

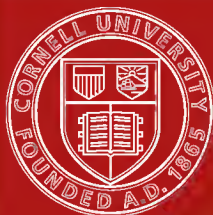
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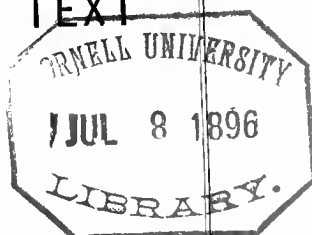
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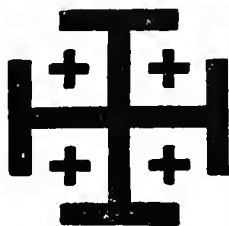
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*JACQUES DE VITRY'S
HISTORY OF JERUSALEM.*



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Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society.

THE
HISTORY OF JERUSALEM.

A.D. 1180.

BY
JACQUES DE VITRY,
*Bishop of Acre, subsequently Cardinal Bishop of Tusculum, Legate in France
and Germany, and Patriarch of Jerusalem.*

Translated from the Original Latin

BY
AUBREY STEWART, M.A.



LONDON:
24, HANOVER SQUARE, W.
1896.

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PREFACE TO THE EXTRACT FROM JACQUES DE VITRY'S ABBREVIATED HISTORY OF JERUSALEM.

JACQUES DE VITRY was born at Vitry-sur-Seine, and became parish priest of Argenteuil in 1210. A visit to Oignies decided him to become a monk, and he shortly afterwards became an Austin Canon at Villebrouik in Brabant.

Jacques soon became one of the leading men of his day, and his influence upon the Crusaders of the thirteenth century seems, according to contemporary testimony, to have been at least as great as that of Peter the Hermit in the twelfth century. Étienne de Bourbon tells us that *Predicando totam commovit Franciam, quod non putat memoria aliquem ante vel post sic movisse.*

De Vitry's sermons are extant, and hardly seem calculated to rouse much enthusiasm, according to the ideas of the present day, but there can be no doubt about their success in their own time. De Vitry first preached the

Crusade against the Albigenses, and next devoted his life to the recovery of the holy sepulchre. The great Lateran Council held in 1215, to 'advance the Holy Warre,' as Fuller says, must have given him hopes of seeing the Latin kingdom re-established in Palestine, and his own exertions were rewarded by his appointment as Bishop of Acre in 1217.

This was the year of King Andrew of Hungary's Crusade, during which Galilee was occupied, but little else accomplished. Next year De Vitry accompanied the Christian army to the siege of Damietta, where he is said to have taken upon himself the entire conduct of the military operations.

In 1227 he left Palestine, and went back to Oignies. In 1229 he came to Rome again, and gave up his insignia as Bishop of Acre to Pope Gregory IX.

Subsequently he was created Cardinal, Bishop of Jerusalem, Pope's Legate in France and Germany, and finally Patriarch of Jerusalem; but he died at Rome April 30, 1240, before he could enter on his patriarchate.

The above short sketch of De Vitry's life shows that he was born about the time when Christendom was shocked at the news of the taking of Jerusalem by Saladin. In his youth he must have been familiar with traditions of Godfrey and Tancred, and with contemporary stories about Philip Augustus and Richard Cœur de Lion; and before he died he saw Jerusalem again in the hands of the Christians, though probably so good a Churchman

esteemed the Emperor Frederick as little better than a Paynim.

Few writers, therefore, can better reflect the feeling of the Crusading epoch than De Vitry, who was brought up among memories of Crusaders, and, when he became a man, preached to them and fought with them both in Palestine and in Egypt. Yet of the Holy Land itself he can hardly have known much save by hearsay, for nearly all of it was during his episcopate in the hands of the infidels. What he most truly represents, no doubt, is the distrust and dislike with which the sly native-born Christians descended from the old Crusaders of the heroic age regarded the blundering novices which each successive pilgrimage brought among them. Nor were the pilgrims slow to denounce the effeminacy and treachery of the natives. The opprobrious names of *Pullani* and *Filii Hernaudi* which they bestowed on each other have been preserved, though the learned seem uncertain as to their exact meaning. 'No doubt,' remarks Sir Walter Besant ('Jerusalem,' p. 274, new edition, 1889), 'the climate of Syria rapidly produced a degeneracy in the courage and strength of the Latin races; but De Vitry's style is too full of adjectives. He screams like an angry woman when he declaims against the age, which was probably no worse than its predecessors, and the heat of his invective deprives it of most of its force.'

Whatever our opinion of De Vitry's style may be, there can be little doubt that he wrote this part of his book from

his own experience. We can scarcely say as much of the rest. It is hard to tell how much of his topography is original: his history is bodily transferred from William of Tyre, etc., and his collection of fables and legends at the end of the '*Historia Abbreviata*' shows that he had an unbounded appetite for the marvellous, and no critical faculty whatever.

The edition of De Vitry which I have followed is that of Bongars, in the compilation known as '*Gesta Dei per Francos*,' Hanover, 1611.

AUBREY STEWART.

1896.

MAP OF SYRIA WITH CRUSADING NAMES . . . *At end.*

THE
HISTORY OF JERUSALEM,

BY

JACQUES DE VITRY,

*Bishop of Acre, subsequently Cardinal Bishop of Tusculum, Legate in
France and Germany, and Patriarch of Jerusalem.*

HERE BEGINNETH THE ABBREVIATED HISTORY OF
JERUSALEM.

THE holy Promised Land, beloved by God, revered by the holy angels, and admired by all the world, having been chosen and preferred by God that He should illustrate it by His presence in the flesh, and should therein redeem the human race by instituting the Sacraments whereby we are made free—this land, according as God hath loved it more dearly than all others, so much the more because of the sins of the people thereof hath it been chastened and exposed to various troubles by Him who hath forbidden us to give holy things to dogs, or to cast pearls before swine. It has belonged to many owners, as some kept coming and others going away; but scarce any of them made any distinction between things sacred and profane, and set at nought that desirable land—the land flowing with milk and honey—the country of our Lord Jesus Christ and of the

holy Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles. They defiled it with sundry kinds of uncleanness till that was fulfilled which the Lord spake by the mouth of the prophet, saying,¹ ‘He that toucheth you toucheth the apple of My eye,’ for the eye is loved more dearly than any other member of the body, so that when dirt falls into the eye we straightway make haste, to the best of our ability, to remove it. Even so doth our Redeemer afflict, scourge, and drive out the sinners that dwell in the Holy Land, whereon He hath conferred the prerogative of His peculiar love, that by so doing He may purge it from the defilement of their sins. When they repent and their hearts are turned again, He mercifully brings them back into the same, for deep calleth unto deep ; that is, the depth of misery calleth to the depth of His mercy. To prove the above by somewhat early examples, Melchisedek, the priest of the Most High God, as we read in Genesis, was King of Salem, which afterwards, as most think, was called Jerusalem. After him the Kings of the Jebusites held the city down to the time of David ; but when the sum of their iniquities was full the Lord delivered into the hands of the children of Israel the Holy City and the place which He had especially dedicated to Himself, that they might serve Him therein, and offer sacrifices of divers kinds, all of which typified the one greatest ineffable sacrifice. But afterwards, when the sins of the inhabitants were multiplied even as the sands of the sea, in the time of King Zedekiah and of Jeremy the prophet, it came into the hands of the Babylonians for seventy years.

