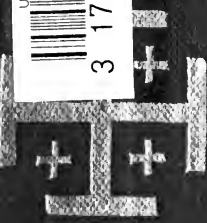


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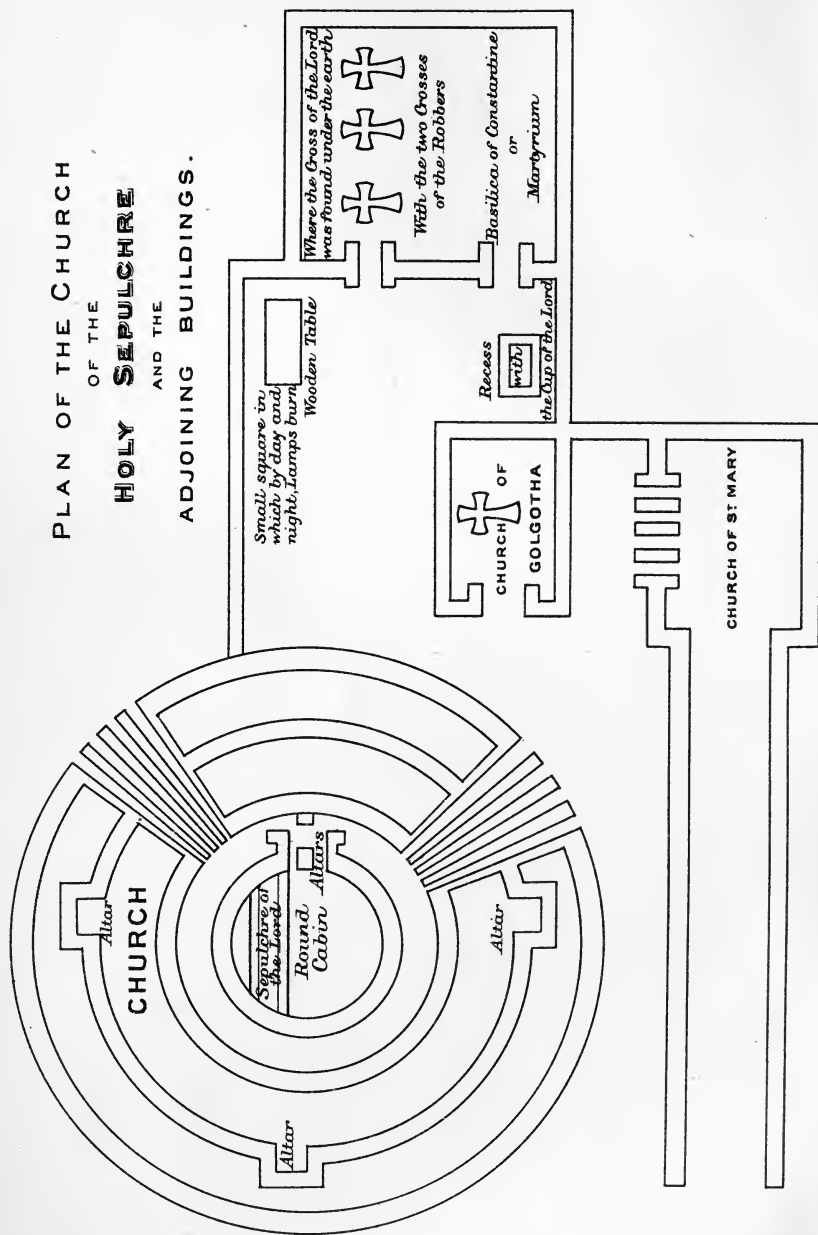
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THE
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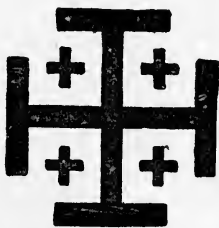
PLAN OF THE CHURCH
 OF THE
HOLY SEPULCHRE
 AND THE
 ADJOINING BUILDINGS.



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THE
PILGRIMAGE OF ARCULFUS
IN THE
HOLY LAND
(ABOUT THE YEAR A.D. 670).

Translated and Annotated
BY THE
REV. JAMES ROSE MACPHERSON, B.D.



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CONTENTS.

PREFACE	-	-	-	-	-	-	PAGE
							xi
LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS	-	-	-	-	-	-	xix

ARCULF'S NARRATIVE ABOUT THE HOLY PLACES, WRITTEN BY ADAMNAN.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER							
	INTRODUCTION	-	-	-	-	-	I
I.	THE SITUATION OF JERUSALEM, THE GATES OF THE CITY, THE YEARLY MARKET, THE SITE OF THE TEMPLE, THE ORATORY OF THE SARACENS, THE GREAT HOUSES						2
II.	THE ROUND CHURCH BUILT ABOVE THE SEPULCHRE OF THE LORD	-	-	-	-	-	5
III.	THE FORM OF THE SEPULCHRE ITSELF AND ITS LITTLE CABIN	-	-	-	-	-	6
IV.	THE STONE THAT WAS ROLLED TO THE MOUTH OF THE TOMB, WHICH THE ANGEL OF THE LORD, DESCENDING FROM HEAVEN AFTER HIS RESURRECTION, ROLLED BACK ; THE CHAPEL, AND THE SEPULCHRE	-	-	-	-	-	8
V.	THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY, WHICH ADJOINS THE ROUND CHURCH	-	-	-	-	-	9
VI.	THE CHURCH THAT IS BUILT ON THE SITE OF CALVARY						9
VII.	THE BASILICA WHICH CONSTANTINE BUILT CLOSE TO THE ABOVE-NAMED CHURCH ON THE SPOT WHERE THE CROSS OF THE LORD, WHICH HAD BEEN BURIED IN RUINS, WAS FOUND, WHEN AFTER MANY CENTURIES THE EARTH WAS DUG UP	-	-	-	-	-	10
VIII.	THE SITE OF THE ALTAR OF ABRAHAM						10

CHAPTER	PAGE
IX. THE RECESS SITUATED BETWEEN THE CHURCH OF CALVARY AND THE BASILICA OF CONSTANTINE, IN WHICH ARE KEPT THE CUP OF THE LORD AND THE SPONGE FROM WHICH, AS HE HUNG ON THE TREE, HE DRANK VINEGAR AND WINE - - - -	11
X. THE SPEAR OF THE SOLDIER WITH WHICH HE PIERCED THE SIDE OF THE LORD - - - -	12
XI. THE NAPKIN WITH WHICH THE HEAD OF THE LORD WAS COVERED IN THE SEPULCHRE - - - -	12
XII. ANOTHER SACRED LINEN CLOTH WHICH, AS IS SAID, ST. MARY THE VIRGIN, THE MOTHER OF THE LORD, WOVE - - - -	16
XIII. THE LOFTY COLUMN SITUATED ON THE SPOT WHERE A DEAD YOUNG MAN CAME TO LIFE AGAIN, WHEN THE CROSS OF THE LORD WAS PLACED ON HIM ; AND THE MIDDLE OF THE WORLD - - - -	16
XIV. THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY BUILT IN THE VALLEY OF JOSAPHAT, IN WHICH IS HER TOMB - - - -	17
XV. THE TOWER OF JOSAPHAT BUILT IN THE SAME VALLEY -	18
XVI. THE TOMBS OF SIMEON AND JOSEPH - - - -	18
XVII. THE CAVE IN THE ROCK OF THE MOUNT OF OLIVET, ACROSS THE VALLEY OF JOSAPHAT, IN WHICH ARE FOUR TABLES AND TWO WELLS - - - -	18
XVIII. THE GATE OF DAVID, AND THE PLACE WHERE JUDAS ISCARIOETH HANGED HIMSELF BY A ROPE - - - -	19
XIX. THE FORM OF THE GREAT BASILICA BUILT ON MOUNT SION, AND THE SITUATION OF THAT MOUNTAIN -	20
XX. THE LITTLE FIELD CALLED IN HEBREW AKELDEMAC -	21
XXI. THE ROUGH AND ROCKY GROUND THAT EXTENDS FAR AND WIDE, FROM JERUSALEM TO THE CITY OF SAMUEL, AND TO CÆSAREA OF PALESTINE TOWARDS THE WEST - - - -	21
XXII. THE MOUNT OF OLIVET, ITS HEIGHT AND THE CHARACTER OF ITS SOIL - - - -	21
XXIII. THE PLACE OF THE ASCENSION OF THE LORD, AND THE CHURCH BUILT ON IT - - - -	22
XXIV. THE SEPULCHRE OF LAZARUS AND THE CHURCH BUILT ABOVE IT, AND THE ADJOINING MONASTERY -	26
XXV. ANOTHER CHURCH BUILT TO THE RIGHT OF BETHANY	26

BOOK II.

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. THE SITUATION OF BETHLEHEM - - -	28
II. THE PLACE OF THE NATIVITY OF THE LORD, THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY - - -	28
III. THE ROCK SITUATED BEYOND THE WALL, UPON WHICH THE WATER, IN WHICH HE WAS FIRST WASHED AFTER HIS BIRTH, WAS Poured - -	29
IV. ANOTHER CHURCH, IN WHICH THE TOMB OF DAVID IS SEEN - - - - -	30
V. THE CHURCH WITHIN WHICH IS THE SEPULCHRE OF ST. HIERONYMUS (JEROME) - - -	30
VI. THE TOMBS OF THE THREE SHEPHERDS, AROUND WHOM, WHEN THE LORD WAS BORN, THE HEAVENLY BRIGHTNESS SHONE; AND THEIR CHURCH -	30
VII. THE SEPULCHRE OF RACHEL - - - -	31
VIII. HEBRON - - - - -	31
IX. THE VALLEY OF MAMBRE, AND THE SEPULCHRE OF THE FOUR PATRIARCHS - - - -	32
X. THE HILL AND THE OAK OF MAMBRE - - -	33
XI. THE PINE-FOREST FROM WHICH FIREWOOD IS BROUGHT TO JERUSALEM ON CAMELS - - - -	34
XII. JERICHO - - - - -	35
XIII. GALGAL, AND THE TWELVE STONES WHICH THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL, AFTER CROSSING THE RIVER JORDAN, TOOK FROM ITS DRIED CHANNEL -	35
XIV. THE PLACE WHERE OUR LORD WAS BAPTIZED BY JOHN - - - - -	36
XV. THE COLOUR OF THE JORDAN AND THE DEAD SEA -	38
XVI. THE DEAD SEA—CONTINUED - - - -	39
XVII. THE FOUNTAINS OF THE JORDAN - - -	39
XVIII. THE SEA OF GALILEE - - - - -	40
XIX. SICHEM AND THE WELL OF SAMARIA - -	41
XX. A LITTLE FOUNTAIN IN THE WILDERNESS - -	43
XXI. THE LOCUSTS AND THE WILD HONEY - -	43
XXII. THE PLACE WHERE THE LORD BLESSED THE FIVE LOAVES AND THE TWO FISHES - - - -	43
XXIII. THE SEA OF TIBERIAS AND CAPHARNAUM - -	44

CHAPTER	PAGE
XXIV. NAZARETH AND ITS CHURCHES - - -	45
XXV. MOUNT TABOR - - -	46
XXVI. DAMASCUS - - -	47
XXVII. TYRE - - -	47
XXVIII. ALEXANDRIA, AND THE RIVER NILE AND ITS CROCO- DILES - - -	48

BOOK III.

I. THE CITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE - - -	53
II. THE FOUNDATION OF THAT CITY - - -	53
III. THE CHURCH IN WHICH THE CROSS OF THE LORD IS PRESERVED - - -	55
IV. ST. GEORGE THE CONFESSOR - - -	57
V. THE PICTURE OF ST. MARY - - -	62
VI. MOUNT VULCAN - - -	63
VII. EPILOGUE - - -	64

THE VENERABLE BEDE CONCERNING THE HOLY PLACES.

(The numbers in parentheses show the corresponding chapters of Arculfus.)

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. (BOOK I., CHAP. I.) THE SITUATION OF JERUSALEM -	67
II. (CHAP. VII., VI., II., III., IV., V., VIII., X.) THE CHURCH OF CONSTANTINE AND OF GOLGOTHA, THE CHURCH OF THE RESURRECTION AND THE SEPULCHRE OF THE LORD, THE STONE THAT WAS ROLLED TO THE MOUTH OF THE TOMB, THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY, THE CUP OF THE LORD AND THE SPONGE, THE ALTAR OF ABRA- HAM, THE SOLDIER'S SPEAR - - -	68
III (I., XIX., XXIII.) THE TEMPLE, THE ORATORY OF THE SARACENS, THE POOL OF BETHESDA, THE FOUNTAIN OF SILOA, THE CHURCH BUILT UPON MOUNT SION, THE PLACE OF THE STONING OF ST. STEPHEN, THE MIDDLE OF THE WORLD - - -	70

CHAPTER	PAGE
IV. (XI., XII.) THE NAPKIN OF THE HEAD OF THE LORD, AND ANOTHER LARGER LINEN CLOTH WOVEN BY ST. MARY	72
V. (XXI., XV., XVI., XIV.) THE PLACES ROUND JERUSALEM, THE VALLEY OF JOSAPHAT, HIS SEPULCHRE AND THOSE OF OTHERS, THE CHURCH IN WHICH ST. MARY WAS BURIED - - - - -	73
VI. (XVIII., XX.) THE PLACE WHERE JUDAS WAS HANGED, AND ACHELDEMAC - - - - -	74
VII. (XXII., XXIII., XXIV., XXV.) THE MOUNT OF OLIVET AND THE CHURCH BUILT THERE, WHERE THE LORD ASCENDED INTO THE HEAVENS—THE TOMB OF LAZARUS, AND A THIRD CHURCH - - - - -	74
VIII. (BOOK II., CHAP. I., II., III., IV. V., VI., VII.) THE SITUATION OF BETHLEHEM, THE CHURCH UPON THE PLACE WHERE THE LORD WAS BORN, THE SEPULCHRES OF DAVID AND HIERONYMUS AND THE THREE SHEPHERDS, AND ALSO THAT OF RACHEL - - - - -	76
IX. (VIII., IX., X., XI.) THE SITUATION OF HEBRON, MAMBRE, AND THE TOMB OF THE PATRIARCHS AND OF ADAM, THE PINE WOOD - - - - -	77
X. (XII., XIII.) JERICHO AND ITS HOLY PLACES, GALGAL AND THE FOUNTAIN OF HELISEUS, THE GREAT PLAIN - - - - -	77
XI. (XV., XVII., XVIII.) THE JORDAN AND THE SEA OF GALILEE - - - - -	79
XII. (XV., XVI.) THE DEAD SEA AND ITS NATURE, AND THAT OF THE NEIGHBOURING DISTRICT - - - - -	80
XIII. (XIV.) THE PLACE WHERE THE LORD WAS BAPTIZED - - - - -	82
XIV. (XXI., XX.) THE LOCUSTS AND THE WILD HONEY, AND THE FOUNTAIN OF JOHN THE BAPTIST - - - - -	82
XV. (XIX.) THE FOUNTAIN OF JACOB NEAR SICHEM - - - - -	83
XVI. (XXII., XVIII., XXIII., XXIV.) TIBERIAS AND CAPHARNAUM AND NAZARETH AND THE HOLY PLACES THERE - - - - -	83
XVII. (XXV.) MOUNT TABOR AND THE THREE CHURCHES ON IT - - - - -	84
XVIII. (XXVI.) THE SITUATION OF DAMASCUS - - - - -	84
XIX. (XXVIII.) THE SITUATION OF ALEXANDRIA, THE CHURCH IN WHICH MARK THE EVANGELIST RESTS, AND THE NILE - - - - -	84

CHAPTER	PAGE
XX. (BOOK III., CHAP. I.) CONSTANTINOPLE, AND THE BASILICA IN THAT CITY WHICH CONTAINS THE CROSS OF THE LORD - - - - -	85
XXI. EPILOGUE - - - - -	87

APPENDIX.

TRANSLATION OF PORTIONS OF 'ARCULF'S NARRATIVE,' FROM PROFESSOR WILLIS' 'HOLY SEPULCHRE' - - - - -	88
---	----

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE <i>Frontispiece.</i>	
PLAN OF THE BASILICA ON MOUNT SION, SHOWING THE SITES ON THE SUMMIT OF THE MOUNTAIN - - -	20
PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF THE ASCENSION - - -	25
PLAN OF THE CHURCH BUILT ABOVE JACOB'S WELL - - -	42

PREFACE.

NOTHING appears to be known of Arculfus, the pilgrim of whose travels this work is a narrative, beyond the very slight notices of him contained in the work itself and in a reference to it by the Venerable Bede in his 'Ecclesiastical History.' From these we learn that he was a native of France (Gaul), and that at the time when he undertook the journey referred to he had attained the rank of Bishop; but we have no information at all as to the see over which he presided. It is stated by Bede that his bishopric was in France, and, although this might be a mere supposition grounded on the references in the record itself, we need not hesitate to accept it as being correct. His pilgrimage to the East was undertaken about the year A.D. 670, according to the calculation of Dr. Tobler (*Société de l'Orient Latin*), and it must have occupied some time. He spent nine months in the city of Jerusalem (possibly during that period he may have made shorter visits to the south or the north of Palestine), and he gives us an account of the chief places of interest to the west of the Jordan, including in the south, Bethlehem, Hebron, Jericho, Galgal, and the Dead Sea,—and in the north, Sichem, Mount Tabor, Nazareth, the Sea of Galilee, and the sources of the Jordan. After extending his travels as far as Tyre and Damascus,

and returning to Jerusalem, he sailed from Joppa to Alexandria, taking forty days to accomplish the voyage. From Egypt he passed to Crete, spending some days there, and thence to Constantinople, where he stayed for some months—from Easter to Christmas. On his voyage homewards he visited Sicily and proceeded to Rome. Here, however, his good fortune ceased, as the ship in which he had hoped to reach his home after leaving Rome was caught in a violent storm, which drove it so completely out of its course that it was cast on one of the western points of Scotland, and we find Arculf 'at length, after many dangers,' at Iona, the guest of Adamnan, the Abbot of the Monastery of Hy, who, according to Bede's narrative (book v., cap. 15), 'found him to be learned in the Scriptures, and acquainted with the Holy Places, so that he received him most willingly, and heard him more willingly; so much so that he himself caused to be at once committed to writing whatever he testified to be worthy of mention of all that he had seen in the Holy Places.' Adamnan, in his own narrative, represents himself as sedulously asking Arculf to tell him his experiences, and writing them down at once, as they were dictated, on waxed tablets, from which he afterwards compiled this work, with such additional information as he thought it advisable to insert from the works of other writers with which he was acquainted, and with the omission of a good deal of matter which was already sufficiently well known from those other works. Arculf had, in part of his travels, been accompanied by a Burgundian monk, whom he calls Peter, who acted as his guide, and of whose haste he at times complains. Peter, according to one MS. (Codex Caduinenis), had been for a long time in exile for the Lord's sake: he was well acquainted with the Holy Places in Palestine, and he is represented as living in a 'solitary place,' which he was apparently desirous of

returning to more hurriedly than accorded with the wishes of his companion.

It would be out of place to enter here on any general details as to the life and position of Adamnan, who is the actual writer of this work. A native of Ireland (probably of Donegal), where he was born in 624, belonging to a noble family, he is first known to us as entering the brotherhood of Iona, probably during the abbacy of Seghine, fifth abbot, 623-652. Here, during several years, he so commended himself to his brethren by his character and his learning, that on the death of Failbhe, eighth abbot, in 679, he was elected his successor. He had at some time or other, whether in Ireland or in Iona, been brought in contact with Aldfrid, the exiled prince of Northumbria, who is spoken of in the Irish legends as the 'alumnus' of Adamnan. Whatever this relationship may have actually been, it led Adamnan, on the restoration of Aldfrid in 685, to undertake an embassy to his court, with a view (apparently) to plead the cause of some Irish captives. It is in his account of this visit to Aldfrid that the Venerable Bede introduces his reference to this work: 'This same man wrote a book about the Holy Places, which is most useful to many readers; its real author, by instruction and by dictation, was Arculfus, a French Bishop (Galliarum Episcopus), who for the sake of the Holy Places had gone to Jerusalem, and having passed over all the Land of Promise, visited also Damascus, Constantinople, Alexandria, and many islands of the sea; and as he was returning to his native land by sea, he was carried by the violence of a tempest to the western shores of Britain: and after many [dangers], he came to that servant of Christ, who has been mentioned, Adamnan, who found him to be learned in the Scriptures, and acquainted with the Holy Places, so that he received him most willingly, and heard him more willingly;

so much so that he himself caused to be at once committed to writing whatever he testified to be worthy of mention of all that he had seen in the Holy Places. And he made a work, as I have said, which is of much use, and specially so to those who are so far distant from those places in which the patriarchs and the apostles lived that they can learn as to them only what they can inform themselves about by reading. Now, Adamnan brought this book to King Aldfrid, and by his liberality it was read by men of humbler station. The writer also was himself presented by him with many gifts, and sent back to his country' ('Eccles. Hist.,' book v., cap. 15). The presentation of the work to Aldfrid is postponed by Dr. Reeves to a second journey made by Adamnan in 688, when he stayed for some time in Northumbria.

The work, 'De Locis Sanctis,' thus written by Adamnan, is divided into three books; the first two of which are of about the same length, the third much shorter. The First Book opens with a description of the city of Jerusalem, and proceeds to describe the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the neighbouring buildings, the description being of the greatest importance, as showing the actual position (at least, as understood by the writer) at a period separated from that of Antoninus Martyr, the next preceding pilgrim whose narrative is in our possession, by the Persian invasion under Chosroes II., when the city was all but ruined, and by that of the Arabs under the Caliph Omar. It has not been found to be practicable to insert in this volume a satisfactory note on these details as recorded from Arculf's account, but this will follow later. The narrative is interrupted by a long, and to the modern mind most useless, chapter as to the napkin that covered the head of the Lord in the sepulchre, and it is followed in this book by an account of the sites in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the

Mount of Olives, and Bethany. The Second Book opens with Southern Palestine, represented by Bethlehem and Hebron, with the places of interest in their neighbourhood; it then brings us again northward to Jericho, the Dead Sea, and the different Holy Places on and near the Jordan; thence it passes somewhat erratically over Shechem, Mount Tabor, Nazareth, the Sea of Galilee, the sources of the Jordan, and closes with allusions to Damascus and Tyre, and a longer description of Alexandria, with its harbour. The Third Book describes Constantinople, relates some marvellous incidents in connection with St. George the Confessor, and, after a reference to Mount Vulcan, closes with an Epilogue.

The work appears to have attained very considerable acceptance over Europe. Disfigured as it is to our minds, no less by the insertion of much that is now regarded as simply rubbish, than by the omission of so much that we should have greatly welcomed, the numerous copies of it scattered over the Continent show the esteem in which it was held. The Venerable Bede prepared an abbreviation of it, which is also translated in this volume, and of which he inserted some portions in his history. In addition to the MSS. used by Dr. Tobler for his edition of the work, copies are found at the monastery of S. Germanus a Pratis (eighth century, probably the Corbey MS. used by Mabillon for his edition), at Berne (tenth century), at Rheinau (eleventh century), and at Salzburg (ninth or tenth century) (Reeves, pp. 8, 58). The first printed edition was published by Gretser, at Ingoldstadt, in 1619, from a MS. sent to him by Father Rosweyd 'ex intima Holandia' (Proleg., p. 22). The text was again published, at Venice, in 1734, from better manuscripts, by Mabillon (Actt. SS. Ord. Bened., sæc. iii., part 2).

A certain special interest would attach to this work, as

the undoubted composition of a prior of the Scotie monastery of Iona, and some information might be gathered from it as to the exact belief of the Celtic Church on certain questions, were it not that Adamnan labours under the disadvantage for this purpose of having so strenuously endeavoured to introduce the Roman usages into that Church. The tract must have been written before the second visit to King Aldfrid, during which his discussions with Ceolfrid, Abbot of Jarrow, as to Easter and the tonsure, resulted in his adoption of the Roman usage; but it seems scarcely possible to use it in this connection, although one who has studied the question closely might be able to make some interesting deductions as to the customs of the Celtic Church.

Dr. Reeves, the editor of Adamnan's other work, 'The Life of St. Columba' (published for the Irish Archæological and Celtic Society, Dublin, 1857; republished, with a translation, in the series of 'The Historians of Scotland,' Edinburgh, Edmonston and Douglas, 1874; the references are to the former edition), says (p. lxi.) that 'Of Adamnan's two Latin works, the tract 'De Locis Sanctis' is the better written and more flowing; but it bears a striking resemblance to the other in many particulars of style, and the use of peculiar words and phrases.' As to the latter, one has only, after studying the Latin text of the present work, to turn to the Glossary provided by Dr. Reeves, in order to realize how similar the vocabulary of the two works is. [I have to express my indebtedness to this Glossary for aid in one or two cases, such as the peculiar use of 'pyramis,' pp. 30, 31.] But if this work is really the better written and more flowing of the two, one may express one's condolence with Dr. Reeves in the difficulty of the task he undertook, for even in this tract there are several passages in which the author's meaning is scarcely

distinguishable, and where all one can do is to make what seems to be the best guess at the translation. This has been specially the case in the chapter dealing with Alexandria; and a very distinguished friend, whose assistance was asked as to another passage, p. 37, characterizes the connection of the words as passing all human comprehension. Among the marked peculiarities that one at once recognises with Dr. Reeves, are 'the liberal employment of diminutives, so characteristic of Irish composition, used without any grammatical force, and commutable, in the same chapters, with their primitives;' 'the use of frequentatives and intensives;' the occasional use of Greek or Greco-Latin words; 'above all, the artificial, and often unnatural, interweaving of his words in long sentences, and the oft-recurring ablative absolute in awkward position' (Reeves, p. lxi.).

Reference has been made already to the abbreviation of Adamnan's narrative made by the Venerable Bede, and a translation of this work is also included in this volume. Nothing need be said as to its author, and it is useless to ask whether there can have been any connection at all between him and Adamnan. He professes to have done nothing more than 'follow trustworthy histories, and especially that of Arculf, a Bishop of Gaul' (p. 87). He has not in any way felt bound to follow the order of the former work, but has at times shown considerable ingenuity in passing from page to page. He traverses practically the whole range of that narrative, but in about one-third of the space.

Bede, after referring to the work of Adamnan in the passage already quoted, devotes two chapters of his 'Ecclesiastical History' (book v., 16, 17) to extracts from this work of his own in which he has abbreviated the longer narrative. It seems to have been generally assumed

that the extracts are from the larger work, and Bede has used words in introducing them that certainly favour the idea and might mislead writers; but they are taken almost word for word from the shorter tract, and differ altogether both in form and in language from the former text. They consist of the following passages: cap. viii., § 1, except the last sentence; cap. ii., § 1; cap. vii., § 1; cap. ix., except the last sentence. The misapprehension as to the exact source has been shared by Dr. Reeves in both editions of his 'Life of St. Columba,' and also in his article on 'Adamnan' in Dr. Smith's 'Dictionary of Christian Biography' (vol. i., p. 42), as well as Mr. Deedes in his article on 'Arculf' in that Dictionary (vol. i., p. 154). The tract has apparently been at times known as 'Libellus de Situ Jerusalem, sive de Locis Sanctis,' and is referred to only under the former part of this title by the Bishop of Oxford, in his notice of 'Bede' in the same work (vol. i., p. 303), but there is no reason for regarding this otherwise than as a mistake.

The translation has been made as literal as possible in passages where the exact rendering was of any controversial or archæological importance, as in the description of sites and buildings; but in some other cases greater freedom has been used. There has been inserted as an Appendix, at the suggestion of Sir Charles W. Wilson, the rendering of some passages as given in Professor Willis' 'Holy Sepulchre.' Sir Charles Wilson has also contributed some notes of special value, besides making several important suggestions as to the translation.

The text used is that of the Société de l'Orient Latin, (*Itinera et Descriptiones Terræ Sanctæ Lingua Latina, Sæc. IV.-XI. Exarata, sumptibus Societatis Illustrandis Orientis Latini Monumentis, edidit T. Tobler, Geneva, 1877, i., pp. 139-240*). The variations of the different MSS. have

been noted when the sense was in any way affected, and the readings of the Codex Caduinus have been specially noted. That MS. of the twelfth century gives a greatly abbreviated text, with a few interesting additions. These additions are always given, but the notice of the omissions would have involved the preparation of a separate translation, which would have been without any gain. Tobler has in a similar way appended to the text of Bede the somewhat shorter text of the Codex Wirziburgensis, a MS. of the ninth century, but in this case there are no such additions to note.

The following are the MSS. used by Tobler :

ARCULFUS DE LOCIS SANCTIS.

- L. British Museum, Cotton. Tib. D.V., folio, viii.-ix. cent.
- B. Public Library of Brussels, 292, small quarto, ix. cent.
- Bern. Library of the City of Berne, 582, quarto, ix. cent.
- P. National Library, Paris, Lat. 13048, ix. cent.
- P. National Library of Paris, Lat. 12943, xi. cent.
- G. Abbey of St. Gall, 320, small octavo, xii. cent.
- C. Abbey of Caduinum, smallest folio, xii. cent.
- V. Vatican Library, 636, A, folio, xiii. cent.
- R. Library of Queen Christina (Rome), 618, xv. cent.

BEDA VENERABILIS DE LOCIS SANCTIS.

- Ma. Public Royal Library of Monaco, 6389, quarto, ix. cent.
- W. Library of the University of Wirtzburg, Mp. Th. f. 74, folio, ix. cent.
- Med. Ambrosian Library of Milan, x. cent.
- Pa. National Library of Paris, Lat. 2321, x. cent.
- Mb. Public Royal Library of Monaco, 13002, larger folio, xii. cent.
- Pb. National Library of Paris, Lat. 14797, xii. cent.

L. British Museum, Cotton. Faust. A., vii., quarto, xii.-xiii. cent.

O. Lincoln's College, Oxford, 96, xiii. cent.

Pc. National Library of Paris, Lat. 12277, xv. cent.

References to Antoninus Martyr, the Bordeaux Pilgrim, the Abbot Daniel, etc., are to the translations already published by this Society.

References to Dr. Reeves' works are to the edition of the 'Life of St. Columba' published at the University Press, Dublin, for the Irish Archæological and Celtic Society, 1857.

J. R. M

ARCULF'S NARRATIVE ABOUT THE HOLY PLACES, WRITTEN BY ADAMNAN.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, I am about to write a book concerning the Holy Places.

Arculf, a holy bishop, a Gaul by nation, well acquainted with many far distant lands, a truthful and right worthy witness,¹ who dwelt in the city of Jerusalem for a space of nine months, and examined the Holy Places by daily visits, told me, Adamnan, all that is hereafter to be written, as I sedulously asked him to tell me his experiences, which at first I wrote down on tablets as he dictated in a faithful and unimpeachable narrative, and now briefly inscribe upon parchment [membranes].²

¹ 'Judge,' *B.*, *P.* 12943, *C.*

² 'This record is an important item in the history of writing, as showing the collateral and respective uses among the Irish of waxed tablets and membranes for literary purposes, towards the close of the seventh century' (Reeves, p. lviii.). Compare, pp. 5, 8; also, 'I noted down a brief but faithful abridgment of it in my tablets, which I will now endeavour to commit succinctly to my parchment' (Orderic, quoted by Dean Church, 'St. Anselm,' 1888, p. 55). In the first sentence, the word used for 'write' means literally 'scratch,' denoting the action of the stylus in wax.

B O O K I.

I.—THE SITUATION OF JERUSALEM, THE GATES OF THE CITY, THE YEARLY MARKET, THE SITE OF THE TEMPLE, THE ORATORY OF THE SARACENS, THE GREAT HOUSES.

AS to the situation of Jerusalem, we shall now write a few of the details that the sainted Arculf dictated to me, Adamnan; but what is found in the books of others as to the position of that city, we shall pass over. In the great circuit of its walls, Arculf counted eighty-four towers and twice three gates, which are placed in the following order in the circuit of the city: The Gate of David, on the west side of Mount Sion, is reckoned first; second, the Gate of the Place of the Fuller¹; third, the Gate of St. Stephen;

¹ The reading of *C.* in this passage is: 'Second, the Gate of the Fuller's Road; third, the Gate of St. Stephen, where he was stoned; fourth, the Gate of Benjamin; fifth, a small gate, where one hastens down by steps to the Valley of Josaphat; sixth, the Gate Thecuitis.' As to the position of these gates, see 'The City of Jerusalem,' p. 4. I. The Gate of David must have been close to the present Jaffa Gate. Somewhat to the north of it, a wall was built across the northern brow of Mount Sion to the edge of the cliff overhanging the causeway at Wilson's Arch (cf. Bord. Pil., p. 59). There was no gate in this wall, or in the wall leading northwards from it. II. The 'Gate of the Place of the Fuller' must have been to the west of the Damascus Gate; 'its name "Porta Villæ [Viæ C.] Fullonis" being so named from "the Highway of the Fuller's Field" (Isaiah vii. 3). Villa is used in the sense of "field" by the Bordeaux Pilgrim, "ubi positus est Joseph in villa quam dedit ei Jacob" (p. 18). It also means "farm," "country house," or "place," as in the "Villa Pampati," "Villa Job," etc., of the Bordeaux Pilgrim; and the "Villa Publica" or "Place of Assembly" in the Campus Martius [C. W. W.]. It is the 'Postern of St. Lazarus' of the Crusaders. III. The 'Gate of St. Stephen' is the present Damascus

fourth, the Gate of Benjamin; fifth, a portlet, that is a little gate, by which is the descent by steps to the Valley of Josaphat; sixth, the Gate Thecuitis.

This then is the order round the intervals between those gates and towers: from the above-mentioned gate of David it turns towards the northern part of the circuit, and thence towards the east. But although six gates are counted in the walls, yet of those the entries of three gates are more commonly frequented; one to the west, another to the north, a third to the east; while that part of the walls with its interposed towers, which extends from the above-mentioned Gate of David across the northern brow of Mount Sion¹ (which overhangs the city from the south), as far as the face of that mountain which looks eastwards, where the rock is precipitous, is proved to have no gates.

But this too, it seems to me, should not be passed over, which the sainted Arculf, formerly spoken of, told us as to the honour of that city in Christ: On the fifteenth day of the month of September yearly, an almost countless multitude of various nations is in the habit of gathering from all sides to Jerusalem for the purposes of commerce by mutual sale and purchase. Whence it necessarily happens that crowds of various nations stay in that hospitable city for some days, while the very great number of their camels and

Gate, see Abbot Daniel, Appendix I. IV. The Gate of Benjamin is the Bab ez Zahrah, or Herod's Gate, east of the Damascus Gate (now closed). V. This Postern must have been near the Golden Gate (closed); it is alluded to by Antoninus, p. 14. VI. The Gate Thecuitis by which is probably meant the Gate of Tekoa (the 'Thecua' of St. Paula, p. 10, now Khurbet Tekûa), is now the Bab el Maghâribeh, or the Dung Gate, on the south wall towards the east. The names of the gates have varied very greatly, and have been to a considerable extent interchanged at different periods.

¹ On the position of Sion, as accepted in the fourth and following centuries, see Bord. Pil., Appendix IV., pp. 56-62.

horses and asses, not to speak of mules and oxen, for their varied¹ baggage, strews the streets of the city here and there with the abominations of their excrements: the smell of which brings no ordinary nuisance to the citizens and even makes walking difficult. Wonderful to say, on the night after the above-mentioned day of departure with the various beasts of burden of the crowds, an immense abundance of rain falls from the clouds on that city, which washes all the abominable filths from the streets, and cleanses it from the uncleannesses. For the very situation of Jerusalem, beginning from the northern brow of Mount Sion, has been so disposed by its Founder, God, on a lofty² declivity, sloping down to the lower ground of the northern and eastern walls that that overabundance of rain cannot settle at all in the streets, like stagnant water, but rushes down, like rivers, from the higher to the lower ground: and further this inundation of the waters of heaven, flowing through the eastern gates, and bearing with it all the filthy abominations, enters the Valley of Josaphat and swells the torrent of Cedron: and after having thus baptized Jerusalem, this overabundance of rain always ceases. Hence therefore we must in no negligent manner note in what honour this chosen and glorious city is held in the sight of the Eternal Sire,³ Who does not permit it to remain longer filthy, but because of the honour of His Only Begotten cleanses it so quickly, since it has within the circuit of its walls the honoured sites of His sacred Cross and Resurrection.

But in that renowned⁴ place where once the Temple had been magnificently constructed, placed in the neighbourhood of the wall from the east, the Saracens now frequent a four-sided house of prayer, which they have built rudely,

¹ 'Of the different carriers,' *G.*

² 'Slight' in MSS. except *L.*

³ 'Judge and Sire,' *B., V., R.*

⁴ 'Beautiful,' in some MSS.

constructing it by raising boards and great beams on some remains of ruins: this house can, it is said, hold three thousand men at once.

Arculf, when we asked him about the dwellings of that city, answered: 'I remember that I both saw and visited many buildings of that city, and that I very often observed a good many great houses¹ of stone through the whole of the large city, surrounded by walls, formed with marvellous skill.' But all these we must now, I think, pass over, with the exception of the structure of those buildings which have been marvellously built in the Holy Places, those namely of the Cross and the Resurrection: as to these we asked Arculf very carefully, especially as to the Sepulchre of the Lord and the Church constructed over it, the form of which Arculf himself depicted for me on a tablet covered with wax.²

II.—THE ROUND CHURCH BUILT ABOVE THE SEPULCHRE OF THE LORD.

And certainly this very great Church,³ the whole of which is of stone, was formed of marvellous roundness in every part, rising up from the foundations in three walls, which have one roof at a lofty elevation,⁴ having a broad pathway between each wall and the next; there are also three altars in three dexterously formed places of the middle wall.⁵ This round and very large church, with the above-mentioned altars, looking one to the south, another to the north, a third towards the west, is supported

¹ 'Domos grandes.' The phrase 'domus magna,' or 'major,' is used by Adamnan in his 'Life of St. Columba' in the sense of 'monastery.' (Reeves, p. 216 n.)

² Compare p. I.

³ For Professor Willis' translation, see Appendix.

⁴ 'Which . . . elevation' in *L.* only.

⁵ 'In the middle of the wall,' *G.*

by twelve stone columns of marvellous size. It has twice four gates, that is four entrances, through three firmly built walls which break upon the pathways in a straight line, of which four means of exit look to the north-east¹ (which is also called the 'cecias' wind), while the other four look to the south-east.

III.—THE FORM OF THE SEPULCHRE ITSELF AND ITS LITTLE CABIN.

In the middle of the interior of this round house is a round cabin (*tugurium*)² cut out in one and the same rock, in which thrice³ three men can pray standing; and from the head of a man of ordinary stature as he stands, up to the arch of that small house, a foot and a half is measured upwards. The entrance of this little cabin looks to the east, and the whole outside is covered with choice marble, while its highest point is adorned with gold, and supports a golden cross of no small size. In the northern part of this cabin is the Sepulchre of the Lord, cut out in the same rock in the inside, but the pavement of the cabin is lower than the place of the Sepulchre; for from its pavement up to the

¹ *Vulturinus*, variously explained as the north-east and as the south-east wind; here (and in Bede, p. 69) the former. *Cecias* is the Greek *κακίας*, the north-east wind. (The MSS. give the various readings 'calcias,' 'calceas,' 'hetias,' 'caluar.')

² The words 'tugurium,' 'tuguriolum,' used here interchangeably (see p. xvii.), are of frequent occurrence in Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, used specially of the abbot's *domus*, or *hospitium*, or *hospitiolum*, at some distance from the huts of wattles or of wood in which the other members of the community lived; it was built of wood with joists, and stood on an eminence; here the founder sat and wrote, or read. The other huts are often spoken of as *cellulae*, the word used in describing the monastery on Mount Tabor, p. 46. The form *tegurium* of some MSS. is the Irish orthography (Reeves, pp. 360, 455). It is difficult to find a suitable rendering for the word here. At Sir Charles Wilson's suggestion, Professor Willis' translation, *cabin*, has been adopted.

³ 'Three,' *B., Bern., G., C.*

edge of the side of the Sepulchre a measure¹ of about three palms is reckoned. So Arculf, who used often to visit the Sepulchre of the Lord and measured it most accurately, told me.

Here we must refer to the difference of names between the Tomb and the Sepulchre ; for that round cabin which we have often mentioned, the Evangelists called by another name, the Tomb : they speak of the stone rolled to its mouth, and rolled back from its mouth, when the Lord rose. That place in the cabin is properly called the Sepulchre, which is in the northern side of the Tomb, in which the body of the Lord, when buried, rested, rolled in the linen cloths : the length of which Arculf measured with his own hand and found to be seven feet. Now this Sepulchre is not, as some think, double, having a projection left from the solid rock, parting and separating the two legs and the two thighs, but is wholly single, affording a bed capable of holding a man lying on his back from his head even to his soles. It is in the manner of a cave, having its opening at the side, and opposite² the south part of the sepulchral chamber. The low roof is artificially wrought above it. In the Sepulchre there are further twelve lamps according to the number³ of the twelve Apostles, always burning day and night, four of which are placed down below in the lowest part of the sepulchral bed, while the other twice four are placed higher above its edge on the right hand ; they shine brightly, being nourished with oil.

But it seems that this also should be noted, that the Mausoleum or Sepulchre of the Saviour (that is, the often-

¹ 'From knee' or 'thumb to ear,' *B.*, *V.* *C.* reads, 'From the pavement to the Sepulchre of the Lord where He lay, is a height of four fingers.'

² 'A cave having in the entrance an altar opposite,' *L.*

³ 'Rule,' 'names,' in some MSS.

mentioned cabin), may rightly be called a Grot or Cave, concerning which, that is to say, concerning our Lord Jesus Christ being buried in it, the prophet prophesied : 'He shall dwell in a most lofty cave of a most strong rock.'¹ And a little after, to gladden the Apostles, there is inserted about the Resurrection of the Lord : 'Ye shall see the King with glory.'²

The frontispiece shows, accordingly, the form of the above-named church with the round little cabin placed in its centre, in the northern side of which is the Sepulchre of the Lord, and also the forms of the other three churches about which we shall speak below.

We have drawn these figures of the four churches according to the model which, as has been said above, the sainted Arculf drew on a waxed tablet,³ not that a likeness of them can be given in a drawing, but in order that the Tomb of the Lord, be it in however poor a representation, may be shown placed in the middle of the round church, and that the church more properly belonging to this, or the one placed further off, may be made clear.

IV.—THE STONE THAT WAS ROLLED TO THE MOUTH OF THE TOMB, WHICH THE ANGEL OF THE LORD, DESCENDING FROM HEAVEN AFTER HIS RESURRECTION, ROLLED BACK ; THE CHAPEL, AND THE SEPULCHRE.

But among these things, it seems that one ought to tell briefly about the stone, mentioned above, which was rolled to the mouth of the Tomb of the Lord, after the burial of the crucified Lord slain⁴ by many men : which, Arculf relates, was broken and divided into two parts, the smaller of which, rough hewn with tools, is seen placed as a square

Isaiah xxxiii. 16.

See page 1.

² *Ibid.* v. 17.

⁴ 'Betrayed' in MSS. except *L.*

altar in the round church, described above, before the mouth of that often-mentioned cabin, that is, the Lord's Tomb; while the larger part of that stone, equally hewn around, stands fixed in the eastern part of that church as another four-sided altar under linen cloths.

As to the colours of that rock, in which that often-mentioned chapel was hollowed out by the tools of hewers, which has, in its northern side, the Sepulchre of the Lord cut out of one and the same rock in which is also the Tomb, that is, the cabin, Arculf when questioned by me, said: That Cabin of the Lord's Tomb is in no way ornamented on the inside, and shows even to this day over all its surface the traces of the tools, which the hewers or excavators used in their work: the colour of that rock both of the Tomb and of the Sepulchre is not one, but two colours seem to have been intermingled, namely red and white, whence also that rock appears two-coloured. But as to these points let what has been said suffice.

V.—THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY WHICH ADJOINS THE ROUND CHURCH.

As to the buildings of the holy places, some few details must be added. The four-sided Church of St. Mary, the mother of the Lord, is adjoined on the right side by that round church which has been so often mentioned above, and which is also called the Anastasis, that is the Resurrection, because it was built on the spot of the Lord's Resurrection.

VI.—THE CHURCH THAT IS BUILT ON THE SITE OF CALVARY.

Another very large church, looking eastwards, has been built on that place which, in Hebrew, is called Golgotha,¹

¹ C. adds, 'but in Latin, Mount Calvary.'

high up in which a great circular chandelier of brass with lamps is hung by ropes, below which has been set up a great cross of silver, fixed in the same spot where once stood fixed the wooden Cross, on which suffered the Saviour of the human race.

In the same church a cave has been cut out in the rock below the site of the Cross of the Lord, where sacrifice is offered on an altar for the souls of certain specially honoured persons whose bodies are meanwhile placed lying in a court¹ before the gate of that Church of Golgotha, until the holy mysteries on their behalf are finished.

VII.—THE BASILICA WHICH CONSTANTINE BUILT CLOSE TO THE ABOVE-NAMED CHURCH ON THE SPOT WHERE THE CROSS OF THE LORD, WHICH HAD BEEN BURIED IN RUINS, WAS FOUND, WHEN AFTER MANY CENTURIES THE EARTH WAS DUG UP.

This four-sided church, built on the site of Calvary, is adjoined on the east by the neighbouring stone Basilica, constructed with great reverence by King Constantine which is also called the Martyrium,² built, as is said, on that spot where the Cross of the Lord, which had been hidden away under the earth, was found with the other two crosses of the robbers, after a period of two hundred and thirty-three years, by the permission of the Lord Himself.

VIII.—THE SITE OF THE ALTAR OF ABRAHAM.

Between these two churches lies that illustrious place where the patriarch Abraham built an altar,³ laid on it the

¹ 'Platea,' see next page, note 1.

² 'Monastery' in some MSS. 'Arculf appears to have applied to the Basilica the name of "The Martyrium of the Resurrection," given by Eusebius to the whole group of Constantine's buildings,' *C. W. W.*

³ On 'The Altar of Abraham,' see Abbot Daniel, Appendix II., p. 96.

pile of wood, and seized the drawn sword to offer in sacrifice his own son, Isaac : where is now a wooden table of considerable size on which the alms of the poor are offered by the people. This also the sainted Arculf added, as I enquired of him more diligently : Between the Anastasis, that is the round church we have often mentioned above, and the Basilica of Constantine, lies a small square extending to the Church of Golgotha, where lamps burn always by day and night.¹

IX.—THE RECESS SITUATED BETWEEN THE CHURCH OF CALVARY AND THE BASILICA OF CONSTANTINE, IN WHICH ARE KEPT THE CUP OF THE LORD AND THE SPONGE FROM WHICH, AS HE HUNG ON THE TREE, HE DRANK VINEGAR AND WINE.

Between that Basilica of Golgotha and the Martyrium² there is a recess (exedra)³ in which is the Cup of the Lord, which He blessed and gave with His own hand to the Apostles in the supper on the day before He suffered, as He and they sat at meat with one another ; the cup is of silver, holding the measure of a French quart,⁴ and has two little handles placed on it, one on each side. In this cup also is the sponge which those who were crucifying the Lord filled with vinegar and, putting it on hyssop, offered

¹ C. reads, 'Between these churches is a small square covered with marble, extending as far as the Basilica of Constantine and the Church of Golgotha, which is extremely beautiful.' The word here rendered 'small square' is *plateola*, 'a green' or 'a court' within the enclosure of a Scotie monastery, surrounding or beside which were the lodgings of the community (Reeves, p. 360).

² 'Testimony,' B., P. 12943, V., R.

³ 'Exedra' is a small chamber, or chapel, attached to the side of a church ; the 'cubiculum' or 'separatum conclave' of the Scotie monastery. The Greek word (*ἑξέδρα*) is of frequent occurrence in Josephus in reference to the Temple (Reeves, pp. 224, 444).

⁴ *Sextarius*, the sixth part of a *congius*, or gallon.

to His mouth. From the same cup, as is said, the Lord drank after His Resurrection, as He sat at meat with the apostles. The sainted Arculf saw it and touched it with his own hand, and kissed it through the opening of the perforated cover of the case within which it is concealed: indeed, the whole people of the city resort greatly to this cup with immense veneration.

X.—THE SPEAR OF THE SOLDIER WITH WHICH HE
PIERCED THE SIDE OF THE LORD.

Arculf also saw that spear of the soldier with which he smote through the side of the Lord as He hung on the Cross. The spear is fixed in a wooden cross in the portico of the Basilica of Constantine, its shaft being broken into two parts: and this also the whole city of Jerusalem resorts to, kisses, and venerates.

XI.—THE NAPKIN WITH WHICH THE HEAD OF THE
LORD WAS COVERED IN THE SEPULCHRE.¹

As to the sacred napkin which was placed upon the head² of the Lord in the Sepulchre, we learn from the narrative of the sainted Arculf, who inspected it with his own eyes.

The whole people of Jerusalem bear witness to the truth of the narrative we now write. For on the testimony of several faithful citizens of Jerusalem, the sainted Arculf learned this statement which they very often repeated to him as he listened attentively: A certain trustworthy believing Jew, immediately after the Resurrection of the Lord, stole from His Sepulchre the sacred linen cloth and hid it in his house for many days; but, by the favour of the Lord Himself, it was found after the lapse of many years, and was brought

¹ C. places this chapter at the end of the first Book.

² C. adds, 'and the body.'

to the notice of the whole people about three years¹ before [this statement was made to Arculf].² That happy, faithful thief, when at the point of death, sent for his two sons, and, showing them the Lord's napkin, which he had at first abstracted furtively, offered it to them, saying : ' My boys, the choice is now given to you. Therefore let each of you say which he rather wishes to choose, so that I may know without doubt to which of you, according to his own choice, I shall bequeathe all the substance I have, and to which only this sacred napkin of the Lord.' On hearing this, the one who wished to obtain all his sire's wealth, received it from his father, according to a promise made to him under the will. Marvellous to say, from that day all his riches and all his patrimony, on account of which he sold the Lord's napkin, began to decrease, and all that he had was lost by various misfortunes and came to nothing. While the other blessed son of the above-named blessed thief, who chose the Lord's napkin in preference to all his patrimony, from the day when he received it from the hand of his dying sire, became, by the gift of God, more and more rich in earthly substance, and was by no means deprived of heavenly treasure. And thus this napkin of the Lord was faithfully handed down as an heirloom by the successive heirs of this thrice blessed man to their believing sons in regular succession, even to the fifth generation. But many years having now passed, believing heirs of that kindred failed, after the fifth generation, and the sacred linen cloth came into the hands of unbelieving

¹ 'Three hundred' is suggested by various editors.

² C. reads, instead of next three sentences, ' And when he was at the point of death, he said to his two sons : My sons, who of you would wish faithfully to receive the napkin of the Lord? On hearing this, the one who had received his sire's wealth according to his will, received the napkin that has been spoken of, and sold it to his own brother.'

Jews, who, while unworthy of such an office, yet embraced it honourably and, by the gift of the Divine bounty, were greatly enriched with very diverse riches. But an accurate narrative about the Lord's napkin having spread among the people, the believing Jews began to contend bravely with the unbelieving Jews about the sacred linen cloth, desiring with all their might to obtain possession of it, and the strife that arose divided the common people of Jerusalem into two parties, the faithful believers and the faithless unbelievers.

Upon this, Mavias,¹ the King of the Saracens, was appealed to by both parties to adjudicate between them, and he said to the unbelieving Jews who were persistently retaining the Lord's napkin:² 'Give the sacred linen cloth which you have into my hand.' In obedience to the king's command, they bring it from its casket and place it in his bosom. Receiving it with great reverence, the king ordered a great fire to be made in the square before all the people, and while it was burning fiercely, he rose, and going up to the fire, addressed both contending parties in a loud voice: 'Now let Christ, the Saviour of the world, who suffered for the human race, upon whose head this napkin, which I now hold in my bosom, and as to which you are now contending, was placed in the Sepulchre, judge between you by the flame of fire, so that you may know to which of these two contending hosts this great gift may most worthily be entrusted.' Saying this, he threw the sacred napkin of the Lord into the flames, but the fire could in no way touch it, for, rising whole and untouched from the fire, it began to fly on high, like a bird with out-

¹ *L.*, 'Mavias'; *others*, 'Majuvias,' 'Navias'; *C.*, 'Nauvias.' Muâvia, the founder of the Omeyyad dynasty, Caliph of Syria, A.D. 658; sole Caliph, 661; died, 680.

² 'In the sight of the Christian Jews who were present,' *V., R., P.* 12943.

spread wings, and looking down from a great height on the two contending parties, placed opposite one another as if they were two armies in battle array, it flew round in mid air for some moments ; then slowly descending, under the guidance of God, it inclined towards the party of the Christians, who meanwhile prayed earnestly to Christ, the Judge, and finally it settled in their bosom. Raising their hands to heaven, and bending the knee with great gladness, they give thanks to God and receive the Lord's napkin with great honour, a gift to be venerated as sent to them from heaven ; they render praises in their hymns to Christ, who gave it, and they cover it up in another linen cloth and put it away in a casket of the church.

Our brother Arculf saw it one day taken out of the casket, and amid the multitude of the people that kissed it, he himself kissed it in an assembly of the church ; it measures about eight feet¹ in length.² As to it let what has been said suffice.

¹ 'Cubits' in some MSS.

² On the margin of *C.* there is added in the handwriting of the fifteenth century : 'But afterwards it came into the possession of the Bishop of Anicia, who had made a voyage in the districts beyond the sea ; and he, dying there, gave it to one who was his priest. This priest also died as he was crossing the sea, leaving the precious gift to a cleric who served him. He, when he was in the country of Petragora, where he was born, placed the napkin of the Lord in a church which was recommended to him, near Caduinum. And not long after he had left the church one day, a fire broke out in a [the nearest] farm and also in that church, and burned whatever it found ; but it did not touch the casket in which the napkin was preserved, and which was near the altar. On hearing this, some of the brothers, who were lately staying at Caduinum, hastened thither, and when they had found the casket, they broke it by force, and, taking the "barletum," where the napkin of the Lord was, they brought it with them very quickly and deposited it in their own monastery about the year of the Lord 1512. But the cleric, not finding the treasure, went on to Caduinum, and when he could not recover it, he put on the monk's habit, and as long as he lived, he guarded there what he had formerly possessed.'

XII.—ANOTHER SACRED LINEN CLOTH WHICH, AS IS SAID, ST. MARY THE VIRGIN, THE MOTHER OF THE LORD, WOVE.

Arculf saw also in that city of Jerusalem another linen cloth of larger size, which, as is said, St. Mary wove, and which, on that account, is held in great reverence in the Church and by all the people. In this linen cloth the forms of the twelve Apostles are woven, and the likeness of the Lord Himself is figured; one side of the linen cloth is of red colour, while the opposite side is green.¹

XIII.—THE LOFTY COLUMN SITUATED ON THE SPOT WHERE A DEAD YOUNG MAN CAME TO LIFE AGAIN, WHEN THE CROSS OF THE LORD WAS PLACED ON HIM; AND THE MIDDLE OF THE WORLD.

We must speak briefly about a very lofty column, standing in the middle of the city, which meets one coming from the sacred places northwards. This column is set up on that spot where a dead young man came to life again when the Cross of the Lord was placed on him, and marvellously in the summer solstice at mid-day, when the sun comes to the centre of the heaven, it casts no shadow; for when the solstice is passed, which is the 24th² of June, after three days, as the day gradually lessens, it first casts a short shadow, then a longer one as the days pass. Thus this column, which the brightness of the sun in the summer solstice at mid-day, as it stands in the centre of the heaven,³ shining straight down from above, shines upon all round from every quarter, proves that the city of Jerusalem is situated in the middle of the earth. Whence also the Psalmist, prophesying on account of the sacred sites of the

¹ 'Of the colour of green herbs,' *B.*, *P.* 12943.

² '23rd,' *L.*

³ 'Pole,' *B.*, *P.* 12943, *V.*, *R.*

Passion and the Resurrection which are contained within that Ælia, sings: 'But God, our King, before the ages has wrought salvation in the midst of the earth,'¹ that is, in Jerusalem, which, being in the middle, is also called the navel of the earth.²

XIV.—THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY BUILT IN THE VALLEY OF JOSAPHAT, IN WHICH IS HER TOMB.

That sedulous visitor of the Holy Places, the sainted Arculf, visited the Church of St. Mary,³ in the Valley of Josaphat, which is built in two stories, the lower of these being a round structure, under a marvellous stone roof, with an altar in its eastern part, while on the right side of it is the empty stone sepulchre of St. Mary, in which for a time she rested after her burial.⁴ But how or when or by whom her sacred body was raised from that sepulchre, or where it awaits the Resurrection, it is said that no one knows certainly.⁵ Those who enter this lower round Church of St. Mary see inserted, on the right of the wall, that stone above which, on the night when He was betrayed by Judas into the hands of sinful men, the Lord prayed in the field of Gethsemane, on bended knees, before the hour of His betrayal: and in this rock are seen the marks of His two knees, as if they had been very deeply impressed in the softest wax. Thus we were informed by our brother, the sainted Arculf, the visitor of the holy places, who with his own eyes saw what we describe. In the upper Church of St. Mary, which is also round, there are shown to be four altars.

¹ Psalm lxxiv. 12.

² Compare Abbot Daniel, pp. 13, 96; Quarterly Statement, October, 1888, pp. 260 ff.

³ Compare Ant. Mar., p. 14; Abbot Daniel, p. 23; Mukaddasi, p. 49.

⁴ *B.* adds, 'and belongs to the saints.'

⁵ 'As Jerome relates,' *C.*, *P.* 12943.

XV.—THE TOWER OF JOSAPHAT BUILT IN THE SAME VALLEY.

In the same valley that has been mentioned above, not far from the Church of St. Mary, is shown the Tower of Josaphat, in which his sepulchre is seen.

XVI.—THE TOMBS OF SIMEON AND JOSEPH.

This¹ little tower is joined on the right hand by a stone house, cut out of the rock and separated from the Mount of Olivet, within which are shown two sepulchres cut out with iron tools, destitute of ornament. One of these is that of Simeon, the just man, who, having embraced the little Infant, the Lord Jesus, in the Temple in both his hands, prophesied about Him. The other is that of Joseph, the spouse of St. Mary, and the upbringing of the Lord Jesus.

XVII.—THE CAVE IN THE ROCK OF THE MOUNT OF OLIVET, ACROSS THE VALLEY OF JOSAPHAT, IN WHICH ARE FOUR TABLES AND TWO WELLS.²

In the side of the Mount of Olivet is a cave, not far from the Church of St. Mary, placed on the higher ground across the Valley of Josaphat, having in it two very deep wells, one of which descends to a great depth under the mountain,³ while the other is in the pavement of the cave, its immense cavity being, as is said, directed in a straight course, descending into the depth; these two wells are always closed. In the same cave are four stone tables, of

¹ C. omits XV. and reads, 'Thence, not far from the Church of St. Mary, in which her sepulchre is seen, in that same Valley of Josaphat, is a little tower of stone, which is joined on its right side [?], cut out of the rock,' etc.

² 'The cave of the two wells,' *L.*, *P.* 13048.

³ *G.*; other MSS. read, 'is extended to a great distance at a profound depth.' *C.* has this reading, but adds, 'under the mountain.'

which the one nearest the entrance of the cave on the inside is that of our Lord Jesus Christ, His seat beyond doubt adjoining His little table ; here He was in the habit sometimes of sitting at meat with His twelve Apostles, who at the same time sat at the other tables in the same place. The closed mouth of the well, referred to above as being in the pavement of the cave, is shown to belong especially to the tables of the Apostles. The little doorway of this cave is closed by a wooden gate, as the sainted Arculf, who so often visited that cave of the Lord, relates.

XVIII.—THE GATE OF DAVID AND THE PLACE WHERE
JUDAS ISCARIOOTH HANGED HIMSELF BY A ROPE.

The Gate of David adjoins a slight rising of Mount Sion on the west. Those going out of the city through it, leaving the Gate and Mount Sion next their left hand, come to a stone bridge,¹ directed for some distance in a straight line across the valley to the south, raised on arches,² close to the middle of which, on the west side, is the spot where Judas of Iscarioth, driven by despair, hanged himself by a rope.³ There is still shown here to this day a fig-tree of large size, from the top of which, as is said, Judas hung in a halter, as Juvencus,⁴ a versifying presbyter, has sung :

‘From fig-tree top he snatched a shapeless death.’

¹ ‘Fountain’ in some MSS.

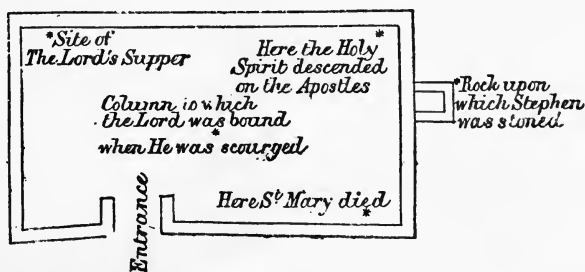
² C. adds, ‘It is through this gate that one leaves Jerusalem for the city of Samuel, which is called Ramatha, and for Cesarea of Palestine, as well as for Gaza.’

³ Compare Bord. Pil., p. 24, Ant., Mar., p. 15. The spot alluded to must be in Wâdy Rabâbeh.

⁴ C. Vettius Aquilinus Juvencus, a Spaniard by birth, the author of a *Historica Evangelica*, ‘an hexameter poem on our Lord’s life, based upon the Gospels,’ ‘the first Christian epic.’ (See Smith’s *Dict. of Christian Biog.*, vol. iii., pp. 598 f.)

XIX.—THE FORM OF THE GREAT BASILICA BUILT ON MOUNT SION, AND THE SITUATION OF THAT MOUNTAIN.

Mention was made of Mount Sion a little above, and here a short and succinct notice must be inserted of a great Basilica constructed there, a drawing of which is given here :



PLAN OF THE BASILICA ON MOUNT SION, SHOWING THE SITES ON THE SUMMIT OF THE MOUNTAIN.

Here is shown the rock upon which Stephen, being stoned without the city, fell asleep. Beyond the great church described above, which embraces within its walls such holy places, there stands another memorable rock, on the west side of that on which, as is said, Stephen was stoned.¹ This Apostolical Church, as is said above, was built of stone on a level surface in the higher ground of Mount Sion.²

¹ *L.*; other MSS. read, 'the Lord was scourged.'

² *C.* reads for XIX., 'After this the sainted Arculf writes of that place where the Lord supped with His disciples, and where the Holy Spirit descended upon the Apostles on the holy day of Pentecost, where he says that a great church has been constructed on the top of Mount Sion, which is called the Apostles' Church. There is seen there the column where the Lord was scourged, and there is also shown there the rock on which St. Stephen was stoned; to the west there is another church, where the Lord was tried in the Pretorium of Pilate. Now we shall speak of the Mount of Olivet,' chap. 22. As to the traditions connected with the scenes of St. Stephen's martyrdom, burial, etc., see Abbot Daniel, Appendix I., pp. 83-90. As to the Church, see *ibid.*, pp. 36, 37.

XX.—THE LITTLE FIELD CALLED IN HEBREW AKEL-
DEMAC.

This small field,¹ which is situated towards the southern quarter of Mount Sion, was often visited by our Arculf; it has a stone boundary-wall, and in it a considerable number of pilgrims² are very carefully interred, while others are left unburied very carelessly, merely covered with rags or skins, and so, lying on the ground, putrefy.

XXI.—THE ROUGH AND ROCKY GROUND THAT EXTENDS
FAR AND WIDE, FROM JERUSALEM TO THE CITY OF
SAMUEL, AND TO CESAREA OF PALESTINE TOWARDS
THE WEST.

From Ælia northwards to the City of Samuel, which is called Armathem,³ the ground is rocky and rough, in which, however, there are intervening spaces, thorny valleys also lying up to the Tanitic region. Another description of country is seen from the above-named Ælia and Mount Sion westwards extending to Cesarea of Palestine; for though there may be at intervals some narrow, small, rough places, yet for the most part wider downs are met with, enlivened by olive groves scattered over them.

XXII.—THE MOUNT OF OLIVET, ITS HEIGHT, AND THE
CHARACTER OF ITS SOIL.

Other kinds of trees than the vine and the olive can, as Arculf relates, rarely be found on the Mount of Olivet, while very fine crops of corn and barley are raised on it.

¹ Compare, Ant. Mar., p. 22; Abbot Daniel, p. 38; City of Jerusalem, p. 20.

² 'Peregrinus' in Adamnan signifies 'pilgrim' (Reeves, Glossary). Cf. Todd's 'St. Patrick,' p. 261.

³ 'Armachim,' 'Ramathas,' in some MSS. The present Nebi Samwil, on the right of the old northerly road from Jaffa to Jerusalem.

For the character of that soil is shown not to be adapted for trees, but for grass and flowers. Its height, moreover, seems to be equal to that of Mount Sion,¹ although Mount Sion seems small and narrow when compared to the Mount of Olivet as regards its geometrical dimensions—namely, breadth and length. In the middle, between these two mountains, lies the Valley of Josaphat, of which we spoke above, stretching from north to south.

XXIII.—THE PLACE OF THE ASCENSION OF THE LORD
AND THE CHURCH BUILT ON IT.

On the whole Mount of Olivet there seems to be no spot higher than that from which the Lord is said to have ascended into the heavens, where there stands a great round church, having in its circuit three vaulted porticoes covered over above. The interior of the church, without roof or vault, lies open to heaven under the open air, having in its eastern side an altar protected under a narrow covering. So that in this way the interior has no vault,² in order that from the place where the Divine footprints are last seen,³ when the Lord was carried up into heaven in a cloud, the way may be always open and free to the eyes of those who pray towards heaven.⁴

For when this basilica, of which I have now made slight mention, was building, that place of the footprints of the Lord, as we find written elsewhere, could not be

¹ The summit of Mount Olivet is 2,693 feet above the sea-level; that of Mount Sion 2,550 feet.

² *G.*, other MSS. read, 'placed over it.' Compare Abbot Daniel, p. 25.

³ *L.*, other MSS. read, 'last stood.'

⁴ *C.*, having given this paragraph in an abbreviated form, adds only, 'In the pavement whence He ascended, His sacred footprints are seen to have been impressed.' The footprint of Christ is still shown on Mount Olivet, 'City of Jerusalem,' p. 40.

enclosed under the covering¹ with the rest of the buildings. Whatever was applied, the unaccustomed earth, refusing to receive anything human, cast back into the face of those who brought it. And, moreover, the mark of the dust that was trodden by the Lord is so lasting that the impression of the footsteps may be perceived; and although the faith of such as gather daily at the spot snatches away some of what was trodden by the Lord, yet the area perceives no loss, and the ground still retains that same appearance of being marked by the impress of footsteps.

Further, as the sainted Arculf, who carefully visited this spot, relates, a brass hollow cylinder of large circumference, flattened on the top, has been placed here, its height being shown by measurement to reach one's neck.² In the centre of it is an opening of some size, through which the uncovered marks of the feet of the Lord are plainly and clearly seen from above, impressed in the dust. In that cylinder there is, in the western side, as it were, a door; so that any entering by it can easily approach the place of the sacred dust, and through the open hole in the wheel may take up in their outstretched hands some particles of the sacred dust.

Thus the narrative of our Arculf as to the footprints of the Lord quite accords with the writings of others—to the effect that they could not be covered in any way, whether by the roof of the house or by any special lower and closer covering; so that they can always be seen by all that enter, and the marks of the feet of the Lord can be clearly seen depicted in the dust of that place. For these footprints of the Lord are lighted by the brightness of an immense lamp hanging on pulleys above that cylinder in the church, and burning day and night.

Further in the western side of the round church we have

¹ 'Pavement' in MSS.

