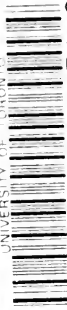


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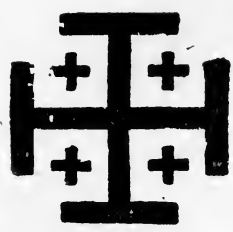
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Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society.
[Publications, vol. 6]

ANONYMOUS PILGRIMS, I.-VIII.

(11TH AND 12TH CENTURIES.)

Translated
BY
AUBREY STEWART, M.A.



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P R E F A C E.

IN translating the 'Anonymous Pilgrims,' I have made use of Tobler's text and useful notes for all except those marked V. (1 and 2) and VI. I have also had the advantage of consulting a MS. translation by Surgeon-General R. F. Hutchinson, M.D., Bengal Army (retired), whose work has been carried out in a scholarly fashion.

For V. (1 and 2) and VI. I have used the version to be found in the 'Oesterreichischer Vierteljahresschrift für Katholische Theologie,' Vienna, 1868 and 1870, with notes by W. Neumann.

None of these pilgrimages, it will be observed, are later than the fall of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem; and though they may not yield many new facts, yet the study of them enables us to form a clearer notion of the state of the Holy Land under the Frankish kings. It will be worth the reader's while to compare them all, especially I. and VII., with 'La Citez de Jherusalem.'

AUBREY STEWART.

LONDON, *January* 8, 1894.

ANONYMOUS PILGRIMS.

ANONYMOUS PILGRIM I.

(Part early, part 11th century.)

HERE BEGINNETH THE DESCRIPTION OF THE HOLY
PLACES.

I. WHOSO from the western parts of the world wishes to go to Jerusalem, let him keep his face ever toward the rising of the sun, and he will find the places of prayer at Jerusalem even as they are here set down.

II. In Jerusalem there is a chamber¹ covered with one single stone, wherein Solomon wrote his Book of Wisdom. There, too, the blood of Zacharias was shed between the temple and the altar. Not far from this place is the stone to which the Jews come every year, anoint it, lament, and so go wailing away. There is the house of Hezekiah, King of Judah, to whom the Lord granted thrice five years of life. There also is the house of Caiaphas, and the pillar to which Christ was bound, and was scourged and buffeted. Near the Gate of Neapolis² is Pilate's judgment hall, where Christ was judged by the chief priests. Not far from thence is Golgotha, or the place of Calvary, where Christ the Son of God was crucified, where the first man

¹ Bordeaux Pilgrim, p. 21, et al.

² Now the Damascus Gate.

Adam was buried, and where Abraham offered sacrifice to God. About a long stone's throw from thence toward the west is the place where Joseph of Arimathaea buried the sacred body of the Lord Jesus. There is a church beautifully built by the Emperor Constantine. From Mount Calvary it is thirteen feet toward the west to the middle of the world : on the left hand is the prison wherein Christ is said to have been shut up. On the right (left) hand of the sepulchre, and hard by it, there is a Latin monastery dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, built on the place where her house once stood. In this same monastery there is an altar on the place where Mary the Lord's mother stood, and Mary the wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalen with her, weeping and grieving because they saw the Lord upon the cross. Here Jesus said to His mother, 'Woman, behold thy son,' and to the disciple, 'Behold thy mother.' Two bow-shots from this place toward the east is the Lord's temple, which was built by Solomon, and wherein Christ was presented by the just Simeon. On the right-hand side of this temple Solomon built his own temple, and between the two temples he built a beautiful portico with marble columns. To the left is the sheep-pool.

III. About a mile from thence to the eastward may be seen the Mount of Olives, where the Lord Jesus prayed to His Father, saying, 'Father, if it be possible,' etc., and wrote the Lord's Prayer on a stone, and whence He ascended to heaven, saying to His disciples, 'Go, teach all nations,' etc. Between the Lord's temple and the Mount of Olives is the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where the Virgin Mary was buried by the Apostles, and in which valley the Lord shall judge the world. Near to it is the village called Gethsemane, and there, hard by, beyond the brook Cedron, is the garden where Judas betrayed the Lord Jesus. Near that place is the sepulchre of the prophet Isaiah. A mile

from thence is Bethany, where the Lord raised up Lazarus after he had been dead four days. In the same quarter, some thirteen or eighteen miles on the way to Jericho, is the sycamore-tree into which Zacchaeus climbed that he might see the Lord Jesus. On another side, one mile distant from Jericho, is Elisha's Fountain, which he blessed and sprinkled with salt. Five miles from thence is the river Jordan, wherein the Lord was baptized, being eight leagues distant from Jerusalem. Not far from thence is the mount from which Elijah was caught up into heaven.

IV. From the Jordan it is an eight days' journey to Mount Sinai, where the Lord appeared to Moses in the burning bush and gave him the law. At this place there is a great water-pot,¹ which unceasingly runs with oil. Three

¹ *Hydria*. The legend appears in Thietmar in a confused fashion. In ch. viii. he says *Desiderio autem desiderans desiderantissime corpus beate Katerine, sacro sudans oleo, visitare, etc*. In ch. xxiii. he gives an account of how the monks proposed to leave St. Catharine's Convent, because there was no oil to feed the lamps, but were recalled by the Virgin Mary, who appeared to them saying, 'Redite, quia hydriam, in qua oleum deponere consuevistis, invenietis oleo indiciente repletam. Nunquam enim oleum ab illa hydria videbitis defecisse. Redierunt ergo et juxta verbum domine nostre ydriam oleo fecundam jugiter invenerunt. Hanc igitur ydriam vidi, et de ejus oleo habui, et in magna veneracione habetur.' Tobler quotes the following passage from Peter Tudebove: 'Jordanis a flumine est via decem et octo dierum usque in montem Sinai, ubi Christus Dominus Moysi in igne rubi apparuit, et ei legem dedit: et ibi est hydria magna in monasterio, quae non deficiens oleum parturit' (P. Tudebove, p. 414, ed. De Vogüé). This agrees almost word for word with our anonymous pilgrim. We read in Fabri, vol. ii., p. 551, that the monks of Sinai made up their minds to leave the place, and were recalled by a miraculous apparition of the Virgin, but Brother Nicodemus, who told Fabri the legend, had a different version to that of Thietmar, for he said that the cause of their proposed abandonment of the place was the enormous increase of serpents, vipers, toads, and other venomous creatures therein, and that the Virgin, in testimony of the truth of her appearance to them, caused a spring of water to burst forth from the hard rock, and also cleared away all the reptiles, etc. Not a word about oil in this story: yet we

days' journey distant from Jerusalem is Mount Tabor, whereon the Lord was transfigured. At the foot of this mountain is said to be Galilee and the Sea of Tiberias, which is not a sea, but a lake out of which the Jordan flows.

V. On the right-hand side of the city of Jerusalem, about a bow-shot distant, is Mount Sion, whereon is a church built by Solomon. Here the Lord Jesus supped with His disciples, and here also He sent down upon them the Holy Ghost. Here also the Virgin Mary passed away from this world and yielded up her spirit. The Apostles bore her most sacred body from hence into the Valley of Jehoshaphat. At the foot of this mount the Fountain of Siloam bursts abruptly forth from the ground.

VI. Not far from thence is Sichem, where Joseph sought for his brethren when he came from the Vale of Hebron. There is the land which Jacob gave to Joseph his son, and there his body rests. A mile from thence is Sichar, where the Lord talked with the woman of Samaria. Not far from thence is the place where Jacob wrestled with the angel.

VII. Four miles distant from Jerusalem, to the southward, is Bethlehem, the city of David, where Christ was born. At Bethlehem there is a church built with pillars of marble, wherein is the place where Christ was born. Not

read (Fabri, vol. ii., p. 606) that St. Catharine's body was found in a niche of rock which was full of oil; and (p. 601) Fabri says: 'The sacred bones seem to have lain in oil, because they are not white, but are of the colour which a bone or piece of wood contracts by lying in oil. It is the belief of Holy Church that the virgin's limbs once sweated forth oil; but this miracle has now ceased for a long while, and the holy limbs are swathed in silk, pieces of which are given to the pilgrims instead of oil. They soak these pieces of silk in the lamps which hang in the chapel of St. Mary at Bush, and so take them home as St. Catharine's oil.' In Thietmar, ch. xxvii., we find: 'episcopus accessit ad sarcophagum beate Katrine. Quo aperto, dedit mihi de oleo ejusdem virginis.' Thietmar was at Sinai A.D. 1217. Compare Ernoul, p. 55, Sir John Maundeville's account of Mount Sinai, ch. v., and also Fabri, vol. i., part 2, p. 565, in this series.

far from hence, on the right hand, is the Lord's manger. Twelve miles from thence is Abraham's castle, which is called Thocor,¹ where Abraham himself, Isaac, and Jacob are buried together with their wives. On the left is the mount called *Dominus vidit*, where the Lord talked with Abraham, and where Abraham would have sacrificed his son Isaac.

ANONYMOUS PILGRIM II.

(12th century.)

I. THOSE who go by the upper way from Accaron² to the Holy City come to the city of Nazareth. Two leagues from thence is Mount Tabor, where Christ was transfigured. Near this same place is the city of Tiberias, by which is the Sea of Galilee, where the Lord wrought many miracles. About two leagues above it is the 'Table,'³ where the Lord satisfied five thousand men with five loaves and two fishes. Next comes the city of Sebaste, to be revered because of the relics of St. John the Baptist. From hence one goes to the well whereon the Lord sat when He talked with the woman of Samaria.

II. Thence one goes into the Holy City, and first into St. Stephen's Church, on the place where he was stoned, Thence one goes into the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and first to the place of Calvary, where Christ suffered, where pilgrims, after they have worshipped Him crucified, cast down their crosses on the earth again in token that

¹ Tekoa. Probably a copyist's error. The castle was at Hebron.

² Acre. See Tobler's note to Theoderich, ch. xlvi., where he warns his readers not to confuse Accon, near Nazareth, with Accaron, the Old Testament Ekron, and quotes Thietmar's couplet, *Non est urbs Accaron quam quilibet aestimat Achon: illa Philistaea, Ptolemaida dicitur ista*. But these names seem soon to have been confused, for Accaron here is clearly Acre, as it is in Theoderich, ch. li.; cf. Poloner, *De civitatibus et locis Terrae Sanctae*, etc.

³ See Anon. vi., p. 54, and Tobler's note on Theoderich, ch. xlv.

they have accomplished their vow.¹ From hence one goes to Golgotha, where the Lord's blood flowed down and the rock was rent. Thence one goes to an altar which is believed to rest upon a piece of the column to which Christ was bound and scourged. There, down a descent close by, is the place where the holy cross was found, which is in a crypt beneath an overhanging rock. The altar in the middle is dedicated to St. Helena, and that on the left to St. Quiriacus, whose name was also Judas, who showed the cross to the dead man, and, on seeing the miracle of his being brought to life again, was converted, and was made Bishop of Jerusalem. In the midst of the canons' choir there is a place which deserves especial reverence, for that Christ, after He was taken down from the cross, was laid there before He was borne to the sepulchre. Here a light is always kept burning. The high altar is dedicated to St. Mary. After this one goes to the holy sepulchre. This has an altar on the south (north side), and a fair church dedicated to the Holy Cross, wherein the holy cross is kept. Near this is another church, which belongs to the Syrians, wherein they also keep a holy cross. Almost at the end of the church, on the south (north) side, is the place which is called 'the Prison,' where Christ was shut up while the gallows or cross was being made ready on the mount. Beneath the five columns of the church are buried the Forty Martyrs, whom we know by their feast being held on the 8th² of March. Near the

¹ The text has *Ubi tanquam voti compotes, adorato crucifixo, cruces scilicet tres quasi reconsignant.* By reading *terrae* instead of *tres* the sentence becomes intelligible. We learn from Theoderich (ch. xii.) that pilgrims started from their homes bearing crosses in their hands; that after they had reached the Church of the Holy Sepulchre these crosses were placed on the rock of Mount Calvary, and that they were burned every year on Easter Even.

² The Roman Calendar has, however, 'vii. Idus Mart. (March 9). Bosa, Ep. et Conf., Quadraginta Milites, M.M.'

place of Calvary there is a place the door into which is closed. In it Jerome says that Adam was buried. Some also say that Adam received (from the cross) in his mouth the drops of blood which ran down, and was thereby raised from the dead.¹ There are three little chapels adjoining the church on the south side, whereof that which is nearest to the church is dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and the furthest one, which looks into the street, is dedicated to St. James the Great. It is said that the Lord sat in the place where the middle altar is, and that St. John sat on His right hand and St. James on His left, what time their mother begged that they might sit one on His right hand and one on His left in His kingdom. It is also said that St. John stood on the spot where his altar is when Christ commended His mother to Him. The most blessed Virgin herself stood watching her Son's Passion on the spot where now is the high altar of the church. Without the great church, by the side of Calvary, there is a little chapel dedicated to Mary Magdalen, on the place where the three Marys stood at the time of the Passion.

III. The Church of St. John the Baptist stands almost opposite, facing the great church, and is worthy of honour both because of its most holy relics and its exceeding famous charities. There one may see that there are six (? seven)² works of mercy to be performed. Near it is the Church of St. Mary the Latin, which is notable for its antiquity and for the honour due to its relics. Therein is St. Philip's head and some of St. Mary's hair.

¹ See Theoderich, pp. 10 and 20, and Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, *s.v.* 'Golgotha.'

² The official Catechism of the Roman Catholic Church reckons seven 'corporal works of mercy,' as follows: 1. To feed the hungry; 2. To give drink to the thirsty; 3. To clothe the naked; 4. To harbour the harbourless; 5. To visit the sick; 6. To visit the imprisoned; 7. To bury the dead. Matt. xxv. 35, 36; cf. Tobit, xii.

IV. On Mount Sion is the place where the Holy Ghost appeared on the Apostles in fiery tongues and enlightened their hearts. There (Christ) washed the disciples' feet and let Thomas feel His side. There also Christ supped. There is the very table whereon He supped. Before the door is the place which is called the 'Place of the Holy Ghost.' On the south side is the place which is called Galilee,¹ where He said : 'I will go before you into Galilee.' Over against this, on the north side, is the place where the blessed Mary departed from this world. At the end of this side, toward the east, there is an altar beneath which St. Stephen,² Gamaliel, Abybas, and Nicodemus are buried. Without the churchyard, on the north, there is a church dedicated to St. Peter, on the place where the judgment-hall is said to have been. Without the city there is a church which is called 'the Church of St. Peter at the Cock-crowing,' on the place where, after his third denial and the crowing of the cock, he hid himself and wept bitterly. Within the walls also there is a church of 'St. Peter of the Fetters,' at the place where Herod kept him bound with two chains.

V. As one comes back to the Lord's temple, the first place with which one meets is that of the holy Presentation. Hard by it is the place where Jacob slept and saw the ladder, and wrestled with the angel, and set up a stone for a pillar.³ Beneath the choir, on the south side, there is a crypt hewn out of the rock, which is called the 'Place of Confession,' because it was there that Christ met the woman to whom He said : 'No man hath condemned thee,' etc. At the head of the temple is St. James's Chapel,

¹ See Fabri, vol. i., part 2, pp. 481, 482; Fetellus, p. 4, in this series.

² Fabri, i. 310. See the note 'Stephen' in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible.

³ Fabri, vol. ii., p. 145, note; Theod., ch. xv.; John of Würzburg, ch. x.

which stands on the place where he was cast down and slain with a fuller's club. This James, the son of Alphacus, was the first Bishop of Jerusalem. Not far off are shown the Golden Gates, through which the Lord entered Jerusalem when He came from the Mount of Olives riding upon an ass, while the children cried out: 'Hosanna to the Son of David!' These gates are only opened on Palm Sunday and on the day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. Next one sees the spot where is the cradle¹ and the bath and Simeon's tomb, at the place where Christ Himself is said to have dwelt with Simeon for a year and a half.

VI. Near the city gate, looking into the Valley of Jehoshaphat, is the Church of St. Anne, the mother of St. Mary, whom she bore and nursed while dwelling there. Near it is the sheep-pool, which has five arches. This is the place where the wood of the cross long furnished a passage to those who went to the pool, albeit the Templars show another pool which they say is the sheep-pool. From thence one goes into the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where is St. Mary's sepulchre. There, just before the door of the monastery, is the place called Gethsemane, where Judas betrayed him. There is the rock which is said to have yielded to the pressure of his fingers.² In this same chapel there are four separate places, where He found His disciples sleeping, three in each place. Without the churchyard,³ about a bow-shot distant, there is a church dedicated to the Saviour, built on the place where He thrice prayed and His bloody sweat dropped from Him. Near the Convent of Jehoshaphat runs the brook Cedron.

¹ See Anon. vii. and 'The City of Jerusalem' in this series, ch. xiv., p. 15; Fetellus, p. 3, note 4.

² See *post*, p. 25; Fabri i. 476; also Tobler's note, in his edition of Theoderich, p. 245. 'Theoderich,' by T. Tobler, St. Gall and Paris, 1865.

³ *Atrium*: properly the enclosed courtyard before the church door, as at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

There also, in the place where the hermits dwell,¹ there is a church dedicated to St. James. At the end of the Valley of Jehoshaphat is Aceldama, the field which was bought with the thirty pieces of silver to bury strangers in; for no one is denied burial therein.

VII. As pilgrims go up the Mount of Olives they first come to the church which is called the Church of the Pater-noster, because it stands where Christ taught His disciples the Lord's Prayer. There is a stone beneath the altar whereon He Himself wrote the Lord's prayer with His finger. Next comes the Church of St. Pelagia² the virgin. The Place of the Ascension is to be seen in the church which is built on the top of the mount. Close by it is Bethphage. From thence one goes to Bethany. From Bethany one goes to the Jordan, and first to Jericho, where is the garden of Abraham.³ Here flows the stream from the fountain of Elia(s) . . . in the place where there were twelve wells and seventy palm-trees. To the left as one comes thither there is a place fortified⁴ by religious persons, which place

¹ 'The City of Jerusalem,' ch. xxiv.; Poloner, p. 238, in Tobler's 'Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae.'

² See Antoninus, ch. xvi.; Theoderich, Tobler's edition, note, pp. 245, 247; Anon. Pilgrim v., I, p. 25; vii., p. 73; and Fabri, i. 499, in this series.

³ Abraham's garden. Tobler refers the reader to Theoderich, ch. xxviii., where in his note I find references to his 'Topographie' (vol. ii., pp. 559, 573), to Werlauf's 'Symbolae ad Geographiam (campi Abrahami, 31), to Anon. ii., ch. 7, iv., ch. 8, and vii., *fin.*; and to the French Anonymous Pilgrim quoted in his 'Topographie,' ii. 1002, and to Odoricus (ed. Laurent), p. 156. See also his note to Innom. vii. (in 'Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae,' Leipsic, 1874), p. 413, where he remarks that this garden of Abraham was, in the time of the Crusaders, still a palm-grove, and seems to have been identical with the *campus sacer* or *ager domini* of Antoninus, ch. xiii. Compare the note to Anon. v., I, ch. xi.

⁴ Theoderich, ch. xxix., says 'the crest of Mount Quarantana and its subterranean caves are full of victuals and arms belonging to the Templars, who can have no stronger fortress, or one better suited for the annoyance of the infidels' (p. 47 in this series).

is called Quarantena, because Christ fasted there for forty days. At the top of the mount is the place where Satan tempted Him. From thence one goes to the Jordan.

VIII. There is also a place without the city of Jerusalem, which is called the 'charnel-house of the lion,' where rest the bodies of many saints. Beyond this there is a monastery of Georgians, called 'At Stump' or 'At Stock,'¹ because the wood of the holy cross is said to have been cut down at that place. The altar stands on the place where the stump was. On the road which leads to Bethlehem is Rachel's tomb, and the place where Elias is revered, and a church dedicated to him is built there. There is the place where the Lord was born . . . : there Jerome is buried. There are many relics of the Holy Innocents. Not far off is the place which is called *Gloria in excelsis*, because when the Lord was born the angels were heard there singing 'Glory to God in the highest.' As one goes to St. Abraham² at Hebron, one first meets with the root of the oak of (Mount) Mamre. At this place also there is now a church dedicated to the Holy Trinity.³ At Hebron is the place where Cain killed his brother Abel. There also is the mount where each of them made offerings of their first-fruits to the Lord. There also is shown the earth whereof Adam was made. Returning, one must pass through the Church of St. John Baptist, on the spot where he himself preached in the wilderness baptism and repentance. At that place there is an unfailing spring of water, which burst forth at his prayer at the time of his preaching. From hence one goes to St. Zachariah, to the place where he and St. Elizabeth used to dwell when he had fulfilled his duty as priest. It was there that the Blessed Mary greeted St. Elizabeth, and the Babe leaped in her womb. From thence one goes by the castle called Emmaus into the Holy City.

¹ Ad Truncum sive Stipitem.

² See note, p. 26.

³ See Tobler's note to Theoderich, ch. xxxiv.

IX. Near the city is the place Gion, where now there is a monastery of Greeks. On the left hand, near the Mount of Olives, there is a monastery of Syrians. In the valley between the Mount of Olives and Mount Gion On the Mount of Olives there is (? can be seen) the lake which is called the Dead Sea, where the four cities of the Sodomites, Gomorrha and the rest of them, were swallowed up. Jordan enters into that lake and is lost therein.

X. In the city there is a monastery of Jacobites,¹ wherein is the head of St. James and the arm of St. Stephen the first martyr. The Jacobites also own the church of St. Mary Magdalen, where they show some of her hair. In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the gate which looks towards the chapel belonging to the Syrians, wherein they keep the holy cross, is that very door at which St. Mary of Egypt² stood, and could not enter save after true repentance.

ANONYMOUS PILGRIM III.

(12th century.)

THIS IS THE WAY TO THE HOLY LAND.

I. FIRST from the port of Brindisi,³ which is a city in the kingdom of Apulia, one crosses the sea, a journey of three days and three nights, to the city of Clarence,⁴ which stands in the isle of Romania. Here there is clear and excellent wine, and grassy hills, and abundance of sweet air; and in that isle there are one hundred and twenty-three good cities, and fair women. From Clarence one travels one hundred miles by sea to the castle of the city of Thoron,

¹ See Ricoldus, ch. xvii., p. 124, in Laurent: 'Quatuor medii aevi peregrinatores.' Hamburg, 1864.

² See Willis's 'Holy Sepulchre,' p. 102; Anon. iv. 7.

³ *Brandicia*. Saewulf calls it *Brandia*.

⁴ See Fabri, vol. i., p. 183, note

where there is a good isle, vineyards, many towns, hills, and groves.

II. From Thoron one goes by sea to the city of Candia, which is in an isle belonging to the Greeks, three hundred miles further. In this isle there are twelve excellent cities, good vineyards, fertile trees that bear precious gums, divers herbs and aromatic drugs, and much wealth in jewels and rich raiment. From Candia one goes by sea six hundred miles to Cyprus, which is a city on an exceeding high mountain and a little isle, having only nine cities, and good vineyards and divers shrubs. From Cyprus one goes by sea one hundred miles to the port of the city of Baffa, which has dominion over more than one hundred and twelve isles of the sea. There are excellent vineyards, and aromatic herbs, and precious stones, divers kinds of merchandise, cunning workmen, and beauteous women, skilled in needlework, and exceeding devout. At this place St. Mark the Evangelist preached and wrought many miracles. Moreover, it is two days' journey by land from Bapha (*sic*) to Lymatzu (Limasol), which is the capital city of the order of St. John the Baptist, and also of the order of Knights Templars.¹ Also from Lymatzu to the city of Famagusta is one day's journey by sea, and there is the capital of the Order of St. Lazarus² and of the Holy Ghost. Also from Nicosia

¹ *Locus capitalis sancti Johannis Baptistae et etiam ordinis templariorum.* Probably when this was written the Christians had been driven out of the Holy Land. According to Fuller ('Holy Warre,' Book iii., ch. 7), 'King Richard . . . pawned the island to the Templars for ready money.' Mrs. Batson Joyner, in her edition of Herr von Lohér's account of Cyprus (London, Allen and Co., 1878), says that the Templars established themselves at Limasol in the reign of Guy de Lusignan. I find no mention of the Hospitallers there. For an account of the connection of the Templars with Cyprus, and especially with Limasol, see Florio Bustron's 'Chronicle of the Isle of Cyprus,' edited by René de Mas Latrie, Paris, 1886, p. 169, etc.

² The Order of St. Lazarus is often confused with that of the Hospitallers, but was nevertheless an older and distinct organization.

one goes by sea one hundred miles to the city of Cyprus. And in that island there are one hundred and thirty cities and good castles, excellent sweet wine, handsome, strong and brave men, and a great and exceeding rich kingdom. There St. Patrick¹ wrought many miracles in his lifetime,

The fact of its headquarters having been at Cyprus is mentioned in 'The City of Herod and Saladin,' by E. H. Palmer and W. Besant, p. 274. But the 'Histoire des Ordres Religieux' says of these knights that 'aiant este chasses de la Terre Sainte l'an 1253 ils suivirent le Roi Saint Lõuis, qui, en reconnoissance des services qu'ils lui avoient rendus en Orient, confirma les Donations que ses predecesseurs leur avoient faites. . . . Pour lors ils establirent le Chef de leur Ordre à Boiegnny pres á Orlèans, qui leur avoist esté donné des l'an 1154, par Louïs dit le Jeune, et le Grand-Maistre prit le Titre de Grand-Maistre de l'Ordre de St. Lazare, tant deça que dela les mers, sa jurisdiction s'étendant non seulement sur les chevaliers qui estoient en France, mais mesme sur tout les Estrangers' ('Histoire des ordres Religieux,' Paris, 1714, vol. i., p. 264). 'In Kalendario Æthiopum Habessinorum die xx Maii memoria legitur S. Lazari, Episcopi Cypri, qui secunda vice mortuus est, inquit, postquam nempe a Domino a mortuis fuerat excitatus' (Oriens Christianus, Le Quien, Paris, 1740, folio). But Roger Hoveden's Chronicle says that Lazarus was Bishop of Marseilles, and was buried there. See 'Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous les Lusignans,' par R. de Mas Latrie, vol. i., p. 74 ; Paris, 1861. The order of the Holy Ghost (du S. Esprit au droit-desir) was founded by Louis of Tarentum, in memory of his having been crowned on the Day of Pentecost, 1352, King of Sicily and Jerusalem. 'Il institua un Ordre Militaire sous le nom du S. Esprit du droit-desir, plus connu communément sous le nom de l'Ordre du Noeud' ('Histoire des Ordres Religieux,' Paris, 1714). See also 'Flores Historiarum,' A.D. 1244, vol. ii., p. 272, in the Rolls series.

¹ I can nowhere find any account of St. Patrick, whether the apostle of Ireland or any other saint of that name, having been in Cyprus. Of St. John I find the following notice in M. R. de Mas Latrie's History: 'St. Jean Lampadis:te, le *Brilliant*, l'*Illuminé*, est, a juste titre, un des Saints populaires de l'île, surtout dans les cantons du Nord Ouest, ou il est né et d'ou est venu vraisemblablement son nom. Sa vie, peu connue d'ailleurs, parait n'avoir rien d'éclatant. . . . La Montagne de Troodus, au contraire, l'antique Olympe chypriote, au pied de laquelle Jean vint au monde, a été nomme Lampadiste (Florio Bustron, fol. 32), a cause des neiges qui par une exception unique dans l'île, blanchissent quelque fois ses plus

and there also rests St. John who went with Christ to His crucifixion. Also from the isle of Cypris men go to the castle of Asarimum¹ by the sea, towards the kingdom of Armenia.² The whole province of Cyprus hath in circuit six hundred miles.

III. As one journeys further on towards Jerusalem, one leaves the harbour of the city of Phamum (? Famagosta), and goes by sea three hundred miles to the city of Jaffa. There beginneth the main land; that is to say, the Holy Land. Also from Jaffa to Jerusalem one goes by land twelve miles to Rama, a great and fair city.

IV. Also from Rama to Jerusalem, the holy city, is thirty-eight miles, overland, and there is Christ's sepulchre. There is a great round church, having three exceeding beauteous doors of marble, and in this church is now the Place of Calvary, a great rock as tall as a man. In this

hautes cimes.' He was called 'Lampadiste,' no doubt because of the fires lighted on St. John's Eve. Cf. Fabri, vol. i., p. 191, and 'Norway and the Norwegians,' by C. F. Keary, Percival and Co., London, 1892, for an account of the midsummer fires.

¹ Place unknown; perhaps mouth of the Sarus.

² The Cilician kingdom of Armenia had nothing to do with Armenia Minor, though called Lesser Armenia in the Middle Ages. After the Byzantines murdered Gagik, the last king of Armenia Proper, one of his relatives, Rupen, escaped to Cilicia, and established himself there. He and his successors were at constant war with the Byzantines, and sometimes in alliance, sometimes at war, with the Latins (Crusaders). They had several capitals at various times—Tarsus, Anazarba, and Sis, or Cis. The last, still the seat of an Armenian Catholicos and a quasi-rival of Etchmiadzin, was Leo's capital; it is at the foot of Taurus, north-east of Adana. Leo II. was crowned (see p. 28) by Conrad von Wittelsbach, Archbishop of Mainz, in the name of the Emperor Philip, in 1198, and married two Latin princesses in succession. Leo conquered part of Isauria, but it was not held long, and there was no permanent establishment north of the Taurus. The Armenians held the mountains north-east of Sis strongly, and the last relic of the old Armenian kingdom is Zeitun, which, up to about 1876, maintained a sort of semi-independence.

rock there is a hole, which is said to be in the middle of the earth, and in this hole the Lord's cross was set. Christ was buried close to Calvary, and the stone which was put at the mouth of His tomb is a great red one. Above the Lord's sepulchre brightly burns a lamp, wondrously adorned, which goes out of itself every year at the ninth hour on Good Friday, and again lights itself on Easter Day, at the hour of Christ's resurrection. This lamp is said to have been placed here in honour of the Holy Sepulchre by Martha and her brother Lazarus.

V. Also from Jerusalem it is one day's journey or four miles to the city of Bethlehem. Christ was born at Bethlehem without the city, at the place where a church has been built and dedicated to the glorious Virgin, which church is now within the city. In this church all those possessed by devils and all who have the falling sickness are set free and healed in the sight of all men, and many other miracles are daily displayed there. Moreover, every year in the middle of the night, at the hour when Christ was born, all the trees round about the city of Bethlehem bow their branches down to the ground toward the place where Christ was born, and when the sun rises gradually raise them up again.

VI. Also from Bethlehem it is one day's journey to the river Jordan, where Christ was baptized by John. Also from the river Jordan it is one mile . . . to the Mount of Olives, and between the Mount of Olives and Mount Sion is the Valley of Jehoshaphat, an exceeding pleasant place.

VII. Also it is two days' journey from Jerusalem to Nazareth, in which city the angel Gabriel announced Christ to the Virgin Mary. Here also a fair church, called the Church of the Annunciation to Mary, has been built. In it many miracles have been wrought, and they are displayed there even to this day.

VIII. Likewise in the Valley of Jehoshaphat there is a great church built of stone, wherein is the sepulchre of the adorable Virgin Mary, and also a high altar hewn all out of one stone, which is said to have been wrought by the hands of angels. In that church there is oftentimes an exceeding sweet odour, yet not all men, but only such as are virgins, chaste and devout, can smell it. At that church it is said that such large indulgence is granted that whosoever of the Christian faith shall come thither during his pilgrimage on the day of the Assumption of the glorious Virgin, having confessed and repented him of his sins, he shall be absolved from his sins and from the punishment thereof.

IX. Also it is a five days' journey from Nazareth to the city of Jericho, which is a pleasant place, abounding with vineyards, and of a fertile soil. Here the Lord lightened the eyes of the blind man who was crying out by the roadside. On this spot a church, called the Church of Christ's Miracles, has been built.

X. Also it is a four days' journey from Jericho to the city of Samaria, where is Jacob's Well. It was beside this well that the Lord thirsted by the way, and begged for drink from a woman that was a sinner.

Also from Samaria . . .

ANONYMOUS PILGRIM IV.

(Not earlier than 12th century.)

I. THE shortest way to the (Holy) Land is from Famagusta, to Akris¹ on the third day, and to Yaf² in three days and nights. Akris lies lower down. First of all, from the country of Cyprus one goes by sea to the city of Yaf in three days and nights. Also from Yaf it is three German miles to Ramatha.

¹ Acre. See Anon. ii. 1, and Tobler's note to Theoderich, ch. xlvii.

² Jaffa.

II. Also from Ramatha it is one day's journey to the holy city of Jerusalem, which is built upon the Mount Sion. In Jerusalem is the holy sepulchre of the Lord. Also without the city there are three places where Christ prayed to the Father. A place is shown there, beneath that same Mount of Olives, where the disciples sat them down heavy with sleep. Also there is shown the place where Jesus was taken in the garden. Also there is shown the house of Annas, to which the Lord was first brought, which is within the city. Also there is the house of Caiaphas. Also the house of Pilate. Also the house of Herod. Also there is the place where the Lord was scourged. Also the place where He was found guilty of death. Also it was through the iron gate that the Lord bore His cross when he went to His death. There also is the place where the Virgin Mother met her Son and scarce knew Him from excess of trouble. And there are the fifteen steps up which the Lord went to the place of Calvary. Also there is the place where He was crucified, and where the cross was fixed in the rock. Also there is the place where the Lord was laid after He was taken down from the cross. Also there is the place where the Lord was wrapped in fine linen and laid in the most holy sepulchre. Also there is the place where the Lord first appeared to Mary Magdalen after His resurrection. Also there is the place where St. Helena found the Lord's holy cross. Also there is the place where the Lord's cross was laid upon a dead man and he came to life again.

III. Also there is the place where the Lord appeared to the disciples as they sat on Mount Sion with closed doors after the resurrection. Also on that same mount there is the place where Thomas put his fingers into the Saviour's side. Also on that same mount there is the place where the Lord sent down the Holy Ghost upon the disciples. Also on that same mount there is the place where the Lord

supped with His disciples on Maundy Thursday. Also on that same mount rests King David. Also on that same mount there is St. Mary's house, wherein she dwelt after the resurrection of her beloved Son. Also there is the place where the same glorious Virgin sickened and died.

IV. Also there is the house of St. Anne, the mother (grandmother) of God, wherein she bore the glorious Virgin. Also there is the house of Simon the leper, where Mary Magdalen's many sins were forgiven her. Also there are four statues, which sweated bloody sweat even as they do to this day, out of sympathy for the Lord. Also on Palm Sunday the Lord entered through the Golden Gate.

V. Also without the city is the Valley of Jehoshaphat, wherein is the Virgin Mary's sepulchre. Also there is the Pool of Siloam, wherein the man who was born blind, whose eyes the Lord opened, washed himself. Also within the city is Solomon's temple and the sheep-pool. Also without the city is the Potter's Field, that is, the Field of Blood.

VI. Also on the Mount of Olives the Lord appeared to His disciples after His resurrection. Also on that same mount the Lord ascended into heaven. Also in that same place there is the sepulchre of St. Mary of Egypt.¹

VII. Also Gaffa, where the holy Apostles James and John the Evangelist were born. It is two days' journey distant from Jerusalem toward the north.

VIII. Also Mount Quarentenus, where the Lord fasted and was tempted of the devil. It is five good German miles from Jerusalem. At the same place, too, is Abraham's Garden,² where the holy prophets are buried. Also the Jordan, where the Lord was baptized. It is about twelve German miles from Jerusalem.

IX. Also Nazareth, where the Lord was announced and conceived. It is about three days' journey from Jerusalem.

¹ See p. 10; also Fabri ii., 35.

² See p. 10, note 3.

Also Akkaron (Acre), where the Lord's Field is.¹ It is three days' journey from Jerusalem, on the same road as Nazareth.

X. Also the Valley of Hebron, where Adam is said to have been buried . . . is one mile from Jerusalem, and Hebron is four miles further.

XI. Also Bethany,² where the Lord raised Lazarus from the dead. It is fifteen stadia from Jerusalem. A stone's throw in front of the castle of Bethany is the place where Martha and Mary met the Lord to beg Him to raise Lazarus. In Bethlehem (Bethany) is Simon's house, into which he invited the Lord. There also is Martha's house; wherein the Lord was entertained. This house has been made into a church in honour of the sisters. Also not far from that same house there stands a marble chapel on the spot where Lazarus was raised.

XII. We are shown the path down the Mount of Olives where the Hebrew children cried to the Lord, 'Hosanna in the highest!' and where also the Lord wept over the city. Thence one goes on between the place of Jesus's prayer and the place in Gethsemane where He was taken prisoner, and comes to Golgotha.

XIII. The Valley of Jehoshaphat, wherein is our Lady's sepulchre, protects the city on one side. At this place there is now a church, but it is sixty steps beneath the earth. There is a chapel without the sepulchre before the stone altar, and beneath that chapel is the brook Cedron. It is a damp church. Not far away, fifty feet from the door of that chapel, is the door of another church, which is called Gethsemane.

XIV. At the foot of Mount Sion is the fountain of Siloam, and next to it the bathing-pool of Siloam. About a

¹ See p. 10, note 3.

² Here, Tobler points out, the description of the holy places begins over again.

stone's-throw from these is Aceldama, the Strangers' Field. Therein there are many famous tombs. There Isaiah was buried. He was sawn asunder near the fountain of Siloam, and his sepulchre stands more than a stone's-throw distant from Siloam.

XV. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is round, and hath the pre-eminence. It is seventy-four feet in diameter between the columns, not counting the apses, which project thirty feet away all round, standing out beyond the outer wall of the church.¹ Above the Lord's sepulchre, which is in the middle of the church, there is a round opening, and (the sepulchre) is everywhere cased with marble without, but within it is bare rock, even as it was at the time of the Passion.

One enters the sepulchre at a very low, small door on the east side. The tomb in the sepulchre is on the right hand as one comes in, against the north wall, and is of gray marble, eight feet long, and closed on all sides. No daylight can come into it, because there is no window, but nine lamps hang there and light up the sepulchre. There is another cave before one comes to the Lord's cave, of the same length and width and arrangement both within and without. As one comes out these two caves seem, as seen from without, to be one; but when you have entered

¹ *Et habet per diametrum inter columnas lxxiv. pedes praeter absides, quae habent per circuitum a muro exteriori ecclesiae xxx pedes.* This sentence is somewhat confused, but presents no difficulty, I think, when referred to the plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The distance across the diameter of the circle of columns is first measured, and then, instead of measuring from the circle of columns to the outer wall, our author measures from the circle of columns to the furthest part of one of the three identical apses which project from the circular outer wall of the church. Measured on Professor Willis's plan, the distance from the ring of columns to the end of any one of the three apses comes to exactly seventy feet. I think therefore that *per circuitum* means 'round about the circle of columns,' or vaguely 'all round.' It cannot mean 'round the outer wall.'

in, you will see that they are separated from one another by a wall. One enters first the one, and then the other in which is the sepulchre. It was the outer one into which the women entered when they said, 'Who will roll the stone away for us?' and so forth. This stone was rolled up to the door of the inner cave, and to this day a great part thereof lies before that same door; the other part has been removed to Mount Sion for an altar. Mount Calvary is 108 feet distant from the sepulchre. The place of the crucifixion is a hole two palms deep and as many wide, which will take in a man's head.

ANONYMOUS PILGRIM V. I.

(According to W. Neumann, the pilgrimage described both in V. 1 and V. 2 was earlier than 1187, but the book not written before 1198, or the beginning of the 13th century, a little earlier than Thietmar.)

I. FROM Accon I went to Caifa,¹ which is at the foot of Mount Carmel, where dwelt Elijah the prophet. From thence I came to Caesarea, thence to Assur, thence to Joppa, thence to Rama, thence to Bethnopolis, thence to Jerusalem, which is entered by St. Stephen's Gate, where he was stoned.

II. Thence one enters the Lord's sepulchre, where there is a circle which the Lord said was in the middle of the world. On the right hand of the choir is Mount Calvary, where the Lord suffered on the cross. Beneath is Golgotha, where the Lord's blood rent the rock and fell upon Adam's head. Before Golgotha the Kings of Jerusalem are buried.² Behind the (tomb of the) high altar is the pillar to which the Lord was bound and scourged.

¹ See Fetellus, p. 48, De Vogüé's note.

² See appendix to Theoderich in this series.

Hard by, down a stair of forty steps, is the place where St. Helena found the holy cross. On the right hand of the choir is the Lord's prison and chain. At the entrance to the holy sepulchre, down a stair of forty steps,¹ is the chapel of the Greeks, wherein is the image of the blessed Virgin Mary, which spoke to St. Mary of Egypt and converted her. Near it is the holy cross, which was found on the 21st day of May; from thence one takes one's way to the Chapel of the Holy Prison. Over against the holy sepulchre, on the south side, is the Hospital of St. John. Beside it, on the right, there is a nunnery. Near this is another monastery, which is called (St. Mary) the Latin: it was there that the blessed Mary and the other Marys tore their hair when the Lord was dying on the cross.

III. Two bowshots from this place is the temple of the Lord, to which there are four entrances and twenty-two doors.² In the midst of the temple there is a great and holy rock, whereon He was presented. Here may be seen Jacob's footprints, and here Jacob saw the angels ascending and descending. Here Abraham made a sacrifice to God of his son Isaac. Beneath the rock is the place which is called the Holy of Holies, where the Lord wrote with His finger on the ground, and where He forgave her sins to the woman who was taken in adultery. On the right is the place where the angel appeared to Zacharias the prophet. The gate which looks toward the west is called the Beautiful Gate, and that which looks toward the east is called the Gate of Paradise, which was spoken of by the prophet, 'I saw water,' etc.³

IV. By the way out, near the temple enclosure, is the sheep-pool, where at times the angel of the Lord came down into the water. Near this place is St. Anne's Church, and

¹ Probably repeated from above.

² Compare John of Würzburg, pp. 16, 17.

³ Ezek. xlvii. 1. See John of Würzburg, p. 16.

her sepulchre, and another sheep-pool.¹ As one goes up towards the sepulchre there is Pilate's judgment-hall, in front whereof the Blessed Virgin stood in hiding in the street, weeping and waiting to see what would become of her Son.

V. To return to the temple: the gate which looks toward the east is called the Jerusalem Gate, and along this passage may be seen the footprints of the ass which bore our Lord. Below are the Golden Gates. Before the Lord's temple, on the south side, is Solomon's temple, and at the corner of the city is the Lord's column² and His bath.

VI. Near the Tower of David there is a chapel belonging to the Greeks, where are the relics of SS. John Chrysostom, Demetrius, and Martin.³ Near this is a chapel belonging to the Armenians, where St. James, the son of Zebedee, was beheaded.

VII. Thence one makes one's way to Mount Sion. It was in the church in this place that the Blessed Virgin passed away from this world. Here is a chapel, on the place where the Lord was judged, scourged, and crowned with thorns. This was once the house and judgment-hall of Caiaphas. Above the great church of Mount Sion is the Chapel of the Holy Ghost, where it came down upon the disciples on the Day of Pentecost. The altar stands on the spot where He supped with His disciples. Beneath is the place where the Lord washed His disciples' feet. It was into this place that the Lord came to His disciples as they sat with closed doors, and said: 'Peace be unto you.'

VIII. In the valley at the foot of Mount Sion there is a chapel which is called Galilee, and which stands on the place where St. Peter was when the cock crew. Near it is

¹ This 'other sheep-pool' is conjectured by Tobler to be identical with the spring.

² Der Pfeiler ist das später als Mohammed's Sitz bezeichnete Säulstück an der Südost-ecke der Tempel und Stadt Mauer, in angulo civitatis.—W. Neumann. See Fabri, vol. ii., part 1, p. 130.

³ See Pal. Exp. Fund, Quarterly Statement, October, 1893, p. 283.

the bathing-pool of Siloam, where the Lord opened the eyes of a man blind from his birth. At this place the prophet Isaiah was buried. Beyond the bathing-pool of Siloam is the field Acheldamach, the burial-place of strangers.

IX. Beneath the Golden Gate runs the brook Cedron, wherein David picked five stones and slew Goliath with them. Near it is the place of Josaphat and the sepulchre of the Blessed Virgin Mary, from which she was taken up into heaven. Near to this is Gethsemane, where the Lord was taken prisoner; and there the print of His fingers may be seen on a wall. A stone's-throw further stands the Church of the Saviour, where He prayed to His Father, and His sweat was as In the valley beneath a sharp . . .¹ King Josaphat is buried, and therefore it is called the Valley of Josaphat. Beside this valley is the Mount of Olives, where the Lord ascended into heaven. There is a stone, whereon His footprints may be seen to this day. Near it is a chapel of the Greeks, in which rests the body of St. Pelagia.² There is also another chapel, on the place where the Lord made the Lord's Prayer.

X. It is one mile from the Mount of Olives to Bethany, where the Lord raised Lazarus and forgave Mary her sins. From hence it is twelve miles to Quarentena, where the Lord fasted for forty days and was tempted by Satan. At the foot of the Mount is Abraham's Garden. This is near Jericho, whence it is four miles to the Jordan. From thence to Sinai is eight days' journey.³

¹ *Sub acu.* Probably the text, which is clearly corrupt, followed John of Würzburg, who has *sub acuto pyramide*. Compare note, p. 68.

² 'Pelagia dwelt on the Mount of Olives in the fifth century, and had her food passed through a hole in the wall. Antoninus saw her cell and her grave. Probably she was the foundress of a nunnery which existed until the invasion of the Persians or of the Arabs under Omâr.'—Tobler. See pp. 10 and 73, and Fabri, i. 498, 499.

³ 'Una diaeta Eusebio auctore sunt xii. pass rom.' Jac de Vitri. lib. iii., page 5 apud Gretzer gibt xii.; Odoricus (p. 155), xv, diaetas an.—Neumann.

XI. The convent of St. Elias is two miles to the south of Jerusalem. Near it is the 'flowery field,'¹ and by the road-side is Rachel's Tomb. One mile from that place is Bethlehem, where the Lord was born and laid in the manger. On the right-hand side of the choir there is a well, into which the star is said to have fallen. On the left-hand side are the Holy Innocents. Beneath the cloister is the sepulchre of St. Jerome. It is two miles from hence to the place where the shepherds abode by night, and where the angel sang 'Glory to God in the highest.' It is twelve miles from Bethlehem to the place of St. Abraham.² Here it was that God made Adam, and Adam wept for his son Abel for a hundred years. There also sleep the bodies of the holy patriarchs. It is one mile from Jerusalem to the place where the holy cross grew. From Jerusalem to Emmaus is six miles.

XII. It is twenty-four miles from Jerusalem to Samaria, which is called Neapolis. At this place is Jacob's Well, where the Lord talked with the woman.³ It is four miles farther to Sebastia, where John the Baptist was beheaded. From that place to Mount Tabor is twenty-three miles.

¹ Campus floridus. W. Neumann says: 'Auch Odoricus (153) Von Gyon weg unam leucam manebant Samuel et Helias, et ibi est campus ubi Helias raptus est in celum, et dicitur campus floridus. Möglich ist es, das es dasselbe Feld ist, welches Bern. mon., 16, erwähnt als das Feld in quo laborabat Habacuc, quum Angelus Domini jussit ei prandium ferre Danieli in Babylon'; cf. Theod., ch. xxxvi. See Anton. Plac., xxxii.; Tobler, Topogr., ii. 573. Mediaeval accounts of the 'campus floridus' vary considerably. Ricoldus de Monte Crucis says, p. 111: 'Inde descendentes per vallem Josaphat venimus ad locum ubi erat ortus, in quem introivit Jhesus. Et ibi invenimus locum ubi oravit, et ubi captus fuit juxta ortum. Et nunc dicitur campus florum.' Fabri, 543-5; City of Jerusalem, pp. 41, 58. See also Sir John Maundeville, ch. vi.

² Compare 'The City of Jerusalem,' p. 55. note, and Dr. Tobler's note to Innom. VII, p. 106 ('Descriptiones,' Leipzig, 1874).

³ Phocas, Maundrell, and Burchard.

Thence to Nazareth six miles. It is one mile from Nazareth to Sefhoria, where St. Anne was born. From thence it is six miles to Cana¹ in Galilee, where the Lord turned water into wine. From Sefhoria it is six miles to Saphranum, where St. James and St. John, the sons of Zebedee, were born. From Accon it is six days' journey to Tortosa,² where the Apostles built a chapel in honour of the Blessed Virgin.³

ANONYMOUS PILGRIM V. 2.

(*For date, see p. 22*)

I. THE land of Jerusalem lies in the midst of the earth. It is chiefly mountainous, yet is not barren of produce. It is bounded on the east by Arabia, on the south by Egypt, on the west by the Great Sea, on the north by Syria and the Cyprian Sea. This from the most ancient times has been the common fatherland of all nations, seeing that men come thither to worship the holy places from every part of the world, even as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, about the sending of the Holy Spirit: 'Parthians and Medes and Elamites,' etc. But now people dwell therein, and have houses and places of prayer therein.

II. Of these some are Christians, and some are not. There are divers races of Christians, and they are divided into various sects. Of these, the first are the Franks, who are more properly called Latins. They are warlike men, practised in arms, are bareheaded, and are the only one of

¹ From this passage W. Neumann argues that the traditional place of the miracle must have been Kana el Jelil, not Kefr Kenna—*Oesterreschische vierteljahrschrift fur Katholische Theologie*, 1866. Compare 'The City of Jerusalem,' p. 44, note.

² Tortosa : Antaradus.

³ 'Ibi etiam beatus Petrus primam ecclesiam in honorem beate Virginis construxit, quae hodie permanet.'—Jac. de Vitry, 44. Cf. Wilbrand in Laurent's 'Quatuor peregrin.,' p. 169.

all these races who shave the beard. They are all called Latins, because they use the Latin tongue. They are pure Catholics.

