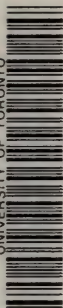


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BURCHARD

OF MOUNT SION.

A.D. 1280.

Translated from the Original Latin

BY

AUBREY STEWART, M.A.

WITH GEOGRAPHICAL NOTES

BY

LIEUT.-COL. C. R. CONDER, R.E., LL.D., Etc.



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PREFACE.

BURCHARD OF MOUNT SION was a German, a native either of Strasburg or of Magdeburg, and lived in the thirteenth century. He became a monk of the Dominican Order, and went to the East in 1232. Here he visited Egypt, Syria, and what was then called Armenia, being the ancient kingdom of Cilicia. He is said to have passed ten years at the monastery of Mount Sion at Jerusalem, and did not return to Europe till late in life. The date of his death is not known.

The tone of his writings, considering the age in which he lived, is remarkably tolerant, and the accuracy of his descriptions has, in many instances, led M. d'Anville to follow him as a guide. J. C. M. Laurent, from whose edition of Burchard I have made this translation, declares him to be the most notable of all mediaeval pilgrims whatsoever. Yet, although his excellence has led to his book being more than twenty times edited, none of his previous editors give a perfect text, and none agree as to his name which occurs as Borcardus, Brocardus, Berghadus, etc.

Burchard himself, Laurent goes on to say, made two editions of his book ; the first was put forth privately in the form of a letter with a map, and its success led to a corrected copy being published as a book. Hence arise the remarkable discrepancies in the text which appear when one edition is compared with another. For instance, in the 'City of Jerusalem' in this series, p. 12, Colonel Conder has quoted the words 'Relictis tamen vestigiis prioris concavitatis,' showing that in the Middle Ages the Tyropoeon valley was not so much filled up as it now is. These words do not occur in Laurent's text, but in chapter viii. the corresponding passage runs: 'At this day the whole of this torrent-bed is filled up; nevertheless, its traces may be made out after a fashion.'

Laurent quotes two passages from Henricus Canisius, who printed the earlier edition of our author. In both of these passages Burchard alludes familiarly to places in and about Magdeburg as measures of distance, from which Laurent thinks that we may safely assume him to have been a German, if not a native of that city.

A more important consideration is the date of his writings, and of his visit to Palestine. The events which he mentions prove that he wrote after the years 1260, 1263, 1268, and 1271, and before 1291 and 1285 ; so that the date 1283, though not set down by himself, seems likely to be the true one. Some writers say that he passed the ten years 1275—1285 in the Holy Land (see M. V. le Clerc, 'Histoire Littéraire de la France,' xxi. 182). He certainly passed two years there, from what he says in chapter iv.

He was there in the reign of Malek-al-Mansour Calavun,¹ Soldan of Egypt, the successor of Bibars, and wrote eight years before the end of the Crusades in the time of Henry, King of Cyprus and Jerusalem, and during the ten years' truce which Calavun made in the year 1282 with the Templars and Hospitallers. His title of De Monte Sion is supposed to be derived from his long residence in the convent there, but there seems to be no positive evidence to prove this.

Burchard was sincerely free from bigotry, although he seems to have been singularly pious. His charity to other sects is remarkable, and his reading appears to have been extensive. He shows much intelligence, both in learning what he could during his travels, and in digesting the information which he received. He lived among heretics and infidels, Nestorians, Armenians, and Syrians, as though they were his brethren. More than any other contemporary writer he shows that strange mixture of courage and humility, of faith and curiosity, which seems the characteristic of Crusaders in the thirteenth century, the heroic period of the Middle Ages. He was able to visit towns now destroyed, and flourishing regions which are now waste. He was not, of course, without credulity, and mixes fabulous tales and sage reflections together, but, in the words of M. V. le Clerc, 'Il faut reconnaître chez ce religieux un esprit fort élevé, qui, au moment où les croisades finissent, raconte avec une naïveté admirable ce qu'il a vu ou cru voir. Nous devons à sa curiosité attentive des observations importantes

¹ El-Melek El-Mansûr Kalaûn (1279-90).

de géographie et d'histoire naturelle' (' Histoire Littéraire de la France,' xxi. 182).

Fabri (i. 4, 17) mentions Burchard by name; Marino Sanuto transcribed many passages from his book, which, indeed, has been plagiarized by other pilgrims also—a sincere tribute to its excellence. It is from Burchard that succeeding generations of pilgrims have derived the tiresome geographical subdivisions of Palestine, Syria and Arabia, the eternal 'caput Syriae Damascus,' and the rambling talk about Ituraea and Trachonitis, which they all repeat with more or less inaccuracy. Burchard writes good mediaeval Latin, and quotes Horace as well as Jerome and Eusebius. Unfortunately, he describes the Holy Land by means of several lines (*divisiones*) radiating from the city of Acre, an arrangement which does not tend to clearness of definition, but which has been copied, together with much else, by Marino Sanuto.

The topography has been annotated by Lieut.-Colonel C. R. Conder, R.E., LL.D.

AUBREY STEWART.

LONDON, 1896.

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A DESCRIPTION OF THE HOLY LAND, BY BURCHARD OF MOUNT SION.

PREFACE.

ST. JEROME¹ tells us that we read in ancient histories about men who have visited countries and crossed seas to the end that they might behold with their eyes the things whereof they had read in books. Thus, Plato visited the soothsayers of Memphis, and Apollonius went to Egypt; he also entered Persia, crossed the Caucasus, and the countries of the Albanians, Scythians, Massagetae, India, and the Brachmans, that he might see Iarchas,² and finally went to Egypt, that he might see the famous table of the sun in the sandy desert. What wonder, then, if Christians long to behold and visit the land whereof all Christ's Churches tell us? The men of old venerated the Holy of Holies, because therein was the ark of the covenant, the cherubim with the

¹ Epistola liii., ad Paulinum: 'De Studio Scripturarum.' The passage, which Burchardus seems to quote from memory, runs thus: '*Legimus in veteribus historiis, quosdam lustrasse provincias, novos adisse populos, maria transisse, ut eos quos ex libris noverant, coram quoque viderent. Sic Pythagoras Memphiticos vates; sic Plato Ægyptum et Architam Tarentinum. . . . Apollonius intravit Persas,*' etc.

² The original letter of St. Jerome has '*Hiarcam in throno sedentem aureo, et de Tantali fonte potantem.*' An account of this story will be found in Philostratus's 'Life of Apollonius,' book iii., ch. xvi.

mercy-seat, the manna, and Aaron's rod that flowered—all of which were types of things to come. Is not Christ's sepulchre more to be worshipped by us, which, whenever any man enters, so many times seeth he with his mind's eyes the Saviour lying there wrapped in linen clothes? And when he has gone a little further, he sees the stone rolled away, and the angel sitting thereon, and showing to the women the napkin with the grave-clothes. What Christian, when he hath seen these, would not hasten to come unto Bethlehem, to see the Babe weeping in the manger; Mary brought to bed in the inn beneath the hollow rock, which is to be seen at this day; the angels singing glory to God and peace to men in the presence of the shepherds; and, greatest wonder of all, to see the three Magi in their noble majesty kneeling before the manger, with no roof above their heads save the overhanging rock? Thence let him return to Jerusalem, that he may see and hear Jesus preaching in the Temple, teaching His disciples on the Mount of Olives, supping on Mount Sion, washing His disciples' feet, giving them His Body and Blood, praying in Gethsemane, sweating blood, kissing His betrayer, being dragged away prisoner, mocked, spat upon, judged, bearing His cross, sinking beneath the weight of the cross before the very gate of the city that is to be seen at this day, helped by Simon of Cyrene, and for our sake celebrating the mysteries of His Passion on Calvary. The memory of each and every one of these places is still as full and complete as it was on that day when these things were done therein. Of a truth, there are in the city so many places hallowed by the events of our Lord's Passion, that one day can in no wise suffice for visiting them all profitably. Besides these, there are other things there which rouse men in those places to a greater degree of devotional fervour. Who could tell how many monks and nuns from Georgia, Greater and Lesser Armenia,

Chaldaeae, Syria, Media, Persia, India, Aethiopia, Nubia, Nabatena, of the Maronite, Jacobite, Nestorian, Greek, Syrian and other sects, at this day roam over that land in troops of one or two hundred each, more or less, visit each holy place, and with burning zeal kiss the castle and worship the spots on which they have heard that sweet Jesus sate, stood, or wrought any work? Beating their breasts, weeping, groaning, and sighing by turns, the outward bodily show of the religious feeling which they no doubt possess inwardly, moves many even of the Saracens to tears. O Lord God, I see Abraham, as the ancient histories tell us, leaving his country, his family, and his father's house, and hastening to this land, pitching his tent between Bethel and Ai, sojourning in Gerar, in Beersheba, and in Hebron. I see Ezekiel leaving the waters of Babylon, and borne by the hair of his head betwixt heaven and earth, winging his way to Jerusalem. What shall I say of the glorious Virgin, who, after the annunciation made to her by the angel, and the promise whereby she knew that her womb was made the House of God, was not content with the wide and fair plains of Galilee, but straightway hastened to go up to the hill country of Judaea, desiring to be nearer to the holy places? What shall I say about the patriarch Jacob, and Joseph and his brethren, who, because they could not dwell in that land during their lives, chose to be buried therein after their deaths?

What more need I say? Well may we groan over the lukewarmness of the Christian people of our time, who, having so many and such great examples before their eyes, hesitate to snatch away from the hands of the enemy that land which Christ Jesus hallowed with His blood, and whose praises are daily sung by the Church throughout all the world: for what hour is there of the day or night all the year round wherein every devout Christian doth not by

singing, reading, chanting, preaching, and meditating, read what hath been done or written in this land and in its cities and holy places ?

Seeing, however, that some are possessed by a desire to picture to their minds those things which they are not able to behold with their eyes, and wishing to fulfil their longing, as far as in me lieth, I have, to the best of my ability, thought about, diligently taken note of, and laboriously described that land, over which my feet have often passed ; for I would have the reader to know that I have set down in this my description nought save what I have either seen with mine own eyes, when at the place itself, or, when I could not come at it, what I have seen from some neighbouring mountain-top or other convenient place, and have carefully noted the answers given by the Syrian or Saracen, or other people of the land, whom I most diligently questioned.

Indeed, as I have already said, I have either walked on foot all over the whole land, from Dan to Beersheba, from the Dead Sea to the Mediterranean Sea, which are its boundaries, or else I have carefully made inquiries about the places which I could not come at.

Considering how I might describe this profitably, so that the mind of my reader might easily understand what I have to tell, I thought that I would choose some central point, and arrange the whole land round about it in due order. For this centre I have chosen the city of Acre, as being better known than any other. Yet this city is not in the midst of the land, but stands by the seaside on its western boundary. Thence I have drawn four lines, corresponding to the four quarters of the world ; and each quarter I have divided into three parts, to the end that those twelve divisions may answer to the twelve winds of heaven. In each of these divisions I have placed the cities and places mentioned in Scripture, that it may be easy to find the

situation of each place, and the part of the world wherein it lies.¹

HERE BEGINNETH THE FIRST DIVISION OF THE HOLY
LAND.

I. You must know at the beginning that of what we call the Holy Land, which fell to the lot of the twelve tribes of Israel, one part was called the Kingdom of Judah, and belonged to two tribes, to wit, Judah and Benjamin ; the other part was called the Kingdom of Samaria, that is to say, of the city which at this day is called Sebaste, and was the capital city of the remaining ten tribes, who were called Israel. Both these kingdoms, together with all the land of Philistia, were called Palestine, which was a province of Syria, even as Saxony or Franconia are provinces of Germany, and Lombardy and Tuscany are provinces of Italy.²

That this may be more fully understood, take note that there are many Syrias, called by different names. The whole land between the river Tigris and Egypt is called Syria generally ; but its first part, that which lies between the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, whose longest part reaches from north to south, to wit, from Mount Taurus even to the Red Sea, this part is called Syria Mesopotamia, because it stands in the midst of the waters, and it contains many nations : for instance, the Parthians and the Medes. It is bounded on the south by Chaldaea, wherein is Babylonia, and this, again, is bounded on the south by Arabia, which reaches as far as the Red Sea, which in those parts is called the Arabian Gulf. It is the first part of this entire province of Mesopotamia—the part, I mean, toward the north—

¹ See note on the map in 'Marino Sanuto.'

² See preface to Poloner.

which is specially named Mesopotamia of Syria. In this part stands the city of Edissa,¹ anciently called Races, now Rasc. This is Syria the first.

Syria the second is Coele Syria, which begins at the river Euphrates, and ends at the stream of Valania, which runs past the castle of Margat, and falls into the Mediterranean Sea at the city of Valania, which is the see of a Bishop, one league away from the aforesaid castle. In this province of Coele Syria stands the city of Antioch, with its dependencies, to wit, Laodicea, Apamea, and many others.

The third Syria is Phoenician Syria, which begins on the north at the aforesaid river of Valania, and reaches to the southward even to Petra Incisa, or the wilderness at the foot of Mount Carmel, which place at this day is called Pilgrims' Castle, and belongs to the Knights Templars. In it there are many cities—for instance, Margat, Antaradus, Tripoli, Beyrout, Sidon, Tyre, Acre, Capernaum. It is called Phoenician Syria after Phoenice, the daughter of Agenor who was Cadmus's brother. He built Tyre, and made it the chief city of this land, and called the land after his name.

The fourth is Syria of Damascus, whereof Damascus is the capital city. This adjoins the third Syria, Phoenician Syria, on the east side thereof. This fourth Syria is also called Syria of Lebanon, because the famous Mount Lebanon is contained therein.

Next to this fourth Syria, to wit, Syria of Phoenicia (*sic*), cometh Palestine, which should properly be called Philistiim, because there are three Palestines, as follows, but all three are parts of Greater Syria. Palestine the first is that province whose capital city is Jerusalem, together with all the hill country appertaining thereunto, even to the Dead Sea

¹ See Ludolph von Suchem, p. 81, note; Marino Sanuto, p. 1; Jacques de Vitry, cxxxii.

and even to the wilderness and to Kadesh Barnea. The capital of Palestine the second is Caesarea of Palestine, also called Caesarea by the Sea, together with all the land of Philistim, beginning at Petra Incisa, or Pilgrims' Castle, and reaching southward as far as Bashan. The third Palestine is that whose capital is Bethshan, near the Jordan, at the foot of Mount Gilboa. This city was once called Scythopolis. This Palestine is properly called Galilee, or the great plain of Esdraelon.

There are likewise three Arabias, which in like manner are parts of Greater Syria. The first is that whose capital is Bostrum, now called Buzereth, but of old Bosra.¹ This province is bounded on the west by the district of Trachonitis and Ituraea,² and on the north by Damascus. For this cause Syria of Damascus is sometimes called Arabia. This is why³ Arethas was called King of Arabia, whereas in truth he was King of Damascus. The second Arabia is that whose capital is the city of Petra, of old called Rabbath, on the brook Arnon. This Arabia was the country of the children of Ammon, albeit the city of Ar was in the land of Moab. It also contained the kingdom of Sihon, the King of Heshbon,⁴ and the kingdom of Og, the King of Bashan, and Mount Gilead.⁵ It bounds the first Arabia on the south side. Arabia the third is that whose capital is Montreal, also called Krach,⁶ which once was called Petra in the Wilderness,⁷ standing near

¹ Bostrum is Bostra, now *Basrah*, in Bashan.

² Ituraea, now the *Jedûr* district, but see p. 23.

³ Josephus, 'Ant.,' xiv. 1, 4; B. J., i. 6, 2.

⁴ Num. xxxii. 33.

⁵ Num. xxi. 33.

⁶ Petra was known about 1100 A.D., when Baldwin I. marched to it, and built Montreal (*Shôbek*) near it. It was forgotten after the loss of Jerusalem.

⁷ Kerak was not identical with Montreal. See Poloner, pp. 14, 25, 40; Fabri, ii., p. 182; John of Würzburg, ch. xxii., etc.; and Ludolph von Suchem, p. 118, note; also Isa. xvi. 1, where 'Sela' in the A.V.

the Dead Sea. This Arabia contains the land of Moab, which should properly be called Syria Sobal, and all Idumaea, which is Mount Seir, and all the country round about the Dead Sea even unto Kadesh Barnea and Ezion Geber, and the Waters of Strife, and towards the Red Sea across the widest part of the wilderness even unto the river Euphrates. This is Great Arabia, wherein is Mecca, the city wherein the abominable Mahomet lies buried.

Let what hath been said suffice about the lands adjoining the Holy Land. I have taken the greater part thereof from the works¹ of the venerable father in God, the Lord James of Vitry, Legate of the Holy Roman Church in the Holy Land, albeit I have seen most of these places with my own eyes.

Let me now turn my pen to a particular description of the land which fell to the lot of the ten tribes.

II. First of all, then, you must know, as is aforesaid, that I have divided the Holy Land into four parts, which answer to the four quarters of the heavens, to wit, east, west, south, and north, so that the whole of the western division looks upon the Mediterranean Sea, as also do those parts of the southern and northern division which adjoin the western. I will therefore begin in the straight line with the city of Acre, anciently called Ptolemais, proceeding northwards to describe the cities and places situated on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea.

We start, then, in our description with the city of Acre,

is 'Petra' in the Vulgate. See also the fragment 'Historia Hierosolimitana,' Bongars, p. 1156: 'Est castrum quod Erathum dicunt, ubi civitas olim, civitas Petras nomine, nunc vero metropolis. Castrum illum in Regni sinu penitioris consistens. . . . Est et castrum, quod Mons Regalis dicitur, quod ab urbe jam dicta xx leucarum interjectum distans, ulterius versus Aegyptum secedit.'

¹ J. de Vitry, chs. xxviii., lvi. and xcvi.; pp. 1068, 1077 and 1119 in Bongars's *Gesta Dei per Francos*.

and go on in a straight line from thence toward Tyre, and then to the cities beyond it, which shall be described in their place. Be it known, however, that this city never was part of the Holy Land, nor was it ever possessed by the children of Israel, albeit in the division of the land among them it was given to the tribe of Asshur, but they of Asshur never held it. It stands in the province of Phoenicia. Four leagues to the south is Mount Carmel and the town of Haifa, standing at the foot of the same mountain beyond the brook Kishon, where Elijah the prophet slew the priests of Baal.

The province of Phoenicia, or Syria of Phoenicia, extends three leagues to the southward of this place, even to Petra Incisa, which is called Pilgrims' Castle. This place marks the southern boundary of Phoenicia.

The city of Acre is fortified with walls, outworks, towers, ditches, and barbicans of very great strength, and is triangular in shape like a shield, whereof two sides look upon the Mediterranean Sea, and the third upon the plain round about it. This plain is more than two leagues wide in some parts, and in some parts less; it is very fertile, both in ploughed land and in meadows, vineyards, and gardens, wherein grow divers sorts of fruits. There are in the city many strong places, castles, and citadels belonging to the Knights of the Hospital, the Temple, and the Teutonic Order. This city belongs to the King¹ of Jerusalem, and hath a good and roomy harbour on the south side wherein ships may be moored.

Four leagues to the north of this, Casale Lamberti² stands by the sea-shore, abounding likewise in vineyards, gardens, and running waters, at the foot of Mount Sharon.

¹ Either Hugh of Cyprus or Charles of Sicily, who at this time were disputing the title of King of Jerusalem.

² Casale Lambert (or Imbert) is now *Hamsin*, north of Acre.

Three leagues thence, after one has crossed over Mount Sharon, is the Castle Scandalium,¹ which Alexander the Great is said to have built when he was besieging Tyre. Baldwin,² King of Jerusalem, rebuilt it, and gave it into the keeping of certain nobles who take their title from it. It abounds in meadows, pasturelands, plantations of figs, olives, and vines, in running waters and gardens.

A little more than a league from thence is that noble well of living water, a bow-shot away from the road that leads to Tyre.³ Its waters,⁴ we are told in the Song of Songs, run down from Lebanon. Though⁵ it be called a well in the singular number, yet there are four wells, of the same shape, but of different sizes. The chief one, which is square, measures forty cubits in length and in breadth, according as I myself measured it. The other three measure about twenty-five. They all are fenced about with exceeding strong walls of very hard stones joined together with unbreakable masonwork, to the height of a lance, or even higher. In these wells the water collects and rises, so that it overflows the walls on every side. But watercourses lead from that place, which lead down by channels as deep and as wide as the height of a man, as I know by actual experiment, having myself entered the watercourse through which the water runs. The people of Tyre lead this water about to all parts of the plain, and therewith water gardens, orchards, vineyards, and sugar-canes, which grow there in great quantities,

¹ Scandalium is now *Iskanderûneh*, south of Tyre.

² Baldwin I., 1116, rebuilt Scandalium. Cf. Ludolph, ch. xxvii., p. 62, in this series.

³ This spring (*Râs el 'Ain*) is at Palae Tyrus, near Tyre on the south.

⁴ Cant. iv. 15: 'A fountain of gardens, a well of living waters, and streams from Lebanon.'

⁵ Marino Sanuto, iii. xiv. 2 (p. 7 in this series), reproduces this passage.

from which the Lord of Tyre receives great revenues. These wells stand a little more than a bow-shot from the Mediterranean Sea, and in that short space they turn six good-sized mill-wheels, and then straightway fall into the sea. These fountains seem literally to suit the passage in Ecclesiasticus, 'I will water my best garden, and will abundantly water my garden bed: and lo, my brook became a river, and my river became a sea' (Ecclus. xxiv. 31). These waters are a great convenience to the inhabitants.

Less than a league from this well is the city of Tyre. It stands on the sea-shore. Its praise has been sufficiently set forth in Ezekiel,¹ Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the other books of Holy Scripture. It used to have a stream of that living water aforesaid brought thither through wondrous pipes and pyramids,² whose ruins may be seen even to this day. All these places I have visited and seen with my own eyes.

The city of Tyre is said to have been built by Thiras, son of Japhet, after the flood.³ It was restored by Phoenice, as aforesaid, and became the capital of Phoenicia. It has a vast circuit of walls, greater in my opinion than that of the city of Acre, and is of a round shape, standing in the sea upon an exceeding hard rock fenced about on all sides by the sea save only on the eastern point of the city, where first Nebuchadnezzar, and afterwards Alexander, joined it to the mainland for the space of a stone's-throw. At this place it is fenced with three walls, strong and high, and twenty-five feet thick. These walls are yet further strengthened by twelve exceeding strong towers, than which I never have seen better ones in any part of the world. The citadel adjoins these towers; it is an exceeding strong castle, standing on a rock in the sea, fenced likewise with

¹ Ezek. xxvii. 2, 3, 4, 8, 32; xxviii. 2; Isa. xxiii.; Jer. xxvii. 4.

² *Tracones et pyramides*. Cf. Fabri, i. 461; Marino Sanuto, 22; Jacques de Vitry, ch. xlvii.

³ Gen. x. 2.

towers and strong palaces. All the world ought not to be able to take the city by fair means. In this city there are many relics, as we learn from the 'Ecclesiastical History,'¹ of the martyrs who suffered there in the time of Diocletian, whose numbers God alone knows. Origen lies buried there, built into the wall of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. I have seen his monument there. There are pillars of marble and of other stone of such a size that one is astonished at the sight of them.

In this city there is an Archbishop's see. It is the metropolitan city of Phoenicia, and hath for its suffragans the Bishops of Berytus, Sidon, and Acre. This metropolitan see extends as far as Petra Incisa, or Pilgrims' Castle, as aforesaid.

I was once there for ten days, and at many other times I have examined it as carefully as I could.

In the sands, at a distance of two bow-shots, without its eastern gate, they show the place where Jesus Christ preached, where a woman in the crowd lifted up her voice and said, 'Blessed is the womb that bare Thee,' etc. They also show a great stone, whereon Jesus Christ was then standing. This place is never covered with sand, albeit the sand in that place is light, and flies about even as snow flies about in winter time in Western and Northern countries, and is caused by the wind to make heaps round about fences and the like places; but this place, though in the midst of the sand, ever remaineth uncovered both in summer and in winter, as I have seen with my own eyes.

In that place there is also an overthrown column, marking the spot, it is said, where some pilgrims when visiting that spot were treacherously slain by Saracens.

Three short leagues to the north of Tyre the river

¹ Eusebius's 'Ecclesiastical History,' book viii.

Eleutherus¹ flows into the Mediterranean Sea. This is the river up to which Jonathan pursued after King Demetrius, as we read in the First Book of Maccabees.² This river flows from Ituraea, or Galilee of the Gentiles, from the country which of old was called the land of Roob,³ and afterwards Kabul.⁴ It flows past the Castle of Belfort,⁵ which belonged to the Knights Templars,⁶ near Ramah,⁷ the place to which Joshua pursued the thirty-one kings, as we read in the Book of Joshua.⁸

Two leagues from this river is Sarepta of the Sidonians,⁹ before whose southern gate men show a chapel in the place where Elijah the prophet came to the woman of Sarepta, where he abode and raised her son from the dead. The chamber wherein he took his rest is shown there. Sarepta has scarce eight houses standing, albeit its ruins show that it was once a noble city.

Two leagues further is Sidon,¹⁰ a great city of Phoenicia, whose size is proved to this day by its ruins, and was so

¹ The Eleutherus is here placed at the Leontes River.

² 1 Macc. xii. 30.

³ See Judges xviii. 28. Roob is for Rehob, in Upper Galilee. The site is doubtful.

⁴ 2 Sam. x. 6; Judges xviii. 28, compare Will. of Tyre, Book XVI ch. xii. p. 898, also Josh. xix. 28.

⁵ Belfort is now *Kal'at esh Shakif*, on the Leontes.

⁶ The Knights Templars held it from 1240 to 1268, so that Burchard must be writing after the latter date.

⁷ Ramah was 10 miles south-east of Tyre, not near Belfort.

⁸ Josh. xii. 7. Compare also xi. 3, 8, 17, where mention is made of Mount Hermon and of 'Mount Halak, that goeth up to Seir, even unto Baal-gad in the Valley of Lebanon under Mount Hermon.'

⁹ Sarepta is now *Surafend*, north of Tyre.

¹⁰ *La partie des fortifications de Saïda, nommée le Kalaat-el-Bahar ou château de la mer, est le seul ouvrage que nous puissions considérer avec certitude comme un monument contemporain de la Sajeite des Croisades; encore ce château ne date-t-il que du commencement du xiii^e siècle. Il fut construit dans le cours de l'hiver de 1227 à 1228, sur un rocher*

great that were I to write it down it would scarce be believed. It used to stand in the plain in an oblong shape, stretching from north to south, at the foot of Mount Antilibanus, between it and the sea, and was an exceeding fair city. Out of its ruins another city has been built, a small one indeed, but a fortified one, had it but a garrison. It stands partly on the sea, and has on either side two well-fenced castles, one on the north, built on a rock standing in the sea. This castle was built there by pilgrims from Germany. The other castle is on the south side, and stands on a hill. It is fairly strong. These castles, and the city also, are held by the Knights Templars.

The adjoining land is exceeding fertile, abounding with all good things, and has a very healthy climate. There are excellent sugar-canes and vineyards.

Before the eastern gate of the ancient city, now in ruins, stands a chapel on the place where the Canaanitish¹ woman came and besought Him for her daughter who was possessed of a devil, on the road leading to Ituraea and Caesarea Philippi.

Mount Antilibanus is one league to the east of Sidon. This mountain begins at the afore-mentioned river Eleutherus, and reaches a distance of five days' journey, five leagues beyond Tripoli. It is never more than two leagues distant from the sea, except near Tripoli, where it is about three leagues distant. In some places it comes down so near to the sea that no road can pass. It abounds in excellent vines, as it is written, 'The scent thereof shall be as the wine of Lebanon.'² This good wine is made all the way to the Castle of Margat.

isolé dans la mer, que l'on munit d'un revêtement de maçonnerie. . . . le château de Sajette fut évacué par les Francs en 1291, à la suite de la prise d'Acre.—C. Rey, Monuments de l'Architecture Militaire.

¹ Mark vii. 25.

² Hos. xiv. 7.

Nine leagues beyond Sidon is the noble and ancient city of Beyrout, where also the Lord is said to have preached, and the Jews¹ made an image of paste in mockery of Him. When at last they crucified it, they drew much blood therefrom, which to this day is reverently preserved in many places.

The Bishop of this city is suffragan to him of Tyre, as is likewise the Bishop of Sidon. The metropolitan See of Tyre extends three leagues further, to the river called the Dog's Pass, which there runs into the Mediterranean Sea. Here in like manner ends the patriarchate of Jerusalem, and the patriarchate of Antioch and the county of Tripoli begin. This place is called the Dog's Pass,² and cannot be passed by land save by leave of the Saracens, for a few men could forbid all the world to pass by there.

Six leagues from Beyrout, by the sea-shore, is Biblium,³ the first city in the patriarchate of Antioch, with a Bishop of its own. Of this city Ezekiel makes mention in his praise of Tyre: 'The ancients of Gebal and the wise men thereof were in thee thy calkers: all the ships of the sea with their mariners were in thee to occupy thy merchandise.'⁴ The Lord of Biblium is a vassal of the Count of Tripoli. At this day the city is called Sibleth,⁵ and is very small.

Four leagues from Biblium is Botrus,⁶ a city that once was rich in exceeding noble wine, and in all this world's goods, but now it is utterly destroyed.

¹ Abbot Daniel, lxix. ; Fetellus, p. 51 ; John of Würzburg, xxiv. p. 63 ; 'The City of Jerusalem,' p. 48 ; Theoderich, p. 71 ; Jacques de Vitry, I. xxvii., p. 1067 of Bongars.

² The Dog's Pass is at *Nahr el Kelb* (Dog River), N. of Beirût.

³ Byblium is Gebal, now *Jibeil*, north of Beirût.

⁴ Ezek. xxvii. 9.

⁵ Phocas spells it Σεβελέρ ; Abulfeda *Giblet*.

⁶ Botrus is *Batrûn*, north of Gebal.

Three leagues further is the Castle of Nephin,¹ nearly the whole of which stands in the sea. It belongs to the Prince of Antioch. In it I have seen twelve good towers, and the place is strongly fortified. The wine of this town is the most noted of all the wines of those parts.

Two leagues beyond Nephin is Tripoli, an exceeding noble city, standing almost entirely in the sea, like Tyre. It is full of people, for therein dwell Greeks and Latins, Armenians, Maronites, Nestorians, and many others. Much work is done there in silk. I have heard for certain that therein there are weavers of silk and camlet and other like stuffs.

The land round about it may without doubt be called a paradise, because of its endless beautiful vineyards and plantations of olives, figs, and sugar-canes, the like of all which I do not remember to have seen in any other part of the world.

The plain before the gates of the city is one league in length, and half a league in breadth. In this space there are gardens, wherein divers fruits grow in such plenty that it is said that every year they bring their owners three hundred thousand golden byzants.

Three leagues beyond this city is Lebanon, at whose foot² rises the 'fountain of gardens, a well of living waters, and streams from Lebanon,' of which we read in Solomon's Song.³ This fountain seems to rise meanly, but of a sudden gathers strength, and makes a strong and exceeding great river. It waters all the gardens and the plain between Tripoli and Lebanon, and wondrously enriches the country.

¹ Ritter, xvii. (1) 609 sq., thinks that this castle of Nephin, or Nefrino (Nefro), as the Crusaders called it, was Cape Theoupropon, the modern Râs esh Shakkah, not Enfeh. A tower still stands in the pass of Râs esh Shakkah.

² The *Nahr Kadisha*, rising in Lebanon, waters Tripoli.

³ Cant. iv. 15.

Its water is excellent, being cool and sweet, and upon its banks many oratories and many churches are built. It comes, as aforesaid, from the foot of the mountain, partly circles round the Mount of Leopards, and then is led through gardens to water them. It enters the sea in three good-sized streams, without counting the other brooks which likewise flow into the sea in divers places. Of a certainty what is said in the Book of Esther¹ is true of this fountain: 'As it were from a little fountain was made a great flood, even much water.'

Two leagues from Tripoli is the Mount of Leopards, which is round in appearance, and somewhat high, standing at a distance of one league from Lebanon. At its foot, on the north side, I have seen a cave wherein there is a tomb, twelve feet long. The Saracens devoutly visit this place, and say that it is Joshua's tomb,² which I do not believe to be true, because the text saith that he was buried at Timnath-heres, which is on the side of Mount Ephraim, near Sichein. I am rather inclined to believe this to be the sepulchre of Canaan, the son of Ham, the son of Noah, or that of some one of his sons' children, who may be proved to have dwelt in this very place, as shall be told hereafter.

About three leagues to the north of this cave is the end of Antilibanus, and also of Lebanon. At the place where they both end one is shown at this day the Castle of Arachas,³ which Aracheus, son of Canaan, built and called by his own name, as we learn from the gloss on Gen. x. and 1 Chron. i. 15. Exceeding glorious, beauteous, and fertile is this land at the end of Lebanon. As for the situation and length of Lebanon, I will tell you of this when I come to make mention of Caesarea Philippi, and the source of the Jordan.

¹ Esth. xi. 10.

² Judg. ii. 9.

³ Archas. See Fetellus, pp. 12, note, 24, 52; Anon. (Pseudo-Be da) vi., p. 51, etc. Arachas is now 'Arkah, N.E. of Tripoli.

Half a league to the eastward of the Castle of Archas is Sin—a town built by Syneus, the son of Canaan, Aracheus's brother, after the flood, not far from Arachas, as we are told by the gloss on Genesis. Howbeit a Nestorian who dwelt there told me, when I inquired of him, that the town was named Synochim, and I got the same answer from a Saracen at that place.

Beneath the Castle of Arachas and the town of Synochim is a great plain, exceeding beauteous and fertile, reaching as far as the Castle of Krach, which once¹ belonged to the Knights Hospitallers of St. John,² and as far as Antaradus,³ now called Tortosa, being about eleven leagues long and six leagues broad. This plain contains many villages, and beauteous groves of olive-tree, fig-trees, and other fruit-trees of divers sorts, besides much timber. Moreover, it greatly abounds with streams and pasturelands; wherefore the Turcomans, and Midianites, and Bedouins dwell there in tents with their wives and children, their flocks and their camels. I have seen there an exceeding great herd of camels, and I believe that there were several thousands of camels there.

This plain is bounded on the east side by mountains of no great height. They rise near Arachas, and extend as far as Krach. In these mountains dwell a people called Uannini, a savage and malicious race which hates Christians.

It is eight leagues from the towns of Arachas and Synochim across the aforesaid plain to Antaradus, which is so called because it stands over against Aradium.

Aradium⁴ is an island in the deep sea, about half a league from the continent. Upon it down to my time

¹ Till 1271.

² Crac des Chevaliers is now *el Hosn*, N.E. of Tripoli.

³ Tortosa stands on the shore east of the island of Aradus.

⁴ Aradium, ancient Arvad, is now the island *er Ruâd*.

there stood a fair city, which is mentioned by Ezekiel, saying,¹ 'The men of Arvad [Aradium] with thine army were upon thy walls round about,' where the gloss says: 'Aradium is a city set in the sea, over against Antaradus, near Tyre.' The truth is that it is five days' journey distant from Tyre. This city was founded by Aradius, a son of Canaan, after the flood.

Here note that Ham, the son of Noah, begat Canaan after the flood. 'And Canaan begat Sidon his firstborn, and Heth, and the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the Girgasite, and the Hivite, and the Arkite, and the Sinite, and the Arvadite, and the Zemarite, and the Hamathite.'² By these were the families of the Canaanites spread abroad. Four out of these eleven sons of Canaan, to wit, Sidon his firstborn, who built Sidon, and Aracheus, who founded Arachas, and Sineus, who founded Synochim, and Aradius, who founded Aradium, as aforesaid—these four, I say, remained in that land at the end of Lebanon, as hath been told; but the other seven, that is to say, Heth and the Jebusite, the Amorite, the Girgasite, the Hivite, the Arkite, and the Hamathite, them didst Thou leave to themselves, O Lord God of Israel, that they might learn to fight. The monuments and sepulchres of the four first are shown at this day one league before one comes to Antaradus, and they are exceeding rich and of wondrous size. I have seen stones therein—for I measured the stone—four-and-twenty feet long, and as wide and deep as the height of a tall man, so that it is a marvel to behold them. How they can have been raised up and used for building, altogether passes man's understanding.

Beside Antaradus, half a league to the east, there are some mountains; but they are not very high, neither are they inaccessible, as some say. This is the land of the

¹ Ezek. xxvii. 8, 11.

² Gen. x. 15-18.

Assassins, and is so called. Their rites and customs will be described at greater length hereafter.

St. Peter preached for a long time at Antaradus when he was on his way to Antioch, as we read in St. Clement's 'Itinerary.'¹

Here Clement found his mother. Here also St. Peter² built the first church in honour of the Blessed Virgin, which church exists at this day. I have celebrated Mass therein, for I abode there for six days.

Seven leagues from Antaradus is the Castle of Margat,³ belonging to the Brothers Hospitallers of St. John.⁴ It stands above the city of Valania,⁵ one league from the sea, and is strongly fortified and set upon an exceeding high mountain. The Bishop's see,⁶ which was at Valania, is now transferred to the castle because of the insults of the

¹ The text has *sicut in Alveario Clementis legitur*. In Poloner the same passage occurs, but *Itinerarium* is substituted for the meaningless *Alvearium*. See Poloner, p. 34, in this series; J. de Vitry, i. 44; and Marino Sanuto, p. 5, in this series; also p. 268 of Tobler's 'Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae,' Leipzig, 1874, and his note thereon. The fullest account of St. Peter's doings at Antaradus will be found in the 'Acta S. Petri,' attributed to St. Linus, in 'Acta Sanctorum,' June 29. Compare J. de Vitry, xlv.

² Anon., p. 27; City of Jerusalem, p. 48. De Joinville says: *Je demandé au roy qu'il me laissast aller en pelerinage à Nostre-Dame-de-Tortouze, là ou il avoit moult grant pelerinage pour ce que c'est le premier autel qui onques fust fait en l'onneur de la Mere-Dieu sur terre, et y fesoit Nostre-Dame moult grant miracles.*

³ Margat, now *el Merkeb*, near the shore, stood on a promontory to the south of Latakia.

⁴ It was given them by Bohemond, Prince of Antioch, in 1186.

⁵ Valenie is now *Baniás*, near Margat.

⁶ *Vers la fin du xiii^e siècle une bourgade, où vinrent s'installer les habitants ainsi que l'évêque de Valenie, s'était élevée sur cette esplanade, limitée au sud par le réduit formé d'un massif considérable de bâtiments et de l'énorme tour, ouvrage capitale des défenses de la forteresse.*—C. Rey.

Saracens. This Bishop is suffragan to the Archbishop of Apamea, as is the Bishop of Arachas.

The city of Valania and the river of the same name, which runs past it, are the boundaries of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Here likewise begins the principality of Antioch, and here ends the county of Tripoli. This place is seven days' journey distant from the city of Acre, and it is four days' journey from it to Antioch. Now, albeit I have travelled beyond this place and viewed the country, yet I write nothing thereof, because I do not intend to write about any land save the Holy Land.

Let what hath been said suffice for the first division.

HERE BEGINNETH THE SECOND DIVISION OF THE
HOLY LAND.

III. The second division proceeds from Acre to the northward, and the first place to which one comes going due north from Acre is the castle which used to be called *Montfort*.¹ This once belonged to the Teutonic Hospital, but now is utterly ruined.

Four leagues further in the same direction is the Castle² of Toron, a very strong place built by the Lord of Tiberias as a check to Tyre when Tyre was in the hands of the Saracens. It is seven leagues distant from Tyre.

¹ Montfort is *Kul'at el Kurein*, east of Acre, built by the Teutonic Order in the thirteenth century.

² 'Anno 1107 Hugo a Sancto Audomaro condidit Toronum.'—Laurent. *L'assiette de cette place a été choisie au sommet d'une colline arrondie, d'ou lui est venu son appellation, du vieux mot français touron ou toron, signifiant éminence, ou colline isolée.*—C. Rey, *Monuments de l'architecture militaire des croisés*. It was built by Hugh de St. Omer, Prince of Tiberias, about 1104, according to M. Rey. It was twice taken by the enemy—first in 1187, by Saladin—then in 1219 by Sultan Melek el Mo'adam, who destroyed it. It was rebuilt in 1220. Toron is now *Tibnîn*, in Upper Galilee.

Four leagues further is an ancient city named Hazor,¹ wherein dwelt that potent King Jabin, who fought against Joshua and Israel with the thirty-one Kings at the waters of Merom. Of this place we are also told, in Josh. xi., that he burned the strong city of Hazor with fire. The fame of this city is witnessed by its ruins even to this day.

About six leagues to the north thereof is the city of Belinas,² at the foot of Mount Lebanon. This, as we read in the Book of Judges,³ was at the first called Laish. Now, as it was far from Sidon, that is, about eleven leagues, and its people had no allies (it was in the valley that lieth by Bethrehob), the children of Dan took it, and called it Leshem Dan,⁴ after the name of Dan their father. It is often called simply Dan, after that passage in the Bible, 'that all Israel be gathered together, from Dan even unto Beersheba ;'⁵ for this city is the northern limit of the Holy Land, even as Beersheba is on the south. Thus we read in 1 Kings xix. 3, that 'Elijah came to Beersheba, which belonged to Judah,' and further on, that 'he himself went a day's journey into the wilderness,' which no doubt adjoins that city. It is now called Giblin.⁶ Now, when Philip was Tetrarch of Ituraea and the district of Trachonitis, he wished this city of Belinas, or Dan, to be called after his own name Caesarea Philippi. The Greeks call it Paneas. But now all these names are forgotten, and it is commonly called Belinas.

Above this city and on either side of it are the sources of two streams, Jor and Dan, at the foot of Mount

¹ Hazor was shown near the source of the Leontes.

² The ancient Caesarea Philippi, now Bâniâs, which Burchard, as is usual with mediaeval writers, confuses with Dan.

³ Judg. x.

⁴ Josh. xix. 47.

⁵ 2 Sam. xvii. 11.

⁶ Beersheba was believed to be at *Beit Jibrin* (Gibilin) in the twelfth century. The true site was unknown.

Lebanon. They meet before the gate of the city, and form one river—the Jordan.

But mark, this is not the real source of the Jordan, for Josephus tells us, and truly, that about one hundred and twenty stadia to the south of that place there is a fountain named Phiale,¹ which is ever full and never overflows, but runs underground to that place, and there comes forth and is called Dan. This has often been proved by casting straws into Phiale and finding them again at the source of Dan. The Saracens do not call this fountain Phiale,² but Medan, that is, the waters of Dan, as much as to say, 'This is the water of Dan,' for *Me* means 'water' in Arabic, and Dan is one of the aforesaid springs. St. Matthew calls this place Magdala³ (Magedan, Vulg.), and St. Mark Dalmanutha. It is not far from the city of Sueta,⁴ near the monument of the blessed Job, in the district of Trachonitis. This will be described at greater length hereafter.

The river Jordan having met before the gate of the city of Belinas,⁵ after making long circuits from those two sources, divides Trachonitis from Ituraea, and at length falls into the Sea of Galilee between Capernaum and Chorazin, four leagues from the city of Kedar, which is on a hill above it.

Midway between Belinas and the Sea of Galilee it enters

¹ Fetellus, p. 26 ; John of Würzburg, p. 66 ; Theoderich, p. 65, etc.

² Dan is at *Tell el Kady*. Phiale at *Birket er Râm*.

³ Matt. xv. 39 ; Mark viii. 10. It has no connection with Magdala or Magadan, west of the sea of Galilee. The confusion is made by connecting the words Me-dan and Mage-dan.

⁴ Sueta, in the twelfth century, was the Jaulân region called *Ard es Suweidah*, 'black land,' from its basaltic soil; but Job's monument (at *Sheikh S'ad*) lay further east, in Bashan, near Trachonitis.

⁵ Belinas is *Baniâs*. Ituraea is here wrongly placed north of Jordan, in Coele Syria.

a valley where it forms a pool at the time when the snows melt on Lebanon. This pool is called the waters of Merom to this day. Here Joshua fought with Jabin the King of Hazor and thirty other Kings, and he smote them and chased them unto the waters of Misrephoth and unto great Zidon, for about eight leagues.¹ This water nearly all dries up in summer time, and bushes and grass grow there exceeding thick, wherein lurk lions and bears and other wild beasts, and royal² hunting is to be had there. One half of this valley comes into this second division, looking northwards, the other half comes into the following third part. The third part, which is beyond this valley, and extends all along the east bank of Jordan to Lebanon on the left, and to Mount Hermon to the south-east, and to the city of Bozra to the east on Mount Sanyr, which adjoins Mount Hermon, this in the Book of Joshua is called the Plain³ of Lebanon, or the district of Trachonitis,⁴ because, since that land is altogether lacking in running waters, its inhabitants collect the rain-water in channels and cisterns, and bring them from one place to another by *tracones*, or pipes, that they may water themselves and their beasts.⁵

Here it seems necessary, since mention has been made of the Mounts Lebanon, Hermon, and Sanyr, that I should tell you about them more at length, that other matters may

¹ Josh. xi. 8.

² Poloner, p. 27 ; Marino Sanuto, p. 32 ; Abbot Daniel, p. 59.

³ *Planicies*. In A.V., Valley of Lebanon (Josh. xi. 17). He confuses the Valley of Lebanon with Ituraea. Cf. Marino Sanuto, iii., part xiv., ch. iv.

⁴ Trachonitis was not the Plain of Lebanon, which lies north of Hermon. Mount Sanyr (Shenir), which was a name of Hermon, is here placed at the Hill of Bashan (*Jebel ed Drûz*). Trachon meant 'basalt' (like the modern name *Lejah*), and the translation is fanciful.

⁵ Fabri, i. 464 ; Marino Sanuto, p. 28.

be understood. You must know, then, that the mountains beside the brook Arnon, which are between Ammon and Moab and the Amorites, also Mount Gilead, which is in the land of Og, King of Basan, Mount Sanyr and Mount Hermon above Baal-gad and the Sea of Galilee, and Mount Lebanon, are all one continuous mountain, called by divers names in divers places, as one may any day see done in the Alps which separate Germany from Lombardy. Howbeit Gilead¹ is the highest of all these mountains, and seems to be, as it were, the head of them all; wherefore I think that verse of Jeremiah (xxii. 6), 'Thou art Gilead unto me, and the head of Lebanon,' is literally true. Mount Sanyr adjoins Mount Gilead. It is also called Seir,² because Esau or Seir dwelt there, as shall be told hereafter, and it is beyond the Sea of Galilee, and fell to the lot of the half-tribe of Manasseh. At the same place it joins Mount Hermon, which borders on the district of Trachonitis, and extends even to Damascus, near to which it joins Lebanon, between Belinas and Damascus. Lebanon itself is, to my mind, higher where it passes the city of Belinas than anywhere else along the whole range that is called Lebanon. At this place it is two leagues distant from Tyre, and can be plainly seen from Tyre—indeed, I have myself seen it from thence shining bright in the middle of the night. It is five days' journey long, and for all that distance has its top covered with snow. It comes nearer and nearer to the sea-shore, so that while at the outset, I mean above Belinas, it is twelve leagues away from the sea, at the end, that is, near Arachas, it is only three leagues away from it. Those who sail from Tyre to Antaradus by sea have it in sight all the way, and beneath it Antilibanus ever comes nearer to the sea. There are fertile valleys in both Lebanon and

¹ Mount Gilead (3,000 feet) is not as high as Hermon (9,000 feet).

² Seir is here confused with Sirion, a name for Hermon.

Antilbanus, which are well tilled, and abound in meadows, vineyards, gardens, orchards, and, in short, all the good things in the world. In them dwell many races, as aforesaid, such as Maronites, Armenians, Greeks, Nestorians, Jacobites, and Georgians, all of whom are Christians, and are, by their own account, subjects of the Church of Rome.

HERE BEGINNETH THE THIRD DIVISION OF THE HOLY LAND.

IV. The third division proceeds from Acre to the south-east. Three leagues along this is the castle called Judin,¹ on Mount Sharon, which once belonged to the Teutonic Order, but now is ruined.

Three leagues further on is the Kings' Castle,² in a valley which once belonged to that same Order, and abounds with all good things, and with fruits which even in that land are rarely found elsewhere. It is now in the hands of the Saracens.

Four leagues further towards the Waters of Merom is the Valley³ of Zaanaim, where Heber the Kenite had pitched his tent, not far from the city of Hazor. It was his wife, by name Jael, who slew Sisera, the captain of the host of the King of Hazor, by smiting a nail of the tent into his temples, as we read in Judges.

Two leagues from that valley is Kabul,⁴ which the Saracens call Zabul. This land is called Kabul, which signifies displeasure, as we read in the third⁵ Book of Kings.

¹ Judin is now *Kul'at Jeddin*, east of Acre.

² Château du Roi was at *M'alia*, near Judin. Marino Sanuto, p. 24.

³ A.V. 'plain': Josh. xix. 33; Judg. iv. 11.

⁴ Kabul was wrongly placed (see Marino Sanuto) at *Nebi Sebelân*, in Upper Galilee, not at *Kabûl*, south-east of Acre, the true site.

⁵ 1 Kings ix. 12, 13.

Two leagues to the south of this stands the castle and city of Sephet,¹ the fairest and strongest, to my mind, of all the castles I have ever seen, set upon an exceeding lofty rock. It used to belong to the Knights Templars, but was betrayed and taken in shameful sort, to the injury of the whole of Christendom; for with it the Soldan holds all Galilee, that is to say, the tribes of Zabulon, Naphtali, Asshur, Issachar and Manasseh, and all the land, even to Acre and Tyre and Sidon.

Four leagues to the north of this, not far from the Plain of Zaanaim, is Cadesh Naphtali,² whence came Barak, the son of Abinoam, who fought against Sisera on Mount Tabor. This was a city of refuge in the tribe of Naphtali, and abounds with all good things. At this place there are shown at this day vast ruins and exceeding beauteous tombs.

Two leagues beyond the castle of Sephet,³ as one goes down the mountain to the eastward, a stone's-throw from the Sea of Galilee, above the road leading to the east, is the way up that mount, up which Christ Jesus so often went, where⁴ Matthew tells us that He preached the sermon, and where He satisfied five thousand men with five loaves and two fishes. Hither He was wont to go up and pray, sending the multitude away.⁵ He fled thither when they would have made Him King. Here He taught His disciples to pray. Here He passed the night in

¹ 'Castrum Templariorum, vocabulo Sepham, adversus Turcarum incursiones valde munitum.'—Theoderich, xliii.

² The Plain of Zaanaim is placed at *Kedes*, in Upper Galilee.

³ Saphet is *Safed*, not Château Blanc (*Safita*), which lay north of Tripoli.

⁴ *Locus Mensa vocatus*. Anton., ch. ix.; Theoderich, p. 64; John of Würzburg, p. 68; Fetellus, p. 28; Marino Sanuto, p. 13; Ludolph von Suchem, p. 127.

⁵ The Mensa Christi was shown on the hill north of Minyeh, and of the Sea of Galilee, in the twelfth century.

prayer. It was as He was coming down from this place that the centurion begged Him to help his palsied servant. Hither came unto Him the great multitude of sick and of those that were possessed by devils. Here He touched the leper and healed him. Here He stood in the fields with His disciples. From this mount one can see all the Sea of Galilee, Ituraea, and the district of Trachonitis as far as Lebanon, and also Sanyr and Hermon, the land of Zabulon and Naphtali, even to Kedar,¹ and all Chinnereth² even to Dothan, and Bethulia,³ and many other places. This mount is about two bow-shots long, and a stone's-throw or more wide: it is grassy and pleasant, and suitable for preaching from. Here is shown at this day the stone whereon the Lord Jesus Christ sat when He preached, and the places where the Apostles sat. (This place is called by Christians the Table.⁴)

At the foot of this mountain near the sea, at some thirty pace's distance, there is a spring of living water enclosed by a wall, which spring they call a vein of the Nile,⁵ because it breeds the fish coracinus,⁶ which is found nowhere else. Josephus calls this spring Capernaum, because the whole plain between that spring and the Jordan, a distance of two leagues, is called Capernaum.

Some twenty paces beyond that spring, on the Sea of Galilee, is the place where Jesus stood on the shore after His resurrection, and said to His seven disciples who were fishing, 'Children, have ye anything to eat?' When I was

¹ Josh. xiii. 27.

² Gennesaret.

³ Bethulia was shown at *Safed* in the twelfth century.

⁴ See Tobler's note to Theoderich, xlv. ; also in this series, John of Würzburg, p. 68 ; Theoderich, p. 64 ; Marino Sanuto, 13 ; Anon., 54.

⁵ This fountain is now '*Ain et Tabghah*.'

⁶ 'Coracinus est sparus chromis (petit castagneau, castagnotto).'²—Du Cange. Castagneau, nom vulgaire d'un poisson très commun dans toute la Méditerranée (type du genre *chromis* de Cuvier). Littré. Marino Sanuto, who copies Burchard, calls it corconus (p. 11).

at this place on St. Augustine's Day,¹ I saw three of the Lord Jesus's footsteps imprinted on a stone; but when I came there again on the Feast of the Annunciation, the Saracens had taken the stone away.

Ten paces thence is the place where the disciples came out of the ship and saw the fire of coals,² and fish laid thereon, and bread. (This place is called the Table by Christians.)

One league to the eastward of this place is Capernaum,³ once a noble city, but now an exceeding mean one, scarce containing seven houses of poor fishermen. Truly therein is the word of the Lord Jesus fulfilled, 'And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt be thrust down to hell.'⁴

Two leagues from that place the river Jordan enters the Sea of Galilee, on the further shore of which may still be seen the ruins of the city of Chorazin,⁵ on the Sea of Galilee.

One league beyond that place, to wit, Chorazin, begins the ascent of Mount Sanyr, called by some Seir, and the entrance to Idumaea.

Three leagues further is Kedar,⁶ a noble city built in a strong situation, on the eastern side of Mount Sanyr. Through this city passes the road which, as aforesaid, passes along the shore of the Sea of Galilee, and leads to the westward, as we are told in Tobit i. 1. In Isaiah this is called 'the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, in Galilee of the nations.'⁷ It is called 'the way of the sea' because it leads all along the sea-shore. 'Beyond Jordan' is added because it leads beyond Jordan into the country called

¹ August 28.

² John xxi. 9.

³ Capernaum is placed, as in the fourth century, at *Tell Hâm*.

⁴ Matt. xi. 23; Luke x. 15.

⁵ Chorazin is wrongly placed east of Jordan.

⁶ Kedar (see below) is placed at Gamala (*el Hosn*), east of the Sea of Galilee.

⁷ Isa. ix. 1.

Aram. It is called 'Galilee of the nations' because at that place Galilee is bounded by the Jordan.

It is four leagues from this place where the Jordan flows into the Sea of Galilee to Kadesh Naphtali. Halfway between them is another half of the waters of Merom aforesaid. Jordan passes through the midst of the valley of the waters of Merom, and when it comes out thereof turns its course first to the east, and then to the south, and so falls into the Sea of Galilee.

Four leagues to the north of the mouth of the river Jordan and the city of Chorazin is the city of Sueta,¹ whence Bildad in Job was called the Shuhite. Near it, on the east side, is Job's tomb.²

On the plains³ near this city, on the side toward the city of Kedar, Saracens of Aram, Mesopotamia, Hamath, Syria, Moab, Ammon, and all parts of the East, are wont to meet round about the fountain Phiale aforesaid, and hold a fair all summer time because of the pleasantness of the place. They set up tents of divers colours, which make a very pretty sight for the people of Kedar on the hill to look at. These are what are called in Solomon's Song⁴ the tents of Kedar.

Four leagues to the east of the city of Chorazin is the city of Kedar, standing on a lofty mound. Josephus calls this the Camel,⁵ because the mount whereon it stands is shaped like a camel, being long at the beginning like the head and neck of a camel, with a hump in the middle like his back, and coming down at the end like his tail.

Here note that, as hath been already said, the whole country near the Jordan, on the east bank thereof, even

¹ Marino Sanuto, p. 9 ; Theoderich, ch. xlix.

² See preceding note on Sueta and Job's tomb, p. 23.

³ John of Würzburg, ch. xxv. ; Theoderich, ch. xlv. ; Marino Sanuto,

p. II.

⁴ i. 5.

⁵ Gamala, now *El Hosn*, east of the Sea of Galilee.

to Mount Hermon and Bozra, is called the country of Trachonitis or the Plain of Lebanon. The west bank of Jordan is called Galilee of the Gentiles, or Ituraea, or Cabul, or Decapolis, and the 'way of the sea' passes through the midst thereof; that is, leading from Acre through the valley of the land of Asshur, now called St. George's¹ Valley, to the mountains of the district of Trachonitis, beyond which is the land of Aram. Wherefore the gloss on 'There was a man in the land of Uz, named Job,'² tells us 'Aram, the father of the Syrians, who founded Damascus and Syria, begat Uz, who founded the country of Trachonitis. He reigned in the land between Coele Syria and Palestine, which is called after him the land of Uz. So the man dwelt in the land of Uz, or the Uzzite country.'³

This country was ruled by Philip the Tetrarch, as was also Ituraea, which is on this side of the Jordan country to the westward, and extends as far as the mountains of the Sidonians and Syrians and the people of Acre, which divide it from Phoenicia, both in this third and in the preceding second. It is bounded on the north by Lebanon, on the east by Jordan, on the south by the Sea of Galilee, on the west by the mountains of Phoenicia.

HERE BEGINNETH THE FOURTH DIVISION.

V. The fourth division starts from Acre, and goes due east, passing near the Castle of Sephet, which it leaves on the left. From thence on the shore of the Sea of Galilee it passes before the city of Capernaum, before the place

¹ St. George (*el Khudr*) is at *el B'aneh*, in the broad valley, east of Acre, leading to the Plain of Râmech.

² Job i. 1.

³ The land of Uz was shown in Bashan from the fourth century, but in the Old Testament it lies in Edom.

where the Lord called Matthew from the receipt of custom. Matthew's house, and the place where he used to sit, may be seen there at this day on the king's highway. Then the road goes up into the mountains of Hermon on the further side of Jordan.

In this division there are the following cities :

The first one, five leagues distant from Acre, is the village called Sangeor,¹ where that saint is believed to have been born.² This stands in an exceeding fat, fertile, and beauteous valley among hills. This lovely valley reaches as far as the Sea of Galilee. It used to belong to the tribe of Asher, reaching even unto Sephet, about ten leagues. The saying of Gen. xlix. is literally true of it because of its beauty, 'Out of Asher his bread shall be fat, and he shall yield royal dainties,' a saying which hath been fulfilled in the lot of this tribe.

Four leagues thence, to the southward, but somewhat to the east thereof, is the village of Naason,³ of the tribe of Naphtali, in a valley. We read of this place in the Book of Tobit.⁴

Three leagues further to the south is Dothan,⁵ where Joseph found his brethren. It stands at the foot of Mount Bethulia, one league distant from it, and is an exceeding fair town, abounding in vines, olives, and figs, and in rich pastures.

At this place in the field is still shown the pit⁶ into

¹ San Geor lay at *el Ba'neh*, in the Valley of St. George.

² See Laurent's note on Willibrand of Oldenburg, II. 3, 1, p. 25.

³ Naason seems confused with Nasor (a corrupt reading for Hazor), near Kadesh Naphtali.

⁴ Tob. i. 2, in the Vulgate ; A.V., Thisbe. See Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible,' art. 'Thisbe.'

⁵ Dothan or Dothaim was shown in the twelfth century at *Khân Jubb Yâsef* (the inn of Joseph's pit), by Minieh, on the north shore of the Sea of Galilee. The true site (*Tell Dothân*) was known in the fourth century.

⁶ *Cisterna.*

which Joseph was put by his brethren. I have seen it there by the side of the road which leads from Gilead, and at Bethsaida joins the road that leads from Syria into Egypt. It goes up from Dothan to near Mount Bethulia, then crosses the Plain of Esdraelon, passes by Mount Tabor on the left hand across the plain of Megiddo, goes up Mount Ephraim, enters Ramathaim Zophim,¹ and thence by Gaza to Egypt. It was along this road that the Ishmaelites came who bought Joseph.

We read in the second Book of Kings about this town (Dothan), that the Syrians compassed about Elisha therein, and he led them thence to the midst of Samaria, which is about one day's journey distant.

Note that Dothan is not only the (name of the) town, but also of the country called after the town, which has belonged to it from of old, in a flat district, bounded on either side by low hills, watered by springs, and therefore good pasture, fit for feeding cattle.

Two leagues to the east of Naason, and about three to the north of Dothan, is the city of Naphtali,² from whence came Tobias, standing in a strong place; for on the west side it has an exceeding lofty mountain up which no man can climb, save on one little space on the east side. This city was, I think, called Jotapata at the time of the extirpation of the Jews, according to Josephus. In it Josephus himself was besieged and taken prisoner by the Romans, as he himself tells us. At this day it is called Syrim,³ and is little more than a league away from Sephet.

Two leagues from Naphtali, at a corner of the Sea of Galilee, where it begins to curve from the north towards

¹ Ramathaim Zophim was placed at *Ramleh* in the twelfth century.

² Naphtali is Kadesh Naphtali, now *Kedes*. It was not Jotapata (*Jefât*), south-west of Safed.

³ Syrim is probably an error for *Meirûn*, near Safed.

the south, extends Bethsaida,¹ the city of Andrew and Peter and Philip. At this day it has scarce seven houses, which stand by the side of the road from Syria to Egypt. In ancient times it had a watercourse leading from the river, which Josephus calls the little Jordan,² which runs into the Sea of Galilee halfway between it and Capernaum. Traces of this may be seen to this day.

Two leagues further to the south is Magdalum,³ the castle of Mary Magdalen, whose house I have seen still standing there, and have been inside it. It stands by the sea-shore, about three leagues to the south-east of Bethulia. On its western and northern sides it has a great grassy plain.

Note that this fourth division has no more towns on this side of the Sea of Galilee; but on its other shore there are many cities and castles that belong to this division, in the land of the Gerasenes, which is directly over against this.

Herein there are many cities; for example, Gerasa, Gadara, Pella, Sueta, the city of Bildad the Shuhite, Teman, from which came Eliphaz the Temanite, and many others.

Now, the town of Gerasa⁴ stands on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, at the foot of Mount Seir, nearly over against Tiberias, but a little to the north of it. This used to belong to the half-tribe of Manasseh, whose lot fell beyond Jordan.

Note that this land beyond the Sea of Galilee is very mountainous, as it seems to me; but I have never been in it. It was part of the kingdom of the King of Bashan. Part of it is called Mount Seir, because Esau dwelt there,

¹ Bethsaida was shown near Minieh at *Sheikh Seiyâd*, a small shrine on the north shore of the Sea of Galilee.

² Little Jordan is here *Wâdy el Hamâm*, west of Minieh.

³ Magdalum is *Mejdel*, west of the Sea of Galilee.

⁴ Gerasa is placed probably at *Khersa*, east of the Sea of Galilee. The true site (*Jerâsh*) in Gilead was lost.

as I shall shortly tell you. In another place it was called Mount Sanyr,¹ because he was there, and it was also called Mount Hermon, because he was there also. Thus divers places and mountains in this land were called by divers names; yet the whole of it belonged to the half-tribe of Manasseh. But the half-tribe never possessed it; for the children of Esau dwell in parts thereof to this day. They are commonly called Saracens, because they do not differ from them either in language or customs, unless, perhaps, in their way of wearing their hair and their clothes.

But, nevertheless, you must know that there is another Mount Seir, or Edom, over against the wilderness of the Red Sea, whereof we read in Gen. xiv., how Chedorlaomer and other kings with him overthrew the Horites in their Mount Seir.² It was not then called Mount Seir, because Esau, who was called Seir, and after whom the mountain was named, was not yet born; so we must believe it to have been so called by anticipation. So also in Deut. ii.: 'Ye are to pass through the coast of your brethren the children of Esau, which dwell in Seir, and they shall be afraid of you.'³ This was first said to the children of Israel when they came out of Egypt, when they were in Kadesh Barnea, and were about to come to Mount Seir, which is near Kadesh Barnea, where they then were. But it is certain that the children of Israel never came up to the boundary of this Mount Seir, which is beyond the Sea of Galilee, for this Mount Seir adjoins Damascus, whither they never reached.

The other Mount Seir of which we read adjoins the wilderness of Paran,⁴ round about which the children of Israel wandered for many days, because the Lord forbade

¹ Deut. iii. 8, 9.

² Gen. xiv. 6; Deut. ii. 12.

³ Deut. ii. 4.

⁴ Gen. xiv. 6; Deut. ii. 1.

them to enter therein. We also read of this Mount Seir in Deut. ii.: 'They dwelt in Mount Seir beforetime.'¹

On this Mount Seir, which is near the Sea of Galilee and Mount Gilead, Esau was dwelling at the time when Jacob came back from Mesopotamia of Syria. We read in Gen. xxxvi. that Esau, who doubtless was dwelling with his father in Beersheba, took all that he had and went into another country—this, no doubt; and he separated himself from his brother. Now, he met Jacob on his return from Mesopotamia at the ford of the brook Jabbok, which adjoins that land to the southward. And in Gen. xxxii. 31, we read that 'as Jacob passed over Peniel the sun rose upon him'; and further on, 'Jacob lifted up his eyes and looked, and, behold, Esau came,' etc. This place Peniel is shown at this day by that same name, not far from Succoth, in the east country beyond Jordan, whither we read that Jacob straightway afterwards came. This same place is at the foot of Mount Seir which adjoins the Sea of Galilee; for that Mount Seir wherein the Horites dwelt of old, in whose place the children of Esau now dwell, is many days' journey distant from this place, and Esau could not have come thence of a sudden to see his brother, because it is far away beyond the Dead Sea, about five days' journey off. These different tribes of the children of Esau, and the different places wherein they dwell, arise, I think, from Esau's having many wives, so that the children that he had by (Mahalath)² Ishmael's daughter, the sister of Nebajoth, dwelt in Mount Seir, which is near the wilderness of Paran, in the same country wherein dwelt his father-in-law Ishmael, of whom we read in Gen. xxi. that he became an archer,

¹ Deut. ii. 12, but the text runs, '*in monte Seyr olim habitabant (filii Israel pro eis).*' The Horims also dwelt in Seir beforetime; but the children of Esau succeeded them, when they had destroyed them from before them, and dwelt in their stead, etc.—A.V.

² Gen. xxviii. 9.

and dwelt in the wilderness of Paran, where we are told that he and his descendants abode. Now Esau married other wives besides these his first wives, among whom was Aholibamah, the daughter of Anah, the daughter of Zibeon the Hivite. This Hivite was a son of Canaan, and doubtless dwelt in the country of Scythopolis in Galilee, near the mountains of Gilboa, not far from the Sea of Galilee. Very near this place is another Mount Seir, where Esau dwelt at the time when Jacob was coming back from Mesopotamia. Thus he might easily meet his brother there, as the text seems to hint; for we read in Gen. xxxii. that, when he departed from Laban, he went on his way and met the angels of God, and he said, 'This is God's host,'¹ and he called the name of that place Mahanaim—that is to say, 'camps' (the place is at this day at the foot of Mount Gilead, in the tribe of Gad)—and from thence sent messengers to his brother, who returned back thither to him. So we read further that he set apart from his flocks a present for Esau, his brother, and sent it by the hands of his messengers. And we read: 'So went the present over before him, and himself lodged that night in the camp' (that is, in Mahanaim); 'and he rose up that night, passed over the ford Jabbok' (which is still shown there), 'and there wrestled a man with him,' etc. And further, 'Jacob called the name of that place Peniel.' This place stands at this day on the banks of the brook Jabbok, also in the tribe of Gad. 'And as he passed over Peniel the sun rose upon him,' and then 'Jacob lifted up his eyes, and saw Esau coming,' etc. Behold, we know the places where Esau came to him, and they are all near this Mount Seir, which is beyond the Sea of Galilee.

There is also a third Mount Seir, in the country of Ashdod and Ascalon, which fell to the lot of the tribe of

¹ Gen. xxxii. 1, 2. The Vulgate reads *castra*, the A.V. *hosts*.

Judah, when the land was divided ; but why it was so called I do not remember to have read. But the inhabitants thereof were called Idumaeans, even as the other posterity of Esau were called Idumaeans from Edom. Wherefore Antipater and his son, Herod of Ascalon, were called Idumaeans.