² 'Head' in some MSS.

mentioned above, twice four windows have been formed high up with glazed shutters, and in these windows there burn as many lamps placed opposite them, within and close to them. These lamps hang in chains, and are so placed that each lamp may hang neither higher nor lower, but may be seen, as it were, fixed to its own window, opposite and close to which it is specially seen. The brightness of these lamps is so great¹ that, as their light is copiously poured through the glass from the summit of the Mountain of Olivet, not only is the part of the mountain nearest the round² basilica to the west illuminated, but also the lofty path which rises by steps up to the city of Jerusalem from the Valley of Josaphat, is clearly illuminated in a wonderful manner, even on dark nights; while the greater part of the city that lies nearest at hand on the opposite side is similarly illuminated by the same brightness. The effect of this brilliant and admirable coruscation of the eight great lamps shining by night from the holy mountain and from the site of the Lord's ascension, as Arculf related, is to pour into the hearts of the believing onlookers a greater eagerness³ of the Divine love, and to strike the mind with a certain fear along with vast inward compunction.

This also Arculf related to me about the same round church: That on the anniversary of the Lord's Ascension, at mid-day, after the solemnities of the Mass have been celebrated in that basilica, a most violent tempest of wind comes on regularly every year, so that no one can stand or sit in that church or in the neighbouring places, but all lie prostrate in prayer with their faces in the ground until that terrible tempest has passed.

The result of this terrific blast is that that part of the house cannot be vaulted over; so that above the spot where the

¹ Compare St. Paula, p. 10.

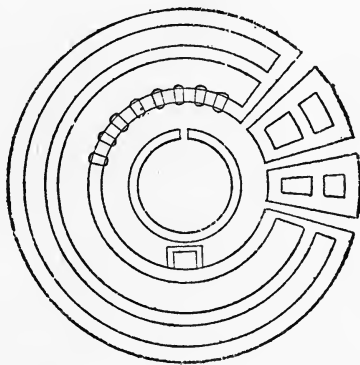
² 'Stone' in some MSS.

³ *V., R., add, 'or clearness.'*

footsteps of the Lord are impressed and are clearly shown, within the opening in the centre of the above-named cylinder, the way always appears open to heaven. For the blast of the above-mentioned wind destroyed, in accordance with the Divine will, whatever materials had been gathered for preparing a vault above it, if any human art made the attempt.

This account of this dreadful storm was given to us by the sainted Arculf, who was himself present in that Church of Mount Olivet at the very hour of the day of the Lord's Ascension when that fierce storm arose.

A drawing of this round church is shown below, however unworthily it may have been drawn ; while the form of the brass cylinder is also shown placed in the middle of the church.



PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF THE ASCENSION.

This also we learned from the narrative of the sainted Arculf: That in that round church, besides the usual light of the eight lamps mentioned above as shining within the church by night, there are usually added on the night of the Lord's Ascension almost innumerable other lamps, which by their terrible and admirable brightness, poured

abundantly through the glass of the windows, not only illuminate the Mount of Olivet, but make it seem to be wholly on fire ; while the whole city and the places in the neighbourhood are also lit up.

XXIV.—THE SEPULCHRE OF LAZARUS AND THE CHURCH BUILT ABOVE IT, AND THE ADJOINING MONASTERY.

Arculf, the visitor of the above-mentioned holy places, visited a little plain at Bethany, surrounded by a great wood of olives, where there are a great monastery and a great basilica built over the cave from which the Lord recalled Lazarus to life after he had been dead four days.

XXV.—ANOTHER CHURCH BUILT TO THE RIGHT OF BETHANY.

As to another more celebrated church built towards the southern side of Bethany, on that spot of the Mount of Olivet where the Lord is said to have addressed the disciples, I think that we must write briefly.

Hence we must carefully inquire what address and at what time or to what special individuals of His disciples the Lord spoke.¹ These three questions, if we will open the writings of the three Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, will be clearly answered, for the Evangelists speak of the character of the address in complete harmony with one another. As to the place of that meeting, no one can have any doubt, or as to the address and the place, who will read Matthew speaking about the Lord : 'And as He sat upon the Mount of Olivet, the disciples came to Him privately, saying, Tell us, when shall these things be ? and what

¹ C. reads, 'And although three Evangelists describe His address, which He then gave to the disciples, yet Matthew writes about it more specially : "And as He sat," etc.'

shall be the sign of Thy coming and of the consummation of the age?' (St. Matt. xxiv. 3). As to the persons who asked Him, Matthew has kept silence; but Mark has not, and he tells us: 'Peter and James and John and Andrew asked Him privately' (St. Mark xiii. 3)—in reply to whose question He delivered the address referred to by the three Evangelists we have mentioned above, of which the character is shown in His words: 'Take heed lest any man deceive you. For many shall come in My name, saying, I am Christ' (St. Mark xiii. 5, 6) and the rest that follows as to the last times and the consummation of the age, which Matthew records at great length, down to the place where the same Evangelist clearly shows the time of this lengthened address, as he mentions the words of the Lord: 'And it came to pass, when Jesus had finished all these sayings, He said to His disciples, Ye know that after two days is the Passover, and the Son of Man shall be betrayed to be crucified,' etc. (St. Matt. xxvi. 1, 2). It is thus shown distinctly that it was on the fourth day of the week, when two days remained to the first day of the Unleavened Bread, which is called the Passover, that the Lord delivered the lengthened address mentioned above, in answer to the question of the four above-named disciples. On the place where the address was given a church was founded in its memory, which is held in great honour.

Let it suffice to have thus far described the holy places of the city of Jerusalem, and Mount Sion, and the Mount of Olivet, and the Valley of Josaphat, which lies between these mountains, in accordance with the accurate narrative of the sainted Arculf, the visitor of those places.

BOOK II.

I.—THE SITUATION OF¹ BETHLEHEM.

In the beginning of this Second Book we shall briefly write a few notes about the situation of the city of Bethlehem,² which our Saviour thought worthy to be the place where He should be born of the Holy Virgin. This city, according to the narrative of Arculf who visited it, is not so remarkable for situation as for its glorious fame, which has been published throughout the churches of all nations; it is situated on the narrow ridge of a mountain, surrounded on all sides by valleys, the ridge of ground stretching from east to west for about a mile; round the level plain on the top of it is a low wall without towers,³ built right round the brow of that little mountain, which overhangs the little valleys lying around on both sides, while the dwellings of the citizens are scattered over the intervening ground within the wall, along the longer diameter.

II.—THE PLACE OF THE NATIVITY OF THE LORD, THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY.

In the extreme eastern angle of this city is a sort of natural half cave,⁴ the extremity of the interior of which is the Manger of the Lord, in which His mother laid the newborn babe; while another, contiguous to the manger we have just mentioned,⁵ is shown to such as enter, as being the

¹ 'Of the district of Jerusalem; that is, Bethlehem,' *V., R.*

² *C.* reads, 'about Bethlehem, which is the district of Jerusalem.'

³ Compare Abbot Daniel, p. 40.

⁴ *C.* omits 'half.'

⁵ *C.* inserts, 'where a little house has been constructed of stone.'

traditional site of His real nativity. The whole of this cave of the Manger of the Lord at Bethlehem has been adorned on the inside with precious marble, in honour of the Saviour, while in the half cave, above the stone chamber, there has been built the Church of St. Mary, above the place where the Lord is said to have been actually born, which is a grand structure.

III.—THE ROCK SITUATED BEYOND THE WALL, UPON WHICH THE WATER, IN WHICH HE WAS FIRST WASHED AFTER HIS BIRTH, WAS POURED.

Here I think I must briefly mention the rock lying beyond the wall, upon which the water of the first bathing of the Lord's body after His birth, was poured from the top of the wall out of the vessel into which it had been put. This water of the sacred bath, poured from the wall, found a receptacle in a rock lying below, which had been hollowed out by nature like a trench: and this water has been constantly replenished from that day to our own time during the course of many ages, so that the cavity is shown full of the purest water without any loss or diminution, our Saviour miraculously bringing this about from the day of His nativity, of which the prophet sings: 'Who brought water out of the rock ;'¹ and the Apostle Paul, 'Now that Rock was Christ,'² who, contrary to nature, brought water or a stream out of the hardest rock in the desert to console His thirsting people. ^λSuch is the power of God and the wisdom of God, who brought out water also from that rock of Bethlehem and keeps its cavity always full of water: this our Arculf inspected with his own eyes, and he washed his face in it.

¹ Isaiah xlvi. 21.

² 1 Cor. x. 4.

IV.—ANOTHER CHURCH IN WHICH THE TOMB OF
DAVID IS SEEN.

Arculf, when I asked him about the Sepulchre of King David,¹ gave us this answer : I myself inquired very carefully about the Sepulchre of King David, in which he was buried in the earth, and visited it. It lies in the middle² of the pavement of the church, without any overlying ornament, surrounded only by a low fence³ of stone, and having a lamp shining brightly placed over it.

This church is built outside the wall of the city in an adjoining valley, which joins the Hill of Bethlehem on the north.

V.—THE CHURCH WITHIN WHICH IS THE SEPULCHRE
OF ST. HIERONYMUS [JEROME].

As we inquired with like solicitude as to the Sepulchre of St. Hieronymus,⁴ Arculf told us : I saw the Sepulchre of Hieronymus, as to which you inquire, which is in a church built in a valley beyond that little city,⁵ which is conterminous with the ridge of the Hill of Bethlehem, mentioned above, and lies to the south of it. This Sepulchre of St. Hieronymus is of similar workmanship to the Tomb of David, and is unornamented.

VI.—THE TOMBS OF THE THREE SHEPHERDS, AROUND
WHOM, WHEN THE LORD WAS BORN, THE HEAVENLY
BRIGHTNESS SHONE ; AND THEIR CHURCH.

Arculf gave us a short account of the tombs of those shepherds, around whom, on the night of the Lord's

¹ Compare Ant. Mar., p. 23 ; Bord. Pil., p. 27.

² C. reads, 'south.'

³ 'Pyramis' here, and p. 31, has apparently the meaning of a 'square fence.' See Reeves, p. 452.

⁴ Compare Ant. Mar., p. 23.

⁵ C. omits 'little.'

Nativity, the heavenly brightness shone: I visited, he said, the three tombs of those three shepherds who are buried in a church near the Tower of Gader,¹ which is about a mile to the east of Bethlehem, whom, when the Lord was born, the brightness of the angelic light² surrounded at that place, that is near the Tower of the Flock; where that church has been built, containing the sepulchres of those shepherds.

VII.—THE SEPULCHRE OF RACHEL.

The Book of Genesis relates that Rachel was buried in Ephrata, that is, in the district of Bethlehem, and the 'Book of Places' relates that Rachel was buried in that district close to the road. In answer to my questions about this road, Arculf said: There is a royal road which leads from Ælia southwards to Hebron, close to which, six³ miles from Jerusalem, is Bethlehem on the east, while the Sepulchre of Rachel is at the end of this road on the west, that is, on one's right hand as one goes to Hebron; it is a building of common workmanship and without ornamentation, surrounded by a stone fence.⁴ There is shown even at the present day the inscription with her name, which Jacob, her husband, erected above it.⁵

VIII.—HEBRON.

Hebron, which is also Mambre, was once the metropolis of the Philistines and inhabited by giants; David reigned in it for seven years, and, as the sainted Arculf relates, it is not now surrounded by walls. Some traces of the city, which was long ago destroyed, appear in remnants of ruins; but it has some poorly built villages, fields, and farm-houses, some lying within, others without, those remains

¹ C. reads, 'Ader.' So St. Paula, p. 8. It is now known as Beit Sahûr. Compare Abbot Daniel, p. 42.

² 'Voice,' B., C.

³ C. reads, 'five.'

⁴ See p. 30, note 3.

⁵ A monument at this spot is constantly spoken of from A.D. 333.

of the destroyed walls, scattered over the surface of the plain, while a multitude of people live in those villages and farms.

IX.—THE VALLEY OF MAMBRE, AND THE SEPULCHRE OF THE FOUR PATRIARCHS.

To the east of Hebron is a field with a double cave, looking towards Mambre, which Abraham bought from Ephron the Hittite, for a possession of a double sepulchre.¹

In the valley of this field the sainted Arculf visited the site of the Sepulchre of Arba, that is, of the four patriarchs, Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and Adam, the first man, whose feet are not, as is customary in other parts of the world, turned towards the east in burial, but are turned to the south, and their heads to the north. The site of these sepulchres is surrounded by a low rectangular² wall. Adam, the first created, to whom, when he sinned, immediately after the sin was committed, God the Creator said: 'Dust thou art, and to the dust thou shalt return,'³ is separated somewhat from the other three, next the northern side of the rectangular stone rampart, buried not in a stone sepulchre cut out in the rock above ground, as other honoured men of his seed lie, but buried in the ground, covered with earth, and himself, dust, turned into dust, rests waiting the resurrection with all his seed. And thus in that sepulchre is fulfilled the divine sentence uttered to him as to himself.⁴

¹ *B., V., R.*, add, 'which are not seen above the ground, but there are thought to be twin sepulchres under the ground.' A description of the Haram enclosure at Hebron is given by Capt. Conder in *P. F. M.*, III., pp. 333-346, and by the late Dean Stanley, 'Jewish Church,' Vol. I., Appendix II., pp. 416-437 (London, 1877). Compare *Ant. Mar.*, p. 24; *Abbot Daniel*, p. 45; 'Journey through Syria and Palestine,' pp. 53 ff.

² 'Quadrato' appears here to be used for 'quadrangulo,' the real shape of the enclosure not being square.

³ *Gen.* iii. 19.

⁴ 'Because he was buried in the earth,' *B., V., R.*

And after the example of the Sepulchre of the first parent, the other three Patriarchs also rest in sleep covered with common dust, their four Sepulchres having placed above them small monuments, cut out and hewn from single stones, in the form of a basilica, and formed according to the measure of the length and the breadth of each Sepulchre. The three adjoining Sepulchres of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob are protected by three hard white stones, placed over them, formed according to the shape of which we have now written, as has been said above; while Adam's Sepulchre is also protected by a stone placed over it, but of darker colour and poorer workmanship. Arculf saw also the poorer and smaller monuments of the three women, namely Sara, and Rebecca, and Lia, buried in the earth. The sepulchral field of those patriarchs is found to be one furlong from the wall of that most ancient Hebron, towards the east. This Hebron, it is said, was founded before all the cities, not only of Palestine, but also preceded in its foundation all the cities of Egypt, although it has now been so miserably destroyed.

Thus far let it suffice to have written as to the Sepulchres of the Patriarchs.

X.—THE HILL AND THE OAK OF MAMBRE.

A mile to the north of the Tombs that have been described above, is the very grassy and flowery hill of Mambre, looking towards Hebron, which lies to the south of it. This little mountain, which is called Mambre, has a level summit, at the north side of which a great stone church has been built, in the right side of which between the two walls of this great Basilica, the Oak of Mambre,

¹ The Oak or Terebinth of Abraham has been shown in two different sites. Arculf and many others (Jerome, *Itin. Hierosol.*, Sozomen, Eucherius, Benjamin of Tudela, the Abbot Daniel, p. 43, etc.) seem

wonderful to relate, stands rooted in the earth ; it is also called the oak of Abraham, because under it he once hospitably received the Angels. St. Hieronymus elsewhere relates, that this tree had existed from the beginning of the world to the reign of the Emperor Constantine ; but he did not say that it had utterly perished, perhaps because at that time, although the whole of that vast tree was not to be seen as it had been formerly, yet a spurious trunk still remained rooted in the ground, protected under the roof of the church, of the height of two men ; from this wasted spurious trunk, which has been cut on all sides by axes, small chips are carried to the different provinces of the world, on account of the veneration and memory of that oak, under which, as has been mentioned above, that famous and notable visit of the Angels was granted to the patriarch Abraham. Around the church, which is built there in honour of that place, a few dwellings of monks are shown. But as to these, let it suffice to have said this ; let us go on to other points.

XI.—THE PINE-FOREST FROM WHICH FIREWOOD IS BROUGHT TO JERUSALEM ON CAMELS.

As we leave Hebron, we come, at a distance of three miles, to the north of the city, and in a wide plain not far from the side of the road on the left hand, to a hill of no great size covered with pines. From this pine forest, wood is carried to Jerusalem on camels for burning in fires—on camels, I say, for, as Arculf relates, carts or waggons can rarely be found throughout all Judæa.

to point to the ruin of er Râneh, near which is Beit el Khulil, or Abraham's House, with a fine spring-well. This is still held by the Jews to be the Oak of Mamre. The Christians point to another site, Ballûtet Sebta, where is a fine specimen of Sindian (*Quercus Pseudo-coccifera*).

XII.—JERICHO.

Our sainted Arculf saw the site of the city of Jericho, which Joshua destroyed, after crossing the Jordan, slaying its king, in the place of which Hiel¹ of Bethel, of the tribe of Ephraim, built another city, which our Saviour thought fit to honour with His presence. At the time when the Romans attacked and besieged Jerusalem, this city was taken and destroyed on account of the perfidy of its inhabitants. In its place a third was built, which also after a long interval of time was itself destroyed ; of its ruins, as Arculf relates, some traces are shown. Marvellous to say, even after these three successive cities have been destroyed on the same site, there still remains only the house of Raab the harlot,² who hid the two spies, whom Joshua Ben-Nun sent across, concealing them in flax straw in the garret. The stone walls of her house remain, but without a roof. The whole site of the city is left without human habitation, not even having a house of rest, and produces corn and vines.³ Between the site of this destroyed city and the river Jordan are great palm groves, throughout which are scattered spots where there are nearly countless houses inhabited by sorry fellows of the race of Channan.⁴

XIII.—GALGAL, AND THE TWELVE STONES WHICH THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL, AFTER CROSSING THE RIVER JORDAN, TOOK FROM ITS DRIED CHANNEL.

Arculf, of whom I have spoken, saw a large Church in Galgal, built on the spot where the children of Israel, after crossing the Jordan, encamped for the first time in the land

¹ MSS. 'Oza.'

² Compare Bord. Pil., p. 25 ; Ant. Mar., p. 12.

³ Compare Abbot Daniel, p. 31.

⁴ Compare Mukad., p. 56, 'The people are brown-skinned and swarthy.'

of Chanaan. In this church too the sainted Arculf noted the twelve stones as to which, after the crossing of the Jordan, the Lord spoke to Josue :¹ Choose twelve men, one for each tribe, and command them to take from the middle of the channel of the Jordan, where the feet of the priests have stood, twelve very hard stones, which ye shall place on the site of your camp, where ye shall pitch your tents this night. These, I say, Arculf saw, six of them lying on the pavement on the right side of the church, and an equal number on the north side, all of them unpolished and common ; each of them is so large that, as Arculf himself relates, two strong young men of this time can scarcely raise it from the earth ; while one had by some unknown accident been broken in two parts, and has been artificially joined again by an iron clamp. Galgal,² where the above-mentioned church is built, lies to the east of the most ancient Jericho on this side of the Jordan, in the lot of the tribe of Juda, at the fifth milestone from Jericho ; the Tabernacle was fixed here for a long time ; and in this place, as is said, the above-named church was built, in which are the above-mentioned twelve stones ; it is held in marvellous reverence and honour by the people of that district.

XIV.—THE PLACE WHERE OUR LORD WAS BAPTIZED BY JOHN.³

That sacred and honoured place, where the Lord was baptized by John, is always covered by the waters of the

¹ Joshua iv. 1-3.

² C. reads, 'He saw also in Galgal another church on the east side of the ancient Jericho, and at the fifth milestone from Jericho, where the Tabernacle was fixed for a long time.' The name of Galgal is still found in Birket Jiljilieh. The distance from Jericho is most variously stated by different pilgrims : 'one mile,' Theodorus, ch. xvi. ; 'not far,' Ant. Mar., p. 12 ; 'a verst' (two-thirds English mile) 'towards the summer sun-rising,' *i.e.*, N.E., Abbot Daniel, p. 32.

³ As to the Holy Places on and near the Jordan, see Ant. Mar., Appendix I., pp. 38-41.

river Jordan, and as Arculf, who went to the place, relates, he passed backwards and forwards to it¹ through the river; in that sacred place a wooden cross of great size is fixed, close to which the water comes up to the neck of the tallest man, or, at a time of great drought, when the waters are diminished, up to his breast; but when the river is in flood, the whole of the cross is covered over by the additional waters. The site of that cross, accordingly, marking the place where, as has been said above, the Lord was baptized, is on this side² of the bed of the river, and a strong man can with a sling throw a stone from it as far as the other bank on the Arabian side. From the site of the above-mentioned cross, a stone bridge is carried on arches to the bank, across which men go to the cross and descend by a slope to the bank, ascending as they return.³ At the edge of the river is a small square church, built, as is said, on the spot where the garments of the Lord were taken care of at the time when He was baptized. This is raised, so as to be uninhabitable, on four stone vaults, standing above the waters which flow below. It is protected above by

¹ 'Huc et illuc per eundem intravit fluvium.'

² *C.* reads, 'on the other side.'

³ The text appears to be corrupt. The descent was from the bank to the cross, not from the cross to the bank. The allusion may, however, be to the descent from the upper to the lower bank. Compare Bede, p. 82. The translation of *C.* for the whole passage is: 'He told us also that that sacred, holy, and honourable place, in which the Lord was baptized by John, is always covered by the waters of the river Jordan; and in that place a wooden cross has been fixed. The site of that cross, where the Lord was baptized, is on the other side of the bed of the river, while at the edge of the river there is a small church, where, as is said, the garments of the Lord were taken care of. This basilica stands above the waters, so as to be uninhabitable, since the waters flow under it on both sides, and is supported on four stone vaults and arches. On the higher ground, there is another church in honour of St. John Baptist.'

slacked lime,¹ and below, as has been said, is supported by vaults and arches. This church is in the lower ground of the valley through which the river Jordan flows; while on the higher ground, overhanging it, a great monastery of monks is built on the brow of the opposite hill. There is also enclosed within the same wall as the monastery, a church in honour of St. John Baptist, built of squared stones.

XV.—THE COLOUR OF THE JORDAN, AND THE DEAD SEA.

The colour of the river Jordan appears from Arculf's narrative to be white on the surface, like milk, and as it enters the Salt Sea its colour can easily be distinguished from that of the Dead Sea for a long distance along its course.¹

In great tempests the Dead Sea casts up salt on the ground by the dashing of its waves, and this can usually be had in abundance along its circuit, affording a very large supply, not only to those in the vicinity but also to far-distant nations; it is sufficiently dried by the heat of the sun. Salt is otherwise obtained in a mountain of Sicily; for the stones of that mountain, when turned out of the earth, prove to be naturally most salt to the taste, this being properly called Earth Salt. Sea salt, however, is usually given a different name from earth salt. From this the Lord is believed to have derived His simile when He says to the Apostles in the Gospel: 'Ye are the salt of the earth,' etc. As to this earth salt found in the mountain of Sicily, † we were told by the sainted Arculf, who spent some days

¹ 'Coctili creta.' 'I do not remember having seen the expression elsewhere.'—C. W. W.

Travellers speak of the water of the Jordan where it debouches into the Salt Sea as so turgid that its stream can be plainly traced for some distance in the clear blue water of the sea, 'Mount Seir,' p. 163; Tristram's 'Land of Israel,' p. 249.

in Sicily, and who proved by sight and taste and touch that it was really the very saltiest of salt.

XVI.—THE DEAD SEA—*continued.*

He informed us also as to the salt of the Dead Sea, which he said he had similarly made proof of by the same three senses named above; he visited also the sea-shore of that lake we have mentioned above, the length of which, extending to Zoar of Arabia,¹ is 580 furlongs; the breadth in the neighbourhood of Sodom is 150 furlongs.

XVII.—THE FOUNTAINS OF THE JORDAN.

Our Arculf proceeded also to that place in the province of Phenicia, where the Jordan seems to emerge from two neighbouring fountains at the roots of Lebanon, one of which is called Jor and the other Dan, which, mingling together, give rise to the compound name Jordan.² But it is to be noted that the source of the Jordan is not in

¹ Zoar ('Zoari' is the form used here) of Arabia (spelt as Sughar by Mukaddasi, also Zughar and Sukar) is the Segor of the Crusaders, the present Tell esh Shâghûr. In Mukaddasi's time (985 A.D.) it was 'for commercial prosperity like a miniature Busrah' (p. 3), and it was the capital of the district. The question of the identification of this site with the Zoar of Lot is discussed by Mr. Guy Le Strange in 'Across the Jordan,' pp. 317-320, from a careful examination of the Arab geographers. See also a paper by Mons. Clermont Ganneau, translated in the P. E. F. Quarterly Statement, January, 1886. Mukaddasi calls the Dead Sea 'the Lake of Sughar.' See St. Paula, p. 10; Ant. Mar., pp. 10, 27; Abbot Daniel, p. 47; Mukad., pp. 62, 84. The length of the Dead Sea is 49 miles, the greatest breadth $9\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

² The two sources of the Jordan, at Bâniâs (Cæsarea Philippi) and Tell el Kâdy (Dan). The idea that these streams were called 'Jor' and 'Dan,' and the derivation from this fact of the name given to the river formed by their united stream, date from the time of Josephus at least. Compare Ant. Mar., p. 6; Ernoul, p. 50. The Abbot Daniel strangely represents (p. 60) the two streams as flowing, three bow-shots apart, from the Sea of Galilee, and re-uniting after about half a verst (a third of a mile).

Paneum, but in the district of Trachonitis, at a distance of 120 furlongs¹ from Cæsarea Philippi, which is now Paneas, a name taken from the mountain Paneum, which is in Trachonitis.² Phiala, which is always full of water, whence the Jordan flows through underground channels, bubbles up also in Paneum, in two divisions, which, as has been said above, are usually called Jor and Dan. On leaving this, after some interval, they flow together so as to form one river, which thence directs its course for 120 furlongs, without receiving any addition,³ as far as the city of Julias.⁴ Afterwards it flows through the middle of the lake, called Genezar, whence, after wandering through a considerable desert tract, it is received in the Asphaltic Lake, and is lost in it. Thus having passed victoriously through two lakes, its course is stayed by a third.

XVIII.—THE SEA OF GALILEE.

The sainted Arculf, who has been so often mentioned, went round the greater part of the Sea of Galilee, which is also called the Lake of Cinnereth and the Sea of Tiberias,

¹ '199,' *L.*

² The belief that the real source of the Jordan was in a Lake Phiala, on the road to Trachonitis, 120 stadia from Bâniâs, from which the water flowed underground to the Cave of Pan in the latter place, is as old as the time of Josephus, and has been completely given up only in recent years. Phiala is identified with the Birket er Ram, S.E. of Bâniâs.

³ The Jordan is joined by the Nahr Hasbâny, half a mile below the junction of the streams from Bâniâs and Tell el Kâdy. The length of the river from that point to the Lake of Galilee is rather more than 20 miles.

⁴ *C.* reads, 'Tiberias,' and continues, 'Thence it flows to the place which is called Genezar. The Lake of Galilee is formed from the Jordan; it is called at one time the Sea of Cenereth, at another the Sea of Tiberias; great woods adjoin it.' The identification of (Bethsaida-) Julias with the ruin et Tell, a little more than a mile north of the point of the debouchure of the Jordan into the lake, cannot be discussed here. Cf. 'The Jaulân,' p. 246.

and which is closely surrounded by great woods. The lake itself, the size of which almost entitles it to the name of a sea, extends in length to 140 furlongs, and in breadth stretches over 40;¹ its waters are sweet and good for drinking, since they receive nothing that is thick with marsh mud or turbid, because it is surrounded on all sides by a sandy shore, wherefore its water is purer and better² for use. Of fish, moreover, no finer kinds, either in taste or in appearance, can be found in any other lake.³

We have taken these short particulars as to the source of the Jordan and the Lake of Cinnereth partly from the third book of the Jewish Captivity, partly from the experience of Arculf. He relates with perfect certainty that he went in eight⁴ days from that place where the Jordan emerges from the gorge of the Sea of Galilee to that where it enters the Dead Sea. This most salt sea the sainted Arculf very often gazed at from the summit of the Mount of Olivet, as he himself narrates.

XIX.—SICHEM AND THE WELL OF SAMARIA.

Arculf, the sainted priest, passed through the district of Samaria, and came to the city of that province which is called, in Hebrew, Sichem, but is named Sicima by Greek and Latin custom; it is also often called Sichar, however improperly. Near that city he saw a church built beyond the wall, which is four-armed, stretching towards the four cardinal points, like a cross, a plan of which is drawn below.⁵ In the middle of it is the Fountain of Jacob, which is also

The extreme length of the lake is $12\frac{1}{4}$ miles, its greatest width (from Mejdal to Khersa) $6\frac{3}{4}$ miles. 'The water of the lake is clear, bright, and sweet to the taste, except in the neighbourhood of the salt-springs, and where it is defiled by the drainage of Tiberias.'—*'Recovery of Jerusalem,'* pp. 339 f.

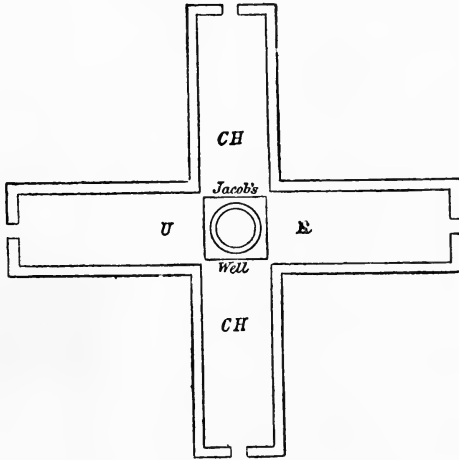
¹ 'Softer,' *L.*

² MSS. read 'place.'

³ 'Seven,' *L.*

⁴ See Ant. Mar., p. 6, note 1; St. Paula, p. 13; Bord. Pil, p. 18, note 7.

often called a well, looking towards its four divisions, upon which the Saviour, wearied out with the toil of His journey, sat one day at the sixth hour, when the woman of Samaria¹ came to that well at mid-day to draw water. As to this well, the woman, among other things, said in answer to the Lord: 'Lord, neither hast Thou anything to draw with, and



PLAN OF THE CHURCH BUILT ABOVE JACOB'S WELL.

the well is deep.'² Arculf, who drank water from the well, relates as to its depth: The well that I saw has a depth of twice twenty orgyiaë, that is, forty cubits. An orgyia, or cubit, is the length from extremity to extremity of the outstretched arms.³

Sichem, or Sichema, was once a priestly city and a city

¹ C. reads, 'thirsting for the faith of the woman of Samaria.'

² St. John iv. 11.

³ Orgyia (*ὄργυιά*), a Greek measure of length, derived from the human body, was the distance from extremity to extremity of the outstretched arms, whence the name, from *ὀρέγω*. It was equal to 6 feet, or to 4 cubits, and was $\frac{1}{100}$ th of the stadium.—Smith's 'Dictionary of Antiquities,' s. v. No idea can at present be formed as to the real depth of the well.

of refuge; it was included in the tribe of Manasseh and in Mount Ephraim, where Joseph's bones were buried.

XX.—A LITTLE FOUNTAIN IN THE WILDERNESS.

Arculf, whom we have often mentioned, saw in a desert a small clear fountain, from which St. John Baptist is said to have drunk; it is protected by a stone covering besmeared with lime.

XXI.—THE LOCUSTS AND THE WILD HONEY.

As to the same John, the Evangelists write: 'Now his food was locusts and wild honey.'¹ Our Arculf saw, in that desert where John dwelt, a very small kind of locusts, the bodies of which are small and short like the finger of a hand, and which are easily captured in the grass, as their flight is short like the leaps of light frogs; cooked in oil, they afford food for the poor.² As to the 'wild honey,' Arculf gave us this as his experience: In that desert I saw some trees, with broad round leaves which are of the colour of milk and have the taste of honey;³ they are naturally very fragile, and those who wish to eat them first rub them in their hands and then eat them. This wild honey is thus found in the woods.

XXII.—THE PLACE WHERE THE LORD BLESSED THE FIVE LOAVES AND THE TWO FISHES.

Our Arculf, whom we have often mentioned, came to this place, where a grassy and level plain has never been ploughed from the day when on it the Saviour satisfied five

¹ St. Matt. iii. 4.

² Locusts are eaten by the Arabs, but only by the very poorest.

This interpretation is accepted by many commentators, among them by Meyer, l.c. The term used is specially explained in this sense by Diod. Sic. XIX. 94, and Suidas, s. v. ἀκρίαι.

thousand men with five loaves and two fishes; no buildings are to be seen on it; Arculf saw only a few¹ columns of stone lying at the margin of the fountain from which they are said to have drunk on that day when the Lord refreshed them, in their hunger, with such a refection. This place is on this side of² the Sea of Galilee, looking to the city of Tiberias which is to the south of it.³

XXIII.—THE SEA OF TIBERIAS AND CAPHARNAUM.

Those who, coming down from Jerusalem, wish to reach Capharnaum, proceed, as Arculf relates, through Tiberias in a straight course, and thence along the Lake of Cinnereth, which is also the sea of Tiberias and the sea of Galilee; they pass the site of the above-mentioned Blessing, at a point where two ways meet, and proceeding along the margin of the above-mentioned lake, at no great distance they come to Capharnaum, on the sea coast, upon the borders of Zabulon and Nephtalim. Arculf, who observed it from a neighbouring mountain, relates that it has no wall and is confined in a narrow space between the mountain and the lake, extending along the sea coast for a long distance; having the mountain on the north and the lake on the south, it stretches from west to east.⁴

¹ *C.* reads, 'four.'

² 'Opposite,' *L., B., V., R.*

³ Compare *Ant. Mar.*, p. 8, note 1; *St. Paula*, p. 14; *Abb. Dan.*, p. 63. The site referred to by Arculf appears to be that around the 'Ain el Fûlîyeh, half-way between Tiberias and el Mejdal (referred to as 'Ain Barideh in 'Recovery of Jerusalem,' p. 359). Tradition at present points to the brow of the hill between Kurn Hattin and Tiberias as the spot of the Feeding of the Five Thousand. The spot often referred to as the Mensa Christi appears to be el 'Oreimeh, a small artificial square plateau above 'Ain et Tîn, close to Kh. Minieh (*P. F. M.*, vol. i., p. 369). All these places are on the west side of the lake. Compare 'City of Jerusalem,' p. 46.

⁴ The evidence of Arculf as to the site of Capernaum is sufficiently vague to allow of its being quoted by the supporters of both the sites that are now in dispute—Kh. Minieh and Tell Hûm.

XXIV.—NAZARETH AND ITS CHURCHES.

The city of Nazareth, as Arculf who stayed in it relates, is situated on a mountain. It is, like Capharnaum, un-walled, yet it has large houses built of stone, and also two very large churches. One of these, in the middle of the city, is built upon two vaults, on the spot where there once stood the house in which our Lord the Saviour was brought up.¹ Among the mounds below this church,² which, as has been said, is supported upon two mounds and intervening arches, there is a very clear spring, frequented by all the citizens, who draw water from it, and from the same spring water is raised in vessels to the church above by means of wheels. The other church is reputed to be built on the site of the house in which the Archangel Gabriel came and addressed the Blessed Mary, whom he found there alone at that hour.³ This information as to Nazareth we have obtained from the sainted Arculf, who stayed there two nights and as many days, but was prevented from staying longer in it, as he was compelled to hasten onwards by a soldier of Christ, well acquainted with sites, a Burgundian living a solitary life, Peter by name, who thence returned circuitously to that solitary⁴ place where he had formerly stayed.

¹ The house of the Virgin appears to be the irregularly-shaped grotto known as The Virgin's Kitchen. P. F. M., vol. i., p. 276.

² C. reads, 'Between the mounds of the two churches.'

³ The present buildings in en Nâsirah are, of course, of a far later period than this. But the Greek Church of St. Gabriel has a spring of water rising just north of the high altar, with an opening in the floor to the conduit, which carries the water south to the Virgin's Well, or the Fountain of the Annunciation, the only well in Nazareth.

⁴ 'Holy,' B., V.

XXV.—MOUNT TABOR.

Mount Tabor is in Galilee, three miles from the Lake of Cinnereth, marvellously round on every side, looking from its northern side over the lake we have just named. It is very grassy and flowery, having an ample plain on its pleasant summit, and is surrounded by a very large wood. In the middle of this level surface is a great monastery of monks, with a large number of their cells. For its summit is not drawn up to a narrow peak, but is spread over a level surface of twenty-four¹ furlongs in length, while its height is thirty furlongs.²

On this higher plain are also three very celebrated churches³ of no small construction, according to the number of those tabernacles of which Peter spoke to the Lord on that holy mountain, while he rejoiced in the heavenly vision, but yet was terrified by it, saying: 'It is good that we should be here; if Thou wilt, let us make here three tabernacles, one for Thee and one for Moses and one for Elias.'⁴ The buildings of the monasteries and the three churches mentioned above, with the cells of the monks, are

¹ 'Twenty-three,' *C., B., Bern.*

² *Jebel et Tor* is a conical mountain with a flat summit, which is a little less than a quarter of a mile long and one-eighth of a mile wide, 1843 feet above the sea-level, 1500 feet above the Plain of Esdraelon at the foot. The southern face is almost bare, but the northern is clothed to the top with a forest of oak and terebinth, mingled with syringa.—'The Land and the Book.'

³ There are still to be traced on the summit the foundations of three churches which the markings of the stones show to have been built in Crusading times. See *P. F. M.*, vol. i., pp. 388-391. The idea that Mount Tabor was the scene of the Transfiguration still strangely survives in spite of all proof to the contrary. It dates from a much earlier date than the Crusades, as shown by this passage, and by the still earlier references in *Ant. Mar.*, p. 5; *St. Paula*, p. 14. The *Bordeaux Pilgrim*, p. 25, places the Transfiguration on the Mount of Olives.

⁴ *St. Matt.* xvii. 4.

all surrounded by a stone wall.¹ There the sainted Arculf spent one night on the top of that holy mountain, for Peter, the Burgundian Christian, who was his guide in those places, would not allow him to stay in one hospice longer, but hurried him on.²

It should here be noted that the name of that famous mountain ought to be written in Greek with *θ* and long *ω*, *θαβώρ*, and in Latin with the aspirate *Thabor*, the letter *o* being long. The proper orthography of the word is found in Greek books.³

XXVI.—DAMASCUS.

Damascus, according to the account of Arculf, who stayed some days in it, is a great royal city, situated in a wide plain, surrounded by an ample circuit of walls, and further fortified by frequent towers. Without the walls there are a large number of olive groves round about, while four great rivers flow through it, bringing great joy to the city. The king of the Saracens has seized the government, and reigns in that city, and a large church has been built there in honour of St. John Baptist. There has also been built, in that same city, a church of unbelieving Saracens which they frequent.

XXVII.—TYRE.

Our Arculf, who visited so many districts, also entered Tyre, the metropolis of the province of Phenicia, which in Hebrew and Syriac is called *Tsor*, and which is said in Greek and Latin and barbarous histories to have had no

¹ This wall may be that built by Josephus round the top of the mountain.

² *C.* adds, 'For this Peter, leaving his parents and his country, was now an exile for a long time for the Lord's sake.'

³ The Greek form is *θαβώρ*, but it is also represented by *Ἰταβύριον* (Josephus), and *Ἀραβύριον* (Polybius).

approach from the land. But some say that afterwards mounds were thrown up by Nabuchodonosor, King of the Chaldeans, and that a place was prepared for darts and battering-rams in the assault, so that the island became part of the level plain.¹ This city was beautiful and very noble, and it is not unworthily rendered in Latin 'narrow,' for the island and the city have the same characteristic narrowness. It is situated in the land of Chanaan, where the Chananite or Tyrophenician woman lived, who is mentioned in the Gospel.

It is to be noted that the account of the site of Tyre and the site of Mount Thabor,² given by the sainted Arculf, is in complete accord with what we have excerpted above from the commentaries of St. Hieronymus. Also what we have above stated as to the site and form of Mount Thabor, according to the narrative of the sainted Arculf, in no way differs from what St. Hieronymus narrates as to the situation and the marvellous roundness of that mountain. From Mount Thabor to Damascus is a seven³ days' journey.

XXVIII.—ALEXANDRIA, AND THE RIVER NILE AND ITS CROCODILES.

That great city, which was once the metropolis of Egypt, was formerly called in Hebrew No.⁵ It is a very populous city, deriving its name of Alexandria, a name known and famous among all nations, from its founder Alexander, the king of Macedonia, from whom it received both the magni-

¹ It was by Alexander the Great (who took Tyre after a seven months' siege, B.C. 332) that the island was united to the mainland by an artificial mole. The siege by Nebuchadnezzar, which lasted for nineteen years, was probably ended by capitulation on honourable terms.

² 'And . . . Thabor,' only in *L*.

³ Some MSS., 'two,' 'four,' 'eight.'

⁴ *C*. ends here.

⁵ The 'No' of the Old Testament is undoubtedly Thebes, not Alexandria (as Jerome supposed).

tude of a city and its name. As to its situation, Arculf gave us an account, which differs in no way from what we have learned in the course of our previous reading.

Going down from Jerusalem and beginning his voyage at Joppa, he had a journey of forty days to Alexandria, of which Nahum the prophet speaks briefly, when he says: 'Water round about it, whose riches are the sea, waters are its walls.'¹ For on the south it is surrounded by the mouths of the river Nile, while on the north,² as the outline of its position clearly shows, it is situated upon³ the Nile and the sea, so that on this side and on that it is surrounded by water. The city lies like an enclosure between Egypt and the Great Sea, without a [natural] haven, difficult to approach from without. Its port is more difficult than others, in form like the human body, more capacious at the head and the roads, but narrower in the straits, in which it receives the movements of the sea and ships, by which some aids to breathing are given to the port. When one has escaped the narrows and mouths of the port, a stretch of sea is spread out before one, far and wide, like the form of the rest of the body. On the right side of the port there is a small island, on which is a very high tower, which the Greeks and the Latins have in common called, from its use, Pharos,⁴ because it is seen by

¹ Nahum iii. 8, of No. (See former note.)

² MSS. read, 'it is surrounded by the Mareotic Lake; thus, as the outline,' etc.

³ Perhaps 'between.'

⁴ The long, narrow island of Pharos, stretching to the north of Alexandria, and connected with it by the Mole (called from its length 'Heptastadium'), had at its eastern end the lighthouse from which it took its name, which was one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. It was begun by Ptolemy Soter, and completed by his successor. It consisted of several stories, and is said to have been 400 feet in height; it was a square structure of white marble; on its top fires were burned for the direction of mariners, as the entrance to the magnificent harbour, between Pharos and the headland of Lochias, was dangerous and rocky. See Smith's Dictionaries of the Bible and of Geography, and Kitto's Cyclopædia, s. v. 'Alexandria.'

voyagers at a great distance, in order that, before they approach the port, they may, specially during the night, recognise the proximity of land by the light of the flames, that they may not be deceived by the darkness and fall upon rocks or fail to recognise the boundaries of the entrance. Men are accordingly employed there by whom torches and other masses of wood which have been collected are set on fire to serve as a guide to the land, showing the narrow entrance of the straits, the bosom of the waves, and the windings of the entrance, lest the slender keel should graze the rocks and in the very entrance strike upon the rocks that are hidden by the waves. Accordingly a ship ought to be somewhat deflected from the straight course, to prevent its running into danger from striking on hidden stones. For the approach in the port is narrower on the right side, but the port is wider on the left. Round the island also, beams of immense size have been regularly laid down, to prevent the foundations of the island from yielding to the constant collision of the rising sea, and being loosened by the injury. So that the middle channel, among rugged rocks and broken masses of earth, is beyond doubt always unquiet, and it is dangerous for ships to enter through the roughness of the passage.

The port extends in size over thirty furlongs, and it is quite safe even in the greatest storms, as the above-mentioned straits and the obstacle of the island repel the waves of the sea, the bosom of the port being so defended by them as to be removed from the reach of tempests and at peace from breakers by which the entrance is made rough. Nor are the safety and the size of the port undeservedly so great, since there must be borne into it whatever is needful for the use of the whole city.¹ For the needs of the innumerable population of those districts give rise to much

¹ 'World,' V.

commerce for the use of the whole city, and the district is very fruitful, and, besides abounding in all other gifts and trades of the earth, it supplies corn for the whole world, and other necessary merchandise. The region is beyond doubt wanting in rain, but the irrigation of the Nile supplies spontaneous showers, so that the fields are tempered at once by the rain of heaven and by the fruitfulness of the earth; and the situation is thus convenient both for sailors and for husbandmen. These sail, those sow; these are borne round on their voyages, those till the land, sowing without need of ploughing, travelling without waggons. You see a country intersected by watercourses, and houses throughout the land raised as it were upon walls, on the banks of the navigable rivers, standing on the edge of each bank of the river Nile. The river is navigable, they say, up to the city of Elephanti; a ship is prevented from proceeding further by the cataracts, that is, flowing hills of water, not from want of depth, but from the fall of the whole river and the downward rush of the waters.

The narrative of the sainted Arculf about the situation of Alexandria and the Nile is proved not to differ from what we have learned from our reading in the books of others. We have, indeed, abbreviated some excerpts from these writings and inserted them in this description, as to the havenlessness of this city or the difficulty of its haven, as to the island and the tower built on it, as to the terminal position of Alexandria between the sea and the mouths of the river Nile, etc. Hence it happens beyond doubt that the site of the city, which is as it were choked between these two limits, extends from west to east very far along a narrow stretch of ground, as the narrative of Arculf shows;¹ he relates that he began to enter the city at the third hour

¹ Alexandria is stated by Pliny to be four miles in length, nearly a mile in breadth, and fifteen miles in circumference.

of the day in the month of October, and on account of the length of the city could hardly reach the other end of its length before evening. It is surrounded by a long circuit of walls, fortified by frequent towers, constructed along the margin of the river and the curving shore of the sea.

Further, as one coming from Egypt enters the city of Alexandria, one meets on the north¹ side a large church, in which Mark the Evangelist is buried; his sepulchre is shown before the altar in the eastern end of this four-sided church, and a monument of him has been built above it of marble.

So much, then, about Alexandria, which, as we have said above, was called No before it was so much enlarged by Alexander the Great, and which, as we further said above, adjoins what is called the Canopean mouth of the river Nile, separating Asia from Egypt and also Lybia. On account of the inundation of Egypt by the river Nile, they construct raised mounds along its banks, which, if they should be broken by the negligence of the watchmen or by too great an irruption of water, by no means irrigate the flooded fields, but spoil them and lay them waste. On this account a considerable number of the inhabitants of the plains of Egypt, according to the narrative of the sainted Arculf, who often sailed over that river in Egypt, live above the water in houses supported on transverse beams.

Arculf relates that crocodiles live in the river Nile, quadrupeds of no great size, very voracious, and so strong that one of them, if it can find a horse or an ass or an ox eating grass on the river bank, suddenly rushes out and attacks it, or even seizing one foot of the animal with its jaws, drags it under the water, and completely devours the entire animal.

¹ Some MSS add, 'near at hand.'

BOOK III.

I.—THE CITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

ARCULF, who has been mentioned so often, on his return from Alexandria, stayed for some days in the island of Crete, and sailed thence to Constantinople, where he spent some months. This city is, beyond doubt, the metropolis of the Roman Empire. It is surrounded by the waves of the sea except on the north; the sea breaking out from the Great Sea for forty miles,¹ while from the wall of Constantinople it still further stretches sixty miles² up to the mouths of the river Danube. This imperial city is surrounded by no small circuit of walls, twelve miles in length;³ it is a promontory by the sea-side, having, like Alexandria or Carthage, walls built along the sea coast, additionally strengthened by frequent towers, after the fashion of Tyre; within the city walls it has numerous houses, very many of which are of marvellous size; these are of stone, and are built after the fashion of the dwelling-houses of Rome.

II.—THE FOUNDATION OF THAT CITY.

As to its foundation the citizens relate this tradition, which they have received from their ancestors: The Emperor Constantine, having gathered together an infinite

¹ Others, 'sixty.'

² Others, 'forty.'

³ The walls built by the younger Theodosius to surround the capital and its suburbs made the circumference of the city between ten and eleven English miles.

multitude of men, and collected from all sides infinite supplies, so that all other cities were almost stripped bare, began to build a city to bear his name on the Asian side—that is, in Cilicia, across the sea which, in these districts, separates Asia from Europe. But one night, while the innumerable forces of workmen were sleeping in their tents over the vast length of the camp, all the different kinds of tools used by the artificers of the different works were suddenly removed, no one knew how. With dawn, many of the workmen, troubled and downcast, brought before the Emperor Constantine himself a complaint as to the sudden occult removal of the tools; and the King consequently inquired of them: ‘Did you hear of other things being abstracted from the camp?’ ‘Nothing,’ they say, ‘but all the work-tools.’ Then next the King commands them: ‘Go quickly to the sea coasts of the neighbouring districts on both sides [of the straits] and search them carefully, and if you chance to find your tools in any place in the country, watch over them there meanwhile, and do not bring them back here, but let some of you return to me, so that I may have accurate information as to the finding of the tools.’

On hearing this, the workmen follow out the King’s directions, and going away did as he ordered, searching the boundaries of the territories next the sea on both sides. And behold, on the European side, across the sea, they found the tools gathered together in a heap in one place between two seas. On making the discovery, some of them are sent back to the King, and on their arrival they announce the finding of the tools in such a place. On learning this, the King immediately orders trumpeters to pass through the camp, blowing their trumpets and ordering the force to move its camp, saying: ‘Let us remove from this place to build a city on the spot divinely pointed out to us;’ and at the same time he had ships made ready,

and crossed over with his whole force to the spot where the tools were found, as he knew that the place thus shown to him by their removal was that designed by God for the purpose.¹ There he at once founded a city, which is called Constantinople, the name being compounded of his own name and the Greek word for city, so that the founder's name is retained in the former part of the compound.

Let this description of the situation and the foundation of that royal city suffice.

III.—THE CHURCH IN WHICH THE CROSS OF THE LORD IS PRESERVED.

But we must not be silent as to that most celebrated round church in that city, built of stone and of marvellous size. According to the narrative of the sainted Arculf, who visited it for no short time, it rises from the bottom of its foundations in three walls, being built in triple form to a great height, and it is finished in a very round simple crowning vault of great beauty. This is supported on great arches, with a wide space between each of the above-mentioned walls, suited and convenient either for dwelling or for praying to God in. In the northern part of the interior of the house is shown a very large and very beautiful ambry, in which is kept a wooden chest, which is similarly covered over with wooden work: in which is shut up that wooden Cross of Salvation on which our Saviour hung for the salvation of the human race. This notable chest, as the sainted Arculf relates, is raised with its treasure of such preciousness upon a golden² altar, on three consecutive days after the lapse of a year. This altar also is in the same

¹ Constantine seems to have claimed Divine guidance in the selection of the site of his new capital, and in fixing its boundaries; but the legends attached to these facts are of comparatively late origin.

² 'Under a brazen,' *Bern*.

round church, being two cubits long and one broad. On three successive days only throughout the year is the Lord's Cross raised and placed on the altar, that is, on [the day of] the Supper of the Lord,¹ when the Emperor and the armies enter the church and, approaching the altar, after that sacred chest has been opened, kiss the Cross of Salvation.

First of all the Emperor of the world kisses it with bent face, then one going up after another in the order of rank or age, all kiss the Cross with honour. Then on the next day, that is, on the sixth day of the week before Easter, the Queen, the matrons, and all the women of the people, approach it in the above-mentioned order and kiss it with all reverence. On the third day, that is, on [the day of] the Paschal Sabbath,² the bishop and all the clergy after him approach in order, with fear and trembling and all honour, kissing the Cross of Victory, which is placed in its chest. When these sacred and joyful kissings of the Sacred Cross are finished, that venerable chest is closed, and with its honoured treasure is borne back to its ambry.

But this also should be carefully noted that there are not two but three short pieces of wood in the Cross, that is, the cross-beam and the long one which is cut and divided into two equal parts; while from these threefold venerated beams when the chest is opened, there arises an odour of a wonderful fragrance, as if all sorts of flowers had been collected in it, wonderfully full of sweetness, satiating and gladdening all in the open space before the inner walls of that church, who stand still as they enter at that moment; for from the knots of those threefold beams a sweet-smelling liquid distills, like pressed-out oil, which causes all

¹ 'In Cœna Domini,' *i.e.*, Maundy Thursday.

² *I.e.*, on the Saturday before Easter. The practice of calling the *Lord's Day* the *Sabbath* was unknown for nearly a thousand years after this date.

men of whatever race, who have assembled and enter the church, to perceive the above-mentioned fragrance of so great sweetness. This liquid is such that if even a little drop of it be laid on the sick, they easily recover their health, whatever be the trouble or disease they have been afflicted with.

But as to these let this suffice.

IV.—ST. GEORGE THE CONFESSOR.

Arculf, the sainted man, who gave us all these details as to the Cross of the Lord, which he saw with his own eyes and kissed, gave us also an account of a Confessor named George,¹ which he learned in the city of Constantinople from some well-informed citizens, who were accustomed to narrate it in this form :

In a house in the city of Diospolis there stands the marble column of George the Confessor, to which, during

¹ This chapter has a special historical interest, as the earliest account of St. George known to have been circulated in Britain ; and it is worthy of notice that it was in the northern part of England, where this narrative is known to have obtained special favour, that we first find St. George holding any special position (a place being assigned to him in the Anglo-Saxon ritual of Durham, which is probably of the early part of the ninth century, and a 'Passion of St. George' having been written by Ælfric, Archbishop of York, A.D. 1020-1051). While there has been much controversy as to whether there ever was an historical person corresponding to the legendary saint, and, if there was, as to which of the countless Georges he was, it may probably be now accepted that there really was a George, prior in time to the Arian intruding Bishop of Alexandria, known as George of Cappadocia (whom Gibbon identified with the George in question), and that he was connected in some way with Diospolis or Lydda. For a list of the authorities to be consulted, as well as for a statement of the facts, see an article by the Rev. G. T. Stokes, on 'Georgius-Martyr' in Smith's Dict. of Christian Biog., vol. ii., pp. 645-648, and specially the wise remarks of Professor Bright in closing a previous article on 'Georgius of Cappadocia,' p. 640.

a time of persecution, he was bound while he was scourged, and on which his likeness is impressed ; he was, however, loosed from his chains and lived for many years after the scourging. It happened one day that a hard-hearted and unbelieving fellow, mounted on horseback, having entered that house and seen the marble column, asked those who were there, 'Whose is this likeness engraved on the marble column?' They reply, 'This is the likeness of George the Confessor, who was bound to this column and scourged.' On hearing this, that most rough fellow, greatly enraged at the insensible object, and instigated by the devil, struck with his lance at the likeness of the sainted Confessor. The lance of that assailant penetrating the mass in a marvellous manner, as if it were a ball of snow, perforated the exterior of that stone column, and its iron point sticking fast was retained in the interior and could not be drawn out by any means. Its shaft, however, striking the marble likeness of the sainted Confessor, was broken on the outside. The horse also of that wretched fellow, on which he was mounted, fell dead under him at that moment on the pavement of the house. The wretched man himself too, falling to the ground at the same time, put out his hands to the marble column, and his fingers, entering it as if it were flour or clay, stuck fast impressed in that column. On seeing this, the miserable man, who could not draw back the ten fingers of his two hands, as they stuck fast together in the marble likeness of the sainted Confessor, invokes in penitence the name of the Eternal God and of His Confessor, and prays with tears to be released from that bond. The merciful God, who does not wish the death of a sinner but that he may be converted and live, accepted his tearful penitence, and not only released him from that present visible bond of marble, but also mercifully set him free from the invisible bonds of sin, saved by faith.

Hence it is clearly shown in what honour George has been held with God, whom he confessed amid tortures, since his bust, which, in the course of nature, is impenetrable, was made penetrable by penitence,¹ which also made the equally impenetrating lance of his adversary penetrating, and made the weak fingers of that fellow, which in the same course of nature were impenetrating, powerfully penetrating, which at first were so fastened in the marble that even that hard man could not draw them back, but which, when in the same moment he was so terrified and thus softened into penitence, he drew back by the pity of God. Marvellous to say, the marks of his twice five fingers appear down to the present day inserted up to the roots in the marble column; and the sainted Arculf inserted in their place his own ten fingers, which similarly entered up to the roots. Further, the blood of that fellow's horse, the haunch of which, as it fell dead on the pavement, was broken in two, cannot be washed out or removed by any means, but that horse's blood remains indelible on the pavement of the house down to our times.

The sainted Arculf told us another narrative, as to which there is no doubt, about the same George the Confessor, which he had learned from some eye-witnesses of sufficient trustworthiness, in the above-mentioned city of Constantinople, who were in the habit of telling incidents connected with that sainted Confessor: A layman, entering the city of Diospolis on horseback at a time when many thousands were gathering there from all sides for an expedition, came to that house, in which is the above-mentioned marble column with the impression of the sainted Confessor George imprinted on its front, and entering it, began to say to the likeness as if he were speaking in the presence of George himself: 'To thee, George the Confessor, I

¹ Others read 'power.'

commend myself and my horse, in order that we may both be preserved by the virtue of thy prayers from all dangers of war and disease and water, and may return in safety to this city after the close of the expedition; and if a merciful God will grant thee our prosperous return, in accordance with the offering of our poverty, I will offer in return to thee this my horse which I greatly love, and will make it over to thee in the sight of thy likeness.' Speedily finishing these few words, the fellow left the house and, with his comrades, joined the multitude of the army and entered on the expedition. After many varied dangers of war and among many thousands of wretched fellows who were scattered and perished, he returns in safety to Diospolis, by the favour of God to George the Christ-worshipper, mounted on the same beloved horse, having purchased deliverance from all grievous misfortunes by that committal, and he joyfully enters that house in which was preserved the likeness of that sainted Confessor, bringing with him gold to the value of his horse, and addresses the sainted George as if he were present: 'Sainted Confessor, I give thanks to Eternal God who has brought me back in safety¹ through thy exalted constancy and prayer. Wherefore I bring to thee twenty solidi² of gold, the price of my horse which I at the first committed to thee and which thou hast preserved down to the present day.' Saying this, he lays down the above-described weight of gold at the feet of the sainted likeness of the Confessor, loving his horse more than the gold, and then leaving the house, after kneeling down, mounting his beast he urges it to go forward, but it could not be moved at all.

¹ *V.* reads, 'through so many and so great dangers by the power of thy prayer.'

² The *solidus* or *aureus*, from the time of Constantine the Great, weighed $\frac{1}{72}$ lb. (Smith's Dict. of Antiq., s. v. Aurum).

Seeing this, the fellow dismounts and re-enters the house and brings another ten solidi, saying: 'Sainted Confessor, a gentle guardian hast thou been for me to my horse, among the dangers in the expedition, but I see thou art hard and greedy in the sale of the horse.' Saying this, he lays the ten solidi above the twenty, saying to the sainted Confessor: 'These also I give thee in addition, so that thou mayest be appeased and release my horse for the journey.' With these words he returns, and again mounting his horse, urges it forward, but it remained standing as if fixed in the spot, nor could it move even one foot. What more? After mounting and dismounting four several times, entering the house with ten solidi and returning to his immovable horse, he kept running hither and thither; but by all his urging he could not move his horse, until a mass of sixty solidi was gathered there. Then at length he repeats the above-mentioned speech about the gentle humanity of the sainted Confessor and the safe guardianship in the expedition, and he also mentions in similar terms the hardness and even the greediness in the sale, as is said, and after four several times returning to the house he at last addressed the sainted George in this manner: 'Sainted Confessor, now I see clearly what thy will is. All this weight of gold, the whole sixty solidi, which thou desirest, I offer to thee as a gift, and also my horse itself which I promised to make over to thee before, on account of the expedition; now I make it over to thee, although bound with invisible bonds, which will however, as I believe, be soon released through the honour thou hast with God.' Having finished this speech, he goes out from the house and finds the horse released on that very moment, and he brings it with him into the house and makes it over to the sainted Confessor in the sight of that likeness, and departs joyfully praising Christ,

Hence it is plainly gathered that whatever is consecrated to the Lord, whether it be man or animal, according to what is written in the book of Leviticus, cannot be redeemed or changed in any way : for if ' any one shall change it, both that which was changed, and that for which it was changed, shall be consecrated to the Lord,'¹ and it shall not be redeemed.

V.—THE PICTURE OF ST. MARY.

Arculf, who has been so often mentioned, gave us an accurate account, obtained from some well-informed witnesses in the city of Constantinople, as to the bust of the holy mother of the Lord : In that metropolitan city there used to hang on the wall of a house a picture of Blessed Mary, depicted on a small wooden tablet, as to which a certain stolid and hard-hearted man, on inquiring whose the picture was, learned from one who answered him, that it was the likeness of Saint Mary, ever virgin. That unbelieving Jew, hearing this, at the instigation of the devil, took that picture in great wrath from the wall, and rushed to a neighbouring privy ; and there, to dishonour Christ, born of Mary, he cast the picture of His mother through a hole upon the filth that lay below, and having dishonoured it by every means in his power, he departed.² Now what he did afterwards, or how he lived, or of what sort the end of his life was, is not known. But, after the wretch's departure, another fortunate man of the common people, a Christian, who was very zealous in religious matters, coming in and knowing what had happened, searched for the image of Saint Mary, and rescued it from the human filth amidst which he found it, and washed it clean with the purest water, and taking it

¹ Lev. xxvii. 10, 33.

² The original cannot be literally translated in this sentence.

home with him, treated it with great honour. Marvellous to say, there always distils from the wood of that picture of Blessed Mary a true boiling oil, which, as Arculf used to say, he saw with his own eyes. This marvellous oil proves the honour of Mary the mother of Jesus, of whom the Father says, 'In My holy oil, have I anointed Him.'¹ The same Psalmist says to the Son of God Himself, 'The Lord Thy God hath anointed Thee with the oil of gladness above Thy fellows.'²

This narrative, which we have written about the situation and the foundation of Constantinople, and also about that round church in which the wood of salvation is preserved, etc., we learned carefully from the mouth of the saintepriest, Arculf; who remained in that city, by far the greatest of the Roman Empire, from the Paschal feast to that of the Lord's birth. Afterwards he sailed thence to Rome.

VI.—MOUNT VULCAN.

There is an island in the Great Sea towards the east, twelve³ miles from Sicily, in which is Mount Vulcan,⁴ which sounds so loudly, like thunder, all day and night, that the ground of Sicily, though so far away, is thought to be shaken by the terrific tremor, but it seems to sound more loudly on the sixth day of the week, and the Sabbath; it appears always to burn by night, and to smoke by day. This Arculf told me about that mountain as I was writing; he saw it with his own eyes, burning by night, but smoking by day; its thunder-like sound he heard with his own ears, while he was staying in Sicily for some days.

¹ Psalm lxxxix. 20.

² Psalm xlv. 7.

³ 'Fourteen,' G.

⁴ The island of *Volcano*, the ancient *Hiera*, also known as *Vulcani Insula*, from its volcanic phenomena, is the southernmost of the Lipari Islands—the old *Æoliæ*, or *Vulcaniæ*, *Insulæ*, to the north of Sicily. It is twelve geographical miles from Sicily. See Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, s. v. *Æoliæ Insulæ*.

VII.—EPILOGUE.

Therefore I beseech those who shall read these short books, to pray for the divine clemency, on behalf of the sainted priest Arculf, who most willingly dictated to us these facts of his experience of the holy places which he visited, which I have, in however unworthy words, described, although placed in the midst of laborious and nearly insupportable ecclesiastical cares, which come upon me the whole day from all sides. Therefore I charge the reader of these experiences that he neglect not to pray to Christ, the Judge of the ages, for me, a miserable sinner, the writer of them.

A LITTLE BOOK CONCERNING THE HOLY PLACES,
WHICH BEDE COMPOSED BY ABBREVIATING THE
WORKS OF FORMER WRITERS.

I HAVE BRIEFLY DESCRIBED BOTH THE BOUNDS AND THE SITES OF
THE PLACES, WHICH THE SACRED PAGE MAKES MORE MEMORABLE,
I, BEDE, FOLLOWING THE GUIDANCE OF LATER AS WELL AS OF
OLDER WRITERS, EXAMINING WHAT THE CHART OF THE MASTERS
TELLS.

GRANT, JESUS, THAT WE MAY EVER TEND TO THAT FATHERLAND
WHICH THY PERFECT VISION BLESSES FOR EVERMORE.

THE VENERABLE BEDE CONCERNING THE HOLY PLACES.



NOTE.—*The references in the margin are to the corresponding passages in Arculf's Narrative.*

I.—THE SITUATION OF JERUSALEM.

THE situation of the city of Jerusalem, which is Arculf, p. 2. almost circular in form, rises with a circuit of walls of no small extent, within which it has also embraced Mount Sion, which was once reckoned only in its vicinity, overhanging the city in the south like a citadel, the larger part of the city lying under the mountain, upon the level summit of a lower hill. After the Passion of the Lord, it was destroyed by the Emperor Titus, but it was restored and greatly enlarged by Ælius Hadrian, after whom it is also now called Ælia. Whence it happens that, while the Lord suffered and was buried beyond the gates of the city, the sites of His Passion and Resurrection are now seen within the walls. In the great circuit of the walls there are shown eighty-four towers, and six gates: first, the Gate of David, to the west of Mount Sion; second, the Gate of the Valley of the Fuller; third, the Gate of St. Stephen; fourth, the Gate of Benjamin; fifth, a portlet—that is, a p. 3. little gate—by which is the descent by steps to the Valley of Josaphat; sixth, the Gate Thecuitis.¹ There are, however, three of these gates that are more frequently used:

¹ Or 'of the Tekoites,' see Arculf, p. 2, note 1, vi.

one on the west, another on the north, a third on the east, while on the south the northern brow of Mount Sion overhangs the city, and the part of the walls with its interposed towers is proved to have no gates, that is, from the above-named Gate of David as far as that face of Mount Sion which looks eastward, where the rock is precipitous. The situation of the city itself, beginning from the northern brow of Mount Sion, is so disposed on a slight declivity sloping to the lower ground of the northern and eastern walls, that rain falling there does not settle, but rushes down like rivers through the eastern gates, carrying with it all the filth of the streets, till it joins the torrent of Cedron in the Valley of Josaphat.

II.—THE CHURCH OF CONSTANTINE AND OF GOLGOTHA, THE CHURCH OF THE RESURRECTION AND THE SEPULCHRE OF THE LORD, THE STONE THAT WAS ROLLED TO THE MOUTH OF THE TOMB, THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY, THE CUP OF THE LORD AND THE SPONGE, THE ALTAR OF ABRAHAM, THE SOLDIER'S SPEAR.

Such, then, as have entered the city from the north to survey the holy places, must first, in accordance with the arrangements of the streets, turn to the Church of Constantine, which is called the Martyrium. This was built in a magnificent and royal manner by the Emperor Constantine, because on that spot the Cross of our Lord was found by Helena, his mother. To the west of this is seen the Church of Golgotha, in which also the rock appears which once bore the very Cross to which the body of the Lord was nailed, now bearing a silver cross of great size, above which hangs a great circular chandelier of brass with lamps. Below the site of the Cross of the Lord is a crypt cut out in the rock, in which sacrifice is wont to

be offered upon an altar for honoured dead persons, whose bodies meanwhile are placed in the court. To the west of this church again, is the round church of pp 5, 6. the *Ἀναστασις*, that is, of the Resurrection of the Lord, surrounded with three walls, supported on twelve columns, having a broad pathway left between each wall and the next, containing three altars in three spaces in the middle wall, that is, to the south, the north, and the west. It has twice four gates, that is entrances, running in a straight line through the three walls, four of them looking to the north-east,¹ and four to the south-east. In the middle of this is the Tomb of the Lord, cut out in the rock, of round form, of such height that a man standing within it can touch the top with his hand, with an entrance on the east at which that great stone was placed; the interior still shows the marks of the iron tools. On the outside it is completely covered with marble up to the highest point of the roof, while the very highest point, which is adorned with gold, bears a golden cross of large size. In the northern part of p. 6. this Tomb is the Sepulchre of the Lord, cut out in the same rock, seven feet in length, raised three palms above the pavement, having an entrance on the southern side: twelve lamps burn here day and night, four below² the Sepulchre, eight above on the right side. The stone which was pp. 8, 9. placed at the mouth of the Tomb has been broken in two, the smaller part standing as a square altar before the mouth of the Tomb, while the larger part stands in the eastern side of the church under the linen cloths, also forming a four-sided altar. The colour of the Tomb and of the Sepulchre is white mixed with red.