III. Others are Greeks, who are separated from the Church of Rome. They are cunning men, not much practised in arms, and they err from the true faith and the articles thereof, especially in that they say that the Holy Ghost doth not proceed from the Father and the Son, but from the Father alone. They also use leaven in the Sacrament; and they err in many other matters, and have an alphabet of their own.

IV. Others are Syrians. These are useless in war. For the most part they do not let their beards grow like the Greeks, but trim them somewhat. They do not follow either the Latin or the Greek rite. They are everywhere tributary to other nations. In their faith and sacraments, they agree in all respects with the Greeks. They use the Saracenic alphabet, and in all matters spiritual and temporal they are like the Greeks.

V. Others are Armenians.¹ These have some slight skill in arms, and differ in many respects from the Latins and Greeks. They hold their forty days' fast at the time of Christ's nativity; they celebrate Christ's nativity on the day of the Apparition,² and do many other things contrary to the rules of the Church. They have a language of their own, and there is an irreconcilable hatred between them and the Greeks. But of late they have promised obedience to the Church of Rome, since their king has received his crown from the hands of the Archbishop of Mainz, the Legate of the Holy See.³

VI. Others are Georgians, and worship St. George with

¹ See note, p. 15.

² Sir H. Nicolas gives the date of the *Apparitio Domini* as the 6th of January.

³ See p. 15, note 2.

solemn ritual. They let their hair and beard grow long, and wear hats a cubit high. All of them, both churchmen and laymen, wear the tonsure;¹ the clergy wear it round, and the laity square. They use leaven in the Mass, and imitate the Greeks in almost all respects, but have their own alphabet.

VII. Others are Jacobins or Jacobites, who have been led astray by one James into the Nestorian heresy, and do greatly err. They use the Chaldaean alphabet.

VIII. Others are Nestorians, who are heretical in their faith, saying that the Blessed Mary was only the mother of a man, and erring in many other matters. They use the Chaldaean alphabet.

IX. Moreover, the Latins are divided into various nations—to wit, Germans, Spaniards, Gauls, Italians, and the other nations which Europe produces. Three Italian peoples are especially powerful and useful in the land of Jerusalem—to wit, the Genoese, the Venetians, and the Pisans. They are skilled in the use of arms, invincible at sea, practised in every kind of warfare, cunning in the art of trading, and are altogether free from all tribute and toll whatsoever, and exempt from all jurisdiction, making their own laws for themselves. But among themselves they are jealous and quarrelsome, so that the Saracens are safer with them than they are with one another.

X. In this land there are two religious houses, to wit, the Temple and the Hospital. They have an exceeding great abundance of riches, for they have property in and draw revenues from every part of Europe. When they go to the wars, the Templars fight on the right wing and the Hospitallers on the left.

XI. The Templars are most excellent soldiers. They wear white mantles with a red cross, and when they go to

¹ Thietmar, xxix.

the wars a standard of two colours called balzaus¹ is borne before them. They go in silence. Their first attack is the most terrible.² In going they are the first, in returning the last. They await the orders of their Master. When they think fit to make war and the trumpet has sounded, they sing in chorus the Psalm of David, 'Not unto us, O Lord' (*Non nobis, Domine*, Ps. 115), kneeling on the blood and necks of the enemy, unless they have forced the troops of the enemy to retire³ altogether, or utterly broken them in pieces. Should any one of them for any reason turn his back to the enemy, or come forth alive (from a defeat), or bear arms against the Christians, he is severely punished: the white mantle with the red cross, which is the sign of his knighthood, is taken away with ignominy, he is cast out from the society of the brethren, and eats his food on the floor⁴ without a napkin for the space of one year. If the dogs molest him, he does not dare to drive them away. But at the end of the year, if the Master and the brethren think his penance to have been sufficient, they restore him the belt of his former knighthood. These Templars live under a strict religious rule, obeying humbly, having no private property, eating sparingly, dressing meanly, and dwelling in tents.

XII. The Hospitallers bear a white cross on their mantles, and are good knights, who, besides their service in the field, take care of the sick and needy. They live under a rule and discipline of their own.

XIII. Furthermore, the land of Jerusalem hath a

¹ *Bauceant*, J. de Vitri., 65. Thomas says, 'Vexillum bicolor quod balzauo dicitur.'

² The text is so corrupt as to be meaningless, and Thomas's reading, which Neumann considers to make better sense, seems to me much the same. I have given what I believe to be the meaning.

³ Text seems somewhat corrupt here.

⁴ See note to an article on the Knights of Malta in the *Penny Magazine*, May 28, 1836.

patriarch, who is father of the faith and of Christians, and is the vicar of Jesus Christ. He hath four archbishops:¹ one in the province of Palestine—to wit, the Archbishop of Caesarea; another in the province of Phoenicia—to wit, the Archbishop of Tyre; the third is in the province of Galilee—to wit, the Archbishop of Nazareth; and the fourth is in the province of Moab—to wit, the Archbishop of Petra, that is, of Monreal. He of Caesarea hath one suffragan bishop—to wit, the Bishop of Sebaste, the place where John the Baptist and Elisha and Abdias the prophet are buried. He of Tyre hath four suffragans: the bishops of Acre, Sidon, Beyrout, and him of Bleinas,² which is Caesarea Philippi. He of Nazareth hath one suffragan, the Bishop of Tiberias; while he of Petra hath no Latin suffragan, but a Greek one on Mount Sinai.³

XIV. The patriarch hath immediately under him the bishops of Bethlehem, of Lydda, and of Hebron, where Adam and Eve and the three patriarchs are buried.

XV. In the Church of the Lord's Sepulchre there are Austin canons. They have a prior, but vow obedience to the patriarch alone. In the temple of the Lord there is an abbot and canons of the rule of St. Austin. Now, it

¹ Compare the list of bishops in Thietmar, ch. xxix., and Fuller, 'Holy Warre,' Book II., ch. ii., who remarks that 'the bishops were set too thick for all to grow great, and Palestine fed too many cathedral churches to have them generally fat.'

² Belinas.

³ The Latin kings of Jerusalem in the twelfth century claimed supremacy over the peninsula of Sinai. 'Nous lisons dans la chronique de Bernard le Trésorier que le Mont Sinai est en la terre de Seigneur de Krak (Montréal, Petra), et que l'evêque grec de Pharan, residant au couvent de S. Catherine, est mentionné alors comme suffrayant de l'archevêque Latin de Karak.'—Chronique d'Ernoult et de Bernard le Trésorier, edited by René de Mas Latrie, p. 68.—From the article *Seigneurie de Krak et de Montréal*, in *Recherches sur la Domination des Latins en Orient*, by E. A. Rey, Paris, 1877.

should be known that the temple of the Lord is one thing and the temple of the Knights Templars is another; the former are clergy, the latter are soldiers. In the church on Mount Zion there is an abbot and canons regular. In the church of the Mount of Olives there is an abbot and canons regular. In the church of the Valley of Jehoshaphat there is an abbot and black monks. All the aforesaid, together with the bishops above mentioned, help the patriarch in his ministry.

XVI. Moreover, there are the following cities which have no bishops: Ascalon, which is subject to the Bishop of Bethlehem; Joppa, which is subject to the canons of the holy sepulchre; Neapolis, which is subject to the abbot of the temple; and Caifa, which is subject to the Archbishop of Caesarea.

XVII. Now, albeit the land of Jerusalem is throughout holy and sanctified, seeing that the prophets, the Apostles, and the Lord Himself walked therein, yet are there certain spots which men worship beyond all others with peculiar reverence. We will briefly mention their names and merits:

XVIII. Nazareth, wherein the blessed Virgin Mother was born, wherein also, according to the message of the angel, the Son of the Most Highest was conceived in her womb, wherein He was nurtured and grew to man's estate. Bethlehem, wherein was born the Bread of Heaven, whither the Magi, guided by the star, brought presents, and where also rests Jerome, the translator of the Bible into Latin. Jordan, wherein the Saviour by His baptism instituted the rite of human salvation, where the Holy Ghost was seen in the likeness of a dove, and the Father's voice was heard. Also the place of the fast, which is called Quarentena, wherein Christ fasted for forty days, and instituted the keeping of Lent, where also He was tempted by the devil. The Lake of Gennesareth, on whose shores He walked much,

wrought many miracles, and called His disciples. Mount Tabor, whereon He was transfigured in the presence of His disciples, and where Moses and Elias appeared with Him.

XIX. In Jerusalem there are many venerable places, such as the Lord's temple, wherein He was presented, from whence He cast out those who bought and sold, and from whence James, the Lord's brother, was cast down; Mount Sion, whereon He supped with His disciples and instituted the New Testament—here the Holy Ghost appeared in visible form upon the Apostles, and here also the Blessed Virgin passed away—Calvary, where for our salvation He suffered and died on the cross; the sepulchre wherein His body was laid, and from whence He rose again; the Mount of Olives, where He was honourably greeted by the children when He rode upon the ass, and from whence He miraculously ascended; Bethany, where He raised Lazarus; Siloam, where He gave sight to the man who was born blind; the Valley of Josaphat, which is called Gethsemane, where He was taken prisoner by the Jews, and where the Blessed Virgin was buried; the church of Stephen, who was stoned therein; and if we look into the writings of the Old and New Testament there is not from the beginning any valley, any river, any lake which has not seen miracles wrought by the prophets, by the Apostles, yea, and by Christ Himself. Jacob's Well, in the land of Samaria, changes its colour four times in the year, being muddy, blood-red, green, and clear. The fountain of Siloam, near Mount Sion, doth not run every day, but only three days a week. In the land of Jerusalem is the Devil's Lake, on the borders of Arabia and Palestine, whereon were once five cities, which for the sins of their citizens were swallowed up. In this lake nothing that hath life can sink. When Vespasian heard this, he ordered seven men who could not swim to be thrown

therein with their hands and feet bound. They remained therein for three days and did not die. Round about the lake are trees which bear exceeding beauteous fruit ; but the fruit stinks, and when you have plucked it, it stinks and of a sudden falls into ashes.

XX. These be the chief mountains in the land of Jerusalem—Lebanon, Tabor, Hermon, Gilboa, and Carmel. Lebanon is exceeding lofty, and separates Syria from Phoenicia. It hath exceeding tall trees, yet not an abundance of them, as of old. With respect to Mount Gilboa, it is not true, as some do vainly tell us, that it never rains thereon because of David's curse.

XXI. This same land contains many beasts : there are lions, leopards, and an exceeding fierce beast called an ounce, from whose rage nothing can be safe, and they say that even the lion fears him. There are baboons, which they call wild-dogs, who are fiercer than wolves. There also are camels, and buffaloes abound.

XXII. There are exceeding beauteous trees of every sort that grow upon the earth : there are date palms with their fruit, and the trees which are called trees of Paradise, which have leaves above two cubits long and half a cubit wide.¹ They have an oblong fruit, a hundred of which grow touching one another upon one bough, and taste like honey. There also are lemon-trees, whose fruit is acid, and other trees which bear the fruit called Adam's apple, whereon the marks of Adam's teeth may be right plainly seen. Also there are sugar-canes, and shrubs which are sown like wheat, from whence cotton is gathered. Of old there was no balsam in all the world save in the land of Jerusalem, and that was in Jericho. Afterwards the Egyptians came thither, took away the shrubs into Egypt,

¹ Thietmar, ch. xxix., makes their leaves one ell (aune) long and one cubit wide.

and planted them in their city of Babylon,¹ which is now the only place where balsam is found. There is nothing remarkable in the trees, but if they be grown by any save Christians they bear no fruit, and will be doomed to barrenness for ever. There are also cedar-trees, which bear a great fruit, as big as a man's head, but somewhat oblong. This fruit hath three savours—to wit, one in the rind, which is bitter; one beneath the rind in the flesh, which is insipid; and one in the kernel, which is acid. And you must know that the cedar of Lebanon is an exceeding tall tree, but bears no fruit; but the cedar of the sea-coast is small, and bears fruit. There also is a sort of fig-tree, which bears its fruit not among its leaves, but on its trunk alone.

XXIII. The names of the cities and places have gradually been altered because of the changes of the nations who at divers times have dwelt in the land. Jerusalem was first called Jebus, afterwards Salem, wherefore it was called Jerusalem, and afterwards Jerosolyma. After this it was called Elya, from Elia,² the Roman who afterwards rebuilt it, after its destruction by Titus, on the place where it now stands. Ebron was first called Arbe, then Cariathiarim, then Ebron, then Abaram, because Abraham was buried there. Ascalon, which was first called Philistim, was a city of the Philistines. Gaza hath always been so called. What is now called St. George's was called Lidda. Caesarea was first called Dor, then Strato's Tower, and is now called Caesarea in honour of Caesar. Caifa was first called Porfria.³ Acon was afterwards called Ptolemais. Tyre hath ever been so called. It was once a noble city, wherein Agenor reigned, and from whence Dido came. Sidon is

¹ Cairo.

² Aelius Hadrianus.

³ It is erroneously called Porphyria by J. de Vitry.

now called Sagitta. Sarepta is now called Saffera. Beth-lehem was first called Efrata. Neapolis was first called Sichar. Sebastia was first called Samaria. Machomeria was first called Luza, and afterwards Bethel. That which now is called Belinas was first called Paneas, and afterwards Caesarea Philippi.

XXIV. Among other wonders we must not be silent about this, that at Joppa, on the sea-beach, there is a rock Adam,¹ whereunto an exceeding great, nay, an infinite, multitude of the fishes called salmon resort in summer-time, bearing long yellow lines upon their backs, and after kissing the stone, as though it were a holy place, depart swiftly. The fishermen of that land declare that when the Lord bade St. James go into Galilee, St. James answered, 'I will go if that rock will go with me.' Then the rock broke in two, and one half went into Galilee, where it is visited by pilgrims at this day, and is called St. James's Pitcher, while the other half remained here.

Furthermore, the land of Jerusalem hath a Latin king, whom the patriar

Dr. Thomas, who has given a complete edition of this fragment, has also the following extract :

'Of the king and his barons. Of the grandees and barons. Of the cities belonging to the kingdom. Of the Prince of Antioch and the Count of Tripoli. Of the divers kinds of pagans, the Jews, Sadducees, Samaritans, Assassins, Bedouins.'

¹ *Lapis quidam Adam.* Compare Odoricus de Foro Julii, in Laurent's edition, p. 156. 'Et ibi' (at Joppa) 'est portus communis peregrinorum tendencium ad sanctam civitatem Jerusalem. Et ibi est petra quæ dicitur Lomson (?) sancti Jacobi.'—Peregrinatores mediæ ævi quatuor, J. C. M. Laurent. Lipsiæ, J. C. Heinrichs, 1864.

ANONYMOUS PILGRIM VI. (PSEUDO BEDA).

(12th century.)

HERE BEGINNETH BEDA'S ACCOUNT OF THE HOLY LAND.

I. LET us make our start from Chebron, which is Ebron,¹ the capital city. Ebron was of old a capital city of the Philistines, and a dwelling-place of giants; it was in the tribe of Juda, and was a city of priests, and a city of refuge. Ebron was built in the field wherein the Almighty Disposer of Events moulded our first father. Ebron is called Cariatharbe, which in Greek and Saracenic means the city of four, for *cariath* in Greek means 'city,' and *arba* in Saracenic means 'four,' because four worshipful men were buried in the double cave there—to wit, the first man Adam, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, together with their four wives: our mother Eve, Sara, Rebecca, and Leah. Ebron stands near the Vale of Tears.² The Vale of Tears is so called because therein Adam wept for his son Abel for a hundred years, and therein at the warning of an angel he knew his wife Eve and begat Seth, from whose seed Christ was born.

Two miles from Ebron is the sepulchre of Lot, Abraham's nephew.

In Ebron is that field³ whose earth is red, which earth is dug up and eaten by the inhabitants, and is exported to Egypt for sale, and bought as an exceeding precious drug, because it is said to be true that of this earth Adam, the first man, was made. The aforesaid field, however widely

¹ For all this account of Hebron compare Fetellus's 'Description of the Places round Jerusalem,' and also John of Würzburg, ch. xxi., Theoderich, ch. xxxiv.

² J. of W., ch. xxi. Fabri (ii. 414) says that it was a cave, which he was shown at Hebron.

³ See Fabri, vol. ii., part 2, p. 411; and Tobler's notes to Theoderich, ch. xxxiv.

and deeply it be dug into, yet by God's ordinance will be found at the end of the year to be filled up as before.

Near Ebron is the Mount Mambre, at whose foot grows the terebinth-tree, which is called *dyrbs*,¹ that is to say, ilex or oak, beneath which Abraham dwelt for a long time. It was here that he saw the three angels and worshipped one;² that he offered them hospitality to the best of his power, comforted them, and fed them, wherefore according to the old way of belief he was called just.³

The aforesaid ilex was standing up to the time of the Emperor Theodosius, by the testimony of Jerome, and from it grew the one which is seen there and revered at the present day. This tree, albeit dry, yet hath medicinal virtue, as is proved by this, that whoso carries a piece thereof with him when riding, his horse doth not stumble. It was to Ebron that Caleb and Joshua and their ten companions first came when they were spying out the Promised Land; and at Ebron they found the children of Anak, the tribe of the giants.

¹ Tobler, in his note to Theoderich, ch. xxxiv., says: 'This word, with slight varieties of spelling, occurs in Fetellus, John of Würzburg, Odoricus, and Sir J. Maundeville. Probably it is a corruption of the Arab word *duleb* or *dulb*, meaning oak.' Sir C. Wilson conjectures that it may be connected with the Gr. *δρυς*. See John of Würzburg, ch. xxi.

² See Sir John Maundeville, ch. vi.; John of Würzburg, ch. xxi.

³ *Unde prima credendi via dictus est justus*. These words apparently are quoted from what Tobler has named 'The old Compendium,' which is quoted by most of the pilgrims. Unfortunately, I have omitted them in my version of John of Würzburg, where the Latin *Unde et prima credendi via dicta est* is meaningless, or nearly so. I have not met with these words elsewhere, but the incident, with the comment that Abraham 'saw three and worshipped one,' may be found in Theoderich, ch. xxxv. (see Tobler's note), Poloner, Fetellus, p. 8, Abbot Daniel, p. 44, Sir John Maundeville, etc. Probably the sentence which followed this dealt in some fashion with the doctrine of the Trinity, and, being unintelligible to copyists, became corrupted into its present form.

In Ebron David reigned for seven years and a half.

II. Ten miles from Ebron, toward the east, is the Lake of Asphalt, which also is called the Dead Sea—dead, because it receives nothing living. It belongs to the devil, wherefore, by his guidance, those four most unhappy cities, Sodom, Gomorrah, Seboim, and Adama, which went on in their wickedness, were burned up with a flood of sulphurous fire and were sunk in that lake.

The interpretation¹ of Sodoma is 'silent flock' or 'blindness'; that of Gomorrah, 'fear' or 'sedition of the people'; that of Seboim, 'sea' or 'seaport'; that of Adama, 'desirable.' Above the Lake of Asphalt, as thou goest up into Judah, is Segor. Segor has three names: it is called Bala, which is, being interpreted, 'swallowed up'; Zoar, which is a Syrian name; it is called Balezoar by mixing the Syrian and Hebrew together; and it is called Segor, which is, being interpreted, 'a little one.' Segor was saved by the prayers of Lot from being burned or swallowed by the waters, and may be seen at this day. As thou goest out from Segor Lot's wife was turned into a pillar of salt, the traces whereof may be seen to this day. On the beach of the aforesaid sea much alum and much catranum² is found by the inhabitants and is gathered by them, and out of the sea is drawn bitumen, which is called Jews' pitch, and is useful for some kinds of work. Segor is now called 'the town of palms' by the people of the country. The Lake of Asphalt divides Judaea from Arabia.

¹ For all these versions of the names, compare Fetelius, p. 11, in this series.

² Theoderich, ch. xxxv. : 'alumen, quod Saraceni catranum vocant;' so that it seems that there was no difference. This chapter of our author occurs nearly in the same words in Theoderich. Katran, Low Latin *catranum*, Fr. *goudron*. Compare Wright's note to Sir John Maundeville, ch. ix. ; 'Early Travels in Palestine,' in Bohn's Antiquarian Library.

III. When the children of Israel came into Arabia it was a pathless and waterless wilderness. In it the Lord kept His people Israel for forty-two stations¹ and for forty years; meanwhile their clothes did not wear out, and He fed them with the dew of heaven and manna for each of them according to their desire, and meat for their lust.²

I have set down the tale and the meaning of these stations here in this book; it is through them that the true Hebrew, who is eager to make his way from earth to heaven, must pass, and leaving behind him the Egypt of this world, enter into the land of promise and his heavenly home.

Forty-two Stations.

The first station was Ramesses,³ a city of Egypt, wherein Israel gathered together; it entered the wilderness on the second day after Easter in the sight of the Egyptians, whom they (*sic*) had very cleverly spoiled of their vessels of gold and silver. Ramesses is, being interpreted, 'confusion' or 'thunder.'

The second station is Succoth, which means 'booths' or 'tabernacles.'

The third station is Etham in the wilderness, where the Lord first ministered to the wants of His people,⁴ a pillar of fire by night, that they might see all that they wanted to do, and a cloud by day to hide and to shade them. Etham means 'bravery' or 'perfection.'

¹ So I have thought it best to translate *mansio*. The exact meaning of the word in mediaeval times was a place on a post-road where travellers could eat and sleep, whereas *mutatio* only meant a place where they changed horses. *Mansio* therefore signifies a resting-place, a permanent encampment.

² The words, which are corrupt, seem to be a paraphrase of Ps. lxxviii.

³ Ex. xii. 37.

⁴ De Vogüé reads *munstravit*, 'showed His people.'

Mara was the fourth station, three days after the crossing of the Red Sea. Mara means 'bitterness.'

The fifth station was Pi-hariroth, which is near Belsefon,¹ and is, being interpreted, 'the house of the north wind.'

The sixth station was Elim, where they found the twelve wells and the seventy palm-trees.

The seventh station was again beside the Red Sea, where a gulf runs out of the same.

The eighth station was in the Wilderness of Sin, through which one goes even to Mount Sinai. Sin means 'bush' or 'hatred.'

The ninth station was at Delpheta,² which means 'beating.'

The tenth station was at 'Haylus,'³ which means 'leaven.' It was in this wilderness that Israel murmured through hunger, and took quails in the evening and manna in the morning.

The eleventh station was Rephidim,⁴ which means 'the overthrow of the brave' or 'the loosing of hands.' Here a fountain of water burst forth from Horeb for the thirsty people. Here Joshua overthrew Amalek; here Jethro came to Moses; here the people murmured against God, and while Moses was away made a golden calf and worshipped it.

The twelfth station was the Wilderness of Sinai; this word is, being interpreted, 'bush.' At this station Moses went up to God in Mount Sinai, and here the Lord came down to him and gave him the Law written with His own finger on tables of stone hewn out of that same mount. Moses there accomplished a fast of forty days and forty nights. At this station the tabernacle was made.

¹ Baal-zephon. Compare St. Silvia, p. 21.

² Fetellus has *Delpheca*; Dophkah, 'knocking' or 'overdriving.'

³ Fetellus has *Alus*; Alush, 'a crowd.'

⁴ Rephidim, 'rests' or 'stays.'

On this mount they were taught what kinds of victims to offer, what kinds of vessels to use in sacrifice, what vestments should be used by the priests, and what ceremonies¹ should be performed by the priests and Levites. Here Moses anointed Aaron the chosen as priest, and bedecked him with the breastplate of judgment and the ephod, wherefore he was the first to be called Christ; that is, 'anointed.' Here the people and the Levites were numbered and were divided into their several tribes. Here also the gifts of the princes were written down,² and two silver trumpets³ for breaking up the camp were made. There the unclean,⁴ who could not eat the Passover in the first month, were ordered to meet and do so in the second. There the Nazarenes were forbidden to drink wine or strong drink, and to eat dried grapes or vinegar made of wine. Here lepers and they who had unclean issues were driven out of the camp. Here the Levites were ordered to serve the tabernacle from their twenty-fifth year, and to guard the vessels from their fiftieth year. Here two silver trumpets were made, at whose sound Israel should make ready for battle.

The thirteenth station was at 'the graves of lust,' where Israel became weary of heavenly food, and longed for the flesh-pots of Egypt, wherefore fire suddenly devoured many of them. There the Lord came down in a cloud upon the seventy chosen elders, and took of the spirit that was upon Moses, and gave it unto the seventy elders.⁵

The fourteenth station was Aseroth, where Aaron the priest, and Miriam his sister, took offence at their brother Moses, casting in his teeth that he had married a strange woman; wherefore Aseroth means 'offence.'

¹ Exod. xxviii. *passim*.

² Num. vii.

³ Num. x.

⁴ Num. ix. 6, *sqq.*

⁵ Num. xi. 21-25.

The fifteenth station is Rethma,¹ which means 'noise' or 'rushing.' From hence the twelve spies were sent to the Promised Land, and brought back the bunch of grapes from thence. Here Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Korah, rose against Moses and Aaron, and the earth opened and swallowed them up, they and their families and all their tents, their furniture, and their wealth. Here Aaron's rod bore fruit and leaves. Here the man was put to death by the people for gathering sticks on the sabbath day.

The sixteenth station was Rimmon parez, which in Latin means 'the dividing of a pomegranate.'

The seventeenth station was Lebna, which is, being interpreted, 'whitening.'

The eighteenth station was Rechsa, which is translated 'bridles.'

The nineteenth station was Celatha, which is, being interpreted, 'church.'

The twentieth station was at Mount Sepher, which is, being interpreted, 'beauty'; that is to say, 'Christ.'

The twenty-first station was Arada, which means 'miracle.'

The twenty-second station was Maceloth, which means 'in the assembly'; that is, 'in the church.'

The twenty-third station was at Taath, which is, being interpreted, 'fear.'

The twenty-fourth, at Thase, which means 'malice'² or 'pasture.'

The twenty-fifth, Methca, which is translated 'sweetness.'

The twenty-sixth station was Asmola, which in Latin means 'hastening.'

¹ Rithmah, from *retem*, a broom bush. See Fetellus, p. 17, where there is a version differing but little from this, of the stations on the way from Egypt to the Promised Land.

² *Malitia*. Var. lect., *militia*, military service.

The twenty-seventh station was Aseroch, which is, being interpreted, 'chains' or 'punishment.'

The twenty-eighth station was Baneiachan, which is translated by 'the children of need' or 'of noise.'

The twenty-ninth station was Mount Gadgad, which means 'messenger,' or 'girding,' or 'circumcision.'

The thirtieth station was Gabatath, which is, being interpreted, 'goodness'; that is, 'Christ.'

The thirty-first station is Ebron, which means 'passing.'

The thirty-second station is Asiongaber, which is translated by 'a man's timber.'

The thirty-third station was in the Wilderness of Sin, which is Cades, also called Cadesh-barnea. 'Syn¹ is, being interpreted, 'holy,' by (the figure called) antiphrasis, even as *lucus*, a grove, is so called *quia minime luceat*, because it doth not shine.

Here Miriam, the sister of Moses and Aaron, died and was buried. Here Moses offended God by the word of contradiction which he spake, wherefore he was forbidden to cross over Jordan. Here, being troubled in mind at the murmuring of the people, he twice doubtingly struck the rock, as though God could not bring forth water from the rock, and two brooks now flow from thence, and water that part of Arabia.

The thirty-fourth station was at the Mount Hor in the land of Edom, which mount by God's command Aaron went up, and there he died in the place which is called Beroth, and was buried in Mount Hor. He was succeeded in his rank as high-priest by Eleazar his son. But when Akaan heard that Israel was drawing near, they fought a battle on the spot where the spies had frightened the people by telling them of the size and number of the children of Anak. Israel was overthrown, but they

¹ This seems to imply that English was the writer's native tongue.

fought again, and the conqueror was beaten in the same place where he had conquered before, and was put to flight.

The thirty-fifth station was Selmona.

The thirty-sixth station was Fynon. These two stations are not found in the course of the history. In them, after Aaron's death, Israel murmured against the Lord and against Moses, loathed manna, and therefore was bitten by serpents.

The thirty-seventh station was Obeth, which is translated by 'magician' or 'prophetess.'¹

The thirty-eighth station was Ebar,² in the land of Moab, which means 'heaps of stones passing away.'

The thirty-ninth station was Dybongad, where Israel did battle with Sihon King of the Amorites and with Og King of Bashan. Sihon is, being interpreted, 'temptation of the eyes'; Og means 'shutting up'; Basan means 'confusion.'

The fortieth station, after Dybongad, was at Helmon Deblathaim, which is translated by 'contempt' or 'shame of streets.' Close by, toward Jericho, is the place Thafon, where Moses wrote Deuteronomy. Here also is the place Cademoth, from which Moses sent ambassadors to Sihon King of the Amorites.

The forty-first station is Mount Abarim, which is over against Nebo. Mount Abarim means the 'mount of those who pass away,' and here Moses died, and was honoured by the Lord with burial there, albeit his sepulchre is nowhere to be seen. He was succeeded in the office of leader by Joshua the son of Nun, wherefore he was the first to be called Jesus.

The forty-second station was in the plain country of

¹ *Phytones*, a corruption of *pythonissa*. See Jerome, ad loc.

² These two stations, Ebar and Obeth, are given in Fetellus in reverse order. Fetellus spells it 'Oboth.'

Moab, on the banks of the Jordan, near Jericho, where they pitched their tents, from the house of the wilderness, even unto Bethsarathaim on Mount Moab. While the people abode here it was cursed by the divine Balaam, whom Balak had hired for a price, from above Karnaim, upon Mount Moab, but his curses were turned into blessings. Now, Balaam sat upon the ass, and when the ass saw the angel of the Lord standing before her with an unsheathed sword, she spoke to him by miracle. The aforesaid cave of Karnaim is in Mount Moab. This mount, because of its exceeding steep descent, is called 'cut off.' In the aforesaid plain, Balak, by the advice of Balaam, set women in a house, and built altars before the doors thereof, to the end that Israel might come thither to sacrifice to idols, and might commit fornication with the daughters of Moab, and be deceived. But Phineas the zealous priest stabbed Zambri and his whore together with a dagger, that he might turn away the wrath of God. Here the people were numbered for a second time, and the Levites also. From hence the people went out to battle against the Midianites. Balaam died. At the approach of the children of Israel, the waters of Jordan turned back and stood on a heap before the ark of the Lord's covenant, until all of them had passed over. After this, Reuben and the half-tribe of Manasseh, as they had many beasts round about Jordan, were the first to enter into possession, were brought as guests by Joshua into the Promised Land, to Gilgal, where they set up the tabernacle of the Lord together with the tents of Israel . . . (?) After this Israel was warned not to bring any idols into the Holy Land, or to have any therein. Galgala is called 'rolling away' or 'unveiling.' After this the tribe of Judah took Judaea, and the tribe of Benjamin occupied it together with them. They had already overthrown Jericho, not by fear of the sword, of stroke of battering-

ram, or of brandished weapon, but its walls fell down after the ark of the Lord's covenant had been borne seven times round about it, and none remained alive therein save only Rahab and they whom she chose to save. The half-tribe of Manasseh and the tribe of Ephraim took Samaria. The tribe of Zabulon, the tribe of Naphtali, and the tribe of Aser took the upper parts of Galilee, and in like manner the other tribes took all the lands of the thirty-two kings between Philistia and Idumaea.

Three miles from Jericho, two from the Jordan, is Beth-aglah, which is, being interpreted, 'the place of turning,' because there his sons and his household circled round about the body of Jacob after the manner of mourners, as they were bringing him from Egypt to Ebron. In the wilderness above Jericho, in the tribe of Judah, is Engaddi, where David hid himself. Engaddi, near the Dead Sea, is said to be the country from whence opobalsam used to be brought, and it is said to have grown here, wherefore it was called 'the vines of Engaddi.' Near Jericho, not far from Galgala, is Emechachor, which is, being interpreted, 'the valley of Achor'—that is, of disorder and of crowds—where Achor was stoned to death for having taken the accursed thing. Beyond Old Jericho, and on the east side thereof, is the aforesaid Galgala, where Joshua a second time circumcised the people and kept the Passover. Here manna failed the children of Israel, and they used wheaten bread. In this place also they set up the stones which they had brought out of Jordan, and here the tabernacle of the covenant stood for a long time. Above the country of the Lake of Asphalt is Save,¹ an ancient city, wherein once

¹ In A.V. Shaveh. Gen. xiv. 5: 'And in the fourteenth year came Chedorlaomer, and the kings that were with him, and smote the Rephaims in Ashteroth Karnaim, and the Zuzims in Ham, and the Emims in Shaveh Kiriathaim.' Verse 17: 'And the King of Sodom went out to meet him after his return from the slaughter of Chedor-

dwelt a strong people who were overthrown by Chedor-laomer.

In Arabia, between Abarim and Hor, is Monreal, which that brave lion, Baldwin of Bouillon, the first Count of Edessa, and afterwards the first Frankish King of Jerusalem, made into a strong castle, that it might bring Arabia into the hands of the Christians, and be a bulwark of the kingdom of David. To the southward, in Arabia, is Mount Pharan.¹

Arabia joins Idumaea in the land of Bostron,² which is Bozor, from whence came Barachel the Buzite.³

There is another Bozor in the mountains of Idumaea, whereof Isaiah saith, 'Who is he that cometh from Edom, and in dyed garments from Bosra?' Beyond Bostron, to the south, looking towards Damascus, is the country of Trachonitis or Ituraea, whose tetrarch was Philip, according to the Gospel.

Idumaea joins Sedrach,⁴ which is below Syria. The head (chief city) of Syria is Damascus.⁵ Damascus has three names, which are Damascus, Aram, and Arphat. Damascus is the venerable capital city of Syria. Lebanon divides Sedrach and Phoenicia. In Phoenicia is Sor,⁶ that is to say, Tyre, the most glorious metropolis of the Phoenicians, which, as the Syrians tell us, would not receive Christ as He walked along the parts by the seashore, and which, according to the testimony of the sacred page, hath

laomer and of the kings that were with him, at the valley of Shaveh, which is the king's dale.

¹ A.V. Paran. Gen. xiv. 6; xxi. 21; Deut. i. 1; xxxiii. 11; Num. x. 12; xiii. 1, 4, 27; 1 Sam. xxv. 1; 1 Kings xi. 8; Habak. iii. 3.

² Tobler's note to Theoderich, ch. xlv.

³ Job xxxii. 2.

⁴ This refers to Zech. ix. 1, where Hadrach is rendered Σεδράχ in LXX. See John of Würzburg, xxv. *init.*

⁵ Compare John of Würzburg, p. 61.

⁶ Fetellus, p. 49; Theoderich, p. 73.

given so many martyrs to God, whose number He alone knoweth.¹ Tyre contains the tomb of Origen. Before the city of Tyre there is a great marble stone, whereon Christ sat.² This stone remained untouched from His time down to that when the Gentiles were driven out of the Holy City; but afterwards pieces were broken off it by the French and the Venetians. A chapel belonging to the Saviour's church has been built over what remains of this stone. Apollonius was King of Tyre at the time when Antiochus reigned at Antioch. Reu and Hiram were kings of Tyre when Solomon reigned at Jerusalem. Alexander the Great took Tyre by joining its walls to the mainland, for at that time the sea flowed all round about it. The patriarch Wariamendus, of blessed memory, by the grace of God preventing him, bravely besieged Tyre, with the help of the Venetians, by sea and by land in the time of the Frankish kingdom, and took it, thus glorifying and extending the kingdom of David.

Eight miles from Tyre towards the east, by the sea-shore, is Sarphen, which is Sarepta of the Sidonians. Here once dwelt Elijah the prophet, and raised up the son, to wit, Jonah, of the widow who had given him hospitality and kindly comforted and fed him.

Six miles from Sarphe is Sidon, whence came Dido, who built Carthage in Africa. Sidon is, being interpreted, 'seeking after sorrow;' Tyre, 'trading.' It was from these parts of Tyre and Sidon that the Canaanitish woman came to Jesus when He walked in those parts, and talked with Him, and Jesus talked with her. In the mountains of Sidon and Sarepta is the town of Gethacofer,³ whence came the prophet Jonah.

Sixteen miles from Sidon is Beyrout, an exceeding rich

¹ Fetellus, p. 50.

² Compare Phocas, p. 10; Fetellus, p. 50; and John of Würzburg, p. 63.

³ Gath-hepher.

city. At Beyrout there is a statue of our Saviour, made by Nicodemus with his own hands. When, not long after Christ's Passion, this statue was jestingly crucified by some Jews to do Him insult, there came forth from it blood and water, whereupon many believed in Him who was crucified indeed. Moreover, whosoever was anointed with that which flowed from the statue was healed of whatsoever disease he was suffering from.¹

IV. Damascus was built by Eliezar, Abraham's servant, on the place where Cain slew his brother Abel, wherefore the word Damascus means 'draught of blood,' or 'kiss of blood.' Damascus is in Syria. Syria is, being interpreted, 'lofty' or 'wet.' In the country about Damascus dwelt Esau, who was also called Seyr, 'the hairy man'; Edom, 'the red man,' or 'the red-haired man.' Esau means 'breaking.'

A part of Syria is called at this day Idumaea, after Edom, which is mentioned in the psalm 'Over Edom will I cast out my shoe.' It is also called Edom, wherefore Isaiah saith, 'Who is this that cometh from Edom, and in dyed garments from Bosra?' In Idumaea is Mount Seir, beneath which lies Damascus. In Seyr dwelt Choreus,² who was slain by Chedorlaomer. In the land of Idumaea, two miles from the Jordan, is the river Jabbok, which Jacob forded when he was coming back from Mesopotamia, and where he wrestled with the angel, who changed his name from Jacob into Israel.

Two miles from Damascus is the place where Christ appeared to Saul, saying: 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me?' at which time an exceeding bright light from heaven shone round about Saul. It was at Damascus that Ananias

¹ This story appears in Fetellus, p. 51; Abbot Daniel, p. 55; 'The City of Jerusalem,' p. 48; John of Würzburg, p. 63. Theoderich, p. 71, tells it at rather greater length, but omits the name of Nicodemus. See Fetellus, p. 51, note.

² Gen. xiv. 6.

baptized Saul, giving him the name of Paul; and it was at Damascus that Paul, at his baptism, recovered his sight. From the walls of Damascus Paul was let down in a basket from a window to escape from the fury of his persecutors.

Lebanon is, being interpreted, 'whiteness,' and is mentioned in Solomon's song: 'Come with me from Lebanon, my spouse.'¹ Beneath Lebanon is Antilebanon, which overhangs the country of Damascus, and fences in a great part thereof. At the foot of Lebanon rise Abana and Pharphar, the rivers of Damascus.

The river Abana runs through the mountains of Lebanon and the plain of Archas,² and joins the Great Sea near the place to which St. Eustachius³ retired after losing his wife and children.

Pharphar runs through Syria to Reblatha, that is, Antioch, flows towards the sea past the walls thereof, and enters the sea ten miles from that city at the port of Solym.

St. Luke the Evangelist came from Antioch, wherefore he was called a Syrian by nation. From Antioch also came that root of sin, King Antiochus, and the illustrious Antiochus, under whom the seven Maccabees suffered, together with their mother⁴ . . . and were buried together in Antioch in a venerable and beautiful church dedicated in their names. At Antioch St. Barbara suffered, and in her honour an admirable church has been built therein, adorned with gold and mosaic work, and with many marbles of divers colours. At Antioch St. Peter sat

¹ Song iv. 8.

² See Fetellus, p. 24, note, the City of Jerusalem, p. 50, note.

³ For St. Eustace, see 'The Golden Legend,' printed by Julian Notary at Temple Bar, 1503, p. clxxxvi.; Theoderich, p. 71; Fetellus, p. 24.

⁴ Here follow the words 'ad Augusti.' I can make nothing of them. Wilbrand of Oldenburg (ed. J. C. M. Laurent, Leipsic, J. C. Heinrichs, 1864) gives a full account of Antioch, but throws no light on 'Augusti.' Neumann offers no suggestion.

enthroned in honour during seven years of his pontificate. He was succeeded by St. Euodius, who was succeeded by St. Ignatius, who was brought to Rome bound with a cord, and died there as a martyr. In Antioch the Christians were first so-called; before this they had been called disciples.

At the foot of Lebanon rise Jor and Dan, the sources from which, at the foot of the mountains of Gilboa,¹ the Jordan is formed. In the Jordan, three miles from Jericho, Christ was pleased to be baptized by His forerunner, at the place where His Father's voice thundered above Him, saying: 'This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: hear ye Him.' At this place the Holy Ghost came down upon Christ in the likeness of a dove. In Jordan Naaman the Syrian washed seven times at the bidding of Elisha, and was cleansed from his leprosy. The valley through which the Jordan flows, from the mountains of Gilboa to the Lake of Asphalt, is called Gorrus.² This valley is also called Aulon, which is a Hebrew word. It is a large valley with flat plains, and is fenced in on either side with mountains which extend all the way from Lebanon to the wilderness of Paran. Beyond Aulon stretches the valley of Scythopolis. Beyond Aulon across Jordan is Baal, the city of the children of Reuben.

In Aulon beyond Jordan is Beelmon, which was built by the children of Reuben. In Aulon beyond Jordan is Betharan, which was built by the tribe of Gad.

Jordan is, being interpreted, 'descent,' and divides Galilee from the land of Bosron, the chief city of Arabia. Dan flows underground almost all the way from its source to the plain Medan, where it shows its channel openly. This plain Medan is so called because Dan is in the

¹ See Tobler's note to Theoderich, ch. xlv.

² El Ghor. *Αὔλων*. See Tobler's note to Theoderich, ch. xlv.; J. of W., ch. xx.; Fetellus, p. 25, note.

midst thereof. In Saracenic an open space is called *medan*,¹ which in Latin means *platea* or *forum*. Medan is so called because every summer countless folk, bringing with them everything that can be bought or sold, meet together and dwell there, and many Parthian and Arab soldiers to defend the people and to feed their flocks in these exceeding rich pastures. *Medan* is compounded of *Me* and *Dan*; in Saracenic *Me* means 'water,' and *Dan* 'river.' From this plain *Dan* turns itself into a river, and passes through *Sueta*,² where the monument of the blessed Job still stands, and is revered by the Greeks and Gentiles. This *Sueta* is a part of the land of *Uz*, from whence the blessed Job came. From *Sueta* came *Bildad* the Shuhite. In *Uz* is *Theman*, which is the chief city of *Idumaea*. From *Theman* came *Eliphaz* the *Temanite*. In *Uz* also is the city of *Naaman*, whence came *Zophar* the *Naamathite*. These three were Job's comforters. *Dan* bends round towards *Galilee*, beneath the city of *Cedar*, near the medicinal baths, flows across the place of thorns, and joins *Jor*. *Jor* forms a lake not far from *Paneas*, and afterwards forms the *Sea of Galilee*, which begins between *Bethsaida* and *Capernaum*.

V. From *Bethsaida* came *Peter* and *Andrew*, *James* and *John*, and *James* the son of *Alphaeus*. Four miles from *Bethsaida* is *Chcrazin*, wherein shall be brought up *Antichrist*, the deceiver of the world. Of *Chorazin* and *Bethsaida* the Lord said: 'Woe to thee, *Chorazin*, woe to thee, *Bethsaida*.'

Five miles from *Chorazin* is that most noble city *Cedar*, whereof is said in the psalm: 'Woe is me that I am constrained . . . to have my habitation among the tents of *Cedar*.'³ *Cedar* means 'in darkness.'

¹ Tobler's note to *Theoderich*, ch. xlv.

² See Tobler's note on *Theoderich*, 229, and *John of Würzburg*, xxv.

³ Ps. cxx. 4. *Cedar*=*Gadara*.

Capernaum stands at the head of the sea on the right hand. This was the city of the centurion whose son Jesus healed therein, of whom He said, 'I have not found so great faith in Israel.' The Lord wrought many miracles in Capernaum, and often taught in the synagogue. Capernaum is, being interpreted, 'white town,' 'most beauteous daughter,' or 'daughter of beauty,' words which describe the holy Church, whereunto all those who come down from Lebanon, which is the whiteness of virtues, are made brighter by her and in her.¹

Two miles from Capernaum is the way down from that mount, where the Lord preached to the multitude and taught and instituted His Apostles. Here also He healed the leper. A mile from that way down is the place where He fed five thousand men with five loaves and two fishes, wherefore that place is called the 'Table,'² as though it were a place of dining. Below it lies the place where Christ appeared to His disciples after His resurrection, and ate some roasted fish with them by the shore of the sea. Across this same sea the Lord walked dryshod, when He appeared about the fourth watch to Peter and Andrew as they were fishing, and there also Jesus said to Peter, when he tried to walk on the sea and began to sink, 'O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?' Here also at another time, when His disciples thought themselves in danger on board of a ship, He stilled the sea. On the shore of this sea is the place called Gergressa, where Jesus healed those who were tormented by devils upon a mountain, from which the swine, into which the aforesaid devils had entered by His commands, cast themselves down a steep place. At the head of the sea, in a hollow on the left-hand side, is Gennesareth, a place which breeds a wind that is felt even at

¹ Compare John of Würzburg, ch. xxvi., p. 68 in this series.

² See Anon. ii. 1, note.

this day. From it the Lake of Gennesaret takes its name.

Two miles from Gennezareth is the town of Magdalum, from whence came the blessed Mary Magdalen. This is the country of Galilee of the Gentiles in the tribes of Judah, Zabulon, and Naphtali, from which came Tobias. In the upper parts of this Galilee were the twenty cities which King Solomon gave for a present to his friend Hiram, King of Tyre. Two miles from Magdalum is the city Cinnereth, which was called Tiberias after Tiberius Caesar, and which Jesus frequented in His youth. This city gives its name to the Lake of Tiberias. Four miles from Tiberias is the city of Bethulia, whereof was Judith, the good widow, who to save her people craftily slew the Babylonian Holofernes with her dagger in his own tent, and bore his head and his silken canopy, interwoven with gold and gems, back to the city in her hands. Four miles from Tiberias toward the south is Dothami (*sic*), where Joseph saw his brethren feeding their flocks, and whom they, out of hatred, sold there to the Is'maelites. Dothami means 'fodder,' or the green part thereof.

VI. Twelve miles from Tiberias is Nazareth, a city of Galilee, and the Saviour's own city, for that therein He was conceived and brought up. Nazareth is, being interpreted, 'flower' or 'bush,' and not without cause, seeing that therein grew the flower with whose fruit the world is filled, that flower the Virgin Mary, of whom the Archangel Gabriel announced in Nazareth that the Son of the Most Highest should be born, saying, 'Hail, Mary, full of grace; the Lord is with thee.' To him Mary answered, 'Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word.'

Two miles from Nazareth is the city of Sepphoris, on the way which leads to Acre. From Sepphoris came St. Anne, the mother of the mother of Jesus. Three miles from

Nazareth, two miles from Sepphoris toward the east, in the tribe of Assur, is Cana of Galilee,¹ whence came Philip, he to whom the Saviour said, 'Philip, he that seeth Me seeth My Father also'; and likewise Nathaniel, of whom the Lord said, 'Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile.'

It was at Cana of Galilee that Jesus, when sitting with His mother at a marriage feast, turned water into wine. In Nazareth there is a little well, from which in His childhood Jesus used to draw water for the use of His mother and of Himself. A mile from Nazareth toward the south is the place called 'the brow of the hill,' down which (His parents)² would have cast Jesus when He was a young man, because they were jealous of His wisdom, but He passed through the midst of them and vanished in a moment. Four miles from Nazareth toward the south is Mount Tabor, whereon, in the presence of His disciples, Peter, John and James, Jesus was transfigured, and Moses and Elias with Him. Here also the Father's voice was heard, and His majesty shone round about Jesus, saying in thunder, 'This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.' He also forbade Peter, John and James to tell any man what they had seen, until the Son of man should rise from the dead. Here also Peter said, 'Let us make here three tabernacles, one for Thee, one for Moses, and one for Elias.' Two miles from Tabor toward the east is Mount Hermon, whereof the psalm saith, 'Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in Thy name.' There is also another Mount Hermon in Idumaea, near to Lebanon. As he was going down from Mount Tabor, Abraham met Melchisedec,³ the priest and King of Salem, returning from the slaughter of

¹ See Anon. v. 1., ch. xii., note.

² 'Parentes' is erased from the MS., but the 'p' and 's' are still plainly to be seen (W. Neumann).

³ Compare Theoderich, ch. xlv.; Willis, 'Holy Sepulchre,' p. 108.

Amalek, and offered him bread and wine, which prefigured the offering made at the altar of Jesus Christ under grace.

Melchisedec means 'just king.' Two miles from Tabor is the city of Naim, at whose gate Jesus raised the widow's son to life. Above Naim is Endor. On the plain of Naim, between Endor and Tabor, is Cadumim, which is the brook Kishon, on whose banks Deborah the prophetess, with the advice and guidance of Barak, the son of Abinoe, overthrew the Idumaeans, what time Sisera was slain by Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite. Barak chased Zeb and Zeba and Salmanna across Jordan and slew them with the sword, and their army fell at Endor; wherefore the psalm saith, 'Who perished at Endor, and became as the dung of the earth.' Five miles from Naim is the city of Ezrael, that is, Zaraim. Ezrael means 'God hath sown,' and thereof was Jezebel, that most wicked queen, who took away Naboth's vineyard, and who also for her evil deeds was thrown down from the top of her palace and died. Her monument remains, and may be seen at this day. Near Jezrael is the plain of Megiddo, where King Josiah¹ was overthrown and slain by the King of Samaria, and was taken from thence to Sion and buried there. On the mountains of Gilboa is the village which is called Zelbus.²

Two miles from Gilboa is Scythopolis, a chief city of Galilee, which is Bethsan, the house or city of the sun, over whose walls they hanged Saul's head. From Naulon on the Jordan, eight miles from Bethsan, are Nemmon and Bethany,³ wherein St. John baptized, as we read in the Gospels. In Galilee is Zaron, whereof Isaiah makes mention, saying Zaron is in the country of the marshes,⁴ where-

¹ 2 Kings xxiii. 29; 2 Chron. xxxv. 22-24; 1 Esdras i. 25-31.

