura Hattin had amply demonstrated. Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, secretary to the famous Salah ad-din after the siege of the Hospitaller fortress of Kaukab, speaks of the Knights of the Hospital as formidable opponents.<sup>25</sup>

The Order of the Hospital achieved a major military role, mostly in the northern parts of the Latin East, the county of Tripoli and the principality of Antioch. It achieved unique status of independence in the Latin kingdom, even being recognized as tenants-in-chief and almost achieving independent status. The Order was recognized as liege lord of these territories and could pursue its own political policy versus the Muslims, and in Antioch, did not even need to abide by treaties entered into by the Prince.

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<sup>25</sup> Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, *Conquete de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Salin*. Translated byu Henri Masse (Paris 1972) p. 126



*The Battle of Arsuf – with the Lion Heart leading, the Templars in the lead and the Hospitallers bringing up the rear, the Muslims suffered a great rout  
(Reproduced from HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES as illustrated by Dore)*

In the theatre of war, apart from castle defense, the Hospitallers would also form a major part of the offensive or defensive host. This can be exemplified by the battle of Arsuf of 7<sup>th</sup> September 1191<sup>26</sup> where the crusading army of the Latin East led by Richard Coeur de lion marched from Acre to Jaffa. The battle formation involved the Templars leading the advance guard followed by the Bretons the Angevins; then the Poitevins under King Guy de Lusignan and behind them a contingent of Normans and English; the rear guard being taken up by the Hospitallers. After much provocation and loss of men, two hospitallers broke rank and attacked prematurely, Richard wisely and rapidly maintaining the momentum of the attack gave Saladin's army a historical defeat– partial compensation for the great loss of the Battle of Hattin of 1187.

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<sup>26</sup> King, E.J., *The Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land*, 149 – 52.



### *The Order of the Temple*

With this increasing strength came increasing power, which sometimes was also abused in undermining royal authority as well the strength of the Kingdom itself. In a way Templar and Hospitaller provided two swords for Christ, two pillars of defence for the Kingdom.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore great rivalry existed between Templar and Hospitaller and Pope Alexander III strove with authority to quell these dangerous differences<sup>28</sup> which besides the obvious harm also caused great difficulty for the Hospitallers to execute their particular two-fold work.<sup>29</sup> In February 1179 Roger des Moulins for the Hospital and Odo de St Amand for the Temple actually signed an agreement along these lines.<sup>30</sup> However between 1175 and 1185, Templar and Hospitaller governing policies differed in serious and politically destabilising ways, sufficiently so to harm the Kingdom. Thus, at one point, the Hospitallers supported the king who sought peace with the surrounding Muslims. On the other hand, the Templars, with the rogue Raymond de Chatillon wanted war, and actively sought it. Such policies may have contributed to the loss of the holy Land by the Christians and these accusations were indeed often voiced in Europe after the loss of the Holy Land. Chatillon's marauding, abetted by the Templars, eventually led to the

<sup>27</sup> Buttigieg, G.G. *Two Swords for Christ* L-Ospedalier. Malta 2003

<sup>28</sup> King E.J. *The Knight Hospitallers in the Holy Land* . p.109

<sup>29</sup> Humphrey – Smith, C., *Hugh Revel* p.26

<sup>30</sup> Cartulaire – General, Vol. I, No. 558

Battle of Hattin, which did weaken the Kingdom irrevocably. On the 9<sup>th</sup> October 1258 another peace treaty, this time between Hospitallers Templars and Teutonic Knights was drawn by Hugh Revel to settle disputes weakening Syria, Cyprus and Armenia.<sup>31</sup> This internecine squabbling occurred at a time when combined strength could have stopped raiding and plundering of the Holy Places by the Muslim hordes.<sup>32</sup>



*Pope Paschal II*

It is essential to understand that the role of the Hospitallers was never levied as a feudal duty from which they were exempted both in the West as well as in Outremer with the first bull of Pope Paschal II. The Hospital held seignorial jurisdiction in their rural possession and in villages and cities acquired by them although not jurisdiction over people. For example, although the large quarter across the southern entrance of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, belonged to the Hospitallers, they did not hold jurisdiction over the inhabitants of the quarter. Although no concrete evidence of independent status of any of the Military Orders,

