

далась утерей этими народами многих обычаев и традиций, связанных с изготовлением и ношением одежды и составлявших важные стороны этнической самобытности. Вавилонские моды превращались в интернациональные, космополитические по мере распространения у соседних народов вавилонской культуры. Но и вавилонская одежда изменялась под влиянием мод соседних народов. Она переставала быть отличительной особенностью самих вавилонян. Во второй половине I тысячелетия до н. э. процесс этнической интеграции населения Передней Азии привел к возникновению сирийской античной нации, говорившей на арамейском языке и унаследовавшей основы вавилонской культуры, включая вавилонскую одежду⁹⁶.

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ON ALLEGED ATTEMPTS AT CONVERTING
THE ASSASSINS TO CHRISTIANITY IN THE LIGHT OF
WILLIAM OF TYRE'S ACCOUNT

Medieval Europe learned about the Assassins, the extreme trend of heterodox Islam, from the account of Burchard of Strassburg, who in 1175 set out on a diplomatic mission to the court of the Egyptian ruler, Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn (Saladin)¹. We do not know the results of the diplomatic endeavours of the German clergyman. The only distinct trace of his mission is the description of the „geopolitical” situation in the Moslem countries which border upon the Jerusalem kingdom². Burchard's account of the trip to the East was included in „Slav Chronicles” by Arnold of Lübeck³. It is there, that we find an interesting account of the Assassins in possibly the most complete form⁴. It should be noted that the author of the „Chronicles” himself, while writing about the assas-

¹ See P. Scheffer-Boichorst, *Zs. f. d. Geschichte d. Oberrheins*, XLIII, 1889, pp. 456—477.

² Compare A. Potthast, *Wegweiser durch die Geschichtswerke des europäischen Mittelalters bis 1500*, Bd I, Berlin 1896, S. 176; *Repertorium fontium historiae medii aevi*, vol. 2: *Fontes A—B*, Roma 1967, pp. 607—8; R. Röhricht, *Bibliotheca geographica Palaestinae*, Berlin 1890, pp. 39—40, N° 95; J. C. M. Laurent in „Serapeum”, XIX, N° 10, 1858, pp. 145—147; *Ibidem*, XX, N° 11, 1859, pp. 174—176; A. Molinier, *Les sources de l'histoire de France*, tome III, Paris 1903, p. 33, N° 2321; P. Lehmann, O. Glauning, — „Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen”, Beiheft 72, 1940, pp. 69—73.

³ *Arnoldi Chronica Slavorum. Ex recensione J. M. Lappenbergii in usum scholarum. Ex Monumentis Germaniae — Historicis Recudi fecit Georgius Heinricus Pertz*, Hannoverae 1868, pp. 264—277.

⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 274—275.

sination of Marquis Conrad of Montferrat, the titular Jerusalem king by the Ismā'īlites, adds significant details concerning this sect⁵. A subsequent account of the Assassins is included in the „Report” of Albert, the Jerusalem patriarch. The „report” was drawn up by order of Innocent III. This description of countries which were already lying traditionally in the zone of crusade projects of feudal Europe was connected with the plan of a great, new overseas expedition, inspired by the Papacy.

We find the most complete version of the account written by the Jerusalem patriarch in the manuscript no. 10411, in Brussels' Bibliotheque de Bourgogne. Its title is the following: „La devisiō de la terre de oultremer et des choses qui y sont”. It is a moderately accurate composition of the Latin original which in the earliest and shortened form found its way into the works of Richard of S. Germano (d. 1243): „Chronicon Siculum rerum per orbem gestarum ab excessu Guillelmi Siciliae regis”⁶. Unfortunately the fragment quoted in the work of the Sicilian chronicler does not include the account of the Assassins. Hence, when referring to Albert's document dealing with this sect, we usually turn to the complete Old French composition, known as „La devisiō de la terre de oultremer et des choses qui y sont”⁷.

⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 145—146 (Lib. IV, c. 16 sub a. 1192).

⁶ See A. Potthast, *op. cit.*, Bd II, Berlin 1896, p. 969; edition in „*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores. Raccolta degli storici italiani dal cinquecento al millecinquecento ordinata da L. A. Muratori*”, vol. VII, part 2, Bologna 1937—1938, pp. 56—59 (versions A. and B.).

⁷ „*En la terre de Damas et d'Anthyoce a une maniere de Sarrazins que l'en appelle Asasis, et aucun les appellent les Juifs de la montaigne, et chil vivent sans loy et mesmement menguent char de porcq contre la loy des Sarrazins et gisent a toutes les femmes qui pueent avoir, a lor meres, a lor serours et demeurent es montaignes en grans tours qu'il y ont; en celle terre a grant plentet de bestes sauvaiges dont il vivent; et est lor sires moult cremus et prez et lonc de Crestiens et de Sarrazins; car moult en seulent occire sans raison. Chitz Sires a moult de beaux palais et fors, qui sont encloz de haulx murs et si les fait moult bien garder et n'y puet nulz entrer fors par une entree; en cel palais nourit on les filz de ces vilains, ne ja puis que il y seront, nus ne verront fors lor maistre qui leur aprent et ensengne, comment il doivent obeir au commandement de lor seigneur, et leur dist, que par ce puet on avoir paradis et nient autrement. Et leur aprent leur maistres divers langaiges et n'isteront fors de*

A comparison of both of these documents — the account on the Assassins according to Burchard of Strassburg, with the version quoted in the „Report” of the Jerusalem Patriarch, allows us to formulate a thesis that the second of the above mentioned testimonies is directly dependent on Burchard's account. Derivation of detailed affiliations between further accounts of the Assassins, among which one finds an anonymous „Itinéraire de Londres à Jérusalem”, as well as Jacob of Vitry's document in his „*Historia Orientalis*”, and in Vincent of Beauvais' work: „*Speculum Historiale*” — leads us toward the source of all these versions. Here again, the source proves to be the account of Burchard of Strassburg⁸.