So much for this subject.

This mountain ends in the lot of the tribe of Gad in Mount Gilead, over against the place where the river Jordan flows out of the Sea of Galilee, not far from the mountains of Gilboa, near the city of Bethshan. Thence going down the east bank of Jordan is the country of two tribes and a half-tribe, reaching down to the pastureland of Moab at the foot of Mount Abarim in Shittim, over against Jericho. Going on further to the south along the same bank of Jordan is the land of Moab, reaching even to Petra in the wilderness, which is now called Krach.¹ After this comes a part of the land of Ammon, for all the length of the Dead Sea, and it encompasses its southern end even unto Mount Seir, which adjoins the wilderness of Paran near Kadesh Barnea, having on the side the wilderness of Sinai and the Red Sea.

HERE BEGINNETH THE SECOND DIVISION OF THE
EASTERN QUARTER.

VI. In the second division of the eastern quarter starting from Acre to the south-east, four leagues from Acre one comes to Cana of Galilee, where the Lord turned water into wine. The place is shown at this day where the six water-pots stood, and the dining-room wherein the tables were.

¹ 'Urbem, cui nomen pristinum Petra Deserti, modernum vero Crach,' says William of Tyre, book xxii., ch. xxviii. Bongars, p. 1039. Compare Marino Sanuto, p. 3, note, also note on p. 7 of this work.

Now, these places, like almost all the other places wherein the Lord wrought any work, are underground, and one goes down to them by many steps into a crypt. So it is in the place of the Annunciation, the Nativity, in this Cana of Galilee, and in many other places which are shown underground. The only reason that I can find for this is that owing to the frequent destruction of the churches built over these places, the ruins raised the soil above them, and then, after they had been levelled carelessly, other buildings were built upon them. Christians therefore who were zealous to visit these places, and wished to get to the very spot where the thing was done, had to clear out the places and make steps leading down to them. Wherefore almost all these places seem to be in crypts. To the north Cana of Galilee has a tall round mountain, on whose slope it stands. At its foot, on the south side, it has a very fair plain, which Josephus calls Carmelion;¹ it reaches as far as Sephora, and is exceeding fertile and pleasant.

About two leagues to the south of Cana of Galilee, on the road from Sephora to Tiberias, is a village named Ruma, wherein the prophet Jonah is said to have been buried. This village stands beneath the mountain which comes from Nazareth, and bounds the aforesaid Valley of Carmelion on the south side.

About a league and a half to the east of Ruma² there is a large village, once, it seems, called Abel-mehola, whereof we read in Judith³ that Holofernes, when going against

¹ Carmelion. In the LXX. ὄρος τὸ καρμήλιον stands for Mount Carmel. Sephora is Sepphoris (*Seffürieh*). The Valley of Carmelion (Carmel) seems to be *Wády el Melek*, running towards Carmel from Sepphoris.

² Ruma, according to Marino Sanuto, was Gath-Hepher, the home of Jonah. The ruin *Rûneh*, in the Buttauf plain, may here be intended, north of el Mesh-hed where Jonah's tomb is still shown.

³ Judith vii. 3; 1 Kings iv. 12; 1 Kings xix. 16.

Bethulia, came thither. And so he must have done, for by reason of the difficulties of these places there could be no other road thither. This village is believed to have been the birthplace of the prophet Elisha, as we read in the first Book of Kings. It stands in the country which is called Dothan, about half a league to the west of that village. In it there are many marble columns and great ruins, all of which show that it was once a glorious city. It stands on a lofty and strong place.

One long league from Abel-mehola is Mount Bethulia, where Judith slew Holofernes. This mount can be seen throughout almost all Galilee, and is exceeding fair and fortified. There are still many houses thereon, and many ruins. At the end of this mount a castle has been built to protect the mount. There are the traces of the camp of Holofernes to this day in the field near Dothan, and the valley wherein Judith washed herself, and which she compassed on her way back to Bethulia. I examined this as diligently as I could, for I abode in Dothan for one night.

Two long leagues south-east of Bethulia, on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, is the glorious city Tiberias of Galilee, after which the Sea of Galilee is sometimes named. This was in ancient times called Gennesareth, and after it the sea was called the Sea of Gennesareth; but in process of time it was restored by Herod, the Tetrarch of Galilee, and named Tiberias in honour of Tiberius Caesar. It is exceeding long, and stands lengthwise along the sea-shore. At its southern end there are medicinal baths and many ruins. Great palm-trees grow there, and there are vineyards and oliveyards, and the soil is exceeding fertile.

Here note that the country called Decapolis ends at this city of Tiberias. The Lord James of Vitry, Patriarch of Jerusalem and Legate of the See of Rome, says in the book

which he wrote about the conquest of this land as follows : 'The boundaries or ends of the country of Decapolis are the sea on the east, and Great Sidon on the west.' This is the width thereof. Its length extends from the city of Tiberias and all the northern shore of the Sea of Galilee even to Damascus. It is called Decapolis from the ten chief cities therein, which are Tiberias, Sephet,¹ Kadesh-Naphtali, Hazor, Caesarea Philippi, Capernaum (which Josephus calls Julia),² Iotapata, Bethsaida, Chorazin, and Bethshan, which was also called Scythopolis. But there are therein many other cities beside these.

Here, however, note that nevertheless this land is called by divers names to this day. As aforesaid, it is called sometimes Ituraea, sometimes Trachonitis, sometimes the Plain of Lebanon, sometimes the Land of Roob,³ sometimes Cabul, sometimes Galilee of the nations, sometimes Upper Galilee ; and it is one and the same country, albeit called by divers names, and is not much more than a day's journey in length or in breadth, neither do I think that it is more than a very little longer than it is broad. But beyond the territory of Sidon and the mountains between us and the Saracens, who are called Bacharites and dwell about the Dog's Pass, lies Ituraea⁴ proper, in the valley called Bakar,⁵ and because lengthways it reaches up to the foot of Mount Lebanon it is called the Forest of Lebanon.

Coming back from Tiberias, six leagues to the west, two leagues to the south of Cana of Galilee, is Sephora, a very fair town with a castle above it. Here Joachim, the Blessed

¹ Safed, see Tob. i. 2 (in Vulgate).

² Josephus, B. I. iii. 9, § 7, says that the Jordan enters the Lake of Gennesareth at the city Julias.

³ Bethrehob, Judges xviii. 28 ; Num. xiii. 21.

⁴ Ituraea is wrongly placed in the *Buka'ah* valley (Coele Syria), east of Lebanon.

⁵ Nasir-i-Khusrau, 13 ; Fetellus, 24 ; Ludolph, 135 ; Theoderich, 71 ; J. de Vitry, ch. xlvi.

Virgin's father, is said to have been born. It stands in the tribe of Asshur, near the Valley of Carmelion.¹

Two leagues to the south of Sephora, but rather to the eastward, is Nazareth, that blessed city of Galilee wherein the branch of the stem of Jesse,² after her angelic salutation by the Holy Spirit, conceived in her womb the blessed Jesus Christ. It is seven leagues from Acre. In it the place still remains where the angel Gabriel brought the tidings of salvation to the Blessed Virgin, saying, 'Hail, thou that art full of grace, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women.' I have said many Masses at that place, and even on the day itself—I mean the day of the holy Annunciation, when the Lord became flesh. May the name of the Lord Jesus Christ be blessed for ever and ever!

There are three altars in the chapel, which is hewn out of the living rock, even as is the place of the Nativity, the Passion, and the Resurrection, and of old a great part of Nazareth was hewn out of the rock, as may be seen at this day. To this day there stands there the synagogue, now made into a church, wherein as Jesus was teaching the Book of Isaiah the prophet was handed to Him, and He read, 'The Spirit of the Lord God is upon Me, because the Lord hath anointed Me,' etc. Moreover, at the end of the city, in St. Gabriel's Church, there is a well which is venerated by the inhabitants, from which it is said the boy Jesus often drew water when serving His mother.

About four bow-shots to the south of the city is the place called the Lord's Leap,³ where they would have cast Jesus down, but He passed out of their hands, and suddenly, as is shown there, was seen on the side of a

¹ See note, p. 39.

² Isa. xi. 1.

³ The Mount of Precipitation was shown from the twelfth century as at present, at the cliff south of Nazareth.

mountain a bow-shot away. There one may see on the rock the imprint of His features and clothes. From that mount one can see Mount Tabor, and the little hill of Hermon, and Hermon,¹ the village of Endor, Nain, Jezreel, and almost all across the Plain of Esdraelon.

Two leagues from Nazareth, to the east, is Mount Tabor, where the Lord was transfigured, and there to this day are shown the ruins of the three tabernacles, or cloisters, which were built according to Peter's wish. Moreover, there are exceeding great ruins² of palaces, towers, and regular buildings, now lurking-places for lions and other wild beasts. There is royal hunting to be had here.³ The mount is hard to climb, and is exceeding high, and suitable for building a castle on.

At its foot, on the south side, over against the village of Endor, beside the road that leads from Syria to Egypt, is the place where Melchisedek is said to have met Abraham as he came from the battle with the four kings near Damascus. At its foot, on the west side, over against Nazareth, a chapel is built in the place where the Lord when He came down from the mount said to His disciples, 'Tell no man what ye have seen.'⁴ From its foot on the east runs the brook Kishon, where Barak fought against Sisera and overthrew him and put him to flight.

This brook Kishon is formed by the rain-water from Mounts Tabor and Hermon, runs down toward the Sea of Galilee, and enters it near the Castle of Belvoir,⁵ which used to belong to the Knights Hospitallers of St. John.

¹ Little Hermon is *Jebel Nebi Dhaky*, south of Tabor. Endor (*Andur*) and Nain (*Nein*) are on its north slope.

² The fortress on Mount Tabor was ruined 1263.

³ Poloner, p. 26; Marino Sanuto, p. 26; Abbot Daniel, lxxv.

⁴ Matt. xvii. 9.

⁵ Belvoir (*Kaukab el Harwa*) is east of Tabor; but the Kishon flows west only from Tabor.

A league to the east of Mount Tabor is the village of Endor, which stands on the little hill of Hermonium (*sic*). This Hermonium is not a mount of itself, but is, as it were, a swelling of the ground coming down from Mount Hermon toward Mount Tabor, and joining itself to it. Upon it stands the village of Endor, whereof we read in the psalm,¹ ‘who perished at Endor.’ In this village dwelt the woman who had a familiar spirit, who at the instance of Saul raised up Samuel, as we read in the first Book of Samuel. Samuel lies buried in Ramathaim Zophim, about two days’ journey from that place.

Two leagues from Nazareth, and more than one league south of Mount Tabor, is the little hill of Hermon, on whose north side is the city of Nain, before whose gate the Lord raised the widow’s son from the dead.

This mount reaches lengthwise about four leagues over against the Sea of Galilee, and ends not far from the place where the river Jordan flows out of the Sea of Galilee.

HERE BEGINNETH THE THIRD DIVISION OF THE
EASTERN QUARTER.

VII. In the third division of the eastern quarter, which proceeds southward, the first place one comes to after leaving Acre is the first part of Mount Carmel, four leagues distant from Acre. Here is the place where Elijah the prophet slew the priests of Baal, at the brook Kishon, as we read in 1 Kings xviii. 40. A little way further the brook Kishon runs into the Mediterranean Sea, one league away from the city of Haifa, but about three from the city of Acre.

With regard to this brook Kishon, note that, albeit as a matter of fact it seems to be one and is spoken of as one,

¹ Psa. lxxxiii. 11.

yet it must be taken in a double sense, because it runs two ways. One part of it runs eastward into the Sea of Galilee, and another runs westward into the Mediterranean Sea. This double course arises from Mounts Tabor and Hermon being at no great distance from one another, and each sending out a rising ground toward the other, so that each mount seems joined to the other at its foot. This rising ground is highest on the side of Mount Hermon, and is called Hermonium, whereof mention has already been made, whereon stands the village of Endor. Now, this rising ground hinders the rain-water which falls on either mount running down all in the same direction, but one part runs eastward and enters the Sea of Galilee not far from the city of Bethshan. It was at this brook Kishon that Barak fought with Sisera, as we read in Judg. v. The other part runs down to the west into the Mediterranean Sea. It was at this brook Kishon that Elijah slew the priests of Baal, as we read in 1 Kings xviii. 40. And this stream that runs westward is fed by many waters from Mount Ephraim and the neighbourhood of Samaria, and from all the Plain of Esdraelon and Mount Cain and Megiddo.

Three leagues south of the place where the priests of Baal were slain is the castle on Mount Cain, called Caymon,¹ at the very end of Mount Carmel, the place where Lamech slew Cain with an arrow, as is told in Gen. iv. 23. 'I have slain a man to my wounding.'

Three leagues south of Mount Cain is Megiddo,² which at this day is called Suburbe. Here died Ahaziah, King of Judah, whom Jehu, King of Israel, wounded with an arrow near Jezreel, at the going up to Gur,³ what time he slew

¹ Caymon, now *Tell Keimûn*, east of Carmel, is the ancient Jokneam.

² Megiddo is placed at *Ezbûba*, near Taanach.

³ 2 Kings ix.

Joram, King of Israel, with an arrow and cast him in the portion of the field of Naboth the Jezreelite. At this same Megiddo Josiah, King of Judah, was slain by Pharaoh, King of Egypt, when he was marching to the river Euphrates.

Here note that the Field of Megiddo, and Esdraelon, and the Plain of Galilee are one and the same thing, but all those names have passed away, and it is now commonly called the Plain of Faba, after the castle named Faba,¹ which stands three bow-shots from the city of Aphek. But in very truth this is the Plain of Galilee, bounded on the east by the Sea of Galilee and the Jordan, on the south by Mount Ephraim and Samaria, on the west partly by Mount Ephraim, and partly by Mount Carmel, on the north by the mountains of Phoenicia and Lebanon. This plain seems to be about ten leagues long, and six or more wide; in some parts it is exceeding fertile in corn, oil, and wine, and abounds in all the good things in the world, so that I do not think that I have ever seen better land, if only our demerits and sins did not prevent its being cultivated by Christians.

More than two leagues east of Mount Cain is the village of Mesrha;² it stands on the brook Kishon, one league from the foot of Mount Hermon.

A league to the south of Mosrha is the castle called Faba. On its western side, three bow-shots away, on the right-hand side of the road to Jezreel, are shown the ruins of the city of Aphek, where the Syrians fought against Ahab, King of Israel, what time they said, 'Their gods are gods of the hills . . . let us fight against them in the plain.'³

A league to the east of Aphek, on the left-hand side of

¹ Castellum Fabae ('bean castle') was at *Fâleh* ('the bean').

² Mesrha is the ruin *el Mezra'h*, near Fûleh.

³ 1 Kings xx. 23.

the road to Jezreel, on the south side of Mount Hermon, one is shown the city of Shunem, whither Elisha often went when on his way from Carmel to Gilgal or the Jordan ; for this was the less hilly road for him when he would go to Jericho, where he abode with the sons of the prophets, from Carmel, that is to say, through Shunem to Bethshan, and thence along the Plain of Jordan to Gilgal. Wherefore we read in 2 Kings iv. 8 how, whenever he went to Jordan, he must needs pass by Shunem,¹ and therefore used to stay with the woman of Shunem. It was from this same city that this same woman came to him when her son died, to Carmel, which is four leagues distant from that place, and Elisha raised her son from the dead. Here the Philistines pitched their camp when Saul came to Gilboa. From this city of Shunem came Abishag, the Shunamite, who cherished old King David and lay in his bosom.

Two leagues to the east of Shunem, but rather to the south of east, is the city of Bethshan, standing between Mount Gilboa and the Jordan, but half a league away from the Jordan. On its walls the Philistines hung the corpses of Saul and his sons after they had slain them on Mount Gilboa. Once it was called Scythopolis, as Josephus tells us, but now all men call it Bethshan.² It is an exceeding luxurious place.

Above it, on the western side, is Mount Gilboa, which reaches as far as Jezreel, two leagues to the west.

Two leagues to the west of Bethshan there springs a great fountain, two leagues above Bethshan. This is the 'fountain which is in Jezreel'³ spoken of in 1 Sam. xxix. 1,

¹ Shunem is now *Sâlem*, east of Fûleh.

² Bethsan is Bethshan, now *Beisân*.

³ The Fountain of Jezreel is placed at 'Ain Jalûd, below Jezreel to the east.

where the Philistines pitched their camp when they were at Gilboa, between that fountain and Bethshan.

A little way, about two bow-shots, from that fountain is the city of Jezreel.¹ It stands on a somewhat high spot, and was once one of the royal cities of Israel, but at this day it scarce has thirty houses. It is now called Zaraein,² and stands at the foot of Mount Gilboa, on the west side thereof. Before its gate is still shown the field of Naboth the Jezreelite. It is two short leagues distant from the city of Shunem, which stands to the north of it, on the south side of Mount Hermon.

These two mountains—I mean Mount Hermon and Mount Gilboa—are so placed that Mount Gilboa is to the south and Hermon to the north, with a space of two short leagues between them. They extend lengthways from east to west, and at the east both end at the Jordan. They are two leagues or more long.

Upon the plain between them many great battles have been fought. Here Gideon fought against Midian, Saul fought against the Philistines, and Ahab fought against the Syrians. In modern times also the Tartars fought the Saracens there.

[But note regarding this Mount Hermon that there is yet another mount of that name beyond Trachonitis, near Mount Sanyr, which is far greater and higher than this one; and in many places it is that one, not this one, whereof the Scriptures make mention.]

In the plain between these two mountains begins the valley³ which is called ‘the illustrious valley,’⁴ because of its

¹ Jezreel (*Zer'in*) was called Gerinum and Gerayn in the twelfth century. Parvum Gerinum was *Jenin*.

² This is Laurent's emendation of the valley Zaracin. Cf. Will. Tyr, p. 1037, Bongars.

³ See Marino Sanuto, p. 30, note. J. de Vitry, p. 1074, Bongars.

⁴ ‘The illustrious valley’ is the Vulgate rendering for Moreh

beauty and fertility. It reaches from that place all the way down Jordan to the Dead Sea. Before the Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah it was this illustrious valley that 'was well watered everywhere, even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt,' as we read in Gen. xiii. 10.

From Jezreel there is a fine view over all Galilee, even to Carmel and the mountains of Phoenicia, of Mount Tabor and Mount Gilead and the parts beyond Jordan, and of all Mount Ephraim, even to Carmel.

The road from Mount Gilead to Jezreel goes along the south side of Mount Gilboa on the level from Jordan, past Aenon and Salim,¹ where John baptized. It was along this road also that Jehu came from Ramoth Gilead, when the watchman said, 'I see a company,'² etc. It is not true, as some say, that neither dew nor rain falls upon the mountains of Gilboa, because when I was there on St. Martin's Day³ the rain fell upon me till I was wet to the skin; moreover, the valley was filled with water by that rain.⁴ But it is true that in some places they are stony and dry and barren, like the other mountains of Israel.

Four leagues to the south of Jezreel is Engannim,⁵ a town which once was walled, but whose walls have fallen down. It stands at the foot of Mount Ephraim. At this town Galilee ends and Samaria begins. Engannim is about seven leagues to the west of Jordan.

This country is bounded on the south by the land of Tappuah,⁶ which has exceeding lofty mountains.⁷

(Gen. xii. 6). It is here applied to the Valley of Jezreel, because the hill Moreh (Judg. vii. 1) was by that valley.

¹ St. John iii. 23.

² 2 Kings ix. 17.

³ November 11.

⁴ Cf. Anon., p. 34; Thietmar, ch. ii. 7.

⁵ Engannim is *Jenîn*—Little Gerayn in the twelfth century.

⁶ The land Tamnah, Tampne, or Tappuah, often noticed, was the region east of Mount Ephraim named from *Tammûn*, north-east of Shechem.

⁷ Josh. xii. 17; xv. 34; xvi. 8; xvii. 7, 8.

Four leagues south of Engannim is the city of Sebaste, which once was called Samaria, when it was the capital of the kingdom of the ten tribes, which was called Israel. Now its sins have caused it to have not so much as one house, but there are two churches built in honour of St. John the Baptist. Howbeit, the Saracens have made one of these into a mosque, namely, that which was the chief one and was once the Bishop's cathedral; more especially have they so done with the sepulchre of the same St. John the Baptist, which was all of marble, like the Lord's sepulchre, where the prophet lay buried between Elisha and Obadiah. This church stands on the side of the mountain, as one goes down it. The Saracens pay great honour to St. John next to Christ and the Blessed Virgin, and think a great deal of him. They truly declare that Christ is the Word of God, but they say that He is not God. They say that the Blessed Virgin conceived of the Holy Ghost, bore Him as a virgin, and remained a virgin. They say that John was a great and exceeding holy prophet. They say that Mahomet was God's messenger, and was sent by Him to themselves alone. This I have read in the Alcoran, which is the book of their law. The other church stands on the brow of the hill, where the King's palace once stood. Therein dwell Greek monks, Christians, who received me kindly and gave me food. In that church these same Greeks show the place where they say that John was imprisoned and beheaded by Herod; which I say is a vain thing, because the Chronicle,¹ and Josephus, and the legends of the saints, and the writer of the Histories, and the 'Ecclesiastical History,' all agree in saying that he was

¹ The passage quoted by Burchardus occurs in the 'Historia Scolastica' of Petrus Comestor, Strasburg, 1503. On page D 2 we read: 'Chronica et xi. liber historie ecclesiastice tradunt Ioannem in Castello Arabie trans Iordanem, dicto Macheranta, vinctum et truncatum.'

beheaded at Macherunta, which is now called Haylon, beyond Jordan. Furthermore, the Herod who beheaded John was Tetrarch of Galilee and of the country beyond the river, which is the land of Gilead, or of the two tribes, and he had no authority in Samaria, which was in Pilate's jurisdiction, even as was Jerusalem or Judaea; wherefore he could neither imprison John nor behead him, because he had no power there. But after he had been beheaded, in Macherunta as aforesaid, his body was buried in Samaria by his disciples between the aforesaid prophets, but his head was buried at Jerusalem. I have nowhere in the Holy Land seen such great ruins as at Samaria, and yet I have seen great ones. The city did not stand as the writer of the Histories seems to think in his commentary on the text, 'The gods do so unto me, and more also, if the dust of Samaria shall suffice for handfuls for all the people that follow me.'¹ He seems to think that the city wall and top of the mountain were of equal height, and that buildings were built thereon; but this was not so, for the city wall was at the foot of the mountain, well fenced with exceeding strong towers, and the mount was within it, rising gradually, set about with buildings even as a bunch is set about with grapes, and lofty, rising by degrees to a point. The palace² was on the mountain-top, and was exceeding fair. There may be seen there to this day very many of the marble columns which supported its palaces and colonnades. Round about the mount, below the palace and below the mansions of the nobles, on the site of the public place or market for buying and selling, one may find to this day, all round about the mount, marble columns standing within the walls. These columns used to support the vaults of the streets, for the

¹ 1 Kings xx. 10.

² This palace at Samaria (*Sebustieh*) was the ruin of Herod's Temple to Augustus.

streets of this city were vaulted according to the custom of the Holy Land. In short, I have no more to say about this city, which has now come to such misery that in real truth it is a garden of herbs,¹ such as Ahab, its King, wanted to make of the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite, because it was near his house. Indeed, at this day, by the just judgment of God, not only that vineyard, but also the King's palace itself, has been turned into a garden of herbs. The situation of this city was an exceeding beautiful one; from it one had a view even to the sea at Joppa, to Anti-patris and Caesarea of Palestine, over all the mountains of Ephraim even to Ramathaim Zophim, and to Carmel by the sea near Acre. It abounds with fountains, gardens, vineyards, and all the good things that a man wants in this world.

Four leagues to the east of Samaria stands the city of Tirzah,² on a high hill. Here the Kings of Israel reigned for some time before Samaria was built. It was in the lot of Manasseh.

Six leagues east of Tirzah, on the road leading to the Jordan, is the land of Tappuah which, among other mountains, has one exceeding lofty one. This also was in the lot of Manasseh, and reaches as far as the plains of Jordan over against Macherunta.³

Two leagues south of Samaria, near the road which leads to Sichern, upon a lofty mountain on the right-hand side, is Mount Bethel, whereon Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, set up one of the golden calves wherewith he made Israel to sin. The Saracens corruptly call this place Bothil, not being able to say Bethel.

Half a league thence beside the road on the left hand is

¹ 1 Kings xxi. 2.

² Tirzah is placed perhaps at *Teiasir*, north-east of Shechem.

³ Macherunta is Machaerus (*Mekhaûr*), east of the Dead Sea.

another mount, loftier than the first one. It is called Dan,¹ and is above the city of Sichem.² Some say that the other golden calf was set up thereon; but others say that it was in the city of Dan, which now is called Belinas, or Caesarea Philippi. And this seems to be rather what is meant by Jerome. A man must choose which he pleases; this much, however, is certain, that this mount is called Dan.

Between these two mounts lies the city of Sichem, now called Neapolis. It is exceeding pleasant, and full of good things, but is not fortified; neither can it by any means be fortified; but all that the inhabitants can do if the enemy come to one gate is to flee out of the other, if they be fewer in number: for the city stands in a valley between very high mountains, so that anyone could cast stones into it by hand.

About two bow-shots from its southern gate is Jacob's Well, beside the road leading to Jerusalem. Here is the Lord's seat, where He sat by the well, and begged the woman of Samaria for drink.

Above this well, on the right hand, is a high mountain with two crests,³ one of which is called Mount Gerizim, and the other, Mount Ebal. Joshua built an altar on Mount Gerizim, and wrote Deuteronomy (?), and they stood blessing and cursing, and answered from Mount Ebal, as they were commanded in Deut. xxvii. Upon Mount Gerizim there is shown at this day an exceeding ancient temple, the hospice of Jupiter Olympius, which Sanballat,⁴ the Governor of the country beyond the river, built in the likeness of the Temple at Jerusalem for his son-in-law Manasseh, who wished to be Chief Priest. This temple stood there down

¹ Dan is here placed near Gerizim. See Marino Sanuto, p. 17.

² *Supra civitatem Sichem.* Laurent says that he does not know what mount is meant, or what is the meaning of *supra* in the text.

³ Deut. xi. 29, 30.

⁴ 2 Macc. vi. 2.

to the time of the destruction wrought by the Romans, and the traces and ruins thereof are to be seen at this day. It is this mount and this temple that the woman of Samaria is thought to have meant and pointed to when she said to the Lord, 'Our fathers worshipped in this mountain.'¹

On the left-hand side of this well there is a great town, but in ruins, which I believe was Old Sichem, because there are exceeding great ruins of marble palaces and admirable columns, standing two bow-shots from Jacob's Well and resting-place, and on a very pleasant site, save that it is without water. Nowhere have I seen so fertile and rich a spot. It is two bow-shots distant from the city, which is called Neapolis.² I think that this Neapolis was the town of Thebes.³

Near this well is the parcel of ground⁴ which Jacob gave to his son Joseph, apart from his brethren. It is a long and fertile and very beautiful valley, and I do not know any other valley equal thereto in richness.

In Sichem Joseph's bones are buried; they were brought thither from Egypt.

Four leagues to the south of Sichem, near the road on the right hand as you go to Jerusalem, is the village of Libnah, a very fine place. There is another village named Libnah⁵ in the tribe of Judah, but this was in the tribe of Ephraim.

Five leagues to the south of Libnah is the town of Michmash, a fairly large one, which was the boundary of the tribe of Ephraim towards the south. It is now called Bira.⁶ In former days it belonged to the Knights Templars.

¹ St. John iv. 20.

² Neapolis (*Náblus*) is confused with Thebez (*Tubás*), to north-east.

³ Thebez. Judg. ix. 50; 2 Sam. xi. 21.

⁴ St. John iv. 5.

⁵ Libnah is Lebonah (*Khân Lubben*), west of Shiloh. Libnah of Judah (Josh. x. 29) is unknown.

⁶ Michmash (*Mukhmás*) is confused with *Bireh*.

Near its south side is the boundary between the tribe of Ephraim and the tribe of Benjamin.

One league south of Michmash is Gibeah¹ of Saul,² where the wife of the Levite, who came from Bethlehem, was abused, for which deed almost all the tribe of Benjamin was destroyed. It was the birthplace of Saul, the son of Kish, the first King of Israel.

One league south of Gibeah is the village of Rama,³ standing on a hill, not far from the roadside, on the left hand as you go to Jerusalem. It was of this place that Jeremiah is believed to have said, 'In Rama was a voice heard.'

Two leagues south of Rama is the glorious city of Jerusalem, whereof I say nothing at present, as I wish to go back to Sichem, and first mention the cities in the corner of Mount Ephraim, and take up my description where I broke it off.

Note, however, that there are many villages named Rama in the Holy Land :⁴ one near Tekoa, on the road from thence to Hebron ; another in the tribe of Naphtali ; a third not far from the castle of Sephet. The fourth is Shiloh, which likewise is called Rama. Rama, being interpreted, means 'high,' and, indeed, all these villages stand upon exceeding high hills.

Now, as one goes south (*sic*) from Sichem toward Jordan, the first place, four leagues off, is Emon⁵ (Chepharhaamonai),⁶ a very good town, standing in a fair place,

¹ Gibeah of Saul is now *Jeb'a*, south of Mukhmâs.

² 1 Sam. xi. 4.

³ Rama is now *er Râm*, near *Jeb'a*, on the west.

⁴ Rama near Tekoa is *Râmet el Khalil*, north of Hebron. Rama near Sephet is *Râmeh*, south-west of Safed, Rama of Naphtali is *Râmeh*, south-east of Tyre. Shiloh and Ramathaim Zophim were both shown in the twelfth century at Nebi Samwîl, north of Jerusalem, and the latter also at *Ramleh*.

⁵ Emon is *Kefr 'Ana*, north of Bethel.

⁶ Josh. xviii. 24.

abounding in all this world's goods. It was in the lot of (the tribe of) Ephraim.

Four leagues to the east of Emon, at the going down of Mount Ephraim, on the plain, two leagues from Jordan, is the village of Phesech,¹ at the place where the brook Cherith runs down from the mountain. Here Elijah abode, when the ravens brought him food in the morning and in the evening.

One league from Phesech, to the left hand, toward the land of Tappuah,² is the castle of Docus,³ wherein Ptolemy, the son of Abobus, treacherously slew Simon Maccabeus. From this place one can plainly see the land of Gilead and the land of the two tribes and the half-tribe, the land of Heshbon and the hill country of Moab, Mounts Abarim, Pisgah and Nebo.

Here one goes down into the plain of Jordan. This plain reaches to Jericho and beyond it, all the way down Jordan even to the Salt Sea. Mount Abarim, Pheger and Pisgah⁴ stand straight over against this place, beyond Jordan. You must know, also, that from the source of Jordan at the foot of Mount Lebanon even to the wilderness of Paran, for about one hundred miles and more, the Jordan has wide and fair plains on either bank. Further on these same plains, with exceeding high mountains on either side, extend as far as the Red Sea.

Five leagues to the southward, but a little to the eastward of Phesech, is the place Gilgal, where the children of

¹ Phesech is for Phasaelus (*Fusail*), in the Jordan Valley, here supposed to be the Brook Cherith.

² 1 Macc. xvi. 15.

³ Docus is placed too far north. It was *'Ain Dūk*, north of Jericho, at the foot of the Quarantania Mountain.

⁴ Nebo is *Jebel Neba*, south-west of Heshbon. Phegor (Peor), Abarim (Mount), and Pisgah, are placed near, at the sites shown in the fourth century.

Israel long lay in leaguer after crossing Jordan. There some of them were circumcised.

Half a league from Gilgal¹ on the way to Jericho, on the right-hand side of the road, is the mount called Quarentena,² where the Lord fasted forty days and forty nights, and it is exceeding high and hard to climb. But He was tempted on another mountain three leagues away from this one, up in the wilderness, on the south side of Bethel and Ai.

About two bow-shots below Quarentena Elisha's fountain³ rises and flows forth, whose waters Elisha healed,⁴ because they were bitter and barren. This stream runs near Gilgal, on the south side, and turns great mills. After this it is divided into many channels, waters sugar-canes, orchards and gardens, as far as Jericho and beyond Jericho, and then runs into Jordan.

Near Gilgal, half a league to the south, is the Valley of Achor,⁵ at the foot of a mountain, in which valley Achan⁶ was stoned for theft of the accursed thing.

One league to the east of Gilgal stands Jericho. Once it was a noble city, now it has scarce eight houses. There are the traces of a poor village, and all the memorials of the holy places therein have been utterly destroyed.

Two leagues from Jericho, beside Jordan, is a chapel built in honour of St. John the Baptist,⁷ on a spot where the Lord is believed to have been baptized. Yet some think

¹ Gilgal seems to be here placed west of Jericho. Quarantania (*Jebel Koruntul*) is north-west of Jericho.

² See Tobler's note on Theoderich, ch. xxix.

³ Elisha's Fountain (*Ras el 'Ain*) is the site of ancient Jericho. Jericho is here placed at the modern *er Rîha*, to the East. The ruin of the sugar mills still exist at the foot of Quarantania.

⁴ 1 Kings ii. 21.

⁵ The Valley of Achor is *Wâdy Kelt*.

⁶ Josh. vii.

⁷ St. John on Jordan is now *Kusr el Yehûd*.

that it was done at Salim,¹ but the traditions of the Church deny this.

What came to pass in Jericho is well known, and therefore I forbear to write it down.

Two leagues from Jericho, near the Dead Sea, is Bethhoglah,² where the children of Israel mourned for the death of Jacob their father, after they brought his body out of Egypt. This place is one league distant from the Jordan. Greek monks dwell there.

Three leagues from Jericho, one league from St. John's Chapel by the Jordan, is the Dead Sea, which is also called the Lake of Asphalt, that is, of bitumen, or the Salt Sea. It divides Arabia from Judaea. On its eastern shore is the land of Moab and Ammon and Mount Seir, whereof I have told you before, and it reaches to Kadesh Barnea and the wilderness of Paran.

About midway on its eastern shore is shown Monreal,³ which of old was called Petra in the wilderness, and now is called Krach, an exceeding strong fortress built by Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, to enlarge the borders of the Kingdom of Jerusalem; but now the Soldan holds it, and lays up therein all the treasures of Egypt and Arabia.

Two days' journey south-east of Krach is Arcopolis,⁴ now called Petra, the capital city of the whole of the Second Arabia, described above. Of old it was called Ar, and stood on the brook Arnon, on the borders of the Moabites, the Ammonites and the Amorites.

On this same shore is the place where Balaam was led into the mountains of Moab to curse the children of Israel.

Five leagues to the south-west of Jericho is the town of

¹ St. John iii. 23.

² Bethhoglah is now *Kusr Hajlah*.

³ Montreal (*Shobek*) is wrongly placed here at Kerak. Ludolph, 118; Fabri, ii. 182.

⁴ Arcopolis (for Areopolis) is *Rabbah*, south of Kerak.

Segor,¹ at the foot of Mount Engaddi. Between this and the Dead Sea stands the Pillar of Salt, into which Genesis tells us that Lot's wife was turned. I strove hard to see this, but the Saracens told me² that the place was unsafe because of wild beasts and serpents and worms, and more especially because of the Bedouins who dwell in those parts, who are exceeding bold and evil men. These arguments kept me from going thither, but I have learned since that it was not so.

The Dead Sea measures six leagues in width from east to west ; its length from north to south, the Saracens told me, was five days' journey. It is always smoking,³ and dark like Hell's chimney. Much has been written and said about this sea by divers people, which I pass over as known to many ; nevertheless, you must know that I fear not to tell what I have seen with my own eyes, and many others with me, which is, that the whole of the valley which used rightly to be called the Illustrious⁴ Valley, from the end of this sea which is in the wilderness of Paran even to half a day's journey or so beyond Jericho, is made barren by the smoke of this sea, so that it neither bears grass nor herb of any sort throughout its whole breadth, which is five or, in places, six leagues, save near the city of Jericho, where sugar-canes and gardens and orchards are watered by Elisha's Fountain. This is indeed a dreadful judgment of God, who for so many centuries so punishes the sins of the Sodomites, that even the land itself pays the penalty thereof after so many thousands of years.

Above the sea, on the right hand and on the left, are

¹ Segor (Zoar) is placed at *Zuweirah*, on the south-west shore of the Dead Sea. The true site (*Tell esh Shaghûr*) was north-east of the Dead Sea.

² Ludolph, 117 ; Fabri, ii. 150-153.

³ The alteration of *sinuans* in the text to *fumans* is obvious.

⁴ So the Vulgate translates Moreh, Gen. xii. 6, etc. See note, p. 48.

barren and waste mountains, or only inhabited by Barbarians for many miles into the land, as far as that smoke can reach when driven by the wind.

Some declare that Jordan does not mix its waters with that sea, but that they are swallowed up by the earth before they reach it ; but Saracens have told me that of a truth it both enters the sea and leaves the same, but shortly after leaving it is swallowed up in the earth.

At times this sea overflows, owing to the melting of the snow on Lebanon and the other mountains, the flooding of Jordan and the brooks Jabbok, Hermon,¹ and Zared,² and to rain falling in Galilee, Mount Gilead, the land of Moab, Ammon, and Seir, from all of which the water runs down the Jordan into this sea. Moreover, bitumen is found in it, brought up from its bottom ; which bitumen, when the wind stirs the sea, clings together and is cast up on the shores in great quantities. It is strong and medicinal, cannot be melted save with menstruous blood, and is called Jews' pitch. Hence it is called the Lake of Judaea, or the Lake of Asphalt—that is to say, of bitumen. We are told in Gen. xiv. that there were many slime-pits in the Vale of Siddim, which now is the Salt Sea ; and at this day there are many on its shore. There is always a pyramid built beside each pit, which thing I have seen with my own eyes. Let what I have said suffice about that sea.

Three leagues from the aforesaid place Gilgal, and the same distance from Elisha's Fountain, to the northward, in the mountains, on the northern side of Mount Quarentena, is the city of Ai, which Joshua took by storm, and slew its king, as we are told in the Book of Joshua (ch. viii.).

One league north, but a little west of Ai, is the city of

¹ Hermon is a mistake for Arnon.

² Numb. xxi. 12.

Bethel,¹ which once was called Luz, in the tribe of Benjamin. It was here that Jacob, when going eastward, fleeing from before the face of his brother Esau, slept with a stone for his pillow, and saw the ladder set up on the earth, with its top reaching to heaven, and so forth, as we read in Genesis; and here he set up the stone for a pillar, and called the name of the place Bethel. Those who say that this took place² at Jerusalem are mistaken, because Melchisedek was then reigning at Jerusalem, and it was a noble city; neither would it have been necessary for Jacob to sleep there in the field, least of all on Mount Moriah, which then was, and now is, adjoining the city. Moreover, the proofs of this thing are shown at Bethel at this day: there is the stone set up for a pillar, and the tomb of Deborah, Rebecca's nurse,³ down below in the valley. Yet some say that Jerusalem was named Bethel, foolishly pinning their faith to the verses:

‘Solima, Luz, Bethel, Jerusalem, Jebus, Aelia,
The holy city Jerusalem was called, and Salem too.’

I should be glad to learn from these people in what places in the Old or New Testament they find any proof of Jerusalem's being called either Luz or Bethel, unless, perhaps, they mean to call the Temple Bethel—that is, God's House. Moreover, upon the text of Gen. xiii. 3, ‘Abram went on his journeys from the south, even unto Bethel,’ Jerome, who had seen the place, has the following gloss: ‘Bethel is a city twelve miles from Jerusalem, in the tribe of Benjamin, on the right hand as thou goest to Neapolis.’ Neapolis is Sichem, near Luz, which is in the tribe of Ephraim, and the border between the tribe of Benjamin and Ephraim passes through the midst thereof.

¹ Bethel is now *Beitin*.

² John of Würzburg, ch. iv.

³ Gen. xxxv. 8.

A league north of Bethel, towards Rama, is the palm-tree of Deborah, the wife of Lapidoth, who judged Israel, and sent Barak to fight against Sisera on Mount Tabor.

Two leagues from Bethel, one league from Jerusalem, not far from Rama of Benjamin, is Anathoth,¹ a little village of priests, which was the birthplace of the prophet Jeremiah.

To the east and south of Anathoth begins the wilderness which is between Jerusalem and Jericho, which now is called the wilderness of Quarentena, and reaches beyond Gilgal, even to the wilderness over against Tekoa and Engaddi.

Near the Dead Sea, on its western shore, one league from Zoar, is the going up of Mount Engaddi,² where we read that David once lay hid when Saul sought for him to slay him.

On this mount and round about it was a garden of balsam; but in the days of Herod the Great, Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, out of hatred for Herod and by favour of Mark Anthony, removed it to Babylon in Egypt.³ So there I saw it when I came into Egypt to the Soldan, who had me taken thither; and I carried off much balsam-wood, and bathed in the well which waters the garden. The gardeners told me that from noon on Saturday even to Monday oxen would not draw water from that well, even if they were cut in pieces.

This garden is two bow-shots long, and a stone's-throw or more wide. The garden of balsam in Egypt is tilled by Christian gardeners alone, and is watered from a well wherein the Blessed Virgin is said to have often dipped the boy Jesus.

¹ Anathoth appears to be correctly placed at *'Anáta*.

² Engaddi (Engedi) is at *'Ain Jidy*, north of Zuweirah.

³ Ludolph von Suchem, ch. xxx., p. 68.

Yet even to this day there are some exceeding noble vine-stocks on Engaddi ; but Saracens do not tend them, and no Christians, who would tend them, live there.

Beneath Engaddi, by the side of the Dead Sea, there are exceeding beauteous trees ; but their fruit, when plucked, is found to be all ashes and dust within.

The mountains of Engaddi are exceeding high, and are strangely shaped with precipices and valleys, so that I have never seen the like, and they strike terror into the beholders.

Four leagues to the west of Jericho, on the road to Jerusalem, to the left of Quarentena, is the Castle of Adummim,¹ the place where the man who went down from² Jerusalem to Jericho fell among thieves. This has befallen many on the same spot in modern times, and the place has received its name from the frequent blood shed there. Of a truth it is horrible to behold, and exceeding dangerous, unless one travels with an escort.

Two leagues west of Adummim is Bahurim³ in the tribe of Benjamin. This was the city of Shimei, the son of Gera, who abused David when he fled from before the face of Absalom, as we read in 2 Sam. xvi. 5. It is a fair castle, and stands upon a high hill.

In the valley beneath, on the east side on the king's highway leading from Adummim, is the stone of Beon⁴ of the children of Reuben, which is as big as a pot, and looks like marble.

Two bow-shots to the west of Bahurim, on the slope of

¹ Adummim is correctly placed at *Tal'at ed Dumm*.

² Josh. xv. 7 ; xviii. 18. See Tobler's note on Theod., ch. xxviii., Ernoul, p. 60, and Fabri, ii. 65.

³ Bahurim is placed east of Bethany.

⁴ This stone of Beon (Bohan), may be the Roman milestone called *Dabbûs el 'Abd* ('slave's club') on the Jericho road, but the true site was near Gilgal.

a hill, stands Bethany, the village¹ of Martha and Mary. Before its door, less than a stone's-throw away, near a cistern in the field, is shown the place where first Martha and then Mary, called by her, met the Lord when He came to Bethany.

In Bethany they still show the house of Simon the leper, wherein the Lord sat with him at table, and likewise Martha's house, wherein He was often a guest. This is now made into a church dedicated to them. (They also show) Lazarus's tomb, from whence he was raised, which is not far from the church.² At this place a very fair and beauteous marble chapel has been built, and a monument, which is itself covered with marble, down into which I went. The Saracens greatly honour this sepulchre because of the miracle of resurrection which the Lord wrought there.

As you leave Bethany, you do not at first see Jerusalem, because of the Mount of Olives, which stands between; but first you climb a rising ground, and then you see part of the beloved city and Mount Sion. O God, how many devout tears have been shed at this place by those who have there beheld the joy of the whole earth, the city of the great King! O what delight will it be to see the place of Thy glory, blessed Jesus, when we see the place of Thy shame and confusion with such exultation! But let us put aside all this and come as quickly as we can to Jerusalem.

Now we go down the mount, and again the beloved city is hidden from our sight. Moreover, on the east side of the Mount of Olives, near Bethphage, a very small village, which we pass a stone's-throw off, on the left hand in the

¹ *Castellum*. So *κώμη* is translated in the Vulgate. See Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible,' art. 'Bethany.'

² The tomb of Lazarus is still shown in a crypt-chapel in Bethany *el' Azeriyeh*, as in the fourth century.

valley, at the foot of the Mount of Offence,¹ the road goes up along the south side of the Mount of Olives and circles round it. We now come to the place where the Lord mounted the ass, and straightway there shines forth the city with the Temple, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the other holy places. We come now to the going down the Mount of Olives, where He saw the city and wept bitterly over it, while crowds went before and after Him, shouting 'Hosanna to the Son of David!' and rejoicing at His blessed coming. Let us go on, pass over the brook Cedron between the place of His prayer when in an agony and His capture in Gethsemane, and follow Him, if haply we may be suffered to come to Golgotha, where His feet stayed nailed to the cross, and running with blood; let us die there with Christ, that together with Him we may rise again.

JERUSALEM.

VIII. Now, Jerusalem, the city of God most high, whereof very excellent things² have been spoken and are spoken daily, stands on mountainous ground. The mountains stand round about it, nevertheless it has good and fertile land in its neighbourhood, save only on the east toward Jordan. It is thirty-six leagues from Acre, which is to the north, sixteen from Sebaste or Samaria, thirteen from Sichem, thirty-seven from Nazareth. All these places are to the north of it. It is thirteen leagues from Joppa, which stands a little north of west from it. It is seven leagues from Jericho, which is to the east of it. It is two leagues from Bethlehem, eight from Tekoa, and eight from Hebron. These places are to the south of it.

¹ Mount of Offence was a mediaeval name for the south part of Olivet.

² Ps. lxxxvii. 2.

It stands in a twofold fashion on the slope of a hill ; that is to say, on the south and west sides thereof. On the southward it stands alongside of Mount Sion, or, rather, part of it is on Mount Sion itself, and part on the slope thereof. Its length extends from Mount Sion towards the north. On its west side it has Mount Gihon, and from it its width reaches eastward even to the brook Cedron or the Valley of Jehoshaphat, which is the same thing.

It is a pretty large city, as I shall tell you hereafter, and does not, as some vainly declare, stand in a different place to what it did at the time of the Lord's Passion. The argument on that side is that since the Lord suffered without the gate, and the place is now within the city walls, therefore the city must stand in a different place. But they know not what they say, and want to show what they have not seen. The city stands now where it hath ever stood, for since the Lord's Temple stands within the city walls, it would be foolish, nay, altogether impossible, to move it to another place because of the walls wherewith it is fenced on all sides, the like whereof it could in nowise have elsewhere. But as a matter of fact it has spread itself out, in width, though not in length, and the whole of the ancient city, together with Mount Sion, is now within the walls, and is inhabited ; but at this day there are very few inhabitants for so great a city, because the people thereof dwell in continual terror. I have to the best of my ability traced out its ancient position.

In ancient times, as at this day, Mount Sion partly overhung the city, being a roomy place, which of itself could contain a pretty large city. This mount begins at the Water Gate, or Gate of the Fountain of Siloam, on the east side, and forms a half-circle round by way of the south to the west side, where was the Tower of David. Throughout all this circle was steep rock and arches like those of the

half-circle called Mello, to fill up which between Mount Sion and the lower city we read that the Kings of Judah worked very hard. The Tower of David stands on the west side, on a hill somewhat higher than the steep wall of rock, and the torrent-bed which comes from the south side of Mount Sion, and follows it to the west side, straight-way turned round from west to east as soon as it came to the tower, encompassing the same. Thus, the tower stood on a rock in a bend of the torrent-bed. The valley or torrent-bed which girded it round about was divided into two deep valleys, one of which pointed toward the north, and the other toward the east. These two valleys made another corner, over against the corner where the Tower of David stood, which was the corner of the lower city, as will be explained hereafter.

Now, this valley which came down from the Tower of David passed along the north side of Mount Sion even to Mount Moriah, where was the Temple, parting Mount Moriah and all the lower city from Mount Sion. This torrent-bed went yet further, even to the brook Cedron, through the place where the Water Gate now stands, between Mount Sion and Solomon's palace, which is built on the southern side of Mount Moriah. Thus this torrent-bed in ancient times encircled Mount Sion on every side. This was the city of David. At this day the whole of this torrent-bed is filled up; nevertheless, its traces may be made out after a fashion.¹

The second torrent-bed or valley which split off from it at the Tower of David, as aforesaid, went northward, and formed the town-ditch on the west side for the whole length of the city, even to its northern end. All the way along it was overhung on the inner side by the rock called *Acra* by

¹ See the 'Survey of Western Palestine,' vol. vi. (Jerusalem), p. 230.

Josephus, upon which rock the city wall was built. This wall enclosed the city on the west, even to the Gate of Ephraim, where it turned away again to the east, up to the Gate of the Corner, which stood at the corner of the city, which is the north-east corner. Here the wall turned again from north, round eastward to south, passing outside the Temple area, enclosing it and the King's house and the Fountain or Water Gate, near Mount Sion on the east. This was the circuit of the city. Now, the rock whereon, as aforesaid, the west wall of the city was built was very high, especially at the corner where the west part of the wall joined the north part. This place was much loftier than the rest, and here was built the tower called *Nebulosa*,¹ and an exceeding strong castle, whose ruins are there still. From it one has a view of Arabia and Jordan and the Dead Sea and many other places. Yet some would have it that the Tower *Nebulosa* was near the Temple—a thing whereof the form and slope of the ground does not admit. From this exceeding high rock on the west side, as aforesaid, the breadth of the city sloped down gradually to the east wall, which stood above the brook Cedron. This place then was, and now is, the lowest part of the city, wherefore the refuse of this city used to run down through the Dung Gate into the brook Cedron.

Beyond this oft-mentioned torrent-bed or valley on the west side of the city, on the left hand as one comes out of the Old or Judgment Gate, the Lord was crucified; and long after His Passion the torrent-bed was filled up, and another wall brought round from the Tower of David² even

¹ Psephinus is here rendered *Tsephon*, 'dark' or 'cloudy,' and placed at *Kal'at Jalûd*, or the Castle of the Pisans, in the north-west corner of modern Jerusalem. The true site was probably further off to the north-west.

² This wall is supposed by Burchard to run from David's Tower on the west, to the Gate of Judgment east of the Cathedral, passing just

to the Gate of Ephraim, which is now called St. Stephen's Gate.

Thou seest, therefore, that the city was overhung on the south by Mount Sion, and on the west by that rock, part of Mount Gihon,¹ which rose exceeding high along the western side, and that the whole city lay as it were on a slope to the eastward and northward, at the feet of these two mountains.

Mount Moriah, whereon the Lord's Temple and the King's palace were built, was somewhat higher than the city, as is clearly seen from the position of the Temple and its courts, as described by Josephus; and each of them are described in (his) histories. But all these places are now utterly levelled, and are almost lower than any other part of the city; for the mount was pulled down by the Romans and cast into the brook Cedron, together with all the ruins of the Temple and its courts, as may be clearly seen at this day. The Temple area is square, and is more than a bow-shot long and wide. The Temple which is now built thereon almost touches the city wall, which the true and ancient Temple did not, because there were four courts between it and the wall; but now it is not more than about a hundred feet away from the wall and the brook Cedron.

Not far, that is to say, less than a stone's-throw to the north of the Temple area, is the Valley Gate, (so called) because through it one goes down into the Valley of Jehoshaphat. It was also called the Sheep Gate, because through it came the sheep for sacrifice in the Temple. Adjoining it stood a tower, which some have thought to be the Tower Nebulosa

south of Calvary; then to have turned north to St. Stephen's Gate (see p. 81), now the Damascus Gate.

¹ Mount Gihon is the hill west of Jerusalem, the Upper Gihon being (wrongly) supposed to be *Birket Mamilla*, and the Lower Gihon (not noticed in the Old Testament) to be *Birket es Sultân*, a pool made in the twelfth century A.D. (See 'City of Jerusalem.')

or Tower of Hananeel; but it really was the Tower of Phaselus. Its ruins may be seen to this day.

Entering through the Valley or Sheep Gate, one straight-way finds on the left hand, near the Temple area, a sheep-pool, wherein the Nethinims used to wash their victims, and then give them to the priests to be offered in the Temple. This is shown, still having the five porticoes wherein St. John tells us the sick people lay awaiting the troubling of the water.

On the right hand of the way as you enter by the aforesaid gate, in St. Anne's Church, there is shown another great pool,¹ which is called 'the inner pool.'² Hezekiah made this in the following manner: He stopped the upper watercourse of Gihon, and brought its waters underground to the west of the Tower of David, through the aforesaid valley, digging the hard rock with iron, as we read in Ecclesiasticus, and brought the water through the midst of the city into this pool, that in time of siege the people might have water to drink, and the Assyrians might not be able to hinder them.³ But as for the fountain of water on Gihon, which is near the Fuller's Field,⁴ this he brought into the upper pool, which is above the bathing-pool of Siloam. Ahaz began to make this pool, but did not finish it. It is of this pool and this spring that Isaiah spake when he said, 'Go forth . . . at the end of the conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's field';⁴ for this pool is, and is called higher in respect to the bathing-pool of Siloam, because the bathing-pool of Siloam receives water both from this pool and from the Fountain of Siloam, because it lies lower than they.

¹ The 'Inner pool' is that west of St. Anne. The 'Sheep pool' is *Birket Israil*. The Sheep Gate is now St. Stephen's Gate.

² 2 Kings xx. 20; 2 Chron. xxxii. 30; Eccles. xlvi. 17.

³ Isa. vii. 3, xxxvi. 2; 2 Kings xviii. 17.

⁴ Isa. vii. 3.

Note now these divers pools and their names. The first and chief pool in Jerusalem was the sheep-pool, with five porticos. Solomon made this for the service of the Temple. The second was near it, on the north, in St. Anne's Church, and was called the inner pool. Hezekiah made it, and it has been described just before. The third is the bathing-pool of Siloam, which was at the foot of the Mount of Olives and of Mount Sion, near Aceldama, and got its water from the Fountain of Siloam. Hezekiah made this also. The fourth was the upper pool, aforesaid, which also Hezekiah made. And if you find it anywhere stated that this fourth pool was within the city, it is not true; nay, it is altogether impossible. I know that both in the gloss and in the text of the 'burden of the valley of vision'¹ one reads that the upper pool was in the city, and had its water from the Fountain of Siloam; but this can nowise be, seeing that the city is more than four hundred cubits higher than the Fountain of Siloam, and water cannot flow up to so great a height. Yet it is true that it has its water from the Fountain of Siloam and from the lower fountain of Gihon, because it stands without the city, beneath those fountains, not far from the bathing-pool of Siloam. Other pools I have not seen, neither have I read of there being, or having of old been, any other in Jerusalem, unless one would like to count the 'brazen sea' that stood before the Temple as a pool. However, in modern times some bathing-places have been built within the city, not far from the Patriarch's house and St. John's Hospital, which are not mentioned in Scripture.²

The Valley of Jehoshaphat also enclosed the city, passing along its east side at the foot of the Mount of Olives.

¹ Isa. xxii.

² For these pools see note on *Piscina Interior* in the 'City of Jerusalem,' and notes to Marino Sanuto, p. 49.

Though this valley is pretty deep, yet is it much filled up; for the Romans, as Josephus tells us, when they were besieging the city on that side, cut down the olives and other trees, made mounds of them, and filled up the valley with the mounds. Moreover, after the city had been taken, Helius (*sic*) Adrianus caused all the ruins of the courts and of the temple to be cast into the brook Cedron, and Mount Moriah to be levelled, so that the place might not again be fortified, and he had the city sown with salt. All of this is obvious to anyone on the spot, for the glorious Virgin's sepulchre, which stands in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and not at the bottom of it, but at the foot of the Mount of Olives, was nevertheless hardly higher than the bottom of the valley, or above the surface, at the time when Jerusalem was dwelt in before its destruction, and now it is far beneath the earth, so that the whole church, albeit high and vaulted, is now quite underground and entirely covered, and the valley above it is quite smooth, so that there is a road along which one can walk over the top of the church. Howbeit, on the surface of the earth there is a building in the form of a chapel, which you enter and go down many steps underground into the church itself, and you will come to the glorious Virgin's sepulchre. I believe that there are sixty steps. The sepulchre stands in the midst of the choir before the altar, and is of marble, and wondrously adorned. I have been in this church and have seen the sepulchre. But this church is exceedingly damp inside, because beneath it runs the brook Cedron, covered up with the aforesaid fillings-up, and whenever there is a flood of rain-water, this brook, which still runs in its old channel under the fillings-up, bursts forth and fills the church, so that often it runs up all the steps and out at the mouth of the chapel at the top of them. In the burying-ground of the church,

not far from its door, the natives draw water from a well, which in Nehemiah (ii. 13) is called the Dragon Well,¹ which is before the Valley Gate or Sheep Gate.² The Blessed Virgin's church is lighted within by east windows looking on the Mount of Olives, where, from the nature of the ground, the daylight can well come at them.

To the eastward—not far—that is, about fifty feet, from the door of the chapel leading into the church, there is the door of another church, which is called Gethsemane, where was the garden into which the Lord entered with His disciples. It is on the side of the mount, and is built against a hollow rock that hangs down from the mount. Beneath this rock the disciples were sitting when the Lord said to them, 'Sit ye here, while I go and pray yonder.'³ The place where they sat is shown there at this day. There also is shown the place where He was taken by the multitude, and Judas betrayed Him with a kiss. The imprint of His skull may be seen in the overhanging rock,⁴ and the marks of His head and of His hair. This imprint He is said to have made when He caught hold of the rock, when the multitude laid hold on Him. Note that not even dust, so to speak, can be broken off from this stone; albeit, I worked much with iron tools, that I might carry away a piece thereof, and yet the afore-said prints can be seen as plainly as if the rock had been dough.

A stone's-throw south of Gethsemane is the place where He prayed apart from them, and His sweat was like drops of blood falling upon the ground. Here also is a

¹ Ludolph, p. 49.

² The Dragon Well is (wrongly) placed at the tank outside the present St. Stephen's Gate.

³ Matt. xxvi. 36.

⁴ Fabri, i. 476.

stone of the same sort, having like prints of His knees and hands.

Between this place and Gethsemane, in front of the Blessed Virgin's church, passes the road which leads up to the Mount of Olives, Bethany, and Jordan.

More than a stone's-throw to the south of the place where the Lord prayed, over against the Temple, and at the foot of the Mount of Olives, in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, stands that King's sepulchre, having an exceeding beauteous monument built above it.

At the foot of Mount Sion, over against Solomon's palace, on the west side of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, is the Fountain of Siloam, from which the water flows through a conduit to the upper pool and the bathing-pool of Siloam, when the fountain there overflows with water: for it flows not continually, but at intervals.

Both these pools are at the foot of Mount Sion, between it and Aceldama. Water also runs into these pools from the lower spring of Gihon,¹ which rises beneath the Fuller's Field, near the place where Rabshakeh stood and railed against the Lord.

Near these pools, but a stone's-throw further along the valley to the south, is the Field of Aceldama, where pilgrims are buried, which was bought with the thirty pieces of silver for which Judas sold the Lord. In this field there are many costly tombs.

Below the pools and the Field of Aceldama, on the east side of them, runs the brook Cedron, with the additional waters which it brings down with it from parts above, to wit, from Rama and Anathoth, and the sepulchre of the Queen of Adiabene.² Its noise can be heard far beneath

¹ The Lower Gihon is here *Birket es Sultân*.

² The tomb of the Kings of Adiabene, here placed in the Kidron Valley, was really north of Jerusalem.

the Church of the Blessed Virgin as it runs down to this place. Moreover, the overflow waters from these pools join it, and so they all run down together into the Valley of Gehennon, also called the place of Tophet. In this valley is the stone Zohemoth, and likewise the well Rogel,¹ where Adonijah made a feast when he tried to be King. There also was buried Isaiah, who was sawn asunder near the Fountain of Siloam : the place is more than a bow-shot away from it. All these places are exceeding pleasant with gardens and green shrubs, full of good fruits, and watered by the brook Cedron.

Above this place is the Mount of Offence. In this valley there was a grove, and they used to pass their children through the fire and worship idols there.

Let what has been said suffice for the description of the places round about the city.

Note now that there are many holy places in the city which stir men to devotion, so many that one day does not suffice for visiting them all. However, among all these the Church of the Holy Sepulchre holds the first place.

This church is round, and measures in diameter between the columns seventy-three feet, without counting the apses, which measure thirty feet round from the wall of the church.² Above the Lord's sepulchre, which is in the middle of the church, there is a round opening, so that the whole of the crypt of the sepulchre stands in the open air.

Adjoining this is the Church of Golgotha. It is oblong, and joins the choir of the Church of the Lord's Sepulchre, but is somewhat lower. But both of them are under one roof.

The cave wherein is the Lord's sepulchre is eight feet long, and likewise eight feet wide. It is entirely cased with marble on the outside, but within it is bare rock, even

¹ En Rogel is here *'Ain Eyûb* (Job's or Joab's Well).

² See Anon., p. 21, note. Compare Marino Sanuto, iii., xiv. 7, p.

as it was at the time of His burial. The doorway into this cave enters from the east, and is very low and small.

On the right hand as one enters is the tomb of the holy sepulchre, against the north wall. It is of gray-coloured marble, and is three palms above the surface of the pavement, and eight feet long, even as is the crypt or cave itself within, and is closed on every side. No light from without can be had inside, because there is no window to bring light into it; but nine lamps hang above the Lord's sepulchre, which give light within. There is also another cave outside of this cave, of the same length and width and arrangements both without and within. From without these two caves seem to be one, but when you enter you will see that they are divided in the middle one from the other. First one enters the one, and then the other, wherein is the sepulchre. It was the first one which the women entered when they said, 'Who will roll away the stone for us?' etc. This stone was rolled up against the doorway into the inner cave, and at this day a great part of it lies before the door of the inner cave, against which it was rolled, in the midst thereof. The other part of it has been translated to Mount Sion, to support the altar there. This piece also I saw at that place.

Mount Calvary, whereon the Lord was crucified, is seventy feet distant from the place of the sepulchre. One goes up eighteen feet above the paved floor of the church, to the place where the cross was fixed in the rock. The rent in this same rock wherein the cross was fixed is as large as my head, and extends lengthways eighteen feet, from the place of the crucifixion down even to the pavement below. Even to this day the colour of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ may be seen in the rent in the rock. This rent was beneath His left hand. Near this place where His left hand was a very beauteous marble altar has

been built. I have said a Mass of the Passion and read the Passion according to St. John in a Mass celebrated at the very place of Christ's Passion.

This chapel is entirely paved with marble, and its walls are covered with marble and adorned with mosaic work of the purest gold.

Twenty-four feet to the east of Calvary there is an altar beneath which is part of the pillar whereat the Lord was scourged, which has been brought thither from the house of Pilate. It is covered in by the stone of the altar, yet in such sort that it can be touched, seen, and kissed by the faithful. It is a piece of dark porphyritic stone, with natural red spots, which the vulgar believe to be the stains of Christ's blood.

Another part of this pillar is said to have been translated to Constantinople.

Ten feet east of the altar of this column, one goes down forty-eight steps to the place where Helena found the cross.

Here there is a chapel and two altars far beneath the earth.

The place wherein the cross was dug up seems to me to have been one of the ditches of the city, into which the crosses were cast after the bodies had been taken down from them, and all the refuse of the city heaped upon them, until Helena cleansed the place and found the cross; for the place of the Passion was near the city, and there was a garden in the place.

Now, the place where the Blessed Virgin stood near the cross with the other women was not beneath the arm of the cross on the north side, but before her Son's face on the west side, or nearly. The place where she stood before her Son's face as He hung upon the cross is shown at the foot of the mount and rock wherein the cross was fixed,

and is venerated by the faithful. I have often seen this place. Moreover, Christ, when hanging upon the cross, turned His face to the west, not to the east, as some would have it. This is clear, because the great torrent-bed aforesaid, which served as a ditch to the city on the western side, was at the back of the cross, and the cross was cast into it, and afterwards found therein as aforesaid.

There are many well-decorated altars in this church.

Before the west door of this church, outside, is the place where Mary¹ of Egypt prayed before the Blessed Virgin's image after she had tried to enter the church and had been miraculously driven away from it, and was consoled by the Blessed Virgin's answer to her prayer.

Going on from thence toward the Tower of David and Mount Sion, is the place where St. James was beheaded by Herod Agrippa. As you go thence toward Mount Sion, you will find the house of Caiaphas, where the Jews mocked Christ, and the place wherein they shut Him up until the morrow, which place is called the Lord's Prison. A stone's-throw south of this is the place to which the Blessed Virgin Mary removed and dwelt for as long as she lived after the Lord's ascension. Near this place is the great supper-room, wherein the Lord supped with His disciples, washed their feet, gave them His Body and Blood, and appeared to them many times after His resurrection, where Matthias was chosen an Apostle by lot, where the Holy Ghost was sent down, and many glorious works were wrought.

Note that the city of Jerusalem stands on exceeding lofty ground. From it you can see all Arabia, Mounts Abarim, Nebo, and Pisgah, the plain of Jordan, and Jericho

¹ Anon., pp. 12, 19, 23 ; Fabri, ii. 25 ; Guide Book, pp. 9, 15 ; 'Condition of Jerusalem,' p. 35 ; Marino Sanuto, p. 41, all in this series ; also Willis's 'Holy Sepulchre,' p. 102.

and the Dead Sea, even to Petra in the wilderness. I have never seen any city or place which had a finer view. One goes to it uphill from every quarter, because it stands on the highest ground in that land, save only Shiloh, two leagues distant therefrom.

With regard to the size of the Holy City, you must know that, according to Josephus, the city, without Mount Sion, measured thirty-three stadia round about. Together with Mount Sion, the outer wall—that is to say, the third wall—according to the same Josephus, had ninety towers, each tower being at a distance of two hundred cubits—that is, four hundred feet—which makes sixty paces between tower and tower. If we multiply these sixty paces by the ninety towers, the result will be five thousand four hundred paces, which form the circuit of the city. Now, seeing that a hundred and twenty-five paces make a stadium, if you divide five thousand four hundred by one hundred and twenty-five, the quotient is forty stadia, which make five miles. This was the circuit of the city at the time of its destruction by the Romans, as Josephus tells us. But since then the Christians have enlarged the city, and have enclosed the place of the Lord's sepulchre within the walls.¹ The venerable Lord and Father James of Vitry, Patriarch of Jerusalem, in his book² on the conquest of the Holy Land, says, among other matters : ' This often-mentioned and often-to-be-mentioned city stands altogether on a lofty mountain ; it is enclosed on all sides by a strong wall, and is neither straitened by excess of smallness nor is it likely to offend by over-greatness. It measures four bow-shots across from wall to wall, and has also on the west side a

¹ Doubts seem to have been already raised as to the site of the Holy Sepulchre. Mediaeval Jerusalem was not larger, but smaller, than the Jerusalem of the time of Christ.

¹ ' *Historia Abbreviata*, ' lx.

fortress of squared stones cemented together unbreakably with mortar and lead, which on one side serves as a wall to the city, and is called the Tower of David. This is what some call Antony's Tower,¹ and has on its south side Mount Sion, whereon David built him a house, and where also he is buried, together with the other kings. He called it the City of David. But Mount Calvary, whereon the Lord was crucified, stood without the city wall, on the west side ; howbeit Aelius Adrianus rebuilt the city, which Titus and Vespasian had destroyed, and so greatly enlarged it that he included the place of the crucifixion and the sepulchre within the circuit of the walls, the whole site, nevertheless, remaining as before.' Thus far I have quoted² the Lord James's words.

Let us now describe its gates, and the mountains that are round about it, and its notable places.

The first gate was David's Gate, which was on the west side of Mount Sion, where is the corner of the lower city, over against the Tower of David, at the place where the two torrent-beds branched off away from one another, one toward the north, the other toward the east. Here there was a vaulted building before the gate, but on the further side of the valley, through which the road out of the city led. On the right hand of this vaulted building Judas hanged himself on a sycamore-tree. This was called the Fish Gate, because through it passed the road from Joppa and Diospolis and the sea-shore, along which road they used to bring fish. It was called the Gate of the Merchants, because through it passed the road to Bethlehem, Hebron, Gaza, Egypt, and Ethiopia. It was also called David's Gate, because the Tower and the City of David overhung it.