* * * * *

XXI. After the redemption of the Holy City, many of our people, having fulfilled their vow and accomplished their desire, returned with joy to their homes ; but other great and magnanimous men, wisely reflecting that they

¹ Zech. ii. 8.

would not be able to keep the city unless they could enlarge its boundaries and drive the enemies on their borders further away, chose rather to remain there in the greatest danger than to abandon the city, thus consummating their sacrifice and carrying out the Lord's command to offer to Him, not only the head, but the tail also. Albeit they were very few in number in comparison with the nations round about them, and were compassed about on every side by a multitude of infidels, having the Arabs, Moabites and Ammonites on the east; the Idumaeans, Egyptians and Philistines on the south; the cities of the coast, Ptolemais or Acre, Tyre, Tripoli, and all the others, even to Antioch, on the west; and Caesarea Philippi, the country of Decapolis and Damascus on the north—yet they preferred to imperil their lives for Christ's sake rather than look back after having set their hand to the plough, and leave the work unfinished.¹ Now, whereas these holy men turned not back as they went,² but forgot those things that were behind and reached forth unto the things that were before,³ counting nothing done while anything remained to be done,⁴ the Lord was with them, consoling and strengthening them, and struck such terror into the infidels all round about that one⁵ of them could chase a thousand, and two of them ten thousand. Having, therefore, no hope in their own courage or numbers, but only in God's protection, and ever bearing with them in battle the saving banner of the Cross, they partly routed their enemies, partly slew and partly took them prisoners, won for Christ the strongest cities and most impregnable castles, and tore the Holy Land from the grasp of the infidels with equal bravery and success.

¹ Luke ix.² Ezek. i. 17.³ Phil. iii. 13.⁴ '*Nil actum credens, dum quid superesset agendum.*'—Lucan., 'Phars.,' ii. 597.⁵ Deut. xxxii. 30; Lev. xxvi. 8; Josh. xxiii. 10.

XXII. At the first outset of the Crusade they sat down before the city of Joppa on the sea-shore and valiantly took it by storm, so that they who sailed from parts beyond sea to help the Christian host might have a harbour for their ships to ride in under the walls of the aforesaid city. Moreover, Ramula,¹ which some call Ramatha, standing on the plain, which once was a noble city, full of people, fenced with a stony wall and strengthened with tall towers; and Haifa, whose other name is Porphyria,² standing on the sea-shore at the foot of the beginning of Mount Carmel, some four miles from Acre; and likewise the city of Tiberias, in Galilee, on the Sea of Gennesareth, which after that same city is called the Sea of Tiberias, and is generally called the Sea of Galilee, were all taken by our people, led by brave Duke Godfrey, in the first year after the taking of Jerusalem.

XXIII. At the end of that year he went the way of all flesh, but his brother Baldwin, a knight valiant in arms, practised in fighting from his childhood, was by common consent chosen to reign over them and anointed as King. He was a man of war, wise and careful in the management of his affairs, eagerly desirous of enlarging the borders of his narrow kingdom. With the help of the Genoese, whose fleet had put into the harbour of Joppa about the beginning of spring, he took the seaside town of Assur,³ otherwise called Antipatris, after Antipater, Herod's father; it stands between Joppa and Caesarea, in a place pleasant with thick woods and fertile with grassy meadows.

XXIV. After this, with the aid of the aforesaid Genoese, he invested Caesarea of Palestine both by sea and land, and gained possession of it. This Caesarea was called Strato's

¹ *Ramleh*.

² Porphyrium was not at *Haifa*, but eight miles north of Sidon. See Fetellus, p. 48, note.

³ *Arsuf*.

Tower¹ before that. Herod who slew the children rebuilt it in Caesar's honour ; it stands by the seaside, but has not a convenient harbour, but it abounds in gardens, pastures and running waters. It is the chief city of Palestina Secunda. Here St. Paul the Apostle was long detained in prison, and made his appeal that he might go to Rome.

XXV. The aforesaid King Baldwin, after he had taken Caesarea, led his whole assembled army from the lesser task to the greater, and set it to besiege Acre, because Acre was most convenient for the reception of pilgrims, and, having a good harbour, offered a safe haven for ships. The Genoese assailed it from the sea side with seventy galleys, and our people on the land side pressed it hard and unceasingly. After twenty days, as the citizens were no longer able to endure the fury and frequent assaults of our people, they gave up the city to the King upon the condition of being allowed to retire from it with their goods. This aforesaid city has two names, being called both Ptolemais and Acre, because two brothers, the one named Ptolemy and the other Acon, are said to have founded it and to have called it after their own names. It stands between the sea and the mountains, built on a convenient site on the bank of the river Belus, and has many gardens and vineyards, many villages and much arable land round about it. It stands in the province of Phoenicia, and has Tyre for its metropolis.²

XXVI. After this our people laid siege to Beyrout both by sea and land, and being joined by Bertram, the noble Count of Tripoli, after a two months' siege, having brought wooden towers up to the walls and joined them to the walls by ladders, forced their way into the city, and slew

¹ John of Würzburg, p. 62 ; Anon., p. 35 ; Theoderich, xxxix.

² The writer uses this word here in an ecclesiastical sense. Compare Burchard, p. 15.

many of the citizens, cast the rest into chains and held them captive. Beyrout is a city on the sea-shore between Sidon and Biblum, in the country of Phoenicia, having Tyre for its metropolis;¹ it is fertile and fair, with fruit-trees, woods and vineyards. Here once a wooden figure was crucified by the Jews in mockery of Christ, and when pierced by them with nails and a lance poured forth blood abundantly.² At the sight of this miracle all the Jews in the city took the Sacrament of Baptism.

XXVII. In the same year wherein Beyrout was taken, the Lord King not being slothful nor having received the grace of Christ in vain, brought the city of Sidon under his dominion with a strong hand and outstretched arm, forcing the citizens, who could not resist him, to yield up their city to him. Sidon is in the province of Phoenicia, on the sea-shore between Tyre, its chief city,¹ and Beyrout, and has fruit-trees and vineyards, woods and fields, both pasture and plough land, whereby its citizens are greatly benefited. The Lord Jesus in His own person deigned to visit its borders, as we read in the Gospel,³ 'Jesus went thence, and departed into the coasts of Tyre and Sidon.' And in the second (*sic*) Book of Kings, Solomon says to Hiram: 'Thou knowest that there is not among us any that can skill to hew timber like unto the Sidonians.'⁴

XXVIII. Now, after the King had enlarged the borders of his kingdom on the west side as aforesaid, wishing to extend the Christian kingdom beyond Jordan to the east, he built an exceeding strong castle on a high mount in Arabia the Third, called Syria Sobal (*i.e.*, Zobah). This castle he named Mount Royal,⁵ because it was built by the King. It is rich in corn, wine, and oil, and is admirable for

¹ The writer uses this word here in an ecclesiastical sense. Compare Burchard, p. 15.

² See Burchard, p. 15, note.

³ Matt. xv.

⁴ 1 Kings v. 6.