The documents dealing with the Assassins, which strictly refer to the account of Burchard, consequently produce a certain picture of the Assassins' sect. Thus, they point to the religious character of the sect organisation, as well as to the theocratical features of their state, considering the Assassins to be heretic people who are somehow outside Islam. There, the Assassins are an equally dangerous power to the Mohammedans as they are to the Christians, because they unceremoniously murder inconvenient Moslem as well as Christian monarchs. If necessary, they learn the language of their enemies. They are devoted to the cause to the extent that they are ready to sacrifice their lives for it. Eagerly they execute the will of their leader, who is regarded as a great authority among his followers, and who is the ultimate arbitrator in everything which the Assassins do. He makes rules and customs

ce palais jusques atant que lor sires les mande devant lui, quant il vult aucun mal faire; et quant sont venu devant leur seigneur, si lor demande, s'il vueillent obeir a leur seigneur et a ses commans, par quoy il aient paradis. Et chil respondent, si comme lor maistre lor a appris, oil font il volentiers en toutes manieres. De dont lor donne leur sires un coutel grant et agut et puis les envoie la ou il vult pour aucun homme occire” — edited by Ch. Hopf, *Chroniques Gréco — Romanes*, Berlin 1873, pp. 31—32; cp. also the note of the editor, p. 29 below.

⁸ See consciously one-sided analyses of the western sources about the Assassins in the work of W. Fleischhauer, *The Old Man of the Mountain: The Growth of a Legend*, „Symposium”, vol. IX, 1955, pp. 79—90.

of his people contrary to the „laws of Sarracens” or Šari’a. Therefore, the Assassins show considerable freedom of customs which in the eyes of our authors is considered as immoral. But they enjoy it only in order to worship their leader more and to carry out his orders more eagerly.

In medieval Christianity this popular concept on the Assassins was augmented in the XII century, by facts, of primary importance included in the account of William the learned archbishop of Tyre (1174—1187)⁹. He is the author of the work on crusades which comprises 23 books, and which was already entitled in the manuscripts as „Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum”¹⁰. It is there, among other details, that William gives an extremely interesting account of the Assassins.

In book XX, chapter 31, while introducing the formation of forces on the territory of Syria which is endangered by Saladin, William simultaneously includes a story about the Assassins. The story is carried on till the end of the chapter and its content is integrally connected with the greater part of the subsequent chapter. Here, the author unfolds a tale about the presumably intended conversion of the Assassins to Christianity by the leader of the sect. It will be most appropriate now to quote the archbishop’s account:

„In provincia Tyrensi, que Phaenicis dicitur, circa Episcopatum Antaradensem, est quidam populus, castella decem habens cum suburbanis suis: estque numerus eorum, ut saepius audivimus, quasi ad sexaginta millia, vel amplior. Hi non haereditaria successione, sed meritorum praerogativa magistrum solent sibi praeficere, et eligere praeceptorem, quem spretis aliis dignitatum nominibus, Senem vocant; cui tantae subiectionis et obedientiae vinculo solent obligari, ut nihil sit tam durum, tam difficile; tamque periculosum, quod ad magistri imperium, animis ardentibus non aggrediantur implere. Nam inter caetera, si quos habent principes odiosos, aut

⁹ About this work and its author see the basic thesis by H. Prutz, *Studien über Wilhelm von Tyrus*, in „Neues Archiv der Gesel. für ält. deutsche Geschichtskunde” Bd. VIII, Hannover 1882, pp. 93—132.

¹⁰ H. Prutz, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

genti suae suspectos, data uni de suis, vel pluribus, sica, non considerato rei exitu, utrum evadere possit, illuc contendit, cui mandatum est; et tam diu pro complendo anxius imperio, circuit et laborat, quousque casu injunctum peragat officium, praeceptoris mandato satisfaciens. Hos tam nostri, quam Sarraceni (nescimus unde deducto nomine) Assissinos vocant. Hi etiam annis quadringentis Sarracenourm legem et eorum traditiones tanto zelo coluerunt, ut respectu eorum omnes alii quasi praevaricatores judicarentur, ipsi autem legem viderentur implere. Contigit autem diebus nostris, quod magistrum sibi praefecerunt virum facundissimum, subtilem et acris valde ingenii. Hic, praeter morem majorum suorum, caepit habere penes se Evangeliorum libros et codicem Apostolicum; quibus continuato incumbens studio, miraculorum Christi et praeceptorum seriem, sed et Apostoli doctrinam, multo labore, aliquantisper assecutus erat. Inde conferens Christi et suorum suavem et honestam doctrinam, cum iis quae miser et seductor Mahemet complicitibus suis et deceptis ab eo tradiderat, caepit sordere quidquid cum lacte biberat, et praedicti seductoris immunditias abominare. Eodem quoque modo populum suum erudiens ab observantia illius superstitionis cessare fecit, oratoria quibus antea usi fuerant dejiciens, eorum jejunia solvens, vinum et suillas carnes suis indulgens. Tandem ad interiora legis Dei volens procedere, virum prudentem, in consiliis providum, eloquentem et magistri sui doctrinam redolentem, nomine Boaldelle, ad dominum regem dirigit, verba secreta deferentem; quorum praecipuus et maximus erat articulus, quod si fratres militiae Templi, qui castella regioni eorum habebant contermina, duo millia aureorum, quae singulis annis de hominibus eorum quasi pro tributo solebant assumere, eis vellent remittere, et fraternam deinceps observare charitatem, ipsi ad fidem Christi et baptismum convolarent. (Chap. 32). Rex autem, eorum legationem laeto animo et gratanter suscipiens, petitioni eorum sicut vir discretissimus erat, plenius annuens, aureorum duo millia, quorum ipsi annuam praestationem relaxari postulabant, de suis propriis redditibus, praedictis fratribus refundere, ut dicitur, paratus erat; nuntiumque, quem apud se pro verborum consummatione diu detinuerat, ad proprium magistrum, dato sibi duce itineris, et proprii custode corporis, ut oblatum verbum penitus absolveretur, remisit. Qui dum cum itineris consorte et dato