¹ 'Ipse eadem est que a quibusdam etiam Antonii dicitur.'

² Very loosely.

The second gate counting from this was in the same side of the wall—that is, looking westward—but was at a distance to the north of the first, and was called the Old Gate, because it had been there from the time of the Jebusites. It was also called the Gate of Judgment, because judgment was given before it, and sentences, after judgment had been given, were carried out without that gate. Without this gate the Lord was crucified, for the Pavement, or Place of Judgment, is within the city wall near that gate. Traces of this gate are still to be seen in the old wall of the city, and in the new wall which encloses the Lord's sepulchre, there is a gate which answers thereunto, and is called by the same name. It leads to Shiloh, Beth-horon, and Gibeon.¹

The third gate is to the north of this, and is called the Gate of Ephraim, because the road to Mount Ephraim led through it. At this gate the new wall which was built to enclose the Lord's sepulchre, met the old wall. This is now called St. Stephen's Gate,² for he was stoned without that gate. It leads to Sichem, Samaria, and Galilee.

The fourth gate is to east of this one, at the corner of the city above the brook Cedron, and is called the Gate of the Corner. It is also called the Gate of Benjamin, because through it led the road to Anathoth, and Bethel, and the wilderness, and the other cities of (the tribe of) Benjamin.

The fifth gate was to the south of this one, and was called the Dunghill or Dung Gate. It stood above the brook Cedron. Through it likewise a road led into the desert. But this gate was not much frequented, because the places to which it led were uncivilized.

The sixth gate in like manner was to the south of this one, and was called the Sheep Gate, because the sheep for sacrifice in the Temple were driven in through it, because

¹ P. 68, note 2.

² Now the Damascus Gate.

the sheep-pool was near it. It was also called the Valley Gate, because the road through it led into the Valley of Jehoshaphat. The Blessed Virgin's sepulchre is a stone's-throw distant from it. It was overhung by the tower called Phaselus, built by King Herod. It was also called the Gate of the Dragon Well, because without it was the well called the Dragon Well. Along this road one goes to the Mount of Olives, to Bethany, and to the Jordan.

The seventh gate is also to the south of this, and is called the Golden Gate. It also stood above the brook Cedron, but it was in the courtyard of the Temple. But mark that this was not a gate of the city, but of the Temple.¹ Through it, however, led a road by a short cut from the Mount of Olives on the further side of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, through an arch. Within it was the gate of the Temple which was called Beautiful. From this gate a road led to Bethany, Jericho, and Jordan.

The eighth gate was also to the south of the above, and stood in the valley above the brook Cedron, between Mount Sion and the Mount of the Temple. It was called the Gate of the Fountain of Siloam, or the Water Gate, because it led to the fountain and bathing-pool of Siloam, and the Valley of Gehennon, and Aceldama, and the King's garden. I should incline to believe that this was the Dung Gate, from its position, rather than the other one aforesaid.² Nor do I believe that there were any more gates in Jerusalem, because, from the situation of the city, they were not needed all round about Mount Sion; and if a gate were needed, yet there could not possibly have been one there, for the form of the ground, which is steep on every side, forbade it.

¹ The identification of the ancient gates has no value, because the course of the old walls was not understood, and none of the gates are correctly placed.

² Neither position is correct.

The mountains round about Jerusalem were as follows :

To the east of the city was the Mount of Olives, which stood above it, being greater and higher than the other mountains round about it. On its top a church has been built, on the place where the Lord ascended into heaven. This place is in the midst of the church, and above it there is an opening, that the space in the air through which He ascended may remain open also. It is true that the stone whereon He stood when He ascended, and which contains the prints of His feet, was placed there for a memorial. This stone is so placed as to block up the east door ; but without mortar, so that one can easily put in one's hand and touch the footprints, but cannot see them. On the south side a chapel adjoins¹ this church, wherein in a cave² is buried Pelagia,³ once a noted courtesan, upon whom the Lord subsequently bestowed the grace of repentance, and made her an example to sinners. It is said that none living in mortal sin can pass between her tomb and the wall beside it ; but I know not the truth of this ; I have seen many pass through there.

On this same mount, less than a stone's-throw to the south, there is another church, which is called the House of Bread, where the Lord taught His disciples to pray, and wrote the Lord's Prayer on a stone there.

The Mount of Offence adjoins the Mount of Olives on the south, and is fairly high ; but the two are separated by a valley between them. It is called the Mount of Offence because Solomon set up a temple of Moloch thereon, over against the Temple, and provoked the Lord to anger.

At its foot, on the south side, is the Place of Tophet, or Gehinnon.

¹ *Adheret.*

² St. Pelagia's vault is still shown near the summit of Olivet.

³ Cf. Antoninus, xvi. ; Theoderich, ed. T. Tobler, St. Gall and Paris, 1865, p. 245 ; and in this series Anon., ii. 7 ; v. 1 ; vii., med. ; 'City of Jerusalem,' p. 40 ; Fabri, i. 499.

To the south-east of the city stands the Field of Aeldama, with a very high mount above it called by the same name, which reaches almost all the way over against the south side of the city.

The Fuller's Field adjoins this on the west side, and above it there is a mount as high as the aforesaid one.

On the west side of the city Mount Gihon adjoins the Fuller's Field, but the road leading from David's Gate passes between them. This Mount Gihon overlooks the city on the west side, but gradually falls away, so that over against the Old Gate it is not very high.

Howbeit, the ground to the west and north is hilly as far as Helena's¹ sepulchre, which stands over against the Gate of Benjamin, which looks upon the brook Cedron.

Beyond the brook Cedron, on the north side of the Mount of Olives, there is another mount, which also is very high, like the Mount of Olives. It is four stadia from Jerusalem, and is where Solomon built a temple to Chemosh, the idol of the Moabites. On it afterwards, in the time of the Maccabees and Romans, a castle was built, whereby the people of Jerusalem were greatly annoyed; traces of it are there at this day.²

These mountains are all near the city walls, yet not so near that the city could be assailed from them by any military engines.

Let this that has been said suffice about the position of the city, its gates, and the mountains round about it. Let us now return to the description of the remainder of the land.

IX. Two leagues to the north-west of Jerusalem is Mount Shiloh, now called St. Samuel's, the highest of all the mountains in the Holy Land, for it overtops them all.

¹ The Queen of Adiabene.

² The tower Akra was built in Jerusalem, not on Olivet.

It is more than a league from Gibeah of Saul. Here for a long time stood the Ark of the Lord and the Tabernacle of the Covenant, which Moses made in the wilderness.¹

A short league from thence is Gibeah, a city of Benjamin, standing on the same mount, wherefore the chief of the high places is said to have been there. The people of this city sent envoys to Joshua at Gilgal, and made peace with him by craft, pretending that they dwelt in a far country.²

Four leagues west of Jerusalem is Emmaus, where the Lord walked with the two disciples as a stranger, and was known to them in the breaking of bread. It is now called Nicopolis.³

Three leagues west of Jerusalem, at the foot of Mount Shiloh, is Beth-horon⁴ the lower, which is mentioned in the Book of Joshua,⁵ and in the first Book of Maccabees.⁶

Four leagues and a half west of Jerusalem, on the road to Diospolis or Lydda, is Kirjath-jearim, which was one of the cities of the Gibeonites, where the ark abode for twenty years after it was taken into the country of the Philistines. About west of Kirjath-jearim is Lachis, which also was one of the cities of the Gibeonites, and was besieged by Sennacherib in the days of Ezekiel.⁷

Two leagues south, or thereabout, from Kirjath-jearim, is the town of Beth-shemesh,⁸ which, to distinguish it from the other which is in Naphtali, is called Beth-shemesh of Judah, though as a matter of fact it was in the tribe of Dan.

¹ St. Samuel (or Shiloh) is now *Nebi Samwîl*. The true site of Shiloh (*Seilûn*) was lost.

² Gibeah is for Gibeon, now *el Jib*.

³ Emmaus Nicopolis (*Amwâs*) is not the Emmaus of the New Testament.

⁴ Beth-horon the Lower is *Beit 'Ur et Tahta*.

⁵ Josh. xvi. 5, xvii. 13.

⁶ 1 Macc. vii. 39 *et seq.*, ix. 50

⁷ These positions for Kirjath-jearim and Lachish (now *'Erma* and *Tell el Hesÿ*) are incorrect, and it is doubtful where they are supposed to have lain.

⁸ 1 Sam. vi. 12, 13.

It was to the field belonging to this town that the two milch kine from Ekron drew the Ark of the Lord when they of Beth-shemesh¹ were reaping their wheat harvest in the valley, and seventy thousand of the people died because they had seen the Ark of the Lord unveiled.

Ten leagues from Jerusalem is Ramathaim Zophim,² which was partly in the tribe of Benjamin and partly in the tribe of Ephraim; it stands on Mount Ephraim, as that plain is called, albeit it is not a mountain, but a plain. It was called Arimathea, whence came Joseph, the honourable counsellor,³ who buried the Lord. The prophet Samuel was born here and was buried here. At this day it is called Ramula.

Three leagues west of Ramula is the city of Joppa, where Jonah went on board ship to flee unto Tarshish, that is, to the isles of the sea, from the presence of the Lord.

Below it is Iamnia,⁴ another port of Judaea, two leagues to the south. Judas Maccabeus took this port and burned it.

Two leagues south of Jerusalem is Bethlehem, the city ennobled by the birth of the true David. It stands on the left-hand side of the road that leads to Hebron, but a bow-shot away from the road. Before this, however, one comes to Rachel's sepulchre, on the right hand, by the roadside. Over against Bethlehem is the tower of Edar, or of the flocks, where Jacob is said to have sojourned and fed his flocks for some time after Rachel's death.⁵ At this place also the shepherds, keeping watch over their flock by night at the hour of Christ's nativity,⁶ saw and heard the angels

¹ Beth-shemesh is placed correctly at 'Ain Shems.

² Ramathaim Zophim was placed at *Ramleh* in the twelfth century.

³ Mark xv. 43.

⁴ Iamnia is Jamnia, now *Yebnah*, south of Joppa.

⁵ Gen. xxxv. 21.

⁶ The Shepherd's Field is placed (as now) east of Bethlehem.

singing 'Glory to God in the highest,' and announcing the Saviour's birth.

Bethlehem stands upon a mount, which is tolerably high, but narrow, stretching from east to west. It has a gate on the west side, and there near the gate is the well from which David longed to drink when he was besieged there.¹

At the east end of this city, beneath a rock which stood near the city wall, and, after the custom of that land, seems to have been a place used as a stable, having a manger hewn out of stone, as is the custom in those parts, Christ Jesus, the Sun of Righteousness, arose upon the world, born of a virgin mother. By His choice of so foul a place to be born in and arise from He showed that by His birth He would take away all the foulness and darkness of the world.

Near the aforesaid rock there is another larger one four feet away from it, beneath which was the manger wherein that sweet Babe when newly born was laid before the ox and the ass, wrapped in swaddling clothes. But it seems certain to me that there was at first only one rock, but a doorway has been made through the midst of the rock, through which one goes up into the choir out of this chapel. One goes from the church into the place of the most sweet Nativity down the steps, for reasons explained above. This chapel is all lined with mosaic work, paved with marble, and most sumptuously built. Over the place where the Blessed Virgin was delivered, Mass can be said on a marble slab which is laid there. One also sees a piece of the bare stone whereon Christ was born. In like manner a part of the manger wherein Christ lay is left uncovered. These places are kissed with the greatest devotion by the faithful. I passed one night in these two places, kissing

¹ The Well of Bethlehem is now shown at a cistern north of the town.

now the one and now the other. I have never seen or heard anyone say that he had seen a holier church anywhere in the whole world. Therein are four rows of pillars, admirable not only for their number, but for their wondrous size. Moreover, all the nave of the church above the pillars, even to the roof, is of most beauteous and noble mosaic work [wherein is set forth all history from the creation of the world to the coming of the Lord to judgment]. Likewise the whole church is paved with marble of divers colours, adorned with paintings of all history from the creation of the world to the coming of the Lord to judgment, whose price it is thought by man could not be estimated. One might write things passing belief about the fabric of this church. The Saracens honour all churches dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, but this one above all. In this church I have seen a notable miracle.¹ The Soldan, when he saw the exceeding precious ornaments and slabs and pillars of this church, ordered them all to be pulled down and taken to Babylon,² wishing to build a palace for himself with them. O miracle! when the workmen came with their tools, and the Soldan himself with many others was standing by, out of the sound solid wall, which it seemed that not even a needle could pierce, there came a serpent of wondrous size, and gave a bite to the first slab to which he came. The slab split across. He did the like to a second, a third, and a fourth, even to the thirtieth, and the same thing befell them all. All were astonished. The Soldan himself straightway gave up his intention, and the serpent vanished away. So the church remained, and remains to this day, as before, yet some traces of the serpent's body may be seen even to this day on each slab which he passed by, as though they had been

¹ Marino Sanuto, iii. xiv. 11, p. 53; Fabri, part i., p. 598; and Ludolph, p. 94, note.

² Cairo.

burned with fire. Above all, it seems a miracle that the serpent should have been able to pass lengthways along the wall, which is as smooth and polished as glass.

At the north door of this church there is the cloister of a convent of monks, wherein is St. Jerome's cell, his bed, his sepulchre, and the store-rooms of the convent of which we read that St. Jerome was the head. On the south side of the choir is shown a place where a great part of the Innocents are said to have been slain and buried.

About a stone's-throw to the east of this church is the Church of SS. Paula and Eustochium, and there also are their sepulchres.

Half a league west of Bethlehem is a village called Bezek, which abounds with excellent wine, so that there is no better to be found in the land. The people of this village are all Christians. They tend these vines and those of the neighbouring villages down the Valley of Rephaim, even to the brook Eshcol;¹ they have received from the Soldan the privilege of dwelling there and tending them, and from them they return a great revenue to the Soldan.

Six leagues east of Bethlehem, on the shore of the Dead Sea, is Mount Engaddi, described above.

Three leagues south of Engaddi is the hill Achila,² which afterwards, when Herod had built an impregnable castle thereon, was called Masada.³ Here David is said to have lain hid more than once when he fled from Saul.

Two leagues from Bethlehem in the direction of Achila is the city of Tekoa, standing on a mountain. It was the city of the prophet Amos, who was also buried there; whom Ahaziah, King of Jerusalem, struck by night through his temples and slew him.

¹ Numb. xiii. 24.

² Achilles. See Marino Sanuto, p. 15, in this series.

³ The Hill Hachilah is here (wrongly) placed at Masada (*Sebbeh*).

Adjoining this city is the wilderness of Tekoa.

Between Tekoa and Engaddi lies the Valley¹ of Berachah,² where Jehoshaphat, King of Judah, fought with the Idumaeans and the children of Ammon, and overthrew them.

A league hence is a castle built by Herod the Great, called Herodium,³ standing on high ground. In it Herod himself is buried, according to Josephus.

Five leagues south-east of Tekoa is the town of Ziph,⁴ near the wilderness of the same name, where we read that David lay hid.⁵

Adjoining this on the south is the wilderness of Maon,⁶ wherein is Mount Carmel, where dwelt Nabal the Carmelite, who sent away David's envoys.

Adjoining the wilderness of Maon, on the south, is the land of Amalek. Over against a tongue of the Dead Sea is Kadesh Barnea, whence Moses sent out twelve spies.

Three leagues south of Bethlehem on the road leading to Hebron is Beth-haccerem, a village standing on high ground. Adjoining it on the south is another village called Rama.⁷ It is exceeding lofty. I have stood therein on a high hill with many companions, and have seen the whole land of Arabia even unto Mount Seir, all the places round about the Dead Sea, and all David's lurking-places; the Jordan also even to Shittim⁸ and Mount Abarim. To the westward I saw all the shore of the Mediterranean Sea from

¹ The Valley of Berachah is now *Wâdy Breikût*, south-west of Tekoa.

² 2 Chron. xx. 26.

³ Herodium seems rightly placed at *Jebel Fureidis*.

⁴ Ziph is correctly placed at *Tell Zif*.

⁵ 1 Sam. xxiii. 15.

⁶ Maon (*Tell Ma'in*) and Carmel (*Kurmul*) are correctly placed.

⁷ Rama is *Râmet el Khalil*. Beth-haccerem is doubtful. The view described is quite impossible.

⁸ Numb. xxv. 1.

Joppa to Gaza and Beersheba, even to the Wilderness of Shur; moreover, all the land of the Philistines from Ramathaim Zophim past Gath, and Ekron and Ashdod and Iamnia and Ascalon, together with all the plain at the foot of the hill country of Judaea.

More than a league from Rama, on the right hand, near the King's highway that leads to Hebron, is Mamre, where Abraham dwelt for a long time, and where, when he sat at the door of his tent beside the oak of Mamre, he saw three men standing near him, and so forth, as we read in Genesis.¹ This oak-tree is shown at this day before the door of Abraham's tent. Howbeit, the old tree is dead, but another has sprung from its roots.²

Half a league from the oak of Mamre, on the right hand, by the roadside, is Hebron, that ancient city, once called Kirjath-arba, where David reigned for seven years. It stands upon a right high and strong mount, but is altogether destroyed. Its ruins are great, and it seems to have been a noble city.

A bow-shot south of this city is New Hebron, built on the place where was the double cave wherein Adam and Eve, Abraham and Sara, Isaac and Rebecca, and Jacob and Leah, are buried. The Saracens have built an exceeding strong fortress round about this double cave, within which is the cathedral church. In its walls I have seen stones measuring twenty-six, twenty-eight and thirty feet. I have never seen so strong a place built on flat waterless ground. I visited the tombs of the patriarchs there, and abode there for one night.

A bow-shot west of the double cave is the Field of Damascus, where Adam was formed from clay. As a

¹ Gen. xviii. 1-3.

² Abraham's oak was shown at the present site north-west of Hebron.

matter of fact, this field has exceeding red earth, which can be moulded like wax. I took a great quantity thereof away with me. So do the other pilgrims and Christians who visit these places ; moreover, the Saracens carry this earth on the backs of camels to Egypt, Ethiopia, India and other places, and sell it for a very precious spice.¹ Yet there seems to be only a small hole dug in the place. It is said that at the end of the year, however big a hole may have been dug, it is miraculously filled up again. I forgot to inquire about the truth of this, but I can say this much, that when I was there the hole was a small one, so that four men could scarce have sat therein, and was not deeper than up to my shoulders. It is said that no beast attacks him who carries any of that earth, and that it saves a man from falling. This valley over against Hebron is exceeding fertile and fair. '

A bow-shot south of the place where the earth is dug is the place where Cain slew his brother Abel. Also two bow-shots west of where the earth is dug, on a hill by the side of Hebron, is a cave in the rock, where Adam and Eve mourned for their son Abel for a hundred years. In the cave there are their beds at this day, and a fountain springs up inside the cave, from which they drank.

Two leagues south of Hebron is Debir,² or Kirjath-sepher, that is, the city of letters, which Othniel, the son of Kenaz, the younger brother of Caleb, took, and he gave him Achsah his daughter to wife.³

Two leagues north of Hebron is Neel Eshcol, which is, being interpreted, the Brook of the Cluster, or the Vale of

¹ Cf. Fetellus, p. 10, note. Sir John Maundeville, ch. vi., says: ' In that valley is a field where men draw out of the earth a thing they call cambylle, which they eat instead of spice, and they carry it to sell.'

² Debir is perhaps correctly placed at *edh Dhaheriyeh*.

³ Josh. xv. 15-17.

Tears, from whence the spies brought the branch with one cluster of grapes, and bare it between two upon a staff.¹

Half a league to the left of this valley runs down the brook wherein Philip baptized the eunuch.²

Four leagues toward Jerusalem from Neel Eshcol is the house of Zacharia,³ into which the Blessed Virgin entered and greeted Elizabeth. Here also St. John the Baptist was born.

Two leagues north of this house is Nob,⁴ a city of priests, where Abimelech the priest gave David the sword of Goliath of Gath.

More than a league from Bethlehem, on the road leading to Tekoa, is the sepulchre of St. Karioth,⁵ the Abbot, with all his monks, who all departed this life together with him. Once crowds of people used to visit this place.

HERE BEGINNETH THE FIRST DIVISION OF THE
SOUTHERN QUARTER.

X. The first division of the southern quarter starts from here like all the others. First, four leagues from Acre, comes the city of Haifa, at the foot of Mount Carmel.

Three leagues south of Haifa is Pilgrims' Castle,⁶ belonging to the Knights Templars, the most strongly fortified of all the places ever held by the Christians. It stands in the deep sea, and is fenced with walls and outworks, and such strong barbicans and towers that the whole world ought not to be able to take it.⁷

¹ Numb. xiii. 23.

² Neel (for Nachal) Eshcol is placed near Philip's fountain ('*Ain Hanîna*), south-west of Jerusalem.

³ Zechariah's House is placed at '*Ain Kârim*.

⁴ Nob is placed (wrongly) at *Beit Nuba*.

⁵ St. Karioth is the ruined monastery *Khareitûn* (St. Chariton), near Tekoa.

⁶ Ludolph, p. 65.

⁷ It was built by the Templars 1192, and taken by the Saracens 1291 A.D.

A league from Haifa, on the left of the road to Pilgrims' Castle, upon Mount Carmel, is Elijah's cave and Elisha's dwelling and well, where the sons of the prophets dwelt, and the Carmelite friars now dwell. I abode with them there.

Five leagues from Pilgrims' Castle is Caesarea, the metropolis of Palestine, which once was an Archbishop's see. This place was first called Dor, and after that Pyrgos Stratonis; but Herod the Great rebuilt it, and named it Caesarea. Josephus writes at length about its buildings and defences. It is bounded on the west by the Mediterranean Sea, and on the east by a deep fresh-water marsh wherein is a multitude of crocodiles. At this place I fell into very great danger, but the Lord of His mercy saved me. The city has a strong position, but at this day is altogether ruined.¹ Philip and his daughters had a mansion here. Here likewise Peter baptized Cornelius the centurion, who was the first Bishop of Caesarea. Moreover, it was here that Paul disputed with such eloquence against the orator Tertullus, in the presence of King Agrippa and Felix.

Three leagues south of Caesarea is a village called Assur;² but once it was called Antipatris, after Antipater, Herod the Great's father. This place belonged to the Knights Hospitallers, who, albeit they have lost it, yet pay thirty-eight thousand golden bezants a year to the Lord of Assur and his heirs.

Four leagues east of Assur is Micmethah,³ now called Chaco.⁴ It stands on the plain at the foot of Mount

¹ Sultan Bibars destroyed it in 1268.

² Assur (*Arsûf*) was Apollonia, not Antipatris.

³ Josh. xvii. 7. Marino Sanuto, who follows Burchard, has on his map *Caco manatat*. This, therefore, is the old spelling, which, however, has been amended in later editions. Benjamin of Tudela mentions the place, which he calls 'Kakun the Keila of Scripture.'

⁴ Chaco (*Kakûn*) has no connection with Micmethah, near She-

Ephraim, not far from Mount Sharon. The Saracens have placed a garrison of soldiers here to watch Pilgrims' Castle.

Four leagues south of this is the town of Saron, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles.¹

It is eight leagues from Assur to Joppa, which stands on the sea-shore, and is described above.

Four leagues from Joppa is Gath,² which stands not far from the sea, and was one of the cities of the Philistines.

Two leagues from Gath is Beth-shemesh of Judah, described above.

Two leagues south of Beth-shemesh, in the hill country of Judaea, one sees Mount Modin,³ where the Maccabees were born. Their sepulchres are shown at this day even from afar off; for they can be seen from the sea, because the place stands high.

Four leagues south of Beth-shemesh, not far from the sea, is Ekron,⁴ the second of the five cities of the Philistines. It is now a small village.

Four leagues south of Ekron is Ashdod, the third of the five cities of the Philistines. It also is now a small village.

Two leagues from Joppa is Lydda or Diospolis, described above. Two leagues east of this is Libnah, which was taken by Joshua⁵ and besieged by Sennacherib. Three

chem, or with Anathoth (east of Jerusalem), or Keilah (west of Hebron). A mediaeval tower still exists at Kakûn.

¹ Acts ix. 35.

² Gath is here placed, as in twelfth century, at Ibelin (Jamnia) south of Jaffa. The true site was unknown.

³ Modin is placed, as in twelfth century (Benjamin of Tudela), at Toron (*Latrôn*), not at the true site, *el Medyeh*, but this is north of Beth Shemesh (*'Ain Shems*).

⁴ Ekron is at *'Akir*, Ashdod at *Esdûd*, correctly placed.

⁵ Josh. x. 29, etc., xii. 15.

leagues further, on the road to Gibeah, is the town of Azekah, and Makkedah hard by it, both of which Joshua took after he had relieved the Gibeonites. This is where the five Kings hid themselves in the cave. Three leagues to the east of this, not far from Nob, is Shochoh of Judah, near the Valley of the Terebinth,¹ where the boy David slew Goliath of Gath with his sling and his stone.

Three leagues from Nob is Emmaus, now called Nicopolis.

A league and a half from Emmaus one goes up the Valley of Rephaim, by the side of the house of Zacharia, which travellers to Jerusalem leave on their left hands; and a league and a half from that house is a very strong castle,² Bethsura,³ standing on a mountain side over against Bezeth⁴ (Bethsech) and Bethlehem.

Six leagues south of Ashdod is Ascalon, the fourth city of the Philistines, standing on the sea-shore in the form of a half-circle, and very strongly fortified.

Five leagues south of Ascalon is the city of Gaza, on the sea-shore. It is now commonly called Gazara.⁵

Five leagues from Gaza is Beersheba, which now is called Giblin, and is the border of Judaea and the Promised Land to the south.

After these parts of the Promised Land which fell to the lot of the tribe of Judah, comes the great wilderness, which reaches even to the River of Egypt. In this wilderness the

¹ The Valley of the Terebinth (Elah) was wrongly shown at *Kolônia*—the head of the Valley of Sorek—a site still pointed out. Nob is here *Beit Nûba*. The site of Shochoh is doubtful. The true site *Shurweikeh* was further south in Wâdy es Sunt.

² The castle seems to be Belmont (*Sôba*).

³ 1 Macc. iv. 61.

⁴ 1 Macc. vii. 19.

⁵ Gaza and Gazara (*Tell Jezar*) were often confused in the twelfth century.

children of Israel sojourned for a long time, moving about from place to place.

Let what has been said suffice about the land and the places therein.

THE LENGTH AND BREADTH OF THE HOLY LAND.

XI. Now let me add an account of its length and breadth, reckoned according to the best of my ability.

You must know, then, that the length of the Holy Land begins at the foot of Mount Lebanon, where stands Caesarea Philippi, and extends southward even to Beersheba in Judaea, which is at the south. Its length and breadth, where the twelve tribes dwelt, is not very extensive, according to the best of my observation when I saw it with my eyes, and walked over it with my feet. It seems to me to be as large as I shall hereafter describe; but it is true that I only went a little way beyond Jordan, and did not pass through the land of the two tribes and the half-tribe, wherefore I do not set that down; but it seems to me that its length, which reaches from the head of the Sea of Galilee on the north to the brook Arnon, where it ends, is about forty-seven leagues. As for the country of the ten tribes on this side of Jordan, Josephus thus describes its length and breadth:

The tribe of Judah obtained the upper country, which in length reaches from Egypt to Jerusalem, and is said to contain twelve¹ days' journey; in breadth it reaches from the Dead Sea to the Mediterranean Sea on the west, a distance of fifteen leagues.

The tribe of Simeon was given that part of the lot

¹ In the text 'xii.' Laurent has altered it to 'ii.,' because otherwise the final sum would not come right. But Josephus could not have meant that Jerusalem was only two days' journey from Egypt.

of the tribe of Judah which is near Egypt on Mount Abarim.

The Benjamites got the land between Jordan and the Mediterranean Sea, fifteen leagues in length ; its breadth, from Jerusalem to Bethel, is four leagues.

The tribe of Ephraim got the land between the river Jordan and Gadara, fifteen leagues in length ; and in breadth as far as the great plain, where Galilee begins, thirteen leagues.

The half-tribe of Manasseh on this side of Jordan had its lot between the river Jordan and the Mediterranean Sea, twelve leagues in length ; and in breadth as far as Bethshan, five leagues.

The tribe of Issachar got Jordan and Carmel, eight leagues in length ; and in breadth from Bethshan to Mount Tabor, five leagues.

The tribe of Zabulon had from Carmel, near Mount Cain, to Gennesareth, nine leagues in length ; and in breadth from Mount Tabor across the valley of Carmelion, five leagues.

The tribe of Asshur had all the country from Carmel to Sidon, a space twenty leagues long ; and in breadth from the Mediterranean Sea to Naason¹ and Cabul, nine leagues.

The tribe of Naphtali got the parts toward the east, even to Damascus and Galilee, ten leagues long ; and in breadth from the Sea of Galilee to Lebanon, seven leagues.

The tribe of Dan got the valley toward the setting sun near the Mediterranean Sea ; its boundaries were Ashdod on the south, and Dora on the north. This was its length ; I do not set down its measurement in breadth.

¹ Tob. i. 2. The A.V. calls it Thisbe. See 'Dictionary of Bible,' s.v.

According to the above description of the whole of the Holy Land on this side of Jordan, it nowhere seems to measure more than forty leagues in breadth, that is, between Jordan and the Mediterranean Sea, from east to west. In length, from north to south, it measures less than ninety leagues, by my reckoning.

Lo, here you have a faithful description of the whole land—its length, its breadth, and all that is therein. This description, I think, is of no small use for reading the historical books, and, indeed, the whole Bible, if it be understood, and also for marking each single place, and knowing all about them.

THE FRUITS AND BEASTS OF THE HOLY LAND.

XII. Now, you must know that, as a matter of fact, the whole of the Holy Land was, and is at this day, the best of all lands, albeit some who have not carefully regarded it say the contrary. It is very fertile in corn, which is tilled and grown with scarce any labour. The soil yields many herbs. Fennel, sage, rue, and roses grow everywhere of their own accord on the plains.

Cotton grows on certain shrubs, which are about as tall as a man's knee, and are annuals. Their leaves are like vine-leaves, but smaller. Upon them grow pods, wherein is the cotton. They are gathered at Michaelmas.

Sugar-canes also grow there. These are like common canes, but bigger. Within they are hollow, but full of a porous substance like that which one finds in rods of elder-wood. This substance is very moist. The canes are gathered, cut in lengths of half a palm, and so are crushed in the press. The juice squeezed out of them is boiled in copper boilers, and, when thickened, is collected in baskets made of slender twigs. Soon after this it becomes dry and hard, and this is how sugar is made. Before it dries, a

liquor oozes from it, called honey of sugar, which is very delicious, and good for flavouring cakes. Moreover, they cut the canes into pieces as long as a man's finger, but so as to have a knot in the middle of each piece, for there are many knots on a sugar-cane. They bury these pieces at spring-time in damp ground, and from them new canes grow, two out of each one, from either side of the knot. This is how they plant them.

You must know that in this land one hardly ever finds pears, or apples, or cherries, as on this side of the sea. Some fruits are brought from Damascus, but they are quite soft, and cannot last long, because of the great heat when they are on the tree, and the warmth of the land.

Yet there are some fruits which remain on the trees all the year round, and men eat them at all seasons of the year. One finds on the trees at the same time both blossom and half-ripe, ripe, and over-ripe fruit, so that sometimes they have the four kinds of fruit all together. This fruit is what are called oranges, and lemons, and Adam's apples, from which the natives make pickles to eat with fowls, fish, and other food, and they make food very palatable.

There is also the fruit called peach, whereof an exceeding good preserve is made at Acre.

There is also another fruit, called apples of paradise,¹ a very fine fruit. It grows like a bunch of grapes, having many grains. This bunch is sometimes as big as a good-sized basket, and sometimes has sixty or more grains. These grains are oblong in shape, sometimes six fingers long, and as thick as a hen's egg. They have a thick rind, like the pod of a bean, but of a delicate yellow colour. The rind one throws away, but one takes out the fruit and eats it;

¹ Bañana. Cf. Jacques de Vitry, lxxxv., p. 1099, Bongars; Anon., p. 34; and Thietmar, ch. xxix.

and its taste is very sweet, like fine butter and honey from the comb. These grains have no seed in them, but are eatable throughout. This fruit takes more than one year to grow. The tree also lasts but a short time—two years at the most—and then straightway withers; but when it begins to wither, another tree straightway sprouts from its root, and does even as the former tree did. The leaves of this tree are as long as the height of a man, and are so wide that with two of them a man can cover his whole body.

There are many vines in the Holy Land, and there would be more, but that the Saracens, who now hold the land, drink no wine, except some of them in secret, and destroy the vines, all save a few, perhaps, who dwell near Christians, and grow them for profit, that they may sell them to Christians. The wine of the Holy Land is very good and noble, especially round about Bethlehem, in the Valley of Rephaim, and so on, from whence the children of Israel bore the branch on a staff. Good wine is grown round about Sidon, and beyond it along Lebanon, and at Antaradus and Margat, and all along that sea-coast, even to Cilicia, Cappadocia, Greece, and Hungary. But I have seen a wondrous thing at Antaradus, for there the natives told me that from one and the same vine grapes are gathered thrice in the year, in the following manner. In spring-time the vine-dressers see when the vine has formed as many bunches of grapes as each vine and each branch usually does; then they straightway cut off all that remains of the branch beyond those bunches, and throw it away. This is done in March. In April a new branch sprouts from it with new bunches of grapes. When they see this they again cut off all of the branch that reaches beyond these bunches of grapes. In May the trunk puts forth a third branch, with its bunches of grapes, and thus they have three sets of grapes, which all grow alike; but

those which budded in March are gathered in August, those which budded in April are gathered in September, and those which budded in May are gathered in October. Thus they have three vintages in one year.

Figs and pomegranates, honey and oil, and herbs of all sorts, such as gourds and cucumbers, and many other fruits, abound there.

Wild-boars, roes, hares, partridges, and quails are so plentiful there that it is a wonder to see them. There are many lions there, and bears, and divers kinds of wild beasts; moreover, there are infinite numbers of camels and dromedaries, stags, buffaloes, and, in short, there are therein all the good things in the world, and the land flows with milk and honey. But they who dwell therein I cannot call brave men; but it contains the worst and basest sort of sinners, so that it is wonderful that the land should endure them.

THE VARIOUS RELIGIONS OF THE HOLY LAND.

XIII. There are dwelling therein men of every nation under heaven, and each man follows his own rite, and, to tell the truth, our own people, the Latins, are worse than all the other people of the land. The reason of this, I think, is that when any man has been a malefactor, as, for example, a homicide, a robber, a thief, or an adulterer, he crosses the sea as a penitent, or else because he fears for his skin, and therefore dares not stay at home. Wherefore men come thither from all parts—from Germany, Italy, France, England, Spain, Hungary, and all other parts of the world; yet they do but change their climate, not their mind:¹ for when they are there, after they have spent what they brought with them, they have to earn some more, and therefore return again to their vomit, and do worse than

¹ Hor., Ep., i. xi. 27.

they did before. They lodge pilgrims of their own nation in their houses, and these men, if they know not how to take care of themselves, trust them, and lose both their property and their honour. They also breed children, who imitate the crimes of their fathers, and thus bad fathers beget sons worse than themselves, from whom descend most vile grandchildren,¹ who tread upon the holy places with polluted feet. Hence it comes to pass that, because of the sins of the dwellers in the land against God, the land itself, and the place of our redemption, is brought into contempt.

Besides the Latins there are many other races there ; for example, the Saracens, who preach Mahomet and keep his law. They call our Lord Jesus Christ the greatest of the prophets, and confess that He was conceived of the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary. But they deny that He suffered and was buried, but choose to say that He ascended into heaven, and sitteth upon the right hand of the Father, because they admit Him to be the Son of God.² But they declare that Mahomet sits on His left hand. They are very unclean, and have as many wives as they can feed ; yet, nevertheless, they practise unnatural sins, and have *ephebiae*³ in every city. Yet they are very hospitable, courteous and kindly.

Besides these there are the Syrians. The whole land is full of these. They are Christians, but keep no faith with the Latins. They are clothed most wretchedly, and are stingy, giving no alms. They dwell among the Saracens, and for the most part are their servants. In dress they are

¹ Hor., Od., iii. 6, 46-48.

² The Moslem religion was much better understood in the thirteenth century than when the Crusaders first went to Palestine.

³ Cf. Marino Sanuto, book iii., part i., ch. xi.: *ephebaeum*, i.e., *lupanar epheborum*.

like the Saracens, except that they are distinguished from them by a woollen girdle.

The Greeks in like manner are Christians, but schismatics, save that a great part of them returned to obedience to the Church at a General Council¹ held by our Lord Gregory X. In the Greek Church all the prelates are monks, and are men of exceeding austerity of life and wondrous virtue.

The Greeks are exceeding devout, and for the most part greatly honour and revere their Prelates. I have heard one of their Patriarchs say in my presence : ' We would willingly live in obedience to the Church of Rome, and venerate it ; but I am much surprised at my being ranked below the inferior clergy, such as Archbishops and Bishops. Some Archbishops and Bishops wish to make me a Patriarch, kiss their feet, and do them personal service, which I do not hold myself bound to do, albeit I would willingly do so for the Pope, but for no one else.'

There are also Armenians, Georgians, Nestorians, Nubians, Jacobites, Chaldeans, Medes, Persians, Ethiopians, Egyptians, and many other peoples who are Christians. Of those there is an infinite number. Each of them have their own Patriarch and obey him. Their prelates declare that they would most willingly belong to the Church of Rome. Of these the Nestorians, Jacobites, and the like are so named after certain heretics who once were their chiefs.²

Moreover, there are in the Holy Land Midianites, who now are called Bedouins and Turcomans, who apply themselves solely to feeding flocks and camels, of which they

¹ Council held at Lyons in 1274, so that Burchard must have written after that date.

² Great efforts were made by the Popes in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to reconcile the Eastern sects, and especially in the thirteenth to unite the Armenians, but very few except the Maronites were converted.

have exceeding great numbers. These people have no fixed dwellings, but wherever they learn that there is pasture, thither they go and pitch their tents. They are exceeding warlike, yet only use swords and lances in battle. They do not use arrows, saying that it is base beyond measure to steal away a man's life with an arrow. They are brave in war, but wear only a red shirt, and over it a large flowing mantle, covering their heads only with a cloth. All Syria is full of them, but for the most part they dwell round about the river Jordan, from Lebanon even to the Wilderness of Paran, because there are mountains for sheep and goats, and plains for cattle and camels. The sheep in those parts, and especially the rams, are very big, and have tails of such a size that one tail is as much as three or four men can eat.

Round about the Castle of Arachas, beyond Tripoli, up to the Castle of Krach,¹ dwell the Saracens called Vannini.² Adjoining them are the Saracens called Assassins, who dwell in the mountains beyond Antaradus near the Castle of Margat. They have many castles and cities and a fertile land, and are said to have forty thousand fighting men. They have one chief, not by hereditary succession, but by personal merit, who is called the Old Man of the Mountains—not because of his age, but of his wisdom. These people are said to be of Persian origin. I have passed through a part of this country. They are obedient even to death, and at their superior's bidding slay anyone soever, and say that thereby they gain paradise, even if they be slain before they have fulfilled their orders. A few years ago they wished to become obedient to the Church of Rome, and to this end sent an ambassador to Acre, who transacted the negotiation to his complete

¹ Krach des Chevaliers, now *El Hosn*, north-east of Tripoli.

² Marino Sanuto, p. 6, calls them Vavini.

satisfaction, but on his homeward journey was murdered by his escort just before entering his own land, to the loss of the Church as a body, because the others, when they saw that Christians were not to be trusted, straightway drew back. The boundary between these people's land and that of the Christians is marked by some stones, on which on the side of the Christians are carved crosses, and on that of the Assassins knives. None of the Soldans have hitherto been able to subdue them, but they make their own laws and customs and follow them as they choose. They are a terror to all the nations round about because of their exceeding great fierceness.

Now, it must be noted as a matter of fact, albeit some, who like to talk about what they have never seen, declare the contrary, that the whole East beyond the Mediterranean Sea, even unto India and Ethiopia, acknowledges and preaches the name of Christ, save only the Saracens and some Turcomans who dwell in Cappadocia, so that I declare for certain, as I have myself seen and have heard from others who knew, that always in every place and kingdom, besides Egypt and Arabia, where Saracens and other followers of Mahomet chiefly dwell, you will find thirty Christians and more for one Saracen. But the truth is that all the Christians beyond sea are Easterns by nation, and albeit they are Christians, yet, as they are not much practised in the use of arms, when they are assailed by the Saracens, Turks, or any other people soever, yield to them and buy peace and quiet by paying tribute, and the Saracens, or other lords of the land, place their bailiffs and tax-gatherers therein. Hence it arises that their kingdom is said to belong to the Saracens, whereas, as a matter of fact, all the people are Christians save those bailiffs and tax-gatherers and their families, as I have seen with my own eyes in Cilicia and Lesser

Armenia, which is subject to the rule of the Tartars. I lived for three weeks in the palace of the King of Armenia and Cilicia, and there were a few Tartars at his Court; but all the rest of his household were Christians, to the number of about two hundred. I used to see them frequent the church, hear Masses, kneel and pray devoutly.¹ Moreover, whenever any of them met me and my companion, they did us great honour by taking off their hats and respectfully bowing to us, greeting us, and rising up at our approach. Many, too, are frightened when they are told that in parts beyond seas there dwell Nestorians, Jacobites, Maronites, Georgians, and other sects named after heretics whom the Church has condemned, wherefore these men are thought to be heretics, and to follow the errors of those after whom they are called. This is by no means true. God forbid! But they are men of simple and devout life; yet I do not deny that there may be fools among them, seeing that even the Church of Rome itself is not free from fools. Now, all these aforesaid nations, and many others whom it would take long to write down, have Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and other Prelates, even as we ourselves, and call them by the same names, all save the Nestorians, whose chief Prelate is called Iaselich.² He is their Pope, and I have learned for certain that his jurisdiction reaches much farther in the East than that of the entire Western Church. The other Prelates of that sect, however, are called Archbishops and Bishops like our own.

The chief Prelate of the Armenians³ and Georgians is

¹ 'Hormenii sunt homines valde religiosi et optimi Christiani.'—Wilbrand von Oldenburg, ch. xvii.

² See Riccoldus de Monte Crucis, xx. 70, who says 'the Patriarch of the Nestorians is called Iaselic, which is, being interpreted, Universal.'

³ Anon., p. 15, note.

called the Catholicus. I stayed with him for fourteen days, and he had with him many Archbishops and Bishops, Abbots, and other Prelates. In his diet, his clothes, and his way of life, he was so exemplary, that I have never seen anyone, religious or secular, like him; and I declare of a truth that in my opinion all the clothes that he wore were not worth five shillings sterling, and yet he had exceeding strong castles and great revenues, and was rich beyond any man's counting. He wore a coarse red sheepskin pelisse, very shabby and dirty, with wide sleeves, and under it a gray tunic, very old, and almost worn out. Above this he wore a black scapular, and a cheap rough black mantle. I have seen the King of Armenia and Cilicia with all his nobles sitting humbly and with the greatest reverence at his feet, the King often having with him his eldest son, and most devoutly hearing from him the Word of God. He and all his prelates used to fast¹ all Lent on bread and water, and so did the King and all his nobles, save on the Feast of the Annunciation, when in my presence the Catholicus allowed himself to eat some fish and drink wine. On that day I heard a Mass in the presence of the same Catholicus, and of the King and Queen. Their ritual is an exceeding devout one: their priests and Bishops are robed like ours. They use unleavened bread in their Mass, and chant the Epistles, Gospels, and prefaces, the *Sanctus*, *Pater Noster*, and *Agnus Dei* in the Mass, in the same words that we do; but in their own language and letters, for they have a language and alphabet of their own. The Catholicus and all the other Prelates are monks, and throughout all the East no one of any nation can be a Prelate unless he be a monk. All monks are greatly revered and honoured. Clerks and priests have no authority, neither do the laity pay any regard to them,

¹ Jacques de Vitry, lxxviii.

and they have no duties save celebrating Divine service. They mark all the canonical hours by beating a plank or other piece of wood, because they have no bells. When notice is given at night, they go to matins calling out to the people as they go through the streets to come to matins. After matins they do not go to sleep again, but sit in church and teach the people until dawn, when they say the first Mass, or till about the hour of tierce, if it be a feast-day. They have no authority besides this, save what is granted them by their vartabeds.¹ All priests are married, and no one is suffered to conduct service unless he has a wife. They never celebrate Masses on Monday, nor yet thenceforth till Friday, inclusively, however great a feast may fall on those days, but are at liberty to converse with their wives; but on Saturday and Sunday they celebrate Masses with great solemnity. After his wife's death a priest must be continent, and not marry a second wife. If he be guilty of fornication or adultery, he must lose his church and his office; nor can any dispensation be made in his favour. If a priest's wife be guilty of adultery, he must either be continent, or he must lose his office and his church, and his wife must lose her nose, and her paramour be castrated, even though he be a married man. This was done in my presence. When a priest dies, his wife must be continent. If she marries again, she shall be burned alive; but if she becomes a courtesan, no harm is done to her. And they have a new commandment among them, that a priest, like the Apostle, should have a virgin to wife. The Armenian and Georgian priests are distinguished from the laity by a white linen cloth, which they wrap round their neck and shoulders.

Thieves who are guilty of petty thefts, or other evil-doers who commit the lesser sorts of crime, are castrated, that they may not beget children to imitate their fathers'

¹ *Uerhabite*. The Vartabeds are celibate or widowed priests.

misdeeds. This seems to me to be one reason why there are so many courtesans there, for there are many eunuchs there, and all of them are in the service of noble ladies. I believe that the Queen of Armenia had more than forty eunuchs when I was at her palace. No man visits her save by the King's special leave, and the King assigns to him some eunuch by name to show him in. So likewise is the custom with all noble ladies, both widows and married.

All the Kings, Princes, and nobles are most willing to hear the Word of God ; wherefore every day at the hour of tierce¹ some doctors or monks go to the Court of every King or Prince. The Princes or lords straightway come themselves together with their children and their great men. Some book of Scripture is brought, and is read in their presence in the vulgar tongue, for they know no other. The monk expounds the text to them, and whenever the laymen feel doubts and raise questions, the monks instruct them according to the words of the saints. I have questioned these monks as to which doctors they chiefly follow, and they replied that their chief authorities were John Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzen, and Cyril of Alexandria. Both clergy and laity are very devout in church, and never do anything there but pray or sing or do whatever else ought to be done there. I never saw anyone laugh or behave himself unseemly in church.

The Office of the Mass is devoutly performed in their church. The cup is placed on the left hand of the altar in a place made for the purpose in the wall. At the offertory prayer the deacon, wearing a precious silk cloth, reverently raises it above his head. With a subdeacon carrying the thurible, and two acolytes carrying candles walking before him, they circle round behind the altar to the right-hand side thereof, and then the Bishop reverently takes it and offers it, even as our priests do. Two stand with lighted

¹ Circa 3 a.m. hora.

candles behind the priest while the canon of the Mass is being read, and near them two with thuribles, wearing albs. Two deacons stand on the right and left hand sides of the altar, praying devoutly with joined hands, their faces turned to the Body of Christ, singing a sweet and pious melody and answering one another. Indeed, it is a most holy thing to see and hear.

I have seen many other very commendable practices in that land, both among laymen, clerks, and monks, which in our land would scarce be believed to be done.

I have travelled over the whole of this land, even to Cappadocia and Seleucia by the sea, and have sailed thence to Cyprus, and wandered over the greater part thereof. Thence I sailed to Syria and came to Tyre, and some days afterwards, sailing along the coast of Palestine or Philistia, I passed by Haifa, Mount Carmel, Dora, Caesarea of Palestine, Antipatris, Joppa, Iamnia, Ekron, Ashdod, Ascalon, Gaza, and the whole sandy desert even to the mouths of the river Nile. Thence I came to Damietta, which of old was called Memphis. This is the land of Goshen, wherein the children of Israel sojourned of old, serving Pharaoh in mortar and in brick.¹ In this land also Jeremiah was afterwards stoned.²

Blessed be God and St. Matthew. Amen.

¹ Exod. i. 14.

² In this passage Burchard speaks of his voyage down the coast. He also visited Hebron, it would appear, and speaks of Samaria from personal knowledge. If the account was written about 1280 the only part of Palestine then in the hands of the Christians was the seashore from Tyre to Château Pelerin, and Carmel with the low hills East of Acre; but by agreement with Egypt pilgrims were allowed to visit Nazareth, Jerusalem, and Bethlehem. The country east of Jordan was unknown, and the account is specially deficient in this part which never was recovered after 1187, when conquered by Saladin. The border line was laid down by treaty with Egypt in 1282 A.D., as above described, ten years before the final loss of Acre and of all Palestine by the Christians.

BURCHARD OF MOUNT SION'S ITINERARY.

EXPLANATION OF ABBREVIATIONS.

A is the Antwerp edition of 1536, which is worth all the editions of the second class.

B is the Berne MS.

C is Canisius's edition of 1725.

St is Staphorst's Hamburg MS.

Va is the first Wratislaw MS.

Vb " second " "

Vc " third " "

Vr stands for the three Wratislaw MSS.

v is the Venetian edition of 1518.

NOTE.—Burchard's league means an hour's march. The hours spoken of by Van de Velde, Robinson, and others are hours on horseback, but Burchard did his leagues on foot; they are the German *stunden*. Arabic place-names are written English fashion.

CHAPTER I.

Page.	Names of Places.	Leagues.	Various Readings.
8	Acre ('Akka)		
9	Cayphas (Haifa) ¹	4	—
9	Petra Incisa (Dustrey)	3	—

¹ Ludolph, p. 65.

CHAPTER II.

Page.	Names of Places.	Leagues.	Various Readings.
9	Acre ('Akka)		
9	Casale Lamberti (Hamsin)	4	3 l. (Vb, v)
10	Scandalion (Iskanderûneh)	3	1 German mile (A)
			2 miles (Vb)
10	The Well of Living Waters (Râs el'Ain)	more than 1	6l. and 2 miles (C)
11	Tyre	less than 1	half a German mile (A)
13	Eleutherus (confused with the modern river Kasi-miyeh)	3	2 l. (Vr)
13	Sarepta of the Sidonians (Surafend)	2	3 l. (A), 4 l. (Va, Vc)
13	Sidon (Saida)	2	3 l. (A)
15	Beyrout (Beirût)	5 (St)	9 l. (Vr)
15	Biblum (Jebeil)	6	9 mil. (Vr, C)
15	Botrum (Batrûn)	4	6 l. (A)
16	Nephtin	3	—
16	Tripolis (Trâblus)	2	9 mil. (Vr)
			3 l. (A)
17	The Mount of Leopards	2	—
17	Arachas (Arka)	3	—
18	Syn or Synochim	$\frac{1}{2}$	—
18, 19	Antaradus (Tartûs)	8	—
20	Margat (Markab)	7	—
21	Valania (Banias)	1	—

CHAPTER III.

21	Acre ('Akka)		
21	Montfort (Kul'at el Kurein)	4	4 mil. (Vb)
21	Toron (Tibnin)	4	—
22	Hazor	4	3 l. (Vb)
22	Belinas (Banias)	6	—
22	Sidon (Saida)	about 11	10 l. (v)

CHAPTER IV.

Page.	Names of Places.	Leagues.	Various Readings.
26	Acre ('Akka)		—
26	Judin (Jiddin)	4	—
26	Castellum Regium (M'alia)	3	1 l. (A and v)
26	Valley of Zaanaim	4	—
26	Kabul	2	3 l. (A and v)
27	Sephet (confused with Bethulia) Safed	2	3 l. (A)
27	Mensa Domini (the Lord's Table)	2	3 l. (A)
28	Capernaum (Tell Hum)	1	—

CHAPTER V.

31	Acre ('Akka)		
32	St. George (El B'aneh)	5	5 mil. (Vr, C)
32	Naason	4	2 l.
33	Neptalim	2	3 l. (A)
34	Bethsaida (Sheikh Seiyâd)	2	3 l. (A and v)
34	Magdalum (el Mejdel)	2	3 l. (A)
34	Bethulia (Safed)	3	—

CHAPTER VI.

38	Acre ('Akka)		
38	Cana of Galilee (Kana)	4	5 l. (v)
39	Ruma (el Mesh-hed)	2	4 l. (v)
39	Abelmehola	1½	—
40	Mount Bethulia (Safed)	more than 1	—
40	Tiberias	more than 2	6 l. (Vr), 1 l. (A)
41	Sepphora (Seffûrieh)	6	3 l. (v)
42	Nazareth	2	3 l. (A)
44	Naim (Nain)	2	3 l. (B)

CHAPTER VII.

Page.	Names of Places.	Leagues.	Various Readings.
44	Acre ('Akka)		
44	Carmel	4	—
45	Caymon (Tell Keimûn)	3	4 l. (C)
45	Megiddo (Ezbûba)	3	6 l. (A, B, v), 8 l. (Vr)
46	Mesrha (el Mezra'ah)	more than 2	3 l. (Vb)
46	Castellum Fabae (el Fûleh)	1	—
46	Aphek (el 'Afulah)	3 bow- shots	2 l. (Vb)
47	Shunem (Sûlem)	1	—
47	Bethsan (Beisân)	2	11 l. (A)
47	Fountain of Jezreel	2	4 l. (C, Vr)
48	Jezreel (Zer'in)	2 bow- shots	$\frac{1}{2}$ l. (C, Vr)
49	Engannim (Jenîn)	4	3 l. (B), 5 l. (Vr)
50	Samaria (Sebustieh)	4	5 l. (v)
52	Bethel (Beitîn)	2	3 l. (A, B, C, Vr, and v)
53	Sichem (Nâblus)	$\frac{1}{2}$	—
54	Lebonah (Khân Lubbân)	4	—
54	Michmash (Mukhmâs)	5	4 l. (A), 6 l. (Vb)
55	Gibeah of Saul	1	—
55	Rama (Nebi Samwîl)	1	—
55	Jerusalem	2	3 l. (Vb, v)

CHAPTER VIII.

55	Sichem (Nâblus)		
55	Emon	4	4 l. (B)
56	Phesech ¹ ('Ain Fusail)	2	—
56	Docus ('Ain Dûk)	1	—
56	Gilgal	5	—
60	Ai (et Tell)	3	2 l. (Vb)
61	Bethel (Beitîn)	1	—
62	Anathoth ('Anâta)	2	—
65	Jerusalem	1	—

¹ *Phasaelis* in Marino Sanuto's map.

CHAPTER IX.

Page.	Names of Places.	Leagues.	Various Readings.
85	Jerusalem Ramathaim Zophim (Ramleh)	10	—
85	Joppa (Yâfa)	3	
85	Jamnia (Yebna)	9	—

CHAPTER X.

87	Jerusalem		
87	Bethlehem (Beit Lahm)	2	3 l. (A)
89	Mount Engaddi ('Ain Jidy)	6	7 l. (B)
89	Achila [†] (Sebbeh)	3	—

CHAPTER XI.

93	Haifa (Haïfa)	4	—
93	Pilgrims' Castle ('Athlît)	3	—
94	Caesarea of Palestine (Kaisariyeh)	5	4 (A and v)
94	Assur (Arsûf)	3	9 l. (A), 2 l. (v)
95	Joppa (Yâfa)	8	—
95	Gath (Yebnah)	4	—
95	Bethshemesh of Judah ('Ain Shems)	2	—
95	Ekron ('Akir)	4	—
95	Ashdod (Esdûd)	4	—
96	Ascalon ('Askalân)	6	4 l. (A and v)
96	Beersheba (Beit Jibrîn)	4	1 l. (A)

CHAPTER XII.

95	Joppa (Yâfa)		
95	Lydda (Ludd)	2	—
95	Lebna (for Libnah)	2	4 l. (A)
96	Azeca	3	—
96	Succoth (Shuweikeh)	3	—

[†] Marino Sanuto, p. 12.

CHAPTER XIII.

Distances from Jerusalem.

Page.	Names of Places.	Leagues.	Various Readings.
55	Rama (er Ram ?)	2	3 l. (Vb and v)
62	Anathoth (Anâta ?)	1	—
65	Acre ('Akka)	36	38 l. (C), 3 l. (v)
65	Samaria (Sebustieh)	16	17 l. (Vb)
65	Sichem (Nâblus)	13	8 l. (A)
65	Nazareth (en Nâsrah)	37	27 l. (A, B, C, Vb, v)
			17 l. (C)
			36 l. (Vr)
65	Joppa	13?	8 l. (A), 23 l. (v)
65	Jericho (Er Rîha)	7	—
65	Bethlehem	2	3 l. (B, C, Vr)
65	Tekoa (Tekû'a)	8	4 l. (B, C, Vr, v)
65	Hebron	8	—
84	Shiloh (Neby Samwîl)	2	4 l. (C)
85	Emmaus	4	10 l. (A), 3 l. (B, C, Vr)
85	Lower Bethoron	3	2 l. (A)
85	Kirjath-jearim	4	4½ (A, v)
86	Ramathaim - Zophim (Ramleh)	10	—
86	Bethlehem	2	—

DISTANCES OF PLACES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT.

Page.	From	To	Leagues.	Various Readings.
14	Sidon (Saida)	Antilibanus	1	1½ (C, Vr)
15	Beyrout (Beirût)	The Dog's Pass Nahr el Kelb	3	—
17	Tripoli (Trâblus)	Lebanon	3	—
17	Mount of Leopards	Libanus	1	—
19	Aradium (Jeziret er Ruâd)	Tyre (Sur)	5 days' journey	—
19	Antaradus (Tartûs)	Four Pyramids	1	—
19	Antaradus (Tartûs)	The Mountains of the Assassins	½	—
21	Valania (Banias)	Acre ('Akka)	8 d. j.	—
21	Valania (Banias)	Antioch	4 d. j.	—
23	Kedar (el Hosn)	The mouth of the Jordan	4	—
27	Sephet (Safed)	Kadesh - Naphtali (Kedes)	4	—
28	Capernaum (Tell Hûm)	Mouth of Jordan	2	—
29	Chorazin (Khersa)	The going up to Mount Sanyr	1	—
29	The going up to Mount Sanyr	Kedar (el Hosn)	3	—
30	Mouth of Jordan	Kadesh - Naphtali (Kedes)	4	—
30	Mouth of Jordan	Sueta	4	—
30	Chorazin	Kedar (el Hosn)	4	10 l. (v)
32	Naason	Dothan (Khân Jubb (Yûsef)	3	—
32	Dothan	Mount Bethulia	1	2 l. (Vr)
33	Ramathaim - Zophim	Samaria	1 day's journey	—
33	Dothan	Naphtali	3	—
41	Sepphora (Seffûrieh)	Cana of Galilee (Kana)	2	—
42	Nazareth	Acre	7	—
42	Nazareth	The Lord's Leap	4 bowshots	—
43	Nazareth	Tabor	2	3 l. (C, Vr)
44	Tabor	Endor (Andûr)	1	—
44	Endor (Andûr)	Ramathaim - Zophim (Ramleh)	about 2 days' journey	—
44	Nazareth	Little Hill of Hermon	2	—
44	Tabor	Little Hill of Hermon	more than a league	—

Page.	From.	To.	Leagues.	Various Readings.
44	Haifa	Mouth of Kishon	1	—
44	Mouth of Kishon	Acre	3	—
46	Mesrha (el Mezh'ah)	Mount Hermon	1	2 l. (Vb)
48	Jezreel (Zerin)	Shurem (Sulem)	2	—
52	Sebaste (Sebastieh)	Tirzah	4	3 l. (A, B, C, Vr, v)
52	Tirzah	Land of Tappuah	6	5 l. (B, Vb)
53	Sichem	Jacob's Well	2 bow-shots	—
57	Gilgal	Mount Quarantena	$\frac{1}{2}$	—
57	Quarantena (Jebel Kuruntul)	Mount of the Temptation	3	2 l. (v)
57	Quarantena	Elisha's Fountain (Râs el 'Ain)	2 bow-shots	—
57	Gilgal	Valley of Achan	$\frac{1}{2}$	—
57	Gilgal	Jericho (er Riha)	1	—
57	Jericho	St. John or Jordan (Kusr el Yehûd)	2	—
58	Jericho	Beth-hoglah (Kusr Hajla)	2	—
58	Jericho	Dead Sea	3	—
58	Dead Sea	St. John's Chapel	1	3 l. (v)
59	Jericho	Zoar (Zuweirah)	5	—
60	Elisha's Fountain	Ai (et Tell)	3	2 l. (Vb)
62	Bethel (Beitîn)	Deborah's Palm-tree ('Attârah)	1	—
63	Jericho	Adummim (Tal'at ed Dumm)	4	—
63	Adummim	Bahurim	2	1 l. (A)
63	Bahurim	Bethany	2 bow-shots	1 bowshot
85	Mount Shiloh (Nebi Samwîl)	Gibeah of Saul (Jeb'a)	1	(Vb)
85	Gibeah of Saul	Little Gibeon (el Jib)	1	—
85	Kirjath-jearim (uncertain)	Lachish (uncertain)	2	—
85	Kirjath-jearim (uncertain)	Beth-shemesh of Judah ('Ain Shems)	2	3 l. (B)
89	Bethlehem	Bezek	$\frac{1}{2}$	—
89	Bethlehem	Tekoa (Teku'a)	2	—
90	Valley of Berachah (Wâdy Breikût)	Herodium (Jebel Fureidîs)	1	—
90	Tekoa (Tekû'a)	Ziph. (Tell Zif)	5	2 l. (A)
90	Bethlehem	Beth-haccereim	3	4 l. (C, Vr)

Page.	From.	To.	Leagues.	Various Readings
91	Rama	Mamre	more than a league	2 l. (A and v)
91	Oak of Mamre	Old Hebron	$\frac{1}{2}$	(A and v)
91	Old Hebron	New Hebron	1 bow-shot	M. Sanuto 3 bowshots
92	Hebron	Debir	2	3 l. (A)
92	Hebron	Neel-eshcol	2	3 l. (A and v)
93	Philip's Fountain ('Ain Hanîna)	Neel-eshcol	$\frac{1}{2}$	—
93	House of Zacharia (Mâr Zakariâ)	Neel-eshcol	4	8 l. (A), 6 l. (v)
93	House of Zacharia (Mâr Zakariâ)	Nob (Beit Nûba)	2	3 l. (A and v)
93	Bethlehem	St. Karioth's Sepulchre	1	more than 1 l. (v)
94	Haifa	Elisha's Cave	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ l. (A)
94	Assur (Arsûf)	Michmethah ¹	4	—
95	Bethshemesh ('Ain Shems)	Mount Modin	2	6 l. (A and (v))
96	Nob (Beit Nûba)	Emmaus	3	—
96	House of Zacharia	Emmaus	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	—
96	House of Zacharia	Bethsura (Beit Sûr)	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 l. (A)

¹ Michmethah, now called Chaco. Marino Sanuto has in his map Chaco manatat. This, therefore, is the old reading, which, nevertheless, the editor of the Venetian edition thought proper to emend. Chaco is the modern Kakûn, found by Ritter, xvi. 714, Laurent. In the 'Survey of Western Palestine' (sheet 11 Jm, 183), art. 'Kakon,' I find 'The small castle whose ruins are still standing at Kakon is mentioned by Burchard, who identifies it with Michmethah (Josh. xvi. 5, 6; xvii. 7), and says that it was built by the Saracens "contra Castrum Peregrinorum." Ricold (thirteenth century) mentions it as a castle twenty miles from Athlît. Michmethah belonged to Ephraim and Manasseh.'—A.S.

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THE END.

Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society.

PART XIV. OF BOOK III.

OF

MARINO SANUTO'S

SECRETS FOR TRUE CRUSADERS

TO HELP THEM TO RECOVER THE HOLY LAND,

WRITTEN IN A.D. 1321.

Translated

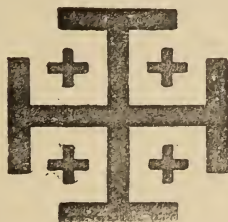
BY

AUBREY STEWART, M.A.

WITH GEOGRAPHICAL NOTES

BY

LIEUT. - COLONEL CONDER, R.E., LL.D.



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P R E F A C E

TO THE EXTRACT FROM MARINO SANUTO.

MARINO SANUTO, or Sanudo, surnamed Torsello, came of a noble and wealthy Venetian family. Blondus in his abridgment of Venetian history tells us that when, in A.D. 1204, the Republic bought Crete from Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, Marco Sanuto was the ambassador sent to arrange the terms of the bargain. At this period the Republic allowed its citizens to keep any territory which they might capture from the infidels as their own private property; and in 1207 the same Marco Sanuto at the head of a band of Venetian adventurers made himself master of the islands of Naxos, Paros, Melos, and, indeed, most of the Cyclades, which were governed by his family, with the title of Duke of Naxos, for more than a hundred and twenty years. Marino is said to have been the son of this Marco. The dates, however, make this rather doubtful. He himself had many of the qualities necessary for the task which he undertook, of setting forth the method in which a crusade ought to be undertaken. He seems to have been well read, though pedantic in the extreme: his references to and quotations from Vegetius and Frontinus

show much industry, if not much discrimination. Determined to do his work thoroughly, he wrote a history of the Holy Land and its inhabitants, beginning with Adam and Eve, giving a *résumé* of Bible history, a brief account of the Roman conquest, and a somewhat detailed history of the Crusades, chiefly taken from Jacques de Vitry, while in his history of Tartary he closely follows Vincent of Beauvais.

Besides these literary labours, Marino five times crossed the sea ; he sailed to Cyprus, Cilicia (then called Armenia), Rhodes, Alexandria, and Acre. He was a frequent visitor to the two latter places, and tells us how the Emperor Palaeologus built a tower at Acre in his time. He admits that he does not know the Egyptian coast well, but tells what he has heard about it from trustworthy men. Besides these voyages, he sailed from Venice to Bruges, that he might get books to serve in writing his history ; he also travelled to Holstein and 'Sclavia.' The greater part of his life, he says, was spent in 'Romania,' and consequently he affirms that he well understands its condition and resources, especially those of the province of 'Amorea,' or Morea. In a letter addressed to the Emperor of Constantinople he says that owing to his zeal for the cause of Christendom and his many journeys on its behalf, he has remained a widower for a long time, but that he is prepared to accept a wife from the Emperor, should he offer him a lady of suitable rank. Altogether Marino appears to have been a real enthusiast at a time when the crusading spirit was fast dying out in Europe ; possibly his zeal for the faith may have been quickened by the perilous position of his family principality of Naxos, which was certain to

be one of the first provinces of Christendom to succumb to a forward movement of the Turk. He was learned with the learning of the Middle Ages, and had access to the best society of his time ; his letter (in French) to Philip IV. of France and his allusions to Edward I. of England are curious ; but the most notable feature of his great work is the collection of maps appended to it. Of these, that of the Mediterranean has unluckily perished ; but there remain a *Mappa Mundi*, a map of the Holy Land,¹ and a map of the coast of Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt ;¹ besides plans of Jerusalem¹ and of Acre. The map of the Holy Land is divided by lines into squares exactly as described by John Poloner in his account of his map ; probably Poloner's map was copied from Sanuto's, or else they both followed the custom of the time in covering their maps with a quadrangular network of lines. In the fourteenth century map-making was in its infancy. Ptolemy's² great work was not translated into Latin until 1409, and was not published until 1475 ; and in the meantime the Italian mariners, who had grown to be the carriers of the world in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, used what are called compass-charts—that is, their navigators drew lines from numerous points, those lines representing all the points of the compass, and then determined the position of ports and capes by the intersection of these lines from different centres. This system is illustrated by the lines drawn from various points on the margin of Sanuto's

¹ Reproductions of these three maps will be found at the end of this extract.

² For an account of Ptolemy and his map, see a paper by J. Macdonald, LL.D., F.S.A. Scot., in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute*, vol. xlviii., p. 36 (No. 192, 1891).

Mappa Mundi, where it is interesting to notice how, as is done in Italy to this day, the names of winds are used as names for points of the compass ; for instance, the *ventus qui dicitur Magister*, as he calls it in Book II., Part IV. (Maestrals, mistral, N.W.), comes opposite to the *ventus Syrocanus* (Scirocco, S.E.) and so on. The lines on the Holy Land map are merely drawn for convenience of finding places therein, and have nothing to do with the compass, or with latitude and longitude. They did not, therefore, in any way assist in the construction of the map, which was drawn first and had the lines added afterwards.