⁵ Monreal, *Shobek*.

its beauty and the healthfulness of its climate. Its dominion extends over all the country round about, even to the borders of Moab and the Waters of Strife.

XXIX. In the same war the aforesaid King Baldwin, 'whose memorial is blessed for ever,'¹ went the way of all flesh,² after having built a fort at a place between Ptolemais and Tyre, commonly called Scandalion,³ a well-watered place five miles from Tyre, and was buried with all honour, as became his royal greatness, at the foot of Mount Calvary, in the place which is called Golgotha.⁴ His successor was a noble and valiant man, one who was practised in war, religious, and God-fearing, by name Baldwin de Burgh, of the kingdom of France, a kinsman of the aforesaid King.

XXX. It would take long and would be beyond my poor ability to set forth with what power and grandeur, what ingenuity and labour, the aforesaid man and the other soldiers of Christ bore themselves on each several occasion, like a second race of Maccabees, and consecrated their hands to God in enlarging the kingdom and the bounds of Christendom, in attacking the enemy, and taking cities and other strong places by storm. Their battles and triumphs will be told of in all churches of the saints⁵ till the end of time. Let us slightly and briefly speak of the four noble principalities, long retained by the perfidious race of infidels, which by the Lord's aid they brought under the dominion of Christ's Church. First of these is the county of Edessa, in the country of the Medes. It begins at a wood called Marith,⁶ and reaches beyond the river Euphrates toward the east, containing within itself many cities, and very many castles and strong places.

XXXI. Edessa is a noble city, the capital of the Medes;

¹ Eccclus. xlv. 1.

² Cf. Josh. xxiii.

³ *Iskanderāneh*.

⁴ St. John xix. 17.

⁵ Eccclus. xlv. 15.

⁶ Possibly *Marash* is intended.

its ancient name, as we read in Tobit,¹ was Rages, and it is now commonly called Roasse. It was hither that Tobit sent his son to Gabael, from the city of Nineveh, which at this day is called Mossul, or, vulgarly, Mosse. This city was converted by Thaddaeus the Apostle to the Christian faith by his preaching and miracles, and in it the holy body of St. Thaddaeus the Apostle is said to be buried. Here, according to sundry ancient histories, and the 'Ecclesiastical History' itself, King Abgarus reigned in the days of Christ. Hearing of, and being astonished at, Christ's wondrous works, and the unheard-of miracles which the Lord Jesus was working in Judaea, he sent Him a letter, to which Our Lord deigned to write a reply. This ancient and noble city belonged to the Lord Baldwin, Duke Godfrey's brother, before he was called to the kingdom of Jerusalem, and both he and his successors after him drove out the Saracens, and brought the whole county of Edessa under their power. This province is exceeding rich in woods, pastures, and rivers. This country has the special name of Mesopotamia, because it stands in the midst between two rivers, for *mesos* in Greek means *midst*, and *potamos* is the Greek name for a river. In this land is the city of Haran,² where Abraham dwelt when he came out of Chaldaea, before he came into the Promised Land. This aforesaid county had three Archbishops, to wit, he of Edessa, and they of Geropolis and Coricus (?),³ under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Antioch.

XXXII. The second principality is that of Antioch. Its capital city is Antioch. Its western boundary is at Tassus⁴ in Cilicia, the birthplace of the Apostle St. Paul, and its

¹ Tob. iv. 1. Cf. Ludolph von Suchem, in this series, p. 81, note; Marino Sanuto, p. 1. Edessa was also called Callirrhoë, whence its Armenian name, *Roha*; Latin, *Roasse*; and Turkish, *Orfa*.

² Gen. xii. 12.

³ Geropolitanum and Coriciensem.

⁴ Tarsus, Acts xxii. 3.

eastern limit is a river which runs between Valenia under the Castle of Margat, and Maraclea,¹ cities on the sea-shore. The ancient name of this city was Riblah,² as we read in the fourth Book of Kings that Zedekiah, King of Jerusalem, was brought to Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, to Riblah, and that they slew his sons before his eyes, and put out his eyes at the bidding of the aforesaid King of Babylon. Afterwards it received the name of Antioch from King Antiochus, who greatly enlarged it, and made it the chief and the ruler over all the provinces of the east. After it was converted to the Lord by the preaching and miracles of St. Peter, the chief of the Apostles, who first received the episcopal dignity therein, it was named Theophilis, after Theophilus, a noble and powerful citizen, who afterwards was ordained the seventh Bishop thereof. Thus, the city which had been called after a profane King got its new name from a holy and religious man. This was that Theophilus to whom St. Luke the Evangelist, who came from the same city, dedicated the Acts of the Apostles. In this city Christ's followers first received the sacred name which they had been called by the Lord's own mouth, so that they who had before been called Galileans and disciples, were thenceforth called Christians,³ after the name of Christ. This place holds the third place in God's Church after the Apostolic See. Its Patriarch has under his jurisdiction twenty provinces, whereof fourteen have Metropolitans with

¹ 'Un autre château maritime fut élevé en 1260 sur l'îlot nommé Djezaireh, qui se voit en face du cap Ras el Hassan, un peu au sud de l'embouchure de la rivière de Maraclea: . . . En 1285, après avoir enlevé Margat aux Hospitaliers, le Sultan Kelaoun, considérant que la situation de Maraclea rendait ce château imprégnable, exigea sa destruction de Bohémond VII., Comte de Tripoli.'—'Les Familles d'Outremer,' ed. E. G. Rey, Paris, 1869.

² 2 Kings xxv. 6. Riblah was on the right bank of the Orontes, between *Baalbek* and *Homs*, and was much higher up the river than Antioch.

³ Acts xi. 26.

their suffragan Bishops. The six others are ruled by two Primates, with the title of Catholicus, one of whom is he of Hirinopolis, or Baldach,¹ which once was called Babylon; the other is he of An² . . . who is called the Primate of

¹ *Baghdad, Eirenopolis, Medinat-as-Salam*; the 'Abode of Peace' of the 'Arabian Nights.'