The four-sided Church of the Mother of God also p. 9. adjoins this church on its right side. In the court p. 11, 12. which joins the Martyrium and Golgotha is a recess (exedra),

¹ See page 6, note 1.

² Others, 'within.'

in which the Cup of the Lord is kept in a shrine, and may be touched and kissed through an opening in the cover. It is a silver cup, with a handle on each side, holding a French quart;¹ in it is the Sponge, which afforded drink to the

p. 11. Lord. Also on the spot where Abraham built an Altar to sacrifice his son, is a wooden table of some size, on which the alms of the poor are laid by the people. The

p. 12. soldier's spear is inserted in a wooden cross in the portico of the Martyrium, its shaft having been broken in two; it is held in reverence by the whole city.

I have caused each of these I have spoken of to be depicted in a drawing, so that you may more clearly realize the description.²

III.—THE TEMPLE, THE ORATORY OF THE SARACENS, THE POOL OF BETHESDA, THE FOUNTAIN OF SILOA, THE CHURCH BUILT UPON MOUNT SION, THE PLACE OF THE STONING OF ST. STEPHEN, THE MIDDLE OF THE WORLD.

All these sacred places we have mentioned lie beyond Mount Sion, whence a swelling of the ground, lessening
pp. 4, 5. towards the north, stretches. In the lower part of the city, where the temple was close to the wall on the east, and was connected with the city itself by a bridge for the crossing of any, is now a square building, apparently capable of holding three thousand men, which the Saracens frequent for prayer; it is rudely built, raised on boards and great beams above the remains of ruins. A few cisterns for water are to be seen there. In the neighbourhood of the temple is the Pool of Bethesda,³ like a twin lake, the one being often

¹ See page 11, note 4.

² This drawing is given in *Pa.*

³ The questions connected with the Pool of Bethesda are discussed at length by Sir Charles Wilson, in Appendix III. of the translation of the Bordeaux Pilgrim, pp. 45 ff., where, however, this reference is omitted. See also 'City of Jerusalem,' Note, pp. 65 ff.

filled with winter showers, while the other is discoloured with red water. From that face of Mount Sion which looks eastwards, where the rock is precipitous, there rushes out within the walls and in the roots of the hill, the Fountain of Siloa, which flows southwards with an alternating access of waters, that is, not in a perpetual flow, but boiling up at certain hours and days, and coming through the hollows of the earth and the caves of hardest rock with a great noise.

In the higher part of Mount Sion, many cells of p. 20. monks surround a large church, built, as they affirm, by the Apostles on the spot where they received the Holy Spirit, and where St. Mary died; this is also the venerable site of the Supper of the Lord. There is also, standing in the middle of the church, a marble column, to which the Lord was bound when He was scourged. The form of this church is said to be as is drawn below.¹

There is shown a rock, above which the sainted p. 20. proto-martyr Stephen was stoned without the city; while in the middle of Jerusalem, on the spot where a dead p. 16, 17. man came to life again when the Cross of the Lord was placed on him, stands a lofty column, which throws no shadow at the summer solstice, whence it is thought that this is the middle of the earth, as is said in history; 'But God, our King, before the ages has wrought salvation in the midst of the earth.' Influenced by this opinion, Victorinus also, one of the chief men of the Church of Pettau,² writing about Golgotha, begins thus:

'There is a spot we hold the midst of all the world;
In their own tongue the Jews call it Golgotha.'

¹ *M., Pc.*, give a drawing of the church.

² This is the only authority for attributing these, or any other, extant verses to St. Victorinus, Bishop of Pettau, in Upper Pannonia, martyred under Diocletian (?). See Smith's 'D ct. of Christian Biog.,' iv., p. 1128.

IV.—THE NAPKIN OF THE HEAD OF THE LORD, AND ANOTHER LARGER LINEN CLOTH WOVEN BY ST. MARY.

pp. 12-15. After the Resurrection of the Lord, the napkin that had been about His head was stolen by a Jew, who soon after became a true Christian and retained it by him till his death, and who meanwhile became rich. When dying, pp. 11, 12, 13. he asks his sons, which of them wished to receive the napkin of the Lord, which to possess the rest of his father's wealth. The elder chose the earthly treasure, the younger the napkin. And straightway the former decreases until the elder son comes to poverty; while with faith his brother's wealth increases, and his faithful descendants therefore retained it even to the fifth generation. Afterwards it came into the possession of impious persons, whose wealth it so greatly increased that it occasioned great quarrels for a long time; the Christian Jews claiming to be the heirs of Christ, while unbelieving Jews claimed to be the heirs of their fathers; until, after long contention, Mauvias,¹ the King of the Saracens in our own time, was called on to act as judge. Lighting a great fire, he prays to Christ to judge who was worthy to possess this napkin which He had deigned to wear about His head for their salvation. He then cast it into the fire, when it was snatched suddenly and flew upwards, and remained for a very long time at a great height, flying in the air as if at play, and at last, while all were gazing on it from both sides, it descended lightly and deposited itself in the bosom of one of the Christians, being saluted and kissed immediately by the whole people with the greatest reverence. It p. 16. is eight feet in length. Another linen cloth of

¹ In other MSS., 'Majuuias,' 'Mauras,' 'Moawieh.' See p. 14, note 1.

much larger size, is venerated in the church, which is said to have been woven by St. Mary, having the likenesses of the twelve Apostles and of the Lord Himself, one side being red and the other green.

V.—THE PLACES ROUND JERUSALEM, THE VALLEY OF JOSAPHAT, HIS SEPULCHRE AND THOSE OF OTHERS, THE CHURCH IN WHICH ST. MARY WAS BURIED.

Round Jerusalem the ground is rough and p. 22. mountainous. Hence to the north, as far as Arimathia, the ground is rocky and rough, though not quite continuously, while thorny valleys lie towards the Tanitic region ; while towards Cesarea of Palestine from Ælia, although some narrow, small, rough spots are found, yet, for the most part, the ground is a level plain, with olive groves scattered over it. These places are seventy-five miles distant from each other, while the length of the Land of Promise from Dan to Bersabee extends over 160 miles, from Joppa to Bethlehem being forty-six miles.

Next the wall of the Temple or of Jerusalem on p. 22. the east is Gehennon, or the Valley of Josaphat, stretching from north to south, through which the torrent of Cedron runs, at least when it receives water from the rains. This valley is a small plain, watered, and wooded, and full of delights, and once had in it a grove¹ sacred to Baal. In this p. 18. is the Tower of King Josaphat, containing his sepulchre ; on its right hand is a separate building hewn out of the rock of Mount Olivet, containing two rock-hewn sepulchres, being those of the aged Simeon and of Joseph, the spouse of St. Mary. In this same valley is the round Church of p. 17. St. Mary, divided in two by a stone vaulting, having four altars in the upper part, and in the lower portion one altar to

¹ Others, 'and spot.'

the east, and on its right hand an empty tomb, in which St. Mary is said to have rested for some time ; but by whom, and when, the body was taken away is unknown. Those who enter this sec on the right, inserted in the wall, the rock on which the Lord prayed on the night in which He was betrayed, the marks of His knees being impressed as if in soft wax.

VI.—THE PLACE WHERE JUDAS WAS HANGED, AND ACHELDEMAC.

p. 19. Those going out by the Gate of David find a bridge¹ stretching southwards across the valley, at the middle of which, on the west side, Judas is said to have hanged himself. For here stands a fig tree of great size and of very great age, alluding to which Juvencus says :

‘From fig-tree top he snatched a shapeless death.’

p. 21. Further on is Acheldemac, on the south of Mount Sion, where strangers² and other persons of no note are still buried, while others putrefy there unburied.

VII.—THE MOUNT OF OLIVET, AND THE CHURCH BUILT THERE, WHERE THE LORD ASCENDED INTO THE HEAVENS—THE TOMB OF LAZARUS, AND A THIRD CHURCH.

pp. 21, 22. The Mount of Olives, which is a mile distant from Jerusalem, is equal to Mount Sion in height, but excels it in length and breadth. With the exception of vines and olives, the ground is almost destitute of trees, but it is fertile in corn and barley, and the quality of the soil is suitable for grass and flowers, not for trees. On its summit, where the Lord ascended to heaven, is a round church of large size, having in its circuit three vaulted porticoes

¹ Others, ‘fountain.’

² Or ‘pilgrims’ ; see p. 21, note 2.

covered over above. For the interior of the house pp. 22-24. could not be vaulted over or covered, on account of the passage (Ascension) of the Lord's body from that spot; it has an altar towards the east, protected by a narrow roof; in the centre of it are seen the last footprints of the Lord, under the open heaven, where He ascended. And although the earth is daily carried away by the believing, they none the less remain and still retain the same appearance of their own, as if marked by impressed footsteps. Around these lies a hollow brass cylinder as high as one's neck,¹ with an entrance from the west, while a great lamp is hung above it by pulleys, burning the whole night and day. In the western side of that church are eight windows and the same number of lamps hung by ropes opposite to them; their light is shed through the glass as far as Jerusalem, and is said to smite the hearts of the beholders with a certain eagerness and compunction. On the day of the Ascension of the Lord each year, after Mass is performed, a storm of strong wind comes down regularly and lays prostrate on the ground all that are in the church. On that night so many lamps are lighted there, that the mountain and the places at its foot appear not only to be illuminated but even to be on fire.

We have thought it right to give a drawing of this church below.²

The Tomb of Lazarus is pointed out by a church pp. 26, 27. built there, and by a large monastery, in a certain plain of Bethany, surrounded by a great wood of olives. Now Bethany is fifteen furlongs distant from Jerusalem. There is also a third church on the same mountain, towards the southern side of Bethany, where the Lord spoke to His disciples before the Passion about the Day of Judgment.

¹ Others, 'head and neck,' or only 'head.'

² The drawing is wanting in almost all MSS.

VIII.—THE SITUATION OF BETHLEHEM, THE CHURCH UPON THE PLACE WHERE THE LORD WAS BORN, THE SEPULCHRES OF DAVID AND HIERONYMUS AND THE THREE SHEPHERDS, AND ALSO THAT OF RACHEL.

pp. 28, 29. Bethlehem, which lies six miles¹ southwards from Jerusalem, is situated on a narrow ridge, which is surrounded on all sides by valleys, and is a mile long from west to east, a low wall without towers being built right round the level summit. In the eastern corner of this is a sort of natural half cave, the exterior of which is said to have been the place of the Nativity of the Lord, while the interior is called the Manger of the Lord. This cave, the interior of which is wholly covered over with precious marble, has, above the exact spot where the Lord is said to have been born, the

p. 29. large Church of St. Mary. A rock, hollowed out close to the wall, still preserves the water in which the Body of the Lord was first washed, which it caught as it was thrown from the wall; and this water, if it should be exhausted either by accident or intentionally, is always restored to its full extent even while you look at it.

p. 30. To the north of Bethlchem, in the neighbouring valley, the Sepulchre of David is covered over in the middle of a church by a low stone, with a lamp placed above it; while to the south, in a neighbouring valley, there is in a church the Sepulchre of St. Hieronymus. In this I have followed the account given by Arculf, a Bishop of the Gauls. But Esdras writes clearly, that David was buried in Jerusalem.

p. 31. Farther to the east in the Tower of Ader, that is, of the flock, a mile from the city, is a church containing the tombs of the shepherds who were informed of the Nativity of the Lord. A royal road leads from Ælia to

¹ The real distance is five English miles.

Chebron, leaving Bethlehem to the east, and to the west the Sepulchre of Rachel, still signed with the inscription of her name.

IX.—THE SITUATION OF HEBRON, MAMBRE, AND THE TOMB OF THE PATRIARCHS AND OF ADAM, THE PINE WOOD.

Hebron is situated along a plain, twenty-two pp. 32, 33. miles from Ælia. A furlong to the east, it has a double cave in a valley, where the Sepulchres of the Patriarchs are surrounded by a rectangular wall, their heads turned to the north, each of them covered with one stone hewn like a Basilica, the stone being white in the case of the Patriarchs, darker and of commoner workmanship in Adam's, who lies not far from them towards the north end of that wall. Poorer and smaller monuments of their three wives are also seen. The hill of Mambre, a mile to the north of p. 33. these tombs, is very grassy and flowery, having a level plain at the summit, in the northern part of which is the oak of Abraham, surrounded by a church, its trunk being the height of two men. Those coming from Hebron north- p. 34. wards, have on their left hand a mountain of small extent covered with pines, three miles from Hebron, whence pine wood is carried to Jerusalem on camels; for in all Judea carts or waggons are rare.

X.—JERICHO AND ITS HOLY PLACES, GALGAL AND THE FOUNTAIN OF HELISEUS, THE GREAT PLAIN.

Jericho is nineteen¹ miles to the east of Ælia, and p. 35. as it has been levelled to the ground three times, only the house of Raab remains, as a sign of her faith; for its walls are still standing, though without a roof. The site of the city produces corn and vines. Between it and the Jordan,

¹ *O.*, *Pc.*, have '14,000 feet;' *Pa.*, '18 miles.'

which is five or six miles from it, there are great palm groves, with open spaces left, which are inhabited by p. 36. Chananeans. The twelve stones which Josua ordered to be taken from the Jordan lie in a church at Galgal built just within the walls; they are so large that one of them can now scarcely be lifted by two men; while one of them has been broken by some unknown accident, but has been joined together again by an iron band. Close to Jericho is a copious fountain of drinking-water, good for irrigating purposes, which was once sterile and unhealthy for drinking, but was healed by Heliseus the prophet, when he cast salt into it. It is surrounded by a plain seventy furlongs in length, and twenty in breadth, in which are marvellously fair gardens, with many varieties of palms¹ and most excellent breeds of bees. There the opobalsamum is produced, which we name thus with an affix because the husbandmen, with sharp stones, cut slender channels through the bark, in which the balsam is generated, so that the sap, after distilling slowly through those caverns, collects in beautifully bedewed tears; and a cavern is called in Greek *ὀπή*, Ope. Here, they say, the cyprus and the myrobalanus²

¹ 'Apples,' *Pb.*

² It is impossible to identify exactly the trees referred to. (1) The name *Opobalsamum*, given to the sap extracted from the Balsam tree, is not derived from *ὀπή*, a hole, but from *ὀπός*, juice, the milky juice flowing from a plant, either naturally or by incision. The Hebrew word for the balsam, *tsōri*, is derived from the root, meaning 'fissure,' referring to the practice of drawing it from the tree in this way. But it is much disputed what is the real Balsam tree, and whether the tree from which the Balm of Gilead was obtained was also the Balsam tree of Jericho. (2) The *Cyprus* tree (the camphire of Cant. i. 14, iv. 13) probably derives its name from the Hebrew *Kaphar*, to cover or paint. It is the Arabic *Henna*, a red stain much used for the nails being made from its dry leaves. It is the *Lawsonia Inermis*. (3) The *Myrobalanus* is variously identified. Either it or the Balsam tree may be the *Zackum* tree, variously named *Elæagnus angustifolia* and *Balanites Ægyptiaca*, the oil obtained from which is highly esteemed

grow. The water, as in some other fountains, but here more especially, is cold in summer, tepid in winter; the air is milder, so that in the depth of winter linen clothing is worn. The city itself is built in a plain, and is overhung by an extensive mountain, bare of anything fruitful: for the soil of the country is barren, and therefore it is without inhabitants. A wide extent of country stretches from the district of the city of Scythopolis to that of Sodom and the Asphaltic region. Opposite this, a mountain extends above the Jordan, from the city of Julias to Zoar,¹ which is conterminous with Arabia Petræa, where there is a mountain called Ferreus. Between these two mountains stretches a plain, which the ancients called 'the Great,' or in Hebrew, 'Aulon,' 230 furlongs in length, 120 in breadth, extending from the village of Gennabara to the Asphaltic Lake. The Jordan intersects it, with banks verdant from the watering of the river, the trees upon its banks being much more fruitful than elsewhere, where they are more barren; for all the land beyond the bank of the river is dry.

XI.—THE JORDAN AND THE SEA OF GALILEE.

The Jordan is commonly supposed to rise in the pp. 39, 40. province of Phenicia, at the roots of Mount Lebanon, where Paneum, that is, Cesarea Philippi, is situated. For this reason we learn that Paneum, that is, 'the grotto,' through which the Jordan flows, was constructed and adorned with admirable beauty by King Agrippa. There is, however, in the district of Trachonitis a fountain resembling a disc,² whence it has received the name of Phiala; it is fifteen miles from Cæsarea, by the Arabs as a cure for wounds. It grows near Jericho. This may not improbably be the *Myrobalanus*, while the Balsam tree may be the *Cistus Creticus*.—Abbot Daniel, p. 8, note 4.

¹ See p. 39, note 1.

² 'Rota.' 'The reference is apparently to the sun's disc, often called rota.'—C. W. W.

and is so constantly full of water, that it never overflows and never diminishes. Into this Philip, the tetrarch of the region, cast straws, which the river cast up in Paneum. Whence it follows that the source of the Jordan is in Phiala, but that it flows through subterranean channels to Paneum, where it begins to be visible as a river; soon entering the lake, it intersects its marshes; thence it directs its course for fifteen¹ miles without receiving any addition, to the city called Julias; afterwards it flows through the middle of the Lake of Genezar, whence, after passing many places, it enters the Asphaltic, that is the Dead Sea, and there loses its famous

p. 38. waters. It is of a white colour, like milk, and on this account is recognised for a long distance in the Dead

pp. 40. 41. Sea. Now Genezar, that is, the Sea of Galilee, is surrounded by great woods; it is 140 furlongs in length, 40 in breadth; the water is sweet and good for drinking, since it receives nothing thick with marsh mud or turbid, because it is surrounded on all sides by a sandy shore. It is surrounded also by agreeable towns,—on the east by Julias and Hippo, on the west by Tiberias, which is healthy from its hot waters; the kinds of fish are better as regards taste and appearance than in any other lake.

XII.—THE DEAD SEA, AND ITS NATURE, AND THAT OF THE NEIGHBOURING DISTRICT.

p. 39. The Dead Sea extends 580² furlongs in length to Zoar of Arabia, 150 in breadth to the neighbourhood of Sodom; for it is most certain that after the burning of Sodom and Gomorrha and the neighbouring cities, it flowed in from what were once wells of salt. It is seen also by those look-

p. 41. ing towards it from afar, from the watch-tower of

p. 38. Mount Olivet; because the colliding movement of the waves casts out the most salt salt, which is dried by the

¹ 'Twelve,' *Pc.*

² 'Five hundred and eight,' *Pb.*

sun, and used by many nations. There is further said to be salt, in a mountain of Sicily, where stones turned out of the ground supply a true salt, most useful for all purposes, which is known as Earth Salt. The Sea is called 'Dead' because it does not contain any kind of living creatures, whether fish or such birds as are met with beside water, while bulls and camels float on it.¹ Finally, if the Jordan has been swollen by rain and has carried down fishes in its flood, they die immediately and float above the oily waters. They say that a lighted lamp floats above it unchanged,² and does not sink so as to put out the light, while if a vessel has been submerged by any device it can scarcely be caused to remain in the depths, and all living creatures even if submerged and vehemently beaten down, at once rise to the surface: while finally, they say that Vespasian ordered men who could not swim, to have their hands bound and then to be thrown into the deep, and they floated above it. The water is barren³ and bitter, and darker than other waters, and produces a sort of parched feeling. It is certain that lumps of bitumen float in a black liquid on the water, which they collect in boats. The bitumen is said to adhere to them so that it cannot be cut off even by iron tools, yielding only to menstruous blood or urine. It is useful for caulking joints in ships and for healing the human body. The district still retains the appearance of the punishment (of the Cities of the Plain); for very beautiful apples grow there, which excite among spectators a desire to eat them, but when plucked, they burst and are reduced to ashes, and give rise to smoke as if they were still burning. Also in summer an immoderate amount of vapour

¹ *Pb.* reads, 'while bitumen floats on it resembling gold and a camel in appearance.'

² The same MS. reads, 'unchanged, so that the light can neither be sprinkled nor be submerged, because if a vessel,' etc.

³ Probably 'unprofitable,' useless for drinking.

steams up over the plains, while the unhealthy drought and the dryness of the soil unite to corrupt the air and destroy the inhabitants with deplorable diseases.

XIII.—THE PLACE WHERE THE LORD WAS BAPTIZED.

pp. 36-38. At the place where the Lord was baptized, a wooden cross stands, as high as one's neck, which is often hidden by the rising of the water; the further or eastern bank is as far distant from it as one can sling a stone, while the nearer bank has on the top of a hill the great monastery of the Blessed John Baptist, the church of which is celebrated, from which people are wont to pass down to that cross by a bridge raised on arches, and pray. At the edge of the river is a square church built on four stone vaults, covered over above with slacked lime,¹ where the garments worn by the Lord when He was baptized, are said to be preserved. This, men do not usually enter, but the² waves surround and penetrate it. From the point where the Jordan issues from the ravine of the Sea of Galilee to that where it enters the Dead Sea, is eight³ days' journey.

XIV.—THE LOCUSTS AND THE WILD HONEY, AND THE FOUNTAIN OF JOHN THE BAPTIST.

p. 43. There seems to have been a very small kind of locust, which John the Baptist fed upon, and which is still found, with a thin short body like the finger of a hand, which is easily taken in the grass, and is used for food by the poor, when cooked in oil. In the same desert there are trees with broad round leaves of the colour of milk and the taste of honey, which being naturally fragile, are rubbed in the hands and eaten. This is what is called 'wild

¹ See p. 38, note 1.

² 'But on all sides they surround,' *Pc.*; 'enter or descend thence,' *O.*

³ 'Fifteen,' *Pb.*

honey.' In the same place the fountain of St. John Baptist is shown, the water being clear; it is protected by a stone covering besmeared with lime.

XV.—THE FOUNTAIN OF JACOB NEAR SICHEM.

Near the city of Sichem, which is now called pp. 41, 42. Neapolis, is a four-armed church, that is, one built in the form of a cross, in the middle¹ of which is the Fountain of Jacob, forty cubits in height, which the Lord honoured by asking water from it from the woman of Samaria.

XVI.—TIBERIAS AND CAPHARNAUM AND NAZARETH AND THE HOLY PLACES THERE.

The place where the Lord blessed the bread and p. 43. the fish is on this side of the Sea of Galilee, to the north of the city of Tiberias: a grassy level plain which has never since been ploughed, and which has no buildings on it, showing only a fountain from which they drank. Those who come from Ælia to Capharnaum pass through p. 44. Tiberias, and thence along the Sea of Galilee and the place where the bread was blessed: not far from which is Capharnaum, on the borders of Zabulon and Nephthalim, having no wall, situated in a narrow space between the mountain and the lake above the sea shore, extending for a long distance eastwards, having the mountain on the north, and the lake on the south. Nazareth has no walls, but great p. 45. buildings and two large churches. One in the middle of the city is founded on two vaults, where once there was the house in which the Lord was nourished in His infancy. This church, as has been said, is raised on two mounds, with arches interposed, having down below among these mounds

¹ Tobler omits as unintelligible 'stretching from the side to the end of the fingers.' See p. 42.

a very clear fountain, from which all the citizens draw their water in vessels by means of pulleys. There is another church, where the house was in which the angel came to Mary.

XVII.—MOUNT TABOR AND THE THREE CHURCHES
ON IT.

p. 46. Mount Tabor, in the middle of the plain of Galilee, rises up to the north at a¹ distance of three miles from the Sea of Genesareth; it is completely round, very grassy and flowery, 30 furlongs in height. Its summit forms a very pleasant level surface of 23² furlongs, where is a large monastery surrounded by a large wood, having three churches, according to what Peter said, 'Let us make here three tabernacles.' The place is surrounded by a wall, and has great buildings.

XVIII.—THE SITUATION OF DAMASCUS.

p. 47. Damascus is situated in a wide plain, with an ample circuit of walls, and is fortified by frequent towers; four great rivers flow through it. While the Christians frequent the Church of St. John Baptist, the king of the Saracens with his people has built and consecrated another. There are a very large number of olive groves round the city outside the walls. From Tabor to Damascus is seven days' journey.

XIX.—THE SITUATION OF ALEXANDRIA, THE CHURCH
IN WHICH MARK THE EVANGELIST RESTS, AND THE
NILE.

pp. 48-51. Alexandria is a long city from west to east, surrounded on the south by the mouths of the Nile, on the

¹ Several MSS. here mention the tribe of Manasseh. ² '24,' *Pb.*

north by the Egyptian Sea,¹ having a harbour more difficult than others, in form like the human body—more capacious at the head and the roads, but narrower in the straits, where it receives the sea and ships in movement, by which some aids to breathing are given to the port. When one has escaped the narrows and the mouths of the harbour, a stretch of sea spreads out far and wide like the rest of the human form. On the right side of the port is a small island, on which stands Pharus, that is, a very large tower, which burns during the night with the flames of torches, lest sailors should be deceived in the darkness and fall upon rocks, or fail to recognise the boundary of the entrance, because it is always unquiet, with waves always breaking. But the harbour is always calm ; it is thirty furlongs in extent.

Those entering the city from the Egyptian side pp. 51, 52. are met on the right hand by a Church, in which rests the blessed Evangelist Mark. His body is buried in the eastern end of that church before the altar, a square marble monument being placed above the spot.

Around the Nile the Egyptians are in the habit p. 52. of making frequent ramparts on account of the irruption of the waters, which, should they be broken by the carelessness of the guardians, instead of irrigating, ruin the underlying ground. And because the Egyptians inhabit the plains, they build their houses upon the banks of the waters, supporting them on transverse beams.

XX.—CONSTANTINOPLE, AND THE BASILICA IN THAT CITY WHICH CONTAINS THE CROSS OF THE LORD.

Constantinople is surrounded on all sides except p. 53. the north by the Great Sea, extending sixty miles from it to the wall of the city, and forty miles from the wall of the city to the mouths of the Danube ; it is surrounded by

Most MSS., ' By the Mareotic Lake.'

a circuit of walls twelve miles in length, with angles corresponding to the sea-board. At first Constantine had fixed to build it¹ by the sea which separates Asia from Europe; but one night all the tools were taken away, and they were found by those sent to look for them, on the European side, where the city now is; for it was thus understood to be God's will that it should be built there.

pp. 55-57. In this city is a church of marvellous workmanship, called St. Sophia, constructed from the foundation on a round plan and vaulted, surrounded by three walls, and supported by great columns and raised on arches, the interior of which has in its northern end a large and exceedingly beautiful ambry, in which is a wooden chest covered with a wooden covering, which contains three parts of the Cross of the Lord, viz., the long beam cut into two parts and the cross beam of that Holy Cross. This is brought out to be adored by the people on only three days of the year, that is, on [the day of] the Supper of the Lord, on the Day of Preparation and on [the day of] the Holy Sabbath,² when the first chest is laid opened on the golden altar (it is two cubits in height and one in breadth) with the Holy Cross. The Emperor first approaches and adores and kisses the Holy Cross, then all ranks of the laity in order; on the next day the Empress and all the matrons and virgins do the same; while on the third day the Bishops and all ranks of the clergy do the same; and so the chest is again closed and carried back to the above-named ambry. But as long as it remains open upon the altar, a marvellous odour pervades the whole church; for from the knots of the holy wood there flows a sweet-smelling liquid like oil, of which if any sick person touch a particle, it heals all his sickness.

¹ 'In Cilicia' in some MSS.

² That is to say, on Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and the Saturday before Easter.

XXI.—EPILOGUE.

In this account of the holy places, I have, as far as I could, followed trustworthy histories, and especially that of Arculf, a Bishop of Gaul, which the presbyter Adamnan, one most learned in the Scriptures, has written in three books in the Latin language. The prelate I have mentioned, leaving his own country, from his desire after the holy places, went to the land of promise, and there stayed some months in Jerusalem, using an aged monk, Peter by name, equally as guide and as interpreter, and visited in his course all the places he had so vividly longed to see, not to speak of Alexandria, Damascus, Constantinople, and Sicily. But when he wished to revisit his native country, the ship in which he sailed was, after many wanderings, brought by a contrary wind to our island of Britain, and at length after many dangers he came to the venerable man of whom we have spoken, Adamnan, to whom he gave an account of his journey and of what he saw, and whom he thus taught to become the writer of a most excellent history. From this we have culled some parts and compared them with the books of the ancients, and we transmit them to thee to read, entreating through all that thou be careful to temper the labour of the present age, not by the ease of a lascivious body, but by zeal in reading and in prayer.

APPENDIX.

TRANSLATION OF PORTIONS OF 'ARCULF'S NARRATIVE,'
FROM PROFESSOR WILLIS' 'HOLY SEPULCHRE.'

[*Williams' 'Holy City,' vol. ii.: London, 1849.*]



OF THE CHURCH OF THE SEPULCHRE OF THE LORD.

(Pages 5, 6 ; cap. i., last sentence, and cap. ii.)

'CONCERNING these things we diligently interrogated the holy Arculfus, and especially about the Sepulchre of the Lord, and the church constructed above it, of which he delineated the form for me upon a waxen tablet. This great church, all of stone, of wondrous rotundity on all sides, arising from its foundation in three walls, has a broad passage between each wall and the next. In three ingeniously constructed places of the middle wall three altars are disposed, one looking to the south, another to the north, and the third towards the west ; and this round and lofty church is sustained by twelve columns of wondrous magnitude, and it has eight doors or entrances formed by three walls erected in the intermediate spaces between the passages. Of these, four are turned to the south-east, and the other four to the north-east.'—'Holy City,' ii. 259.

(Pages 6-9, capp. iii., iv.)

'In the centre of this circular church is situated a round cabin (*tegurium*), cut out of a single piece of rock, within

which there is space for *nine* men to stand and pray. The vaulted roof is about a foot and a half above the head of a man of no short stature. The entrance of this little chamber is to the east. The whole of its *exterior surface* is covered with choice marble, and the highest part of its outer roof, ornamented with gold, sustains a golden cross of no small magnitude. The Sepulchre of the Lord is in the north part of the chamber, and is cut out of the same rock as it, but the pavement of the chamber is lower than the place of sepulture; for there is an altitude of about three palms from the pavement to the lateral edge of the sepulchre. . . . By the *Sepulchre*, properly so called, is meant that place in the north part of the monumental chamber, in which the body, wrapped in linen clothes, was deposited, the length of which Arculfus measured with his own hand as seven feet. Which sepulchre is not, as some erroneously imagine, hollowed out into a double form (*i.e.*, in the shape of the body), having a projection left from the solid rock, between and separating the legs and thighs, but is simple and plain from the head to the feet, and is a couch affording room for one man lying on his back. It is in the manner of a cave, having its opening at the side, and opposite the south part of the monumental chamber. The low roof is artificially wrought above it. In this sepulchre twelve lamps, according to the number of the twelve holy Apostles, burn day and night continually, of which four are placed below in the inner part of that sepulchral couch, and the other eight above, over the margin on the right side. . . . This chamber of the Lord's monument, not being covered within by any ornaments, exhibits to this day the marks of the workmen's tools by which it was excavated. The colour of the rock of the monument and sepulchre is not uniform, but a mixture of red and white.' —'Holy City,' ii. 174, 175.

OF THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY.

(Page 9, cap. v.)

‘The quadrangular church of Holy Mary, the Mother of the Lord, is joined on the right side to that round church described above, and which is called Anastasis, or Resurrection, because it is constructed on the place of the Lord’s resurrection.’

OF THE CHURCH OF CALVARY.

(Pages 9, 10, cap. vi.)

‘Another church, of great magnitude, is constructed towards the east in that place which is called Golgotha. In its upper parts there hangs by ropes a certain brazen *rota* with lamps, beneath which a great silver cross is infixed in the very same place where formerly the wooden cross, on which the Saviour of mankind suffered, was fixed and stood.

‘In the same church there is a cave cut out of the rock beneath the place of the Lord’s cross, where the sacrifice is offered upon an altar for the souls of certain honoured persons, whose bodies, meanwhile, lying in the street, are placed before the door of the said Golgothan Church, until the holy mysteries for the defunct are finished.

OF THE BASILICA OF CONSTANTINE.

(Pages 10, 11, capp. vii., viii.)

‘To this church, constructed upon a quadrangular plan in the place of Calvary, there adjoins on the eastern side that neighbouring stone basilica, erected with great magnificence by the royal Constantine, called also the Martyrium, which was located, as they say, in the place where the cross of our Lord, with the other two crosses of the thieves, con-

cealed under the earth, was found by the gift of the Lord, after two hundred and thirty-three years. Between these two churches occurs that famous place where Abraham the Patriarch erected an altar for the sacrifice of Isaac . . . where now there stands a small wooden table upon which people offer alms for the poor. . . . Between the 'Anastasis,' that is, the above-described church, and the Basilica of Constantine is a small court, extending as far as the Golgothan Church, in which court lamps are kept constantly burning day and night.'

OF THE OTHER EXEDRA IN THE CHURCH OF CALVARY.

(Pages 11, 12, cap. ix.)

'Between the Golgothan Church and the Martyrium is a certain "Exedra," or apse, in which is the cup. This Arculfus goes on to describe as the cup of the Last Supper,' and also to state that he saw the 'sponge' and the 'lance.' —'Holy City,' ii., 259-261.

THE END.



The Right Rev. W. R. BROWNLOW, Bishop of Clifton, writes with reference to 'The Hodoeporicon of St. Willibald,' which he kindly translated and edited for the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, that, when visiting Lucca last November, he saw the tomb of St. Richard, the father of St. Willibald. On the front of his altar there is an inscription enclosed in a circle as follows :



'I could not discover any fragment of the Inscription copied by Evelyn in 1645. There was an old worm-eaten copy of it, printed on paper, and mounted on a board. The old Church of St. Frediano, Irish Finnian, is extremely interesting, and dates from the sixt century ; as also is the Cathedral.

'I thought you might be interested to know that St. Richard, whom Mr. Kerslake makes out was King of Crediton, is still known at Lucca.'



Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society.

THE HODŒPORICON

OF

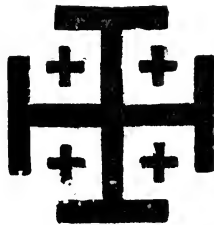
SAINT WILLIBALD.

(CIRCA 754 A.D.)

Translated by

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	vii
PROLOGUE	I
I. HOW IT IS PROPOSED TO WRITE THE LIFE	3
II. WHILE AN INFANT HE IS ATTACKED WITH A GRIEVOUS ILLNESS	3
III. HIS PARENTS PROMISE FOR THEIR CHILD THAT HE SHOULD LEAD A MONASTIC LIFE	4
IV. ON THE CHILDHOOD OF WILLIBALD ; HE IS TAKEN TO THE MONASTERY OF WALDHEIM	4
V. HE PERSEVERES IN SACRED LEARNING, AND IN THE LIFE OF A MONK	5
VI. PILGRIMAGE COMES INTO HIS MIND	5
VII. HIS FATHER CONSENTS, AND, TOGETHER WITH HIS SON WUNEBALD, ENTERS INTO THE DESIGN OF GOING ABROAD	6
VIII. ON WILLIBALD'S CROSSING OVER, HIS JOURNEY TO ROME : HAMEL-MOUTH, THE SEINE, ROUEN, THE GORTHONIC LAND, LUCCA, THE BASILICA OF ST. PETER	6
IX. ROME : THEY SUFFER FROM FEVER	8
X. TERRACINA, GAIETA, NAPLES, RHEGIUM, CATANA, MOUNT ETNA, SYRACUSE	9
XI. THE ADRIATIC SEA, MONEMBASIA, CHIOS, SAMOS, EPHESUS, PHYGALA, HIERAPOLIS, PATARA, MILETUS, CHELIDONIUM, CYPRUS, PAPHOS, CONSTANTIA	10
XII. ANTARARDUS, ARCA, EMESA : CAPTIVITY	12
XIII. DAMASCUS, CHANA, MOUNT TABOR	15
XIV. TIBERIAS, MAGDALUM, CAPHARNAUM, BETHSAIDA, CHOROZAIN	16

	PAGE
XV. JOR AND DAN, THE JORDAN, THE POOLS OF MEROM, CESAREA PHILIPPI	16
XVI. MONASTERY AND CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST BY THE JORDAN, BAPTISM IN THIS RIVER, THE FEAST OF THE EPIPHANY	17
XVII. GALGALA, JERICHO, MONASTERY OF ST. EUTHYMIUS .	18
XVIII. JERUSALEM, THE CHURCH AND CROSSES IN THE PLACE OF CALVARY, THE GARDEN WITH THE SEPULCHRE OF OUR SAVIOUR, AND THE WONDER- FUL HOUSE	19
XIX. WILLIBALD SICK, THE CHURCH OF HOLY SION, SOLO- MON'S PORCH, THE POOL OF PROBatica	20
XX. THE COLUMN IN MEMORY OF THE PLACE WHERE THE JEWS WISHED TO CARRY OFF THE BODY OF HOLY MARY ; HER TRANSLATION IN HOLY SION .	21
XXI. THE VALLEY OF JOSAPHAT, THE CHURCH AND TOMB OF HOLY MARY, THE CHURCH WHERE OUR LORD PRAYED, THE CHURCH OF THE ASCENSION ON MOUNT OLIVET	21
XXII. THE PLACE OF THE SHEPHERDS, BETHLEHEM, THE CAVE AND CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY OF OUR LORD	22
XXIII. THECUA, THE LAURA AND MONASTERY OF ST. SABA .	23
XXIV. THE LITTLE CHURCH WHERE PHILIP BAPTIZED THE EUNUCH, GAZA, ST. MATTHIAS, ST. ZACHARIAS, HEBRON	23
XXV. JERUSALEM, DIOSPOLIS (AT ST. GEORGE), CHURCH OF ST. PETER IN JOPPE, THE GREAT SEA, TYRE, SIDON, TRIPOLI, MOUNT LIBANUS, DAMASCUS, CÆSAREA PHILIPPI	24
XXVI. JERUSALEM, EMESA, SALAMAIS (WHERE HE WAS SICK A LONG TIME), AGAIN EMESA, DAMASCUS	25
XXVII. JERUSALEM, SEBASTIA, CHURCH OVER THE WELL WHERE OUR LORD ASKED WATER FROM THE WOMAN OF SAMARIA, MOUNT GARIZIM, A LARGE TOWN	26
XXVIII. THE PLAIN OF ESDRAELON, PTOLEMAIS, THE WHITE PROMONTORY WITH THE TOWER OF LIBANUS, TYRE, DECEPTION WITH PETROLEUM	26

	PAGE
XXIX. CONSTANTINOPLE, NICÆA	28
XXX. SYRACUSE, CATANA, RHEGIUM, INFERNUS THEODERICI IN INSULA VULCANI	29
XXXI. THE ISLAND OF LIPARA WITH THE CHURCH OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE APOSTLE; THEN THE MOUNTAINS OF DIDYMUS, NAPLES, CAPUA, TEANO, CASSINO	30
XXXII. MONASTERY OF ST. BENEDICT, THE RIVER RAPIDUS, COMMUNITY LIFE	31
XXXIII. ROME: THE PILGRIMAGE IS BRIEFLY NARRATED BEFORE THE POPE	32
XXXIV. THE POPE EXHORTS HIM TO SET OUT TO [JOIN] ST. BONIFACE	32
XXXV. JOURNEY TO LUCCA, TICINO, BRESCIA, CARTA; TO ODILO, TO SUITGAR, TO LINTHARD, TO ST. BONIFACE, EIHSTADT, WHERE IS ST. MARY'S CHURCH	33
XXXVI. FRISINGA, EIHSTADT, WILLIBALD MADE PRIEST	33
XXXVII. THURINGIA. AT SALZBURG HE IS ENDUED WITH THE FULNESS OF THE PRIESTLY DIGNITY. SOME MATTERS BELONGING TO THE PROLOGUE ARE INSERTED	34
XXXVIII. A MONASTERY IS BUILT AT EIHSTADT: COMMUNITY LIFE AFTER THE RULE OF ST. BENEDICT IS ESTAB- LISHED	35
XXXIX. CROWDS FLOW FROM ALL SIDES TO THE APOSTLE OF THE BAVARIANS	35
XL. A WHOLE PEOPLE WITH CHIEFTAINS WITHOUT NUM- BER ARE GAINED; PRAISE TO GOD AND TO WILLIBALD	35
THE ITINERARY OF ST. WILLIBALD, BY AN ANONYMOUS WRITER OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY	37
ITINERARY OF ST. WILLIBALD, ANONYMOUS	38
INDEX	57

ILLUSTRATIONS.

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE ITINERARY OF ST. WILLIBALD

End.

MAP OF PALESTINE SHOWING ROUTE OF ST. WILLIBALD

End.

INTRODUCTION.

THE first English pilgrim to the Holy Land was St. Willibald, afterwards Bishop of Eichstadt, and, through his mother, nephew to Wynfrith, who is better known as St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany. Willibald's mother was Winna, a connection of Ina, King of Wessex, and his father was Richard, who bore the title of king, though the locality of his kingdom has long been a puzzle to antiquarians. John Evelyn visited Lucca in 1645, and says of the church of St. Frediano that it

'is more remarkable to us for the corpse of St. Richard, an English king, who died here in his pilgrimage towards Rome. This epitaph is on his tomb :

Hic rex Richardus requiescit, sceptifer, almus :
Rex fuit Anglorum, regnum tenet iste Polorum.
Regnum demisit pro Christo cuncta reliquit.
Ergo Richardum nobis dedit Anglia sanctum.
Hic genitor Sanctæ Walburgæ Virginis almæ
Est Vrillebaldi Sancti simul et Vinebaldi,
Suffragium quorum nobis det regna Polorum.¹

Two accounts of Willibald's pilgrimage have come down to us. One is the *Itinerarium S. Willibaldi*, written by one of the deacons or companions of the Bishop, but whose name has not been preserved. It is apparently written from memory, and not finished until after Willibald's death.

¹ *Diary*, May 21, 1645. The W seems to have puzzled the sculptor.

The other and more valuable account is called the *Hodæporicon* (ὁδοπορικὸν βιβλίον—guide-book), written by one of the nuns of the Abbey of Heidenheim, a monastery founded by St. Boniface, and presided over by St. Walburga. Although the *Hodæporicon* was not completed until after Willibald's death, the authoress,¹ an English lady and a relation of the Bishop, had listened to Willibald relating his travels, and from his own dictation and with his approval, in the presence of two deacons, who were fellow-listeners, had taken down these narratives on paper. The style is unpolished; she indulges in occasional digressions, and is given to heaping up a number of adjectives to emphasize her meaning. But one can read between the lines the eager curiosity of the young nun, anxious to know all she could of the places which were so dear to her heart, and which the pilgrim had actually visited. The repetitions and ampliations of the descriptions are evidently the answers to questions put to him while he was telling his tale. The first nine chapters of the *Hodæporicon* contain an account of Willibald's childhood and life before he set out on his pilgrimage, and as these do not concern the topography of Palestine, it has been thought better to epitomize them. The portions omitted will be indicated by The last eight chapters are devoted to his life after his return to Italy. These are also condensed.

It must be borne in mind that Willibald was an old man and a great prelate at the time when his narrative was taken down, and that the biographer, while recounting the adventures of his youth, had ever before her eyes the venerable personality of the Bishop. A few words may help to bring that personality before us, as it impressed those who knew him in his later years.

¹ A marginal note on the Paris MS., written in the fifteenth century, states her name to have been Roswida.

When Willibald was sent by St. Boniface to Eichstadt, he found it a wild tract of forest, which he had to clear with his axe, while he preached the Gospel to the roving tribes who hunted there. The fortieth chapter of the *Hodæporicon* shows the vast change that he effected. As long as his uncle lived, Willibald was his chancellor, and sat at his right hand in those great councils which consolidated the reforms carried out by St. Boniface. After his uncle's martyrdom in 754, Willibald took a leading position among the bishops, and kept alive the traditions of the Apostle of Germany through the first twenty years of the reign of Charlemagne. His own see of Eichstadt was now a rich and fertile region, studded with towns and villages, clustering round the numerous churches and monasteries which his zeal had founded. His thirty-ninth successor in the see, Philip, gives the following sketch of his character :

‘His alms were great, his watchings often, his prayers frequent. He was perfect in charity and gentleness. His conversation was very holy ; the openness of his heart was reflected in the placidity of his face, and its affectionate kindness in the sweetness of his speech ; and all that pertained to the life eternal he exemplified in deed as he preached in word.

‘His look was majestic and terrible to gainsayers ; awfully severe, yet adorably kind. His step was stately and grave. When he reproved by authority, humility tempered the rebuke ; and whilst the frown was gathering on his brow to threaten the guilty, the kindness of his heart was pleading for them within. . . . And these graces were so in him united, that, though his presence was awful, his absence was painful. . . . His abstinence was very great ; for, from contemplating our Saviour's sufferings in his pilgrimage and retirement, his heart was so wounded that tears were his food day and night.’¹

He died in the year 785, over eighty years of age, and his body now rests in his own cathedral church at Eichstadt.

The *Hodæporicon* was printed by Henry Canisius in his *Lectioes Antiquæ*, of which the best edition is by Basnage,

¹ Bolland., *Acta SS.*, July 7.

in 1603; but Canisius seems only to have known one MS., now in Paris.

In 1672, Mabillon reprinted it from Canisius in the *Acta SS. O.S.B.*, with corrections from Gretser's edition of Bishop Philip's *History of the Bishops of Eichstadt*. In 1721, the Bollandists reprinted it again; and T. Tobler, in 1873, incorporated it among his *Descriptiones Terræ Sanctæ*. The *Itinerarium* is likewise printed in all these works. The present translation is made from the edition of the last-mentioned author, published in 1879, at Geneva, by J. G. Fick, for the *Société de l'Orient Latin*.

The headings of the chapters are evidently by a later hand, and are not printed either by Canisius or the Bollandists.

Canisius has published a third life of St. Willibald, which he attributes to Reginald, who died Bishop of Eichstadt in 989. Mabillon does not admit it to be the work of that prelate, who is said to have composed a life in verse. The life in question only occupies three pages and a half of the third volume of Basnage's edition of Canisius, and adds nothing either in the way of information or illustration to the narratives here translated.

THE HODŒPORICON
OF
SAINT WILLIBALD.

PROLOGUE.

To all reverend and most beloved in Christ . . . priests, . . . deacons, . . . abbots, and all superiors, whom our kind Bishop by virtue of his pastoral care was accustomed . . . to nourish diligently throughout his diocese as his own children, . . . I, unworthy child of the Saxon race, the last of those who have come hither from their land, who am, in comparison with those my countrymen, not only in years, but in virtue also, only a poor little creature. I had made up my mind to address you, religious and catholic men, . . . a few words on the beginning of the early life of the venerable man, Willibald. Yet I am but a woman, tainted with the frailty of my sex, with no pretensions to wisdom or cleverness to support me, but prompted solely by the violence of my own will, like a little ignorant child plucking a few flowers here and there from numerous branches rich in foliage and in fruit. So I pluck twigs from the lowest branches with what small skill I possess, and offer these few things to serve you as a memorial. . . .

But now, first by the grace of God and the greatness of the venerable man who had seen such great wonders, and next by the strong assistance of your willing consent and help, I thought I might ask for [power to fulfil my work]. The

loftiness [of the theme] and the great signs and wonders which our Lord, for the salvation of the human race, vouchsafed to do and bring to perfection, by humbling Himself, by condescending to assume a human body in this world,—these things were known corporally by the eyes of the venerable man, Willibald, who with his own feet visited all [the places], and with the touch of his own hands made them appear visibly to him. All these matters we shall dwell upon in our narrative. And not only the wonders which, by the grace of the Gospel, are proved to us as certain, did he see, but also those very spots of the earth where our Lord manifested Himself to us in His Birth, His Passion, and His Resurrection; and also other traces of wonders and powers, which our Lord deigned to produce and spread abroad in this world, that clear-sighted teacher of us all, strong in faith, in long journeys by sea and land, searched out and visited and saw. Hence, if I may say so, it seemed to me to be shameful that a human tongue should keep all these things in the obstinacy of a dumb silence with sealed lips, which our Lord had deigned to reveal to His servant by the toil of His body, and shown to him by the sight of His eyes even in our own times. We know that these things were related to us, not by the indulgence of apocryphal stories in erratic discourse; but as we heard them in his presence relating them to us, we listened, and determined to write from the dictation of his own mouth, two deacons being present and listening with me, on the ninth day before the Kalends of July [June 23], the day before the solstice.

I, an obscure individual, do not undertake this work, O ye great men of letters, because I am unaware of your talents . . . but because, unworthy as I am, I know that I am born of the same genealogical root with them, though it may be of the lowest stalks of the branches, and, therefore, felt disposed to put in the hands of the reader

something worthy of memory concerning such great and venerable men . . . of whom one was a prelate invested with the highest prerogative of the priestly rank and pastoral care, the renowned lover of the Cross, the great Master Willibald. And the other, taking hold of the path of solid virtue, making crooked things straight, smoothing down and refining the erring, the rough, and the fierce; not treating with a mind lazily and tepidly wavering the thickly-sown and shameless vices of the worldly and the sinful, but with the happy audacity of rashness, duly strengthened from on high by the zeal of wisdom, he perseveringly and with constant labour did away with all these evils. He it was who, counted as a prelate from his sacerdotal rank and pastoral honour, was our Abbot, the renowned lover of the cross, Wunebald.

All these things on the white surface of fields [of paper] I have ploughed with my pen, and left furrowed tracks written in black [ink], which are now offered to your loving knowledge. Against all the censures of the envious God's grace and yours [will be] the shield of our protection, and yet we calmly commend them to your acceptance, so that in all things we may joyfully praise our Lord, our Deliverer, and the giver of all [good] gifts.

I.—*How it is proposed to write the Life.*

I proposed to commence the putting together of this little work by making known the first beginning of the life of that venerable high priest of God, Willibald, . . . and then the middle stage of his youth, and the course of his life unto old age, and even unto decay. . . .

II.—*While an Infant he is attacked with a grievous illness.*

When he . . . had been nurtured from his cradle with great affection, and had reached to the age of three years,

it came to pass . . . that a grievous bodily weakness attacked him, and his failing breath gave warning of the end of his life being at hand. . . .

III.—*His Parents promise for their Child that he should lead a Monastic Life.*

. . . And when his parents, in great anxiety of mind, were held in suspense as to the death of their son, they made an offering of him before the great Cross of our Lord and Saviour. For it is the custom of the Saxon race that on many of the estates of nobles and of good men they are wont to have, not a church, but the standard of the holy Cross, dedicated to our Lord, and revered with great honour, lifted up on high, so as to be convenient for the frequency of daily prayer. They laid him there before the Cross, and earnestly, and with all their might, begged our Lord God, the Maker of all things, to console them, and save their son's life. And then they promised in their most fervent prayers to make a return to the Lord, so that, if the health of that child were restored, they would at once offer him to receive the tonsure, as the first commencement of Holy Order, and would place him under the yoke of the service of Christ under the discipline of monastic life. . . . Immediately after they had vowed their vows their words were fulfilled; they commended their son to the heavenly King as His soldier, and speedily obtained from the Lord the effect of their petitions, and the former health of the child was restored to him.

IV.—*On the Childhood of Willibald; he is taken to the Monastery of Waldheim.*

When that illustrious boy had arrived at his fifth year, . . . his parents hastened to fulfil their promises; and, as

soon as possible, after consultation with their noble friends and kinsfolk,¹ they lost no time in preparing him for the means of entering upon monastic life. They commended him to a venerable and most trustworthy man, Theodred. They begged him to conduct him with all care to the monastery, and to make arrangements and dispose all things prudently in his behalf. And when they took him to the monastery which is called Waldheim,² they offered him to the Abbot Egwald. . . . The Abbot . . . laid the case before his community. . . . The whole community all gave their unanimous consent, accepted him, and associated him at once with them in community life.

V.—*He perseveres in Sacred Learning, and in the Life of a Monk.*

After this, that modest child, perfected and imbued with the holy studies of the Scriptures, scanned with shrewd application of mind the sacred pages of David's Psalms, and other treasures of the holy writers of the Divine Law, . . . according to the words of the prophet, 'Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings [God] is wont to perfect His praise.' Hence, as the age of years and sagacity of mind increased, . . . he was wholly converted to the love of God, and with long and daily meditation . . . day and night he turned over in his mind how he should unite himself to the chaste family of those monks, or how he could be a partaker of their joys by the discipline of community life.

VI.—*Pilgrimage comes into his mind.*

And then . . . he began to ponder upon how he could carry out into effect this idea; that he should strive to

¹ This family council is a confirmation of the princely rank of St. Richard.

² Waltham.

despise and renounce all the perishing things of this world, and forsake, not only the temporal riches of earthly property, but also his country, his parents and kindred, and attempt to seek another land by a pilgrimage, and to explore the unknown regions of foreign places. . . .

VII.—*His Father consents, and, together with his son Wunebald, enters into the design of going abroad.*

Afterwards that youth . . . opened the secrets of his heart to his father according to the flesh, and begged him, with earnest prayers, to give his advice and consent to the desire of his will, and he asked him not only to give him permission to go—but also to go with him himself. . . . And he so allured him by the sweet promises of the oracles of God to accompany his sons, and to visit the renowned threshold of Peter, prince of the Apostles. Now his father, at first, when he asked him, declined the journey, excusing himself on account of his wife, and the youth and frailty of his growing children, and answered that it would be dishonourable and cruel to deprive them of his protection, and leave them to strangers. Then that warlike soldier of Christ, repeated his solemn exhortations, and the persistence of his prayers . . . so that at last, by the aid of Almighty God, the will of the petitioner and exhorter prevailed, and that father of his and his brother Wunebald promised that they would start on the course he had desired and exhorted them to run.

VIII.—*On Willibald's crossing over, his journey to Rome: Hamel-Mouth, the Scine, Rouen, the Gorthonic Land, Lucca, the Basilica of St. Peter.*

After this, therefore . . . his father and unmarried brother commenced their predestined and chosen journey.

And at a suitable time in the summer they were ready and prepared. Taking with them the means of livelihood, with a band of friends accompanying them, they came to the appointed place, which was known by the ancient name of Hamel-Muth,¹ near to that port which is called Hamwih. . . . And then, having crossed the sea . . . they saw in safety the dry land. At once they gave thanks and disembarked, and pitched their tents there on the banks of the river which is named the Seine,² near the city which is called Rouen,³ where was a market.

And after resting there some days, they began to proceed, and made their petitions in prayer at many shrines of the saints that were conveniently situated for them. And so by degrees going on from place to place, they came over into the Gorthonic⁴ land. And going on, they came to the city which is called Lucca.⁵ Hitherto, Willibald and Wunebald had conducted their father with them in their company on the journey. But [at Lucca] he was all at once attacked with a sudden failure of bodily strength, such that, after a short time, the day of his end was at hand. And the disease increasing upon him, his worn out and cold bodily limbs wasted away, and thus he breathed out his life's last breath. Those two brothers, his sons, then took the lifeless body of their father, and with the affection of filial devotion, wrapped it in beautiful clothes, and buried it at St. Frigidian, in the city of Lucca. There rests their father's body.

¹ The Hamble falls into the Southampton water about six miles below the present town.

² *Sigona*.

³ *Rotum*, apparently a contracted form of *Rotomagum*.

⁴ Possibly *Dertonicum*, or the neighbourhood of Dertona, the chief town in Liguria, and called Chortuna in an ancient Life of Charlemagne.

⁵ *Luca*.

Without delay they went on steadily through the vast lands of Italy, through the depths of the valleys, the steep heights of the mountains, the level plains, and at the difficult passes of the Alps they climbed on foot and directed their steps on high¹ . . . and by the aid of a kind God, and the support of the saints, with the whole body of their fellow-countrymen, and the whole band of their comrades, they all escaped the violence and cunning of armed men,² and arrived at the illustrious and renowned threshold of Peter, prince of the Apostles. There they besought his protection, and rendered unbounded thanks to Almighty God . . . that they had been counted worthy to approach the famous Basilica of St. Peter.

IX.—*Rome : they suffer from fever.*

Then those two brothers, remaining there from the Feast of St. Martin until another Paschal solemnity, . . . passed a happy life of monastic discipline under the government of the holy rule. But when the days began to shorten, and the summer heat increased, they were forthwith seized with great discomfort of body, which is usually the forewarning of fever. . . . But God, in the unwearied providence of His paternal love for His children, condescended to consult for and help them, so that one of the two had respite one week, and one the other, and thus they were able to minister to each other. . . .

¹ This must refer to the journey before reaching Lucca.

² In 721, the Saracen conquerors of Spain had been defeated by Duke Eudes beneath the walls of Toulouse. Liutprand, King of the Lombards, held armed possession of the greater part of Italy, while the Exarchs of Ravenna represented the decrepitude and tyranny of the Eastern empire, then under Leo the Isaurian; Gregory II. was Pope.

X.—*Terracina, Gaieta, Naples, Rhegium, Catana, Mount Etna, Syracuse.*

Afterwards, that illustrious lover of the Cross of Christ . . . sighed after a longer and more unknown pilgrimage than that on which he now seemed to stand still. Then that vigorous one, after taking counsel and obtaining permission from his friends and countrymen, begged that they would follow him with the aid of their supplications, so that through all the course of the journey, by the protection of their prayers, he might be enabled to reach and gaze upon the walls of the delightful and longed-for city of Jerusalem.

When the Paschal solemnities of our Lord were over, the active warrior arose with his two companions and began to set out. And as they journeyed they came as far as the city of Terracina¹ in the east, and there remained two days. And, going on from thence, they came to the city of Gaieta, which stands on the sea-shore. There they went at once on board ship, and crossed over to Naples, where, leaving the ship in which they sailed, they stayed two weeks. These cities belong to the Romans; they are in the territory of Beneventum, but yet subject to the Romans. The goodness of God is wont to act unceasingly, so that it hastens to fulfil the longing desire of His servants; and thus at once they found a ship from Egypt, and they went on board of her, and sailed thence to the land of Calabria, to a city called Regia.² And after staying there two days, they set sail, and came to the Island of Sicily—that is, to the city of the Catanians—where rests the body of St. Agatha the virgin. There is Mount Etna; and when it happens for any reason that that [volcanic] fire chooses to pour itself out over the country, then the people of that

¹ *Canisius*, Daterina

² Reggio.

city take the veil of St. Agatha in haste, and place it in front of the fire, and it stops.¹ They were there three weeks. And sailing thence they came to the city of Syracuse in the same country.

XI.—*The Adriatic Sea, Monembasia, Chios, Samos, Ephesus, Phygala, Hierapolis, Patara, Miletus, Chelidonium, Cyprus, Paphos, Constantia.*

Sailing from Syracuse they crossed the Adriatic Sea, and reached the city of Manafasia,² in the land of Slavina.³ They thence sailed to the Island of Choo,⁴ leaving Corinth on their left, and thence to the Island of Samos. From hence they sailed to Asia to the city of Ephesus, about a mile from the sea. From this city they went on foot to the place where rest the Seven Sleepers.⁵ And then they walked to [the shrine of] St. John the Evangelist, situated in a beautiful spot, near Ephesus. Then they walked two miles along the sea-coast to a large town which is called Figila,⁶ and stayed there a day. And they begged some bread, and went to a well there in the middle of the town, and they sat on the edge of the well, and dipped their

¹ This is said in her *Acts* to have taken place first in A.D. 252, when the Pagans took her veil, the year after her martyrdom. See *Acta SS.*, February 5. The Bollandists give numerous examples in the twelfth and later centuries.

² Monembasia, a small town near the south of the Morea, on the site of the ancient Epidaurus Limeria.

³ The Slavonic Bulgarians were all-powerful at Constantinople, where they had placed Leo III. on the imperial throne. It is not, therefore, unnatural that the Morea should have been occupied by them.

⁴ Chios.

⁵ See Bolland., *Acta SS.*, July 27.

⁶ Phygala, called by Strabo Πύγελα, had a temple to Diana built by Agamemnon; Strabo, *Geogr.*, lib. xiv. Pliny spells it Phygela, lib. v. chap. 29.

bread in the water, and so ate it. Going thence on foot along by the sea, they came to the city of Strobolis¹ on a high mountain. And from thence they went to a place called Patara,² and there they remained until the dreadful freezing cold of the winter had passed. After this they again took ship, and arrived at the city which is called Milite.³ That city was once on the point of perishing in the water. There dwelt two monks on a 'stylite,' that is, a place built up and strengthened by a thick wall of stones, very high, so that the water cannot hurt them. From thence they crossed over to the mountain of the Galliani.⁴ That was all passed over; and there they were so straitened by the sharpness of severe hunger, that their inward parts being torn with want of food, they began to be afraid that the fatal day of death was at hand. But the Almighty Pastor of His people deigned to provide food for His poor servants.

Sailing thence they came to the Island of Cyprus, which is situated between the Greeks and the Saracens, to the city of Paphos, and there they remained the three weeks of Easter after the turn of the year. Thence they went to the city of Constantia,⁵ where St. Epiphanius rests, and there they stayed until after the nativity of St. John the Baptist.

¹ Apparently Trogyllium; but F. Meyrick identifies it with Halicarnassus.

² Now in ruins on the sand-covered estuary of the Xanthus.

³ *Can*, Militena. If Miletus is meant, the pilgrims must have landed here before reaching Patara. The only place on the map between Patara and Chelidonia is a town, now a village, called Myra, mentioned in Acts xxvii. 27, *Gr.* The Vulgate reads Lystra.

⁴ The promontory called *Promontorium Sacrum*, opposite to which are the islands of Chelidonia. See Strabo, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Costarza is near Famagosta, and was anciently called Salamis. St. Epiphanius was Bishop of Salamis for thirty-six years, and died in 403.

XII.—*Antarardus, Arca, Emesa: Captivity.*

Sailing from Cyprus, they came into the territory of the Saracens to the city of Tharratæ¹ near the sea. And from thence they went on foot about nine or twelve miles to the village which is called Arche.² Here there was a Bishop of the Greek nation, and they had Litany according to their own rite.³ Going on from thence, they walked to a city which is called Emesa,⁴ twelve miles distance. There is a large church, which St. Helena built in honour of St. John the Baptist,⁵ and his head, which is now in Syria, was there for a long time.

There were then with Willibald seven of his fellow-

¹ Called Antaradus by the Greeks, and Tortosa in the middle ages, under which name it is celebrated by Tasso. The ruins of its magnificent Gothic cathedral are still to be seen. Its modern name is Tartûs.

² *Can.*, Arthæ; *Mabil.*, Argathæ. The high road from Antaradus to Emesa does not pass through any place called Arca. Arca Cæsarea is on the sea-coast, not far from Tripolis. A village now called 'Akkar, on Jebel Akkar, which gives the name to the province, has a ruined Saracenic castle, but it is quite off the road. Sir Richard Burton gives a sketch of a fine castle of the crusaders' times, which may have replaced a fortress of the Saracens. This is on the high road, about fifteen miles from Antaradus, and it was called by the crusaders Husn el-Akrad, or 'The Kurds' Castle.' The situation corresponds with the Arche or Arca visited by St. Willibald. See, for sketch, *Unexplored Syria*, vol. i., p. 141.

³ The frequent repetition of the *Kyrie eleison*, which is said forty times in the Greek Liturgy, would be likely to strike the English pilgrim, and he would naturally call the whole function the Litany.

⁴ Now known by the name of Hums, a town of some 20,000 inhabitants, with extensive ruins dating from the first century. It was captured by the Saracens in 636.

⁵ This church is not mentioned by Eusebius among those built by the Empress Helena; but he says of Constantine that, at the same time that the empress built the churches at Jerusalem and Bethlehem 'in all the other provinces he built new churches,' *Vita Const.*, iii. 47.

countrymen, and he made the eighth. All at once those Saracens, hearing that strangers and unknown men had arrived thither, took them and held them in captivity; for they knew not of what nation they were, but thought them to be spies. And they led them as prisoners to a certain wealthy old man that he might see and know whence they were. And that old man questioned them as to whence they came, and on what errand they were employed. Then they replied, and related to him from the beginning the whole motive of their journey. And that old man answered and said: 'I have often seen men coming from those parts of the earth, countrymen of these; they have no evil designs, but wish to fulfil their law.' Then they went from him, and came to the palace in order to ask their way to pass on to Jerusalem. But, when they arrived, that governor said at once that they were spies, and commanded them to be cast into prison until they could learn from the king how their case stood—what he would have done in their case. While they were in prison they had immediate experience of the wonderful dispensation of God Almighty, who kindly deigns to protect His own everywhere, in the midst of spears and instruments of war, among barbarians and warriors, in prisons and bands of rebels, to shield them and keep them safe. For a man was there, a merchant, who wished to redeem them, and deliver them out of prison by way of alms and for the redemption of his own soul, so that they might go free according to their own will. And when he could not effect this, he sent them instead dinner and supper every day. And on Wednesday and Saturday he sent his own son to the prison, and he conducted them to the bath, and brought them back again. And on Sunday he took them to church through the market, that they might see the things that were for sale; and, whatever they were pleased with, he then at his own

expense purchased for them anything that they had a mind to. The citizens of the neighbouring towns, filled with curiosity, used to come in crowds thither to gaze upon them, for they were young and handsome, and well equipped with goodly apparel.¹

After this, while they were still in prison, a man came from Spain, and conversed with them in the prison, and diligently inquired of them as to who they were, and whence they came. And they told him everything about their journey in order. This Spanish man had a brother in the king's palace, who was the chamberlain of the king of the Saracens. And when that governor who had put them in prison came to the palace, the Spaniard who had talked with them in prison, and the captain of the vessel in whose ship they were when they came from Cyprus, both together presented themselves before the king of the Saracens, whose name was Mirmumni.² When some words had passed about their case, that Spanish man informed his brother of all that they had told him in the prison, and begged him to make it known to the king, and plead their cause. And so, when all these three came before the king, and relating everything in order, made known to him their case, the king asked whence they came. And they said: 'From the western shores, where the sun sets, the men have come, and we know not any land beyond them, and there is nothing but water.' And the king answered and said to them: 'Why should we punish them? They have committed no offence against us. Give them liberty, and let them depart.' Other men who were detained in prison had to pay a three months' assessment, but this was remitted in their case. Those

¹ *Juvenes, et decori, et vestium ornatu bene erant induti.* They do not seem to have travelled in the monastic habit.

² Emir al-Mumanim, Commander of the Faithful.

Cyprians dwell between the Greeks and the Saracens, and were disarmed, because a firm peace and agreement was then existing between the Saracens and the Greeks. That territory was large and broad, and the dioceses of twelve bishops are there.

XIII.—*Damascus, Chana, Mount Tabor.*

With this permission, they at once set out, and travelled a hundred miles to Damascus, where St. Ananias rests. It is in the land of Syria. They stayed there a week. Two miles from thence there is a church, and at that place Paul was first converted, and the Lord said to him, 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me?' etc. And there they prayed, and walked on to Galilee, to that place where Gabriel first came to holy Mary and said, 'Hail, Mary!' etc.¹ There is now a church, and that village in which the church is is Nazareth. Christian men have often combined to purchase back that church from the pagan Saracens when they wished to destroy it. There they commended themselves to the Lord, and walked on from thence, and came to the town of Chana, where our Lord changed the water into wine. There is a large church, and in that church stands at the altar one of the six water-pots which our Lord commanded to be filled with water, and it was turned into wine, and they partook of that wine. They were there one day, and, proceeding from thence, they came to Mount Tabor, where our Lord was transfigured. There is now a monastery of monks, and a church dedicated to our Lord and to Moses and Elias. And the inhabitants there call the place 'Age mons.'² There they prayed.

¹ *Can.*, 'Hail, full of grace,' etc.

² A curious mixture of Greek and Latin, "Ἄγιος-mons. Antoninus says there were three churches.