² See Fetellus in this series, p. 31, fin. note.

³ See Dictionary of the Bible, *s. v.* 'Bethabara.'

Sharon. Cf. Isaiah xxxiii. 9 and xxxv. 2, where, however, I find

fore the region between Tabor and Cinereth¹ is called Zaron.

Tabor is in the midst of Galilee, and is a tall mount, wondrous round. Five miles from Jezabel is the town Geminum; and between Geninum (*sic*) and Mageddo is the place Gur,² where Jehu, King of Israel, slew Ahaziah, King of Judah.

VII. Ten miles from Genninum³ (*sic*) is Samaria, which is also called Sebaste and Augusta, from whence came Simon Magus, and wherein is buried the paronymph and fore-runner of the Lord, John the Baptist, who was beheaded by Herod beyond Jordan in the castle of Machaerunta, near the Dead Sea, and was brought from thence by his disciples and buried between Elisha and Elijah. We are told that afterwards his body was dug up by Julian the Apostate, burned, and the ashes scattered to the winds, all save the head, which had before this been translated to Alexandria, whence it was afterwards translated to Constantinople, and thence to Poitou in France; and save also the forefinger wherewith he had pointed to Jesus as He came to be baptized, saying, 'Behold the Lamb of God; behold Him that taketh away the sins of the world.' The blessed virgin Thekla brought the forefinger with her into the Alps, and there it is kept with the greatest reverence in the church of St. Jean de Maurienne.⁴ Samaria is the

nothing about marshes. Thietmar says: 'Saron distat ab Accon ad tria miliaria versus septentrionem.'

¹ 'Two miles from Magdolum is the city of Cynereth, which is Tiberias.'—Fetellus, p. 29 in this series.

² 'At the going up to Gur, which is by Ibleam' (2 Kings ix. 27). See Fetellus in this series, p. 32.

³ Fetellus in this series, p. 32.

⁴ The translation of this relic is recounted by Gregory of Tours (*Magna Bibl. vet. patrum. ed. Colon, 1618, Tom. vi., part ii., p. 533*), in his first book, 'De Gloria Martyrum,' ch. xiv., but without giving her name, 'Nam quaedam mulier de Maurienna urbe progrediens,

name both of the city and of the province. In Samaria is Sunam, whence came the Shunamite woman. Sunam is pronounced Sanym. In Samaria is Tersilia, from which came Manahen.¹ Four miles from Sebaste is Neapolis, which is also called Sichem, from Sichem, the father of Emor. It stands between Dan and Bethel, and from Sichem that land is called Sichem. Sichem was the city of Emor, who ravished Dinah, Jacob's daughter, when she was walking in that country just after having returned from Mesopotamia. Joseph's bones were brought back from Egypt to Sichem and buried there. Near the well at Sichem Jeroboam made the two golden calves, which he caused to be worshipped by the ten tribes which he had perverted and led away with him from Jerusalem. One of these calves he set up in Dan, and the other in Bethel. Jacob's sons destroyed this city of Sichem and slew Hamor, in their sorrow at the adultery of their sister Dinah. Sichem is at this day called Neapolis; that is, 'new city.' The hamlet of Sychar is without Sichem, near the land which Jacob gave to his son Joseph. In it is Jacob's fountain, which also is the well, beside which, according to the Gospel, Jesus sat when weary with His journey and talked with the woman of Samaria. On this spot a church is now being built. Near Sichem is the terebinth-tree beneath which Jacob hid his idols. The Samaritans affirm that above Neapolis stand those two famous mountains, (G)ebal on the north, and Gerizim on the south; but this contention is overthrown by Jerome, who declares that they are in the

ipsius precursoris reliquias expetivit.' Compare the Bollandist life of St. Tygria, A. S., June 25. The name Thecla occurs in the *Evangelica Historia* of Petrus Comestor, ch. 75. See also *Boll. Act. Sanct.*, 24 June, iv., p. 776. I take the above references from W. Neumann, in the 'Oesterreichische Vierteljahresschrift für Katholische Theologie,' 1868. See also Fetellus, p. 32, John of Würzburg, p. 7, in this series, etc.

¹ Acts xiii. 1.

land of promise, over against one another, the one above Jericho (that is, Gebal), at the place where, at the bidding of Moses, Joshua built an altar to the Lord of unhewn stones, and Gerizim near thereto, and he says that the voices of men blessing and cursing can be heard from one to the other, which cannot be done on the mountains which overhang Neapolis.

Five miles from Sychem, toward the south, is Thamnazare, the city of Joshua, wherein he died, and where his sepulchre still remains. A mile from Sychem is Bethel, formerly called Luza, which is called Olam in Hebrew. Here Abraham dwelt for a long time; and here Jacob in his sleep saw at his head the ladder reaching into heaven, and the angels ascending and descending, whereat he straightway awoke,¹ and said, 'This place indeed is holy; this is the gate of heaven.'

He set up a stone for a memorial, poured oil upon the stone, and called the name of this place Bethel, which had before been Luza. It was at Bethel that at the bidding of an angel Abraham was about to sacrifice his son Isaac (?).

Twelve miles from Sychem and four from Jerusalem, on the road which leads to Diospolis, is Mount Shiloh and the city of Rama, where the ark of the covenant and the tabernacle of the Lord abode from the coming of the children of Israel even to the times of King David and the prophet Samuel.

Twenty-four miles from Sychem, sixteen from Diospolis, sixteen from Ebron, thirteen from Jericho, four from Bethlehem, sixteen from Beersheba, twenty-four from Ascalon, as many from Joppa, sixteen from Ramatha, is Jerusalem,

¹ The text has *ewangelizans*; the same word occurs also in Fetellus. The reading *evigilans*, which gives so much better sense, and which I have adopted, occurs in John of Würzburg.

the most holy capital city of Judaea, which is Sion, whereof it is said, 'Very excellent things are spoken of thee, thou city of God.'¹ It is also called Helia, from Helius Adrianus, who rebuilt it.

VIII. Four miles from Jerusalem, to the southward, is Bethlehem, whereof it is said, 'And thou, Bethlehem, art by no means the least among the princes of Judah.'² It is also called Ephratah, wherefore says the psalm,³ 'Lo, we heard the same at Ephratah.' Ephrata means 'dusty.' Bethlehem was the city of Jesse: 'And a flower shall spring up from his root.'

This was the city of David, who was a type of Christ—David of the strong arm and ruddy countenance. David slew Goliath—Christ slew Satan; David was of a beauteous face—Christ was fairer than the children of men. Bethlehem is, being interpreted, 'the house of bread,' and rightly so, seeing that from the flower of Nazareth there was brought forth therein the fruit of the vine from the Virgin Mary, to wit, the Son of the living God, who is the Bread of angels and the Life of the whole world. At Bethlehem, near the place of the Nativity, is the manger wherein the babe Jesus lay; wherefore saith the prophet, 'The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib.' The hay from this manger, in which the Babe had lain, was taken to Rome by the Empress Helena, and honourably bestowed in Great St. Mary's Church.⁴

A mile from Bethlehem, toward the north, the star shone upon the shepherds when the Lord was born, and the angel appeared to them, saying, 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good will.' The wise men came to Bethlehem from the East, led by a new star, to worship Emanuel that was born, and to adore Him

¹ Ps. lxxxvii. 2.

² Micah v. 2.

³ Ps. cxxxii. 6.

⁴ S. Maria Maggiore.

as the King of the angels, offering Him presents of gold, frankincense, and myrrh.

In Bethlehem and the parts adjacent Herod ordered the innocents to be slain, and the greater part of them lies buried to the southward, three miles from Bethlehem and two miles from Tekoa. Two miles from Bethlehem, toward the west, is Ramale, whereof it is written, 'In Rama was a voice heard.' Beneath the church at Bethlehem, not far from the Lord's manger, rests the body of St. Jerome. The widow Paula and Eustochium, to whom Jerome himself wrote a letter, rest in Bethlehem. Four miles from Bethlehem, toward the south, is St. Karioth's Church, where, when he passed away from this world, his monks, whose pious shepherd he had been, died likewise, whereof they had had devout foreknowledge from God,¹ because he had been their clement father—neither did they wish to live in the world after him, so fervent was their love for him.

Their several cells² may be seen in the aforesaid church

¹ These words, which are undoubtedly corrupt, occur in nearly the same form in John of Würzburg, ch. xix., p. 55.

² *Compagine*s. I imagine that wooden partitions are meant. See Tobler's note to John of Würzburg, ch. xix. In the parallel passage of John of Würzburg I translated *compagine*s 'skeletons,' and this I find is W. Neumann's view; but I am inclined to think that the last clause of the sentence proves that the cells of the monks were to be seen in the ruins of their monastery, but that they themselves—their bodies—were translated to Jerusalem after their death. The word *compagine*s is once used metaphorically by Cicero in a sense corresponding to 'the bonds of the flesh,' but this I do not think is the meaning here. Yet compare Thietmar: 'Item a Bethlehem ad iii mil. est monasterium S. Karioth. Qui quum esset abbas in eadem ecclesia, et tandem instaret dies resolutionis ejus, monachi ipsius videntes ipsum agonizantem dixerunt ad invicem "Post patrem nostrum superstites nolumus esse super terram" et omnes in presente cum abbate agonizante et monacho agonizabant, et adhuc eo modo carnaliter apparent quo in agonia tunc temporis exstiterunt. Sarraceni autem propter invidiam ut ipsos incinerarent ignem super eos

even as they were when they slew themselves on losing their father, and they were afterwards translated to Jerusalem, where their bodies lie entire in a mausoleum.

A mile from Bethlehem, on the road which leads to Jerusalem, which is called Kabrata, meaning either 'a bed' or 'heavy,' is the place where Rachel died in childbirth after bearing Benjamin, and where she was buried by her husband Jacob and now rests. Over her tomb Jacob piled up twelve great stones for a memorial of his twelve sons. Her tomb, together with these stones, remains to this day.

IX. Jerusalem, the glorious metropolis of Judaea, is situated in the middle of the world. There David drove out Saul, and reigned for thirty years and a half. Of David the Lord said, 'I have found a man after My own heart.' In Jerusalem was born the prophet Isaiah, who in the reign of Manasseh, King of Judah, prophesied more clearly than any of the other prophets about Christ, and died a martyr, being sawn asunder, because of the hatred which he had incurred. In Jerusalem is Mount Moriah, on which David saw the angel smiting with his unsheathed sword, who had sorely smitten the people of God, and he, fearing lest the angel should take vengeance on himself and on the city for his sin in numbering the people, fell on his face on the earth in true penitence, and, sorrowing deeply, was heard by the Lord and pardoned. In the reign of David there stood on Mount Moriah the

projecerunt, sed ardor ignis ipsos non tetigit. Qui in crypta pulchra ejusdem monasterii repositi sunt.'

Sir John Maundeville (ch. vii., *init.*) says: 'And two miles from Bethlehem, toward the south, is the church of St. Karitot, who was abbot there; for whom they made great lamentation among the monks when he died; and they continue still in mourning in the manner that they made their lamentation for him for the first time; and it is very sad to behold.'

threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite, he from whom David would have bought it, that he might build a house thereon for the Lord, because he had won His forgiveness at that place, and the angel of the Lord had spared him and the city and had stayed his hand there. He bought it, but was forbidden by the Lord to build thereon, for that he was a man of blood. Wherefore he made over his preparations to his son Solomon, to whom the Lord had granted leave that he should build a house for the Lord. When his father died, King Solomon built a temple thereon in Bethel,¹ and an altar, which temple he dedicated with incomparable expense and solemnity and devotion, begging of the Lord that whenever he asked counsel of Him therein he might be heard; which prayer the Lord granted. For this cause the House of the Lord is called 'the House of Counsel.' This temple, I say, was profaned and spoiled by Pharaoh Necho, King of Egypt, in the time of Rehoboam, the aforesaid Solomon's son. In the days of Zedekiah, Nebuchadnezzar, by the hands of his chief cook, Nabuzardan, ultimately destroyed both the temple and the city, and ordered that whatsoever precious things there were in the temple or in the city should be taken away and brought to himself in Babylon, and also the King Zedekiah and the people.

Afterwards, in the reign of King Cyrus, the temple was rebuilt by Esdras the scribe and Nehemiah the priest, and the people were brought back, led by Zerubbabel and Joshua, the chief high-priest. The temple was again profaned and destroyed by Antiochus, and rebuilt in the days of the Maccabees. It was also profaned by Pompey, who lodged therein when he was fleeing before the face of Julius Caesar. Lastly, the temple was destroyed for the

¹ All the other writers who make use of the *compendium* read, 'which is Bethel.'

third time, and overthrown down to its very foundations in the reign of Titus and Vespasian.

Of a truth I will essay, as well as I am able, to set forth to all readers of this book the truth of this present Bethel—albeit no man knows for certain by what prince or in whose reign it was restored. Some say that it was rebuilt in the reign of the Emperor Constantine by his mother Helena, out of reverence for the holy cross which she found there. Others say that it was rebuilt by the Emperor Heraclius, out of reverence for the Lord's cross, which he had gloriously brought back in triumph from Persia. Others say that it was built by the Emperor Justinian; others, that it was built by a certain Admiral¹ Memphis in honour of *Allah Kebir*, that is, God most high, which the Saracenic inscription thereon proves to us to be most like the truth. Wherefore this temple—which is devoutly venerated by men of all tongues alike—is called the fourth temple. It was in the last temple before this that the boy Jesus was circumcised on the eighth day after His birth. His foreskin² was presented in the temple in Jerusalem by

¹ The text here runs: '*Alii a quodam ammiraldo Memphis¹ sub honore Alla chiberti, i.e., summi Dei. Et quoniam ad ipsum colendum ab omni lingua reverende veneratur . . . quod verius fuisse sarracena superscripcio nobis manifeste declarat . . . presens hoc templum (quartum) predicatur. Cujus in penultimo octavo die natalis sui, etc.* I have transposed the sentences *quod verius fuisse . . . Et quoniam . . .* as suggested by Neumann's note. With regard to *ammiraldo*, Abbot Daniel furnishes the clue, when he says (p. 21), 'As for the present church, it was built by a chief of the Saracens named Amor (admiralius, amirandus, etc.; bas-grec ἀμῆρ et ἀμῆρᾶς. 'On fait venir ce mot de l'arabe *amir al bahr*.'—Littré). So 'Omar' became corrupted into 'Amir,' thence into 'Admiral,' and in John of Würzburg into 'Emperor' (Imperator). Compare Tobler's note to Theoderich, ch. xvi.

² Compare John of Würzburg, ch. iii.

¹ Text, 'Nymphis'; Fetellus, 'Memphis.' Possibly Amir al Mamûn, who repaired the Dome of the Rock.

an angel from heaven to the King Charles the Great,¹ and was translated by him to Aachen in Gaul, but afterwards was translated by Charles the Bald, the son of Louis the Pious,² to a church which he had built in honour of the Saviour at Charroux, in Aquitaine, in the province of Poitou, which he endowed with exceeding great possessions under the rule of monks, where it has been solemnly worshipped from that time until the present day. On the day of her Purification Jesus was presented by His mother in the temple, and was received by the blessed Simeon, who said, 'Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy word,' etc. 'O Lord of the Gentiles and Glory of Israel.' It was in the temple that He freed from her accusers the woman taken in adultery, saying, 'Let him who is without sin cast the first stone at her.' And to her He said, 'Woman, go in peace, and sin no more.'

In the temple He opened the book of Isaiah and explained some of it to the Jews. In the temple He praised the poor widow's offering, which she cast into the treasury, because she had given all that she had.

In this temple Jesus, while He abode at Jerusalem, used to teach the Jews, albeit they were jealous of Him.

It was on the pinnacle³ of the temple that the devil set

¹ The Emperor Charlemagne.

² *Ludovicus pius*—Louis le Debonnair.

³ What was shown as the 'pinnacle' was a gable. This seems in most European languages to have been compared to a wing. (Hebrew, *canaph*; Greek, *πτερόν, πτερόγιον*; Low Latin, *pinna, pinnaculum, pignaculum*; French, *pignon*; English, *pinion*.) The identity of these words is proved by the technical term *pinion-wheel*, common to both languages. Compare also Procopius de *Ædif.* ii. 8 (p. 63 in P. P. T. S.); the Bordeaux Pilgrim, p. 20, P. P. T. S.; and the article 'Pinnacle' in Smith's Dict. of the Bible. See also *ἀετός* and *ἀέτωμα* in Liddell and Scott. The following passage from John of Würzburg proves, I think, that what was shown to the pilgrims as a 'pinnacle' was a gable on the city wall: 'Super pinnaculum templi, quod reputatur supra latus circuitus (civitatis) habens subtus se fenestras, quasi pinnas vel cinnas,

Jesus, tempting Him, and saying, 'If Thou be the Son of God, cast Thyself down from hence.' Him the Lord answered, 'Get thee behind Me, Satan; thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.' From this temple St. James was cast down, who was the first high-priest under grace in Jerusalem. In the temple in Jerusalem Zacharias was told by an angel of the birth of his son, John the Baptist. It was between the temple and the altar that the martyr Zacharias, the son of Barachias, was slain. Upon this altar they were wont, under the Old Testament, to sacrifice turtle doves and pigeons. The altar has since been made into a sundial by the Saracens, and may be seen at this day.

It was when Peter and John were passing through the Beautiful Gate of this temple that he said to the man who was carried about, being lame from his mother's womb, 'What I have, that give I unto thee.'

In Jerusalem is the sheep-pool, which, in the days of Jesus, the angel of the Lord used to stir at certain times, and the first sick person who entered the water after it had been stirred was healed of whatsoever disease he was suffering from.

Probaton in Greek means in Latin 'belonging to sheep,' because at the sacrifices the entrails of the sheep were washed there, and it was red with the blood of the victims who were cleansed there. It was before the sheep-pool that Jesus restored the sick man to health, saying to him, 'Take up thy bed and walk.' In the midst of Jerusalem Jesus raised the girl from the dead. In Jerusalem Peter was imprisoned by Herod, but was loosed by the angel of the Lord and carried out of the city through the iron gate, which opened to them of itself.

statuit Jesum diabolus,' etc.—John of Würzburg, ch. iv., 'Descriptiones terrae sanctae,' Leipzig, 1874. The apex of a gable at the side of the temple clearly suits the sense better than the top of a central spire, which is what the English reader naturally pictures to himself.

In the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, in the valley of the children of Ennon, is the place Tophet, wherein Israel did not blush to worship the idols of the Gentiles. In the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, between the place of Tophet, the fuller's field, and Aceldama, beneath Solomon's palace on the side of Mount Sion, almost in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, is the bathing-pool of Siloam, whither Jesus sent the blind man whose eyes He had opened, that he might wash his eyes therein; and he went thither, washed, and received his sight. Siloam therefore is, being interpreted, 'sent.' Siloam, according to the tradition of the Syrians, is said to come from Shiloh. The stream of Siloam flows silently, because it flows underground. A little more than a stone's throw from Siloam is the well Rogel. Near Rogel is the stone Zohemoth, where Adonijah sacrificed his victims.

In the Valley of Jehoshaphat St. James was buried, and afterwards was translated to Constantinople. In the Valley of Jehoshaphat King Jehoshaphat rests beneath a sharp-pointed pyramid.¹

Two miles from Jerusalem, on the road leading to Sichem, is Mount Gabaath, in the tribe of Benjamin.

A mile from Jerusalem, on the side of the Mount of Olives, looking towards the Lake of Asphalt, is Bethany. By the side of the Mount of Olives, and joining it, is the Mount of Offence; they are divided by the road which leads from the Valley of Jehoshaphat through Bethphage to Bethany. It is called the Mount of Offence because it was on it that King Solomon set up the idol Moloch and worshipped it. Bethany is the village where Simon the leper often had Jesus for his guest, and Mary and Martha devoutly ministered to Him. At Bethany Mary washed

¹ *Pyramis*. The word is suitable here, and I have translated it 'pyramid,' but it merely means 'tomb' in medieval Latin. See note 1, p. 25.

Jesus's feet with her tears, wiped them with her hair, anointed them with ointment, and obtained the forgiveness of her sins. At Bethany He praised Martha and Mary. Martha was anxious to serve Him, and Mary was attentive to His words. By their tears and prayers He was moved to raise up their brother Lazarus, after he had been for four days in the tomb. Bethany is, being interpreted, 'house of obedience.'

Bethphage, which also was a village of priests, is 'the house of mouths' or of 'jawbones'; the Mount of Olives is the 'mount of anointing' or of 'sanctification'; the Valley of Jehoshaphat is 'the valley of judgment'; Jerusalem is, being interpreted, 'Vision of peace'; Sion is 'watch-tower' or 'watching.'

It was by this path that Jesus went up to Jerusalem, sitting upon an ass, on the day which is kept holy as Palm Sunday. In like manner every Catholic, obeying the counsel of the Highest, ought to come into the presence of priests, who meditate upon the Word of God, that he may receive correction from them and go into the valley of judgment; that is to say, the contrition of true repentance, that he may judge himself therein and knock at the eastern door, which is Christ, the true East, to the end that he may worthily enter into the holy Jerusalem, the heavenly Sion, to be adorned with the robe of gladness, and with Him continually to reign.

It was on Mount Sion that Jesus washed His disciples' feet, saying, 'Do this in remembrance of Me.' On Mount Sion Jesus supped with His Apostles.

Here endeth Beda's description of the Holy Land.

ANONYMOUS PILGRIM VII.

(12th century.)

DESCRIPTION OF THE HOLY LAND.

WHOSOEVER would enter Jerusalem, let him ever make for the rising sun and enter through St. Stephen's Gate : there, without the gate, St. Stephen was stoned ; and within Jerusalem let him ask for the places in their proper order.

In Jerusalem is the Lord's sepulchre. At the entrance to the doors of the (Church of the) Sepulchre, without the door, is the Church of Calvary, where the blessed Mary was and where St. John was standing when the Lord said, 'Woman, behold thy son . . . Son, behold thy mother.' Without the church door, on the left-hand side, is the altar of St. John the Baptist. Within the door, again to the right, is Mount Calvary, where the Lord was crucified. Below is Golgotha, where the Lord's blood fell upon the rock. There was Adam's head, and there Abraham offered his sacrifice. On the other side, at the foot of Mount Calvary, is the place and the column where the Lord was scourged, and near it, toward the east, down forty-three steps, is the place where St. Helena found the holy cross. In the church is the Lord's sepulchre, and there, near to it, on the east side thereof, in the midst of the choir, is the middle of the world, where the Lord was laid when Nicodemus took Him down from the cross. On the left-hand side is the Lord's prison, and close by is the place where the holy cross is worshipped.

Near the Church of the Sepulchre stands St. Mary's Church, called St. Mary the Latin, on the place where it is said that St. Mary Magdalen and St. Mary the wife of Cleophas tore their hair when the Lord was put upon the cross, and there is the Hospital of St. John the Baptist.

Two bow-shots from that place is the Lord's temple, built by Solomon, having four entrances and twelve doors. In the midst of the temple there is a great rock, where the ark of the covenant used to stand, in which ark now is Aaron's rod, and the tables of the law, and the golden candlesticks, and the urn with the manna which fell from heaven; and there was the fire of the sacrifice, and from thence still flows the oil wherewith the king and prophets used to be anointed. Near to this the Son of God was presented, and Jacob saw the ladder coming down from heaven. On the left-hand side of the choir is :

'The King of kings, of Virgin Mother born,
Was here presented. This is holy ground.
Here Jacob saw the ladder; here he built
His altar. Well may we hang gifts around.'¹

On the right-hand side is the place where the angel appeared to Zachariah. Below is the confessional, which once was the Holy of Holies, the place where the Lord sent away the sinful woman taken in adultery.

'From sin I set the people free,
If they confess their sins to me.'²

There the birth of St. John the Baptist was announced, and there is a column which is worshipped by the Saracens, and which is said to stand where the altar was whereon Abraham meant to sacrifice his son. There, too, is a church on the spot where St. James was cast down from the temple. Beyond this, without the wall of the temple, there is an altar near which St. Zacharias was slain. The Beautiful Gate is as one goes into the courtyard of the temple.

On the other side is Solomon's temple. Between the

¹ These verses occur with but little variation in John of Würzburg, p. 14, and Theoderich, p. 27.

² See John of Würzburg, p. 15.

temple and the Golden Gate there are trees. It was here that the children carried boughs when the Lord rode upon the ass, and there, near Solomon's temple, at the corner of the city, is Christ's chamber (cradle?),¹ His mother's bed and bath, and there is St. Simeon's sepulchre.

On the east side, near the temple, is the (Golden) Gate. To the north is the sheep-pool, and there, close by, is St. Anne's (Church) and the well where the pilgrims go. Near St. Anne's is St. Mary Magdalen's Church. To the northward, near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, is St. Chariton's Church.

On the south side is Mount Sion, where a beautiful church has been built in honour of the Blessed Mary. In it she passed away to heaven. Her most holy body was carried to the Valley of Jehoshaphat. On the left-hand side of this church there is a chapel on the place where was the judgment hall and judgment of Christ; on the right-hand side is Galilee, where the Lord appeared to Simon (Peter) and the women. Above, near the choir, is the place where the Holy Ghost came down upon the Apostles, and in that same church there is the table whereon Christ supped, when He said: 'Take, eat, this is My body.' Below is the place where He washed the disciples' feet, and there is the basin² which held the water. In this same place Jesus stood when He said: 'Peace be unto you'; and there it was that St. Thomas felt the Lord's side. On the left-hand side is St. Stephen's altar, on the place where he was buried.

Without the church there is a little church on the place where was the judgment hall where the Lord was scourged, crowned with thorns, and mocked, and here was

¹ See Anon. ii, and 'The City of Jerusalem' in this series, ch. xiv., p. 15.

² *Pila*. Clearly, as Tobler points out, the basin for washing the feet is meant. Neumann translates it 'pillar.'

the house of Caiaphas. Beyond the Mount Sion is a church on the place to which St. Peter fled when he denied the Lord and the cock crew. Toward the Valley of Jehoshaphat is the bathing-pool of Siloam, where the prophet Isaiah is buried.

Between Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives is the Valley of Jehoshaphat, wherein the Apostles buried the Blessed Mary, and there is the brook Cedron. There also was the country house which was called Gethsemane. There the Lord sent away Peter and the other Apostles while He prayed, 'Father, if it be possible,' etc., and there is the garden where He was taken by the Jews. A stone's-throw from thence is the place where He prayed and His sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground. Near this place is the sepulchre of King Jehoshaphat, after whom the valley is named. There, too, is a church wherein St. James, the holy old man Simeon, and Zachariah, were buried, and not far away to the south is Aceldama, or the burial-place of strangers.

The Lord ascended to His Father on the Mount of Olives, and there He bade His disciples preach the Gospel to every creature. Not far off there is a little church where the Lord's Prayer was made. Beneath is a church wherein is the sepulchre of St. Pelagia.¹ Between the Mount of Olives and Bethany is Bethphage, where the Lord sent Peter and John to fetch the ass, and hard by is Bethany, where the Lord raised Lazarus and forgave the sinful woman her sins. Here was the house of Simon the leper. Close to it is St. Martha's (Church), where she and Mary met the Lord.

The road from Jerusalem to Bethlehem leads through

¹ See Antoninus, ch. xvi. ; Tobler's 'Theoderich,' etc., St. Gall and Paris, 1865, note, pp. 245, 7; Fabri, i. 499; Anon. Pilgrim ii. 7; v. 1, p. 25.

the David Gate to the Church of St. Elias, built on the spot where he stood. By the wayside is Rachel's tomb. At Bethlehem Christ was born, and there is St. Jerome's sepulchre and the well into which the star fell, and a picture wherein St. Mary is shown with the three kings. In the cloister are the tombs of the Innocents. In the crypt of the Blessed Virgin's Church is an altar on the place where she was delivered. Not far from Bethlehem is the church which stands on the place where the angel appeared to the shepherds. There also is a church on the place where St. Mary rested when she was pregnant of the Lord. At the east end of this church is the road which leads to Abraham's (tomb) at Hebron, five leagues distant from Jerusalem. At this same place (Hebron) the Lord made Adam. Not far from thence was the house of Cain and Abel. Near it is the place where God appeared to Abraham in three persons. To the eastward (westward) is the place where St. Mary greeted Elizabeth, where John the Baptist was born, and where Zacharias dwelt. Two leagues from thence is the castle of Emmaus.

Without the gate of Jerusalem is the Church of the Holy Cross, on the place where its wood was cut. In Jerusalem is the place where St. Peter was in prison. In the temple there is a spring of living water, wherefore the prophet said: 'I saw water coming out,' etc.¹

It is seven leagues from Jerusalem to Mount Quarantena, and at the foot of that mount is Abraham's garden. Near to that place is Jericho, and two leagues further on is the river Jordan. From that river it is a journey of eighteen days to Mount Sinai.

It is twelve leagues from Jerusalem to Samaria (Sichem), which is now called Neapolis, where is the well whereat the Lord talked with the woman of Samaria. There is the

¹ Ezek. xlvii. 1. Compare Anon. v. 1, and John of Würzburg, p. 16.

mount whereon Abraham would have offered up his son. It is two leagues from that place to Sebaste, where St. John the Baptist was beheaded,¹ and where his dust is preserved to this day.

Ten leagues thence is Mount Tabor, where the Lord was transfigured. Near it is Mount Hermon (Hermoniim),² where is the city of Nain, where before the gate the Lord raised up him that was the only son of his mother. Toward the east is the Sea of Galilee, where the Lord fed five thousand men with five loaves and two fishes. To the west is the noble city of Nazareth, where the Annunciation was made to the Blessed Virgin by an angel, and there was her house.

These places and others should be worshipped by the faithful.

ANONYMOUS PILGRIM VIII.

(12th century; probably 1185.)

OF THE LAND BEYOND THE SEAS.

ALL who would visit the Promised Land meet with these places following :

First they come into the city of Nazareth. There the angel made the Annunciation to the Blessed Mary, and she conceived of the Holy Ghost.

After this you will come to the city of Jerusalem, and there without the walls you will find the place where St. Stephen was stoned. From thence you will come to the holy sepulchre, which is in the midst of the city of Jerusalem. At the entrance to the Church of the holy sepulchre, on the right-hand side, is the place where our

¹ Burchardus denies this tradition.

² Stanley's 'Sinai and Palestine,' ch. xi., *init.*; Ps. xlii. 6.

Lord commended the Blessed Virgin to the care of St. John. There within the church you will find Golgotha; above it is Mount Calvary, where our Lord was crucified. Afterwards you will go from thence to the place where the holy cross was found. Then, in the canons' choir, there is the place where our Lord was laid after He was taken down from the cross and was wrapped in linen. This place is said to be the middle of the world. From this place he was borne to the holy sepulchre, and at the entrance to the holy sepulchre is the place where the angel sat while our Lord was in the sepulchre.

After this we come to Mount Sion, where is St. Saviour's Chapel, which is called 'the judgment hall of Pilate.' Here our Lord was crowned, bound, spat upon, and judged by Pilate. Afterwards you will come to the place where the Blessed Virgin Mary passed away. Then to the place of the Lord's supper, where He gave His commands to His disciples and washed their feet; and there is the place where He consecrated His body, and where, after the resurrection, He came to them as they sat with closed doors, and said: 'Peace be unto you.' At that place the Holy Ghost came down upon the disciples on the Day of Pentecost. Next you will find the tomb of King David, the tomb of Solomon, and that of St. Stephen, the first martyr, and the place where St. Stephen was ordained. Then you will come to the place where St. Peter hid himself when he had denied Christ.

Next you will come to the fountain of Siloam, where the blind man washed his eyes and straightway saw. Next to the Lord's temple, where Christ was presented and was received by Simeon. Thence to St. Anne's.

Thence into the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where you will find the Blessed Virgin Mary's sepulchre, and close by there is the place where the Lord was bound. Then you

go up to the Mount of Olives, where you will find the place where our Lord ascended into heaven. There, too, is the church called 'Paternoster.' Thence to Bethany, where our Lord raised Lazarus. There is St. Mary Magdalen's Church, and there is the stone whereon the Lord was sitting when Martha came to Him. Thence to the river Jordan.

Thence to Bethlehem, where you will find the place where our Lord was born, and there is the manger wherein He was laid. Thence to the place where the angel brought the shepherds good tidings of great joy (Luke ii.), 'Glory to God in the highest and on earth,' etc. Thence to the holy patriarch Abraham. Thence to the place where St. John the Baptist was born. Thence to the well at Emmaus, where our Lord was on Easter Day, and they knew Him in the breaking of bread.

Thence to Mount Tabor, where the Lord was transfigured,

Who with God the Father and the Son, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, reigneth for ever and ever. Amen.

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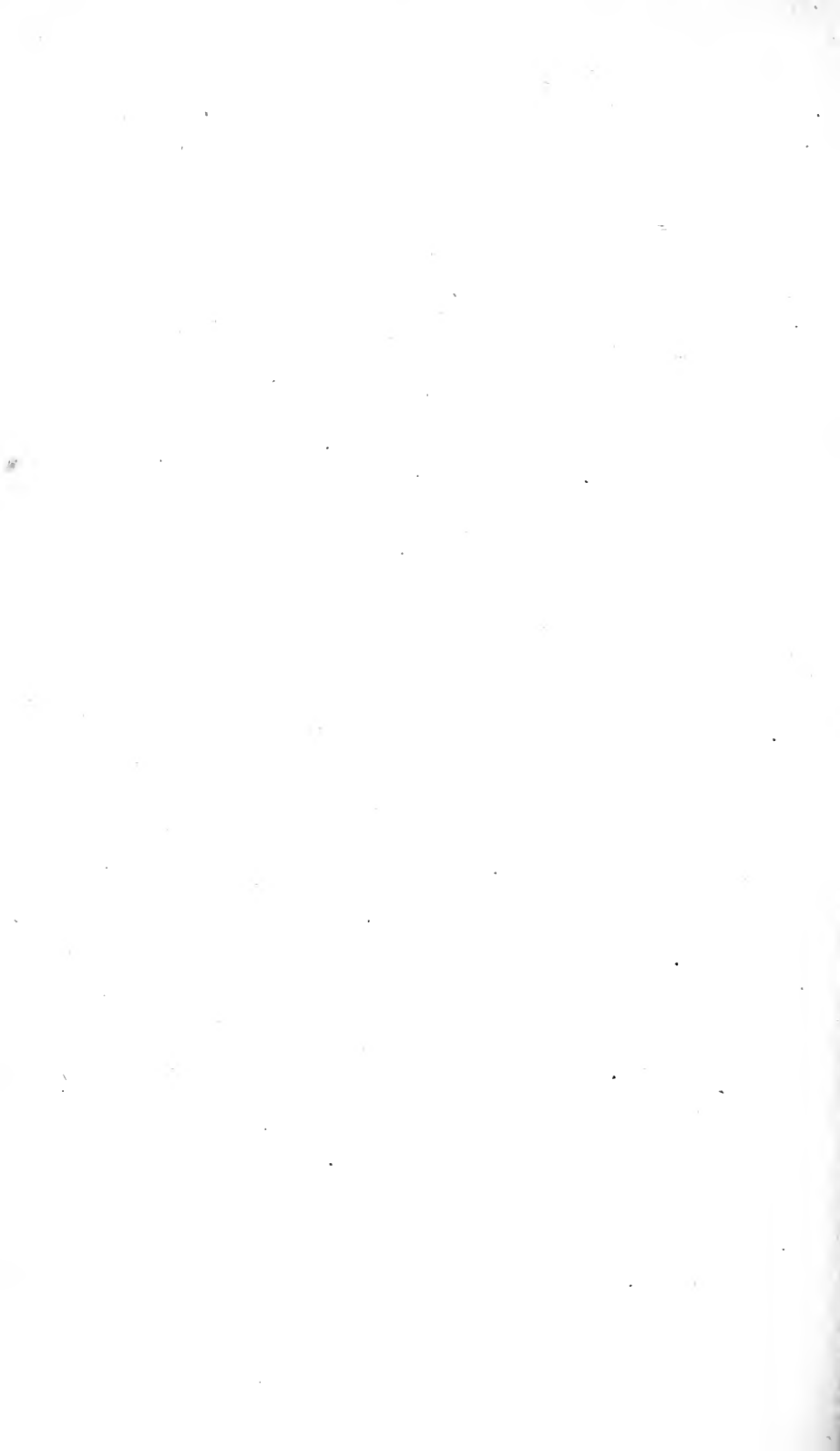
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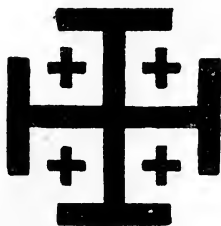


Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society.

THE
CITY OF JERUSALEM.

TRANSLATED FROM THE OLD FRENCH, WITH NOTES, BY
LIEUT.-COL. C. R. CONDER, R.E., D.C.L., LL.D.

(1220 A.D.)



LONDON:
24, HANOVER SQUARE, W.
1896.

P R E F A C E .

THE 'Citez de Jherusalem,' a tract dating after the time of Saladin's conquest of the city in 1187 A.D., exists in several MSS. It was first published by Count Beugnot in his edition of 'Les Assises de Jerusalem,' from a MS. in the Library of the Rue Richelieu (Fonds de Sorbonne, No 387). Tobler found three copies in the Library of Berne (Nos. 113, 115, and 41 coming from the Abbey of St. Gall), and several other copies exist in the Imperial Library at Paris. The best edition (which is here followed) is that of the Société de l'Orient Latin, derived from the latest found and most complete MSS.

In some MSS. the description of the Holy Land (Part II.) follows. It is absent from Tobler's MSS. (see 'Eglises de la Terre Sainte,' p. 434). The descriptions in this tract are less detailed than those of John of Würzburg and Theodoricus, but on the other hand the number of subjects treated is larger, and the value to the student of mediæval Jerusalem is very great.

The style and language of the additional text which occurs in the MSS. reproduced by De Vogüé is like that of the first part. The description of Jerusalem repeats something of the details of the first part, and the work might stand alone as an account of Pilgrim routes about 1220 A.D., after Jerusalem had been taken by Saladin; for the

places mentioned are those which used to be visited by agreement with the Saracens. The wording of the text in both parts bears evidence of the familiarity of the author with most of the sites he notices. The chronicler Ernoul, writing in 1228, introduces the account of the first part into his history, but the name of the original author is not known.

The mention of Chateau Pelerin in the second part (see p. 31) gives a date not earlier than 1218 when this castle was built by the Templars. St. Margaret's on Carmel also is said to have been built in 1209 A.D. St. Chariton, who is said in the text (see p. 36) to have been dead 800 years, died in 410 A.D. Taken together, these facts would indicate a writer who had lived in Palestine between 1220 and 1229 A.D. In the latter year Jerusalem again came into the possession of the Christians.

The passages in brackets are taken from MSS. other than the one generally followed.

The account by Ernoul dates from 1231 A.D.; it is taken from Chapters VII. to X. of his Chronicle (from the text given by the Société de l'Orient Latin) and describes other parts of Palestine. It is less valuable than the preceding as it contains many errors. Some of the paraphrases of Scripture episodes have been omitted in translating as specified in the foot-notes.

C. R. C.

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LIST OF MSS.

COMPARED BY THE SOCIÉTÉ DE L'ORIENT LATIN.

THE CITY OF JERUSALEM :

Paris Arsenal 4797, Bibl. Nat. fr. 781 and 9086.

Berne 41, 113, 115, 340.

Brussels 11142.

St. Omer 722.

THE SECOND PART :

Paris Bibl. Nat. fr. 9082.

Vienna Bibl. Imp. 2590.

ERNOUL'S ACCOUNT OF PALESTINE :

Paris Arsenal 4797, Bibl. Nat. fr. 781.

Berne 41, 113, 115, 340.

Brussels 11142.

St. Omer 722.

JERUSALEM IN 1187 A.D.

Explanation of numbers on the map.

1. Latin Exchange.
2. St. James of Galicia.
3. St. Mary Latin.
4. St. Mary the Great.
5. German Hospice.
6. Bridge.
7. Gate Beautiful.
8. Chapel of St. James the Less.
9. Jerusalem.
10. Christ's Cradle.
11. Lepers' Hospital.
12. Syrian Exchange.
13. St. Saviour.
14. Charnel-House of Lion.
15. Gate Dolorous (?)
16. Chapel of 'Rest' (?)
17. St. Mary Magdalene.
18. St. Anne.
19. St. Saviour.
20. Prison of Christ.
21. Pilatus.
22. Bethesda.
23. St. Caristo.
24. The Altar (Supposed Site of).
25. Gate of Paradise.
26. Covered Street.
27. Malquisinat.
28. Street of Herbs.

THE CITY OF JERUSALEM.



IN WHAT STATE THE CITY OF JERUSALEM AND THE
HOLY PLACES ARE AT THIS DAY.

[BECAUSE most good Christians willingly speak and hear spoken about the holy city of Jerusalem and the holy places where Jesus Christ lived and died, we shall tell how it was at the time when Saladin and the Saracens took it from the Christians. Many persons there may be who will wish to hear these things : those to whom it is displeasing may pass over this place.]

I.

MOUNT SION — THE ABBEY AND CHURCH OF OUR
LADY — THE HOUSE WHERE JESUS CHRIST MADE
HIS SUPPER, THE PLACE WHERE HE APPEARED TO
HIS APOSTLES, WHERE HE SHOWED THEM HIS
WOUNDS, WHERE HE ASCENDED INTO HEAVEN,
WHERE HE SENT THE HOLY SPIRIT, AND WHERE
OUR LADY DIED.

Jerusalem [the glorious city] is no longer in the place¹

¹ This shows the doubts arising from the central position of the traditional site in the twelfth century. Sæwulf, in 1102, says that Hadrian rebuilt Jerusalem, 'and added to the city as far as the Tower of David, which was previously a considerable distance from the city, for anyone may see from the Mount of Olivet, where the extreme western walls of the city stood originally, and how much it is since

where it stood when Jesus Christ [was on the earth,] was crucified and was raised again from death to life. When Jesus Christ was on the earth the city of Jerusalem was on Mount Sion,¹ but it is no longer there. Only an abbey of monks is there now, and in this abbey a church of Holy Mary. Where the church now stands, as we are told, was the house where Jesus Christ supped with His Apostles on Thursday (Jeudi Absolu), and instituted the Sacrament of the Altar. [In this church is the place where He appeared to the Apostles on Easter Day when He arose from the dead.] In this church is the place where He showed the wounds in His hands and feet and side to St. Thomas on the Octave of Easter, and told him that he should give Him his finger to put it into His side so that he should believe firmly and nothing doubt, and should not be an unbeliever but should believe.² And there also He appeared on the day of His ascension, to His Apostles, when He came to bid them farewell, and would mount into the skies. From here they accompanied Him to Mount Olivet, whence He ascended into Heaven. Thence returned they back [to this very place] and waited for the Holy Spirit, [just as Jesus

increased.' Sæwulf possibly alludes to ruins of the 'second wall' as still visible, which recent discovery shows to have been possible. See also Sect. III. of the present tract.

¹ Sion is here, as in the fourth century, the high south-west hill, still so called by the Christians of Jerusalem. The church described is the double Church of the Cœnaculum, built by the crusaders and now still extant in the Mosque of Neby Dâûd. The lower part included the site of washing the disciples' feet. In the upper was the place where the Virgin died.

² Galilee. In mediæval topography we find two Galilees, one on Olivet (Viri Galilæi), one on Sion; the latter is mentioned by Sæwulf, Theodoricus, and Maundeville. John of Würzburg identifies Galliscantus with the Galilee of Mount Sion (see Sect. XVII.) These sites seem both to originate in the words 'behold He goeth before you into Galilee,' Matt. xxviii. 10 (cf. John xxi. 16 and Luke xxiv. 50).

Christ had commanded them that they should return to the city and should wait for the Holy Spirit] which He had promised them. In this place He sent to them the grace of the Holy Spirit on the Day of Pentecost. Also in this church is the place where Holy Mary died in Galilee, and thence the Apostles bore her out into the valley of Jehosaphat and placed her in a sepulchre.

II.

THE SEPULCHRE AND CHURCH OF OUR LADY OF JEHOSEPHAT, THE CHURCH OF OUR LADY OF MOUNT SION, THE ABBEY OF CANONS.

On the site of Holy Mary's sepulchre is a church that they call the Church of Holy Mary of Jehosaphat,¹ and it possesses an Abbey of Black Monks. The church of Mount Sion is called the Church of Holy Mary of Mount Sion, and it has an Abbey of Canons. These two abbeys are outside the walls of the city; one is on the mount, and the other is in the valley. The Abbey of Mount Sion is on the right of the city, due south; and that of the valley of Jehosaphat is towards the east, between Mount Olivet and Mount Sion.

III.

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE AND CALVARY.

The Church of the Sepulchre as it is now and Mount Calvary, were, when Jesus Christ was crucified, outside the wall. Now it is in the middle of the city, and the city is

¹ St. Mary of Jehosaphat still exists as the so-called Tomb of the Virgin with a Crusading church, built in the first half of the twelfth century on the ruins of an earlier Byzantine church (see Sect. XXIV.).

also on a slope which looks towards Mount Olivet on the east beyond the valley of Jehosaphat.

IV.

THE FOUR GATES—THE GATE AND TOWER OF DAVID—
— THE POSTERN TOWARDS MOUNT SION — THE
CHURCH OF ST. JAMES OF GALICIA.

In the city of Jerusalem there are four Master Gates,¹

¹ The two main gates here noticed were on the sites of the Jaffa Gate and Golden Gate (now closed). St. Stephen's Gate on the north was on the site of the present Damascus Gate (see Sect. XV.). The Sion Gate appears to be the fourth main gate, east of the present west gate of the south wall (see Sect. XVI.), here noticed as a postern. The Sion Gate was not the present west gate of the south wall, but, as stated, was at the end of the street now Hârat el Jawâny. Other posterns were (1) Postern of St. Lazarus, west of Damascus Gate, now built up. (2) Postern of the Tannery, now the Bâb el Maghâribeh, on the south wall towards the east. (3) Postern of the Madeleine, now called Bab ez Zahrah, or Herod's Gate, east of the Damascus Gate and now closed. The Gate of Jehosaphat (see Sect. XXIII.) was also probably a main gate on the site of the present St. Stephen's Gate, in the east wall north of the Haram.

The two posterns in the east wall of the Haram are not noticed, and were perhaps already closed by the Moslems before the crusading period. The enumeration of the gates is very unsystematic.

The following is a conspectus of the names of the city gates :

<i>Modern.</i>	15th century. <i>Arab.</i>	12th century. <i>Crusading.</i>	4th century. <i>Byzantine.</i>
St. Stephen's. } Sitti Miriam. }	Bâb el Asbât.	Jehosaphat.	Jehosaphat.
Herod's. } Zahrah. }	Bâb ez Sahrah.	Postern of Ma- deleine.	Benjamin.
Damascus. } el 'Amûd. }	Bâb Amûd el Ghorâb.	St. Stephen.	Galilean.
.....	Bâb es Serb.	Postern St. La- zarus.	Villa Fullonis.
Jaffa. } el Khalîl. }	Bâb el Khalîl.	David.
Sion. } Neby Dâûd. }	Bâb el Yahûd.	Sion (near).
Dung. } el Maghâribeh }	Postern of Tannery.	Tekoa.

crosswise, one over against the other, between posterns. Now I will name them to you as they follow.

The Gate of David is towards the west, and it is exactly opposite to the Golden Gate, which is towards the east, behind the *Templum Domini*. This gate belongs to the Tower of David, wherefore it is called the Gate of David. Within this gate you turn to the right hand, into a street. Near the David Tower, you can go to the Mount Sion [by a postern which is there]. In this street on the left hand, as you go towards the postern, is a church of St. James of Galicia, who was the brother of St. John the Evangelist. Here it is said St. James was beheaded, wherefore the church was built at this spot.¹

V.

THE STREET OF DAVID—THE STREET OF THE PATRIARCH—THE GATE OF THE HOSPITAL HOUSE AND THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE—THE STREET OF MOUNT SION—THE STREET OF HERBS—THE FISH MARKET—THE GREAT MARKET—THE GOLDSMITHS' SHOPS—THE PALMERS FROM BEYOND THE SEA—THE ABBEY OF ST. MARY THE GREAT—THE ABBEY OF ST. MARY LATIN—THE HOUSE OF THE HOSPITAL.

The great road which goes from the Tower of David straight to the Golden Gate, this street is called [from there to the Exchange,] the David Street. On the left hand

¹ This is the present large Church of St. James in the Armenian monastery. In the north chapel is the supposed site of the beheading of James the Greater by Herod. The church has a nave and two aisles and was built in the twelfth century. John of Würzburg mentions this church as belonging to the Armenians, and mentions St. James's head there preserved.

of the Tower of David there is a large Place where they sell corn. On going a little farther down this David Street¹ one comes to a street on the left hand, which is called Patriarch Street, because the Patriarch dwells at the top of it. There is a door on the right hand of the Patriarch Street, by which one can enter into the House of the Hospital. After this there is a door by which one enters into the Church of the Sepulchre, but it is not the Master Door.