Marino Sanuto presented his four maps and two copies of his book, one bound in red and the other in yellow, to Pope John XXI. on September 24, 1321.

AUBREY STEWART.

LONDON, 1896.

NOTE ON THE MAPS.

BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL CONDER, R.E.

MARINO SANUTO wrote a generation after the loss of Acre in 1291 A.D., and though his work as a whole is interesting, as representing the last lingering hopes of reconquest of Palestine, it shows that the country was no longer as familiarly known to Europeans as in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. There is no indication of his having been in Palestine, and he depends for topography chiefly on Burchard of Mount Sion, and Jacques de Vitry. His map of Egypt and Western Asia is remarkable for confusing the Gulf of Akabah with the Persian Gulf. The Tigris and Euphrates are made to fall into the sea immediately east of St. Catherine (Mount Sinai); while on the other hand the names along the shores of the Mediterranean, in Asia Minor and Syria are numerous and fairly correct.

The map of Palestine is a rude sketch, quite out of scale, and very incorrect. The country is too wide on the north in proportion to the south. The division into squares is only intended for convenience in reference, and has no connection with degrees and meridians. The part east of Jordan is especially faulty, the topography having been shifted northwards, so that the Arnon occupies the place of

the great *Wâdy Sâr* in Gilead, while Heshbon, Elealeh, and Bethjeshimoth, are shown half-way up the Jordan Valley. By an extraordinary error Damascus is shown close to Paneas, and west of Hermon: the waters of Merom are shown much too large, and the Dead Sea comparatively is too small. The topography of this map has been explained in the notes to the text. The map contains the names of the tribes, but Naphtali is shown east of Jordan, and Dan and Simeon are omitted.

Various notes are written, to explain the geography, on this map. In the north-east corner is written, 'All beyond Uz, Cedar, and the Sea of Galilee is called Basan, beyond Uz and the Plain of Lebanon, and it was part of Decapolis.' A mountain south-east of Hermon, near Bozrah (*Jebel ed Drûz*), bears the title 'Aman[a] beyond Ausitis' (Uz); and south of this is Sanyr or Seir, with the note 'joins Damascus.' The pass near Baniâs bears the title 'Hamath begins.' Lake Phiale is shown south of Sueta (the Jaulân), with the words, 'Josephus calls this Phiale, the Saracens Medan, whence the true vein of Jordan, by an underground opening.' In Mount Gilead the legend reads, 'Menay and Machaerus, now Haylon, here David hid, and Job was tempted.' The site, though placed so far north, seems to refer to Machaerus (*Mekhaur*), and to *Minyeh* on the north side of the Zerka M'ain, and should be east of the Dead Sea. The words 'Region of Sihon, King of Heshbon,' are, however, written south of this legend. By the 'Torrent Arnon'—also shown too far north—is Ar, with the legend, 'Metropolis of Arabia Tertia at Corcae' (*i.e.*, Kerak); but Abarim Nebo and Pisgah are wrongly marked south of this, while further south is written, 'Amon (Ammon), and Euphrates, and Petra Deserta of Egypt, and Crac, and Mons Regalis'—all apparently at Kerak. South, again, is written, 'Mount Seir beyond Edom,' and 'The Valley

of Salt, and Lake Asphaltidis, or dead, where the houses of the wicked were drowned.'

West of Jordan there are fewer legends on the map. At Baniâs is written, 'Laas (Laish), and Belinas, and Dan, and Lesedan (Laish-Dan), and Caesarea Philippi.' By Merom is written, 'Here Joshua fought twenty kings and followed them to Sidon and destroyed.' North of the Sea of Galilee is shown the Mensa, or 'Table' Mountain, with the words, 'God fed the people with five loaves'; and further east near Corocaym (Chorazin), 'God and the seven loaves.' Near Belvoir, east of Tabor, is the legend, 'Here Barak fought Sisera'; and south of this, 'Metropolis of Betsan' (*Beisân*). By Mount Hermon and Hermoniim (*Jebel Nebi Dhâhy*) is written, 'Gideon fought Midian, Ahab fought the Assyrians' (*i.e.*, Syrians), in the Valley of Jezreel. In the middle of the Plain of Esdraelon are the words, 'Here Necho killed Josiah.' South of Shechem is 'Timnath Serah and the Sepulchre of Joshua' (*Kefr Hâris*), and by Maginas and Bira is the 'Palm-tree of Deborah.' Doctu, Rooc, represents '*Ain Dûk*, near Jericho, but is placed north of Fasel, or Fasael (*Fusâil*), south of which Quarantena is shown. Herodium is placed far east of Bethlehem in the 'Desert of Tekoa,' and west of this *trjs ggis* means 'Tower of the Flock' (Eder), close to Bethlehem. The site of Philip's Fountain bears the legend, 'Baptism of the Eunuch, also the mountain called the Jaw' (Ramath Lehi); and West of Hebron is written, 'The Valley of Eshcol, whence the two men brought the cluster.' The 'Sepulchre of the Maccabees' is marked (at *Latrôn*) west of Nicopolis, but Ramula (*Ramleh*) is placed south of Jaffa. On the south-west of the Dead Sea is the legend, 'Desert of Maon. To east and south Idumaea and Mount Seir, which was beyond the borders of the Children of Israel, and on the south was Amalek, and the land of Amalek reached

from the tongue of the Dead Sea to Kadesh Barnea.' West of this is shown 'Carmel, and here Nabal lived.'

The map of Jerusalem is remarkable as showing the wall on the south including the Coenaculum, but on the south-east it joins the Haram on the present line, which is also that represented in other parts of its course. The Piscina Inferior seems to answer to the pool recently discovered near Siloam. The word 'Jerusalem' is written west of the Haram (see Notes on the 'City of Jerusalem'). Mount Sion is placed on the south slopes of Olivet. The remaining legends are easily intelligible to the reader.

PART XIV. OF BOOK III. OF
MARINO SANUTO'S
SECRETS FOR TRUE CRUSADERS
TO HELP THEM TO RECOVER THE HOLY LAND.

*CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE POSITION OF
PLACES, CHIEFLY IN THE HOLY LAND.*

CHAPTER I.

THE POSITION OF THE COUNTRIES WHICH BORDER
UPON THE HOLY LAND.

THE holy Promised Land is in Syria, which includes all the land from the Tigris even to Egypt, and has on the east the Tigris; on the south, the Arabian Gulf; on the west, the Mediterranean Sea; on the north, Armenia and Cappadocia. This country, whose general name is Syria, is divided into sundry parts. Syria the First, lying between the Tigris and Euphrates, reaches a long way north and south—that is to say, from Mount Taurus to the Arabian Gulf—and is called Syria of Mesopotamia; for an account of which see Part VI., chap. i. In it is Edissa,¹ which in Tobit is called Rages, commonly called Roasse; it lies fourteen leagues beyond the Euphrates, between the

¹ Edessa, now *Orfa*. It was also called *Callirhoë*, whence its Armenian name, *Er-Roha*, from which comes the mediaeval Roasse.

Taurus and Caucasus Mountains ; for an account of which see Part V., chap. ii. This northern part has taken to itself the name of the whole province, and is called, strictly speaking, Mesopotamia of Syria. In it also are Nineveh and Babylon. Furthermore, this Syria is divided into provinces—to wit, Media, Chaldaea, and Persia, as is shown in the map. Syria the Second is called Coele-Syria ; it reaches from the river Euphrates and Mount Taurus as far as the river Abana, which enters the sea in the city of Valania, below the castle of Margat.¹ Antioch is the chief city of this Syria. Syria the Third is called Syria Phoenice : it begins at the aforesaid river of Valania, and extends to the south as far as Petra Incisa, which they call Districtum, under Mount Carmel, now called Pilgrims' Castle.² To the east it reaches as far as the entrance to Hamath ; wherefore it contains Capernaum, Margat, Antaradus,³ and other cities : its chief city is Tyre. Syria the Fourth is called Syria of Damascus, because its chief city is Damascus ; it is also called Syria of Lebanon, because therein is the famous Mount Lebanon ; it is also often simply called Syria, as Isaiah says (vii. 8) ' The head of Syria is Damascus.' Moreover, the three parts of Palestine are called Syrias ; wherefore Syria the Fifth is that Palestine which is properly called Philistim.⁴ Its chief city is Caesarea, and it begins at Pilgrims' Castle, and stretches toward the south, along the shore of the Medi-

¹ Margat, now *el Merkeb*, close to the shore, near Râs Hassan, south of Latakia. Balanea, or Belinas, now *Baniâs*, is close by. The river Abana was near Damascus, and did not flow into the sea as here supposed.

² Districtum, or Petra Incisa, now *Khurbet Dustrey*, is close to Chateau Pelerin, which was built in 1192 by the Templars at 'Athlît.

³ Capernaum is now *Kefr Lâm*, near 'Athlît. Antaradus, or Tortosa (*Tartûs*), on the mainland by the island of Aradus (*er Rûâd*), is in North Syria. Hamath (*Hâmâh*) on the Orontes.

⁴ Philistim is Philistia, and Caesarea (*Kaisârieh*) south of 'Athlît.

terreanean Sea, as far as Gaza. Syria the Sixth is the second Palestine, whose chief city is Jerusalem, including all the hill country even to the Dead Sea, and to the wilderness of Kadesh-barnea. This country, strictly speaking, is called Judaea, the name of a part being given to the whole. Syria the Seventh is the other part of Palestine; its chief city is Bethsan,¹ at the foot of Mount Gilboa, near Jordan; it contains Galilee and the great plain of Jezreel. The three parts of Arabia are likewise called Syrias; wherefore there is an eighth Syria, whose chief city is Bozra, now called Bozereth, in ancient times Bersa. This is bounded by the country of Trachonitis, by Ituraea on the west, and on the north almost by Damascus. Being so near to Damascus, that part of Arabia is sometimes called Syria of Damascus; wherefore Aretha² is called King of Arabia, when in truth he was King of Damascus. Syria the Ninth is that Arabia whose chief city is Petra,³ called of old Nabath, Ar, and Areopolis; it stands on the brook Arnon, on the boundary of the Moabites and the Amorites. It also contained the kingdom of Sihon, King of Heshbon, and the kingdom of Og, King of Basan, and Mount Gilead; on the south side it joins Arabia the First. Syria the Tenth is that Arabia whose chief city is Monreal, which is now called Crach. In olden times this was called Petra in the Wilderness; it stands beyond the Dead Sea, and has dominion over the land of Moab, which properly is called Syria Sobal, and contains within itself the whole of Idumaea, which is Mount Seyr, and all the land round about the Dead Sea, even to Kadesh-barnea, and to Ezion

¹ Bethsan, Bethshean, is now *Beisân*.

² Aretas I., 2 Macc. v. 8; Aretas II., 2 Cor. xi. 32.

³ The sites of Petra and of Montreal had been lost, and transferred to Kerak as early as 1280 A.D. (Burchard). Montreal was at *Shobek*, north of Petra (Ludolph, p. 118, note). Ar, or Areopolis, was at *Rabbah*, further north, but south of Kerak.

Geber, and the Waters of Strife, as one goes to the Red Sea, and across the broad wilderness, even to the Euphrates. This is Arabia the Great, and First; it is also called Arabia *Eudaemon*—that is, Holy. Therein, in the city of Mecca, the abominable Mahomet is worshipped.

CHAPTER II.

THE COAST REGION OF THE WHOLE OF SYRIA.

ON going out of Asia Minor, one finds a narrow road between the mountains and the sea, which is called Passus Portellae.¹ Half a day's journey to the south of this, one reaches Alexandretta; beyond this, one crosses the Black Mountain, and in another half-day's journey arrives at the two castles of Bagaras and Trapasa, at the foot of the mountain. From hence it is half a day's journey to Antioch. Ten miles from Antioch is the sea, and a port named Soldyn, or St. Simeon's Harbour;² for an account of which see Part V., chap. iv., and Part VII., chap. i. From St. Simeon's Harbour to Pulzyn is twenty miles. From Pulzyn to Gloriata is twenty miles. From Gloriata to Liza is ten miles. From Liza to Lena is ten miles. From Lena to Valania is five miles. Five miles beyond Valania, one league from the sea, is the exceeding strong castle of Margat, which once belonged to the Hospitallers. At

¹ Passus Portellae is apparently the Syrian Gate now called Jonah's Pillar, and Alexandretta (*Iskanderûn*) at the south side of the Gulf of Issus. The Black Mountain was the range east of this gulf and north of the Orontes, the Mons Amanus, or *Giaour Dagh*, which was crossed by the Pylae Syriae, or Beilân Pass.

² Soldyn, or St. Simeon's Harbour, was the ancient Seleucia, now *Suweidîyeh*, the port of Antioch, at the mouth of the Orontes.

the river which flows past Valania (see first chapter) the principality of Antioch ends, and that of Tripoli begins. From Margat to Tortosa is twenty miles; Tortosa is called Antaradus, because it stands before the rays of the sun. Aradium¹ is an island standing in the deep sea, half a league away from the mainland. On it there is a city which was built by Aradius, son of Canaan, and therein St. Peter found St. Clement's mother.² There St. Peter, on his way to Antioch, built a little church, and dedicated it to the Blessed Virgin. This is said to have been the first church built in her honour, wherefore the holy Mother of God hath wrought many miracles therein, so that the church is revered even by the infidels. Beside Antaradus, half a league to the east, are mountains whereon certain Saracens dwell; this is called the Country of the Assassins, where the Old Man of the Mountains bore rule, about whom you will be told hereafter. Eight leagues from Tortosa is the castle of Arachus,³ built by Aracheus, son of Canaan⁴ (Part V., chap. vii.). Here ends Lebanon and Antilebanon. Half a league from the castle of Arachus is the town of Sin,⁵ which was built by Syneus, son of Canaan; some call this castle Sinochim. From this town and castle a great, beauteous and fertile plain reaches even to the castle of Crach, which once belonged to the Hospitallers. This plain extends for ten leagues, as far as Tortosa, and contains many villages, fair groves of fig-trees, olive-trees, and the like; it abounds with streams and exceeding rich pastures. For this cause

¹ Aradium is the ancient Arvad, on the small island *er Ruâd*, west of Tortosa.

² Poloner, p. 34.

³ Arachus is the ancient Arkah, now '*Arkah*', near the shore north of Tripoli.

⁴ Poloner, p. 35.

⁵ Sin, the Sinna of Strabo, the town of the Sinite (Gen. x. 17; 1 Chron. i. 15; cf. Ges. Thes., p. 948). The site is not known.

the Turcomans, and Midianites, and Bedouins dwell there in tents, with their wives and children and cattle. On the east side this plain is bordered by mountains of no great extent; these begin opposite Arachus, and reach as far as Baracha. Therein dwell the Saracens called Vavini, a fierce and malignant race that hates Christians. Twenty miles from Tortosa is Tripoli, whereof you may read in Part VI., chap. xviii. Five miles from Tripoli is Nephyn.¹ Five miles from Nephyn is Botrum, commonly called Botron.² Eleven miles from Botrum is Biblium, commonly called Zibelet,³ the ancient Evea, founded by Eveus, son of Canaan, for which see Part VI., chap. xviii. Five miles from Biblium is Berytus, for which see Part VI., chap. vi., and three leagues from thence, toward Botron, by the river (which is called the Dog's River), there is the place which is called the Dog's Pass.⁴ This is the boundary between the patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem. No one can pass that way by land, save by favour of the Saracens, for a few of them could hold the pass against any number, seeing that the way, which leads between a perpendicular cliff and the sea, is not more than a fathom wide, and extends for about a quarter of a league. For an account of all these places, see Part VI., chap. xviii. Ten miles from Beyrout is Sidon, commonly called Sageta,⁵ for which see Part VI., chap. vi.⁶ Two leagues from Sidon is Sarepta, described already. Two leagues from Sarepta is the river Elenterus, which rises in Ituraea,

¹ Nephyn was at *Râs Shakkah*, south of Tripoli.

² Botron, the ancient Batruna, classical Botrys, now *Batrûn*.

³ Zibelet, the ancient Gebal, classic Byblos, modern *Jibeil*.

⁴ The Dog's Pass is the pass south of the Dog River (*Nahr el Kelb*) north of Beirût.

⁵ Sageta, Sayette, for *Saida* (Sidon), is the usual mediaeval name of this city.

⁶ Ludolph von Suchem, p. 52, in this series.

at the foot of Hazor, and first runs eastward and then westward ; it runs past the castle of Belfort, near Hermon, as far as which Joshua pursued the twenty-four kings (Josh. xi.). It was as far as this place that Jonathan pursued King Demetrius (1 Macc. xii.). It enters the sea between Sarepta and Tyre.¹ Three leagues from the river Eleutherus is Tyre, where Origen was buried. In Tyre there are many relics of the saints, for in the time of Diocletian God alone knows how many received there the crown of martyrdom. Much is told about Tyre in Part VI., chap. xi., xii., and Part VII., chap. i. One league beyond Tyre is the famous 'well of living waters,'² about a bow-shot from the road leading to the following places, whose water (Cant. iv. 15) comes down in a stream from Lebanon. Although it is called a well, in the singular number, yet there are four of the same shape, but of different size ; for one of them, being square, has its sides forty cubits in length, while the other three measure about twenty-five. All of them are fenced about with walls of exceeding great stones, built in almost indestructible fashion, and raised to the height of a lance, and higher ; thus the water is collected in them, and runs down thither from every side without the walls. There are there likewise watercourses as deep and as wide as a man's step, whereby water is supplied to all the plain of Tyre. These fountains are little more than a bow-shot distant from the sea ; yet in this little space they turn the wheels of six mills. To this fount the saying of Ecclesiasticus

¹ This River Eleutherus (1 Macc. xii. 30) is the modern *Litány*, the Nahr Lanteh of Abu el Fedá. Rising in the Lebanon (not in Ituraea) west of Hermon, it runs south, then west, passing Belfort (*Kul'at esh Shakíf*), to the sea between Sarepta (*Surafend*) and Tyre. It is not probably the Eleutherus which is the *Nahr el Kebír* north of Tripoli.

² Poloner, p. 31.

well applies (Ecclus. xxiv. 31), 'I will water my best garden, and will water abundantly my garden bed : and lo, my brook became a river, and my river became a sea.' This is described above, Part VI., chap. xviii.¹ Little more than a league from the well is the castle of Scandalium, mentioned in Part VI., chap. viii. Three leagues from Scandalium, after you have crossed Mount Sharon, at its foot, Casale Lamberti stands by the sea-shore, and it is a place which abounds in gardens, vineyards, and running waters. Four leagues beyond Casale Lamberti² is Acre, also called Ptolemais and Abiron. The children of Israel never possessed this city ; for an account thereof, see Part VI., chap. iv. Three miles from Acre is Haifu, which stands at the foot of Mount Carmel, on the north side. A league from Haifu is the way that leads to Pilgrims' Castle ; upon Mount Carmel, about half a league further, is Elijah's cave, and Elisha's abode, and the well where the sons of the prophets dwelt. Afterwards Carmelite monks dwelt upon Mount Carmel.³ Three leagues from Haifu is Pilgrims' Castle, which once belonged to the Templars ; it is exceeding strong, and stands in the deep sea. Three leagues from Pilgrims' Castle is Caesarea of Palestine ; the compasses make this twenty miles ; for an account thereof, see Part VI., chap. iv. Two leagues from Caesarea is the fort of Assur, or Dora ;⁴ the compasses make this

¹ These springs and tanks still exist at *Râs el 'Ain* (Palae-Tyrus), south of Tyre, close to the shore (see 'Memoirs Western Palestine Survey,' vol. i., sheet i., and vol. iii., appendix) ; the aqueduct thence still runs to Tyre.

² Scandalium (Champ de Lion), is now *Iskanderuneh*, on the shore north of *Râs en Nakûrah* ('the head of the cutting,' or Ladder of Tyre), here called Mount Sharon. Casale Lamberti, or Casale Imberti, is now *Hamsîn*, south of the Ladder of Tyre.

³ Elijah's cave was shown at the present site, on the west of Carmel, above *Haifa*.

⁴ Assur is *Arsûf*, south of Caesarea. Dora is placed usually at *Tantûra*, north of Caesarea.

fifteen miles. It used to belong to the Templars, who even after its loss were wont to pay twenty-eight thousand bezants a year to the Lord of Assur; for an account thereof, see Part III., chap. iv. Eight leagues from Assur is Joppa, which stands by the sea-shore, and is commonly called Zapha (Jaffa); for an account thereof, see Part VI., chap. iii. Ten miles from Joppa (?) is Beroald's Castle.¹ Ten miles from Beroald's Castle is Ascalon; for an account thereof, see Part VI., chap. viii. Fifteen miles from Ascalon is Gaza; for an account thereof, see Part VI., chap. xviii. From Gaza to Darum² is fifteen miles; for an account of Darum, see Book II., Part IV., chap. xviii. Here endeth the Promised Land. Some mention of the aforesaid places will likewise be found in Book II., Part IV., chap. xxv.

CHAPTER III.

THE SITUATION OF NOTABLE PLACES IN THE HOLY PROMISED LAND.

THE length of the Promised Land extends from Dan, which lies at the foot of Mount Lebanon, on the north, to Beersheba, which lies to the south near the wilderness of Egypt, a distance of eighty-three leagues. Its breadth extends from the Mediterranean Sea on the west, twenty-eight leagues toward the east. Let us now conceive the Holy Land to be divided by straight lines into twenty-eight spaces, which reach from Mount Lebanon to the wilderness, through which you go into Egypt; and like-

¹ Château Beroald is the ruined castle on the shore south of *Yebnah*, at the place called *Minet el Ku'ah*.

² Darum, now *Deir el Belâh*, south of Gaza.

wise into eighty-three other spaces by straight lines drawn across the former from west to east, so as to produce many squares, each measuring one league, or two miles.¹ In the first, or last space, which is to the eastward, beginning at the north and going down toward the south, is Ar, now Areopolis, or Petra. In square seventy-six is Petra² of the Wilderness, or Monreal ; for an account thereof see Part VI., chaps. viii. and xviii. In the second space, and the twelfth square, is Bozra,³ now Idumaea. In the third space, square fifty, is Heshbon ; in the sixty-first is Othonaym. In the fourth space, square thirty-six, is Macheronta, or Mahanaim, now Haylon ; this is the place where David lay hidden, and where John the Baptist was imprisoned.⁴ In the fourteenth is Ayr, or Anoth Seyr.⁵ In the sixth is Sethyn.⁶ In the fifth space, the eighth square, is Baalgad.⁷ In the twenty-first is Kedar, a noble fenced city on Mount Sanyr.⁸ By it passes the road that leads from Achon along the north shore of the Sea of Galilee, past Kedar, to Aram ; wherefore in Isaiah ix. it is called 'the way of the sea,'

¹ The word 'space' means in modern language longitude, and 'square' latitude. Compare Poloner, *passim*.

² Ludolph, p. 82 ; Isa. xvi. 1, in the Vulgate.

³ Bozrah, or Bostra, is intended, in Bashan, not in Idumaea.

⁴ Heshbon, now *Heshân*. Othonaym, possibly Kirjathaim (*Kureiyat*). Macheronta, or Machaerus (*el Mekhaur*), is confused with Mahanaim, further north in Gilead, and with Hachilah (Haylon), west of the Dead Sea.

⁵ Ayr (on map Iayr) is perhaps a clerical error for Tayr or Sayr, with springs (Anoth). It seems to be Tyrus (*'Arâk el Emîr*), in South Gilead.

⁶ Sethyn is not on the map.

⁷ Baalgad is placed north-east of the tomb of Job (*Sheikh S'ad*), or near Damascus, at the east foot of Hermon.

⁸ Mount Sanyr (Shenir), or Seir (for Sirion), is not Hermon on the map, but apparently the hill of Bashan (*Jebel ed Drûz*), or else the Jaulân range. The map is too confused to make certain, and Sirion is throughout confused with Seir. Kedar (see Burchard) is Gamala (*el Hosn*), on the east shore of the Sea of Galilee.

because it passes all along the shore of the Sea of Galilee, crossing the valley in the land of Asher, which now is called St. George's Valley, having the city of Salet on the left hand.¹ This part is called 'Galilee of the nations;' it is also called Beyond Jordan, because it leads beyond Jordan to the country called Aram. This country is also said to be in Galilee of the Gentiles, because Galilee itself ends there at the Jordan. In the sixth space, the thirteenth square, is Sueta,² from whence came Bildad the Shuhite.³ Under the walls of this city, on the side toward Kedar, the Saracens from Aram, Mesopotamia, Haman, Syria, Moab, Ammon, and all parts of the East, are wont to meet together, round about the spring Phiale;⁴ and there, because the place is pleasant, they hold a fair all through the summer, and set up tents of divers colours, which afford an exceeding beauteous sight from the city of Kedar.⁵ These in Solomon's Song are called the tents of Kedar. In (square) thirty-nine is Bashan; in fifty-three, Jazer.⁶ In the seventh space, and the eleventh square, is Job's sepulchre;⁷ one league from thence begins the ascent of Mount Sanyr. In the twenty-fourth is Gadara. In the thirty-third is Ephraim. In the twenty-sixth, Phaniel. [In the

¹ St. George's Valley is that in which *el B'aneh* stands, east of Acre, with the shrine of *el Khudr* (St. George) close by. The Via Maris (Isa. ix. 1) was supposed to lead from the Sea of Galilee to Acre, along the foot of the mountains of Upper Galilee. Salet is not on the map; perhaps a mistake for Safed.

² Sueta, or Suethe (the 'black land'), was the mediaeval name of the Jaulân.

³ Theoderich, chap. xlix.

⁴ Lake Phiale is in the Jaulân, but the map shows it south of Sheikh S'ad in the Haurân, the whole topography being here out of position.

⁵ Cant. i. 5. See John of Würzburg, chap. xxv.

⁶ Jazer (on map Jacor) is placed close to Jordan, apparently at the ruin *Sâr*, near Tyrus, in Gilead.

⁷ Job's sepulchre is at the traditional site *Sheikh S'ad*, in the Haurân, where Job's stone is still shown.

thirty-eighth, Iabes.] In the forty-fifth, Eleale. In the fiftieth, Sartan.¹ In the fifty-eighth is the Church of St. John the Baptist, at the place where Christ was baptized. In the sixty-second is Engalym,² above the Dead Sea. In the eighth space, thirtieth square, is Pella.³ In the forty-first, Ernon. In the forty-eighth, Betesmuth.⁴ In the sixty-first, Bethhoglah,⁵ where the children of Israel mourned for Jacob, their father, when they brought him out of Egypt; it is one league distant from the Jordan. In the ninth space, twenty-second square, is Chorazim,⁶ at the beginning of the Sea of Galilee. In the twenty-seventh is Gerasa,⁷ from which the country of the Gerasenes takes its name. In the thirty-eighth is Sochor.⁸ In the fifty-eighth, Jericho, described already in Part I., chap. iii. In the eighty-third is Afasantomar.⁹ In space ten, square thirty-eight,

¹ Gadara (*Umm Keis*), Ephraim (for Ephron), Phanuel (Penuel), Iabes (Jabesh Gilead), Elealeh (*el 'Al*), and Sartan (Zaretan), seem only placed by guess along the east of Jordan.

² The Church of St. John (*Kusr el Yehûd*), and Engalym (*'Ain Hajlah*), but En Eglaim (Ezek. xlvii. 10) was probably east of the Dead Sea.

³ Pella is apparently at *Fahil*, the true site. Fabri, ii. 185, 235.

⁴ Betesmuth, for Beth Jeshimoth (*Surweimeh*), at the north-east corner of the Dead Sea, is shown on the map too high up the Jordan Valley. Ernon seems to be for Arnon.

⁵ Bethhoglah, at *Kusr Hajlah*.

⁶ Chorazim, Chorozain, or Corocaym (on the map), stand for Chorazin, wrongly placed east of the Jordan, and apparently confounded with *Khersa* and the Gergesenes.

⁷ Gerasa is placed close to the Sea of Galilee (perhaps at *Khersa*) on the map. The real site at *Jerâsh*, in east of Gilead, is not shown.

⁸ Sochor is an error for Sochet, placed on the map west of Jordan. Succoth (*Tell Der'ala*) was east of the river.

⁹ Afasantomar is shown on the map at the south-west corner of the Dead Sea. Probably Ephes-Dammim (in the Valley of Elah) is here confused with the ascent of Adummim (*Tal'at ed Dunm*), above Jericho, which has just been mentioned.

is Salim.¹ In forty-one was built the altar of wondrous size. In forty-nine is Docus, having behind it, on the north side, the land of Tampne.² In Docus, Ptolemy, the son of Abubus, took Simon Maccabeus³ by treachery. From Docus there is a fine view to the east, toward Pisgah, and to the south, even to Jericho. In fifty-six is Gilgal,⁴ where the children of Israel were circumcised, and where they abode for a long time. Near to Gilgal comes the Valley of Achor, so called because Achan was stoned there.⁵ In the eleventh space Lebanon is divided from Mount Hermon, at the foot whereof, on the north side, stands Damascus. Damascus is described in Part VI., chap. xix. In this part of the mountain is the road leading to Hamath.⁶ In square twenty is the mount called the Table, where the Lord filled five thousand men; it was here that He preached the Sermon on the Mount, and spent the night in prayer. From this mount one can see all the country round about for ten leagues and more; the mount is two bow-shots long, and a stone's-throw wide.⁷ At its foot springs a fountain, near the Sea of Galilee, thirty paces distant from

¹ Salym, or Salim, is apparently in the Jordan Valley, near Beisân. The name is not now known in this region.

² Docus is 'Ain Dâk, north of Jericho, at the foot of Quarentania. The land of Tampne was the plateau east of the Samaritan mountains, from *Tammûn* southwards.

³ 1 Macc. xvi. 15, 16.

⁴ Gilgal seems to have been placed between Jericho (*er Rîha*) and Elisha's Fountain ('*Ain es Sultân*), or sometimes further north, and not at the true site (*Tell Jiljûlich*), north-east of *er Rîha*.

⁵ The Valley of Achor is at *Wâdy el Kelt*.

⁶ Damascus is wrongly shown on the map west of Hermon and north-east of Dan; the 'entrance to Hamath' is shown south of Damascus.

⁷ The scene of feeding the multitude with five loaves was shown on the north of the Sea of Galilee, on the slope rising from *Khân Miniéh*, where, rather higher up, is now shown the *M'aseret 'Aisa*, or 'wine-press of Jesus.' The fountain is either that at *Miniéh*, or '*Ain Tabghah*.'

it, which they call the vein of the Nile, because it produces the fish corconus, which is found nowhere else save in the Nile. Twenty paces from that fountain, along the shore of the Sea of Galilee, is the place where, after His resurrection, Christ appeared to the seven disciples when they were fishing; and ten paces further is the place where the disciples, when they were come out of the ship, beheld live coals, and fish laid thereon.¹ In twenty-one is Capernaum,² near the northern shore of the Sea of Galilee, two leagues distant. In it used to be shown the house and place to sit by the King's highway,³ from whence Matthew was called by Christ. In fifty-one is Fasael,⁴ three leagues distant from the Jordan, in the plain country, where the brook Cherith comes down from the mountain, in which place Elijah dwelt when the ravens brought him meat (1 Kings xxii.). In fifty-seven is Quarentana,⁵ where Christ fasted; but they declare that He was tempted on another mountain, two leagues away, toward Bethel and Ai in the south. Beneath Quarentana, two bow-shots away from it, is Elisha's fountain, which he sweetened; it flows round about Gilgal, on the southern side thereof, and there turns great mills; after this it is divided into watercourses, waters many gardens, and at last runs into Jordan. In the twelfth space, in the twenty-second square, is Bethsaida, the city of Peter, Andrew, and Philip; it stands by the side of the way leading from Syria into Egypt, where the sea begins to trend to the southward.⁶ In twenty-eight is Tiberias, from which

¹ John xxi. 9.

² Capernaum is here placed at *Tell Hâm*.

³ This site was placed near Bethsaida of Galilee, at *Sheikh Seiyâd*, near Minieh.

⁴ Fasael is at *'Ain Fusail*, in the Jordan Valley (Phasaelis), but Cherith was probably east, not west, of Jordan.

⁵ Quarentana is *Jebel Koruntul*, with Elisha's Fountain (*'Ain es Sultân*) near its foot.

⁶ Bethsaida of Galilee is placed at *Sheikh Seiyâd*, a small shrine near Minieh.

the sea is called the Sea of Tiberias ; of old it was called Gennesaret. It extends far along the sea-shore, and on its south side there are medicinal baths. At Tiberias ends the region called Decapolis ; its boundaries are : on the east, the Sea of Galilee ; on the west, Sidon—and this is its width : in length it reaches from Tiberias all along the north side of the Sea of Galilee, even to Damascus. It is called Decapolis from its ten principal cities, which are Tiberias, Safet, Kedesh-Naphtali, Hazor, Caesarea, Capernaum, Janapara, Bethsaida, Chorazim, and Bethsan, also called Scythopolis.¹ This country is also called by divers names, for it is called Decapolis, Ituraea, Roob, Kabul, and Galilee of the Gentiles ; howbeit Ituraea reaches even to Beyrout, which is some twenty leagues to the north of Sodon.² In fifty-nine is the castle Adummim, which stands on the right hand, on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho.³ In seventy-two is Herodium,⁴ where Herod was buried. In sixty-seven is Massada,⁵ an impregnable fortress built by Herod on the hill Achillas. In the thirteenth space, twenty-fourth square, is Magdalum,⁶ the castle of Mary Magdalen ; it has a great plain fit for pasture on its west and north sides. In forty-seven is Ammon,⁷ which stands in a fair

¹ The names given as those of cities of Decapolis are wrong in every case except Scythopolis (Beisân), Decapolis being east of Jordan, not west. Janapara is apparently an error for Jotapata. Roob (Rehob), Kabul (near Acre), and Galilee of the Gentiles, were not in Decapolis.

² Sodon for Sidon.

³ Adummim is at *Tal'at ed Dumm*. Josh. xv. 7, xviii. 17 ; Fabri, ii. 65-73, 188.

⁴ Herodium is probably at *Jebel Fureidis*, but shown further east on the map.

⁵ Massada is at *Sebbeh*, which is, however, wrongly identified with the hill Hachilah, near Maon and Carmel, further north-west.

⁶ Magdalum is at *Mejdel*, in correct position, north of Tiberias. ⁵⁷

⁷ Ammon, for Rabbath Ammon (*'Ammân*), is shown on the map north of Elealeh and south of Jabesh Gilead in correct relative position.¹

place, and abounds with all manner of good things. In fifty-six is Ai, mentioned already in Part I., chap. iii. In sixty-nine is the city of Ziph, near the wilderness; also called Zif, where David hid himself. Immediately to the south of it is the wilderness of Maon, wherein is the Mount Carmel,¹ where Nabal dwelt. In the fourteenth space, second square, is Suba, which in Solomon's Song is called the Tower of Lebanon.² In fifteen is Kadesh-Naphtali,³ whence came Barak, the son of Abinoam, who fought against Sisera on Mount Tabor; this was one of the cities of refuge, and was exceeding fertile. In forty-three is Bethulia;⁴ in thirty-one, Belvoir.⁵ In thirty-four is Bethsan, also called Scythopolis, standing between Gilboa and the Jordan. On its walls they hung the heads of Saul and of his sons.⁶ In forty-three is Tirsah,⁷ where the kings of Israel first reigned. In fifty-four is Bahurim, and the stone of Bohan.⁸ In sixty-three is Tekoa, where Amos was born, and where he was buried after that King Ahaziah had struck him through the temples with a javelin; this city is near the wilderness of Tekoa. Between Tekoa and Engaddi is the Valley of Blessing,⁹ where Jehoshaphat overthrew the Idumaeans and the children of Ammon. In the fifteenth space, thirtieth square (is the place where) Barak fought against Sisera. In the thirty-third is (the

¹ Ai is placed east of Bethel. Zif (*Tell Zif*), Maon (*Mâin*), Carmel (*Kurmul*), were known, but are shown badly on the map.

² Suba (and Sobal) stands for Zobah, the south part of Syria near Damascus.

³ Kadesh-Naphtali at *Kedes* is correct.

⁴ Bethulia was shown close to Safed, following the twelfth-century view as to Dothan.

⁵ Belvoir is *Kaukab el Hawa*, north of Beisân.

⁶ Bethsan, for Bethshean, is now *Beisân*.

⁷ Tirsah is either *Tallûza* or *Teiasîr*, north-east of Shechem.

⁸ Bahurim was placed east of Bethany (Burchard and map), but the stone of Bohan was near Gilgal, much further east.

⁹ The Valley of Blessing (Berachah) is now *Wâdy Breikût*, between Tekoa' (*Teku'a*) and Engedi (*'Ain Jidy*).

place of) Saul's last battle. In fifty-four is Deborah's palm-tree, whereof we read in Judg. iv. 5.¹ In fifty-five is Bethel, or Luz, where Jacob saw the ladder. In fifty-seven is Ephraim;² in fifty-nine, Bethany. In sixty-two is the Tower of the Flock,³ or Ader.⁴ In sixty-seven is Bosra,⁵ or Bethsur. In the sixteenth space, nineteenth square, is Safet.⁶ In twenty-two, Nephthali of Tobit.⁷ In twenty-five, Dothan, at the foot of Mount Bethulia, a place rich in trees and meadow-land. On this plain is shown the pit into which Joseph was cast; it is near the road leading to Gilead, which at Bethsaida joins the road that leads from Syria into Egypt; it goes up from Dothan, near Mount Bethulia,⁸ and thence proceeds across the plain of Esdraelon, along the foot of Mount Tabor on the left hand across the plain of Megiddo, ascends Mount Ephraim, and leads through Gaza into Egypt. The word 'Dothan' means both the town and the valley. It was in the Valley of Dothan that the Syrians compassed about Elisha (2 Kings vi.), and he led them into the midst of Samaria. In thirty-seven is Beeroth;⁹ in forty-five is Dan,¹⁰ where the golden calf was.

¹ Deborah's palm-tree is apparently placed at 'Attârah, north of Bîreh.

² Ephraim is in the traditional position at *Taiyibeh*. Ophrah, Josh. xviii. 23; 1 Sam. xiii. 17.

³ Gen. xxxv. 21.

⁴ The Tower Eder or Ader is at the traditional site—the Shepherd's Plain, east of Bethlehem.

⁵ Bosra or Bethsur is at *Beit Sûr*, north of Hebron.

⁶ Safet, now *Safed*.

⁷ Nephthali (Tob. i. 2), apparently at Kadesh-Naphtali (*Kedes*), following the Vulgate.

⁸ Mount Bethulia is the hill on which *Safed* stands. Dothan, as in the twelfth century A.D., is placed at *Khân Jubb Yûsef* ('the inn of Joseph's pit'), near Minieh, on the north shore of the Sea of Galilee, close to Bethsaida (*Sheikh Seiyâd*).

⁹ Beeroth, at *Bîreh*, is shown on the map near Gaba (*Jeb'a*). Judg. ix. 46.

¹⁰ Dan is shown on the map both at the source of Jordan, and also

In fifty-six is Rama; they think that this is the place mentioned by Jeremiah: 'In Rama¹ was a voice heard.' There is also another Rama near Tekoa, on the road that leads to Hebron; another in the tribe of Naphtali, not far from the castle of Saphet; another near Sepphoni, and Shiloh is another. All these stand upon high hills. There is yet another near Lydda, whereof mention is made in Part VI., chap. iv.² In fifty-nine is Jerusalem, the Holy City, described above, Part VII., chap. ii., and hereafter in chap. vii. In sixty-one is Rachel's tomb. In seventy is Hebron, to the right of Mambre. Old Hebron,³ wherein David reigned for seven years, stands on a high hill, and is in ruins. Three bow-shots to the south thereof is New Hebron, where the double cave was. A long bow-shot to the west of the cave is the field of Damascus, mentioned above (Part VII., chap. ii.).⁴ A bow-shot to the south of where they dug out the field is the place where Cain killed Abel. Two bow-shots from this same trench, to the west, on a hill on the south side of Old Hebron, there is a cave in the rock measuring thirty feet in width, and the same in length,

at the foot of Gerizim. The sites of Bethel and Dan appear to have been placed both close to Shechem (following a Samaritan view as to Bethel or Luz on Gerizim—*Khurbet Lôzeh*), and the two sanctuaries of Jeroboam were thus supposed to have been both at Gerizim.

¹ Jer. xxxi. 15; Matt. ii. 17, 18. Cf. Fabri, ii. 403.

² Ramah at *er Ram* is first noticed. *Râmet el Khalîl*, north of Hebron, is that near Tekoa. *Râme*h in Naphtali (south-west of Safed) is the third. Sepphoni stands for Ramathaim Zophim. Shiloh is placed, as in the twelfth century, at *Nebi Samwîl*. The Rama near Lydda is *Ramleh*, wrongly supposed to be Ramathaim Zophim in the twelfth century.

³ Fabri, ii. 409.

⁴ This is the field from whence the red earth was taken of which Adam was made. It is mentioned by almost every pilgrim. Cf. Fabri, ii. 411; Poloner, p. 22; John of Würzburg, chap. xxi.; Theoderich, vi.; Anon. vi., init.; Fetellus, p. 8. Abbot Daniel, chap. liii., describes Hebron at length, but was not shown the field.

wherein Adam and Eve mourned for Abel. Their bed-places are shown there, and a fountain of water springs there. In seventy-three is Debir, or Kirjath-Sepher.¹ In space seventeen, square six, is Lachish, which the children of Dan took and called it Lesedan, after the name of their father. It is also called simply Dan, and Caesarea Philippi; it is now called Belinas.² Before the gate of this city the (rivers) Jor and Dan meet, and form the Jordan. In thirteen is the tent of Heber the Kenite. In seventeen is Kabul.³ The Saracens call this place Castle Zebulon, which names do not agree with 1 Kings ix. In twenty-four is Abelina.⁴ In thirty-one is the place where Gideon fought against Amalek. In forty-three is Sebaste, or Samaria; the site of the city was exceeding beautiful, and commanded a wide prospect over the sea, from Mount Carmel to Joppa.⁵ In forty-five is Shechem, now Neapolis; two bow-shots from it is Jacob's Well, whereof we read in Josh. iv. (?). On the right hand is Gerizim, which is thought to have been the place pointed to by the woman of Samaria, when she said, 'Our fathers worshipped in this mountain'; on the left is the town which is thought to be the ancient Shechem. The second Shechem is thought to be the village of Thebes.⁶ They are two bow-shots apart from one another. Moreover, the estate which Jacob gave to Joseph adjoins this well, and is a long, fertile, and ex-

¹ Debir is shown south of Hebron, perhaps at the true site, *edh Dhaheriyeh*, where a mediaeval tower exists.

² Dan at the source of Jordan (*Tell el Kâdy*) is confused with Belinas (Paneas or Caesarea Philippi) at *Baniâs*. Lachish is an error for Laish or Dan.

³ Kabul is here placed at *Nebi Sebelân*, in Upper Galilee, the true site *Kabûl* being further south-west.

⁴ Abelina is not Abilene, but apparently Arbela (*Irbid*), shown on the map between Nazareth and the Sea of Galilee.

⁵ Neither Carmel nor Joppa is visible from Samaria.

⁶ Thebes is Thebez, now *Tubâs*, north-east of Shechem.

ceeding beautiful valley. Joseph's bones are buried in Shechem. In fifty-four is Magina, now Bira,¹ the boundary of the tribe of Ephraim. In fifty-five is Gibeah of Saul, where the wife of the Levite was killed (Judg. xix. 14), and where Saul was born² (1 Sam. x. 29). In fifty-seven is Astaroth (? Anathoth).³ In sixty-one is Bethsara. In sixty-three is Bezet.⁴ In sixty-six, Beth-haccerem,⁵ a city standing on a high hill. In sixty-seven is Rama, on a high hill, from whence all Arabia can be seen, even to Mount Seyr, and David's hiding-places, and all round about the Dead Sea, even to Mount Abarim; and to the west, all the sea-shore from Ramatha even to Beersheba and the wilderness of Sur.⁶ In sixty-nine is Mambre, where Abraham dwelt, and there is the oak which Jerome tells us remained alive until the time of the Emperor Theodosius, and continually grew greater. From it grew that which at this present is to be seen there, and is held in reverence. This tree, albeit dry, yet is proved to be medicinal; for if a horseman carries a piece of it with him, his beast will not founder.⁷ In space eighteen, square eleven, is Hazor,⁸ a very strong city (Josh. xi. 1). In twenty-one is Naason,⁹ in

¹ Magina, or Maginas, is shown on the map at *Bîreh*; perhaps corrupt for Mahumeria, which was a twelfth-century name for this place.

² Gibeah of Saul is at *Jeb'a*, near Michmash.

³ Anathoth and Astaroth are shown near each other on the map, not at *'Anâta*, but at *'Attâra*, near Gibeah.

⁴ Bethsara is apparently *Beit Sahûr el 'Atîkah*, but shown east of Jerusalem on the map. Bezet is placed west of Bethlehem.

⁵ Beth-haccerem is apparently *Jebel Fureidîs*. Neh. iii. 14; Jer. vi. 1.

⁶ Rama is *Râmet el Khalîl*, but the view is not so extensive as described. Sur stands for Shur.

⁷ A common mediaeval pilgrim legend.

⁸ Hazor or Asor on the map stands at the source of the Leontes River.

⁹ Naason is shown on the map near the north side of the plain

the valley. In thirty is Endor.¹ In thirty-five, Jezreel, on the western side of Mount Gilboa, on a somewhat high place; it is now called Carethi.² Before its gates is shown Naboth's vineyard. Near the city rises a fountain. A bow-shot away from Jezreel there is an exceeding fine view of the whole of Galilee, even to the mountains of Phoenicia, and Mount Tabor, and Carmel, and Mount Ephraim. In thirty-eight is Zamin, or Zilim,³ where Christ cleansed the ten lepers.⁴ In forty-six is the temple on Mount Gerizim, mentioned above (Part I., chap. x.), and there over against it is Ebal, where Joshua built an altar and offered burnt sacrifices to the Lord. He also wrote Deuteronomy, that is, according to some authorities, the commandment from one of the two.⁵ He set one part of the people with priest and Levites on Ebal, and another party with priests and Levites on Gerizim, and they invoked blessings and curses in turn, even as Moses had commanded them. In forty-nine is Lepna, a fine village; there is another Lempna in the tribe of Juda.⁶ In fifty-eight is Bethhoron the lower.⁷ In sixty-one is Zachariah's house, where Mary greeted Elizabeth.⁸ In space nineteen, square twenty-six, is Kuma, where Jonah was buried, and whence he was translated to

Asochis. It probably stands for Nador (Hazor) at *Hazzúr*, south-west of Safed, following the corrupt reading (in 1 Macc. xi. 67), Plain of Nador, for Plain of Hazor.

¹ Endor is at *Andúr*.

² Jezreel is at *Zer'in*. For Carethi the map has Gerayn, a common mediaeval spelling for Zerayn.

³ Zilim might be *Síieh*, north of Samaria, but the map shows Zilim at Gerayn.

⁴ Luke xvii. 12.

⁵ Deuteronomium, id est, mandata tantum de utro, secundum aliquos.

⁶ Lepna is Lebonah, at *Khan Lubben*. Lempna stands for Libnah in Judah.

⁷ Bethhoron is at *Beit 'Ur et Tahta*.

⁸ Zachariah's house is at *'Ain Kárim*.

Ravenna.¹ In twenty-eight is Tabor ; in thirty, Naim,² where Christ raised the widow's son from the dead. In thirty-three Ahab fought against the Syrians. In thirty-five, Pharaoh Necho slew Josiah. In fifty-six is Shiloh, on a hill : this place is called St. Samuel's ;³ it is more than a league distant from Gibeah of Saul, and the like distance from Ramatha. Here the ark abode for a long time, and the tabernacle of the covenant, which Moses made. In fifty-seven is Gibeon,⁴ from whence the Gibeonites came and made a deceitful treaty with Joshua (Josh. xxii.), at the foot of a hill. In fifty-eighth is Nob (1 Sam. xxii. 19), where Saul ordered the priests to be slain.⁵ In sixty-eight is Neel Eshcol,⁶ whence two men bore the bunch of grapes. In the twentieth space, thirty-fourth square, is Shunem, on the side of Hermon,⁷ on the left-hand side of the way that leads to Jezreel. Elisha was often at this place on his way from Carmel to Gilgal (2 Kings iv. 8). From thence he passed by Bethshan into the plain country of Jordan, because the road is less hilly. From Shunem came Abishag the Shunamite, David's handmaid (1 Kings i.). In forty-six is Timnath-serah,⁸ where Joshua was buried. In fifty-

¹ Kuma is for Ruma, as on the map, the present *el Mesh-hed*, with a tomb of Jonah ; the ancient Gath Hepher. A ruin *Râmeh* exists further north-east.

² Naim is for Nain, at *Nein*.

³ Shiloh, as in the twelfth century, is at *Nebi Samwîl*, west of Gibeah (*Jeb'a*) and Ramatha (*er Râm*).

⁴ Gibeon is at *el Jîb*.

⁵ Nob is at *Beit Nûba*, which is too far west to be the true site, but was accepted in the twelfth century.

⁶ Neel Eshcol is for *Nachal Eshcol*, 'the brook Eshcol,' shown north-west of Hebron on the map, and near Philip's Fountain, south-west of Jerusalem. Fabri ii. 424 ; Num. xiii. 23.

⁷ Shunem, on Mount Hermon, is *Sûlem*, the correct site, on the south slope of *Jebel Nebi Dhâhy*, known in the twelfth century as Little Hermon.

⁸ Timnath-serah is apparently at *Kefr Hâris*, the true site, south of Shechem.

eight is Succoth, and in fifty-nine Emmaus, now Sycopolis (Nicopolis).¹ Hard by is Bethshemesh, called 'of Judah,' to distinguish it from the other, which is in Ephraim.² In sixty-six is Ziklag.³ In space twenty-one, square nineteen, is St. George's,⁴ where that saint is believed to have been born. It is a village lying in the hill country, in a rich and fair valley that reaches even to the Sea of Galilee in the tribe of Asher, whereof it is said in Genesis, 'Out of Asher his bread shall be fat' (Gen. xlix. 20). In twenty-seven is Nazareth; in thirty is Mezraa. In thirty-one is Castrum Fabae and Rumae Afet,⁵ beyond the way that leads to Jezreel, in the great plain of Jezreel or plain of Migiddo, otherwise called the Plain of Faba, or of Lower Galilee, or the plain country of Galilee. This plain reaches from Tiberias past Bethshan to Megiddo and Mount Ephraim, and comes back by Mount Tabor and Bethulia to Tiberias. In fifty-three is Aretha.⁶ In fifty-seven is Kirjath-jearim.⁷ In sixty-one is the place where the eunuch was baptized.⁸ In space twenty-two, square fourteen, is Toron,⁹ a very strong castle, built by the Lord of Tiberias for a defence against Tyre; it is seven leagues distant from Tyre. For Tyre see Part VI., chap. v. In twenty-two is Cana of Galilee. In twenty-five is Sephorum, for which places see

¹ Succoth is shown on the map near Nicopolis. It stands for Shochoh (see Burchard), but where shown is not clear.

² Bethshemesh is at 'Ain Shems. There was no Bethshemesh in Ephraim, but one in Naphtali and one in Issachar.

³ Ziklag is shown in the Hebron hills. ⁴ St. George is at Lydda.

⁵ Castrum Fabae is *Fûleh* ('the bean'). Aphet is an error for Aphel ('*Afûleh*'). Mezraa, shown to the north, is the ruin *el Mezra'ah*—all lying west of Shunem and south of Nazareth.

⁶ Aretha (on the map Arecha) might be 'Ain 'Arik, being placed north-west of Nebi Samwil.

⁷ Kirjath-jearim is shown west of Nob.

⁸ The fountain of the eunuch is at the traditional Philip's Fountain ('*Ain Haninah*'), south-west of Jerusalem.

⁹ Toron is at *Tibnin*, in Upper Galilee.

hereafter, chap. vii.¹ In fifty-five is Maceda.² In seventy-seven, Blanche Garde,³ for which see Part VI., chap. xviii. In space twenty-three, square twenty-eight, is Castle Royal,⁴ belonging to the Teutonic Order; it abounds with fruits and all good things, and few fruits are found round about it. In thirty-five is Megiddo or Sububa.⁵ In fifty-seven is Lachish.⁶ In sixty-two, the tomb of the Maccabees.⁷ This may be seen from the sea, because the place stands high. In seventy-two is Timnatha.⁸ In space twenty-four, square eighteen, is Montfort. In square nineteen is Iudyn,⁹ a castle belonging to the Teutonic Order, on the mountains of Sharon. In twenty-nine is Kaymont,¹⁰ where Lamech slew Cain with an arrow. In thirty-six is Kaco, or Anathoth.¹¹ In fifty is Sharon, on Mount Sharon. In fifty-nine is Bethshemesh. In sixty-six is Saraa. In sixty-nine, Staol.¹² In seventy-one, Beersheba, or Ziblin, described in Part VI.,¹³ chap. xv. and xviii. In space twenty-five, square fifty-one,

¹ Cana is shown due north of Sephorum (Sepphoris), at *Khurbet Kânah*, as in the twelfth century.

² Maceda, or Makedah, is placed east of Lydda, probably as being near the Valley of Ajalon.

³ Blanche Garde is now *Tell es Sâfi*, near Beit Jibrin.

⁴ Castle Royal is now *M'alia*, in the hills east of Acre.

⁵ Megiddo is placed in the Plain of Esdraelon, near Sububa, now *Ezbûba*, near Taanach.

⁶ Lachish is placed somewhere east of Ramleh.

⁷ The tombs of the Maccabees were shown at *Latrôn*, as in the twelfth century.

⁸ Timnatha is at *Tibneh*, in the Valley of Sorek.

⁹ Montfort (*Kul'at el Kurein*) and Iudyn (*Jeddin*) were thirteenth-century castles east of Acre.

¹⁰ Kaymont is at *Tell Keimûn*, the ancient Jokneam, east of Carmel.

¹¹ Kaco is at *Kâkûn*, in the Plain of Sharon. It has no connection with Anathoth or Manahat.

¹² Saraa and Staol, near Bethshemesh, are for Zoreah and Eshtaol, now *Sur'ah* and *Eshû'a*, near 'Ain Shems.

¹³ Beersheba is placed at Ziblin or Gibelin, now *Beit Jibrîn*, as in other mediaeval accounts.

is Lydda, or Diospolis.¹ In space twenty-six, square fifty-five, is Ramathaim Zophim,² now Ramula ;³ it is described in Part VI., chap. iv. In space twenty-seven, square seven, is Sarepta of the Sidonians ;⁴ before the southern gate is shown a chapel in the place where Elijah the prophet came to the woman of Sarepta, and abode there, and raised her son from the dead ; moreover, the little chamber is shown wherein he lodged. In fifteen is Scandalium, described above, Part VI., chap. viii. In twenty-six is the place where Elijah slew the prophets of Baal (1 Kings xviii.). In sixty-one is Ekron. In sixty-five is Ashdod,⁵ for which see Part VI., chap. xviii. In space twenty-seven, square three, is Sidon, a great city ; it used to stand in a plain, lengthways, stretching from south to north, at the foot of Mount Anti-Lebanon. Out of its ruins another small but strong city has been built, which on one side stands in the sea, and has on either side two well-fenced castles, one on the north, standing on a rock in the sea, built there by German pilgrims, the other on the south side, standing on a hill. These castles, together with the town, used to be held by the Knights Templars. The land there is exceeding rich, and the air very wholesome. In thirteen, Tyre. In eighteen, Acre. In twenty-seven, Haifa, for which see Part VI., chap. iii. In thirty is Pilgrims' Castle. In forty is Caesarea. In forty-seven is Assur, or Dora, or Antipatris. In fifty-three, Joppa. In fifty-five, Jews' Harbour,⁶ near Jamnia. In fifty-seven, Beroald's Castle. In seventy, Ascalon. In seventy-seven, Gaza. For all these see the preceding chapter.

¹ Lydda is distinguished from St. George in error. ² 1 Sam. i. 1.

³ Ramathaim Zophim is wrongly placed at *Ramleh*.

⁴ Sarepta is at *Surafend*, north of Tyre.

⁵ Ekron is at *'Akir*, and Ashdod at *Esdúd*.

⁶ The Jews' Harbour is apparently at *Minet Rubîn*, north of Yebnah ; the remaining places in this passage have already been noticed.

CHAPTER IV.

THE POSITION OF THE MOUNTAINS IN THE COUNTRY
BEYOND JORDAN, TO THE EASTWARD.

BEYOND the way leading to Hamath, described in the previous chapter, Mount Hermon stretches toward the east. And take notice that Lebanon and Hermon, and Seir, or Sanir,¹ and Gilead, and the hill country about the brook Arnon, and the hills between Ammon and Moab and the Amorites, are all one continuous mountain, though different parts of it are differently named after its highest peaks. The highest of these is Mount Gilead, so that we may take Jeremiah's saying, 'Thou art Gilead unto me, and the head of Lebanon,'² as literally true. The aforesaid Mount Hermon extends for about ten leagues, after which the range of mountains bends round toward the south. The first of these mountains is called Mount Seir, or Sanir. It ends at the foot of Mount Gilead at a place over against the city of Bethshan and Mount Gilboa; the last of them, which is also called Seir, ends near the wilderness at the southern end of the Promised Land. This is that whereof we are told in Genesis that Chedorlaomer³ and other kings with him smote the Horites in their Mount Seir; but it was not then called Seir, because Esau, by whom the mount was named Seir, was not then born; wherefore it is believed to have been so called by anticipation, and in Deut. iii. (*sic*) we read, 'Ye are to pass through the coast of your brethren, the children of Esau, which dwell in

¹ Seir is throughout confused with Sirion, which, like Sanir (*Shenir*), was an old name of Hermon.

² Jer. xxii. 6.

³ Gen. xiv. 6.

Seir.¹ This was said at Kadesh-barnea, when they were about to come to this Mount Seir; for we do not read that the children of Israel at that time came to the Mount Seir which is near Damascus. Esau dwelt in this mount when Jacob came back from Mesopotamia, as we read in Gen. xxxi. how Laban caught Jacob when he stole away on Mount Gilead; and when, in the following chapter, Jacob went on his way, the angels of God met him, and he said, 'This is God's camp,'² and called the name of that place Mahanaim—that is, camp. The place is on that same mountain. From thence he sent messengers to Esau, and the messengers returned and told him that Esau was coming to meet him, and with him four hundred men. So Jacob lodged in the camp—that is, in Mahanaim—that night, and sent presents to his brother. And he rose up early and took his wives, and his children, and passed over the ford Jabbok, which is about three leagues from Mahanaim. And in chap. xxxii. he saw Esau coming, etc. After this comes, 'So Esau returned that day on his way unto Seir.'³ This cannot be understood as alluding to Seir which is near the wilderness, to the south, because it is more than a hundred miles away; howbeit the children of Esau may have dwelt in different mountains named Seir, because of the divers wives whom he married, for he had one wife Aholibamah,⁴ the daughter of Anah, the daughter of Zibeon the Hivite, who dwelt in Scythopolis, or Bethshan, near the Sea of Galilee, hard by Mount Seir; and another wife Bashemath, Ishmael's daughter, sister of Nebajoth; and the children of Huz dwelt in another Mount Seir hard by the wilderness of Paran, near the dwelling of Ishmael, their maternal grandfather, of whom

¹ Deut. ii. 4.

² Gen. xxxii. 1, 2. The Vulgate reads *castra*, the A.V. *hosts*.

³ Gen. xxiii. 16.

⁴ Gen. xxxvi. 2.

we are told, in Gen. xxi. 20, that he dwelt in the wilderness, and became an archer. There is yet a third Mount Seir, on the borders of Ashdod and Ascalon, in the lot of the inheritance of the tribe of Judah ;¹ they who dwell thereon are called Idumaeans ; wherefore Antipas, and his son Herod, who belonged to Ascalon, were called Idumaeans. We can also divide the whole land beyond Jordan thus : The first country to the north is Trachonitis, so called because it lacks rain-water ; but they collect rain-water in cisterns, and bring them from one place to another by *tracones* ;² in Josh. xi. it is called the plain of Lebanon, and it reaches even to Kedar³ and the Sea of Galilee. In the first part thereof is the land of Uz ;⁴ in the next part, to the south, is the half-tribe of Manasseh ; then follows the tribe of Gad at the foot of Mount Gilead ; then the tribe of Reuben, including the kingdom of Sihon, King of Heshbon. After this comes the plain country of Moab, beneath Mount Abarim, in Shittim, where the children of Israel lay for a long time before Jericho. The land of Moab reaches even to Petra in the Wilderness, some twenty leagues. Lastly comes part of the land of Ammon, which reaches all the length of the Dead Sea ; its south side reaches round as far as Mount Seir, which joins the wilderness of Paran, near Kadesh-barnea, having on its side the wilderness of Sinai and the Dead Sea. But the country of Moab and the country of Ammon were not parts of the Promised Land.

¹ Mount Seir is near Kirjath Jearim (Josh. xv. 10).

² This is explained by Fabri, i. 464 : *tracones* = *dracones*, ' pipes like snakes.'

³ Kedar is at Gamala (*el Hosn*), east of the Sea of Galilee.

⁴ The land of Uz is placed, as in the fourth century, in Bashan, at *Sheikh S'ad*. Job i. 1 ; Lam. iv. 21.

CHAPTER V.

THE POSITION OF THE CHIEF MOUNTAINS ON THIS
SIDE OF JORDAN.

AFTER Hermon begins Lebanon (see chap. iii.) and Anti-Lebanon, where is Hazor on the river Eleutherus¹ (Part VI., chap. vi.). These mountains extend for a distance of five days' journey, five leagues beyond Tripoli. Beyond these, to the south, comes Mount Sharon (see above, chap. ii.). One long league from Abilene is Mount Bethulia, where Judith slew Holofernes. This mount may be seen from almost all parts of Galilee; it is a fair mount and fortified. Toward the west it reaches as far as Cana of Galilee, and near it on the south side is the valley in the plain of Dothan, where Judith washed herself, and which she compassed when she returned to Bethulia. Beneath this same mount, on the south, a plain reaches from Cana of Galilee even to Sephorus,² and it is fertile and pleasant. After this comes another mountain to the south, which reaches from Nazareth on the west some eight leagues to the east, where is Dothan.³ Two leagues from Nazareth is Mount Tabor, described hereafter in chap. vii., and beyond Mount Tabor, to the east, is the Valley of Shaveh, which is the King's dale.⁴ One league from Mount Tabor is Mount Hermon,⁵ a small hill, joining which is Hermo-nim, a rising ground rather than a mount. It adjoins Mount Tabor, and on it is Endor, where dwelt the woman

¹ See chaps. ii., iii. Asor is at the source of the Litány River.

² Sephorus is for Sepphoris (*Seffúrieh*). See chap. iii.

³ Dothan is at *Khân Jubb Yúsef*. See chap. iii.

⁴ Moslem traditions still point to a meeting of Abraham and Alexander the Great at the foot of Tabor. Gen. xiv. 15.

⁵ Little Hermon is now *Jebel Nebi Dháhy*, south of Tabor.

that had a familiar spirit (1 Sam. xviii.). Hermon, on whose north side is Naim, extends some four leagues toward the end of the Sea of Galilee. At the foot of the mountains of Nazareth, Tabor, and Hermon, by the sea, is Mount Carmel, at the very end of which, to the south-east, Lamech slew Cain with an arrow.¹ For a description of Carmel, see above. To the south, beyond Hermon, are the mountains of Gilboa; they reach from Bethshan to Jezreel to the east for three leagues. Hard by this place, a bow-shot away, rises the fountain of Jezreel, where the Philistines pitched their camp when Saul was on Gilboa. Another brook runs down from Hermon between this fountain and Bethshan, joins the fountain, and they flow together across the midst of the valley to the Jordan. This valley measures some two leagues in width, and in it Gideon fought against Midian (Judg. xii.), and Ahab fought against the Syrians (1 Kings ix.). In this plain also, on the side toward Jordan, begins the illustrious valley,² which extends as far as the Dead Sea. After Gilboa, to the south, comes Beeroth, where the mountains of Samaria begin. Between them and Jordan is about three leagues, in which lies the land of Timnath,³ which contains very lofty mountains and reaches down to the plain country of Jordan. The mount whereon Beeroth stands, two leagues off, splits into two mountains towards the south. On that to the west, which is a high mount, Jeroboam set up one of the golden calves, and he set up the other half a league away on the still higher mount

¹ Jokneam (*Tell Keimûn*), close to Carmel, was called in the twelfth century Caymont, or Cain Mons, from this legend.

² The Vulgate reads (Gen. xii.), 'Pertransivit Abram terram usque ad locum Sichem, usque ad convallem illustrem,' etc., where the A.V. has, 'And Abram passed through the land unto the place of Sichem, unto the plain of Moreh.'

³ The land of Timnath or Tampne (*Tammûn*). See chap. iii.

toward the east ; albeit some think that it was in Dan, which is called Lachish.¹ In the valley between these two mountains is Shechem, now Neapolis, an exceeding pleasant place ; but it cannot be fortified, because stones can be cast into the town from the mountains on either side thereof. For an account of these mountains, see chap. iii. After this, to the south, comes the hill country of Judaea and Jerusalem. For an account of Jerusalem, Sion, and the neighbourhood, see chaps. vi. and vii., and for Quarantena see chap. iii. Beyond Quarantena, to the south, stands Engaddi, an exceeding lofty mountain, on the west shore of the Dead Sea : it is of a strange shape, having precipitous rocks and valleys. It was in Engaddi that the plants of balsam used to grow ; but in the days of Herod of Ascalon, Queen Cleopatra, by the favour of Mark Antony, took them away to Egypt, where Christians alone can tend them. At the end of Engaddi is Mount Carmel,² where Nabal dwelt ; beyond that is Amalek ; and yet further, toward the Red Sea, is Kadesh-barnea, whence Moses sent out the spies. Here the children of Israel abode for a long time, and thence were bidden to journey round about Mount Seir, which is in Idumaea, near the wilderness of Maon, to the south-east ; from thence they came back by the way of the Red Sea. The wilderness of Maon³ is described in chap. iii. ; Mount Bethlehem, chap. x. ; Mount Ramah, chap. iii. Let this suffice as regards mountains.

¹ The golden calves are supposed by the author to have been made near Shechem, where he shows Dan on his map. Lachish is an error for Laish.

² Engaddi (Engedi, *'Ain Jidy*) is below the ridge on which Carmel of Judah (*Kurmul*) stands, to the west.

³ Maon is *Tell M'ain*, near *Kurmul*.

CHAPTER VI.

THE COURSE OF THE WATERS AND RIVERS OF THE
HOLY LAND.

JORDAN rises at the foot of Lebanon (chap. iii.). They say that the brook Dan has its source in the fountain called Phiale,¹ which is always full and never overflows. It lies in the sixth space and the eighteenth square. This they say because straws put into that spring are found again in Dan; wherefore they say that it is the true source of the Jordan. The Saracens, therefore, call this fount Madan, that is, being interpreted, the water of Dan. St. Mark calls it Dalmanutha; St. Matthew, Magdala.² Beginning in this fashion, the stream of Jordan divides Ituræa from the country of Trachonitis. It flows at first toward the east, but afterwards toward the south. About half-way between its source and the Sea of Galilee it enters a valley, where it spreads into a swamp when the snow melts on Mount Lebanon. This is called the Lake of Merom, and is the place where Joshua fought with Jabin, King of Hazor, and twenty-four other kings. This water nearly all dries up in summer, and bushes grow up, wherein lions, bears, and such-like creatures have their dens, and royal sport may be had there.³ Flowing onward from thence, the Jordan enters the Sea of Galilee between Capernaum and Chorazin.⁴ The sea is so named after the adjacent province of Galilee;

¹ Lake Phiale (*Birket er Râm*), in Golan, is shown too far south on the map, near the Sea of Galilee.

² Madan was probably *el Meidân*, 'the open plain.' It is confused with Magdala (*Mejdel*), west of the Sea of Galilee. Mark viii. 10; Matt. xv. 39.