XIV.—*Tiberias, Magdalum, Capharnaum, Bethsaida, Chorozain.*

From thence they went on to a city which is called Tiberiadis. That city stands on the shore of the sea [of Galilee], where our Lord walked [upon the waters] with dry feet, and Peter walking on the wave to Him was sinking. There are many churches, and a synagogue of the Jews; but yet our Lord is held in great honour. They were there some days, and the Jordan there flows through the midst of the sea. From thence they went round the sea-coast, and came near to the village of Magdalene. And they came to that village, Capharnaum, where our Lord raised to life the ruler's daughter; and there is a house and a thick wall. And the men there said that Zebedee, with his sons John and James, had been lodged therein. And thence they proceeded to Bethsaida, whence came Peter and Andrew. There is now a church where their house was formerly. They stayed there one night, and, in the morning, went on to Corozain,² where our Lord cured the demoniacs, and sent the devil into the herd of swine. There was a church of the Christians.

XV.—*Jor and Dan, the Jordan, the Pools of Merom, Cesarea Philippi.*

There they prayed, and then went on, and came to that place where two fountains spring out of the earth—the Jor and the Dan—and then, as they run down from the moun-

¹ *Magnus honor dominicus.* Can., 'Magno honore dominica,' which might mean 'The Church (κυριακή) is very splendid,' or 'The Sunday is observed with great honour.'

² The Itinerary says *hinc sanctorum amore locorum, itinere tortuoso*, etc., which accounts for the doubling back upon their route, unless we adopt the hypothesis of another Bethsaida at the place called *et-Tabighah*.

tain above, they become mingled together and make the Jordan.¹ There they remained a night between the two springs, and the shepherds gave us² sour milk to drink. There are wonderful cattle, created with a long back and short legs and great horns, and all of the same colour. In summer the pools are deep there.³ And when in summer-time the great scorching of the sun from heaven begins to burn up the earth, those cattle take themselves off, and go to the pool, and sink down with their whole body except only the head. Proceeding from thence, they went on and came to Cæsarea [Philippi], where is a church and a multitude of Christians.

XVI.—*Monastery and Church of St. John the Baptist by the Jordan, Baptism in this River, the Feast of the Epiphany.*

After resting there some time, they again pursued their

¹ Such is the common mediæval derivation. More ancient writers, as SS. Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome, give the Hebrew derivation: 'Descensio eorum.' No river makes such a rapid descent as the Jordan, of about 2,000 feet from its source to its influx into the Dead Sea.

² The amanuensis here seems giving the *ipsissima verba* of the pilgrim, as she introduces the personal pronoun 'us,' *nobis*.

³ The Latin is somewhat obscure: *Ostree paludes sunt ibi profunde. Et quando estuali tempore magna solis caumatio de celo terram urere solet*, etc. Canisius proposes to read *Æstate* for *Ostree*. If *Ostree* be used for *Ostrinæ*, the passage would run; 'The purple pools there are deep.' This is true of the pools at Tell el-Kady. It is interesting to compare this description with that of Lieut. Anderson in 1866: 'The people farm on a small scale, and possess herds of black buffalo cattle. These animals, with their large backward-turned horns and very short hair, are usually seen contentedly standing in the swamps of the Huleh, with their heads only out of the water, to escape the torments of the flies and mosquitoes. . . . Half an hour's journey down the valley brings us to the junction of the Baniyas and Tell el-Kady streams' (*Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 445). The water in summer is plentiful and cool on account of the melting of the snow on Mount Hermon.

journey to the Monastery of St. John the Baptist, where there are about twenty monks. One night they remained there, and then went on above a mile to the Jordan, where our Lord was baptized.¹ A church stands there now, raised up high on stone columns, and underneath the church is now dry ground, where our Lord was baptized in this very spot. And where they now baptize there stands a cross of wood in the middle, and there is a little channel of water there, and a rope extending over the Jordan, and secured on either side. Then, on the Feast of the Epiphany, the sick and infirm come and hold on by the rope, and so are dipped in the water. Moreover, women who are barren come there, and, according to their deserts, receive the grace of the Lord. Our Bishop Willibald bathed there in the Jordan. They were there one day.

XVII.—*Galgala, Jericho, Monastery of St. Euthymius.*

They proceeded from thence, and came to Galgala. The two places are about five miles apart, and there are twelve stones there in the church, which is of wood, and not large. These are the twelve stones, which the children of Israel took out of the Jordan, and carried to Galgala, over five

¹ The monastery is described by Antoninus, chap. xii. It is evidently Kusr el-Yehûd. The difficulty is to account for St. Willibald having passed at once from Baniyas to this place, sixty miles south, with no mention of places on the way. Perhaps a probable explanation may be hazarded, thus: At the end of chap. xv. the narrative was interrupted by the bell for vespers, or dinner. The next time that the bishop met the nuns, he would ask 'Where did we leave off?' They would reply, 'We had got to the Jordan.' Willibald would say, 'There it was that our Lord was baptized,' and proceed with a description of the place where all are agreed that it must have been. Canisius says that the words 'There is now a church . . . where our Lord was baptized' were in the margin of the MS., added by another hand.

miles, and set up for a testimony of their crossing over.¹ There then they prayed, and went on over seven miles from the Jordan. There spouted out a spring at the foot of the mountain. This spring was unprofitable and useless for men, until Heliseus the prophet came and blessed it. Afterwards it flowed forth, and all [the people of] that city divided its waters through their fields, their gardens, and everywhere where it was wanted; and all that that water irrigates increases and prospers to salvation, by reason of the blessing of the prophet Heliseus.² From thence they went on to the Monastery of St. Eustochius, which stands in the midst of a plain between Jericho and Jerusalem.³

XVIII.—*Jerusalem, the Church and Crosses in the Place of Calvary, the Garden with the Sepulchre of our Saviour, and the Wonderful House.*

From thence they came to Jerusalem, to that place where the holy cross of our Lord was found. There is now a church in that spot which was called the place of Calvary. And this was formerly outside Jerusalem; but Helena, when she found the cross, arranged that place so as to be within the city Jerusalem. And there now stand three crosses of wood outside on the eastern wing of the church, by the wall, in memory of the holy cross of our Lord, and of the others who were crucified with Him. These are not now inside the church, but stand without, outside the church under [the eaves of] the roof. And along there is that garden, in which was the sepulchre of

¹ Josue iv. 2-9, 20, 21. Galgala has been identified by Herr Zschokke with a ruin still bearing the name of *Jiljûlieh*, of which a sketch is given in *Twenty one Years' Work*, p. 107.

² 4 Kings ii. 19-22.

³ This monastery is called in the title St. Euthymius; in the *Itinerary of St. Willibald* it is called St. Eustace.

our Saviour. That sepulchre was cut out in the rock, and that rock stands above ground, and is square at the bottom and tapers up towards the top. And there stands now on the summit of that sepulchre a cross, and there has now been constructed over it a wonderful house, and on the eastern side of that rock of the sepulchre a door has been made, through which men enter into the sepulchre to pray. And there is a bed (*lectus*) inside, on which the body of our Lord was laid. And there stand in the bed fifteen golden bowls, with oil burning day and night. That bed in which the body of our Lord was laid is situated on the north side within the rock of the sepulchre, and is on the right side to a man when he goes into the sepulchre to pray. And there in front of the door of the sepulchre lies that great stone, squared after the likeness of the former stone which the angel rolled back from the door of the sepulchre.

XIX.—*Willibald sick, the Church of Holy Sion, Solomon's Porch, the Pool of Probatica.*

And our Bishop arrived there on the festival of St. Martin.¹ And as soon as he got there he began to sicken, and lay ill until a week before the Nativity of our Lord. And then, when he was somewhat recovered, and had got the better of his illness, he got up and went to that church which is called Holy Sion. It stands in the middle of Jerusalem. There he prayed, and from thence went into Solomon's Porch. There is the piscina, and there lay the infirm people, waiting for the moving of the water, when the angel came, and then he who first went down into it was healed; and there our Lord said to the paralytic, 'Arise, take up thy bed and walk' (Mark ix. 11).²

¹ November 11.

² Really, John v. 11.

XX.—*The Column in Memory of the Place where the Jews wished to carry off the Body of Holy Mary ; her Translation in Holy Sion.*

Likewise, he also said, that before the gate of the city there stood a high column, and on the top of the column stands a cross, for a sign and a memorial of the place where the Jews wished to carry away the body of holy Mary. When the eleven Apostles took up the body of holy Mary, they carried it from Jerusalem, and soon as they came to the gate of the city the Jews wished to seize it. Immediately those men put forth their arms towards the bier and tried to take it, their arms were held, and they stuck to the bier, and were unable to move, until by the grace of God and the prayers of the Apostles they were loosed again, and then they left them. Holy Mary departed out of the world in that place in the midst of Jerusalem, which is called holy Sion. And now the eleven Apostles carried her, as I said before, and then angels came and took her from the hands of the Apostles, and carried her into Paradise.¹

XXI.—*The Valley of Josaphat, the Church and Tomb of Holy Mary, the Church where our Lord prayed, the Church of the Ascension on Mount Olivet.*

And going down from thence, Bishop Willibald came to the valley of Josaphat. It is situated near the city of Jerusalem, on the eastern side. And in that valley is the church of holy Mary, and in the church is her sepulchre—not that her body rests there, but for a memorial of her.

¹ Most of the accounts of the Assumption state that the body of the Blessed Virgin was buried in the tomb mentioned in the next chapter ; and that, when that tomb was opened some days afterwards, it was found empty.

There he prayed, and went up to Mount Olivet, which is near the valley on the eastern side. That valley is between Jerusalem and the Mount Olivet. And on Mount Olivet there is now a church, where our Lord prayed before His Passion, and said to His disciples, 'Watch and pray, that you enter not into temptation' (Matt. xxvi. 41). From thence he came to the church on the mount itself, where our Lord ascended into heaven. And in the middle of the church there stands [a *candelabrum*] made of brass, sculptured and beautiful, and it is square. It stands in the middle of the church, where our Lord ascended into heaven. And in the centre of the brass-work has been made a quadrangular vessel of glass, and there in the middle of the glass is a small glow-worm [of a lamp],¹ and round the lamp the glass is shut in on all sides. And it is so shut in that it may be always burning both in rain and sunshine. That church is open at the top, and has no roof, and there stand two columns within the church over against the northern and the southern wall. These are for a memorial and a sign of the two men who said, 'Ye men of Galilee, why stand you gazing up into heaven?' (Acts i. 11). And the man who can creep between the wall and the columns is free from his sins.²

XXII.—*The Place of the Shepherds, Bethlehem, the Cave and Church of the Nativity of our Lord.*

From Jerusalem they went to the place where the angel appeared to the shepherds, saying, 'I announce to you great joy,' etc. (Mark ii. 10).³ And thence they came to Bethlehem, where our Lord was born, seven miles from Jerusalem. The place where Christ was born was once a

¹ *Cicindulum*.

² *I.e.*, can gain a plenary indulgence.

³ Luke ii. 10.

cave underground, and now is a square chamber cut out in the rock, and the surrounding earth has been dug out and thrown away. And there above it a church has now been erected. And where our Lord was born, over that now stands the altar; and another smaller altar has been made, so that when they wish to celebrate Mass inside the cave, they take that smaller altar, and carry it inside during the time that Mass is being celebrated, and then carry it out again. That church where our Lord was born is a glorious house, built in the form of a cross.¹

XXIII.—*Thecua, the Laura and Monastery of St. Saba.*

Having prayed there, they went on, and came to a large town, which is called Thecua, to the place where the infants were once slain by Herod. There is now a church, and there rests one of the prophets.² And then they came into the Laura Valley. There is a large monastery, and there resides the abbot at the monastery, and that doorkeeper of the church and the other numerous monks, who are there in the same monastery, dwell around the valley, in the recesses of the mountain rock. And they have there little cells cut out in the stony rock of the mountain here and there. The same mountain circles round the valley, and there rests St. Saba.³

XXIV.—*The little Church where Philip baptized the Eunuch, Gaza, St. Matthias, St. Zacharias, Hebron.*

Then they went to the place where Philip baptized the Eunuch.⁴ And there is a little church in a wide valley

¹ See *Churches of Constantine*, pp. 11, 12.

² Amos i. 1, vii. 14, 15. It is still called Tekûa, but has scarcely any inhabitants since its destruction by the Turks in 1138.

³ St. Saba founded this monastery in 483, and was made by the patriarch of Jerusalem archimandrite over all the monks of Palestine.

⁴ The *Bordeaux Pilgrim* (p. 27) calls the place Bethasora, Beit

between Bethlehem and Gaza.¹ Thence they went to Gaza, where is a holy place; and they prayed there, and went on to St. Matthias. There is great glory of the Lord.² But while the sacred solemnities of Masses were celebrated there, our Bishop Willibald, standing there at Mass, lost the sight of his eyes, and was blind for two months. And from thence they went to St. Zacharias the prophet, not the father of John [the Baptist], but another prophet. Then they went to the village Aframia.³ There rest the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with their wives.

XXV.—*Jerusalem, Diospolis (at St. George), Church of St. Peter in Joppe, the Great Sea, Tyre, Sidon, Tripoli, Mount Libanus, Damascus, Cæsarea Philippi.*

And then they came again into Jerusalem, and entering into the church, where the holy Cross of our Lord was found, Willibald's eyes were opened, and he received his sight. And after remaining there some time, he journeyed

Sûr, on the road from Bethlehem to Hebron. It is called in the *Itinerary of St. Willibald*, Bethsurus.

¹ It is difficult to understand why the pilgrims should have gone to Gaza and then returned to Hebron. The ruins of the church built by Constantine at Gaza are still to be seen. The *Bordeaux Pilgrim* mentions a basilica of wondrous beauty built by command of Constantine 'at Terebinthus,' probably Ramet el-Khulil, where are extensive ruins. Eusebius (*Vita Const.*, cc. li.-liii.) gives an account of this basilica at Mamre.

² *Ibi est magna gloria dominica.* Perhaps we ought to supply *domus*, and read 'There is a church adorned with great glory.' The body of St. Matthias is said to have been translated by St. Helena from Judæa to Trèves, where it is still honoured. See Bolland., *Acta SS.*, February 24. Canisius reads *in dominica*, which would mean 'on Sunday.'

³ *Castellum Aframia.* It is difficult to account for this name. Can it be that it is a mistake for *Castellum Abrahæ* or *Abrami*? Porter says: 'This structure was long known as the "Castle of Abraham," a name also applied in the time of the crusades to the whole city' (*Handbook*, p. 68).

from thence, and came into the place Diospolis to St. George.¹ That is ten miles from Jerusalem. And from thence he came to another town. There is the church of St. Peter the Apostle, and there St. Peter raised to life the widow, who was named Dorcas. Having prayed there, he went on and came to the Adriatic (*sic*) Sea, a long way from Jerusalem, to the cities of Tyre and Sidon. These two cities are six miles apart, and they stand on the sea-shore. From thence he came to Tripoli on the sea-shore. And then he passed over Mount Libanus, and came to Damascus, and thence came [back] to Cæsarea.

XXVI.—*Jerusalem, Emesa, Salamais (where he was sick a long time), again Emesa, Damascus.*

From Cæsarea he came a third time to Jerusalem, and was there the whole winter. And he journeyed from thence above three hundred miles to the city of Emesa in Syria, and thence came to the city of Salamaitha.² This is at the extreme border of Syria, and he was there for the whole time of Lent, because he fell sick and could not travel. His companions, who were with him in attendance, went to the King of the Saracens, named Murmumni, and wished to ask of him a letter to permit them to travel; but they could not find the King, for he had fled away from that country to avoid the sickness and plague which scourged that region. And when they did not find the King they came back again; and there they all remained together in Salamaitha until it was one week before Easter.

Then they came again to Emesa, and begged the

¹ Lydda (Acts ix. 32-39), now called Ludd. The remains of the Church of St. George, who is said to have been born here, are still to be seen, restored as a Greek Church.

² Now 'Salámeyeh, mentioned in the Antonine Tables as Salamias, and placed at a distance of eighteen Roman miles from Hemisa.³ —*Unexplored Syria*, vol. ii., p. 166. Canisius reads *Ptolomais*.

governor there to give them a letter. And he gave them a letter for two at a time, because they could not travel all together, but only two by two, for in this way it would be more easy for them to obtain food there. And then they came to Damascus.

XXVII.—*Jerusalem, Sebastia, Church over the Well where our Lord asked Water from the Woman of Samaria, Mount Garizim, a large Town.*

From Damascus they came a fourth time to Jerusalem. And there they remained some days, and came to the city of Sebastia, which was formerly called Samaria. But after it had been destroyed they built again a fortress where Samaria had formerly been, and called that fortress Sebastia.¹ There rest now St. John the Baptist, and Abdias, and Heliseus the prophet. And there is that well near the fortress,² where our Lord asked the woman of Samaria water to drink. And over that well is now a church, and that mountain is there on which the Samaritans used to adore. And that woman said to our Lord, 'Our fathers adored upon this mountain, and Thou sayest that in Jerusalem is the place where men must adore' (John iv. 20). Then they prayed there, and travelled over the region of the Samaritans, to their extreme borders, to a large town. There they were one night.

XXVIII.—*The Plain of Esdraelon, Ptolemais, the White Promontory with the Tower of Libanus, Tyre, deception with Petroleum.*

From thence they travelled on across a wide plain full of olive-trees, and there went with them an Ethiopian with two camels and a mule, who conducted a woman through

¹ Sebastia was built by Herod the Great and called after Augustus.

² It is two hours and a half journey from Sebastieh to Jacob's Well.

the wood. And as they journeyed there met them a lion, which, with open mouth, roaring and growling, sought to seize and devour them, and terrified them greatly. Then that Ethiopian said to them, 'Fear you not, but go on.' They went on immediately, and drew near to it. But the lion, by the disposition of the Almighty God enthroned on high, quickly turned another way, and left the path clear for them to pass. And so they said that as soon as they had proceeded thence, after a little while they heard that lion give a great roar, as though he were devouring many of the men who went to gather the fruit of the olives. Going on from thence they came to the city which is called Talamais, on the sea-shore.¹ Walking on from thence they came to the head of Libanus, where that mountain goes down into the sea, and is a promontory. There is the tower of Libanus.² And he who comes thither without a passport cannot pass the place, because that place is in the hands of a guard, and there is an enclosure; and if anyone comes without a passport, the citizens take him and send him back to the city of Tyre. That mountain is between Tyre and Talamais. And then the Bishop came again to Tyre.

Before this, Bishop Willibald, when he was in Jerusalem, bought himself some balsam, and filled a calabash (*munerbam*³) with it. He took a cane, which was hollow, and had a bottom. He filled that with petroleum (*petræ oleo*), and put it inside the calabash, and cut that cane even with the calabash so that the edges of both seemed alike even, and thus he closed the mouth of the calabash. And when they came to the city of Tyre, those inhabitants of the city took them, bound them, and examined all their baggage, in order

¹ Ptolemais, now Acre.

² Ras el-Abyad. The tower is now in ruins.

³ So Mabillon translates it.

to find out if they had anything contraband hidden, and if they had found anything they would at once have punished and made martyrs of them.¹ But when they examined everything they found nothing except a calabash which Willibald had, and they opened and smelled what was inside. And when they smelled the petroleum, because it was in the cane above, the balsam, which was inside the calabash under the petroleum, they found not, and so they let them go.

XXIX.—*Constantinople, Nicæa.*

They were for many days waiting for a ship while it was being made ready. Afterwards they were sailing the whole winter, from the Feast of St. Andrew the Apostle until one week before Easter. Then they arrived at the city of Constantinople, where rest three saints (Andrew, and Timothy, and Luke the Evangelist) at one altar. And John, he of the Golden Mouth, rests there before the altar, where he stood as a priest and offered Mass; there is his tomb.² Our Bishop was there two years, and had a cell inside the church, so that every day he could gaze upon the place where the saints rested. From thence he went to the city of Nicæa, where formerly the Emperor Constantine held the Council; and there were there at the Council three hundred and eighteen bishops; all these held the Synod. The church there is similar to that church on Mount Olivet, where our Lord ascended into heaven. And in that church are the pictures of the bishops who were at the Council. And Willibald went thither from Constanti-

¹ *Punientes martyrizarent.* Smuggling would hardly have procured Willibald the honours of martyrdom, unless he had been offered his life on condition of his renouncing Christ.

² The relics of these saints seem to have been translated to Rome during the Latin occupation of Constantinople. See Bolland., *Acta SS.*, *Septembr.*, tom. iv., p. 694.

nople, that he might see how that church had been constructed, and he returned by water to Constantinople.

XXX.—*Syracuse, Catana, Rhegium, Infernus Theoderici in Insula Vulcani.*

And after two years they sailed from Constantinople with the Nuncios of the Pope¹ and the Emperor to the island of Sicily, to the city of Syracuse. Thence they came to Catana, and from that place to Regia, a city in Calabria. From thence they sailed to the island of Vulcano. There is the Hell of Theoderic. When they came thither, they went up out of the ship to see what sort of hell it was.² Willibald, in his curiosity, at once wished to

¹ Leo, the Isaurian, threatened Pope Gregory II., and was excommunicated in 728, and this occasioned the return of the legates to Rome.

² St. Gregory the Great tells us that, when he was still a monk, he was often visited by a cleric named Julian. 'This man told me,' he says, 'this story: In the time of King Theoderic (quoth he) my wife's father being in Sicily, was to return into Italy. The ship in which he came arrived at the island of Lipari, where he understood that there dwelt a certain solitary man of great virtue, and while the mariners were occupied about mending of their ship and tackling, he thought good to visit and talk with him, and to commend himself to his prayers; and so he did in the company of others. When they were come to the man of God, amongst other talk which they had, he asked them this question: Do you (quoth he) hear that King Theoderic [II.] is dead? to whom they quickly answered: "God forbid! we left him alive at our departure from Rome; and before this present we never heard of any such thing." Then the servant of God told them that certainly he was dead: "For yesterday (quoth he) at nine o'clock, he was without shoes and girdle, and his hands fast bound, brought betwixt John the Pope and Symmachus the senator, and thrown into Vulcan's gulf, which is not far from this place." When they heard this news, carefully they wrote down the time; and at their return into Italy, they understood that King Theoderic died upon that very day, in which his unhappy passage out of this world, and punishment, was revealed to the servant of God. And forasmuch as he had, by miserable imprisonment, been the death of Pope John [V.], and

see what sort of place that hell was inside, and he wanted to go up to the top of the mountain, under which the hell is, but he could not, because the ashes from the foul Tartarus lie there in heaps reaching up to the very edge [of the crater]; and, like snow, when it snows from heaven, and is wont to heap up the falling masses of flakes which fall from the airy heights of the sky, so the ashes lay heaped up at the top of the mountain and prevented Willibald's going up. But yet they saw the foul and terrible and horrible flame break forth and belching out from the pit with a roll like thunder. Thus they gazed in awe at the great flame and vapour of smoke ascending up to a very great height. That pumice-stone of which writers speak he saw it going up out of the hell, and with the fire thrown out and swallowed up in the sea, and then again thrown up by the sea upon the shore, where men take it up and carry it away.

XXXI.—*The Island of Lipara with the Church of St. Bartholomew the Apostle ; then the Mountains of Didymus, Naples, Capua, Teano, Cassino.*

As soon as they had examined with the sight of their eyes these horrible and terrible fires and their marvellous blazing, with flame-vomiting vapours and foetid smoke, they weighed anchor, and sailed to the church of St. Bartholomew the Apostle [at Lipari], which stands on the sea-shore, and they came to those mountains which are called Didymj. There they prayed, and remained one night. And sailing thence they came to the city which is called Naples. They were there several days. There is the

also killed Symmachus, justly did he appear to be thrown of them into fire, whom before in this life he had unjustly condemned.—*Dialogues*, Bk. IV., chap. xxx., E. Tr. by P. W., 1608.

throne of the archbishop, and his dignity there is great. And there is a town near,¹ where rests St. Severinus. From thence they came to Capua. The archbishop sent him to another city to a bishop there, and this bishop sent him to the city Tiana² to the bishop there, and that bishop sent him to St. Benedict [at Monte Cassino]. It was then autumn when he arrived at St. Benedict's.

XXXII.—*Monastery of St. Benedict, the River Rapidus, Community Life.*

It was then seven years since Willibald began to travel from Rome, and it was ten years in all since he came over from his own country. And when the venerable man Willibald and Tidbert,³ who had travelled with him through all these places, came to St. Benedict, they found there only a few monks, and an abbot named Petronax. At once, with great self-control and natural aptitude for rules, [he joined] the happy community of the brethren; and, admonished by their diligent instructions, he taught them [in turn] by his intercourse, not only by words, but by the beauty of his behaviour, and set before them rightly the spirit of their institute, by exhibiting in himself the pattern of monastic life, in such a manner as to call out and draw to himself the love and respect of all.

In the first year that he came there he was sacristan (*cubicularius*) of the church; the next year he was dean in the monastery, and then for eight years he was porter in two monasteries—four years in that monastery which stands on the top of a high mountain, and the other four years in the other monastery, which stands below by the river Rapido.

Thus passed an interval of ten years, and that venerable

¹ Lucullano, *Mabil.*

² Teano.

³ *Can.*, Diapertus.

man Willibald endeavoured in every particular that he could to observe St. Benedict's sacred rule of regular life. And not only himself, but others he led with him by going before them in the venerated paths of religious life.

XXXIII.—*Rome: the Pilgrimage is briefly narrated before the Pope.*

After these events a priest came from Spain to St. Benedict's, who stayed there, and then asked permission of the Abbot Petronax to go on to Rome. And as soon as he had obtained leave, he begged Willibald to go with him and conduct him to St. Peter's. . . . And when they came to Rome, they entered into the basilica of St. Peter, and craved the patronage of the heavenly keeper of the keys, and commended themselves to the pious protection of his prayers. When that holy pontiff of the Apostolic See, Gregory III., learned that the venerable man Willibald was there, he commanded him to come to him. And when he came . . . he at once prostrated himself with his face to the earth and saluted him. And forthwith that kind overseer of the people began to inquire into the order of his journey. . . . At once the active servant of Christ made known to the glorious ruler of the nations the course of his journey in order.

XXXIV.—*The Pope exhorts him to set out to [join] St. Boniface.*

After he and the Pope had turned all these subjects over in pleasant and familiar conversation, that holy and supreme Apostolic pontiff testified in serious and distinct words that St. Boniface had asked him to have Willibald sent for and brought to him, and so to be next to himself in instructing the nation of the Franks. Then Willibald promised obedience . . . if he got leave from his abbot.

The supreme pontiff at once said . . . 'That if I were pleased to send the Abbot Petronax himself anywhere, he would certainly have no liberty or power to object.' Then Willibald readily answered . . . that he was ready and willing to go not only there, but whithersoever else in the whole world . . . he might deign to send him.

XXXV.—*Journey to Lucca, Ticino, Brescia, Carta; to Odilo, to Suitgar, to Linthard, to St. Boniface, Eihstadt, where is St. Mary's Church.*

After this Willibald set out thence at Easter, having come to Rome on the Feast of St. Andrew, and Tidbert remained there at St. Benedict's. Willibald went to Lucca, where his father rested. And thence he came to Ticino, and then to Brescia. And thence to a place which is called Carta.¹ He then came to the Duke Odilo, and was with him a week. Thence he went to Suitgar, and was there with him a week. And then Willibald and Suitgar travelled to Linthard to St. Boniface. St. Boniface sent them to Eihstadt, that he might see how it pleased him. Suitgar handed over that territory to St. Boniface, and St. Boniface entrusted to our Bishop Willibald that region, which was then all waste, insomuch that there was no house there, except that church of St. Mary, which still stands, smaller than that other church which Willibald afterwards erected there.

XXXVI.—*Frisinga, Eihstadt, Willibald made Priest.*

When Willibald and Suitgar had both remained together at Eihstadt for some space of time, and, after exploring, had selected there a place suitable for a dwelling, they then went again to St. Boniface to Frisinga, and were

¹ Probably Garda, on the Lago di Garda.

there with him until they all went together back to Eihstadt. And there St. Boniface consecrated Willibald to the rank of the priestly dignity . . . on the eleventh day before the Kalends of August [July 22nd], the Feast of St. Apollinaris¹ and of St. Mary Magdalene.

XXXVII.—*Thuringia. At Salzburg he is endued with the fulness of the Priestly Dignity. Some Matters belonging to the Prologue are inserted.*

And after the circle of a year had passed, St. Boniface ordered him to repair to him in Thuringia, . . . and he had his dwelling as a guest in the house of his brother St. Wunebald; for he had not seen him before during the past eight years, nor even for the nine and a half years since he started from Rome. And now they were rejoiced to see each other, and congratulated one another on the meeting. It was then the autumnal season of the year, and . . . soon after he came, St. Boniface, the Archbishop, and Burchard and Wizo, consecrated him in due form to the sacred authority of the episcopate. He was there one week . . . and then returned to his appointed place. Willibald was forty-one years old when he was consecrated Bishop . . . the time was three weeks before the Feast of St. Martin, and the place is called Salzburg.

The long course of the travels of Willibald was now past and ended which that wise man had spent seven years in traversing. Those events, now being ascertained and strictly investigated, we have endeavoured to set forth and make known. And they were ascertained, not from anyone else, but heard from himself, and dictated from his own mouth, and we wrote them out in the monastery of Heidenheim, his deacons and some other younger [clerics] of his

¹ St. Apollinaris, Bishop of Ravenna, is honoured on July 23. The Feast of St. Mary Magdalene is on the 22nd.

being witnesses for me. And I say this, that no one may hereafter say that it is an idle tale.¹

XXXVIII.—*A Monastery is built at Eihstadt: Community Life after the Rule of St. Benedict is established.*

After he came from Rome with three fellow-countrymen . . . and in the place which is called Eihstadt he began to build a monastery, and soon began to practise the discipline of monastic life . . . and with a few fellow-workmen he cultivated a wide and spacious field of the Divine crop; sowing the sacred seed of the heavenly word he brought it on even to the harvest. . . .

XXXIX.—*Crowds flow from all sides to the Apostle of the Bavarians.*

Soon after that strenuous athlete of our good God began to inhabit the monastic place of his dwelling, immediately they commenced to flock together from all sides from those provinces, and even from other far-off regions to the saving doctrine of his wisdom, and he brought them to our Lord as his adopted sons . . . and as a hen is wont to cherish her offspring, hiding them under her wings, so that Father Willibald and Mother Church, protecting many continually with the shield of his own affection, brought them up as adopted children for our Lord. . . .

XL.—*A whole People with Chieftains without number are gained; praise to God and to Willibald.*

And that Willibald, who at first began the exercises of a holy life with but a few followers to help him, at last carried on the warfare with an innumerable band of chieftains and courtiers, and gained possession of a people

¹ *Frivolum.* The mixture of the singular and plural is very frequent in this work.

worthy of our Lord. Far and wide through the province of the Bavarians he drove his plough, he sowed his seed, he reaped his harvest with many labourers of the harvest ; and all through the fields of Bavaria, shining with churches, presbyteries, and relics of the saints, he gathered offerings worthy of our Lord. From these [once wild forests] now the antiphons sound, sacred lections are heard, a noble crowd of believers shout aloud the holy miracles of Christ, and with grateful hearts prattle of the glories of their Creator.

What shall I now say of Willibald, my master and your foster-father ?¹ Who was ever more advanced in piety, who more perfect in humility, who more pure in patience, more strict in continence, more great in meekness ? When was he ever backward in consoling the sad ? When ever wanting in assisting the poor or in clothing the naked ? These things are said, not for glorification, but, as I have seen and heard them done, by the grace of God not by man's works, in order that, according to the Apostle, ' he that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord ' (1 Cor. i. 31).

¹ *Alumnus.*

THE ITINERARY OF ST. WILLIBALD.

BY AN ANONYMOUS WRITER OF THE
EIGHTH CENTURY.

Although superior in style, the *Itinerarium S. Willibaldi* is far inferior in value to the *Hodæporicon*. The Heidenheim nun is very anxious to relate exactly what she heard from Willibald's own lips, whereas the anonymous writer mixes up with the narrative many things which he has collected by his own reading from ecclesiastical history. Nevertheless, it has been thought worth while to give a translation of it, since it adds some particulars not mentioned in the *Hodæporicon*, but which were probably dropped in conversation by St. Willibald; and even where it adds nothing it confirms the accuracy of that narrative, since it is obviously the testimony of an independent witness.

Only one MS. of this work has come to light as yet, viz., that edited by Canisius from the Monastery of Ochsenhausen. This was a very ancient Benedictine abbey in Oberschwaben, a province of Wurtemberg, which was destroyed by the Huns in 955, and rebuilt by Count Hatto, when it received its name from the treasure secreted by its former inmates being brought to light through a plough drawn by oxen. It was suppressed in the last century.

ITINERARY OF ST. WILLIBALD.

ANONYMOUS.

I. The prelate Willibald, sprung from the nation of the English, shone conspicuous as an image of angelic chastity. When the child of excellent disposition had completed his third year with the brightest hopes of his parents, he suddenly began to pine away with a complication of diseases, and the fair beauty of his face lost its bloom [and became] frightfully emaciated. Pierced with sorrow, his parents, whose only child he then was, carried him, scarce able to draw his breath, to the church, laid him before the holy cross, which stood there for adoration, and vowed that if he should be restored to health he should be set apart to the service of God. At once their vows obtained their effect, and the child came back to health and to his former beauty. And after that he was fully restored to strength, he began even before his time to be great in virtues.

II. By this sign his parents perceived that God was about to work something great in a child of so remarkable a disposition, and they were not wanting on their part, but dedicated their child, when scarcely five years old, to the monastic rule at a monastery called Waltheim, under the venerable abbot, Egilward. He then applied himself to learning, and did not allow himself a moment's idleness, but in a short time the most industrious [future] prelate made his breast an armoury of sacred literature; and that he

might manifest Christ in all things, whatever he learned of the law of God or of the Church in his reading, that he faithfully fulfilled by following it in his manners and habit of life. And thus, already eminent by his virtues in a most remarkable degree, he so strove to become perfect in Christ that he thought of nothing else but to be with Christ.

III. Hence, having already denied himself and trampled the world under foot both in mind and in [outward] habit, yet he began to fear that he was wanting in perfection, because on his native soil his father's dignity reflected, however against his will, somewhat of fame and honour upon himself. He, therefore, resolved to go forth from his native country, and, unknown and in poverty, to be a pilgrim for Christ. And that he might not be the only one of his relations to enlist in Christ's army, he approached his father Richard, illustrious for his birth and property, and began to persuade him to despise the world and go on pilgrimage. And he objected to his son that it seemed to him most cruel and contrary to all humanity to leave his children orphans and his wife a widow and all his house desolate. But St. Willibald instilled into him [the idea] that nothing was to be preferred to the love of God, and that this cruelty for Christ was more humane than all [natural] affection, and that only those who despised the world would be co-heirs with Christ. Overcome at last by the conversation of his truth-telling son, he promised that he would obey and follow whithersoever his dear pledge should lead him. The same happy ardour of St. Willibald had also inflamed his brother Wunebald, the future founder and Abbot of the Monastery of Heidenheim, and also their sister, a model of virgins, Walpurga,¹ and many others, not

¹ The *Hodæporicon* does not allude to Walpurga having left England. She was probably left at Wimborne, whence St. Boniface afterwards invited her to Germany.

only of their kindred, but their countrymen, who took the banner of the cross, that they might fly away bereft of all and follow the King of glory.

IV. As the year advanced from spring to summer, as soon as the winds permitted and the first promise [of calm] smiled on the sea, the holy brothers, Willibald and Wunobald, with their father Richard and sister Walpurga, and not a few others, in whose breasts the same ardour burned, went on board ship, entered upon the longed-for journey, and, happily favoured by winds, they landed on the bank of the river Seine, near the city which is called Rouen. Thence, going towards Rome, they came to Lucca, a city of Tuscany; and there their father, delivered from the flesh, and having obtained the rewards which he merited by following his son, they buried in the cemetery of St. Prescian. From thence they reached the long-desired Rome, and craved indulgence with tears of devotion from the princes of the Apostles. There they visited the shrines of the saints situated in those parts; and, making sacrifices of themselves every day to God on the altar of their hearts, they stayed on from the Feast of St. Martin until Easter, burned up by a severe [fever] sickness. However, during this time the holy brothers were, by God's providence, appointed to be a consolation to one another, so that, while one lay in bed with an access of the disease one week, the other, profiting by a temporary abatement, ministered to the one that lay in bed. And thus alternating in their occupation, one better and the other worse, the two holy brothers took care of each other.

V. When, through the mercy of God, St. Willibald was now thoroughly recovered and grew strong in health, out of love of the heavenly Jerusalem he began to sigh after the earthly one, and to see the places ennobled by the footsteps of Christ. He, therefore, left his brother Wun-

Rouen.

Lucca.

Rome.

bald and his sister Walpurga in Rome, and accompanied by two companions, himself making the third, he entered on his victorious journey.

They came to Beneventum, where St. Bartholomew Beneventum rests, and found a ship driven in from Egypt. They went on board, and with sails swelling with full bellies, they touched at the port of Calabria, called Regia. Thence, Reggio. crossing over to Sicily, they entered the city of the Catanians, renowned for the body of St. Agatha the Virgin Catana. and her patronage, when the Mount Etna boils up from its Mt. Etna. lowest depths and, belching forth balls of flames, is wont to hide the heavens heated with its burning cinders. Oftentimes, when its liquid fire is burning the neighbouring country, the people of Catana place before it the veil of the tomb of the holy virgin, and they are not afraid of being injured. From thence, after visiting the tomb of St. Lucy at Syracuse, a city of the same island, they again trusted Syracuse. themselves to the sea, and passing the islands of Choos and Samos, they disembarked, their limbs exhausted with the sea voyage, at Ephesus, an island [*sic*] of Asia. Ephesus.

There at the tomb of St. John the Evangelist they poured forth their prayers with tears, marvelling at the manna that bubbles forth from it; and then they commended themselves to the Seven Sleepers and to St. Mary Magdalene, who rests there;¹ and afterwards, at the top of the neighbouring mountain, at the place where the holy Evangelist was accustomed to pray, they could not sufficiently wonder at its being free and safe from all rain and storm. From thence they came on foot a distance of two miles to the city Sigila. There they begged some bread and refreshed Phygala. themselves, dipping it in the fountain which bubbles forth with its waters clear to the bottom in the middle of the

¹ So it is stated in the Greek Menology. But no tradition earlier than the seventh century can be traced. See Bolland., *Acta SS.*, Jul. 22.

Patara.

town. Passing the high mountain of the city of Strobolis, they arrived at Patara, and there, as the icy winter made the waves rough, they waited for the mildness of spring.

Cyprus.

VI. At length they embarked and sailed across to the mountain of the Galani, and that place being devastated by the storm of war at that time, they suffered severely from want. From thence they steered their course to the Island of Cyprus, lying between the Greeks and the Saracens; and they spent Easter, which was then at hand, at the city of Paphos; and the equinox having passed, they stayed there three weeks. Then they came to the city of Constantia in the same island, which is famous for the body and miracles of the holy prelate Epiphanius,¹ and there they kept the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. From thence they passed through the Saracen city called Tharratas and came to the castle of Arahe, and came to Edissa in Phenicia, distinguished by the relics of St. Thomas the Apostle, and the Epistle which our Saviour wrote to King Abagarus.² There is now to be seen a church of wondrous workmanship, which Queen Helena built in honour of St. John the Baptist, whose head was long concealed in that city, but has since been translated thence to Jerusalem.

Antaradus.

Emesa.

VII. Now St. Willibald himself made the eighth in addition to seven of his fellow-countrymen who accompanied him. The Saracens, perceiving their strange language and unknown dress, said that they had come for treasonable purposes, and taking them before the governor kept them in prison. But since to God no doors are closed [He provided for them, and] there was a mer-

¹ Mentioned by Sozomen, H. E., vi. 27. Salamis began to be called Constantia in the time of St. Epiphanius, who died May 12, 403.

² Of course this is a complete mistake, arising from the author confusing Emesa with Edessa, concerning which latter city he had read the account of King Agbarus in Eusebius, H. E., i., chap. xiii.

chant who ministered to them anything that they stood in need of, and sometimes gave them a bath and took them to the church. While they were detained in prison, a certain Spaniard, who had a brother in the king's palace, examined into the case of the servants of God, saints of God, and by the aid of his brother and the sailor who had brought them across, made a defence before the king, called Mirnum, and obtained permission for them to depart.

VIII. Proceeding onwards, they came to Damascus, Damascus. renowned for the relics of Ananias, who baptized Paul, converted there by God himself. Then, after pouring out their prayers in that church, which now is conspicuous in the place of St. Paul's conversion, they came into Galilee to the town of Nazareth, from which Jesus also Nazareth. is called the Nazarene; and where the archangel Gabriel appeared to Holy Mary ever Virgin, and announced to her the incarnation of the Son of God in her womb; and where, becoming pregnant by the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost in a way beyond all human thought, she conceived the Son of God. There stands a church of fitting sanctity, which has been many times redeemed at a price by the Christians from the Saracens who attempted to pull it down. Then, after visiting Chana of Galilee, distinguished Chana. by the first of our Lord's miracles, they passed over Mount Tabor, where a community of monks is now gathered together in honour of our Lord's transfiguration. Going on through the city of Tiberias, situated on the shore of Tiberias. the sea, where our Lord made Peter walk with dry feet upon the waters, and where the river Jordan flows through the sea of Galilee, they came to Magdala, the town of Magdala. Lazarus [*sic*] and his sisters. Thence, through Capharnaum Capharnaum. standing on the other shore opposite, where our Lord raised to life the daughter of the ruler, and where Zebedee, the father of James and John, rests; and through Beth- Bethsaida.

Corozaim.

saida, where a church now marks the house of Peter and Andrew, they arrived at Corozaim, where our Lord drove out the demons and permitted them to enter the herd of swine.

Paneas.

IX. Going hence, out of love of the sacred places, by a winding route, they came to the rise of the two sources [of Jordan] in the mountain of Phaneas, of which one is called Jor and the other Dan, and one of them is on one side, and the other on the other side of the city, which in the Gospel is called Cæsarea Philippi, and by the Phenicians Paneas or Phaneas. These streams flow at a short distance from the city itself, and, running together in their gentle course, they are united in name, and form the Jordan, which is distinguished by our Lord's Baptism. In that same place they saw also certain herds of cattle, with long backs, short legs, and extended horns, which, when the sun makes the day hot, are accustomed to immerse themselves all but their heads in the neighbouring pool. They reached the above-mentioned Cæsarea, where Peter was made the keeper of the keys of heaven. There they went into the church and saw a statue of Christ, at the foot of which, when it stood in the open air, the grass used to spring up with a wonderful power of unction (*olei*) in it, concerning which the following account is read in ecclesiastical history.

It appears that the woman, whom [Christ] had healed of the issue of blood, was a citizen of this place. Before the doors of this woman's house is shown a kind of base placed in a very conspicuous situation, on which is seen, figured in bronze, an image of the woman herself, as it were falling on her knees and stretching out her hands in a suppliant attitude. Another statue is close by, also cast in bronze, with the face and dress of our Lord, and a fringed garment around him, and holding out his right hand to the prostrate woman. At the foot of the male statue there grows a certain herb of a new species, springing out of the above-

mentioned base, and it does not stop growing until it touches the border of the garment of Jesus. And when the growing herb touches that with its topmost shoot, it acquires from it the power of driving out all diseases, so that whatever the sickness may be, when a little water is drunk in which the health-giving herb has been steeped, it is driven out ; and yet if the herb should be cut off before it has grown so as to touch with its top the bronze border, it carries with it no virtue whatever. This statue Eusebius, a writer of his times, testifies remained until his days, and was seen by his own eyes.¹ But this statue of Christ, the most wicked apostate Julian, as we read in the Tripartite History,² took down and set up his own in its place. But God, avenging at once such wickedness, smote asunder with a stroke of lightning that statue of Julian ; and one part of the head with the neck lies fixed in the ground, while the other part remains in its place and attests the lightning flash. The pagans broke up the statue of our Saviour, but the Christians collected the pieces and placed them in the church.

X. Passing on from thence, and following the streams of the Jordan, they came to that place of the Jordan where our Lord cleansed the waters formerly polluted by the Flood, washing them by His own Baptism. There they were bathed in the salutary liquid, and went on to Galgalá, Galgal, where the children of Israel set up, in testimony of their own passing over, the twelve stones that they had taken out of the Jordan. They then passed through Jericho, Jericho, where the Jordan is about to lose its name and its flowing and falls into the Dead Sea. They also visited the monastery of St. Eustace, situated half-way between Jericho and Jerusalem, and then they approached the long-expected Jerusalem. There, what spot was there Jerusalem, that had been the witness of our Lord's miracles or any

¹ H. E., vii. 18.

² Sozomen, H. E., v. 21.

of His works on which Willibald the man of God did not imprint his kisses? What altar there that he did not bedew with his tears and sighs? With what devotion did not he, crucified to the world, lay prostrate before our Lord's Cross? How did he cover with a scalding flood of tears that stone which the angel rolled away from the door of the sepulchre?

He was detained for six weeks there tormented with a most grievous illness, and yet it was not too grievous to prevent him from going round the holy places, his zeal making light of the labour. With what desire of seeing the God of gods in Sion did he visit the church of Mount Sion which stands in the midst of the city? How devoutly did he implore the aid of Stephen the protomartyr and archdeacon of that same church, now translated thence?

Mt. Sion.

XI. At length they went out [of the city] and came into the valley of Josaphat, where the tomb of Holy Mary is shown. But whether the Apostles buried her there when released from her body left here below, or whether perhaps purposing to bury her after they had dug out the tomb there, she was assumed with her body [into heaven]; or if after being buried she was hidden there, whether she was taken thence and translated elsewhere, or having received true immortality she has risen again, it is better to be in doubt than to define anything apocryphal. Crossing over from thence, Mount Olivet received them, and they entered the church, which is open at the top, and was built by the care of Queen Helena on the place of our Lord's Ascension. This place then, in which our Lord at the very hour of His Ascension, surrounded by His disciples, had stood, and from which, lifting up His hands, He led our captivity captive, the marks of our Lord's Feet to this day most clearly demonstrate. And [the ground] feeling itself, as it were from the impression of those Feet, incomparably more

Valley of
Josaphat.

Mt. Olivet.

precious than every artificial adornment, does not suffer itself to be strewed with a pavement, nor to be covered by a roof. These marks of our Lord's Feet St. Willibald and his companions never ceased to wash with flowing tears, and were able to say: 'We have adored in the place where His Feet have stood.' In that same church there are said to stand two pillars in memory of the two angels, who said to the disciples gazing on our ascending Lord, 'Ye men of Galilee, why stand you gazing up into heaven?' They also report that whoever can creep round the wall of the church between the pillars and the church wall, he merits the pardon of his sins.

XII. Then he came to Bethlehem, where the ox knew ^{Bethlehem.} his owner, and the ass his Lord's crib. On the way thither he saw the well, of which he had previously wondered at the account, and saw on the surface of the water, going from edge to edge, the figure of the star, which appeared to the Magi when our Lord was born, and led them to Bethlehem on the thirteenth day after our Lord's Nativity. From thence they went to Thecua, where the children of ^{Tecua.} the age of Christ were slain by Herod, and Nathanael, hidden by his mother under a fig-tree, escaped; and hence our Lord said to him: 'When thou wast under the fig-tree, I knew thee.' Then by the Laura, where St. Saba ^{S. Saba.} rests, they came to the village of Beitzur to the water, which is dried up in the same place where it springs forth. In that place it was that the Ethiopian, who came from the uttermost parts of the earth to visit the Temple of the Lord, was baptized by Philip, outrunning Israel who was near at hand, and 'changed his skin,' that is, being made white by faith he put off the blackness of sin. When

¹ This curious tradition is not mentioned in the *Hodæporicon*. It may have been related to St. Willibald on the spot, as it does not occur in any Commentary that I have seen.

- Gaza. they went from hence to Gaza, as he was hearing solemn Mass at St. Matthias, St. Willibald lost his eyesight.
- Afframia. XIII. Then through the castle of Afframia, where the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob with their wives rest, he returned to Jerusalem, and having entered the church built where the Holy Cross was found, he received his sight after two months of blindness. Then, Lydda. having visited the church of St. George at Diospolis [he Joppa. passed] through Joppe, a coast town of Palestine, where Peter raised to life the widow Dorcas, and went along the shore of the Adriatic Sea, and adored the footsteps of our Tyre. Lord at Tyre and Sidon. And then, crossing Mount Libanus, and passing through the coast town of Tripo'i, Emmaus. he visited Damascus again, and came to Emmaus, a village of Palestine, which the Romans after the destruction of Jerusalem called, after the event of the victory, Nicopolis. There, in the house of Cleopas, now changed into a church, they adored Him, who was in that house known by the breaking of bread; and desiring the well of living water, he saw the fountain which is on the high road, in which Christ, on the same day on which He rose again from the dead, walked with the two disciples, and turned aside as though to another town. For there is the fountain at which Christ, when He lived on earth, is said to have come, and having made a certain journey, washed His feet in it; and from that time the same water has been made by God efficacious in various medicinal ways, so that when it is drunk it infuses the presence of health from any ailments both of man and beast.
- Jerusalem. XIV. Then St. Willibald came to Jerusalem a third time, and stayed there the whole winter. Nevertheless, after travelling through Syria, he again visited Jerusalem Sebastia. for the fourth time. And then he passed through Sebastia, famous for the tomb of St. John the Baptist, although it

had been destroyed in the time of Julian the apostate ; and also for the relics of the prophets Abdias and Eliseus, and the well where our Lord asked a drink from the Samaritan woman. He saw the mountain Garizim, on which the Samaritan woman said that the fathers of the Samaritans had been used to pray. And they came to the head of Mount Libanus, near to Tyre and adjoining the mountain, ^{Tyre.} and on their journey they encountered a fierce attack from lions. From thence, after a long waiting at Tyre for a ship, they began their voyage on the Feast of St. Andrew, and were at sea through the whole winter, and only just before Easter Week arrived at Constantinople, celebrated ^{Con-}stantinople. for the relics of the holy Apostles Andrew, Timothy, and Luke the Evangelist, and John Chrysostom. There they stayed for two years, and meanwhile crossed over to Nicea, the city of Bithynia, where Constantine assembled the hundred and eighteen bishops to discuss the controversy between Arius and Athanasius, the Alexandrian leaders ; and there is the church in which they sat at the Council, with no roof over it, like that on Mount Olivet. Returning to Constantinople, and traversing again the sea-passage by the cities of Sicily, Syracuse, and Catana, they arrived at ^{Sicily.} Rhegium, and thence to Naples, and so to Capua.

XV. At length, when the autumn was drawing in towards the winter, St. Willibald settled himself on Monte Cassino, ^{M. Cassino.} at the monastery of St. Benedict, under the Abbot Petronax. And this was the tenth year from the beginning of his exile, and the eighth from his setting out from Rome.

After the holy man had united himself to the monks of the place aforesaid, he exhibited in himself most fully the type of conventual life and most religious conversation. And therefore the love of all was attracted towards him, and the first year after he came he was made sacristan of the church ; in the second, dean of the monastery ; and

after that for eight years porter¹ in the two monasteries founded there—four years at the monastery at the top of the mountain, and four years more at the monastery lower down near the river Raphito.

XVI. At that very time in the countries of the Teutons there was a celebrated man, Boniface, both in deed and name, Archbishop of the Church of Mayence. He was also an Englishman by birth, and a relation of St. Willibald, and he was afterwards, having converted the ferocious Frisians, to be a renowned martyr of Christ. He, when he was considering over the planting of the nourishing (seed) of the Christian religion, and earnestly seeking to collect from every quarter able and needful (labourers) for this work, heard of the fame of St. Willibald, and how he was wholly given to divine contemplation at Monte Cassino. When, therefore, the said Archbishop came to Rome, after conferring with the Apostolic Ruler on the state of the Catholic Church, he added, that he was sorely exercised in himself about the Archbishopric of Mayence, committed to his own care, wide and spacious in land and territory, but wretched in the extreme from its pagan usages. The harvest was great, but the labourers were few, and when unavoidable necessity compelled its pastor to render an account of what was committed to him, and the blood of his subjects should be required of the prelate set over them, one pastor was not sufficient for so numerous a flock.

¹ The Rule of St. Benedict prescribes : ' Let such men be chosen Deans as the Abbot may safely trust to share his burdens ; let them not be chosen according to order, but for the merit of their lives, and for their wisdom and learning.'—*Rule*, chap. xxi.

The Porter : ' At the gate of the monastery let there be placed a wise old man, who knoweth how to give and receive an answer, and whose ripeness of years suffereth him not to wander about.'—Chap. lvi.

These offices are eloquent testimonies to the mature wisdom of the still youthful Willibald.

And so, if God willed, and if the Apostolic authority permitted, he had resolved to divide that diocese, and establish two bishops in it, so that a less numerous charge might preserve the flock, and relieve the pastor. He also said that there was at Monte Cassino a monk, one Willibald, who had for love of God left his parents and country, and, after a period spent in the long labour of travelling and visiting the holy places, was there devoted to the service of God. To him he wished to commit one of his proposed bishoprics, if the Lord Pope would charge himself with withdrawing him from his monastery, and send him to him. Gregory ruled at that time over the Apostolic See, the third of that name, and the ninety-first pope. He, having heard the laudable desire of Archbishop Boniface, approved of his intention, and promised that St. Willibald should be sent; and then, folding Boniface to his heart with long embraces, and sobs full of affection, he let him depart.

XVII. Not long after this, St. Willibald, having com- Rome.
pleted ten years at Monte Cassino, came to Rome, by the permission of his abbot, Petronax, with a certain brother of theirs, a Spaniard by nation. The blessed Pope, when he heard of his coming, called for him, and, after many questions and answers, made known to him the request of St. Boniface. Willibald thought it hard, and contrary to the life that he had proposed for himself. He urged that he had renounced his own [country, and friends, and goods],¹ that he who had trampled the world under his feet ought not again to be entangled in worldly affairs, and he did not wish to be deprived of the peace that he had prepared for himself in this vale of tears; neither was it the part of a prudent man, or of one sound in mind, who, after a dreadful shipwreck had gained the port, that he should with hesitating steps again trust himself to the sea

¹ Propria.

which had threatened him with a cruel death.¹ On which the Pope then used these or similar words to him: 'The love of God is proved by the love of our neighbour. Hence, when [our Lord] heard Peter say three times that he loved Him, He committed to him the care and feeding of the flock. Divinely instructed by this, the holy Fathers have committed the episcopate to many who have been torn away from the quiet of the monastery, and many from solitary contemplation. My predecessor and namesake, Gregory, though in mind and habit a monk, was set over the Apostolic See. Moses the hermit, famous for innumerable miracles in the desert, was torn away from the solitary life that he was leading at the request of Queen Manuia to the Roman Emperor, and placed as bishop over the nation of the Saracens, and in a short time he won to Christ that most fierce nation, and clothed them in the fleece of lambs.² Therefore, whoever indued with [necessary] powers refuses prelacy, and prefers his own peace to the welfare of others, will be deserving of suffering the pains of

¹ This conversation lacks the simplicity of that related in the *Hodæporicon*, although it is by no means inconsistent with it.

² The Roman Martyrology says, on February 27, 'In Egypt the feast of Moses, a venerable bishop, who at first led a solitary life in the desert; then, at the request of Mauvia, Queen of the Saracens, was made bishop, converted that most ferocious nation in great part to the faith, and made glorious by his merits rested in peace.'

It is curious that the very next entry, on the same day, should be: 'At Lucca, in Tuscany, the burial of St. Richard, King of the English.'

Sozomen gives a very graphic account of how Queen Mavia (she was so called by Socrates, etc., though some writers give the name Mania, and our author combines the two into Manuia) defeated the forces of the Emperor Valens, about A.D. 373, and refused to make peace unless Moses was given to her for their bishop. Moses refused to be consecrated by Lucius, the Arian successor of St. Athanasius, and Valens was obliged to send him to the exiled bishops in order to receive consecration. See Sozomen, H. E., vi. 38.

as many damned [souls] as the number of sinners whose morals he might have corrected if he had been a prelate.'

By these and such-like arguments the mind of St. Willibald was moved, and, throwing himself at the feet of the Pope, he professed himself ready to submit his devoted shoulders to whatever burthen might be imposed upon him. And thus, much instructed and fortified with the apostolic benediction, he was directed, a saint to a saint, Willibald to Boniface; and the holy Archbishop received him as an angel sent down from heaven, embraced him with gracious affection, and honoured him most worthily.

XVIII. Henceforward, the case of his own vocation having been made clear to him, [Boniface] asked St. Willibald to be so good as to go and look at the place over which he was to be set as prelate. It was a place in the confines of Bavaria, called Eihstat, handed over to the same Archbishop, and delivered to him by a certain pious and religious [prince] named Suiger, for holy uses in view of a Divine reward. In this place St. Boniface, while it was still in his own diocese, had determined to found a bishopric, and to set St. Willibald over it. He went, he saw, and he approved of it; and returned to St. Boniface; and then, in his company, again went to his own place, and received there, by the consecration of the archbishop, the perfection of the rank of the priesthood. Without any delay he began to lay the foundations of his church, to mark out the cloister and offices for the clergy, and wisely to arrange all things necessary for divine service.

When a year had elapsed he heard that the Archbishop was in Thuringia; and, on his way to him he received an acceptable hospitality at his brother Wunebald's, whom he had not seen for eight years and a half, since they parted in Rome. From thence he went to his archbishop at Salzburg, where, with the concurrence of the body of Salzburg,

bishops, and the consenting voice of the clergy and people, he received episcopal consecration and the see of the church of Eihstat, being then in the forty-first year of his age.

Having, then, undertaken the episcopal charge, he gave himself no rest, day and night preaching the Word of God, arousing the sluggish mind of that nation, little careful of the future, to the hope of heavenly [joys], and, putting aside the care of vain things, he led them to seek those that are eternal. And, lest the husbandman of the faith should reap little profit, that which he planted by his word he watered by his life consistent with his teaching. In a short time the rude field of wretched hearts so responded to the working of the Gospel mattock, that the fruit was seen to rise out of the ignorant ground, the weeds of errors were uprooted, and the ruddy cornfields and vineyards of the God of Hosts sprang up.

XIX. After he had moulded his diocese most worthily with the rules of wholesome life for seven years,¹ he desired to be dissolved and to be with Christ, he rendered up his spirit to his Creator, and was buried in the church over which he had presided. How great in merit he is now with God is testified by the crown of justice which the brilliant miracles at his tomb bear witness that he has received.

NOTE ON THE TOPOGRAPHY OF ST. WILLIBALD.

THE pilgrimage of Willibald was made, a few years after the defeat of Moslemah before the walls of Constantinople; and whilst the war between the Byzantines and the Arabs was being carried on, in a desultory manner, along the southern slopes of the Taurus. This may explain the scarcity of provisions on the south coast of Asia Minor (XI.); and the suspicion with which Willibald and his companions were regarded upon their arrival at Emesa (XII.). Once having entered

¹ This is a mistake. St. Willibald was consecrated in 741, and did not die until A.D. 786, after an episcopate of forty-five years. 'Seven times seven years' would have been nearer the mark.

the country under Arab rule, they appear to have been well treated and to have experienced no difficulty in moving from place to place. This accords with the well-known tolerance of the Ommiad Khalifs; and the apparently hurried departure of the pilgrims may have been due to the active renewal of the war with Byzantium, and the general excitement attending Moslemah's invasion of Asia Minor.

It seems probable that the Waltham (Waldheim) at which Willibald was brought up was Bishop's Waltham, in Hampshire, and not the more famous Waltham Abbey. At any rate, he and his companions embarked at the mouth of the Hamble (Hamel-Muth), which rises near Bishop's Waltham, and falls into the Southampton Water a little below Netley; and they appear to have sailed up the Seine as far as Rouen. Thence they journeyed to Rome, and after a prolonged stay there proceeded to Ephesus, visiting on the way Syracuse, the Peloponnesus, Chios, Samos, and other places. The route from Ephesus presents some difficulties from the fact that Willibald is said (XI.) to have sailed from Patara to Miletus (Milite) and thence to the mountain of the Galliani, and Cyprus. It has been suggested that the pilgrims went by land to Patara, passing Hierapolis (Stroboli, derived from *εις την ιεράπολιν*); and that they afterwards returned to Miletus, where they took ship for Cyprus. But a land journey, from Hierapolis across the rough Lycian mountains to Patara, would have been most unusual, especially in late autumn or early winter; and it is far more natural to suppose that Miletus is misplaced in the narrative, and that they travelled in the usual and easier way, by water, from Miletus to Patara. According to this view, which receives some support from the omission of Miletus in 'the Itinerary,' the pilgrims walked along the coast from Ephesus to Pygela (Figila), Trogillum (Strobolis), and Miletus, whence they sailed for Patara. Having passed the winter at that place they crossed over to the Promontorium Sacrum, or to Anemurium (mountain of the Galliani), and thence to Paphos, now *Bapho*, in Cyprus. From Cyprus they proceeded to Antaradus (Tharratæ, now *Tartûs*), whence they travelled up the Valley of the Eleutherus, now *Nahr el-Kebir*, past Arche (probably derived from Macra), the Crusading *Krak des Chevaliers*, to Emesa, now *Hums*, where they were imprisoned as spies.

The journey through the Holy Land presents no special features of interest; the value of the *Hodæporicon* lies in its being the only narrative extant of a pilgrimage in the eighth century, and thus forming a connecting link between Arculfus (670) and Bernardus Monachus (865). Willibald was above all things a pilgrim—a visitor of sacred places, and an adorer of saintly relics; he was not a scientific observer. We learn little about the people, the condition of the country, or the state of the towns; and the only things that seem to have interested him, outside his religious duties, are the buffalo at *Tell el-Kâdy*, the lion he encountered on the plain of Esdraelon, and the eruption on the island of Vulcano. Still there are many notices of interest, such as those of the church, two miles from Damascus, at the place where St. Paul was converted; the black-mailing of the Christians of Nazareth by the Arabs, who threatened to destroy the church; and of the church on Mount Tabor, the only remaining representative of the three churches seen by Antoninus and Arculfus (XIII.). Capharnaum, Bethsaida, and Chorazin were visited, but the narrative (XIV.) does not assist us in determining their sites. It only seems clear that

Chorazin was not at *Kerazeh*, and may have been at *Khersa*, on the eastern shore of the lake. The church, at the place where Christ was baptized in Jordan, built on lofty vaults, by the Emperor Anastasius, to protect it against the floods of the river, was still standing (XVI.); and so was the wooden church at Galgala in which the 'twelve stones' from Jordan were kept (XVII.). The most interesting notices of the Holy Places at Jerusalem are: the reference to the Church of Calvary, with the three memorial crosses outside its eastern wall; the statements that the stone in front of the door of the sepulchre was a copy of the one which the angel rolled away (XVIII.), and that the Church of Sion was in the middle of Jerusalem (see Appendix II., Antoninus); the connection of Solomon's Porch with the Pool of Bethesda (XIX.); and the allusion to a column, outside the gate leading to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, which marked the spot where, according to tradition, the Jews wished to carry off the body of the Virgin Mary as she was being borne to the tomb by the Apostles (XX., XXI.).

There is an interesting reference to the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem as cruciform (XXII.); and Hebron is called Aframia, possibly a corrupt form of Abrahamia (XXIV.). Before visiting Hebron Willibald appears to have travelled to Gaza by the road followed by Antoninus, and Theodosius in the sixth century, but he does not mention several of the places pointed out to them, such as the place where David killed Goliath, Samson's fountain, etc. He agrees with the earlier pilgrims in placing the tombs of St. John the Baptist, Obadiah and Elisha at Samaria, but falls into a curious error with regard to Jacob's Well, which he says was near the fortress Sebastia (XXVII.). Perhaps, as he mentions the mountain on which the Samaritans worshipped in connection with the well, he may have forgotten the distinction between Samaria and Shechem at the time he dictated his narrative. It may be remarked, however, that Antoninus makes a similar error, and writes of 'Samaria which is now called Neapolis' (VI.), where there was a church dedicated to St. John the Baptist. On leaving Palestine Willibald followed the road from Ptolemais to Tyre across the *Râs el-Abyad*, which he calls 'the head of Libanus,' and here the Arabs appear to have established a guard-house (the tower of Libanus), at which travellers were obliged to show their passports. From Tyre he went by sea to Constantinople, and there he remained two years in the monastery attached to the great Church of St. Sophia, in which John Chrysostom was buried. The years were those during which the iconoclastic policy of Leo III. was convulsing the Eastern and Western worlds, and embittering the contest which ended in the separation of Central Italy from the Byzantine Empire. But of those stirring events we are told nothing; the only interesting information in the chapter (XXIX.) devoted to Constantinople is that the church at Nicæa, in which the Council was held, was similar to the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives, and therefore circular in plan. From Constantinople Willibald returned to Italy, and eventually passed on to the scene of those labours with which his name will ever be identified.

C. W. W.

INDEX.

- ABRAHAM'S Tomb, 24, 48
 Abagarus, Agbarus, King, 42
 Adriatic Sea, 10, 25, 48
 Aframia, 24, 48
 Agatha, St., her veil, 10, 41
 Age-Mons (Tabor), 15 [43
 Ananias's Tomb at Damascus, 15,
 Antarardus, 12, 42
 Arahe, Arca, 12, 42
 Ascension, Church of, 22, 47
 Assumption of Blessed Virgin,
 21, 46

 Baptism of Christ, 18, 44, 45
 Bavarians, 35, 36, 53
 Beitzur, 48
 Benedict, St., Abbey of, 31, 33,
 49-52
 Beneventum, 9, 41
 Bethlehem, 22, 47
 Bethsaida, 16, 44
 Boniface, St., Apostle of Germany,
 i, iii, 32, 50; consecrates Willibald,
 33, 34, 53

 Cæsarea Philippi, 17, 25, 44
 Calvary, 19
 Cana, Chana, of Galilee, 15, 43
 Capharnaum, 16, 44
 Capua, 31, 49
 Carta, Garda, 33
 Cassino, Monte, 31, 49, 50, 51
 Catania, 9, 29, 41, 49
 Chelidonium, 11, 42
 Choos, Chios, 10, 41
 Constantia, Salamis, 11, 42
 Constantinople, 28, 49
 Corinth, 10
 Corozain, 16, 44
 Cross on Saxon estates, 4, 38

 Cross, Holy, at Jerusalem, 19, 20,
 24, 46, 48
 Cyprus, 11, 15, 42

 Damascus, 15, 25, 26, 43, 48
 Dan and Jor, 16, 44
 Dertona, Chortuna, Gorthonic, 7
 Didymus, Mountains of, 30

 Egwald, Egilward, Abbot, 5, 38
 Eihstadt, Eichstadt, 33, 35, 53, 54
 Eliseus, Elisha, The Prophet, 19,
 Emesa, 12, 25, 42 [26
 Emmaus, 43
 Ephesus, 10, 41
 Epiphany, The, 18
 Etna, Mount, 9, 41
 Eustochius, Eustachius, or
 Euthymius, Monastery of, 19, 46

 Figila, Phygagala, Sigila, 10, 41
 Frigidian, St., at Lucca, i, 7, 40
 Frisinga, Willibald at, 33

 Gaieta, Gaeta, 9
 Galgala, Gilgal, 18, 19, 45
 Garizim, Mount, 49
 Gaza, 24, 48
 Gregory III., Pope, 32, 51, 52

 Hamel-muth, Hamweh, 7
 Heidenheim, Abbey of, ii, 34, 39
 Helena, St., Empress, 12, 19, 47
 Heliseus, *see* Eliseus
 Hodeporicon, The, ii, 1, 37

 Itinerarium S. Willibaldi, i, 37

 Jericho, 19, 46 [49
 Jerusalem, 9, 19-22, 24-26, 40, 46.