When you come to the Exchange where the David Street ends there is a street called Mount Sion Street,² for it goes straight to Mount Sion; and on the left of the Exchange is a covered street, vaulted over, called the Street of Herbs,³

¹ David Street still preserves its name. The Exchange of the Latins (see Sect. XVI.) was in the bazaar south-east of the Muristan. The Corn Market was the present open market, east of the Tower of David. Patriarch Street is now called Christian Street. The west door of the Hospital is now covered up, the buildings of the Hospital being still concealed by mounds. It may, perhaps, have been where is now the entrance to the mosque east of the street, or, perhaps, further south. The Gate of the Holy Sepulchre Church mentioned in this section is the small gate, now closed, leading from the west side of the Rotunda into Christian Street on the level of the Latin Gallery.

² Mount Sion Street was the street leading south from the bazaar now called Hârat el Juwâny (from a Moslem faction) and Tarîk el Bâb Neby Dâûd. The Exchange of the Latins was at the point where a short passage, north and south, joins David Street to Temple Street (see Sect. XI.). Mejr ed Dîn calls this Khan es Sarf, 'the Inn of the Exchange.' This is still the part of the city where the money-changers have shops in David Street.

³ The Street of Herbs is the street now called Sûk el Lehâm ('Butcher's Market'), which has retained the twelfth century vaulting. The market at the north end of the Street of Herbs appears to be now built over. The Street of the Palmers, where palms were sold, is that bounding the Muristan on the north. The goldsmiths seem to have occupied the little shops east of St. Mary the Great, at the corner of Palmer Street and the Street of Herbs. St. Mary the Great occupies the north-east quarter of the Muristan enclosure. The description carries us westwards, leaving St. Mary Latin to the right, north of

where they sell all the herbs, and all the fruits of the city, and spices. At the top of this street there is a place where they sell fish. And behind the Market where they sell the fish, is a very large Place on the left hand where cheese, chickens, and eggs [and birds] are sold. On the right hand of this Market are the shops of the Syrian gold-workers; and here they sell the palms which the Pilgrims bring from beyond seas.

On the left hand of the Market are the shops of the Latin gold-workers. At the end of these shops there is a nunnery, which was called St. Mary the Great; after this Abbey of nuns is a monastery of Black Monks, called St. Mary the Latin. Then comes the House of the Hospital. Here is the Master Gate of the Hospital.

VI.

THE PRINCIPAL GATE AND PLACE OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE—THE CHURCH OF ST. JAMES OF THE JACOBINS—CALVARY—GOLGOTHA—THE CLOCK TOWER—THE CHAPEL OF THE HOLY TRINITY.

To the right of the Hospital is the Master Gate of the Sepulchre. In front of this door of the Sepulchre is a very beautiful open space paved with marble. On the left hand of the Sepulchre is a church, called after St. James of the Jacobins.¹ On the right hand, close to this Gate of

Palmer Street, and passing the north gate of the Hospital, which still remains on the south side of Palmer Street, at the west end of the Church of St. Mary the Great. St. Mary Latin is now destroyed. Palmer Street is now called Hâret ed Dabbaghîn, from the dyers' shops. The modern buildings north of Palmer Street have recently been demolished (in 1887), and a pavement found, which may have belonged to St. Mary Latin.

¹ St. James of the Jacobites; that is, of the followers of Jacob Baradæus, a Syrian monk who died in A.D. 578, as Bishop of Edessa,

the Sepulchre, there are steps by which one ascends Mount Calvary. On the top of the mount is a most beautiful chapel. And there is another door in this chapel, by which one enters and descends into the Church of the Sepulchre, by other steps which are there, just as one goes into the church.¹

On the right hand, below Mount Calvary, is Golgotha. On the left hand is the bell-tower of the Sepulchre, and a chapel which was called Holy Trinity. This chapel is very large, being the place where all the women of the city were married. And there is the font where they baptized all the children of the city. And this chapel is close to the Sepulchre, so that there was a door by which there is an entrance into the church.

VII.

THE MONUMENT—THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE—THE CHANCEL—THE CHOIR OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE—THE ALTAR OF THE GREEKS—THE COMPASS.

On the right of this door is the Tomb. At this place where the Tomb is, the church is quite round, and it is

and who converted the Syrian Church to the Eutychian or Monophysite creed still held by this Church. The Patriarch of Antioch is still a Jacobite, and the Syrians have still a small chapel in the cathedral of the Holy Sepulchre, and a bishop in Jerusalem. The chapel mentioned in the text is the scutern of three, west of the courtyard on the south side of the cathedral, and its name remains unchanged.

¹ The steps outside and inside the south wall of the Holy Sepulchre Cathedral, leading to Calvary, still remain. Golgotha is the Chapel of Adam, under the Calvary Chapel. The Holy Trinity Chapel adjoined St. James' on the north, just south of the bell tower of the cathedral.

open from above without any covering ; and within the Monument is the Stone of the Sepulchre. And the Monument is vaulted over. At the head of this Monument, just as at the head of an altar, outside, is an altar that they call the Chancel. There they daily chant mass at daybreak. There is a very beautiful place all around the Tomb, completely paved : so that they can walk in procession round the Tomb. Beyond, towards the east, is the Choir¹ of the Sepulchre, where the canons chant : it is long. Between the Choir where the canons are and the Monument there is an altar where the Greeks chant. And there is an enclosed place between the two, and there is a door by which one goes from the one to the other. In the midst of the Choir of the canons there is a block of marble, called the 'Compass.' Here they read the Epistle.

VIII.

CALVARY.

On the right hand of the high altar of this Choir is Mount Calvary. In chanting the Mass of the Resurrection, the Deacon, when he comes to the Gospel, turns towards Mount Calvary at the word 'Crucifixum ;' after which he turns towards the tomb, when he says, 'Surrexit, non est hic.' Then he points with the finger at 'Ecce locus ubi posuerunt eum ;' and then, returning to the book, finishes the Gospel.

¹ The choir of the cathedral, built in the twelfth century, now belongs to the Greeks, but during the Frank rule they had only an altar east of the sepulchre. The 'chancel' was on the site of the present Coptic Chapel. (See John of Würzburg, xii.) The 'compass,' which was regarded in the twelfth century as the middle of the world, is now represented by a sort of marble vase in the centre of the choir.

IX.

THE CANONS AND THEIR OFFICES—THE CLOISTER—THE
CHAPEL OF ST. HELENA—THE DORMITORY AND
REFECTORY.

At the head of the Choir there is a door by which the canons entered into their places: on the right hand, between this door and Mount Calvary there is a very deep fosse, into which one descends by steps. Here there is a chapel called St. Helena,¹ where St. Helena found the cross, the nails, the hammer, and the crown. Into the fosse, at the time when Jesus Christ was on earth, they threw the crosses when the thieves had been crucified, and the limbs which they had cut off for their misdeeds. Whereupon they call this hill Mount Calvary, because here they carried out sentences and what the law ordered, and they cast upon this mountain the limbs which the malefactors were condemned to lose by law. When the canons came out from the Sepulchre, on the left hand was their dormitory; on the right the refectory, which is close to Mount Calvary. Between these two offices is their Cloister and their walking-ground. And in the midst of this court there is a large opening, from which one could see into the chamber of Helena below, otherwise one would see nothing there.

¹ The Chapel of Helena retains some of the remains of the pre-Crusading chapel of the tenth century, or, perhaps, of the time of Modestus. The lantern above it stands in the open court, which in the twelfth century was in the centre of the Cloisters of the Canons which are now ruined. The whole account of the cathedral in the text is exact, and evidently written by one familiar with the building. The Chapel of Helena is lighted from above by windows in the lantern and would be otherwise dark, as noted in the text. The derivation of the name Calvary in the text is obscure; the writer seems to connect it with the French word *eschavoit*.

X.

THE STREET OF HERBS—THE STREET MAL-QUISINAT—
THE COVERED STREET.

Now that I have told you of the Sepulchre, how it is, I will come back to the Exchange. Before the Exchange, close to the Street of Herbs, is a street called Mal-quisinat. In this street they cooked food for the pilgrims, and sold it, and they washed their heads. And they went from this street to the Sepulchre. In front of this Mal-quisinat street there is a street called the Covered Street,¹ where they sell stuffs: it is entirely vaulted over. And one goes by this street to the Sepulchre.

XI.

THE STREET OF THE TEMPLE—BUTCHER'S PLACE—THE
HOSPITAL—THE STREET OF THE GERMANS—THE
BRIDGE—THE CHURCH OF ST. GILES—THE GATE
BEAUTIFUL.

Now we will leave the Exchange and will go to the Golden Gate. The street by which one goes from the

¹ The three covered streets here mentioned still remain. Malquisinat seems to have been in the middle and the covered street the eastern of the three (De Vogüé, however, makes Malquisinat the eastern-most). The Street of Herbs, as already noted, is now called Sûk el Lehâm; Malquisinat is called Sûk el 'Attarîn ('Perfumers' Market'), and the covered street is called Sûk el Khawajât ('the Merchants' or 'Pedlars' Market'). There are barbers' shops at the north end of this triple line of vaulted streets, which illustrates the shaving of the pilgrims before going to the Holy Sepulchre. In the text the word Malquisinat (otherwise Malcuisinat) seems to be connected with *cuisinoit*, 'they cooked,' but it is not impossibly a Normanised Arab word (the use of such words being very common in Syria in the twelfth century). The original may be Umm el Khazneh or el Makhazneh, 'Mother of the Store,' or 'the Stores.'

Exchange to the Golden Gate is the Street of the Temple;¹ this street was called the Street of the Temple, because one goes this way to the Temple as well as to the Golden Gate.

Going down this street you come to Butchers' Place, on the left hand, where they sell the meat of the town. On the right hand there is another street, by which one goes to the German Hospital, which is called the Germans' Street. On the left hand, on the bridge, is a Church of St. Giles. At the top of this street there is a gate, called the Gate Beautiful, because by this gate Jesus Christ entered into the city of Jerusalem when He was on earth. The gate is in a wall between the wall of the city and the Golden Gate.

XII.

THE TEMPLE—THE PAVEMENT—THE PALACE OF SOLOMON
—THE RESIDENCE OF THE TEMPLARS—THE CHURCH
OF THE TEMPLUM DOMINI, AND THE ABBEY.

The Temple² is between the wall of the city and the wall

¹ The account is here clumsy. The Temple Street is now called *Tarík Bâb es Silsileh*. The street going south is *Hâret el Meidân*, which leads straight to the ruins of the hospice of the Knights of the Teutonic Order (German Hospital). St. Giles is not known. It was north of the causeway to Wilson's Arch: the oven of St. Giles is mentioned in the Cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre as being in Temple Street (p. 331). The bridge is apparently the causeway to 'Wilson's Arch': the rock levels taken at the north end of the street of the Germans in five places show that a scarp exists here, forming the south side of the Tyropœon Valley. The mention of the bridge thus agrees with other indications (as, for example, with the words of Brocardus in 1283, '*Relictis tamen vestigiis prioris concavitatis*') in showing that the valley of the Tyropœon was not so much filled up in the Middle Ages as it now is. The *Portes Specieuzes* (*Porta Speciosa*) is the mediæval site of the Beautiful Gate of the Temple (Acts iii. 2). The wall described as between the city and the wall of the Golden Gate is the west wall of the Haram. The *Porta Speciosa* is the present *Bâb es Silsileh*. It is mentioned in the same position by Sæwulf, John of Würzburg, and Theodoricus.

² The Temple or Palace of Solomon was the Aksa mosque given to

of the Golden Gate. And there is a large space more than an arrow-shot long and a stone's-throw wide, before one comes to the Temple; this place is paved, wherefore it is called the Pavement. Coming out from the gate on the right hand is the Temple of Solomon, where the Brothers of the Temple lived. Between the Gate Beautiful and the Golden Gate is the Church of the *Templum Domini*; and this is high, so that one mounts by steps. On ascending these steps, one finds a great area all paved with marble and very broad, and the pavement goes all round the Church of the Temple. The Church of the Temple is quite round; and on the left of the high pavement of the Temple is the dwelling-place of the abbot and the canons. In this part there are steps by which one ascends into the Temple from the low pavement to the high part.

XIII.

THE CHAPEL WHERE ST. JAMES WAS MARTYRED—THE
WOMAN WHO WAS A SINNER—THE GOLDEN GATE—
THE GATE OF SOLOMON—THE GATE OF JEHOSEPHAT.

Towards the east, close to the Church of the Temple, is the Chapel of St. James¹ [the Apostle] the Less, be-

the Knights Templars in 1118. They built a refectory (Bak'at el Beida) on the west, and had their stables in the vaults (Solomon's stables) to the east. The *Templum Domini* is the present Dome of the Rock. The College of Canons of the *Templum Domini* was founded by Godfrey. The earliest abbot was Achard (1112-1136 A.D.); the latest was Roger (1176). The upper pavement (or platform) and the lower still exist.

¹ The Chapel of St. James was the present Dome of the Chain, as is clear from John of Würzburg and Theodoricus. St. James was supposed to have been buried here; but Theodosius (530 A.D.) places his tomb on Olivet. John of Würzburg seems to place the scene of the woman taken in adultery in the cave under the Sakhrab, which was called *Confessio*, where Sæwulf says the disciples confessed themselves to Christ. (See Part II., p. 37.) The Gate of Jehosaphat, as already shown, is the present St. Stephen's Gate.

cause it was here he was martyred when the Jews threw him down from the Temple. Within this chapel is the place where Jesus Christ rescued the sinful woman whom they were about to slay because she was taken in adultery. And He asked her, when He had delivered her, where were those who had accused her, and she said that she knew not. Then He said she should go, and sin no more. At the end of this pavement, towards the rising sun, one goes down some steps to get to the Golden Gate. After descending these, is found a broad space reaching the Golden Gate. This is the court which Solomon made. No one passed through these gates, which were walled-up, except twice a year, when the walling was removed, viz., on Palm Sunday—when they went in procession, because Jesus Christ passed there on this day, and was received in procession; and on the day of the Feast of the Holy Cross in September, because the Cross was brought into Jerusalem through these gates, when Heraclius, the Emperor of Rome, made his conquests in Persia, and brought it back through this gate into the city, being met by the procession. Because no one ever went out of the city through this gate there was a postern at the side, called the Gate of Jehosaphat. Those who wished to get out of the city from this part went through this postern, and this postern is on the left hand of the Golden Gate.

XIV.

THE CHURCH CALLED THE CRADLE—THE CHURCH OF THE TEMPLE—THE FOUR GATES—THE ABBEY.

On the south side you descend from the high pavement of the Temple to the lower part, whence one goes to the Temple of Solomon. On the left hand, going below from

the high pavement, there is a church, called the Cradle.¹ Here was the cradle in which God was nursed in His infancy, as they say. Now the Church of the Temple had four gates, crosswise.² The first faces the west, and is the one by which persons enter from the city into the Temple; and by the other towards the east you could enter into the Chapel of St. James, and through this one went out to the Golden Gate. By the gate facing the south you went towards the Temple of Solomon; and into the Abbey by the gate facing the north.

XV.

THE GOLDEN GATE—THE GATE AND THE CHURCH OF ST. STEPHEN—THE ANERIE—THE LEPERS' HOUSE—THE POSTERN OF ST. LAZARUS.

Now I have discoursed to you of the Temple and the Sepulchre as they are, and the Hospital and the streets which run from the Gate of David to the Golden Gate: the one right in front of the other, the one toward sunrise and the other towards sunset. Now I will tell you of the other two gates, of which one is over against the other. That towards the north is called the Gate of St. Stephen. By this gate entered the pilgrims into the city, and all those who by way of Acre came into Jerusalem, and by the way of land from the river on one side to the Sea of Ascalon on the other.

¹ The cradle is still shown in the south-east corner of the Haram in the vault, and is called Sarîr 'Aisa, 'Christ's Cradle.' It is a Roman niche for a statue, laid flat.

² The four gates of the Templum Domini are the four doors of the Dome of the Rock, leading as stated in the text. The Abbey of the Canons occupied the north part of the Haram, and was apparently destroyed when the existing cloisters were built, but there are traces of Crusading work on this side.

As one enters this gate, there is outside, on the right hand, the Church of St. Stephen.¹ Here they say that St. Stephen was stoned. In front of this church, on the left hand, there was a large building, which was called the Anergie; here the asses and the sumpter-horses belonging to the Hospital were accustomed to be stabled, hence its name of Anergie. This Church of St. Stephen was pulled down by the Christians of Jerusalem before they were besieged, because the church was close to the walls. The Anergie was not pulled down, but was afterwards of service to the pilgrims who came to Jerusalem during truce, when it was in the hands of the Saracens. For the Saracens would not let them sojourn within the city: for this reason the house of the Anergie was to them of great use. On the right hand of the Gate of St. Stephen, near the wall, was the Hospital for the Lepers of Jerusalem. Close to the Hospital was a postern called the St. Ladre Postern. Here the Saracens led the Christians into the city, so that they could go covertly to the Sepulchre. For the Saracens did not wish that the Christians should see the business of the city; wherefore they admitted them by the Gate which is in the street of the Holy Sepulchre, but would not admit them by the Master Gate.

¹ The Church of St. Stephen north of the Damascus Gate has disappeared. The Anergie, however, has been discovered lying on the west side of Jeremiah's grotto. The mangers are still recognisable inside its south wall. (See Jerusalem volume, 'Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.') The Leper's hospital is also not recognisable, and the postern of St. Ladre (St. Lazarus) does not exist in the modern wall, which at this point (west of the Damascus Gate) stands somewhat south of the foundations of the Crusading wall. The Crusading Gate of St. Stephen was also apparently a little to the north of the present Damascus Gate, nearer to the Anergie, where the foundations of towers have been discovered. In speaking of the Maladrerie or Leper's Hospital as on the right of St. Stephen's Gate, our author supposes himself to be approaching the city from Acre, with the Anergie on the left or east of the road.

[But understand well, that of the Christian pilgrims who wished to go to the Sepulchre and the other Holy Places the Saracens exacted great bargains, gifts and services. The Saracens charged them each for thirty bezants. But they afterwards excommunicated all the Christians who gave hire-money, service, bargains, and ransoms in order to visit the sacred places; wherefore the Saracens did not receive so much as they were wont.]

XVI.

THE POSTERN OF THE TANNERY—THE STREET OF ST. STEPHEN—THE STREET AND HOUSE OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE—THE STREET OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE—THE EXCHANGE OF THE SYRIANS AND LATINS—THE THREE STREETS—THE COVERED STREET—THE STREET OF HERBS—AND THE STREET MAL-QUISINAT—THE STREET OF THE ARCH OF JUDAS—THE CHURCH OF ST. MARTIN AND ST. PETER.

On entering the city by the Gate of St. Stephen you come to two streets, one on the right, which goes to the Gate of Mount Sion, which is due south. And the Gate of Mount Sion is over against the Gate of St. Stephen. The street on the left hand goes straight to a postern called the Tannery, and goes straight under the bridge. This street, which goes to the Gate of Mount Sion, is called the Street of St. Stephen, until you come to the Syrian Exchange.¹

¹ This repeats previous sections. The street to the Postern of the Tannery is the present *Tarik Bâb el 'Amûd* leading to the *Bâb el Maghâribeh*. The bridge under which it passed would seem to have been the causeway leading to *Wilson's Arch*. (See Section XI.) If so, the remains now covered with debris would seem then to have been visible. St. Stephen Street was the street of *Khân ez Zeit*, leading to the three covered streets. (See note to Section X.)

As one comes by the Syrian Exchange, there is on the right hand the Street of the Sepulchre.¹ Here is the Gate of the House of the Sepulchre; from there those belonging to the Sepulchre entered into their dwellings. In front of this Exchange, turning to the right, there is a covered vaulted street, by which one goes to the Church of the Sepulchre. In this street the Syrians sell their stuffs, and make wax candles. In front of the Exchange also they sell fish. To that Exchange the three streets join which also join the Latin Exchange. One of these is called the Covered Street. There the Latins sell their stuffs. The other is called the Street of Herbs, and the third Mal-quisinat. You go along the Street of Herbs to the street of Mount Sion, and thereby reach the Gate of Mount Sion, crossing the Street of David.

By the Covered Street you go through the Latin Exchange to a street called the Street of the Arch of Judas, and you cross the street of the Temple, and this street goes straight to the gate of Mount Sion. This street is called the Street of the Arch of Judas, because they say Judas hanged

¹ The street of the Sepulchre appears to be that called Khôt el Khankah. The House of the Sepulchre was probably a hospice at or near the present German Hospice. The Syrian Exchange was the present vaulted Khân ez Zeit, the walls of which still present mediæval masonry and masons' marks; the vaulted street to the Sepulchre has recently been recovered during the Russian excavations. (For the three covered streets see Section X., p. 11.) The street of the Arch of Judas is the Hârat el Yehûd, east of the Street of Mount Sion (Hâret el Juwâny). The Arch of Judas may have been one of the arches still covering the Hârat el Yehûd. Arculphus, in 700 A.D., speaks of the arch from which Judas hanged himself, but places it outside the city in Wâdy Rabâbeh. The sites of the churches of St. Martin and St. Peter (called by other mediæval writers St. Peter ad Vincula), both east of the Street of the Arch of Judas, are not known. St. Martin is mentioned in the Cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre (p. 331). It had a garden and an oven. John of Würzburg and John Poloner both notice St. Peter ad Vincula.

himself there upon a stone arch. On the left hand of this road is the Church of St. Martin; and the Church of St. Peter is near this church, on the left hand. It was here, they say, that Jesus Christ made the mud which He placed upon the eyes of him who had never seen, and commanded that he should go away and should wash in the Pool of Siloam and he should see: this he did, and had eyes and saw.

XVII.

OUTSIDE THE GATE OF MOUNT SION—THE THREE ROADS
— THE POOL OF SILOAM — THE CHURCH OF ST.
PETER “IN GALLICANTE.”

Outside the gate of Mount Sion¹ there are three ways. One way, on the right hand, leads to the abbey and to the Church of Mount Sion. Between the abbey and the walls of the city there was a large area, and a church in the middle of it. The way on the left hand follows the wall of the city to the Golden Gate: thence one descends into

¹ The three roads still exist, one leading from the wall east of the Bâb en Neby Dâûd and of the Church of St. Sion (Cœnaculum or Neby Dâûd); the second along the walls east; the third west towards the Birket es Sultân. (See next section.) The site of St. Peter in Gallicante (*i.e.*, ‘of the cock-crowing’) is marked by a ruined vault and wall. The site is mentioned first by Bernard the Wise (867 A.D.). Theodoricus mentions a picture of St. Peter here, and calls it (Section XXI.) ‘the prison of Peter.’ Sæwulf calls it ‘a deep crypt on the slope of Mount Sion.’ According to Poloner and Maundeville, it was 187 or 140 paces from the house of Caiaphas, apparently shown on the present site of that house. The actual distance is 500 feet. The church in the graveyard may have stood at or near the present house of Caiaphas. There was a chapel of St. Saviour 50 paces from St. Sion in the sixth century (Theodosius), and John Poloner says it was the same as the House of Caiaphas. The Bordeaux Pilgrim (fourth century) mentions this house. On Marino Sanuto’s map the place is called House of Caiaphas, ‘now St. Saviour.’

the Valley of Jehosaphat and to the spring of Siloam. Near this gate on the right of this road is the Church of St. Peter 'in Gallicante.' And there was a deep pit in this church, where, it is said, St. Peter hid himself when he had denied Jesus Christ, and heard the cock crow, and there he wept. The straight road from this gate, to the south, goes over the mountain until the abbey is passed. When you have passed the abbey you can go down the hill and so on to Bethlehem.

XVIII.

THE GERMAN POOL—THE ACELDAMA—THE PATRIARCH'S POOL—THE LION'S BURIAL GROUND.

As soon as you have descended the mountain, you come to a pool in the valley, which is called the German Lake because a German¹ here collected the waters which descended the mountain-sides when it rained, and there they watered the horses of the city. In another part of the valley, on the left hand, near to this, there is a burying-place called Chaudemar,² where they cast the pilgrims

¹ The Lac Germains is evidently the Birket es Sultân. Theodoricus calls this Nova Cisterna in 1172 A.D. The Cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre calls it Lacus Germani (No. 169 and No. 170), and says it was for the common use of Christians. The Moslem fountain on the dam dates from the time of Sultan Suleimân Ibn Selîm, 1520-66 A.D. The German who made this new pool may perhaps have been one of the Teutonic Order, whose hospice was in the street of the Germans, as mentioned, p. 18.

² Chaudemar, Choldemar, or Champ de mar, is now called Hakk ed Dumm ('blood-right'), Aceldama. This is a great fosse covered by a mediæval vault on piers of rusticated masonry still existing on the south side of the Wâdy Rabâbeh. It is frequently described in the middle ages. The hill on which it is built was then called Mount Gyon, or Gihon. Maundeville calls it the charnel house of the Hospital of the Knights of St. John. The hospital received it from William, Patriarch of Jerusalem (Archives

who died in the Hospital of Jerusalem. This piece of ground containing the burying-place was bought with the money for which Judas sold Christ's body, according to the Scripture. Outside the gate of David, towards the west, there was a pool called the Pool of the Patriarch, where they collected the waters around to water the horses. Near to this was a charnel-ground called the Cemetery of the Lion. Now I will tell you why they called it so. It happened, as they say, that, one day long ago, a battle was fought here, between this burying-place and Jerusalem, in which a great number of Christians were killed, and those of the city were going to burn them all next day on account of the stench. A lion, however, came by night, and conveyed them all to this ditch. And there was a church here where they daily prayed.¹

XIX.

THE ABBEY OF THE GEORGIANS, WHERE A PART OF THE CROSS WAS FOUND, AND WHAT KIND OF FOLK THEY ARE.

Near to this, at the distance of a league, was an abbey of Georgians,² where they said a piece of the cross was

of Knights of St. John, 1143 A.D.). The vault was probably built by the knights.

¹ The Charnel of the Lion was the present cemetery round the Birket Mamilla. A Crusader's tomb is still visible in the little building called Kubbet el 'Abd in this cemetery. In 867 Bernard the Wise speaks of a church of St. Mamilla at this spot. A subterranean chapel was found here by Sir C. Wilson (Ord. Survey Notes, p. 68). This appears to be the Cavea Leonis of Marino Sanuto's map. The pool is called Patriarch's Pool in our text. Mejr ed Dîn says that the Jews called it Beth Millo, and Christians St. Babila. He, however, calls it *Ma min Allah* ('Water from God'), or *Bâb Allah* ('Gate of God'). Marino Sanuto calls it 'the Fountain of Gihon.'

² This abbey is the present monastery of the Cross, which was sold by the Georgians to the Greeks. The church is mediæval, and built

found. And the upright beam of the cross was found before the temple, because it had remained near the temple, for it was brought from Lebanon with the timber for the Temple, for they could find no place where it fitted, being either too long or too short. Whence it came to pass, as they say, that when people came to the Temple and had their feet covered with mud, they scraped their feet upon it. And it happened that one day there passed by a queen who saw it covered with mud, and cleansed it with her own clothes and adored it.

Now I will tell you of this piece of the wood, whence it came, as they tell in this country. It happened that when Adam lay on his dying bed he prayed one of his sons in the name of God that he would bring him a little branch of the tree whose fruit he had eaten when he sinned. The son brought it and Adam took it and put it into his mouth. When he had it in his mouth he set his teeth fast, and his soul departed, and they could not in any way tear this branch from his teeth, so wholly buried was it. The branch, as they say, took root, and became a fair tree, and when the deluge came it uprooted this tree and carried it to Mount Lebanon, and thence was it brought to Jerusalem with the other materials of which the Temple was built, which were cut upon Mount Lebanon. It happened, as they say, when Jesus Christ was put upon the cross that the head of Adam was within the wood, and when the blood of Jesus Christ flowed from his wounds, the head of Adam came forth from the wood and received the blood,

for the Eastern rite. The pictures near the altar represent the history of the Cross much as described in the text. The legend was a favourite one in the middle ages, and is found in the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus. The land of Avegia, or Aveginé, is apparently near the Caspian. De Vogüé thinks the word is a corruption for Amazon. Maundeville (fourteenth century) places Amazonia or Ferniny below Scythia from the Caspian sea to the river Thainy.

which is the reason why on all the crucifixes which they make in the land of Jerusalem at the foot of the cross is a head in remembrance of Adam's head.

Now I will tell you of the Georgians who are in the abbey where a piece of the cross was found, what folk they are, and to what country they belong. The country whence they come is called Avegia, and there are both a king and a queen, whereupon some people call it the Land of Feminie, for the queen rides out to war, and has her host of her women just as the king has of his men. In this country the women have but one breast, and I will tell you why. When a girl is born and she is a little grown they destroy her right breast with a red-hot iron, and the left they leave her for the nursing of her children. And the reason why they destroy this right breast is that it should not hurt them to draw the bow when they are in battle.

XX.

EMMAUS.

Three leagues from Jerusalem there is a fountain towards the setting sun, called the Fountain of Emmaus.¹ There used to be a castle, and it happened, according to the Gospel, that our Lord went to the castle with two of the disciples after He was raised from the dead, and sat at this fountain to eat; but they knew Him not until He brake bread. Then He vanished from them, and they returned to Jerusalem to the Apostles to make known to them how they had spoken to Him.

¹ This Emmaus is 'Amwâs (Emmaus Nicopolis), which from the fourth century has been regarded as the Emmaus of the Gospel (Luke xxiv. 13). The Sinaitic text reads, 'a hundred and three score,' instead of 'three score' furlongs from Jerusalem to Emmaus, which is about the distance of 'Amwâs, but this is generally regarded as not agreeing with the requirements of the narrative in the Gospel.

XXI.

THE STREET WHICH GOES TO THE POSTERN OF THE TANNERY, THE STREET OF JEHOSEPHAT, THE SQUARE, THE GATE DOLOROUS, THE BROOK, THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST, THE CONVENT OF THE NUNS OF BETHANY.

Now I return to the Gate of St. Stephen to the street running to the left hand, which reaches to the Tannery Postern. After going some way along this street, you find a street on the left hand called the Jehosaphat Street,¹ a little further on one finds cross roads, where the road from the left comes from the Temple and goes to the Sepulchre. At the top of this way there is a gate over against the Temple, called the Gate Dolorous. By that gate passed out Jesus when they brought Him to Mount Calvary to crucify Him, therefore is it called the Gate Dolorous. On the right hand, at the crossing of the way, was the stream over which, as the Gospel bears witness, our Lord passed when He was brought to be crucified. The Church of St. John the Evangelist is here, and it has a large dwelling-house. The house and the church belonged to the nuns of Bethany, who dwelt there when there was war with the Saracens.

XXII.

JEWRY, THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY MAGDALENE, A POSTERN, THE CHURCH OF REST, THE PRISON, PILATE'S HOUSE, ANOTHER POSTERN.

I now return to the Street of Jehosaphat. Between the Street of Jehosaphat and the walls of the city on the left

¹ The Jehosaphat street leading to the gate so called (Section XIII.) is the eastern part of the Via Dolorosa. The Gate Dolorous is thought by De Vogüé to be the Ecce Homo Arch; but the position of the Church of St. John is not known. The cross roads seem to be at the corner of the Via Dolorosa, south of the Armenian Catholic Monastery. (No. 27, Ordnance Survey.)

hand there are streets as far as the Gate of Jehosaphat, like a city. There dwelt most of the Syrians of Jerusalem, and the streets were called 'Jewry.'¹ In this Jewry was a Church of St. Mary Magdalene, and near to the church was a postern, by which one could not go outside to the fields, but one went between two walls. At the right of the Street of Jehosaphat there was a church called the Church of Rest. Here, it is said, Christ rested when they brought Him to be crucified. And here was the prison into which He was put the night He was taken in Gethsemane. A little in front on the left hand of this street was the house of Pilate. Before this house, there was a postern by which one could enter into the Temple.

XXIII.

THE ABBEY OF ST. ANNE, THE SHEEP POOL.

On the left, near to the Gate of Jehosaphat, there is a nunnery called St. Anne's. In front of the nunnery there is a fountain called the Pool.² Over the fountain

¹ The Jewry, or Jews' quarter, was apparently the present Moslem quarter in the N.E. corner of the city, and not, as now, the south quarter. The ruins of the Crusading Church of St. Mary Magdalen (el Mâmûniyeh) still remain. The Magdalen postern was near the present closed gate Bâb ez Zahrah. The church called Repos, or Rest, is placed by De Vogüé at the corner of the Via Dolorosa, where the old map of 1322 shows the Spasma Virginis, or place where Our Lady fainted (No. 27, Ordnance Survey). This is, however, doubtful. Dr. Tobler supposes the small chapel in the barracks at N.W. angle of the Haram to be intended. The place Ubi S. Maria Quievit (John of Würzburg) may be the same. The prison appears to have been on the site of the present Chapel of the Flagellation, north of the Haram Barracks. The Pilatus is shown by Marino Sanuto north of the Ecce Homo arch on his map, which seems to agree with the present text and with the account of Anselm in 1509 A.D., of the position of Pilate's House; but the Pretorium of Pilate has generally been shown where the Haram Barracks now stand. This would be the position of the postern leading to the Temple from the Pilatus.

² The site of Bethesda appears here to be a cistern beside St. Anne's.

was a church. This fountain does not flow, but is in a fosse below the church. In the time of Jesus Christ it happened that the angel sometimes came into this fountain to move the waters, and the first who came down to bathe in it after the angel had moved it was cured of whatever infirmity he had. This fountain had five porches, and before these porches lay many sick and languishing persons waiting the movement of the water, and it came to pass that Jesus Christ came one day and found there a man, and Jesus Christ asked him if he wished to be cured. And he replied to Him, 'Sir, I have no man who will help me to go down into the fountain when the angel has moved the water; and when he has moved it and I strive to go down from my bed to get there, I find another who has bathed in it before me.' Then came Jesus Christ and told him to take up his bed and go, for he was healed. And he leaped up whole, and went away. This day was Saturday according to the Gospels.

XXIV.

THE ABBEY OF THE VALLEY OF JEHOSEPHAT, THE CHURCH AND SEPULCHRE OF OUR LADY, THE CHURCH OF GETHSEMANE, THE CHURCH OF SAINT SAVIOUR, THE HERMITS AND RECLUSES OF THE VALLEY OF JEHOSEPHAT.

From the Gate of Jehosaphat one goes down into the Valley of Jehosaphat. On the right hand of this gate is the Golden Gate. In the Valley of Jehosaphat there was an abbey of Black Monks. In this abbey was the Church of the Holy Mary,¹ and in the church the sepulchre in

(See page 38.) This is one of the sites which have often changed, as has that of St. Stephen's martyrdom, etc. Compare the 'Bordeaux Pilgrim.'

¹ The Church of the Virgin's Tomb has been already noticed. It

which she was buried, and there it is still. When the Saracens conquered the city they pulled down the abbey, and carried off the stones to fortify the city; but they did not pull down the church. In front of this church, at the foot of Mount Olivet, there was a church in a rock, which was called Gethsemane, where Jesus Christ was taken. On the other side of the way, ascending Mount Olivet for about a stone's-throw, was the Church of the Holy Saviour. Here Jesus Christ went to pray the night He was taken. And there the sweat of His body was like blood. In the Valley of Jehosaphat were hermits and recluses along the other side of the valley, more than I can tell to you, as far as the Pool of Siloam.

XXV.

THE ABBEY OF THE MOUNT OF OLIVES, THE CHURCH OF PATERNOSTER, THE ACCURSED FIG-TREE, BETH-PHAGE.

On the summit of Mount Olivet there was an abbey of White Monks.¹ Near to this abbey, on the right, there was a way leading to Bethany, all along the side of the remains almost complete as it stood in the twelfth century, which is accounted for by the fact mentioned in the text that the Saracens did not destroy it. The church was rebuilt by Queen Melisinda, wife of King Fulk, and her tomb is still to be seen there. Gethsemane seems not to have been in its present position, but at the present Grotto of the Agony; St. Saviour was close to the Church of St. Mary. The hermits in the Kedron Valley are mentioned by several mediæval writers. They lived in the old rock-cut tombs on the east side of the ravine, and the crosses which they cut on the walls of these tombs can still be seen.

¹ The Church of the Ascension on Olivet was rebuilt by the Crusaders. The Pater Noster Chapel stood close to the modern chapel of the same name. The cursed fig-tree is shown on Sanuto's map at the first turn of the southern road to Bethany from Jerusalem. The Bethphage Chapel has been rediscovered with mediæval frescoes representing the entry into Jerusalem.

mountain. At the bend of this way on the right hand there was a church called St. Paternoster. Here, it is said, Jesus Christ made the Paternoster, and taught it to His Apostles. Near here was the fig-tree which God cursed when He went into Jerusalem, because the Apostles went to gather figs, and found none upon it, and it was not the time when there should have been figs. This same day Jesus Christ returned from Jerusalem to go into Bethany, and the Apostles went to the fig-tree and found it withered. Between the Church of St. Paternoster and Bethany, on the side of the mountain, was a church called Bethphage. Thither came Jesus Christ on Palm Sunday, and thence sent two of His disciples to find the ass, and thence He went upon the ass which they had brought Him, to Jerusalem.

XXVI.

THE WRITER DOES NOT NAME THE ABBEYS AND CHURCHES NOT OBEDIENT TO ROME.

Now I have spoken of the abbeys and monasteries of Jerusalem, those without and within Jerusalem, and the Latin streets; but I have not named the monasteries and churches of the Syrians, nor of the Greeks, Jacobins, Boamins,¹ Nestorians, nor Armenians, nor of the other people who rendered no obeisance to Rome, of whom were many abbeys and churches in the city. For I did not wish to say anything of those people I have named who do not render obeisance to Rome.

¹ The Boamins is, perhaps, a mistake for Jorians, the word already used (Section XIX.) for the Georgians, the only sect of the Easterns not enumerated.

THE SECOND PART.

I.

OF THE PILGRIMAGES IN THE HOLY LAND.

[We have told you how the Holy City was, on the day when Saladin and the other Saracens won it from the Christians. Next, we will speak of the pilgrimages; how the pilgrims went to it. Those who are of the West, that is to say, of the Kingdom of France, and of Germany, and of the other lands which are in that part of the world, who would go to the Holy Land, must take the straight way to the East.]

First one goes from Acre to Cayphas, which is four leagues.¹ Near this is the Mount of Carmel, where is

¹ The pilgrim is starting from Acre and first reaches Caiffa or Haifa. In order to get an idea of the reliability of the distances, we may here compare all those mentioned in this work with the actual distances.

	Leagues.		English Miles.	
Acre to Cayphas - - -	3	'Akka to Haifa - - -	9	
Cayphas to Castle Pilgrim	3	Haifa to 'Athlît - - -	9	
Castle Pilgrim to Cæsarea -	5	'Athlît to Kaisârieh - -	14	
Cæsarea to Assur - - -	9	} Holy Land	Kaisârieh to Arsûf - - -	22
Assur to Jaffa - - -	3		Arsûf to Yâfa - - -	10
Jaffa to Ascalon - - -	8		Yâfa to 'Askalân - - -	29
Ascalon to Gaza - - -	3	'Askalân to Ghazzeh - -	11	
Jaffa to Rames - - -	3	Yâfa to Ramleh - - -	11	
Rames to Betenuble - - -	5	Ramleh to B. Nûba - - -	10	
Betenuble to Mount Joy - -	5	B. Nûba to Neby Samwîl -	9	
Jerusalem to Bethany - - -	1	El Kuds to el 'Azirîyeh -	1	
Jerusalem to Quarantania -	7	El Kuds to J. Koruntul -	13	
Jericho to River Jordan - -	7	Rîha to esh Sheriah - - -	5	
Jerusalem to St. Elias - - -	1	El Kuds to Mar Elias - -	3	

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Monseigneur St. Denis, who was born at a town which is called Franchville, at which place is a chapel, and under the altar a little cave, where he was born, and the place is still to be seen. Near the chapel in a little valley, a stone's-throw off, is the spring of Monseigneur St. Denis, which he found and made with his own hands. And it is a very fair place, and the most wholesome place for man on all the mountain.¹

On this same mountain is the Abbey of St. Margaret,

	Leagues.	English Miles.
Bethlehem to Shepherd's Chapel - - -	1	B. Lahm to er Rawât - 1
St. John to Emmaus - -	2	'Ain Kârim (?) to 'Amwâs - 11
Jerusalem to St. Cross -	1	El Kuds to D. es Salib - 1
Jerusalem to Naples - -	12	El Kuds to Nâblus - 30
Naples to Sebastî - -	2	Nâblus to Sebastieh - 5
Sebastî to Mount Tabor -	10	Sebastieh to Jebel et Tôr - 30
Acre to Safran - - -	3	'Akka to Shefa 'Amr - 10
Safran to Sepphoris - -	3	Shefa 'Amr to Seffûrieh - 7
Sepphoris to Nazareth -	1	Seffûrieh to Nâsrah - 3
Nazareth to Cana - - -	3	Nâsrah to Kh. Kâna - 8
Nazareth to Tabor - - -	3	Nâsrah to Jebel el Tôr - 6
Tabor to Hermon - - -	1	Jebel el Tôr to Jebel Dahy - 4
Nain to Sea of Galilee -	3	Nein to Bahr Tabariya - 13
Tiberias to Saphet - - -	3	Tabariya to Safed - 13
Saphet to St. George - -	5	Safed to el Khudr - 14
St. George to Acre - - -	4	El Khudr to 'Akka - 11

This account forms a very complete itinerary of the pilgrimages usually undertaken in the Holy Land.

Taking the league as three English miles, it will be seen that the majority of distances are remarkably exact, being generally a little longer than the actual measurement as the crow flies, because they are taken apparently along the roads. From Cæsarea to Arsûf is over-estimated five miles, but the total from Cæsarea to Ascalon is correct. The mountainous road from Beit Nûba to Neby Samwîl is estimated too long. Bethany is much too far from Jerusalem, and the distances to Quarantania and Jordan (which were less well known, no doubt) are wrong, as is the position of the Shepherd's Chapel.

¹ The exact site of this Church of St. Denys is not clear; it may be the present el Khudr at the foot of Mount Carmel.

which is of Greek monks, which is also a fair place.¹ In this abbey are good relics, and on the slope is the place where St. Elias dwelt, at which place there is a chapel in the rock. Near this Abbey of St. Margaret, on the slope of this same mountain, is a very fair place and delicious where dwell the Latin hermits, who are called Brethren of Carmel ; where is a little church of our Lady, and throughout this part there are plenty of good waters, which issue from the very rock of the mountain ; and it is a league and a half from the abbey of the Greeks to the Latin hermits.

Between St. Margaret and the Brethren of Carmel is a place above the sea called Anne, where the nails were made with which our Lord was crucified, and the place still appears where they were forged ;² and near this mountain of Carmel, between the Latin hermits and Castle Pilgrim, is a place called St. John of Tyre.³ Here is a Greek church with very fair relics, and here St. John wrought fair miracles. Near which towards Castle Pilgrim is a village called Capharnaon, where were struck the pence for which God was sold.⁴

From Cayphas to Castle Pilgrim is three leagues, and it stands by the sea, and belongs to the Order of the Temple, and there lies St. Euphemia, Virgin and Martyr.⁵

¹ St. Margaret was at the present ruin ed Deir ; the Chapel of Elias being the rock cut chapel by 'Ain Umm el Farûj. The Latin hermits of Carmel lived near the present monastery, which is two miles from St. Margaret's. St. Margaret's was built in A.D. 1209.

² Anne, perhaps 'Ain, probably 'Ain es Sih, north of St. Margaret's.

³ St. John of Tyre was clearly near the present Tîreh, perhaps at the ruin called el Kenîseh ('the Church'), west of Tîreh.

⁴ This is out of place. Capharnaon, mentioned also in the Itinerary of King Richard (Book iv. ch. 12), is probably Kefr Lâm, south of Castle Pilgrim or 'Athlît.

⁵ Castle Pilgrim was built by the Templars in A.D. 1218 ; it is now called 'Athlît. The tomb of St. Euphemia in the fifth century was shown at Chalcedon (Scutari).

From Castle Pilgrim to the city of Cæsarea is five leagues, which city is by the sea, and is that of a Baron of the Kingdom. Outside the walls of the city is a chapel, where lies St. Cornelius, whom St. Peter baptized, who was, after Monseigneur St. Peter, archbishop of this city. Near this chapel is a very fair stone of marble, great and long, which is called the Table of Jesus Christ, and there are two little stones, which are round, large below, and pointed above, which are called the candlesticks of our Lord.¹ In this chapel lie the two daughters of Monseigneur St. Philip, who converted and baptized the Eunuch, and when he had baptized him God caught him up and carried him to Assur,² and from Assur he came preaching in the name of our Lord even to the city of Cæsarea.

Near which to the left hand, near a town called Pein Perdue,³ is a chapel of our Lady, which is over a marsh, where they very often go from Cæsarea in pilgrimage, for it is a fair place and very devout. In which marsh are many cocatrices which a lord of Cæsarea put there, having had them brought from Egypt.

From Cæsarea to Assur⁴ is nine leagues, which castle is very near the sea on a hillock of sand, and this castle

¹ Possibly these candlesticks and table may have been the two goal posts and large square block of stone in the hippodrome of Cæsarea. Only one goal post remains. It tapers conically, as described in the text, but this and the large cubical block are of granite, not of marble.

² Assur is here an error for Ashdod. The same mistake was made by others, as Foucher of Chartres notes about A.D. 1100. The true site of Ashdod at Esdûd was, however, well known in the twelfth century.

³ The only place where crocodiles are now found is the Crocodile river, north of Cæsarea.

⁴ Assur is Arsûf, where the ruins of the Crusading town and harbour still remain. It was wrongly identified with Dor or Antipatris as well as with Ashdod.

belonged to the Hospital. On which upper road is a rock cutting¹ (Roche-taillie), and here is an evil passage, and there evil men without faith abide, to rob and to stop the way of those who go to Jaffa.

From Assur to Jaffa, which is a town and castle, is three leagues, and the castle is by the sea, and it is a County. At Jaffa, under a castle in the church of St. Peter, is found the cloak (*perron*)² of St. James of Galicia.

From Jaffa to Ascalon is eight leagues, and it lies by the sea, and the Bishop of Bethlehem used to be called Bishop of Ascalon, but for the dignity of the place Bethlehem, the bishopric was translated from Ascalon to the holy place Bethlehem; and there still is the bishop's chair in the church of Monseigneur St. Paul, with all its belongings.

From Ascalon to Gaza is three leagues, which city stands by the sea called of Gaza; of which the strong Samson brake the gates and bare them to a hill very far from the town.

From Jaffa to Rames³ is three leagues; Rames is a city and bishopric. In the plain of Rames King Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, and five horsemen, went against Saladin, who had thirty horsemen, and there they brought the holy true cross on which our Lord suffered death in Jerusalem, and there was seen Monseigneur St. George openly in that battle, where first the king smote the Saracens: which battle was fought on the day of the Feast of St. Catherine.⁴

¹ Roche-taillie, now Nahr el Falik ('River of the Cleft'), is mentioned also in the Itinerary of King Richard (Book iv. chap. 16). The cutting is artificial, draining the swamps inside the cliffs which extend along the shore.

² Perron. Other texts read *Peron*, and speak of his crossing the sea on it.

³ Rames is Ramleh, which in the middle ages was by some supposed to be Ramah, the home of Samuel (cf. Benjamin of Tudela).

⁴ The battle referred to was that in which King Baldwin the Leper defeated Saladin. The Christians advanced from Ascalon and routed a superior force of Saracens.

From Rames to Betenuble is five leagues. Betenuble is a large town.¹

From Betenuble to Mount Joy² is five leagues. On Mount Joy is the church of St. Samuel the Prophet. It is three leagues to Jerusalem, going in by St. Stephen's gate, and there by right should be the Holy Sepulchre of our Lord.

II.

OF JERUSALEM.

NEAR to which, that is to say in the choir, where is the compass of our Lord, is also the place where Nicodemus and Joseph from Arimathea placed His blessed body, when He was buried after His blessed Passion.³ [When He had been placed on the cross, there was He anointed and wound in grave clothes.] Going out on the left hand of the choir is Mount Calvary, where God was placed on the cross, and beneath is Golgotha, where the precious blood of our Saviour fell on the head of Adam. [There Abraham sacrificed to our Lord. There our Lord said to the thief, who repented and cried for mercy, '*Amen, dico*

¹ Betenuble, now Beit Nûba, is often mentioned in the Itinerary of King Richard.

² Mount Joy was the mediæval name of Neby Samwîl. Maundeville says it was so named because 'it gives joy to pilgrims' hearts, for from that place men first see Jerusalem.' A fine Crusading church was built over the supposed tomb of Samuel at this place. It is not clear whether the three leagues count from Jerusalem to Mount Joy or from Jerusalem to Betenuble; neither is quite correct. Jerusalem is twelve miles (four leagues) from Beit Nûba and only five miles (less than two leagues) from Neby Samwîl, but as there is a deep valley to cross, it is probable that the distance is intended to be that from Neby Samwîl, and is over-estimated on account of the time required for crossing this valley.

³ The Stone of Unction is evidently intended. In this section on Jerusalem none of the notes given in the first part are repeated.

tibi, to-day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise.' There Longinus received his wish of our Holy Lord, whom he saw with his eyes.]

Near the gallery beside the high altar beneath Mount Calvary, is the pillar where our Lord was bound and scourged:¹ there, descending forty steps, is the place where my lady St. Helena found the true cross. Near the choir, issuing on the right hand of the Sepulchre, is the prison of our Lord, and there should be the chain wherewith He was bound. [In that place He first appeared to Mary Magdalene after the Resurrection.²] On the other side, at the entry to the Sepulchre, there are forty-two steps to the chapel of the Greeks, in which chapel used to be the holy true cross, which was there found, and the image of our Lady which spoke to Mary the Egyptian and converted her. [To the right of the high altar all above was the true cross. On the eve of Easter, when the hour of noon was past, when the sun touched the arm of the image of St. Gabriel, which was painted above the Sepulchre, came the Holy Fire from heaven and caught one of the lamps of the sepulchre.]