² I do not know what is meant by 'Annensis,' the word in the text. William of Tyre has 'Catholicus Irinopolis quae est Baldac. Catholicus Ani, qui est Persidis.' Le Quien, the learned author of 'Oriens Christianus,' also admits his ignorance, ch. xx.: 'Saeculo quoque eodem labente, Gulielmus Tyrius, libro iiii. de Bello Sacro, cap. 9., ubi de Antiocheni Patriarchae diocesi sermonem habet, hunc viginti provincias in sua jurisdictione habere ait, quarum quatuordecim sub duobus Primatibus sunt, qui vulgari appellatione dicuntur Catholici, alter Aniensis, alter vero Irenopolitanus, qui et Bagdadensis. . .' Le Quien continues: 'Ubi quae sit civitas aut regio Aniensis, non me satis intelligere fateor, nisi vel Aniam Armeniae Persicae civitatem intellexerit, vel ex Petro Antiocheno et Nilo legendum duxero Chorasaniensis, vel forsitan Ariensis propter Ariam Chorasaniae civitatem veteribus notissimam, quam Nestoriani Haram dicunt, & inter Metropoles habent. Apud Jacobum de Vitriaco, qui hunc Tyrii locum descripsit, legitur Annensis, altero librarii Latini errore. Quando autem qui apud Tyrium Catholicus Aniensis scribitur, a Petro Antiocheno et Nilo Romagyris Catholicus dicitur minime tacendum puto in Armenia majore a Marco Paulo Veneto, lib. i., cap. 17, civitatem poni Argyron nomine, quam illius Catholici sedem fuisse non nemo forsitan suspicabitur. Verum Romagyris voce aliud quidpiam omnino significatur, scilicet Iguraea Romanis sive Byzantinorum affinis regio, quae juxta mare Caspium, Chorasaniam usque Tartariam et Cathayam protenditur, ut gentium illarum pars Christi religione suscepta Nestoriana sectae se dediderit, pars Catholicam fidem restituerit, quem ad modum Babyloniae, Parthiae, residuique Christiani, alii Nestoriano Catholico, alii Melchitae sive Orthodoxo etsi minori numero parebant. Irenopolitanus denique Doxapatrio et Tyrio dicitur Catholicus Bagdadensis *Ἐιρηνοπόλεως* (*sic*) sive civitatis pacis, quia ab Almansore Califa ejus conditore Medinat Alsalam appellata fuit.'—'Oriens Christianus,' tom. ii., p. 1087; Paris, 1740.

'Neither let it stagger the reader, if in that catalogue of Tyrius he light upon many Bishops' seats which are not to be found in Mercator, Ortelius, or any other geographer.'—Fuller, 'Holy Warre,' book ii., ch. ii.

De Vitry possibly refers to the Catholicus of Ani, who at the period was resident in Lesser Armenia.

Persia. Antioch stands in the province called Coele Syria, on a very convenient site, between mountains and rivers ; it is exceeding rich in fertile fields and soil, is adorned with singularly beauteous rivers and springs of water, and has close by it a lake that abounds in fish. It is ten or twelve miles distant from the sea, and has a harbour at the mouth of the river Orontes, which is called St. Simeon's Port.¹ On the north it has a mountain commonly called the Black Hill, whereon are many hermits of every people and nation, and many monasteries of both Greek and Latin monks. Since this hill is all well watered by springs and brooks, it is called Mount Nero ; that is, watery, for *neros* in Greek means water in Latin. But the ignorant vulgar call it *noire*, that is, black, in their common speech.

XXXIII. The third of the four principalities aforesaid is the county of Tripoli, which begins at the aforesaid brook that runs beneath the Castle of Margat, and ends at the brook which flows between Biblum² and Beyrout, cities on the sea-shore. Tripoli is a noble and wealthy city standing on the sea-shore, in the province of Syria of Phœnicia. It stands in a good position, on a very commodious site, watered by streams and springs of water, rich with corn-land, fruit-trees, and green pastures, and enjoying many advantages from the neighbourhood of Mount Lebanon and its outlying hills. At the foot of Mount Lebanon in those parts there rises an exceeding beauteous spring of the clearest water, which flows down by an underground passage from Lebanon, and waters all the gardens of the country abundantly. This, they say, is the fountain of living waters³ whereof Solomon makes mention in Canticles. Near this city springs of sweet water burst forth abundantly among the salt and bitter waves of the sea. Here likewise

Suweidiyeh.

² *Jébeil.*

³ Cant. iv. 15. The stream is the *Nahr Kadishah.*

are vines which bear fruit twice in the year. This noble city was besieged for a long time after the taking of Jerusalem, by Raymond, Count of Toulouse, a man commendable in all things, a valiant knight, and devout servant of God. He built a castle near the city, that he might more conveniently besiege it; which castle is called Pilgrims' Castle even to this day, because it was built by pilgrims. After his death his son Bertram continued the siege, and after seven years obtained possession of the city by capitulation of the citizens, and received it as a fief from the King of Jerusalem, who was present at the taking of the city, and whose liege-man he became.

XXXIV. The fourth principality is the kingdom of Jerusalem, which begins at the aforesaid brook¹ that runs between Biblum and Beyrout, and ends at the wilderness toward Egypt, beyond the castle called Darum.² The kingdom of Jerusalem was won for Christ with great labour and much bloodshed, and wholly recovered by triumphant heroes and friends of God, who girded up their loins with strength, and strengthened their arms,³ cast out the enemies of the faith of Christ from Dan even to Beer-sheba,⁴ and drove them away from the Holy Land.

XXXV. Dan, the boundary of the Promised Land to the north, is a very ancient city, standing at the foot of Mount Lebanon, which is between it and Damascus. Its name of old was Leshem,⁵ but, after the children of Dan took it, it was more commonly called simply Dan. Afterwards, however, Philip the Tetrarch, the son of Herod the elder, enlarged it, and called it Caesarea Philippi in honour of Tiberius Caesar. It is likewise called Paneas, and is now called in the vulgar tongue Belinas. The wood

¹ The river Adonis; *Nahr Ibrahim*.

² *Deir el-Belâh*. Darum is a corruption of *Deir er-Râm*.

³ Prov. xxxi. 17.

⁴ 2 Sam. xvii. 11.

⁵ Josh. xix. 47.

adjoining the city is also called Paneas, but of old both this and all the rest of the wood near Mount Lebanon was called the Forest of Lebanon.¹

XXXVI. Beersheba is the southern boundary of the Holy Land. The city of Beersheba is in that part of Judaea which fell to the lot of the tribe of Simeon, and stands at the foot of the mountains, at the beginning of the plain, between Ascalon and the mountains, ten miles from Ascalon. It is, being interpreted, the well of the treaty, or the treaty of the well, because Abraham dug the well² at this place for a witness of the treaty that he made with King Abimelech. It is also called the seventh well, and at this day it is commonly called Gibelin.³

XXXVII. It is a difficult task, and beyond my strength, to set forth and reckon up the feats of arms and enlargements of the boundaries of Christendom which by God's help were performed by the glorious soldiers of Christ,⁴ whose memorial is blessed. These soldiers of Christ and Christians truly so called, endowed with valour from on high, fought for a long time against the Saracens under divers Kings, and won all the cities and strong places from the city of Belbeis, otherwise called Pelusium,⁵ which is in the wilderness on the border of Egypt, even to Edessa and Haran, and the boundaries of the county of Edessa beyond the river Euphrates, in the land of Mesopotamia. Many of them won the crown of sweet martyrdom, and greatly enlarged the boundaries of the kingdom of Jerusalem and of Christendom by the shedding of their own blood; while toward the land they brought many cities, towns, and strong places into their hands, on the sea they left no

¹ See William of Tyre, book xviii., ch. ii., p. 939, Bongars.

² Gen. xxi. 30, 31.

³ *Beit Jibrin.*

⁴ Ecclus. xiv. 1.

⁵ Pelusium was on the coast; Belbeis is on the line of the old canal from the Nile to Lake *Timsah*.

cities or fortresses between the city called Pharamia, which is on the borders of Egypt, and of the kingdom of Jerusalem, even to Laodicea in Syria, over which they did not establish the Christian power.

XXXVIII. Pharamia¹ is a very ancient city on the sea-shore, not far from the mouth of the Nile, as one goes into Egypt. This city Baldwin, the first Latin King of Jerusalem, took by storm, and won many prisoners and much spoil for himself and his fellow-soldiers.