- Jiljülieh, 19
 John the Evangelist, St., 10, 41
 John the Baptist, St., 12, 18, 42, 49
 Joppa, 25, 48
 Jordan, The, 17, 18, 19, 44, 46
 Josaphat, Valley of, 21, 46

 Libanus, Mount, 25, 27, 49
 Litany in Greek, 12
 Luca, Lucca, 7, 33, 40, 52
 Lydda, Ludd, Diospolis, 25, 48

 Magdalum, 16, 43
 Magdalene, St. Mary, 16, 34, 41
 Manafasia, Monembasia, 10
 Mary, Blessed Virgin, 15, 21, 43, 46
 Manuia, Mania, Mavia, Queen, 52

 Naples, 9, 49
 Nazareth, 15, 43
 Nicæa, 28, 49

 Olivet, Mount, 12, 28, 46, 47

 Paneas, Baniyas, Phaneas, 17, 44, 45
 Paphos, 11, 42
 Patara, 11, 42
 Peter, St., 8, 16, 25, 32, 40, 43, 44, 52
 Petronax, Abbot, 31, 32, 33, 40, 43, 44, 49, 51

 Regia, Regium, Reggio, 9, 29, 41
 Richard, St., father of St. Willibald, 1, 6, 7, 39
 Rome, 8, 32, 40, 50, 51, 52
 Rotum, Rouen, 7, 40

 Saba, St., Laura of, 23, 47
 Salamaitha, 25
 Samaria, Sebastia, 26, 49
 Saracens, The, 11-15, 25, 42, 43, 52

 Sepulchre, Holy, 20, 46
 Seven Sleepers, The, 10, 41
 Sidon, 25, 48
 Sigona, the River Seine, 7, 40
 Sion, Holy, 20, 21, 46
 Solomon's Porch, 20
 Strobolis, Trogyllium, 11, 42
 Suitgar, Count, 33, 53
 Syracuse, 10, 29, 41, 49

 Tabor, Mount, 15, 43
 Talamais, Ptolemais, 23
 Terracina, 9
 Tharratæ, Antarardus, 12, 42
 Thecua, Tecua, 23, 47
 Theoderic, Hell of, 29, 30
 Tiberias, 16, 43
 Tripoli, 25

 Vulcano, Island of, 29

 Walburga, St., i, ii, 39, 40, 41
 Waldheim, Waltham, 5, 39
 Willibald, St.: his parentage, i; infancy, 4, 38; enters a monastery, 5; his pilgrimage, 6, 39; buries his father at Lucca, 7, 40; at Rome, 8, 40; pilgrimage to Holy Land, 9-19, 41-46; at Constantinople, 28, 49; at Monte Cassino, 31, 50; conversation with Pope, 32, 52, 53; ordained priest, 33, 54; consecrated Bishop of Eichstadt, 34, 54; his labour, iii, 35, 54, 55; his death and character, iii, 36, 54
 Winna, mother of St. Willibald, i
 Woman with issue of blood, Statue of, 44, 45
 Wunebald, Winibald, brother of St. Willibald, i, 3, 7, 34, 39, 40, Wynfrith, *see* Boniface, St. [54

THE END.

Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society.
[Volume 3]

DESCRIPTION OF SYRIA,
INCLUDING PALESTINE.

BY
MUKADDASI
(CIRC. 985 A.D.).

Translated from the Arabic and Annotated by
GUY LE STRANGE.



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P R E F A C E.



SHAMS AD DÎN—'the Sun of Religion'—Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad, the son of Ahmad, the son of Abu Bakr the Architect, commonly known as Mukaddasi—the Hierosolomite—was born at Jerusalem in the year of the Flight, 336 (A.D. 946). For his personal history, we have to rely entirely on what can be put together from such incidental references to his adventurous career as occur in the pages of his book, for no biography of him is to be found in the volumes of Ibn Khallikan, nor has any notice of his life been met with in the voluminous compilations of the historiographers or the contemporary annalists. Mukaddasi makes no special mention of his father, Ahmad, but his grandfather, Abu Bakr, appears to have acquired fame throughout Syria as an architect, for besides numerous minor works, his grandson gives an interesting account of his labours at the Port of Acre, which he undertook to reconstruct and fortify at the command of Ibn Tûlûn, the then ruler of Egypt, in whose dominions Syria was included. The family name of Mukaddasi was Al Bashârî, and we gather that his paternal ancestors had been settled in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem ever since the early days of the Muslim conquest. His mother's family had originally belonged to the town of Biyâr, in the province of Jurjân, in Persia, not far

from the frontier of Khurasân; and from thence his maternal grandfather, Abu-t Tayib ash Shawâ, had migrated during the troublous days which witnessed the rise of the Khurramite sect, and accompanied by eighteen of his kinsmen had come to settle in Jerusalem. Abu-t Tayib would appear to have been a man of considerable wealth, and a kindred taste in literary and artistic matters, leading him to form a close friendship with Abu Bakr, the architect, the alliance between the families was cemented by the marriage of their children. Muhammad al Mukaddasi, the child of this marriage, inherited a strong predilection for architectural subjects from both his grandfathers; and the natural bent being fostered by his education, such notices of the various buildings as he met with during his travels, and described in his book, are the more valuable, by reason of the careful and almost scientific detail of his description, and the just use of the appropriate technical terms.

Mukaddasi, as appears from his book, had the advantage of an excellent education. He was no mean proficient in the theological and juridical sciences of the day, and besides this was sufficiently versed in mercantile affairs to turn his voyages to profit. He takes occasion himself to remark that his talents, both as theologian and merchant, had frequently served him in good stead during his journeys, and further had made him friends among all classes. In 356 A.H. (967 A.D.), when he had attained the age of twenty, he visited for the first time Mecca, and performed the rites of the pilgrimage. It was only when he had attained his fortieth year, however, and after long journeys and much study, that he ventured to set himself to the composition of his book. 'For years past,' he writes in his preface, 'I have devoted myself to this Science of Geography, which, alas! of others is now so neglected;

and though it may be in but a perfunctory manner, I have constantly studied the Art thereof, having it in mind to write a description of all the countries of Islam.' After briefly indicating the points which he deems most worthy of discussion in a compendium of Geography, he proceeds to give an account of his labours, which are, perhaps, best described in his own words, though in translating them we have somewhat condensed the form. 'Now for the purpose of writing this book I have spent my substance in journeyings, and have worn myself out in mercantile voyagings. And I have begun to write it only now after sojourning long time in many lands, visiting all the countries of Islam, everywhere frequenting the society of the Learned, serving in the service of Princes, attending the Courts of the Judges, listening to the lectures of the Jurisprudists, and so attaining to all the knowledge that I could, in both Letters and the Scriptures. For a time I studied the Traditions, and then passing through the schools of the Ascetics and Sûfi philosophers, lived among the Rhetoricians, and the Rhapsodists. In every country I made myself a home, trading among the people whereby to gain a livelihood, eating with all manner of men, learning all things of each one, walking a-foot on my journeys that I might measure the distances, searching out the boundaries of the provinces, acquiring by practice the dialects of each nation, noting the complexion of the race in every clime, and becoming initiated into the secrets of their religious sects. And thus in every land have I inquired and made myself acquainted with its divisions and zones, its climate, its waters, its natural wealth, and its physical peculiarities.' All this preparatory work Mukaddasi carried out systematically during a full score of years, and hence it is not surprising that he ended by writing a book totally unlike any that had yet appeared. Others, such as Ibn Haukal

Istakhri, and Ibn Khurdadbih had written Road-books, describing the various countries of Islam, and detailing their chief towns and their rivers and mountains; 'but I,' boasts Mukaddasi, 'have not plagiarized from their writings—and he who has read their works will acknowledge this. Also, though my book be amenable to criticism, yet since all that I have written is of my very own experience, herein must it differ from all previous works. . . . In each case I have clearly stated such scenes as I have witnessed with my own eyes, and have given the authority where I describe from the reports of others; also do I make no excuse for mentioning such celebrated personages as I have met with in my travels.' Mukaddasi's preface ends by stating that he completed his work in the year of the Flight, 375 (A.D. 985), 'in the chief town of Fârs, which same is in the dominion of the Commander of the Faithful, Abu Bakr 'Abd al Karîm At Tâi' Billah; while over the Lands of the West rules Abu Mansûr Nizâr Al 'Aziz Billah, Commander of the Faithful.'

These two rival Commanders of the Faithful were At Tâi', the twenty-fourth Khalif of the House of 'Abbâs, who was reigning at Baghdad, and Al 'Azîz, the fifth of the Fatimite Khalifs of Egypt, the father of the celebrated mad Khaiif Hâkim, whose apotheosis is a chief tenet of the religion of the Druzes. As contemporary with Mukaddasi, we may call to mind that, in A.D. 985, far away from Syria, here in the west, in England, the Saxon Ethelred the Unready was making his last feeble struggle against the Danes, alternately bribing with *Dane-gelt*, and treacherously ordering massacres, both courses inevitably leading to the coming of Canute. Across the Channel Hugh Capet, Count of Paris and Orleans, was, in 987, proclaimed King of France, at Noyon; while fifteen

years before this date the great Emperor Otto had died, and ten years had yet to run before Hungary was to become Christian under King Stephen. More than a century, counting from the days when our author was penning his description of Palestine, had to elapse before the pilgrimage of Hermit Peter to Jerusalem (A.D. 1093) and the decrees of the Council of Clermont would start the chivalry of the West on their long Crusade against the powers of Islam ; and on this point it is curious to note how little, according to Mukaddasi's account, the Christian Pilgrims had, during his age, to suffer for the sake of their religion at the hands of the rulers of Syria. Christians and Jews, he says, had the upper hand then in Jerusalem. But these were the days before the mad Khalif Hâkim had set his soldiers to destroy the Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem (A.D. 1010), and there was then no tax imposed on the pilgrim as the price of his admission into the Holy City. From the time of Omar, who had made the treaty with the Patriarch Sophronius, down to the period of Hâkim's furious onslaught—for over three centuries and a half—the pilgrims from the West had, with small hindrance, been able to visit all the sacred sites of Palestine ; and over and above their spiritual advantages, they found in their pilgrimage no mean source of worldly gain, for there was great profit arising from mercantile dealings with the Saracens. As Mukaddasi quaintly puts it, 'the Holy Land is truly a mine of profit both for This World and the Next.'

In the times to which we are alluding—that is, towards the close of the ninth century of our era—there were three Khalifs, each styling himself the Commander of the Faithful, and peaceably reigning, if not actually ruling, in parts of the now disunited Empire of Islam. Far in the West, at Cordova, reigned Hishâm II., tenth Khalif of the Spanish Omeyyads ; and though in his days the Muhammadan

power in Andalusia was already on the wane, the great schools of Seville and Cordova were already rising to become the centres whence radiated such learning as could pierce the gloom of the Middle Ages. In Egypt, as before noted, ruled the fifth Fatimite Khalif Al 'Aziz, father of the mad Hâkim, who succeeded in A.H. 382 (A.D. 992). The Fatimites based their claim to the Commanding of the Faithful on their alleged descent from the Imâm Husain, the son of the Khalif 'Ali, and Fâtimah, daughter of the Prophet. They were powerful sovereigns, and at one time governed, from their metropolis at Cairo, the greater part of Northern Africa, with Syria, and the Hijjâz, including the two Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina. During the 270 years that their dynasty held power, the Fatimites were the great rivals of the Abbaside Khalifs; and half a century after the date of our author, in A.H. 447 (A.D. 1055), their generals were pillaging Baghdad itself, forcing the Khalif Al Kâim to flee for his life to Ana, while, during forty weeks the public prayers were read in the name of the Fatimite Khalif in the Mosques of the Abbaside capital on the Tigris.

During the days of Mukaddasi, however, it was At Tâi', of the House of Abbâs, who was the Khalif, in name, at Baghdad. During the earlier years of his reign all the power of the state had been centred in the hands of the great Buyide prince, whose province was Persia, 'Adud ad Daulah. After the latter's death, however, in A.H. 372 (A.D. 982), his sons and successors began to quarrel over the spoil; and although—during half a century yet of bloodshed and turmoil—the Buyides were supreme in Baghdad, being the viceroys of the Khalif, who had now made formal renunciation of his temporal dominion, their star was already on the wane before the rising power of the Seljûk Turks, who were now becoming heritors of

the rule of the Samanide Amirs in all the fertile lands of Central Asia. Upper Mesopotamia and the northern parts of Syria were, in Mukaddasi's days, in the hands of the Hamdânî princes, who dwelt at Mosul and Aleppo; and far away in Afghanistan, as yet unknown to fame, Mahmûd, of Ghaznah, was a boy-commander in his father's armies, already preparing himself for the conquest of India.

Such, in briefest outline, was the condition of things political at the time when Mukaddasi wrote his work. Of the writing of the book itself some account has already been given. The chapter which is here translated will afford a fair specimen of the general style of our author; and since he was, herein, describing his native land, he wrote with ample knowledge of the subject, and hence with greater fulness than in the other sections of his work. Of the whole book, the present chapter occupies barely a tenth part; for besides a long preface on personal matters, and a detailed exposition of the contents of his work, with remarks on 'Orientation' and the 'Dimensions of Countries,' our author treats in separate chapters, of the Arabian Peninsula, and then, in turn, of each of the countries of the East, from Mesopotamia to Turkistân and Sind, following which come Egypt and the countries of the West as far as Spain, which last, however, he had not himself visited.

As regards style, Mukaddasi's book, in the original, is pleasant to read, from the vigorous, idiomatic language in which it is written. In the preface he states that in the description of each country he intends to make use of such expressions as are current in the vernacular dialect; and he writes his introduction, he says, in the idiom of his own dear land of Syria. It is not surprising, therefore, to discover that many of his words are lacking in our Arabic dictionaries; and the text, even with the learned Dutch

editor's notes and glossary, is not always easy to translate. Our author's descriptions are, however, clear and succinct, and his diction is, as a rule, simple and straightforward. If at times he wastes, as we should think, valuable space in an endeavour to make a display of his casuistical adroitness, somewhat may be excused him for the fashion of his age, when all great wits employed their ingenuity in the puerilities of dialectic; and as regards Mukaddasi's quibbling, it may be affirmed that he is not more futile in his subtleties than are many of the great schoolmen who followed in the succeeding centuries.

The translation here given was my work during the winter of the year 1884, when I was living at Haifa, in Palestine. The text I had before me is that so admirably edited by De Goeje, in his 'Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum,' Leyden, 1877. Since my return to England I have seen the translation of the major portion of this same chapter of Mukaddasi's book published in German by J. Gildemeister in the 'Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins,' Band vii., 1884. The German professor, however, has not given the chapter entire, he has made not a few slips (as, for instance, when he states that our author was born in A.H. 366, and wrote his book in 375), and when he finds some difficulty in following Mukaddasi's descriptions (*e.g.*, in the case of the Damascus Mosque), he often, to our mind, somewhat hastily concludes that the text is corrupt.

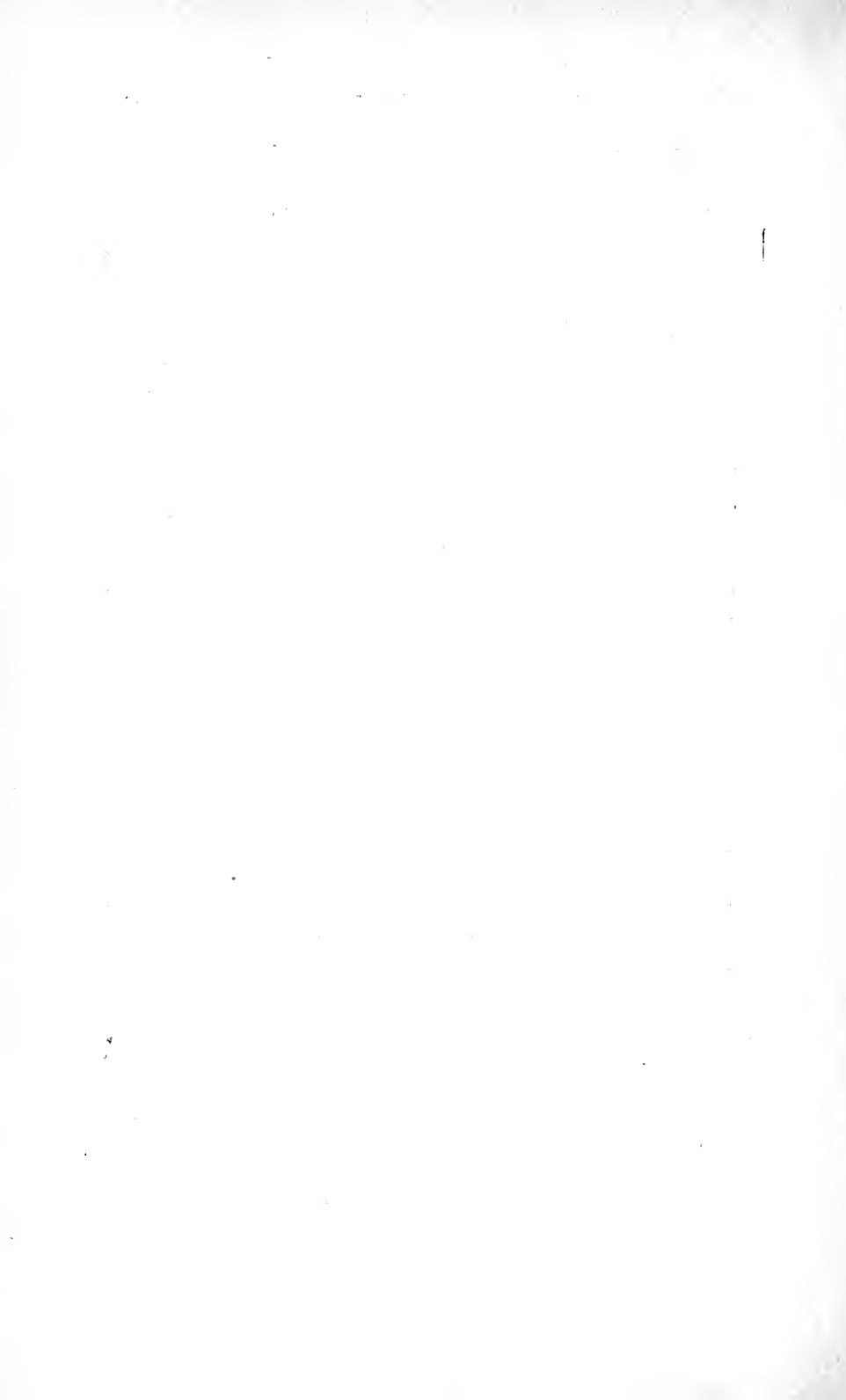
Also, Dr. Gildemeister makes little attempt at identifying places mentioned, with such names as are found on the modern maps; he does not state clearly whether a place is, or is not, to be found, and too often assumes in his readers a knowledge of Arabic which is hardly justifiable in a translation. It is, however, only just that I should acknowledge that from the references in many of his notes

I have been set on the right track for acquiring the desired information.

A list of most of the works quoted in my notes is given on a following page. The system adopted in the transliteration of the Arabic names is that now in common use, well-known names, however, are often retained in the spelling sanctioned by usage. In my translation I have kept as closely as was possible to the text. Any considerable additions, required to render the meaning clear, are enclosed in brackets; but I have not thought it necessary to mark all cases where I have replaced the ever-recurring relative pronoun of the Arabic by its antecedent noun or sentence, in order to make the English clear and more idiomatic. The 'Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine' have been constantly at my elbow, and to their pages I would refer the reader for the description of the sites as they exist at the present day.

In conclusion it is a pleasure to me to have an opportunity of expressing my thanks to Sir C. Wilson for valuable suggestions and emendations, that have enabled me to correct not a few of the notes which are added for the elucidation of the text. In most cases I have, by his permission, merely incorporated among my own notes the information which he was good enough to place at my disposal; in some instances, however, I have thought it better to transcribe his note in full, and, since it was difficult to make any further additions at the foot of the page, I have thrown these paragraphs together so as to form a short Appendix, which will be found at the close of the text.

G. LE S.



WORKS REFERRED TO IN THE NOTES.



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Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks de l'Egypte. Par Quatremère. 2 Vols. 1845.

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Geschichte der Chalifen. Weil. 3 Vols. 1851.

Palestine and Syria. Written by Socin. Bädeker. 1876.

Ritter, 'Erdkunde,' Vol. VIII., in several parts, relating to Syria and Palestine. 1850.

Of Arabic Works—Yâkût's great Geographical Encyclopædia, the Text edited by Wüstenfeldt; Ibn al Athir's Chronicle, Text published by Tornberg, 1867; Hajji

Khalfa's Bibliographical Lexicon, edited by Flügel, 1835; The Travels of Ibn Jobair, edited by W. Wright, 1852; Mujîr ad Din's Description of Jerusalem and Hebron, the Text published at Boulak in A.H. 1283, are all that need special mention. Of Jerome's Onomasticon, the excellent edition in Greek and Latin, by Parthey, has been quoted.

FOR THE MAP I HAVE MADE USE OF THE
FOLLOWING :

The Great Map of Western Palestine. Published by the
P. E. F.

Van der Velde's Map of the Lebanon.

Carte du Nord de la Syrie. Dressée sous la direction
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Also the Maps in Bäderer's Palestine and Syria. 1876.

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in the reference.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

	PAGE
THE MEANING OF THE WORD SHÂM (SYRIA)—TARSUS AND THE COMPANIONS OF THE CAVE—THE DIVISION OF SYRIA INTO SIX PROVINCES	I-12

NOTICES OF THE TOWNS.

ALEPPO AND THE TOWNS OF THE PROVINCE—EMESA AND ITS TOWNS—DAMASCUS, ITS MOSQUE, AND ITS TOWNS—THE GHÛTAH—TIBERIAS AND ITS TOWNS—THE HÛLAH—THE 'ÂMILAH MOUNTAINS—ACRE AND ITS HARBOUR—AR RAMLAH AND ITS TOWNS—JERUSALEM—THE AKSA MOSQUE—THE DOME OF THE ROCK—HEBRON—CÆSAREA PALÆSTINA—THE MEN OF THE CAVE AT AR RAKÎM—THE WATCH-STATIONS ALONG THE COAST, AND THE RANSOM- ING OF CAPTIVES—THE DESERT OF THE WANDERINGS— SINAI	12-65
--	-------

GENERAL FEATURES AND PECULIARITIES.

CLIMATE—RELIGION—COMMERCE—WEIGHTS AND MEASURES —MANNERS AND CUSTOMS—MINERALS—THE RIVERS— THE DEAD SEA—MARVELS OF THE PROVINCE—THE HOT BATHS OF TIBERIAS—DISCUSSION CONCERNING THE
--

	PAGE
TAYAMMUM—THE MOUNT OF OLIVES—THE SIDEÏFĀ, LEBANON, JAULĀN AND LUKKĀM MOUNTAINS—THE GOVERNMENT—THE REVENUE	65-92

DISTANCES.

ALONG THE CHIEF ROADS OF SYRIA	93
--	----

MAPS AND PLANS.

MAP OF SYRIA AND PALESTINE IN THE TIME OF MUKADDASI	<i>Frontispiece</i>
PLAN OF THE GREAT MOSQUE AT DAMASCUS	21
PLAN OF JERUSALEM	<i>To face page 38</i>
PLAN OF THE AKSA MOSQUE	43
PLAN OF THE DOME OF THE ROCK	44
PLAN OF THE HARAM AREA	<i>To face page 46</i>

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

PROVINCE OF SYRIA, INCLUDING PALESTINE.



THE Province of Syria is of glorious renown, the Land of Prophets! Syria is the cynosure of the righteous, and the gathering-place of anchorites. Here dwelt the Saints, and here is the First Kiblah; also the Place of the Resurrection, and of the Night Journey.¹ It is the Sacred Land. Its watch-posts are strong, its frontiers magnificent, and its mountains noble. Thither went Abraham as a pilgrim, and there is his tomb. This is the Land of Job, and there is his well; in Jerusalem is the oratory of David and his gate; here are the wonders of Solomon and his cities; the tomb of Isaac, and that of his mother; the birth-place of the Messiah and his cradle. So likewise the village of Saul and his river; the place of the slaying of Goliath and his rampart; Jeremiah's cistern and his prison; the place of prayer of Uriah and his house;² the dome of Muhammad

¹ The first referring to Jerusalem, which, prior to Makkah, was the Kiblah of Islam; the next is the Valley of Jehoshaphat, which, according to Muslim tradition, is to be the scene of the Final Judgment; and the last is the Haram Area, or Noble Sanctuary of Jerusalem, which was visited by Muhammad during his celebrated Night Journey.

² See below, p. 56.

and his gate ;¹ the rock of Moses, and the hill of Jesus;² the oratory of Zacharias, and the waters of the baptism of John ; the place of martyrdom of the prophets, and the villages of Job. And, too, here are Jacob's stations, and the Further Mosque ;³ the Mount of Olives, and the city of Acre ; the place of martyrdom of Siddikâ,⁴ and the grave of Moses ; the resting-place of Abraham and his tomb ; the city of Ascalon, and the spring of Siloam ; the home of Lukman (the Sage),⁵ and the valley of Kin'ân ;⁶ the cities of Lot, and the place of the Gardens ;⁷ Omar's Mosque, and Othman's Almshouse ;⁸ also the gate named by the Two Men,⁹ and the chamber where were brought the Two Adversaries.¹⁰ Here shall rise the Wall which is to stand between those Punished and those Pardoned (on the Judgment day) ;¹¹ here is the Near Station,¹² and the mosque of Baisân ; the Bâb Hittah (Gate of Pardon), which is great and glorious, and the Bâb as Sûr (the Gate of the Trumpet) ;¹³ the Place of Surety ;¹⁴ the tombs of Mary and of

¹ In the Sanctuary at Jerusalem, known as 'Barclay's Gate.'

² Where He was said to have dwelt with His mother. Koran xxiii. 52.

³ The Aḳsa at Jerusalem.

⁴ See below, p. 89.

⁵ To the east of the Sea of Tiberias. See Yakut iii. 512.

⁶ Wâdy Kin'ân, or the Valley of Canaan, from what is said below (p. 26 n. 4), would appear to denote the Ghaur, or Jordan Valley, a name given to it, possibly, in allusion to the settlement therein of the Canaanite Tribes. Comp. Gen. x. 11-10, Numb. xiii. 29. I do not find the name mentioned by any other Arab geographer, which would lead rather to the conclusion that it is here used in a somewhat general sense. The reading of the MS., however, is not certain. Some MSS. read Wâdî an Nu'mân, which is the Belus River, of Acre.

⁷ Probably referring to the Gardens of Paradise, mentioned in the Koran lv. 46, 62.

⁸ At Sulwân (Siloam). See below, p. 49.

⁹ Caleb and Joshua, it was the Gate of Jericho. See Koran v. 26.

¹⁰ In the story of Uriah. See Koran xxxviii. 20.

¹¹ Koran lvii. 13.

¹² The Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem.

¹³ The former in the north wall of the Sanctuary Area, at Jerusalem, and the latter one of those under the Dome of the Rock. See below, pp. 44, 46.

¹⁴ Near Hebron. See below, p. 52.

Rachel; the meeting-place of the two seas,¹ and the dividing-place of the two habitations (of This World and the Next); the Bâb as Sakînah (the Gate of the Shechina or of the Divine Presence), and the Kubbat as Silsilah (the Dome of the Chain);² the place of station of the Ka'abah,³ further, other places of martyrdom, though too numerous to enumerate, and excellencies that cannot be passed aside; fruits and abundance of crops, trees and water. There is matter of comfort both for This World and the Next, for here the heart softens, and men's limbs incline to the attitude of prayer. And again, is there not Damascus, that paradise of the earth, and Sughar (Segor),⁴ which is (for commercial prosperity like) a miniature Busrah? also Ramlah the beautiful, where the bread is white; Jerusalem the perfect, as none will deny; Emesa, renowned for cheap living and good air. The mountains of Busrâ,⁵ covered with vineyards, neither, should be forgotten; nor Tiberias, so renowned for its crops and its villages.

The Mediterranean Sea extends along the frontier of this land, whereby merchandise may reach it; and from the Sea of China also is a waterway⁶ up to this province on the further side. In this country are plains and mountains, low valleys, and various soils; and through the desert which lies on its frontiers are the roads from thence to Taimâ.⁷ Quarries of marble occur, and simples fit for compounding all medicines. Throughout Syria there dwell men of wealth and of commerce, and those

¹ The Sea of Greece and the Sea of Persia, said to have met originally in these parts, and referred to, according to the Commentators, in the Koran xviii. 59.

² In the Sanctuary Area.

³ In the Akşa Mosque. See below, p. 47. ⁴ See below, p. 62.

⁵ The Bozrah of Gen. xxxvi. 33, and the Bostra of Roman days.

⁶ The Gulf of Akaba.

⁷ A town on the Pilgrim Road between Damascus to Al Madinah.

neither rich nor poor, also jurists, booksellers, artisans, and physicians. But the people live ever in terror of the Byzantines, almost as though they were in a land of exile, for their frontiers are continuously ravaged, and their fortresses are again and again destroyed. Nor are the Syrians the equals of the Persians in either science, religion, or intelligence; some have become apostates, while others pay tribute to the infidels, thus setting obedience to created man before obedience to the Lord of Heaven. The populace, too, is ignorant and seditious, and the Syrian people show neither zeal for the Holy War, nor honour to those who fight against the infidel.

It has been said that Syria is called *Shâm*, because it lies on the *Left* of the Ka'abah, and also because those who journey thither (from the Hijjâz) bear to the *Left* or *North*; or else it may be because there are in Syria Beauty-spots, such as we call *Shâmât*—red, white, and black.¹

The learned of 'Irâk call all the country that, from their side, lies beyond (or west of) the Euphrates, Syria, and in this sense it is that Muhammad ibn al Hasan² uses the term in his works. But in point of fact, of all the land over (or west of) the Euphrates, no part belongs to Syria except the district Kinnasrîn alone. All the rest is the Arabian Desert; and Syria (Proper) is what lies beyond (or to the west of) this. But Muhammad ibn al Hasan is here speaking generally, and after the common parlance of the people, just as it is customary to call Khurasân, the East,

¹ That is the gardens and fields which are held to resemble the moles on a beauty's face. *Shâm* means *Left* or *North*.

² Known as Ash Shaibânî, one of Abu Hanifah's pupils and a great authority among the Hanifites. He died in A.H. 187, A.D. 803. (See Barbier de Meynard in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1852, xx. 406.) The question whether the Syrian Desert should belong to Syria or Arabia is of great importance, in that, of the two provinces, Arabia enjoyed a far lighter taxation.

although in truth the East is what stretches beyond this again. So Shâm (Syria), as a whole, is opposed to Yaman: the Hijjâz lying in between the two.¹ Now if any say, 'We hold, agreeing therein with the learned of 'Irâk, that this portion of the desert even as far as the confines of 'Irâk is in truth a part of Syria:' we answer that we have divided the provinces (according to their natural features), and as it is from this standpoint that we have drawn the boundaries, it is impossible to set to one province what belongs to another. And if any further say, 'But why this? seeing there is no warrant for (the boundaries) having stood so in ancient times:' we would reply, that the Doctors of the Law and the Men of Science have never been divided in opinion regarding the attribution of the tract here under dispute, deeming it always a part of the province of Arabia. So to any who desire to include this tract in Syria, with him we argue not; we point to the limits of Syria as we have laid them down, and let this land be added thereto. This addition, then, is a tract about which there is dispute, and he who makes this addition (to the province of Syria) on him lies the proof that it is justifiable.

We shall omit here all description of TARSUS and its district, for it is at the present time² in the hands of the Greeks. But as regards the Cave (of the Seven Sleepers),³ the city to which it belongs is in truth Tarsus; and further here is the tomb of Dakyânûs,⁴ and in the neighbourhood

¹ *Shâm*, Left; *Yaman*, Right; *Al Hijjâz*, the Partition.

² Tarsus was taken by the Byzantine Emperors Nicephorus and Zimisce in A.H. 354, A.D. 965. See Gibbon's 'Decline and Fall,' ch. lii., and Ibn al Athir, vol. viii., Events of Year 354; also Weil, iii. 18.

³ See Koran xviii. 8-25.

⁴ Ibn ash Shihnah gives the name more correctly as Dâkiyûs, for it was under the Emperor Decius that, according to tradition, the Seven Sleepers entered the Cave. See Gibbon's 'Decline and Fall,' ch. xxxiii.

is a hill, on which is a mosque, said to be built above the Cave. The jurist Abu 'Abd-Allah Muhammad ibn 'Omar al Bukhârî related to us, quoting the words of Abu Tâlib al Yamânî, who held it from Al Hasan ibn Yahya, whose father had related to him that Muhammad ibn Sahl al Khurasânî, told him that he had attended the lectures of Hishâm ibn Muhammad, to whom Mujâhid ibn Yazîd had reported, saying, 'I went forth with Khâlid al Barîdî in the days when he set out for At Tâghiyyah,¹ during the year of the Flight 102 (A.D. 720); and beside us two there went no other Muslims. After we had visited Constantinople we set out to return by 'Ammûriyyah (Amorium), and thence, in the course of four nights, we reached Al Lâdhikiyyah,² lately destroyed by fire. From thence we came on to Al Hawiyyah, which lies in the midst of the mountains. And it was here told us that in this place were some dead men, who they were none knew, but there were guards over them. And the people caused us to enter a tunnel, some fifty ells deep and two broad, having with us lamps, and, behold, in the middle of this tunnel was an iron door, it being a hiding-place for their families at times when the Arabs make their incursions against them. At this spot were ruined buildings of great extent, in the midst of which was a hole in the ground, some fifteen ells across, filled with water, and from here looking up one could perceive the sky. The cavern from this place entered the bowels of the mountain, and we were conducted to a spot right under Al Hawiyyah, where was a chamber some twenty ells deep. On the floor here were thirteen men, lying prostrate one behind the other, each wearing a cloak; and I was

¹ A district lying between Makkah and Al Madinah, according to Zamakhsharî's *Kitab al Jibâl*. (Leiden, 1856, p. 167.)

² This is the Laodicea Combusta (the modern Ladik) situated between Amorium and Iconium.

unable to see whether this was of wool or of hair, but the cloaks were grey in colour, dust-coloured vestments, which crackled under the touch like parchment. In every case the garments, which were fringed, veiled the face of the wearer and covered his limbs ; and some wore boots up to the middle of the leg, and some sandals, while others had shoes. But everything seemed perfectly new. On uncovering the face of one of them, I perceived that the hair of his head and of his beard had remained unchanged, and that the skin of his face was shining, the blood appearing in his cheeks. It was as though these men had laid themselves down but a moment before, for their limbs were supple as are the limbs of living men ; and all were still in their youth, except certain of them whose locks had already begun to turn grey. Now behold, one of them had had his head cut off and inquiring of the people on the matter, they answered, saying, "When the Arabs came down on us, and took possession of Al Hawiyyah, we gave them this information concerning these dead men, but they would not believe us, and one of the Arabs struck the head off this body."

'The men of Al Hawiyyah further related to us that at the commencement of each year, on the feast-day (set apart in honour of those who lie here), the people assemble in this cavern, and raising each of these corpses one by one, they cause them to stand upright. Then they wash them, and shake the dust off their clothes, and arrange their garments. Moreover, these dead men do not fall or sink down, but are laid out by the people after the manner we saw, on the ground ; and they pare their nails three times in the year, for these do continue to grow. Then we inquired the explanation of these things and concerning their origin, but the people replied that they knew nothing about the matter, only adding, "We call them prophets."' The

before-mentioned Mujâhid and Khâlid further state that they themselves concluded that these men must be the 'Companions of the Cave,' but Allah alone knows.

THE SIX DISTRICTS OF SYRIA.

The Province of Syria we divide into six districts :

1. KINNASRÎN—which is over against Akûr (or Upper Mesopotamia).
2. HIMS (Emesa).
3. DIMASHK (Damascus).
4. AL-URDUNN (the Jordan)
5. FILASTÎN (Palestine).
6. ASH-SHARÂH (Edom).

1. The District of KINNASRÎN. Its capital is Halab (Aleppo), and among its cities are Antâkiyyah (Antioch), Bâlis, As-Suwaidiyyah, Sumaisât, (Samosata), Manbij, Bayyâs, At-Tînâh, Kinnasrîn, Mar'ash, Iskandarûnah, * Lajjûn, * Rafaniyyah, * Jûsiyyah, * Hamâh, * Shaizar, * Wâdi Butnân, Ma'arrâh-an-Nu'mân, Ma'arrâh-Kinnasrîn.¹

¹ The names marked with an asterisk (*) are on p. 54 of the text, given as belonging to the Province of Hims (Emesa).

Ibn ash-Shihnah writes : 'Though Hamâh of old formed part of (the Province of) Hims (Emesa), it was subsequently added to (the Province of) Halab (Aleppo).' Even with this, however, there is some confusion in the order in which the names of the towns occur. Thus Rafaniyyah and Jûsiyyah, given to the Kinnasrîn Province, are well within the boundaries of Hims, while Al Khunâshirah and Kafar-Tâb, given to Hims, lie far to the north of that district. Of the towns here mentioned, As Suwaidiyyah, the seaport of Antioch, is probably identical with the *St. Simcon's Harbour* of the Crusades. About an hour distant north of this are the ruins of the ancient Selucia Pieria.

Manbij, anciently Hierapolis, was the capital of Euphratesia. See

2. The District of HIMS (Emesa). Its capital bears the same name. Among its cities are: Salamiyyah, Tadmur

note to p. 66 of Procopius ('Palestine Pilgrim's Text, No. 3') for a description of the curious remains to be seen here.

Bayyâs, on the coast, is the ancient Baizæ.

At Tinâh, or At Tinât: Ibn Haukal mentions as Hisn at Tinâh, 'the Fort of Figs.' The place is not given on our present maps under this name, but as it is said by Yâkût and others to have been a port of some consequence on the Mediterranean, not far from the city of Maş-şîşah (Mopsuestia). The position assigned to it in the accompanying map cannot be very far out.

Mar'ash is the ancient Germanicia. The Syrians, clipping the first syllable of its ancient name, sometimes called it Baniki (Assemani, *Bibl. Orient. Clem. Vat.*, ii. p. 91, etc.).

The town of Lajjûn (without the article) I can find on no map. There can be no doubt that at the time of Muḳaddasi there were two places called Lajjûn in Syria, for he distinctly states in his preface, when enumerating the geographical homonyms, that 'Al Lajjûn is the name of two of the cities of Syria.' On the other hand, Yâkût, in his *Mushtarik*, or 'Dictionary of Homonyms,' makes no mention of it whatever. This northern Lajjûn is not mentioned, to my knowledge, by any other Arab geographer. Al Lajjûn in Palestine, mentioned below among the towns of the Jordan District, is, of course, the Roman Legio; but the dictionaries of classical geography give no indication of there having existed any other 'Legio' in these countries.

Rafaniyyah, is the city of Raphania of the Crusading Chronicles.

Jûsîyah, Robinson (1852, p. 556) identifies with the Paradisus of Ptolemy.

Hamâh is the Biblical Hamath and the Greek Epiphania.

Shaizar, now called Kal'at Seijar, occupies the site of the ancient city of Larissa, founded by Seleucus Nicator.

Wâdî Butnân is given in Yâkût as the name of a very fertile valley on the road from Halab to Manbij, lying at a short day's march from either place. The name is marked in Rey's map.

Ma'arrâh-an-Nu'mân and M. Kinnasrîn are often spoken of as Ma'arratain—the two Ma'arrâhs. The name of the latter is often shortened into Ma'arrâh-Nasrîn, and further corrupted in some works by being written Ma'arrâh Masrîn.

Some notice of the other towns enumerated will be found on the subsequent pages.

(Palmyra), Al-Khunâsirah, Kafar-Tâb, Al-Lâdhikiyyah, Jabalah, Antarsûs, Bulunyâs, Hisn al Khawâbi.¹

3. The District of DIMASHK (Damascus). Its capital is of the same name. Among its cities are: Bâniyâs, Dârayyâ, Saidâ (Sidon), Bairût, Atrâbulus (Tripoli), 'Arkah, and the territory of the Bikâ', of which the chief city is Ba'albakk, and to which appertain the towns of: Kâmid, 'Arjamûsh, and Az-Zabadâni.²

¹ Salamiyyah is the ancient Salaminias, or Salamias. Cf. Ritter, 'Syrien,' p. 1049.

Al Khunâsirah, is spelt Hanasera in Rey's map. In the Arabic Dictionary, called the 'Kamûs,' we are told that the town took its name from a certain Khunâsirah b. 'Urwah b. Al Harith. Cf. also Ritter, 'Syrien,' p. 1699. It lies two marches away from Aleppo, to the south, and on the border of the Desert.

The town of Kafar-Tâb, according to Abu-l-Fida, lies between Ma'arrah and Shaizar, twelve miles from either place. It is marked on Rey's map.

Al Lâdhikiyyah is the ancient Laodicea ad Mare, rebuilt by Seleucus Nicator.

Jabalah is the Gabalah of the ancients, and the Gibellum, or Gibellus Major, of the Crusaders, sometimes further corrupted into Zibel.

Antarsûs, very often thus written incorrectly for Antartus, is now called Tartûs; it is the ancient Antaradus, and the Tortosa of the Middle Ages.

Bulunyâs represents the Balanea of Strabo. The place is at the present day called Bâniâs. In classical times it was known as Apollonia Syriae, and the Frankish Chronicles speak of it under the name of Valania.

Hişn al Khawâbi (the Fort of the Ewers) is not marked on the maps. The geographer Idrisi writes (Ed. of 'Rosenmüller,' p. 15): 'From Antartus, going south, by land, you come to Hişn al Khawâbi, built on the crest of the mountain, and for long held by the sect of the Assassins. [This was in the twelfth century A.D.] The place lies fifteen miles distant from Antartus.' From this indication of its position I have laid it down on the map. The fort is mentioned by Abu-l-Fida, Dimashki and other, but with no exact statement of its position.

² Dârayyâ is the large village a couple of hours south-west of Damascus.

Kâmid, now called Kâmid al Lauz (of the Almond). Cf. Robinson, 1852, p. 425.

The District of Damascus includes six territories, namely: the Ghûtah, Haurân, the Bathaniyyah, the Jaulân, the Bikâ', and the Hûlah.¹

4. The District of AL-URDUNN (the Jordan). Its capital is Tabariyyah (Tiberias). Among its towns are: Kadas, Sûr (Tyre), 'Akkâ (Acre), Al-Farâdhiyyah, Al-Lajjûn, Kâbul, Baisân, Adhri'âh.

5. The District of FILASTÎN (Palestine). Its capital is Ar-Ramlah. Among its cities are: Bait-al-Makdis (Jerusalem), Bait Jibrîl, Ghazzah (Gaza), Maimâs, 'Askalân (Ascalon), Yâfah (Joppa), Arsûf, Kaisariyyah (Cæsarea), Nâbulus (Shechem), Arîhâ (Jericho), 'Ammân.

6. The District of ASH-SHARÂH, and for its capital we should put Sughar. Its chief towns are: Maâb (Moab), 'Ainûnâ,² Mu'ân, Tabûk, Adhruh, Wailah, Madyan.

'Arjamûsh is mentioned by Abu-l-Fida as a considerable town, lying on the road from Bairût to Ba'albakk, and situated twenty-four miles from the former city. The name does not occur on the maps, but possibly the village of Hashmûsh, marked in Van der Velde's map, may represent the older town. Hashmûsh occupies exactly the position where we should expect to find 'Arjamûsh.

For Az-Zabadânî, between Ba'albakk and Damascus, see Bâdeker, p. 491.

¹ Al Ghûtah (the Garden land) is the rich, well-watered plain that extends for a day's march all round the city of Damascus.

Haurân, is the ancient Auranitis; Al Bathaniyyah is Bathanea; Al Jaulân, Gaulonitis. The Bikâ' is the plain or broad valley between the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon Mountains; it was anciently known as Cœlesyria. Al Hûlah is the land round the Hûlah Lake, the Biblical Waters of Merom.

² 'Ainûnâ, which Yâkût says should be spelt in two words—'Ain Unâ, 'Spring of Unâ'—is the harbour of Midian mentioned by Ptolemy under the name of Οὐνη. 'Ain Unâ, says Yâkût, 'is a village on the coast of the Red Sea, lying between Madyan (the city of Midian) and Aş Salâ, and the Pilgrim Road from Egypt to Makkah passes through it.' Aş Salâ I have been unable to identify; on Madyan, see below, p. 64, n. 2. 'Ainûnâ was visited by Sir R. Burton. See his 'Gold Mines of Midian,' 1878, p. 145.

Now in this Province of Syria are villages larger and more sumptuous than are many of the chief towns in the Arabian Peninsula. Thus we have Dârayyâ, Bait Lihyâ,¹ Kafar Sallâm, Kafar Sâbâ; and, although seeing their size, one would not speak of them as villages, they are yet mentioned by us as such, for, as we have said before, it is our wont always to employ the designations in common use by the people of each country.

NOTICES OF THE CHIEF TOWNS.

HALAB (Aleppo) is an excellent, pleasant, and well fortified city, the inhabitants of which are cultured and rich, and endowed with understanding. The city is populous, and built of stone, standing in the midst of its lands. It possesses a well fortified and spacious castle, provided with water; and here is the Sultan's Treasury, but the Great Mosque stands in the town. The inhabitants drink the water of the Kuwaik river,² which flows into the town through an iron grating, near by the Palace of

¹ Bait Lihyâ I am unable to find on the maps. According to Yâkût (i. 780) and Ibn Batûtah (i. 237 of the edition published by the French Soc. As.), the name would be more correctly written Bait Al Ilahah or Ilâhiyyah, meaning 'House of Idols,' or 'The Divine House;' the father of the patriarch Abraham having, according to the Muslim tradition, dedicated here a temple to his heathen gods. Ibn Batûtah states that the village lies to the east of Damascus, and all authorities mention it as a well-known place in the Ghûtah, so well known, in fact, that they unfortunately omit to indicate its exact position. I can find no mention of the place in the works of Burton, Porter, or other travellers. Robinson mentions a village called 'Beit Lehya' ('Researches,' 1852, notes to pp. 426, 428), lying west of Râshayah, which in Bâdeker (p. 452) is called Bêt Lâya. But this, if Ibn Batûtah's indication of the position *east* of Damascus for the celebrated Bait Lihyâ is to be credited, can hardly be the same place, for Râshayah lies *west* of the Ghûtah, under the spurs of Mount Hermon.

² Kuwaik, the ancient Chalus River.

Saif-ad-Daulah.¹ The castle is not very large, but herein the Sultan abides. The city has seven gates, namely: Bâb Hims (of Emesa), Bâb-ar-Rakkah, Bâb Kinnasrîn, Bâb-al-Yahûd (of the Jews), Bâb-al-'Irâk, Bâb Dâr-al-Battîkh (of the Watermelon-house), and Bâb Antâkiyyah (Antioch). The Bâb-al-Arba'in (of the Forty) is now closed.²

BĀLIS³ is situated on the frontier towards Ar-Rakkah, and is a populous place.

KINNASRÎN⁴ is a town of which the population has

Saif-ad-Daulah, 'The Sword of the State,' was the first prince of the Aleppo line of the Hamdânîs. He reigned from A.H. 333-356, A.D. 944-967.

² (1) The Emesa Gate is to the South. It is marked as the 'Damascus Gate' in the plan given by Russell in his 'Natural History of Aleppo,' 2nd ed., 1794. It is at the present day called Bâb al Maḳâm (Ibrahîm), the Gate of Abraham's Station. (2) Judging from the direction which Raḳḳah bears from Aleppo, this Gate must be the 'Bâb el Hadeed' of Russell, at the north east angle of the Wall. (3) The Kinnasrîn Gate is at the southern end of the West Wall. It was built by Saif ad Daulah ibn Hamdân. (4) The Jew's Gate is the present Bâb an Nasr, in the middle of the north wall, along which lies the Jews' Quarter. It was restored by Saladin's son, Al Malik at Thâhir, who changed its name to Bâb an Nasr—Gate of Victory (Yâkût ii. 310). (5) The 'Irâk Gate most probably, by its position, is that to the south-east, and marked by Russell as the Gate of Neereb. In the plan of Aleppo given in Bâdeker, a road leaving the town at the south-east angle runs to the village of 'Nerab.' (6) The Watermelon-house Gate is probably the same as the Bâb al Janân (Gate of the Gardens), given by Russell, and also mentioned in Yâkût, ii. 310. It is in the West Wall, a little to the north of the Antioch Gate. (7) The Antioch Gate is so called at the present day. It opens about the middle of the West Wall, to the north of the Bâb Kinnasrîn, between it and the Gate of the Gardens. The Gate of the Forty is marked in Russell's plan as 'Bâb el Urbain.' It is at the north-west angle of the suburb which lies to the north of Aleppo, beyond the Bâb an Nasr. Who 'the Forty' were I have been unable to discover, but they were probably martyrs. 'Skak al Urbain' is given by Russell as the name of the piece of ground within the gate.

³ The ancient Barbalissus.

⁴ Occupying the site of the ancient Chalcis.

decreased. The worthy Sheikh Abu Sa'îd Ahmad ibn Muhammad¹ related to me at Naisabûr, and he held it of Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Ishâk ibn Khuzaimah, who reported it on the authority of 'Ammâr ibn Huraith of Marv, who had it of Al-Fadl Abu Musa, and he from 'Isa ibn 'Ubaid, who held it of Ghailân ibn 'Abd Allah Al-Âmirî, to whom Abu Zar'ah told it as coming from 'Amr ibn Jarîr, who heard the Prophet say: 'Allah, may His name be exalted and glorified, spake to me in revelation, "At which so ever of three places thou descendest, verily it shall become thy abode after thy Flight, whether it be Al Madînah, or Al Bahrain, or Kinnasrîn."'²

Now if any one should ask of me why I have given as the capital of this district Halab (Aleppo, thus ignoring the claims of) the city (of Kinnasrîn), bearing the same name as that of its district; I reply, even as I have stated before in the Preface to my work,³ that Capitals and Towns must be regarded in the light of Generals and Soldiers. And thus it would not be fitting to make Halab, which is so lordly, and where is the residence of the Sultan, and the place of the Diwâns, or Antâkiyyah, with all its wealth, and Bâlis, with its great population—even as soldiers (subordinate) to a town which is ruined and small (like Kinnasrîn). But further, should any ask why we have not acted according to this rule as regards Shîrâz, which, as will be seen, we have not made the capital, but counted as belonging and subordinate to Istakhr (Persepolis) and its villages: we reply that we deem in this matter that we acted for the best, seeing that we found Istakhr (in the position of a capital), with the towns around (counted as

¹ He is commonly known as Abû Sa'îd al Jûrî.

² The same tradition is given by Yâkût iv. 185.

³ Having reference to what Mukaddasi has written on p. 47 of the Arabic Text, where the same argument is stated in much the same terms.

subordinate thereto), this even though Istakhr itself lies at some distance from them. Furthermore, in a work like the present, expediency will ever abrogate all rule ; even as it is said among the Questions of the Schools, ' Hast thou not seen how the postponing of (the audit days of) Nîrûz and Mihrajân (in the months of Spring) although inconvenient to the rest of the empire, is yet useful in the (keeping of the) registers, and so is done as a matter of expediency ?'

HIMS¹ (Emesa). There is no larger city than this in all Syria. There is a citadel high above the town, which you perceive from afar off. Most of the drinking-water is obtained from rainfall, but there is also a river. When the Muslims conquered this place they seized the church, and turned the half of it into a mosque. It stands in the market-place, and has a dome, on the summit of which is seen the figure of a man in brass, standing upon a fish, and the same turns to the four winds.² About this figure they relate many stories, which are untrustworthy. This town has suffered great misfortunes, and is indeed threatened with ruin. Its men are witless.

The other towns of these parts are also falling to decay, though prices are moderate, and such of them as are on the coast are well provided with ramparts.

TADMUR (Palmyra) belongs to this province. It is after the likeness of a throne among the Cities of Solomon the son of David. Its citadel, which stands near the desert, is spacious and strong.

DIMASHK (Damascus) is the chief town of Syria, and was the capital of the sovereigns of the House of Omayyah.

¹ Now pronounced Homs.

² Yâkût ii. 336, says that the statue is in white stone, and represents a man standing on a scorpion. See further, below, p. 84.

³ The fourteen Omeyyad Khalifs whose dynasty lasted from A.H. 41 to 132 (A.D. 661-749) and who were succeeded by the 'Abbasides.

Here were their palaces and their monuments, their edifices in wood and in brick. The rampart round the city, which I saw when I was there, is built of mud-bricks. Most of the markets are roofed in, but there is among them a very fine one, which is open, running the length of the town. Damascus is a city intersected by streams and begirt with trees. Here prices are moderate, fruits abound, and snow and condiments are found. Nowhere else will be seen such magnificent hot-baths, nor such beautiful fountains, nor people more worthy of consideration. Such as I know myself among its gates are: Bâb al Jâbiyah,¹ Bâb as Saghîr (the Small Gate),² Bâb al Kabîr (the Great Gate),³ Bâb ash Sharkî (the Eastern Gate),⁴ Bâb Tûmâ (the Gate of St. Thomas),⁵ Bâb an Nahr (the Gate of the River),⁶ and Bâb al Mahâmaliyyîn,⁷ (the Gate of those who make Camel-litters).

The city is in itself a very pleasant place, but of its disadvantages are, that the climate is scorching and the

¹ At the western end of the 'Straight Street,' so called from the suburb of Jâbiyah, which stood near here.

² At the south-western angle of the Wall. Now corrupted into Bâb ash Shâghûr, from the name of a suburb.

³ This is probably the Bâb as Salâmah of Ibn Jubair, and the modern Bâb as Salâm. According to Kremer (*Topography of Damascus*, in Vol. v. of the 'Denkschrift Acad. der Wissenschaft. Wien.' 1854) it was formerly called Bâb el Jennîk, or Jellîk, from a district of that name near Damascus.

⁴ At the eastern end of the 'Straight Street.'

⁵ At the north-eastern angle.

⁶ This I conclude to be the Bâb al Farâdis, as given by Ibn Jubair, which name too it bears at the present day; or else it may be the Bâb al Faraj (Ibn Jubair, p. 284), which is immediately to the west of the former, both being on the river.

⁷ I imagine that this must be the present Bâb al Hadîd (Iron Gate), opening to the west, and lying immediately to the north of the Bâb al Jâbiyah. In Ibn Jubair's days this gate was called Bâb an Nasr (the Gate of Victory).

inhabitants are turbulent; fruit here is insipid and meat hard; also the houses are small, and the streets sombre. Finally, the bread there is bad, and a livelihood is difficult to make. Around the city, for the distance of half a league¹ in every direction, there stretches the level plain.

The mosque is the fairest of any that the Muslims now hold, and nowhere is there collected together greater magnificence. Its outer walls are built of squared stones, accurately set, and of large size; and crowning them are splendid battlements. The columns supporting the roof of the mosque consist of black polished pillars, in a triple row, and set widely apart. In the centre of the building, over the space fronting the Mihrâb,² is a great dome. Round the court there are lofty arcades, above which are arched windows, and the whole area is paved with white marble. The walls of the mosque, for twice the height of a man, are faced with variegated marbles; and, above this, even to the ceiling, are mosaics³ of various colours and in gold, showing figures of trees and towns and beautiful inscriptions, all most exquisitely and finely worked. And rare are the trees, and few the well-known towns, that will

¹ Farsakh, the Greek Parasang, corrupted from the Persian, is between three and four miles. It is an hour of the road, and our word league, therefore, corresponds with it well enough.

² Mihrâb, the Niche, showing the direction of Makkah.

³ Written on the margin of one of the MSS. is the following curious description of this mosaic-work—an art which the Arabs learnt from the Byzantines:—‘Mosaic [in Arabic called Fashfashah, from the Greek Ψηφοί] is composed of morsels of glass, such as are used for the standard coin-weights; but they are yellow in colour, or grey, black, red and mottled, or else gilt by laying gold on the surface, which is then covered by a thin sheet of glass. They prepare plaster with Arabian gum, and lay it over the walls, and this they ornament with the mosaics, which are set so as to form figures and inscriptions. In some cases they cover the whole surface with the gold-mosaic, so that all the wall seems as though it were of nothing but pure gold.’

not be found figured on these walls! The capitals of the columns are covered with gold, and the vaulting above the arcades is everywhere ornamented in mosaic. The columns round the court are all of white marble, while the walls that enclose it, the vaulted arcades, and the arched windows above, are adorned in mosaic with arabesque designs. The roofs are everywhere overlaid with plates of lead, and the battlements on both sides are faced with the mosaic work. On the right (or western)¹ side of the court is the Treasure-house (Bait Mâl),² raised on eight columns, finely ornamented, and the walls are covered with mosaic. Both within the Mihrâb and around it are set cut-agates and turquoises of the size of the finest stones used in rings. Besides this Mihrâb, and to the left (east) of it, there is another, which is for the special use of the Sultan. It was formerly much dilapidated; but I hear now that he has expended thereon 500 Dinârs³ to restore the same to its former condition. On the summit of the cupola of the mosque is an orange, and above it a pomegranate, both in gold. But of the most wonderful of the sights here worthy of remark is verily the setting of the various coloured marbles, and how the veining in each follows from that of its neighbour; and it is such that, should an artist come daily during a whole year and stand before these mosaics, he might always discover some new pattern and some fresh design. It is said that the Khalif al Walid,⁴ in order to construct these mosaics, brought skilled workmen from Persia,

¹ The visitor is supposed to stand facing the Mihrab, towards Makkah, that is, roughly, south.

² Still standing. It is at the present day called the Kubbet al Khaznah, the Dome of the Treasury. See plan, p. 21.

³ About £250.

⁴ One of the most notable of the Omeyyad Khalifs. He reigned from A.H. 86 to 96 (A.D. 705-715) and was the son and successor of 'Abd-al-Malik who built the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem.

India, Western Africa and Byzantium, spending thereon the revenues of Syria for seven years, as well as eighteen shiploads of gold and silver, which came from Cyprus.¹ And this does not include what the Emperor of Byzantium and the Amirs of the Muslims gave to him in the matter of precious stones and other materials, for the mosaics.

The people enter the mosque by four gates—namely Bâb Jayrûn, Bâb al Farâdis, Bâb al Barîd and Bâb as Sâ'ât. Bâb al Barîd² (the Gate of the Post) opens into the right-hand (or west side of the court). It is of great size, and has two smaller gateways to right and to left of it. The chief gateway and the two lesser ones have each of them double doors, which are covered with plates of gilded copper. Over the great and the two smaller gateways are the porticoes, and the doors open into the long arcades, which are vaulted over, the arches of the vault resting on marble columns, while the walls are covered after the manner that has already been described. The ceilings here are all painted with the most exquisite designs. In these arcades is the place of the paper-sellers, and also the court of the Kâdi's lieutenant. This gate comes in between the main building (the covered part of the mosque) and the court. Opposite to it, and on the left-hand side (or east), is the Bâb Jayrûn,³ which is similar to

¹ See p. 24, n. 1.

² See p. 75, n. 1.

³ Jayrûn (according to Muḥammad b. Shâkir, the author of the 'Uyûn at Tawârikh, who died A.H. 764, A.D. 1362 : see Haji Khalfa, No. 8463) was the name of a palace built on columns during the time of the Greeks ; or, as some affirm, by certain of the Genii at the command of King Solomon. Another tradition connects the Gates Jayrûn and Barîd with the two sons of the mythical hero 'Âd, who were so named ; and Makrizi states that in ancient days there stood in Damascus a temple dedicated to Jupiter which had been constructed by Jayrûn the son of Sa'ad the son of 'Ad. Jayrûn further appears to have been the name of one of the City Gates and of the quarter adjacent, which was burnt down in A.H. 559.

the Gate Al Barîd just described, only that its porticoes are vaulted over in the breadth. To this gate you ascend by steps, on which the astrologers and other such people are wont to take their seat.

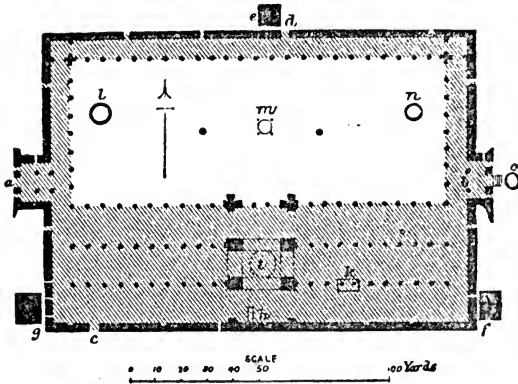
Bâb as Sâ'ât (the Gate of the Hours) is in the eastern angle of the covered part (of the mosque).¹ It has double doors, which are unornamented, and over it is a portico, under which are seated the public notaries and the like. The fourth gate is called Bâb al Farâdis (the Gate of the Gardens), also with double doors. It is opposite the Mihrâb, and opens into the arcades (on the north side of the courtyard) between the two additions, which have been built here on the right and the left.² Above it

¹ The Gate of the Hours, or of the clock, was so called after a large Clepsydra that stood near it.

² There is some confusion in the names of the two last-mentioned gates. The plan of the mosque given by J. L. Porter (in the first edition of 'Five Years in Damascus,' London, 1855) is here reproduced. There is no gate opening at the present day into the *eastern* angle of the mosque. In the western portion of the South Wall is the Gate, for which Kremer gives three names, viz.: Bâb as Surmayatiyyah (of the Shoemakers' Bazaar), or Az Ziyâdah (of the Addition), or As Sâ'ât (of the Hours). Bâb az Ziyâdah is the name by which this gate is known at present. (See Bâdeker, p. 483.) But this cannot be the gate which Muḳaddasi calls Bâb al Farâdis, for that he says is opposite (Kibâl) the Mihrâb and opens into the arcades through the recent Additions (Ziyâdatain); although it must be confessed that this last word very naturally recalls the name of the present Bâb az Ziyâdah (Gate of the Addition). Muḳaddasi's Bâb al Farâdis, however, from its position is the modern Bâb al 'Amarah, which opens north and is immediately east of the present Mâdhanet al 'Arus (the Minaret of the Bride). This last would be the 'recently-constructed Minaret' of Mukaddasi, but that there is a doubt again here, for this is the most ancient minaret of the mosque, which, having been built by the Omeyyad Khalif al Walîd, was nearly three centuries older than our author's time. Quatremère, however, in his description of the mosque, says that the Eastern and Western Minarets were both more ancient than the Mâdhanet al 'Arus built by Al Walîd, *i.e.* that they

rises a minaret: this has recently been constructed, and is ornamented (with mosaic work) in the manner already

GREAT MOSQUE AT DAMASCUS



a. Báb al Baríd.

b. Báb Jayrún.

c. The gate now called Báb az Ziyádah, also known as Báb as Surmayatiyyah (of the Shoemaker's Bazaar). The Báb as Sá'at (of the hours) of Muḩaddasí?

d. The present Báb al 'Amarah, the Báb al Farádis of Muḩaddasí?

e. The present Mádhanat al 'Arús (Minaret of the Bride), said to have been built by Al Walíd.

f. Mádhanat 'Isá (of Jesus).

g. Mádhanat al Gharbiyyah (the Western).

h. Mihráb.

i. The centre dome called Kubbat an Nasr (Dome of the Vulture).

k. Chamber said to contain John the Baptist's Head.

l. Kubbat al Khaznah or al Kuttub (Dome of the Treasury or the Books).

m. Kubbat an Naufarah, or 'Othmân (Dome of the Fountain, or of 'Othmân), the Place of Ablution.

n. Kubbat as Sá'at (Dome of the Hours).

o. Fountain outside Báb Jayrún, at the bottom of the steps.

date from the times of the original Christian Church of St. John ('Sultans Mamlouks,' ii. 1, p. 273). Muḩaddasí's Báb al Farádis ('of the Gardens,' which were on the Barada River to the north), is the

described. Before each of these four gates is a place for the Ablution, of marble, provided with cells, wherein is running water, and fountains which flow into great marble basins. In the mosque is a channel which they open once every year, and from it water gushes out, filling the whole floor of the mosque to about an ell deep, and its walls and area are thus cleansed. Afterwards they open another conduit, and through it the water runs off. From the Sultan's palace, which is behind the mosque and is called Al Khadrâ (the Green Palace), are gates leading into the Maksûrah,¹ which are plated with gold.

Now one day I said, speaking to my father's brother, 'O, my uncle, verily it was not well of the Khalif al Walîd to expend so much of the wealth of the Muslims on the mosque at Damascus. Had he expended the same on making roads, or for caravanserais, or in the restoration of the fortresses, it would have been more fitting and more excellent of him.' But my uncle said to me in answer, 'O, my little son, you have not understanding! Verily Al Walîd was right, and he was prompted to do a worthy work. For he beheld Syria to be a country that had long been occupied by the Christians, and he noted herein the beautiful churches still belonging to them, so enchantingly fair, and so renowned for their splendour: even as are the

Bâb an Nâtifiyyîn (of the Confectioners) of Ibn Jubair, p. 270. In Quatremère (quoting Abul Baqâ's 'History of Damascus'), ii. I., p. 283, and Ibn Jubair, p. 270, the Door to the South is invariably spoken of as the Bâb az Ziyâdah.

¹ Maqşûrah—the chapel or railed-in space in the mosque—the Sultan's place of prayer. The Palace of Al Khadrâ was built by the Khalif Mu'âwiyah (A.H. 44 to 60, A.D. 664-679), who inhabited it for more than forty years (Quatremère, ii. I., p. 263). The Maqşûrah Omeyyad was built by the Khalif Sulaiman (*op. cit.*, p. 282), who reigned from A.H. 96 to 99, A.D. 713-716.

Kumâmah¹ (the Church of the Holy Sepulchre) and the churches of Lydda and Edessa. So he sought to build for the Muslims a mosque that should prevent their regarding these, and that should be unique and a wonder to the world. And in like manner is it not evident how the Khalif 'Abd al Malîk, noting the greatness of the Dome of the Kumâmah and its magnificence, was moved lest it should dazzle the minds of the Muslims, and hence erected, above the Rock, the Dome which now is seen there.'

In a certain book that I found in the library of 'Adud ad Daulah, it is said that there are two cities which are the Brides of the Earth, namely Damascus and Ar Ray;² and Yahyâ ibn Aktham³ states that there are in the world three places of perfect delight—namely, the Vale of Samarkand, the Ghûtah of Damascus, and the Canal of Ubullah.⁴ Damascus was founded by Dimask, the son of Kânî, the son of Mâlik, the son of Arfakhshad (Arphaxad), the son of Sâm (Shem), five years before the birth of Abraham; Al Asma'î, however, asserts that its name is to be derived from the word 'Dimashkûhâ,' meaning 'they hastened in its building.' The Omeyyad Khalîf 'Omar ibn 'Abd al 'Azîz,⁵ it is said, wished at one time to demolish the

¹ Al Kumâmah—literally 'The Dunghill.' This is a designed corruption on the part of the Muslims of 'Al Kayâmah'—'Anastasis'—the name given to the Church of the Resurrection (the Holy Sepulchre) by the Christian Arabs.

² Rhages in Persia. The ruins of the ancient city lies not far from Tehrân.

³ A celebrated jurist who flourished during the times of Al Mâmûn. He died A.H. 242 = A.D. 857.

⁴ Which runs from Busrah to the Shatt el 'Arab, just below the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris.

⁵ Among the pleasure-loving Khalîfs of House of Omeyyah, Omar ibn 'Abd al 'Azîz, was the one bigoted ascetic, who strove ineffectually to restore the primitive manners of the early days of Islam. He came

mosque, and make use of its materials in the public-works of the Muslims, but he was at length persuaded to abandon the design. I have read in some book that there was expended on the Damascus mosque the value of eighteen mule-loads of gold.¹

A satirist writing of the people of Damascus has said:²

O you who ask concerning our religion !
 Noting the proud bearing of the doctors of the Law,
 And their righteous gait in public,
 Know that their outward appearance is not as are their secret ways.
 They have nought to boast of save their mosque,
 And in speaking of this too they overstep all moderation.
 Should a neighbour come to them for a light from their fire,
 Never will they give him, in kindness, a kindling from their
 hearth.
 To their neighbours they are as raging lions,—but their enemies
 May go secure, they will be treated with servility in the homesteads
 of Damascus !

This last line, however, is not true, for their enemies went always in fear and trembling of them.