And next opposite to this way out from the Sepulchre

¹ The pillar of scourging has been shown at various times in very different parts of the city. It is now shown in the Chapel of the Mocking, east of the choir of the cathedral. In the fourth century it was shown on Sion, but the pillar was by some thought to come from the Prætorium of Pilate.

² The prison and the place of the Apparition to Mary Magdalene are still shown in the positions mentioned in the text on the north side of the Holy Sepulchre Cathedral. The Greek Chapel next noticed appears not to be the present Greek Chapel of Calvary, but the chapel on the place where Mary the Egyptian was converted, as now shown south of the Latin Chapel of Calvary just outside the south wall of the cathedral. The holy fire miracle is mentioned by Bernard the Wise as early as 867 A.D., by Masudi in 943 A.D., and by Abu el Faraj in 1008 A.D.

outside, towards the north north east (bisc), is the church of St. Caristo¹ [who has lain in earth eight hundred years]. Towards the south, near this, is the Church of our Lady the Latin, the first church which ever was Latin in Jerusalem, and therefore is it called Latin, and it is of Black Monks. [And there they say St. Mary Magdalene and the other Mary Cleophas tore their hair when God was placed on the cross.] Near which is the house of the Hospital of St. John.

Before the Sepulchre, as far as two bow-shots towards the east, is the *Templum Domini*, where are four entrances and twelve gates. In the midst of the Temple is the great Sacred Rock, where was the ark of our Lord in the time of David, and there were the Old Testament and the rod of Aaron, and the seven candlesticks of gold, and the pot of manna which came from heaven, and the fire which used to devour the sacrifices they made there, and the tables of the old covenant, and the oil which dropped wherewith kings and prophets were anointed. On this rock slept Jacob,² and saw the angels ascend to heaven and descend by a ladder. [On this rock, when David numbered the people, appeared the angel with the sword, wherewith

¹ St. Caristo appears to be the St. Chariton of John of Würzburg and of Maundeville. It was converted into a hospice by Saladin, and named el Kalanderieh after Sheikh Ibrahim el Kalanderi. It was given to the Kalendars in 1391 by Siit Tonshuk (Mejr ed Din), and is now called Khankat Salah ed Din, on the south side of Khot el Khankah just north of the Holy Sepulchre Cathedral. St. Chariton died in his Laura at Khureitûn, near Tekoa, in 410 A.D. This gives the date of the present work as approximately 1210 A.D., agreeing with the notice of St. Margaret's and of Castle Pilgrim before mentioned. (See p. 31.)

² The identification of the Sakhrâh, or holy 'rock' with the stone of Bethel is not peculiar to this account. Maundeville alludes to this belief, John of Würzburg controverts it, and places Bethel near 'Mahumcriam Majorem,' or Bireh, in its right place (Beitin).

he slew the people. There our Lord placed Himself when the Jews would take Him, and the rock rose and made a place for Him, and a star came down before Him and gave Him light.¹ Within the gate towards the south was the fountain of which they sing between Easter and Pentecost, *Vidi aquam egredientem de templo a latere dextro*, etc. On the pinnacle of the temple our Lord suffered that the Devil should put Him to tempt Him. From the pinnacle of the temple was St. James thrown, who first was Bishop of Jerusalem. On the pavement of the temple, without, was an altar, where the Jews by the ancient law used to sacrifice turtle-doves and pigeons.³ On one side of the rock the Son of God was offered, and beneath was the Holy of Holies. There our Lord pardoned the sin of the woman taken in adultery. There was St. John Baptist announced, and hard by is the chapel of St. James, the first bishop of Jerusalem.] Outside the temple is an altar, where Zacharias, the son of Barachias, was slain—that is between the temple and the altar.⁴ At the entrance of the temple is the Gate Beautiful, towards the west; and towards the south is the temple of Solomon. Beside the temple of Solomon, towards the east, is the Bath of our

¹ The footprint of Christ on the rock was shown in the twelfth century where Muhammad's footprint is now shown.

² Perhaps El Kas and its aqueduct.

³ This altar is mentioned by Fetellus (1151 7 A.D.) as having been turned into a sundial by the Saracens. It seems to have been on the spot south-west of the Dome of the Rock, and on the platform, where the sundial is shown on the Ordnance Survey, but this sundial has recently been removed. Theodoricus, however, in 1172 places the site south-east of Templum Domini.

⁴ Compare the 'Bordeaux Pilgrim,' who speaks of the same site in the fourth century. John of Würzburg also mentions the sundial formerly an altar, and says that the Saracens prayed there, and that Zacharias son of Barachias was buried there twenty-two paces from the Templum Domini.

Lord,¹ in the corner of the city [in the angle within the court of the temple.] To the east of the *Templum Domini* is the gate they call Jerusalem,² and there outside appear the prints of the ass which God rode the day of the Flower Passover (*Pasques flories*), and beneath are the Golden Gates.

At the north-east exit of the Temple is the Gate of Paradise and the fountain. On this side, beside the wall of the Temple, is the *Probatca Piscina* (Sheep Pool). [This was a cistern where the angel used to enter and move the water for the healing of the first sick person who entered it.³ Near to this is St. Anne and her monument, and some say that that is the *Probatca Piscina*.] Beyond St. Anne is the Church of St. Mary Magdalene.

Towards the south, above the City of Jerusalem, is Mount Sion. There was the great church, which is thrown down, where our Lady died, and thence the Apostles bore her to Jehosaphat; and before it is a chapel where our Lord was judged, and beaten, and tormented, yea with thorns tormented and crowned; this was the Pretorium of

¹ *Balnea Christi* is another name for the Cradle of Christ, already noticed in the first part of this text. (See p. 15.)

² The name Jerusalem is here given to a gate near the Golden Gate. It is curious that there was a place in Jerusalem specially called 'Jerusalem' in the middle ages. Sanuto on his map writes the name just west of the Haram, but Maundeville says that within the east gate of the Temple 'is the place where our Lord said, "Here is Jerusalem."' Theodoricus (1172 A.D.) says, 'Behind the opening of this gate (east of *Templum Domini*) to the left, a certain quadrangle occurs five feet long and broad, wherein the Lord standing and being asked where was the middle of the earth which they said was in Jerusalem, replied, "This place itself is called Jerusalem."'

³ The *Piscina Interior* on Sanuto's map is shown close to St. Anne's (see p. 25) and has quite recently been found 100 feet N.W. of St. Anne. (See note, p. 65.) The author, however, here gives us an alternative site for the Sheep Pool at the present *Birket Isráîl*. The north gate of the Dome of the Rock still bears the name *Bâbel Jenneh*, or 'Paradise Gate.'

Caiaphas and his house. Under the great church, which is overthrown, is the Chapel of the Holy Ghost; there the Holy Ghost descended on the Apostles. There is the place where our Lord washed the feet of His Apostles, the trough (*puie*) is still there. There God entered, the doors being closed, and said to them *pax vobis*. Then said He to St. Thomas, 'Put forth thy hand and thy finger, and be not unbelieving.'¹ On Mount Sion Solomon was anointed.

There, in the valley beneath the city, is the swimming pool (Natatoria) of Siloam, and near it St. Isaiah is laid.² Near which is Aceldamach, that is, the place which was bought for thirty pence for which our Lord was sold, and it is the sepulchre where they lay the pilgrims.

Under the Golden Gates, in the valley, runs a brook which is called Cedron; thence David gathered the five stones wherewith he slew Goliath;³ and there is Jehosaphat, where our Lady was laid. Hard by is Gethsemane, the place where God was taken: there are seen the ten fingers of our Lord in a stone, there He left St. Peter, and St. James, and the other disciples and Apostles, when He went to pray to God the Father; and there, about a stone's-throw off, is the place where God prayed to God the Father, and there He sweated drops of blood which fell to earth; and there were laid St. Peter, and St. James, and St. Simeon, and Zachariah the prophet.⁴ On the slope of this valley

¹ See notes to Part I. (pp. 2, 19) on St. Sion and St. Saviour.

² The tree of Isaiah is still shown close to the Pool of Siloam, where Isaiah is traditionally supposed to have been sawn in two.

³ The scene of the battle of David and Goliath was very variously placed by tradition. The 'Bordeaux Pilgrim' connects it with 'Ain Jâlûd, near Jezreel, the present text with the Kedron, but Theodoricus knew the true site in the Valley of Elah (W. es Sunt); others placed it near Kolonia, west of Jerusalem.

⁴ The tombs on the east side of the Kedron are here called those of St. Peter, St. James, St. Simeon, Zechariah, and Jehosaphat. The 'Bordeaux Pilgrim' speaks of Hezekiah's and Isaiah's tombs. Theo-

is the sepulchre of King Jehosaphat, from whom the valley was so named, and above, towards the east, is Mount Olivet; and know that on Mount Olivet Jesus Christ went up to heaven on the day of the Ascension, where the form of His right foot appears yet in a stone¹; and He commanded His disciples that they should go and preach the Gospel to all creatures; and beneath is a crypt where St. Pelagia was martyred.² On the slope, towards the south, is a chapel where Jesus Christ made the Pater Noster.

III.

OF PLACES NEAR JERUSALEM.

Between Mount Olivet and Bethany is Befae (Bethphage), where our Lord commanded St. Peter and St. James and

dosius of St. James, St. Zachariah, and St. Simeon as all buried in one tomb. Sæwulf of St. Simeon, and St. Joseph. John of Würzburg places Isaiah's tomb at the tree (*Quercus Rogel*) beside Siloam. Fetellus (1151-7) speaks of the pyramid on the tomb of Jehosaphat. Benjamin of Tudela and Maundeville make St. James and Zacharias to have only one monument. It is not easy to reconcile all these descriptions. St. Joseph's tomb is now shown in the Church of the Tomb of the Virgin, opposite that of Queen Melisinda. The so-called tomb of St. James is that bearing the names of the Bene Hezir in a Hebrew inscription. Zachariah's tomb (as now shown) is that with a pyramid, which Fetellus seems to call Jehosaphat's. Arculphus speaks of the tower of Jehosaphat. Sir John Maundeville speaks of Absolom's Hand, apparently the same as the modern tomb of Absolom, which seems to be the tomb of Jehosaphat in the present text; but the traditions as to these tombs, which belong to the Roman period, were shifting and uncertain.

¹ The footprint of Christ is still shown on Olivet. In the Byzantine age the prints of both feet were shown, but in the twelfth century apparently only one, as now.

² The cave of St. Pelagia is still shown, partly rock cut, partly vaulted in masonry, under the mosque of the Ascension. An early Christian or pagan funerary tablet in Greek was found here with the name Domitela. Several other mediæval writers mention this cave.

the other disciples to go and seek the she ass and her colt.

At a league from Jerusalem [is Bethany; there] is the house of Simon the Leper, where our Lord pardoned Mary Magdalene her sins; and there He raised Lazarus (*le Ladre*) from his tomb.¹

From Jerusalem to Quarantania is seven leagues. There our Lord fasted forty days: near which is Jericho. From Jericho to the river Jordan is seven leagues, and there was our Lord baptized by St. John Baptist [thence it is a day to Crac, and thence another to Mont Royal.]² From the river Jordan to the Mount of Sinai is eight days. There our Lord gave the law to Moses, and there lies St. Catherine, virgin and martyr, in a very fair marble tomb, which tomb is so holy that a sort of oil from it heals many ills; and the grace of God is shown in that many wild beasts who are on that mountain live on nothing save by licking the tomb of my lady St. Catherine, and by the manna which falls on the mountain.

South of Jerusalem it is a league to St. Elias, near which is the Field of Flowers,³ and beside this road is the Sepulchre of Rachel the wife of Jacob. Over against this on the

¹ The house of Simon the Leper was often shown in Jerusalem in the Church of the Madeleine, but it is here placed in Bethany.

² Crac is Kerak, built in 1142 A.D. Montreal is Shobek, built in 1115. These important fortresses commanded the Hajj route from Damascus to Mecca.

³ St. Elias is the present Mar Elias. The field of flowers is connected with a favourite mediæval legend of the flight into Egypt. Maundeville speaks of the field Floridus, where the faggots which were collected to burn an innocent maiden changed into roses. Sanuto calls it the field of the stone peas, where Christ changed the peas of a surly peasant into stones. The monks still show these stone peas near the road south of Mâr Elias. (See Lievin's 'Guide Book.') According to another legend (cf. Theodoricus), the peas betrayed the Holy Family to Herod; but the juniper hid them, and the peas were changed into stone.

other side, on a hill, is Bethlehem, and the manger where our Lord was laid, when He was born and wrapped in little cloths. There is the place of the Nativity, and the place where the three kings [Caspar, Melchior, Baltisar], who came from the east, worshipped our Lord, when they offered gold, incense, and myrrh.¹ There, on the right side of the choir, is the city where is the well where the star fell which led the three kings. On the left side lie the Innocents. Under the cloister is the sepulchre of St. Jerome.² [At a league from Bethlehem, is a church where the angels announced to the shepherds the Nativity of our Lord; there first was sung, *Gloria in excelsis Deo.*]³ A little above Bethlehem is a chapel, where our Lady rested, after her delivery.⁴ From this chapel one takes the road which goes to St. Abraham in Hebron. There our Lord made Adam and Eve, and near this is the house of Cain and Abel.⁵ Hard by is where our Lord showed Himself in the form of the Trinity to St. Abraham, and St. Abraham saw three persons, and worshipped one. [There were buried the three patriarchs with their wives.]

Towards the east (? west) is the place where our Lady saluted Elisabeth, and there St. John Baptist was born,

¹ The star fell into a well, according to tradition; but this well is now shown on the road from Jerusalem to Bethlehem north of Mâr Elias, and called Well of the Magi, or Bîr Kadismu.

² St. Jerome's study and the chapel of the Innocents are shown in the crypt in grottoes north of the grotto of the Nativity.

³ The Church of the Shepherds is the present Greek Church of Er R'awât, south-east of Bethlehem.

⁴ The church where Our Lady rested is now called the Chapel of the Milk Grotto—a cave where the rock is supposed to have been whitened by the milk of the Virgin. Cakes mixed with powdered rock or dust from this grotto are still sold to pilgrims, and are supposed to give milk to mothers and even to cows, goats, etc.

Perhaps Nebi Yukîn, south-east of Hebron, said to be the tomb of Cain, but really the town Cain (Josh. xv. 37).

and Zachariah his father.¹ Two leagues thence is a castle, which they call Emmaus ; there our Lord appeared to St. Luke, and to Cleophas after His rising (*surection*).

Near Jerusalem to the west, it is a league to St. Cross; there grew the tree of which the Holy Cross was made. From Jerusalem to Samaria, which is called Naples, is twelve leagues ;² there our Lord spoke to the Samaritan woman at Jacob's well. Thence it is two leagues to Sebaste, where St. John was beheaded [there are the ashes of his body]; whence to Mount Tabor is ten leagues.

IV.

OF PILGRIMAGES FROM ACRE.

Now we have spoken of the Holy Land of Jerusalem, and of the country round, and we come to Acre. There are pilgrimages which one must seek as directed. He who would rightly seek them, should go straight from Acre to Nazareth, which is seven leagues; on the road is Safran,³ whence to Acre it is three leagues, on which mountain is the Church of St. James and St. John, where they were born, and the spot is still shown, and from this place Safran to Sepphoris is three leagues, and thence a league to Nazareth.

There our Lord came to (*en*) the Virgin Mary, and there

¹ 'Ain Kârim, which is the present site of the birthplace of St. John Baptist.

² There is here an error in confusing Samaria with Shechem, which appears to have been common in the twelfth century. The text does not suggest that Sebaste was the true site of Samaria, Naples or Neapolis being Shechem. In the fourth century the true site of Samaria at Sebaste was known.

³ Saphran, or Safran, is Shefa 'Amr. The remains of a Crusading Church are still traceable. The road to Nazareth was protected by the fortresses of Shefa 'Amr and Seffûrieh, as were the other pilgrim routes through the country by castles, at a day's journey apart.

is the place where the Angel announced Him, to wit, in a hollow rock, which is in the church on the left hand, and at that place is built a chapel in honour of our Lady. [There is the place where she dwelt: there is the fountain of which she carried the water, wherewith she nourished our Lord;¹ at the brook of this fountain, our Lady washed the cloths wherewith she swaddled our Lord. Our Lady sent our Lord to fetch from this fountain when He was somewhat grown, and He went there willingly, and fetched thence in pots, or in bottles or in other vessels, and this was after they had come back from the land of Egypt.] Near which a bowshot off is the fountain of St. Gabriel. From Nazareth to the Leap of our Lord is a league;² and on this roadside is a chapel of Saint Zacharias, which is of the Armenians, and it is a fair place.

From Nazareth to Cana of Galilee is three leagues. At Cana of Galilee the wedding of Architriclinus took place, and at this wedding God made the water wine; the place is still shown where the wedding was. From Cana of Galilee it is quite a bowshot to the well whence the water was brought to the wedding of Architriclinus.³

¹ The chapel at Nazareth, on the supposed site of the Holy House, is now within the new church of the Latin monastery. The Virgin's fountain is still shown. The writer does not mention the sites in the Greek Church, which is over the true spring-head, following his determination mentioned in the last section of the first part not to allude to the churches of the Eastern Christian sects.

The Leap of our Lord (*Saltus Domini*) is mentioned by other mediæval writers. It is the present Mountain of the Precipitation, a cliff south of Nazareth traditionally connected with the Gospel episode in Luke iv. 29, 30.

³ The site shown as Cana of Galilee in the twelfth century appears to have been at Khurbet Kânah, north of the Buttauf Plain. (See the authorities quoted in 'Tent Work in Palestine,' vol. i., p. 151.) The site at Kefr Kenna now shown does not agree with the descriptions of Sæwulf, Fetellus, Sanuto, or Poloner. There is a vault or cave at Khurbet Kânah which seems to be that mentioned in the present text.

From Nazareth to Mount Tabor is three leagues, on which mountain our Lord transfigured Himself before the disciples, and there is a church of black Latin monks. From Mount Tabor to Mount Hermon¹ is a league, where is the city Nain ; there our Lord raised up a child before the gate of the city. From near this, towards the east, it is three leagues to the Sea of Galilee.

[The Sea of Galilee is no other than a lake of sweet water of the river Jordan, and of other waters and fountains which are there gathered. On this Sea of Galilee our Lord ate with His Apostles after He was raised. He ate the backs of the fishes, so that the bones which were on the backs remained all bare, and all the rest of the fishes remained all whole, and then He threw them back into the water, and the fishes at once moved and went swimming with the other fishes without any backs save the bones which were quite bare. These fishes are as large or more than are the roaches which we keep in the sweet waters of France.]² Beside the Sea is the city of Tiberias, where our Lord wrought many miracles. There our Lord made Monseigneurs St. Peter and St. Andrew, who were in a boat, throw their nets into the sea ; and on this Sea our Lord went on foot to St. Peter and St. Andrew, who were in the boat, when St. Peter was afraid, for he thought that it was a phantom.

Near which is Capernaum and, on the other side, the marsh (*estanc*) of Genezareth. To the right hand is a

St. Architrclinus took his name from the Greek word *arkitriklinos*, or 'governor of the feast' (John ii. 8).

¹ Hermon here is not the true Hermon, but Jebel ed Dahy, or 'Little Hermon,' on the northern slope of which is Nain.

² The mediæval legends of the fishes of the sea of Galilee are numerous. The fish intended in the present case seems to be the *Chromis Nilotica*—a kind of bream, which has a large dorsal fin like that of a perch.

mountain which is covered with grass, where our Lord preached to the crowd of people, and near this is the place where our Lord fed five thousand men with five loaves and two fishes.¹ Below, near this, is the prison where our Lord was placed until He had paid the tax for His passing, and it was there that God commanded St. Peter to fish a fish, and when he had taken it, our Lord commanded that it should be opened, and in it was a silver penny, wherewith our Lord paid His tax.²

From Tiberias to Saphet is three leagues, and on the road is the well where Joseph was thrown when he was sold to the Ishmaelites.³ At Saphet is the Cave of Tobit, where he buried the dead⁴ and on the Bridge of Saphet the stone where our Lady rested.

¹ The Marsh of Gennesaret is perhaps an error for Plain of Gennesaret. Capernaum is probably placed at Tell Hum, as in other writings of the age. The site of the miracle of feeding the multitude was in the twelfth century placed on the rocky mountain north of the Sea of Galilee, where the M'aseret 'Aisa, or 'winepress of Jesus,' is now found. This hill was called Mensa Christi, 'Christ's Table.' (See 'Tent Work in Palestine,' vol. ii., p. 187.) A more modern tradition places the site at the Hajâret en Nasâra, or 'Stones of the Christians'—a ruined cromlech on the plateau above Tiberias to the west, near the so-called Mountain of the Beatitudes (Kurn Hattîn). The traditions both fail to agree with the Gospel narrative.

² This prison below the Mensa Christi was perhaps at the Church of St. Peter mentioned by other writers, which seems to have stood where is the present ruined shrine of Sheikh Seiyâd ('the fisherman') close to 'Ain Minieh. The fish of St. Peter is traditionally the same known to the Romans as *faber*, having two black spots on the sides (Matt. xvii. 24).

³ The Well of Joseph is the site now called Khan Jubb Yusef. In the Middle Ages the true site of Dothan, where Joseph was placed in the pit, was unknown, though known in the fourth century as being Tell Dothân. Bethulia, which was near Dothan, was in the twelfth century placed at Safed.

⁴ Marino Sanuto mentions Neptalim Tobia next to Saphet. Tobit was of the tribe of Naphtali (Tobit i. 1), and came from Thisbi, near Naphtali in Galilee, above Aser (verse 2). Sanuto places Aser at

From Saphet to St. George¹ is five leagues; there is a church of Black Monks. From St. George to Acre is four leagues. At Tiberias is the torch (*tison*) which the Jews threw at our Lord when He showed them how they should dye, and the brand stuck to the wall; and there now grows a great tree.²

V.

OF OTHER PILGRIMAGES TO DISTANT PLACES.

[All these pilgrimages which we have noticed are to the Holy City of Jerusalem and to the Holy Land of Promise. Now we will tell you of other pilgrimages which are to far-off places.

Near the city of Damascus is a mountain, and on this mountain a church of our Lady of the Rock, as they call it. In this church are twelve nuns and eight monks. This place is called Sardaines, and some folk call it our Lady of Sardenai. In this church is a tablet of wood (*de fust*). It is an ell long and half an ell wide. On this tablet was painted the image of our Lady St. Mary, and it was engraved on the wood (*fust*). And from this image comes forth the sweetest oil smelling of balm, and many folks have

Kal'at esh Shakif (Belfort). The identification of Safed as the city of Tobit arises from the additional words in the Vulgate of Tobit i. 1, which are not in the Greek, '*in sinistro habens civitatem Sephet*.' The Crusading castle of Safed was built before 1151 A.D., and belonged to the Templars.

¹ St. George is shown on Sanuto's map where the present shrine of El Khudr exists above the village of Mejd el Kerûm. Sanuto says that St. George was supposed to have been born here, and that the place lay in a fat valley extending towards the Sea of Galilee. This agrees with the position of Mejd el Kerûm in the valley west of the Sâhel Râneh.

² This refers to the story in the apocryphal Gospel of Christ as a dyer producing every colour at will. ('Arabic Gospel of the Infancy,' chap. xxxvii., dating from the eighth or perhaps sixth century A.D.)

been anointed therewith and had no more trouble of their sickness, and this oil never failed, however much was taken. To this church came the Saracens from the country round at the feast of our Lady, in August and in September : there they prayed, worshipped, and made offerings. This image was made in Constantinople, and a Patriarch of Jerusalem took it thence, and an abbess asked for it and had it, and carried it there where I have told you.¹

In Tortosa is the first church which was built in honour of the Mother of God, and our Lady ; and St. Peter the Apostle began it first.²

At the city of Baruth was an image of Jesus Christ which was made a little after He had ascended to heaven. This image the Jews crucified in mockery of our Lord, and the Jews pierced its side with a lance, and from this side came forth water and blood, and by such miracle many

¹ Notre Dame de la Roche at Sardenai was a very celebrated place of pilgrimage in the Middle Ages. The picture here mentioned is still shown in the Monastery of Saidnaya. Thetmar tells the story in full of its being brought by a monk of Constantinople from Jerusalem (not from Constantinople, as here stated) to a holy widow living at Sardanai. The oil flowed from its breasts, and is often enumerated among the treasures of churches in France in their inventories. Saidnaya is a large Christian village ten miles north of Damascus. The Greek nunnery stands on a cliff. The picture was adored by Saracens as well as Christians, and by special treaty the Templars used to visit the shrine in order to carry home some of the miraculous oil.

² Tortosa, or Antaradus, was another place of pilgrimage, now Tartûs, opposite the island *Er Rââd*. Joynville made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Our Lady at this place from Sajette (Sidon) in 1253 A.D. It was the last place held by Christians in Syria, being defended by the Templars till 1291 A.D. The cathedral still remains almost perfect, being now a mosque. Jaques de Vitry says it was built by St. Peter. It contained a picture on wood of the Virgin, supposed to have been painted by St. Luke. The church was not, however, the oldest built in honour of the *Theotokos*, for in 431 A.D. the only Church of the Virgin was at Ephesus, and the Virgin's tomb had apparently a chapel as early as 390 A.D. at Jerusalem.

believed on our Lord. With this water and this blood they used to anoint the sick and healed their sicknesses.

In the city of New Babylon which is in Egypt and at Caheira (Babylon is the city and Caheira is the castle), in this Babylon is a fountain, and at this fountain our Lady used to wash the clothes of her dear Son, when they were in Egypt because of Herod. This fountain the Saracens greatly honour, and very willingly come there to wash. By this fountain was watered the tree which bore the true balm.¹

At the Castle of Caheira there is to this day a palm-tree which bore dates. Our Lady St. Mary was one day under this palm and longed to have of its dates, but the tree was so high that she could not have them. The tree bowed to her feet, and the glorious dame took of this fruit and then the tree raised itself, many Saracens and pagans who were there seeing it. Then the pagans cut down this tree, and on the morrow found it all upright and all whole, nor did any cut or opening appear. Then from that time forth they did great honour to that tree.²]

¹ Babylon was the mediæval name of a ruin close to Cairo. (See 'Antoninus,' xliii., p. 34.) The spring of the Virgin is not now shown in Cairo; but at Matarieh, near Heliopolis, a fountain and tree exist connected with the history of the Flight into Egypt. It is probably to this site that the text somewhat loosely refers.

² This celebrated legend of the bowing palm occurs in the apocryphal Gospel called the 'Pseudo Matthew,' a work of the fifth century (chap. xx.). It is also preserved in the Koran (S. xix 16-35), and closely resembles the Buddhist legend of Maya and the Palasa tree. See also Epist. Barnabas, ch. xii., in second century A.D.

ERNOUL'S ACCOUNT OF PALESTINE.

NOW you have heard of Saladin, who is at the siege of Crac,¹ and so we will speak of the river Jordan—as to where it rises, and how it goes, and where it rests.

This river divides the land of the Saracens and of the Christians, just as it runs. The land of the Christians is on this side, and its name is Land of Promise, and that of the Saracens is named Arabia. In the Land of Promise they call all the waters rivers (*fluns*). At the foot of the mountain rise two fountains; the one is called Jor and the other Dain.² Now I will tell you of this mountain, what it is called. Its name is the Mount of Ninban (other MSS. Liban).³ This mountain reaches four days in length to a castle which is beyond Tripoli, which they call Arces. There was made the ark of Noah,⁴ whence he took to the sea by this mount Ninban, and for this the castle is called *Arches*, for the ark of Noah was made there. This

¹ Crac is Kerak, where Saladin besieged Renaud of Chatillon.

² The derivation of Jordan from Jor and Dan is originally a Rabbinical idea. Perhaps the name of the Leddân, one of the sources of Jordan, is connected with it; but the accepted derivation of Jordan is from a Hebrew root meaning 'flowing down.'

³ Ernoul considers Hermon, on the slopes of which the Jordan rises, to be a part of Lebanon.

⁴ This place is the ancient Arka, connected with the Arkites (Gen. x. 17) and with one of the titles of Ashtoreth. It has, of course, nothing to do with the ark.

mountain parts the Paynims and Christendom, from opposite Tyre to beyond Tripoli along the coast. On this side is Christendom and on the other side the Paynims.

In this mountain are many good lands and good towns, which the Christians and the Saracens divide half and half. In such a place all are Saracens and in such another place they are all Christians. Between these two mountains¹ is a valley, which they call the Vale of Bacar, where the men of Alexander went on a foray when he besieged Tyre. But he who made the Romaunt thereof, the better to make rhyme, called it the Vale of Josaphas to get the rhyme.

Now we have told you of the Mount of Niban, whence the fountains spring at its foot. Now we will tell you of a city below the slope of the mountain above the fountains, which is called Belinas. It was already Christian in the time of Godfrey of Bouillon, but I cannot tell you in the time of which king it was lost by them.² But afterwards they fortified two castles near to it: the one is called Toron.³ This was the king's Castle, and is five leagues from Tyre and four leagues from the city of Belinas; and the other is called Saphet. This was of the Temple and four leagues from the city.⁴

¹ Ernoul here suddenly refers to the Anti-Lebanon. The valley is the Bukeiah (Cœle-Syria), which was not then occupied by the Franks, who had, however, previously held Emesa (La Chamelle). Anti-Lebanon, Damascus, and Aleppo were never conquered by the Crusaders.

² Belinas is Baniâs, which was held by the Crusaders from 1130 to 1165 A.D. The large castle (above the town, which was also walled round) remains in ruins.

³ Toron is Tibnin, built in 1107. It is fourteen miles from Tyre, and seventeen miles from Baniâs.

⁴ Safed is twenty-three miles from Baniâs. It is here said to have belonged to the Templars. In 1250, however (after our author wrote), it was given to the Teutonic order by treaty with 'Imâd ed Dîn, sultan of Damascus (Makrizi).

Now we will tell you of Belinas, what town it was and what name it had of old. It was Philipon, and was called Cæsarea Philippi. This Philip was brother of Herod who had St. John the Baptist beheaded, and was husband of the woman whom Herod had when he had St. John beheaded, and this because he said to Herod that he should not have his brother's wife, therefore he beheaded him. At this Cæsarea our Lord gave to St. Peter the keys of Paradise, so that he might open and shut. This city is nigh to Galilee.

Now we will tell you of those two fountains which run towards the Sea of Galilee. Before they enter the sea they join and become one. One of the two fountains is called Jor and the other is called Dain, and where they join they are called Jordan. This water enters the sea near Belinas, and runs through the midst of the sea, beside which is a bridge which is called the Bridge of Tiberias, and when it passes this bridge it is called the River Jordan.¹

Now we will tell you of this sea, what sea it is. This sea is not salt, but is sweet and good to drink. This sea has but four leagues in length and two in breadth. This sea the Scripture calls the Sea of Galilee, and in another place the Sea of Tiberias, because the city of Tiberias lies by the sea on the side of the Christians. In another place the Scripture calls it the Lake of Nazareth.²

It was on this sea that Jesus Christ made the water wine, when he was at the wedding of Archedeclin, in the city of Tiberias.³ Between Tiberias and Belinas is a place which

¹ The bridge is apparently Jîsr Benât Yakûb. The sea (or lake) near Baniâs would be the Hûleh, half a mile above the bridge.

² The Sea of Galilee is eight miles long north and south, by two and a half miles east and west. 'Lake of Nazareth' is an error for Gennesareth. An account of the call of the Apostles, and of Peter walking on the sea, which here follows, is omitted.

³ Archedeclin, *i.e.*, 'the governor of the feast.' See p. 45. The scene of the wedding at Cana of Galilee (John ii.) is thus transferred to the Sea of Galilee.

they call the Table,¹ near to the Sea of Galilee. It was in this place that Jesus Christ fed the Apostles and five thousand men with five barley loaves and two fishes, so that two baskets of fragments were left.

In another part on the sea, towards the Paynims, is a city which is called Capharnaon. There were St. Peter and St. Andrew born, and there too Jesus Christ did fair miracles, healing folk such as the king's son and others.

Hard by is a city which they call Nain; there, too, Jesus Christ went one day, He and His Apostles. And when He came near to the city He met an esquire whom they bore forth to bury. Then came Jesus Christ to him, and said that he should arise, and forthwith he leapt up, for Jesus Christ had raised him.² Five leagues from this Sea of Tiberias is a city called Nazareth, and it is six leagues from Acre. At this city Our Lady St. Mary was born, and in this same city the angel brought her the message that Jesus Christ should take flesh and blood of her. When Our Lady St. Mary was with child with the Son of God the Father, she went to a mountain which is near Nazareth with her cousin-german, who dwelt there, and whose name was Elizabeth, and who was with child with Monseigneur St. John the Baptist.³ In that place is an abbey of the Greeks, which they call St. Zachary, for Zacharias dwelt there, and he was the father of St. John the Baptist.

Near Nazareth, about half a league, is a fair mountain, which is called in Latin *Montem excelsum valde*, and in Romance language *le Saut* ('the Leap'), because on the side of this mountain is a cliff whither they led those of

¹ Mensa Christi. See Part II., p. 46.

² An account of the devils entering the swine (Luke viii. 26) follows.

³ The scene of the Salutation is transferred to Galilee. It is usually placed in Judea (see Luke i. 39). A few words from Luke i. 39-46 are here omitted.

Nazareth who had deserved death, to make them leap down. Now, it happened once, that Jesus Christ was led thither to be made leap down, because of a word He had spoken to the Jews in Nazareth; and when He got there He vanished from them and sat on a stone which is yet there, so that they could not either see or find Him.

This mountain, which is over the cliff, is the mountain to which the Devil carried Jesus Christ, when he had brought Him from the Quarantania where He fasted, to the Temple. From the Temple he carried Him onto this mountain, and showed Him all the land, and all the country, and the riches which were in the earth, and said to Him that he would give Him all that He saw if He would worship him; and Jesus Christ said he should depart and tempt Him no more. The Devil departed, and the angels came to this mountain.¹

Beneath this mount is another mount, which is not as high as that of which I have spoken above. There is a very fair plain between the two. This other mount is called Mount Tabor. To this mount Our Lord once brought St. Peter, and St. James, and St. John, and was transfigured before them, whence in many lands they keep the Feast of the Transfiguration. I have forgot to tell you when I spoke thereof how far it is from Jerusalem to that mountain to which the Devil bore Jesus Christ. It is two long days' journey.²

¹ The *Saltus Domini* is still shown (see p. 44). Ernoul makes it also the 'exceeding high mountain' (Matt. iv. 8), which others placed in the Jordan Valley near Jericho. According to some legends, the cliff opened to hide our Lord from the Jews. A stone on which it is said our Lord sat is still shown by the Moslems on the side of *Jebel Neby Dahy*, south of the site in question. It is called *Hajr Sidna Aisa*, 'Stone of our Lord Jesus.'

² The occurrence of the Transfiguration on Tabor is first mentioned in the Gospel of the Hebrews (now lost). From Jerusalem to the

Now I will tell you of the River Jordan, how it runs, and where it rests. When it comes out of the Sea of Galilee it runs towards the south, and runs full three days' journey in length, and it rests in the sea which they call the Sea of the Devil. In the world and in the Scripture it is called the Sea of Salt, because it has a mountain of salt on the shore towards Crac, and because it is so salt, and so bitter, that nothing can be compared to its saltness and its bitterness: that of the Great Sea is as nothing to it; and it runs not, but is like a lake, and it has no fishes, for fishes may not stay there; and it was once all land there where the sea is; and this land lies between a city called St. Abraham and Crac.¹

That I may tell you further of this sea, I will tell you where Crac lies. It lies in Arabia. Near it is Mount Sinai, in the land of the Lord of Crac.² This Mount Sinai is between the Red Sea and Crac. There God gave the Law to Moses after they had crossed the Red Sea. To this mountain, where the Law was given, the angels bore the body of St. Katherine, when her head was cut off in Egypt. There she lies in the oil which comes from her body, and thereon is an abbey of Greek monks; but the chief abbey of that house is not there, but at the foot of the mountain. There is the abbey and the convent, and no one can go up the mount on a horse, or carry meat whereby those above might live.

But there above are thirteen monks, who live a hard life.

Saltus Domini is sixty-two miles. An account of the Transfiguration here occurs in the text.

¹ St. Abraham was the Crusading name of Hebron. The Salt Mountain is south-west of the Dead Sea, not near Kerak. The Dead Sea is about four times as salt as the Mediterranean, and Ernoul is right in saying that fish cannot live in it.

² The Lordship of Kerak included the Sinaitic peninsula.

They bring them up thither bread and naught else, and some of them eat but three times a week, bread with water, and some there are who eat raw herbs with their bread which they get there. On this mount Moses fasted forty days, nor ate until the Law was given.

Now we will tell you of the Red Sea, which is near. This is the sea which Moses struck with his rod, and the sea parted and became as a hedge on the one side and on the other. This is the sea which the children of Israel crossed dryshod when they came from Egypt, and when they had crossed King Pharaoh, who came after them, went in and would have slain and taken them, he and all his host. Moses waved his rod and struck the sea, and the sea closed, and Pharaoh¹ and all his host were drowned, not one of them escaped; and the children of Israel escaped, for they were over before it was closed.

On the shore of this sea Prince Renaud once had made five galleys. When they had made them he had them launched in the sea, and put in them knights and soldiers, and food enough, in order to go round and to know what kind of folk dwelt on that sea in other parts. They departed when they were ready, and passed into the deep sea nor from that time when they left did any man hear what became of them.² And through the midst of this Red Sea runs a river of Paradise; and when it has left the sea it runs through the midst of the land of Egypt. This river is called in Scripture Sison (Pison),³ and in the world it is called Nile.

¹ Exod. xiv. 27 does not mention Pharaoh himself as being drowned.

² This was in 1182-3 A.D. The ships were built at Akabah, and went as far as Aden. Saladin launched a fleet at Kolzum, and burnt this fleet at Haura. Renaud's troops were within a day of Medina, and retreated by land, with great loss, to Montreal (Shobek) and Kerak.

³ Josephus ('Ant.' i. 1-3) identifies the Pison with the Ganges and the Nile with Gihon.

Now we have read of this Nile, so we will tell you of the City of St. Abraham, which is beyond the Sea of the Devil, of which I spoke before, in the Land of Promise. This place is the city which is by name Hebron. There St. Abraham conversed and dwelt when he came from Hamam (Harran), where he was born, which Scripture calls Aram,¹ when God told him that he should go forth and should go to dwell in a land whereof He would tell him. In this place he bought a field of earth to bury himself and his people, and there was he buried, and his son Isaac, and Jacob, the son of Isaac, who had died in Egypt, and who was the father of Joseph. When his fathers had died in Egypt he had them brought and buried with his brothers in Hebron, and when Joseph was dead, the sons of Israel, when they came from the land of Egypt to the Land of Promise, brought his bones and buried them with their fathers;² and when Abraham dwelt there, there was no town, but afterwards they made that city there and called it St. Abraham, because Abraham had dwelt there. This city belonged to the Lord of Crac. It is five leagues from Bethlehem,³ where Jesus Christ was born.

Bethlehem is a city, but not great, for there is but one street,⁴ and from Bethlehem it is two leagues to Jerusalem.⁵

Between Bethlchem and Jerusalem is a monastery where are Greek monks, which is called *Gloria in excelsis Deo*.⁶ It was there that the angels sang when Jesus Christ was born, and they spoke to the shepherds, and announced that the Saviour of the World was born, and said that they

¹ Harran (misspelt Hamam) has no connection with Aram, and Abraham was not born there, but came there from Ur.

² Josephus also places Joseph's tomb at Hebron, but the Bible at Shechem (Josh. xxiv. 32).

³ Actual distance, fourteen English miles.

⁴ Bethlehem has still only one main street along the ridge.

⁵ Actual distance, five English miles.

⁶ The Shepherd's Chapel seems here confused with Mar Elias.

should go to Jerusalem,¹ where He was, and they would find Him swaddled in clothes, and they went and found all as the angels had told them. We give thanks and praise to Jesus Christ for that He willed it so. Near this monastery is a field of ground called the 'Field of Flowers.'²

Now you have read of this, so we will tell you of a city which is two leagues from the river, and which the people of the land fortified when they heard say that the children of Israel were coming into the Land of Promise, and that they must pass thereby. This city is called Jericop, and was walled with adamant stone. When the children of Israel had crossed the river they besieged it, because it was at the entry to the Land of Promise.³

Near this city is a field (*gastine*),⁴ which is full of serpents. There they catch the serpents of which the ointment is made, and I will tell you how they catch them. The man who catches them makes a ring round the field, and goes saying his charm, singing round the ring. All the serpents who have heard him come to him, and he catches them as easily as he would a lamb, and takes them to sell in the cities to those who make the ointment. Now there are some wise ones amongst these serpents, who, when they hear him begin his song, stop one of their ears against the ground, and stop the other with the tail, so that they may not hear, and thus they escape. By that ointment which they make of these serpents all kind of poison is cured.⁵

¹ This is another instance of the author's carelessness—Jerusalem standing for Bethlehem, as he has just said.

² A paraphrase of Gen. xviii. follows. (See p. 42.)

³ A paraphrase of Josh. vi. follows.

⁴ *Gastine*, answering to the carucate of Domesday book, a division of the casale or property, amounting to about eighty acres.

⁵ This is an early account of the snake-charming commonly performed by Dervishes in the East.

Now I will tell you more about two serpents which are found in Arabia, and which are far in the desert. There are but two, nor can there be more of them, and they are of so hot and stinking a nature that no bird may fly over where they meet, but will fall dead of the heat, and of the stink of them. Nor is there man or beast that smells their stink that does not fall dead. Now I will tell you how they are born, and how they are brought forth—for it is their death. When the time comes that they are kindled, the male comes and puts his head in the mouth of the female, and she conceives; and when she conceives she shuts her teeth and bites off the head of the male, and so he dies; and when her time comes she brings forth, and of the brood come forth one male and the other female. And so it is each time.¹

There,² on the road, Jesus Christ gave sight to the man who cried after Him; for he had no eyes. Thence, just a league from Jericop, is the Quarantania, where God fasted on a high mountain.

At the foot of the mountain is a spring, good and fair, which in the time of the Prophet Elisha was of a marvellous nature, so that under heaven there was no place which that water touched but that nothing green would grow there. There was no woman in the world if she drank it, but would never have a child; nor she-beast either, but had no offspring. Then came Elisha and healed it, putting salt into it; and never after Elisha had healed it did it do harm, but great good, and watered all that land and the gardens as far as the river.³ This Quarantania

¹ This marvellous tale of serpents is found in Herodotus iii. 109. In Talmudic accounts also the 'deaf adder' stops her ears with her tail, just as here stated.

² A paraphrase of Luke xix. 1-10 here follows.

³ 'Ain es Sultân, or 'Elisha's fountain,' still waters the gardens.

where God fasted is in the desert this side of the river,¹ and the desert where St. John abode is beyond the river; and near the river he baptized those who came to him to be baptized, and so he baptized Jesus Christ; and on the brink of the river where he baptized there is an abbey of Greek monks, which is called St. John.²

Between Jericop and Jerusalem is a place which they call Rouge Cisterne. There used to be an inn where those lodged who went from Jerusalem to Jericop, and to the river, and it was thither that the Samaritan bore the man whom he found robbed by the way, of whom Jesus Christ spoke when they asked, 'Who is my neighbour?'³

Now, I have spoken to you of the Sea of Galilee, and of the river, and of this side and that side, and of the line between the Christians and the Saracens, for I told you that the Saracens had crossed the river when they had been a day at Forbelet, and had gone to besiege Crac. . . .

When Baldwin, the King of Jerusalem, heard say that Saladin was sending for all his men to come into the land, the King assembled all his host, and gathered them in a place which is called the Fountains of Sepphoris, and for this reason they are called the Fountains of Sepphoris, because they are near the town called Sepphoris, and in this town was born St. Anne, the mother of Our Lady St. Mary. At these fountains the King dwelt in the summer, when there was no truce with the Saracens, both he and his Knights and the Templars and Hospitallers, and all the Barons of the land. And for this reason they stayed there, because if the Saracens came into the land they were ready

¹ Jebel Koruntul.

² St. John on Jordan, founded by Justinian, now called Deir el Yehûd.

³ A paraphrase of the parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke x. 25) follows. The site is Talat ed Dumm, where are remains of a castle on the hill and of a khan by the road.

prepared to go to meet them.¹ This place where these fountains were is a league from Nazareth, and five leagues from Tiberias, and five leagues from Acre.² There dwelt the King of Jerusalem three months, he and all his host, until Saladin came into the land, and until he had gathered his forces.

When Saladin had gathered his host, and collected them at Damascus, he came and got so far on his way that he crossed the river and lodged at a fountain which is called the Fountain of Tubania,³ which is at the foot of a mountain under a rock; this mountain is four leagues from the fountains of Sepphoris, where the King of Jerusalem was with his host, and two leagues from a castle called Gerin. This castle is in a place which is called Dothan; in this place is the cistern into which the sons of Israel threw their brother Joseph, and sold him to merchants who took him to Egypt. . . .

Now we will tell you of Naples (Neapolis), how it lies, and where it lies, which in the time when Jesus Christ was upon earth was not yet Naples, and here first dwelt the Samaritans. Naples lies between two mountains, and those of the country call one of the mountains Mount Cain, and the other Mount Abel. Mount Abel is always green both winter and summer, through the great number of olive

¹ Baniâs having been taken, the route from Damascus to Tiberias was open to Saladin, and Seffûrieh possessed the nearest convenient water supply to that city at the springs (Kastal Seffurieh) south of the town.

² True distances: from Kastal Suffurieh to Nazareth, three English miles; to Tiberias, sixteen miles; to Acre, seventeen miles.

³ There is a confusion here. Tubania ('Ain Tabaun), where a Crusading battle occurred, is three miles from Gerin (Zerain or Jezreel), and distant fourteen miles from Sepphoris. But Joseph's well was, in the twelfth century, shown at Khan Minieh, north of Tiberias, by which route Saladin really advanced. Our author writes probably second-hand, and misread Tubania for Tiberias, confusing two distinct battles.

trees growing thereon ; and Mount Cain is always dry, being all stones and pebbles.¹ At the foot of Mount Cain is a city called Cicar.² This city is towards sunrise. By the top of Mount Abel, towards sunrise, is a mountain which is called the Mountain of St. Abraham. On the mountain is a place which they call Bethel.³ This is the place where Abraham brought his son Isaac to sacrifice him, when God commanded him, and there the angel had prepared for him a lamb to sacrifice instead of his son.

Beside this mountain, towards sunrise, is a city which, when Jesus Christ was on earth, was called Samaria.⁴

Beneath this city was a plain⁵ which was called Shechem. There was a well which Jacob made, and gave it to Joseph his son, where the people of the city went for water.⁶ This well is half a league from Naples.⁷

This city of Samaria was quite destroyed after the time of Jesus Christ, when Vespasian was on earth. Nor is there any longer a town, but a monastery of the Samaritans⁸ where they sacrifice their Passover. Nor can they sacrifice

¹ This part is curiously incorrect, apparently copied out of some older account not well understood. If Mount Abel is Mount Ebal, Mount Cain should be Gerizim ; yet Bethel is placed on Mount Abel, and Gerizim is well watered, while Ebal is dry.

² Cicar (Sychar), now 'Askar, is at the foot of Ebal, towards the east.

³ This Bethel is the Samaritan site of Bethel on Gerizim (compare the 'Bordeaux Pilgrim').

⁴ By Samaria—as in other works of this age—Shechem is meant. Apparently Sebaste was not then considered to be Samaria, though known as such in the fourth century. The Samaritan woman was supposed to come from the city Samaria. Hence it was argued that Neapolis (Nâblus) was Samaria.

⁵ The plain (el Mukhnab) is actually higher than Nâblus.

⁶ By the city he means the supposed Samaria = Shechem. A paraphrase of John iv. 5-38 follows.

⁷ From Jacob's Well to Nâblus is one and a quarter English miles.

⁸ Nâblus was inhabited in the twelfth century. The Samaritan old

elsewhere any more than the Jews may sacrifice elsewhere save at Jerusalem. Thither come the Samaritans from the land of Egypt, and from the land of Damascus,¹ and from all the Paynim lands, where they dwell. These folk come thither on the day of Passover, and their Passover is when the Jews hold it. There they sacrifice

Five leagues from Naples is a castle called Beteron. Now it happened once of old that a seneschal of Nebuchadnezzar, who was King of Persia, besieged this castle. This seneschal was called Holophernes.²

Two leagues from Naples is a city called Sabat,³ and it is on the road which goes from Naples to Nazareth. At this place the body of Monseigneur St. John Baptist was buried. Thither his disciples brought him, when Herod had had his head cut off. A little after, when Herod's wife heard that he was buried, she sent thither and had his bones taken from the earth and burnt, and the powder sold, and for this reason children still on St. John's night make a fire of bones, because his bones were burned.⁴

From Naples to Jerusalem it is twelve leagues, and from Naples to Nazareth twelve leagues. So Naples is half-way from Nazareth and from Jerusalem.⁵ Now, from Naples to

synagogue appears to have been south-west of the town, near the tower with a Samaritan text in its wall.

¹ The Samaritan colonies in Alexandria and Damascus still existed in the seventeenth century.

² The author exaggerates the historical errors of the book of Judith. A paraphrase of the story of Judith here follows. The site of Bethulia is here placed near Nâblus, not—as usually in the twelfth century—at Safed.

³ Sabaste, the true site of Samaria, six English miles from Nâblus.

⁴ Burning bones is as old as the days of Herodotus. The author refers to one of the numerous customs of making bonfires on St. John's Eve.