duce Tripolim pertransisset, fines suos ingressurus in proximo, subito de fratribus supradictis, ex improvise strictis gladiis irruentes, hominem de regio ducatu, et nostrae gentis fidei sinceritate praesumentem, incantum et nihil verentem tale, laesae majestatis crimen incurrentes, occiderunt. Quod audiens Rex, prae facti atrocitate, ira et quasi infamia succensus vehementer, convocatis regni principibus, in injuriam suam quidquid acciderat, asserens redundare, instrui quaerit, quid eum oporteat facere. Tandem quae de communi principum consilio, consulitur, verbum quod acciderat non esse negligendum; nam in eo et auctoritas Regia videbatur deperire; et Christiani nominis fides et constantia immeritam contrahere infamiam, et Orientalis Ecclesia, Deo placitum, et jam paratum incrementum amittere. Mittuntur ergo de communi consilio nobiles quidam, Seiher de Mamedune et Godescalcus de Turholt, ad hoc specialiter selecti, qui a magistro praedictorum fratrum, Odone de Sancto Amando, exigant, ut tanti excessus et tam piacularis flagitii, regi et regno universo satisfactionem exhibeant. Dicebatur autem quidam frater eorum, Galterus videlicet de Maisnilio, vir nequam et monoculus, cuius spiritus in naribus ejus, omnino penes se nihil discretionis habens, de conscientia tamen fratrum, hoc fecisse. Unde, ut dicitur, ei praeter debitum parcendo, domino regi per nuntios significavit, fratri qui hoc commiserat, se paenitentiam injunxisse, et ita cum injuncta paenitentia, ad dominum Papam se eum directurum; inhibere autem ex parte domini Papae, ne in praedictum fratrem manus quis auderet injicere violentas. Adjecti etiam et alia a spiritu superbiae, quo ipse plurimum abundabat, dictata, quae praesenti narrationi non multum necessarium est interserere. Rex autem pro eodem negotio apud Sidonem constitutus, eundem magistrum cum multis ex fratribus ejus, et eodem malefactore reperit; habitoque consilio, cum iis qui ejus viam illuc comitabantur, praedictum majestatis reum, de domo eorum violenter educi fecit, et Tyrum in vinculis traductum, carceri fecit mancipari. Tandem hujus verbi occasione paulo minus universum regnum habuit ruinam irreparabilem sustinere. Rex tamen et apud Assissinorum magistrum, cujus tam sinistro casu legatus deperierat, de sua allegans innocentia, immunis apparuit; et cum praedictis fratribus, temperato satis usus moderamine, usque ad obitus diem rem dimisit indiscussam. Dicitur tamen, quod si de suprema illa convaluisset aegritudine, cum regibus et

principibus orbis terrarum, questionem illam proposuerat per honestissimos nuntios diligentius pertractare”¹¹.

We have, then, a long document consisting simultaneously of two narrative and of two interpretative planes. These are: a description of the incident which took place about 1173 in the relations of the Jerusalem Kingdom with the Assassin sect, as well as the picture of the sect itself which is inherent in this account. Here, the second point of view is of the most interest to us.

William begins his account of the Assassins with a very conventional localization of their territories. They supposedly lived in the region of Tyre, bordering upon Tortosa Bishopric¹². These men owned ten castles. William estimates the sect to consist of 60000 inhabitants, „vel amplior”. It is known to him that the leaders of the Assassins are not chosen according to the law of inheritance, but according to their achievements and personal merits. The head of the sect has a right to the title of „The Old Man”, „quem spreti salis dignitatum nominibus”. By these means we arrive at the problem of the title, which European authors attribute to the chief of the sect. This title applies equally the head of the Syrian Assassins, as well as the leader of the whole movement at the Iranian Alamūt¹³. The official title by which

¹¹ In *Patrologiae Latinae* J. P. Migne, vol. CCI, Parisiis 1855, pp. 810—812. On other editions of the William’s „*Chronicle*” see A. Potthast, *op. cit.*, Bd I, pp. 560—561.

¹² This place is to be found at least several times in the collection of Jerusalem Kingdom documents — see R. Röhrich (editor), *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* (MXCVII—MCCXCI), Oeniponti 1893, for instance pp. 9, 16, 26, 99, 121, 347, 376. About this town and its environments — G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems. A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from A. D. to 1500*, London 1890, pp. 397—398 (Palestine Exploration Fund); R. Dussaud, „*Revue archeol.*”, 28, 1896, pp. 313—318 and tome 30, 1897, p. 331; M. van Berchem — JA, 1902 (ser. IX, t. 12), pp. 424—435; also R. Röhrich, *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Geographie und Topographie Syriens*, ZDPV, X, 1887, pp. 258—259, 266, 403, 317, 33.