BĀNIYĀS (Paneas)³ is a city near the border of the Húlāh (Merom Lake), and lies at the foot of the mountain (of Hermon). Its climate is softer and pleasanter than that of Damascus. To this place have migrated the greater

to the throne in A.H. 99 (A.D. 717), and reigned for two years, earning by his pious ways the title of 'the Good Khalif,' which his deeds in truth but little justified.

¹ Apparently a variation of what was stated before. See p. 19. The sums expended during the building of the mosque are variously given. Ibn Jubair, p. 263, places the total at 11,200,000 dinārs; while Quatremère, *op. cit.*, ii. 1, p. 269, quoting at second-hand from Ibn Asâkir gives 5,600,000 dinārs. The former sum would be equivalent to about five and a half millions sterling, and the latter may be estimated at two and three quarter millions; but the sums in either case are doubtless entirely fictitious.

² These verses are probably part of some popular song.

³ The Greek name Paneas was changed by Philip the Tetrarch to that of Cæsarea Philippi.

part of the Muslim inhabitants of the frontier districts, since Tarsus was taken (by the Christians in A.H. 354, A.D. 965), and the population is still on the increase, for daily men come hither. There is here an extremely cold river,¹ which rises from under the Mount of Snow (Hermon), gushing forth in the middle of the town. Bâniyâs is the granary of Damascus. Its river irrigates cotton-lands and rice-fields. The city is pleasant to inhabit, being situated among lovely villages, and the sole drawback is that the drinking-water is bad.

SAIDÂ (Sidon) and BAIRÛT are two fortified cities on the sea, and so too is TARÂBULUS (Tripoli).² The Lebanon mountains lie above Sidon and Tripoli, running parallel to the coast. Tripoli is the most beautiful of these three towns.

'ARKAH is a place lying some way from the sea.³

¹ This is one of the sources of the Jordan. For a description of the spring and the grotto, see S. of W. P. Mem. I., p. 109.

² For a description of Sidon and its History, see Robinson III., p. 421 *et seq.* Bairut, called in Roman days Berytus, was famous for the baths and theatres erected there by Herod Agrippa. A Roman school of Law also flourished, and the silk manufacturers of this city were celebrated throughout the Empire. Robinson who gives a full account of the town and its antiquities (III., p. 441 *et seq.*) would identify Bairût, Berytus, with the city of Berothai of the 2 Sam. viii. 8 and other passages. Tripoli is said to have been founded by the Phœnicians, though what name it bore at that period is unknown. The city rose to fame in the times of the Seleucidæ, and during Roman days possessed many magnificent buildings, of which, however, no trace now remains. See Bâdeker, p. 509.

³ 'Arkah, the modern Tell 'Arka (Bâdeker., p. 536). It was originally a Phœnician city, and the seat of the 'Arkites' mentioned in Genesis x. 17. At the time of the First Crusade, the fortress of Arca, or Arcados as the name is given by Raimund d'Agiles, successfully resisted the attacks of the Christians; and outside its walls the Monk Peter Bartholemæus underwent the Ordeal of Fire in vindication of the truth of his Vision, and of the genuineness of the Holy Lance (Besant and Palmer, 'Jerusalem,' p. 176). For the history of the

BA'ALBAKK is an ancient and fortified city. Within the ramparts are cultivated lands, also many wondrous ruins. Grapes are in abundance.¹

The other cities of the Province of Damascus are prosperous and pleasant, being situated for the most part in the lands bordering on the Nahr al Maklûb (the river Orontes).²

In HAURÂN and AL BATHANIYYAH are the villages of Job, his lands, and the place of his washings.

NAWÂ is the chief city—most rich in wheat and grain.³

The territory of the HÛLAH produces much cotton and rice; it is low-lying, and has numerous streams.

The JAULÂN district supplies Damascus with most of its provisions.

The GHÛTAH (the plain round Damascus) is a day's journey (or about thirty miles) across each way, and beautiful beyond all description.

TABARIYYAH (Tiberias) is the capital of the Jordan province, and a city of the Valley of Kin'ân.⁴ The houses stand between the mountain and the Lake. It is narrow,

fortress during the Crusades, see Robinson, 1852, p. 580. 'Arkah in Byzantine times was known as 'Cæsarea of the Lebanon' (Rénan, *Mission de Phénice*, p. 115). William of Tyre calls the town Archis.

¹ In his introduction, p. 34, Muḳaddasî remarks that 'None are more addicted to wine than the men of Ba'albakk.' The Greeks called the city Heliopolis.

² Nahr al Maklub, 'the Overturned River.' The Orontes was so named by the Arabs because it runs from South to North, instead of in the opposite direction, as, according to their notions, all streams were bound to do. It is now known under the name of Nahr al 'Asî, 'the Rebel Stream,' presumably from the same idea of its improper course.

³ Nawâ is the ancient Neve. For a full description of its ruins, see G. Schumacher's explorations 'Across Jordan,' 1886, p. 167.

⁴ See above, p. 2. Tiberias was founded by Herod about A.D. 20, and called after the Emperor Tiberius. For a description of its ruins see S. of W. P. Mem. I., p. 361.

shut in in summer, and unhealthy. The town is nearly a league in length, but has no breadth. Its market-place extends from one city gate to the other, and its graveyard is on the hill slope. There are here eight natural hot-baths, where no fuel need be used, and numberless basins besides, of boiling water. The mosque is large and fine, and stands in the market-place. Its floor is laid in pebbles set on stone drums placed close one to another. Of the people of Tiberias is it said: that for two months they dance, and for two more they gorge, that for two months they beat about, and for two more they go naked, that for two months they play the reed, and for two more they wallow. The explanation of this is, that they dance from the number of the fleas, then gorge off the Nabak plum;¹ they beat about with fly-flaps to chase away the wasps from the meat and the fruits, then they go naked from the heat; they suck the sugar-canes, and then they have to wallow through their muddy streets. Beyond the lower end of the Lake of Tiberias is a great bridge,² over which lies the road from Damascus. The people drink the water of the lake. Around its shores are villages and palm-trees, and on its surface are boats which come and go. The water from the baths and the hot-springs flows into the lake, and hence for drinking the strangers dislike its flavour. It swarms

¹ In his chapter on Egypt, Muḩaddasi describes the Nabak, (p. 204,) as 'a fruit of the size of the medlar (Zu'rûr). It contains numerous kernels, and is sweet. It is the fruit of the Sidr tree (the tree-lotus). To the fruit they add (the sweet paste called) Nîdah, which is the same as Samanû, only more finely prepared, and then spread it out on reed-matting until it dries and sticks together.' Samanû is a sweet porridge that is well known at the present day all over Persia, and Nîdah is the sweetmeat for which the town of Menshiyyeh in Egypt is famous, the preparation of which is fully described in a learned note by De Sacy, 'Chrest. Arabe,' ii., p. 25 (12).

² The Jisr al Majâmi'ah (S. of W. P. Mems II. p. 116), crossing the Jordan.

none the less with fish, and the water is light of digestion. The mountains, which are steep, overhang the town.

KADAS (Kadesh Naphthali)¹ is a small town on the slope of the mountain. It is full of good things. Jabal 'Âmilah is the district which is in its neighbourhood. It possesses three springs, from which the people drink, and they have one bath situated below the town. The mosque is in the market, and in its court is a palm tree. The place is very hot. There is a small Lake (the Hûlah) about an hour's distance off, the waters of which flow into the Lake of Tiberias. In order to form the Lake they have made a marvellous dam across the river, filling in the bed. Along the shore are thickets of the Halfâ-reed,² which gives the people their livelihood, for they weave mats and twist ropes therefrom. In this Lake are numerous kinds of fish, especially that called the Bunni,³ which was brought here from Wâsit (in Mesopotamia), that town of numerous clients.

In JABAL 'ÂMILAH⁴ are many fine villages, and here are grown grapes and other fruits and olives, and also many springs. The rain-fall waters its fields. The district overhangs the sea, and adjoins the Lebanon mountains.

¹ For an account of the remarkable ruins found here see S. of W. P., Mems. I., p. 226.

² The Halfâ-reed here mentioned, Canon Tristram considers, undoubtedly represents the *Papyrus antiquorum*, by the present Fellâhîn called Bâbûr, which grows so extensively in the Hûlah Lake. (See S. of W. P. 'Fauna and Flora of Palestine,' p. 438.) Lane, however, states (Dictionary, s.v. Halfâ) that the botanical name of this reed is *Poa multiflora* or *P. cynosuroides*, but he gives no authority.

³ Berggren, in his 'Guide Arabe Vulgaire' Upsala, 1844, translates 'Carp' by 'Bunni' which probably is the fish here alluded to. Berggren further notes that the 'Bunni' is found in both the Sea of Galilee and in the Euphrates.

⁴ Jabal 'Âmilah is named after the Bani 'Âmilah, the tribe who settled in these lands at the time of the Muslim Conquest. The district occupies Upper Galilee.

ADHRI'AH¹ is a city close to the desert. To it belongs the district of JABAL JARASH² (Gerasa), which lies opposite to Jabal 'Âmilah (across the Jordan). It is full of villages, and Tiberias owes its prosperity to the neighbourhood of these two districts (of Jabal Jarash and Jabal 'Âmilah).

BAISÂN³ lies on the Jordan. It abounds in palm-trees, and from this place comes all the rice consumed in the provinces of the Jordan and of Palestine. Water is here abundant, and easily obtained; but for drinking purposes it is deemed heavy of digestion. The mosque stands in the market-place, and many men of piety make their home in this town.

AL LAJJÛN⁴—A city on the frontier of Palestine, and in the mountain country. Running water is found here. It is well situated, and is a pleasant place.

KÂBUL⁵ is a town in the coast district. It has fields of canes, and they make there excellent sugar—better than in all the rest of Syria.

AL FARÂDHIIYAH⁶ is a large village, in which is a mosque where they preach. There are found here grapes, and vineyards abound. The water is plentiful, and the country round is pleasant.

'AKKÂ (Acre) is a fortified city on the sea. The mosque

¹ There seems little doubt that this is the Biblical Edrei, the capital of the Kingdom of Bashan. For an account of the marvellous Underground City found here, see 'Across Jordan' p. 121.

² Now known as Jabal 'Ajlûn.

³ The ancient Beth Shean, where Saul's dead body was 'fastened on the wall' (1 Sam. xxxi. 10). For its ruins see S. of W. P., Mems. II., p. 101, *et seq.* In Roman days the city was called Scythopolis. If I am not mistaken rice is nowhere cultivated at the present day in Palestine.

⁴ Al Lajjûn, the Legio of Roman days is often identified as the site of the Megiddo of Scripture. For a full discussion of the point, see S. of W. P., Mems. II., p. 90.

⁵ See S. of W. P., Mems. I., p. 271. The Biblical 'Cabul' (Josh. xix. 27) and the Chabolo of Josephus.

⁶ See S. of W. P., Mems. I., p. 203.

here is very large. In its court is a clump of olive trees, the oil from which suffices for the lamps of the mosque, and yet besides. This city had remained unfortified until the time when Ibn Tûlûn¹ visited it, coming from Tyre, where he had seen the fortifications and the walls which are there carried round so as to protect the harbour. Ibn Tûlûn wished to construct at 'Akkâ a fortification that should be as impregnable as that of Tyre. From all provinces artificers were brought together; but when the matter was laid before them, all averred that none in those days knew how the foundations of a building could be laid in the water. Then one mentioned to Ibn Tûlûn the name of my grandfather, Abu Bakr, the Architect, saying that if perchance any had knowledge in these matters, it would be he alone. So Ibn Tûlûn wrote to his Lieutenant in Jerusalem, commanding that he should despatch my grandfather to him; and on his arrival they laid the affair before him. 'The matter is easy,' said my grandfather; 'let them bring such sycamore beams as are large and strong.' These beams he then caused to be floated on the surface of the water, according to the plan of a land-fort, binding them one to the other; while towards the west he left the opening for a mighty gateway. And upon these beams he raised a structure with stones and cement. After every five courses he strengthened the same by setting in great columns, until at length the beams became so weighted that they began to sink down; but this, little by little, and finally, he knew that they had rested on the sand. Then he ceased building for a whole year, that the construction might consolidate itself, after which, returning, he began again to build. And from where he had left off, continuing he made a junction between this and the ancient city walls,

¹ Aḥmad ibn Ṭûlûn was ruler of Egypt and its dependencies from A.H. 254 to 270=A.D. 868-883. He was the founder of the Dynasty of the Ṭûlûnides.

bringing the new work right up into the old, and causing the two to join together. Across the western water-gate of the port he built a bridge, and every night when the ships had come within the harbour they drew across the water-gate a chain, even as was the case at Tyre. It is reported that my grandfather received for this matter the sum of 1,000 dinârs, besides robes of honour, horses, and other gifts, and his name was inscribed over the work.¹ Now before this harbour had been made the enemy were wont to take advantage of the ships lying here and do them grievous damage.

AL JASHSH is a village that is almost of the size of a provincial capital. It lies in the centre of four districts that are in the vicinity of the sea.²

SÛR (Tyre) is a fortified town on the sea, or rather in the sea, for you enter the town through one gate only, over a bridge, and the sea lies all round it. The city consists of two Quarters—the first being built on the terra firma; while the second (the harbour), beyond this, is an area enclosed by triple walls with no earth appearing, for the walls rise out of the water. Into this harbour the ships come every night, and then a chain is drawn across, whereby the Greeks are prevented from molesting them. All this has been described by Muhammad ibn al Hasan

¹ According to Yakût, in the thirteenth century A.D., when he wrote, the inscription was still *in situ*. A thousand dinârs would be equal to about £500 sterling. For a description of Acre and its history see S. of W. P., Mems. I., p. 160. The remains of the double mole which formed the inner harbour still exist, though for the most part they lie, at the present day, under water.

² In another section of his book, p. 46, our author states that at Al Jashsh was preserved the 'Chain of David,' but he mentions the tradition as of doubtful authority. Al Jashsh is the town called Gischala by Josephus, and was the birthplace of the celebrated John of Gischala who played so prominent a part in the defence, during the great siege of Jerusalem by Titus. See 'Jerusalem,' by Besant and Palmer, Chap. ii., also S. of W. P., Mems. I., p. 224.

(Ash Shaibani)¹ in his work entitled 'Kitâb al Ikrâh.' Water is brought into the town by means of a vaulted aqueduct. Tyre is a beautiful and pleasant city. Many artificers dwell here, and ply their special trades. Between Tyre and Acre lies a bay of the sea, and thus the proverb says 'Acre is opposite Tyre; but getting to it you will tire'—that is, while travelling all along the sea-shore.²

AR-RAMLAH (Ramleh)³ is the capital of Palestine. It is a fine city, and well built; its water is good and plentiful; its fruits are abundant. It combines manifold advantages, situated as it is in the midst of beautiful villages and lordly towns, near to holy places and pleasant hamlets. Commerce here is prosperous, and means of livelihood easy. There is no finer mosque in Islâm than the one in this city; its bread is of the best and the whitest; its lands are well favoured above all others, and its fruits are of the most luscious. The capital stands among fruitful fields, walled towns, and serviceable hospices. It possesses magnificent hostelries and pleasant baths, dainty food and various condiments, spacious houses, fine mosques and broad roads. As a capital it possesses many advantages. It is situated on the plain, and is yet near both to the mountains and the sea. It has both fig-trees and palms; its fields need no irrigation,

¹ *Vide supra*, note 2, p. 4. He wrote a celebrated work on the Laws of War. The Kitâb al Ikrâh, the 'Book of Matters Avoidable,' is given in Hajji Khalfa, Vol. V., p. 48, No. 9882.

² For a plan of Tyre, see Appendix to Vol. III. of Memoirs of S. of W. P., and for the general account see Vol. I., p. 72. The aqueduct bringing water to the city from Râs al 'Ain is described at p. 70 of the same volume.

³ Ar-Ramleh, so named from the 'Sandy' nature of the soil where the town stands. The city was founded after the Muslim Conquest, by the Omeyyad Khalif Sulaimân the son of 'Abd al Malik (A.H. 96 to 99, A.D. 715-718), and was made the capital of Palestine. It is now however a small unwallled town of very secondary importance. For the history of the place, see Robinson III., p. 33.

and are by nature fruitful and rich. Its disadvantages, on the other hand, are, that in winter the place is a slough of mud, while in summer it is a powder-box of sand, where no water flows, neither is anything green, nor is the soil humid, nor is there snow. Fleas here abound. The wells are deep and salt, and the rain-water is hoarded in closed cisterns; hence the poor go thirsty, and strangers seek in vain. So too the seats before the baths are filled with expectant bathers, while the servants are grinding at the water-wheels. The city occupies the area of a square mile; its houses are built of finely-quarried stones.¹ The best known among its gates are the Gate of the Soldier's Well (Darb Bir al 'Askar),² the Gate of the 'Annabah Mosque,³ the Gate of Jerusalem, the Gate of Bila'ah,⁴ the Lydda Gate (Darb Ludd), the Jaffa Gate (Darb Yâfâ), the Egypt Gate (Darb Misr), and the Dâjûn Gate. Close to Ar-Ramlah is the town of Dâjûn,⁵ with its mosque. It is inhabited mostly by Samaritans. The chief mosque of Ar-Ramlah is in the market, and it is even more beautiful and graceful than that of Damascus. It is called Al Abyad (the White Mosque).

¹ In his introductory chapter Muḳaddasî writes:—'If Ar Ramlah had only running-water the town would be without compare the finest in Islam; for it is pleasant and pretty, standing between Jerusalem and the frontier towns, between the Ghaur of the Jordan and the sea. Its climate is mild, its fruits are luscious, its people generous—being, however, also rather foolish: it is an emporium for Egyptian goods, and an excellent commercial station for the two seas.'

² Al 'Askar is mentioned by our author in his introductory chapter as the name of one of the quarters of Ar Ramlah.

³ The *village* of 'Annabah lies west of Ar Ramlah (see S. of W. P. Mems. III., p. 14). In Jerome's Onomasticon it is mentioned under the name of Anab, which was also called Betho Annaba. See further on the two places called *Betho Annaba*, and *Beth Annabam* 'Special Papers,' p. 250.

⁴ The reading is very uncertain; see next page, n. 2.

⁵ The modern Bait Dijân, the Beth Dagon of Judah (Joshua, xv. 41). See Memoirs II., p. 251.

In all Islam there is found no finer Mihrâb than the one here, and its pulpit is the most exquisite that is to be seen after that of Jerusalem; also it possesses a beautiful minaret, built by the Khalif Hishâm ibn 'Abd al Malik.¹ I have heard my uncle relate that when the Khalif was about to build the minaret it was reported to him that the Christians possessed columns of marble, then lying buried beneath the sand, which they had prepared for the Church of Bâli'ah;² thereupon the Khalif Hishâm informed the Christians that either they must show him where the columns lay, or that he would demolish their church at Lydda, in order to employ its columns for the building of his mosque. So the Christians pointed out where they had buried their columns and they are very thick and tall and beautiful. The covered portion of the mosque is flagged with marble, and the court with other stone, all carefully laid together. The gates of the covered part are made of cypress wood and cedar, carved in the inner parts, and very beautiful in appearance.

JERUSALEM, Bait-al-Makdis (the Holy City), also known as Îliyâ and Al Balât.³ Among provincial towns none is larger than Jerusalem, and many capitals are in fact smaller,

¹ The Omeyyad Khalif Hishâm reigned at Damascus from A.H. 105 to 125 (A.D. 724-743). For a plan of the White Mosque and full description see *Memoirs II.*, p. 271.

² There is some doubt as to the reading of this word. It very probably is the same name as that of the gate mentioned above (p. 33, n. 4), and we have possibly reference here to the ancient town of 'Baalah which is Kirjath-jearim' (Joshua xv. 9; also ix. 17, and xv. 60), identified with the modern Karyet al 'Inâb or Abû Ghaush, where may still be seen the remains of the fine Church of St. Jeremiah, possibly alluded to in the text. For an illustration of the church see *Memoirs III.*, p. 132, and also p. 18 of the same volume for Karyet al 'Inâb.

³ Îliyâ is the Arabic form of the first part of Ælia Capitolina, the name given to the Holy City by the Emperor Hadrian. The word Al Balât may be translated the 'Imperial Residence' or 'Court.' See Quatremère, '*Hist. des Sultans Mam.*', ii. 1. p. 278. It is a corruption of the Latin 'Palatium.'

as, for instance, Istakhr and Kâ-in and Al Firmâ.¹ Neither the cold nor the heat is excessive here, and snow falls but rarely. The Kâdi Abu'l Kâsim, son of the Kâdi of the Two Holy Cities,² inquired of me once concerning the climate of Jerusalem. I answered, 'It is betwixt and between—neither very hot nor very cold.' Said he in reply, 'Just as is that of Paradise.' The buildings of the Holy City are of stone, and you will find nowhere finer or more solid constructions. In no place will you meet with a people³ more chaste. Provisions are most excellent here, the markets are clean, the mosque is of the largest, and nowhere are Holy Places more numerous. The grapes are enormous, and there are no quinces to equal those of the Holy City. In Jerusalem are all manner of learned men and doctors, and for this reason the hearts of men of intelligence yearn towards her. All the year round, never are her streets empty of strangers. Now one day at Busrah I was seated in the assembly of the Chief Kâdi Abu Yahya ibn Bahrâm, and the conversation turned on the city of Cairo. Then one said, speaking to me, 'And can any city be more illustrious?' I replied, 'Why, yes, my own native town!' Said he, 'But is any pleasanter than Cairo?' I answered, 'Yes again, my native town.' It was said, 'Ah, but Cairo is the more excellent; and the more beautiful; and the more productive of good things, and the more spacious.' Still, to each

¹ Istakhr is the ancient Persepolis, the capital of Fars; Kâ-in is in the Kohistân, between Ispahân and Nishâpûr; and Al Firmâ is a town of Lower Egypt, the ancient Pelusium.

² *i.e.* Makkah and Al Madinah.

³ In his introductory chapter our author notes that in Jerusalem 'one can find neither defect nor deficiency. Wine is not publicly consumed, and there is no drunkenness. The city is devoid of houses of ill-fame, whether public or private. The people too are noted for piety and sincerity. At one time, when it became known that the Governor drank wine, they built up round his house a wall, and thus prevented from getting to him those who were invited to his banquets.'

and all I replied, 'Not so! it is my native town.' Then the company were astonished, and they said to me, 'Thou art a man of erudition, but thou dost advance now more than can be accorded to thee, in our belief. Verily thou art even as the man who owned the she-camel, and colloquied with Al Hajjāj!¹ But the Arab brought up his camel in proof. Now do thou do likewise, and we will deem thee a man of wit.' So I answered them and spake: 'Now, as to my saying that Jerusalem is the most illustrious of cities, why is she not one that unites the advantages of This World to those of the Next? He who is of the sons of This World and yet is ardent in the matters of the Next, may with advantage seek her markets; while he who would be of the men of the Next World, though his soul clings to the good things of This, he, too, may find these here! And as to Jerusalem being the pleasantest of places in the way of climate, why the cold there does not injure, and the heat is not noxious. And as to her being the finest city, why, has any seen elsewhere buildings finer, or cleaner, or a mosque that is more beautiful? And as for the Holy City being the most productive of all places in good things, why Allah—may He be exalted—has gathered together here all the fruits of the lowlands, and of the plains, and of the hill country, even all those of the most opposite kinds; such as the orange and the almond, the date and the nut, the fig and the banana, besides milk in plenty, and honey and sugar. And as to the excellence of the City! why, is not this to be the plain of marshalling on the Day of Judgment; where the gathering together and the appointment will take place? Verily Makkah and Al Madinah have their superiority by reason of the Ka'abah and the

¹ This has reference to a well-known story of a Bedawin who, in praising his camel to Al Hajjāj, the Governor of Irāk, described her as being possessed of every possible and impossible virtue.

Prophet—the blessing of Allah be upon him and his family—but verily, on the Day of Judgment, they will both come to Jerusalem, and the excellences of them all will there be united. And as to Jerusalem being the most spacious of cities; why, since all created things are to assemble there, what place on the earth can be more extensive than this!

And the company were pleased with my words, agreeing to the truth of them.

Still Jerusalem has some disadvantages. Thus, it is reported as found written in the Torah, that ‘Jerusalem is as a golden basin filled with scorpions.’ Then you will not find baths more filthy than those of the Holy City; nor in any town are provisions dearer. Learned men are few, and the Christians numerous, and the same are unmannerly in the public places. In the hostelries taxes are heavy on all that is sold, for there are guards at every gate, and no one is able to sell aught whereby to obtain a profit, except he be satisfied with but little gain. In this City the oppressed have no succour; the meek are molested, and the rich envied. Jurisconsults remain unvisited, and erudite men have no renown; also the schools are unattended, for there are no lectures. Everywhere the Christians and the Jews have the upper hand;¹ and the mosque is void of either congregation or assembly of learned men.

Jerusalem is smaller than Makkah, and larger than Al Madinah. Over the city is a Castle, one side of which is against the hill-side, while the other is defended by a ditch.² Jerusalem has eight iron gates:

¹ It is curious that this should have been the condition of the Jews and Christians a century before the First Crusade.

² The citadel, ‘Al Kal’ah,’ near the Jaffa Gate. In the Middle Ages it was known as ‘the City of David,’ and included the site of the Towers *Hippicus* and *Phasaelus* of Josephus, and probably part of the ground occupied by Herod’s Palace.

Bâb Sihyân (of Sion).

Bâb at Tih (of the Desert of the Wanderings).

Bâb al Balât (of the Palace, or Court).

Bâb Jubb Armiyâ (of Jeremiah's Grotto).

Bâb Silwân (of Siloam).

Bâb Arîhâ (of Jericho).

Bâb al 'Amûd (of the Columns).

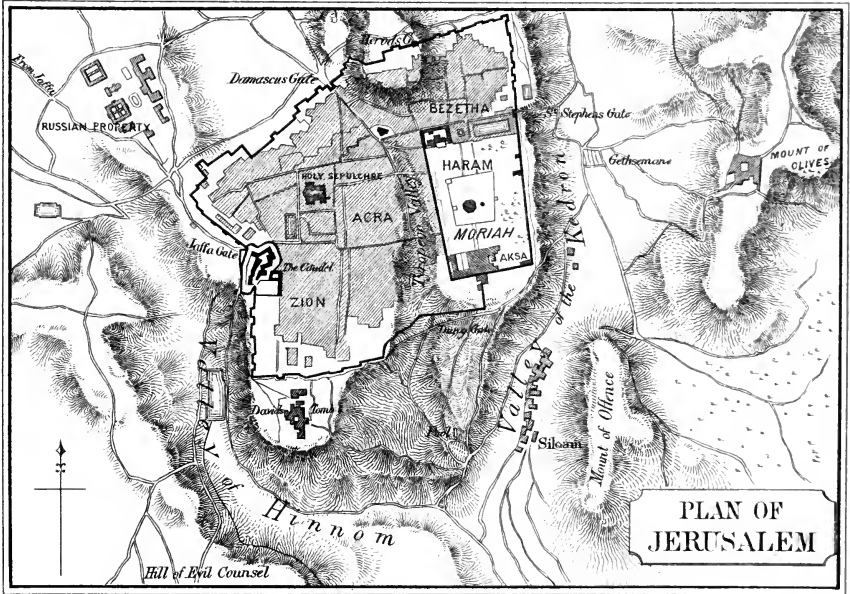
Bâb Mihrâb Dâûd (of David's Oratory).¹

¹ To account for the difficulties experienced in identifying the gates mentioned by Muḳaddasi with those in existence at the present day, it will be enough to recall to mind what changes the Holy City has undergone since A.D. 1000. Besides the alterations effected by the Crusaders, and those dating from the period when, after the expulsion of the Christians, the City had come into the hands of Saladin (A.D. 1187),—the Walls themselves were in A.D. 1219 systematically destroyed, together with all the fortifications (except 'the City of David'), when by treaty the Holy City was ceded to the Emperor Frederic II. The present walls were built (doubtless following the old lines), for the most part as late as the time of Sultan Soleiman the Magnificent, in A.D. 1542. Following in the track of Muḳaddasi, subsequent geographers down to Yakût (in the thirteenth century, A.D.), and the author of the *Jihân Numâ* (in the seventeenth century), servilely reproduce our author's enumeration; but, bearing in mind the constant plagiarism of Arab writers, it need not be concluded that the eight gates were in their times still open, or were known under the same names. There is, besides, direct evidence to the contrary.

(1) The Sion Gate, Mujîr ad Dîn states, 'is now called the Gate of the Jews' Quarter.' It opens between the Jaffa Gate and that near the Mogrebin Mosque, and is the one called at the present day Bâb an Nabî Dâûd (of the Prophet David).

(2) The Gate of the Desert of the Wanderings is, by Sepp and Tobler, identified with the Gate of the Mogrebin Mosque (vulgarly known as the Dung Gate). I should suggest its being the Gate known in Mujîr ad Dîn's time as the 'Postern Gate' ('Bâb Sîrr, a small gate adjacent to the Armenian Convent') opening westward, in the wall to the south of the Jaffa Gate.

(3) The Gate al Balât, (of the Palace, or Court,) Tobler imagines to represent the long walled-up Golden Gate in the Eastern Wall of the Haram Area. But this, by Arab writers, is never considered as a Gate of the *City*; and further, the so-called Golden Gate is mentioned



There is water in Jerusalem in plenty. Thus, it is a common saying, that 'There is no place in Jerusalem but where you may get water and hear the Call to Prayer; and few are the houses that have not cisterns one or more.' Within the city are three great tanks, namely, the Birkat Bani Israil, the Birkat Sulaimân, and the Birkat 'Iyâd.¹ In the

by Muḩaddasi in its proper place among the Gates of the Haram Area. I would make the suggestion that the Bâb al Balâḩ may be the same as the Bâb ar Rahbah (of the Public Square), of Mujîr ad Dîn, which is described by him as opening in the Western City Wall, not far from the Jaffa Gate. At the present day none is to be found here.

(4) The Gate of Jeremiah's Grotto can only be the one in the Northern Wall now closed, but known as the Bâb as Sâhirah (the Gate of the Plain; see p. 50, n. 2). In ancient times it was called Herod's Gate.

(5) The Gate of Siloam must have opened to the south-east, and I take it to be that known to-day as the Mogrebin or Dung Gate.

(6) The Jericho Gate, I concluded without hesitation to be that to-day called 'St. Stephen's' by the Franks, and known to the Arabs as 'the Gate of Our Lady Mary.' Mujîr ad Dîn, however (p. 262), says: 'The Gate known anciently as the Gate of Jericho has now altogether disappeared, leaving no trace thereof. It apparently stood in the vicinity of the buildings that stand over against the Mount of Olives.' Were the 'Jericho Gate' of Muḩaddasi, *not* the modern 'St. Stephen's Gate,' our author's 'Gate of the Desert of the Wanderings' might then be identified with this St. Stephen's Gate.

(7) The Gate of the Columns is that now more generally called the Damascus Gate. It was this Gate that in the times of the Crusaders went under the name of St. Stephen's Gate.

(8) The Gate of David's Oratory is the Jaffa or Hebron Gate (Bâb al Khalîl), which, even as late as Mujîr ad Dîn's times, was known under the more ancient name.

² It will be noted that these tanks are all *within* the city.

The Birkat Bani Israil is the well-known tank situated near the north wall of the Temple Area. Our author wrote at the close of the tenth century, A.D., and it may be worth noting that this corrects the statement made by Captain Conder ('Tent Work in Palestine,' 1880 p. 185, and 'Handbook to the Bible,' p. 357), that 'the pool [the Birket Israil] is not clearly mentioned in any account of Jerusalem before the twelfth century, about which period perhaps it was first constructed.'

vicinity of each of these are Baths, and to them lead the water channels from the streets. In the Haram Area there are twenty underground Cisterns of vast size, and there are few quarters of the city that have not public cisterns, though the contents of these last is only the rain water that drains into them from the streets. At a certain valley, about a stage from the city,¹ they have gathered together the waters and made there two pools, into which

The Tank of Sulaimân, and that of 'Iyâd, it is now difficult to identify. Also I am unable to discover whether the former is called after King Solomon, or after some distinguished Muslim of the name of Sulaimân. The latter was named after 'Iyâd ibn Ghanm, one of the Companions of the Prophet, who accompanied the Caliph Omar to the Capitulation of Jerusalem. He died in A.H. 20=A.D. 641, and, according to Mujîr ad Dîn (p. 231), he built a bath in the Holy City. The latter author acknowledges his ignorance of the situation of these two Tanks. One of them must be the pool called nowadays 'Birkat Hammâm al Butrak,' the Pool of the Patriarch's Bath, not far from the Jaffa Gate, and very generally identified with the *Pool Amygdalon* of Josephus.

Of other ancient tanks within the city that may represent one or the other of those mentioned by our author, there may be cited :—

(1) A double cistern 70 feet long in the Muristan (S. of W. P. 'Jerusalem,' p. 256); most probably the one mentioned by Mujîr ad Dîn as that in the 'Street Marzubân, belonging to and near the bath of 'Alâ ad Dîn-al Basîr' (p. 409).

(2) A pool discovered by Mons. Clermont Ganneau, not far from the Birkat Israil, and identified by him as the 'Pool of Strouthion,' which supplied with water the Fort Antonia, erected on the north of the Temple Area (Josephus 'Wars,' v. 11, 4).

(3) The well-known Pool Al Burâk. Bâdeker, p. 185.

Muqaddasî's three pools are, as usual, inserted without comment in the works of later Arab geographers (*e.g.*, Yakût, etc.), and Sepp ('Jerusalem,' 1873), makes many fruitless attempts at their identification.

¹ Now known as Solomon's Pools; two hours from Jerusalem on the road to Hebron. The conduit, bringing the water from these to the Holy City, was constructed by Pontius Pilate ('Josephus,' Antiq. xviii. 3, 2). For a full description of the Pools and the Aqueduct see S. of W. P., Memoirs, III., 89.

the torrents of the winter rains flow. From these two reservoirs there are channels bringing the water to the city, which are opened during the spring in order to fill the cisterns in the Haram Area and also those in other places.

The Masjid al Aksâ (the Further Mosque)¹ lies at the south-eastern corner of the Holy City. The stones of its foundations (of the outer wall), which were laid by David, are ten ells, or a little less in length. They are chiselled,² finely faced, and jointed, and of hardest material. On these the Khalif 'Abd al Malik subsequently³ built, using smaller but well-shaped stones, and battlements are added above. This mosque is even more beautiful than that of Damascus, for during the building of it they had for a rival and as a comparison the great church⁴ belonging to the Christians at Jerusalem, and they built this to be even more magnificent than that other. But in the days of the Abbasides occurred the earthquakes which threw down most of the main building; all, in fact, except that portion round the Mihrâb. Now when the Khalif⁵ of that day obtained news of this, he enquired and learned that the sum at that time in the treasury would in no wise suffice to restore the mosque. So he wrote to the Governors of the Provinces and to other Commanders, that each should undertake the building of a colonnade. The order was carried out, and the edifice rose firmer and more substantial than ever it had been in former times. The more ancient portion remained, even like a beauty spot, in the midst of the new; and it extends as far as the limit of the marble columns, for, beyond, where the

¹ Known to the Franks as the Mosque of Omar.

² In Arabic '*Mankûsh*,' literally 'sculptured.' This most probably refers to the well-known *draft*.

³ *Circa* A.D. 690.

⁴ The Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

⁵ Said to have been the Khalif Al Mahdi, (A.H. 158-169, A.D. 774-785) the father of Hârûn ar Rashîd.

columns are of concrete, the later part commences. The main building¹ of the mosque has twenty-six doors. The door opposite to the Mihráb is called Bâb an Nahâs al A'tham (the Great Brasen Gate); it is plated with gilded brass, and is so heavy that only a man strong of shoulder and of arm can turn it on its hinges. To the right hand of the Great Gate are seven large doors, the midmost one of which is covered with gilt plates; and after the same manner there are seven doors to the left. And further, on the eastern side are eleven doors, unornamented. Over the first-mentioned doors, fifteen in number, is a colonnade supported on marble pillars, lately erected by 'Abd Allah ibn Tâhir.² In the court of the mosque, on the right-hand side, are colonnades supported by marble pillars and pilasters; and on the further side are halls, vaulted in stone. The centre part of the main building of the mosque is covered by a mighty roof, high pitched and gable-wise, behind which rises a magnificent dome. The ceiling everywhere, with the exception of that of the halls on the further side of the court, is formed of lead in sheets, but in these halls the ceilings are faced with mosaics studded in.

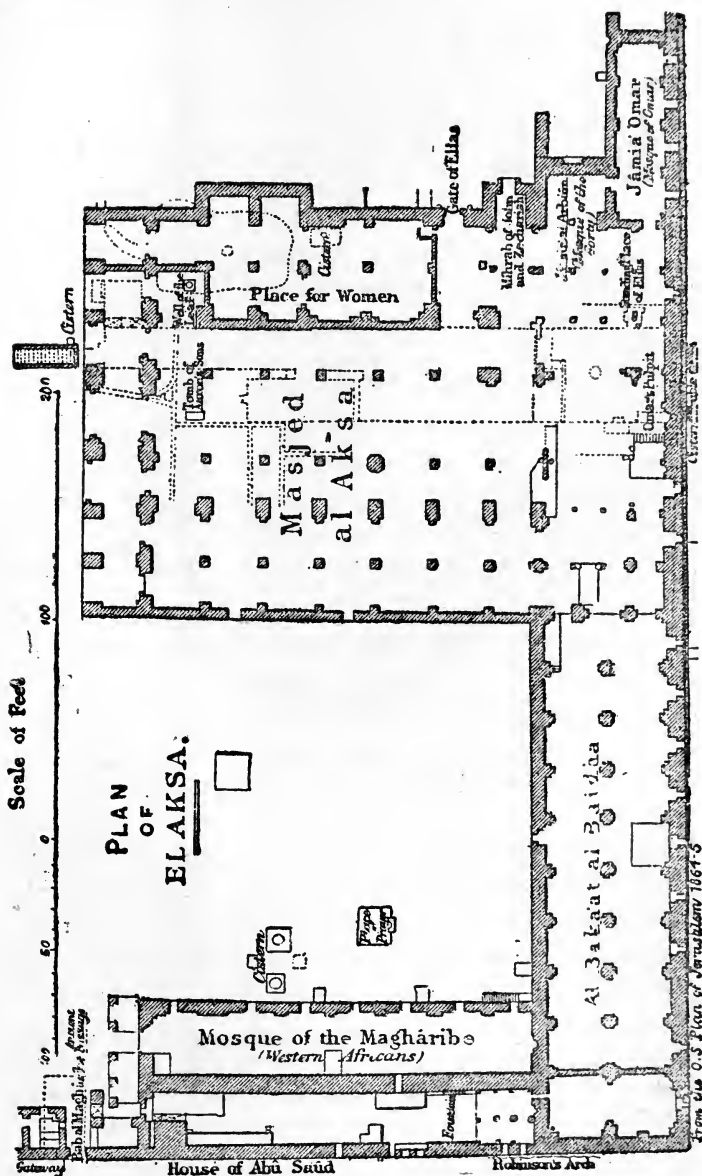
The Court (of the Haram Area) is paved in all parts; in its centre rises a platform, like that in the mosque at Al Madînah, to which, from all four sides, ascend broad flights of steps. On this platform stand four domes. Of these, the Dome of the Chain,³ the Dome of the Ascension,⁴ and the

¹ '*Al Mughattâ,*' literally 'the Covered Part,' for the term Masjid includes not only the body of the mosque, but also the court, and the exterior colonnades. Here and elsewhere I have translated the word Mughattâ by 'main building.'

² 'Abd Allah was the independent Governor of Khurasân and the East, from A.H. 213 to 230=A.D. 828-844. He was the third in succession of the Dynasty of the Tâhirides.

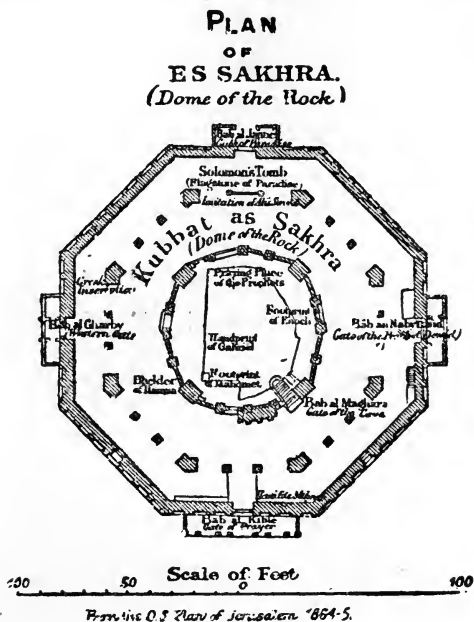
³ Kubbat-as-Silsilah, facing the eastern door of the Dome of the Rock.

⁴ Kubbat al Mi'râj to the north-west. The Ascension has reference to the Prophet's ascent into Heaven, during his celebrated Night Journey.



From the O.S. Plan of Jerusalem 1864-5

Dome of the Prophet,¹ are of small size, and their domes are covered with sheet lead, and are supported on marble pillars, being without walls. In the centre of the platform is the Dome of the Rock,² which rises above an octagonal building having four gates, one opposite to each of the



flights of steps leading up from the court. These four are, the Kiblah (or Southern) Gate, the Gate of Israhil (to the east), the Gate As Sûr (or of the Trumpet, to the north), and (the Women's Gate), Bâb an Nisâ, which last opens towards the west.³ All these are adorned with gold, and

¹ Kubbat an Nabi, is still so called; it is one of the small shrines to the N.W. of the Dome of the Rock, and is distinct from the Kubbet el Arwâh. Yakût (iv. 594) names this 'the Dome of the Prophet David.' (See also S. of W. P., 'Jerusalem,' p. 81, *et seq.*).

² Kubbat as Sakhrah.

³ Our author himself gives the orientation of two of the gates.

closing each of them is a beautiful door of cedar-wood finely worked in pattern. These last were sent by command of the mother of the Khalif Al Muktadir Billah.¹ At each of the gates is a balustrade of marble and cedar-wood, with brass-work without; and in the railing, likewise, are gates, but these are unornamented. Within the building are three concentric colonnades, with columns of the most beautiful marble, polished, that can be seen, and above is a low vaulting. Within these again is the central hall over The Rock; the hall is circular, not octagonal, and is surrounded by columns of polished marble supporting round arches. Built above these, and rising high into the air, is the drum in which are large openings; and over the drum is the Dome. The Dome, from the floor up to the pinnacle, which rises into the air, is in height a hundred ells, and from afar off, you may perceive on the summit of the Dome, its beautiful pinnacle, the size of which is a fathom and a span. The Dome, externally, is completely covered with brass plates, gilt, while the building itself, its floor and its walls, and the drum, both within and without, are ornamented with marble and mosaics, after the manner that we have already described when speaking of the mosque of Damascus. The cupola of the Dome is built in three sections: the inner is of ornamental plates; next come iron beams interlaced, set in free so that the wind may not cause it to shift; and the third casing is of wood, on which are fixed the outer plates. Up through the middle of the cupola goes a passage way, by which a workman

Mujir ad Din (p. 372) states that the Eastern Gate, facing the Dome of the Chain, was that called the Gate of the Angel of Death Israfil. It now goes by the name of Gate of the Chain; and the northern gate is called Bab al Jannah, Gate of Paradise.

¹ Reigned A.H. 295-320=A.D. 908-932. He was the 18th of the Abbasides.

may ascend to the pinnacle for aught that may be wanting, or in order to repair the structure. At the dawn, when the light of the sun first strikes on the Cupola, and the Drum catches the rays; then is this edifice a marvellous sight to behold, and one such that in all Islam I have never seen its equal; neither have I heard tell of aught built in pagan times that could rival in grace this Dome of the Rock.

The mosque¹ is entered through thirteen openings closed by a score of gates. These are, the Bâb Hittah (the Gate of Pardon or Indulgence),² the two Gates of the Prophet,³ the Gates of the Mihrâb Maryam (of Mary's Oratory),⁴ the two Gates Ar Rahmah (of Mercy),⁵ the Gate of the Birkat (or Pool of) Bani Israîl,⁶ the Gates Al Asbât (of the Tribes),⁷ the Hâshimite

¹ It may be well to call attention to the fact that the term 'mosque' (Masjid) includes not only the main edifice and its courts (here the Akşa Mosque), but also the whole of the Area (here the Temple Area or Noble Sanctuary) which is round the mosque and all the buildings thereunto appertaining.

² Referring to Koran ii. 55. This Gate is in the Northern Wall of the Haram Area.

³ According to Mujîr ad Dîn, 'the Gate of the Maghribîn' was also known as 'the Gate of the Prophet.' It lies southernmost of those in the Western Wall of the Haram Area, *i.e.*, near the south-west corner.

⁴ Perhaps the small gate, near Mary's Oratory, in the Eastern Wall, called by Mujîr ad Dîn, Bâb al Janâiz (of the Funerals), and in his time closed.

⁵ The long since closed 'Golden Gate' in the Eastern Wall. The double gates were those of Mercy (Raḥmah) and Repentance (Taubah).

⁶ This must have opened near the Pool, which the present Bâb Hiṭṭah overlooks. The gate next to this last, on the west, is the present Bâb al 'Atm (of the Darkness), more anciently called either Dawâdâriyyah (of the Privy Seal), or the Gate of the Glory of the Prophets; and it was perhaps, before this again, known as the Gate of the Pool of the Bani Israel.

At the eastern angle of the North Wall.

Gates,¹ the Gate of Al Walîd,² the Gate of Ibrahim (Abraham),³ the Gate of Umm Khâlid (the Mother of Khâlid),⁴ and the Gate Dâûd (of David).⁵

Of the holy places within (the Haram Area), are the Mihrâb Maryam (the Oratory of Mary), Zakariyyah (of Zachariah), Ya'kûb (of Jacob), and Al Khidr (of Elias or St. George), the Station of the Prophet, and of Jibrâil (Gabriel), the Place of the Ant, and of the Fire, and of the Ka'abah, and also of the Bridge As Sirât, which shall divide Heaven and Hell.

On the north side (of the court of the Akşa Mosque)⁶ there are no colonnades. The main building of the mosque does not extend to the eastern wall of the area, the constructions here, as it is said, never having been completed. Of the reason for this, they give two accounts. The one is that the Khalif Omar commanded the people

^{1, 2, 4} These three gates I am unable exactly to identify, but they must have opened in the Western Wall of the Haram Area. At the present day, besides those already mentioned, there are ; Bâb as Sarai (of the Palace) ; Bâb an Nâthir (of the Inspector), more anciently called of Mikâil (the Angel Michael) ; Bâb al Hadîd (of Iron) ; Bâb al Kattanîn (of the Cotton Bazaar) ; Bâb al Mutawaḍḍâ or Maṭarah (of the Place of Ablutions or of Rain) ; and between these five must lie the choice for the three that I am unable to identify.

³ The northernmost in the West Wall. At present it is known as the Bâb al Ghawânimah (of the Ghânim tribe), and more anciently Bâb al Khalîl (of the Friend *i.e.* Abraham).

⁵ The present Bâb as Silsilah, in the Western Wall. The foregoing identifications rest on the materials supplied by Mujîr ad Din *op. cit.*, pp. 380 to 384.

⁶ The words used are '*alâ-l-maisarah*, literally *on the left hand*, also with the meaning *on the north, for the right hand, al yaman, is south*. I conclude from the context that Muḳaddasi here refers to the northern side of the Court of the Akşa Mosque, which is not divided from the great Haram Area by any enclosing wall or colonnade. It may, however, have reference to the northern wall of the whole Haram Area, but the statement must then be taken as standing alone and as having no reference to what comes after.

to erect a building 'in the Western part of the area, as a place of prayer for Muslims;' so they left this space (which is on the eastern side) unoccupied, in order not to go counter to his injunction. The other reason given is that it was not found possible to extend the main building of the mosque as far as the south-east angle of the area wall, lest the Mihrab (the Niche facing Makkah), in the centre place at the end of the mosque should not have been opposite The Rock under the Dome, and such a case was repugnant to them. But Allah alone knows the truth.

The dimensions of the Sanctuary Area are, length 1,000 ells—of the royal Hâshimite ells;¹ and width, 700. In the ceilings of its various edifices there are 4,000 wooden beams, supported on 700 marble columns; and the roofs are overlaid with 45,000 sheets of lead. The measurement of The Rock itself is, 33 ells by 27, and the cavern which lies beneath will hold 69 persons. Its endowment provides monthly for 100 Kists² of olive oil, and in the year they use 800,000 ells of matting. The mosque is served by special attendants; their service was instituted by the Khalif 'Abd al Malik,³ the men being chosen from among the Royal Fifth of the Captives taken in War, and hence they are called Al Akhmâs (the Quintans). None besides these are employed in the service, and they take their watch in turn beside The Rock.

SULWÂN (Siloam) is a place on the outskirts of the

¹ The royal ell (*Dhirâ' Maliki*) measured about 18 inches in length. This gives us 1500 feet by 1050. Roughly taken, the present dimensions of the Haram Area are 1500 feet by 900.

² The Kist was half a Sâ', *i.e.* about a quart and a half of our measure. The name came from the Greek $\Xi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma$, which represents the Roman Sextarius.

³ A.H. 65-86 = A.D. 685-705.

City. Below the village is the 'Ain Sulwân (Pool or Spring of Siloam),¹ of fairly good water, which irrigates the large gardens which were given in bequest (Wakf) by the Khalif 'Othmân ibn 'Affân for the poor of the city. Lower down than this, again, is ²Job's Well (Bîr Ayyûb). It is said that on the Night of 'Arafat³ the water of the holy well Zamzam, at Makkah, comes underground to the water of the Pool. The people hold a festival here on that evening.

WÂDÎ JAHANNAM (Valley of Kedron) runs from the angle of the Sanctuary Area to its furthest point, all along the east side.⁴ In this valley are gardens and vineyards, churches, caverns and chapels, tombs, and other remarkable spots, also cultivated fields. In its midst stands the church which covers the sepulchre of Mary,⁵ and above, overlooking the valley, are many tombs, among which are

¹ The Pool of Siloam (see S. of W. P. 'Jerusalem,' p. 345) is not properly speaking a spring, but a tank fed by the aqueduct from the Virgin's Fount (called also 'Ain Umm ad Daraj, the Fountain of the Steps), and having an intermittent supply consequent on the intermittent flow of the upper spring.

It was on the wall of the tunnel connecting the Pool of Siloam with the Virgin's Fount that, in 1880, the now celebrated Siloam Inscription was accidentally discovered by a party of Jewish schoolboys.

² Job's Well, which the Christians since the 16th century have been in the habit of calling the Well of Nehemiah, may be En Rogel—the Fuller's Spring—mentioned by Joshua (xv. 7) as on the boundary line between the tribes of Judah and Benjamin; unless this last be the Virgin's Fount.

³ The 9th of the month Dhû-l-Hijjah. It is the day of the great pilgrimage on 'Arafat—near Makkah.

⁴ It is worthy of remark that the Valley of Hinnon (Gehenna, Jahannam) is the name of the deep gorge to the *west* and *south-west* of the city. Muḡaddasi's Valley of Jahannum, however, would be the Valleys of Jehoshaphat and the Kedron together, the modern Wâdî Sitteh Maryam.

⁵ The Tomb of the Virgin lies outside the Gate of St. Stephen, on the opposite slope of the Kedron Valley. See Bâdeker, p. 214.

those of Shaddâd ibn Aus ibn Thâbit¹ and 'Ubâdah ibn as Sâmit.²

JABAL ZAITÂ (the Mount of Olives) overlooks the Great Mosque from the eastern side of the Valley (of Kedron). On its summit is a mosque built in memory of 'Omar, who sojourned here some days when he came to receive the capitulation of the Holy City. There is also here a church built on the spot whence Christ ascended into Heaven ; and further, near by is the place called As Sâhirah (the Plain),³ which, as I have been informed on the authority of Ibn 'Abbâs, will be the scene of the Resurrection. The ground is white, and blood has never been spilt here.

BAIT LAHM (Bethlehem) is a village about a league away, in the direction of Hebron. Jesus was born here ; and there grew up here the Palm-tree,⁴ for although in this district palms are never found, this one grew by a miracle. There is also a church, the equal of which does not exist anywhere in the country round.⁵

HABRÂ (Hebron), the village of Abraham the Friend of God. Within it is a strong fortress, which, it is said, is of the building of the Jinns, being of great squared stones. In the middle of this place rises the Dome built, since the

¹ A celebrated Companion of the Prophet, who died A.H. 41 or 58, A.D. 661 or 678. His tomb was much visited by pilgrims. (See Mujîr ad Dîn, p. 233.)

² He was the first Muslim Kâfi (Judge) of Jerusalem, having been appointed by Omar. He died A.H. 34, A.D. 654. (See Mujîr ad Dîn, p. 233.)

³ As Sâhirah (the Plain) is possibly that from which the Bâb as Sâhirah (Herod's Gate) in the north wall takes its name. The Plain, As Sâhirah, of the Resurrection, however, is on the Mount of Olives, across the Kedron Valley.

⁴ Referred to in the Koran xix. 29.

⁵ The Basilica of Constantine, for a plan of this remarkable church and description, see S. of W. P., Memoirs, iii., p. 84.

times of Islâm, of stone, which covers the sepulchre of Abraham. The tomb of Isaac lies forward, within the main building of the mosque, while that of Jacob is in the further part. Near by each one of the Prophets lies his wife. The garden round has become the mosque-court, and built about it are rest-houses for the Pilgrims, which thus adjoin the Sanctuary. Thither also has been conducted a small water-channel. All the country round Hebron, for the distance of half a stage, is filled with villages, and vineyards, and grounds bearing grapes and apples, and it is even as though it were all but a single orchard of vines and fruit-trees. The district goes by the name of *Jabal Nusrah*.¹ Its equal for beauty does not exist elsewhere, nor can any fruits be finer. A great part of them are sent away to Egypt and into all the country round. At times, here, apples of good quality will sell at a thousand for the Dirham;² and the weight of a single apple, occasionally, will attain to the equivalent of a hundred Dirhams.³ In the Sanctuary at Hebron is a public guest-house, with a kitchener, a baker, and servants appointed thereto. These present a dish of lentils and olive oil to every poor person who arrives, and it is even set before the rich if perchance they desire to partake of it. Most men erroneously imagine that this dole is of the original Guest-house of Abraham, but in truth the funds come from the bequests of Tamim ad Dâri⁴ and others. It so being, in my opinion it were, perhaps, better to abstain from receiving these alms (lest the money have been unlawfully obtained). Also there was once an Amîr of Khurasân—may Allah have

¹ The reading of this word is uncertain. Other authorities make no mention of this name of the district, and it does not occur in the accounts of modern travellers. The name may signify 'the well-watered hills.'

² Tenpence.

³ Between ten and eleven ounces.

⁴ One of the Prophet's Companions. He died in A.H. 40=A.D. 660.

confirmed his dominion—who assigned to this charity 1,000 dirhams yearly; and further, Al 'Âdil, the Shâr, the Ruler of Ghurjistân, gave great bequests to this house. At the present day, in all Islâm, I know of no charity or almsgiving that is better regulated than is this one; for those who travel and are hungry may eat here of good food, and thus is the custom of Abraham continued, for he, during his lifetime, rejoiced in the giving of hospitality, and, after his death, Allah—may He be exalted—has allowed of the custom becoming perpetuated; and thus I myself, in my experiences, have been partaker of the hospitality of the Friend of God.

A league distant from Hebron is a small mountain, which overlooks the Lake of Sughar (the Dead Sea) and the site of the Cities of Lot. Here stands a mosque built by Abu Bakr as Sabahî, called Al Masjid Al Yakîn.¹ In this mosque is seen the bedstead of Abraham, which is now sunk about an ell into the earth. It is related that when Abraham first saw from here, afar off, the Cities of Lot, he stood as one rooted, saying, 'Verily I now bear witness, for the word of the Lord is The Truth.' (*Al Yakîn.*)

The territory of the Holy City is counted as all the country that lies round within a radius of forty miles, including Jerusalem with its dependent villages. For twelve miles the frontier follows the shore (of the Dead Sea) over against Sughar and Maâb; then for five miles it lies through the desert, and into the districts towards the south, even to the country that lies beyond Al Kusaifah² and the land that is over against it. On the north the frontier reaches to the limits of Nâblus. This, then, is the

¹ Now known as Khurbat Yakîn and Makâm Nabi Yakîn, see S. of W. P., Memoirs, iii., p. 371. The 'Bedstead of Abraham' is at the present day known as 'Cain's Grave.' The mosque is said by Ulaimi, to have been built in A.H. 352, A.D. 963.

² The present Tell Kuseifeh, lying to the east of Beersheba.

Land which Allah—may He be exalted—has called ‘Blessed’;¹ it is a country where, on the hills are trees, and in the plains, fields that need neither irrigation nor the watering of rivers, even as the Two Men (Caleb and Joshua) reported to Moses the son of ‘Amrân, saying, ‘We came on a land flowing with milk and honey.’ I myself at times in Jerusalem have seen cheese sell at a sixth of a Dirham for the Ratl, and sugar at a Dirham the Ratl; and for that same sum you could obtain either a Ratl and a half of olive oil or four Ratls of raisins.²

BAIT JIBRÎL³ is a city partly in the hill country, partly in the plain. Its territory has the name of Ad Dârûm,⁴ and there are here marble quarries. The district sends its produce to the capital, which is thus the emporium for the neighbouring country. It is a land of riches and plenty, possessing fine domains. The population, however, is now on the decrease, and impotence has possession of many of its men.

GHAZZAH (Gaza.)—A large town lying on the high road into Egypt, on the border of the desert. The city stands not far from the sea. There is here a beautiful mosque; also will be seen the monument of the Khalif Omar; further, this city was the birth place of (the great Traditionist) Ash-Shâfi‘î,⁵ and possesses the tomb of Hâshim ibn ‘Abd Manâf (the great grandfather of the Prophet).

¹ Koran xxi. 71.

² Taking the Dirhem at ten pence and the Raṭl at 6 lbs.; we have, calculating roughly, cheese at $\frac{1}{4}$ d. a pound; sugar at $1\frac{3}{4}$ d. a pound; olive oil at about a shilling a gallon, and raisins at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. for a penny.

³ Now Bait Jibrîn, meaning the ‘House of Gabriel,’ as in fact the place is called by William of Tyre, the Crusading Historian. In Greek times it was named Eleutheropolis (see S. of W. P., Mems., iii., p. 257), and it is the Beth Cubrin of the Talmud. The Franks sometimes called this town Gibelin.

⁴ At the present day Deirân, anciently Daroma.

⁵ See below, p. 67, n. 6.

MÎMÂS lies on the sea.¹ It is a small fortified town, and belongs to Ghazzah.

'ASKALÂN (Ascalon), is on the sea. A fine city, and strongly garrisoned. Fruit is here in plenty, especially that of the Sycamore-tree,² of which all are free to eat. The great mosque stands in the market of the Clothes-merchants, and is paved throughout with marble. The city is spacious, opulent, healthy, and well fortified. The silkworms of this place are renowned, its wares are excellent, and life there is pleasant. Also its markets are thronged, and its garrison alert. Only its harbour is unsafe, its waters brackish, and the sand-fly called 'Dalam' is most hurtful.³

YÂFAH (Jaffa), lying on the sea, is but a small town, although the emporium of Palestine and the port of Ar Ramlah. It is protected by an impregnable fortress, with iron gates; and the sea-gates also are of iron. The mosque is pleasant to the eye, and overlooks the sea. The harbour is excellent.

ARSÛF⁴ is smaller than Yâfah, but is strongly fortified and populous. There is here a beautiful pulpit, made in the first instance for the mosque of Ar Ramlah, but, which being found too small, was given to Arsûf.

¹ Mîmâs or Maimas, is the 'Majuma of Gaza' mentioned by Antoninus Martyr, (see Palestine Pilgrims' Text No. I, p. 26), and by Greek Geographers, called *Μαίωμα*. Quatremère (Sultans Mamlouks II. partie, p. 229), says that the name is apparently of Egyptian origin, and comes from the two words *Ma* and *Iom* meaning 'maritime town.' Both Ascalon and Gaza had ports called *Maiuma*, and Jamnia likewise, according to Pliny.

² In Arabic *Al Jummaiz*, the *ficus sycomorus*.

³ The Dalam-fly is still one of the pests of the coast country of Syria.

⁴ For the plan of Arsûf and its ruins, see S. of W. P., Memoirs, ii., p. 136. Arsuf was in Greek times called Apollonia. By Crusaders it was erroneously supposed to represent the ancient Antipatris (see p. 60, n. 1).

KAISĀRIYYAH (Cæsarea of Palestine).¹ On the coast of the Greek (or Mediterranean) Sea : there is no city more beautiful, nor any better filled with good things : plenty has its well-spring here, and useful products are on every hand. Its lands are excellent, and its fruits delicious ; the town also is famous for its buffalo-milk and its white bread. To guard the city there is an impregnable fortress, and without lies the well-populated suburb which the fort protects. The drinking-water of the inhabitants is drawn from wells and cisterns. Its Great Mosque is very beautiful.

NĀBULUS (Neapolis, Shechem) lies among the mountains. It abounds in olive-trees, and they even name it the 'Little Damascus.' The town, situated in the valley, is shut in on either hand by the two mountains.² Its market-place extends from gate to gate, and a second goes to the centre of the town. The Great Mosque is in its midst, and is very finely paved. The city has through it a stream of running water ; its houses are built of stone, and some remarkable mills are to be seen here.

ARĪHĀ (Jericho).—This is the City of the Giants, and therein is the Gate of which Allah spake unto the Children of Israel.³ There grows in these parts much indigo and many palms, and the city possesses villages in the Ghaur (of the Jordan), whose fields are watered from the springs. The heat in Jericho is excessive. Snakes and scorpions are numerous, also fleas abound. The serpents called

¹ For plans of the ancient remains at Cæsarea, see S. of W. P., *Memoirs*, ii., p. 15 *et seq.*

² The two mountains shutting in Shechem are to the south, Mount Gerizim ('the Mountain of Blessing') and Mount Ebal, to the north ('the Mountain of Cursing').

³ Koran v. 25 : 'Enter ye upon them (the people of Jericho) by the Gate of the City, and when ye shall have entered by the same, ye shall surely be victorious.'

'Tariyâkiyyah'¹ come from hence, from the flesh of which, used therein, depends the excellence of the Tariyâk (Theriack, or Antidote) of Jerusalem. The people are brown skinned and swarthy. On the other hand, the water of Jericho is held to be the lightest (and best) in all Islâm; bananas are plentiful, also dates and flowers of fragrant odour.

'AMMÂN,² lying on the border of the Desert, has round it many villages and cornfields. The Balkâ District, of which it is the capital, is rich in grain and flocks; also many streams the waters of which work the mills. In the city, near the market-place, stands a fine mosque, the court of which is ornamented with mosaic. We have heard said that it resembles that of Makkah. The Castle of Goliath is on the hill³ overhanging the city, and therein is the Tomb of Uriah, over which is built a mosque. Here, likewise, is the Circus of Solomon.⁴ Living here is cheap, and fruit is plentiful. On the other hand, the people of the place are illiterate, and the roads thither wretched. But the city is even as a harbour of the Desert, and a place of refuge for the bedawîn Arab.

In the village of AR RAKÎM, which lies about a league distant from 'Ammân,⁵ and on the border of the Desert, is a

¹ See below, p. 70, n. 5.

² The Biblical Rabbath Ammon, the capital of Og king of the Ammonites. In Greek times it was called Philadêlphia, after Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt, its second founder.

³ The citadel on the hill to the north of the town.

⁴ The Theatre, it was originally capable of seating 6,000 spectators.

⁵ Ar Rakîm is often identified with Petra or Wâdî Musa, near Mount Hor, on the hypothesis that the name represents the 'Arekem' of Josephus ('Antiq.' iv. 4, 7, and iv. 7, 1). This identification, however, which originated with A. Schulteus, in the last century (see in his 'Vita Saladini,' Index Geographicus, s.v. Errakimum), and has been constantly copied by writers up to the present day, was very justly shown to be impossible by Robinson (ii. p. 653). Our author here

cavern with two entrances—one large, one small—and they say that he who enters by the larger is unable to leave by the smaller unless he have with him a guide. In the cave are three tombs, concerning which Abu-l Fadl Muhammad ibn Mansûr related to me the following Tradition of the Prophet ; and his authority was Abu Bakr ibn Sa'id, who held it of Al Fadl ibn Hammâd, the same having the authority of Ibn Abi Maryâm, who related it as coming from Ismâ'il ibn Ibrâhîm ibn 'Ukbah, who held it of Nâfi', who said that 'Abd Allah, the son of the Khalif Omar, was wont to relate the story, he himself having heard it from the mouth of the Prophet—the grace of Allah be upon him and His peace! Thus he spoke :—'While three men once were walking together heavy rain overtook them and drove them into a cavern of the mountain. And on a sudden there fell, from the mountain above, a rock which blocked up the mouth of the cave, and behold they were shut in. Then one of them called to the others, saying, "Now, mind ye of such good deeds as ye have done, and call on Allah thereby, beseeching Him, so that for the sake thereof perchance He may cleave this rock before us." Then one of them cried aloud, saying, "Allah! of a truth have not I my two parents who are old and feeble, besides my children, of whom I am the sole protector? And when I return to them, I do milk the kine, and give first of the milk to my two parents, even before giving of it to my children. Now on a certain day, after the morning was long past, and I came not to them until it was night, I found my parents slumbering. Then I milked the kine, as was my wont, and I brought of the milk and came and

confirms this by placing Ar Rakîm three miles from 'Ammân. Further, Ibn al Athîr (Chronicle xi., p. 259 of the Text), states that Ar Rakîm lies two days' march north of Karak, on the road between Damascus and that fortress.

stood near by unto them, but feared awaking them from their sleep; and further, I dared not give of it to the children before the setting of it before them, although the children, in truth, were in distress for want thereof. And thus I remained waiting till the breaking of the dawn. Now, since Thou knowest well how I did this thing from fear of Thy face, so therefore now cause this rock to cleave before us, that through the same we may perceive the sky." Then Allah caused a cleft to split in the rock, and through it they perceived the sky. Then the second one cried aloud, and said, "Allah! was there not the daughter of my uncle, whom I loved passionately, as only man can love? And when I sought to possess her, she would refuse herself to me saying, that I should bring her a hundred pieces of gold. Then I made effort, and collected those hundred pieces, bringing them to her. But even as I was entering to possess her, she cried aloud, and said, 'O servant of Allah, fear Him! and force me not, except in lawfulness.' So I went from her. And now, verily, as Thou knowest that I did even this from the fear of Thy face, so therefore cleave unto us again a portion of this rock." And Allah did cleave thereof a further cleft. Then the last man cried aloud, and said, "Allah! did I not hire a serving man for the customary portion of rice. And when his task was accomplished, he said to me, 'Now give to me my due.' And I gave to him his due; but he would not receive it, and despised it. Then I ceased not to use the same for sowing till, of profit, I became possessed, of cattle, and of a neat-herd slave. And after long time he came to me and said, 'Fear Allah! and oppress me not; but give to me my due.' And I, answering him, said, 'Go thou, then, to these cattle and their herdsman and receive them.' Said he again, 'Fear Allah! and mock me not.' And I answered him, 'Verily I mock thee not, and do

thou take these cattle and their herdsmen.' And at last he, taking them, went his way. And now, since Thou knowest how I did this thing in fear of Thy face, do Thou cause what of this rock remaineth to be cleft before us." Then Allah caused the whole of it to become cleft before them.'