³ Et sunt ibi venationes regiae. Compare Poloner 27, who says, 'Et sunt ibi delectabiles venationes.' Abbot Daniel, 59.

⁴ Chorazin (see chap. iii.) is wrongly placed east of Jordan.

it is also called the Sea of Tiberias, after the nearest city ; and the Sea of Gennesaret, because, according to Bede,¹ its curling waves continually breed wind, or else from the little tract named Gennesaret, past which it flows. According to Bede, it measures one hundred and forty stadia in length, and forty in breadth. After this Jordan flows to the southward, and enters the Dead Sea, which divides Arabia from Judaea ; it extends toward the south thirty-five leagues, more or less, that is, even to Kadesh-barnea, and the wilderness of Paran ; and some think that it is a continuation of the Red Sea. The space between these two seas is reckoned to be five days' journey, and men think that the waters on the way, which in Exod. xv. are called the waters of Marah, come from these seas. Some declare that the waters of Jordan do not enter the Dead Sea, but when they come thither are drunk up by the earth ; but those who know say that they both enter it and leave it, and that at last the water of Jordan is drunk up by the earth a little way further on ; wherefore the sea rises when Jordan rises, as the snow melts on Lebanon and the other mountains, and after much rain. This sea always smokes, and is as dark as the chimney of hell. The brook Jabbok flows into Jordan on the east side ; it rises in space two, square forty-five, and flows sometimes to the west and sometimes to the north ; it enters the Jordan three leagues from the Sea of Galilee. In like manner the brook Arnon rises on Mount Pisgah, and enters Jordan below Jaazer.² Similarly, two other streams enter the Dead Sea, one at the beginning thereof, and the other beyond it, nine leagues to the south. On the west, the stream which Josephus calls the Little

¹ The reference is to Bede, 'Concerning the Holy Places.' See Arculfus, p. 80, in this series.

² Arnon (see map) is confused with the stream at Tyrus in Gilead, where Jazer (on map Iacer) was shown in the fourth century (Onomasticon) at *Khurbet Sâr*.

Jordan enters the Dead Sea; it rises near Castle Royal, and is joined by another stream that comes from near Cabul;¹ it enters the Sea of Galilee near Bethsaida.² Near the same place, but more to the south, another stream enters it, which stream comes from the springs on the sides of Dothan; and near Magdala another stream, coming from Mount Bethulia, enters the sea. The brook Kishon also rises at the foot of Mount Tabor, on the east side, where Barak fought with Sisera. This brook Kishon is formed by the rain that falls upon Mount Tabor, Mount Hermon, and the little hill of Hermon; one part thereof runs down to the end of the Sea of Galilee, while the other part runs into the Mediterranean one mile from Haifa, and three from Ptolemais; it enters the sea near the place where Elijah slew the priests of Baal (1 Kings xviii.). This brook receives much water from Mount Ephraim, from the parts about Samaria, and from all the great plain of Jezreel, Cain's Mount, and Megiddo. A stream which runs from the north side of Hermon joins that which runs from the fountain of Jezreel, and enters the Jordan below Bethshan. The brook Jabbok also, mentioned above, chap. iii., enters Jordan over against Eleale. The brook Cherith runs down from the mount where Elijah was fed by the ravens, and passes to the east near Phasaël.³ Elisha's well has been described in chap. iii. Moreover, the waters about Jerusalem join the waters which run down from Mount Engaddi, and enter the Dead Sea at its beginning, just below where Jordan runs into it.

¹ 1 Kings ix. 13.

² Little Jordan is here (but not in Josephus) *Wâdy Hamâm*, west of the Sea of Galilee, supposed to rise at M'alia (Chateau du Roy), east of Acre. For Cabul, see chap. iii. It was not shown at the true site (*Kabîl*).

³ The brook Cherith was east of Jordan. It is here placed at *Wâdy Fusâil*, west of the river.

Into the Mediterranean flow first of all, on the north, the river Eleuterus,¹ for which see above, chap. ii. Next, going southward, comes the 'well of living waters,' described above in Part VI., chap. xviii. Next comes the stream from near Castle Royal, which runs between Montfort and Iudyn, and enters the sea near Casale Lamberti. Next, near Ptolemais, there flows into the sea a river which rises some five miles off. Next is the brook Kishon, described just above. Next comes the stream from near Sycelec,² which enters the sea between Caesarea and Ashur.³ Next a stream runs from a place between the house of Zachariah and Emmaus, through the Vale of Rephaim, passes near Ramatha, and enters the sea near Joppa.⁴ Further on, a stream runs down from near Bethsura, flowing first to the west; it then turns south, is joined by the stream from En-hakkore in Lehi,⁵ which runs from the north; near this place the eunuch was baptized.⁶ Thence it runs down past Eshtaol, near Ascalon, to the west, and so into the sea. Last of all, the brook Besor runs down from Mount Carmel beyond Beersheba, turns towards Gaza, and so into the sea.

¹ Eleutherus.

² Siceleg, Vulgate; Ziklag, A.V.

³ For the places in this paragraph, see chap. iii.

⁴ The great valley north of 'Ain Karim (Zachariah's house) is intended, Ramatha being Râmleh. The Valley of Rephaim is shown on the map east of Ramleh. Emmaus is shown east of Nicopolis.

⁵ Judg. xv. 16.

⁶ There is great confusion here. The valley is shown on the map reaching to Ascalon, yet passing between Staol (Eshtaol) and Tapna (Timnah). Its head is at the Fountain of the Eunuch (now Philip's Fountain, 'Ain Hanîna). It is thus evidently the Valley of Sorek, which is the same as the preceding valley (*Wâdy Serâr*).

CHAPTER VII.

THE PILGRIMAGE FROM PTOLEMAIS THROUGH
NAZARETH EVEN TO JERUSALEM.

HE that would visit the holy places of the chosen Promised Land, let him begin with Nazareth, where our salvation was begun. This place is seven leagues distant from Ptolemais. On the road to Saphar one finds a castle, where it is said that James and John, the sons of Zebedee, were born.¹ At Nazareth one is shown the place where the angel Gabriel, God's messenger, announced to the Blessed Virgin Mary that the design ordained from the beginning for the redemption of the world was about to be fulfilled. See more about this in Part VII., chap. ii. In the chapel built there, there were three altars; this chapel was hewn out of the rock, even as the chapels of the Nativity and of the Resurrection; indeed, of old a great part of the city was hewn out of the rock, as may be seen at this day. There also is shown the synagogue, now made into a church, where Christ² received the Book of Isaiah and read, 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me.'³ Four bow-shots to the south of the city is the place called the Lord's Leap,⁴ where the Jews wished to cast Him down a steep place, but He passed out of their hands, and was seen of a sudden on the side of the opposite mountain, a bow-shot away, where the print of His body may be seen on the rock. From that mountain one can see Mount Tabor, the lesser Hermon, and Hermoniim, the village of Endor, Naim, Jezreel, and all the width of the great plain of Esdraelon.

¹ Saphar is Sepphoris. The castle is *Shefa 'Amr*.

² Luke iv. 17.

³ Isa. lxi. 1.

⁴ The traditional site, south of Nazareth, still shown, is the same as in the twelfth century. See 'City of Jerusalem.

Two leagues from Nazareth is Sephoris, the birthplace of St. Anne ; there is an exceeding fine castle above the town. Joachim is said to have been born there ; the place is in the tribe of Ashur, near the Valley of Carmeleon.¹ Two leagues and a half from Sephoris is Cana of Galilee, whence came Simeon the Canaanite, and Nathaniel. In it is shown the place where stood the six waterpots wherein Christ turned the water into wine, and the dining-room wherein the table stood. These places, like all the others wherein Christ worked miracles, are underground, and people go down many steps to them, into a crypt, even as they do into the place of the Annunciation, the Nativity, and many others. The reason of this seems to be that, owing to the frequent destruction of churches, their ruins have risen above the ground, and when they were levelled other buildings were set up ; wherefore the faithful made stairs to the original places and visit them in crypts.² Near this city, on the south, is a tall, round hill, on whose sloping side the city stands. Beneath it, to the south, is a fair plain, fertile and pleasant, which reaches as far as Sephoris. The order in which pilgrims visit these places is to go from Ptolemais, five leagues to the east, to Cana of Galilee, and thence to the south by Sephoris to Nazareth. Two leagues from Nazareth is Mount Tabor, where the Lord was transfigured. Here are shown the ruins of the three tabernacles which were built according to Peter's desire. There are also the ruins of many other buildings, which now are the dens of lions and other wild beasts ; so that here also is hunting fit for a king.³ The mount is hard to climb, and is very lofty, and suitable for fortification.

¹ Carmelion is apparently for Carmel ; the valley seems to be *Wády el Melek*, leading from Sepphoris towards Carmel.

² Cana (see chap. iii.) is at *Khurbet Kanah*, where there is a ruined vault still visible.

³ Poloner, 27 ; Abbot Daniel, 59, etc.

At its foot, on the south side, on the way leading from Syria to Egypt, is the place where Melchisedec met Abraham, as he was returning from the slaughter of the four kings in the neighbourhood of Damascus. At its foot, on the west, over against Nazareth, stands the chapel on the place where Christ said to His disciples, 'Tell no one what ye have seen,' etc., while from its foot, on the east side, runs the brook Kishon. Two leagues from Tabor, to the south-east, is Naim, where Christ raised the widow's son from the dead. Fifteen leagues from thence is Samaria, and from thence to Jerusalem the road measures one hundred and three.¹

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PILGRIMAGE THROUGH THE HOLY CITY OF JERUSALEM, AND THE MOUNT SION.

WHEN you visit these most holy places, for which an entire day is scarce sufficient, you should enter through the gate of Benjamin, that is, St. Stephen's Gate. Then, first of all, you should visit the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which is the chief of all the sanctuaries in the world. This church is round, and measures in diameter seventy-three feet between the columns, not reckoning the apses, which measure thirty feet, and stand round about the circle of columns.² Above the Lord's sepulchre, which is in the midst of this same church, there is a round opening, so that the whole interior of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre

¹ Deinde usque Jerusalem via ponitur, c. iii. The word understood cannot be 'leagues.' Probably 'furlongs' is understood.

² This passage is carelessly transcribed from Anon. Pil. iv., p. 31, where see note.

is open to the sky. The Church of Golgotha adjoins this church, and is oblong in shape. It serves as a choir to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and has a somewhat lower ceiling; but they are both under one roof. Before the Christians bore rule in those parts, a church of the size of a chapel was built on the place where Christ was crucified, and where the cross was found; but when the faithful gained possession of those parts, they thought this place small and cramped; wherefore they built a new, costly, beautiful, and solid work, which includes all the holy places within itself. The door of the sepulchre is very low and small. The form of the sepulchre is described in Part VII., chap. ii. It is a cave without any opening, so that there is no way by which light can enter it; but nine lamps afford a constant light. There is also another cave in front of this cave of the holy sepulchre of the same length, width, and shape; and these two appear to be one as one enters from without. It was into this outer cave that the women entered when they said, 'Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulchre?' This stone had been rolled up to the door of the inner cave, and at this day a great part thereof lies before the aforesaid door; but the rest of it has been translated to Mount Sion, where it supports an altar. Near the cell of the holy sepulchre there is a pillar bearing the effigy of St. Pantaleon. When a Saracen put out this figure's eyes, his own eyes straightway fell out upon the ground. Mount Calvary, whereon the Lord was crucified, stands one hundred and eight feet away from the sepulchre. One mounts nineteen feet above the pavement of the church to the place where the cross was set up. The rent in the rock wherein the cross was fixed is of such a size that it can take in a man's head, and it runs down lengthwise from the place where the cross was placed, even to the pavement

of the church, nineteen feet. The colour of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ still appears to this day in the rent in the rock; this rent was beneath His left hand. Near this place where His left hand was, an exceeding beautiful altar has been built, and adorned with marble. The pavement of this chapel also is made of marble, and the walls are cased with marble and adorned with mosaic work. The place wherein the cross stood is a hole two palms deep, and big enough to take in a man's head. Ten feet away from Calvary, on the north side, there is an altar beneath which is the pillar at which the Lord was scourged. It was brought to this place from Pilate's house, and is covered by the stone of the altar in such sort that it can be touched, seen, and kissed by the faithful. It is a stone of dark porphyry, with some natural red spots, which the vulgar call spots of Christ's blood. Another part of this pillar has been translated to Constantinople. There is likewise another place on the left-hand side of the church, where there is a small slender pillar to which they say Jesus was bound and scourged. Twelve feet east of the altar before this column one goes down forty-eight stairs to the place where Helena found the cross; there is a chapel there, and two altars, underground. This place where the cross was found is thought to have been one of the ditches of the old city, into which the crosses were flung after the bodies had been taken down from them. The place where the Blessed Virgin stood near the cross with the other women was not beneath the northern arm of the cross, as many think, but before her Son's face, almost due west; the place is shown at the foot of the aforesaid rock. Near it is shown the place where Joseph of Arimathaea and Nicodemus washed Jesus after they had taken Him down from the cross. They say that the Lord Jesus pointed to this place, and declared that it was

the middle of the world ; it is in the midst of the choir : on the left-hand side of the choir is Christ's prison. Near this is the place where our Lord, when He was risen from the dead, met Mary Magdalen, and she, supposing Him to be the gardener, said, ' Sir, if thou have borne Him hence, tell me where thou hast laid Him, and I will take Him away.' In this place an altar has been set up, in memory of this apparition, over against the cell of the sepulchre. From hence one goes to the west gate, where St. Mary of Egypt¹ was converted, because she could not enter it together with the other Christians. There are also in this church many well-built and well-decorated altars.

After this, the pilgrim should go to Mount Sion. On the way hither, over against David's Tower, one finds the place where Herod Agrippa slew James the brother of John with the sword. They do err who say that his head was brought thither by the hands of angels from Joppa, and buried there. Upon Mount Sion one finds first St. Saviour's Church, which once was the house of Caiaphas, wherein, after He was taken, Christ abode until morning ; it was there that the chief priests and all the council sought false witness against Jesus, to put Him to death ; it was there that the High-priest rose and said unto Him, ' I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of the living God,'² and Jesus answered, ' Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven.' Then the High-priest rent his clothes ; but Christ's seamless tunic was not rent, which things are a type of the ruin of the synagogue and the strength of the Church. Then they declared Him guilty of death, and

¹ Anon., pp. 12, 19, 23 ; Willis's ' Church of the Holy Sepulchre,' p. 102.

² Matt. xxvi. 53.

spat in His face, and smote Him with buffets; others mocked Him as they struck Him; and they blindfolded Him and smote Him on the face, saying, 'Prophecy unto us, thou Christ; who is he that smote thee?' and many other blasphemies they said against Him. There is usually shown part of the pillar to which He was bound until the morning, and scourged. At this place also is shown the prison, wherein, after the rising of the sacrilegious council, Christ was imprisoned until morning, where He heard countless taunts and endured insults from worthless slaves. There also is the great stone on the altar, which is said to have been the stone laid over the tomb of the Lord Jesus. A stone's-throw to the south of this place is the place where the glorious Virgin Mary dwelt, after her Son's ascension into heaven, and here is the chamber wherein she departed this life. There also is a church of St. John the Evangelist, which is said to have been the first church built in the world. In it that Apostle was wont to administer the sacrament to that most blessed queen, as long as he lived. A red stone¹ used to be shown in this place, which served as an altar, and which they declare was brought from Mount Sinai by the hands of angels, in answer to the prayer of St. Thomas as he was returning from India. Near the aforesaid place is the Chamber of the Last Supper, a great paved building, wherein Christ supped with His disciples, washed their feet, gave them His Body and Blood, and appeared to them sundry times after His resurrection. A chapel has been built beneath it. Here also Matthias was chosen an Apostle; the Holy Spirit was sent down upon the Apostles; the seven deacons were chosen, and St. James the Less was ordained Bishop of Jerusalem. All these places are shown separately. Here also is shown the basin into which Christ poured the water

¹ Fabri, i. 509.

to wash His disciples' feet. Hard by are the tombs of Solomon, David, and the other kings of Judah, partly within the Church of Mount Sion, and partly without, on the north side. Not far away is the sepulchre of St. Stephen the first martyr, in which he was laid after the finding of his body.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PILGRIMAGE TO THE HOLY PLACES ROUND ABOUT JERUSALEM.

COMING down from Mount Sion, one finds the place where, when the Apostles were carrying the glorious Virgin to her sepulchre in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the Jewish High-priest would have snatched away her body ; but his hand straightway withered. There is also a church, commonly called the Cock-crowing, wherein is a deep pit in which Peter wept bitterly. Thence one goes to the south to the field that was bought for the thirty pieces of silver for which Christ was sold by Judas. Then one goes to the fountain of Siloam, at the foot of Mount Sion, near Solomon's palace : from it water flows into the lower pool, and the bathing-pool of Siloam. It does not flow constantly, but at intervals. Both pools also receive the water from the lower source of Gihon, which rises beneath the fuller's field, where Rabshakeh railed against the Lord in the hearing of the people on the wall. To the east, near these pools, runs the brook Cedron, fed by all the collected waters from the high ground, to wit, from Rama, from Anathoth, and from the sepulchre of the Queen of Adiabene, and one can hear the rushing of the waters as they flow far beneath the Virgin's sepulchre. Thus, all these waters

flow together down into the Valley of Gehinnon, which is also called the Place of Tophet. In this valley also is the stone of Zohelath, and the well Rogel, where Adonijah feasted when he tried to make himself King. There, beneath the oak-tree of Rogel, is shown the sepulchre of the prophet Isaiah. These are lovely and pleasant places ; the gardens and orchards are watered by the brook Cedron. As one goes along the Valley of Jehoshaphat from the fountain of Siloam, over against the temple, at the foot of the Mount of Olives, is shown the sepulchre¹ of Jehoshaphat, King of Judah, which has above it a pyramid² of great beauty. More than a stone's-throw to the north of this sepulchre is the place where Christ prayed. Further on, a stone's-throw to the north, is the Church of Gethsemane, where is the garden into which Jesus entered with His disciples, on the side of the Mount of Olives, clinging to a hollow rock which hangs from the mount. Beneath this rock the disciples sat, when Jesus said to them, ' Sit here and pray, that ye enter not into temptation.' The place where they sat is shown at this day. There also is shown the place where He was taken by the multitude, and where Judas betrayed Him with a kiss. The mark of His bare head is still to be seen on the steep rock, and the traces of His hair. On the other side of the rock the marks of His fingers may be seen, as though they had been pressed upon dough. He is said to have made these marks by clinging to the rock when He was taken by the multitude. It is a wondrous tale, which men who have experienced it tell, that even with iron tools not only they cannot break off any part of this rock, but cannot even scrape any dust off it. Likewise, in the place where He prayed, and being in an agony prayed for a long while, and His sweat was as

¹ Apparently the present ' Tomb of Zechariah.'

² Anon., vi., p. 68, note ; Fabri, i. 513.

drops of blood falling to the ground, the marks of His knees and hands are imprinted in the stone ; and from this stone, as from the other, no piece can be broken off. The way up the Mount of Olives passes between this place and Gethsemane, in front of the Church of the Blessed Virgin. From the door of the aforesaid Church of Gethsemane, even to the door of the chapel leading into the church wherein is the glorious Virgin's sepulchre, is fifty paces, toward the west, not down in the valley, but along the foot of the Mount of Olives. Before the destruction of Jerusalem this church was above ground, but now it is far underground ; for the Romans, Josephus tells us, besieged the city on that side, cut down the olive-trees and other trees, and filled it¹ up with mounds made therewith. Afterwards, when the city was taken, Mount Moriah itself was levelled, lest so strong a place should be left standing, and Adrian ordered the ruins of the temple and its courts to be cast down into the brook Cedron, and caused the city to be sown with salt. Owing to these fillings up, the church, albeit a tall and vaulted one, has been completely covered over, and above it is flat ground, with a public road thereon. Yet there remains above ground a building like a chapel, which you enter, and then go down some sixty stairs underground to the church itself, and to the sepulchre of the glorious Virgin. The sepulchre stands in the midst of the choir, over against the altar ; it is of marble, and splendidly decorated. But the church is very damp ; for the brook Cedron runs beneath it, full of the waters from the places aforesaid, and holds its ancient course ; but when there is much rain the aforesaid brook overflows and fills the church, insomuch that often the water covers all the stairs and runs out of the door of the

¹ It is not clear whether 'it' refers to the valley or the church.

chapel that stands at the top of them. The church is lighted by windows at the east end, which, from the shape of the ground, are well placed for receiving light from the direction of the Mount of Olives. Near the Virgin's sepulchre is the sepulchre of St. James the Less; for the Christians buried him here after the Jews had cast him down from the temple. The sepulchre of Queen Helena is described above; this Helena was not Constantine's mother, but the Queen of Adiabene, who fed her brethren in Jerusalem when there was a famine in Jerusalem in the fourth and the eleventh years of the reign of Claudius Caesar. After the pilgrim has visited these places, let him go along the road which we have said passes near the Virgin's sepulchre, and follow Christ as He came to Jerusalem riding upon an ass, on Palm Sunday, and let him cry aloud, with the multitude of the faithful, 'Hosanna to the Son of David; blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord; peace in heaven (*sic*), and glory in the highest.' Christ entered Jerusalem through the Golden Gate. About a crossbow-shot from this stands the Lord's Temple, on Mount Moriah. It was in this temple that Jesus was presented, when He was a child forty days old, and Simeon sang to Him, 'Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy word,'¹ etc., and Anna² the prophetess came and spake of Him to all them that looked for redemption in Israel. There, as a boy of twelve, He stood in the midst of the doctors, rather teaching them by His wise questions than learning from them. There, when grown to man's estate, He cast those who bought and sold out of the temple, and overturned the tables of the money-changers, and the seats of them that sold doves, saying, 'Make not My house a den of thieves.'³ There He forgave the woman taken in adultery both her punishment and her

¹ Luke ii. 26.

² Luke ii. 36.

³ Matt. xxi. 12.

sin. There the Jews would have stoned Him, when He said, 'I and My Father are One.' There He preferred the widow's two mites to the great offerings of others, He justified the humble publican, condemned the proud Pharisee, and wrought many other works helpful for our salvation. The enclosure of the temple is square, and walled in; it measures more than a bow-shot in length and breadth; on the west side it has two gates, one of which is called the Beautiful Gate; for an account of which see above, Part I., chap. viii. This was the gate at which Peter healed the lame man (Acts iii.); the other gate has no name. On the north side there is a gate, and on the east is what is called the Golden Gate. Above every one of these gates there stands a lofty tower, which the Saracen priests are wont to ascend, and proclaim the law of Mahomet. No one dares to enter this enclosure save with clean feet, and to this end gatekeepers or porters are appointed. In the midst of this enclosure there is another enclosure, square, and higher than the outer one, up to which one ascends on the west and south side by flights of steps. In the midst of this is built the temple, on the place where David bought the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, that he might build an altar to the Lord, and where the plague which assailed the people was stayed; see the end of the Second Book of Samuel. The temple has eight angles and eight sides; its walls are cased with marble and adorned with mosaic work. Its roofing is of lead, admirably worked, and each of the enclosures is paved with white marble. They say that near the Lord's Temple is Solomon's Temple, in which are two temples. No Christian is suffered to enter it, lest his prayer be heard, according to Solomon's word. If the pilgrim may not enter by the gate through which Christ entered into the temple, let him enter by the valley gate, about a stone's-

throw distant from the great temple enclosure, on the south side. Before he enters the gate, he will see on his right hand the place where St. Stephen was bound when he was stoned, in which place also he prayed on his bended knees for his murderers, saying, 'Lord, lay not this sin to their charge.'¹

CHAPTER X.

THE PILGRIMAGE TO SUCH PLACES AS WERE OMITTED IN THE CITY OF JERUSALEM.

WHEN you have entered the aforesaid valley gate, first on the right hand comes St. Anne's Church,² wherein is shown the crypt wherein the glorious Virgin Mary was born, in the place where stood the house of Joachim and St. Anna. Hard by is a great pool, which was called the Inner Pool,³ and was made by Hezekiah in the following manner :⁴ he stopped up the upper watercourse of Gihon, and brought it straight down the west side of the city of David, digging the hard rock with iron, as we read in Ecclesiasticus xlvi. 17, and led the waters through the midst of the city into that pool, that in times of siege the people might have water to drink, and the Assyrians should not be able to hinder them. But he led the spring of the waters of Gihon into the upper pool, which is above the bathing-pool of Siloam. This work was begun by Ahaz, but not finished

¹ The topography of chaps. viii., ix., is best understood by comparing the more accurate account in the 'City of Jerusalem.' See translation in this series.

² Ludolph von Suchem, p. 100.

³ For the Piscina Interior, see appendix to 'City of Jerusalem' in this series.

⁴ 2 Chron. xxxii. 30.

by him. Isaiah (vii. 3) mentions this pool and spring, when he says, 'Go forth now . . . to the end of the conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's field.' This is called the Upper Pool, in respect of Siloam, for which see chap. viii. There is a fourth pool in the city on the left hand of the aforesaid Valley Gate, even as St. Anne is on the right. This is called the Sheep Pool,¹ near the altar of the temple. In it the Nethinims used to wash the victims and then bring them to the priests, to be offered in the temple. This is shown to this day with its five arches, in which the sick used to lie waiting for the troubling of the water, for whosoever first after the troubling of the water stepped in was made whole (John v. 4). Here Christ healed the man which had an infirmity thirty-and-eight years. Some say that the first pool, near St. Anne's, is the sheep pool; but this I do not believe. We read of no more pools in Jerusalem or round about the same. After you have seen these things on the right hand and on the left, go straight forward along the road to the gate before you, which is called the Gate of Judgment,² and you will find Pilate's house, wherein the innocent Lamb of God was scourged and mocked by the soldiers, spat upon, buffeted, crowned with thorns, and at last condemned to death. Here is the way leading to the temple, down which the

¹ The Sheep Pool is here either at the Twin Pools, or at the Birket Israil. The author places the Upper Gihon at *Birket Mamilla*, west of Jerusalem. The Upper Pool seems to be *Birket el Batrak*, which is fed by aqueduct from Birket Mamilla. He seems to suppose two aqueducts, from the Piscina Interior (at St. Anne's), and from the Upper Pool, to join in the Tyropoeon Valley, and run to Siloam. This makes four pools besides Siloam.

² The old Byzantine archway east of the Holy Sepulchre Cathedral was the traditional *Porta Judiciaria*. The ancient wall of the city was supposed to pass east and west, south of the cathedral, and then turn north and again east to the Twin Pools. No remains have, however, been found on this line as yet.

Jews, coming from the temple, cried, 'Crucify him, crucify him!' Near Pilate's house is Annas's house, to which Christ was first led after He had been taken by the multitude in Gethsemane. Here He was questioned about His doctrine, as though He were a teacher of heresy, and was struck by a wicked slave with the palm of his hand;¹ thence He was sent in bonds to Caiaphas on Mount Sion. For a description of his house, see chap. viii. Near the house of Annas is the Church of St. Mary of the Swoon, at the place where the Blessed Virgin fainted with grief when she beheld her innocent Son bearing His cross and distressed by its weight; and to this day two great white stones² are built into the arch aloft, upon which stones the Lord rested when He was bearing the cross.³ Proceeding further along the aforesaid street, one finds on the right hand the way leading to St. Stephen's Gate, along which the Jews, who were leading Jesus, found one Simon of Cyrene coming from the country, and compelled him to bear the cross; and he bore it even to Mount Calvary, where they crucified him (*sic*). For an account of this place, see chap. viii. King Herod's palace is said to have stood near the Church of St. Mary of the Swoon. Not far from Herod's palace is shown the house of the traitor Judas, where he dwelt with his wife and children.

CHAPTER XI.

THE PILGRIMAGE TO BETHLEHEM AND HEBRON.

AFTER the pilgrimages to Jerusalem, Mount Sion, and the places round about them, you must go out of David's Gate

¹ John xviii. 22.

² Fabri, i. 448.

³ The site of the *Spasma Virginis* was shown beside the *Ecce Homo* arch. See notes to the 'City of Jerusalem.'

toward Bethlehem, which is some two leagues distant, to the southward, on the left-hand side of the road to Hebron ; but it stands a bow-shot away from the road. Halfway there is a church on the place where Elijah did some act of penance. One mile from Bethlehem is Rachel's sepulchre ; it is on the right-hand side, near the road, and is covered with a fair dome, which was built by Jacob, who put beneath it upon her tomb twelve great stones, according to the number of the children of Israel, which stones are there to this day. Near Rachel's sepulchre¹ is the field of stony peas. They say that the Lord Jesus, when passing that way, asked a man, who was sowing peas, what he was sowing. He answered, 'Stones,' whereupon the Lord said, 'Let them be stones.' Thus the peas were turned into stones, and to this day stony peas are found there, which pilgrims are wont to gather. At last one reaches Bethlehem, which stands on a fairly high though narrow mount, which stretches east and west. The entrance is on the west, and beside the gate is the well of which David longed to drink when he was beleaguered here. On the east side there is a cave in the rock near the city wall, which seems, after the fashion of that country, to have been a stable, with a manger hewn in the rock, as is usual in those parts. How shall I praise this stable, the place where Christ was born of the Virgin, a sun from a star ; where truth arose from the earth, and our earth gave its increase ? With what words shall I set forth the glory of that manger, wherein the babe that wept, wrapped in swaddling clothes, was He who had made the heavens, and at so stupendous a miracle the angels cried out, the shepherds ran to see, the star glittered above, Herod was affrighted, Jerusalem disturbed ?

¹ This site, with its legend, is still shown south of *Mâr Elias*, on the road to Bethlehem, north of Rachel's tomb. Fabri, i. 545 ; Ricoldus, iv. 110.

O Bethlehem, city of David! glorified by the birth of the true David, of a mighty hand and a comely countenance. The city was a little one, but hath been magnified by the Lord. He who before was great, but became a little one, therein hath magnified her. What city is there that would not be envious of her, when it heard of her precious stable and the glory of her manger? Everywhere glorious things are said of thee, thou city of God; everywhere people sing, 'It shall be reported that He was born in her, and the Most High shall stablish her.'¹ Take notice that near the aforesaid rock, wherein Christ was born, there is another roomier² one, only four feet distant from the first, beneath which stood the manger wherein that sweetest babe, when newly born and wrapped in swaddling clothes, lay beside the ox and the ass. It seems to have been all one cave, only divided into two by a door made in it, and the stairs whereby one goes up from the chapel to the choir. The hay from the manger was taken to Romé by the Empress Helena, and meetly enshrined in Great St. Mary's Church.³ St. Jerome is buried hard by the manger. One goes down from the church to the place of the most sweet Nativity by ten steps, which lead into the chapel. The inside of this chapel is all of mosaic work; it is paved with marble, and is built in exceedingly costly fashion. Mass can be celebrated over the place where the Blessed Virgin was delivered, upon a marble slab which is placed there; but some of the bare stone whereon Christ was born may be seen, and also some part of the manger wherein He lay is left uncovered. These places are visited with the greatest devotion and respect. One could hardly find a fairer church in the world, or one of equal sanctity; for there are therein most noble pillars of marble, set in four rows, and remarkable not only for their number, but also for

¹ Ps. lxxxvii. 5.

² *Capacior.*

³ Sta. Maria Maggiore.

their size. Moreover, the nave of the church above the pillars is of most beautiful and noble mosaic work, wherein is depicted all history, from the creation of the world even to the coming of Christ to judge the same. Moreover, all the pavement of the church is of marble of divers colours, adorned with a wondrous variety of patterns. In this Church of St. Mary of Bethlehem, on the left-hand side in the wall, is the place where the Lord's navel-string and foreskin used to be kept; on the right-hand side of the choir, that is, the south side, is the place where the Holy Innocents were buried, and an altar has been set up there; but the greater part of them were buried in a place three miles to the south of the church. One of the Soldans¹ ordered the precious marble slabs and columns of this venerable church to be taken to Babylon (Cairo) to build him a palace; but when workmen came in the Soldan's presence with their tools to carry out his commands, out of the sound unbroken wall, from which not so much as a needle could be drawn, there came forth a serpent of wondrous size, who gave a bite to the first slab to which it came, and the slab straightway split across. It did likewise to the next, and so on to the rest in order, to the number of forty. All stood amazed, and the Soldan gave up his intention; whereupon the serpent disappeared. From thenceforth the church has remained, and remains to this day even as it was at the first. The Saracens respect all churches which are dedicated to the glorious Virgin, but this one above all others. Even to this day the track of the serpent may be seen on each of the slabs, as though they had been burned with fire. Besides all the rest, it is a miracle how the serpent could pass along them, seeing that the wall is as smooth and polished as glass. At the north door of this church stands a monks' cloister,

¹ Fabri, i. 598, repeats this story.

to which one goes up some steps. In a crypt they show the cell wherein St. Jerome did penance, and worked much, translating and commenting on Holy Scripture; his bed also is shown, and the workrooms of the monastery of which he was the head. About a stone's-throw to the east of the aforesaid church is the Church of St. Paula and her daughter Eustochium, built on the place where they did penance. In it their sepulchres are shown. Beneath the aforesaid church there is a great crypt, wherein is a chapel where we are told the Virgin once sat with her child, that she might in solitude have more leisure to gaze upon Him whom the angels desire to behold, God of God, sitting upon the cherubim in His majesty, sitting upon a high and lofty throne, in appearance equal to the Father, amid the glories of the saints, born before the morning star. In this place she is said to have squeezed her full breasts over the ground, wherefore the earth there is white, and looks like curdled milk. It is said that a woman who has lost her milk will straightway get it back again if she puts a little of this earth into a cup of water and drinks it. A mile from Bethlehem the shepherds, we are told by the Gospel, were abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flocks by night.¹ Would that other shepherds had kept watch over the flocks committed to their charge in that same country! then perchance a lion out of the forest,² that is to say, the power of Saladin, had not slain them, nor had Bendocdar, a wolf of the evenings, laid waste what the lion had spared; nor had Melecmechor,³ a leopard, swift and eager to do evil, even as a leopard is to shed blood,

¹ The shepherds' field is here shown in the present traditional site east of Bethlehem. Luke ii. 8.

² Jer. v. 6: 'Wherefore a lion out of the forest shall slay them, and a wolf of the evenings shall spoil them, a leopard shall watch over their cities.'

³ Melecmechor is only for *Melek Musr*, 'the King of Egypt.'

watched over their cities which were left alone. Eight leagues to the south of Bethlehem, one comes to Hebron, which is described above in chap. iii., and its position in Part VII., chap. ii. The position and state of the other places in the Holy Land may be found above, chap. iii. and iv.

CHAPTER XII.

THE STATE OF THE KINGDOM OF EGYPT.

SINCE enough has been said about Syria and the Promised Land, it is time to turn my pen toward Egypt. We marked the boundary of the Promised Land at Darum in chap. ii. Passing along the coast of Egypt, although in Book I., Part I., chap. xv., and more at large in Book II., Part IV., chap. xxv., mention has already been made of this same country, yet we may say that from Darum to Caput Beroaldi is thirty miles, and from thence to the bottom of the marsh, known as the Gulf of Rixa,¹ is thirty miles, thence to the other end of the gulf is thirty miles, thence to Rasacasarom² is fifty, and thence even to Pharamia³ is thirty miles. This city was once well fenced with walls, but afterwards was altogether taken possession of by serpents. From Pharamia to the river Tanis is twenty-five miles; but the city of Tanis is beyond the river some five-and-twenty miles above the lake. It is mentioned in Ps. lxxviii. 12, 'Marvellous things did He . . . in the land of Egypt, in the field of Zoan.'⁴ This

¹ Possibly from Ostracine, at the west end of the *Sabkhat Bardawil*.

² Ras el Kasrun; Mount Casius.

³ *Tell Farama*, the ancient Pelusium. Fuller ('Holy Warre,' Book II., ch. xiii.) says that Pharamia was anciently called Rameses.

⁴ Tanis in the Vulgate, now *Tell San el Hajr*.

was where Moses and Aaron and the children of Israel dwelt, and is in the land of Goshen, whereof Joseph told his brethren and his father, saying, 'Ye shall say unto Pharaoh, Thy servants are shepherds, both we and also our fathers. Say this, that ye may dwell in the land Goshen;' for which see Part VI., chap. xviii. Tanis was of old a strongly fenced city, built on strong ground; but at this day it is utterly destroyed, and only a few Bedouins dwell in its ruins, because of its pastures and the richness of the country. Moreover, it abounds greatly in birds and fishes. For an account of it, see Part VI., chap. xviii. From the river of Tanis to Damietta is forty miles, by sea. This city was of old called Memphis; for it see above, Part VI., chap. xxii. But two leagues from the sea the Saracens have built a long village, with no fortifications, for ships to ride at and for the storage of merchandise; this place abounds with fruits, corn, and other good things, even as Tanis. One of the branches of the Nile flows between this city and Damietta, proceeding toward Tanis; thence it runs through the channel called Bayera¹ to Pharamia, and enters the sea there. This is the first port of Egypt in the direction of the Promised Land. From Damietta to Brullium² is seventy miles, and from thence to the mouth of the river Sturio,³ which is five miles wide, measures thirty miles, and it is thirty miles round about. From the mouth of the Sturio to the mouth of the Rosseta (Rosetta) branch of the Nile is forty miles. From the Rosetta Mouth to the Tower of Bolcherius⁴ is twenty-five miles, and thence to Alexandria is eighteen miles.

From what has been said above, it is plain that from Pharamia to Alexandria is two hundred and sixty-eight

¹ From *Bahr*, the name by which the canals are known.

² Apparently on Lake *Burlus*.

³ Possibly the Sebennyitic mouth of the Nile.

⁴ *Abukir*.

miles. This is the width of the sea-coast of Egypt ; but the kingdom of Egypt reaches even to the Soldan's Harbour, which harbour lies beyond Alexandria, two hundred and seventy miles to the west, as is told in Book II., Part IV., chap. xxv. From Alexandria to Babylon (*Fostat*, near Cairo) is reckoned two hundred and thirty miles up the Nile. From Pharamia through Tanis and Damietta to Babylon is reckoned two hundred miles only, going up the river as before. From Babylon to the city of Syene,¹ which is the furthestmost part of Egypt toward the south and Ethiopia, is one hundred and forty miles. From the aforesaid city of Syene it is reckoned about two hundred and sixty miles up the Nile to the place called Chus,² where ships are laden with merchandise brought from Aden. The aforesaid Ethiopia is properly called Nubia ; it is entirely inhabited by Christians, who were converted by St. Matthew. Going up the Nile from Damietta one comes first to Abdela, and next Mansora,³ where the Nile divides, and the lesser branch runs to Pharamia. But the place where the Nile makes its chief division, and makes the greater part of Egypt an island, is called Delta ; for the island is a triangular one, shaped like the letter Delta. The greater branch runs toward Alexandria, but the lesser to Damietta. From Delta to Heliopolis is three miles. Hence a branch of the Nile runs northward to the city of Belbeis,⁴ which once was called Pelusium (Part VI., chap. xviii.) ; thence it flows through the wilderness toward

¹ *Aswân*.

² Apparently *Kûs*, near *Kuft*, Coptos, but this is down the Nile from Syene.

³ *Bedalah* and *Mansûrah*.

⁴ *Belbês*, on the line of the old canal, which passed near Heliopolis, or On, now *Tell Hisn*, and ran on to Lake *Timsah*. Pelusium, or Sin, now *Tell Farama*, was near the mouth of the Pelusiac arm of the Nile.

the Holy Land, and enters the sea near the city of Laris,¹ one day's journey from Gaza and Beersheba. This is properly called in Scripture the river² of Egypt, and therein was the boundary of the tribe of Judah (Numbers . . .), but it cannot be navigated. Heliopolis is a very fine town, but is not fortified, neither is any other town in all Egypt save Alexandria and Cairo. In Heliopolis and Babylon the places are shown wherein the glorious Virgin abode with her Son when she fled into Egypt from the face of Herod. As she had no other place wherein to take her rest, she entered a temple wherein were 365 idols, in whose honour Divine service was celebrated on every day in the year ; but at the entrance of Christ and the Virgin Mary all the idols fell down. Then was fulfilled the word of Isaiah (chap. xix.), 'Behold, the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud, and shall come into Egypt ; and the idols of Egypt shall be moved at His presence.' When news of this was brought to Afrodosius, he came to the temple with all his host, drew near to the babe and worshipped it, and said to his host, 'Had not this been the God of our gods, they had not bowed themselves before Him ; wherefore we, unless we be careful to do that which we see our gods do, shall come into peril even as Pharaoh did.' Thus the holy Lord, who in His wrath thinketh of mercy, by sending His Son into Egypt, gave a great proof of His forgiveness, and with that one medicine healed all its ten plagues. Seven leagues from Heliopolis is Babylon, a very great and well-fortified city, standing on the northern bank of the river Nile ; but a pretty large branch of that river runs through the midst of the city, through the city of Cairo (Part VI., chap. xxii.), which adjoins Babylon, and at Cairo returns to the main river again. Near Cairo is an exceeding ancient palm-

¹ *El Arish.*

² 1 Kings viii. 65 ; 2 Kings xxiv. 7.

tree,¹ which bowed itself to the Blessed Virgin Mary that she might gather dates from it, and then raised itself up again. When the heathens saw this they cut it down, but it joined itself together again in the following night, and stood upright again. The marks of the cutting may be seen to this day. Round about this city there are many excellent orchards ; one mile away from it is the Garden of Balsam, of the size of half a *mansus*.² The bushes therein are of the size of a three-year-old vine-stock ; the leaf is like that of small trefoil, or rue, but of a whiter colour. When it is ripe, which is about the month of May, the bark of the wood bursts, and the liquor is collected in glass vessels. It is then laid in doves' dung and dried, and thus right balsam is made. They say that there is yet another way of gathering it, which is to pluck a leaf on the side toward the sun ; for the leaf joins the stem, and, albeit many stand on one plot of ground, they have only one stem. When the leaf is torn away, there straightway flows forth an exceeding transparent and sweet-scented drop. This garden can only be watered from one single fount, wherein the Blessed Virgin is said to have washed the boy Jesus's swaddling clothes. At the season of Epiphany both Christians and Saracens assemble at this fount, and wash themselves therein out of devotion. Another miracle there is that the oxen that draw the aforesaid water would not draw any between mid-day on Saturday until the same hour on Sunday, not though you were to skin them alive. In Babylon also there is a wonder worthy of record. In a monastery, built there in honour of St. John the Baptist there is a chest³ containing his relics. Every year they

¹ See Poloner, p. 42 ; Tobler, 'Descriptiones,' p. 409 ; Ernoul, p. 49.

² Manse, terme de féodalité. Mesure de terre jugée nécessaire pour faire vivre un homme et sa famille. Etym., bas. lat., *mansus*. Littré's Dict.

³ *Scrinium*.

carry the aforesaid chest some five leagues down the Nile to another church of monks, which is also built in his honour. After Mass they place the chest in the river, to try in which place the saint wishes his relics to rest—that is, whether in this place or the former; and presently, before the eyes of all, the chest moves up against the stream of the river exceeding fast, so that men riding at full speed on horseback cannot outrun it. Five leagues from Babylon there are some triangular pyramids, exceeding lofty, which are said to have been Joseph's granaries. Two leagues from them are the ruins of the city of Thebes, from whence came the Theban legion. Adjoining this is the wilderness of the Thebaid, where in the days of old there was a multitude of monks.

Above Babylon the Nile runs down all in one stream from the aforesaid place, Syene, a distance of two hundred and forty miles. From Syene to the city of Meroe is two hundred and sixty miles. Syene stands beneath the summer tropic; wherefore no shadows are cast there when the sun is in the first stage of Cancer, at which time Meroe casts a shadow toward the south. And you must note that, albeit from Babylon to Syene, and from Syene to Meroe, is a long distance, yet the country has scarce any width, because the whole of this way it follows the Nile, which has high mountains on either side, and the land is all burned up, save by the riverside. The source of the Nile cannot be found out, save as far as the mountains on the left hand of Nubia, through which it flows; beyond this is an impassable country. The land of Egypt can scarce be come at save by sea. To the westward it is bounded by a province of Barbary, called Barca;¹ there is a wilderness of fifteen days' journey between them. To the southward is the wilderness of Ethiopia, twelve days'

¹ Cyrenaica.

journey and more, even to Nubia. On the east side there is the wilderness of the Thebaid, which reaches to the Red Sea, three days' journey, to the place called Beronice¹ (*sic*); this is the port of Egypt on the Red Sea. For those who wish to sail towards India, to the south-west and the north there is the great wilderness reaching even to the Holy Land, wherein the children of Israel wandered for forty years. One cannot cross this wilderness into Syria in less than eight days. Thus, on every side, save the sea-coast, the kingdom of Egypt is surrounded by sand and by the wilderness. The climate of Egypt is healthy, the food is good, and the land more temperate than Palestine or Syria, albeit from its position it seems as though one ought to find the opposite. The land of Egypt is watered by the Nile alone. The Nile begins to wax on the Feast of the Nativity² of St. John, and rises until the Feast of the Exaltation³ of the Holy Cross; from that time forth it keeps on falling until the Epiphany. When the dry land appears, the sower casts his seed, and harvests it in March. In the middle of the river there stands a marble pillar on a small island⁴ off the ancient city of Meser, which is near Cairo; on that pillar they have made marks, by which they know whether the following harvest will be a good or a bad one. Fresh fruit and vegetables are gathered from Martinmas to March. Ewes and she-goats bear young twice in the year.

The description of the road from the Promised Land to Cairo by land, across the wilderness, is as follows:

From Gaza it is three leagues⁵ to Darum; it is a good

¹ Berenice, behind the headland of *Râs Benas*.

² June 24.

³ September 14. Compare Ludolph, chap. xxxiv., p. 78.

⁴ The island of *Roda*.

⁵ Yet, when describing the sea voyage along the coast, from Joppa to Damietta, he says: 'A Gazara usque Darum milia sunt xv.' Bk. II., Part iv., chap. 25.

road, with water and plenty of grass. Thence to Raphat,¹ two leagues; good road, plenty of water and all things. Thence to Zaque, four leagues; not much sand, good grassy road, plenty of good water. Thence to Heus, four leagues; road leads over sand, fairly good water. Thence to Laris,² four leagues; road all over sand, good enough water, and a place for buying and selling. [Thence to Bureloui, four leagues; road all over sand, good water and plenty of it.] Thence to Bouser, four leagues; here the road divides into the upper and lower road; the lower is the most commonly used, and passes by the place called Sabaquet Baridoil,³ where King Baldwin died. From Bouser to Tarade is two leagues; plenty of grass, and good water; there is a market there. Thence to Asbede, four leagues; there likewise is much sand, plenty of grass land, good water, and a market. Thence to Viteleb, five leagues; much sand, poor grass, and very bad water, but plenty of it. Thence to Naherlersibia, four leagues; much sand, but good water. Thence to Catie⁴ (*sic*) . . . leagues; this is a good village, and fairly good water; here the road divides into upper and lower; both roads lead to Habesse,⁵ an excellent village; the lower road is the more commonly used of the two.

The upper road is as follows: From Chatie (*sic*) to Hahras,⁶ five leagues; plenty of sand and water, but bad water. Thence to Bonuruch,⁷ four leagues; much sand, and the water is exceeding bad, bitter, and salt. Thence to Hucar, four short leagues; much sand and bad water. Thence to Asebbi, four leagues; [much sand, grass, and good water; there is a market there. Thence to Hesioune, four leagues;] much sand and good water from a river. Thence to Masinach, three leagues; much sand, and good

¹ Raphia, *Rafah*.² *El Arish*.³ *Sabkhat Bardawil*.⁴ *Katieh*.⁵ *Abessi*.⁶ *El Aras*.⁷ *Bîr Abu Ruk*.

water from a river. After Sbesbie tilled land begins, and from thence to Vacaria, a good village, is two long leagues. There is plenty of water from a river. Thence to Habesse, three leagues. The road is good, the land fertile, and the village is full of all good things. Thence to Belbeis, three leagues; the land is arable, and the village large and fertile. Thence to Abirelcara, three leagues; fruitful land, good water, and plenty of it. Thence to Hus, four leagues; fruitful land, good water, and plenty of it. Thence to Quiriaci, three leagues; fruitful land, and fertile. Thence to Cairo, three leagues; good road.

The lower road: From Chatie to Aguorabi, four leagues; much sand, very little water, and that salt. Thence to Chauseyr, five leagues; much sand, and plenty of water, but very bad water. Thence to Birchisce, four leagues; not much sand, plenty of water, but salt water. Thence to Salchie,¹ a good village, four leagues; abundance of good water. Thence, to Habesse, six leagues; good road, plenty of good water from a river. Thence to Cairo, as before. Thus the wilderness reaches for about seventy leagues, and the tilled land for twenty and more, between Gaza and Cairo.

¹ Salahieh.

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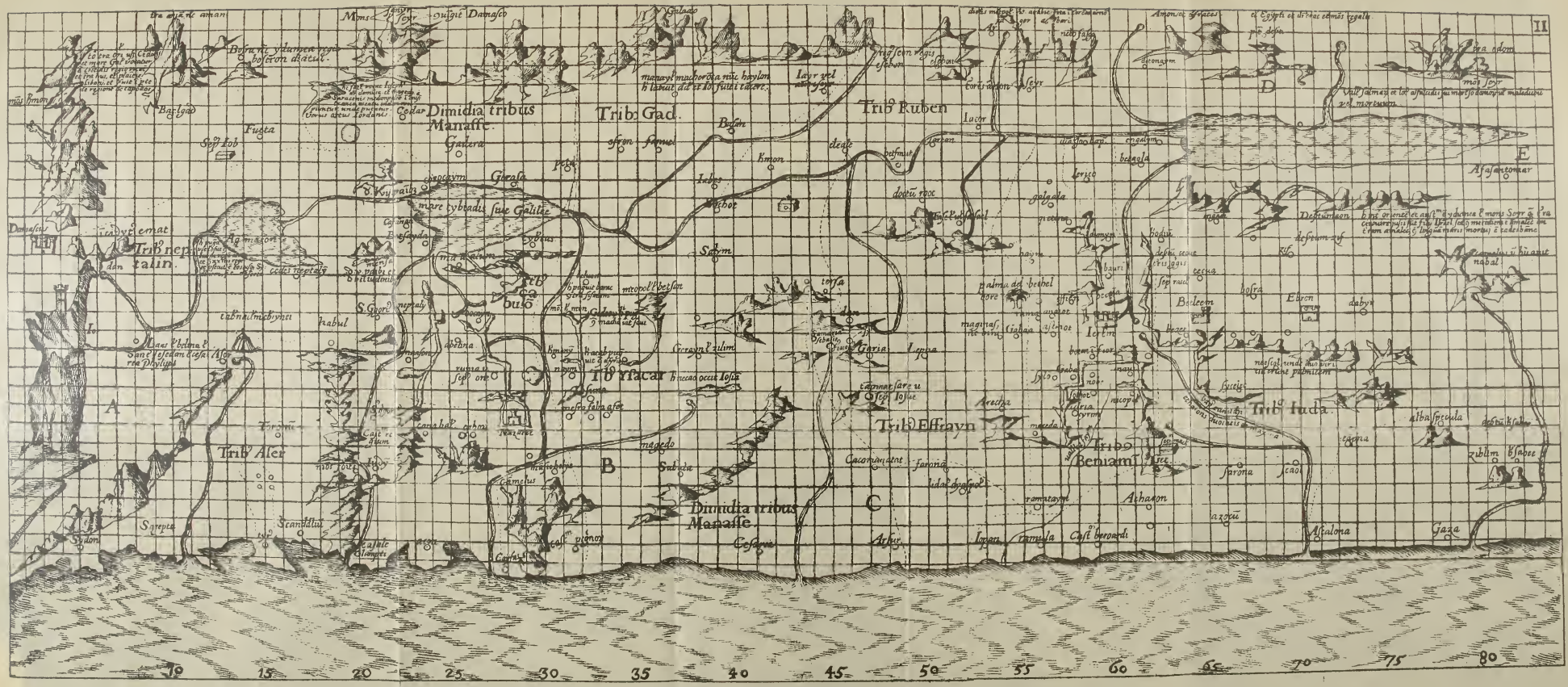
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THE END.



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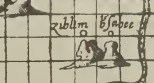
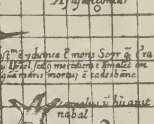
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II







Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society.

LUDOLPH VON SUCHEM'S
Description of the Holy Land,

AND OF THE WAY THITHER.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR
A.D. 1350.

Translated
BY
AUBREY STEWART, M.A.



LONDON:
24, HANOVER SQUARE, W.
1895.

PREFACE TO LUDOLPHUS DE SUCHEM.

NOTHING seems to be known about Ludolph beyond what can be gathered from his book. In the dedication he tells us that he was the rector of the parish church of Suchem, in the diocese of Paderborn. Where Suchem was, and whether it should be spelled Sudheim, is what Dr. F. Deycks declares to be a *Räthsel*. Dr. Deycks, professor at the Royal Academy at Munster, edited Ludolph in 1851 for the Stuttgart *Litterarische Verein*, and it is his edition that I have followed in my translation. Furthermore, Ludolph speaks of Baldwin von Steinfurt, Bishop of Paderborn, who held the see from 1340 to 1361, as his gracious lord. In the colophon he says that he wrote his book out of the devotion and respect which he owed to him. Perhaps Bishop Baldwin helped him to write it, and perhaps he was one of the noble lords with whom he associated during his five years' sojourn in the Holy Land. He was there from 1336 to 1341; he did not, as some have imagined, return thither in 1350. Ludolph returned home in 1341, and twice was in great danger at sea. Near the end of his book he alludes to the 'Jew-baiting' in Germany, 1348-49, as a new event, which agrees well with his book having been written in the year 1350.

As we know so little of Ludolph from his own writings, the next step obviously is to consult those of Wilhelm von Boldinsel,¹ to whom he alludes as a fellow-traveller in the Holy Land. Wilhelm von Boldinsel (a name, by the way, to which he was only entitled through his mother) seems to have begun as a Dominican monk, but afterwards to have led a wandering life under the protection of that Cardinal Talleyrand Périgord who strove so ineffectually to avert bloodshed before the battle of Poitiers. Wilhelm was sent to the Holy Land on some sort of diplomatic mission, accompanied by an armed escort. He wrote an account of his pilgrimage—for he visited the holy places—in the year 1336.² Ludolph has copied many entire sentences from Boldinsel, and in many passages their descriptions tally, but one does not learn much that is new about the Holy Land from Boldinsel, and one learns nothing about Ludolph.

Another contemporary writer is John of Hildesheim. All that is known of this favourite mediaeval author may be found in Trithemius's *Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, tom. cxvii.; in Oudinus's *Commentarium de scriptoribus eccl. antiquis*, iii., p. 1275; in Fabricius's *Bibliotheca med. et inf. Latin*, iv. 8; and especially in *Bibliotheca Carmelitana, Aurelianis*, 1752, ii. p. 4. He is called a Saxon, or a Westphalian, and probably was born at

¹ See 'Die Edelherrn von Boldensele oder Boldensen. I. Zur Genealogie der Geschlechts; 2. Des Edelherrn Wilhelm von Bodensele Reise nach den Gelobten Land. Von Archiv. Secretair Dr. C. L. Grotefend. Hannover, 1855, Hofbuchdruckerei der Gebr. Janecke.'

² T. Wright, in his 'Introduction' to 'Early Travels in Palestine' (Bohn, 1848), has a mistake about Boldinsel's date. He landed at Tyre in 1332, and was at Jerusalem in 1333.

Hildesheim. He became a Carmelite Friar, studied at Avignon, whither he went with Petrus Thomas, general of his order, under Clement VI. (Peter Roger, Archbishop of Rouen, Pope 1342-52), and became Doctor of Divinity and professor. In 1358 he was appointed *biblicus* at Paris by the chapter held at Bordeaux. Afterwards he returned to Germany and became Prior of Cassel; as such, he was sent on a mission to Rome in 1360. On his return he was made prior of the convent of Marienau, mediated the peace between the Bishop of Hildesheim and the Duke of Brunswick, and died in his convent in 1375, where he lies buried in the choir, beside the founder of the convent, Count Gleichen. He wrote many works: *Chronica Historiarum*, *De monstris in ecclesia*, *De Antichristo*, *In turpia pingentem*, *Defensorium sui ordinis*, *De fonte Vitae*, *Contra Judaeos sermones*, *Epistolae, et quaedam alia*. His *Historia trium Regum* had an immense and immediate success. It is dedicated to Florence de Weuelkoven, Bishop of Munster, in Westphalia, who held that see from 1364 to 1379, and died 1393 as Bishop of Utrecht. As the author died in 1375, his book must have been written between 1364 and 1375. Some dates mentioned in his *Historia* point to this period; he alludes to events which took place in the years 1340, 1341, and 1361.

I have extracted these details concerning John of Hildesheim from C. Horstmann's edition of the *Historia trium Regum*, because I wished to make it clear that Ludolph could not have copied John's work. On page 52 of Ludolph's book, at the end of a list of the nobles who had independent jurisdictions in the city of Acre, occurs the name of 'Vaus.' Nowhere else in Ludolph's book is Vaus

or its lords alluded to; and even here it seems as though it were apologetically slipped in at the end of the list, where it might easily escape notice. On turning to John of Hildesheim, however, I find a great deal about Vaus. First of all he declares, in chap. i., that he compiled his *Historia trium Regum* from divers books, known only in the East, and from hearing, sight, and relations of others; in chap. iv. he mentions as his authorities 'books written in Hebrew and Chaldee of the life and deeds and all matters of the three kings, which had been brought from India to Acre by the princes of Vaus, and had been translated there into French, and were kept there in this translation by certain nobles.' Mr. C. Horstman, the editor of 'The Three Kings of Cologne' for the Early English Text Society, treats these Hebrew and Chaldaic books as a mere fiction, and says nothing about the Lords of Vaus.

Vaus, according to John of Hildesheim's 'History of the Three Kings,' was the highest and grandest mountain in the East. After the successful conquest of the Promised Land by the Israelites the people of India always kept watchmen on Mount Vaus, and it was from them that the three kings first received tidings of the rising of the star in the East. After the return of the three kings from Bethlehem, when the Apostles separated at the crossways on Mount Sion, St. Thomas went to India, where he baptized the three kings, and built a chapel on Mount Vaus. At the foot of this mount Melchior, King of Nubia and Arabia, built a great city, named Sewilla, Sezile, Seuwa or Seulla, for the spelling varies. This undoubtedly means Saveh in Persia, between Hamadan and Tehran,

where Marco Polo 'saw the tombs of the three kings.'¹ The story goes on to tell us that the three kings became priests, and had therefore no direct progeny, but endowed some of their relatives, who called themselves Princes of Vaus, with lands and islands. One branch of the family of these Princes of Vaus came to Acre shortly before its fall, and built itself a castle there. These Princes of Vaus bore a star and a cross in their arms, and John of Hildesheim declares that some of them were present at the court of Rome as ambassadors in the year 1351.

I have been unable to find any mention of the Princes of Vaus in any writer anterior to Ludolph. The name is not uncommon in England; for example, a Sir John de Vaus sat in Parliament as knight of the shire for Notts in the time of Edward I. There was an Edward Vause at Cuckfield, in Sussex, in 1595 ('Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica,' 1890-91, vol. ii., p. 12). G. Vaus witnessed a marriage in Chester Cathedral, October, 1682. Ursula Vaus, of Odiham, married one of the Coles of Enniskillen. But none of these bore the cross and star in their arms, and none of them seem to have known of the wondrous pedigree which their name entitled them to claim; they mostly trace to De Vallibus, who came over with the Conqueror, a descent which is commonplace by comparison.

I cannot believe that John of Hildesheim invented the legend of the Lords of Vaus; but, on the other hand, I cannot find any ground for it. In M. Rey's excellent and

¹ Chap. xxx. In the Middle Ages this city was identified with the Saba of Ps. lxxii. 10: 'The kings of Tharsis and of the isles shall give presents; the kings of Arabia and Saba shall bring gifts,' which verse was considered to be a prophetic allusion to the three kings.

painstaking reprint of Du Cange's 'Familles d'Outre Mer,' I can find no 'Seigneurs de Vaus,' and though I have spent some time in trying to trace the story, I have not succeeded in so doing.

Felix Fabri was familiar both with John of Hildesheim and with Ludolph. He mentions the latter by name (i. 535), and alludes to the former (i. 637). Moreover, he has reproduced all the gossip about the sea and sea-monsters, islands, etc., which we find in Ludolph's early chapters.

I may add that Robinson ('Palestine,' I. xxiii.), says of Ludolph's work that it is 'decidedly the best *Itinerarium* of the fourteenth century.'

AUBREY STEWART.

LONDON, 1895.

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LUDOLPH VON SUCHEM'S
DESCRIPTION OF THE HOLY LAND

HERE beginneth Ludolph's book of the pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

Dedicated with all due respect and honour to the Right Reverend Father and Lord in Christ, his gracious Lord Baldwin of Steinfurt, Bishop of Paderborn, by Ludolph, rector of the parish church at Suchem,¹ in the diocese of Paderborn.

Many men write at exceeding great length about the countries beyond the sea, and about the state and condition of the Holy Land and the provinces thereof, after having only passed through them once. Now, I have dwelt in those parts for an unbroken space of five years, being both by day and by night in the company of kings and princes, chiefs, nobles and lords. Having, moreover, many times visited and journeyed through the parts beyond the sea, I have, out of respect and honour for your fatherly goodness, and because you were not forgotten by me—I

¹ Some authorities spell this place Sudheim. In the Friburg MS., partially edited by Sir T. Phillipps in 1825, the place is spelled Suchen, and the writer's name appears as Peter instead of Ludolph. The position of Suchem or Sudheim is not known.

have, I say, long desired to write an account of the position of those countries, their condition, their villages, strong places, cities, castles, men, manners, places of prayer and wonders ; and not only to write about the lands beyond the seas, but also of the wonders which are beheld in the sea by those who cross over the same. Although heretofore unable to accomplish this my desire, being hindered by divers and sundry labours, yet I have ever kept the thought of this writing in my mind, and being now more at leisure, I have determined to describe throughout the condition in which I found the parts beyond sea in the year of our Lord 1336, and the condition wherein I left them in the year 1341, and to write a compendious history thereof briefly, and according to my humble understanding and genius and the weakness of my memory. Howbeit, let no one suppose that I beheld with my eyes each several one of the things which I intend to put into this book, but that I have happily extracted some of them from ancient books of history, and that some things I have heard from the lips of truthful men, all of which, in whatsoever places they are written or found, I have decided to trust to the judgment of the discreet reader. Indeed, I should have put in much more if, when in those parts, I had formed the intention of writing some account of them a little earlier ; and at this present day I could put in yet more, which I pass over because of ignorant cavillers and scoffers, lest I should tell anything which they could not believe, and for which I should be held by them for a liar ; for to ignorant cavillers and scoffers, who are not worthy to know anything at all, everything seems incredible and passing belief. Wherefore because to such persons all good things are unknown, I have been obliged on their account to leave out many things which otherwise I should have written down and put into my book.

I.—OF THE HOLY LAND.

Now, the Holy Land, that is, the Promised Land, which God promised that He would give to Abraham and his seed, is beloved by God, praised by angels, and worshipful to men; for our Lord Jesus Christ deigned to consecrate the same with His most precious blood, to honour it with His presence both in the form of our mortal weakness, and in old times, as we read in Bible history, by the glory of His Godhead and majesty, and furthermore therein to redeem the entire human race from eternal damnation. Yet this land, because of the divers sins of its inhabitants, has been scourged by God with divers scourges. Not only is it now scourged in the time of the Christians, but from old times it has been many times inhabited by divers peoples, and many times lost and retaken by them, as may be read in many histories and in the Bible. Yet Jesus Christ, not unmindful of His glorious Passion, hath corrected the Christians therein with the rod of fatherly chastisement; so that now, when the sins of the Christians shall have been ended, and He hath been pleased to restore the land to us, He will have preserved all their places, cities, villages, castles and shrines, as one may say, unhurt to this day; wherefore they might easily be defended, inhabited, and restored, and brought back to their original state, albeit some places and shrines have been sorely defaced by the Saracens. For, as the eye is the dearest and tenderest part of a man's body, and can endure no foreign substance within itself, so is the Holy Land even as an eye to God, and for that cause He cannot endure unrepented sins therein.

He that would go to the said Holy Land must beware lest he travel thither without leave from the Apostolic Father, for as soon as he touches the shore of the Soldan's

country he falls under the sentence of the Pope, because since the Holy Land came into the hands of the Soldan, it was, and remains, excommunicate, as are likewise all who travel thither without the Pope's leave, lest by receiving tribute from the Christians the Saracens should be brought to despise the Church. For this cause, when any traveller receives his license to go thither from the Apostolic Father, besides the leave which is granted him, there is a clause in the Bull to the effect that he shall not buy or sell anything in the world, save only victuals and clothes and bodily necessities, and if he contravenes this he is to know that he has fallen back again under sentence of excommunication. There are, however, I have heard, many grounds on which one may journey thither without leave ; for example, if the traveller be in religion, if a man's father, mother, or friend be sick there, or held in captivity, then he may travel thither without leave, to seek for them or to ransom them, or when anyone is sent thither to make peace or to arrange and restore any other good thing. But to return to my subject. Whosoever would journey to the Holy Land must go thither either by land or by sea. If he would go by land, I have heard from some who know it well that the best way is through Hungary, Bulgaria, and the kingdom of Thrace, but they say that the road is a very tedious one. Nevertheless, he who could toil over it in safety would come by land, and not by sea, to Constantinople. I will say somewhat about this city.

II.--CONSTANTINOPLE.

Constantinople is an exceeding beautiful and very great city. It measures eight miles in circuit, and is built in the shape of a triangle of buildings in manner and form like those of Rome, having two of its sides on the banks of an arm of the sea, which is called the Arm of St. George, while

the third side lies inland. The city is decorated with sundry and divers ornaments, which were built by the Emperor Constantine, who named it Constantinople. The Greeks at this day call it Bolos.¹ In this city there is a church of wondrous size and beauty. I do not believe that in all the world there is a greater than it, for a ship with all its sails spread could easily turn itself round therein, and I do not dare to write fully about its vastness. This church is consecrated in honour of Sancta Sophia² in Greek, which in Latin means 'the Lord's Transfiguration.' It is adorned with many solemn relics of divers sorts, to wit: the seamless coat, one of our Lord's nails (of the cross), the sponge, and the reeds,³ and it is crowned with other relics of divers saints. In the midst of this church stands a great marble column, whereon is a well-gilt brazen statue of the Emperor Justinian⁴ on horseback, adorned with the imperial crown and royal vestments, having in his left hand a golden orb⁵ after the imperial fashion, and pointing to the east with his right as a threat to rebels in that quarter. In this church there is also a piece of the pillar whereat Jesus was scourged, and an exceeding great number of bodies of saints and of

¹ Πόλις.

² F. Deycks's comment is: 'Es scheint, Ludolf verstand nicht Griechisch.'

³ W. von Boldinsel, A.D. 1336, saw these relics, and 'the greater part of the cross' as well.

⁴ See Procopius, 'De Aedificiis,' in this series, Book I., chap. ii.; also Sir John Maundeville, chap. i., fin. John of Hildesheim declares that the Empress Helena placed the bodies of the Three Kings beneath this statue.

⁵ The emblem of sovereign power. Compare John of Hildesheim, chap. xxiii.: 'Pomum autem aureum quod Malchiar cum xxx denarijs optulit quondam fuit Allexandri magni, et totaliter potuit manu includi, mundum significans, quod ex minimis particulis tributorum omnium provinciarum conflari fecit, et ipsum semper manu portavit et velud sua potencia totum mundum manu conclusit; quod pomum in India remansit quando de Perside reversus est,' etc.