⁵ True distances : Nâblus to Nazareth, thirty-four English miles ;

Cæsarea, it is twelve leagues, and from Naples to the River Jordan five leagues; but not to that place on the river where Jesus Christ was baptized, for it is much more from Naples to where He was baptized. Yet it is all the same river.

Nâblus to Jerusalem, thirty English miles; Nâblus to Cæsarea, twenty-nine English miles; Nâblus to the nearest point on Jordan, seventeen English miles. It will be seen from the foot-notes that Ernoul's account is much less accurate than are the preceding descriptions. He appears to have copied into his chronicle the work of a previous writer describing Jerusalem, and his own account of Palestine does not give any clear evidence of personal acquaintance with the places described.

NOTE.

THE PISCINA INTERIOR.

As these pages were passing through the press, a new discovery of great interest was reported by Herr K. Schick, namely, that of a large tank to the north-west of St. Anne's Church, about 100 feet distant. Crossing a courtyard and entering by a narrow passage, a building, measuring about 70 feet east and west, by 25 north and south, with an apse at the east end, is found. Its floor (about on the level 2,400) is some 7 feet below the general surface of the courtyard. Under this building are vaults about 10 feet deep, the floor level being that of the surface of the natural rock. Through the floor of these vaults a cistern is reached, cut in rock to a depth of 30 feet. It lies somewhat at an angle to the line of the building with an apse (apparently a church), above-mentioned. Its measurement east and west from one rock wall to another is 55 feet; north and south it measures $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet, but the north wall is of masonry, with four piers standing on rock bases supporting arches; the spaces between the piers have been filled in with masonry after building, probably at a later period; and Mr. Schick supposes the pool to have extended further in this direction, perhaps in five arcades or porches between the piers. A flight of twenty-four steps leads down into this pool from the east scarp.

The church or chapel was probably built at a later

period, when the surface level was within 6 or 7 feet of its present height, after an accumulation of 10 feet of earth over the rock, which, as we shall see, seems to have been still visible in 1172 A.D. This is also indicated by the position of the walls, askew to the pool. The vaults from the rock surface were no doubt constructed to bear the floor of the new church.

In a note on the Pool of Bethesda (see 'Bordeaux Pilgrim,' P.P.T. edition, p. 54), Sir Charles Wilson has indicated (No. 6 of the diagram) the position of the mediæval Pool of Bethesda just where the newly-discovered pool exists. He has also shown that the Bethesda of the fourth century A.D. was at the Twin Pools (No. 3 of his diagram), at the north-west angle of the Haram.

In an ancient map of Mediæval Jerusalem published with Marino Sanuto's account of the city (1322 A.D.), a pool is marked north-west of St. Anne, and shown running east and west or across the valley which here exists. The pool is that mentioned in the present text (see back, p. 25) as the site of Bethesda, though in the second part (see back, p. 38) the author inclines to the later identification of Bethesda with the Birket Isrâil—the modern Bethesda.

The following notices of the pools are of value in connection with the new discovery :

The Bordeaux Pilgrim (333 A.D.) speaks of two large pools near the Temple—one on the right, the other on the left—in addition to the Twin Pools, which he identifies with Bethesda. He ascribes these two pools to Solomon (see P.P.T. edition of this pilgrim, p. 20).

In the Onomasticon (Eusebius and Jerome, 330-420 A.D.) Bethesda is said to have 'formerly' had five porches, 'but now is shown as a Twin Pool.'

Theodosius (530 A.D.) places the Probatice Piscina (*i.e.*, Bethesda) near a Church of St. Mary. In 570 A.D. Anto-

ninus Martyr (ch. xxviii.) apparently alludes to the Twin Pools as Bethesda. St. Willibald in 723 A.D. only alludes to the 'Porch of Solomon where is the pool where the infirm wait for the moving of the water.'

In the Middle Ages, however, the pool near St. Anne—perhaps like the Bîr Eyûb rediscovered and cleared by the Franks—becomes more important. Sæwulf in 1102 speaks of the Church of St. Anne and 'near it Bethsaida (*sic*), having five porches.'

John of Würzburg writes, 'in exitu ejusdem ecclesiæ ad dextram manum non longe per diverticulum est Probatice Piscina,' clearly describing the newly-discovered pool. In 1172 Theodoricus speaks of the Church of St. Anne: 'ad cujus aquilonalem partem qui progreditur, in valle profunda, juxta lapidosam quendam collem cui vetus quoddam opus incumbit, Piscinam Probatice inveniet.' The mention of an adjacent 'stony hill' with 'remains of ancient work' and a 'deep valley' shows that the accumulation of earth over the rock which led to the site of the pool being lost had probably not yet taken place.

We have also the two notes in the present text (see pp. 25, 38) where first we find notice of the church over the fountain—written about half a century after Theodoricus.

William of Tyre, ch. l. (see Bongar's 'Gesta Dei,' p. 473), says of this pool: 'Veteris piscina adhuc vestigia retinens quinque porticus habens . . . ad quam nunc per porticam unam descenditur et reperitur aqua ibi gustu amara.' Hence in his time (about 1180) the pool had already its present form, and was supposed to be only in part accessible—one out of five porches being open. The bitter water here noticed agrees with Mr. Schick's view that the channel found near the pool and leading to the Birket Isrâil was a drain. William of Tyre places Beth-

esda at the newly-found pool, and mentions the Birket Isrâîl as *Lacus quidam*.

In 1283 Brocadus, however, places the Probatice Piscina south of the road to the east gate of the city (*i.e.*, at the Birket Isrâîl); and north of that road he mentions 'a very large pool,' which he says Hezekiah made, and which he calls Piscina Interior, or the 'inner pool.' This becomes the recognised name of the St. Anne Pool, after the change of situation of Bethesda to its modern traditional site.

John Poloner (1422) speaks of the 'Piscina Interior quæ est ad S. Annam,' and Marino Sanuto (1322) notices the pool by the same name as being near St. Anne. In the 'Travels of Sir J. Maundeville' (see Bohn's series, 'Early Travels in Palestine,' p. 172) we read that *in* the Church of St. Anne 'is a well in manner of a cistern, which is called Probatice Piscina, and which hath five entrances.' Even as late as 1509, Anselm says that not far from St. Anne towards the House of Pilate (Ecce Homo Arch) is a very large pool.

From these notices we gather the history of the pool. It apparently existed in 333 A.D., and, being rock-cut, may be one of the ancient pools of Jerusalem. Josephus, however, only mentions one pool (Struthion) in this quarter of the city (5 Wars, xi. 4), which appears to have been that known as the Twin Pool 'at Antonia.'

We gather also from the passages cited that the church over the pool existed in the Crusading period, but probably not earlier, and that the present north wall of the pool existed already about 1180 A.D. In the twelfth century the pool was regarded as the Bethesda (or Bethzatha or Bethsaida) of the Gospel (John v. 2), and called the Probatice Piscina or 'Sheep Pool;' but about 1230 A.D. (the time of the second Frankish occupation) the Birket Isrâîl

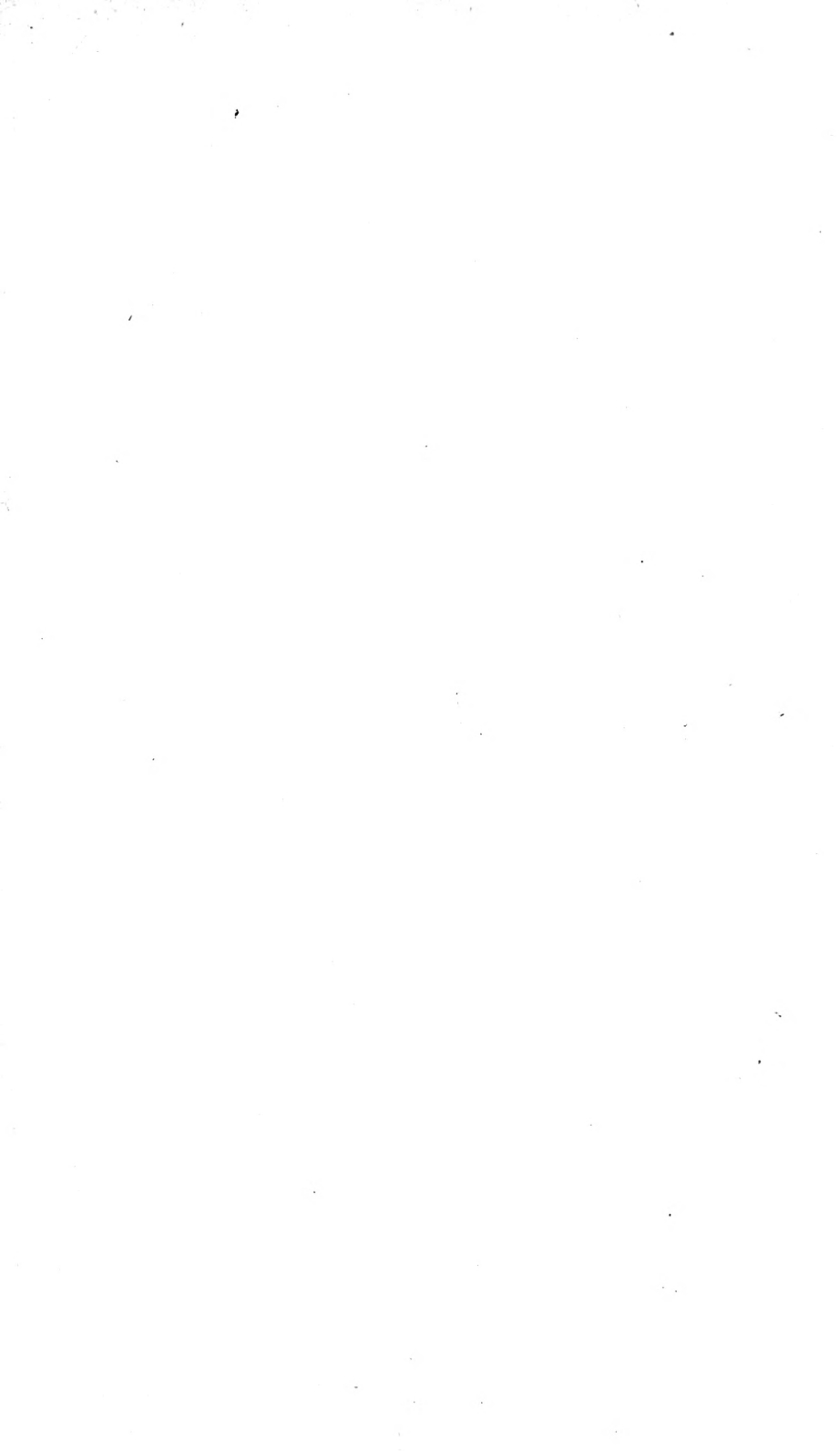
begins to be regarded as Bethesda, although the Piscina Interior was known and occasionally called the 'Sheep Pool' down to 1500 A.D.

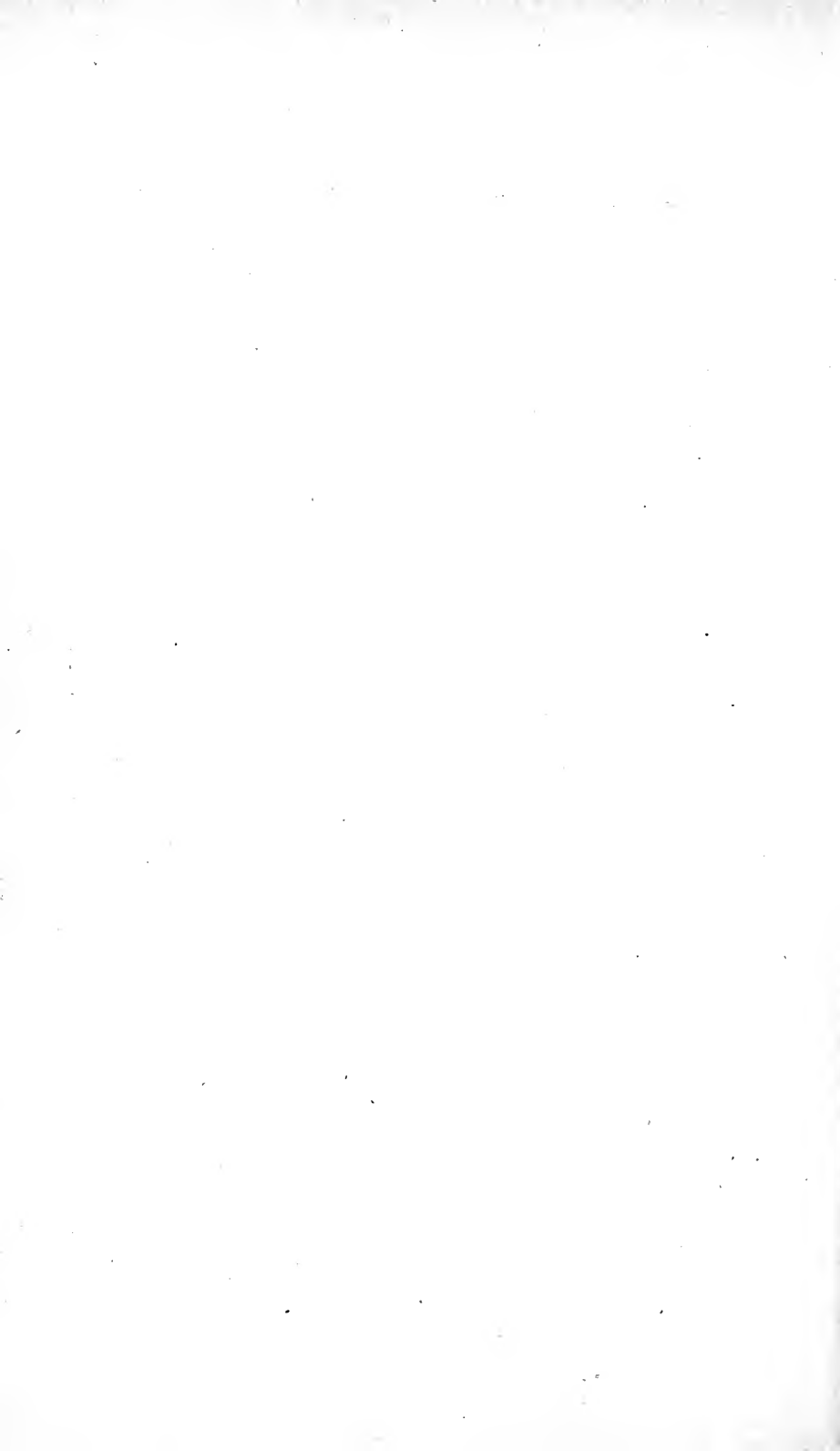
It may here be noted as of some interest that Marino Sanuto gives an account of Hezekiah's alterations in the water-supply of Jerusalem. He regards the Piscina Interior as the 'Upper Gihon,' and apparently thought that originally an aqueduct ran from Birket Mamilla (west of the city) across to the Piscina Interior, but that Hezekiah diverted the water 'west of the Tower of David' to the Lacus Germani (Birket es Sultân). The Birket Mamilla is connected by aqueduct with the citadel (near the Jaffa Gate), and its level is about 110 feet above that of the Piscina Interior.

Whether any of these pools can claim to be the true Bethesda is doubtful. The word in Hebrew, according to Reland, means (בֵּית־אֶשְׁרָא) 'house of pouring-forth' (see Sir C. Wilson's note in 'Bordeaux Pilgrim,' P.P.T. edition, p. 45; and compare Ashdoth Pisgah, 'the streams of P.')

The only place near Jerusalem where a periodical 'troubling of the waters' is now known to occur is the Virgin's Fountain, which Robinson regarded as Bethesda, and where the Jews still wash to cure disease. If this be the true site, the *Probatike*, or 'Sheep place,' would be a name referring to the collection of flocks for watering at this spring.

THE END.





Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society.

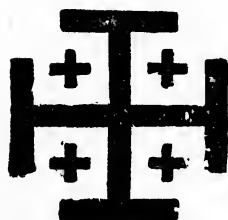
GUIDE-BOOK TO PALESTINE

(CIRC. A.D. 1350).

Translated

BY

J. H. BERNARD, D.D.



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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE guide-book to Palestine here offered to the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society is a translation of a Latin MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (D. 4. 7). It is based, in the main, on the account of the Holy Land given by Philippus Brusserius Savonensis, whose work has been published by Neumann in the *Oesterreichische Vierteljahresschrift für katholische Theologie* for 1872; but it contains a considerable quantity of matter not given by Philippus,¹ though for the most part to be found in the works of later writers, such as Marinus Sanutus (1310), Odoricus (1320), and (as Dr. Röhricht has kindly pointed out) Poggibonsi (1345). It may be taken as certain that this guide-book is later than the work of Philippus, which was shown by Neumann to have been composed within the last decade and a half of the thirteenth century. How much later it is, is not very easy to say; but we shall probably not be twenty years wrong in dating it 1350 A.D. It can hardly be a more modern compilation than this, for

¹ The work has been divided into sections for convenience of reference. Those which do not appear in the texts of Philippus, printed by Neumann, are: Nos. 3, 12, 19, 28-30, 32-40, 43-48, 50, 57, 62, 64, 69, 72, 73, 76, 79, 82, 89, 90, 100, 102, 106, 110, 116, 118, 119, 124, 132, 136-139, 142, 149, 152, 155, 166-176, 178, 201, 204, 205, 215, 216.

the original MS. is of the fourteenth or (possibly) early fifteenth century. The colophon at the end of the MS. I read as follows: *Expliciunt peregrinationes totius terre sancte s. m. p. de m.*; but I can offer no explanation of the concluding letters. Were such explanation forthcoming, the date of the compilation might perhaps be more exactly determined.

The relations between the various extant descriptions of the Holy Land written in Crusading times are very complex. Like the compilers of modern guide-books, the authors did not scruple to borrow liberally from the works of their predecessors; and, even where the book professes to be the record of personal travels, the phrases of the older itineraries continually appear. The pilgrimages which have most in common with the present little book are those of Theoderich, John of Würzburg, Fetellus, and Felix Fabri. Fabri's account is at least a hundred years later, while the others are a couple of centuries earlier than the work of this Innominatus. The Holy Places at which indulgences, whether plenary (*absolutio*) or temporary (*septem annorum et septem quarentenarum*), might be obtained are practically the same as those to which the like privileges are attached by Quaresmius.¹

Röhricht has given a full catalogue of the MSS. of Philippus in his *Bibliotheca Geographica Palestinae* (p. 60), and it is to be desired that some closer examination of these should be made than they have yet received. In Neumann's edition only five are used, and of these the Bruges

¹ *Elucidatio Terrae Sanctae*, 1649.

MS. differs so much from the others that it plainly belongs to a quite different recension. To give a full discussion of the sources from which the Dublin MS. was compiled would be thus impossible in the absence of exact knowledge as to the varying texts of Philippus. But in any case from such an investigation for our present purposes little would be gained, for we can approximately determine from internal evidence the date at which the compilation was made. As a guide-book, it goes more into detail and is more systematic than any of the other Crusading accounts as far as I know. A few simple notes have been added, mainly with the object of comparing the account given by our author with that of the other Crusading pilgrims.¹

J. H. B.

¹ The works of the pilgrims are in all cases referred to in the editions of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society.

ACCOUNT OF THE HOLY LAND,

WRITTEN ABOUT 1350 A.D.

TRANSLATION.

(1) THOSE who desire to know the pilgrimages of the glorious and holy city of Jerusalem, as of the rest of the Holy Land, should, as it seems to me, proceed to Nazareth first; for it is fitting that we should commence our pilgrimage thence, where the beginnings of our redemption were.

(2) The city of Nazareth is situated fourteen¹ miles east of Acon.² It is properly called the City of the Saviour, for in it was He conceived and nurtured. There did the Virgin Mary dwell after that she was espoused to Joseph; to whom the angel Gabriel was sent from the Lord to bring the first tidings of our salvation.

This is that city, holy and dear to God, in which 'the Word was made flesh,' and that flower which is better than all spices budded in the Virgin's womb, whence 'Nazareth' is fitly interpreted 'flower.'³ It rejoices in this special privilege over all other cities, that in it the Lord provided

¹ The Bruges MS. of Philippus has 'fifteen.'

² 'Akka or St. Jean d'Acre.

³ The etymology which connects *Nazareth* with *Nētser*=shoot or sprout, is familiar from its adoption by commentators on Matt. ii. 23.

the beginning of our salvation, and in it He deigned to be nurtured and to be subject to His parents, to whom the Father subjected all things which are in heaven and earth. (3) And there is a little marble pillar, which the Virgin embraced for fear of the sudden vision of the angel; and hard by the pillar is the place where the angel Gabriel stood and said, 'Hail, thou that art full of grace: the Lord be with thee,' etc. And there is absolution from pain and guilt.

(4) In Nazareth there flows a little fountain from which the boy Jesus used to draw water, and thence supply His mother and Himself.

(5) One mile south from Nazareth is the place called The Precipice,¹ where the Jews wished to fling Jesus down, envying His parents for His prudence, when He disappeared from their sight in a moment.

(6) Four miles from Nazareth is the city called Sophirus,² whence came Anna, the mother of the Virgin Mary, the mother of Christ. Between it and Nazareth is a perpetual spring, supplying abundant streams of water, which is called the Fountain of Sophirus, etc.

(7) Two miles from Sophirus is Cana of Galilee, where the Lord Jesus turned the water into wine; whence were Simon the Cananite and Nathanael.

(8) One mile south of Nazareth is Sasron,³ a village where were born James and John the sons of Zebedee.

(9) Six miles east from Nazareth is Mount Tabor, an exceeding high mountain, where the Lord was transfigured, Moses and Elias being present, before Peter, James, and John, showing the glory of His future resurrection.

(10) There the voice came from heaven, saying, 'This is My beloved Son in whom I am well pleased; hear ye Him.'

(11) For the honour and veneration due to the place,

¹ *Jebel Kafsy.*

² *Seffirieh.*

³ *Yâfa.*

the Christians of former times built a monastery there, (12) which lately was completely destroyed by the Saracens. There is absolution from pain and guilt.

(13) At the foot of this mountain Melchizedek met Abraham returning from the slaughter of Amalek,¹ and presented him with bread and wine, which signifies the altar of Christ under the dispensation of grace.

(14) Two miles from Tabor is the city of Nain, situated at the foot of Mount Endor² southwards, at the gate of which Jesus restored to life the son of the widow woman.

(15) Thirty-eight miles due south from Nazareth is Sebaste, formerly called Samaria, where the body of St. John the Baptist was buried between the prophets Elisha and Obadiah, having been translated from the town of Macheron³ beyond Jordan, where he lay headless.

(16) Ten miles from Sebaste is the city of Neapolis, formerly called Sichem, from Sichem the son of Emor, or Sychar, as it is called in the Gospel, where were buried the bones of Joseph the son of Jacob, when they were brought up from Egypt. There, too, one mile southward outside the city is Jacob's Well, by which Jesus sat, wearied with His journey, when He asked water from the woman of Samaria. There also are the two hills or hillocks, viz., Dan and Bethel, where King Jeroboam placed the golden calves and commanded to worship them, saying, 'These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of Egypt.'

(17) From Neapolis to Jerusalem it is thirty-five miles.

(18) Jerusalem is the holy city of holy cities, the

¹ Antoninus Martyr (who, like our author, confounds Amalek with Chedorlaomer) places the scene of the meeting of Melchizedek and Abraham at Golgotha.

² See John of Würzburg, p. 5.

³ Machaerus, now *Mekaur*.

mistress of nations, the chief of provinces, called the City of the Great King, and placed in the midst of the earth, being as it were the centre of the universe, so that 'all nations might flow unto it.' The possession of patriarchs, the nurse of prophets, the teacher of apostles, the cradle of our salvation, the country of the Lord, the mother of faith, even as Rome is the mother of the faithful, chosen of God and sanctified, where stood the feet of the Lord, honoured by angels, frequented by every nation under heaven.¹

It is built on a high mountain, with hills on every side, in that part of Syria which is called Judæa and Palestine, flowing with milk and honey, abounding in corn, wine, and oil, and all temporal goods; but it is lacking in rivers, for it has no fountains except one, which is named Sion,² flowing under Mount Sion through the middle of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, which sometimes supplies abundant water, but more generally little or none. There are both inside and outside the city many cisterns for rain-water, which suffice both men and beasts for drinking and for other necessary purposes. (19) There is also one great and very wonderful aqueduct, coming from the city called St. Abraham, which is situated in the vale of Hebron, distant from Jerusalem twenty-four miles to the south.

(20) The city had many and diverse names from various events in its history, and given by different nations in different languages. First it was called Jebus, then Salem; from which two names it has its third name Jerusalem. It is also called Hierosolima, and Solima, and Luz, and Bethel. It was also called Ælia, from Ælius the Roman

¹ Several phrases in this section seem to have been taken originally from a treatise of Bernard of Clairvaux, *Liber ad Milites Templi*, addressed to the Templars (see ch. v., § 11).

² Apparently Siloam is intended here.

quæstor, who rebuilt it in the place where it is now after its destruction by Titus and Vespasian.

But the city of Jerusalem, in which the Lord exhibited in bodily form the mysteries of our redemption, even as it exceeds all other places and cities in the privilege of its sanctity and the excellence of its dignity, so did it draw very many religious persons to itself 'by the smell of a full field which the Lord hath blessed.'¹ It has Sion on the south where it had the citadel, which was called the City of David. It has Mount Olivet on the east.

(21) THE PILGRIMAGES WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

(22) First, when you have entered the church, you shall find a black marble stone upon which Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus washed the body of Christ, and sprinkled it with spices, when they took it down from the cross. And there is absolution from pain and guilt.

(23) Thence you shall come to Mount Calvary, where Jesus was crucified, where the blood issuing from His side penetrated through that dense and hard rock, and left the colour of blood there to this day. And there is absolution from pain and guilt.

(24) For the blood sank in under Mount Calvary, in that part which is called Golgotha, where was found the head of Adam the first man; even up to the mouth of the aforesaid head did it penetrate through the rock. There is absolution for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.²

(25) Thence you shall come to the glorious sepulchre of the Lord, which up to the time of the Emperor Ælius

¹ Gen. xxvii. 27.

² This seems to be the regular formula (*indulgentia septem annorum et septem quarentenarum*) for a temporary as distinct from a plenary indulgence (*absolutio a poena et culpa*). See Introductory Note, p. vi.

Hadrian was without the gate. This emperor enlarged the city so much that he enclosed the place of the Lord's sepulchre within the circuit of the walls, in which place afterwards the Christians, for the reverence they had to the Lord's sepulchre, built the glorious church of the Lord's Resurrection within the city, with elaborate workmanship, of suitable shape, and round in form, with one window opened in the roof. This not undeservedly holds the chief place among the holy and memorable sites. In this place the precious body of the Lord was honourably buried with spices, and here He rested until the third day; but on the third day He rose again as He had said, 'On the third day I shall rise again.' And there is absolution from pain and guilt.

(26) Thence you shall come to the place where our Lord rising from the dead appeared first to Mary Magdalene when she thought that He was the gardener, and said, 'Sir, if thou have borne Him hence, tell me where thou hast laid Him,' etc.¹ In which place is a holy altar in honour of that appearance, which is before the door of the chapel of the blessed Virgin. And there is absolution from pain and guilt.

(27) Thence you shall enter the chapel of blessed Mary, and there you shall find a portion, four feet long, of the pillar to which Jesus was bound, and where He was scourged; it is placed as it were in the partition wall on the right-hand side as you go into the chapel. And there is absolution from pain and guilt.

(28) Also in the same chapel is the place in front of the altar where a certain dead man was revived by virtue of the holy cross immediately after its glorious discovery in the presence of Helena, the mother of the Emperor

¹ John xx. 15.

Constantine. And there is absolution for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(29) There is also the place near the altar where the holy cross stood for a long time, and was most devoutly adored by faithful Christians. And there is absolution for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(30) Thence you shall come to the place where Christ was for us imprisoned, bound, beaten; there is now a small chapel there. And there is absolution from pain and guilt.

(31) Thence when you have gone out of the door of that chapel in front of a certain altar, you shall find a certain stone to which Jesus was chained while His cross was being erected. And there is absolution for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(32) Thence you shall go to the place where soldiers cast lots for the garments of Christ, as it is written, 'And for My vesture did they cast lots.' And there is absolution for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(33) Thence you shall go to a place where you descend to a certain chapel built at a depth of twenty-eight steps; there are buried the bodies of Mary the mother of James, and Mary Salome, under a certain altar. And there is absolution for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(34) Near the altar on the south side is a stone chair on which St. Helena sat when she caused search to be made for the holy cross of the Lord. And there is absolution for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(35) Also there is a certain window in the wall at the north side, through which it is said are heard the shrieks of the souls in purgatory.

(36) Also in the same chapel are four stone pillars, which, it is said, sweat water night and day on account of Christ's passion.

(37) Thence you shall descend twelve steps to another yet lower chapel, in which was found in a very deep place the holy cross. The place is still visible where the cross of the Lord lay. And there is absolution from pain and guilt.

(38) Thence you shall go up to the first gate by which you entered, and on the left side you shall find a marble pillar under a certain altar, near which it is said that Jesus was crowned with the crown of thorns before He was placed upon the cross. And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(39) Thence you come to Golgotha, which is called The Pavement, where Pilate sat before the tribunal when he led Jesus outside the city. 'It was the passover about the sixth hour,' according to John. Golgotha is a place under Mount Calvary, as it were concave; and there the blood is visible as above related.

(40) Thence you come to the doors, and in the midst of the choir is the place called the Centre of the World, where our Lord Jesus Christ laid His finger, saying, 'This is the centre of the world.'¹ And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

It should also be known that at the great altar is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons, and at all the altars constructed within the church.

(41) Thence you come to a pillar near the chamber of the holy sepulchre, above which is painted the image of St. Pantaleon,² at which it is said that the following miracle

¹ The idea that Jerusalem was the 'centre of the world' seems to have originated in some confused reminiscence of Ps. lxxiv. 12 and Ezek. xxxviii. 12.

² This Pantaleon is probably not the Patriarch of Jerusalem of the thirteenth century, afterwards Pope Urban IV., but a person of this name who was martyred under Galerius. Many miracles are attributed to him. See AA. SS., July 27. Marinus. Sanutus, iii. 14, 8, has this miracle story.

once took place. A certain Saracen entered the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and looking round saw the aforesaid image painted above the pillar. Then he tore out the eyes of the image, and straightway his own eyes fell out on the ground.

(42) Thence you come to the gate by which blessed Mary of Egypt was not able to enter, although the other Christians did, until she promised that she would do penance; where she heard a voice, 'If thou crossest the Jordan, thou shalt be whole.'¹ And that gate is placed on the north side of the holy sepulchre in a secret place, and there is the chapel of the aforesaid St. Mary of Egypt. And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(43) Thence you shall go out of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and on the left hand you shall find a little chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary, under Mount Calvary, where she stood gazing upon her Son hanging on the cross. And there the Nubians² minister. And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(44) Thence you shall come to the chapel of St. John the Evangelist, joined on to the chapel of blessed Mary, where our Saviour commended the Virgin Mother to him, who was a virgin. And there the Jacobites minister. And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(45) Thence you come to a chapel hard by, built in honour of St. John the Baptist. Indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

¹ The story of St. Mary of Egypt was very widely spread in the Middle Ages. She lived in the beginning of the sixth century. Cf. Abbot Daniel, p. 18, and §§ 75, 152, *infra*.

² *I.e.*, the Abyssinian Christians. An account of them is given by Fabri, i., p. 346; and ii., p. 388. See also i., p. 373.

(46) Then you shall have opposite you a chapel built in honour of St. Mary Magdalene, where along with the other women she wept and bewailed the Lord as He hung on the cross. And there the cinctured Christians¹ minister. And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(47) Thence you come to a rock in front of the gates of the church, upon which our Lord rested when He came bearing His cross to Mount Calvary. And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(48) All the aforesaid most holy places are within or hard by the sacred and holy church of the Passion and Sepulchre of the Lord.

CONCERNING THE PILGRIMAGES OF THE BLESSED
MOUNT SION.

(49) Thence you shall come to Mount Sion, and on the way you shall find the church of blessed James the son of Zebedee, in which is the place where once was placed the head of this James when brought by the hands of angels from Joppa. There he was beheaded, as some say; but others say that he was beheaded in Jerusalem, where his church is, which I believe to be more true. (50) And there are shown a bone of this most blessed James, and a bone of blessed George the Martyr. And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons. And there are the Armenian monks.²

(51) Thence you shall go to the church of St. Saviour

¹ We find from Felix Fabri (i., p. 435) that the 'cinctured Christians' were the Georgians. The description given by Fabri of the various religious bodies at Jerusalem in his time is very instructive. See §§ 169, 204, *infra*, and also *Innom.*, v. 2 (p. 28).

² This was a very wealthy establishment. There is still a great Armenian convent on Mount Sion, dedicated to St. James, and the site of his martyrdom is there pointed out.

in Mount Sion, which was formerly the house of Caiaphas, to which Jesus was first brought after His arrest, and severely scourged. And there in the wall outside the gate of the church is a part of the pillar to which He was bound. Also in the same place Peter for the first time denied Christ 'before the cock crew'; and sitting there in the hall with the servants he warmed himself at the 'fire of coals, for it was cold.'¹ There, too, is the prison where the Jews laid Jesus, and kept Him until the morning; but when morning was come they sent Him bound to Pilate. There, too, is a great stone above the altar, said to have been the stone which was first laid upon the tomb of the Lord, according to Mark's 'Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the tomb?' etc. And there is absolution from pain and guilt.

(52) Thence you come to the place where once was the cell where blessed Mary lodged for fourteen years after the Lord's ascension to heaven; and there she departed to the Lord from this wicked world. And there is absolution from pain and guilt.

(53) Thence you come hard by to the place where was the church in which blessed John the Evangelist celebrated Mass, in presence of the Blessed Virgin Mary, as long as blessed Mary lived in this world.² And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(54) Thence you come to the place where the Apostles chose blessed Matthias as an Apostle in the room of Judas the traitor. And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(55) There, too, is the place where the Apostles chose the seven deacons, Stephen, Philip, Nicanor, and their fellows, to preach the Word of God. (56) And there is

¹ John xviii. 18.

² Cf. Fabri, i., pp. 327, 328; see § 58, *infra*.

another place there where the Apostles chose blessed James to be first Bishop of Jerusalem, who afterwards, martyred by the stroke of a fuller's club, departed to Christ.

(57) Then you come, near the church doors, to the oratory of the Blessed Virgin Mary, where she used to pray after the Lord's ascension to heaven. And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(58) Also, on the other side of the church doors, is a certain red stone, which was used for an altar. On it blessed John the Evangelist celebrated Mass, in presence of the Blessed Virgin Mary. It was transported from Mount Sion by the hands of angels at the prayers of blessed Thomas the Apostle when returning to India. And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(59) Thence you shall enter the church, and near the great altar on the south side is the place where the Lord Jesus supped with His disciples, and communicated them, saying, 'Take, eat, this is My body which is given for you; do this in remembrance of Me.' And there is absolution from pain and guilt. And in the same place He washed His disciples' feet.

(60) Then you go out of the church, and you come to a barrier, and near there is the place where the Lord Jesus appeared to His disciples, 'the doors being shut, and stood in the midst, and said, Peace be unto you; and saith to Thomas, Reach hither thy finger, and thrust thy hand into my side, and be not faithless, but believing.'¹ And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(61) Then you ascend above the church by steps, and there is the place where the Apostles, after the Lord's ascension, abode until the Day of Pentecost, waiting for the promised Holy Spirit with fastings and prayers. But on

¹ John xx. 26.

the Day of Pentecost they received, for strengthening, the Holy Spirit, in the form of fire, with knowledge of all tongues. And a sudden sound from heaven having come over the place, a multitude of Jews flowed in, to whom blessed Peter expounded Joel's prophecy, and converted many to the faith. And there is absolution from pain and guilt.

(62) Thence you go down to the cemetery ; and there, near the church on the north side, is a stone on which Jesus stood when He preached to the multitude. And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(63) Thence you go under the church, and there is the sepulchre of King David and Solomon his son, where were laid all the kings of Jerusalem. And near there David composed seven psalms. And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(64) Then you come to the place where the water was warmed for washing the disciples' feet at the Lord's Supper.

(65) Then you come to the sepulchre of blessed Stephen, the first martyr. There his body was laid after its discovery, but now it is at Rome, in the same sarcophagus with the body of blessed Laurence.¹ And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(66) As you go down Mount Sion is the place where the Apostles, as they bore the body of the Blessed Virgin to burial in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, laid down the bier. And the Jews who lived in the village hard by collected at the spot, that they might carry off the body to burn it.

¹ Laurence suffered martyrdom under Valerian. According to the martyrologies, it was in the time of Theodosius the younger that the relics of St. Stephen and St. Laurence were placed in the same sarcophagus. May 7 is the day of commemoration of 'Laurentius cum Stephano' in the West.

Then the chief priest of the Jews, more bold and imprudent than the rest, laid his hand on the bier, whereupon his hands were withered. Then he besought blessed Peter to pray for him, and to restore his hands to him. To whom blessed Peter said, 'If thou believest that this is the mother of Christ, and art willing to be baptized, thou shalt be made whole.' And he believed, and was restored to his former health.¹ And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(67) Then you come to a place where once was a church, commonly called the church of the Cockcrowing, in which was a deep cavern, where Peter repented when he denied Christ, and 'wept bitterly.'

(68) Then three long furlongs southward is that field which was bought for the thirty pieces of silver for which our Lord was sold; which is called in Hebrew *Aceldama*, that is, 'the field of blood,' unto this day.

(69) Then you come to a holy field where oftentimes the Apostles lodged before Christ's Passion, and their dwellings are yet visible. And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(70) Then you come to the Pool of Siloam, where the Lord gave sight to the man born blind.

(71) Then you come to a place hard by where Isaiah, the prophet, was sawn asunder with a saw of wood by Manasseh,² King of Jerusalem, and there he rests, buried under the Oak of Rogel.

(72) Then you come to the fountain of blessed Mary, where she washed the little clothes of her blessed Son.

¹ This story is told by several of the mediæval pilgrims; it is extant in various forms. Cf. the account in the *Transitus Mariæ*, printed in Tischendorf's *Apocalypses Apocryphæ*.

² Cf. 2 Kings xxi. 16 and Heb. xi. 37. That the saw was a wooden one is a tradition as old as Justin Martyr.

There both Saracens and Christians now bathe, and are often relieved from their infirmities. And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(73) Then you come to the place where blessed James the Less used to live, and where he was buried after he was flung down from the temple by the Jews. And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

CONCERNING THE PILGRIMAGES OF THE MOUNT OF
OLIVES.

(74) Mount Olivet is one mile east of Jerusalem—the fruitful mountain, the Mount of Olives—worthy of all veneration. On this holy and most worthy mountain the Lord used to sit, opposite the temple, when His disciples sought from Him the signs of His coming to judgment, and of the end of the age. On this mountain also oftentimes He used to go with His disciples for prayer, and especially when His Passion was coming on. And there is shown the place in the church where our Lord, in the presence of His disciples, ascended gloriously to heaven; and the stone which He had under His feet still retains their impression, and it is visible to this day. And there is absolution from pain and guilt.

(75) Then you come to a certain chapel on the aforesaid mountain in which blessed Pelagia of Antioch did penance; there, too, she was buried. There is a stone over her tomb which no one can pass by or go round unless he first have made a full confession. Here it is said that blessed Mary of Egypt was buried up to the time that the Latins took the Holy Land.¹ After that they transported her body beyond the sea to a town called Bleisis,² in the

¹ *I.e.*, up to the time of the First Crusade and the capture of Jerusalem in 1099.

² *I.e.*, Blois.

kingdom of France. And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(76) Then you come to the place where the Apostles composed the Symbol of the Faith. And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(77) Then you come to a certain church in which the Lord Jesus taught his Apostles to pray, saying, 'Thus ye shall pray,' and saying, 'Our Father which art in heaven,' etc. And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(78) Then you come to a declivity of Mount Olivet, two furlongs eastward, to Bethphage, which is, being interpreted, the House of Figs. There our Lord sent two of His disciples, viz., Peter and Philip, for the ass and her colt on Palm Sunday, saying, 'Go into the village over against you, and straightway ye shall find an ass tied, and a colt with her; and they, having gone, brought the ass and the colt, and they set Him thereon.'¹ And He was led upon the ass from that place to Jerusalem with hymns and praises, and was received with honour by the children of the Hebrews bearing palm branches. And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(79) Then you come to a place where blessed Mary received a palm from the angel, in token of her departure from this world to her longed-for home. And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(80) The neighbouring mountain to Mount Olivet, on the north side, is the Mount of Offence; they are divided by the road which leads from the Valley of Jehoshaphat to Bethany. It was called the Mount of Offence because King Solomon set up there the idol Moloch, and worshipped it.² The place is called Galilee, where our Lord

¹ Matt. xxi. 2, 7.

² Cf. 1 Kings xi. 7 and 2 Kings xxiii. 13.

appeared to the disciples when He had risen from the dead, according to the word of the angel, which said, 'Go, tell His disciples and Peter that He goeth before you into Galilee.'¹ There was formerly a church here, but it was destroyed by the Saracens. And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(81) Then you come by the slope of the mountain to the stone upon which Jesus stood and preached to the multitude; where He pointed out the city of Jerusalem, and wept over it, saying, 'If thou hadst known, even thou, that the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and shall lay thee even with the ground,'² etc., which was fulfilled, under Titus and Vespasian, Emperors of the Romans. And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(82) Then you come to the place where blessed Mary threw her girdle to blessed Thomas the Apostle. And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(83) Then you come to the Garden of Gethsemane, under the foot of Mount Olivet, in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where our Lord is to judge the quick and dead. (84) And there is the place where the Lord Jesus was taken captive by the Jews, where Judas Iscariot kissed Him, saying, 'Hail, Master'; and there the Jews before Him 'went backwards and fell to the ground' at the voice of Christ, when He said 'I am He,' according to John.³ And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(85) Then you come to the place where the Lord Jesus, being withdrawn from His disciples 'about a stone's cast,'⁴

¹ Matt. xxviii. 7.

² Luke xix. 42-44.

³ John xviii. 6.

⁴ Luke xxii. 41.

prayed to the Father, saying, 'Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me: nevertheless, not My will, but Thine, be done.' And in the same place 'appeared an angel unto Him from heaven, strengthening Him. And His sweat was as it were drops of blood falling down to the ground.' (86) There, too, is the stone which our Lord, when He was praying, grasped for the bitterness of His Passion, and the imprint of His fingers is still plain. And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(87) Then you come to the place where 'He took with Him Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, and began to be sorrowful and very heavy,' saying, 'My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death': and returning, He found the other disciples sleeping, and said to them, 'Could ye not watch with Me one hour? Watch and pray that ye enter not into temptation.'¹ And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(88) Then you come to a church in the Valley of Jehoshaphat where is the tomb of the glorious Virgin very deep down, forty-eight steps leading to it. And there is absolution from pain and guilt.

It should be observed that the Valley of Jehoshaphat is so called after a certain King of Jerusalem, by name Jehoshaphat, who was buried there: his tomb, very elaborately built, is still visible.

(89) Thence you shall cross the brook Kedron, where for many years the sign of the Lord's cross lay. The Sibyl, when she was coming to Jerusalem to hear the wisdom of Solomon, refused to cross over it. (90) And you shall come to the place where blessed Stephen was bound when he was stoned by the Jews, who, kneeling down on the ground, prayed for them who were stoning

¹ Matt. xxvi. 37-41.

him, saying, ' Lord, lay not this sin to their charge,'¹ etc. And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(91) Then you come to the golden gates² through which the Lord Jesus entered on Palm Sunday, sitting on an ass, as it said in the Gospel. And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(92) Then a bow-shot off is the temple of the Lord, which has four entrances and twelve gates.

The holy temple of the Lord, which was built by Solomon on Mount Moriah at the threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite, is not to be passed by among the holy places worthy of veneration.³ It was, indeed, first destroyed by the Babylonians, and afterwards by the Romans; but it was rebuilt in the same place in a round form, suitably and magnificently, with wonderful and subtle workmanship, by faithful and godly men. In this temple is the rock above which it is said that the destroying angel stood and appeared to David, who, for the sin of numbering the people which was done at David's command, slew countless thousands of them. Indeed, the Saracens to this day call the Lord's temple The Rock: it is held in so great veneration that none of them dare defile it with any filth, as they defile the other holy places; but from remote and far-distant regions they come to adore it from the days of Solomon to the present time. Whenever the Saracens have possession of the holy city, Jerusalem, they allow no Christian to enter the temple. It is believed by some that to this day the ark of the Lord is shut up in the aforesaid rock, and that Josiah, King of Israel, foreseeing the impending destruction of the city, ordered it to be placed in

¹ Acts vii. 60.

² The *Golden Gate*.

³ Reading *uenerabilia* with the Bruges MS. of Philipppus, instead of *innumerabilia* of the Dublin MS.

the sanctuary of the temple, and hidden there. (93) And in this holy and venerable place, when Solomon had finished the work and was offering sacrifice to the Lord, a cloud filled the house, and the glory of the Lord appeared, and 'the fire came down from heaven and consumed the burnt offering and the sacrifices,' and the majesty of the Lord filled the house of the Lord, and 'all the children of Israel saw the fire coming down and the glory of the Lord upon the house.' And when Solomon, 'kneeling on his knees with his hands spread up to heaven,'¹ had prayed that the supplications of him who should enter the temple to seek benefits from the Lord should be heard, the Lord appeared to him, saying, 'I have heard thy prayer that thou hast made before Me: I have hallowed this house which thou hast built for Me ;'² 'Mine eyes shall be open, and Mine ears attent unto the prayer that is made in this place: I have chosen and sanctified this house for Myself.'³ (94) In this temple the Blessed Virgin Mary, until she was espoused to Joseph, is said to have ministered with the other virgins, making ready the vessels of the temple and the priestly vestments, learning the sacred letters, prudently and humbly living, in fastings, watchings, and prayers, and study of the Divine Scriptures. And in her infant years, being brought by her parents to the temple that they might present her before the Lord, she is said to have ascended by herself without any difficulty all the steps leading up to the temple; which thing seemed a marvel in the eyes of all, and was unheard of before for a little child.⁴ In this temple, while holy Zacharias was offering incense to the Lord, the angel Gabriel appeared to him, announcing that his prayer was heard by God.

¹ 1 Kings viii. 54.

² 1 Kings ix. 3.

³ 2 Chron. vii. 15, 16.

⁴ This is all to be found in the Apocryphal Gospels. See Pseudo-Matt. cc. iv. and vi., and Protev. ix.

(95) Also in this temple was it that the boy Jesus was presented, being taken up in the arms of the righteous Simeon, when Simeon by the Holy Spirit recognised his Saviour, and said, 'Now lettest thou Thy servant depart,'¹ etc. (96) Also in the same temple Jesus rescued the adulterous woman from the hands of the Jews ;² and there, too, Jesus having 'made a scourge of small cords, began to cast out them that sold and bought, and overthrew the seats and tables of the money-changers,'³ saying, 'It is written, My house shall be called the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves.'⁴ (97) Also Solomon's temple is near ; but Christians do not enter it for fear of the Saracens. (98) Also between the temple of the Lord and the Golden Gate were the trees from which the children plucked the branches when the Lord came to Jerusalem sitting upon an ass. And close by, near Solomon's temple, in a corner of the city are said to be Christ's bedchamber, His bath, and the bed of His mother. And there is the sepulchre of St. Simeon.

(99) Thence you go to the church of blessed Anna, the mother of the Virgin Mary, which is near the gate through which you would go to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, on the north side. Here is the crypt in which the Virgin Mary was born, formerly the house of Joachim and blessed Anna his wife. (100) Into this Christians do not enter, because the Saracens have there built their mosque ; that is, their church.

(101) Then you come hard by to the pool by the sheep market to which an angel of the Lord 'went down at a certain season and troubled the water ; whosoever then first after the troubling of the water stepped in was made whole of whatsoever disease he had.'⁵ And it is said that

¹ Luke ii. 29.

² John viii. 3.

³ John ii. 15.

⁴ Matt. xxi. 12, 13.

⁵ John v. 4.

in that pool for a long time lay the wood of the cross. Also in that pool our Lord cured the paralytic man who had lain on his bed for thirty-eight years, to whom He said, 'Take up thy bed and walk.'¹ And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(102) Then, close by, you come to the house of the rich man who refused the crumbs to Lazarus.

(103) Then you come to the house of Annas the high priest, the father-in-law of Caiaphas, to whom Jesus was first brought.

(104) Then you come to the house of Pilate, where Jesus was scourged and mocked by the soldiers, spitted on, beaten with rods, crowned with the crown of thorns, and finally condemned to death. And there is a road leading to the temple of the Lord, by which the Jews came and shouted, saying, 'Crucify Him! crucify Him!'

(105) Then you come to the house where the Blessed Virgin Mary was at school, and near to it is the house in which the Jews took counsel to deliver up Jesus by treachery and to kill Him.

(106) Then you come, close by, to the church called St. Mary of the Swoon,² where she swooned for the pain of her Son when she saw Him bearing His cross. And there are two great white stones in the arch there upon which our Lord rested when He bore His cross, and, turning to the people, said, 'Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for Me, but for yourselves and for your children.'³ (107) Also near the church, it is said, was the palace of King Herod; and near there was the house of Judas the traitor, where he lived with his wife and children.

¹ John v. 8.

² S. Maria di Spasimo; this church is mentioned by Marinus Sanutus (iii. 14, 10), and by Fabri, i., p. 447.

³ Luke xxiii. 28.