XXXIX. Beyond Pharamia comes another ancient city, which stands in the wilderness near the sea-shore. It is called Laris; and next to it is the city of Belbeis, which in the Prophets is called Pelusium, and is five stadia from the sea-shore. Our people established their dominion over the aforesaid cities, albeit they were beyond the border of the kingdom of Jerusalem, for they are beyond the furthestmost fortress of that kingdom toward Egypt.

XL. Darum is a garrison or town standing on the border between Idumaea and Palestine, five stadia from the sea. This fortress was built by Amalric, King of Jerusalem, on a somewhat high place, in a round form, with four towers. Once there was a monastery of Greek monks on the site, wherefore it still retains its old name, Darum, which is, being interpreted, House of the Greeks.² Next to this comes Gaza, a very ancient city, four stadia distant from the aforesaid fortress. It once was one of the five cities of the Philistines. Baldwin, the fourth King of Jerusalem, found it in ruins and without inhabitants, rebuilt it on one part of the high hill whereon the aforesaid city once stood, and fortified it. When his part of the work was duly finished and done, he gave it to the brotherhood of the Knights Templars for ever, for them to keep it and defend

¹ Now *Tell Farama*, the ancient Pelusium.

² See note, p. 12.

it against our enemies. It is ten miles from Ascalon, which also was one of the five cities of the Philistines, and stands on the sea-shore. It is shaped like a bow or half-circle, the string lying along the sea-shore, and the round part on the land side, looking east. This was the last of all the cities of the kingdom of Jerusalem that remained in the hands of the Saracens when the aforesaid King, with much toil and much difficulty, after a long siege, was at last just able to take it ; for it was fenced with walls and outworks, very many towers, and a strong rampart, and had good store of arms and victuals, and numbers of fighting men. Howbeit at last he forced the people of Ascalon to capitulate, granting them safety for their lives and their property.

XLI. Between Ascalon and Joppa is Ashdod, ten miles from Ascalon. It stands not far from the sea, and once was one of the five cities of the Philistines, but now has dwindled to the size of a small village. Gath, the fourth city of the Philistines, stood on a hill not far from Lydda and Ramula. It had long been laid waste when, out of its stones, Fulke, the third King of Jerusalem, built a fort called Ibelin on that same hill, and gave it into the charge of a nobleman named Balian, all whose descendants¹ are to this day named D'Ibelin, after that place. This place, together with several others, to wit, Beersheba or Gibelin,² and the White Watch-tower,³ called in the vulgar tongue *Blanche Garde*, which is eight miles from Ascalon, were built by our people before they could take Ascalon, to curb the insolence of the Ascalonites, and to check their boldness and their inroads into our kingdom. The fifth city of the Philistines is called Ekron, and stands by the sea-shore, not far from Ashdod.

¹ Ibelin is *Yebnah*.

² Beersheba is wrongly placed at Gibelin, now *Beit Jibrîn*. See Ludolph, p. 49.

³ *Alba Specula* ; now *Tell es-Sâfi*.

XLII. Beyond the aforesaid five cities of the Philistines, round about which¹ we read in the first Book of Kings that the Philistines brought the Ark of the Lord, because of the plague of emerods, come the cities and other strong places on the sea-shore, to wit, Joppa, Assur,² and Caesarea of Palestine. There is another Caesarea, which is called Philippi, or Dan. After these comes Petra Incisa,³ or Districtum, between Dora and Capernaum.⁴ There is also another city likewise called Capernaum, beside the Sea of Galilee, wherein the Lord taught, and wrought many miracles. Then comes Haifa, or Porphyria,⁵ and after that Acre, or Ptolemais. About all these places enough has been said already.

XLIII. Next after these comes Tyre, a noble and famous city standing in the deep sea, surrounded on almost every side by the waves. It has a convenient harbour, and offers a safe roadstead for ships. Tyre is the metropolis and capital of the whole province of Phœnicia ; it is fenced about with a wall and outworks and lofty towers ; is abundantly supplied with fish ; well watered with springs and brooks of sweet water ; and is rich and fair with vineyards, gardens, fruit-trees, and cornfields. On a rising ground within its territory there is a spring, or well, at which the Lord is said to have rested when weary with travel, when He walked in the coasts of Tyre and Sidon. This fountain contains very clear water, which bursts forth so abundantly that it waters all the orchards and kitchen-gardens, and, in fact, all the country. This is what Solomon alludes to in his Song as 'the well of living waters.'⁶ There is a stone without the city, but near its walls, which is greatly

¹ 1 Sam. v.

² *Arsûf*.

³ Dustrey near Athlît.

⁴ That is between *Tantûra* and *Kefr Lâm*.

⁵ Cf. Fetellus, p. 48, note.

⁶ Cant. iv. 15. The fountain is *Râs el-'Ain*.

honoured and revered by both natives and pilgrims, because the Lord is said to have sat thereon, and taught the assembled crowds, because He would not enter a city of the Gentiles. This most ancient city is said to have been founded after the flood by Tiras,¹ the son of Japhet, who was the son of Noah. In Hebrew it is called Sor, and we in common speech call it Sur. What its dignity, pre-eminence and glory once were is evident from the Book of Ezekiel, who, when speaking of Tyre, says, among other matters, 'O Tyrus, thou hast said, I am of perfect beauty. Thy borders are in the midst of the sea.'² And again, 'Who hath taken this counsel against Tyre, the crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth?'³ and much more does the prophet tell about its wealth and excellency and its traders. The King of this city was Agenor, whose son Phoenix gave his name to all the country. From this city came Dido, who founded Carthage in Africa, which is now called Marroch. Hiram also was King thereof, he who furnished Solomon with cedars from Lebanon to build the Lord's Temple, and whose servant Abdimus⁴ answered, with wondrous ingenuity, all the riddles and dark sayings which Solomon sent to Hiram, King of Tyre, to answer, which if he had not answered he must have given Solomon much money. By this man's counsel, Hiram, in his turn, sent some problems to Solomon for him to solve, or pay a fine in money. Some say that it was one Marchol who riddled with Solomon on equal terms. Another King of this afore-said city was Apollonius, whose doings are widely read in the common story-books. Here also Origen was buried, as we are told by St. Jerome, who, in his epistle to Pam-machus and Oceanus, says: 'It is now about a hundred

¹ Gen. x. 2.² Ezek. xxvii. 3.³ Isa. xxiii. 8.⁴ Josephus, c. Ap. i., pp. 17, 18.

and fifty years since Origen died at Tyre.' To this city that Canaanitish woman¹ is said to have belonged, who cried unto our Lord Jesus Christ for her daughter who was possessed of a devil, fulfilling David's prophecy,² 'And the daughter of Tyre shall be there with a gift; even the rich among the people shall intreat Thy favour.' Here also Ulpian, the learned lawyer, is said to have been born. It is said that the Tyrians were the first to invent letters. So Lucan tells us: 'The Phoenicians, if tradition can be trusted, were the first to attempt to fix the fleeting voice by rude signs.'³

The Tyrians also are said to have been the first to make the purple dye out of the *murex*, wherefore at this day the costliest purple is called Tyrian. After Baldwin, the first King of Jerusalem, had besieged this noble and strongly fortified city for four months, seeing that he gained no advantage, and was being uselessly put to great expense, he raised the siege, meaning to come back again at a more convenient season with greater means. That he might better be able to straiten and annoy the Tyrians, he rebuilt a city by the sea-shore between Tyre and Acre, which city had been built by Alexander of Macedon when he was besieging Tyre, and called by him Alexandrium;⁴ but our people at this day call it Scandalium. This place is well watered, and five miles distant from Tyre. Moreover, the noble Hugh de St. Omer, Lord of Tiberias, built an exceeding strong castle on the mountains which look down on Tyre, between his city and Tyre, ten miles away from it, which castle he named Toron,⁵ to the end that from thence he might even more straiten and vex the Tyrians, from a point close at hand, and yet avoid having to meet their attack. This castle stands about midway between

¹ Matt. xv. 22, *sq.*² Psa. xlv. 13.³ 'Pharsal,' iii. 220.⁴ Alexandroscene, now *Iskanderûneh*.⁵ *Tibnin*.