¹³ Benjamin of Tudela (*The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela* edited by M. N. Adler, London 1907, Hebr. text, p. 50—51, English translation pp. 53—54), Marco Polo (Marco Polo, *II milione*, ed. L. F. Benedetto, Florence 1928, pp. 33—34) and Odoric of Pordenone (ed. Konrad Steckel in „*Texte des späten Mittelalters und der frühen*

the head of the sect in Syria was designated and which arises from „temporal” Ismāʿīlī hierarchy — was the title of „dāʿī al-kabīr”. This title „Great Missionary” may by far-fetched extension be interpreted as having a meaning analogous to „Landmeister” in the European orders of knights. A famous leader of

Neuzeit”, Heft 20, Berlin 1968, pp. 126—128) ascribe the title „The Old Man of the Mountain” also to the ruler of Alamūt. It is to be noted, that none of the Moslem sources which are known, expresses directly in this matter. When writing about the leader of Alamūt the eastern authors describe him either with an Arabic term „muqaddam” (superior) or call him the „Master” (Arab. *ḥaḍrat*) of „heretics”, using sometimes a well known synonym of this expression — *ṣāhib* (conjecturally: Alamūt — for instance Ibn al-Atīr, see *Ibn el-Athīrī Chronicon quod perfectissimum inscribitur*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, vol. XII, Lugduni Batavorum 1853, p. 264). Yet the Ismāʿīlīs themselves designated their first chief from Alamūt, al-Ḥasan ibn as-Ṣabbāḥ with the name „sayyidnā”, which means „our Lord” and in spite of the previous expressions stands comparatively higher. (W. Ivanow, *A Guide to Ismaili Literature*, Prize Publication Series of the Royal Asiatic Society, N° XIII, London 1933, p. 13 note 3; idem, *Two early Ismaili Treatises*, Bombay 1933, p. 1). However, we do not know how the next two successors of Hasan were addressed. We know about the third of Iranian Assassin leaders that he declared himself as Imām. His followers said about him „mawlānā” (synonym of sayyidunā) and some source premises make as suppose that the identical title was given to one before last Alamūt Imām of the „satr”, ʿAlāʾ ad-Dīn Muḥammad (see Nasawi, *Histoire du sultan Djelal ed-din Mankobirti*, tome I, Paris 1891, p. 132). We cannot however agree with P. K. Hitti, who was inspired by the Ismāʿīlī hierarchy of Fāṭimids in the period preceding Nizārī „schism” (that is before 1094) ascribes the head of Assassins the title of „dāʿī ad-duʿat” (*History of the Arabs*, London 1943, p. 446). Ch. Nowell is sure to be much farther from the truth when claiming that — „The grand masters of both divisions had a title which European crusaders translated as „The Old Man of the Mountain”, in „Speculum”, XXII, oct. 1947, N° 4, p. 497. The leader of the sect in Syria, as we understand it from some relations of the Western Europe crusade literature, was named „The Old Man of the Mountain”. What is interesting, the imagination of the Europeans associates the Syrian tradition concerning „The Old Man of the Mountain” with the head of the sect in Iran, who stayed at Alamūt. See the summary of the discussion on this subject in the article of an Arab historian, ʿĀrif Tāmīr, *Sinān Rāšid ad-Dīn aw Ṣayḥ al-Ġabal*, in „Al-Adīb”, May 1953, pp. 43—46; idem, *Min taʾrīḥ al-Ismāʿīliyyīn as-Sūriyyīn*, in „Al-Ḥikma”, July 1954, pp. 10—13.

the Syrian Assassins, Rāšid ad-Dīn Sinān, about whom William of Tyre relates, as we shall see later on — is called according to European sources „The Old Man of the Mountain”¹⁴. A simple contamination gives us an Arabic equivalent „Ṣayḥ al-ġabal”, usually unknown to the Moslem authors. Nothing points to „The Old Man of the Mountain” being the official title of the head of the Syrian Assassins, beginning with Sinan. A Jewish traveler, Benjamin of Tudela, who sojourned in Syria about 1167, mentions the sect leader by the vague title of „Ṣayḥ al-Ḥašīšim”¹⁵. This should not be interpreted as a reflection of advanced age of their ruler, but should be construed as „the oldest of the Assassins” (= their leader). It seems that the title „The Old Man of the Mountain” was used in colloquial speech by the inhabitants of Syria, who were close neighbors of the Assassins. On the other hand, it was never considered to be the official title of their leader.