(108) Also there is the road which leads to the gate of St. Stephen, outside which he was stoned ; by which road the Jews led Jesus, and 'found one Simon, a Cyrenian, coming out of the country. Him they compelled to bear the cross'¹ of Jesus ; and he bore it to Mount Calvary, where they crucified Jesus.

(109) Then you come to the Tower of David, which was destroyed, but is now in the same place, having been rebuilt as a fortress by the Sultan. (110) And there Joseph of Arimathea was imprisoned for forty-four years after the Passion of Christ, until the coming of Titus and Vespasian, Emperors of Rome. (111) And there is a gate called the Gate of David, outside which Judas hanged himself on a certain sycamore-tree.

(112) Then you come about a bow-shot off to the Lions' Cave, where were buried eleven thousand martyrs, who were put to death for the name of Christ under Chosroes, King of the Persians.²

(113) Then you come to the place where the wood of the holy cross was cut ; a very beautiful church has been built there. The place is one mile distant from Jerusalem, and is called in Arabic Messalibe³—that is, 'the mother of the cross.'

(114) Then two miles on is the running stream where blessed Philip baptized the Ethiopian eunuch returning from Jerusalem. And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(115) Then you come, one mile on, to the place where John the Baptist and Zacharias his father were born. A church is there, distant four miles from Jerusalem. And

¹ Matt. xxvii. 32 ; Luke xxiii. 26.

² See Theoderich, p. 56, for the story of this cave ; it is also alluded to by John of Würzburg (p. 49), and Fetellus (p. 42).

³ The 'Convent of the Cross,' *Deir el-Musallabe*. Cf. *Innom.* ii. (p. 11)

thither it was that Mary 'went into the hill country with haste,¹ and saluted Elizabeth, and Elizabeth 'spake out with a loud voice, and said, 'Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb. And whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me? For lo, as soon as the voice of thy salutation sounded in mine ears, the babe leaped in my womb for joy.' Then blessed Mary said, 'My soul doth magnify the Lord,' etc. And there Zacharias prophesied, saying, 'Blessed be the Lord God,' etc. And there is an indulgence for seven years and seven Lenten seasons.

(116) Then to the Fountain of Zacharias,² which is distant about a bow-shot from the above-mentioned church.

CONCERNING THE PILGRIMAGES OF BETHLEHEM AND
HEBRON.

(117) Two miles from Jerusalem, in the direction of Bethlehem, is a church³ on the spot where Elijah repented.

(118) Then you come to a place on the road where the star appeared again to the wise men, it having disappeared while they were in the presence of Herod.

(119) Then you come to the pit where his brethren put Joseph.

(120) Then you come to the sepulchre of Rachel, Jacob's wife, who died after giving birth to Benjamin. It is distant about a furlong from the king's road.

(121) Then you come to a field of vetches of stone, one mile distant from Bethlehem. For when the Lord Jesus was crossing it, He saw a man sowing vetches, and when the Lord asked him what he was sowing, he answered, 'Stones.' 'Let them then be stones,' said the Lord, and

¹ Luke i. 39, 42.

² *'Ain Kârim.*

³ *Mar Elyas.*

forthwith those vetches were turned into stones, and to this day vetches of stone are found there.¹

(122) Then you come to the city of Bethlehem, which is, being interpreted, the House of Bread, where was born the true Bread who came down from heaven. In this holy and venerable city a most beautiful church has been built in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in which is a chapel where Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world, was born. And there is absolution from pain and guilt. (123) And there is the place where was the manger in which the ass and the ox fed, where the Blessed Virgin Mary laid Him, 'because there was no room in the inn.' The manger with the hay in which the infant Jesus was laid is said to be at Rome in the church of S. Maria Maggiore. (124) To that chapel came the three kings from the East—Melchior, Balthasar, and Jaspas—to worship the Son of God, and they presented to Him 'gold, frankincense, and myrrh.' (125) Also in the above-mentioned church of St. Mary, on the left side, is the place where were laid certain relics of our Lord's nativity and circumcision, which are said to be now at Rome in the church of St. John Lateran.² (126) Also on the right side is the place where the Holy Innocents were buried, and there is an altar there. And there is absolution from pain and guilt.

(127) Then you come to a door, and there is the crypt in which blessed Jerome did penance, and there he composed his Bible and many other books.

(128) Then hard by you come to the church of that

¹ This legend is also given by Fabri, i. 545. It is sufficiently explained by the note there cited by the editor from Stanley's 'Sinai and Palestine': 'The stones called "Elijah's melons," on Mount Carmel, and "the Virgin Mary's peas," near Bethlehem, are instances of crystallization well known in limestone formations.'

² Cf. Marinus Sanutus, iii. 14, 11.

noble matron, blessed Paula, with Eustochium her virgin daughter, where they did penance.

(129) Then you come to the church of blessed Nicholas¹ hard by, in which is a deep crypt. And in this is a chapel where it is said that the Blessed Virgin Mary once lived with her only Son. And it is said that there many a time she pressed out over the rock her breasts overflowing with milk, whence that rock has become white like milk, which is visible to this day.² It is reported that if a woman, who from any cause has lost her milk, shall take a small piece of that rock and mix it with water, and drink in honour of the blessed Virgin, straightway her milk is restored. And there is an indulgence for seven years, etc.

(130) Then you come to a chapel near Bethlehem, where the angel of the Lord appeared to the shepherds on the morning of the Lord's nativity, saying, 'I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people, for there is born this day in Bethlehem, the city of David, the Saviour of the world.'

(131) Twelve miles from Bethlehem is Hebron, a very ancient city, the metropolis of the Philistines, the dwelling-place of the giants, in the tribe of Judah. Hebron is situated in the Plain of Damascus, in that field where the Great Creator first fashioned our father Adam 'after His own image.' In this city is a temple of wondrous beauty, in which is that Double Cave where were buried those four venerated men, viz., Adam, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,³ with their wives, Eve, Sarah, Rebekah, and Leah. (132) Chris-

¹ This is probably Nicholas, Bishop of Myra in the time of Diocletian, who went on a pilgrimage to Palestine. His day is December 6.

² See Fabri, i. 564, and Marinus Sanutus, iii. 14, 11. There is also an apparent allusion to the 'Milk Grotto' in the account of the Abbot Daniel (p. 41).

³ For an interesting note on the origin of the tradition connecting Adam with Hebron, see Robinson's 'Biblical Researches,' ii. 89.

tians do not enter that temple for fear of the Saracens. And there is absolution from pain and guilt.

(133) Then near the city, about a bow-shot off, you arrive at a cave or crypt, in which Adam and his wife did penance for a hundred years after the death of their son Abel.¹ Then, being warned by an angel, he knew his wife, and she bare Seth, of whose tribe was born Jesus Christ the Son of God.

(134) Also near Hebron is the mountain of Mamre, at the foot of which is a terebinth, and it is called either by the name of 'oak' or 'ilex.' It was sitting under this that Abraham saw the three angels coming to him, and worshipped one of them. (135) And this oak, although it is now dried up, yet is proved to be of medicinal efficacy. For it is said that if anyone riding by takes up a piece of it, his animal will not stumble.²

(136) Then you come to the place where blessed John the Baptist repented.

(137) Also it was at Hebron that the twelve spies, Caleb, and Joshua, and their companions, came first into the Land of Promise.

(138) Also in Hebron David reigned seven and a half years before he reigned in Jerusalem.

(139) Two miles from Hebron, in the direction of Bethlehem, there is a little hut where the prophet Jonah dwelt after he came from the city of Nineveh. And there he died, and was laid in a tomb.³

(140) Also, opposite Mount Sion, is a mountain on which now is the church of St. Cyprian.

¹ Cf. John of Würzburg (p. 58), who calls the place the 'Vale of Tears.'

² Theoderich (p. 53), John of Würzburg (p. 59), and Fetellus (p. 9) all have this legend. See also *Innom.* vi. (p. 38).

³ The mosque of *Neby Yunus* at *Halhâl*.

CONCERNING THE PILGRIMAGES OF BETHANY AND
THE RIVER JORDAN.

(141) Bethany, the town of Mary, and Martha, and their brother Lazarus, is distant fifteen furlongs from Jerusalem, beyond the Mount of Olives; and there formerly was the house of Simon the leper, in which the Lord Jesus sat at meat with His disciples; where, also, the Magdalene came, hearing that Jesus had come thither, and standing behind 'began to wash His feet with tears, and to wipe them with her hair,'¹ where, too, she deservedly heard that sweet and glorious word, 'Thy sins are forgiven thee; go in peace.' (142) A great church used to be there, but it has been destroyed by the Saracens.

(143) There, too, is the cave in which blessed Lazarus was buried when the Lord raised him from the dead; a chapel is now there. And there is absolution from pain and guilt.

(144) Then, two bow-shots off, you come to the place where Martha's house was, where afterwards a church was built. In this house our Lord sat at meat with His disciples, when Martha said to Him, 'Lord, dost Thou not care that my sister hath left me to serve alone? Bid her therefore that she help me,' etc.²

(145) Then you come, two bow-shots off, to the stone at which Jesus rested when Mary and Martha met Him, weeping, and saying, 'Lord, if thou hadst been here, our brother had not died,' etc.³

(146) Thence you shall go eighteen miles along a straight road to the river Jordan.

(147) The river Jordan is formed under the mountains of Gilboa from two streams, the Jor and the Dan, which

¹ Luke vii. 38, 48.

² Luke x. 40.

³ John xi. 21.

rise at the foot of Mount Lebanon, near Cæsarea Philippi.¹ Deriving its name and origin from these, it descends to the Lake of Gennesaret, and thence emerging in full stream it waters the adjacent region for nearly a hundred miles, and through the famous valley, called the Valley of Salt, it gets to the Dead Sea ; it does not appear again, but is swallowed up in the abyss. (148) Pilgrims and natives alike are accustomed to wash their persons and their clothes in the waters of Jordan with great devoutness, because it was in the river Jordan that our Redeemer was baptized by blessed John. (149) There the heavens were opened ; there the Holy Spirit appeared in the form of a dove ; there the Father's voice was heard, ' This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.'

(150) In this river Naaman the Syrian was cleansed from his leprosy, and ' his flesh came again like unto the flesh of a little child.'

(151) Elijah and his disciple Elisha divided the waters of Jordan, struck with Elijah's mantle, into two parts, and crossed over dry-shod. And there is absolution from pain and guilt.

(152) Then you come, one mile on, to an abbey,² built in honour of blessed John the Baptist, and there is shown the left hand of the same St. John. (153) And there was the blessed abbot Zosimas, and there he lived out his life in great penitence. He found blessed Mary of Egypt beyond the Jordan, who abode there for thirty-eight years, unknown by all.

(154) Then you come to Jericho, which is distant four miles from the Jordan, formerly a great city, which was taken by Joshua, the leader of the people of Israel, when he entered the Land of Promise, at whose prayers the walls

¹ See John of Würzburg, pp. 65, 66.

² The Monastery of St. John, *Kusr el-Yehûd*.

of the city fell down. A native of it was Rahab, the harlot, who received the spies of Israel into her house, for which she and her whole house were saved. Another native was Zacchæus, 'the chief among the publicans,' who desired to see Jesus as He came into Jericho, and 'could not for the press, because he was little in stature.'¹

(155) Two miles from Jericho is Quarentena, an exceeding lofty and wondrous mountain, half-way up which is a very beautiful chapel on a rock which a certain Greek owns. And there is absolution from pain and guilt.

(156) On that mountain Christ 'fasted forty days and forty nights, and afterwards was an hungered.' And there the devil tempted Him, first in His appetite, saying, 'If Thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread.' The second time he tempted Him on another mountain not far from this one, with avarice, when he showed Him all the kingdoms of the world, saying, 'All these will I give Thee, if Thou wilt fall down and worship me. The third time he tempted Him with vain-glory, when he 'set Him on the pinnacle of the temple,' and said to Him, 'If Thou be the Son of God, cast Thyself down.' (157) And under Quarentena is the spring which the prophet Elisha turned from being bitter into sweet and drinkable water.²

(158) Two miles from Jericho, on the north-east side, is the Lake of Asphalt, which is also called the Dead Sea. And fitly is it called the Dead Sea, because it neither receives nor nourishes any living thing. Here those four cities of ill fame, Sodom, Gomorrah, Zeboiim, and Admah, persisting in their abominations, were burnt up with fire and brimstone, and submerged in the lake.

(159) Above the Dead Sea is Zoar, also called Belcorosata, the fifth of the cities, which was saved by Lot's

¹ Luke xix. 3.

² 2 Kings ii. 22.

prayers from being overwhelmed. It is now called by the people of the country the Town of the Palm.

(160) Also above this Lake or Dead Sea, as you go down to Arabia, is Carnaiim,¹ a cave in the mountain of the Moabites, to which Balaam was led to curse the people of Israel, when he rode upon the ass which spoke to him.

(161) This Dead Sea divides Judæa and Arabia.

(162) Arabia, in the time of the children of Israel, was the desert in which God kept them forty years, raining down manna upon them for to eat.

(163) Also in Arabia is the Valley of Moses, in which Moses twice struck the rock, which thereupon supplied two streams of water for the people of God, by which streams the whole country is now watered.

(164) Also in Arabia is Mount Sinai, where the law was given to Moses on tables of stone, written by the finger of God. To the top of it the body of the blessed virgin Catherine was conveyed by angelic hands, being translated from Alexandria, where she received the palm of martyrdom.²

(165) Two miles from Jericho is Gilgal, where was born the prophet Elisha, the disciple of the prophet Elijah.

(166) Also between Jericho and Jerusalem is the place where 'the blind man sat by the wayside begging,' who, hearing that 'Jesus of Nazareth passeth by, cried, saying, Jesus, Thou son of David, have mercy on me. And Jesus said unto him, Receive thy sight; thy faith hath saved thee.'³

(167) Also from Jerusalem to Emmaus⁴ it is sixty

¹ Cf. Theoderich (p. 55), John of Würzburg (p. 60), and Fetellus (p. 21). It has been suggested that *Kerak* is the place referred to.

² This legend about St. Catherine is of late growth; it is given fully by Simeon Metaphrastes in the tenth century.

³ Luke xviii. 35, ff.

⁴ 'Amwas, Emmaus-Nicopolis.

furlongs. There Jesus appeared to the two disciples going to Emmaus, and when He had opened the Scriptures, He said, 'O fools, and slow of heart to believe'; and 'they knew Him in the breaking of bread.' This town is near Modin, the city of the Maccabees¹ and the city of the Gibeonites.

(168) Thence you shall go forty miles to Gaza,² near the sea, one of the five cities of the Philistines, whose gates Samson 'carried to the top of an hill.'³ The road goes on towards the west.

(169) Then you come, five miles, to the village of Caromus.⁴ They make very good wine there. And there the cinctured Christians live. There used to be here a great hostel of St. John of Jerusalem, but it has been utterly destroyed by the Saracens.

(170) Then six days' journey on you come to a place where is a certain fountain, called the Fountain of Blessed Mary. For Joseph, being warned in a dream by the angel that he should take the boy and his mother and fly into Egypt, they came to this place. And the blessed Virgin was not able to proceed further for the intolerable thirst from which she suffered; and, having nothing to drink, for her grievous pain she laid the Infant down on the ground; and He striking the earth with a very gentle blow of His foot, forthwith delicious water bubbled forth. And she drank and was strengthened. This fountain waters the balsam gardens to this day, and the place is called La Materye.⁵ Saracens and Christians alike bathe there.

¹ Cf. 1 Macc. ii. 1, etc.

² Called *Gazara* in the MS. See Robinson's 'Biblical Researches, ii. 43.

³ Judges xvi. 3.

⁴ This is the reading of the MS., but the place meant is probably Bâb-ed-Dârôn. It was a celebrated fortress in Crusading times. See Robinson's 'Biblical Researches,' ii. 38.

⁵ Or *Matarea*, as the place is called in the 'Arabic Gospel of the Infancy,' whence the legend is derived.

(171) Then five miles on you come to that illustrious, and noble, and wealthy city called La Kaer,¹ in which, being as it were his principal town, dwells the great Sultan, the king and lord of all Syria, Egypt, and Arabia. Near this flows the river which, coming from Paradise, waters all the land of Egypt.

(172) Then, a mile further, you come to the city called Babilonia,² whence came that Daniel who was cast into the den of lions. And there in one place blessed Mary dwelt. In which place is now a church called St. Mary de la Scala. There is also there another secret place in which blessed Mary dwelt, and it is called St. Mary de la Cava. And there is a very beautiful church ; there, too, rests the body of blessed Barbara the virgin.³

(173) Opposite La Kaer, on the other side of the river westward, are the granaries of Pharaoh, once King of Egypt, which were made by the advice of Joseph, the son of Jacob, who was sold into Egypt.

(174) Then after two hundred miles you come to Alexandria, where blessed Catherine was martyred, whose body was conveyed by the hands of holy angels to Mount Sinai for burial ; and her palace is still to be seen in Alexandria, in which no Saracen can by any means dwell.

(175) Also two miles to the east of Alexandria is a church where St. Mark the Evangelist was martyred. When he was celebrating Mass one day, unbelievers came and put a rope round his neck, saying, 'Lead away the stag to the place for stags';⁴ his body afterwards was

¹ Cairo.

² Old Cairo.

³ According to one story, Barbara was martyred at Heliopolis under Galerius in 306 ; according to another, at Nicomedia in 235. Her day is December 4.

⁴ This story is printed in several forms in the *Acta Sanctorum* for April 25. The reading of the MS. is *Traite bubalum ad loca bubali*,

secretly brought to Venice, where now, being translated thither, he rests gloriously.

(176) Then two days' journey farther is Damiata, the city where blessed Jeremiah the prophet died by stoning.

(177) Then you come to Jaffa, the common harbour of Christians.

(178) Then ten miles on is Rama,¹ of which it is said, 'In Rama was there a voice heard, weeping and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted because they are not.'²

(179) Then one mile on is Lydda, where blessed George was martyred.³ In this Lydda blessed Peter healed a certain lame man by name Eneas.

(180) Then you come to the Palestinian Cæsarea, whence came Cornelius the centurion, whom blessed Peter baptized. From this Cæsarea came also blessed Philip, one of the seven deacons chosen by the Apostles.

(181) Then you come to Assur, formerly called Antipatris, which was once situated on the sea between Cæsarea and Jaffa.⁴

(182) Also seven miles from Cæsarea is Pilgrim's Fort, formerly called Petra Incisa,⁵ once a famous fort on the sea coast. The body of blessed Euphemia, virgin and martyr, of Chalcedon, a city of Greece, having been miraculously translated thither, is held in great veneration to this day.

but an earlier form is *Trahebant eum ad loca Buculi, quae erant iuxta mare sub rupibus*. The legend in the text is developed out of this.

¹ *Ramleh*.

² Matt. ii. 18.

³ A famous church was built here in honour of St. George by Justinian, but the scene of his martyrdom is generally supposed to have been in Nicomedia. The legend of St. George in its fully developed form seems to have been known to the author of this guide-book. See § 216.

⁴ Cf. Robinson's 'Biblical Researches,' ii. 242.

⁵ *Athlit*.

(183) Then you come to Acre, once a famous city, formerly called Ptolemais, distant eight miles from Caiphas. Caiphas¹ under Mount Carmel is the chief house of the Carmelites. As you go down the mountain you come to the place where once was the home of the prophet Elijah.

(184) Three miles from Mount Carmel is Mount Cain,² at the foot of which Lamech slew Cain with an arrow, in the thicket mistaking him for a stag.³

CONCERNING THE PILGRIMAGES OF TIBERIAS AND THE ADJACENT PLACES.

(185) The city of Tiberias, named after Tiberius Cæsar, is situated on the Sea of Galilee. In His youth Jesus used to visit it. (186) It fell out there once that the boy Jesus was delaying, being with a Jew, who was related to Him. And the Jew, being angry, snatched up a burning torch and flung it at the boy Jesus, desiring to hit Him. But the torch stuck in the ground and grew into an immense tree, which to this day bears flowers and fruit.

(187) Also near that city are ever-flowing hot springs.

(188) Also a mile from Tiberias is the town of Magdala, from which Mary Magdalene receives her name.

(189) Four miles from Tiberias is Bethulia,⁴ the city of Judith, who slew Holofernes.⁵

(190) The Sea of Galilee is a lake on the borders of Galilee of very sweet and delicious water, of great extent in both length and breadth. Near it is the city of Peter and Andrew, Bethsaida by name, upon which the Lord shed lustre by His presence. (191) The lake is sometimes called Gennesaret, because it generates a breeze (*generat*

¹ *Haifa*. Cf. Fabri, i. 210.

² *Kaimûn*.

³ This is the common Jewish legend based on Gen. iv. 23, 24.

⁴ See John of Würzburg, p. 69, note.

⁵ Judith xiii. 10.

auram) and gathers a strong wind, by which, the waters being disturbed and a storm arising, boats are often sunk. (192) It was on this lake that the Lord walked dryshod, when He said to Peter, wishing to come to Him and sinking as he cried, 'Lord, save me,'—'O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?' And another time also the disciples being in peril, He calmed the waters of this sea. At the left head of the sea, in the hollow of the mountain, is Gennesaret, the place that generates the breeze; it is still felt by those on the spot.

(193) The Sea of Galilee begins between Bethsaida and Capernaum.

(194) Four miles from Bethsaida is Chorazin, in which Antichrist, the world's seducer, is to be nurtured. It was of these two cities that Jesus said, 'Woe to thee, Bethsaida! woe to thee, Chorazin!'

(195) Five miles from Chorazin is Kedar, a very excellent city, of which it is written in the psalm, 'I dwelt in the tents of Kedar.'¹

(196) Capernaum, the city of the centurion, is situated on the right bank of the lake's head; in this city Jesus wrought many signs.

(197) Two miles from Capernaum as you go down the mountain is the place where the Lord preached to the multitude, and instructed His Apostles, teaching them; where also He cured the leper.

(198) Two miles from that descent is the place where Jesus fed five thousand men with five loaves and two fishes, twelve baskets of fragments being left; wherein that place is called Mensa, that is, the Place of Refreshment. Also He did many miracles upon people with various infirmities.

(199) Near that place Jesus showed Himself to His

¹ Ps. cxx. 5.

disciples after His resurrection, eating 'a piece of a broiled fish and of an honeycomb,' according to John.¹

(200) In the upper parts of this Galilee were the twenty cities which King Solomon gave to his friend Hiram, King of Tyre.²

(201) This region, 'Galilee of the Gentiles,' is altogether in the tribes of Zabulon and Naphthali.

CONCERNING THE PILGRIMAGES OF DAMASCUS AND ITS BORDERS.

(202) The boundaries of Arabia and Idumæa meet at Bozrah. Idumæa is the land of Damascus. Eliezer, Abraham's servant, built Damascus, as some say; but others say that it was built by a man called Damascus in the field³ in which Cain slew his brother Abel. Esau inhabited Damascus. He is also called Seir and Edom: Seir, that is, hairy; and Edom, red, whence the land gets the name Idumæa. And part of that land is called Uz, whence was blessed Job, who was found constant and perfect amid his temptations. In Idumæa is Mount Seir, under which lies Damascus.

(203) Eight miles from Damascus, on the road leading to Sardinaya,⁴ is the place where the Lord Jesus appeared to Saul, saying, 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me? It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks.'⁵

(204) Also in Damascus there is a church where Ananias on a set day in the baptismal font made Saul into Paul, a wolf into a lamb. There the cinctured Christians minister.

¹ The reference appears to be to John xxi. 9, but the quotation is from Luke xxiv. 42.

² 1 Kings ix. 11.

³ Or 'in the year,' for some MSS. have *anno* for *agro*.

⁴ Apparently *Dâreya*.

⁵ Acts ix. 4.

(205) Also in the same city is a great cavern in which there is said to be infinite treasure ; and if anyone puts forth his hand to take any part of this treasure, forthwith fire bursts forth and destroys whatever he has touched. And it is said that when the Greeks held this city, by the conquest of the Emperor Constantine, the son of St. Helena, and when they saw that they could no longer keep the city or country by reason of the multitude of Saracens coming upon them, they laid their treasures in this cave, and by the art of necromancy they made their treasures impossible to be removed to the end of time.

(206) Ten miles from Damascus is the city of Sardinaya, in which is the venerated image of the glorious Virgin Mary, which was brought from Jerusalem. This blessed image was entirely converted into a fleshly substance, so that it ceases not night and day to emit a sacred oil, which the pilgrims who come there from every quarter carry away in little glass jars. No Saracen can live in this city ; they always die within a year.

(207) At the foot of Lebanon eastward there arise the two famous rivers. Abana¹ unites itself with the Great Sea in those coasts, whither Eustace, having lost his wife and being abandoned by his children, retired alone.

Pharpar² goes through Syria to Antioch, flowing past its walls ; and ten miles from Antioch it enters the sea at the harbour of St. Symeon.

(208) At Antioch the precious virgin Margaret was crowned with a glorious martyrdom under the prefect Olibrius.³ At Antioch blessed Peter had his seat for seven years, decorated with the pontifical robes.⁴

¹ The Litany. Cf. *Innom.* vi. (p. 51).

² The Orontes.

³ The date of her martyrdom is generally given as 258 A.D. She is hardly to be distinguished from the St. Marina of the Greek Church.

⁴ This ecclesiastical tradition, which is as old as Jerome, probably took its rise from Gal. ii. 11.

(209) The origin of Tyre is buried in obscurity. Before Tyre is a marble stone of no small size, upon which Jesus stood when He said, 'Yea rather, blessed are they that hear the word of God,'¹ etc.

(210) Eight miles north of Tyre on the sea is Sarfe,² called Sarepta, of the Sidonians, where once Elijah the prophet dwelt when he raised from the dead the son of the widow woman.

(211) Six miles from Sarfe is the famous city of Sidon, outside the walls of which the Lord healed the girl that was vexed with a devil, whose mother said to Jesus, 'Truth, Lord : yet the dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their master's table,'³ etc. Of this city was Queen Dido, who founded Carthage in Africa.

(212) At the foot of Lebanon, two miles from Tyre, is a well of spring water. But the Fountain of the Gardens is six miles from the city of Tripolis, at the foot of Lebanon, towards the west. Tripolis is a very illustrious city of Syria, full of many delights, situated on the sea.

(213) Twenty-four miles from Tripolis is the city of Antiranda, commonly called Tortosa. In this city there is a chapel of a larger church, said to have been built by Peter and John, Apostles of God, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary ; it is held in great veneration to this day. There many benefits are offered by the intercession of the glorious Virgin.

(214) Six miles from Sidon is Berytus, a very wealthy city, in which an image of our Saviour, not long after His Passion, was crucified by the Jews in imitation of Him. And it poured forth blood and water, whereupon those who had crucified it, when they saw the miracle, believed. Whosoever had perfect devotion to this image was healed

¹ Luke xi. 28.

² Surafend.

³ Matt. xv. 27.

from any infirmity with which he was afflicted.¹ It was afterwards carried to Rome, (215) and placed in the church of St. John Lateran, where it is most devoutly revered by all Christian people.

(216) One mile from Berytus is the place where St. George, by virtue of the holy cross, slew the dragon, and rescued a virgin from a shameful death, and restored her safe and well to her father, the king of that country.

¹ This story of the image of Berytus (Beirut) is the subject of a sermon printed (Migne P.G. xxviii. 797) among the spurious writings of Athanasius. It was read at the Second Nicene Council, and received as a genuine work. See Theoderich, p. 71, and John of Würzburg, p. 63.

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THE END.

Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society.

JOHN POLONER'S DESCRIPTION

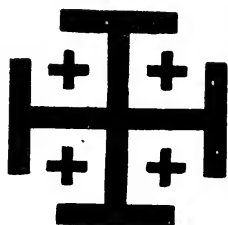
OF THE

HOLY LAND.

(CIRCA 1421 A.D.)

Translated from Tobler's text

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PREFACE.

'FORTUNATELY,' says Dr. Tobler, 'we know the name of the writer of this work.' He proceeds to argue that Poloner was a German, albeit Count P. Riant claims him as a Pole. The evidence on which Dr. Tobler founds his theory consists of his use of the German word *Reisefern* (p. 11), his reckoning by German miles, with the explanation to his reader of how many Italian miles go to one German, and also his statement that Palestine was a province of the Holy Land, 'just as Saxony and Lorraine are provinces of Germany, or as Tuscany and Lombardy are provinces of Italy.'

We also know the date of his pilgrimage, for he himself tells us of the terrible night which he passed in the harbour at Beyrout on St. Thomas's eve, 1422. He also tells us of how the Saracens were harvesting on the Mount of Olives on St. George's day (April 23), 1421, so that probably it was on his way home that he went to Beyrout. His description agrees in substance, often in exact words, with that of Burcardus de Monte Sion, although it differs in arrangement. I have noted the continual coincidences

between the holy places shown to Poloner, and those shown to Fabri. Often these places are described in exactly the same words, so that one does not know whether Fabri copied his predecessor, or whether they both merely wrote down the stereotyped story told by the guardians and vergers.

Much of the interest of Poloner lies in the fact that he is, as far as we know, almost the first pilgrim who made a map of the Holy Land. Although this map has unhappily perished, yet from the allusions to it in the text, and the map published by Marino Sanudo, Dr. Tobler has been able to reconstruct it pretty satisfactorily. The arrangement of the map is not very easy to understand at first. It is divided by lines like those of latitude and longitude on modern maps; but those corresponding to latitude across the width of the map are eighty-three, crossed by twenty-eight lengthways. This arrangement of squares, Dr. Tobler tells us, was also used by Maurice of Paris, whose map has also been lost. Poloner reckons by the intervals between the lines, not by the lines themselves. These intervals he calls 'squares' in latitude, and spaces in longitude; that is to say, the reader, on finding that a place lies 'beneath' such and such a 'square,' is expected to count the squares along the longer edge of the map, until he comes to the one mentioned, and then by looking down the column from thence he will find the place. If a place be mentioned as being 'in' such and such a 'space,' he must count the squares along the end of the map, and look

along the line. It is hard to explain this system without a diagram ; but perhaps this would be superfluous, seeing that our author is quite intelligible with the aid of a modern map. Maurice of Paris, Dr. Tobler tells us, also made a map in this fashion ; but this also has been lost.

It is difficult to believe that we have here the whole of Poloner's *peregrinale*. It is hardly possible that so careful and devout a writer described his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and yet that he should have given no description of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, the prime object of his journey. Moreover, the beginning of the book reads like a fragment. Yet it is not clear in what place this description of the Holy Sepulchre is missing from the existing text, unless we may suppose that it had a separate chapter devoted to it. He does not give us any new facts connected with ancient geography, and we must content ourselves with gleaning from him some considerable information about the position of churches and chapels in the Holy Land and Jerusalem. Towards the end he repeats himself, and gives the familiar list of names which we find in all the writers of pilgrimages, who make use of 'the Old Compendium.' Compare the prefaces to Theoderich and Fetellus in this series. Thus, although Poloner visited the Holy Land at a much later date than those writers, he nevertheless imitates their form pretty closely, and copies the same farrago of half-understood geography from the same or some similar source.

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JOHN POLONER'S DESCRIPTION OF THE HOLY LAND.



OF THE GATES OF THE CITY OF JERUSALEM.

NEXT follows the description of the gates which were in the wall of the city of Jerusalem, and which are mentioned in the text of Holy Scripture. The first was called David's Gate, and it is the upper gate of the city on the western corner. It was so called because the Tower of David overhung it. It was also called the Fish Gate, because through it led the road from Joppa and Diospolis and the sea-coast. Through it also came merchants, bringing divers stuffs from Ethiopia and Egypt. This gate stood in the ancient wall, and at this day it adjoins the wall of that part which was built on in order to enclose the Lord's sepulchre. From this gate the road led in three different ways: one across the fuller's field; one, which was the left-hand one, led to Bethlehem and Hebron; and another went down to the right hand, through the vale of Rephaim, beneath the castle of Bethsura, which is five stadia distant from Jerusalem. The second was called the Old Gate, and was to the north of the other in the old wall, and had stood since the days of the Jebusites. It was likewise called the Gate of Judg-

ment, because courts of justice were held thereat, and whatsoever was decreed by sentence of the judges was there ordered to be carried out. Not far without this gate the Lord was crucified. The third is the Gate of Ephraim, in the upper part (of the city) towards the north. Through this a road led to Mount Ephraim and Samaria. Hither came the wall which was built from the Tower of David up to this gate in order to enclose the Lord's sepulchre together with the old wall. This is now called St. Stephen's Gate, because without it he was stoned. The fourth gate was the Gate of the Corner, and was at the top on the eastern side at the corner of the wall above the brook Cedron, wherefore we read in the Book of Kings¹ that Joash, King of Israel, brake down the wall of Jerusalem from the Gate of Ephraim even to the Gate of the Corner, four hundred cubits. It was also called the Gate of Benjamin, because this gate led to Anathoth and the other cities of that tribe. The fifth gate was the Dung Gate. Through this gate, in time of rain, all the filth of the city ran down into the brook Cedron. The road through this gate led into the wilderness which is between Jerusalem and Jericho, which is now called the wilderness of Quarantana. The sixth was the Valley Gate, and was called the Gate of the Flock, because through it were driven in the flocks of sheep to be sacrificed in the Temple, adjoining which, and as it were dependent upon it, was the sheep-pool wherein the victims were washed. Adjoining this gate was the Tower of Hananeel, also called the Tower of Clouds,² as in the text: '(Behold, the days come, saith the

¹ 2 Kings xiv. 12; 2 Chron. xxv. 23.

² 'Here Poloner alludes to a tower near what is now called St. Stephen's Gate.'—Tobler. 'Probably,' Tobler continues, '*Nebulosa* is a corruption of *Naplosa*, *Neapolosa*—the gate leading to Nâblus (Shechem).'

Lord, that) the city shall be built to the Lord from the tower of Hananeel unto the gate of the corner,¹ which is the Gate of Benjamin. Herod the Great set up this tower and called it Antonia, in honour of one Antonius. This gate leads to the Mount of Olives, Bethany, and the Jordan. The seventh gate is the Golden Gate. This did not lead directly into the city, but into the Temple by a short-cut from the Mount of Olives over an arch² standing in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. The eighth is the Water Gate, so called because through it water was carried from the Pool of Siloam. This stood in the corner where Mount Sion and Mount Moriah, or the Mount of Grass,³ meet at the corner of the two walls, to wit, the wall of Mount Sion, and the wall which enclosed the king's house. (This gate) led to the fountain of Siloam, the Valley of the Children of Ennon, the fountain Rogel, and the field Acheldamach. I do not believe that the city had more gates than these, because, from its position, no more than these were needed. Among these gates three are more famous than the rest, being the first, the third, and the fourth of the eight above-mentioned. On the south and the north the brow of Mount Sion overhangs the city, and that part of the walls, with the towers, is well known to have no gates.

Lo, here is the city of the Great King, whose likeness all the Churches of the world are not able to present. Round about its walls there once stood eighty-three towers and seven fenced castles, whose ruins may be seen at this day most clearly on the north side. Here followeth

¹ Jer. xxxi. 38.

² Fabri, i. 463.

³ Instead of *Mons Herbarum*, Tobler ingeniously proposes to read *Mons Abraham*. Compare page 38.

THE ORDER OF PILGRIMAGE THROUGHOUT THE CITY
OF JERUSALEM AND OTHER PLACES ROUND ABOUT
THE SAME.

In the churchyard, outside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, there are four chapels. The first on the left hand, as one comes out, is the chapel of the Blessed Virgin and St. John the Evangelist, for this is where they stood at the time of the crucifixion. The second is that nearest to this one, built in the corner, and dedicated to All Angels. The third on the same side is that of St. John the Baptist. The fourth chapel on the right-hand side as one comes out of the church, near the belfry tower, is that of St. Mary Magdalen. The first chapel belongs to the Indians, the second to the Jacobites, the third to the Georgians, and the fourth to the Greeks. Midway between these four chapels, eleven paces from the ascent¹ to Calvary, there is a place marked in the pavement where the Lord Jesus, when He was brought from the house of Pilate, rested with His cross, while the guard stood round about Him. Near the open space before the church is the prison for evil-doers, whose door looks towards the door of the church, at a distance of twenty-two paces. From thence one goes eastward through the streets of the city to the judgment-hall of Pilate. And it should be noted that from the place of Calvary to the aforesaid judgment-hall is four hundred and fifty paces, which I counted with the greatest care that I could; for it is two hundred and seventy-five paces to the house of the rich man who would not give the crumbs to Lazarus when he was sick. Thence to the left, forty-five paces further, is the place where three streets meet together not far from the gate which leads to Samaria, Capernaum,

¹ *Gradus*. I imagine that the external staircase is meant.

and Gamala.¹ At this same place Simon of Cyrene was compelled to bear Christ's cross. At this same place the Lord said to the weeping women : ' Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for Me,' etc. Forty paces further to the right, nearer the road, is the place where the Blessed Virgin stood, desiring to behold her beloved Son, who was being brought with a great crowd from the house of Pilate, overweighted with the burden of the cross, going to be crucified. When she saw Him spat upon and covered with blood, forgetting all her former consolations, she went distraught, fell down half dead, and so lay till she was lifted up and carried away by the other women. In this same place a church was built in her honour, which has been destroyed by the traitorous Saracens. Its ruins may be seen at this day, and it was called St. Mary of the Swoon.² Fifty-six paces further one sees a vaulted arch crossing the street; this is the Place of the Pavement, called Gabbatha.³ Above it may be seen two white stones, whereon the Lord Jesus stood in Pilate's court, when He answered that judge's questions there. There is the place where the standard of the soldiers was fastened. Beneath the aforesaid arch is shown the place of the school⁴ of the Blessed Virgin, where in her childhood she was taught to write. Twenty-five paces from this arch is the judgment-hall⁵ where Christ was scourged and judged; there is the door by which He went in, and another door by which He came out after sentence had been passed upon Him. Both of these doors are closed and walled up with stone, the old foundations still standing. This house⁶ is adorned with mosaic and carvings in the form of wheels or astrolabes, which carvings cannot

¹ See Fetellus, p. 4, in this series.

² Fabri, i. 447.

³ Fabri, i. 448.

⁴ Fabri, i. 453.

⁵ Fabri, i. 449.

⁶ *Domus cujusdam*. That the judgment-hall is meant is clear from Fabri, i. 450, in this series.

be completely seen. A little way behind the judgment-hall is the house of Herod,¹ but in front of the judgment-hall there stands a house which at this day is the court-house of the judge of the city.

Eighty-three paces further along the same street to the eastward of the aforesaid judgment-hall, on the right-hand side, is the first gate which leads to the street of Solomon's Temple. There are three of these gates in this street, on the north side. The Beautiful Gate is that nearest the Temple, to the westward thereof, near the hospice of the Damascenes. Not far to the southward of Solomon's Temple, within the same enclosure of walls, is the Lord's Temple,² wherein the first-born males were presented, wherein Jesus also was presented, and Simeon took Him into his arms. It has a leaden roof, a choir after the Saracen fashion, looking toward the south, and twenty windows on either side. It stands at the uttermost corner of the city towards the Valley of Siloam. Then one goes down from the street of the judgment-hall a good way to the left, and there may be seen the house of Simon the Pharisee, where the Magdalen was forgiven her sins. Next, turning back again, in the street of the judgment-hall, is Joachim's house,³ where the Virgin Mary was born. At this place there is a church, now in the hands of the Saracens, and it is eighty-six paces distant from the first gate of Solomon's Temple. Moreover, forty long paces straight on from Joachim's house is the Gate of the Flocks, or of the Valley. In this walk the sheep-pool stands on the right hand, towards Solomon's Temple.

It is a hundred and sixty-three long paces from this same gate to the vaulted arch over Cedron. Across

¹ Fabri, i. 451.

² Poloner here, contrary to the invariable custom, calls the *Kubbet-es-Sakhra* 'Solomon's Temple,' and the Mosque *El Aksa* 'The Lord's Temple.'

³ Fabri, i. 455, 483; ii. 133, 399.

Cedron there once lay a tree, the tree whereon Christ suffered. This was shown to the Queen of Sheba, the Queen of the South,¹ who came from the uttermost parts of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon (Matt. xii. 42); wherefore one reads in the Book of Kings, 'The Queen of Sheba came to Jerusalem to Solomon with a very great train, with camels that bare spices, and very much gold, and precious stones.'² Under the figure of this queen is typified the Church, which cometh from the Gentiles. Lastly, beyond the brook, on the left hand, twenty-eight paces down the Valley of Jehoshaphat, down forty-eight³ steps, there is a fair church, wherein is the sepulchre of the glorious Virgin Mary, which measures the length of two outstretched arms, and three joints of the middle finger,⁴ and has eight lamps continually burning. The first altar, by the side of the sepulchre, belongs to the Armenians; the second, beneath a dark vault, belongs to the Georgians; the third, under a window at the east end, belongs to the Greeks; a fourth, on the north side, belongs to the Minorite brethren; and the fifth, on the left hand of the first step of the stairs, belongs to the Jacobites. It should be noted that on the same side of the stair there is an altar belonging to the Indians.⁵ In this same place rests Queen Millicent, who caused this church to be built. Fourteen paces eastward from its

¹ Fabri, i. 522. ² 1 Kings x. 1, 2. ³ Fabri, i. 466, says 'fifty-two.'

⁴ Fabri, i. 468, says: 'The church is lofty and vaulted. The Virgin's sepulchre stands in the midst of it, and is a small chamber, like the Lord's sepulchre, splendidly ornamented and lighted with lamps, more even than the Lord's sepulchre itself.'

⁵ Fabri, i. 468, says: 'The altar which is nearest to the sepulchre belongs to the Armenians; a second, beneath a dark vault, belongs to the Georgians; a third, under a window in the east end of the choir, belongs to the Greeks; a fourth, in the corner on the north side, belongs to the Latins; and a fifth, near the first step of the staircase, belongs to the Indians.'

door is the entrance to the cave beneath the rocks at the foot of the Mount of Olives, wherein the Lord Jesus, being in an agony, sweated drops of blood as He prayed thrice.¹ Near a great rock, by the side of the mount, a strong stone's-throw to the south of this place of sorrow, sat the three disciples whom He found sleeping. Near to this place, eight paces distant, is the garden which is called the Garden of Flowers,² being towards the brook, and exactly opposite to the Golden Gate. In this garden Christ was taken prisoner, and therein Peter struck the prince's servant, for He had often met His disciples there. Moreover, that is said to be the gate whereof Ezekiel said: 'This is the gate that looketh toward the east: and it was shut. He hath entered in through it, and no man shall pass through it, because the Lord hath entered through it.'³ Now, Gethsemane, wherein the other eight Apostles stayed, is lower down to the southward, a bow-shot distant from the garden. Forty-five paces upwards from the garden is marked the place where the Blessed Virgin ascended into heaven, leaving her girdle for St. Thomas,⁴ who was not with his fellow-Apostles when the body of the glorious Virgin was taken up into heaven.

We now ascend the Mount of Olives by a stony road which leads to the Gate of the Flock over the brook, and wherein is the place where Christ wept when he saw the city of Jerusalem,⁵ as we read in the Gospel story. This same place is two hundred and ten paces distant from the place aforesaid, and this way, whereon the Lord rode on Palm Sunday, divides the Mount of Olives from the Mount of Galilee. From the place of weeping one goes a hundred and ninety-five steps further up to the place where the angel

¹ Theoderich, ch. xxiii., says: 'As one goes out of the crypt one sees a very small chapel placed on the steps themselves.'

² 'City of Jerusalem,' p. 41.

³ Ezek. xlv. 1, 2.

⁴ Fabri, i. 469.

⁵ Fabri, i. 479.

Gabriel brought the palm-branch to the glorious Virgin, and foretold her departure from this world.¹ From thence, leaving the road, one goes up one hundred and twenty paces to the left up the Mount of Galilee, whereon Christ² appeared for the fifth and last time to His disciples, as He had promised. There is a place, once well built upon, where a plenary indulgence was to be had, which now is given in the Holy City. Returning from this mount, one goes two hundred and seventy-seven paces to the church³ of the Mount of Olives, wherein is a round chapel, measuring in its outer circuit sixteen paces. Within this may be seen the mark of Christ's left foot, which He imprinted on the stone when He ascended into heaven, and it measures in length one palm and two joints of the middle finger. In this same chapel the Saracens offer devout prayers, and have a stone in the same.⁴ Moreover, they have written over the door of the same chapel in red letters of their alphabet, 'I am the door of mercy.' One pace from that chapel near a blocked-up door in the east wall there lies an immovable stone, the last stone whereon Christ sat on the day of His ascension, and preached to His disciples, teaching them about the seven forms of the Holy Spirit. Also from the south side of this church, on the outside, there is a way down eighteen steps into a chapel⁵ wherein St. Pelagia did penance, and wherein she lies buried, with a great stone above her raised sepulchre.

Moreover, five furlongs away from the Mount of Olives towards the Jordan, or eastward, there may be seen a desolate place, near the valley which is called Bethphage, which is the place⁶ from whence Christ sent James and

¹ Fabri, i. 480.

² Fabri, i. 481.

³ Fabri, i. 484.

⁴ Fabri, i. 487.

⁵ Fabri, i. 498, 499; Anton. Plac., ch. xvi.; Theoderich, in Tobler's edition, pp. 245, 247, note; Anon. Pilgrims, ii. 7; v. 1; vii. 73.

⁶ Fabri, ii. 80.

John to bring Him an ass and her foal. This place is midway on the road from the Mount of Olives to Bethany. Turning back to the Mount of Olives, one goes along the road which divides that mount from the Mount of Offence, which stands on the left hand towards the Valley of Gehennon. Upon this mount Solomon set up the idol Moloch¹ and worshipped it. Twenty paces from the aforesaid chapel of St. Pelagia is the place² where the Apostles one after the other put together the twelve articles of faith. At this place may be seen the ruins of the Church of St. Mark.³ Ten paces further toward the city there lies on the ground a great stone,⁴ whereon Christ preached and taught His disciples about the eight beatitudes. Also twenty-two paces lower down is marked the place⁵ where the Lord Jesus taught His disciples to pray, as we read in Matt. vi. Notice the stone inscribed with Hebrew letters, which the Saracens have placed on the threshold of the door. Descending another twelve paces, one comes to the place where the Blessed Virgin Mary often rested herself when wearied with her daily pilgrimage.⁶

After this one goes down to the left towards the Valley of Siloam, and sees the little church of the Holy Cross with three altars, near which, sixteen paces toward the south, is the dwelling of Judas Iscariot, and the place where he hanged himself. Beneath the rocks near the city, a bowshot from the aforesaid little church, is the tomb of Zacharias, who was slain between the Temple and the altar. Adjoining that place is a chapel wherein there is a hole in the wall of the shape of a baker's oven, wherein James the Less hid himself for fear at the time of Christ's passion and death, until the Lord appeared to him.⁷ From

¹ Fabri, ii. 143.

² Fabri, i. 501.

³ Fabri, i. 500.

⁴ Fabri, i. 502.

⁵ Fabri, i. 501.

⁶ Fabri, i. 503.

⁷ Fabri, i. 518.

this chapel there is a way into a kind of dwelling hewn in the rock above it, which is said to have been the house of the blessed Apostles Philip and James. Two paces further, over against the corner of the city wall, there may be seen a truly wondrous building with no door, in the form of a square chapel, measuring sixteen fathoms (*Klaftern*) round about, and all up to the very roof hewn out of the solid living rock. Some declare that it is the tomb of King Jehoshaphat, from whom the valley takes its name; some that it is the tomb of Pharaoh's daughter, whom Solomon dearly loved, and some that it is that of David's son Absalom. Note that from the second arch of the bridge thrown over the brook (Cedron) at this place, it is six hundred and fifteen long paces to the first step leading up to the church on the Mount of Olives, of which steps there are twenty. I have added this that I may show the height of the aforesaid mount. At this same place beneath the rocks at the foot of the Mount of Olives there dwell husbandmen and shepherds.

Next one descends to the bottom of the watercourse going southward to the well whereat it is said that the Blessed Virgin Mary bathed and washed the swaddling clothes of the infant Lord. This fount divides the Valley of Jehoshaphat from the Valley of Siloam. Two hundred and fifty-five paces to the south of this, at the foot of Mount Sion, is the fountain of Siloam, from which the waters collect in the lower pool, which is called the bathing pool of Siloam, which signifies 'sent,' as John tells us of the man who was born blind. Two stone's-throws from this same mount one sees a heap of stones, at which place Isaiah¹ was buried, and also was put to death. Then one goes up a lofty mountain toward the south, on whose side there are many caves² and grottoes, wherein the Apostles

¹ Fabri, i. 529.

² Fabri, i. 532.

hid themselves at the time of Christ's passion, and wherein afterwards Christian hermits used to dwell. Thirty paces above these caves is the field called Acheldamach,¹ which was bought for the thirty pieces of silver, and has nine openings through which corpses are thrust in.

Between the Pool of Siloam and Acheldamach is (the brook) Cedron, which draws its waters from the upper parts of the city and of the mountains. Indeed, near Ramatha and Anathoth, a long way from the Blessed Virgin's Sepulchre, its murmur can be heard beneath the earth. One goes down beneath the Mount of Offence into the Valley of Gehennon or Tophet, wherein is the stone Zoheleth² and the well Rogeli, where Adonijah sacrificed his victims. At this place there are fertile fields, because these waters run through them. When one has seen all these things, one must return toward the city by the same road by which we came, as far as the chapel of St. James the Less, which is beside the arched vault over Cedron, whereof mention was made before, when we were coming down the Mount of Olives.