In the Province of Syria there are many large villages, having each of them their own mosques ; and the same are more populous and opulent than are many of the celebrated cities of the Arabian Peninsula. As such they deserve mention ; and again, since these large villages neither attain to the renown of powerful cities that are known of all men, nor, on the other hand, are of the insignificance of mere hamlets—lying in their degree, as it were, between the two—so is it the more incumbent on us to make special mention of their names, and describe their positions. Among such are the following :

LUDD (Lydda), which lies about a mile from Ar Ramlah. There is here a Great Mosque, in which are wont to assemble great numbers of the people from the capital (Ar Ramlah), and from the villages round. In Lydda, too, is that wonderful Church, at the gate of which Christ will slay the Antichrist.¹

¹ The coming of the Antichrist, Ad Dajjâl, is to be one of the Great Signs of the Day of Resurrection. According to the Traditions of the Prophet, Ad Dajjâl will first appear in either Upper Mesopotamia or Khurasân. He will ride on an ass, and be followed by 70,000 Jews of Ispahan. He will reign during forty years on the earth, and will ultimately be slain by the Christ, who will meet him at the Gate of Lydda. This tradition is doubtless due to a distorted version of the Story of St. George and the Dragon. The Church of St. George is that mentioned by our author, the ruins of which still remain. For an illustration of these see 'S. of W. P. Memoirs,' ii., p. 267 ; and for some notes by M. Clermont Ganneau, on the Muslim Ad Dajjâl, as the representative of the Dragon of St. George, see an extract from his writings on p. 138 of the same volume.

KAFAR-SÂBÂ.¹—A large place with a mosque, lying on the high road (from Ar Ramlah) to Damascus.

'ÂKIR (Ekron).²—A large village, possessing a fine mosque. Its inhabitants are much given to good works. The bread here is not to be surpassed for quality. The village lies on the high road (from Ar Ramlah) to Makkah.

YUBNÂ, with its beautiful mosque.³ From this place come the excellent figs known as 'the Damascene.'

'AMWÂS.⁴—It is said that this place was in ancient days the capital of the province, but that the population removed therefrom, going nearer to the sea, and more into the plain, on account of the wells; for the village lies on the skirt of the hill-country.

KAFAR-SALLÂM.⁵—One of the villages of the district of

¹ Kafar Sâbâ is the Antipatris of Acts xxiii. 31, and Josephus. For the proofs of this identification see 'S. of W. P. Memoirs,' ii., p. 258. The Crusaders (William of Tyre), after their usual fashion, wrongly identified this last with Arsûf.

² Of Joshua xiii. 3.

³ Yubnâ represents the Biblical Jabneh, or Jabneel. Its Greek name was Jamnia.

⁴ 'Amwâs is the famous Emmaus Nicopolis. As to the question whether or not it may be identified with the Emmaus of the New Testament, which is more than doubtful, see 'S. of W. P. Memoirs,' iii., p. 66 *et seq.*

⁵ The town of Kafar Sallam has completely disappeared from the maps, although from what is said by the Arab geographers, its position may be determined within very narrow limits, and the P. E. F. map leaves nothing to be desired in point of detail for all the ruins remaining in this part of the country. Yâkût states that Kafar Sallâm is four farsakhs (leagues) from Kaisariyyah, on the road to Nâbulus. Al Muḩaddasi places it (see below, pp. 96, 98) one march from Nâbulus, one from Kaisariyyah, and one from Ar Ramlah. Hence it cannot have been far from Kafar Sâbâ, with which place it is often confounded (as, for instance, by Nâṣir Khusrau, who visited Syria in A.H. 428, A.D. 1037), but its direction from this last I have been unable to determine. Nâṣir Khusrau mentions incidentally that it (Kafar Sallâm or Kafar Sâbâ) is three farsakhs (leagues) from Ar Ramlah. According to the Chronicle of Marianus Scottus, in 1064 A.D.

Cæsarea. It is very populous, and has a mosque. It lies on the high road (from Ar Ramlah northwards).

All along the sea-coast of the Province of Syria are the Watch-stations (Ribât), where the levies assemble. The war-ships and the galleys of the Greeks also come into these ports, bringing aboard of them the captives taken from the Muslims; these they offer for ransom—three for the hundred Dinârs.¹ And in each of these ports there are men who know the Greek tongue, for they have missions to the Greeks, and trade with them in divers wares. At the Stations, whenever a Greek vessel appears, they sound the horns; also if it be night they light a beacon there, on the tower, or, if it be day, they make a great smoke. From every Watch-station on the coast up to the capital (Ar Ramlah) are built, at intervals, high towers, in each of which is stationed a company of men. On the occasion of the arrival of the Greekships the men, perceiving them, kindle the beacon on the tower nearest to the coast Station, and then on that lying next above it, and then on, one after another; so that hardly is an hour elapsed before the trumpets are sounding in the capital, and drums are beating in the towers, calling the people down to their Watch-station by the sea; and they hurry out in force, with their arms, and the young men of the villages gather together. Then the ransoming begins. One prisoner will be given in ex-

Siegfried, Archbishop of Mainz, who, together with the Bishops of Utrecht, Bamberg, and Ratisbon, was conducting a great company of pilgrims to the Holy City, was set upon in these parts by the wild Arabs, and took refuge in a 'castellum vacuum Cavar Salim nomine,' from whence they were delivered by the Governor of Ramlah. The whole passage is given in the original Latin in a note (p. 63) to Mons. Schefer's 'Translation of Nâsir Khusrau.' Mons. Schefer supposes Cavar Salim to be Kafar Sallâm, which, he adds, was abandoned by its inhabitants in the eleventh century.

¹ That is about £16 for each captive.

change for another, or money and jewels will be offered; until at length all the prisoners who are in the Greek ships have been set free. And the Watch-stations of this province where this ransoming of captives takes place are: Ghazzah, Mímás, 'Askalân, Mâhûz- (the Port of) Azdûd, ¹Mâhûz- (the Port of) Yubnâ, Yáfah and Arsûf.

SUGHAR.²—The people of the two neighbouring districts call the town Sakar (that is, 'Hell'); and a native of Jerusalem was wont to write from here to his friends, addressing 'From the lower Sakar (Hell) unto those in the upper Firdûs (Paradise).' And verily this is a country that is deadly to the stranger, for its water is execrable; and he who should find that the Angel of Death delays for him, let him come here, for in all Islâm I know not of any place to equal it in evil climate. I have seen other lands that were stricken by the plague, but none so badly as this, not even the land of Jurjân. Its people are black-skinned and thick-set. Its waters are hot, even as though the place stood over Hell-fire. On the other hand, its commercial prosperity makes of it a little Busrah, and its trade is very lucrative. The town

¹ Mâhûz is often used as synonymous with Maiuma or Maimas. The word signifies in Aramaic 'port' or 'city'; it is a common appellation, and there was a Mâhûz Malkâ, near Seleucia.

² Sughar (spelt also Zughar and Suḡar) is the Segor of the Crusading Chronicles, situated at the *southern* end of the Dead Sea. Whether or not it occupies the site of the Zoar of Lot is a point on which certainty is hardly to be obtained after the lapse of so many centuries, when we consider the extreme paucity and obscurity of the topographical indications afforded by the Book of Genesis. What St. Jerome and other Church authorities wrote on this subject, too, is not worthy of much attention, for such documents as they had before them, we have also. A discussion of the subject from the light afforded by the Arab geographers will be found in 'Across Jordan,' p. 317 *et seq.*, and on the origin of the name a most noteworthy communication may be read in a paper by Mons. Clermont Ganneau, translated in the January number of the 'Quarterly Statement' of the P. E. F., 1886, 'Segor, Gomorrah and Sodom.'

stands on the shore of the Overwhelming Lake (the Dead Sea), and is in truth the remnant of the Cities of Lot, being the one that was spared by reason that its inhabitants knew nothing of their abominations. The mountains rise up near by the town.

AL GHAMR.¹—There is water here and a palm grove; all round it lies a sand waste, but when you dig there gushes forth sweet water in plenty.

MAÂB² lies in the mountains. The district round has many villages, where grow almond trees and vines. It borders on the desert.

MÛTAH is counted among its hamlets, where are the tombs of Ja'far at Tayyâr (the Flyer), and 'Abd Allah ibn Rawâhah.³

ADHRUH⁴ is a frontier town between the Hijjâz and Syria. They preserve here the Prophet's Mantle and also a treaty given by him and written on skin.

WAILAH⁵ stands on an arm of the China Sea (which is the

¹ This paragraph is inserted from another section of Muḳaddasî's work (p. 253 of the Text). In Ghamr, Mons. Clermont Ganneau would recognise the name of Gomorrah. It is marked 'Ain Ghamr in the maps.

² Maâb, spoken of by Abu-l Fidâ under the name of Rabbah, is the ancient Ar, or Rabbath Moab, Areopolis, at the present day known as Rabbah, four hours north of Kerak.

³ Ja'afar at Tayyâr was the brother of 'Ali, the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law. In the year of the Hijrah 8 (A.D. 629, Sept.), the Muslims near Mûtah had their first encounter with the soldiers of the Byzantine Emperor. The Arabs were under the command of Zaid, the Prophet's Freedman; they were put completely to the rout, and Zaid, Ja'afar the Flyer, and 'Abd Allah ibn Rawâhah, who was the second in command, were slain on the field of battle.

⁴ Called 'Adru' by Ptolemy. Mr. C. Doughty visited the ruins of the ancient city during his recent journey to Madain Sâliḥ; he informs me that they lie about eleven miles north of Ma'ân. Adhrûḥ is generally given as the capital of the Province of Ash Sharâh (Edom).

⁵ Wailah or Ailah is the Biblical Elath, at the head of the present Gulf of 'Akabah, which received in classical times the name of the Ælanitic Gulf from this town.

Gulf of Akaba). It is a populous and beautiful city, possessing many palm trees, also fish in plenty. It is the great port of Palestine and the emporium of the Hijjâz. The common people call it 'Ailah,' but the true Ailah lies near by it and is now in ruins. This is the place of which Allah—may He be exalted—has said:¹ 'Enquire of them concerning the village that was situate on the sea.'

MADYAN (Midian).²—This town in reality is within the borders of the Hijjâz; for the Arab peninsula includes all within the line of the sea, and Madyan lies on the coast. Here may be seen the Rock which Moses struck when he gave water to the flocks of Shu'aib (Jethro). Water here is abundant. In this town the weights and measures and the customs of the inhabitants, are those of Syria. Syria, the Hijjâz, and Egypt dispute between them as to which province belongs Wailah—and the like case may be seen as regards 'Abbadân—but I have included it in Syria without question, since its weights and measures and the customs of its people are those of that province. Further, as before stated, it is the port of Palestine; the sailors of that part use the boats called 'Jalabah.'³

TABÛK is a small town, in which stands the Mosque of the Prophet—the peace of Allah be on him and His grace.

TÎH,⁴ of the Children of Israel (the Desert of the Wan-

¹ Koran vii. 163.

² The position of the ancient city of Madyan (Midian) would appear to be rather doubtful. It is marked on the accompanying map according to Sir F. Burton's view, who identifies it with the modern Maḡnâ, on the coast of the Gulf of Akaba. (Cf. 'Gold Mines of Midian,' 1878, p. 331.) Sprenger, however, in his 'Alte Geographie Arabiens,' puts it inland, or as an alternative, on the Red Sea coast, south of 'Ainûnâ.

³ Boats peculiar to the Red Sea. Their planks are held together by strands of palm fibre.

⁴ This and the following paragraph are from another chapter of our author's work, p. 209 of the text.

derings), is a land on the position of which there is much discussion. The most reliable account is that it is the desert country, lying between Syria and Egypt, which same is forty leagues across in every direction ; everywhere are sand tracts, salt marshes, and red sandstone hills, while occasionally palm trees and springs of water may be met with. The limits of this district are, on the one hand, the district of Al Jifâr, and on the other Mount Sinai ; to the west the desert limit is conterminous with the Egyptian province of Ar Rif ; and on the other side the Tih goes up to Syria. Through it lies the pilgrim road to Makkah.

TÛR SÎNÂ (Mount Sinai) lies not far from the Bahr al Kulzum (the Red Sea) ; and one goes up to it from a certain village called Al Amn,¹ which same is the place where Moses and the Children of Israel encamped. There are here twelve springs of fairly sweet water, and thence up to Sinai is two days' march. The Christians have a monastery (Dair) in Mount Sinai, and round it are some well-cultivated fields, and there grow here olive trees, said to be those mentioned by Allah in the Kur'ân (chap. xxiv., ver. 35), where it is written concerning that 'blessed tree, an olive neither of the East nor of the West.' And the olives from these trees are sent as presents to kings.

ACCOUNT OF THE GENERAL FEATURES AND PECULIARITIES OF THIS PROVINCE.

The climate of Syria is temperate, except in that portion which lies in the centre region of the province, between Ash Sharâh (Mount Seir) and Al Hûlah (the Waters of

¹ The reading of this name in the MSS. has, without doubt, been corrupted. We have here most probably the traditional Arab transcription of the name of the place called Elim, in Exodus xv. 27, where the Israelites encamped before coming 'into the Wilderness of Sin, which is between Elim and Sinai.' At Elim there 'were twelve wells of water, and threescore and ten palm-trees.'

Merom); and this is the hot country where grow the indigo tree, the banana, and the palm. One day when I was staying in Jericho, the physician Ghassân said to me, 'Seest thou this valley?' (that is, the Ghaur). 'Yes,' I answered. And he continued: 'It extends from hence as far as the Hijjâz, and thence through Al Yamâmah to 'Omân and Hajar; thence passing up by Basrah and Baghdad towards the left (west) of Mosul, it reaches to Ar Rakkah, and it is always a Wâdy of heat and of palm trees.'

The coldest place in Syria is Ba'albakk and the country round; for among the sayings of the people it is related how, when men asked of the Cold, 'Where shall we find thee?' it was answered, 'In the Balkâ;' and when they further said, 'But if we meet thee not there?' then the Cold added, 'Verily in Ba'albakk is my home.'

Now Syria is a land of blessing, a country of cheapness, abounding in fruits, and peopled by holy men. The upper province, which is near the dominions of the Greeks, is rich in streams and crops, and the climate of it is cold. And the lower province is even more excellent, and it is pleasanter, by reason of the lusciousness of its fruits and in the great number of its palm trees. But in the whole country there is no river carrying boats, except only for the ferry. Doctors of the law are rare to meet with in Syria; but non-Muslims who pay the poll-tax are numerous, and so too are lepers. The preachers are held in no kind of consideration. Samaritans are found settled in all the country from Palestine up to the province round Tiberias; but you will meet with neither Magians nor Sabæans.

In regard to religious belief, the people of Syria are, for the most part, orthodox, being of those who hold by Authority and Tradition. The people of Tiberias, however, with half the population in Nâbulus and Kadas, and the greater number of the men of 'Ammân, are Shi'ahs. The

Mu'tazalites¹ here, if any there be, keep themselves concealed. There is a community of the Karrâmites² at Jerusalem, who possess a cloister and a house of assembly. These latter are a sect who make great pretensions in matters of theology, jurisprudence, and piety; but among themselves they dispute greatly, and in their reading of the Kur'an they adopt the most literal interpretation. Of those who follow the law-schools of Mâlik³ and Daûd⁴ none are to be met with in Syria. The disciples of Al Auzâ'i⁵ hold their place of assembly in the mosque of Damascus, in external practices of religion, only, do they keep to the rule of the orthodox traditionists. The jurisprudists are for the most part followers of Ash Shâfi'i,⁶ although in not a few of the great towns and districts the disciples of Abu Hanîfah are to be met with, and often the Kâdîs (or Judges) are of this school. If it be asked of me:—Why do you not merely

¹ The Separatists or Freethinkers.

² A sect who insisted on the anthropomorphic attributes of the Deity. In his introductory chapter, our author writes, 'Al Khânqah is the name of the cloister where the Karrâmite Sect hold their meetings for prayer in Jerusalem.'

³ Mâlik ibn Anas, the great jurisprudist doctor of Al Madînah. He flourished in the second century of the Hijrah, and founded the Historical School of Tradition.

⁴ Daûd ibn 'Ali died in A.H. 270=A.D. 884. He was of Persian origin, and settled at Bagdad. He insisted that the words of the Kur'an, the Traditions, and the Sunnah, should be accepted literally.

⁵ A Syrian by birth (died in 157 A.H.=A.D. 774), who taught in Damascus and Bairût, near which latter place his tomb is still shown. Of his tenets little is known. He is said to have solved 70,000 legal questions. For his life see Ibn Khallikan's 'Biographical Dictionary,' translated by M. de Slane, ii., p. 84.

⁶ Ash Shâfi'i, who was born in Palestine (A.H. 195=A.D. 810), but taught in Baghddad, was the founder of the Eclectic School of Jurisprudence. His system attempted the fusion of the Historical School of Mâlik (see above), with the speculative and more philosophical teaching of the great Traditionist Abu Hanîfah, who died in A.H. 150=A.D. 767.

say : that the external practices of religion are carried out after the rule of Ash Shâfi'i, and that the leading doctors there are all of his school? I answer :—That this is the word of one who cannot observe a distinction ; for, of the Shâfi'ite ritual, is the reciting aloud of the ' Bismillah ' and the repetition at the Dawn-prayer of the text called ' Kanût ' (which is, the prayer beginning, ' And we verily do resign ourselves to Thy will '). Now we of Syria, on the contrary, only make use of this prayer during the days of the latter half of the month of Ramadhân, when the genuflexions in uneven counts are enjoined,—known as the ' Witr. ' Verily on no other occasion do the people of Syria make use of this ritual, for they in truth have abjured it. And further was it not seen how, when, at Tiberias, the Governor of Syria would fain have forced on them this reciting aloud of the ' Bismillah, ' that the people complained against his tyranny even to Kâfûr the Ikhshidi,¹ and frustrated the attempt? At the present day, however, the external practices of religion are after the ritual of the Fâtimites ; and we shall explain these, please Allah, with other of their peculiar customs when we come to the chapter on the countries of the West. The Kur'ân Readers of Syria for the most part follow the school of Abu 'Amr, except only in Damascus, where no one may act as Leader of Prayer in the mosque except he read according to the precept of Ibn 'Âmir, his being the best known to the people and the one preferred by them. The system of reading instituted by Al Kisâi, further, is much in vogue throughout the province of Syria ; also they make use of the Seven Readings and strive to conform thereto.

COMMERCE.

The trade of Syria is considerable.

¹ Governed Egypt between A.H. 355-357 = A.D. 966-968.

From *Palestine* come olives, dried figs,¹ raisins, the carob-fruit,² stuffs of mixed silk and cotton, soap and kerchiefs.

From *Jerusalem* come cheeses, cotton, the celebrated raisins of the species known as 'Ainûni and Dûri,³ excellent apples, bananas—which same is a fruit of the form of a cucumber, but the skin peels off and the interior is not unlike the water-melon, only finer flavoured and more luscious,—also pine-nuts of the kind called 'Kuraish-Bite,'⁴ and its equal is not to be found elsewhere; further—mirrors, lamp-jars, and needles.

From *Jericho*, excellent indigo.⁵

From *Sughar* and *Baisân* come both indigo and dates, also the treacle called 'Dibs.'⁶

¹ Called Kuttain, from the Greek *κότταιον*.

² The Carob, in Arabic *Khirmûb*, is the *Ceratonia Siliqua*, the Locust-tree, or St. John's Bread.

³ The 'Ainûni and Dûri raisins are from the grapes grown round the villages of Bait 'Ainûn and Dûrah, lying respectively to the north and west of Hebron. The whole of this region is celebrated for its vineyards; and it is curious to recall that this is the locality of the Vale of Mamre, from whence, in all probability, the Spies, sent by Moses into the Promised Land, brought back the grapes of *Eshcol* (Numbers xiii. 23).

⁴ Kuraish-Bite (Kaḍam Kuraish) is given in the dictionaries as the fruit of the *Pinus Picea*, and also of the smaller 'Snobur' pine (*Strobili pini*), or of the tree called by the Arabs 'Yanbût.' Yanbût, however, in the language of the Bedawîn across the Jordan, is now applied to a small shrub, not a tree, with long thin leaves of the size of knitting-needles, which I believe produces no edible fruit.

⁵ Called in Arabic *An Nil*, the *Indigofera tinctoriæ*. The tree grows to a height of from nine to twelve feet, and its flowers are cerulean blue in colour. Indigo is known by many other names in Arabic—viz., *Hinnâ ma 'jûn*, (pounded Henna); *Khutr*; *Al 'Ithlim*, the name more particularly of the male plant; *Nilaj*; and lastly *Wasmah*, this more especially being applied to the leaves of the tree from which the dye itself is extracted. The berries, generally alluded to as *Habb an Nil*—Indigo-berries,—are also known as *Al 'Ajab*.

⁶ 'Dibs' is boiled-down fruit-syrup. It is often made of dates or raisins, steeped in their own weight of water, boiled up, and then

From *'Ammân*, grain, lambs¹ and honey.

From *Tiberias*, carpet stuffs, paper, and cloth.

From *Kadas*, clothes of the stuff called 'Munayyir' and 'Bal'îsiyyah'² and ropes.

From *Tyre* come sugar, glass beads and glass vessels both cut and blown.

From *Maâb*, almond kernels.

From *Baisân*, rice.

From *Damascus* come all these: olive oil, fresh pressed, the 'Bal'îsiyyah' cloth, brocade, oil of violets of an inferior quality, brass vessels, paper, nuts, dried figs and raisins.

From *Aleppo*, cotton, clothes, dried figs, dried herbs and the red chalk called 'Al Maghrah.'³

Ba'albakk produces the sweetmeat of dried figs called 'Malban.'⁴

Unequaled is this Land of Syria for its dried figs, its common olive oil, its white bread, and the Ramlah veils; also for the quinces, pine-nuts called 'Kuraish-Bite,' the 'Ainûnî and Dûrî raisins, the Theriack⁵ antidote, the herb of Mint, and the rosaries of Jerusalem. And further,

allowed to simmer. Finally the mass is set in the sun until all the water is driven off and a paste-like residue left.

¹ I was told in Syria of a fine species of date that was popularly called 'Khirfân,' or 'Lambs;' and this is, perhaps, what is meant here.

² The first is a cloth of double woof, celebrated for its durability, also made both at Shirâz and Ray (Rhages, near Tehrân). In Persia it was known as 'Daibûd.' Of the stuff called Bal'îsiyyah, made also in Damascus, no account is obtainable; the etymology of the name is unknown.

³ See below, p. 80, n. 3.

⁴ In Hebrew a sweetmeat of fig-paste, pressed into the form of small bricks, called 'Malben,' is mentioned by Maimonides.

⁵ The Arabic name 'Taryâk' is taken from the Greek *Θηριακον φαρμακον*—'a drug against venomous bites.' It was generally compounded with treacle, and its other ingredients were of most various description.

know that within the Province of Palestine may be found gathered together six-and-thirty products that are not found thus united in any other land. Of these the first seven are found in Palestine alone; the following seven are very rare in other countries; and the remaining two-and-twenty, though only found thus all together in this province, are, for the most part, found one and another singly in other countries. Now the first seven are the pine-nuts called 'Kurâish-Bite,' the Quince or Cydonian-apple, the 'Ainûnî and the Dûrî raisins, the Kâfûrî plum, the fig called As Sabâ'î, and the fig of Damascus. The next seven are the Colocasia or Water Lily,¹ the Sycamore,² the Carob or St. John's Bread (Locust Tree), the Lotus-fruit or Jujube,³ the Artichoke,⁴ the Sugar-cane, and the Syrian apple. And the remaining twenty-two are the fresh dates and olives, the shaddock,⁵ the indigo and juniper,⁶ the orange, the mandrake,⁷ the Nabk fruit,⁸ the nut, the almond, the asparagus,⁹ the banana,¹⁰ the sumach,¹¹ the cabbage,¹² the truffle,¹³ the lupin,¹⁴ and the early prune called 'At Tari;' also snow, buffalo-milk, the honey-comb, the 'Âsimî grape

¹ *Kalkâs*, the Arum Colocasia.

² *Jummaiz*, the Ficus Sycomorus.

³ *'Unnâb*, the Zizyphus Sativus.

⁴ *'Akâb*, the Silybum Marianum.

⁵ *Utruj*, the Citrus Medica.

⁶ *Râsan*, the Inula Helenium.

⁷ The *Luffah* is the fruit of the Mandrake (the Greek *Μανδραγόρας*), the root of which is called the '*Yabrûh*.' It is the Fructus atropæ Mandragoræ of botanists. The fruit is edible, but the root is poisonous.

⁸ The Nabk is a plum, the fruit of the Sidr tree, the Zizyphus lotus.

⁹ *Halyân*, the Asparagus officinalis.

¹⁰ *Maus*, the Musa paradisiaca.

¹¹ *Summâk*, the Rhus Coriaria.

¹² *Karanb*, or *Kurnub*, the Brassica oleracea.

¹³ *Kamâh*, the Tubera terræ.

¹⁴ *Tarmas* the Lupus Termes (Lupin).

and the Tamrî- (or date-) fig. Further there is the preserve called Kubbait;¹ you find in truth the like of it in name elsewhere, but of a different flavour. The Lettuce² also, which everywhere else, except only at Ahwâz, is counted as a common vegetable, is here a choice dish. However, at Basrah too it is held as apart from the more common vegetables.

The Measures and Weights of Syria are these :

MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

The people of Ar Ramlah (the Capital of Palestine) make use of the Kafîz, the Waibah, the Makkûk, and the Kailajah.³

¹ The *Kubbait* (indifferently written *Kubbât* and *Kubbâd*) is a species of sweetmeat, made with Carob-sugar, almonds, and pistachio nuts.

² *Khass*, the *Lactua Sativa*.

³ The names of the Arab weights and measures are many of them taken from the Greek or Latin, being those that were in use in the Syrian provinces of the Byzantine empire at the time of the Muslim invasion. Thus the Mudî is the Roman corn measure the Modius, generally rendered by Bushel. The Ûqiyah is the Greek Οὔγγια, or ounce, and the Raṭl (pronounced also Riṭl and Roṭl) is, by inversion of the l and r, the Λιτρα. (See M. Clermont Ganneau's article in the *Revue Critique* of June 28, 1879.) Kîrât, or, as we spell it, Carat, is from Κερατιον, the fruit of the Keratea, Carob, or Locust tree (in Arabic Kharûb or Kharnûb, see above, p. 69, n. 2), known more generally as St. John's Bread. Among the Arabs, however (according to Sir R. Burton), for the Kîrât, the seed of the 'Abrus precatorius,' was taken as the original standard. Dînâr and Dirham are respectively from Denarius and Drachma, Denarius being the name of the silver coin among the Romans which the Greeks called Drachma. In passing to the Arabs, however, Denarius or Dînâr came to be the name of their gold coin, worth in Muḳaddasi's days somewhat under ios. of our money; while the Drachma, under the form Dirham, continued as the silver coin which, in the days of the early Abbasides, exchanged at the rate of about fifteen to the Dînâr, and was worth, therefore, about eight English pence.

The names of the Kafîz, Waibah, Sá', Kailajah, and Habb (or grain),

The Kailajah contains about $1\frac{1}{2}$ Sâ's.

The Makkûk equals 3 Kailajahs.

The Waibah is 2 Makkûks.

The Kafiz is 4 Waibahs.¹

The people of Jerusalem are wont to make use of the Mudî, which contains two-thirds of a Kafiz; and of the Kabb, which equals a quarter of the Mudî; and they do not use the Makkûk at all, except in the government measurements.

In 'Ammân the Mudî equals 6 Kailajahs; their Kafiz is the half of the Kailajah, and by this measure they sell their olives and dried figs.

In Tyre the Kafiz is the same as the Mudî of Jerusalem, and the Kailajah here equals the Sâ'.

At Damascus the Ghirârah contains $1\frac{1}{2}$ Palestine Kafiz.²

are all of native Arab origin. The Kabb is etymologically identical with the Hebrew 'Cab,' which contained a quart and a third. In Greek, too, we have *Kάβες*, for the name of the corn measure; and the Greeks are said to have received the word from the East.

The Makkûk is said to have been adopted from the Persians, with whom it was the name of the Royal Drinking Cup, in shape resembling a boat; and Makkûk is even at this day in Persia the name given to the weaver's shuttle, which has much this form.

The Dâniq, which was the sixth part of either Dirham or Dînâr, is also a Persian word, and Dânak (with the ordinary k) in that language signifies 'a grain.'

¹ The basis of the system is the Sâ', the corn measure of the days of the Prophet, which was ruled to contain the equivalent of 'four times the quantity of corn that fills the two hands, that are neither large nor small, of a man.' (*Vide* Lane's 'Dictionary,' s.v. Sâ'.) Roughly speaking, it may be taken at rather more than five pints. In Syria, therefore, the Kailajah may be regarded as the equivalent of our gallon, the Makkûk being 3 gallons, the Waibah 6 gallons (or $\frac{3}{4}$ of a bushel), and the Kafiz 3 bushels.

² For these last measures we have :

Jerusalem Mudî ...	...	...	2 bushels.
„ Kabb ...	...	...	$\frac{1}{2}$ bushel.

MEASURES OF WEIGHT.

In Syria, from Hims (Emessa), even to (the country lying between Palestine and Egypt known as) Al Jifâr, the Ratls are (countless) of six hundred varieties, all different; of these the heaviest is the Ratl of Acre, and the lightest that of Damascus.

The Ūkiyyah (Ounce) contains from 40 and odd up to 50 (dirhams of weight), and every Ratl contains 12 Ūkiyyah or ounces, except only at Kinnasrîn, where the Ratl is two-thirds of this (and contains only 8 ounces).¹

The legal weight of the coin, in Syria, is very nearly everywhere the Dirham weight of 60 grains, and their Grain (Habb) is the grain of barley-corn.

The Dânik (which is the sixth of the Dirham) weighs 10 grains.

The Dinâr contains 24 Kîrâts; and their Kîrât is equivalent to $3\frac{1}{2}$ Barley-corns.²

'Ammân Mudî ...	...	...	$\frac{2}{3}$ bushel
" Kafîz ...	...	...	$\frac{2}{3}$ "
Tyrian Kafîz ...	...	...	2 bushels.
" Kailajah ...	...	...	5 pints.
Damascene Ghirârah ...	...	...	$4\frac{1}{2}$ bushels.

¹ The Ūkiyyah, or ounce, in Syria, would contain about $5\frac{1}{4}$ English ounces; the Common Raṭl about 6 lb.; and that of Kinnasrîn 4 lb.

² If the barleycorn be taken at $\frac{7}{10}$ of an English grain, by calculation we get the Syrian Kîrât, nearly equivalent to $2\frac{1}{2}$ English grains; the Syrian Dinâr-weight rather above $59\frac{1}{2}$ grains. The Dânik or Sixth is then equivalent to just over 7 of our grains, and the legal Dirham-weight $42\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

It must be borne in mind, however, that all the above calculations are only very roughly approximate. No little confusion is introduced into the Arab systems of weights, measures, and moneys, by the fact that it is often difficult for us to know whether a particular word is to be taken as meaning the coin or the weight, or again, the weight or the measure. Thus Dîrham is the silver coin, also the legal weight, equivalent to about $47\frac{1}{2}$ English grains, which is the basis of the

The distance between the Post Stations (the Barid) in Syria is generally six miles.¹

CUSTOMS AND MANNERS PECULIAR TO SYRIA.

In the Syrian mosques it is the wont to keep the lamps always lighted, and they are suspended by chains even as at Makkah. In the chief town of every province, the Public Treasure is kept in the Great Mosque, it being placed in a chamber supported upon pillars. And in their mosques, except only in that of Jericho, it is of usage to have doors shutting off the main building from the court, which last is flagged with stone; for the court of the Great Mosque at Tiberias alone in all this province is paved with pebbles.²

The minarets are built square, and they set a pitched roof³ over the main building of the mosques; also, at all the mosque gates, and in the market places, are cells for the ablution. Throughout Syria it is the custom to remain seated between the two Salâms of the Evening

whole system of weights. The Raṭl is the standard of weight, and also a measure of capacity, because the Arabs, like the Romans, often calculated cubic measure by the weight of a specific quantity of oil or wine. So, again, the Kafiz is the corn measure, but also the land measure (being the land that may be sown with that quantity of corn), and as such, is counted as $\frac{1}{10}$ of the Jarib, the normal square measure for cultivated grounds.

¹ The Stages along the high roads, on which post-horses were kept at the Government expense, were called 'Barid.' The institution is of very ancient date, and the word used by the Arabs was probably a corruption of the Latin *Veredus*, a post-horse.

² See above, p. 27.

³ Meaning not a flat terrace-roof, with or without small cupolas, as is more generally the mode of roofing adopted in the mosques. The word used is *Jamalân*, that is, 'camel-backed,' which sufficiently indicates the pitched or gable-roof. See the illustration in Bädeker's 'Palestine' representing the Aḳṣa Mosque.

Prayers during the month of Ramadhân, and some persons recite but once the prayers enjoined to be repeated in series of uneven numbers,¹ although in past times they used to recite these said prayers three times over. In my day Abu Ishâk of Marv² made an inhibition at Jerusalem on this matter of the single prayer. At the time of the Evening Prayers during Ramadhân, the crier calling to prayer adds the words, 'Allah, have mercy upon you!' and in Jerusalem they say these evening prayers thrice. Throughout Syria those employed in the Recitations of the Kur'ân are generally story-tellers by trade. The followers of Abu Hanîfah hold the place of assembly for their Recitation in the Aksa Mosque, and they recite, reading from a volume, even as do the Karrâmites at their cloister.³ It is the custom after the prayers on the Friday, that the guards should proclaim aloud the creed ('There is no god but God, and Muhammed is His prophet!'). The Jurisconsults hold their assemblies between the two day-prayers, and between the evening-prayers; and the Kur'ân Readers likewise hold their sittings in the Great Mosques. Of Christian Feasts that are observed also by the Muslims of Syria, for the division of the seasons of the year, are the following: Easter, at the New Year (old style, the Vernal Equinox); Whitsuntide, at the time of heat; Christmas, at the time of cold; the Feast of St. Barbara⁴ in the rainy season—and the people have a proverb, which says, 'When St. Barbara's Feast comes round, then the mason may take to his flute,' meaning that he may then sit quiet at home;—the Feast

¹ These are the prayers technically called *Witr*. (See above, p. 68.)

² A renowned doctor of the Shâfi'ite School; he died in A.H. 340 = A.D. 951.

³ See above, p. 67, n. 2.

⁴ In a former chapter *Muḩaddasi* relates how he himself once took part in the Festival of St. Barbara. It was celebrated on the 4th day of Kânûn I. (December).

of the Kalends,¹—and again, one of their proverbs is, ‘When the Kalends come, keep warm and stay at home;’—the Feast of the Cross² at the time of grape-gathering; and the Feast of Lydda³ at the time of sowing the seed. The months in use in Syria are the (solar months) of the Greeks: namely, Tishrîn First and Second (October and November), Kânûn First and Second (December and January), Shibât (February), Adhâr (March), Nisân (April), Ayyâr (May), Hazairân (June), Tammûz (July), Ab (August), and Ilûl (September).

It is seldom recorded that any Jurisprudist of Syria propounds new doctrines, or that any Muslim here is the writer of aught; except only at Tiberias, where the scribes have ever been in repute. Verily the scribes here in Syria, as is the case in Egypt, are all Christians, for the Muslims abandon to them entirely this business, and, unlike the men of other nations, do not hold letters a profitable subject of study. Once when I was at Baghdâd, in the assembly of the Chief of the Kâdîs, I was ashamed at the number of grammatical errors in his speech. But those about him perceived no fault therein.

In this province of Syria also, for the most part the assayers of coin, the dyers, bankers, and tanners, are Jews, while it is most usual for the physicians and the scribes to be Christians.

Now be it known that in the Lands of Islam five feasts

¹ The first day of Kanûn II. (January), was the Day of the Kalends. ‘On this day,’ says Al Bîrûnî, ‘the Christian children assemble and go round through the houses, crying with the highest voice and some sort of melody “Calendas.” Therefore they receive in every house something to eat and a cup of wine to drink.’

² The 13th or 14th of Ilûl (September) was the Feast of the Cross (Masûdi i. 403).

³ The Feast of Lydda is the Feast of St. George. It took place on the 23rd of Nisân (April).

at five different places are renowned, to wit: Ramadân, for its splendour at Makkah; the Night of the Perlection of the Kur'ân,² at the Aksâ Mosque; the Two Feasts³ in Askaliyyah (Sicily); the Day of 'Arafat⁴ at Shîrâz; and the Fridays in Baghdâd. And further, both the middle Night of the month of Sha'bân⁵ at Jerusalem; and the Day of the 'Ashûrâ⁶ at Makkah, are also magnificently kept.

The Syrians are a well-dressed folk. Both learned and simple wear the long cloak called 'Ridâ,' and they do not put on lighter garments in summer-time, except it be in the matter of the single-soled shoe.

In Syria the graves are heaped up to form mounds: the

¹ The month of obligatory fasting. The fasting is during the whole period from sunrise to sunset; the feasting is during the night, which is passed pleasantly enough, the day being devoted to sleep, prayer, and counting the lagging hours which are to elapse before sun-down.

² The night preceding the 27th day of Ramadân is generally said to be the *Lailat al Kadar* 'the Night of Fate;' for it is the anniversary of the revelation of the Kur'ân to the Prophet, and on it, according to popular belief, the fate of all created things is fixed for the coming year.

³ The Two Feasts I conclude to be, that of the 1st of Shawwâl, the 'Feast of the Fast-breaking' (after Ramadân); and that of the 10th of Dhû-l-Hijjah, the 'Day of the Victims,' when the animals that have been brought to Makkah for the purpose of the sacrifice are slain. This closes the rites of the Pilgrimage, and is done in commemoration of Abraham's sacrifice of the ram in the place of Isaac.

⁴ The day of the great pilgrimage on 'Arafat is the 9th of Dhû-l-Hijjah.

⁵ The 15th of Sha'bân is the anniversary of the date when the Ka'bah was made the Kiblah (point of worship) instead of Jerusalem. This night is also called the Night of Immunity, for on it the Angel of Death and the Recording Angel, both receive from Allah new registers, and, between the laying down of the old volumes and the taking up of the new, a moment elapses of which no record is kept, and perchance a man may profit thereby to escape.

⁶ The 10th of Muharram is the celebrated Day of 'Ashûrâ, the sad anniversary of the martyrdom of the Prophet's grandson, Al Husain. Hence, among the Shî'ahs a fast day; but with the Sunni's a feast-day, for the Prophet is reported to have said that it was 'a grand and blessed day, on which God took mercy on Adam.'

people follow after the bier, and they bear the body, head foremost, to the grave.¹ And in order to complete the reading of the Kur'ân, it is customary to go out to the tomb during the three days after a man's death.

The Syrians wear the heavy rain-cloaks—of wool—called 'Mimtar,' thrown open; and their Tailasâns² have not the hollowed form. In Ar Ramlah the chief shopkeepers are wont to ride Egyptian asses, with fine saddles, and it is only Amirs and Chiefs who keep horses. The townsmen and the scribes wear the woollen vest called 'Durrâ'ah.'³ The clothing of the peasantry in the villages round Jerusalem and Nâbulus consists of a single shirt, called the 'Kisâ,' and they wear no drawers beneath it.⁴ The peasantry all of them possess ovens called 'Furn,' and those of them who can get burnt bricks make small bread-ovens (Tannûr) in the ground. They line these with pebbles, and kindling the fire of dried-dung within and above, they afterwards remove the hot ashes and place the loaves of bread to bake upon these pebbles when they have become thus red-hot.⁵ There

¹ This is according to the Shâfi'ite rite.

² The Tailasân was the distinctive head-dress of the Kâfîs and the men of learning. It consisted of a veil (also called Tarḥah), worn above the ordinary turban and allowed to fall over the shoulders. It was usually made of white muslin or linen stuff. The word I have rendered by 'hollowed,' *mukawwar*, may also signify 'starched,' but it is generally taken to denote the 'nick' or cavity left at the top of the head-dress.

³ The Durrâ'ah (also called Midra'ah) was a short vest generally worn open in front, but having buttons to fasten it if desired. It was made of coloured stuffs, and in either cloth or woollen fabric.

⁴ The Kisâ is the long shirt or cloak, reaching from the neck almost to the feet; it was of either white or coloured stuff. The dress of the Fellâhîn of Palestine is, even at the present day, exactly what our author describes.

⁵ When reading Muḥaddasi, during my sojourn in Syria, I was constantly struck by the fact that very many if not most of the customs he notices are still retained at the present day; his description of the ovens, in particular, is precisely what may be seen in any Druze village of Mount Carmel.

are also bakers in Syria of the lentil-bread, and of the dish called 'Baisâr.'¹ In this province, too, they set to boil in olive-oil beans that have already sprouted, and then fry them, which is a dish sold for eating with olives. Also they salt the Lupin, and use it much for food. From the Carob bean² they make a species of sweetmeat, which is called Kubbait; that made from the sugar-cane is known for distinction as Nâtif (that is, Sweetmeat). During the winter-time they bake the sugared butter-cakes called 'Zullâbiyyah;' these are of pastry, but in Syria they are not made with cross-bars on the top filled in with confection of fruit. In the greater number of the above customs the Syrians resemble the Egyptians, but in some few they have the ways of the inhabitants of 'Irâk and Akûr (Lower and Upper Mesopotamia).

MINERAL AND OTHER PRODUCTS OF SYRIA.

There are iron-mines in the mountains above Bairût, and near Aleppo is found the red chalk, called Maghrah.³ It is here of excellent quality; at 'Ammân, where it is also found, it is less pure. Throughout Syria there are met with mountains of a reddish colour, the rocks of which are known as of the 'Samakah' (or red sandstone), which same is easily quarried. Also there are mountains of a whitish colour, formed of what is called 'Hawwârah' (or chalk); this is less hard than the 'Samakah,' and they use it to whitewash ceilings, and for the cementing of the terrace-roofs of the

¹ The Baisar or Faisâr was a dish peculiar to Egypt, as Muqaddasi himself remarks in his description of that country. It consists of beans cooked in honey and milk, and was generally eaten with meat.

² See above, p. 69, n. 2, and p. 72, n. 1.

³ This is the mineral called Rubrica Sinopica; it is made use of by the druggists in the concoction of specifics, being specially employed in the clyster, and as a remedy in cases of liver disease. It is noticed by Dioscorides.

houses. In Palestine there are quarries of good white building-stone; and at Bait Jibril in many places marble is found. From the Ghaur districts they bring sulphur, and other like minerals; and from the Dead Sea they get salt in powder. The best honey is that from Jerusalem, where the bees suck the thyme; and likewise that from Jabal 'Âmilah. The finest quality of the sauce called Muri¹ is that which is made at Jericho.

HOLY PLACES.—As regards these (Mash-had, or Places of Martyrdom), we have mentioned many of them in the prefatory paragraphs of this our description of Syria; and did we wish to enumerate them all, verily our book would become over-long. The greater number of these Holy Places are found in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; in less degree they occur scattered over Palestine, and they are more rare still in the Jordan Province.

WATER, in Syria, is for the most part excellent. That found at Bâniyâs, however, acts aperiently; and the water of Tyre causes constipation. At Baisân the water is heavy and bad, while of a truth we take refuge in Allah from that of Sughar. The water of Bait ar Râm is execrable, but nowhere do you find lighter (and better) water than at Jericho. The water of Ar Ramlah is easy of digestion, but that of Nâbulus is hard. In Damascus and Jerusalem the water is not so hard, for the climate of these towns is less arid.

RIVERS occur in some numbers throughout this province, and they flow into the Mediterranean Sea. All except the BARADÂ and the JORDAN. The BARADÂ, which divides

¹ The Muri sauce is a pickle made with certain fish or meat set in salt water. It has medicinal properties, noted by Galen, Dioscorides, and Rhazes, and was known to the Romans under the name of Garum or Muria. One Al Hâfiz calls it the 'Pearl of Condiments.'

below the city of Damascus, waters that district. In its upper part, an arm branching from the main stream encircles the north quarter of the city, and divides below it into two branches, the one of which runs towards the desert and forms there a lake, while the other descends till it joins the Jordan.

The RIVER JORDAN rises from above Bâniyâs, and descending, forms a Lake over against Kadas (the Hulah); thence again, descending to Tiberias, it spreads out into the Lake of that name, and from here further descending through the valleys of the Ghaur it falls into the Overwhelming Lake (which is the Dead Sea). This Lake is completely salt, wild, all swallowing, and stinking. The mountains rise above it, but its waves never rise in the storm.

Neither the Baradâ, the River Jordan, the River Maklûb (the Upper Orontes), nor the River of Antioch (the Lower Orontes), are navigable for boats.

The GREEK SEA (the Mediterranean) bounds Syria on the west; the CHINA SEA (the Red Sea, and Gulf of Akaba) attains it on the south. Over against Tyre lies the Island of KUBRUS (Cyprus), said to be twelve days' journey (round). It is full of populous cities, and offers the Muslims many advantages in their trade thither, by reason of the great quantities of merchandise, stuffs, and goods, which are produced there. The island is in the power of whichever nation is overlord in these seas. It lies distant across the water a sail of a night and a day, and from thence on to the country of the Greeks is the same distance again.

THE MARVELLOUS SIGHTS OF THE PROVINCE OF SYRIA.

There is at Jerusalem, without the city, a huge cavern. According to what I have heard from learned men, and also have read in books, it leads into the place where lie

the people slain by Moses.¹ But there is no surety in this, for apparently it is but a stone quarry with passages leading therefrom, along which one may go with torches.

Between Palestine and the Hijjâz, that is, between Ar Ramlah and Wailah, are the stones which were cast at the people of Lot. They lie along the Pilgrim Road, being striped, and of size both large and small.

Near Tiberias are boiling springs, which supply most of the hot baths of that town. A conduit goes to each bath from the springs, and the steam of the water heats the whole building, whereby they have no need of artificial firing. In an outer building they set cold water, that in certain proportion it may be mixed with the hot by those who wish to bathe, and this same also serves in the places for the Ablution. Within this district are other hot springs, as at the place called Al Hammah² (the Thermal Waters). Those who suffer from the scab, or ulcers, or sores, and other such diseases, come to bathe here during three days, and then afterwards they dip in the water of another spring, which is cold, whereupon, if Allah vouchsafe it to them, they become cured. I have heard the people of Tiberias relate that all around these springs, down to the time of Aristotle, there were bath-houses, each establishment being for the cure of a specific disease, and those who were afflicted thereby lived here and bathed for their cure. Aristotle, however, demanded of the King of that time that these bath-houses should be

¹ Probably referring to Korah and his companions, of whom mention occurs in the Kur'ân (xxviii. 76-81) under the name of Kârûn.

² It would seem probable that the hot springs of Gadara, or Amatha in the Yarmuk Valley, are those to which reference is here made. Round the large basin may still be seen the remains of vaulted bath-houses. The sanatory properties of these sulphureous waters are highly extolled by many ancient writers, and to this day they have maintained their reputation among the Bedawîn and Fellâhîn of Palestine, so much so that the bathing-place is regarded by all parties as a neutral ground.

pulled down, lest thereby men should become exempt from recourse to physicians. That there are here several different waters, with various medicinal properties, would appear to be a certain fact, for every sick person who comes here now, is obliged each one to immerse himself completely in the waters, thereby to insure that he shall get to that which particularly may heal his disorder. Among the villages near Maâb, also, there is another hot spring, called Hammah.

The LAKE OF SUGHAR (the Dead Sea) is a marvellous place, for the River Jordan and the River of the Sharâh both pour into it, and yet they change the level not at all. It is said that a man does not sink easily in its waters, and that waves do not rise on its surface. With its waters, if a clyster be administered, the same is a cure for many disorders. They have a feast-day for the purpose of thus taking the waters, and it occurs in the middle of the month of Âb (August), when the people, with those who are afflicted with sickness, assemble thereto. In the Mountains of the Sharâh (Edom, or Mount Seir) also, there are hot springs, called Hammah.

In Palestine, during the summer time, every night when the south wind is blowing, dew falls, and in such quantities that the gutters of the Aksâ Mosque are set to run.

There is at Hims (Emesa) a Talisman¹—it is the Wind-vane, and it serves against scorpions. For whosoever takes clay and presses it thereon, by Allah's permission, will obtain a cure for their sting; and the cure is affected by the imprint of the figure on the vane, not by the clay alone. And in the Holy City, too, there is a Talisman against the bite of serpents, the same being the inscription on the marble slab behind the Pulpit of the Great Mosque,²

¹ See above, p. 15.

² Al Bîrûnî (A.H. 390, A.D. 1000) also mentions these inscriptions, which he describes as *lulus naturæ*, not cut in the surface of the stone,

where is cut in the surface the words, 'Muhammad is Allah's Apostle,' and again, 'In the name of Allah the Merciful, the Compassionate.'

The Cities of Solomon—upon whom be peace—are Ba'albakk and Tadmur; they are among the marvellous sights to see, as likewise the Dome of the Rock, the Mosque of Damascus, and the Harbours of Tyre and Acre.

Syria lies very pleasantly situated. The country, physically, may be divided into four belts. The First Belt is that on the border of the Mediterranean Sea. It is the plain-country, the sandy tracts following one another, and alternating with the cultivated land. Of towns situated herein are Ar Ramlah, and also all the cities of the sea-coast. The Second Belt is the mountain-country, well wooded, and possessing many springs, with frequent villages, and cultivated fields. Of the cities that are situated in this part are; Baît Jibrîl, Jerusalem, Nâbulus Al-Lajjûn, Kâbul, Kadas, the towns of the Bikâ' district and Antâkiyyah. The Third Belt is that of the valleys of the Ghaur, wherein are found many villages and streams, also palm trees, well cultivated fields, and indigo plantations. Among the towns in this part are Wailah, Tabûk, Sughar Jericho, Baisân, Tiberias, Bâniyâs. The Fourth Belt is that bordering on the Desert. The mountains here are high and bleak, and the climate resembles that of the Waste; but it has many villages, with springs of water, and forest trees. Of the towns therein are Maâb, 'Ammân, Adhra'âh, Damascus, Hims, Tadmur, and Aleppo.

Of mountains that serve as lines of demarcation are the

but marked by the natural veins (p. 294 of Sachau's translation of the *Athâr-ul-Bâkiyah*).

Mount of Olives, the hills of Siddikâ, of the Lebanon, and of Al Lukkâm ; and the very navel of the Holy Land is among the mountains which overhang the coast.

Now on a certain day I was present at the assembly of Abu Muhammad al Mikâlî, the chief Doctor of Law at Naisabûr (in Khûrasân), and thither the jurispruidists were come for discussion. Abu-l-Haitham (one of those present) was asked whether he could give the proof that it was permissible to perform the ¹waterless-ablution, called At Tayammum, with chalk ('Nûrah'). He cited as his warrant the known saying of the Prophet—the benediction of Allah be upon him, and His peace—'Thou, O God, hast made for me the earth as a place of prayer and also as a means of purification,' and, said he, soil of all kinds is included under the word 'earth.'² Retorted the questioner, 'Nay, but the soil of the plain alone is intended, and not that of the mountain.' Then the discussion became great and the talking loud, so that they caused me to wonder at their loquacity. And I said, speaking to Abu Dharr ibn Hamdân, who was one of the loudest of the disputants—'But in truth one must refuse all assent to him who advances such a quibble as does this learned jurisconsult ; for has not Allah Himself—may He be exalted—said in the

¹ The obligatory Ablution before prayer may, according to Muslim law, be performed either by washing with water, or in the absence of water, (as for instance during a journey through the desert,) sand, dry earth, or cinders may be used in its place. This form of the Ablution is technically termed At Tayammum.

² This lengthy argument on an entirely futile point—whether chalk, which they assume to be exclusively found in the hill-country, may be counted as earth ; whether earth must be earth of the plain, or may also be earth of the mountain ; and lastly, whether the Children of Israel could possibly have got into the Holy Land without passing through the mountainous country which hems it in,—all this the Muslim Divines find extremely entertaining and edifying ; and for apology we can only add that it is characteristic of the age and the people.

Kur'ân (chapter v., verse 24, when speaking to the Children of Israel), "Enter ye the Holy Land;" and is not that same a mountainous country?' However, Abu Dharr began to argue sophistically, bringing forward matters that in no way refuted the reasoning; and another jurispru-
dist, one Sahl ibn as Sa'lûkî, even added, 'But see, it is distinctly said "*Enter ye the land,*" and not "*Go ye up,*" as though the mountain-country were intended.' But after this the matter was allowed to drop (for it was deemed absurd).

Now if anyone say to me, 'Still, none the less, it is written that the way (into the Holy Land) is by Jericho, through which same Allah commanded the Children of Israel to enter the Land; and Jericho being in the Ghaur and not in the Mountain, that which the Imâm, the son of the Imâm (Sahl ibn as Sa'lûkî), brought forward, was, in fact, the truth concerning the matter;' then my answer, whereby I will refute this, is after two ways. And first let us take it from the point of view of jurisprudence. It will be conceded that the Holy Land is a mountainous country, and Jericho lies in the plains below, and is counted among its dependencies. Now the Verse of which we are speaking, most clearly refers to Al Kuds (the Holy City), which is Jerusalem, and which is situated in the mountains; and hence it is beyond the question for us to consider such of the outlying towns as are in the plain or the valleys of the Ghaur. If, however, it be asserted that the Verse has reference to the City of the Giants, which is Jericho, and that it was this which the Children of Israel were commanded to enter: then I reply that the text suffices to both interpretations, and refers both to the entering into the Holy Land, and the entering also into the said City (of Jericho). With regard to the subject matter under discussion, however, the application of the Verse is here restricted to the mountain-country alone; though in truth it is ever

laudable to read the words of the Kur'ân, understanding them in their most extended signification. Further, it may be pointed out that Allah—may His name be exalted and glorified—has, in His Word, used an expression that enforces the above argument. Namely, in the Verse of the Kur'ân (chap. vii. 33) which says: 'We have made the people who were regarded as weak to be the heritors of the Country of the East and also of the West, which same is the Land that we have blessed;' for we must understand by these lands, both the plain-country of Palestine and its mountains—in fact, the Scripture itself explains (Kur'ân, v. 25): 'Verily, therein is a people who are Giants;' that is, there in the vicinity of the Holy Land.

Now the second way in which I can answer Ibn as-Sa'lûki's argument is from the point of view of topography. Since it is stated that the Children of Israel were commanded to make their entry into Al Kuds (the Holy City) through the City of the Giants, who dwelt in Jericho, which same lies in the valley of the Ghaur, between the mountain-country and the Dead Sea, and that it is not possible for it to be argued that the Israelites were commanded to voyage by ship upon the sea; then there remains no other way for them to have entered the Land except through the mountain-country, as in fact they did, for the Children of Israel journeyed to the Promised Land, passing through the Balkâ province and crossing over the Jordan to Jericho. Thus, he who takes the argument against me is reduced to one of two conclusions: either he must hold that the Israelites were commanded not to enter the mountains of the Holy City, or he must affirm that the mountains both of Jerusalem and of the Balkâ are not held to be within the Holy Land; and he who would seriously make either of these assertions, with him it were more seemly to abandon all discussion.

Now the jurist, Abu Dharr, when I pressed him after this manner, said, answering me: 'Yes; but you yourself can never have entered the Holy City, for had you done so you would have known that it lies in a plain, and not among the mountains.' But Abu Muhammad, our president in this assembly, immediately corrected and silenced him by stating that I was, on the contrary, a native of the Holy Land.

I have heard my maternal uncle, 'Abd Allah ibn ash Shawâ, relate that a certain Sultan having a mind to take possession of the Dair (or Monastery of) Shamwil,¹ which is at a village lying about a league from Jerusalem, spoke to the owner thereof, saying, 'Describe to me thy country.' And the man answered him: 'My village—may Allah give thee aid—is of the heavens, lying far above the lowlands: poor in soft herbage, rich in oats: hard bread do you eat there, and of crops enjoy no profitable return: tares gain the upper hand, and the almond even is bitter: the husbandman sows a bushel of corn and reaps but the same: this Holy Place, however, is well provided with pits.' And the Sultan cried: 'Be off with you; we would have naught to do with your village.'

Now, as regards the great chains of Mountains of Syria, there are the following:

JABAL ZAITÂ (the Mount of Olives), which overhangs the Holy City; and we have already made mention thereof.

JABAL SIDDÎKÂ.—These mountains lie between Tyre, Kadâs, Bânyîâs, and Sidon. Here may be seen the Tomb of Siddîkâ.² On the middle day of the month of

¹ The present Neby Samwil, a small hamlet of mud hovels, north of Jerusalem. See S. of W. P. Memoirs, iii. 12.

² Yakût in the thirteenth century of our era states that there is in Palestine a village called *Ash Shajarah*, where may be seen 'the Tomb of Siddîk, the son of the Prophet Sâlih—upon whom be

Sha'bân¹ it is the custom for great numbers of the people of the towns around here to make a pilgrimage to this Tomb, and the Lieutenant of the Sultan also is present. It so happened that once when I was sojourning in this part of the country, upon the Friday in the middle of Sha'bân the Kâdî Abu'l Kâsim ibn Al 'Abbâs called upon me to preach before the congregation. In my sermon I urged them to the restoration of their Mosque, and with success, for afterwards this was accomplished, a pulpit being also erected therein. I have heard it related that when a dog in pursuit of any wild animal comes to the boundaries of this Sanctuary, he there and then stops short; and there are other stories told of a like kind.

JABAL LUBNÂN (the Lebanon Mountains) lie contiguous (and to the north of) the Jabal Siddikâ. Their slopes are covered with trees, and fruits fit for eating abound. In many places among the Lebanon Mountains occur little springs of water, where people who come out to pray have made for themselves houses of reeds or rushes. They live on the edible fruits, and also gain money by cutting what are known as the 'Persian reeds,'² and the myrtles, and other such like, which they carry into the towns for sale. But they do not obtain much profit thereby.

JABAL AL JAULÂN (the Hills of the Jaulân).—These lie on the opposite hand to the Lebanon Mountains, over towards Damascus, as we have before stated. Here it was that I met Abu Ishâk al Ballûtî (him of the Oak tree), who was accompanied by forty men, his disciples, all of them dressed in woollen garments (after the manner of the ascetics). These people have a mosque, in which they

Peace.' Doubtless this is the place here mentioned; see above also, p. 2.

¹ See above, p. 78, n. 5.

² The *Arundo donax*.

assemble for prayer. I found Abu Ishâk to be a very learned and pious jurisconsult of the sect of Sufyân ath Thûrî.¹ These people feed themselves with acorns—a fruit that is of the size of the date, but bitter. They split it in half, and make it sweeter by allowing it to soak in water. It is then dried and ground in a mill. In this country also grows desert-barley, which these people mix with the acorn-meal, and therewith make their bread.

JABAL LUKKÂM.²—This is the most populous mountain region of Syria, also the largest in area and the most rich in fruit trees. At the present day, however, (A.D. 985) all this country is in the hands of the Armenians. Tarsus lies beyond these mountains, and Antioch is on our side of them.

THE GOVERNMENT OF SYRIA.—This is in the hands of (the Fatimite Khalif) the Ruler of Egypt. Saif ad Daulah, of the Bani Hamdûn,³ has lately obtained possession of the northern portion of the country.

THE TRIBUTE.—Taxes are not heavy in Syria, with the exception of those levied on the Caravanserais (Fanduk); here, however, the duties are oppressive, as we have mentioned when describing the Holy City.⁴ The property tax

¹ Sufyân ath Thûrî was one of the most celebrated of the ascetics and devotees who made Jerusalem their head-quarters. He is reported to have repeated the whole of the Kur'ân in the Dome of the Rock, during a single sitting, and then to have partaken of but a single plantain for refreshment. He died in A.D. 777.

² These are more particularly the eastern and northern parts of what was anciently known as Mount Amanus. All the Syrian mountains north of the Lebanon, however, are generally included under this name. The Jabal Lukkâm are apparently identical with the Jabal Sikkîn of later Arab Geographers.

³ Saif ad Daulah, the Hamdanide, ruled at Aleppo from A.H. 333 to 356 = A.D. 944-967, when he was succeeded by Sa'ad ad Daulah, who again was succeeded by Sa'id ad Daulah in A.H. 381 = A.D. 991. It was Sa'ad ad Daulah who in point of fact was on the throne at the time Mukaddasi was writing.

⁴ See above, p. 37.

(called *Himâyah*) also is heavy.¹ That of the Province of *Kinnasrîn* and *Al'Awâsim* (which is the district north of Antioch and towards the Greek frontier) amounts to 360,000 *Dinârs* (about £180,000). That of the Jordan Province is 170,000 *Dinârs* (about £85,000). In Palestine it is 259,000 *Dinârs* (about £129,500); and from the Damascus Province it amounts to 400,000 *Dinârs* and a few thousands more (about £200,000). In *Ibn Khurdâdbih's Book*² I have seen it set down that the State Land Tax (*Kharâj*) of the *Kinnasrîn* Province was 400,000 *Dinârs* (about £200,000); that of the *Hims* Province 340,000 *Dinârs* (about £170,000); from the Jordan Province 350,000 *Dinârs* (about £175,000); and from the Province of Palestine 500,000 *Dinârs* (about £250,000).³

In its length Syria goes from *Midyan* of *Sha'ib* (*Jethro*) up to the Frontier of the Greeks, and is thirty-nine days' journey. The breadth of the Province varies—that portion lying over against the *Hijjâz* is narrow, while towards the Northern Frontiers it widens in extent.

¹ *Himâyah* literally signifies 'Protection.' It was an un-canonical tax levied on goods and premises, and of the nature of a 'license,' granting the protection of the State to the occupier and possessor.

² The 'Book of the Roads and the Provinces,' composed by *Ibn Khurdâdbih*, by birth a Persian, who occupied high posts in the service of the *Khalîfs* at *Baghdad*, has been edited and translated by *M. B. de Meynard* in the *Journal Asiatique* of 1865. *Ibn Khurdâdbih* flourished under the *Khalif al Mu'tamid*, and wrote his book between the years 240 and 260 A.H. = A.D. 854-873.

³ Comparing this with *Ibn Khurdâdbih's* original, we find the provinces of *Aleppo*, *Emessa*, the *Jordan*, and *Palestine* given as in our text. The *Damascus* Province (omitted above) is set down at 400,000 *Dinârs*, plus a fraction (about £200,000). The sum total of the Land Tax for the whole of Syria therefore would have amounted to about £995,000, while the Tax derived from Property or Licenses was £594,500, making a grand total of somewhat over a million and a half sterling. From other authorities, however, it would seem that *Ibn Khurdâdbih's* figures are in excess by about one third.

DISTANCES ALONG THE HIGH ROADS.

- From Halab to Bâlis is 2 days.¹
 From Halab to Kinnasrîn is 1 day.
 And it is the same to Al-Athârib.
 From Halab to Manbij is 2 days.
 From Halab to Antâkiyyah is 5 days.
 From Antâkiyyah to Al Lâdhikiyyah is 3 days.
 From Manbij to the Euphrates is 1 march.
 From Hims to Jûsiyyah is 1 march.
 Thence to Ya'âth is 1 march.
 Thence to Ba'albakk is $\frac{1}{2}$ a march.
 Thence to Az Zabadâni is 1 march.
 Thence to Damascus is 1 march.
 From Hims to Shamsîn is 1 march.
 Thence to Kârâ² is 1 march.
 Thence to An-Nabk is 1 march.
 Thence to Al-Kutayyifah is 1 march.
 Thence to Damascus is 1 march.
 From Hims to Salamiyyah³ is 1 march.
 Thence to Al Kastal is 2 marches.
 Thence to Ad-Darâ'ah the same.
 Thence to Ar-Rusâfah is the same.
 Thence to Ar-Rakkah is $\frac{1}{2}$ a march.⁴

¹ The Day's Journey, or March (Marḥalah), is stated by Al Muḥaddasi to be of eight and three-eighths Farsakhs (Parasangs) or leagues—that is, about twenty-five English miles.

² Robinson (1852) in his map marks Kârâ as the ancient Chara, and Al Kutayyifah as the site of Thelseæ.

³ Salamiyyah is the ancient Salaminias.

⁴ The stations Al Kastal and Ad Darâ'ah (which latter Ibn Khurdâdbih writes Az Za:â'ah) are not marked on any modern map that I can meet with. The distances are given by the last-mentioned authority, in Arab (or Geographical) miles—viz, Ar Rusâfah to Az Zarâ'ah, forty; thence to Al Kastal, thirty-six; thence to Salamiyyah, thirty. Ar Rusâfah, meaning 'The Causeway,' and for dis-

From Hims to Hamâh is 1 march.

Thence to Shaizar is 1 march.

Thence to Kafar-Tâb is 1 march.

Thence to Kinnasrîn is 1 march.

Thence to Halab is 1 march.

It may be counted as a two days' journey from Damascus to Ba'albakk, or to the following towns and districts, namely: to Tarâbulus, Bairût, Saidâ, Bâniyâs, the Haurân District, the Bathaniyyah District, or the town of Adhra'âh.

From Damascus to the further limit of the Ghautah (the fertile plain surrounding the city) or to Bait Sar'â¹ is in either case 1 march.

From Damascus to Al Kuswah is 2 post stages.²

Thence to Jâsim is 1 march.

Thence to Fik³ is the same.

Thence to Tiberias is 1 post stage.

unction known as the Rusâfah of Hishâm ibn 'Abd al Malik—for there are other towns of the same name—was founded by the Omeyyad Khalif Hishâm (reigned from A.H. 105-125 = A.D. 724-743), who made it his place of residence during the time that Damascus was being ravaged by the plague.

¹ The position of Bait Sar'â I am unable to fix. As far as I know the place is not mentioned by any other Arab Geographer, and I have fruitlessly searched in the works of modern travellers for any hamlet of this name.

² The post-stage, or Barîd, was counted as of two leagues (Farsakhs) in Syria. The Farsakh, according to Al Mukaddasi, is the twenty-fifth part of the degree, or three miles. The Arab mile, which contained 4,000 dhirâ' or ells, may be reckoned at somewhat over the 2,000 yards, and therefore roughly speaking it is the geographical mile or kuot.

³ This is the Biblical Aphek, which is written in Arabic either Afîk or Fîk. 'Aqabah (as below) means the 'Ascent,' and has reference to the steep road or gorge leading up from the Jordan Valley to the Plateau of Jaulân, where Fîk is situated.

From Bâniyâs to Kadas or to Jubb Yûsuf (Joseph's Pit)¹ is in either case 2 post stages.

From Bairût to Saidâ, or to Tarâbulus is in either case 1 march.

From Tiberias to Al Lajjûn, or to either Jubb Yûsuf, Baisân, 'Akabah Afik, Al Jashsh, or to Kafar Kilâ² is in every case 1 march.

From Tiberias to Adhra'âh or to Kadas is 1 march.

From 'Akabah Afik to Nawâ is 1 march.

And thence to Damascus is 1 march.

From Jubb Yûsuf to Bâniyâs is 1 march.

From Al Lajjûn to Kalansuwah³ is 1 march.

Thence to Ar Ramlah is 1 march.

Or if you prefer, you can go from Al-Lajjûn to Kafar Sâbâ by the post road in 1 march, and thence to Ar Ramlah in 1 march.

From Baisân to Ta'âsir⁴ is 2 post stages, thence to Nâbulus is the same, and thence to Jerusalem is 1 march.

From Jubb Yûsuf to Kariyat al 'Uyûn⁵ is 2 marches.

¹ Jubb Yûsuf is the traditional site of the pit into which Joseph was thrown by his brethren. The tradition was probably based on the erroneous assumption that the neighbouring city of Safed was the Dothan of Scripture (Gen. xxxvii. 17). Jubb Yûsuf lies about mid way between Safed and the northern end of the Lake of Tiberias, and rather more than a couple of miles from the lake shore.

If Kafar Kilâ be the K. Kîleh of the S. of W. P. Map, situated a little to the south of the great bend westwards of the Leontes River, it must be *two days' march*, at least, from Tiberias.

³ Kalansuwah occupies the position of the Castle of Plans of the Crusading age.

⁴ Teiâsir, of the 'S. of W. P. Memoirs,' II., 228 and map. It has been suggested as the possible site of Tirzah, once the capital of Israel (Joshua xii. 24).