We are already acquainted with the content of subsequent texts. However, in the light of Moslem sources one can readily and completely agree with William, when he writes — „*data* (i.e. *Senex*) *uni de suis, vel pluribus, sica, non considerato rei exitu, utrum evadere possit, illuc contendit, cui mandatum est, et tam diu pro complendo anxius imperio, circuit et laborat, quousque casu iniunctum peragat officium, praeceptoris mandato satisfaciens*”. The murderers, as a matter of fact, very often had to await patiently for the appropriate circumstances in order to accomplish a crime. A great authority on Moslem medieval historiography, Ibn al-Atīr (1160—1234), when presenting details of Conrad of Montferrat’s murder, a widely known victim of the Syrian sect, informs us

¹⁴ Arnold of Lübeck, *Chr. Slavorum*, Lib. IV, c. 16 — „*Senex*”; Jacob of Vitry, *Hist. Hier.*, Lib. III, c. 10 — „*Vetulus de montanis*”, also Lib. I, c. 14 — „*quem ipsi Veterem seu Senem appellant*” (ed. by Bongars, p. 1142); Ambroise, *L’Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, 236, vers 8819 and follow. — „*Li vilz*” or „*li vielz*” (edited by G. Paris, Paris 1897); Roger of Wendover, *Floribus Hist.* — „*Vetus de Monte*” (in MGHSS, tomus XXVIII, p. 38) similarly Matthew Paris, *Cr. Majoribus*, ed. H. R. Luard, RBMS, N° LVII, tomus 3, p. 488; John of Joinville, *Hist. de St. Louis* c. LXXXIX — „*Vieil de la Montaigne*” (ed. N. de Wailly, 1881, p. 189—191).

¹⁵ *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, London 1907, ed. M. N. Adler, Hebrew text, p. 18, English translation, p. 16.

about a six months period during which the murderers waited for the suitable moment. The moment which would enable them to carry out their deed more easily¹⁶. We get to learn of similar situations from a very authoritative work of the Persian author, Rāšid ad-Dīn¹⁷.

Further on, William cites the name of the sect using the form „Assissini” and he knows that it is used by the Christians as well as by the Saracens. Besides, he emphasizes that — „*nescimus unde deducto nomine*”. The text concerning „Assissini” renders the Arabic equivalent, which is used to denote the sect, more or less accurately — „ḥašīšīyya” or „ḥašīšīyyīn”¹⁸. One should not question the etymology of the European variant concerning the name of the sect — Assassins, which was derived very accurately, as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century by S. de Sacy¹⁹. It is first of all confirmed by the Moslem sources, the oldest of which is a treaty known as „Al-Hidāyat al-Āmirīya” or „Ar-Risālat al-Āmirīya”²⁰. It was composed in a complete form before

¹⁶ *Ibn el-Athiri Chronicon...*, vol. XII, Lugduni Batavorum 1853, p. 51 (edited by C. J. Tornberg); somewhat different Imad ad-Dīn in the text of Abū Šāma, *Kitāb ar-rauḍatayn*, vol. II, Cairo 1872, p. 196, also German transl. E. P. Goergens, *Arabische Quellenbeiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, Berlin 1879, p. 185—186; compare integral version of Imād ad-Dīn's work — *Conquete de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Salah ed-Dīn*, publié... par C. de Landberg, Arabic text, vol. I, Leyden 1888, pp. 420—422.

¹⁷ Rāšid ad-Dīn, *Ġāmi' at-tawārīḥ: qismat-i Ismā'īliyyān u Fāt-miyyān u Nizāriyyān u Dā'iyyān u Rafiqān*, ed. Muhammad Taqī — Dāniš — Pazūh and Muhammad Mudarrisi Zangāni, Tehrān 1338/1959—1960, pp. 170—172.

¹⁸ See art. B. Lewis — „Hashīshīyya”, in EI, new ed., vol. III, Leyden—Paris 1966, pp. 275—276.

¹⁹ S. de Sacy, *Mémoire sur la Dynastie des Assassins et sur l'étymologie de leur nom* — „Mémoire de l'Institut Royal”, 2^{ème} serie, tome IV, Paris 1818, pp. 1—85, especially, pp. 46—66 (= Mémoires d'Histoire et de Literature Orientale, pp. 322—403). A risky hypothesis of 'Ārif Tāmir on the etymology of the word „Assassin” has no solid basis; see his historical novel — *Sinān wa Šalāḥ ad-Dīn*, Beirut 1335/1956, pp. 27—28.

²⁰ Al-Hidāyat al-Āmirīya, ed. Asaf A. A. Fyzee as N° 7 of Islamic Research Association, Calcutta 1938, Arabic text, pp. 27 and 32. See also the note of the editor, Introduction, p. 3.

524 Y. H. (1131 A. D.)²¹. To the specialized literature of the West, this particular problem is quite well known and we will not concentrate upon it here, because in the course of the account a strange story is inserted. The story concerns a certain man — „*facundissimum, subtilem et acris valde ingenii*”, who became the leader of the sect and began studying the Gospel and the Apostolic code. The result was that — „*his quae miser et seductor Mahemet complicitibus suis, et deceptis ab eo tradiderat, caepit fordere quicquid cum lacte biberat et praedicti seductoris immunditias abominare*”. From this time onward the Assassins started to drink wine and to consume pork. The author leaves us free to infer that above stated reasons brought the sect closer to the Christians. He recalls that the Assassins in the neighborhood of the castles of the Templar Order were forced by the Knights to pay an annual tribute of 2000 golden coins. However they found an opportunity to free themselves from this unpleasant duty. A messenger named Boaldelle (Abu'l-Ādil?, Abū 'Abdallāh?), one of the close and trusted men (*magistri sui doctrinam redolentem*) of the leader of the Assassins, was sent by him on a mission. During it Boaldelle secretly confessed (*verba secreta deferentem*) to the Christian monarch his lord's readiness to be converted to the Christian faith. The only condition was to abrogate by the king the tribute which was being paid to the knights of the Templar Order. If the above condition was fulfilled, the leader of the Assassins together with his people would eagerly agree to be baptised and thus — „*eis vellent remittere et fraternam deinceps observare charitatem*”. The further course of the whole matter is dealt with by William in the consecutive chapter 32 of Book XX. Here, we learn of the dramatic fortunes of a legation turned adrift in the world by an „Old Man” and which, according to William, was supposed to contribute to the conversion of the Assassins.