Now, from this arch³ to the house of Caiaphas, which is on the top of Mount Sion, is seven hundred and thirty paces. In going up, one comes first to a place where there may be seen a blocked-up gate, through which the Blessed Virgin passed when she presented Jesus in the Temple. Going higher up from thence, towards the west, is the place called the Cock-crowing, where Peter wept,⁴ being one hundred and eighty-seven paces distant from the house of Caiaphas. From the aforesaid place one goes upwards eighty paces towards the west. Near the Gate of the Street of the Jews, which gate looks out of the city to the

¹ Fabri, i. 534.

² 1 Kings i. 9; Fabri, i. 539.

³ 'City of Jerusalem,' p. 19, note.

⁴ Anon., v. 25; Fabri, i. 313, 320.

southward, there is a place marked at which the Jews¹ essayed to lay violent hands upon the glorious Virgin's body, when it was being borne along by the Apostles for burial. Seventy-six paces from the aforesaid gate the street of the synagogue of the Jews extends for two hundred and thirty-seven paces, up to the entrance to the covered streets.² From this entrance it is ninety-three paces to the Castle of David; but many Saracens dwell there nevertheless.³ In the next street to this is the house wherein St. Peter was chained; the place of his prison is a baker's oven. In this same street there is a little gate toward the south, which in their tongue is called the eye of a needle, whereof the Lord said, 'It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle,' etc. From the place of the aforesaid violent attempt at robbery (of the Virgin's body) to the place where she died is one hundred and thirty-six paces, which I counted with the greatest care that I could. First, however, one sees the house of Annas the high-priest, wherein is a fair enough church of the Armenians, well adorned with lights and lamps, and having four round pillars. Two stone's-throws higher up is the house of Caiaphas on the top of the mount, as aforesaid, wherein is now a little church, which is called St. Saviour's Chapel, and rightly so, for above the altar of this chapel is placed that great stone with which the mouth of Christ's tomb was sealed up. Moreover, behind the altar, above it, there is a painting of the Transfiguration. At this same place, near the altar, on the right-hand side, is Christ's prison, wherein He was shut up until the Jews assembled, held a council, and heard testimony against Him. This chapel also belongs to the Armenian Christians.

Also on the same mount toward the street (?) is the

¹ Fabri, i. 313.

² The vaulted bazârs. See 'City of Jerusalem,' ch. x., note.

³ Although it was the Jews' quarter.

place where St. Stephen¹ was buried for the second time. Also twenty-two paces to the south behind the choir (of the church of Mount Sion) is the place of the kitchen,² where the Paschal lamb was made ready to be eaten, and where also the water was warmed for washing the disciples' feet. Also in the place which now is the dwelling where the Holy Spirit was sent down upon the disciples, David, Solomon, and many other kings of Jerusalem were buried.³ Also in the burial-ground of this same church, on the north side, is marked the place where the Lord Jesus⁴ Himself on the day of His Ascension preached, blamed the folly of His disciples, and sent them forth into the world, but first went with them to the Mount of Olives, and, after giving them His blessing, ascended into heaven. Twelve feet from this inscribed stone there is another stone fixed in the ground, on the place where the Blessed Virgin Mary sat and listened to her Son's preaching. Also five paces off is the place where her cottage stood, wherein she dwelt after her Son's Ascension. Also thirteen paces off is the place where St. Matthias was elected by lot into the number of the Apostles on the morrow of the Ascension. In this same place the seven deacons were elected, who were rightly appointed to minister to widows, of which deacons Stephen was the first. In this same place St. James the Less was elected by the Apostles Bishop of Jerusalem.⁵ Ten paces further is the worshipful place where the glorious Virgin departed from the world. Eight paces further toward the house of Caiaphas is a place with a chapel. The name of Mount Sion is, being interpreted, watch-tower. Note that Petra in the desert, which is in Arabia, may be watched and seen from that mount. From thence I have seen the Jordan entering into the Dead Sea,

¹ Fabri, i. 309.² Fabri, i. 308, 309.³ Fabri, i. 301.⁴ 'City of Jerusalem,' p. 2.⁵ Fabri, i. 530.

but only in the early morning, for when the sun has risen up in the firmament, its course cannot be seen. Now, in the church of Mount Sion where the high altar now stands, in that very place Christ supped with His disciples, giving them His own body and blood, wherefore it was called by Christ the Great Supper-room.¹ Also another altar in the corner on the right hand stands in the place where He on that same night washed His disciples' feet. Also behind the high altar, on the outside, up above, there is the place where the Holy Spirit,² the Comforter, was sent on the Day of Pentecost, as was promised to the Apostles. Immediately beneath this building, in a vault seven paces long, having two small windows on the eastern side, David and his son Solomon are buried. Likewise in the lower story³ of the cloister there is a chapel on the place where for the strengthening of his faith St. Thomas⁴ thrust his hand into Christ's side.

From this monastery our pilgrimage led toward David's Castle, which is three hundred and eighty paces distant from his tomb. But on our way we first come to the church of the Armenians. This church is round, with strong walls and exceeding powerful buttressed vaults, having four squared columns in the middle, and no window save one round glazed one at the top, but three hundred or more lamps. Indeed, in my time one hundred and twenty lamps used to burn in this church in one chandelier,⁵ and I never saw or heard of such great devotion in the people. On the left-hand side of the entrance is shown the place where St. James the Great was beheaded, which place is two hundred and twenty-two paces distant from the place where his brother John celebrated Mass.⁶

¹ *Coenaculum Grande.* ² Fabri, i. 291. ³ Fabri, i. 288, note.

⁴ Fabri, i. 293.

⁵ Fabri, i. 321.

⁶ Fabri, i. 322: 'This church is great and lofty, insomuch that it

Also within a stone's-throw of the aforesaid castle is the place where Mary Magdalen met the Blessed Virgin, and brought her tidings that her Son was alive and had risen from the dead. Here also Christ appeared to the three Maries, saying: 'All hail!' In the street of the Bishop of Jerusalem is the house of St. Zacharias, which belongs to the Georgians, and therein is a fair chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist. Before the entrance to the house is a darksome vault, an exceeding ancient structure, and it stands half-way along the street between the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and David's Castle. Next comes the house wherein the three kings were entertained.¹ Take notice of the door, whereat St. Mary of Egypt² could not enter while weighed down by the burden of her sins, which door is to be seen in the street that leads to Emmaus. Next follows

THE PILGRIMAGE FROM THE CITY OF JERUSALEM TO
THE EASTWARD TO BETHANY.

Having thus seen such places as are near at hand, we must now pass to those which are further off, that our devotional feeling may be increased. First one passes over to Bethany, which is distant from Jerusalem half a German mile—that is, about fifteen furlongs (John xi. 18)—where, beneath the castle, may be seen the sepulchre

overtops every other church which is in Jerusalem, and is seen before them, for the first thing which one sees is the dome of this church. It has no windows, but light comes through an opening in the top, and fills the church. There are many chapels round about it, which are now ruined and desecrated. In the church itself hang many lamps, and in the midst there hang a hundred and twenty lamps in one chandelier.²

¹ Fabri, i. 484.

² Anon., p. 2.

of Lazarus, who was raised from the dead by Christ; and there was once a great church, whose pillars may be seen standing at this day. Under a dark vault, ten paces from that sepulchre, is the altar. This was the place where Christ stood when He called him forth from the tomb. Also outside, near this, but higher up,¹ is the house of Simon the leper, which has two cisterns. It was here that the Magdalen poured the ointment upon His head as He sat at meat, whereat Judas was wroth. Six days before the Passover Jesus supped in Bethany, and Martha waited on Him, while her mother was one of those at table; wherefore a great rabble of the Jews came thither desiring to slay Lazarus also (John xii. 9, 10). Six bowshots from Bethany there may be seen in a field a great stone,² whereon the Lord was sitting when Martha met Him and said to Him: 'Lord, if Thou hadst been here,' etc. A stone's-throw from that stone, on the left hand, toward Jordan, may be seen the ruins of Martha's house,³ and its cloister and warm bath marked out cunningly beneath the rocks. One bowshot from thence, on the right hand lower down the hill toward the south, was the Magdalen's house, on whose site stands a ruined church, now made into a goat-byre. The Lord Jesus was very often entertained and fed in these two houses. On either side there is a sloping valley, but that on the left hand is the deeper of the two. In it is the road over which the Lord passed when He came from Jericho on His way up to Jerusalem. Next follows

¹ Fabri, ii. 77.

² Fabri, ii. 74.

³ Fabri, ii. 75.

THE PILGRIMAGE FROM JERUSALEM TO BETHLEHEM.

First one sees Simeon's house, near Jerusalem, on the right-hand side, among the vineyards beyond the road to Garwin (Ain Kârim); to the left, on a hill near Mount Sion, there is a building in the form of a castle, which is called the House of Evil Counsel, into which Judas went to do his betrayal, to make terms for delivering up Christ. At this place there was a fair church dedicated to St. Cyprian. A good way beyond this one comes to a well.¹ At this place the lost star shone again upon the three kings, in whose honour a church once stood here, whose pavement and extent can be traced. Away from the road, on a hill on the right hand, is St. George's² Church. Further on, on the left hand, not far from the road, there is a tall building, a beauteous church belonging to the Greeks, with a well near its south wall. In this building Elias was born and dwelt during his life, and it stands midway along the road between the two aforesaid cities, about one German mile from each of them. In the time of Elias the heavens were shut up for three years and six months. Between Jerusalem and Bethlehem or Ephrata is Mount Gion, whereon Solomon was anointed and crowned, and upon which the church of St. Cyprian was built, as aforesaid. Further on, near the road, there are the traces of a great tower, where Jacob wrestled with the angel (Gen. xxxii.). After this, on the right hand, near the road which leads to Hebron, is his wife Rachel's tomb,³ finely built by the Saracens and looking toward the south, where they have a burial-place. This place is called Chabratha.⁴ Not far from here one comes to the field⁵ where the seed of peas

¹ Fabri, i. 542.² Fabri, ii. 203.³ Fabri, i. 546; ii. 196.⁴ Probably a corruption of *Kubbet Rahil*.⁵ Fabri, i. 544.

or pulse was by the will of God turned into stones of the size and number of peas.

In the city of Bethlehem, on the western side, was the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian. On the right hand, as one enters the great church, near the choir, there is an altar which marks the place where many of the Innocents were slain. At this same place the Lord Jesus was circumcised. Near a well on the left hand side there is an altar,¹ where the Magi made themselves ready in splendid fashion to offer their gifts to the new-born King. It is said that the star disappeared into that well.² Next one goes down sixteen steps³ into a chapel beneath the choir, wherein the Saviour of the world was born. At this same place, on the left hand as one comes in, there is an altar. Seven feet and three steps from this, beneath the rock, is the place where the babe Jesus was laid in the manger, and was worshipped there by the shepherds. Note that this church is thirty-six paces long in the inside, eighteen paces wide, and has four rows of marble columns. Each of these rows has twelve columns, seven feet apart, as far as the choir. It is crowded with every kind of ornament both on the pavement and on the walls, and is covered by a leaden roof. It has Christ's genealogy painted in mosaics up above on the right-hand side as one comes in. Its twofold door is of cypress wood carved with divers mouldings; its side-walls were covered with marble slabs, which have been carried off by the traitorous Saracens, and in this church a miracle came to pass: for a certain Soldan, when he beheld its wondrous panelling, thought that he would carry it off and therewith encase and adorn his own palace in Cairo. So when he came on the day which he had appointed, together with masons and sculptors, meaning to carry away these beauteous

¹ Fabri, i. 556.

² Fabri, 562.

³ Fabri, i. 557.

stones, of a sudden a monstrous serpent shone forth and appeared on the wall crawling through the stone slabs and passing through the midst of them. His track on the wall may be seen at this day, as I myself saw, reaching as far as the altar of the three kings by the aforesaid well. When the Soldan saw this he was confounded and went his way.¹ In the cloister of this monastery on the north side one goes down nineteen steps² into the chapel, which is called St. Jerome's Study, where he laboured for fifty-five years and six months at the translation of the Scriptures. Close by here, three paces off, through the wall, in a dark corner near the altar, beneath the Lord's manger, is the tomb wherein he was first buried. But when the Holy Land was given over into the hands of traitors, and Jerusalem no longer knew any defender, his venerable bones and those of many other saints were translated to Rome. Moreover, on the left hand there are caves close by beneath the overhanging rocks, wherein many bodies of the Innocents³ were thrown and hidden.

The length of the road from Jerusalem to Bethlehem is two leagues, that is, one German mile, and along this road many mystical events have come to pass. Abraham and his wife passed along this road when they came from Chaldaea. Lot and his wife walked on this road when he came from the parts beyond the mountains. The patriarch Jacob and his wife Rachel often passed over it. The Blessed Virgin Mary when pregnant went there and back along this road and rested when weary. Also the three kings passed the same way when they sought the boy Jesus. Also Isaiah and Elijah and many of the holy prophets, when going to the Holy City, passed along this road. Also the Blessed Virgin on her journey to and from Egypt went along this road with Joseph.

¹ Fabri, i. 597-599.

² Fabri, i. 552.

³ Fabri, i. 565.

A stone's-throw from Bethlehem toward the south there was a church wherein Paula¹ and Eustochium were buried. This is St. Nicholas's² Church, and therein Mary abode with the babe and Joseph on the first night of the Flight into Egypt. Note the milk which was spilt there.³ Now, the road between Jerusalem and Bethlehem takes three hours to pass along. Also a quarter of a mile from Bethlehem down the valley leading toward the Dead Sea there was once a fair building with a church, which was called the Church of the Shepherds; for in that place the angel brought the shepherds tidings of great joy, and bade them go to Bethlehem and worship the child Jesus, and they straightway arose, and went along the side of the mountain to Bethlehem, where each one held the other back, saying one to another that the voice of the angel had been a vain imagination, and they began to go back to their flock. Then the angel came to them a second time, and forced them to finish the journey which they had begun. At this same place there stands a church with one altar. Some say that here the Blessed Virgin strayed out of the road which leads to Egypt;⁴ but the former story is more in accord with the truth. Moreover, two leagues to the south of Bethlehem are the sepulchres of the twelve prophets.⁵ Next follows

THE PILGRIMAGE FROM BETHLEHEM TO THE VALLEY OF HEBRON.

On the way from Bethlehem to the Valley of Hebron is shown the place where Abraham beheld three angels and worshipped one (God).⁶ In the church at Hebron

¹ Fabri, i. 575.

² Fabri, i. 567.

³ Fabri, i. 563.

⁴ Fabri, i. 569.

⁵ Abbot Daniel, p. 49, note; Fabri, ii. 404.

⁶ See Anon. Pilgrims, p. 38, note.

one sees a manifold rent in the rock, which is called the double cave, wherein Adam, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with their wives, to wit, Eve, Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah, are buried. Not far from the town is the Field of Damascus, where Adam and Eve were created.¹ Next follows

THE PILGRIMAGE FROM HEBRON TO JERUSALEM.

From Hebron one goes to Jerusalem through the hill country of Judaea, where may be seen the house² of Zachariah, in which the Blessed Virgin visited Elizabeth. In this place there are two churches, built one above³ the other, but the upper one has been destroyed. In the lower church one sees a rent in the rock on the right hand as one goes in, which is the place wherein the child John was hidden for fear of King Herod when he was killing the children. When one has come a little way down from thence, one is shown a fountain⁴ which bursts forth near the road on the right-hand side, beside which the Virgin Mary sat down and rested herself, being weary with her journey, when she went to visit her kinswoman, who, it is believed, met her at this place, and said,⁵ 'Whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lbrd should come to me?' Here also the Lord's mother made the song, to wit, 'My soul doth magnify the Lord,' etc. After this one turns out of the road to the left hand, to a hill whereon once was a fair church, now defiled with rubbish and full of mules' dung, which church no pilgrim can enter without payment. Here⁶ was born St. John the Baptist, the son

¹ Fabri, ii. 411.

² Fabri, i. 630 ; ii. 204.

³ Fabri, I think, makes it clear that the two churches were separate buildings, not different stories of the same building.

⁴ Fabri, i. 631.

⁵ Fabri, i. 632.

⁶ Fabri, i. 638, 639, describes the church as 'lofty and vaulted, and

of Zacharias, who said, 'Blessed be the Lord God,' etc. From thence one goes on to another well-ornamented church belonging to the Georgians, called the Church of St. Cross,¹ because the tree of Christ's cross stood and grew there, and the hole wherein it stood may be seen at this day beneath their altar. After this, near the road which leads to Gaza, may be seen the water² wherein Philip baptized the eunuch (Acts viii.).

THE DIVISIONS OF THE HOLY LAND.

The land which we call the Holy Land came to be divided by lot among the twelve tribes of Israel, and with regard to one part was called the kingdom of Judaea, which was the land of two tribes, to wit, Judah and Benjamin; with regard to the other part it was called the kingdom of Samaria, whose capital was the city of Samaria, also called Sebaste, and was the capital of the other ten tribes, which part was called Israel. Both these kingdoms, together with the land of Philistim, were called Palestine, which was but a part thereof, even as Saxony and Lorraine are parts of Germany, and Lombardy and Tuscany are parts of Italy. And note that there are three Palestines. In the first, the capital city is Jerusalem, with all its hill country even to the Dead Sea and the wilderness of Kadesh Barnea. The second, whose capital city is Caesarea by the sea, with all the land of Philistim, beginning at Petra Incisa,³ and reaching as far as Gaza, was the Holy Land toward the south. The third is the capital city of Bethsan, at the foot of Mount Gilboa. This was once called Scythopolis, and is the place where the corpses

still painted, but standing full of cattle, asses and camels, and there was nought therein save dung and filth and a great stench,' etc.

¹ Fabri, ii. 1.

² Abbot Daniel, li., note; Fabri, ii. 204.

³ The modern Athlit, the 'Certa' of the Jerusalem itinerary. See below.

of Saul's soldiers were hung up. This Palestine is properly called Galilee, wherein is the plain of Esdraelon, which begins at the lesser Jordan, and whose confines toward the south stretch as far as Gelin¹ (Ginaea), a ruined town, in square 37, upon a hill which in this map I have painted green, belonging to Samaria. Samaria begins at the aforesaid Gelin (*sic*), and reaches as far as the river Jordan and to Maginas (Michmash), in square 53, which adjoins Judaea. I have painted Judaea and its hill country yellow. Galilee of the Gentiles begins at the aforesaid lesser Jordan, and reaches northward to Mount Lebanon. It is in the country of Decapolis, whose boundaries are the Sea of Galilee on the east, Sidon on the west, and Damascus on the north. Within these bounds there are ten cities, from which the country is called Decapolis, and they are Tiberias, Bethsan, Jonapata (Jotapata), Sephet (Safed), Cedes Neptalim, Assur, Caesarea Philippi, Capernaum, Bethsaida, and Chorazin. There are, however, more cities than these therein, as is shown above. The Lord Jesus went through all these cities and castles, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the Gospel of the kingdom (Matt. iv. 23).

The length of the promised land from Dan, which is at the foot of Mount Lebanon on the north, to Beersheba on the south, which is near the wilderness of Egypt, is forty-two German miles or two hundred and ten Italian miles, while its width from the western sea to the edge of the mountains of Arabia is fourteen great miles or seventy Italian miles. Thus, the whole of the Holy Land is divided into eighty-three squares and into twenty-eight spaces breadthways, by drawing lines across it, over the lines from west to east. Now, in the second space and the

¹ See Fetellus, p. 32; John of Würzburg, ch. i., note; Theoderich, p. 62, etc.

twelfth square is Bozra in the country of Bostoron, mentioned in Isaiah lxii. (*sic*). The road through the city of Cedar (Cedar), in square 23, leads to Aran (Aram), Mesopotamia, Hammam, Hyrcania, and to the Caspian Sea. By this road these peoples are wont to assemble every year on the plain of the fountain Phiale, where they hold a fair throughout the whole of the month of May, and set up there divers coloured tents in the city of Cedar on the mount, which make a pretty sight. These are spoken of in Solomon's Song as 'the tents of Kedar.'¹ Josephus calls this city Camela, because the mount whereon it stands is formed in the shape of a camel. In square 24 (53) in the mountains to the eastward is Areopolis, which once was called Aror (Aroer), the capital of Arabia Secunda, being four days' journey from Petra in the desert. At this Petra, Isaiah says, 'Send, O Lord, the lamb from Petra in the wilderness to the mount of the daughter of Sion.'² It was upon this mount that John beheld the lamb standing (Rev. xiv.). Upon this Petra is built an impregnable castle once (called) Pirach (Kirach), wherein the Soldan lays up the treasures of Arabia and Egypt. Midway between this Petra and Areopolis there is the brook Sorec and the Mount Abarim, where Moses, was buried by the angels. Three days' journey south from this Petra is Mount Seir, which borders on the wilderness of Pharan, and it is called the land of Arabia, even to the Red Sea. Note that at the edge of the mountains of Arabia Prima, round about Mount Sanir, begins the land of Huz, which is also called the province of Trachonitis, and extends even to Cedar and the Sea of Galilee, being

¹ Cant. i. 5.

² Isa. xvi. 1. The A.V. reads, 'Send ye the lamb to the ruler of the land from Sela to the wilderness unto the mount of the daughter of Zion.'

partly formed by the country of Decapolis. Likewise from the edge of the mountains of Arabia Secunda, even to the Jordan, was the kingdom of Og, King of Basan, which fell to the lot of the tribe of Gad as far as the brook Jabbok. I have painted this kingdom yellow to distinguish it from the others. All the land near this, which I have made white, is called Bethany, where John was baptized, and was the kingdom of Sihon, King of Heshbon, which was in the portion of the tribe of Issachar. Between the brooks Ainan (Arnon) and Sorec is the plain country of Moab, and there is shown the place where Balaam and the ass talked with one another, and where the Book of Deuteronomy was put forth. But the yellow country beyond the brook Sorec to the south is called the land of Moab and of Ammon, as aforesaid.

Note that there are three cities of refuge beyond Jordan. The first, under square 23, near the hill country of Arabia, is called Golan. The second, under square 37, is called Ramoth Gilead; and the third, under square 33, is called Effrem,¹ where Christ abode with His disciples. And there are three cities of refuge toward the western sea: one is Hebron, under square 69; the second is Sebaste, under square 43; and the last is on this side of Lake Merom, and is called Kedesh Naphtali, in the Valley of Sanin, which was the city of Barak. These six cities are marked on the map with this mark * * *. Under square 19 is placed this mark Λ. This is the place where the Lord satisfied four thousand people with seven loaves. Under square 19, near this mark *V, the Lord fed five thousand men with five loaves, as is written in John vi. Under square 19, near this mark C, the centurion made entreaty for his servant. At the same place the Lord cleansed the leper beside the Sea of Galilee. Near Capernaum, Matthew, Andrew,

¹ John xi. 54.

Peter, James, and John were called to be Apostles. Under square 21, Peter, Andrew and Philip came from Bethsaida (John i., xii.). Under square 36 is Machaerunta, where John the Baptist was beheaded.

In the summer time the most part of Lake Merom dries ; so that bushes and thick grass grow there, wherein lurk lions and other beasts, and there is delightful hunting there. A little way to the north I have marked with a sword the place where Joshua fought against the King of Assur and twenty-four other kings, whom he chased unto Sidon, what time the day was doubled and the sun stood still ; wherefore to him was given the glory of Lebanon and the excellency of Carmel and Sharon (Isa. xxxv.). To the north of Sidon, two days' journey beyond the Holy Land, in the harbour of the Damascenes, is the ancient and noble city of Baruth (Beyrout), but its port is a perilous one. The north wind forced us to enter it on St. Thomas's Eve. On Christmas Eve we journeyed back to the great rivers, and at dawn on the feast-day following were forced by a storm to put into this port for a second time, where we let go out anchors, and rode in sorrowful case until the Circumcision. Two hundred and ninety paces from the outside of the east gate of this town is shown the place where St. Jerome (George) slew the coiled serpent. Under square 31 is the fountain of Israel, whereof we read in the First Book of Kings (1 Sam. xxix. 1), where the Philistines pitched their camp when Saul was in Gilboa. Between Mount Gilboa and Mount Hermoniim¹ there is a valley two leagues wide and not eight leagues long, down to the Jordan, wherein many battles have been fought: Gideon against Midian, Ahab against the Assyrians, and in modern times, also, the Tartars against the Saracens. I have marked this place with a sword. Under square 19 is

¹ The Hermons. See Ps. xlii. 7.

the house of St. George, where St. Matthew is believed to have been born. It stands between mountains, in a rich and fertile valley which reaches even to the Sea of Galilee. Because of its beauty it was well said of it: 'Out of Asher his bread shall be fat, and he shall yield royal dainties' (Gen. xlix. 20); which was fulfilled in the lot of the tribe of Asher. In space 16, square 22, is Naphtali, whence came Tobias. It stands in a strong place, inaccessible save for a short space on the east side. According to Josephus, it was called Jonapata (Jotapata) at the time of the destruction of the Jews, and therein Josephus himself was besieged and taken by the Romans. It is now called Siran. Under square 24 is the village of Endor, whereof the Psalm says, 'which perished in Endor.'¹ Under square 55 is Bethel, in the tribe of Benjamin, where Jacob set up the stone for a pillar when he slept there what time he was fleeing from his brother Esau, and saw the ladder, etc. He called the name of the place Bethel. To the east of it is the city of Ai, whereof we read in Joshua viii. Under square 69 is Mambre, where Abraham dwelt for a long time, and when sitting at the door of his tent, beneath the oak of Mambre, saw three men coming along the road, etc. (Gen. xviii.). This oak is shown at this day at the door of the tent. The old oak has withered away, but one young one after another has sprung out of its root. In space 20 is Socoh of Judah, near the Valley of Elah,² where David slew Goliath of Gath. Seth (Sethim) stands on a hill under square 56.

Here beginneth the land of the Philistines. On this same hill Fulk, the Christian King of Jerusalem, built a fort named Ibelim, to check the insolence of them of Ascalon. Ascalon was a city of the Philistines, and is by the seaside, built in the shape of a half-circle, and one may call it the whole strength of the Saracens in that land. Under square

¹ Ps. lxxxiii. 10.

² 1 Sam. xvii. 1, 2.

22, on the seashore, is Ackon, once a Philistine city,¹ (now) called Ptolemais. Under square 40 and in space 28 is Caesarea **O—C** by the sea (Caesarea Maritima), which Herod of Ascalon enlarged in honour of Augustus, and it was the capital of the seashore of Palestine. Josephus wrote much concerning it. Toward the east it has a wide and deep lake of sweet water, wherein are many crocodiles. The city itself is utterly destroyed. In it the Apostle Peter baptized Cornelius, and Paul was kept in prison there for a long time when on his way to Rome. It has an inconvenient harbour, but great abundance of gardens, meadows, and running streams, even to Lydda and towards the land of Sharon. I have marked Lydda with an arch, which you see on the place where stood the church of St. George, who was slain there. Arsur on the seashore, called Antipatris of old, belonged to the brethren of the hospital of St. John the Eleemosynary.²

The city of Joppa hath no port. In it dwelt Tabitha, the handmaid of the Apostles. There Jonas went on board ship, when he would have fled to Tarsus. In this city I did not see any living man, and, indeed, many of the cities along the sea-coast were destroyed by the Soldan when he heard that the aforesaid city of Ackon was taken by the kings of France and England. Sidon is a city of Phoenicia; its ruins at this day bear witness to its greatness. It was built lengthwise on a plain, stretching from north to south, at the foot of Mount Antilibanus. Out of its ruins has been built another city, small indeed, but fortified, had it but any men to defend it. One side of it stands on the seashore, with two well-fenced castles on either side, the one on the

¹ He confounds Acon (Acre) with Accaron (Ekron), unmindful of Thietmar's couplet:

‘Non est urbs Accaron quam quilibet aestimat Achon :
Illa Philistaea, Ptolemaida dicitur ista.’ See Anon. ii. 1.

² See Besant and Palmer's ‘History of Jerusalem,’ p. 274.

north, which was built long ago by pilgrims from Germany, standing on a cliff by the sea, and that to the south standing on a hill. Once the Knights of the Temple held these two castles, and the city also. There are sugar-canes there, and vineyards, exceeding good ones. Two leagues from thence is Sarepta, which has but few houses, though its ruins show that it once was a noble city. Tyre is in the country of the tribe of Asshur, but, nevertheless, the Asshurites never possessed it. Beyond it are wells of living water. Under square 43 is Sebaste, which is also called Samaria. It is all destroyed save two churches, one dedicated to St. John the Baptist, wherein is his sepulchre, made of marble after the pattern of the Lord's sepulchre, where he was buried between Elisha and Obadiah. Indeed, there once stood a cathedral church on the side of the mountain, but the Saracens have desecrated it. The other church is on the brow of the mount. It is inhabited by Greek monks who show therein the place where he was imprisoned. But this I hold to be a vain thing, seeing that he was beheaded at Machaerunta, under square 36. Under square 45 is Shechem, which the Greeks call Napalosa;¹ it stands about two bowshots from Jacob's well. Joseph's bones are buried in Shechem. The Jews call it Sochim, and they call Sion Haraon.

OF THE CITIES AND PLACES IN THE HOLY LAND.

The city of Acre (Ackon), which is in the province of Phoenicia, is well fenced with walls and towers, having the shape of a shield, whereof two sides rise out of the sea, and the third overlooks the land. In length it measures two miles, that is, sixteen furlongs, and it has fruitful fields and gardens. It never was part of the Holy Land, nor belonged to the children of Israel, albeit it was given

¹ Neapolis; see p. 2.

to the tribe of Asshur when the Holy Land was divided among them. It was one of the five cities of the Philistines,¹ standing by the sea, and it was near to it that the angel of the Lord, when he found Habbakuk carrying the reapers their dinner, bore him to Babylon,² as we read in Daniel xiv.² In the place where he was carried off by the angel there was a fair chapel. Eight leagues to the north of this city of Acon may be seen that wondrous well of living water, near Tyre, built in a costly fashion. Albeit it is called a well, in the singular number, yet is it not one, but three springs of the same form and position, though not of the same quantity of water. The chief one is about thirty-four, the other two are twenty-two cubits deep. They are enclosed within strong square walls of stout stones, a spear's-cast wide, within which the water boils and bubbles forth in such sort that it fills all the watercourses, and is spread over all the plain of Tyre. From it all the gardens and vineyards, fig orchards, olive-yards, and sugar-canes which grow there are watered, for these springs stand a bowshot from the sea. One league hence is the city of Tyre, which stands north of Acon; its praises have been written by some of the prophets. It rises on the seashore with a vast circuit of walls, washed by the sea on all sides save the east, where first Nebuchadnezzar, and afterwards Alexander, made it join the land for about a stone's-throw. On this side it is girt with a triple and lofty wall with strong towers. In it Origen was buried. Many relics of the saints who have perished therein in the name of Christ remain to this day. Two bowshots to the south of the gate the place where Christ preached is marked by the stone whereon He stood, over which a church dedicated to the Saviour was built.

¹ See Anon. ii., ch. i, note.

² See Fabri, i. 543; Odoricus, ed. Laurent, p. 156. 'Early Travels in Palestine' (Bohn), p. 149.

There also is the place where, after He had finished preaching, the woman said : 'Blessed be the womb,' etc. This place is never covered by the sand, albeit it is light and flies about even as in our own country in time of great cold the snow is snatched up and scattered abroad by the wind ; but this place always remains green in the midst of the sands. Four leagues from Tyre is Sarepta of Sidon, before whose gate is shown the place where Elijah went to the widow of Sarepta. Not far from thence is the chapel where he raised her son from the dead. Two leagues from Sarepta is Sidon, once a great city, whose size is shown by the ruins of the walls. Nearly all of it stands in the heart of the sea, having on this side and on that two castles, one of them built on a hill near the plain, the other on a cliff by the sea. They were built by German pilgrims long ago. Another half-league from this city is Antilibanus, where grows exceeding fine wine, whereof the prophet saith : 'The scent thereof shall be as the wine of Lebanon' (Hos. xiv. 7). Beyond Sidon, before its gate, the Lord healed the Canaanitish woman's daughter.

Outside of the Holy Land, twenty Italian miles north of Sidon, is Beyrout, an ancient city with an abominable harbour, wherein I passed the night, not without fear, on the eve of the Feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, A.D. 1422. In an underground chamber in this city is shown an image of the Saviour¹ which, not long after His passion, was painted in mockery of Him out of scorn, and was defiled and beaten by the infidels, until there came forth from it blood and water, whereby some of them were converted. It was a sitting image with mockers painted all round about it, as it was in Pilate's house when He was crowned with thorns and worshipped as a king. A chapel with one altar has been built there, to which one goes down

¹ Compare John of Würzburg, ch. xxiv. ; Theoderich, p. 71, etc.

eighteen steps. Next to Beyrout, on the north, is Biblium,¹ the first city of the patriarchate of Antioch. This place is spoken of in Ezekiel xxvii., in the praise of Tyre, and in 1 Kings, where it is said that Solomon's workmen came from Biblium. At this day the city is called Gibeth (Gibelet), and is small enough. Three leagues from Biblium is Botros (Botrys), once a rich city, but now utterly destroyed. Three leagues further is the castle and village of Nemsyn (Nephim), standing almost on the seashore and strongly fortified. Two leagues from thence is Tripoli, a notable city, on the seashore. Therein dwell Greeks, Latins, Armenians, Maronites, and Nestorians, and (men of) many nations. Much work in silk is wrought therein. I have heard for a truth that there are therein twelve hundred weavers of silk and camlet. Mount Lebanon ends three leagues beyond Tripoli. At its foot rises the Fount of Gardens, the stream that runs swiftly down from Lebanon, and waters all the gardens and the plain round about Tripoli. Upon its banks many religious houses are built, and many Greek and Armenian churches. Indeed, of this fount, that which is spoken in the Book of Esther is true: 'From a little fountain was made a great flood, even much water.'² Two leagues from Tripoli is the Mount of Leopards, which is round to behold, and pretty high. At its foot, on the north side, is a cave wherein there is a tomb, twenty feet long, which the Saracens devoutly visit, saying that it is Joshua's tomb. This I do not believe, because the text says that he was buried on the side of Mount Ephraim, under square 46. I rather believe that this is the tomb of one of the children of Noah, or of someone like them, whom we can prove to

¹ Gebal in the A.V., now 'Jebeil.' 1 Kings v. 18, where there is a marginal reading 'Giblites' instead of 'stone-squarers,' Ezek. xxvii. 9.

² Esther xii. 10 (Apocrypha). Compare Esther x. 6.

have dwelt in these parts. Another three leagues to the north of that cave may be seen the castle of Arachs (Arachis), which Aracheus, the son of Canaan, built after the flood, as we learn from the gloss on Genesis and 1 Chronicles. Across the plain, eight leagues further, one comes to Antiaradum, or 'Before Aradus.'¹ This is an island half a league distant from the mainland. In Antiaradus St. Peter preached for a long time when he was on his way to Antioch, as we are told in Clement's Itinerary.² Clement also found his mother there. There, too, St. Peter caused the first church, dedicated to St. Mary, to be built. Six leagues beyond Antiaradus is the castle of Margat, which belongs to the brethren of St. John's Hospital. It is well fortified, and stands on a high mountain, one league away from the sea, near the city of Valania. The bishop's palace once stood in this city, but because of the insults of the Saracens it has been removed into the castle.

The kingdom of Jerusalem ends with the city of Valania, and the river of the same name which flows through it, and the patriarchate of Antioch begins. This place is eight days' journey distant from Acre, and it is four days' journey from it to Antioch. Antioch stands in the province of Coele-Syria, which begins at the river Euphrates and ends at the river Valania, which flows beneath the castle of Margat and falls into the Great Sea near the town of Valania, wherein was a bishop's palace, as aforesaid. In this same province is Laodicea, Apamea, and other minor towns. Syria Phoenice is a different province; it begins at the aforesaid river of Valania on the north, and reaches to the south as far as Petra Incisa beneath Mount Carmel, which place is nowadays called Pilgrims' Castle.³

¹ 'The island of Ruad, which lies off Tortosa.'—*Dict. of Bible*.

² Tobler knows nothing about Clement's Itinerary. ³ Fabri, ii. 354

In this Syria there are the following cities: Margat, Antiaradum, Tripoli, Beyrout, Sidon, Tyre, Acre, Capernaum. Another province is Syria of Damascus or of Lebanon, whose capital city is Damascus, and Mount Lebanon has renown therein. But all the land from the river Tigris even to Egypt is called generally Syria. Now, the first part thereof, which lies between the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, reaches a long way from north to south, that is to say, from Mount Taurus to the Red Sea, and is called Syria Mesopotamia, being, as it were, in the midst of the waters, and contains many nations, Parthians and Medes, who are bounded on the south by Chaldaea. Next one goes to Antioch, where all the faithful, who had before been called Galilaeans, were called Christians. At this day they are called Nazarenes by the Saracens. There was St. Peter's see, and therein Galen was born, who taught medicine to his nephew, St. Luke the Evangelist. This city was called Rablath up to the time of King Antiochus. At the beginning of Coele-Syria towards the west is the city of Tarsus, whence came St. Paul.

Also, five miles to the east of the aforesaid city of Acre, may be seen a kind of village called St. George's.¹ At this place we are told that St. Jerome (St. George) was born. South of it stands the city of Naason, whereof we read in Tobit. Two leagues from thence is Dothaim, at the foot of the Mount of Bethulia, which Holofernes would have taken by storm. Two leagues to the east of Naason, and three leagues from Dothaim, is Neptalim, the city of Tobit, which is built like a village.² Four leagues east of Neptalim, beside the Sea of Galilee, is Bethsaida, the city of Andrew and Peter. Two leagues to the south of this

¹ Sandsorti.

² *Casale*. See Ernoul, p. 58, note 4, in 'The City of Jerusalem.' Ducange says: *Certus Casarum numerus, villa, suburbanum, προαστυιον.*

place is the castle of Magdalon, on the Sea of Galilee, from which the Magdalen took her name. One league east of Bethsaida is the place where Christ stood on the seashore and said to the seven disciples, 'Children, have ye any meat?' His footprints may be seen on a stone. To the east is Capernaum, wherein Christ worked many miracles (Matt. xi.). Two leagues further to the east the Jordan runs into the Sea of Galilee. On the upper part of its bank may be seen Chorazin. At this place begins the ascent of Mount Saair (Seir). Four leagues east of Chorazin is Cedar, once a well-fortified city, wherefore it is written, 'I have dwelt with them of Cedar.'¹ Four leagues east of Acre is Cana of Galilee, where Christ turned the water into wine. The place of the wedding feast is a cave hewn out of the rock, which holds a few men, and the places are shown where stood the water-pots and the seats, and where the tables were set. These places are underground, like very many other holy places, as that of Christ's annunciation and nativity. Two leagues to the south of Cana of Galilee is the city of Sephor (Sepphoris). Beyond it, towards Tiberias, above Dothaim, is Mount Bethulia as aforesaid. Seven leagues from Bethulia, on the Sea of Galilee, is Tiberias; it was called Tiberias when Herod was tetrarch. At that place there are medicinal baths on the seashore. South of Acre, yet turned away a little to the east, is Nazareth, the beloved city, where the Flower of flowers budded from the root of Jesse. It is seven leagues from Acre. This is the Saviour's own city. Jesus was called a Nazarene because He was brought up therein. Here bubbles up a little fountain, from which the boy Jesus was wont to draw and fetch water for His mother. Three leagues east of Nazareth is Mount Tabor, whereon Christ was transfigured, and one may seek there for the

¹ So runs the Vulgate version of Psalm cxx. 4.

place of the three tabernacles. In this mount there are hollow places and caves beneath the ruins of splendid buildings, wherein lurk lions and other beasts. As one comes down the mount there is a chapel on the west side, (at the place) where the Lord said, 'Tell no man what ye have seen.' Beyond the valley of this mount, between the south and the east, is the little hill of Hermon, spoken of in the Psalms. Four leagues from Nazareth, and one from Mount Tabor, is the other Mount Hermon, on whose north side is the city of Nain, where the Lord raised the widow's son from the dead. This mount reaches eastward for about five leagues toward the Sea of Galilee. Mount Gilboa and Mount Hermon stand in such sort that Hermon is on the north and Gilboa on the south, and between them a plain two leagues wide and four leagues long. In the days of old there were great wars and battles on this plain. Here Gideon overthrew the Midianites, and here Saul was overthrown by the Philistines, who hung his head over the walls of the city of Bethsan, which stands between the Jordan and Gilboa.

Galilee is nearly all flat and plain country. On one side it adjoins the Holy Land, wherein stands Bethsaida; on the other hand, Samaria is mountainous. In it is Sebaste, once a noble city of the kings of Israel, but now utterly ruined and desolate save only two churches. One of these is on the top of the mountain where once stood the royal palace; the other is dedicated to John the Baptist, who was buried therein between Elisha and Obadiah, having been, as it is believed, brought thither from the town of Machaerunta, which is between Jordan and Sebaste. Two leagues south of Sebaste is Mount Bethel. One league further is Mount Dan, overhanging the city of Shechem on the left hand. It was upon these two mounts that Jeroboam set up golden calves and made

Israel to sin. Between these two mounts stands the city of Shechem, which is likewise called Neapolis, full of manifold pleasant places; but it is not and could not be fortified. Should an enemy come from the north, the citizens, if they be the fewer, can do nought save flee toward the south. It was to Shechem that Joseph's bones were brought from Egypt and buried. Hard by is the parcel of the field¹ which Jacob gave to his son Joseph. Not far from the gate of the city is Jacob's well, on which the Lord sat and begged for water from the woman of Samaria, and in this place there was a church. On the right hand of Shechem is Mount Gerizim. Thereon may be seen to this day the ancient temple of Jove, and hospice for strangers, whereof we read in the Second Book of Maccabees.² This is the mount which we are told the woman meant, when she said: 'Our fathers worshipped in this mountain.' One league from Shechem is the city called Luz, wherein Abraham dwelt. In this place some say Jacob slept and saw the ladder, when he said: 'How dreadful is this place!' and called the name of the place Bethel, which before had been called Luz, which was, being interpreted, 'The Lord seeth.' But some say that it † was on Mount Calvary, whereon I, John Poloner, was the last to see the story of the sacrifice set forth in mosaic work in the place where Christ was offered up. So also some say that the place where Jacob slept and saw the ladder was Mount Moriah, or the grassy mount (Abraham's mount) whereon Solomon afterwards built the Lord's Temple.

The plain between the Jordan and Jericho is called Gilgala. Half a league from it is Mount Quarantena, where the Lord fasted forty days, and was tempted there by the devil. Others say that it was a high mountain nearer Galilee, two leagues from the aforesaid mount, on

¹ Gen. xxxiii. 19; Josh. xxiv. 32.

² 2 Macc. vi. 2.

whose top was a chapel. Here he showed Him all the kingdoms of the world. At the foot of this mount rises and runs Elisha's fountain, which he turned from bitter into sweet and drinkable water. One mile from Gilgal is Jericho, once a noble city but now brought so low that there is no trace left of its having been a city. Zacchaeus was of this place. As one goes down from Jerusalem to Jericho, just at the end of the mountains, before the plain begins, they show a place by the roadside where the blind man sat by the roadside begging. Here was once a church. On the road which leads to Jerusalem, four leagues from Jericho, at a village on the left hand of the Quarantena wilderness, is where the man fell among thieves. Three miles south of Jericho is St. Jerome's¹ monastery in a vast wilderness which is so scorched by the sun's rays that there is there no green thing. He abode there for four years. From Jericho it is two leagues to the Jordan, where is shown a chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist. The people of Israel walked over Jordan dryshod. Naaman the leper was cleansed in Jordan. Christ was baptized in Jordan. Three leagues, or six Italian miles, from Jericho, two leagues south of St. John's chapel, is the Dead Sea. On its eastern shore stands Zoar in Arabia, where is the statue of salt into which Lot's wife was turned, which it is dangerous to go and see because of the Midianites who dwell there. The sea sometimes swells so high as to cover the whole of the statue, and again it sinks till the statue can be seen at one time as far as the breast, at another as far as the knees: for the statue stands between Segor (Zoar) and the Dead Sea. This sea is six leagues wide. By the continual smoke and stench the whole of the valley, which once was called glorious, has been made so barren for a space of ten days' journey that it bears no grass or any growing thing; moreover, all the

¹ Fabri, vol. ii., part 1, p. 174.

mountains to the right and to the left are barren for six leagues. Above this place, as thou goest down into Arabia, is Carnaim, a watch-tower¹ of the Moabites, to which Balaam was brought down to curse when the ass whereon he rode spoke to him. This sea divides Judaea from Arabia.

In the days of the children of Israel Arabia was a wilderness² and solitary place, wherein the Lord kept them for forty years, raining manna upon them from heaven. Here it was that the pillar of fire went before them by night, and the cloud encompassed them by day, and here were the forty stations of the children of Israel (Exodus, and Numbers xxxiii.). Note that Arabia joins Idumaea in the neighbourhood of Bostron. Idumaea³ is the land of Damascus. Damascus is the capital of Syria. Lebanon divides Idumaea from Phoenicia; in Phoenicia is the city of Tyre. In Arabia is the vale of Moses, wherein he struck the rock and the waters gushed out. In Arabia is Mount Sinai, where the law was given to Moses. In Arabia is the mount whereon Aaron is buried. In Arabia is Mount Abarim, where the Lord buried Moses, whose sepulchre is nowhere to be seen. In Arabia is the place called Petra in the Wilderness, or Monreal⁴ (2 Kings xiv. 7⁵). In a high place beyond Jordan, near the city of Rabath, belonging to the children of Ammon, at the end of the Holy Land, was the castle, to wit, Petra in the Wilderness, a strong enough place, which Baldwin, the first King of the Latins at Jerusalem, built to defend the kingdom.

¹ Text has *spelunca*, I conjecture *specula*. See John of Würzburg, ch. xxii.; Theoderich, ch. xxxv.; Fetellus, p. 21, note.

² Theoderich, ch. xxxi., *fn.*

³ Fetellus, p. 22, note 1.

⁴ Baldwin's castle of Monreal was on the site of the old city of Diban, in Moab, not at Petra. See Fabri, ii., p. 182; John of Würzburg, ch. xxii., etc.

⁵ 'He slew of Edom in the valley of salt ten thousand, and took Selah by war, and called the name of it Joktheel unto this day.' Compare Isa. xvi. 1.

OF THE LAND OF EGYPT.

Egypt is a level and warm country. It seldom rains there, but the country is watered by the river Gihon, which is also called Nile. This river has seven arms, running through divers lands. It breeds wild horses and crocodiles innumerable, which are shaped like lizards, having four feet, thick short legs, sharp claws like a bear, and a head like a lizard. When they come forth from the water on to the land, they kill whatever men and beasts they are able. A lamb and a goat scarce suffices them for a single meal. The Nile begins to rise from the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist until the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, and then it falls until the Epiphany, when the dry land appears. The farmer sows his seed, and harvests it in March. All kinds of vegetables are gathered from the Feast of St. Martin to early in March, and the same with the fruit of orchards. Sheep and goats bear young ones twice in the year.

You must know that there are three Babylons: the first stands upon the river Thabor (Tigris). Herein Nebuchadnezzar was king. The second is in Egypt, and is that over which Pharaoh bore rule. These two are in ruins. The third, of which we are now treating, is likewise in Egypt. Adjoining this is the city called Cairo, wherein is the Soldan's own royal palace, and it is one and the same city with New Babylon. In this city there are five nations, to wit, Romans, Greeks, Jacobite Christians, Saracens, and Jews. There is a Jacobite church, called Our Lady of Laza,¹ which is of wondrous beauty, and is the patriarchal church of the Jacobites. Therein is a pillar, from which came forth

¹ Laza is a country in Asia, near the ancient Colchis (Procopius de Aed., iii. 7 and v. 9). Tobler observes that by Jacobites we must here understand Copts to be meant.

a voice saying: 'Go, seek ye . . . this man removeth mountains.' There is also there a church dedicated to St. Barbara, where her body rests. Now, between Babylon and Cairo there are fifteen Christian churches, among which one is holier than the rest. In this there is an underground chapel, where is the place in which the Blessed Virgin dwelt with her son Jesus and Joseph, when she fled from the land of Israel. There is a cross made for a sign on the place where the Babe used to sleep. So this is hallowed above all the other churches, and is called the Church of Our Lady of Cana in Babylon. In Cairo there was an exceeding ancient palm-tree,¹ which bowed itself down to the Blessed Virgin that she might gather dates from it, and afterwards raised itself up and stood as before. We read that the tower of Babel measured outside, from one edge to the other, one thousand and twenty paces, and that the thickness of its wall was three hundred paces, because they meant to build it up to the level of the moon.

Gaza, or Gazara, is three days' journey from Jerusalem, and is one of the five cities of the Philistines. Samson took away its gates, and carried them up to the top of a hill. Three days' journey from Gaza is Domata, a city of Egypt, where Jeremiah was stoned.² The second Ackaron³ is one of the five cities of the Philistines, ten leagues from Ascalon toward Joppa, not far from the sea. Beersheba lies between the hill-country and the city of Gaza. Gath also was one of the five cities of the Philistines, standing not far from Lydda and Ramula. Out of its ruins the castle Jebellum has been built upon the same hill. This town and castle of Jebelon (*sic*), which of old was called

¹ Tobler, 'Descriptiones,' p. 409; 'The City of Jerusalem' (Ernoul), p. 49.

² See art. 'Jeremiah' and 'Tahpanes' in Dict. of Bible.

³ Ekron. He calls it the second, because Acre and Ekron were confused by mediæval writers. See Anon., ii., p. 5, note.

Beersheba, and the castle of Blanczgarde,¹ were built to withstand the insolence of the Ascalonites. King Herod, in whose time Christ was born, was a native of Ascalon. Three miles from it stands the castle of Blanczgarde. On the seashore, not far from Ekron, stands Joppa, where St. Peter raised Tabitha from the dead.

¹ 'Blanche-garde.'

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