Roman pontiffs rest therein. This may be known to be true, because in my own days certain gentlemen came thither from Catalonia and served the Emperor of Constantinople for pay, and when they departed begged the Emperor above all for relics. He granted their prayer, set up as many bodies of saints as they numbered heads, and the gentlemen stood afar off and chose each a body in turn, according to their rank. Every one of them who was deserving thereof obtained an entire saint's body, and all were content and returned to their own country with joy. I do not venture to say any more about the other ornaments of this church. In this city the Emperor of the Greeks continually dwells. He who was Emperor¹ in my time had the sister of Duke Henry of Brunswick for his spouse, and on her death married the daughter of the Count of Savoy. In this city dwells likewise the Patriarch of the Greeks, whom the Greeks obey in all things, even as the Latins obey the Pope, and they make no account of the Apostolic Father, neither do they regard any of his commands save such as please themselves. For since the Greeks became separated from the Church of Rome through heresy, they have chosen this Patriarch, and obey him as Pope even to this day. In Constantinople all such things as bread, meat, fish, and the like are sold as it were for nothing, and nothing is dear there save wine, which is brought thither from Naples. In this city dwell many different nations. There is also much cold weather there, wherefore meat is salted there, which cannot be done elsewhere in Asia because of the heat. There also turbot is caught

¹ 'Andronicus III., Palaeologus, Kaiser 1321 bis 1341, war zuerst vermählt mit Agnes (später Irene genannt), der Tochter Herzog's Heinrich's I. und Schwester Heinrich's II. Herzogs von Braunschweig, in 2ter Ehe aber mit Anna, der Tochter des Grafen Amadeus V. von Savoyen.'—Dr. F. Deycks.

and dried, and are exported from thence to all parts of Asia. In this city, also, in the Emperor's old palace, there are some stone cups,¹ which of their own accord fill themselves with water and straightway empty themselves, and again fill themselves and become empty. There are withal great and excellent pearls, in very great quantities and very cheap. The reader should know that once the Emperor of the Greeks and the Greek people bore rule over the whole of Asia, both the greater and the lesser, and had them for their own, but since they have been divided from the Church of Rome by schism, they have almost entirely lost those countries. For sentence hath been pronounced against them that whosoever can take any of them captive may lawfully sell them as though they were cattle, and any Latin who can obtain land (there) by force may lawfully hold the same until they return to the bosom of Holy Mother Church and be converted. Wherefore they have lost exceeding great lands and kingdoms, as you shall be told hereafter.

III.—THE WAY (TO THE HOLY LAND) BY LAND, AND THE KINGDOM OF GARP (ALGARVE).

But to return to my subject, and leaving Constantinople, from it one could go to the Holy Land by land, if travelling were safe through the Turks and Tartars and other hindrances in the way. But by sea from Constantinople one must cross over to the kingdom of Cyprus, as you shall be told hereafter. This way, whereof I have made mention, leads ever northwards by land to Constantinople; and from Constantinople, if it could be done with convenience and safety, one might go by land over the whole world

¹ Fabri, i. 358, mentions these 'shells,' as he calls them, and compares them to the weeping pillars of St. Helena's chapel.

towards the south, wherefore there is no need to go by sea. In like fashion one ought to be able to go (to the Holy Land) through Barbary and the kingdom of Morocco, and the kingdom of Granada ; but the Barbarians will not suffer the Christians to pass through. Yet Saracens who dwell in Spain and Arragon pass along this road when they would visit the courts of their prophet Mahomet, but Christians cannot pass through these kingdoms, for these two kingdoms of Morocco and Granada are exceedingly powerful and rich, and are inhabited by Saracens who care naught for the Soldan, and are ever at odds with the King of Spain, and ever help the King of Algarve, who is a Saracen, and whose kingdom lies on the borders of Spain, on that part of the sea which lies over against the King of Spain. You must know that on that side of the sea the kingdom of the Saracens still endures, and is called the kingdom of Algarve, being exceeding powerful and lying on the Spanish border, as aforesaid. It has many great cities and strong places and towns, and I believe that the King of Garp is more powerful than the Soldan ; for if need were, he could in half a day have more than a hundred thousand stout armed men, and it is he who ever has quarrelled and quarrels at this day with the Kings of Spain and Castile, as you have often heard and known. Likewise, in the kingdom of Arragon all the towns and cities have Saracens dwelling in them, in which, nay, in each one of which, the King has a lofty tower with guards, who watch lest the Saracens should set any mischief on foot, and whenever the Governor of any town wishes to force the Saracens to do anything, he gives them the swine to feed and drive to pasture, which thing is forbidden by their law, and by this and other means he forces the Saracens to do his will.

IV.—BARBARY AND PUGIA.

Barbary is a land which is mostly sand and desert, and they who dwell therein are black Ethiopians. Near Barbary is another small country, not six (? German) miles wide, named Pugia,¹ wherein apes are bred and caught. All the dwellers therein have faces like apes, both men and women, and keep apes in their houses even as in these parts men keep dogs and fowls, and from these apes they breed young ones, which they sell and so make their living. For this cause they geld the young apes, lest any should be bred elsewhere; yet I have often seen young apes bred in divers parts. It should be noted that between Morocco and Spain the Mediterranean Sea flows out to the ocean through an arm scarce a quarter of a mile in breadth; wherefore upon one bank there stands a Christian woman and on the other bank a heathen woman washing their clothes, and wrangling and quarrelling with one another.² This arm of the sea is called by the inhabitants the Straits of Gibraltar, or the Straits of Morocco.

After one has crossed this little arm of the sea, one could go by land over the whole world to the southward, as I said before, were there no hindrances in the way. It is across this arm of the sea that the Kings of Morocco and Granada come to the help of the King of Garp, for they easily cross over it. As the Mediterranean Sea runs out of the ocean through this arm between Spain and Morocco, even so in the same fashion does the Mediterranean Sea run into the Pontic Sea near the walls of Constantinople, through the arm of the sea which is called 'the Arm of St. George,' which is of the same width as the aforesaid.

¹ Bougiah, on the coast of Algeria, in longitude 5° E.

² Fabri (vol. i., p. 115) copies this story, and also the stories about *Gulph* and *Grup* and the fishes.

And it should be known that in the Pontic Sea no land is found any more, nor is any known of, save only an island called Cherson, whither St. Clement¹ the Pope was exiled and drowned in the same sea; and we read that in this sea there is a marble temple, to which a passage is open on the day of his feast; but at the present day it is not, albeit of old it was so. For the body of St. Clement rests at Rome, and the island is deserted, albeit from it most beauteous and excellent marble is exported. [There² is another sea to the east beyond the city of Gara, which is held by the Tartars of Cumana,³ which sea is called the Caspian. This sea does not join either the ocean, the Mediterranean, or the Pontic Sea by any visible arm. Some declare that it is connected with the Pontic Sea, which is the nearest to it, by an underground passage, and consequently is connected with all the others. This Arm of St. George whereof I have spoken divides Europe from Asia Minor, which is a province of Greater Asia. This arm is commonly called the mouth of Constantinople, because thereon on the European shore stands the noble city of Constantinople, also called New Rome, as afore-said.]

¹ St. Clement, according to tradition, was the third successor of St. Peter, and suffered martyrdom in the Black Sea, into which he was cast with an anchor fastened to his neck. Presently the waves receded, and the corpse of the saint was found seated in a little chapel, with the anchor still attached to it. His feast-day is November 23.

² Only one MS. has this. Deycks thinks it is a later insertion: 'Ubrigens hat Felix Fabri' (Th. I., s. 110) 'diese Stelle benutzt.' See Felix Fabri, i. 116, in this series.

³ Tartarus de Cumana=Comania. See Jean du Plan de Carpin's account of this country in Charton's 'Voyageurs anciens et modernes' (Paris, 1851), vol. i., p. 230. See also 'De regno Cumanae' in chap. ii., and in Appendix to Haythorn's 'Historia Orientalis,' in vol. ii. of the 'Fragmentum' of Vincent of Beauvais, ed. R. Reineccius, Helmstad, MDLXXXV.

V.—THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA.

The Mediterranean Sea is that over which one sails to the Holy Land, and is called the Mediterranean Sea because it has to the east Asia, whose frontier it forms, to the west and north Europe, and to the south Africa, which countries it separates by its arms. Africa and Europe, I have heard, are divided by a river named Inda,¹ wherein the forty martyrs were drowned, and this same river passes by a certain city named Biterris,² and it is called Biterris because it stands between two lands—to wit, Africa and Europe. Its Bishop is called the Bishop of Biterris. The Roman philosophers who divided the world among the Romans built this city long ago in the days of Hannibal, and he built another city close by it, named Narbonne, as though it told good tidings (*narrans bona*), which city is now the capital of Biterrae, and the Bishop is called the Bishop of Narbonne. I have often been in that country. But to return to my subject. You must know that the Mediterranean Sea runs in and out, as you have heard, and ebbs and flows, and without doubt is never still, as may be plainly seen between Calabria and Sicily, between which the sea runs so hard that no sailor dares to sail through without a special pilot, and as may be clearly seen in many other places. It should also be known that the Mediterranean Sea is not in all parts of the same width, but in some places it is wider and in some narrower than in others. It is widest measuring from west towards the

¹ Indre in Berry, says Dr. F. Deycks ; but ‘Gallia Christiana’ gives ‘Biterrensis’ as the title of the Bishop of Beziers, under the Archbishop of Narbonne.

² For Beziers see ‘Gallia Christiana,’ by Sainte Marthe (Paris, 1705), vol. vi., p. 293. The forty martyrs are generally supposed to have suffered at Sebaste, or Ancyra, in Asia Minor. See ‘Acta Sanctorum,’ March 9.

east, as in Spain, Galicia, Catalonia, and partly in Provence ; but it is narrower measuring from the west to the east, as in Calabria, Apulia, Naples, Venice, and the neighbourhood of these places.¹

VI.—THE DIVERS PERILS OF THE SEA.

So he who would go by sea to the Holy Land must or may take ship from whatsoever land, or city, or port, of the same that he may choose, and this matter I leave to his free will. With regard to food also, let him take as much as he can or as he has ; but in general men sailing from the West to the East are wont to make provision of food for fifty days, though when sailing from the East to the West they are wont to provide food for one hundred days, because the ship always flies as it were from west to east with a fair wind, making more way in the night than in the day, and travelling fully fifteen miles in every hour of the day. The reason is that the Western land is always exceeding cold and very windy. On the other hand, the Eastern land is exceeding hot and altogether without wind ; wherefore one sails much slower over the sea when returning than when going thither, and especially because great ships going from the West to the East are wont to return in the months of September and October, but galleys and vessels of that sort begin their voyage thither from hence in August, when the sea is smooth ; for in November, December, and January no vessels can cross the seas because of storms. Howbeit no vessels can, except very seldom, return without toil, peril, fear, and tempest. Of this I am well assured, seeing that I have often been in sundry storms at sea beyond all description [for no man can fully describe, neither would anyone believe that there

¹ I have translated this passage as it stands, but cannot guess its meaning.

can be such unheard-of and exceeding fierce storms at sea]. Indeed, I know it to be true that there is no stone or sand at the bottom of the sea that is not moved, if it can be moved, when the sea rages and raves thus, and this is often proved among islands, where the sea is narrow, where an exceeding great number of stones are cast from one shore to another in storms. Once when a certain man was travelling on the Armenian coast in a galley, a sudden storm arose in the night, whereby they lost three men, and in the morning found the galley covered deeper than the hand could reach with sand cast up by the sea in its rage. As the perils of the sea arise from divers causes, I have thought it well to tell somewhat about them.

VII.—THE PERIL CALLED ‘GULPH.’¹

First of all perils arise from the natural winds, as afore-said ; and likewise from extraordinary winds which sailors at sea call *gulph*, which proceed from the hollows of mountains, and do not do mischief to ships unless they are very near. In the year of our Lord 1341, on the night of the Sunday whereon *Laetare Jerusalem*² is sung, we were sailing from the East and had a very good east wind, so that the vessel, with six sails set, travelled all night as though she were flying ; but in the morning at daybreak as we were sailing toward the Satalian³ mountains, with the sailors all asleep, this same *gulph* flung the ship with all its sails violently on its side into the sea, so that all the sails were wetted, and the ship ran for a long distance almost upon its side, so that had the ship heeled over a palm’s breadth more upon its side, we must all have been

¹ Ital., *colpo di vento*.

² The introit which gives its name to the Fourth Sunday in Lent.

³ Satalia, a city in Asia Minor, the ancient Attaleia in Pamphylia, now Adalia.

drowned. Howbeit we cut all the ropes and fastenings of the sails until the ship righted itself somewhat, and so by the grace of God we then escaped that great peril.

VIII.—THE PERIL CALLED GRUP.¹

There are also other perils at sea arising from an unnatural wind, which sailors call *grup*. It arises from the meeting of two winds, and sailors easily see it coming. Yet I have suffered peril from it even on my outward voyage. Moreover, there are other perils at sea from pirates or corsairs, who attack a ship even as men do a castle. But this peril has been much allayed since the city of Genoa has chosen unto itself a Doge.

IX.—THE PERILS OF SHOALS.

There are also other perils at sea, which sailors call shoals. In respect of these you must know that the sea is not of the same depth in every part thereof, for in the sea there are mountains and rocks, grass and green stuff even as upon land, and these mountains and rocks are higher in some places and lower in others. In some places the rocks and mountains are scarce covered by a palm or a cubit of water, and for this cause no one dares to sail to the south towards Barbary, for many rocks and shoals are to be found there covered by the water. These perils are greatly to be feared at sea. Moreover in storms it is proved that grass and green things grow in the sea, for at such times sundry kinds of grass are found cast up on the shore, and also coral, whose branches stink when they are cast up from the bottom of the sea, and are afterwards polished by master craftsmen. Corals are at first white and stinking,

¹ 'Das Wort "Grup" ist Italienisch. Gruppo di vento, ein Wirbelwind.'—Dr. F. Deycks.

but by the attraction of the sun on the bottom of the sea where they grow they are made red, and they grow in the fashion of a small bush of one ell in height. When they are thus cast up by the sea in great quantities, men gather them and sell them while yet stinking. I have seen in one house more coral than fifty horses could carry; I do not dare to say more.

X.—PERILS BY FISH.

Likewise in the sea there are other perils, which, however, rarely befall any save little vessels; that is to say, perils from great fish. About these you should know that there is in the sea a certain fish which the Greeks call *Troya marina*,¹ which means sea-swine, which is greatly to be feared by small ships, for this same fish seldom or never does any mischief to great ships unless pressed by hunger. Indeed, if the sailors give it bread, it departs, and is satisfied; but if it will not depart, then it may be terrified and put to flight by the sight of a man's angry and terrible face. Howbeit, the man must be exceeding careful when he is thus looking at the fish not to be afraid of it, but to stare at it with a bold and terrible countenance; for if the fish sees that the man is afraid it will not depart, but bites and tears the ship as much as it can. If, however, the man looks boldly and savagely at the fish with an angry countenance, the fish becomes affrighted thereat and departs from the ship. An exceeding notable sailor has told me that when he was a youth he fell into peril with this in a small ship. There was with him in the ship a youth who thought himself exceeding brave and fierce, so that

¹ *Troya marina* is the Italian; French, *truie de mer*; German, *das Meerschwein, die Stachelsau*, ein Art der Scorpæna.—Dr. F. Deycks. Fabri, who has copied all this gossip about the sea (i. 125), spells the name of this fish 'Troyp.'

when the fish met him he would not give him bread because of the courage which he thought that he had, but lowered himself down by a rope from the ship to the water to look at the fish with an angry face, as is the custom. But when he saw the fish he was straightway affrighted and shouted to his comrades to pull him up by the rope, and the fish, seeing the man's fright, leaped out of the water as he was being drawn up, and with one bite took off half the man from his belly downwards, and departed from the ship. Yet it is said that this fish is not as long as a man can cast a stone, neither is it broad, but its head is exceeding great and broad, and all the damage which it does to ships it does by biting and tearing them.

I have also heard from another very truthful sailor, who knows almost all the paths of the sea, and who has undergone numberless frightful perils of divers sorts at sea—this same man told me that once near Barbary he was forced by a contrary wind to sail in places where sailing is exceeding perilous, because of the rocks and shoals barely covered by water, while not far from such places no bottom could ever be found at ten thousand ells. Now, while he was thus sailing in these places with the greatest possible fear and danger, it chanced that the ship ran upon a fish which the French call *melar*,¹ who was lurking among the rocks there. The fish, when it perceived the ship coming towards him, thought that it was some great morsel which he could swallow, and opening his mouth gave the ship so strong a bite that, albeit heavily laden, it was nevertheless driven back a long way, and all the people on board were awakened by that bite and shock. When the sailor perceived that the ship had recoiled from something impassable, he cried out to the people of the ship to pray to

¹ Possibly from *molaris*. The word does not occur in Littré. See Facciolati's Lexicon, s.v. *Xiphias*.

God for their souls, seeing that there was no hope for their lives, for surely the ship must have struck some great rock. And straightway the mariners, the servants of the ship, went down into the hold, wishing to see where the ship was broken. They found that a fish's tooth, as thick as a beam, and three cubits long, had pierced the ship. They afterwards tried to pull out this part of the tooth with iron instruments, and could not, but with a saw they cut it level with the ship's side. There can be no doubt that the ship would have been broken had not this tooth been so sharp, and so wondrously pierced it. As I was wondering at the length and breadth of such a fish, the same sailor told me not to wonder, because there was in the sea a fish a mile long, which was four thousand six hundred miles (? ells) wide in the narrowest part, and even in a small pond not more than one crossbow-shot wide, fish an ell long are often caught. I have seen three such fishes off Sardinia. They puffed out water with their breath into the air in vast quantity, further than a crossbow could shoot, and made a noise like thunder. Moreover, in my time near the isle of Tortosa, such a fish while chasing other little fishes cast himself up on the dry land, driving a great wave of water before him, and when the water ran back into the sea the fish remained on the dry land, and fed all the dwellers in those parts with his flesh and fat. But not long afterwards, as the sun's heat increased, all that country was poisoned by the stench of the fish as it became putrid, and for a long time the skeleton of the fish could be seen from afar like a great house overset with rafters sticking up in the air, but after awhile was carried down lower by storms and squalls. And I have heard from many men of knowledge that there is an exceeding long eel in the sea.

XI.—DIVERS FISHES.

Likewise in the sea there are very many kinds of fishes of divers sorts, both great and small, of sundry colours, appearance, shape, and arrangement, some with scales and some without, the nature of all of which cannot be understood by the human mind. Among these fishes of all sorts there are some which are exceeding wondrous, who lift themselves a long way up out of the water, but level with it, and withal fly for a long distance like bats ; but I am not sure how far they can fly.

I have diligently inquired of knowing seamen whence these fish come, and they have answered me that in England and Ireland there grow on the sea-shore exceeding beautiful trees, which bear fruit like apples. In these apples there is bred a worm, and when the apples are ripe they fall to the ground, are broken in the fall, and the worms fly out, having wings like bees. Those of them who first touch the land become creatures of the air, and fly about with the other fowls of the heavens ; but such worms as first touch the water become creatures of the water, and swim like fish, but yet sometimes wander into the other element and exercise themselves by flight. Whether they do so grow upon trees I do not know beyond having heard the story ; but they are eaten like fish, and are seen to fly by men voyaging at sea.

XII.—MIGRATION OF BIRDS.

You must also know that in due season a vast number of birds of all sorts, great and small, journey across the sea from the west to the east and back again, more especially cranes, quails, and swallows, and countless other birds of all sorts and colours, great and small, whose names

and numbers God alone knows. They fly from island to island on their way, and are so lean that they are nothing but bones and feathers, and so weary that they care not for stones or arrows. I have caught quails . . . on board ship, but they straightway died. Yet in all the parts in which I have been beyond the seas, I have never seen a stork; but once in a monastery of Minorites I saw a stork which was held to be a wonder for size. Likewise I have often been asked about swallows, whether they wintered in my country. I said 'No,' but that in my country they came in March, even as they did there, and no one knows from whence they come. Now, it befell that once upon a time, in some great lord's palace, the steward was sleeping upon a table, when there came two swallows quarrelling about a nest, and clinging to and biting one another, so that they both fell upon his face as he slept. He thereupon awoke, caught both the swallows on his face, and held them fast. He then bound a girdle round each of them, and let them fly away, and they came back every year with those same girdles to their nests. I could tell exceeding long stories about other sorts of birds, both great and small, who at their own times cross the sea, but must return to my subject and write no more about such matters.

XIII.—THE VOYAGE ACROSS THE SEA; TROY, AND THE ISLANDS.

Whosoever, then, would visit the Holy Land, or the parts beyond the sea, must travel thither in a ship or a galley. If he travels in a ship, then he passes straight across the sea, not putting into any port, unless forced so to do by contrary winds, want of food, or some such matter of prime necessity, and so he leaves Barbary on his right hand toward the south, and leaves Greece on his left hand

toward the north. He gets a distant view of many famous islands, to wit, Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, Manta, Goy, Scarpe, Crete, Rhodes, and very many other islands, both great and small, and after seeing all these he arrives at Cyprus. But if he crosses in a galley, you must understand that a galley is a sort of oblong vessel which journeys from one shore to another, from one port to another, keeping ever close to the beach, and always putting into harbour ashore for the night. It has sixty benches on either side, and to each bench belong three sailors with three oars, and one archer. On board of a galley fresh provisions are always eaten, which cannot be done on a ship. Now, while the galley is journeying thus along the shore, one sees numberless exceeding fair places, cities, towns and castles, and more especially all those places which in a ship are only seen afar off are seen close at hand from a galley and minutely scanned by the eyes. Thus, it may almost be said that in a galley one coasts round the whole of the northern part of the world, as will be seen hereafter. As one is going thus in a galley from place to place, and from port to port, one comes to Constantinople, whereof I have already told you, and after leaving that city one comes down along the shore of Asia Minor to the place where once stood that most noble city Troy, whereof no trace remains visible, unless it be some foundations under water in the sea, and in some places a few stones and some marble columns buried in the earth, which, when found, are carried away elsewhere. For in respect of this you must know that in the city of Venice there is not a stone column or any good cut-stone work which has not been brought thither from Troy. Near the place where Troy once stood a little city has been built, which is called *Ayos Yamos* in Greek, and is inhabited by Greeks. The city of Troy stood upon the sea-shore in the land called Phrygia, and is not

very far distant from Calcedonia, but does not seem to have had a good harbour. As one goes on in a galley from Troy one sees the shores of Lombardy, Campania, Calabria, and Apulia, and one comes to an island named Corsica. It was near this island that St. Paul the Apostle was shipwrecked after he had made his appeal unto Caesar when taken prisoner in Judaea, and here it was that in the evening, when sitting by the fire in the inn, he was bitten by a viper and escaped unhurt, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles. On this island there still dwell men who boast that they are of the family of that innkeeper in whose inn these things befell St. Paul. These same people give to men the power of curing with their spittle any who may have been bitten by serpents or asps. When they confer this power upon any man they take a glass full of wine, and drink thereof first, and then put therein a good deal of their spittle, and if he who is offered to drink thereof is seized with loathing, they thereupon mix earth with the wine, and give it to him that would receive this power or grace, saying, 'Receive thou the power and grace bestowed by God upon us and our children, in honour of St. Paul the Apostle, which we in the same name bestow upon you, that whensoever thou shalt be bitten by a serpent, asp, or any other venomous beast, thou mayest with thy spittle be able to cure and heal thyself and no other man; and this we grant thee without taking reward for the same, and give it to thee for God's sake. In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Amen.' Should anyone heal any other man besides himself, he straightway loses the power, but at the time it benefits him who is healed. From this isle of Corsica one sails to Sardinia, an exceeding noble island, of good and fertile soil, abounding in flocks, herds, and dairies, but not with wine, which is brought thither from elsewhere. In this island formerly

rested the body of St. Augustine,¹ but the King of the Lombards translated it thence to Pavia. In this island also was born St. Macarius, most notable among hermits. This island once belonged to the Pisans, but the King of Arragon took it from them by force. It does not contain many cities, but has one fine city named Castel de Cal.² Near this is a castle named Bonayr.³ On Ascension Day in the year 1341, we were driven upon this island in an exceeding great ship by a most furious and violent tempest which suddenly arose, so that it took us fifteen days to recover the distance which we ran before the storm from the sixth hour to the time of vespers. The oldest man of modern times remembers no such great storm at sea. The same night that we were driven thither thirty-four other great ships assembled there, which had, like ourselves, been driven thither from divers parts of the sea, and numberless other craft, both great and small, some of which had cast their cargo overboard, and some were damaged. Among all these ships there came the greatest ship in all the world from Naples, laden with a thousand tuns of wine of the largest size, with more than six hundred men and divers kind of merchandise, with which she was bound for Constantinople, but was driven back by the violence of the storm. This island of Sardinia is close to another little isle, called Sauper, that is to say, St. Peter's Isle,⁴ whereon

¹ St. Augustine's body was brought from Hippo in 506 (he died there in 430) to Sardinia, and from thence was brought by King Luitprand in 725, first to Genoa, and then to Pavia, where King Luitprand built the church of St. Peter and St. Augustine, called Cielo d'Oro. A monument to these saints was later erected in the cathedral.

² Calaris, Cagliari.

³ Bonaria.

⁴ There is a little island called San Pietro off the south-west coast of Sardinia.

there are wild horses, exceeding small and of great beauty, which for their swiftness cannot be taken, save that by stealth they are shot with arrows and eaten for venison. Between this island and Provence the sea is exceeding dangerous, and this place is called by sailors Gulph de Leun, which is, being interpreted, 'the lion's rage.' For though a ship may have sailed peacefully over all the rest of the sea, yet it never crosses this arm of the sea without great storms, dangers and alarms, wherefore this same place is called Gulph de Leun. From this island of Sardinia men sail to the island of Sicily, a most noble country measuring eighty miles round about. This is an exceeding good kingdom, and this island is fertile beyond all the neighbouring countries, for when by failure of rain there is dearth in all lands and parts beyond the sea, they are fed and helped by Sicily alone.

XIV.—THE ISLAND OF SICILY.

This kingdom of Sicily hath within it seven bishoprics and one metropolitan—to wit, he of Monreal, who in my time was a Minorite friar. Moreover, it has very many exceeding strong and noble cities, fortalices, and towns, and especially most beauteous and strongly fortified cities on the sea-shore, all of them with good harbours—to wit, Messina, Palermo, Trapani, and Catania. In the city of Catania dwell Dominican friars, who have a painting of the Blessed Mary at the time of the Annunciation, which the people of the city greatly reverence, as do also those who sail upon the sea, for no ship passes within a certain distance thereof without greeting and visiting this picture, and they tell one, and firmly believe, that if any ship were to pass by without greeting or visiting the picture, it would not reach home without meeting with a storm. In the city

of Catania St. Agatha suffered martyrdom, and her entire body rests there, and is greatly revered and most carefully guarded, for because of her merits God daily works many miracles throughout Sicily. Near this city of Catania there stands by itself an exceeding lofty mountain, which they who dwell there call Mount Bel¹—that is to say, the Beautiful Mountain. This mountain never ceases to flame and smoke like a fiery furnace, and casts forth burned stones of the size of a small house, which the people of these parts call pumice-stone, wherewith parchment is smoothed. This and other rubbish cast out by the mountain has been collected and heaped together by the wind till it has formed what may almost be called great and long mountains. It was from this mountain that there came forth the river of fire whereof we read in the Passion of St. Agatha, where it is said, ‘They set up an awning to keep off the fire.’ The course of this river may be clearly seen at the present day; howbeit the like river of fire has often flowed out since the time of St. Agatha, and even now sometimes flows out. Indeed, a great part of Sicily is laid waste by these rivers of fire and the pumice-stone cast forth from the mountain, for when the rivers cool they harden, and cannot be broken up by irons or any tools whatsoever. It is said that in that mountain is hell’s mouth, and no doubt there is something in this story, for it has been proved and decided by many voices, miracles, and examples, both at the present day and in the ancient histories of the kingdom; for whenever there are any great battles anywhere, this same mount sends forth flames as high as heaven itself, and thereupon they who dwell in Sicily know that there are of a truth battles being fought in some parts of the world. A Minorite friar who had dwelt for a long time in Sicily told me that of his own

¹ Mongibello, Ætna, so called from the Arabic *Gebel*.

knowledge, when the Emperor Henry¹ of blessed memory and the Pisans were fighting against King Robert in Mount Cachym,² in which war King Robert's brother was slain, and lies buried in Pisa at this day beneath the sepulchre of the aforesaid Emperor, that this mount flamed so brightly that all through the night of the battle the Dominican monks in Messina, which is twenty miles distant from the mount, read their matins by the light of the flames. He declared that the same thing had befallen himself when there was a battle between the Florentines and Perusians at Altpas (Alepas). This friar told me many other wondrous stories of this mount, which would take long to tell. For this cause there is a common proverb in Sicily, 'I had rather be in Mount Bel with kings and princes than in heaven with the halt and blind;' and the meaning is clear, for here the men are utterly vile, but the women are most admirable. In Sicily they practise three rites indifferently: in one part they follow the Latin rite, in another that of the Greeks, and in another that of the Saracens; yet they are all Christians, albeit they differ and disagree in their rites. It is a great wonder that Sicily can be so fertile and charming a country when it so often suffers such terrible damage from this mountain; for sometimes it happens that this mountain casts forth so much ashes in one or two days, that the flocks cannot for a long time find any pasture. Moreover, sometimes so many rivers of fire and flames and other dreadful things come forth from the mountain, that they who dwell there

¹ Henry VII. of Luxemburg died 1313. His monument stands at the west end of the Campo Santo at Pisa. See John of Winterthur's chronicle in Eccard's 'Corpus Historicum Medii Aevi,' vol. i., p. 1775.

² There was a battle on *Monte Catini* on August 29, 1315, where Ugguccione dello Faggiuola, the Ghibelline Prince of Pisa and Lucca, defeated the Florentines and the troops of Robert of Apulia. I conclude that this is what is meant.

fast and make vows, expecting that they will be taken down quick into hell. These rivers come out of the mountain like red-hot glowing brass, and (the fire) consumes everything which it finds on its way, whether it be wood or stones, even as hot water consumes snow, and lays waste the land in some places for a distance of two miles, according as the land is high or low, making it a desert and for ever uninhabitable, wherefore albeit Sicily is an exceeding good land, yet it is a fearful thing to dwell therein.

XV.—THE MOUNT VULCAN.

Likewise near Sicily there is another small island having only one mountain in it, at the foot of which mount there is a most beauteous and delightful orchard. This mount is called Vulcan by the inhabitants, and it suddenly, like a furnace, pours forth blazing flames in much more horrible fashion than Mount Bel. This mount, we read, once stood in Sicily, but by the merits of the Apostle St. Bartholomew cast itself into the sea and removed itself from the land. It flames most exceeding terribly and violently, and casts forth pumice-stones of the size of small houses into the air like a catapult, with such force that they burst in the air like apples, and pieces fall into the sea for half a mile round about, and are cast up on the beach by the waves and gathered there. This is the pumice-stone which scribes use to smooth parchment, which some declare to be formed from the sea-foam, which is false, as you have been told. Once before I went to Sicily a lake of fire burst into the orchard at the foot of Mount Vulcan, and it was a stone's-throw long and wide, and for four days and nights flames went forth up to heaven from the length and breadth of it in so terrible a fashion that all men thought that of a truth heaven and earth were on fire, and that the day had come when they should pass away. When the

flames ceased for four more days and nights so many ashes came forth that in many places men deserted their towns and cities and all that they had, and fled into the mountains to shelter themselves from the ashes as best they might, and all the flocks and very many people perished in the plains by the ashes. Many cities, even, could not be seen at all, they were so covered with ashes, and many rivers were dried up by the ashes. There was such sorrow and anguish through Sicily at that time as no man could remember or ancient history tell of. Thereupon the Sicilians vowed vows to God, proclaimed fasts, gave themselves up to works of penitence, and prayed to God that He would turn away His anger from them, and for the sake of the merits of St. Agatha would set them free from so great tribulation. Thereupon straightway the trouble came to an end, and thereafter they felt nothing of the sort. They then forbade upon the highest penalties the doing of many wicked deeds which had heretofore been permitted.

XVI.—THE CITY OF SYRACUSE.

There is also in Sicily another city, which is called Syracuse, wherein St. Lucia suffered martyrdom, and wherein her entire body now rests ; and there are numberless other venerable relics of saints. It would be too long for me to tell you of the other wonders of Sicily, and of the glories and palaces of the Emperor Frederick, the catching of the fish called tunny, and its other sources of wealth and abundance.

Near Sicily there are many other islands, both great and small, inhabited by Saracens. Near it there is also another island called Malta, containing one bishopric, which I have often visited in passing. Near it there is another island named Colmat, whereon there are so many

rabbit-holes that the people have hardly land enough left to live upon. Near it is another small island named Scola ; no one visits these little islands except he be on a special journey to them. Near these, too, is another island called Goy (Gozo), which abounds in flocks and dairy produce. Once I sailed between this and the other island with great peril in a great ship during a most violent storm, and no one remembered so great a ship to have ever gone through that way.

XVII.—ACHAIA.

Proceeding from Sicily, one sails across the Venetian Gulf, which divides Italy from Greece, and coasting round the shores of Greece, one comes to Achaia and Macedonia and other parts of Greece, which are called Romania. You must know that the land which used to be called Achaia is now called Morea. The Catalonians have reft this land from the Greeks by force. Therein is a fair city named Patras, wherein the Apostle St. Andrew suffered martyrdom. Moreover, St. Antony and many other saints once dwelt there or were born there. Not far from Patras is Athens, wherein once flourished the schools of the Greeks. This was once an exceeding noble city, but now is almost deserted ; for there is scarce anywhere in Genoa a marble column or piece of good hewn stone which has not been brought thither from Athens, and the whole city is built out of Athens, even as Venice is built of the stones of Troy. In this same land of Achaia there is the most beauteous and strong city of Corinth, standing on the top of a mountain, the like of which city has scarce ever been heard of for strength ; for were the whole world to besiege it, it never would lack for corn, wine, oil, and water. It was to this city that St. Paul wrote several epistles. Not far from Corinth stands the city of

Galatas, to which also St. Paul wrote epistles. *Gala* in Greek means the same as *lac* (milk) in Latin ; for they who dwell therein are whiter than the other people round about, from the nature of the place, and this city, which once was called Galatas, is now called Pera. Moreover, in Achaia, or Morea, there dwell brethren of the house of the Germans,¹ who have there exceeding strong castles, and are ever at variance with the Duke of Athens and the Greeks. As one goes on from Achaia or Morea one comes to sundry Greek isles in sailing along the shore of Asia Minor, and one arrives at an island named Syo,² which is a specially notable isle. Therein grows mastic, and nowhere else in the world, for though trees thereof grow well enough elsewhere, yet no fruit is found upon them. Mastic grows like gum, dropping from the trees, and from hence is sent all over the world. This island has a Bishop, who in my time was of the Dominican Order. This island was forcibly reft from the Emperor of Constantinople by two Genoese brothers, and afterwards these two brothers fell out, and one of them secretly gave back his part to the Emperor, took his brother prisoner, and kept him for a long time in prison, and the Emperor took the island away from both of them ; but in my time he took the captured brother into his favour, made him the commander of his army, and gave him some castles. From Syo one sails to the desert isle of Patmos, whither St. John the Evangelist was exiled by Domitian, and where he saw the heavens open, and wrote the Book of Revelation. From Patmos you can sail on to the coast of Asia Minor and come to Ephesus, if you please. This land, which once was called Asia Minor, is now called Turkey, for the Turks have taken it from the Greeks. You must know

¹ ? The Teutonic Order. Cf. Fabri, i. 185.

² Chios.

that the Turks are tall black men and most zealous Saracens, yet not of the Saracen race, but rather renegade Christians. They are in all respects like the Frisians, and dwell by the northern (*sic*) sea-shore in exceeding strong castles which they have taken from the Greeks, having no arms but bows and arrows, living on milk and the like, wandering hither and thither with their flocks, in all respects mean, and with the same customs as Frisians.

XVIII.—THE CITY OF EPHEBUS.

You must know that the true city of Ephesus is four short miles distant from the sea. In this city there is a fair church built in the form of a cross, roofed with lead, nobly decorated with mosaic work and marble, and entire to this day. It was here that the beloved disciple, when bidden to a feast, entered a sepulchre, was overshadowed by darkness, and seen no more. This sepulchre is near the high altar, and the place where it is hewn in a rock is openly shown, if those who enter will first give a penny to the Turks. In the church the Turks now sell silk, wool, corn, and the like merchandise. The city of Ephesus once stood in a strange fashion between two hills, so that it had its outskirts upon mountains and its midst in a valley. The church wherein is St. John's sepulchre was a crossbow-shot distant from this city, and stood on the top of a mountain. But as the ground near the church was stronger, the city of Ephesus has been removed by the Turks through fear of the Christians, and the old city is now deserted. In my time there dwelt there a noble lady whose husband owned the whole city. There was also one Zalabin, a Turk, who took away the city from them, and by whose consent the noble lady dwelt beneath the castle of Ephesus. She had a license from him to sell

wine to merchants, and with many groans opened to us the sorrows of her heart at the loss of her husband and her city. Near the city of Ephesus there is a small round fountain, which contains excellent fish in great numbers. From this fountain water bursts forth in such quantity that all the meadows and orchards and the whole land is watered thereby. You must know that the city, which once was called Ephesus, was afterwards called Theologos¹ by the Greeks, and is now called Altelot, that is, High Place (*altus locus*), because, as I have already told you, the city has been removed to a higher place round about the church. About four miles from this ancient town of Ephesus a new city has now been built, on the sea-shore at a place where there is a harbour, and it is inhabited by Christians who have been driven out of Lombardy through a quarrel. These people have churches and Minorite friars, and live like Christians, albeit they did in former times together with the Turks do great injury to Christian people. Near the new city of Ephesus there is a river as large as the Rhine, which runs down through Turkey from Tartary. By this river much merchandise of divers sorts is brought down, even as is done on the Rhine in these parts. It is in this river that the Turks and Christians falsely so called, when they have a mind to fight against the Christians, are wont to collect their ships, arms, and provisions, so that from this river much harm and damage has come to the Christians.

¹ 'The modern name of *Ayasaluk* is a corruption of *Agios Tzeologos*, an epithet which the modern Greeks apply to St. John, the founder of the Ephesian Church.'—Arrowsmith's 'Eton Geography.'

'Ephesus,' says Mrs. S. S. Lewis, 'is called Ayassoulouk, a Turkish name derived, perhaps, from the Greek *Agios Theologos*, but called by the mediaeval Italians *Alto Luogo*, the High Place.—'A Lady's Impressions of Cyprus,' Remington, 1894.

XIX.—THE DIFFERENT ISLES OF THE SEA, AND FIRST OF ALL, RHODES.

From Ephesus one sails onward to many other different isles. You must know that in that part of the sea there are more than seven hundred isles, both great and small, inhabited and desert, many of which have many special virtues, and some of which abound with all manner of good things, while some are full of poisonous springs and exceeding venomous creatures. Among these isles there is one small one, which has a fount of very hot water, boiling like a pot, and so poisonous that a bird dies if it only flies over it. Near this isle is another isle, scarce measuring two miles in circuit, whereon stands a little church. On this isle there are stags and other wild animals, so that the isle has scarce room for them. Once my comrades landed on this isle, and found in the church lances, shields, cross-bows, very many arms, and great store of dried meat, which was brought thither by pirates and sea-robbers as they took it from time to time, and laid it up there. My comrades waited there all day expecting the robbers to come; they also went hunting without catching anything. But it chanced towards evening that one of them was sitting between two rocks, and a stag happening to come upon him, he cut off its right foot and wounded the left with one blow of his sword; so they got the stag, and departed. Near this isle is another, wherein there are no animals save wild asses, which are exceeding good sport to hunt, but have not good meat to eat like other beasts of chase. Not far from this isle there is another named Peyra, a very good one, wherein are found three forms of the stone called *alun*, in exceeding great quantity, so that it is exported from thence to all the world. Not long ago the Genoese took this island from the Turks

by force, and have well restored it and its bishopric into its original state. This island is near Turkey, and between them there is a bridge, over which the Turks will not, if they can help it, allow anyone to pass, whether there be peace or war between them, so vexed are they at the loss of the island. It is too long to tell you about the other isles. Leaving all these, one sails back again to the shore of Asia Minor or Turkey, and comes to Patara,¹ which once was a noble and most beautiful city, but now has been destroyed by the Turks. In this city the pious Pope St. Nicholas² was born. One sails on from Patara, and comes to another once most noble city, but now destroyed, named Mirrhea,³ wherein the glorious Pope Nicholas, who has illustrated all that country by his many miracles and virtues, was wondrously elected Bishop.⁴ From Mirrhea, if you choose, you can sail on, and you will come to an exceeding good and notable isle named Crete, which once was a kingdom in itself, but which does not contain many forts or cities. Its greatest city is named Candia. In the greater part of this isle sage is burned for firewood. The Venetians have taken this isle by force from the Greeks. From Crete one sails to another most fair and notable isle, which is healthy and pleasant. It was once called Colos,⁵ and has a Metropolitan who is called Colossensis.

¹ See Sir John Maundeville, chap. iv.

² There have been five Popes of this name, but the Bishop of Myrrha was not one of them.

³ Myra in Lycia.

⁴ 'Comme le dit Jacques de Varazze, les prelates du voisinage étaient venus pour donner un successeur à l'évêque de Myre, et l'un d'eux apprit du Ciel qu'il fallait sacrer le premier qui se présenterait le matin à la porte de l'église. Ce fut Nicolas, qui venait faire sa prière sans se douter de rien.'—'Caractéristiques des Saintes dans l'Art Populaire,' par le Père Ch. Cahier, S.J., Paris, 1867, art. 'Bourse.'

⁵ See Sir John Maundeville, chap. iv., and Wright's note; also Saewulf. St. Paul's Colossae was a city in the upper part of the basin of the Maeander, on one of its affluents called the Lycus.

It was to this isle that St. Paul wrote his Epistles (to the Colossians). Now the isle is called Rhodes, because of the seventh climate of the world, wherein that isle stands alone, and divides and marks the climate.¹

It was from this isle that first came the destruction of the noble city of Troy, for they say that there lived the ram with the golden fleece, of whom one reads at greater length in the histories of Troy. This isle of Rhodes is an exceeding precious one, being mountainous, and standing in a very healthy air, abounding in the wild animals called fallow-deer. Furthermore, from whatever part of the sea you sail you must pass by or near Rhodes. In this isle there is a city named Rhodes, exceeding beauteous and strong, with high walls and impregnable towers built of such great stones that it is a wonder how human hands can have laid them in their place. When Acon was lost, the Master and brethren of St. John of Jerusalem took this isle by force² from the Greeks. They besieged it for years, but they never would have taken the city had they not won over the inhabitants by bribes, so that they delivered up the isle of their own accord. Thereupon the brethren of the Order made it their headquarters, and there they dwell to this day. There are three hundred and fifty brethren and the Master of the Order, who in my time was Elyonus,³ a very old and very stingy man, who has amassed countless treasure, and built much in Rhodes, and has set the Order free from vast debts. This isle lies within the sound of a man's voice from Turkey, from which it is separated by an arm of the sea, and takes tribute from all the country round about, and from Turkey a third part of

¹ See 'Clima' in Zedler's 'Universal Lexicon.' It seems to be almost equivalent to 'degree of latitude.'

² The Grand Master Guillaume de Villaret, after useless negotiations with the Emperor Andronicus II., stormed Rhodes 1310.

³ Helion de Villeneuve, Grand Master 1327-1346.

the produce of the land. It has also a small and exceeding strong castle in Turkey.¹ These brethren have a truce with the rest of the Turks on land, but not at sea, nor yet in places where they are harming the Christians. These same brethren of the Hospital hold also another island hard by named Lango,² abounding in corn, wine, oil, and many fruits, and therein dwell fifty brethren from Rhodes. The brethren have yet another small isle, a good and fertile one, named Castelroys,³ which once was laid waste by the Turks, but now is well inhabited by the brethren and their mercenaries. In it there is an exceeding strong and lofty castle, from which all ships sailing to whatsoever part of the sea can be seen for a distance of almost fifty miles, and then they make signals to the brethren in Rhodes and Lango and to the other Christians round about, with smoke by day and with flames by night, telling them how many ships there are at sea, whereupon the brethren and Christians make preparations for battle and defence according to the number of ships signalled. This island

¹ In 1344 the Knights took the fort and part of the town of Smyrna from the Turks, and held their conquest for fifty-six years. Ludolph wrote in 1350, and probably alludes to this.

² Cos. See Wright's note to Sir John Maundeville, in Bohn's 'Early Travels in Palestine.'

³ This is the modern island of Kastelorizo, called by the Italians Castel Rosso, the ancient Cisthene, or Megiste (Liv., xxxvii. 22, 24), near Patara, at the south-west angle of Asia Minor. But an article on the Knights of Malta in the *Penny Magazine*, vol. v., p. 246, says: 'On the summit of a mountain in the island of Syme, Fulk de Villaret had erected a lofty tower whence ships could be discovered at a great distance. As soon as a strange sail was signalled, which was done by lighting fires at night and making a dense smoke by day, the pinks and light frigates of Syme, the row-boats and galleys of Rhodes, the feluccas and light and swift vessels of others of the islands, got under weigh,' etc. Syme is a small island between Rhodes and the promontory of Budrun (Halicarnassus). Leake ('Tour in Asia Minor,' 1824) mentions Kastelorizo. See his note on p. 184.

is exceeding useful to the Christians, for since the brethren have held the island and castle, the Turks have done the Christians no harm with their ships. Moreover, before the time of the brethren the islands of Rhodes and Lango, and all the isles and country of the Christians round about, used to pay tribute to the Turks, but now by the grace of God the brethren have turned this the other way. When the Turks first heard that the isle of Rhodes had been conquered by the brethren of St. John, they collected a great army, and sent a solemn embassy asking at first in bland and pacific terms for the tribute due to them from the brethren, and declaring that they would willingly make peace and a treaty with the brethren, but that in any case they must have their tribute. At that time the Order had no Master, for Brother Fulco de Villaret,¹ the Master of the Order, had been deposed by the brethren through a quarrel. But a certain brother from Basle, a very brave and honest knight, who was at that time Guardian of the Order, made answer to the Turks begging for a space of three days for consideration, and a truce for that time, which the Turks most willingly granted, and charged their army to observe. Meanwhile this same Guardian of the Order daily continued to feast with the Turks, and cunningly found out all about their army, its state and position, and what it intended to do; in the meanwhile he got together as many ships and men as he could, and on the third day, pretending that he was about to leave Rhodes to fight against the Greeks, he asked the Turkish ambassadors to enter his chamber lest any evil should befall them at the hands of the Christians until his return. The ambassadors did this, and that knight, the Guardian of the Order, after having set guards over them who were in his secret, embarked with his army and

¹ Grand Master Fulke de Villaret was elected A.D. 1308, was deposed 1321, and died 1327.

put out to sea. At dawn on the morrow he fell upon the host of the Turks, and slew them all without distinction, men and women, young and old alike. For it is the habit of the Turks and Tartars to take their wives, their little ones, and all their property with them in their army whithersoever they march. So after they had slain all the people and won all their property and flocks, the brethren returned to Rhodes on the third day with great joy. I have heard from some who were present that they got so much plunder that they towed their spoils behind the ships by ropes in the sea. When all this had been arranged and settled, the Guardian of the Order called forth the Turkish ambassadors, and said to them that the brethren were willing to make a truce and treaty with the Turks, and straightway sent them away; and they on the same day landed with great joy at the place where they had left their army. But they found all their army newly slain, the bodies stripped and plundered, and all the property carried off. When they beheld this, they went home as sorrowful as they had been joyful, and brought the news to the rest of the Turks. Thenceforth the Turks and Tartars have never asked the brethren of St. John or the Christians in Rhodes for tribute even to this day. At Rhodes there are also many venerable relics, among which is a brazen cross, which is believed to be made out of the basin wherein Christ washed the disciples' feet. Wax moulds of this cross have great power in quelling storms at sea. This cross and some other venerable relics of the brethren of St. John once belonged to the Templars, all of whose goods and castles are now owned by the aforesaid brethren. It would take too long to tell of the other glories of Rhodes, and of all the several victories of the aforesaid brethren. From Rhodes one sails to Cyprus.

XX.—CYPRUS.

Cyprus is an exceeding noble and famous, and also an exceeding rich isle, beyond comparison with all the other isles of the sea, and is fertile in all good things beyond the rest. It was, we read, first inhabited by Noah's son Japhet, and for its size it excels all the other lands and seaside cities round about, being encircled as it were with a girdle by the countries of Egypt, Syria, Armenia, Turkey, and Greece. From Cyprus to all these is not more than a day's journey by sea, as you shall hear hereafter. This glorious island once belonged to the Templars, who sold it to the King of Jerusalem. Then, when Acre and the Holy Land were lost and ruined, the King of Jerusalem, and the princes, nobles and barons of the kingdom of Jerusalem, removed to Cyprus and dwelt there, and there they abide to this day, and thus Cyprus became a kingdom. In Cyprus there are three bishoprics—to wit, Paphos, Limasol, and Famagusta, and one Metropolitan, the Bishop of Nicosia, who in my day was a Minorite friar named Elias, who was made a cardinal by Pope Clement VI.¹ The oldest city in Cyprus is Paphos, once a very noble and great place, but now it is almost ruined by continual earthquakes. It stands on the seashore directly over against Alexandria. Paul and Barnabas converted² this city to faith in Christ, and from thence the whole earth hath been converted to the faith, as is set forth in the Acts of the Apostles. Near Paphos once stood Venus's³ Castle, where they used to worship the idol Venus, and travel from distant lands to visit her gates, and thither all noble lords and ladies and young damsels

¹ Pope 1342-1353.

² Acts xv. 39.

³ The 'Venusberg' of the Tannhäuser legend

gathered together in that castle. It was in this temple that the first step was taken towards the ruin of Troy ; for Helen was taken when on her way to this temple. Moreover, all damsels and girls used to make vows in this temple for marriage and husbands, wherefore in Cyprus men are lustful by nature beyond those of all other lands, for if earth from Cyprus, and more especially from the place where Venus's Castle used to stand, be placed beneath a man's head as he sleeps, it will throughout the whole night dispose him to lust. Near Paphos is the place where St. Hilary used to dwell, and where he wrought many miracles, and there are many other places wherein many other saints used to dwell, especially St. Zyzonimus and St. Mamma, who was born in Germany, and it is to him that the Greeks are commonly wont to pray most devoutly for deliverance from carbuncles.

XXI.—THE VINEYARD OF ENGADDI.

In this same diocese of Paphos is the vineyard of Engaddi, the like of which is not in the world. This vineyard stands upon an exceeding lofty mountain,¹ two miles long. A tall cliff girds it on every side like a wall ; it has one exceeding narrow entrance, and is quite flat on the top throughout. In this vineyard grow many grapes and vines of divers sorts, some of which yield grapes as big as great pears, and some yield grapes as small as peas. Some vines yield bunches of grapes as big as urns, and others

¹ Probably the promontory which terminates in Cape Gatto, the ancient Kyrias, near Limasol. This was the district which produced the wine called 'Commanderia.' It was guarded by the castle of Kolossin, the headquarters of the Hospitallers in Cyprus, wherein are the arms of the Lusignans, quartering Jerusalem, Armenia, and Cyprus, between three other coats, being those of Antoine Fluvian, Grand Master of the Hospitallers 1421-1437, of Jacques de Milli, Grand Master 1454-1461, and another which has not been identified.

exceeding small bunches, and some vines yield white grapes, some black, and some red ; some vines yield grapes without stones, and some oblong grapes, shaped like acorns, and transparent ; and countless other sorts of vines and grapes are to be seen in this vineyard. This vineyard once belonged to the Templars, but now belongs to the brethren of the Hospital of St. John at Rhodes. In the time of the Templars there were always a hundred slaves—that is, Saracen prisoners—there always, who had no duties or work imposed upon them save dressing and tending the vineyard. I have heard from many men of great experience that there is no more beautiful, noble, or wondrous gem under the sun than this, which God hath made for the use of man, like as we read of the same in Solomon's Song : ' My beloved is unto me as a cluster of camphire¹ in the vineyards of Engaddi.'

Not far from Paphos is Limasol, once a fair city, but now much damaged by earthquakes and sudden rushes of water from the mountains. This city stands on the sea-shore directly over against Tyre, Sidon, and Beyrout. When Acon was lost, the Templars and Hospitallers of St. John and other nobles dwelt in this city, and many of their palaces and castles may be seen at this day. Near Limasol is another vineyard, called Little Engaddi, wherein grow divers vines, which a man cannot span with his arms, but they are not very tall, and do not yield much fruit. In a place in this diocese called Pravimunt (Peninunt) dwell brethren of the Teutonic Order, and also Englishmen of the Order of St. Thomas of Canterbury. There is also in this diocese an exceeding lofty mount,²

¹ ' Botrus Cypri dilectus meus in vinea Engaddi,' in the Vulgate (Cant. i. 14, iv. 13), where the allusion is not to the island of Cyprus, but to the plant cypress (*κύπρος*).

² S. Croce, the modern Stavrovuni, near Larnaca. See Fabri, i. 193-200.

standing by itself, much like Mount Tabor, on whose top stands a fair monastery, wherein are brethren of the Order of St. Benedict. In this monastery is the entire cross whereon the thief on Christ's right hand hung, which was brought thither by St. Helena, by whom also this monastery was built and endowed. This cross is devoutly greeted by all mariners at sea when they draw near to this mount, and God works many miracles on the mount by reason of the virtues of the said cross. Mount Lebanon can always be clearly seen from this mount.

XXII.—THE CITY OF FAMAGUSTA.

The third city of Cyprus is called Famagusta. It stands on the sea-shore, and there is now the harbour for the whole sea and the whole kingdom, and thither merchants and pilgrims must needs flock together. This city stands directly over against Armenia, Turkey, and Acre. This is the richest of all the cities in Cyprus, and its citizens are exceeding wealthy. Once one of the citizens of Famagusta was betrothing his daughter, and the French knights who were sailing with us reckoned that the jewels she wore on her head were better than all the jewels of the King of France. There was a merchant of this city who sold a royal golden orb¹ to the Soldan for sixty thousand florins. It contained only four precious stones—to wit, a carbuncle, a pearl, a sapphire, and an emerald, and yet he afterwards went and begged to be allowed to buy that orb back again for a hundred thousand florins, but was refused. Moreover, the Constable of Jerusalem had four pearls which his wife wore as a brooch, which whenever and wherever he pleased he could pawn for three thousand florins. In a warehouse in this city there is more aloes-

¹ See the chapter on Constantinople.

wood than five carts can carry ; I say nothing about spices, for they are as common there as bread is here, and are just as commonly mixed and sold. Neither dare I say any more about precious stones, cloth-of-gold, and other kinds of wealth, because in those parts there is an unheard-of and incredible store of them. In this city dwell numberless exceeding rich courtesans, some of them possessing more than a hundred thousand florins, about whose riches I dare say no more.

XXIII.—SALAMINA AND NICOSIA.

Near Famagusta there is another city on the sea-shore named Constantia or Salamina, which once was an exceeding noble, famous, and beauteous city, as its ruins bear witness. In this city a man of wondrous sanctity, St. Epiphanius,¹ was miraculously elected Bishop, and is buried therein. In the same city was born St. Katharine the Virgin, and a chapel stands on the place of her nativity to this day. In this city St. Barnabas the Apostle suffered martyrdom, and near it his body was burned and buried. St. Epiphanius glorified this city and all the country round about with many miracles ; but the city is now utterly ruined. Also in Cyprus there is another exceeding great city named Nicosia. This is the metropolis of Cyprus, and stands in the midst thereof in a plain at the foot of the mountains, and in an exceeding healthy air. The King of Cyprus and all the bishops and other prelates of the kingdom dwell in this city because of the healthiness of the air, and also the greater part of all the other princes, counts, barons, and knights live there, and every day they amuse themselves with joustings, tournaments, and especially with hunting. In Cyprus there are wild rams,

¹ Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis or Constantia, in Cyprus (May 12). I can find nothing strange about his appointment in 'Acta Sanctorum.'

which are not found anywhere else in the world, and they are taken with leopards ; they can be taken in no other way. The princes, nobles, barons, knights, and citizens of Cyprus are the richest in the world, for one who has a revenue of three thousand florins is thought less of there than a man who had a revenue of three marks would be in these parts. But they spend it all in hunting. I knew a count of Jaffa who kept more than five hundred hounds, every pair of which dogs, according to the custom of those parts, had a servant of their own, to keep them clean, bathe them, and anoint them, which must needs be done to hunting dogs in those parts. Also another noble keeps at the least ten or twelve falconers, with special wages and their expenses. I have known many nobles and knights in Cyprus who could have kept and maintained two hundred armed men for less than they paid for their huntsmen and falconers ; for when they go forth to hunt they dwell sometimes for a whole month in the woods and mountains, wandering with their tents from place to place, taking their pleasure with their hounds and falcons, sleeping in the woods and fields in their tents, and carrying all that they need and all their provisions with them on camels and beasts of burden. You must know that all the princes, nobles, barons, knights, and citizens in Cyprus are the best and richest in the world, and now they dwell there with their children, but once they used to dwell on the mainland, in the cities of Syria and Judaea, and in the noble city of Acre ; howbeit now that the mainland and its cities are lost they have fled to Cyprus, and abide there even to this day. There are also in Cyprus exceeding rich citizens and merchants, and no wonder, seeing that Cyprus is the furthest (east) of all Christian lands, wherefore all ships both great and small, and all merchandise of whatsoever kind and from whatsoever country, must needs come first

of all to Cyprus, and can in no wise pass by it. Moreover, all pilgrims from all parts of the world whatsoever, when bound for the parts beyond the sea, must needs come to Cyprus, and every day from sunrise to sunset one hears rumours and news there. In Cyprus also all the languages of the world are heard and spoken, and are taught in special schools; and in Cyprus excellent wine grows on lofty mountains exposed to the rays of the sun. This wine is at first red, but after standing in an earthenware jar for four, six, ten, or twenty years, it becomes white, and all the while that it stands it does not lose strength, but daily gains it, insomuch that usually nine parts of water are added to one of wine; and if a man were to drink a whole cask of that wine, it would not make him drunk, but would burn up and destroy his inside. Yet it is exceeding wholesome to take some of the wine unmixed upon an empty stomach, and nowhere are there better wine-drinkers or more of them than in Cyprus. In Cyprus all trees and herbs grow as they grow in the Holy Land. Also in my time there were in Cyprus many nobles, barons, and knights who had left Germany—to wit, the Count of Vianden, the Count of Schwartzenberg, the Lord of Sleyde, the Prince of Lichtenstein, and many others. Also all the seaside places¹ in Turkey round about pay tribute to the King of Cyprus—to wit, Candelor, Scalnun, Sicki, and Satalia, and the other places and castles in their neighbourhood. In this city of Satalia there are three

¹ 'Es ist wahrscheinlich, das unter diesen namen die städte Kelenderis oder Kilindri, Selinus oder Selindri, Seleucia oder Selevke, und Attalia, sämtlich an der küste klein Asiens in der nahe von Cyperu zu verstehen sind. Vergl Sprüner's Atlas der Mittel Alters.'—F. Deycks. With the help of Sprüner's invaluable atlas I have identified Candelor with Alaya Candelorum, Scalnun (possibly) with Selinus (Trajanopolis) the modern Silintz, Sicki with Sequin, Siquinum (Syce), and Satalia, of course, with Attalia, the modern Adalia.

heretical¹ races of men, and the city is divided by walls and fosses into three parts: in the first dwell the Greeks, who keep holy the Lord's day; in the second dwell the Jews, who kept holy the Sabbath day; and in the third dwell the Turks, who keep Friday holy. In the Greek quarter there is a figure of the Blessed Virgin Mary painted upon a tablet, of which tablets there are three in the world—to wit, one at Rome, one at Constantinople, and the third at Satalia; they are all of the same size, shape, and appearance. It is believed that St. Luke painted these three pictures from the Blessed Mary's own person, and out of respect for this painting God works many miracles there. It were too long to tell of the rest of the riches and nobility of Cyprus.

XXIV.—THE CITIES BY THE SEA.

To return to my subject, one sails from Cyprus to some one of the cities by the sea, in either Egypt or Syria. These cities are as follows: Alexandria, Tripoli, Beyrout, Byblium, Jaffa, Sidon, Tyre, Acre. Before going any further I will say somewhat about these, that you may know them. They all have been given different names to those which they bore of old, after the Holy Land has been lost and won so many times, and therefore I will say a little about them, that you may know to whose lot these cities fell when the Holy Land was won by the Christians. You must know that none of these cities are more than a day's journey distant from Cyprus. Now, Alexandria is the first seaside city of Egypt, and one of the best of the Soldan's cities. On one side it stands on the Nile, the river of Paradise, which falls into the sea close by it, and its other side is on the sea. This city is exceeding beauteous and strong, and is fenced about with lofty towers and walls

¹ 'Perversa genera.' Compare Marco Polo, ed Panthier, p. 71.

which seem impregnable. It was once inhabited by the Christians, and is now by the Saracens, and within it is exceeding clean, being all whitewashed, and in the corner of every street it has a fountain of water running through pipes ; the city is carefully kept clean by watchmen, whose duty it is to see that no dirt be cast into the streets or fountains by anybody. In this city the Soldan keeps mercenary soldiers and his bodyguard, who guard the city and harbour. St. Mark the Evangelist was Patriarch in this city, and was martyred there, and in succession to him there still remains a Christian Patriarch there. In this city there still stands entire to this day a great and exceeding beautiful church, adorned in divers fashions with mosaic work and marble, wherein at the request of the Venetians Divine service is celebrated every day. Indeed, many other churches are still standing in Alexandria at this day, and in them rest the bodies of many saints. There are also many Christians and merchants living there. This city appears to the human eye to be impregnable, and yet it could be easily taken. I do not care to say any more about this matter. This city, which was of old called Alexandria, is now called Iscandria by its inhabitants. Near Alexandria is a place where St. Katharine was beheaded, and from whence she was borne by angels to Mount Sinai, a distance of about eighteen days' journey, and there are very many holy places and places of prayer in that city. Not far from Alexandria there is a village, all of whose inhabitants are Saracen work-people, who weave mats wondrous well in divers fashions and with most curious skill. In this place or village stands a fair little church, wherein is a small grotto. In this grotto it is believed that St. John the Baptist was beheaded. The grotto is believed to have been a prison, and is known because of the position of the place, which is on

the border of Egypt and Arabia. These same Saracen workpeople guard the grotto with the uttermost care and reverence, lighting it with lamps and candles, and each one of them according to his means pays some especial reverence to the church and grotto ; for they firmly believe and say that it has been proved by experience that if they did not hold the church in such great respect, and were to leave it unlighted for one night, rats would come forth from the ground and would pull to pieces and spoil all their matwork ; and they say that the more respect a man shows for the church and grotto aforesaid, the better he succeeds in his work. This place where the church now stands was of old called Metharonta in Arabic. The nearest city to Egypt is called Tripolis. It stands by the sea-shore at the foot of Mount Lebanon, and is a county which when the Holy Land was recovered by the Christians was given to the Count of Thoulouse. This land or county is fertile, and is famous for its grass, meadows, pastures, herbs, trees, and fruit beyond all other lands round about, and is exceeding beauteous ; wherefore beyond all other lands it is called a second paradise,¹ and has a loveliness beyond human comprehension. This land or county of gardens is traversed by a torrent which runs down from the loftiest mountain-peak of Lebanon with a frightful rush, so that its noise may be heard for more than a mile, and he who stands near it is made deaf for more than three days. Likewise there is a well of water which runs through this land or county, and rises therein ; it is a fountain ever welling forth from the flat ground, and never falling off in quantity or form, and is in all respects like the fountain in the city of Paderborn, which is called Padere. By these two streams, the fountain, and the well, the whole land is watered. These are the streams whereof

¹ Compare Fetellus, p. 47.

we read, 'A fountain of gardens, a well of living waters, and streams from Lebanon' (Cant. iv. 15). And you must know that Mount Lebanon is exceeding long and in some places exceeding high. To my mind it is in all respects like the mount in these parts which is called Osning.¹ It extends from the beginning of the Promised Land as far as Cilicia, and is a mount full of the most delightful trees, fruits, and herbage that the heart of man can conceive. The mount is also filled with countless towns and villages, in all of which dwell Christians according to the Latin rite, who daily long for the coming of the Christians (on a Crusade), and many of whose bishops I have seen consecrated after the Latin rite. You must also know that the land up to which this mount reaches, which once was called Cilicia, is now called Lesser Armenia,² for the Armenians took that land from the Saracens by force, and have fought and quarrelled with them for five hundred years without interruption. In this land is the glorious city of Tarsus, wherein St. Paul the Apostle was born. But to return to my subject: there is another seaside city named Baruth, which is fairly well peopled, and which on the recovery of the Holy Land by the Christians fell to the lot of the Lord of Starckenberg. This city is mentioned by the Emperor (Justinian) in the Prologue³ to the Digests, and formerly general studies greatly flourished here. In this city there stands a fair church dedicated to St. Nicholas, which is held in especial reverence by Christians. St. George converted this island to the faith of Christ, and

¹ The town of Paderborn, the source of the river Pader, and Mount Osning, which is in the Teutoburger Wald, point to Ludolph's home.

² See Anon., p. 15, note.

³ The words are: 'Haec autem tria volumina a nobis composita tradi iis tam in regiis urbibus quam in Beryttensium pulcherrima civitate, quam et legum nutricem quis appellet, tantummodo volumus. —Dig., Proem., § 7; cf. §§ 9 and 10.

slew the dragon hard by it,¹ rescued the daughter of the King of the city from the dragon, and glorified the land with many miracles. The dragon's well may still be plainly seen. All pilgrims bound for Jerusalem meet together at this city and pass through it. Not far from this city there is another strong and well-fenced city named Byblium, which on the recovery of the Holy Land fell to the lot of the Knights of the Temple. One reads of this city in the Book of Kings²: *Porro Byblii portabant ligna*. This city, which was then called Byblium, is now called Ghiblet. Not far from this city there stands another city by the sea-shore named Japhe (Jaffa), which is still fairly well peopled. Once the common pilgrim-way passed through this city, but shortly before my time the Soldan laid waste the port out of fear of the King of France. This city has two other fair cities near it—to wit, Ramatha, wherein the prophet Samuel was born, and Ascalon. Jaffa is three days' journey from Jerusalem, or thereabouts, and is a county. The Count of Jaffa³ is also Marshal of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and Lord of Ramatha and Ascalon, and so signs himself. In my time the Count of Japhe and Henry, Duke of Brunswick married two sisters. Not far from Jaffa is another exceeding beauteous seaside city, well fenced about with fine towers and walls, but utterly deserted. It is called Sidon, and

¹ Fabri, ii. 203.

² 1 Kings v. 18. 'Porro Giblii praeparaverunt ligna et lapides.' 'And Solomon's builders and Hiram's builders did hew them, and the stone-squarers; so they prepared timber and stones to build the house' (A.V.). See S.P.C.K. Bible, where we are told in a note that 'stone squarers' should read 'Giblites.' Cf. Poloner, p. 33, note.

³ This must have been Hugh d'Ibelin, Count of Joppa and Ascalon, Seigneur of Rama, and Seneschal of Jerusalem in 1338, who married Isabelle d'Ibelin, widow of Ferdinand of Majorca. See 'Les Comtes de Jaffa et d'Ascalon' in 'Les Familles d'Outremer,' by M. Rey, Paris, 1869.

on the recovery of the Holy Land fell to the lot of a knight called De Neapoli.¹ This city, which once was called Sidon, is now called Sagette. Near this city is another exceeding fair city, well fenced with fine towers and walls, and standing strangely by itself on an isle in the sea. It is named Tyre, but now it is almost deserted. When the Holy Land was recovered, it fell to the lot of Baldwin, Godfrey of Bouillon's brother. This city, which once was called Tyre, is now called Sur. Between Tyre and Sidon there stands a fair church at the place where the Canaanitish woman called upon the Lord, as the Gospel witnesseth, saying, 'Jesus departed thence into the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, and behold, a Canaanitish woman,' etc.²

XXV.—THE GLORIOUS CITY OF ACRE.

Near Tyre, at a distance of one day's journey along the sea-shore, stands the glorious city of Acre, once the thoroughfare of pilgrims and all other travellers, three short days' journey from Jerusalem. Before going on to anything else, I must say somewhat about this city of Acre; yet when I think of its present state I had liefer weep than say anything. Whose heart is so hard that the ruin and destruction of so great and noble a city would not melt it? This glorious city of Acre stands, as I have said, on the sea-shore, built of squared hewn stones of more than wonted size, with lofty and exceeding strong towers, not a stone's-throw distant from one another all round the walls. Each gate of the city stood between two towers, and the walls were so great that two cars driving along the top of them could easily pass one another, even as

¹ 'Eustach Grenier erhielt, A.D. 1111, Sidon zu Lehen.'—Wilken, 'Geschichten der Kreuzzuge.'