Lebanon and the sea, and is most rich in trees, vines, and ploughland. Afterwards, when for his sins the second King of Jerusalem, Baldwin de Burgh, was held prisoner by the Saracens, the Lord Patriarch of Jerusalem, with the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Barons of the kingdom, and the Count of Tripoli, sat down before the city and invested it. He was helped also by the Doge of Venice, who attacked the city on the sea side with a multitude of men-at-arms, forty galleys, and many ships both great and small. When, with immense labour and much bloodshed, they had for a long time besieged the city with divers machines and warlike engines, in the fifth month of the siege they forced the citizens, who could no longer endure their famine, to surrender, and they yielded up the city to our people on condition of their lives and property being safe. Thus, in the eleven hundred and twenty-fourth year since Christ's Incarnation was the city of Tyre taken by the Christians and restored to Christendom.

XLIV. Beyond this is the city of Sarepta by the sea, at whose gate Elijah¹ the prophet spoke to the widow woman that was gathering sticks, whose handful of meal was multiplied because she made bread thereof for the man of God. The Christians have built a small chapel at this place, near the gate of the city. After this come other cities by the sea, first Sidon, then Beyrout, then Biblum, at this day commonly called Gibelet,² which stands on the sea-shore in the province of Phoenicia. It was once called Evaëa, because it is said that Evaëus, the sixth son of Canaan, founded it. Ezekiel says of it: 'The ancients of Gebal and the wise men thereof were in thee thy calkers: thy wise men, O Tyrus, that were in thee were thy pilots.'³

¹ 1 Kings xvii. 10. *Surafend*; Theoderich, p. 72.

² *Jebeil*.

³ Loosely quoted from Ezek. xxvii. 9; cf. 1 Kings v. 18.

And again in the first Book of Kings, chapter v., we read: 'And the stone-squarers (marg., 'Giblites') prepared timber and stones to build the Lord's house.' Bertram, Count of Tripoli, with the help of the Genoese with seventy galleys, took this city, and gave it to the Genoese. Beyond this is a city by the sea called Botrum,¹ but in the vulgar tongue Betiron. Then comes the castle called Nephin,² and then the city of Tripoli. Next comes the city named Archas,³ one mile from the sea. Then the city of Aradus⁴ on an island near the sea-shore, built by Aradeus, the son of Canaan, wherein the Apostle St. Peter found St. Clement's mother begging for alms, and, after converting her, restored her to her son, as we read in St. Clement's 'Itinerary,'⁵ where also we are told about two pillars of glass of wondrous workmanship, which were set up in this island to the admiration of all men. Then comes the city of Antardum, which is so called because it is over against Aradus, but in common speech it is nowadays called Tortosa. St. Peter, when passing through Phoenicia on his way from Jerusalem to Antioch, founded here a small church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary,⁶ and celebrated the Divine mysteries therein. This church is held in great honour to this day,

¹ *Batrûn*.

² At *Râs Shakkah*.

³ '*Arkah*. Fetellus, p. 24, note, also p. 52; Anon., vi., p. 51; Ernoul, p. 50, note; Theoderich, p. 71, note.

⁴ *Er-Rudd*.

⁵ Poloner, p. 34, copies this. Burchard reads *alvearium*, clearly a transcriber's error. St. Peter when at Antardus healed a beggar woman of an infirmity of the hands. '*Erat autem haec mulier mater Clementis, a quo et in eodem loco cognita est. Nam per virtutes Petri et alios filios recepit, Faustinum et Faustum, qui, mutatis nominibus, Aquila et Metia appellabantur; et virum suum Faustinianum, qui multo a se fuerant separati.*'—'Acta S. Petri, S. Lino ejus discipulo et successoris supposita.' Ex MS. Henrici Julii, Baronis de Blum; 'Acta Sanctorum,' June 29.

⁶ 'City of Jerusalem,' p. 48, note; Burchard, p. 20. Antardus is now *Tartûs*.

and great numbers of people flock thither, because the Blessed Virgin works many miracles, and restores to health sick people who come to the place which was dedicated to her by the Primitive Church when in its infancy. It is declared by many that this is the first of all the churches dedicated to St. Mary. It is greatly revered, not only by Christians, but also by Saracens, who often bring their children to the aforesaid church to be baptized, that they may live longer, or that they may recover their bodily health. After the taking of the Holy City certain nobles, when traversing those parts on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, to wit, the Counts of Poitou and Blois, with some other noblemen, took this city from the enemy and gave it to the Count of Tripoli.

After this come other seaside cities, to wit, Maraclea,¹ Valania² with the Castle of Margat, Gabulum,³ commonly called Gibel, and last of all, in the direction of Antioch, comes a city finely situated and very rich in all this world's goods, called Laodicea of Syria, in the vulgar tongue Liche.⁴ The noble and valiant Lord Tancred, when he was acting as Governor of the principality of Antioch, took this city on the same day that he won the noble city called Apamea,⁵ thus magnificently enlarging the borders of the principality of Antioch by the addition of two fine cities in one day. There is another Laodicea⁶ in Asia Minor, which in Revelation is reckoned by St. John among the seven Churches of Asia. All these cities by the seaside were boldly seized by our people, who did not leave the Saracens one single fortress near the sea, so that on the sea side the enemy's strength was quite broken.

XLV. But some inland cities, more especially beyond the range of Lebanon, which our people could not conquer,

¹ See ante, p. 9.

³ *El-Merkeb* and *Jebâl*.

⁵ *Kul'at el-Mudîk*.

² Now *Baniâs*.

⁴ *Latakia*.

⁶ Rev. iii. 14.

they nevertheless forced to pay them tribute, for our people often wasted their borders and suburbs, and laid many ambushes for their people, till the citizens were glad to free themselves from molestation. The city of Emesa,¹ now called Chamele or Camela, and some other cities of Coele Syria, to wit, Heliopolis, otherwise called Maubech,² and Aman,³ and some others, being near our people could more easily be annoyed by them, wherefore they bought peace and security for much money. Indeed, both the Caliph and the Soldan of Egypt were unable to defend their kingdoms against the bravery and impetuous inroads of our people, and both used to pay great sums every year as tribute to the King of Jerusalem, especially when the Egyptians were afraid of the Soldan of Damascus. On the other hand, the King of Damascus used to pay much money and obtain truce and security from our people, who lay between the Damascenes and the Egyptians.

