

*nomine tantum heremitaë* (no. 84; appendix, p. 351). These hermits, however, managed to evade the effects of their submission, and returned to the old way of life. It was not until 1203 that they were induced, by the joint action of Bishop Hamelin and their lay-patron, to make a more effective surrender, under which they were incorporated in a priory dependent on Marmoutier (nos. 320-2).

M. Celier does not explain the relation of this work to the series of articles under the same title which he has been publishing in the *Revue Historique et Archéologique du Maine*. Comparison shows that the introduction to the catalogue, and the catalogue itself as far as no. 562, are merely reprinted from the *Revue*. But the remainder of the catalogue (nos. 563-762), the appendix, and the index did not appear in the *Revue*.

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*Mélanges sur l'Ordre de S. Jean de Jérusalem.* Par J. DELAVILLE LE ROULX.  
(Paris: Picard, 1910.)

IN his two principal works on the Hospitallers of St. John, namely, the *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre*<sup>1</sup> and *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre*,<sup>2</sup> M. Delaville le Roulx confined his records and his historical sketch of the Order to the first period of its existence, from 1100 to 1310. But, like the wise gardener who digs well and tends his garden all around to ensure the full growth of his central tree, he has for many years been making special studies of various separate episodes concerning the development of the Order internally, officially, or in relation to the outer world. These shorter papers, which have hitherto lain scattered in numerous antiquarian and historical publications, chiefly periodicals, have now been collected by their author into the volume of *Mélanges* before us, and form together a body of supplementary and detailed information which the careful student of the history of the great Order cannot afford to neglect. Eighteen dissertations published in the course of thirty years, 1879 to 1909, are here brought together; the last three, all of 1909, evidence the author's continued interest in perfecting the work finished in 1906. A final article of 'Corrections et Additions' brings the results of recent research to bear on points which have hitherto been doubtful; in reading each of the earlier dissertations the hand should be kept on this article for reference to many notes correcting dates, identifications, &c., or in some instances giving important additions to the text.

The longest article, and one of the most interesting, is no. xiv (1895), upon the *Inventaire des Chartes de Syrie*, written by Jean Raybaud, archivist to the grand prior of St. Gilles, at Arles, some time between 1730 and 1742. Two bags full of documents relating to the early history of the Order in Palestine, the principal part of which were about 300 charters of their possessions in the Holy Land, forming an important portion of the original muniments of the Order brought to Malta in the sixteenth century, had been taken to Arles, for what purpose is not known; but while they were in his priory the archivist of St. Gilles made an analytical inventory of 378 documents. In 1742 the grand master demanded the return of these

<sup>1</sup> Paris, 1894-1906, 5 vols.

<sup>2</sup> Paris, 1904.

ancient charters to the central archives in Malta, but the 300 are not there now with their fellow charters and have entirely disappeared. Raybaud's inventory, therefore, in spite of certain imperfections, is of great importance for the historian of the crusades, and M. Delaville le Roulx fortunately discovered it in time to embody the notes of the vanished deeds in his *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers*, thereby much enriching it. The dates of the pieces noted by Raybaud range from A.D. 1107 to 1287. The editor prints the whole text of the *Inventaire*, with a few corrections, and in the case of the small number of documents which still exist, gives references showing where they are to be found and where they have been published.

No. iii (1881) had previously given the texts of three grants of land to the hospital in the twelfth century; two in France (found in the archives of Toulouse); the third made in 1173 at Jerusalem by the grand master, who granted the monastery of St. George at Gibelin to the archbishop of Gaza and Eleutheropolis for life. An unusual feature in this document is the presence of signatures by the witnesses in Greek as well as Latin, to illustrate which a facsimile of the document is provided.

The seals of the Order, in spite of the decay caused by warm climates and frequent removal, find illuminating treatment in three articles; no. iv (1881) contains an extract from statutes of the Order drawn up in the fourteenth century (the manuscript is in the Bibliothèque Nationale), which declares the designs of the seals or bulls, and in some cases the material to be used in sealing, to be employed by the great officers, priors, and commanders. 'Premierement le maistre bulle de ii bulles, i de plomb, autre de cire. . . . Le grant comandor d'Espagne bulle d'une bulle avec i aigle de cire vert,' and so on; black, red, and green wax are indicated, lead being reserved for the grand master's seal to the most important acts of the convent. On this text the author gives detailed historical commentaries, especially devoted to the production of a careful list of the known seals of the grand masters preserved at Malta or in S. Pauli's Codice Diplomatico. This article was supplemented in 1896 by another (no. xv), describing seals met with in the archives of Spain and Portugal of the chief officers in the *langues* of Aragon and Castille, which were wanting in the sigillographic collection at Malta. In article viii (1887) we are taken to the archives at Malta for a most interesting selection from the seals to two classes of deeds, lay and ecclesiastical. Here we see the leaden seals of the kings of Jerusalem, of the princes of Antioch, of Raymond, count of Tripoli, and of Granier I, lord of Cesarea, in the twelfth century; those of the churchmen, either lead or wax, include two patriarchs of Jerusalem, archbishops of Cesarea, Apamea, and Nicosia, a bishop of Hebron, and an abbot of St. Mary the Latin, the earliest abbey possessed by the Latins in the Holy Land. The notes on seals are completed by nos. v and vii (1882 and 1887), in which those of eight early priors of the English *langue* are catalogued and described from ten charters in the British Museum, and supplemented by facts as to two of the priors found later in Normandy and Vienna. All these five papers are well illustrated with fine plates or engravings in the text.