Until then, William's treatment of the intention of our sectarians to become Christians, was regarded either as a pious figment which sprang from the holy archbishop's imagination, or was dealt with literally. The latter occurred more often. R. Grousset, among others, favoured the second view. His exciting and

²¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 3—4.

effective work, despite all, represents a very minute amount of source criticism ²².

When analysing William's document we cannot raise the question about a dividing line between fiction and historical truth. It would prove unjust in relation to the honorable author who wishes to write exclusively about what really occurred. Thus, for instance, in Book XIX, chapter 18, he states — „*Et quoniam singularem et saeculis nostris incognitam habet illa principis domus consuetudinem, libet diligenter admotare, quae fida relatione eorum, qui ad illum tantum principem sunt ingressi — comperimus*". But we also get acquainted from the author's very words, with at least three sets of facts which he made use of. Some of those facts have some roots in tradition — „*ut veterem tradit memoria*" and „*sicut veterum habent tradiciones*" (lib. VIII, c. 5), while other ones are either inherent in the documents of unquestionable authenticity — „*veterum tradit auctoritas*" (lib. VIII, c. 1), or their source is — „*aliorum relatione comperta*" (lib. IX, c. 16). Above all, however, we obtain from this a conviction about the author's sensitiveness toward the historical truth. How should one then regard the account which is being discussed?

In order not to confuse numerous and various facts, one must classify them right away. Thus, some of those facts produce a very broad outline of the sect. Other facts refer to a certain, so to say, ideological ferment among the Assassins which brought about an outright break between the leader and his people and orthodox Islam, as well as leading the Assassins to establish closer contact with the Christians. Finally, a different set of these facts is grouped around the legation of „The Old Man" to the court of the Jerusalem king, but it also concerns the repercussion of the tragic outcome of the Assassins' mission at the Christian camp. The authenticity of the first and the third group of the indicated facts should not be questioned, since in the first case they are accurate to some extent, whereas in the second case they turned out to be incomparably more precise. It must be kept in mind that from 1174 William, as archbishop of Tyre, was the leading and dominant figure among the ecclesiastical circles of the Jerusalem

²² See R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, tome II, Paris 1935, pp. 598—602.

kingdom. On the other hand, it is far more difficult to appreciate fully the information which is somehow in the middle of the whole account and which, according to William, concerns the intention of the chief of the Assassins to come into closer contact with the Christians. What is the basis for this assumption? There is no doubt that the break by the Assassins with the practices of the Moslem religious law constitutes a historical fact. Our author realizes that this did not take place early in the sect's history, but after a lapse of forty years, because at first they — „*... Saracenorum legem et eorum traditiones tanto zelo coluerunt, ut respectu eorum omnes alii quasi praevaricatores judicarentur, ipsi autem legem viderentur implere*" ²³. It was not connected, however, with the pro-Christian attitude of their leader but with the proclamation of the teachings of the „Great Resurrection" (Arab. Qiyāma al-Qiyāma) at the Iranian centres of the sect. This teaching, as we know, implied the radicalization of the entire movement, and brought about the isolation of the Assassins in the Moslem world. That important moment must have surely been noticed by the contemporaries, and in particular by the orthodox theologians of Islam who were preparing themselves to take part in the great polemic. It is evidently from them that a learned prelate obtained some information which he later on misinterpreted. We suspect, when we study his work, that he made use of the books of the Moslem writers, because in it the influence of the historical literature of the medieval Islam is made quite apparent. Besides, the author himself admits to having made use of the Arabic works. He does so in the Prologue written in 1184 — „*In hac vero nullam aut graecam aut arabicam habentes praeducem scripturam solis traditionibus instructi exceptis paucis, quae ipsi oculata fide conspeximus, narrationis seriem ordinavimus*" ²⁴.

²³ It is rather in accordance with the version given in the work of Rašid ad-Dīn, *Ġāmi' at-tawārīḥ: qismat-i Ismā'īliyyān...*, pp. 127, 128—129; likewise Muḥammad aš-Šahrastānī, *Kitāb al-mīlāl wa an-niḥāl*, edited by W. Cureton — *Book of Religious and Philosophical Sects*, vol. I, London 1842, p. 152.

²⁴ Compare the note by C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche*, Paris 1940, p. 17, also F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, second rev. ed., Leiden 1968, p. 196, n. 1.

Several Moslem sources state their opinions on the subject i.e. the spread of the practices of „qiyāma” among the Syrian Ismā’ilis. And so it was recorded under the year of 561/1165—5, in „Bustān al-ġāmi” that Ismā’ilis (here — Assassins) had changed their faith (madhab), drank wine, practiced incest, did not observe the rules of Ramaḍān and rejected prayer. Meanwhile they consider themselves as „aṣ-Ṣufāt”, the sincere or perhaps, the pure ²⁵. We find similar information in the work of Abū’l-Faḍā’il Muḥammad al-Ḥamawī „At-Ta’rīh al-Manṣūrī” and here the burden of blame is laid on Sinān ²⁶. The famous account of Kamāl ad-Dīn in his „History of Aleppo” which was quoted under the year of 572/1176—7, exemplifies, by the help of the population of Ġabal as-Summāq, a far too much advanced evolution of the idea of „qiyāma” which was bound to be condemned by Sinān himself ²⁷. In this context the comment by B. Lewis’ seems appropriate. B. Lewis states that a so called „New Law” or in other words various innovations which resulted from the proclamation of the doctrine of „The Resurrection Day” — was soon put into exe-