⁵ Kariyat al 'Uyûn, 'the Village of the Springs,' represents the Biblical Ijon (*איִוִן*; Ahion) taken and plundered by the captains of Benhadad (1 Kings xv. 20). It is at the present day called Tell Dibbin, but stands in the plain called Merj Ayyûn, between the Upper Jordan and the Leontes River. (*Vide* 'Robinson,' 1852, p. 375.)

Thence to Al-Kar'ûn is 1 march.

Thence to 'Ain al Jarr¹ is 1 march.

Thence to Ba'albakk is 1 march.

This route goes by the name of *Tarîk al Madârij*, 'the Road of Ladders.'

From Al Jashsh to Sûr is 1 march.

From Sûr to Saidâ is 1 march.

From Sûr to Kadas, or to Majdal Salam,² is 2 post-stages; and from Majdal Salam to Bâniyâs is 2 post-stages.

From Tiberias to 'Akkâ is 2 marches.

From either Nâbulus, or Kadas, or Saida, or Sûr, to the *Jabal Libnân* (Lebanon Mountains), is in every case about 1 march.

From 'Akkâ to Sûr, or from 'Akkâ to Al Kanîsah,³ is in each case 1 march.

From Ar Ramlah to either Jerusalem, or Bait Jibrîl or 'Askalân, or As Sukkariyyah, or Ghazzah, or to Kafar Sâbâ, by the post-road, is in each case 1 march.

From Ar Ramlah to Nâbulus, or to Kafar Sallâm, or to Masjid Ibrahim,⁴ or to Arîhâ, is in every case 1 march.

¹ 'Ain al Jarr, is now contracted into Anjar. It is a large village in the Biqâ' Plain,² and very near it are the ruins of the ancient Chalcis ad Belum.

² The name is written in the MSS. Majd (not Majdal) Salam, but Mejdal Islim is marked exactly in this place in the Map of the S. of W. P., and that of Van der Velde has Mejdal Salim. Majd, too, in the name of a place would have no signification, while Majdal is a very frequent appellation, being identical in form and meaning with the Hebrew Migdol, 'Castle.' I therefore, without hesitation, read Majdal for 'Majd.'

³ The present Tell Keniseh, a short distance north of 'Athlît ('S. of W. P. Memoirs,' I., 314). In the opinion of William of Tyre this was the site of the Capernaum of the Gospels, which he and his friends saw fit to place on the shore of the Mediterranean.

⁴ That is Hebron.

From Ar Ramlah to Yáfah, or to Al Mâhûz, or to Arsûf, or to Azdûd,¹ or to Rafh, is in each case 1 march.

From As Sukkariyyah to At Tulail² is 2 marches; and from At Tulail to Al Ghamr is 2 marches, and thence to Wailah is 2 marches.

From Jerusalem to either Bait Jibrîl, or Masjid Ibrahim, or the Jordan River, is in every case 1 march.

From Jerusalem to Nâbulus is 1 march; and from Jerusalem to Arîhâ is 2 post-stages.

From 'Askalân to Yáfah, or to Rafh, is in each case 1 march.

From Ghazzah to Bait Jibrîl, or to Azdûd, or to Rafh, is in every case 1 march.

From Masjid Ibrahim to Kâwûs³ is 1 march, and thence to Sughar is 1 march.

From Kafar Sâbâ to Kalansuwah is 1 march.

From the Jordan River to 'Ammân is 1 march.

From Nâbulus to either Arîhâ, or to Kafar Sallâm, or to Baisân, is in every case 1 march.

From Arîhâ to Bait ar Râm⁴ is 2 post-stages; and thence to 'Ammân is 1 march.

From Sughar to Maâb is 1 march.

And from Sughar to Wailah is 4 marches. This last road, as well as that from As Sukkariyyah to Wailah, both

¹ The Biblical Ashdod.

² At Tulail, 'the Hillock' is not marked on the maps.

³ Kâwûs, as the name of a place, does not occur on any map, nor is it mentioned, as far as I am able to discover, by any Arab geographer except Muqaddasî; furthermore, the reading of the name is not unlikely to be corrupt, for the diacritic points are wanting in some of the MSS. Hence Mons. C. Ganneau would propose to read (after making a change in the diacritical points) for Kâwûs, Zu'airah (al Faukah), which is a village situated at about this point, according to the map given in Bâdeker.

⁴ The present Tell Râmeḥ?

lie through a wild barren country, which, though counted as part of Syria, is in truth the Arabian Desert.

From 'Ammân either to Maâb, or to Az Zârikâ,¹ is in each case 1 march.

From Az Zârikâ to Adhra'âh is 1 march, and from Adhra'âh to Damascus is 2 marches.

From Kaisâriyyah to either Kafar Sallâm, or Kafar Sâbâ, or Arsûf, or Al Kanisah, is in every case 1 march.

From Yâfah to 'Askalân is 1 march.

¹ In the text twice so spelt. But without doubt the town round the present Kal'ah Zarqâ, on the Zarqâ (or Jabbok) River, is the place intended. In his introductory chapter, when enumerating the homonyms, our author mentions particularly 'Az Zarkâ, a town on the Damascus (Pilgrim) Road.'

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING SOME FURTHER NOTES BY
COLONEL SIR C. WILSON, K.C.B.

PAGE 1.

JEREMIAH'S Cistern is possibly the place mentioned by Antoninus and Theodosius, the underground cistern in the Haram Area, now known as the 'Well of the Leaf.'

PAGE 2.

The Oratory of Zacharias may have stood over the place in the Haram Area where blood-stains were pointed out to the Bordeaux Pilgrim. St. Jerome says that the stains might be seen at a place lying between the ruins of the Temple and the altar near the gate which leads to Siloam.

PAGE 5.

The Cave of the Seven Sleepers is still shown on the side of Jebel S'hab al Kehf, a prominent hill about five miles from Tarsus; at its mouth is a tree covered with rags, and near it is a small mosque built by the mother of the Sultan Abd al Aziz. It is a celebrated place of pilgrimage, and a visit to it is looked upon as certain to be efficacious in fever-cases. The 'Tomb of Dakyânûs' is perhaps the celebrated 'Dunuk Tash.'

PAGE 20.

Fragments of the old Mosaic work and Arabesques may, at the present day, still be found on the walls of the great mosque at Damascus, but neither in design nor execution can these compare with the mosaics in the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem. The faience of the Damascus Mosque is, as a rule, similar to that found on the walls of the Dome of the Rock, while the inlaid marble work is similar to that in the Aksa Mosque. The mosque gates (as described on p. 19 of the text) are still covered with very beautifully worked copper (or brass) plates. Perhaps the difficulty with regard to the Bâb as Sâ'ât may be due to an error on the part of Mukaddasi, arising from the existence of the *Kubbat* as Sâ'ât in the eastern half of the Mosque Court. The *Kubbat* is a little octagonal building containing (in 1865) some old clocks, run down and useless. The *Kubbat al Kuttub* was possibly the Baptistery of the old church. Perhaps the Bâb as Sâ'ât should have been Bâb az Ziyâdeh; there is a break in part of the wall there, in the style of the masonry. The gate leading into the *Maksûrah* (p. 22) appears to have been the Great Gate in the south wall, now closed, over which is the well known Greek inscription, 'Thy Kingdom,' etc.

PAGE 34, NOTE 2.

Karyet al 'Inâb would appear to be situated at too great a distance from Ramlah to be identified with Bâli'ah, and the road to this last would go through the 'Jerusalem Gate.'

PAGE 38.—THE GATES OF JERUSALEM.

(1) *Bâb Silyân*.—The original Sion Gate lay probably to the east of the modern gate of the same name, and at

the end of the street coming straight down from the Damascus Gate; it was also called 'Gate of the Jews' Quarter.'

(2) *Bâb at Tih.*—The Modern Dung Gate, or thereabouts; being on the natural road down the Tyropœon, which goes through the Wâdî an Nâr to the wilderness of Judæa.

(3) *Bâb al Balât* most probably opened in the west wall between the present Jaffa Gate and the south-west angle, and led to the open space which is now the garden of the Armenian Convent. One of the gates of old Jerusalem stood near here, or maybe *Bâb al Balât* was the gate which is known to have existed not far from the Golden Gate, in the east wall.

(4) *Bâb Silwân* was the Double Gate, in the wall under the Aksâ Mosque, which is mentioned as the gate leading to Siloam by Antoninus, and was open in early Christian times.

(5) *Bâb Jubb Armiyâ* probably lay a little to the west of the present *Bâb az Zahireh*.

(6) *Bâb Arthâ* was either the modern St. Stephen's Gate or the ancient gate, now closed, which opened near the Golden Gate; more probably the former, for the old Roman road to Jericho had not, in Mukaddasî's days, yet fallen into disuse.

(7) *Bâb al'Amûd*, Damascus Gate.

(8) *Bâb Mihrâb Dâûd*, Jaffa Gate.

PAGE 39.—THE THREE GREAT TANKS IN JERUSALEM.

These are (1) Birkat Bani Israil, as at present; (2) Birkat Sulaimân, near St. Anne's Church, now filled in (tradition ascribed these two pools to Solomon); and (3) Birkat 'Iyâd, the Pool of Hezekiah, now Birkat Hammâm

al Butrak. The Pool Burák (mentioned in note on p. 40) is quite modern, and down to the times of the Latin Kingdom a road ran under Wilson's Arch, where the pool has been dug.

PAGE 46.—GATES OF THE HARAM AREA.

Mukaddasî's Bâb Hittah must be the modern Bâb al 'Atm; and his gate of the Birkat Bani Israil, the present Bâb Hittah. The two gates of the Prophet Muhammad are the Bâb al Maghâribeh and 'Barclay's Gate,' one being above the other. The gate of Mary's Oratory is perhaps the gate or doorway recently found in the eastern wall of the Haram Area, or else the Single Gate in the southern wall; the Mihrâb Maryam is still shown at the south-cast angle. The Hâshimite, Al Walid, and Umm Khâlid gates are the Bâb Nâthir (known also as Bâb 'Alâ ad Dîn al Bosrî), Bâb Hadîd, and Bâb Kattânîn, but it is difficult to identify each individually. The gates of the Sarai and of the Place of Ablutions are small and modern openings.

PAGE 47.

The Mihrâb Maryam is at the south-east angle of the Haram Area, in the 'Chamber of the Cradle of Jesus.' The Mihrâbs of Zachariah and Al Khidr are in the Aksâ Mosque; 'Jacob' is probably he who is now referred to as 'John,' and a 'Makam al Khidr' is also found in the cave of the Dome of the Rock. The 'Place of the Kaâbah' is perhaps the slab shown as the tomb of Aaron's Sons in the Aksâ Mosque. The 'Place of the Bridge as Sirât' is now pointed out near the east wall of the Haram Area, where a projecting column marks the spot.

PAGE 59.

The present ruin of the church of St. George at Lydda is a crusading building, but perhaps on the site of the older church.

PAGE 60, NOTE 5.

Kafar Sallâm appears to be the modern Râs al 'Ain, the Antipatris of the Bible, and the Castle Mirâbel of the Crusaders.

INDEX.

When two or more references are given, the first indicates the principal notice.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>'Abd Allah ibn Rawâhah, 63
 'Abd Allah ibn Tâhir, 42
 Ablution, before prayer, with water or sand, 86
 Abraham, his bedstead, 52
 Abu 'Amr's reading of the Kurân, 68
 Abu Bakr, the Architect, Grandfather of Mukaddasî, constructs the Port at Acre, 30
 Abu Ghaush, 34
 Abu Hanîfah, the Traditionist, 67, 76
 Abu Ishak al Ballûtî, 90
 Abu Ishâk of Marv, 76
 Abu Sa'id al Jûrî, 14
 Acre. See 'Akkâ.
 Adhri'âh (Edrei), 29, 11, 85, 94, 98
 Adhruh (Adru of Ptolemy), 63, 11
 'Adud ad Daulah, Book from his Library, 23
 Ælia Capitolina, 34; and see Jerusalem
 Afik, 94, 95
 Ailah. See Wailah
 'Ain al Jarr, 96
 'Ain Sulwân (Siloam), 49
 'Ain Umm ad Daraj (Jerusalem), 49
 'Ainûnâ, 11</p> | <p>'Ainûnî raisins, 69
 'Akaba, Gulf of, 3, 82; meaning of the word, 94
 'Akabah Afik, 95
 'Akîr (Ekron), 60
 'Akkâ (Acre), 29, 11, 96
 Aleppo. See Halab
 Amanus mountains, 91
 Amatha, thermal springs, 83
 'Ammân (Rabbath Ammon, Philadelphia), 56, 11, 85, 97, 98; its products, 70
 Al Amn (Elim?), 65
 Amygdalon Pool, 40
 'Amwâs (Emmaus), 60
 Anjar, 96
 'Annabah Village, 33
 Antâkiyyah (Antioch), 8, 14, 85, 93; river of, 82
 Antarsûs or Antartûs (Antaradus, Tortosa), 10
 Antichrist, to be slain at the Gate of Lydda, 59
 Antioch. See Antâkiyyah
 Antipatris, of the Crusaders (Arsûf), 54; its real site (Kafar Sâbâ), 60
 Aphek, 94
 Apollonia (Arsûf), 54
 Apollonia Syræ (Bulunyâs), 10
 Ar Moab, or Areopolis. See Maâb</p> |
|--|---|

- Arafat, day of, 78
 Arihâ (Jericho), 55, 11, 85, 87,
 88, 96, 97; its products, 69;
 its water, 81
 Aristotle, 83
 Arjamûsh, 10
 'Arkah, the Arkites (Arca, or
 Arcados), 25, 10
 Arsûf (Apollonia), 11, 62, 96, 97
 Artichoke, 71
 Ashdod, 97
 Ashûrâ, day of, 78
 'Askalân (Ascalon), 54, 11, 62,
 96-98
 Al 'Askar, Quarter of Ramlah,
 33
 Asparagus, 71
 Asses, used for riding, 79
 Al Athârib, 93
 Atrâbulus (Tripoli), 10
 Aurantitis (Haurân), 11
 Al Auzâ'i, the Traditionist, 67
 Al Awâsim district, its taxes, 92
 Azdûd (Ashdod), 97

 Baalah, 34
 Ba'albakk (Heliopolis), 10, 26,
 66, 93, 94, 96; its products,
 70
 Bâb (Gate). See also under
 Darb
 Bâb al 'Amarah (Damascus
 Mosque), 20
 Bâb al 'Amûd (Jerusalem), 38
 Bâb Antâkiyyah (Aleppo), 13
 Bâb al Arba'in (Aleppo), 13
 Bâb Arihâ (Jerusalem), 38
 Bâb al Asbât (Haram Area,
 Jerusalem), 46
 Bâb al 'Atm (Haram Area, Jeru-
 salem), 46
 Bâb al Balât (Jerusalem), 38
 Bâbal Barid (Damascus Mosque),
 19
 Bâb Birkat Bani Israil (Haram
 Area, Jerusalem), 46
 Bâb Dâr al Battikh (Aleppo),
 13
 Bâb Dâûd (Haram Area, Jeru-
 salem), 47
 Bâb ad Dawâdâriyyah (Haram
 Area, Jerusalem), 46
 Bâb al Farâdis (Damascus), 16
 Bâb al Faraj (Damascus), 16
 Bâb al Ghawânimah (Haram
 Area, Jerusalem), 47
 Bâb al Hadid (Damascus), 16
 Bâb al Hadid (Haram Area,
 Jerusalem), 47
 Bâb al Hâshimîyyîn (Haram
 Area, Jerusalem), 47
 Bâb Hims (Aleppo), 13
 Bâb Hittah (Haram Area, Jeru-
 salem), 46, 2
 Bâb Ibrahim (Haram Area,
 Jerusalem), 47
 Bâb al 'Irâk (Aleppo), 13
 Bâb Isrâfil (Dome of the Rock,
 Jerusalem), 44
 Bâb al Jâbiyah (Damascus), 16
 Bâb al Janâiz (Haram Area,
 Jerusalem), 46
 Bâb al Janân (Aleppo), 13
 Bâb al Jannah (Dome of the
 Rock), 45
 Bâb Jayrûn (Damascus Mosque),
 19
 Bâb el Jellik or Jennik (Damas-
 cus), 16
 Bâb Jubb Armiyâ (Jerusalem),
 38
 Bâb al Kabîr (Damascus), 16
 Bâb al Kattânîn (Haram Area,
 Jerusalem), 47
 Bâb al Khalil (Haram Area,
 Jerusalem), 47
 Bâb al Khalil (in Wall of Jeru-
 salem, also called Jaffa Gate),
 39
 Bâb al Kiblî (Dome of the Rock,
 Jerusalem), 44
 Bâb Kinnasrîn (Aleppo), 13

- Bâb al Matarah, or al Mutawaddâ (Haram Area, Jerusalem), 47
 Bâb Mihrâb Dâûd (Jerusalem), 38
 Bâb Mihrâb Maryam (Haram Area, Jerusalem), 46
 Bâb Mikâil (Haram Area, Jerusalem), 47
 Bâb al Muhamaliyyîn (Damascus), 16
 Bâb an Nabî (Haram Area, Jerusalem), 46
 Bâb an Nabî Dâûd (Jerusalem), 38
 Bâb an Nahâs al A'tham (Aksha Mosque, Jerusalem), 42
 Bâb an Nahr (Damascus), 16
 Bâb an Nasr (Aleppo), 13
 Bâb an Nasr (Damascus), 16
 Bâb an Nâthîr (Haram Area, Jerusalem), 47
 Bâb an Nâtifiyyîn (Damascus Mosque), 22
 Bâb an Nisâ (Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem), 44
 Bâb ar Rahbah (Jerusalem), 38
 Bâb ar Rahmah (Haram Area, Jerusalem), 46
 Bâb ar Rakkah (Aleppo), 13
 Bâb as Sa'ât (Damascus Mosque), 20
 Bâb as Saghîr (Damascus), 16
 Bâb as Sâhîrah (Jerusalem), 38
 Bâb as Sakinah (Haram Area), 2
 Bâb as Salâmah or Bâb as Salâm (Damascus), 16
 Bâb as Sarai (Haram Area, Jerusalem), 47
 Bâb ash Shâghûr (Damascus), 16
 Bâb ash Sharkî (Damascus), 16
 Bâb Sihyûn (Jerusalem), 38
 Bâb as Silsilah (Haram Area, Jerusalem), 47
 Bâb Silwân (Jerusalem), 38
 Bâb Sîr (Jerusalem), 38
 Bâb as Sûr (Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem), 44, 2
 Bâb as Surmayiyyah (Damascus Mosque), 20
 Bâb at Tih (Jerusalem), 38
 Bâb Tûmâ (Damascus), 16
 Bâb Umm Khâlid (Haram Area, Jerusalem), 47
 Bâb al Walid (Haram Area, Jerusalem), 47
 Bâb al Yahûd (Aleppo), 13
 Bâb az Ziyâdah (Damascus Mosque), 20
 Baizæ. See Bayyâs
 Bairût (Berytus), 25, 10, 94, 95
 Baisan (Bethshean, Scythopolis), 29, 11, 85, 95, 97; its water, 81; its products, 69, 70
 Baisâr, a dish, 80
 Bait 'Ainûn, raisins from, 69
 Bait Dîjan, 33
 Bait Jibrîl (Bait Jibrîn, Eleutheropolis), 53, 11, 85, 96, 97
 Bait Lahm (Bethlehem), 50
 Bait Lihyâ, 11
 Bait al Makdis (see also Jerusalem), 11
 Bait ar Râm, 97; its water, 81
 Bait Sar'â, 94
 Balanea, 10
 Al Balât, 34
 Bâlis (Barbalissus), 13, 8, 14
 Bal'isiyyah cloth, 70
 Balkâ District, 56, 66, 88
 Banana, 69, 71
 Baniki, 9
 Bâniyâs (Bulunyâs), on the coast, 10
 Bâniyâs (Paneas, Cæsarea Philippi), 24, 10, 82, 85, 94, 95; its water, 81
 Baradâ river, 8
 Barbalissus. See Bâlis
 Barid or Post Stage, 75
 Barleycorn, weight, 74

- Bathaniyyah (Batanæa), 11, 26,
 94
 Bath-houses of Gadara, 83
 Bayyâs (Baïæ), 8
 Beans, dishes of, peculiar to
 Syria, 80
 Belus River, 2
 Berothah (Berytus, Bairût?), 25
 Beth Annabam and Betho
 Annaba, 33
 Beth Dagon, 33
 Beth Gubrin (Bait Jibril), 53
 Bethlehem, 50
 Bethshean. See Baisan
 Bikâ' Territory, 10, 11, 85
 Bîr Ayyûb, 49
 Birkat Bani Israîl (Jerusalem),
 39
 Birkat Hammam al Butrak, 40
 Birkat 'Iyâd (Jerusalem), 39
 Birkat Sulaimân (Jerusalem), 39
 Bostra, Bozra, 3
 Bread, made with lentil-flour,
 80; made with acorn-flour,
 91
 Bridge over the Jordan, 27
 Buffalo-milk, 55, 71
 Bulunyâs (Balanea or Bâniyâs),
 10
 Bunnî fish, 28
 Al Burâk Pool, 40
 Busrâ (Bozrah, Bostra), 3

 Cab, a measure, 73
 Cabul, 11
 Cæsarea of the Lebanon ('Arkah),
 26
 Cæsarea of Palestine. See
 Kaisariyyah
 Cæsarea Philippi. See Bâniyâs
 Canaan, Valley of, 2, 26
 Capernaum, not Tell Keniseh,
 96
 Carat, weight, 72
 Carob fruit, the Locust-tree, or
 St. John's Bread, 69, 72, 80
 Castle, or Citadel of Jerusalem,
 37
 Castle of Goliath at 'Ammân, 56
 Castle of Plans (Kalansuwah),
 95
 Cavar Salim (Kafar Sallâm?),
 61
 Cavern (of Korah?), at Jerusalem,
 83
 Chalcis, 13
 Chalcis ad Belum, 96
 Chalk Hills, 80
 Chalk, used in the Waterless-
 ablution, 86
 Chalus river, 12
 Chara, 93
 China Sea (Red Sea), 82
 Christians, the, generally assayers,
 dyers, bankers, and tanners in
 Syria, 77
 Christians and Jews in Jeru-
 salem, 37
 Christmas festival, 76
 Church of Bâlî'ah, 34
 Church of Constantine at Bethle-
 hem, 50
 Church of St. Jeremiah, 34
 Church of the Holy Sepulchre,
 (at Jerusalem), 23
 Church of the Sepulchre of Mary
 (Jerusalem), 49
 Cisterns in Haram Area at
 Jerusalem, 40
 Cities of Lot, Site of, 52, 63
 Cities of Solomon, 85
 Climate of Syria, 65
 Commerce of Syria, 68
 Cœle Syria, 11
 Covered Part, or Main Building
 of a Mosque, 42
 Cross, feast of the, 77
 Cydonian apple, or Quince, 71
 Cyprus, 82

 Daibûd cloth, 70
 Dair Shamwil. 80

- Dâjûn (Beth Dagon), 33
 Dakyânûs, or Dakiyûs (the Emperor Decius), 5
 Dalam, Sandfly, 54
 'Damascene' Figs, 60
 Damascus (Dimashk), District, 10; its taxation, 92
 Damascus, City, 15, 85, 93, 94; its products, 70; Mosque of, 17; origin of the name, 23; water of, 81
 Damascus Gate (Jerusalem), 39
 Dânik, the sixth of the Dirham, or Dinâr, 73
 Ad Darâ'ah, 93
 Dârarryâ, 10, 12
 Darb (Gate) Bait al Makdis, D. Bila'ah, D. Bir al Askar, D. Dâjûn, D. Ludd, D. Masjid 'Annabah, D. Mîsr, D. Yâfâ (at Ramlah), 33
 Daroma or Ad Dârûm District, 53
 Dâûd ibn Ali, the Traditionist, 67
 Day's journey, or march, 93
 Dead Sea, 63, 82, 84; medicinal properties of its waters, 84
 Deirân District, 53
 Desert of the Wandering of the Children of Israel, 64
 Dewfall in Palestine, 84
 Dhirâ' Maliki, ell, 48
 Dibs, syrup, 69
 Dinâr and Dirham, the ancient 'Denarius' and 'Drachma,' 72, 74
 Dome of the Sepulchre of Abraham, at Hebron, 50
 Dome of the Rock, Kubbat as Sakhrâh (Haram Area, Jerusalem), 44; built by Abd al Malik, 23
 Dome. See under Kubbat
 Dress of the Syrians, 78, 79
 Dung Gate of Jerusalem, 39
 Dûrah, and the Dûri raisins, 69
 Durra'ah, or vest, 79
 Easter festival, 76
 Ebal and Gerizim, 55
 Edom. See Ash Sharâh
 Edrei. See Adhra'âh
 Ekron. See 'Âkir
 Elath. See Waila'h
 Eleutheropolis. See Bait Jibril
 Elim (?), 65
 Emesa. See Hims.
 Emmaus Nicopolis, 60
 En Rogel, 49
 Epiphania. See Hamâh
 Faisâr, a dish, 80
 Al Farâdhiyyah, 29, 11
 Farsakh (the Greek Parasang) or league, 17, 94
 Festivals observed in Syria, 76-78
 Figs called As Sabâ'i, and of Damascus, 71; At Tamri fig, 72; dried figs called Kuttain, 69
 Fik, 94, 95
 Filastin (Palestine), District of, 11; its taxation, 92; its products, 69
 Al Firmâ, 35
 Fish called Bunnî,
 Furn, ovens, 79
 Gabalah, Gibellum, or Gibellus Major (Jabalâh), 10
 Gable-roofs of Mosques in Syria, 75
 Gadara, thermal springs at, 83
 Garum Sauce, 81
 Gate. See under Bâb and Darb
 Gaza. See Ghazzah
 Gaulonitis, 11
 Gerasa, 29
 Gerizim, 55
 Germanicia, 9

- Al Ghamr (Gomorrhah ?), 63, 97
 Ghassan the Physician, 66
 Ghaur, the Jordan Valley, 66, 85
 Ghautah of Damascus, 94
 Ghazzah (Gaza), 53, 11, 62, 96, 97
 Ghirarah, measure, 73, 74
 Ghurjistân, The Ruler of, his Charity at Hebron, 52
 Ghutah Territory, 26, 11
 Gibelin (Bait Jibrîl), 53
 Giscala, 31
 Golden Gate of Jerusalem, 46, 38
 Gomorrhah. See Al Ghamr
 Grain, weight, 73, 74
 Grapes, of Eshcol, 69; called 'Âsimi, 71
 Greek Sea (Mediterranean), 82
 Guest-house of Hebron, 51
 Gulf of Akaba, 3

 Habb, or Grain weight, 73, 74
 Habrâ (Masjid Ibrahim, Hebron), 50, 96, 97
 Al Hajjâj, the Arab, and the she-camel, 36
 Halab (Aleppo), 12, 8, 14, 85, 93, 94; its products, 70
 Halfâ-reed (Papyrus ?), 28
 Hamâh (Hamath, Epiphania), 8, 94
 Al Hammah, 83, 84
 Haram Area (Jerusalem), Dimensions of, 48
 Hâshim ibn 'Abd Manâf, his Tomb, 53
 Hashmûsh, 11
 Haurân (Auranitis), 11, 26, 94
 Al Hawiyyah, 6
 Hawwarah, Chalk hills, 80
 Hebron, 50, 96, 97
 Hebron Gate (Jerusalem), 39
 Heliopolis, 10
 Hermits of the Lebanon Mountains, 90
 Hermon, Mount, 24, 25
 Herod's Gate (Jerusalem), 39
 Hierapolis, 8
 Himâyah, or Property Tax, 92
 Hims (Emesa), District, 9; its taxation, 92
 Hims (Emesa), City, 15, 85, 93, 94; talisman at, 84
 Hinnom, Valley of (Jerusalem), 49
 Hippicus Tower, 37
 Hisn al Khawâbî, 10
 Holy Places, 81
 Honey, 81
 Horses, for riding, 79
 House of Gabriel (Bait Jibrîl), 53
 Hûlah Lake (Waters of Merom), 28, 82
 Hûlah Territory, 26, 11

 Ibn Amir's reading of the Kurân, 68
 Ibn Khurdadbih, 92
 Ibn Tûlûn fortifies the Port of Acre, 30
 Ijon, 95
 Iliyâ (and see Jerusalem), 34
 Indigo, 69
 Iron mines, 80
 Iskandarûnah, 8
 Istakhr (Persepolis), 35
 'Iyâd ibn Ghanm, 40

 Ja'afar at Tayyâr, 63
 Jabal 'Ajlûn, 29
 Jabal 'Amilah, 28, 29
 Jabal Jarash, 29
 Jabal al Jaulân, 90
 Jabal Lubnân (Lebanon Mountains), 90, 96
 Jabal Lukkâm, 91
 Jabal Nusrah, 51
 Jabal Siddikâ, 89

- Jabal Sikkîn, 91
 Jabal Zaitâ (Mount of Olives), 50, 89
 Jabalah, 10
 Jabbok river, 98
 Jabneh or Jabneel, and Jamnia, 60
 Jaffa Gate (Jerusalem), 39
 Jalabah, Boats peculiar to the Red Sea, 64
 Jamalân, the Gable-roof, 75
 Jarib, measure, 75
 Al Jashsh (Giscala), 31, 95, 96
 Jâsim, 94
 Jaulân (Gaulonitis), 26, 11
 Jericho. See Arihâ
 Jerusalem (Bait al Makdis, Al Balât, Iliya), 34, 85, 87, 88, 95-97; its products, 69; its water, 81
 Jerusalem, Limits of its Territory, 52
 Jewish physicians and scribes in Syria, 77
 Jisr al Majâmi'ah, 27
 Job, his Land, 26
 Job's Well (Kedron Valley), 49
 Joppa or Jaffa. See Yâfah
 Jordan river, 82, 97; source of, 25; bridge over, 27
 Jordan District. See under Al Urdunn
 Jubb Yûsuf (Joseph's Pit), 94
 Jurisprudists, in Syria, 77
 Jûsiyah (Paradisus), 8, 93

 Kabb, measure (Cab, the Greek Kabos), 73
 Kâbul (Cabul), 29, 11, 85
 Kadam Kuraish. See Kuraishbite
 Kadas (Kadesh Naphthali), 28, 11, 82, 85, 94, 95; its products, 70
 Kafar Kilâ, 95
 Kafar Tâb, 10, 94
 Kafar Sâbâ, 60, 11, 95-98
 Kafar Sallâm, 60, 11, 96-98
 Kafiz, measure, 72-75
 Kâfûr, the Ikhshidi, 68
 Kafûrî plum, 71
 Kailajah, measure, 72-74
 Kâ-in, 35
 Kaisâriyyah (Cæsarea of Palestine), 55, 11
 Kalends, festival, 77
 Kalansuwah, 95, 97
 Kal'at Seijar, 9
 Kal'at Zarkâ, 98
 Kâmid (al Lauz), 10
 Al Kanisah, 96, 98
 Kanût text, 68
 Kâra, 93
 Karrâmites, 67, 76
 Kariyat al 'Inâb, 34
 Kariyat al 'Uyûn (Ijon), 95
 Al Kar'ûn, 96
 Al Kastal, 93
 Kâwûs, 97
 Kedron Valley, 49
 Al Khadrâ Palace at Damascus, 22
 Khalif 'Abd al 'Azîz, 23
 Khalif 'Abd al Malik, his Institution of the Servants of the Jerusalem Mosque, 48; continues Aksa Mosque, 41
 Khalif Hishâm, 34, 94
 Khalif al Mahdi rebuilds the Aksa Mosque, 41
 Khalif Muâwiyah, 22
 Khalif al Muktadir's Mother, her Gift of a Door for the Dome of the Rock, 45
 Khalif 'Othman, his Bequests to the Poor of Jerusalem, 49
 Khalif Omar, his Monument at Gaza, 53; his Injunction as to the Aksa Mosque, 47
 Khalif Sulaimân, 22, 32
 Khalif al Walid builds Damascus Mosque, 18

- Khânkah, or Cloister of the
 Karrâmites at Jerusalem, 67
 Kharaj, State Land-tax, 92
 Khirfân, 'Lambs' (a kind of
 date?), 70
 Al Khunâsirah, 10
 Khurbat Yakîn, 52
 Kin'ân, Valley of, 2, 26
 Kinnasrîn, District, 4, 8; its
 taxation, 92
 Kinnasrîn, City (Chalcis), 13, 93,
 94
 Kîrât (carat), 72-74
 Kirjath-jearim, 34
 Kisâ, shirt, 79
 Al Kisâi's reading of the Kurân,
 68
 Kist, Measure, 48
 Korah and his Companions, 83
 Kubbaît, sweetmeat, 72, 80
 Kubbat al Arwah (Haram Area,
 Jerusalem), 44
 Kubbat al Khaznah (Damascus
 Mosque), 18, 21
 Kubbat al Mi'râj (Haram Area,
 Jerusalem), 42
 Kubbat an Nabî (Haram Area,
 Jerusalem), 44
 Kubbat an Nasr (Damascus
 Mosque), 21
 Kubbat an Naufarah (Damascus
 Mosque), 21
 Kubbat as Sâ'ât (Damascus
 Mosque), 21
 Kubbat as Silsilah (Haram Area,
 Jerusalem), 42
 Kubrus (Cyprus), 82
 Kumâmah (Church of the Holy
 Sepulchre at Jerusalem), 23
 Kuraish-bite, sweetmeat, 69
 Kurân-readers, 68, 76
 Al Kusâifah, 52
 Kuswah, 94
 Kuttain, dried figs, 69
 Al Kutayyifah, 93
 Kuwaik River (the Chalus), 12
 Al Lâdhikiyyah (Laodicea ad
 Mare), 10, 93
 Al Lâdhikiyyah (Laodicea Com-
 busta, Ladîk), 6
 Lailat al Kadar, the Night of
 Fate, 78
 Lajjûn (Legio), two towns of
 that name, 9
 Lajjûn, in the Kinnasrîn Dis-
 trict, 8
 Al Lajjûn (Legio, Megiddo?),
 29, 11, 85, 95
 Lake of Tiberias, 27, 82
 Laodicea. See Lâdhikiyyah
 Larissa, 9
 Lebanon Mountains, 25
 Legio. See Lajjûn
 Lepers, 66
 Lettuce, 72
 Locust-tree. See under Carob
 Lot, Cities of, 52, 63; Stones of,
 83
 Lotus-fruit, or Jujube, 71
 Ludd (Lydda), 59; Festival, 77
 Lupin, 71, 80
 Maâb (Rabbath Moab), 63, 11,
 85, 97, 98; its products, 70
 Ma'arrâh Kinnasrîn, 8
 Ma'arrâh Masrin or Nasrin, 9
 Ma'arrâh an Nu'mân, 8
 Mâdhanet al 'Arûs, M. 'Isâ, and
 M. al Gharbiyyah (Damascus
 Mosque) 20, 21. See also
 Minaret
 Madyan (Midian), 64, 11, 92
 Al Maghrah (the red chalk called
 Rubrica Sinopica), 70, 80
 Mâhûz Azdûd, and Mâhûz
 Yubnâ, 62, 97
 Maimas (Maiuma, Majuma of
 Gaza), 54, 11, 62
 Majdal Salam, 96
 Makâm Nabî Yakîn, 52
 Makkûk, measure, 72-74
 Maknâ (Midian?), 64

- Maksûrah in Damascus Mosque, 22
- Malban, sweetmeat, 70
- Mâlik ibn Anas, the Traditionist, 67
- Manbij (Hierapolis), 8, 93
- Mandrake, fruit of, 71
- Mantle of the Prophet at Adhruh, 63
- Mar'ash (Germanicia), 8
- Marble quarries, 81
- March or Day's Journey, 95
- Mary, Tomb of, 49
- Masjid al Abyad (Ramlah), 33
- Masjid al Aksa (Jerusalem), 41
- Masjid Ibrahim, 50, 96, 97
- Al Masjid al Yakîn, 52. See also under Mosque
- Massisah (Mopsuestia), 9
- Measures of Syria, 72
- Megiddo. See Lajjûn
- Merj Ayyûn, 95
- Merom, Waters of. See Hûlah
- Midian. See Madyan
- Midra'ah, vest, 79
- Mile, Arab, 94
- Mimâs. See Maimas
- Mimtar, rain cloak, 79
- Minaret in Damascus Mosque, 21
- Minaret of the White Mosque at Ramlah, 34; Minarets built square in Syria, 75. See also Mâdhanet
- Mihrâb (Niche), meaning of the term, 17
- Mihrâb Maryam, M. al Khidr, M. Ya'kûb, M. Zakariyyah (Haram Area, Jerusalem), 47
- Mines and Minerals of Syria, 80
- Mogrebin or Dung Gate of Jerusalem, 39
- Monastery of Shamwîl, 89
- Mopsuestia, 9
- Mosaic-work, 17
- Mosque of Omar (Haram Area, Jerusalem), 41
- Mosque of Omar on the Mount of Olives, 50
- Mosques, peculiarities of, in Syria, 75
- Mounts Ebâl and Gerizim, 55
- Mount of Olives, 50
- Mount Sinai, 65
- Mu'ân, 11
- Mudî, the Modius, 72-74
- Al Mughattah, the Covered Part, or Main Building of a Mosque, 42
- Munayyir, cloth, 70
- Mûri, or Muria Sauce, 81
- Mûtah, 63
- Nabak-fruit, 27, 71
- An Nabk, 93
- Nâbulus (Neapolis, Shechem), 55, 11, 85, 95-97; its water, 81
- Nahr al Asi or Nahr al Maktûb (Orontes), 26, 82
- Nâtif, sweetmeat, 80
- Nawâ (Neve), 26, 95
- Neapolis. See Nâbulus
- Neby Samwil, 89
- Nidah, Sweetmeat, 27
- Night of Fate, and the Night of Immunity, 78
- An Nil. See Indigo
- Nûrah, chalk used in the waterless ablution, 86
- Olive tree, on Mount Sinai, 65
- Olives, Mount of, 50, 89
- Omeyyad Mosque at Damascus, 17
- Orontes River, 26
- Ounê (of Ptolemy), 11
- Ovens, used by the Syrians, 79
- Overwhelming Lake. See Dead Sea

- Palatium = Balât, 34
 Palestine. See Filâstîn
 Palm-tree of Jesus at Bethle-
 hem, 50
 Palmyra. See Tadmur
 Paneas. See Bâniyâs
 Papyrus, 28
 Paradisus, 9
 Pavement of the Mosques in
 Syria, 75
 Pelusium, 35
 Peter Bartholomæus and the
 Holy Lance, 25
 Petra, or Wâdi Musa, not Ar
 Rakîm, 56
 Philadelphia. See 'Ammân
 Pool. See Birkat
 Port of Acre, 30
 Port of Tyre, 31
 Prayer, forms of, common to
 Syria, 75, 76
 Prices of Provisions at Jerusa-
 lem, 53
 Products peculiar to Syria, 71
 Prune, called At Tarî, 71
 Pulpit at Arsûf, 54

 Quarries of Marble and Build-
 ing Stone, 81

 Rabath Ammon. See 'Ammân
 Rabbath-Moab. See Maâb
 Rafaniyyah (Raphania), 8
 Rafh, 97
 Ar Rakîm near 'Ammân, the
 Story of its Cave, 56
 Ar Rakkah, 93
 Ramadân, fast of, 78
 Ar Ramlah, 32, 11, 95-97; its
 water, 81
 Ransoming of Muslim Captives,
 60
 Raphania, 8
 Ratl (Rotl, or Ritl), weight, 75
 Ar Ray (Rhages), 23
 Red-sandstone, 80

 Religious tenets of the Syrians,
 66
 Resurrection, place of the, 50
 Rice Culture, 29
 The Rock, Measurement of, 48
 Roofs of Mosques in Syria, 75
 Rosaries of Jerusalem, 70
 Royal Ell, 48
 Rubrica Sinopica, 70, 80
 Ar Rusâfah, 93

 Sâ', measure, 73
 As Sâhirah, the Plain of the
 Resurrection, 50
 Saidâ (Sidon), 25, 10, 94-96
 Saif ad Daulah, 91; his Palace,
 13
 Sakar. See Sughar
 As Salâ, 11
 Salamiyyah (Salaminiyas), 9, 93
 Salt, from the Dead Sea, 81
 Samanû-porridge, 27
 Samakah, Red Sandstone Hills,
 80
 Samaritans, 33, 66
 Samosata, 8
 Sanctuary of Siddikâ, 90
 Scorpion sting, cure for, 84
 Scribes in Syria, mostly Chris-
 tians, 77
 Scythopolis, 11
 Sea of China (Gulf of Akaba), 3,
 82
 Segor, 11, 62. See also Sughar
 Seir, Mount (Ash Sharâh, Edom),
 11
 Selucia Pieria, 8
 Serpent-bite, cure for, 84
 Seven Sleepers, the Cave of, 5
 Shaddâd ibn Aus, his Tomb, 50
 Ash Shâfi', the Traditionist, 67
 Ash Shaibânî, 4; his work the
 Kitâb al Ikrâh, 32
 Shaizar (Larissa), 9, 94
 Ash Shajarah, 89
 Shâm, Syria, 4

- Shamsîr, 93
 Ash Sharâh District (Edom, Mount Seir), 11
 Ash Sharâh river, 84
 Shechem, 11
 Shi'ah Sect, 66
 Siddikâ, his Tomb and Festival, 89, 90
 Sidr Tree, 27
 Siloam Inscription, 49. See also under Sulwân
 Sinai, 65
 Snobur-pine, fruit of, 69
 Solomon's Circus at 'Ammân, 56
 Solomon's Pools, 40
 St. Barbara's Feast, 76
 St. George's Feast, 77
 St. John's Bread. See under Carob
 St. Simeon's Harbour. 8
 St. Stephen's Gate. the modern and the ancient, 39
 Strouthion Pool, 40
 Sufyân ath Thûri, 91
 Sugar Culture, 29, 71
 Sughar (Segor, Zoar), 62, 3, 11, 97; its products, 69; its water, 81
 Sughar, Lake of. See Dead Sea
 As Sukkariyyah, 96, 97
 Sulwân (Siloam), 48
 Sumach, 71
 Sumaisât (Samosata), 8
 Sûr (Tyre), 31, 11, 96; its products, 70; its water, 81
 As Suwaidiyyah, 8
 Sycamore-fruit, 54
 Syria, called *Shâm*, meaning of the name, 4
 Syrian apple, 71
 Ta'âsir, 95
 Tabariyyah (Tiberias), 26, 11, 85, 94-96; its products, 70; its hot baths, 27, 83
 Tabariyyah, Lake of, 82, 27
 Tabûk, 64, 11, 85
 Tadmur (Palmyra), 15, 9, 85
 Tailasân, or Tarhah, veil, 79
 Talismans, 84
 Tamim ad Dâri, 51
 Tank. See Birkat
 Tannur bread ovens, 79
 Tarâbulus (Tripoli), 25, 10, 94, 95
 Tarik al Madârij (the Road of Ladders), 96
 Tariyâk (Theriack, Antidote), the Tariyâkiyyah Serpents, 56, 70
 Tarsus, 5
 Tartûs (Tortosa), 10
 Taxes and Tribute of Syria, 91, 92
 At Tayammum, the waterless ablution, discussion on, 86
 Tell 'Arka, 25
 Tell Dibbin, 95
 Tell Keniseh, 96
 Tell Kuseifeh, 52
 Tell Râmeah, 97
 Tiberias. See Tabariyyah
 Tih (Desert of the Wanderings), 64
 At Tinâh, 8
 Tirzah, 95
 Tombs of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, at Hebron, 51
 Tomb of Hâshim ibn 'Abd Manâf at Gaza, 53.
 Tomb of Siddikâ or Siddik, 89
 Tombs, manner of the, in Syria, 78
 Tortosa. See Tartûs
 Tradition of the Prophet on the Men of Ar Rakim, 56
 Tradition of the Prophet concerning Kinnasrîn, 14
 Traditionists, the, 67
 Tripoli. See Tarâbulus
 Truffle, 71

- At Tulail, 97
 Tûr Sinâ (Mount Sinai), 65
 Two feasts, the, 78
 Tyre. See Sûr
- 'Ubâdah ibn as Sâmit, his Tomb, 50.
 Ubullah Canal, 23
 Ukiyvah, ounce, 72-74
 Al Urdunn (the Jordan) District, 11; its taxation, 92. See also under Jordan
 Uriah, 2
- Valania, 10
 Veredus = Barid, the Post Stage, 75
 Virgin's Fount at Jerusalem, 49
- Wâdi Butnân, 8
 Wâdi Jahannam (Valley of Kedron), 49
 Wâdi an Nu'mân (Belus River), 2
 Waibah, measure, 72-74
 Wailah (Ailah or Elath) 63, 11, 85, 97
 Walls of Jerusalem, 38
 Watch Stations (Ribât) on the Coast of Syria and Palestine, 60
 Water, in Syria, 81
 Water Lily, Colocasia, 71
 Wall of Nehemiah (Jerusalem), 49
 Weights used in Syria, 76
 The White Mosque (Ramlah), 33
 Whitsuntide festival, 76
 Windvane, Talisman at Hims, 84
 Witr ritual, 68
- Ya'âth, 93
 Yâfah, or Yâfâ (Joppa, Jaffa), 54, 11, 62, 97, 98
 Yahyâ ibn Aktham, 23
 Yanbût, 69
 Yubnâ (Jabneh or Jabneel), 60
- Az Zabadâni, 10, 93
 Az Zarâ'ah (?), 93
 Az Zârikâ, or Zarkâ, 98
 Zibel, 10
 Zoar of Lot, 62.
 Zu'airah, 97
 Zughar. See Sughar
 Zullabiyah, cake, 80

Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society.

THE ITINERARY OF BERNARD
THE WISE.

(A.D. 870.)

HOW THE CITY OF JERUSALEM IS SITUATED.

(CIRC. A.D. 1090?)

Translated

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THE ITINERARY OF BERNARD THE WISE.¹
(A.D. 870.)

HERE beginneth the itinerary of three monks, viz., of Bernard and his companions, about the Holy Places and about Babylon.

The Description of the places that Bernard the Wise saw, as he went to or returned from Jerusalem; of Jerusalem itself and the surrounding places.

I. In the nine hundred² and seventieth year of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, these things were ascertained by us. Wishing, in the name of the Lord, to see the places of the saints at Jerusalem, I, Bernard, associated myself in the devotion of charity with two brethren, of whom one was from the monastery of Blessed Vincent of Beneventum, by name Theudemundus, the other a Spaniard, by name Stephen. And so obtaining audience of Pope Nicholas in the City [of Rome], we gained the desired permission to set forth, along with his blessing and assistance. Rome.

II. Having set out from thence we came to Mount Garganus, where is a Church of S. Michael under one stone, above which are acorn-bearing oaks. The archangel himself is said to have dedicated this church. Its entrance is on the north side, and it can hold sixty men. Inside at the east end there is an image of the angel; and Mount Garganus.

¹ The text printed by Tobler is followed throughout.

² So the MSS.; but it is plain from internal evidence that the pilgrimage was made 100 years before this. The mention of Pope Nicholas in § I is of itself sufficient to establish this. Cf. also § xxiv.

at the south side there is an altar, upon which the Sacrifice is offered, no other gift being placed there. Before the altar itself a certain vessel is hung, in which the offerings are put; this has other altars near it. The abbot of the place was called Benignatus; he presided over a large number of brethren.

III. Journeying from Mount Garganus for 150 miles, we came to a city of the Saracens, called *Barrium*, formerly subject to the sway of the people of Beneventum. This city, situated above the sea, is fortified on the south side by two very wide walls; on the north side it is exposed to the sea. And seeking the chief man of the city, by name *Suldanus*, we got all the arrangements of our voyage settled by two letters, the text of which letters gave an account of our appearance and our route to the chief man of *Alexandria* and of *Babylon*. For these men are under the sway of *Amarmominus* who rules over all the Saracens, dwelling in *Bagada* and *Axinarri* which are beyond *Jerusalem*.

IV. Setting out from *Barrium* we marched southward for ninety miles as far as the port of the city of *Tarentum*, where we found six ships, in which were nine thousand captives of the Christians of Beneventum. In two of these ships which set out first on their way to Africa were three thousand captives; other two, setting out subsequently, conveyed in like manner three thousand to *Tripoli*.

V. Embarking at last in the remaining ships, in which were also the aforesaid number of captives, we were conveyed to the port of *Alexandria*, the voyage lasting thirty days. But wishing to go ashore we were prevented by the captain of the crew, who was in command of sixty men. However, in order that opportunity might be given us to disembark, we gave him six golden pieces.

VI. Proceeding thence, we approached the chief man of *Alexandria*, to whom we showed the letter that *Suldanus* gave us; but it availed us nothing, although he admitted that he was not ignorant of the contents of the letter. As he pressed us, we gave him, each of us, 300 denarii for

himself; and then he wrote letters for us to the chief man of Babylonia. The habit of these men is, moreover, to reckon by weight alone anything that can be weighed; and six solidi and six denarii of ours only make three solidi and three denarii of theirs. This Alexandria is on the sea. It was here that S. Mark preached the gospel and became bishop. Beyond the eastern gate is the Monastery of S. Mark; there are monks here at the church where he formerly lay. But Venetians coming by sea bore away his body without the knowledge of its custodians, and brought it to their own island. Beyond the western gate is a monastery which is called after the Forty Saints, where there is a like settlement of monks. The harbour is on the north of the city; the Gihon or Nile enters from the south, which river irrigates Egypt and flows through the midst of the city, entering the sea at the harbour before mentioned.

Sepulchre
of S. Mark

VII. Entering here, we sailed southward six days and came to the city of Babylonia in Egypt, where once King Pharaoh ruled, under whom Joseph built seven granaries, which yet remain. When we came to Babylonia, the guards of the city led us to the chief man, a Saracen called Adelacham, who inquired of us the purpose of our journey, and from what princes we had letters. Wherefore we showed him the letters from Suldanus before mentioned and from the chief man of Alexandria. Which availed us nothing, for we were sent by him to prison; until after six days it occurred to us by the help of God to give him three hundred denarii each as in the former case. He then also gave us letters; and no one who saw these in any city or place soever dared to extort anything further from us. For he was the second man in the empire of the above mentioned Amarmominus. But after we entered the cities named below we were not permitted to depart before we received a parchment or a sealed document, which we used to obtain for one or two denarii. There is in this city the patriarch Dom Michael, who by the grace of God orders the affairs of the

Babylonia.

bishops, monks and Christians throughout the whole of Egypt. These Christians have this law with the heathen, that each one pays for himself every year tribute to the aforesaid prince, that so they may live securely and freely. This tribute amounts to one or two or three golden pieces, or, in the case of a person of lower station, thirteen denarii. If however such an one cannot pay these thirteen denarii, whether he be a native or a Christian stranger, he is sent to prison, until either by the love of God he is delivered by his angel, or else is bought out by other good Christians.

VIII. These things being so, we returned back by the river Gihon three days' journey, and arrived at the city Sitinuth. From Sitinuth we proceeded to Maalla, from Maalla we crossed over to Damiate, which has the sea on the north and on all sides the river Nile, except for a narrow strip of land. Thence we voyaged to the city Tanis, where are Christians exceeding religious, burning with hospitality. This city has no land at all, except where the churches are; there is showed the plain of Thaneos, where lie, like three walls, the bodies of those who were destroyed in the time of Moses.

IX. From Tanis we came to the city Ferama, where is a church in honour of blessed Mary, in the place whither by the counsel of the angel Joseph fled with the Child and His mother. In this city there are a number of camels, which strangers hire from the natives of the region for carrying their baggage, on account of the desert journey of six days. The entrance to this desert begins at the aforesaid city; and well is it called a desert, for it produces neither herb nor anything grown from seed, except palm trees, but is white like the country in time of snow. Midway there are two hospices, one called Albara, the other Albachara, in which the business is done of purchasing from Christians and pagans whatever is necessary for travellers. But all round the land produces absolutely nothing except what has been mentioned. From Albachara on there is a fruitful country as far as the city Gaza,

which was Samson's city, a city exceeding rich in every-thing.

X. Thence we came to Alariza. From Alariza we arrived Alariza.
 at Ramula, near which is the monastery of the blessed Ramula.
 martyr George, where he sleeps. From Ramula we pushed
 on to the village of Emmaus. From Emmaus we arrived Emmaus.
 at the holy city, Jerusalem, and were received into the Jerusalem. x
 hostel of the most glorious emperor Charles, where all are
 admitted who come to this place for devotional reasons
 and speak the Roman tongue. Close to it is a church in Church of
 honour of S. Mary, which has a noble library through the S. Mary.
 care of the aforesaid emperor, with twelve dwelling-houses,
 fields, vineyards and a garden in the Valley of Jehoshaphat.
 Before the hostel is the market, for which each person who
 lives there pays two golden pieces annually to the man
 who superintends it.

XI. Within this city, four churches, not to speak of others,
 are notable, joined to each other by partition walls which
 they have in common. Viz., there is one church to the Mount
 east, which contains Mount Calvary and the place where Calvary.
 the Lord's cross was found; it is called Constantine's Constan-
 Basilica. There is another to the south, and a third to the tine's
 west, in the midst of which is the Lord's Sepulchre, with Basilica.
 nine pillars round it, the partition walls between which are The Lord's
 of the very best stones. Of these nine pillars, four are in Sepulchre.
 front of the tomb itself, which with their joining walls shut
 off the stone placed in front of the sepulchre which the
 angel rolled away and upon which he sat after the Resur-
 rection of the Lord was accomplished. Of this sepulchre
 it is not necessary to write more, since Bede describes it
 sufficiently in his history. However, this should be told
 that on Holy Saturday, *i.e.*, Easter eve, the office is begun
 early in this church, and after the office is done, *Kyrie eleison*
 is chanted, until by the coming of an angel, the light is
 kindled in the lamps that hang above the aforesaid sepulchre.
 The patriarch gives this fire to the bishops and to the rest The sacred
 of the people, that each may with it light up his own home. fire.

This patriarch was called Theodosius, who for the merit of his devoutness, was carried by the Christians from his monastery, distant 15 miles from Jerusalem, and made patriarch over all Christians in the Land of Promise. Between the above four churches there is an unroofed court, the walls of which blaze with gold ; the pavement is made of the most precious stone. In its midst there is a space marked out by four chains coming from the above four churches ; and here it is said is the centre of the world.

XII. Moreover in the city there is yet another church, to the south, in Mount Sion, called the Church of S. Simeon, where the Lord washed the feet of His disciples. In this hangs the Lord's crown of thorns, and here it is reported that S. Mary died. Near which to the east is a church in honour of S. Stephen, in the place where he is said to have been stoned. Further east is a church in honour of blessed Peter in the place where he denied the Lord. To the north is Solomon's temple, which contains the synagogue of the Saracens. To the south are iron gates through which the angel of the Lord led Peter forth from prison, which yet afterward were not open.

XIII. Going forth from Jerusalem we descended to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, distant a mile from the city, containing the Garden of Gethsemane, with the birthplace of S. Mary, where there is a very large church in honour of her. In the garden also is the round church of S. Mary, where is her sepulchre, which, having no roof over it, stands rain badly. In the same place is a church, where the Lord was betrayed, with the four round tables of His Supper. Also in the Valley of Jehoshaphat there is a church in honour of S. Leontius, in which it is said the Lord will come to judgment.

XIV. Thence we proceeded to the Mount of Olives, on the slope of which is shown the place of the Lord's prayer to His Father. On the side of this mountain is shown the place where the Pharisees brought to the Lord the woman

that was taken in adultery ; it has a church in honour of S. John, in which is preserved the writing on marble, which the Lord wrote on the ground. Church of S. John.

XV. On the top of this oft-mentioned mountain, one mile from the Valley of Jehoshaphat, is the place of the Lord's Ascension to the Father, having a round church without a roof, in the midst of which, *i.e.*, on the site of the Lord's Ascension, there is an altar under the open sky, on which the solemnities of the Mass are celebrated. Church of the Ascension.

XVI. Thence we crossed over to Bethany, which is to the south as you go down the mountain, distant one mile from the Mount of Olives. Here there is a monastery, whose church displays the sepulchre of Lazarus. Near it there is, to the north, a pond, in which, by the command of the Lord, Lazarus bathed himself when he was raised ; he is said afterwards to have been bishop in Ephesus for forty years. As you go down the Mount of Olives on the western side there is shown a block of marble, from which the Lord mounted on *the foal of an ass*. Between these to the south, in the valley of Jehoshaphat, is the pool of Siloam. Bethany.
The Sepulchre of Lazarus.

XVII. When we departed from Jerusalem, crossing over to Bethlehem, six miles from the place of the Lord's nativity, we were shown the field where Habakkuk was working when the angel of the Lord commanded him to carry his dinner to Daniel to Babylon.¹ (Babylon, where Nebuchadnezzar reigned, is to the south ; serpents and wild beasts now inhabit it.) Bethlehem has a very great church in honour of S. Mary, in the midst of which is a crypt under one stone. The way in is on the south side ; the way out on the east. Here is shown the manger of the Lord at the west of the crypt ; the spot where He cried is at the east, and has an altar where Mass is celebrated. Near this church, southward, is the church of those blessed martyrs, the Innocents. Finally, one mile from Bethlehem, is the monastery of the holy shepherds, to whom the angel appeared at the Lord's Nativity. Bethlehem.
The field of Habakkuk.
Church of S. Mary.
Church of the Innocents.

¹ See *Bel and the Dragon*, 34.

Monastery
of S. John
the Bap-
tist.

XVIII. Lastly, thirty miles eastward from Jerusalem is the Jordan, over which is the monastery of S. John the Baptist. In these parts also there are many monasteries established.

Church of
S. Ma-
milla.

XIX. Meanwhile, one mile to the west of the city of Jerusalem is the church of S. Mamilla, in which are many bodies of martyrs, who, being slain by the Saracens, were diligently buried there by her.

Mount
Aureus.

XX. Returning then from Jerusalem, the holy city, we came to the sea. And embarking we sailed for sixty days with very great difficulty, not having a fair wind. At length, leaving the sea, we came to Mount Aureus, where there is a crypt with seven altars, with a great wood also above it. On account of the gloom no one can enter this crypt, save with burning lights. The abbot there was Dom Valentinus.

Rome.

XXI. Coming from Mount Aureus we arrived at Rome. In this city on the eastern side, in the place called the Lateran, is a well-built church in honour of S. John the Baptist, where is the proper seat of the successors of the Apostles. There every night are the keys of the whole city brought to the successor of the Apostles. On the western side is the church of blessed Peter, the chief of the Apostles, where his body rests. In size there is no church like it on the whole earth; it contains also various ornaments. In which city also rest countless bodies of saints.

Church of
S. John.

Church of
S. Peter.

S. Michael
in peril of
the sea.

XXII. At this city we were separated from each other; I came subsequently to S. Michael of the Two Tombs, which place is situate in a mountain that stretches out into the sea for two leagues. At the top of this mountain is a church in honour of S. Michael; the sea surrounds the mountain twice every day, *i.e.*, morning and evening, and the mountain cannot be approached until the sea has retired. But on the Feast of S. Michael, as the sea flows round the mountain it is contracted, and stands like a wall on the right hand and on the left. And on that solemn day all who may have come to prayer can approach the mountain

at any hour, which they could not do on other days. The abbot there is Phinimontius, a Briton.

XXIII. Finally, let me tell you how Christians observe God's law in Jerusalem and in Egypt. The Christians and pagans have this kind of peace between them there, that if I were going a journey, and on the way the camel or ass which bore my poor luggage were to die, and I were to abandon all my goods there without any guardian, and go to the city for another pack animal, when I came back, I would find all my property uninjured : such is the peace there. But if in the city, or at sea, or on a journey, they were to find a man walking by night, or even by day, without a parchment or seal of some king or prince of the country, forthwith he would be ordered to be shut up in prison until the day should come when he could give an account of himself, as to whether he was a spy or not.

XXIV. The people of Beneventum slew their prince ^{Bene-}
Sichardus for his pride, and quite destroyed the law of the ^{ventum.}
Christians. Then they had quarrels and contentions among themselves, until Lewis, the brother of Lothair and Charles, at the invitation of these people of Beneventum, accepted the empire over them. But in Romania many bad things ^{Romania.}
are done, and there are there bad men, thieves and robbers ; and so those who wish to go to S. Peter cannot cross Romania unless they be a numerous and well-armed company. Lombardy, where the above-named Lewis reigns, is ^{Lom-}
tolerably quiet. The Britons also have peace among them. ^{bardy.}
They have the following custom : if a man does an injury ^{The}
to another and a third man comes by and sees it, he must, ^{Britons.}
whoever he be, avenge the injury as if he were a kinsman. And if a man is found guilty of a theft beyond the value of four denarii, they either kill him or hang him on a forked stick.

XXV. Finally, in the valley of Gethsemane we saw ^{Geth-}
square marble stones of such fine quality, that anything ^{semane.}
one wished could be seen in them as in a mirror.

HOW
THE CITY OF JERUSALEM IS SITUATED.¹

Description of the Holy Places.

IN the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Whosoever wishes to go to the holy city, Jerusalem, let him always direct his course towards the sun rising ; and so, God being his guide, shall he come to the holy Jerusalem. From the western side the Mount of Joy is a conspicuous object ; and from this mountain it is one mile to the city. At the entrance of the city the Tower of David is deemed a strong one. The temple of the Holy Sepulchre is round, and above the Holy Sepulchre in the roof of the temple there is a round dome. In the middle of the temple is the Sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is quite round outside, but within it is square. The entrance gate is at the south ; but there is another gate on the west side, and yet another facing southward. That is, men enter by the south gate, and also by another gate of the Sepulchre, which is single ; but they go out by the southward gate. On the east side is the centre of the world. Not far eastward is Mount Calvary, where the Lord was crucified ; under which mount is Golgotha. From this mount the sepulchre is distant a stone's throw. On the left of Mount Calvary is a prison ; and near the prison on the left side is the pillar to which the Lord was bound. Northward from the Holy

Jerusalem.
The
Mount of
Joy.
The Tower
of David.

The Holy
Sepulchre.

Mount
Calvary.
Golgotha.

¹ The date of this tract is uncertain ; but it is probably older than the First Crusade.

Sepulchre is the Latin church of S. Mary. Eastward from Mount Calvary is the place where S. Helena found the Cross of the Lord. Thence eastward again is the Beautiful Gate which leads to the Temple of the Lord. This temple is round ; it has three gates, and is surrounded by a very conspicuous court. In the middle of this temple is the temple *not made with hands, i.e.*, the tabernacle ; Aaron's rod, and the head of Zacharias the son of Barachias, and the altar which Jacob built to the Lord, and the two Tables of the Covenant, and the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord, and the manna on which the Children of Israel fed in the desert, are believed to be in it. In the roof of the temple hangs a golden lamp.

Latin
S. Mary.

The
Temple of
the Lord.

To the south of the Temple of the Lord is the Temple of Solomon.

The
Temple of
Solomon.

To the east of the Temple of the Lord outside the gate of the court is *the pool by the sheep gate, having five porches.*

The pool
by the
sheep gate.

Thence as you go eastward out of the city is the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where are the church and venerable sepulchre of the most holy and venerable Mary, and also the Garden of Gethsemane, where the Lord prayed with His disciples, and where He was betrayed by His disciple, Judas the traitor.

The Valley
of Jeho-
shaphat.

Thence eastward is the Mount of Olives, whence the Lord ascended into heaven, and where He wrote the Lord's Prayer for His disciples. One mile from the Mount of Olives is the tomb from which the Lord raised Lazarus, when he had been dead four days. More than six leagues eastward is the place where the Lord fasted forty days, and where He was tempted of the devil, but not overcome.

Mount of
Olives.

From this mountain it is six miles to the Jordan. More than four miles south from Jerusalem is Bethlehem, the city of David, where Christ was born ; and the well whereon the star descended, which led the wise men to adore the Child.

The
Jordan.
Bethle-
hem.

Outside the gate of Jerusalem eastward, and hard by, is Mount Sion, where S. Mary departed from the world.

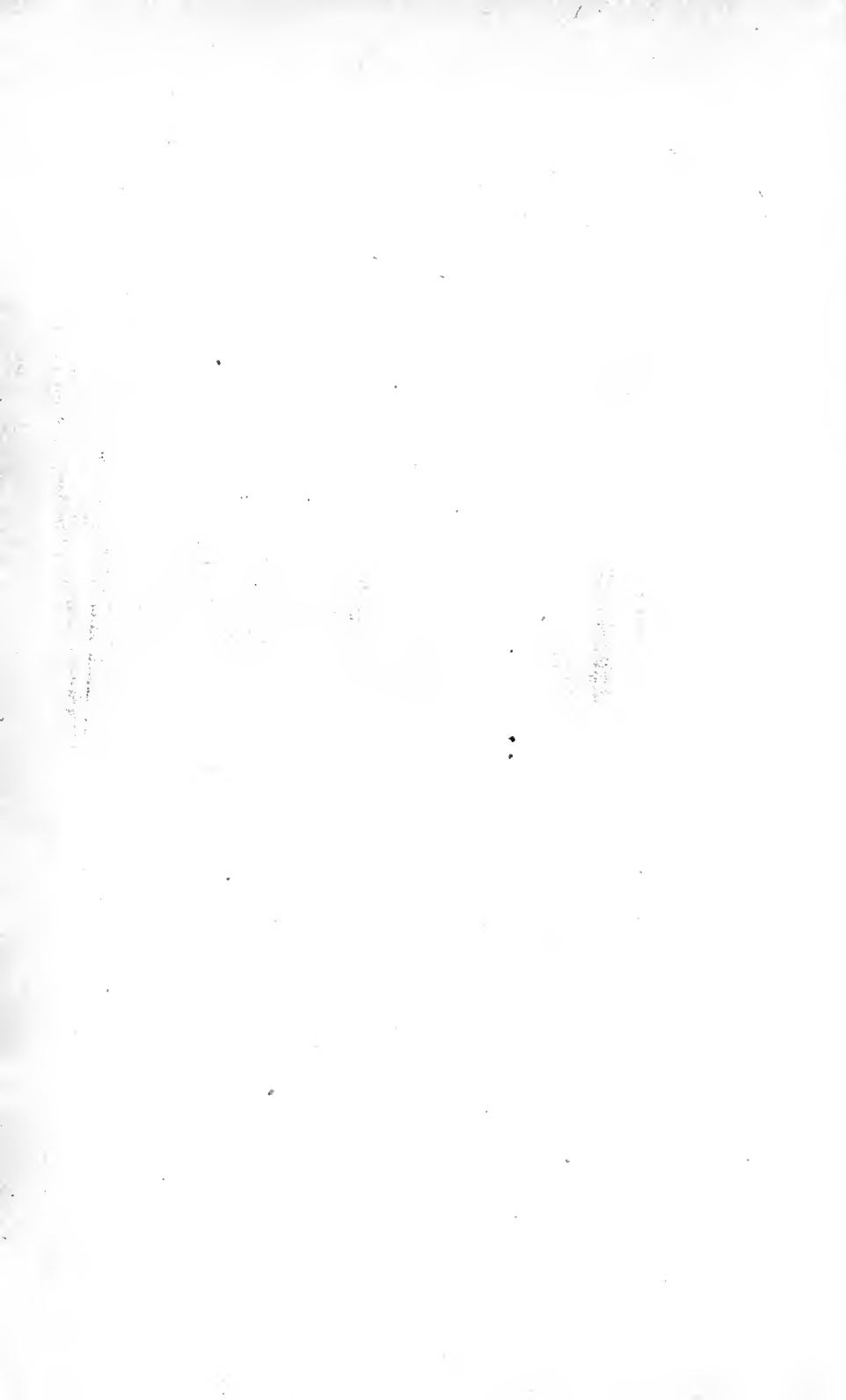
Mount
Sion.

Aceldama. Not far off is Aceldama, that is, the field of blood. From thence also not far southward is the Pool^{of} Siloam. Under the mountain near the city walls is the place where S. Peter wept after he denied Christ. Northward beyond the city gate is the place where S. Stephen was stoned.

And thus are situate all the places of prayer in Jerusalem; and this I testify, who have seen them, and have written this little notice.

THE END.





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