² Matt. xv. 21.

they are at the present day. On the other side also, toward the land, the city was fenced with notable walls and exceeding deep ditches, and variously equipped with divers outworks and defences, and conveniences for watchmen. The streets within the city were exceeding neat, all the walls of the houses being of the same height and all alike built of hewn stone, wondrously adorned with glass windows and paintings, while all the palaces and houses in the city were not built merely to meet the needs of those who dwelt therein, but to minister to human luxury and pleasure, each one as far as possible excelling the others in its glazing, painting, pavilions, and the other ornaments with which it was furnished within and beautified without.¹ The streets of the city were covered with silken cloths, or other fair awnings, to keep off the sun's rays. At every street corner there stood an exceeding strong tower, fenced with an iron door and iron chains. All the nobles dwelt in very strong castles and palaces along the outer edge of the city. In the midst of the city dwelt the mechanic citizens and merchants, each in his own especial street according to his trade, and all the dwellers in the city, like the Normans of old, held themselves to be noble, and bore themselves like nobles, as of a truth they were.² First

¹ This entire account of Ptolemais before its capture is repeated word for word in the Latin chronicle of the Dominican monk, Hermann Cornerus, of Lubeck, written A.D. 1435. See Eccard's '*Corpus Historiarum Medii Aevi*,' vol. ii., p. 941.—F. Deycks.

² Compare the following extract from Villani's '*History of Florence*,' book vii., chap. cxliv. Muratori, '*Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*,' tom. xiii., pp. 337, 338. 'Egli è vera cosa, che perchè i Sarracini haveano ne tempi dinanzi tolte a' Christiani la Città di Antiochia, et quella di Tripoli, e quella di Suri, & piu altre Città, che i Christiani teneano alla marina, la Città d' Acri era molto cresciuta di gente, & di podere, però che altra terra non si tenea per li Christiani in Soria, sì che per lo Re di Giërusalem, & per quello di Cipri, e' Prende d' Antiochia, & quello di Suri, & di Tripoli, & la Magione del Tempio,

there dwelt therein the King of Jerusalem and his brethren, and very many nobles of the family ; the princes of Galilee, the princes of Antioch and the chief captain of the King of France, the Duke of Caesarea, the Lord of Sur¹ and the Lord of Tiberias, the Lord of Sagette,² the Count of Tripoli, the Count of Jaffa, the Lord of Beyrout, the Lord of Ibelin,³ the Lord of Pysan,⁴ the Lord of Arsuf,⁵ the Lord of Vaus,⁶ and the nobles of Blanchegarde. All these princes, dukes, counts, nobles, and barons walked about the streets in royal state, with golden coronets on their heads, each of them like a king, with his knights, his followers, his mercenaries, and his retainers, his clothing and his war-horse wondrously bedecked with gold and silver, all vying one with another in beauty and novelty of device, and each man apparelling himself with the most thoughtful care. Every day they practised themselves in joustings, games, tournaments, and every sort of military display,⁷ and each one had his own liberty or privileged piece of ground⁸

& dello Spedale, & l' altre Magioni & Legato del Papo, & quelli, ch' erano oltra mare per lo Re di Francia, & per lo Re d' Inghilterra, tutti faceano capo in Acri, & haveano 17 signorie di sangue, la quale era una grande confusione.' Villani died 1348.

¹ Tyre.

² So spelt in Dr. F. Deycks's text. The place which the Crusaders called Sagitta, or Sajette, is the ancient Sidon, now Sayda.

³ 'The fortress of Ibelin, about ten miles from Ascalon, was built on the traditional site of Gath in 1144.' See 'The City of Herod and Saladin,' p. 296.

⁴ Al. Poysan. Probably Bethshan. See 'Names and Places in the Old and New Testament,' by G. Armstrong. A. Watt, London, 1889.

⁵ Antipatris, between Jaffa and Caesarea. Cf. 'The Condition of City of Jerusalem,' p. 32, notes 2, 4. See also C. R. Conder in the 'Survey of Western Palestine,' vol. v., p. 252. The Crusaders mistakenly identified it with Ashdod. Sprüner, 'Atlas der Mittelaelters,' has Arsuf, Arsur, Assur, Antipatrida.

⁶ See preface.

⁷ *Deductio*.

⁸ Compare Fabri, vol. ii., p. 376.

beside his own palace or castle. Therein also dwelt, to fight against the Saracens for the Catholic faith, the Master and brethren of the Knights Templars, armed knights; the Master and brethren of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, armed knights; and the Master and brethren of the house of the Teutonic Order, armed knights; likewise the Master and brethren of the Order of St. Thomas¹ of Canterbury, armed knights; and the Master and brethren of the Order of St. Lazarus, armed knights. All these dwelt in Acre, and had the headquarters of their Order there, and they and their fellows fought day and night against the Saracens. There also dwelt in Acre the richest merchants under heaven, who were gathered together therein out of all nations; there were Pisans, Genoese, and Lombards, by whose accursed quarrels the city was lost, for they also bore themselves like nobles. There dwelt therein also exceeding rich merchants of other nations, for from sunrise to sunset all parts of the world brought merchandise thither, and everything that can be found in the world that is wondrous or strange used to be brought thither because of the nobles and princes who dwelt there. It would take long to tell of the other glories, wonders, and beauties of Acre one by one,

¹ 'Another little-known Order merits notice. An English priest, William, chaplain to Ralph de Diceto, devoted himself to burying the Christian dead at Acre. Afterwards he built a chapel and bought ground for a cemetery, which he dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr. Through the patronage of Becket's sister, a hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr of Canterbury at Acre was built in London on the site of the Archbishop's house; and in 1231, when Peter des Roches was in Palestine, he established these knights under the rule of the Templars. These knights of St. Thomas of Acre wore their own mantle with a cross of red and white, and have the distinction of being one of the few peculiarly English Orders. They survived in the kingdom of Cyprus till near the close of the fourteenth century.' 'The Crusades': 'Story of the Nations,' T. F. Unwin, 1894. See also Stubbs's 'Lectures on Mediaeval History,' pp. 182-185.

neither could any man tell fully of them all. This is that renowned city of Acre, which once was called Ptolemais, wherein Judas (?) Maccabeus was treacherously slain by Tryphon, as is told in the Book of Maccabees. Likewise, this is that city of Acre¹ wherein was the idol Beelzebub, what time Ahaziah, King of Israel, fell down through a lattice in his upper chamber that was in Samaria, and said unto his servants, 'Go, inquire of Baal-zebub, the god of Ekron, whether I shall recover of this disease,' as is told at length in the Book of Kings.²

XXVI.—THE LOSS OF THE CITY OF ACRE.

After having told of the glories and beauties of Acre, I will now shortly tell you of its fall and ruin, and the cause of its loss, even as I heard the tale told by right truthful men, who well remembered it. While, then, the grand doings of which I have spoken were going on in Acre, at the instigation of the devil there arose a violent and hateful quarrel in Lombardy between the Guelfs and the Ghibellines, which brought all evil upon the Christians. Those Lombards who dwelt in Acre took sides in this same quarrel, especially the Pisans and Genoese, both of whom had an exceeding strong party in Acre. These men made treaties and truces with the Saracens, to the end that they might the better fight against one another within the city. When Pope Urban³ heard of this, he grieved for Christendom and for the Holy Land, and sent twelve thousand mercenary troops across the sea to help the Holy Land

¹ Like most mediæval writers, Ludolph confuses Acre (Acon) with Accaron (O.T., Ekron). See Anon. II., chap. i., note.

² 2 Kings i. 2.

³ Urban IV. reigned 1261-1264; it cannot therefore be he, but Jerome d'Ascoli, Nicholas IV., 1288-1292, who is meant.

and Christendom. When these men came across the sea to Acre they did no good, but abode by day and by night in taverns and places of ill-repute, took and plundered merchants and pilgrims in the public streets, broke the treaty, and did much evil. Melot Sapheraph, Soldan of Babylon,¹ an exceeding wise man, most potent in arms and bold in action, when he heard of this, and knew of the hateful quarrels of the people of Acre, called together his counsellors and held a parliament in Babylon, wherein he complained that the truces had frequently been broken and violated, to the prejudice of himself and his people. After a debate had been held upon this matter, he gathered together a mighty host, and reached the city of Acre without any resistance, because of their quarrels with one another, cutting down and wasting all the vineyards and fruit-trees and all the gardens and orchards, which are most lovely thereabout. When the Master of the Templars, a very wise and brave knight, saw this, he feared that the fall of the city was at hand, because of the quarrels of the citizens. He took counsel with his brethren about how peace could be restored, and then went out to meet the Soldan, who was his own very especial friend, to ask him whether they could by any means repair the broken truce. He obtained these terms from the Soldan, to wit, that because of his love for the Soldan and the honour in which the Soldan held him, the broken truce might be restored by every man in Acre paying one Venetian penny. So the Master of the Templars was glad, and, departing from the Soldan, called together all the people and preached a sermon to them in the Church of St. Cross, setting forth how, by his prayers, he had prevailed upon the Soldan to grant that the broken treaty might be restored by a payment of one Venetian penny by each man, that therewith

¹ Gino.

everything might be settled and quieted. He advised them by all means so to do, declaring that the quarrels of the citizens might bring a worse evil upon the city than this—as indeed they did. But when the people heard this, they cried out with one voice that he was the betrayer of the city, and was guilty of death. The Master, when he heard this, left the church, hardly escaped alive from the hands of the people, and took back their answer to the Soldan. When the Soldan heard this, knowing that, owing to the quarrels of the people, none of them would make any resistance, he pitched his tents, set up sixty machines, dug many mines beneath the city walls, and for forty days and nights, without any respite, assailed the city with fire, stones, and arrows, so that (the air) seemed to be stiff with arrows. I have heard a very honourable knight say that a lance which he was about to hurl from a tower among the Saracens was all notched with arrows before it left his hand. There were at that time in the Soldan's army six hundred thousand¹ armed men, divided into three companies; so one hundred thousand continually besieged the city, and when they were weary another hundred thousand took their place before the same, two hundred thousand stood before the gates of the city ready for battle, and the duty of the remaining two hundred thousand was to supply them with everything that they needed. The gates were never closed, nor was there an hour of the day without some hard fight being fought against the Saracens by the Templars or other brethren dwelling therein. But the numbers of the Saracens grew so fast that after one hundred thousand of them had been slain two hundred

¹ With regard to these outrageous figures, and the mythical complexion of the whole story, compare Wilken's 'Geschichte der Kreuzzuge,' vii. 757, and Dr. F. Deycks's work, 'Über ältere Pilgerfahrten,' p. 49.

thousand came back. Yet, even against all this host, they would not have lost the city had they but helped one another faithfully ; but when they were fighting without the city, one party would run away and leave the other to be slain, while within the city one party would not defend the castle or palace belonging to the other,¹ but purposely let the other party's castles, palaces, and strong places be stormed and taken by the enemy, and each one knew and believed his own castle and place to be so strong that he cared not for any other's castle or strong place. During this confusion the Masters and brethren of the Orders alone defended themselves, and fought unceasingly against the Saracens, until they were nearly all slain ; indeed, the Master and brethren of the house of the Teutonic Order, together with their followers and friends, all fell dead at one and the same time. As this went on with many battles and many thousands slain on either side, at last the fulfilment of their sins and the time of the fall of the city drew near ; when the fortieth day of its siege was come, in the year of our Lord one thousand two hundred and ninety-two, on the twelfth day of the month of May, the most noble and glorious city of Acre, the flower, chief and pride of all the cities of the East, was taken. The people of the other cities, to wit, Jaffa, Tyre, Sidon and Ascalon, when they heard this, left all their property behind and fled to Cyprus. When first the Saracens took Acre they got in through a breach in the wall near the King of Jerusalem's castle, and when they were among the people of the city within, one party still would not help the other, but each defended his own castle and palace, and the Saracens had a much longer siege, and fought at much less advantage when they were within the city than when they were without, for it was wondrously fortified. Indeed,

¹ *Altius = alterius.*

we read in the stories of the loss of Acre that because of the sins of the people thereof the four elements¹ fought on the side of the Saracens. First the air became so thick, dark, and cloudy that, while one castle, palace, or strong place was being stormed or burned, men could hardly see in the other castles and palaces, until their castles and palaces were attacked, and then for the first time they would have willingly defended themselves, could they have come together. Fire fought against the city, for it consumed it. Earth fought against the city, for it drank up its blood. Water also fought against the city, for it being the month of May, wherein the sea is wont to be very calm, when the people of Acre plainly saw that because of their sins and the darkening of the air they could not see their enemies, they fled to the sea, desiring to sail to Cyprus, and whereas at first there was no wind at all at sea, of a sudden so great a storm arose that no other ship, either great or small, could come near the shore, and many who essayed to swim off to the ships were drowned. Howbeit, more than one hundred thousand men escaped to Cyprus. I have heard from a most honourable lord, and from other truthful men who were present, that more than five hundred most noble ladies and maidens, the daughters of kings and princes, came down to the seashore, when the city was about to fall, carrying with them all their jewels and ornaments of gold and precious stones, of priceless value, in their bosoms, and cried aloud, asking whether there were any sailor there who would take all their jewels, and take whichever of them he chose to wife, if only he would take them, even naked, to some safe land or island. A sailor received them all into his ship, took them across to Cyprus, with all their goods, for nothing, and went his way. But who he was, whence he came, or

¹ Marino Sanuto book iii., part xii., chap. xxi., ad finem.

whither he went, no man knows to this day.¹ Very many other noble ladies and damsels were drowned or slain. It would take long to tell what great grief and anguish was there. While the Saracens were within the city, but before they had taken it, fighting from castle to castle, from one palace and strong place to another, so many men perished on either side that they walked over their corpses as it were over a bridge. When all the inner city was lost, all who still remained alive fled into the exceeding strong castle of the Templars, which was straightway invested on all sides by the Saracens; yet the Christians bravely defended it for two months, and before it almost all the nobles and chiefs of the Soldan's army fell dead. For when the city inside the walls was burned, yet the towers of the city, and the Templars' castle, which was in the city, remained, and with these the people of the city kept the Saracens within the city from getting out, as before they had hindered their coming in, until of all the Saracens who had entered the city not one remained alive, but all fell by fire or by the sword. When the Saracen nobles saw the others lying dead, and themselves unable to escape from the city, they fled for refuge into the mines which they had dug under the great tower, that they might make their way through the wall and so get out. But the Templars and others who were in the castle, seeing that they could not hurt the Saracens with stones and the like, because of the mines wherein they were, undermined the great tower of the castle, and flung it down upon the mines and the Saracens therein, and all perished alike. When the other Saracens without the city saw that they had thus, as it were, failed utterly, they treacherously made a truce with the Templars

¹ This story is repeated by Lampadius in his 'Mellificium Historicum,' A.D. 1617, part iii., p. 312. Cf. Fuller's 'Holy Warre,' book iv., chap. xxxiii.

and Christians on the condition that they should yield up the castle, taking all their goods with them, and should destroy it, but should rebuild the city on certain terms, and dwell therein in peace as heretofore. The Templars and Christians, believing this, gave up the castle and marched out of it, and came down from the city towers. When the Saracens had by this means got possession both of the castle and of the city towers, they slew all the Christians alike, and led away the captives to Babylon. Thus Acre has remained empty and deserted even to this day. In Acre and the other places nearly a hundred and six thousand men were slain or taken, and more than two hundred thousand escaped from thence. Of the Saracens more than three hundred thousand were slain, as is well known even to this day. The Saracens spent forty days over the siege of the city, fifty days within the city before it was taken, and two months over the siege of the Templars' castle. When the glorious city of Acre thus fell, all the Eastern people sung of its fall in hymns of lamentation, such as they are wont to sing over the tombs of their dead, bewailing the beauty, the grandeur, and the glory of Acre even to this day. Since that day all Christian women, whether gentle or simple, who dwell along the eastern shore (of the Mediterranean) dress in black garments of mourning and woe for the lost grandeur of Acre, even to this day.

After this the Saracens worked for many years endeavouring to utterly subvert and destroy down to their foundations all the walls, towers, castles, and palaces, lest the Christians should rebuild them; yet in hardly any place have they been able to beat them down to the height of a man, but all the churches, walls, and towers, and very many castles and palaces, remain almost entire, and, if it pleased God, could with great care be restored throughout to their former state. At this day about sixty Saracen

mercenaries dwell in Acre as a garrison for the city and port, and make a living out of silk and birds, for there are so many partridges and pigeons to be found in Acre, that all the birds to be seen in this country are not to be compared to them. These mercenaries have an especial delight in Germans, whom they straightway recognise by their appearance and walk, and drink wine deeply with them, albeit it is forbidden by their law. Thus have I told how the glorious city of Acre was lost by quarrels, and from that time forth all the glory of the Holy Land, of its kings, princes, and other lords, has been carried over into Cyprus, as you have already heard.

XXVII.—OF GAZA AND AZOTUS.

But to return to my subject: from Acre one goes on to Gaza, once an exceeding fine city of the Philistines, now almost a desert, whose iron gates Samson broke and took away with him into a mountain. The distance from Acre to Gaza is twenty-three miles, and on the way one sees the following places. But before going further, I propose to tell you somewhat about the cities of the Philistines. Round about this city of Gaza lies the land of Palestine, wherein we see that four exceeding great cities once stood, which now have been brought down to small villages, all save two—to wit, Azotus (Ashdod) and Gath. You must know that the land which once was called Philistia is now called Palestine, and that the city which once was called Azotus is now called Arsuf,¹ whose noble lord I have often seen. And the city which once was called Gath² is now

¹ Arsuf=Antipatris. Balian d'Ibelin was Seigneur d'Arsuf in 1368.

² 'Scandalium, south-west from Tyre, built by Alexander the Great, is not the same as Gath,' says F. Deycks, who identifies the Scandalium of the Crusaders with Alexandrosene, the place where Alexander's tent was pitched during the siege of Tyre. See Theoderich, chap. li., and Tobler's note thereto.

called Scandalium, a name which Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, gave it when he was building it. It was in this city that Goliath was born, whom David slew, and many other wonders may be read of about this city. From this city onwards all the cities and villages, castles and places, on the sea-shore aforesaid, and for a space of four miles inland, have been laid waste and remain so to this day. For as soon as the Holy Land, Syria, and Acre were lost, the Saracens thought that they should possess in peace all the aforesaid places, cities, villages, and castles on the sea-shore. But at that time the people of Gath, or Scandalium, were exceeding strong men, and very valiant in arms; indeed, it is said that the place is of such a nature that men born there are fiercer than other men. These same people of Gath, albeit few in number, being less than one thousand, are noble and valiant, and know all the roads and by-ways of the land; for they are wont to wander hither and thither with arms in their hands, serving for hire, and they know the manners and customs of the Saracens, and the going in and the coming out of the land, and they never rested, but went to and fro continually, by land and by water, by night and by day, dressed in Saracen clothing, with arms concealed beneath it. While they were among the Saracens, they went as Saracen merchants,¹ and entered with them into their cities and villages, ate and drank with them, and by degrees gathered together; and whenever they thought that they had a good opportunity, they took and burned the town or village in which they happened to be, and slew the Saracens or sold them for slaves. When the Saracens saw that they could not guard themselves against

¹ I hardly know whether this is to be taken as serious history. A story of the same sort is told by William of Tyre about the rescue of Baldwin II, from Khortbert.

these men, they deserted their cities and villages and went away, yet seldom escaped, and thus all the places along the sea-shore, the cities and villages and other places as far as four miles inland, were made utterly desolate even to this day. I have heard from truthful men who were present when these things came to pass, and the public talk and rumour of them still remains there, that so great fear fell upon the Saracens because of these aforesaid men of Gath, that as far as six days' journey therefrom mothers used to quiet their crying children with this word *Scandalium*. Moreover, no man dared meet another on the road, for because of the people of *Scandalium* no precaution would make a man fully safe. But to return to my subject: near Acre there is a river of no great size named *Belen*.¹ This river rolls down a sort of glassy sand, which is carried away to distant lands. There is likewise another river near Acre, on one side of which no serpent or venomous thing can live, though they can do so well on the other side; and it has been proved that serpents cast across this river die straightway.

XXVIII.—OF MOUNT CARMEL.

Also near Acre, on the right hand, three miles away, not far from the sea, stands Mount Carmel, which is smooth, and wide, and most beautiful at the top, adorned with much grass and pleasant places. On this mount dwelt Elijah the prophet, and wrought many miracles. On this mount also, at Elijah's word, the captains of fifty of Ahaziah, King of Israel, were consumed by fire from heaven. On this mount also Elijah prayed that it might not rain upon the earth, and it did not rain for three years

¹ 'This is the Belus whose glass manufactures are mentioned by Pliny and Tacitus.'—Dr. F. Deycks.

and six months, as we read in the Book of Kings. On this mount it may be seen that there once stood an exceeding fine convent built in honour of St. Mary, and the friars who derive their origin from thence are called Carmelites to this day. They are begging friars, and one may see that they once had fifteen fair convents in the Holy Land. On one side of the mount there is a clear fountain running into the sea, from which Elijah the prophet used to drink, and it is called Elijah's Fountain to this day. At another place at the foot of the mount one may see where there stood a city of the Templars, now utterly destroyed, called Cyphas.¹ Not very far from this city there is a small fountain, which is one of the sources of the Jordan. At the end of Mount Carmel there was once a fair city, now destroyed, named Jezreel, where Jezebel took away Naboth's vineyard, and was cast down at the same place, as we read in the Book of Kings.² Near this city are the plains of Megiddo, wherein Josiah, King of Judah, was slain. Not far from Mount Carmel, on the left-hand side, there once stood a fair city, now destroyed, named Sepphora, which stood on a hill, and wherein St. Anne, the Blessed Mary's mother, was born.

After passing over Mount Carmel one crosses a river, which is one of the sources of the Jordan, and comes to Caesarea of Palestine, which once was called Dor, and now is called Caesarea of Palestine, but is utterly destroyed. In this city there was a fair church made out of the house of Cornelius,³ whom Peter converted to the true faith. This same city, on the recovery of the Holy Land, came into the possession of a certain knight of these parts,

¹ Haifa.

² 1 Kings xxi.

³ Compare the Bordeaux Pilgrim, p. 17 : 'Qualiter Sita est Urbs Sancta Jerusalem,' 32.

named De Horne, whose son-in-law's widow was living even in my own time, for I have often seen her and talked upon this subject with her. Going on from Caesarea, one comes to what once was a fair city, but now is deserted, called Pilgrim's Castle, which of old was called Assur.¹ This city was given to the Templars by Godfrey de Bouillon, the first Christian King of Jerusalem, for a memorial of himself. Going on from Assur, or Pilgrims' Castle, one comes to a very fair city, tolerably full of people even at this day, called Ascalon. Going on from Ascalon, one comes to Joppa, an exceeding ancient and beauteous city standing on the sea-shore. It was the port of this city that the prophet Jonah entered when he essayed to flee from before the face of the Lord. It is about two days' journey distant from Jerusalem, but pilgrims are not able to land at the port. Inland, not far from Joppa, there stands a fair city, once called Ruma,² but now called Bael, situated in a most beauteous, pleasant, and delectable place, and inhabited by Christians alone. It is believed that no Jew or Saracen could live or dwell therein for more than a year. All the wine drunk by the Christians in Jerusalem and the other places is brought from hence. On the left hand side of this Ruma, or Bael, there stands a fair city, still well peopled, called Diospolis, or by another name, Lydda. In this city the glorious martyr St. George suffered martyrdom, and was beheaded. There is an exceeding fair church, well adorned with mosaic work and marble, wherein, in the choir, the place of his beheading is publicly shown. After seeing all these things one comes first to Gaza, whereof I said somewhat already, because I told

¹ *Castrum Peregrinorum*, also called *Petra Incisa*. See 'Guide-book,' p. 34. Assur is not *Castrum Peregrinorum*, but *Athlit*, which was fortified by the Templars, and lost by them after the fall of Acre in 1291. See also 'La Citez de Jherusalem,' p. 31, note, and preface.

² 'Ruina' in two MSS. ; Ramla, the N.T. *Arimathaea*.

you of the other cities of the Philistines. It is four days' journey from Acre to Gaza, visiting all the places aforesaid. Going on from Gaza, one comes to a castle called Dar in Arabic, which is the last place in Syria as you go down into Egypt. Going this way, one leaves Jerusalem on the left hand, twenty miles off, or thereabouts. These are not the common pilgrim ways, but are good ones for seeing first Arabia and Egypt, and all that therein is. From the castle of Dar one goes to Egypt across the sandy desert in seven days. In this desert there is no lack of anything needful save only water, which can be well carried in skins on camels. Good Saracen inns may be found at the end of each day's journey, and all that one needs except wine.

XXIX.—OF EGYPT.

After crossing this desert one comes into Egypt, on entering which one finds places of the greatest beauty and delight, full of all good things that the heart of man can conceive, and full of everything needful except wine. Travelling onward toward New Babylon¹ one comes to a very beautiful and delightful village called Bélyab, and so, leaving Alexandria and Damietta on the sea-shore, one goes along the highroad and comes to Carra (Cairo) and New Babylon, which are two exceeding great cities not far apart, standing on the Nile, the river of Paradise. The city which once was called Carra (Cairo) is now called Alcayre. In this city of old dwelt Pharaoh when he persecuted the Hebrews. Herein also signs and wonders

¹ 'New Babylon was a fortress, built by Babylonian exiles over against Memphis in the time of the Persian kings' (Strabo, xvii. 1). —Dr. F. Deycks. But most mediaeval writers call Cairo 'Babylon' without any reservation.

were wrought by Moses and Aaron, as the Bible testifies. Near Carra (Cairo) on a mount, not high, but rocky, stands the Soldan's palace, and there are very many other strange and wondrous things. Above all, in these two cities one sees elephants and gryphons. You must know that Cairo is bigger than Babylon, and is not two cross-bow-shots distant from it; for Babylon stands on the bank of the Nile, but Cairo stands a little way off the Nile. Now, Cairo is bigger than Babylon, for I have heard from merchants that they reckoned Cairo to be seven times as big as Paris. In Cairo there are low buildings like ovens; in them are furnaces, wherein eggs are laid upon dung, and by this heat chickens are hatched and come forth from the eggs. The master then takes them and gives them to an old woman, who nurses and cherishes the chickens in her bosom, even as a hen does beneath its wings, and feeds them and takes care of them. There are numberless old women in those parts who have no means of livelihood save by nursing and taking care of chickens, wherefore the fowls there are like the sands of the sea for number. A countryman often drives five or six thousand fowls to market once a week, even as a shepherd drives his sheep, and he takes a camel or some other beast with panniers, which he fills with the eggs laid by the fowls on the way, and when he comes into the market set apart for fowls, he never loses one single fowl, neither do one man's fowls ever mix themselves with another's, which is indeed wonderful, when so many thousand fowls all meet together in one place. Moreover, near Babylon there is an exceeding fertile place with very rich pasture, called Goshen, where the patriarch Jacob dwelt at the instance of Joseph in Pharaoh's time, as the Bible tells us.

XXX.—OF THE GARDEN OF BALSAM.¹

Moreover, near Cairo, on the side toward the Syrian desert, is the Garden of Balsam, which is half a stone's-throw across, and not very strongly walled or fenced about. In this garden there are five wells, which water the shoots and shrubs of balsam, and each shoot or shrub has its own especial guardian, who cleanses it, dresses it, and washes it as carefully as he does his own body. These shoots or shrubs of balsam do not grow so high as two ells, and have a threefold leaf. At the beginning of March, when the time of its ripening is at hand, it is watched yet more carefully, and when it is ripe the shoots and shrubs are cut and wounded, like as vines are pruned, and their wounds and cuts are bound up with muslin. From these wounded shoots the balsam drips out, as water does from a cut vine, and oozes into the muslin bound round the wound. Beneath each wounded branch and bandage there hangs a silver cup, into which the best balsam drops.²

Thus the tree is cut when the balsam runs; at that time the Soldan of Babylon is very busy, being himself present in the garden, and so carefully does he guard it that no one but he himself can obtain a drop of balsam by any means. But when the legates and ambassadors of certain kings and princes come from foreign parts, he gives each of them a

¹ This account of the Garden of Balsam is word for word the same as that of John of Hildesheim in his 'History of the Three Kings.' With regard to the properties attributed to balsam, the curious reader may compare H. Crombach's account of myrrh in 'Primitiæ Gentium, sive Historia S.S. Trium Magorum,' tom. ii., chap. xli.

² The Berlin MS. Diez C., marked 'A' by Dr. Deycks, has here the words, 'As may be seen in the figure of this tree,' and a coloured picture of the balsam-tree, which has three large and three small boughs, from each of which hangs a silver cup with a red spot in the middle.

little glass phial, made specially for this purpose, with balsam therein, which he thinks to be the richest jewel that he could give. Afterwards, when all the (true and good) balsam has thus oozed out, the guardians of the shrubs cut off the ends of the shoots, which belong to them, boil them in water, and then whatever balsam was left in the tops of the shoots boils out like fat, and swims upon the top of the water like oil, whence it is taken up with a spoon, put into a vessel, and left to stand for some time. Even this balsam is of great value, albeit it has been boiled, and it is of a reddish colour, with some mixture of black; but the crude balsam which drips forth naturally is of the colour of wine.¹ And you must know that crude balsam is the most precious jewel in the world, wherefore the holy patriarchs were wont to mix it with holy oil for anointing, and whatsoever flesh is touched with crude balsam never rots or corrupts, and when it is dripping fresh from the tree, if a drop be placed in a man's hand, it will drip through on the other side and pass through his hand. Moreover, if four or five drops of crude balsam be put into a man's eyes, which are going blind through lack of moisture, old age, or any other infirmity, straightway his eyes will for ever remain exactly as they were at the instant when the balsam was poured in, getting neither better nor worse; wherefore, in one way it is a perilous venture to try, unless a man altogether despairs of his sight. This fact is clearly shown in many corpses of great men of old which have been found entirely uncorrupt, because they have been anointed with balsam. Likewise, if the scar of a new wound, when it is beginning to heal, be rubbed round once a day with half a drop of balsam on a pencil, it straightway restores the skin of the wound as it was before, and makes no blemish, and no one can see that there ever

¹ See Sir John Maundeville, chap. v.

was a scar in the place. Moreover, this boiled balsam is an exceeding noble drug, and is very good for the scars of wounds, as aforesaid ; it is especially good when a man falls down from a high place, for then if he takes some of it his whole body, which was broken inside, would be restored and made whole again. It has also much power over the eyes, and is good for anointing flesh meat that it may not decay. But in all and every way it has less power than crude balsam ; for it is forced out by boiling, whereas the crude balsam oozes out naturally. You must know that only Christian men are able to tend and keep the Garden of Balsam, for if other men were to tend and keep it they would straightway shrivel up and die, as hath often been proved. The Blessed Virgin Mary¹ dwelt with the Boy Jesus in the place where the Garden of Balsam now is, when she fled into Egypt from before the face of Herod ; and she constantly washed her sheets and clothes and Jesus in the fountains which water the garden, for which cause it is thought of a truth that the balsam grows here, for as far as we know it is found nowhere else in all the world.² It would take long to tell of the other virtues and glories of balsam, neither can I recall them to my mind. In my time, among the Christian guardians, there were four Germans, one from Schwartzenburg, who once had been a

¹ Fabri, vol. iii., p. 2 (part ii., p. 746), came to the village of Busiris, where his dragoman took the party into the castle of the village, wherein are the Lord Soldan's hot baths, and summer palace, near the Fountain of the Sun, which is the Fountain of the Blessed Virgin, adjoining which is the Garden of Balsam. The pilgrims' lodging had windows overlooking the garden, which he describes at length.

² Fabri declares that the Queen of Sheba brought balsam to Solomon, who planted it in the vineyard of Engaddi : 'Botrus cypri in vinea Engaddi,' Cant. i. 14. 'Cyprus,' which the A.V. translates 'camphire,' seems to have been thought in the Middle Ages to refer to the island. Consequently a 'vineyard of Engaddi' was established there by the Crusaders.

renegade, and one other, a one-eyed man named Nicholas, who was a very good man, as the Christian captives bore witness. He was taken captive at Acre, but the Soldan set him free because of his goodness, and made him guard the steps of his bedchamber.

XXXI.—THE CHRISTIANS AND THE ANCIENT TOMBS.

You must know that in Babylon and Cairo, in my time, there were about four thousand Christian captives, not counting children. These men have there a Patriarch, priests, churches, and very many venerable relics of the saints; above all, they have the entire body of St. Barbara¹ the virgin, for which in my time many kings and princes begged, but out of consideration for the comfort of the captive Christians the Soldan never so much as cut off one limb from her body. The Christian captives there merrily keep St. Barbara's Eve,² just as in these parts people keep St. Martin's Eve, sending to one another the seeds of divers plants. Near New Babylon, on the other side of the Nile, toward the Egyptian desert, stand many tombs of wondrous size, and one of great beauty, built of great squared stones. Among these are two exceeding great square sepulchres, once of great beauty. On one of them there are many inscriptions carved, in Latin on one wall, in Greek on another, in Hebrew on the third, and in Chaldean and many unknown tongues on the fourth. On the first wall, where the writings are in Latin, these verses

¹ 'Item alia ecclesia beatæ Barbaræ virginis, qua corpus ipsius in parvo monumento marmoreo conservatur.'—Wilhelm von Boldinsel, chap. iii. Fabri somewhere remarks that he had seen so many relics of St. Barbara that he thought that there must have been more than one saint of that name.

² See John of Hildesheim's 'Historia trium Regum,' p. 154, in the Early English Text Society's edition, by C. Horstmann; Trübner, 1886. Also p. 280 in the Latin version at the end.

are carved, as far as they can be read, because of their age, as follows :

'Vidi pyramidas sine te, dulcissime frater,
Et tibi quod potui lacrimas hic moesta profudi.
Et nostri memorem luctus hanc sculpo querelam—
S(c)it nomen Decimi Anni pyramidis alta,
Pontificis, comitisque tuis, 'Trajane, triumphis
Lustra sex intra censoris consulis esse.'¹

*'Alone, alas ! the Pyramids I see,
And can but weep, my brother dear, for thee.
Upon the stone I've sadly carved thy name,
The greatest Pyramid now knows the fame
Of Annius Decimus, who fought for Rome
With Trajan, and returned in triumph home,
Who, e'en before his thirtieth birthday passed,
Was Pontiff, Consul, Censor, too, at last.'*

The interpretation of these verses I leave to the discreet reader's judgment. These tombs are called by the natives Pharaoh's granaries,² and very many other wonders are to be seen in and near Babylon. As I have heard from many truthful men and merchants, ancient Babylon, where the tower of Babel was, is some thirty days' journey distant from this Babylon, to the north-east, in Chaldaea, near Baldach. And you must know that, after having diligently for a space of five years conversed by day and by night with all men who could speak any human language, and after making daily inquiries of divers people, from all of whom I got some information, I was nevertheless never able to make out from any living creature any more about ancient Babylon, where the tower Babel was, than here follows.

¹ These verses are quoted, with slight variations, by W. von Boldinsel, who reads 'Cetianni' in line 4, whence Dr. C. L. Grotefend, his editor, conjectures that the person alluded to may have been D. Titianus, who was Consul A.D. 127. Fabri says, ii. 89 b (vol. iii., p. 43), that he saw these verses, and gives an almost identical version of them.

² Fabri, vol. iii., p. 67 ; 'Speculum Historiale,' book v., chap. i.

XXXII.—ANCIENT BABYLON, OR BALDACH.

In Eastern Chaldaea there is an exceeding fair and noble city, powerful beyond measure, and at this day one of the best of all the cities of the East, named Baldach.¹ It stands on the banks of the Euphrates, one of the rivers of Paradise, and they who dwell there say and believe that half a mile or thereabouts from it stood ancient Babylon. This also is proved by the vast ruins and immense piles of buildings of divers sorts, and of stones, which have a strange aspect from a distance, especially at the place where the tower of Babel stood, where the confusion of tongues arose. Another proof lies in the impassable road between the ruins and Baldach, by reason of the venomous creatures; and many other signs show that ancient Babylon stood there, as the inhabitants do most firmly believe: for because of those venomous creatures ancient Babylon was removed, and called by another name, to wit, Baldach. I can tell nothing else that is true concerning old Babylon, nor could I ever learn anything more about it from anyone in those parts. In this city of Baldach there are now the richest and best merchants under heaven, neither is there in any place in the East so much and so many different kinds of merchandise as there. In this city used to dwell the Caliph, that is, the successor of Mahomet, to whom the Saracens render obedience in all things, even as do the Christians to the Pope, the successor of St. Peter. I will tell you somewhat about the loss of this city of Baldach,

¹ 'Dr. Rock ("Textile Fabrics," p. 40) derives the word "Baudekin," "Baldakinus," from Ealdak or Bagdad, which "held for no short length of time the lead all over Asia in weaving fine silks, and, in special, golden stuffs."—'St. Paul's Cathedral,' by W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D. London: E. Stock, 1894. 'Baudekin: tissue or cloth of gold, with figures embroidered in silk (old statute).'—Bailey's Dictionary. Littré, s.v. 'baldaquin,' gives the same etymology.

according as I have read thereof in the chronicles¹ and histories of the kings of Armenia, and have heard from a right truthful knight who was there at the time. In the year of our Lord 1268, when the Tartars had conquered all the kingdoms of the East, Ayco, the then King of Armenia, of his own accord proceeded to the great Khan, the Emperor of the Tartars, to visit him. Ayco was kindly received by him, because so great and singular an honour had been shown him, that kings should of their own accord visit him and come to meet him, whereat he was much pleased, and honoured the king with many presents. In process of time, when the King of Armenia was about to return home, he asked the Emperor to grant him five boons. First, that the Emperor and all his people should become Christians; second, that there might always be peace between the Tartars and Armenians; third, that he would destroy all the churches of Mahomet and consecrate them in honour of God; fourth, that he would aid him to recover the Holy Land and restore it to the Christians; and fifth, that he would besiege Baldach and destroy and bring to nought the Caliph, the successor of Mahomet, and his name. To all these demands the Emperor willingly agreed and consented, and fulfilled them in every respect, save only the fourth demand, which was hindered by his death. With regard to the fifth demand, that he should destroy Baldach and the Caliph, he charged his brother Haloon,² who then had conquered Persia, that as soon as he had settled the kingdom of Persia, and pro-

¹ He probably alludes to 'Haithoni Armeni Historia Orientalis' in vol. ii. of Vincent of Beauvais's 'Fragmenta.'

² Marco Polo calls him 'Houlagou Khan.' He tells the story of how Houlagou offered the Caliph gold to eat, and probably it was from his book that Ludolph copied it. Marino Sanuto improves the story by saying that 'Halao' poured liquid gold down the Caliph's throat to reproach him for his avarice.

vided for its safe-keeping, he should join the King of Armenia in besieging Baldach. This he willingly did, and had no sooner settled the affairs of Persia than he removed himself to the great city of Nineveh, rested during the winter, and when the month of March came, went with the King of Armenia to Baldach and besieged the Caliph. He charged his four chief captains, each of whom had thirty thousand Tartars under him, to besiege Baldach without ceasing until they should take the city, which was done ; for they took the city on the thirtieth day, slew all the inhabitants, both young men and old alike, and won such rich spoils of gold, silver, precious stones, and other kinds of wealth, as no one ever was heard to have taken in any city whatsoever. Indeed, out of these spoils the whole of Tartary has been made rich even to this day, and there is not now in Tartary a single gold or silver cup that has not been brought thither from Baldach. Now, when all were slain or captured, they took the Caliph alive, and offered him to Haloon, with all his treasure, which was so great that Haloon feared to look upon it, and in wonder said to the Caliph, ‘ How comes it, wretched man, that thou hast so great a treasure, which I fear even to look upon ? With it thou mightest have overcome the whole world, and oughtest to have brought it under thy yoke. Wherefore didst thou not hire enough troops to defend thy city ?’ The Caliph answered, ‘ Evil counsel brought this ruin upon me ; for they said that even women could easily defend the city against the Tartars.’ Then said Haloon, ‘ Behold, thou art Mahomet’s successor, and the teacher of his law ; I dare not do thee any hurt, neither is it fitting that thou shouldest live or eat like other men, for out of thy mouth proceeds the law and doctrine of Mahomet.’ He ordered him to be placed in a fair palace, and poured out before him gold and silver, precious stones, and pearls,

saying to him, 'Mouth, from whence proceeds so great a law and doctrine, it befits thee to eat such precious food as this.' So the Caliph was shut up in the palace, and on the twelfth day was found dead of hunger ; and after him no Caliph, successor to Mahomet, has arisen in Baldach, even to this day. At present the Emperor of the Tartars rules in Baldach, but its inhabitants are chiefly Saracens dwelling under an exceeding heavy tribute. In these parts I have heard and read many falsehoods about Baldach ; for in these parts men have said, in short, and have had it in writing, that the King of Baldach sent letters to the lords of those parts, and invited them to jousts and tournaments, which is utterly false. There is no man that can remember jousts or tournaments ever to have been held in Baldach, for the people occupy themselves with other things. Near Baldach, at a distance of four days' journey, is another city, which once was called Susa, wherein Ahasuerus flourished. This city, which once was called Susa, is now called Thaurus. In this city there is a dry tree, whereof it is said that the Emperor of the Romans is fated to hang his shield thereon.¹ The people of this city say that no Jew can live or sojourn therein. Not far from Thaurus is another city, named Cambeleth, which also belongs to the Emperor of the Tartars, and it is said that that city is richer and better than all the realm of the Soldan.

XXXIII.—OF THE RIVER NILE.

But to return to my subject : the Nile, one of the rivers of Paradise, flows through Egypt near New Babylon and Damietta, and falls into the Mediterranean Sea near Alexandria. It is bigger and wider than the Rhine, and is very

¹ Dicitur quod Imperator Romanorum in ea clipeum suum pendere debeat.

muddy, because it sometimes runs into the ground or into mountains, and is not seen again for two or three miles, and then comes out of the earth again and enters it again, until it comes to Egypt, where it flows straight on. It contains excellent and very fat fishes, and its water is exceeding wholesome; when first drawn out, it is warm, but when it is put in a jar in the sun it becomes cool, and greatly helps digestion. The sources of this river have never been discovered, beyond what the Holy Scripture¹ says thereof, albeit attempts have often been made. In my time the Soldan kept swimmers who were able to support themselves in the water as naturally as fish. The Soldan promised these men great rewards if they would discover the source of the river, and would bring him a green bough of aloes-wood for a sign. These swimmers went away once upon a time, and did not return for three or four years. Some of them died on the way, and those who returned said that at last the river came down from the mountains with such great force that they could do nothing at all against it. In this river there is an evil beast called a crocodile, which is exceeding strong, fierce, and swift, and does much hurt to those who dwell near him, and to their beasts, and for fear of him it is dangerous to sail upon the Nile. This beast is very great. I have seen a crocodile's skin through which an ox might easily pass. I have been told by a certain Knight Templar that once upon a time the Templars caught a young crocodile and drew his teeth, and that a stone which ten men could not move was tied to his tail, and he drew it alone up to a building that was being made. Yet he is slain by a little worm, which naturally hates him, and follows him whithersoever he goes. The crocodile swallows him, together

¹ Under the name of Gihon, Gen. ii. 13.

with other food, and then the worm pierces the crocodile's heart and slays him. There are likewise many other evil beasts in the Nile.

XXXIV.—OF THE LAND OF EGYPT.

Now, the land of Egypt is very rich, pleasant, and delightful, abounding beyond all other lands in the world in trees, fruits, herbs, meadows, and pastures. It is fifteen days' journey long, and three days' journey wide, and is, I have been told, like an island, surrounded by the desert upon three of its sides, and bounded by the Grecian Sea upon the fourth side. This desert is seven or eight days' journey wide in its narrowest part. Egypt is an exceeding hot country, so that winter there can scarce be distinguished from summer, and roses and other flowers never, or scarce ever, cease blooming, albeit it never rains there. Its people have two brazen columns with marks thereon. One of these they have set up in the middle of the Nile near Babylon, and the other in the Nile near Alexandria, and when the river rises so high as to touch the marks on the columns, then there cannot be any scarcity for two years to come. Thereupon the Egyptians lead the waters of the Nile through ditches and channels and passages, and cause them to run about their land, their fields, woods, gardens, and orchards, which are then refreshed and watered throughout, and when the land has been thus watered at night, the corn and grass will have grown more than a hand's breadth by morning. At that time the Egyptians keep watch all that night beside the waters, until all the land is watered. Every year this river begins to rise thus in the month of August, and waxes every day until the Feast of St. Michael, and makes the most desert land abound with delights and fertility. While the Nile is rising thus, the people catch all kinds of trees, herbs, and

little birds therein, with nets, more especially aloes-wood and the little birds called parroquets. But where this wood comes from no man has ever found out. It seems that these are old trees, dried up by age, which fall into the water from the mountains. At that time they also take in the Nile shittim wood, which cuts up well like other woods, but cannot be burned. The little green parrot birds¹ are caught together with the boughs and trees whereon they live, as aforesaid. Some say that they are born in the mountains of Gilboa, which is false; and they say, too, that they cannot endure water, which also is false, for they are bred upon islands and on the water, and I have seen them swimming on the sea; but they cannot well endure cold, neither can they keep on flying or swimming for long. This river Nile also has very rich islands in it, abounding in crops and other good things. In Egypt also there are countless fowls, as you have heard already, which are hatched in ovens and in the sun's rays. Likewise in Egypt there are numberless partridges, more than all the birds² in this country, and this seems very strange, though there it is common. For sometimes a countryman brings ten thousand partridges with him to market, all of them flying, and when the countryman sits down on the ground they all stop with him, and when he rises and claps his hands they all fly along with him again. If he loses any of them some way off, he whistles with a pipe, and they straightway come back; and when he comes to the poultry market in the city, he sells as many of them as he can, and takes those which he cannot sell home again with him. A wonderful number of pigeons also are to be seen

¹ Haitho, the Armenian, in his 'Historia Orientalis,' chap. v., 'De Regno Indiae,' mentions 'aves qui vocantur papagai.'

² Isa. xviii. 1 calls Egypt 'a land shadowing with wings'; but this is usually interpreted to be an allusion to the sails of vessels on the Nile.

in Egypt, and I do not believe that in any place in the world there are so many pigeons as in Egypt. It is altogether forbidden to catch them, for the Soldan and other princes send all their messages by carrier pigeons, wherefore in a short time they know the news and secrets of distant lands. In Egypt also there are numberless deer, so that the fawns of deer and of goats may be found on the roads and in gardens like domestic sheep, and are caught and sold by they who pass by. In Egypt also, even at this day, many cloisters and monasteries, churches and hermitages, are standing entire, but deserted, and excellently well painted, but their paintings have been in many ways spoiled by the Saracens. Likewise in the Egyptian deserts there stand at this day so many cells and hermitages of holy fathers, that in some places, I believe, for two or three (German) miles there is one at every bow-shot. At the present day very many of them are inhabited by Indians, Nubians, and Syrians, living under the rule of St. Antony and St. Macarius. In these deserts God hath wrought great miracles by the hands of the holy fathers, and especially at the place called Stichi,¹ by the hands of St. Antony and St. Macarius, as is told in the 'Lives of the Fathers.' In this desert there is a place beneath an exceeding tall and narrow rock, wherein St. Antony used to dwell, and from out of that rock there flows a stream for half a stone's-throw, until it is lost in the sand, even as running water flows into snow and is seen no more. This place is visited by many for devotion and pleasure, and also by the grace of God and in honour of St. Antony many sicknesses are healed and driven away by this fountain. It is believed to have flowed forth from the rock at his especial prayer, which is clearly true, for it appears to flow no

¹ *Solitudinem Scete sive Scithi*. Life of St. Macarius in 'Acta Sanctorum.'

further than was enough to give water to his little cell and little garden. It would take long to tell of the other glories of Egypt, its fertility and its beauty; but I may add that all sheep, goats, and the like beasts bear young ones twice in the year, and for the most part bear twins at each birth. In Egypt there are three exceeding great cities, which stand beside the Nile, the river of Paradise; that is to say, New Babylon, Alexandria, and Damietta. This city was of old called Rages,¹ afterwards Edissa, and now Damietta. It was to this city that Tobit² of yore sent his son to Gabael. In this city also the body of St. Thomas once lay, and through him God wrought many miracles in the same. In this city³ also was the letter which Jesus sent to Abgarus, King of this city, wherefore no heretic or infidel was suffered to remain long therein. But afterwards for the sins of the people the city was profaned, and thus at this day it has all been brought to nought. At this day the city has been removed further inland away from the Nile. It was often taken away from the Saracens by St. Louis, the King of the French, and other Christians. But St. Louis was taken prisoner there, and for his ransom the city was given back to the Saracens. Now, since the Saracens had heard that none but Christians could live in the city, they removed the city to another place out of hatred for them. At this day the city is chiefly inhabited by fishermen, and very many merchants come together

¹ 'Regnum Mesopotamiae dilatatur usque ad flumen Euphratem et civitatem Rohais, quae fuit civitas regni Abagari, ad quem fuit transmissa Veronica, quae hodie Romae invenitur.'—Haythou, chap. xii.

² Tobit v. 7. The city to which Tobit sent his son was Rhey, near Teheran, in Persia.

³ He has just told us that Damietta was otherwise called Edissa; he now confuses it with Edessa (Orfa) in Upper Mesopotamia. Marino Sanuto knew where Edessa was, but identified it with Rages (book iii., part vii., chap. i.).

there with their ships, and buy great quantities of fish exceeding cheap, which they export to all parts of the world. Many other wonders may be read of about this city.

XXXV.—OF THE DESERT AND OF MOUNT SINAI.

But to return to my subject: going on from Cairo and Babylon one reaches Sinai in twelve days, for six of which one passes along the road whereof I have just told you, which is full of people, and where there are many things to be seen; and for six days one passes over the desert, and must carry all things needful upon camels and beasts of burden—to wit, bread, wine, water, meat, biscuits, grapes and raisins, figs, and the like, and, above all, mats to sleep on at night. You must know that the camels, who pass that way every day, know exactly the length of a day's journey and the proper resting-places, and when they come to those places in the evening they lie down on the ground to chew the cud, and will go no further, which is as much as to say to you that this is the proper day's journey and halting-place; and then they are fed with bread and thorns. A camel is easily fed, and scarce drinks once in three days, whereas if they had to be foraged in proportion to their size, no man could cross the desert with them. After you have crossed the desert you come to the Red Sea, and you must know that the desert is nought but salt and sandy ground, burnt exceeding dry by the sun's heat, and it is rare to find any green thing therein. Howbeit, the desert is not barren in all parts alike, and it is a wondrous thing that whereas its rocks and mountains are very salt, yet the fountains which gush forth therein are very sweet, and are most excellent to drink. Beside these fountains are grass and herbs and the like green things. Near them also one finds the tracks of

lions, dragons, and other dangerous beasts, and especially of hares. When one has crossed this desert in six days and beheld its wonders, one comes to the Red Sea, as aforesaid, when coming from Babylon. The Red Sea has excellent fishes in large quantities. Its water is not red, but the earth and bottom thereof is red ; the water appears red to one looking down upon it because of the red bottom, but at a distance it is of the same colour as other water, and its water is exceeding clear and pellucid, so that a penny can be clearly seen on its bottom at a distance of twenty stadia, and then because of its red bottom and the clearness of its water it looks like the clearest red wine. One finds much coral, many precious stones, and other things, cast up on its shores. The Red Sea lies in Arabia, and all the land of Arabia is red, wherefore because of this redness what things soever grow or are born therein, save only men, are red. For this cause the purest gold is found there, like slender roots. Moreover, in the Red Sea there are many islands, wherein grow red woods of divers kinds, chief among which is found what is called here Brazil¹ wood. The Red Sea is not very big, neither long nor wide, and at the place where the children of Israel passed over it is scarcely four or five miles wide. In the Red Sea there is a castle belonging to the Soldan, wherein noble Christian captives are imprisoned. Moreover, this castle keeps guard lest any Latin or man from this side of the sea or born in these parts should pass by it to India, lest they should bring home any tidings of the power and condition of the people in parts beyond the sea, or of Prester John and the Indians, or carry letters to them ; for it would be easy to sail down the Red Sea to the ocean and to India if this castle did not stand in the way. But the Indians and Eastern merchants may pass

¹ Fabri, ii. 656.

that way as often as they please. Howbeit I know bishops and lords who are ever wont to send accounts of this part of the East, and all kinds of news, across the Red Sea to Prester John. The men of this castle are wont to make great nets of leathern thongs, and cast them into the sea. Then they let the coral, which grows in the sea like a plant, entangle itself among the thongs, and every half-year they pull it up full of countless and most splendid corals, whereby they make vast gain all for nothing. Through this Red Sea comes much precious merchandise from India, and this is taken through that branch of the sea which runs out of the Red Sea, and down the Nile to all parts of the world. As I have said already, by going thus round about the shore of the Red Sea one comes to the place where the children of Israel crossed over the sea when pursued by the Egyptians, and on this journey one finds many rare things of divers sorts on the beach. Thus, after leaving many mountains behind, and seeing many wondrous sights, one comes to the well of Marah,¹ where the water was salt when the children of Israel passed that way, and by casting in wood was at God's bidding made sweet. Going on from Marah through various places, after seeing and leaving behind many mountains, one comes to Elim,² where when the children of Israel passed that way there were seventy palm-trees and twelve wells. This place is very fertile and very beautiful; one can also see that many cells of holy fathers and hermitages once stood near it. Leaving Elim, one comes into the wilderness of Sin, to Mount Sinai. An exceeding great and fair convent has been built at the foot of this mountain, in the place where Moses saw the burning bush which was not consumed, and God spoke to him out of the bush; it is roofed with lead, fenced with iron doors, and well fortified in every

¹ Exod. xv. 23.

² Exod. xv. 27.

way. In it are more than four hundred Greek, Georgian, and Arab monks, both clerical and lay, who do not always abide in the monastery, but are scattered abroad here and there, working at the business affairs of the monastery. By great toil they get what is needful both for themselves and for pilgrims, and right faithfully distribute the same to pilgrims; they live most devout, strict, and chaste lives, in humble obedience to their Archbishop and prelates, dwelling in all holiness and righteousness in all things. They rarely drink wine save on especial feast-days, never eat flesh, but feed on salads, vegetables, beans, dates, and the like, with water, vinegar, and salt, in one refectory without table-furniture. They most devoutly celebrate Divine service daily and nightly according to their rite, and in all things follow the rule of St. Antony. The lay brethren work very hard, burning charcoal on the mountains, and bringing dates from Elim in great quantities on the backs of camels and beasts of burden to Babylon, where they sell them, and there ample alms and presents are made to them by the Christians and merchants dwelling there. Without this so many people could not support themselves in a desert place, nor could they afford the costly hospitality which they so liberally and kindly bestow upon pilgrims; but they fetch dates from Elim and charcoal from the mountains, a distance of more than twelve days' journey, and sell them, as I have told you already. In this monastery stands an exceeding fair church, which they keep very clean within, and light with many lamps and lights of divers kinds, and hold in especial reverence the place where the high altar stands. They put off their shoes before entering this place, and make pilgrims who wish to enter it put off their shoes likewise; for in the place where the high altar now is once stood the burning bush, out of which God said unto Moses, 'Put off thy shoes from thy

feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground.¹ In this church, on the right-hand side of the high altar, but in a higher place, stands a kind of chest of white marble, wherein are placed and enclosed the head and the bones of the glorious virgin Catharine, mixed together in disorder, which bones were translated thither from the top of Mount Sinai. This head and bones are displayed very solemnly by the Archbishop and other prelates of the monastery, with censers, candles, and acolytes; and at these times the Saracen guides and camel-drivers and grooms who come with the pilgrims earnestly beg that they, too, may be allowed to see these holy and wondrous bones, and kneel with the greatest devotion by the side of the Christians. When the bones are thus being shown to the pilgrims, if there be a bishop or other prelate among the pilgrims, then the Archbishop or chief prelate of the monastery takes one of the holy bones in his hand, and rubs it hard with a silver instrument shaped like a rod, whereupon oil² bursts forth from the pores like sweat. In the chest wherein the holy bones are enclosed, there has been formed in one corner a cavity into which all the oil that runs out of all the bones flows and gathers. There is always a silver spoon in this cavity, which the prelate who shows the bones takes in his hand, fills little glass phials with the oil, and gives each pilgrim a little phial with oil therein. Moreover, in this monastery there are very many other venerable relics, yet the monks of the monastery could not exist there save by the especial grace of God, for divers reasons caused by the instigation of the devil. For this cause there never is any jealousy or discord among them, but they are in favour with all who see them, as well with Saracens as with Christians, and especially with the Soldan, who is wont to bestow great alms upon them.

¹ Exod. iii. 5.

² Anon., i. 3.

So in their labours and continual passage over the desert they never are hurt by any dangers or by fierce beasts, neither are they troubled or made sick either in summer or winter by unseasonable weather or excessive heat of the sun. They have even, I believe, obtained an especial grace, whereby certain unclean creatures, such as flies, wasps, hornets, fleas, and the like, cannot live there, or enter the walls of the convent.¹ A monk of that convent of rare learning told me that once upon a time, at the instigation of the devil and by Divine permission, these creatures did them as much harm as they could, and they suffered so many and such grievous torments and molestations from unclean creatures of this sort, that they even thought of leaving the place, but by the holy counsel of one of the monks they took courage, and prayed to God that of His mercy He would drive away and remove all such creatures from them. This prayer was straightway granted by Him, and from that time forth they have never noticed any such creatures whatsoever within the walls of the monastery, albeit without the walls they do most grievous hurt both to men and beasts. Moreover, it has often been proved that such unclean creatures when carried alive within the walls die straightway. All these privileges the brethren have obtained by their holy and righteous lives, for they do not serve the pilgrims for money or out of greed, but to all who come thither and for as long as they please to stay there, whether they be rich or poor, high or low, the brethren give all that they themselves have, simply and kindly, in God's name; and should anyone offer to give them, or any one of them, any present, they altogether refuse and reject it, and should any one of them take it, he would be severely punished. So also when the pilgrims are leaving them they most kindly, and

¹ Sir John Maundeville, chap. v. ; Fabri, ii. 551.

without any charge, give each one of them loaves of bread, beans, and the like, according to the best of their ability, for each day of his journey, until he shall reach the dwellings of men, and this they do alike to rich and poor, high and low. These monks hold the Feast of St. Gregory the Pope in especial reverence above all other feasts, for during the time when he was head of the Church he supported them by gifts from the treasury of the Church, and encouraged them to dwell there, and from that time forth they have remained four hundred in number, though before they were few.

Above this monastery towers Mount Sinai, up which one climbs by many steps with greater toil than words can express. At the top of this mount a church stands on the spot where God said to Elijah the prophet, 'What dost thou here, Elijah?' as we read in the Book of Kings. Near this there is another chapel in the place where the law was given to Moses, and the glory of the Lord appeared to him. At this place there is still to be seen a cavity in the hard rock, wherein the image of Moses is engraved as in a seal. It was in this cavity that God stretched forth His right hand over Moses when He passed by in His majesty and showed Moses His hinder parts, because Moses could not abide the splendour of His face. It was to the top of another taller mountain beside a deep valley in the same place that the body of the glorious virgin Catharine was borne by angels from Alexandria, and miraculously discovered by the hermits who dwelt thereon. This same mount is most toilsomely climbed and visited, but on its top there is no chapel, or oratory, or dwelling, I suppose because the ascent is so difficult that human hands could not build anything there. But there may be seen the place where St. Catharine's body was found, where there is the mark of human shoulders on the rock,

and this place is marked with stones. Upon this mount God wrought many wonders, all of which it would take long to tell. You must know that Mount Sinai exceeds all the other mountains of those parts in height, and, as I have said, one climbs it with exceeding great toil, more than any tongue can tell, up very many¹ exceeding narrow steps cut out of the rock. On the side towards Egypt it loses the name of Sinai, and is called Horeb. From its top all the countries round about can be easily viewed, and at that height a man is greatly affected by the air; from thence one can narrowly examine the Red Sea, Elim, the place where it rained manna upon the children of Israel, and all the other places in the neighbourhood. At the foot of the mount is a fair plain, whereon Moses used to feed the flock of his father-in-law Jethro, and there he saw the burning bush. It was on this plain also that Israel fought against Amalek,² while Moses prayed with uplifted hands, and Joshua (Aaron) and Ur stayed up his hands. It was likewise on this plain that the children of Israel made themselves a molten calf, whereof the Bible tells us. On this plain also the fire consumed Nadab and Abihu,³ and many places may be seen round about it of which the Scriptures make mention.

XXXVI.—OF THE WILDERNESS OF SINAI.

From Mount Sinai one journeys on toward Syria across the wilderness in thirteen days, taking some provisions of one's own, and being given some by the convent. This wilderness is very bad and dangerous. It lies in Arabia, and all this land, whether it be habitable or desert, is called

¹ The 'Commemoratorium de Casis Dei' says that there were 7,700 steps. See Tobler's excellent note in his 'Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae,' p. 384.

² Exod. xvii.

³ Lev. x. i.

Arabia. In this wilderness there is exceeding great scarcity of water, and countless people dwell therein like wild beasts. They are called Bedouins, and move about in companies of hundreds and of thousands together, dwelling in tents made of felt or leather,¹ and roaming to and fro about the wilderness with their cattle and beasts of burden, pasturing them in whatever places they can find water, though it be only a little, in wells and runnels, and living on the milk of their camels and flocks. They never eat bread, unless some pilgrims chance to give them some, or unless it be brought to them more than twelve days' journey; for they neither sow nor reap, but live like wild beasts, and their faces are dreadful to look upon, black, and bearded; they are very fierce and swift, and on the backs of their dromedaries they can go as far as they please in one day, seeking for the places where water may be found. They wind an exceeding long linen cloth round their heads because of the unbearable heat of the sun, and they use bows and arrows. In this wilderness water can scarce be found for two or three days' journey together, and in places where it is found on one day it will be dried up on another. Moreover, in this wilderness, in places which are altogether flat for one hour, in another hour a monstrous hill of sand² may be heaped up and gathered together, first in one place and then in another, never continuing in one stay, wherefore the road across the wilderness can never be known save by the mountains, and from the Bedouins, who know and understand the roads in the wilderness even as men know the way about their own houses. These³

¹ 'Sub tentoriis de filtris et pellibus.' Wilhelm von Boldinsel, as well as Ludolph, has these words.

² Fabri, ii. 469.

³ 'Parum curant de Soldano; ipse tamen caute capitaneos eorum trahit ad se muneribus et hujusmodi, quia, ut dicitur, quando cultores hujus deserti vellent et essent unanimes, possent Ægyptum et Syriam de facili occupare.'—W. von Boldinsel.

Bedouins care nothing for the Soldan, and render him no obedience whatever; but the Soldan cautiously tempts and quiets them with presents, even when they dwell far away from him; for if they chose they could with the greatest ease conquer and ruin the whole of the Soldan's kingdom. The Virgin Mary crossed this wilderness with the Child Jesus, when she fled from Judaea from before the face of Herod, and all along the road whereby she is believed to have passed there grow dry roses which in these parts are called roses of Jericho. The Bedouins gather these roses in the wilderness and sell them to pilgrims for bread; moreover, the Saracen women are very glad to have these roses by them, and when about to be delivered they drink the water which has been poured over the roses, and declare that they are most useful and valuable during pregnancy.¹ In this wilderness there are many other perils, whereof it would take long to tell, from winds, sands, savage men, serpents, lions, dragons, and other venomous and dangerous beasts. Now, after crossing this wilderness, which lies to the southward, one comes to the beginning of the Promised Land, to a city, once fair but now deserted, called Beersheba. It appears that this city was once adorned with many fair churches, whereof some remain standing at this day.

XXXVII.—HEBRON, THE VALE OF MAMBRE, AND
BETHLEHEM.

Going on from Beersheba at mid-day, one comes to a fair and ancient city, still tolerably populous, named Hebron. On the side of a hill near this city there stands a fair church, wherein is the double cave² wherein the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, are buried

¹ John of Hildesheim, chap. xxiii.

² Gen. xxiii. 17.

together with their wives. This church is held especially sacred by the Saracens, and they will not suffer any Christian to enter it, but let them pray at the door. They suffer Jews to enter, which in my time they paid money to do. Howbeit this church can be viewed by Christians both inside and out, and within it is whitewashed and well adorned with stones, and one goes downstairs as into a cellar, into the cave where the patriarchs and their wives are buried. Near Hebron is the field of whose earth Adam was made, and the more of that earth is dug up and carried away, the more it fills up of its own accord. This earth is carried away to distant lands, and some say that it is sold, but about that I know nothing for certain. Near Hebron also is the vale of Mambre, where Abraham sat at the door of his tent and saw three¹ and worshipped one. In my time there were in Hebron three renegades, from the diocese of Minden, it was said. Two of them were esquires,² and the third was their servant. One of them carried water on his shoulders and sold it in the street, as is the custom in those parts; another laboured with his hands and got his living as best he could; the third, who was their servant, was a soldier, because he was thought a better-looking fellow in every way by the Soldan's officers. When asked why they had renounced their faith, they replied that they had hoped that their lord would obtain riches and honour, but he had disappointed them, and they declared with groans that they would willingly steal away out of the country if they could; for they were leading a most wretched life. They had not the heart to tell who they

¹ Gen. xviii. 1, 2. Compare W. von Boldinsel, chap. v.; and Anon., vi., p. 38, note.

² *Domicelli*. I find in 'Littre's Dictionary,' '*Damoiseau*: titre donné autrefois à un jeune gentilhomme qui n'était pas encore reçu chevalier. . . . Etym. anc. Liegeois, *damesheal*; Prov. *donzel*, etc., etc., du bas Latin *dominicellus*, diminutif de *dominus*, seigneur.'

had formerly been. These three men were very friendly with a certain knight in those parts, named William de Bolensele (*sic*), who lay in over-sea parts before my time, and was greatly honoured there by the Soldan and other kings and princes. I have heard that he died at Cologne.¹ Going on from Hebron, one easily reaches Bethlehem in one day. On this day's road once stood the monastery of St. Karioth the Abbot.² When the time of his dissolution was at hand, his monks, seeing him to be in the last agony, said, 'After the death of our Abbot St. Karioth, shall we live any longer upon earth?' And at that very word they all entered upon their last agony and died, and remained for a long time uncorrupt, standing as though in the death-agony, neither were the Saracens able to destroy them, albeit they often tried; but now the convent is desolate, and no traces of them remain. Bethlehem is an exceeding fair and pleasant village, not a long one, standing upon a mountain ridge, and almost entirely inhabited by Christians. It abounds with pastures, grass, and herbs, and is well fenced by valleys all round about; wherefore the King of Jerusalem and the Christians were always wont to gather together their armies there. Its people have abundance of wine and other good things. In Bethlehem³ stands a great and very fair church, most

¹ Wilhelm von Boldinsel landed at Tyre in 1332, was at Jerusalem on May 5, 1333, and wrote his book in the spring of 1336. A letter of his, dated Avignon, Michaelmas Day, 1337, is extant, in which he states his intention of coming to Cologne.

² Anon., p. 62, note; p. 72.