²⁵ Edited by C. Cahen, *Une chronique syrienne du VI^e/XII^e siècle: le „Bustān al-ġāmi”*, „Bulletin d’études orientales de l’Institut Français de Damas, N^o VII—VIII, 1937—1938, p. 136; compare remarks of B. Lewis, *Kamāl al-Dīn’s Biography of Rāšid al-Dīn Sinān*, „Arabica”, XIII, 1966, p. 240. Generally on the qiyāma see — Ġuvaynī, *Ta’rīh-i ġahān — ġuṣā*, ed. Muḥammad Qazwīnī, vol. III, Leyden—London 1937, pp. 226—230; English transl. J. A. Boyle, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, vol. II, Manchester 1958, pp. 688—691; Rāšid ad-Dīn, *op. cit.*, pp. 164—166; Kalami Pir, Bombay 1935, pp. 114—117; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 60—61. Discussions in M. G. S. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, The Hague 1955, pp. 148—151; V. Ivanov, *Alamut and Lamasar*, Tehran 1960, pp. 28—29; B. Lewis, *The Assassins: a Radical Sect in Islam*, London 1967, pp. 68—74; L. V. Stroyeva, *Dien’ Voskrieseniya iz miortrych i jego socyalnaya suščnost*, „Kratkiye Soobščeniya Instituta Vostokovedeniya”, XXXVIII, 1960, pp. 19—25.

²⁶ Abū’l-Faḍā’il Muḥammad al-Ḥamawī, *At-Ta’rīh al-Manṣūrī*, ed. P. A. Gryaznevich, Moscow 1960, fol. 84b.

²⁷ Kamāl ad-Dīn, *Zubdat al-ḥalab min ta’rīh Ḥalab*; French transl. by E. Blochet, „Revue de l’Orient Latin, IV, 1896, pp. 147—148; C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 377; comp. B. Lewis, *The Ismā’īlites and the Assassins*, in: „A History of the Crusades”, Editor-in-Chief, Kenneth M. Setton, vol. I, Philadelphia 1958, p. 122.

cution in Syria, thus intensifying the political activity of the sect in this region ²⁸. This scholar presents a thesis that William of Tyre’s testimony concerning the Assassina confirms the realization of „qiyāma” in Syria. Besides, he points to the fact that — „William’s attribution of these changes to an attraction towards Christianity need not be taken too seriously” ²⁹. Therefore, his accurate suggestion should be led to its conclusion.

Perhaps, because William presents the leader of the sect being well read in the Holy Gospel and the Apostolic code, he consequently mistakes the theological treatises of Ismā’īlism, in which one often talks about „Messiah” (Mahdī), „The Lord of all Times” (Ṣāhib az-Zaman), „Resurrection” (Qiyāma), as well as Jesus (‘Īsā) and the preachers of „good news” (plur. du’a). On the other hand, the Ismā’īlī doctrine of „ta’līm” professed by the Assassins reminds one of an exceptionally Christian teaching about Jesus — the true teacher. It may well be that our author came into contact with the theological treatises of the sect which at the time circulated in copies, or could at least be orientated as to their contents from the documents of Muslims, who strongly opposed the reform Ismā’īlism. The misunderstanding was the result of William’s inadequate religious knowledge concerning the evolution of Islam, a very weak orientation in the problem of religious and ideological change within so great and diversified view of the world.

Of one refers to the details cited by William of Tyre, it must be explained that this undoubtedly prominent leader of the sect about whom William relates, is the already mentioned Rāšid ad-Dīn Sinān. William informs us of the forty years spent by the Assassins observing Moslem customs and practices. This leads us back from circa 1170 to 1130 and enables us to assume that William estimates the early phase of the Assassins’ reign to fall ap-

²⁸ See his newest work on the sect — *The Assassins: a Radical Sect in Islam*, p. 111 (American edition — New York 1968, Basic Books).

²⁹ B. Lewis, *Kamāl al-Dīn’s Biography of Rāšid ad-Dīn...*, p. 242; compare this scholar’s earlier opinion — „The Curious Story told by William of Tyre of an Assassin proposal to embrace Christianity may reflect a genuine rapprochement between Sinan and the kingdom of Jerusalem” in: „*The Ismā’īlites and the Assassins*”, p. 123.

proximately in the period of consolidation of their mountain abodes in Ġabal Bahrā' ³⁰.

When one dwells upon the account included in „Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum”, it follows that the account of William of Tyre which was regarded up to this time as controversial, involves at least three interpretative planes. They result, firstly, from the erroneous interpretation in the Moslem sources of the „qiyāma” doctrine, secondly, from the flourishing of mutual relations among the Assassins and the crusaders, and thirdly, from the general tendency of William's work aimed against the power of military orders (here — Templars). The last point here is the most important one ³¹. William as the head of the Catholic hierarchy in the Holy Land had to wrestle with the ecclesiastical, monastic administration of the religious knights, who were frequently in disagreement with the canon law as well as with the secular clergy. The analysis of William's account fully confirms this. Thus, the crusade order of Templars whose mission was the defense and propagation of Christianity, blocks the way to Christian faith for those who want to be converted ³². During the counsel of the kingdom, the order of the knights is probably charged with the great accusation — „... *consulitur verbum quod acciderat non esse negligendum; nam in eo et auctoritas regia videbatur deperire; et christiani nominis fides et constantia immeritam contrahere infamiam, et Orientalis Ecclesia, Deo placitum et jam paratum incrementum amittere*”.