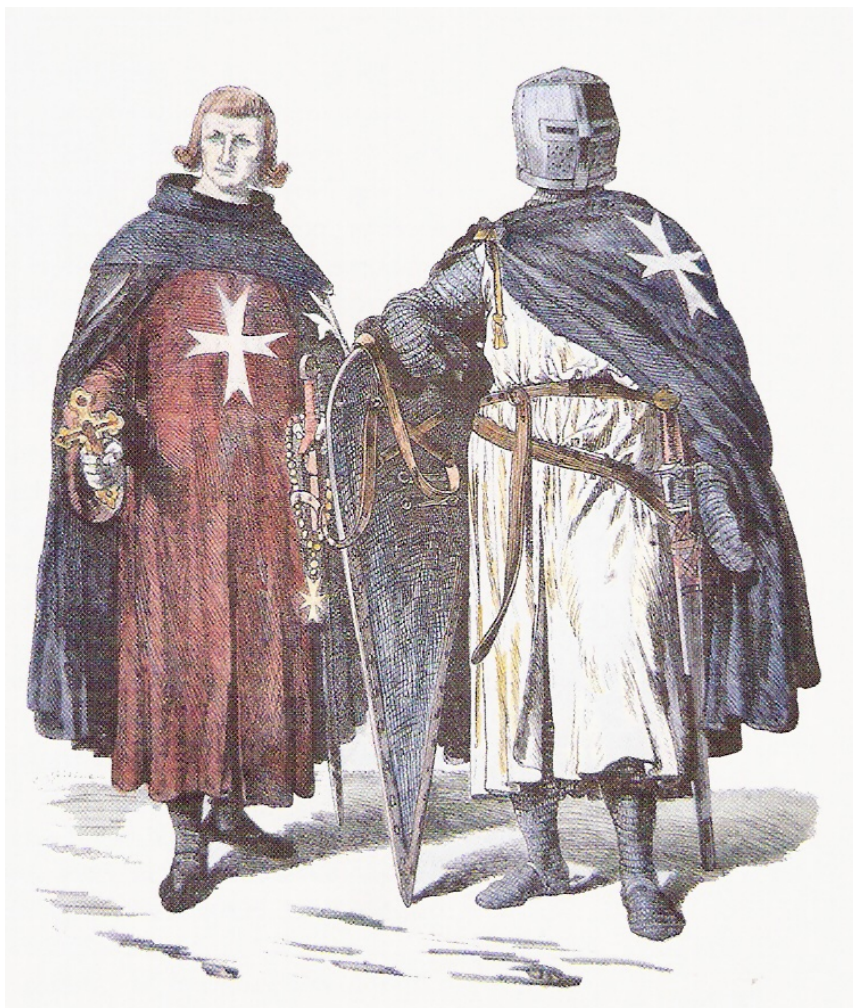
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<sup>31</sup> Humphrey – Smith, C., *Hugh Revel* p49

<sup>32</sup> King, E.J., *The Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land*. Pp.254 – 255 and 275 – 277.

including that of the Hospital, exists, the Order of the Hospital, in particular was at times and at certain regions treated as if it did. One must also remember that in the field of battle the Knights of the Hospital (like those of the Temple) would be considered as allies and not as subordinates, irrespective of any agreement leading to their involvement.

The Hospital never entered into vassalage. Its own professional, time-proven and much respected army of religiously fired warriors wooing respect and honour not only in participating in battle but even in the very allocation of positioning in battle. Yet, there were occasions where the Hospital did sign feudal – like agreements, invariably greatly favouring the Order. One example is the agreement with King Amalric (1163 – 1174) by which 500 knights and 500 turcoples would be supplied for Amalric's Egyptian campaign in exchange for massive territorial concessions in favour of the Hospital.



*The Order of the Hospital*

It is also worth noting that the role played by the Hospital in the military role of defense and attack for the Latin Kingdom had its own burden both in terms of loss of men but naturally also financially. Thus the Order ended up in serious debt after the failed invasion of Egypt in 1168.<sup>33</sup> At the time, besides garrisoning the

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<sup>33</sup>Puddy, E., *The Order of St John in Norfolk*. p7

castles in the northern frontiers, the Hospitallers also mustered a large force of heavy cavalry and native troops stretching its financial resources to a dangerous extent and for a seriously flawed venture.