³ 'Super tugurium et speluncam nativitatis domini Helena pulcherrimam fundavit ecclesiam opere mosayco, marmoribus auro et vitro regaliter et ditissime ornatam, in modum castrum cum propugnaculis factam; sed non est testudinata, sed super ligna et tigna cedrina est plumbo cooperta. et in hac ecclesia ante chorum descenditur ad speluncam in qua Christus natus est, et non longe ab altari quod ibidem est, est presepium trium vel quatuor pedum, in quo Christus infantulus fuit reclinator; et in ipsa spelunca S. Ieronymus

excellently fortified with many towers and outworks like a castle. It is roofed with lead ; it is adorned with mosaic work of jasper, marble, and gold, beyond, I believe, any other church under the sun, and is in every way built most richly, nobly, and royally, as it is meet that it should be. It possesses about seventy precious marble columns, and is not vaulted, but roofed beneath the lead with most noble wood, and beams and planks of cedar. The walls of the church are gilded under glass, and wondrously wrought with painted glass. Before my time the Saracens wanted to carry off some of the columns, but were much frightened by a vision,¹ and let them stand, nor did they ever try to take them away afterwards. In front of the choir in this church one goes down some steps into a stone cave, not built, but natural, wherein, immediately beneath the high altar, is the place where for our sake God was made man of a virgin mother. On the place itself there stands an altar, and not far from the altar stands the manger wherein the Blessed Virgin Mary laid the Infant Jesus, wrapped in swaddling clothes, very God and man weeping in human weakness even as children are wont to weep. Near the manger may still be seen irons fixed in the marble with lead, wherein were iron rings to which the country people tied their beasts of burden and cattle when they came to market. The manger is of stone, about four palms long, as is the custom in that land. St. Jerome is buried in this cave. On the night of the Nativity all nations under

Paula et Eustochium sunt sepulti. et in ista ecclesia sunt lxx columpne marmoree ; et anno dñi M^occc^oxli^o Sarraceni pulchriores columpnas excipere voluerunt et in templo suo ponere, sed horribili visione perterriti ipsas stare permiserunt.—John of Hildesheim's 'Historia iii Regum,' chap. xxxviii.

¹ See John of Hildesheim, in preceding note ; Fabri, i. 598. The date in the preceding note, 1341, must be wrong, as Marino Sanuto, who wrote before that date, tells the same story. The legend was probably a much older one, possibly connected with serpent worship.

heaven assemble there, as is very right, and each nation has a particular place in this church set apart for itself for ever wherein to celebrate Divine service according to its own rite. The Latins have now the place wherein God was made man, and in like manner each separate nation has its own separate place. In my time the Nubians had not as yet any place of their own, but the Soldan had a chapel especially built for them. Before this church stands the monastery in which St. Jerome, St. Paula, and Eustochium, and very many other saints once dwelt, and by the grace of God wrought many miracles. A Saracen now dwells on this spot, and receives one Venetian penny from anyone who wants to go into the church. Also at Bethlehem there is an underground chapel beneath the rock, which seems to have had two doors, and therefore one could pass straight through it, but now one door has been built up. In this pit, which now is a chapel, the Blessed Virgin lay hid for three days for fear of Herod, and suckled the Child Jesus there. In her fear she chanced to let fall some of her milk¹ upon a stone in that place,

¹ See Fabri, i. 563, in this series, and Marino Sanuto, iii., xiv. 11; also Abbot Daniel, p. 41. In John of Hildesheim's 'Historia Trium Regum,' chap. xxvii., I find the following: 'Post recessum trium regum beata virgo cum infantulo Jhesu in tugurio aliquantulum permansit, sed crescente de ipsa et de tribus Regibus tam mirabili fama, tunc de ipso tugurio in aliam spelunca subterraneam cum infantulo Jhesu metu Judeorum intravit, et usque ad diem purificationis sue permansit in ea: et quia omnes eam diligebant, prout poterant ipsam colebant et necessaria ei ministrabant; in qua spelunca post modum facta est capella in honore iii Regum at S. Nycholai consecrata. et videtur per ipsam capellam communis transitus fuisse, et ii januas habuisse, sed una jam lapidibus est obstructa. et in illa capella videtur adhuc lapis super quem beata virgo sedendo Filium lactare consuevit. et quadam vice modicum lactis de sua mamilla super lapidem cecidit, cujus lactis species usque in presentem illem super ipsum lapidem permansit, et quanto plus abraditur tanto plus crescit.'—John of Hildesheim, edited by C. Horstmann, in the Early English Text Society. See also 'Guide-book,' p. 26, note.

which milk is there even to this day. The milk oozes out of the stone like moisture, and is a milky colour with a tinge of red. The more of the milk is scraped off, the more is restored in the same quantity, and no more. This is the milk which may be seen, and is shown in many different churches; for it is taken away hither and thither by the pilgrims. Also near Bethlehem there is a great cave in the rock, into which a great number of bodies of the Innocents were cast, and this rock has been almost entirely carried away by pilgrims. Moreover, one mile from Bethlehem is the place where St. Jerome was especially wont to dwell, and where he translated many books from Hebrew, Chaldee, and Greek into Latin. Near Bethlehem also, half a mile away toward Sodom and Gomorrah, is the place where the angels announced to the shepherds that God was born as man. In this place there has been built an exceeding fair double church, which is called *Gloria in excelsis*, which the angels sang there. For this cause in Bethlehem also they begin all the canonical hours of the day with *Gloria in excelsis*, just as we do with *Deus in adjutorium*.¹ And they begin all Masses, even Masses for the souls of the dead, with *Gloria in excelsis deo*, by special custom, as I have often seen in their service-book. This is Bethlehem, the city of God most high, wherein David was born, whereof also the prophet Micah said, 'And thou Bethlehem, in the land of Juda, art not the least among the princes of Juda.'² For Bethlehem

¹ 'In loco etiam in quo pastoribus angelus Christum natum annuntiavit; ipsa duplicem ecclesiam pulcherriman construxit, quam *Gloria in excelsis* vocavit; que ecclesia fuit quondam ditissimum collegium canonicorum, qui ex speciali privilegio omnes horas canonicas cum "*Gloria in excelsis deo*," etc., inceperunt, sicut nos per "*Deus in adjutorium*," et adhuc incipiunt ibidem horas cum "*Gloria in excelsis*.'" —John of Hildesheim, chap. xxxvii.

² Micah v. 2; Matt. ii. 6.

stands in the midst of Judah, wherefore the whole of that land is called Judaea; but the land which once was called Judaea is now called Syria, and its people are called Syrians. From Bethlehem one goes on to Jerusalem, by a road on the left of which is the tomb of Jacob's wife Rachel, at the place where she bore Benjamin, and died in childbirth. Near this road is the aforesaid church called *Gloria in excelsis*, and also beside this road there are and have been very many cells of saints, churches and caves, monasteries and tombs, belonging to the Christians. Here God has wrought many miracles through these saints, and to this day very many incorrupt bodies of saints, whose names God alone knows,¹ are found in divers places in the caves and grottos. Also near this road is the place where was the pit into which Joseph was cast by his brethren, and sold to the Ishmaelites. After seeing these and many other sights, one arrives at Jerusalem, and the distance between the two places is only three of the short miles of the country.

XXXVIII.—THE HOLY CITY JERUSALEM.

Jerusalem, the holy city, wherein our redemption was wrought, stands on a mount in a wholesome air. It is well fenced on the north side by walls, towers, and out-works, on the east by the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and on the south and west by other deep valleys; but it lacks water within the walls, and its cisterns are filled by water which is brought from Hebron by underground aqueducts and channels, which may clearly be seen by the side of that road as one journeys along it. This glorious city is

¹ Dr. F. J. Bliss tells us that the Armenian inscription on the mosaic pavement found at Jerusalem in June, 1894, is to the effect that the place was in memory of the salvation of all those Armenians whose name the Lord knows (Quarterly Statement, P.E.F., October, 1894).

not over-long or over-wide, neither is it too great or too small, but it is tolerably well built, and has been somewhat removed to the east of where it stood at the time of Christ's crucifixion, by Aelius Hadrianus, after its destruction by Titus and Vespasian, to show honour to the place of Calvary. In Jerusalem stand the Lord's Temple and Solomon's Temple, and they alone take up a great part of the city. The Saracens suffer no Christian to enter this temple, and if they do enter they must either die or renounce their faith. This came to pass in my time, for some Greeks got in and trampled upon the Saracens' books. As they refused to renounce their faith, they were cut in two. The Lord's Temple is round, built in the Greek fashion, very tall and large, roofed with lead, and made of great hewn and polished stones. Upon its pinnacle the Saracens have after their fashion placed a crescent moon. This temple also has a great fore-court, which is not roofed in, but well paved and adorned with white marble. Near this temple, on the right hand, there is an oblong church with a lead roof, which is called Solomon's Porch. The Saracens pay the greatest reverence to the Lord's Temple, keeping it exceeding clean both within and without, and all alike entering it unshod. They call it 'the holy Rock,' not 'the Temple,' and therefore they say to one another, 'Let us go to the holy Rock.' They do not say, 'Let us go to the Temple.' They call the temple 'the holy Rock' because of a little rock which stands in the midst of the temple, fenced about with an iron railing. I have heard it said of a truth by Saracen renegades that no Saracen presumes to touch that rock, and that Saracens journey from distant lands to devoutly visit it. Indeed, God has deigned to show respect to this rock in divers ways, and has wrought many miracles thereon, as the Bible bears

witness to us both in the Old and New Testament. First of all, it was upon this rock that Melchisedech, the first priest, offered bread and wine. Also it was upon this rock that Jacob slept and saw God's glory, and a ladder standing upon this rock, whose top reached to heaven, and the angels of God ascending and descending the same. Also it was upon this rock that David saw the angel standing with a bloody sword in his hand, and staying^o from the slaughter of the people.¹ It was upon this rock that the priests used to lay the burnt sacrifices, which often were consumed by fire from heaven. It was within this rock that Jeremiah the prophet is believed to have miraculously enclosed the Ark of the Covenant when the people were removed to Babylon, saying, 'As for that place, it shall be unknown until the time that God gather His people together again, and receive them unto mercy,'² and therein it is believed to have remained even to this day. Upon this rock Christ was presented when a child, and was given into the arms of the Just Simeon and was received by him. It was upon this rock that Christ disputed with the Jews when He was a boy of twelve years of age, and His parents lost Him; from this rock He often taught the people and often preached. The Lord's Temple, we read, was built by Solomon on the threshing-floor of Ornan, and albeit it has been destroyed by many, yet it has always been rebuilt on the same spot, in the same form, and with the same stones. God, moreover, has greatly honoured and glorified this Temple, and greatly loved it. It was from this Temple that Solomon saw

¹ 2 Sam. xxiv. 16; 2 Chron. iii. 1.

² 2 Macc. ii. 5, 6; but we are told in verse 4 that the prophet took the ark 'to the mountain where Moses climbed up and saw the heritage of God.' And Fabri, vol. ii., 182, 233, points out the place in the valley of 'Galmoab' (Vulgate), 'a valley in the land of Moab, over against Bethpeor,' Deut. xxxiv. 6 (A.V.).

smoke going up and the glory of God abiding over it. In this Temple Joseph's rod flowered. In this Temple the Blessed Virgin Mary was presented, and made her offering after her betrothal. In this temple Christ was presented, and was set upon its pinnacle,¹ and tempted by the (evil) spirit. Out of this Temple also Christ cast those who bought and sold; He often taught and disputed therein, and wrought many miracles, as is testified by the Gospels. Christ also consecrated this Temple by His glorious presence, and therein in our weakness He suffered much abuse and much ill-usage at the hands of the Jews. It was from this Temple that St. James the Less, our Lord's brother, was cast down and martyred. Near this Temple, on the left hand thereof, is the ancient Golden Gate, through which on Palm Sunday Jesus entered riding upon an ass. To this gate on every Palm Sunday, even to this day, a solemn procession of Christians is made before sunrise, and over this gate boys sing *Gloria, laus*, etc. Then the Archbishop of the Armenians enters the gate on an ass, and is welcomed by the boys and the people even as Christ was there welcomed by the Jews. A little way to the north of this Temple there is a church on the spot where the Blessed Virgin Mary was born, and on that same spot St. Anne and Joachim her husband lie buried in an underground cave. In front of this church stands the sheep-pool, having five porticos round about it, wherein the sick used to be healed when the waters were troubled by an angel, as the Gospel bears witness. At this day there is a cave there, wherein when it rains all the water from the city collects together. Out of this Church of St. Mary the Saracens have now made a church of their own. Yet all the story of Anna and Joachim and the Blessed Mary's birth remains to this day right nobly painted on

¹ See my note to Anon., p. 66.

the front of the church. This painting in my time used to be all devoutly and religiously explained to Christians by an old Saracen woman named Baguta. She used to dwell over against the church, and declared that the picture of Joachim stood for Mahomet, and the painting of the trees for paradise, wherein Mahomet kissed girls, and she referred the whole of the painting to Mohammed, and set it forth with fervour, and would tell many more and more wondrous stories about Mahomet with tears in her eyes. Not far from the Lord's Temple, on the south side below the city, is the hill of Sion, which is a little higher than the rest of the ground whereon the city stands. It was on this mount that of old stood the city of David, whereof the Scripture makes mention. Upon this Mount Sion, or in this city of David, there once was built an exceeding fair monastery called the Convent of St. Mary on Mount Sion, wherein were canons regular. Within this monastery were enclosed all the following holy places.¹ First of all in this place Christ supped with His disciples and celebrated the first Easter, made His testament and revealed His betrayer, while the beloved disciple lay upon His breast and drank in the secrets of heaven. Also in this same place Christ humbly washed His disciples' feet and dried them with a napkin, and, though He was their Lord and Master, gave them an example of humility. Christ also frequently visited this place while in the flesh, and it was here that after His death and resurrection He appeared to His disciples as they sat with closed doors, and was seen there once again; there Thomas the unbelieving thrust his fingers into His side. Here also the Blessed Mary and the disciples were sitting grieving, with the doors closed for fear of the Jews, when they received the Holy Ghost the Comforter. Here also after the

¹ Fabri, i. 289 et seq.

Lord's Passion the Blessed Mary often dwelt; in this place she rendered up her spirit to her Son, and here all the disciples were miraculously assembled. In this place also St. Matthias was wondrously chosen an Apostle. Here also the beloved disciple often celebrated Mass with the Blessed Mary, and dwelt here with St. Mary and St. Luke until the Blessed Mary's death. Here also St. Stephen was buried between Nicodemus and Abybos. In this place also David and Solomon and the other kings of Judah are buried, and their sepulchres may be seen at this day. In this monastery there now dwell Minorite brethren, who in my time were amply furnished with necessaries by Queen Sancea, the wife of King Robert,¹ and there they publicly and devoutly hold Divine service, except that they are not allowed to preach publicly to Saracens, and they bury their dead without the knowledge of the officers of the city. These brethren were in my time exceeding prosperous men. Foreign merchants, and even Saracens, praised them much, for they did good offices to all men.

At the foot of this mount there stands an exceeding strong castle, called David's Castle, which is believed to have remained standing from the time of David, for when the city was destroyed by Titus and Vespasian, the Mount Sion and this castle stood without the city. This castle was once held by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, but now is inhabited by an officer of the Soldan, and is most carefully guarded by him and his mercenaries. At the foot of this mount there is also a church called St. Saviour's, wherein is the stone which the angel rolled away from the

¹ This King, according to Dr. F. Deycks, must have been either Charles Robert, of Anjou, King of Hungary, or Robert Bruce, King of Scotland. I think that, after reading Fabri's account (ii. 379) of the Minorite convent on Mount Sion, one is inclined to think that Ludolph meant Rupert, King of Apulia, Calabria, Sicily, and Jerusalem.

sepulchre, which is there publicly shown. Near this mount also St. James the Great was beheaded, and over the spot a church has been built, wherein now is the Archbishop of the Armenians and canons of the Roman obedience. Also in Jerusalem there is another church called St. Mary the Latin. In Jerusalem, moreover, there are many churches of schismatics and heretics, and very many other holy places and gracious oratories. Above the Mount Calvary and Christ's sepulchre a great and fair church has been built, nobly decorated with marble, mosaic work, paintings, and other ornaments. It has towers in front of the choir and above the same, and it is open above the place of Christ's sepulchre. The inside of this church is very much like the cathedral of Munster in Westphalia, especially in the choir. In this church, near the choir, on the south side, is Mount Calvary, where Jesus was crucified. One ascends this mount at the present day by some stairs within the church, and once one used also to ascend thither by some stairs outside the church, but this door has now been blocked up on the outside. This mount is formed of exceeding hard rock, and beneath the mount is the chapel of the Nubians, cut out of the solid rock. On the top of Mount Calvary also there is a chapel, to which one ascends from within the church, and in the place where Jesus was crucified there is the hole in which the cross was placed, and the rending of the solid rock which came to pass at the time of Christ's Passion may still be plainly seen. Also in this same chapel are buried those right glorious princes, Godfrey, Duke of Bouillon, and Baldwin, his brother, the first Christian Kings of Jerusalem, who won the Holy Land with exceeding great toil, and puissantly recovered and held the same, wrought the Saracens inestimable hurt, and bestowed the greatest boons upon Christendom. It is a great wonder that the Saracens

suffer their sepulchres and bodies to rest undisturbed in such honour, seeing how much harm they did them, and how they even took away from them the whole of the Holy Land; for in Lombardy, when Christians quarrel, they cast one another's rotten corpses to the dogs. These same glorious princes made a rule that no King of Jerusalem should wear a golden crown, but a crown of thorns, which rule their successors observe even to this day. On this Mount Calvary the story of Christ's Passion is read every day, when any Christians are dwelling there, as I have clearly read in their service-book. Near Mount Calvary, where now there is a cupboard, is the place where His mother and the disciples and the other women stood, and there Jesus commended his mother to the care of His disciple, saying, 'Woman, behold thy son.' In front of the door of the choir, on the south side, there is a black stone, which is the place whereon they laid Jesus's body when they took Him down from the cross and wrapped Him in linen cloths. In front of the choir, on the west side, stands a small double chapel which has as it were three doors, and wherein three altars seem to have stood. From this first chapel one goes into another chapel, wherein is Christ's sepulchre, through a low and small doorway, arched semicircularly, and made so that one must enter it with a bent back. This chapel is semicircularly vaulted; it has no window, and in it is Christ's sepulchre. The length of this chapel and sepulchre is about nine palms, the width of the chapel about seven palms, and the height of the chapel about twelve palms. Christ's sepulchre¹ is cut out of the solid rock, but lest it

¹ Wilhelm von Boldinsel observes (chap. vii.) that 'Monumentum Christi excisum erat in petra viva . . . istud vero ex pluribus est compositum et de novo conglutinatum cemento minus artificialiter et minus quam decet ordinate.'

should be defiled or carried away by pilgrims, it is covered with other stones of white marble. The stone which covers it on the front side has three holes pierced through it, and through those holes one can kiss the true sepulchre and the true stone thereof. This stone wherewith the sepulchre is cased is so cunningly joined on to the sepulchre, that to the ignorant it seems to be all one stone. For this reason I do not believe that there is in any church a piece of the true stone of Christ's sepulchre ; for with the exception of those places whereof you have heard, it is and ever has been kept most carefully guarded. Indeed, if Christ's sepulchre could be carried away in grains of sand, it would have been so carried away long ago, even had it been a great mountain, so that scarce one grain of sand would have remained on the spot. Now, as for the lamps and candlesticks which are said to be round about the holy sepulchre, I declare that there is no lamp or candlestick whatever round about the sepulchre ; but there dwell in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre ancient Georgians who have the key of the chapel of the holy sepulchre, and food, alms, candles, and oil for lamps to burn round about the holy sepulchre are given them by pilgrims through a little window in the south door of the church, and if this should fail it remains without any light whatsoever, and is altogether without honour and respect, for the Saracens have as much respect for Christ's sepulchre as Christians have for a Jewish synagogue. In this church also, in front of the choir, a little way to the southward, there is the place where the three Maries stood and said to one another, ' Who shall roll away the stone for us from the mouth of the sepulchre ? ' Also in this same church stands one part of the pillar to which Jesus was bound and scourged ; the other part is at Constantinople.

In this church also one goes down forty steps to t^h

place where the three crosses were found, and in this lower part, in the chapel, stands the episcopal chair of James the Less, wherein he used to sit as Bishop of Jerusalem. In this church also stand the pillars which at the time of Christ's Passion stood in Pilate's house, which pillars from that time to this present have never ceased to sweat forth water. Furthermore, in this church there is the place where the dead man was laid upon Christ's cross, and was raised up to life. In this church also is the place where Jesus appeared to Mary Magdalen in the likeness of a gardener. All these holy places are enclosed within this church, and the church is like a palace prepared for the various needs of pilgrims and of those who are locked up therein ; for pilgrims who visit it are locked up therein from the first hour of one day till the same hour of the following day, and can inspect everything to their hearts' content. Twice a year—that is to say, from Good Friday to Monday after Easter, and from the Eve of the Invention of the Holy Cross till the morrow of the feast—the Christians who dwell there are let into the church for nothing, and locked in, and then one finds shops in the church where sundry things and victuals are sold, even as in this country they do in markets and fairs, and then one hears talk and songs in divers tongues. Each several nation has its own special place for holding Divine service according to its own rite, of whom the Latins have the place where Christ appeared to Mary Magdalen in the likeness of a gardener. Near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre once dwelt the brethren of St. John of Jerusalem, and their palace is now the common hospital for pilgrims. This hospital is so great that one thousand men can easily live therein, and can have everything that they want there by paying for it. It is the custom in this place, or hospital, that every pilgrim should pay two

Venetian pennies¹ for the use of the hospital. If he sojourns therein for a year he pays no more, if he abides but for one day he pays no less. In my time there dwelt in this palace, or hospital, a matron named Margaret of Sicily, who had a brother a canon of the holy sepulchre, named Nicholas. This Margaret was of great use and service there, and to my certain knowledge suffered much misery and trouble for love of the Christians, and was always viewed by the Soldan with especial favour because of her usefulness.² You must know that canons of the holy sepulchre have great prerogatives and privileges, as I have read in their service-book, and they begin (the service for) all the hours of the day with *Alleluia*,³ as we do when we say *In adiutorium*, etc., as though they were men to whom the whole world bore witness from afar. They read all the chief matters in the Gospel with gesticulation; for instance, the deacon reads the Gospel on Easter Day as follows:⁴ ‘At that time Mary Magdalen, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome, brought spices, that they might come hither and anoint Jesus.’ And when he comes to the words, ‘He is not here, He is risen,’ then the deacon points with his finger to Christ’s sepulchre, and so in other cases. In front of the church, on the west side, there is the stone whereon Jesus rested awhile when bearing His cross, when His strength failed Him because of His tortures and the weight of the cross; and there the Jews compelled Simon of Cyrene, who was coming from his village, to bear the cross. Near the church, a little way to the south, is the stone whereon Jesus stood when He said, ‘Ye daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for Me, but for yourselves,’ etc.

¹ Denarii. Fabri (i. 395) says ‘two Venetian marks.’

² The ordinary text has *fidelitatem*. I prefer to read *utilitatem*, with the Berlin MS. marked ‘B’ by Dr. F. Deycks.

³ John of Wurzburg, chap. xii.

⁴ Matt. xxvii. 56; Mark xv. 40; Luke xxiv. 1-10; John xix. 40. See ‘Marino Sanuto,’ III., vii. 2.

The pavement of the house of Pilate may be seen in Jerusalem to this day; but it was then without the city, and the house of Caiaphas, wherein they took counsel, and he prophesied, saying, 'It is expedient that one man should die for the people,' is three of the miles of that country distant from Jerusalem. Moreover, in Jerusalem there are to be seen very many other wonders and holy places, about each one of which it would take long to tell you. Going onward from Jerusalem, one comes to a city, once fair, but now deserted, which stands in the hill country of Judaea, and is called Zacharia. It is five miles distant from Jerusalem. It was in this city that Zachariah and Elizabeth, the parents of St. John the Baptist, dwelt, and to it the Blessed Mary came from Nazareth after the annunciation by the word of Gabriel, when Elizabeth met her and the babe leaped in her womb, and the Blessed Mary said, 'My soul doth magnify the Lord,' etc. On the place where they met and embraced one another, an exceeding fair church has been built, which is called *Magnificat* to this day. This place is distant from Nazareth three and a half days' journey of the short journeys which our Lord's mother then made, as the Gospel tells us,¹ 'Mary arose with haste and went into the hill country of Judaea.' In this city also St. John the Baptist was conceived and born. As one returns from this city of Zacharia one sees the place where (the wood of) Christ's cross is believed to have grown;² moreover, by the roadside one sees many tombs of the saints, hermitages, caves, and grottos, wherein to this day are found many incorrupt and entire bodies of saints, whose names God alone knows. As one comes back to Jerusalem this

¹ Luke i. 39.

² Wilhelm von Boldinsel (chap. viii) mentions this place, and says that there was a fair church, and a convent of Georgian monks.

way, there is the place without the North Gate where the first martyr, St. Stephen, was stoned. Here a fair church seems to have stood, which now is overthrown, and it stands above the Valley of Jehoshaphat. In the Valley of Jehoshaphat there is a holy but not very beautiful church¹ built in honour of the Blessed Mary, into which one goes down sixty steps and comes to the Blessed Mary's sepulchre, which is adorned with more and better lamps and candles than Christ's sepulchre. The place where the sepulchre stands is not larger than what eight men can conveniently stand in, and the sepulchre of Christ and that of the Blessed Mary are both shaped alike. The place where this church stands was at the time of Christ's Passion the house of Annas, the Chief Priest, and it was there that Peter denied Christ. On the spot where he denied Him there stands a marble pillar for an everlasting memorial. It is believed that on the last day Christ will come to this valley as a strict Judge, and will reward every man according to his works. Through this same valley runs the brook Cedron, being the moisture and rain-water which comes from the hills on either side thereof. Near this brook, at the foot of the Mount of Olives, is the garden wherein Jesus was taken and was betrayed by Judas with a kiss. God when in the flesh often visited this garden with His disciples. A fair church stands at the place where Christ was taken, but nowadays the Saracens shut up their flocks and beasts to feed therein. A little way from the garden, to the left, beneath a rock, is the place where Christ prayed to the Father, saying, 'Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me,' and in His fear He in His human weakness sweated blood. At the foot of

¹ 'Ecclesia devota sed non multum pulchra.'—Ludolph. 'Haec ecclesia non est pulchra, sed devota.'—W. von Boldinsel. The order in which these two writers describe the holy places agrees exactly.

the mountain opposite, whereon Jerusalem is built, are the bathing-pools of Siloam, and now there is a collection of putrid water. Over against the bathing-pool stands Absalom's statue, cunningly wrought, and of wondrous size.¹ Above the Valley of Jehoshaphat, to the south, is the potter's field, or Aceldama, also called the Field of Blood, which was bought with the price of blood to bury strangers in. But a certain Eastern history declares that only the worth of fifteen pennies was bought, which, indeed, may well be believed, because it does not take up the third part of the field.

XXXIX.—OF THE THIRTY PIECES OF SILVER.

We read in a history of those kings of the East who offered gifts to our Lord, that Terah, Abraham's father, made money, or pennies, at the bidding of a King of Mesopotamia named Ninus, and that he received thirty pieces of silver for his pay. These pieces of silver he gave to Abraham, who spent them during his wanderings in exile, and these same pieces of silver passed through divers hands until they came into the hands of the Ishmaelites, and with them Joseph was bought from his brethren. Afterwards, when Joseph bore rule in Egypt, these same pieces of silver came back into Joseph's hands from his brethren as the price of corn, and when they were restored to his brethren, his brethren gave them to Joseph's steward, who sent them to Sheba to buy merchandise for Pharaoh. Now, in Solomon's time, when the Queen of Sheba came from the East to hear his wisdom, she offered these thirty pieces of silver in the temple. In

¹ W. von Boldinsel mentions Siloam, but does not call the water putrid, and mentions Absalom's 'statue' in the same words as in the text, except that he says that it is *bonae magnitudinis*, whereas Ludolph says *mirae magnitudinis*.

the time of Rehoboam, when Nebuchadnezzar despoiled the temple and took away its treasure, he gave the thirty pieces of silver with other treasure to the King of Godolia, who was with him in his army, and so they remained with other treasures in the treasury of the Kings of Godolia until Christ's birth. At that time the kingdom of Godolia was removed to Nubia. Now, when our Lord was born, Melchior, the King of Nubia, saw in the star that Christ was born of a virgin. He therefore took the thirty pennies, because he could find no more noble or ancient gold in his treasury, and by God's will offered them to Christ. Afterwards the Blessed Virgin Mary, when fleeing into Egypt through fear of Herod, lost the thirty pennies, together with the rest of the presents of the Magi, at the place where the Garden of Balsam now is. A shepherd found them and kept them for thirty years. Then the fame of Jesus being noised abroad, this same shepherd came to Jerusalem, where Jesus healed his sickness. When Christ was preaching and teaching in the temple the shepherd offered Him the thirty pennies and the other presents of the Magi, but Jesus refused them, and bade him offer the pennies in the temple, and lay the other gifts upon the altar. The shepherd did so, and the Jews cast the thirty pennies into *corban*, and afterwards gave them to Judas for betraying Jesus.¹ Then when Judas brought them back again, they bought the potter's field for fifteen pennies, and gave the other fifteen to the

¹ John of Hildesheim, though his account is substantially the same, is somewhat diffuse. For instance, at this point he explains that when the shepherd offered the gifts, the priest burned the frankincense on the altar, but put the gold and myrrh into the treasury. Probably John's was the 'long rambling story' alluded to by Fabri (i. 537). See *Quarterly Review*, October, 1846, art. 'Cologne Cathedral'; Theoderich, chap. xxxix., p. 59. Another version of the legend makes the thirty pieces to have been struck at Capernaum. See 'The Condition of Jerusalem,' in this series, part ii., p. 31.

soldiers who were guarding Christ's sepulchre; and when that had been done with the pennies which had been predestined, they straightway were divided and scattered hither and thither. But until that was done which it was fated should be done by them, they always kept together, as you have heard. The Scripture calls them silver pennies, because in old times they called all metal silver;¹ but there is no doubt but what they were of gold. The field of blood is not large,² as I have told you, but has an exceeding deep pit dug in it, with a vaulted roof above it. This vault is pierced with round holes, through which holes dead bodies are cast into it, and after three days nothing of them is found save bones. Were it not so, such a little place would not be sufficient to contain so many dead bodies. Near this field there is an exceeding pleasant place with beauteous trees, which the preaching friars³ (Dominicans) were trying to buy when I was leaving; but I know not whether they got it. Near it also there are very many hermitages of saints, cells, and oratories full of grace, which now are deserted. Likewise near it is the cave wherein Peter hid himself after he had denied Christ, and wept bitterly. Not far from this cave is the place where Judas hanged himself in despair.

XL.—THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.

Near Jerusalem, toward the east, is the Mount of Olives, which now is called the Mount of Lights, a very pleasant place, with only the Valley of Jehoshaphat between it and Jerusalem. The Mount of Olives is so much higher than the city, that all within the city can be seen from its top, and it is called the Mount of Olives because many olives

¹ John of Hildesheim tells this part in the same words.

² 'Vix ad semijactum lapidis,' says John of Hildesheim.

³ Fabri, i. 535; ii. 380.

grow thereon; it is also called the Mount of Lights,¹ because by night the lights of the Lord's Temple shine over against it. The two eastern gates of Jerusalem leading to the mount are always shut, because the Valley of Jehoshaphat between the city and the mount is so steep that a man could scarce climb up and down on his hands and feet, and that one gate is now called the Golden Gate. On the Mount of Olives stands a fair church called St. Saviour's, on the place where forty days after His Passion Christ ascended meekly to His Father, and where the angels said that He should come again as a strict Judge. The mark of Christ's footsteps may be seen on the pavement of that church even to this day, and we read that when the Christians were first building and paving that church, whenever they came to the place where Christ's footprints were, and laid stones thereon, the stones always sprung off again even as a man would step, and so the footprints have remained to the present day. The church is open, for the vault could never by any means be made over the place through which Christ passed. On the Mount of Olives there also stands another chapel on the place where Christ said the Lord's Prayer and taught it to His disciples, and that chapel is still called Pater-noster. Once also upon this mount there stood another chapel, now overthrown, at the place where Jesus saw the city and wept over it. On this same mount there is a small village² named Galilee, often mentioned in Scripture, wherein the disciples dwelt together. This is that Galilee whereof we read, 'Go into Galilee; there will you see Him, as He said to you'; and again, 'I will go before you into Galilee' (Matt. xxvi. 32). But there is another Galilee, which is a great land, and is three days' journey distant, as you shall be told hereafter. On this mount also there

¹ Fabri, i. 495. ² This must be the tower called 'Viri Galilei.'

were many dwellings of saints, and hermitages, and gracious oratories. Near the Mount of Olives is Bethphage, where on Palm Sunday Christ mounted the ass to ride into Jerusalem. A good rider He must have been, otherwise one never could tell that a man on an ass could have ridden down such a road, for this road comes down very steep and narrow from the Mount of Olives. A short half-mile from Bethany is Bethphage, once a very fair castle standing on the hillside. In it are three churches, whereof one stands on the place where Lazarus was raised from the dead, and his sepulchre is still to be seen there. The sepulchres of Christ, of the Blessed Mary, and of Lazarus are all shaped alike. The second church stands in the place where once was the house of Simon the leper, where Christ was asked to dinner, and the blessed Mary Magdalen came and anointed the head and the feet of Jesus, washed them with her tears, and wiped them with her hair, as the Scripture bears witness. The third church is made out of Martha's palace, wherein God in our weakness, when hungry and thirsty, naked and weary, was often received as a guest by Martha, refreshed, and entertained when homeless.

The Saracens who dwell there now shut up their oxen and beasts of burden in these churches. In this place Solomon set up his idol Moloch.¹

XLI.—THE DESERT ; JERICHO ; SODOM AND GOMORRHA.

From Bethany one reaches the Jordan in one day, crossing a little wilderness called Montost.² In this wilder-

¹ 1 Kings xi. 7.

² I do not understand this word. Wilhelm von Boldinsel says (chap. viii.): 'De hoc loco [Bethany] parva diaeta est in Jordanem, deserto quodam montoso medio existente,' etc. John of Hildesheim

ness St. John the Baptist taught, and ate locusts and wild honey in the same. In this wilderness also a certain man fell among thieves as he was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho, as the Scripture tells us. At the end of this wilderness is the mount which is called Quarentana, whereon Jesus fasted for forty days and forty nights, and was an hungered, and here the devil tempted Him to make bread of stones. Halfway up the mount a fair hermitage has been hewn out of the rock wherein Christ fasted, and wherein Georgian monks now dwell. In my time the King of Gazara¹ caused the road to be broken, so that the monks could not get down nor pilgrims get up, but when the Soldan heard of this he had the road well repaired, and granted leave to the monks to dwell there for ever. On the top of this mount stands a fair church in the place where Jesus was tempted of the devil. It is of this wilderness that we read, 'Jesus was led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil.'² Near this mount, toward the plain of Jordan, there is a fountain and an exceeding fair orchard, where Abraham dwelt when he came from Chaldaea, and built an altar there and called upon the name of the Lord. This place is called Abraham's Garden³ to this day. After passing these places one comes into Jericho, once a royal and famous city, now brought down to a small village, but standing in an exceeding beauteous and fertile spot in the Valley of the Jordan. This is the Jericho⁴ whose walls God cast down by a miracle, and gave it to Joshua, with a curse on him who should rebuild it. To this Jericho belonged

says (chap. xlii.): 'Et inter Jordanum et Jerusalem est quedam pars deserti que ibidem Mentost vocatur, et in ipso deserto Johannes Baptista habitavit et penitenciam predicavit,' etc. Al. Montoft, Moncost.

¹ Fabri (ii. 56) copies this story; but in his day the place was deserted.

² Matt. iv. 1.

³ Theoderich, chap. xxviii.

⁴ Josh. vi. 26.

Rahab the harlot and Zacchaeus¹ who was little of stature. It was the boys of this Jericho who mocked Elisha² the prophet, saying, 'Go up, thou bald head! go up, thou bald head!' and were devoured by two bears to avenge him, to all of which things the Scripture bears witness. Near Jericho is the place where Jesus lightened the eyes of the blind man as He passed by. Near Jericho there runs the brook which the prophet Elisha³ made sweet, which before was bitter. Three short miles from Jericho is the Dead Sea, which is about eighty miles of this country long, where stood the great cities of Sodom and Gomorrha, Seboim and Adana, and all the places within them and near them, all of which cities, villages, castles, and fortresses God overwhelmed because of their detestable sins. No creature can use the water of this sea for any purpose whatever, and it has a most unbearable and evil stench, wherefore when the wind blows it poisons all the country round about. In storms it casts up many beautiful pebbles, but if anyone picks them up his hand will stink for three days so foully that he will not be able to bear himself. Some say that a man cannot sink therein. Of this I know nothing save what has been told me, and perchance no one has ever tried it. But I have heard from the people of those parts that in some parts of the sea one can find the bottom, and in some not. But as for the buildings which stood there before the great destruction, no traces of them can be seen; indeed, a man can scarce approach it because of its vile and intolerable stench. Yet all the country round about is full of trees and great fruits,⁴ exceeding fair to see; but when these

¹ Luke xix. 3. ² 2 Kings ii. 23. It was not at Jericho, but at Bethel.

³ 2 Kings ii. 20.

⁴ Dead Sea fruit. Tac., 'Hist.,' v. 7; Josephus, 'De Bell. Jud.,' iv. 8; August., 'De Civ. Dei,' book xxi., chap. v. Compare Robinson's 'Palestine,' vol. ii., p. 472.

fruits are plucked and broken open, they are full of dust and ashes within, and for three days the hands of him who plucked them cannot be rid of a vile stench; for even all the country round about it is full of God's curse. In this country the serpent called *tyrus* is found and taken, whence what is called tyriac (treacle)¹ gets its name, for it is chiefly made thereof. This is a serpent not half an ell long, as thick as a man's finger, of a yellow colour mixed with red, and it is blind. No cure for its poison is known except cutting off the bitten limb. When it is angry it puts out its tongue like a flame of fire, and one would think that it was fire indeed, save that it does not burn the creature; it sets up the hair on its face like an angry boar, and its head at such times grows bigger. Were it not blind, I believe that no man could escape from it, for I have heard from those whose trade it is to catch these serpents, that if they bit a man's horse, they would kill the rider.² Near the Dead Sea, on the right hand toward the mountains of Israel, on a little hill, stands Lot's wife, turned into a pillar of salt. At this place in my time there were Templars, who had been made prisoners at the fall of Acre, who sawed wood here and there in the mountains for the Soldan's service, and did not know that the

¹ Θηριακή. Cf. Fabri, i. 537. See 'Carpentier's Glossary,' arts. *Thiriaca* and *Triaculum*. Littré gives the etymology of 'thériaque': 'Génev. *thériaque*; Provenç. *tiriaca*, *triacla*; Catal. *triaga*; Espagn. *teriaca*, *triaca*; Ital. *teriaca*; du Lat. *theriaca*, qui vient du Grec *θηριακή*, sous-entendu *ἀντίδοτος*.' Under *θηριακή* Liddell and Scott quotes Alexander of Tralles, v., p. 244, Galen, and Nicander's poem on such antidotes. Under the word 'Treacle,' Bailey's Dictionary gives '[*triacle*, Fr., *triakel*, Du., *theriaca*, L., *θηριακή*, Gr., of *θήριον*, Gr., a viper], a physical Composition made of Vipers and other Ingredients.' See Vincent of Beauvais's 'Speculum Naturale,' book xx., chap. xlvi.

² The story is to be found in John of Hildesheim, chap. xlii., as are also the stories about the Dead Sea fruit, 'Jor,' and 'Dan,' and St. John's arm at the monastery by the Jordan.

Order of the Templars had been suppressed;¹ for they worked here and there in the mountains, and had seen no man from this side of the sea since they had been taken prisoners. These men strongly dissuaded us from riding further along the shore of the Dead Sea, if we did not wish to lose our lives through its stench; but they showed us the statue of Lot's wife, which we could see plainly a long way off. Within the year the Soldan set these men free, together with their wives and children, in answer to someone's intreaties, and they came to the Court of our Lord (the Pope), and were sent with honour to their homes; one of them was a Burgundian, the other came from Toulouse. Not far from the statue of Lot's wife stood the city of Zoar, which by Lot's prayer was saved from destruction. Beyond the Dead Sea, toward the east, is the strongest castle² in the world, which in Arabic is called Arab; in Chaldee, Schobach; and in Latin, Montreal. It is said that there is no castle in the world to compare therewith, and it is girt about with three walls. Within the first wall there is an exceeding lofty rock with three springs running out of it, which water all the land round about. Within the second wall there grows enough corn to easily support all the people of the castle from one year to another. Within the third wall there used to grow as much wine, but the vines have been grubbed up. The whole world cannot take these things, except the trees and vines, away from the castle. This castle once belonged to

¹ In 1307 the Grand Master and all the Knights Templars in Paris were arrested by order of Philip IV. (le Bel). Their trial dragged on for five years, at the end of which the Order was abolished.

² The castle called Montreal or Petra by the Crusader, was founded by Baldwin I. in 1115. I suppose that this is the place mentioned by Fabri (ii. 402) under the name of 'the Mount Rama.' The fortress of Kerak was on the east side of the Dead Sea, while Montreal stood at the south end of it. Ludolph seems to have confused the two places.

the Christians, but their sins caused them most basely to lose it by their own treachery. The Soldan now always keeps his treasure in this castle, and his son and heir, and to this castle he always flees for refuge in time of need. At the foot of this castle is a village called Sabab, wherein dwell more than six thousand Christians, earnestly looking for the Redeemer of the Holy Land.

XLII.—OF THE RIVER JORDAN.

From the Dead Sea one comes to the Jordan, which is a river not ten paces wide. But albeit the Jordan is a small river, yet it is exceeding deep and muddy; it waxes and shrinks according to the season, and sometimes is so swollen with rain-water that it would float loaded ships. It has a very muddy bottom, sweet water, and excellent fish; it rises about four days' journey to the north of the Accursed Sea, at the foot of Mount Lebanon, from two streams called Jor and Dan. Passing through Galilee, it takes the names of both these rivers, and is called Jordan; but at the foot of Mount Carmel a brook runs out and falls into Jor. Near the Dead Sea, two short miles up the Jordan, is the place where Jesus was baptized by John; the place is called the Fords of the Jordan. Here Joshua and the children of Israel passed over dryshod. Here also the water of Jordan was divided at the bidding of Elijah the prophet, and here also the water was divided when Elisha struck it with Elijah's mantle. Near this place, not far from the bank of the Jordan, a fair monastery has been built in honour of John the Baptist, and is inhabited by Greek monks, who declare that they possess St. John's arm. This monastery has been removed a little way from the river bank because the waters sometimes overflow. All the Christians of the land, and even pilgrims from far-off lands, gather together at this place on the day of

the Lord's Epiphany, and all read there in Latin the Gospel 'When Jesus was born in Bethlehem,'¹ etc., bless the water, and baptize the cross. All who have any sickness or disease then leap into the water, and most of them are healed of their infirmities in the sight of all men. In the Valley of the Jordan is the heap of foreskins,² the place of circumcision, the place of weeping, and the twelve stones which the children of Israel took out of the bed of the Jordan for a testimony. It was of these stones that John the Baptist spoke, when he said, 'The Lord³ is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham.' This valley is called the Valley of Achan, because therein Achan was stoned because of the King's gold which he had stolen. It was in this valley also that Elijah was carried up to heaven in a chariot of fire. Not far—only two short miles away—from the place where Jesus was baptized, the Jordan enters the Dead or Accursed Sea, and is seen no more, and it is a question in the East why such blessed water should enter so accursed a place. Some say it is that the curse of the one may be allayed by the blessing of the other, others declare that it is swallowed up just at the entrance, both of which may well be believed; but to me it seems more likely that it is drunk up by the earth, for sometimes the rain-water running from all the hills round about makes the Jordan so great that it would not be possible for such a body of water to run into the sea without making it overflow, and flood all the country about it. The length of the river Jordan is, from its source to its end, about five-and-twenty of this country's miles. Beside the river Jordan there are very many monasteries of Greeks and schismatics, and hermitages full of grace. Every evening on the banks of this same river one may

¹ Matt. ii.

² Deut. xxvii. 2; Josh. iv. 3-20; v. 2.

³ Matt. iii. 9.

see countless wild beasts, both great and small, drinking, especially lions, foxes, roes, stags, hares, wild boars, and the like, which walk among men like tame beasts. In my time¹ there used to be always a lion at one particular place, on the further bank of the Jordan, who would watch people passing by, wagging his tail like a dog, and did not run away, neither did he hurt anyone by day or by night. At last one of our archers,² wishing to frighten and anger him, shot an arrow at him. The lion did not stir, but seemed to pray towards the arrow; but when the man shot another, the lion reared up at it, as though he would catch it with his mouth and paws. After this the lion was seen no more in this place, but did much hurt both to men and beasts of burden. Of other wild beasts there are so many here that the country people drive them to market like sheep. Not far from hence is the place called the hills³ of Jordan, where the children of Reuben and the children of Gad and the half-tribe of Manasseh built 'a great altar to see to,' when they came into their possessions.

XLIII.—OF RAMATHA, SHILOH, EMMAUS, SICHAH,
SAMARIA, AND GALILEE.

From the Jordan one comes in three days to Galilee, Judaea, and Samaria. After seeing many sights, one leaves Jerusalem on the left, and comes to the city of Ramatha,⁴ once a fair city, and to this day tolerably well peopled, standing on Mount Ephraim. In this city dwells at this day the Cadi—that is, the Bishop of the Saracens—

¹ Fabri (ii. 27) tells this story, which he had clearly read in Ludolph. Compare Phocas, chap. xxiii., p. 28.

² *Quidam sagittarius noster.*

³ A.V., 'the borders of Jordan;' R.V., 'the region of Jordan' (Josh. xxii. 10).

⁴ 'Ramathaim-Zophim, of Mount Ephraim' (1 Sam. i. 1; xxv. 1; xxviii. 3).

and here we once had much trouble about some Christians who had been taken prisoners there through their own folly, before we set them free. The prophet Samuel was born in this city, and buried in it. It was near this city that Habakkuk¹ the prophet was carrying the harvesters their dinner, when he was caught up by the angel and carried to Daniel in the lions' den at Babylon. Not far from Ramatha was a once fair, but now deserted, city named Arimathea, the birthplace of Joseph who buried Christ. Near this place, three miles off, once stood a famous city, which now is a small village, called Shiloh, where the Ark of the Covenant stood, and the Hebrews gathered together there to pray. Not far from Shiloh is Emmaus, once a fair city, but now deserted, where Jesus appeared to His disciples after His resurrection. This city is now called Nicopolis.² Near Nicopolis, on the right hand, once stood two very famous cities, now deserted—to wit, Gibeon and Ajalon³—where Joshua fought against five kings, and at his bidding the sun lengthened its course, until he overcame the enemies of Israel. Moreover, not far from Shiloh, in the country of Samaria, there once stood a fair city in a valley, which city was called Sichar, and is now called Neapolis, and at this day is all but deserted. It was here that Dinah,⁴ Jacob's daughter, was ravished, and avenged by his sons. Near this road there once stood a fair little church, now much ruined, wherein is Jacob's Well,⁵ beside which Christ, when sitting, weary with journeying in our human frailty, asked the woman of Samaria for water to

¹ See Abbot Daniel in this series, p. 49. Odoricus de Foro-Julii (ed. Laurent, 1864, p. 156) says: 'Extra muros Joppe est capella Abacuc prophetae, ubi angelus,' etc. See also Fabri, i. 543, note; Poloner, p. 31, note.

² A mistake. See Raumer's 'Palestine,' p. 169.

³ Josh. x. 12.

⁴ Gen. xxxiv. 25.

⁵ John iv. 18.

refresh Him, and said to her, 'Thou hast had five husbands,' as the Scripture tells us. It was near this well that Jeroboam, King of Israel, made golden calves which the children of Israel worshipped. Also in a field near this place David slew Goliath, and very many other notable places are to be seen along this road, whereof it would take long to tell. Going on from Sichar, one comes to Samaria, which once was the capital of the whole country, wherefore all that land is called the country of Samaria. This was once an exceeding fair, famous, royal, and very great city, as its ruins bear witness, and in situation is in all respects very like the city of Jerusalem. The Kings of Israel once dwelt in this city. In this city also St. John the Baptist was buried between the prophets Elisha and Obadiah. This city, which of old was called Samaria, was afterwards called Sebaste, and is now called Yblim,¹ from which the chief tribe of Christians in that land are called 'of Yblin' (*sic*) even to this day. They were at first French knights, and on the recovery of the Holy Land this city fell to their lot. When one has seen the aforesaid sights at Samaria, one goes on over the plains of Galilee, leaving the mountains behind. Galilee is a province of the Promised Land, and is a noble country, rich in plains, hills, pastures, grass, and other good things, with exceeding fruitful and pleasant valleys. On its plains and the slopes of its hills stand the following cities—to wit, Nain, Capernaum, Bethsaida, and Cana of Galilee; but all these are now deserted, or all but deserted, and they do not look as if they had ever been of much account. What things God in our flesh wrought therein is written at large in the Gospels, and therefore I do not care to repeat it. Near Nain is Mount Endor, at

¹ 'At the going up to Gur, which is by Ibleam' (2 Kings ix. 27). See Anon. VI., p. 58; and Fetellus, p. 32.

whose foot runs the brook Kishon. This land of Galilee also has been illustrated and glorified by very many of Christ's miracles. At the borders of Galilee are the mountains of Gilboa, which are low hills, greatly abounding with green herbs, grass, and pasture. It was on these hills that Saul and Jonathan and the children of Israel fell, and of them David said, 'Ye mountains of Gilboa, let there be no dew or rain upon you.'¹ Some say that no dew or rain falls upon them, which is false, because one can see that very many exceeding fair monasteries once stood upon them, whose paintings show that they belonged to the order of the Cistercians, and to that of St. Bene't. In the neighbourhood of the mountains of Gilboa stood the city of Bethulia, wherein dwelt Judith, who cut off the head of Holofernes hard by; but the city is now destroyed. After one has seen each of these things, one leaves the plain of Galilee and comes to Nazareth, which once was a famous city, and is a very fair one to this day, standing in a flowery and beauteous vale, girt about on all sides by mountains. It is not walled, but its houses stand apart from one another; yet it is well peopled. In this city God deigned to announce through Gabriel to the Blessed Virgin Mary that He was made man. In this city there has been built a great and fair church, wherein, near the choir, there is a beauteous chapel on the spot where God announced that He was made man for our sake, where also the Blessed Virgin conceived God and man. In this chapel there is a small pillar, against which Gabriel stood when he announced Christ, and his figure remains imprinted on the column, like the figure of a seal on wax, even to this day. Behind the church there is a fountain from which the Blessed Virgin was ever wont to draw water, and near which she very often was spoken

¹ 2 Sam. i. 21.

to and comforted by angels. In my time the Saracens had greatly blocked up this fountain out of spite against Christians and pilgrims, but they never were able to stop the flow of its water. The Saracens also desecrate this holy and glorious church in divers ways, for they skin dead animals, such as asses, camels, dogs, and oxen, therein, and cast their carcasses therein, so that one can scarce visit these most holy places for the stench. There dwell in Nazareth most evil Saracens, wicked and noble, who are called Dehes; they take scarcely any heed of the Soldan, but to enter the city one needs their passport and safe-conduct beyond everything else. One mile from Nazareth there is a rock on a mountain, which is called the Lord's Leap, where Jesus passed through the midst of the Jews and went His way,¹ when they would have cast Him down it, as the Scripture and Gospel tell us. The figure of Jesus may be seen to this day imprinted as though on soft wax upon the rock through which He passed. Going on from this place, one comes at mid-day to Mount Tabor, which is a mount standing all by itself on a plain. It is very high, but not wide, and is in all ways very like the hill called Dezenberg,² in the diocese of Paderborn.

On the top of this mount Jesus Christ was transfigured, and His face shone like the sun, in the presence of Peter, John, and James, and there Moses and Elias appeared talking with Him. On the place where He was transfigured there once was built a noble and royal monas-

¹ 'Ueber die herrliche Lage des Desenberg's, verg. Fürstenberg, Monum. Paderborn, s. 165 ff.—F. Deycks.

² *Transiens per medium illorum ibat.* Luke iv. 30; John viii. 59; x. 39. See Wright's note to Sir John Maundeville, chap. x. 'Early Travels in Palestine,' Bohn's Series. The words appear on some English coins, e.g., the 'Noble' of Henry V., and the 'Spur-Ryal' of Elizabeth.

tery of the Order of St. Bene't. Its Abbot used a leaden bulla, like the Pope. I have seen many of these bullae. You must know that in the lands beyond the sea the Feast of the Lord's Transfiguration is very solemnly kept; it comes on the day of SS. Felix and Agapetus,¹ and is then celebrated with new wine. On that day all nobles and citizens specially meet together at church; they place banners upon their churches, and watch with rejoicings all night long. The *Office* of the Mass is, *Dominus dixit ad me filius*, etc. *Dies sanctificatus illuxit*, etc. The Gospel is, *Assumpsit Jesus Petrum et Johannem*, etc. The top of this mount and the monastery has been occupied by the Saracens, for it was once well fenced with walls and towers. Now on the top it is all ruined and deserted; but the walls and towers remain for the most part. About this mount one reads many other things, to which the Scripture bears witness. At the foot of Mount Tabor is an exceeding great and strong castle, named Blansagarda² (Blanche Garde), which was built by the Christians to defend the way up to the mount, for the mount was always held by the Saracens. In those parts there is a large and noble tribe of Christians, called 'of Blanche Garde,' for this was their castle; but where their parents were born before the recovery of the Holy Land no man knows, and I have often been asked by them whether there were any people in my country who said that they had relations in those parts, or who bore their arms on their shields. From Mount Tabor one goes on to Mount Hermon, which is a fair and pleasant mount, and comes

¹ Properly SS. Felicissimus and Agapetus, August 6.

² A mistake. The castle of Blanche Garde was built by King Fulk I. in 1138 on Tell-es-Safieh, not far from Ascalon. It was also called Alba Specula. It was destroyed in 1191 by Saladin, and subsequently rebuilt. Compare Stanley's 'Sinai and Palestine,' chap. vi.

into the spacious plains of Galilee, where Sisera and his army fell. Thence one comes to the shores of the Sea of Galilee, to the city of Synareth,¹ which was afterwards called Tiberias, and is now called Tybaria. It stands by the sea-shore, and is a poor place, and never was much more ; but once it had a bishop for its noble lord, to whom the greater part of the Sea of Galilee belonged. Near this city there are natural hot baths, like those at Aachen in this country. It seems that on the shores of the Sea of Galilee there used to stand many other cities and villages, though none of much account, wherein Christ's disciples and other poor men and fishermen dwelt, and dwell to this day. The Sea of Galilee or of Tiberias measures twenty miles of this country in circuit, and hath abundance of sweet-tasted and excellent fishes, and exceeding sweet water. The river Jor runs into this sea on one side, and the river Dan on the other ;² they may be seen passing through the sea, and they come out of it in one stream, which then is called the Jordan. Upon and near this sea, God in the likeness of man wrought many miracles. It was from this sea that Jesus called Peter and Andrew, and made them Apostles. It was upon this sea that Christ walked dryshod, and caught Peter when he was beginning to sink. It was on this sea that Jesus slept in the ship and stilled the wind when the storm arose. Upon this sea Jesus when in our mortal frailty often sailed, and illustrated it with many miracles. It was beside this sea that Jesus appeared to His disciples after His resurrection, and ate the broiled fish and honeycomb. At this place there once stood a fair church, which now is destroyed. Near this sea there is a mount. At its foot God fed five thousand

¹ Num. xxxiv. 11 ; Luke v. 1.

² 'This is a mistake, or a confusion of this sea with Lake Merom.'—F. Deycks.

people with five loaves and two fishes, as the Gospel bears witness. On the top of this mount, on the north side, there is a lofty and exceeding strong castle, which, together with its village, is called Japhet,¹ wherein in my time a Jew from Westphalia dwelt with his wife. Not far from this castle there once stood a fair city named Dan, but it is now almost deserted. This is the other end of the Promised Land, for the Promised Land reaches from Dan to Beersheba from north to south, and is about twenty-five miles long, and in width from Jericho to Joppa, from east to west, it is about eleven miles of this country, as I have heard from the Soldan's couriers, and from exceeding trustworthy people of the country, who also described the land. Not far from Dan, toward the north, is the once fair city of Bolynas,² now called Caesarea Philippi, pleasantly situated at the foot of Mount Lebanon, but scantily peopled. It was near it that Jesus asked His disciples, 'Whom do men say the Son of man is?' as the Gospel testifies.³ Not far from this city there is a spring near the mountain, which divides Idumaea from Phoenicia; this spring is commonly called Sabbath, because it does not flow on Saturdays. After you have seen all these sights, you cross the Jordan at the place where it first leaves Galilee. In this land beyond Jordan two tribes and a half-tribe received their inheritance. Here also the Jordan divides Galilee from Idumaea, and one goes on and sees many villages and places not mentioned in Scripture, and comes, if one chooses, to a village where Job is buried. It was near this village that St. Paul was cast down and converted, and it stands about one day's journey distant from Damascus.

¹ Japhia, fortified by Josephus, taken by Vespasian.

² Belinas, the ancient Paneas.

³ Matt. xvi. 13.

XLIV.—THE CITY OF DAMASCUS.

Going on from this village, one comes to Damascus. Damascus is an exceeding ancient city, founded by Damascus, Abraham's servant. It stands on the place where Cain killed his brother Abel, and is an exceeding noble, glorious, and beauteous city, rich in all manner of merchandise, and everywhere delightful, but more by artificial than by natural loveliness, abounding in foods, spices, precious stones, silk, pearls, cloth-of-gold, perfumes from India, Tartary, Egypt, Syria, and places on our side of the Mediterranean, and in all precious things that the heart of man can conceive. It is begirt with gardens and orchards, is watered both within and without by waters, rivers, brooks, and fountains, cunningly arranged, to minister to men's luxury, and is incredibly populous, being inhabited by divers trades of most cunning and noble workmen, mechanics, and merchants, while within the walls it is adorned beyond belief by baths, by birds that sing all the year round, and by pleasures, refreshments, and amusements of all kinds. Each trade dwells by itself in a particular street, and each workman, according to his craft and his power, makes in front of his house a wondrous show of his work, as cunningly, nobly, and peculiarly wrought as he can, outdoing his neighbours if possible, so that he adorns and decorates his house more beautifully than I can tell you. The merchants do likewise with their merchandise, and all handicrafts are wrought there wondrously well and with exceeding great skill. But they sell everything very dear. Rich citizens have all kinds of singing-birds and birdlets hanging in front of their houses, such as nightingales, quails, larks, francolins, and the like, and they sing wondrously and equally well all the year round, but better in winter time

than in the summer heat; and you may hear all other kinds of birds, such as crows, pies, hoopoes, blackbirds, and the like, who can be taught human speech, talking like men in divers tongues. Though the city is so full of people, and though all the merchandise is left almost unguarded, yet there is no man so old that he can remember anyone ever to have been slain there, and it is very seldom that any of the goods for sale are stolen. Each sort of thing that is sold there has a special market to itself. In the market where victuals are sold there may be seen every day the greatest crowd of people ever seen together in one place, and every kind of food that you can think of may be found there most exquisitely cooked. They take the greatest care with these things, and sell them all by weight and scales; also sundry different sorts of bread are sold there. In Damascus there is an exceeding strong castle belonging to the Soldan, in which the King of Damascus dwells. In the year of our Lord one thousand three hundred and forty-one, on St. George's Eve, there was a persecution and murder of Christians by the King and mob of Damascus, even as of late¹ there was of the Jews in this country; but the persecution did not last for more than a month, and by God's grace was well avenged through the Soldan, as you will hear hereafter. In Damascus there are very many churches, both of Catholics and of heretics, and monasteries full of grace. Of these the Saracens have taken one fair church to be a church for themselves, wherein rests the body of that most learned doctor and weighty authority, St. John of Damascus. On the front of this church God's majesty still remains nobly painted. Moreover, the river Pharphar is artificially made to flow through Damascus, and turns

¹ According to Dr. F. Deycks there was a *Juden verfolgung* in Germany in 1348-9.

many cunningly-devised mills. Round about Damascus there are endless orchards and gardens, which bear grass, herbs, fruit, roses, and flowers all the year round, and are charming because of the songs of all kinds of birds and birdlets, who sing more in the winter time than in the summer heat. These gardens and orchards surround the city for a distance of about two miles, and the whole country, and even far-off lands, abound with their fresh fruit all the year round, wherefore in the East it is a common saying, 'Damascus is the head of Syria,' and the Greeks, out of their love and respect for it, always call their eldest sons Polydamas—that is, City of Damascus.¹ It would take long to tell of the other wonders and beauties of Damascus. From Damascus it is less than one day's journey to the mount which God showed to Abraham, that he should sacrifice his son Isaac thereon. This mount is called Seyr, or Sardenay.² One first crosses

¹ Dr. F. Deycks thinks this another proof that Ludolph did not understand Greek.

² *'De Damasco processi ad imaginem beate Virginis in Sardanii, ubi est locus fortis super petram ad modum castelli, muratus in circuitu, in quo satis pulchra est ecclesia. Retro majus altare in muro tabula quaedam tota nigra et humida cernitur, in qua imago gloriosae Virginis olim depicta fuisse asseritur; sed propter vetustatem nihil de lineamentis figurae cernitur in eadem, nisi quod in aliqua parte color rubeus mihi videbatur aliquantulum apparere. Haec tabula mediocri quantitate est, supra vas quoddam marmoreum posita intra murum cancellis ferreis premunita. De ipsa visibiliter oleum quasi continue stillat, quod monachi recipientes de vase marmoreo quod subtus est, per cancellos inmisso cochleari peregrinis distribuunt satis large. Per omnem modum videtur esse oleum olivae. Dicitur quod pro certo aliquando de hac imagine oleum miraculose fluxerit; sed si hoc quod modo fluit divino fluit miraculo, rationaliter dubito, et etiam multi alii de veritate hujus facti non immerito alternantur. Monachi et moniales in predicto claustro sunt degentes. In casali pulchro quod sub monte est, Christiani schismatici commorantur, bono vino sati abundantes. Hic locus a Damasco sejungitur ad mediam diurnam.'*
—Wilhelm von Boldinsel. See also Sir John Maundeville, chap. xi.; Fabri, i., p. 391.

the two rivers of Damascus, Abana and Pharphar. Upon this rocky mount Seyr, or Sardenay, a fair monastery has been built in honour of St. Mary ; it is built on the rock in an exceeding strong place, fenced about on every side with exceeding strong walls like a castle, and is inhabited by Greek monks and nuns. In this monastery, on the spot where Abraham would have sacrificed Isaac, there stands a fair church, wherein, behind the altar, in a semi-circular arch in the wall, there is a figure of the Blessed Mary suckling her child, painted from the waist upwards upon a wooden tablet, and fenced with iron bars ; but the painting is so black with age and kisses that one can scarce make out that it was a figure, beyond that a little red colour can still be seen in the clothing. Nevertheless, through this figure God hath wrought many blessings, wonders, and acts of grace. We read that in the times when the Christians held the Holy Land in possession, a certain widow, wishing to serve God, chose for herself and made a hermitage on this mount, which she wished no man to know of, that her devotions might not be hindered by any worldly business. Howbeit she had one matron in her secret, who from time to time visited her, brought her necessaries, and ministered to her. It befell that once this matron, her confidant, was about to visit Jerusalem and the other holy places. The widow hermit humbly and devoutly begged her that she would bring her a picture of the Blessed Mary painted on a tablet, because from the bottom of her heart she earnestly longed for it. The matron promised to do this, and being given leave by the hermit widow, went to holy Jerusalem, and, after visiting all the holy places, obtained a tablet with a picture of St. Mary, and journeyed to this Mount Seyr, or Sardenay. When she was near the Jordan a terrible lion attacked her. She could not flee, but with her hand protected herself

against the lion's spring with the tablet, as with a shield. The lion as soon as he touched the tablet burst asunder, and the matron continued her interrupted journey, and reached the mountain, but she hid what had befallen her from the hermit widow. She told her many other things about the holy places, and after she had told her all, the widow asked the matron whether she had brought her the tablet with the figure painted thereon. The matron, who thought that the picture would always have the same virtues which it had before, said that she had not brought it, but that she had forgotten it. When the widow heard this, she was sorry and deeply grieved, and could not help bursting into tears. But at last, when the matron would have gone her way, all the doors of the hermitage and chapel closed and firmly shut her in. Seeing that this was done by the will of God, the matron presently confessed to the widow that she had the tablet, and told her throughout what had befallen her on her journey with regard to the lion, and other matters. When the widow heard this, she many times gave thanks to God, received the tablet with joy, respect, and devotion, and put it in the place where it now stands. With tears and prayers, she gave honour to Christ for the picture. At length this picture plainly sweated oil, and the oil ran down into a little hollow made in front of the picture, and does run into it to this day ; but because of the number of pilgrims, the monks now eke it out with other oil and give it to pilgrims. But there is no doubt that the picture does sweat oil, and within a year this oil changes into milk, and the milk afterwards changes into blood, which I have often seen with my own eyes. Often at different times I have seen the oil thus changed, and I have often had some of the oil thus miraculously changed. This oil has great virtue against storms at sea ; when it is hung up in a bottle in the ship's

stern, the fiercest tempest straightway is still, which thing I have often clearly seen. In many ways it is plain that God hath an especial love for this place or mount, which He showed to Abraham that he might sacrifice his son thereon, because He hath wrought such miracles in honour of His mother Mary, whose image is there painted, and that even after so many troubles and invasions of the land have come to pass, and the land itself has been so many times and so strangely lost and won by divers peoples, yet the monks and nuns of this place have ever remained unharmed. We read, and the thing is still fresh in men's minds, that when Haloon, who took Baldach, of whom I have already made mention, had ravaged Egypt and all Syria and the whole country, the monks and nuns of this place were afraid, and thought of leaving it. Here-upon God and the Blessed Virgin visibly appeared to them and comforted them, so that they had no more fear at all, and did not leave the place; for they wished to remain near God and the Virgin, who in visible shape encouraged them all, and they never thereafter received any hurt or damage from either man or beast, but in my time were always in especial grace and favour with the Soldan, who did them much good, and in everything protected them like a father. At the foot of the Mount Seyr there is a very great and fair village, wherein dwell Greeks and Syrians. It abounds with good wine and very many other good things, and there both in summer and in winter, year after year, bunches of fresh grapes are found on the vines, which, indeed, are specially guarded and set apart for this purpose; and many other wonders and miracles hath God wrought upon this mount, out of His singular affection for it, by means of that picture, whereof it would take long to tell.

XLV.—OF THE VALE OF BOKAR, LEBANON, AND
BEYROUT.

Journeying onward from Mount Seyr, one sees many things which need not be mentioned on the way, and leaving the afore-mentioned cities of Arimathea and Tripoli on the right hand, one comes to a valley named Bokar, which to this day is called the Plain of Noah, for there Noah dwelt after the flood. This plain is exceeding fertile and rich, abounding greatly in meadows, pastures, trees, fountains, flocks, fishes, and corn; it is shut in between mountains, and is inhabited by Saracen husbandmen. When you have seen and passed by all this, you come to Mount Lebanon, whereof also I have already made mention, and to the Black Mountains, which reach as far as Antioch, and whereon grows the wood of which the bows of crossbows¹ are made. This wood is carried away from these mountains to distant lands and countries. At the foot of this mountain dwells a vast multitude of Christians conforming to the Latin rite and the Church of Rome, many of whose bishops I have seen consecrated by Latin archbishops, and who ever long with singular eagerness for the coming of Crusaders and the recovery of the Holy Land.

After having seen all these and many other admirable villages, places, and hamlets, one comes into a city by the sea called Beyrout, whereof I have already made mention. This city is a common thoroughfare for pilgrims, and near it the glorious martyr St. George slew the dragon, and converted the city and all the country to the Christian faith. From Beyrout a man can return to any country

¹ Marino Sanuto (lib. ii., pars iv., chap. xxii.) says that the best wood for this purpose grew in Corsica.

he pleases on this side of the Mediterranean Sea, a matter which I leave to his own choice to settle.

These are the journeyings in the Holy Land, which are trustworthy, although not along the common pilgrim-routes, wherein I have viewed at my leisure all the aforesaid holy places and oratories, in the state and form wherein they appeared in the aforesaid years of our Lord.

And I know that in no respect can my account be impugned by any man living, for I bear testimony of what I have seen or have heard from truthful men. This account I have, as is most justly due, written out of the devotion and respect which I owe to the Right Reverend Father and Lord in Christ, Lord Baldwin, Bishop of the Church of Paderborn, and in the name of the Lord I have begun and finished the same, to whom be praise and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

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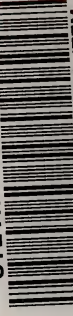
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