Equally important is the cause that the Assassins tried to

³⁰ The question of the Assassin expansion at Ġabal Bahrā' — C. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord*, pp. 353—355; B. Lewis, *The Ismā'īlites and the Assassins*, pp. 119—121; idem, *The Assassins*, pp. 106—112.

³¹ William's account was thus first appreciated by F. Lundgreen, *Wilhelm von Tyrus und der Templerorden*, Berlin 1911 (reprint from „Historische Studien”) and recently recured in this work p.p. 110—116 166; also J. L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1100—1291*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1932.

³² This affair was one of the causes of general accusation of Templars in modern historiography of which a review is quoted by M. Dessubré; see his *Bibliographie de l'Ordre des Templiers*, Paris 1928.

establish a closer contact with the crusaders. It should also be emphasized that at the time they could not even think about conversion to Christianity, for the simple reason that both sides were then endangered by the power of Saladin. The appearance of the Egyptian monarch as a champion of Moslem unity within the framework of orthodoxy caused him to be regarded from the very beginning as the chief enemy of the Assassins. This opinion induced the Egyptian ruler to take more effective action against him than it was taken by Zangīds ³³, who were still the official sovereigns of Saladin. Having suppressed the pro-Fātimid conspiracy in Egypt, the oppositional and sectarian elements could easily identify the ideological and political line which had been chosen by them ³⁴. Saladin took an equally uncompromising attitude toward the crusaders in the Holy Land. Therefore, the Assassins as well as the Latins may have been full of fear long before the Egyptian warriors invaded Syrian land. The Assassins would be the first to clash with the Egyptian sultan, since an open conflict would occur as early as in 1175 ³⁵. A more thorough approach to this problem is beyond the framework set here. Thus, we limit ourselves in discussing the whole matter to the essential explanations concerning the above problem. What must be particularly emphasized in connection with William's account is the fact that it attests an important ideological turn in the sect.

It follows then, that the account confirms in a singular way the practical realization of the „Great Qiyāma” teaching within

³³ B. Lewis, *The Ismā'īlites...*, p. 122. General characteristic of the political situation — Sobernheim, art. „Saladin”, EI, vol. IV, Leiden—Leipzig 1934, p. 92; also H. A. R. Gibb, *The Rise of Saladin*, in: „A History of the Crusades”, vol. I, pp. 565—567; basic source for it — Abū Šāma, *Kitāb ar-Rauḍatayn*, vol. II, Cairo 1872, pp. 23—24.

³⁴ B. Lewis, *The Ismā'īlites and the Assassins*, pp. 123—124.

³⁵ Ch. Defrémey, *Nouvelles recherches sur les Ismaéliens ou Bathniens de Syrie*, JA, Vme série, tome 5, 1955, pp. 29—30; B. Lewis, *Saladin and the Assassins*, „Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies”, vol. XV, fasc. 3, 1953, pp. 239—245; idem, *The Ismā'īlites and the Assassins*, p. 123.

the borders of Syrian territories belonging to the Assassins³⁶.

³⁶ The most important point in the document of William of Tyre — alleged efforts of the sect leader in order to convert the Assassins to Christianity — thus found its way in a similar form in the work of Jacob of Vitry, the papal legate in the Holy Land. The latter writes as follows — „*Ita tamen, quod ejusdem essent conditionis et libertatis, ut alii Christianorum legi subiecti. Erant enim tunc temporis fratribus militiae Templi tributarii, duo millia byzantium eisdem annuatim persoluentes pro securitate cujusdam terrae suae, quae in confinio terrae praedictorum fratrum sita erat, qui multas eis molestias occasione vicinitatis inferre consueverant. Praefatus autem Assasinorum magister unum de familiaribus suis, virum eloquentem, prudentem et strenuum, de quo plurimum confidebat, misit ad regem Hierosolymitanum. Rex autem intellecta causa legationis, pro tanti populi visitatione, et tot animarum a laqueis diaboli liberatione Deo gratias agens, nuntium Senis cum summo gaudio et honore magno recepit; et ipsum ad propria revertentem, ut domino suo bonam regis et Christianorum voluntatem, et magnum desiderium nuntiaret, usque ad fines terrae suae deduci praecepit. Qui dum fines suos jam fere ungressurus Tripolim pertransisset, quidam ex nostris, vir Belial et iniquus, Dei timorem ante oculos suos non proponens, hominem de regio ducatu, et fidei Christianorum sinceritate confidentem, improvisum et nil tale sibi metuentem, in detrimentum Christiani nominis, et maxime Ecclesiae Orientalis, occidit*”, *Hist. Hierosolymitana* (lib. I, c. 14), ed. F. Mosch, Duaci 1597, pp. 42—43; reproduced in „*Gesta Dei per Francos*” of Bongars, tomus I, Hannoveriae 1611, p. 1063.

IRENEUSZ KANIA

THE SEVENTH CHAPTER OF THE *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* AND A PROBLEM OF TIBETAN ETYMOLOGY *

INTRODUCTION

The present translation of the Chapter 7 of the famous Tibetan Chronicle *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* („The Clear Mirror of Royal Genealogies”) is based upon the critical edition of its text, established by B. I. Kuznetsov and published by E. J. Brill, Leiden,

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