The financial strength behind the Hospitaller structure originated in the European Commanderies the fundamental obligation of which was the supply and maintenance of the Order in the Holy Land. Commandery and estate revenues as well as alms collection by the Hospitallers was essential enough for their work in the Holy Land, for Pope Urbanus IV to inflict excommunication in 1261, on all who disturbed or diminished it.<sup>34</sup> The Hospitaller rule unlike that of the Templars made specific provision for a third of the net income of each Commandery<sup>35</sup> (originally under de Puy a third of the bread wine and food)<sup>36</sup> to be sent to the Holy land. These Commanderies could range from a wood or a mill to a whole town. Hospitaller properties including Manorial Houses, Towers, Castles, Harbours, at times whole provinces lay scattered throughout the various kingdoms. Vast tracts of land and property throughout France, the German Empire, England, Ireland, Scotland, Italy, Spain, Portugal and Switzerland yielded immense revenues, untaxed as per Pope Paschall II's bull .By the thirteenth century the Hospital owned nineteen thousand manors in Europe. In 1134, the Hospital along with the Temple and the Holy Sepulchre even inherited the whole kingdom of Aragon and Navarre from Alphonse I. Besides vast riches and land King Henry III of England took the Hospitallers under his protection and e-confirmed these benefits.<sup>37</sup>

The Order raised money from a number of sources<sup>38</sup>:

- From its own wealthy members e.g. passage money
- Inheritances
- Rents from the extensive lands owned – a mixture of monetary payment and payment in kind
- Crop cultivation e.g. grapes. wheat
- Cattle rearing and herding, horse rearing to a lesser extent.
- Milling primarily grain but also of cloth.
- Shipping
- Collection of alms, vow redemption money, papal census etc..

One must also appreciate that the Order of the Hospital contributed much more to the Standing Army of the Latin East than simply military skill in war, castle defense and pilgrim route patrolling. The recruitment of manpower from Europe to the Latin East, for example was no small matter.<sup>39</sup> The Order of the Hospital like that of the Temple was the only military entity which could recruit across European borders.<sup>40</sup> An even here there was rivalry – “when the Templars undertake a large shipment of men, horses and other animals, the Hospitallers have no rest until they

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<sup>34</sup> Riley – Smith, J. *Knights* p. 310.

<sup>35</sup> W.Porter, *A History of the Jbights of Malta*, II, London, 1858.

<sup>36</sup> CH, 1, *Statutes of Brother Roger of Les Moulins*(1182), no. 627, p.427.

<sup>37</sup> Wnchester Charter dated 23 June 1253.

<sup>38</sup> Knights of the Cloister page

<sup>39</sup> Selwood ,D., *Knights of the Cloister*, p.172

<sup>40</sup> Forey, A. *Recruitment to the Military Orders ( Twelfth to mid-Fourteenth Centuries)*, Viator 17 (1986) p.

have equaled or better the quantities.”<sup>41</sup> Besides men, money, weaponry and any advancement in the art of war moved constantly from West to East along the pathways of the Monastic Military Orders – this applied both for the Hospitallers as well as the Templars<sup>42</sup> And one must not forget that indispensable item of medieval war : the horse. Especially the famous destriers - stallions weighing about 1300 pounds<sup>43</sup> - a special breed trained for war by not only not shying away from the din and clash of battle but by adding to the carnage with its own bites and kicks. It was unsuited for general transport and a Hospitaller would also have a palfrey for general riding and a rouncy for squire use and carriage of armour. <sup>44</sup>After 1302, as the end of the Kingdom drew near only two horses were allowed per knight of the Hospital.<sup>45</sup>

There is no doubt that the Order of the Hospital gave its all to the Latin Kingdom between 1099 and 1291, initially as a religious hospitaller fraternity and within a few decades as an indispensable part of the Standing Army . Being made up of men, it made human mistakes but the consummate fire of Defence of the Faith and love of Pilgrim, drove its sons unto untold sufferings and frequent ignominious death. And for almost two centuries its fate was entwined with that of the Kingdom of the Latin East. Maybe for them was penned the tourist graffiti on a corner of wall of present day Crac de Chevalier in Syria : “They came, they shed blood, even their own, and destroyed, they were swept back into the sea” If so, the author was wrong - the Order of the Hospital, never destroyed, albeit reformed, would survive more than a further seven centuries – and, still, its story goes on.

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<sup>41</sup> *De unione Templi et Hospitalis ordinum*, in *Le Dossier de l' affaire des Templiers*, G. Lizerabd (ed.), Paris, 1923, p. 8 as translated and quoted in *Knights of the Cloister* by Dominic Selwood.

<sup>42</sup> Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p.243.

<sup>43</sup> Davis, R., *The Warhorses of the Normans*. Anglo-Norman Studies 10, Proceedings of the Battle Conference, R. Allen Brown(editor), Woodbridge, 1987, pp. 79 – 80.

<sup>44</sup> Selwood ,D., *Knights of the Cloister* p174

<sup>45</sup> CH III, *Statutes of Brother John of Villaret (1293)* no. 4234, cap.5, p.639.