XLVI. Baldwin de Burgh, the second Latin King of Jerusalem, gathered together all the forces of his kingdom and laid siege to Aleppo ; but a multitude of Saracens hastened from the East to succour the city, wherefore the King, whose numbers were far fewer, was obliged to raise the siege and retreat. The fourth King of Jerusalem, Baldwin, the son of King Fulke, together with Conrad, Emperor⁴ of the Romans, and Louis, King of France, who had taken the Cross when St. Bernard, the Abbot of Clairvaux, preached the Crusade, with also the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Bishop of Ostia, the Legate of the Apostolic See, and many Archbishops, Bishops, Dukes,

¹ *Homs*.

² *Baalbek*, which is wrongly identified with *Membij*, Hierapolis. See Fetellus, p. 24.

³ Hamath, now *Hama*.

⁴ Conrad was never Emperor, but only King of the Romans. John of Würzburg, ch. v., correctly calls him King Conrad.

Counts, and Barons, both of France and of the Empire, laid siege¹ to the city of Damascus.

Damascus is a very ancient city, and is almost the chief among the cities of the East for size and populousness. It is named after Abraham's servant who is said to have founded it. It is the capital city of Lesser Syria, called Lebanon of Phoenicia, as we read in the prophet (Isa. vii. 8),² 'The head of Syria is Damascus.' It stands on level plains, in a barren and dry country, save where it enjoys the gift of waters, which run down from the mountains, are led through channels, and water the whole plain, making it fertile and full of fruit-trees. Near the aforesaid city, in a place which at this day is called Melgissaphar,³ the Lord appealed to Saul as he drew near to Damascus, and said to him: 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me?'⁴ Now, the aforesaid Princes with a countless host besieged the city on one side from a place in the neighbourhood, burst through the city walls, and forcibly possessed themselves of the river which runs past the city. They of Damascus, doubting whether they were strong enough to hold the place, as for a long time they had been unable to cope with our people at the city wall, won over, as is their wont, some of the Syrians who acted as guides and counsellors to the foreign pilgrim Princes, and were blinded by covetousness, and they persuaded the Princes to remove their army to another part of the city wall. Wherefore the Princes left their first place, which was recovered by the Saracens, and fortified against us, and then, as provisions failed and the army lacked water, our Princes saw the bad faith of the men whom they had trusted,⁵ and in anger, and loathing the faith, or rather

¹ A.D. 1148.

² No pilgrim seems able to refrain from making this quotation.

³ Apparently the Arabic word meaning 'the going on a journey.'

⁴ Acts ix.

⁵ Ps. xli. 9.

perfidy, of the Easterns, full of shame and disgrace, after having toiled much and gained little, went home again.

XLVII. John, the Emperor of Constantinople, with a countless host of soldiers, chariots, and horses, together with the Prince of Antioch and the Count of Edessa, laid siege to the city of Caesarea, not far from Antioch, which now is called Caesarea the Great;¹ but he took a sum of money from the besieged, raised the siege, and went his way, being angry because the aforesaid Prince and Count were slack and remiss in the enterprise, and failed to help him. Baldwin, too, the fourth King of Jerusalem, with much labour and great danger, went to take the city of Bostrum;² but finding it more strongly fortified than he expected, and not to be taken, went home again, much vexed by the Saracens as he returned, many of his people being slain. Bostrum is a very ancient city, the capital of Arabia the First, and at this day is commonly called Bussereth: it has dominion over the region of Trachonitis, whereof St. Luke speaks in his Gospel, saying, ‘Philip being Tetrarch of Ituraea and of the region of Trachonitis.’³ As this country is altogether without springs or brooks, its inhabitants collect the rain-water in ponds by *tracones*,⁴ that is to say, underground watercourses, whereof this region is called Trachonitis. The people also in that region dwell in caves and *tracones*, and have their habitations in caverns. After the region of Decapolis, whose boundaries or limits extend from Sidon to the Sea of Galilee, and which also reaches beyond the city of Tiberias towards Damascus, is the country of Ituraea, lying behind the territory of Sidon and the mountains which divide us from the Saracens, in the valley called

¹ *Kal'at Sheizar*, or *Seijar*, the ancient Larissa-Sizara.

² *Bozrah*.

³ Luke iii. 1.

⁴ Fabri, i. 464; Burchard, p. 24; Marino Sanuto, p. 22.

Bachar. Since it reaches to the foot of Lebanon, it is also called the Forest of Lebanon.¹ This region of Ituraea is next to and adjoining the region of Trachonitis.

XLVIII. King Amalric, brother of the aforesaid (King) Baldwin, surrounded the Egyptian city called Cairo with siege works, and it is said could easily have taken it by storm had he not followed the most evil counsel of a wicked man named Milo de Planci, taken a sum of money from the enemy, raised the siege, and retreated. First, indeed, he had laid siege to Alexandria, a noble city of Egypt, which Shirkoh and his nephew Saladin had taken from the Soldan of Egypt. He forced them to make terms, but, according to his compact, gave up the city to the Soldan of Egypt, after receiving from him the money that he promised. Afterwards this same King, with a countless number of Greeks, sent to his aid by the Emperor of Constantinople, and a great fleet, both of galleys and other ships, laid siege to Damietta, a very strong city in Egypt; but foiled by hunger, cold, and exceeding great floods of water, he raised the siege with great loss to his army.

XLIX. Since our people could not take the aforesaid cities and many others, especially those inland, they built exceeding strong and impregnable castles between them and their enemies, at the ends of their land, to defend their borders; to wit, Mount Royal,² and Petra in the wilderness, whose modern name is Crac (Kerak) beyond Jordan; Sapheth³ (Saful) and Belvoir, with many other strong places on this side of Jordan. Sapheth is a very strong castle between Acre and the Sea of Galilee, not far from the mountains of Gilboa. Belvoir⁴ is not far from

¹ Fetellus, p. 24, note.

² Monreal.

³ *Safed*. 'City of Jerusalem,' p. 46, note.

⁴ *Kaukab el-Hawd*.



Tabor, near the once noble and populous city of Jezreel, standing on high ground between Citopolis (Scythopolis) and Tiberias.

L. To insure its greater safety, the kingdom of Jerusalem was divided among divers Princes and Barons, whose duty it was to hold and guard the land under the King. The King kept in his own hands the noblest and best part of the land, to wit, the cities of Jerusalem, Neapolis (Sichem), Acre and Tyre, with some other towns and villages. The liegemen of the kingdom bound by oath to serve the King with a certain number of Knights were, the Count of Tripoli, the Lord of Beyrout, the Lord of Sidon, the Lord of Haifa or Porphyria, the Lord of Caesarea, the Prince of Galilee, who was also Lord of Tiberias, the Count of Jaffa and Ascalon, the Lord of Monreal, and of all the land beyond Jordan, the Lord of Assur, the Lord of Ibelin, and some others; but these were the chief of them, and the first in precedence and dignity.