The statutes or rules by which the Hospitallers were governed, a study of which is essential for a knowledge of their internal life, receive

historical and critical treatment in no. ix (1887). Promulgated in the middle of the twelfth century, in nineteen chapters, modified and added to at various times as needs and customs arose, it is not surprising that some of the later manuscripts should also contain a treatise on the *Esgarts*, amounting to a penal code; the *Miracles*, a fabulous story of the origin of the Hospital; and a dissertation by William de St. Stefano, *Exordium Hospitalis*, which courageously set forth the true history of the hospital. To his study of these M. Delaville le Roulx adds valuable bibliographies of all manuscripts and printed copies known. In passing it should be remarked that the reference quoted for the two Latin manuscripts of the statutes, viz. Middlehill, is now quite out of date, besides being inadequate. Sir Thomas Phillipps' library, which is intended, was removed many years ago from Middle Hill, Worcestershire, to Cheltenham.

Concerning some of the great branches of the Order are the following: No. xi (1892), in spite of the loss of the most ancient Italian records, attempts an annotated list of the priors of Rome from 1235–1568, to which later research has enabled many more names to be added (in no. xix). No. xiii (1894) deals with the foundation of the grand priory of France, which arose out of the division of the vast province consisting of France, Belgium, and a large part of Spain, administered in early years on behalf of the grand master in Palestine by the prior of St. Gilles in Provence. The lands in Spain were placed under a châtelain of Amposta between 1150 and 1160; the grand priory of France comprised the possessions of the Order in the country of the 'langue d'oïl', in 1178–9. Of other articles, no. xii (1894) describes the interesting part taken by women: 'the creation of Sœurs Hospitalières was parallel to that of Hospitallers'; a hospital for poor women was early founded by ladies in Jerusalem, but after the conquest of the city by Saladin they fled to Sigena in Aragon; and the houses of the 'Dames Maltaises' were found in many countries, one of the most ancient being that of Buckland in England, founded about 1180. No. x (1889), which deals with the history of the ancient Teutonic Order and its relation to the Order of St. John, points out that as early as 1128 there was a German hospice in Jerusalem 'due to the piety of a German pilgrim and his wife', which became the cradle of the Teutonic Order. The texts of two bulls of Celestine II, and one of Gregory IX, from the archives of Marseilles, are printed in support of the author's conclusions.

Leaving aside a few other subjects, the last three articles published in 1909 may be noted. No. xvi gives account of a bull of Urban V convoking an assembly of the Hospitallers at Carpentras (Vaucluse) in 1365, to consider the means of the defence of Rhodes against the Saracens; whether the assembly was really held seems to be unknown, but M. Delaville le Roulx appends a valuable detailed commentary on the names of sixty-two personages of the Order in different countries, to whom the bull was addressed. No. xvii relates the adventures and misdeeds of two knights of St. John of Jerusalem towards the end of the fourteenth century, Guillaume and Aymar Talebart; especially of Aymar, who, rebellious and litigious, was constantly in debt, and whose death was as uncertain as his life was troubled. No. xviii is a study of the Christian occupation of Smyrna, 1344–1402, borrowed from a forthcoming work on the Hospitallers

at Rhodes. The victory of Tamerlain over the Hospitallers in 1402 lost Smyrna for the Christians, the last post held by them on the coast of Asia. 'It was the ruin of the hopes, entertained during sixty years, of one day regaining on the Asiatic continent a footing against the Mussulman.'

A full and excellent index adds to the value of this interesting collection, profitable to the student of the crusades as well as of the knights of St. John.

L. TOULMIN SMITH.

*Der Bürgerstand in Strassburg bis zur Mitte des XIII. Jahrhunderts.* Von Dr. KARL ACHTNICH. (*Leipziger Historische Abhandlungen*, xix. Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1910.)

THIS study is of more than local importance, and rises well above the level of the ordinary thesis. It is based, in the main, upon a careful comparison of the earliest *Stadtrecht* with its successors, and analyses the growth of a distinct burghal community in Strassburg prior to the conflict of 1262 between the bishop and the citizens. There was no corporate body of citizens before the thirteenth century. The words *cives* and *burgenses* only came into use in the twelfth century, and had the 'purely local' meaning of inhabitants of the *civitas* and walled *burc* respectively. The greater (*cives*) included the less (*burgenses*). The original free population is negligible, and the population was dependent upon the bishop or one or other of the great ecclesiastical landholders of Strassburg: the bishop having 'Gerichtshoheit über die gesamte Stadt'. The author, who interprets the records of Strassburg in the light of topographical knowledge, shows that, with the exception of episcopal *servi*, the Jews, and such-like, all the inhabitants, whether *ministeriales*, merchants, or artisans, were included in the names *cives* or *burgenses*. The distinction between *Hofrecht* and *Stadtrecht* arose, not through a distinction between free and unfree, but owing to the growth of the population and of a mercantile and manufacturing element which paid money rents and was less dependent upon the landholders. All citizens not in the *familia* of church or bishop were subjected to the jurisdiction of the *Schultheiss*, who was also judge in trade disputes (*Handelsgericht*) over all citizens, whether dependent or not. In the next period (1197-1220) the city walls were enlarged, the distinction between *cives* and *burgenses* ceased to exist, the industrial character of citizenship was emphasized, and the jurisdiction of the *Rat* (which took the place of the *Schultheiss*) was extended to all citizens. Yet, on the other hand, although the *cives* were now opposed to the *ministeriales*, there was still no independent order of burghesses. Those of the *familia* of a lord, though subject to the jurisdiction of the *Rat*, were under a different law; and the *Rat* was composed partly of *ministeriales*. In the next period autonomy was secured. Dr. Achtnich raises several interesting points, and suggests others which he does not raise.

To an English reader the condition of the city before the *Stadtrecht* is of special interest. For example, to what extent did the general term *cives* include men who lived outside Strassburg altogether? It appears that it included some who were subject to external lords. In many ways parallels with English customs come to mind. From a wider point of view this