LI. Thenceforth the Eastern Church began to flourish again, the practice of religion began to be spread abroad in Eastern lands, and the Lord's vine began to put forth clusters. Then did that which is written in the Song of Songs seem to be fulfilled: 'Lo, the winter is past, the rain is over and gone; the flowers appear on the earth; the pruning time has come';¹ for, from divers parts of the world, from every race and language, and out of every nation under heaven,² pilgrims full of zeal for God, and religious men, flocked into the Holy Land, attracted by the sweet savour of the holy and venerable places. Old churches were repaired, and new ones were built; by the bounty of Princes and the alms of the faithful, monasteries of regular monks were built in fitting places; parish priests, and all things appertaining to the service and worship of God,

¹ Cant. ii. 11.

² Acts ii.

were properly and suitably established everywhere. Holy men renounced the world, and, according to their various affections and wishes, and their religious fervour, chose places to dwell in suitable to their object and their devotion.

LII. Some, specially attracted by the Lord's example, chose that desirable wilderness called Quarantena, wherein our Lord fasted in solitude for forty days¹ after His baptism, therein to dwell as hermits, and served God most valiantly in humble cells. Others, in imitation of that holy anchorite the prophet Elijah, led solitary lives on Mount Carmel, especially on that part thereof which overhangs the city of Porphyria, now called Haifa, near the well called Elijah's Well, not far from the Convent of St. Margaret the Virgin,² where, in little comb-like cells, these bees of the Lord laid up sweet spiritual honey. There is another Carmel³ beyond Jordan, near the wilderness where David hid himself when he fled from before the face of Saul, where was the dwelling of the churl Nabal; but this Carmel where Elijah used to dwell stands by the sea-shore, four miles from Acre.

LIII. And very many chose a quiet sepulchre wherein to die to the world, that they might live to God, in the Valley of the Jordan, whither St. John the Baptist retreated in his boyhood, fleeing from the world⁴ that he might with greater freedom commune with God. In the solitude of this wilderness St. John ate nought save locusts with honey. In most parts of Syria it is the custom, when the flights of locusts come, to collect them and keep them for food. Of

¹ Matt. iv. Quarantena is now *El-Koruntil*.

² See 'City of Jerusalem,' p. 30.

³ Carmel is here wrongly placed; it is *Kurmul*, west of the Dead Sea.

⁴ Matt. iii.; Mark i.; Luke iii. The words of the text contain an allusion to the celebrated hymn to St. John. Cf. Fabri, i. 640, in this series.

honey I have seen an abundance in those parts in sugar-canes. Sugar-canes are canes full of honey—that is, of exceeding sweet juice, from which, by crushing them in a press, and then thickening the juice over the fire, men make first a sort of honey, and then sugar. These are called *cannameles*, a word compounded of *canna*, a cane, and *mel*, honey, because these canes are like reeds or rushes. But since I did not think it likely that the blessed Baptist of Christ should have eaten the flesh of locusts when he had renounced even bread, I made diligent inquiry of a Syrian monk, whose convent was in those parts, and contained a great number of monks who led an exceeding austere life under the rule of an Abbot. I asked him what sort of locusts they were which St. John is said to have eaten in that wilderness beside Jordan. He straightway replied that in his refectory a herb was often set before the monks which they called *langustae*, or locust-bean, whereof a great quantity grew round about their monastery; and he added that this was what St. John used to eat. Moreover, in that wilderness he said that they often found great store of wild honey made by bees.

Others of these religious men went to that wilderness near the Sea of Galilee where the Lord often preached, and where He fed the multitude¹ with barley loaves and small fishes, and glorified the country with divers miracles. Here also He appeared to His disciples after His resurrection;² here He ate and drank with them. It was upon this sea that He walked,³ and here He called some of His disciples to Him, saying: ‘Follow Me, and I will make you fishers of men.’⁴ Here they chose their solitary dwellings, some of them on the plain, where there was much hay from dried grass; others on the neighbouring mount, to

¹ Matt. xiv.

² St. John, last chapter.

³ Matt. xiv. 25, *sq.*

⁴ Matt. iv. 19.

which the Lord was wont to go apart to pray. The Sea of Galilee is a lake of exceeding sweet water on the borders of Galilee, full of all kinds of fish, beauteous to behold, and pleasant to drink. As it is very long and wide, the aforesaid lake is called a sea, after the fashion of the Hebrews and Egyptians, who call any collection of waters a sea, whether salt or fresh. It is also called the Sea of Tiberias, because it adjoins the city of Tiberias, commonly called Tabaria, near which is Bethsaida,¹ the city of Peter and Andrew, which the Lord glorified by His own personal presence. It is also called the Lake of Gennesareth, which is, being interpreted, 'generating wind,' because from the springs of the mountains that stand round about it a strong wind is often collected, which causes a disturbance on the lake, and grows into a tempest whereby small ships are often overwhelmed by the high waves. The river Jordan runs into the aforesaid Lake of Gennesareth from two springs, named Jor and Dan, from which it derives both its source and its name, at the foot of Mount Lebanon, near Caesarea Philippi. Thence it flows in one body of water for about a hundred miles, watering the neighbouring country, runs through the Illustrious Valley,² which is called the Valley of Salt, into the Dead Sea, and there is swallowed up and never seen again. This is near the place called Zoar, which at this day is commonly called Paumier.³ The aforesaid sea is also called the Lake of Asphalt and the Salt Sea, because it is so salt and bitter that neither man nor beast can drink thereof; and often the Devil's Sea,

¹ Now *Sheikh Seiyâd*.

² Gen. xii. 6. 'Pertransivit Abram terram usque ad locum Sichem, usque ad convallem illustrem.'—Vulg. 'And Abram passed through the land unto the place of Sichem, unto the Plain of Moreh.'—A.V. Compare M. Sanuto, p. 32.

³ *Palmer*, Gul. Tyr., book xxii., c. 30 (1041 Bongars); *Palmaria*, John of Würzburg, ch. xxii.; *Fetellus*, p. 12. It is now *Ez-Zuweirah*.

because nothing living breeds therein, neither can any living thing exist in its waters. It has by its side a high mountain of salt ; moreover, the trees on its shores bear apples which have a fair outside, but within is found naught save ashes and stinking dust, for the Lord rained fire and brimstone upon Sodom and Gomorrah¹ and upon three other cities. The people of those cities were exceeding wicked, and sinned against nature, practising shameful and abominable vice with one another. On this place, which was called Pentapolis, stands the aforesaid lake, whose bottom none can find ; for the Lord, after raining fire upon those cities, cast them into the bottomless pit. The river Jordan, of which we have just made mention, does much service to the whole country between that place and Mount Lebanon ; for it waters the gardens and makes the earth bear fruit, it yields sweet water to drink and wholesome fishes to eat, and its banks are good for growing reeds or canes wherewith men thatch their houses and plait walls. The fields by the riverside drop sweetness from the thick multitude of sugar-canes, and yield abundance of sugar. Pilgrims, and even natives of the land, are wont to wash their bodies and their clothes exceeding devoutly in the waters of Jordan, because our Redeemer, having been baptized by St. John in that river,² hath sanctified this river by the touch of His most pure flesh, and hath bestowed regenerative power upon all its waters. Moreover, the whole Trinity hath consecrated this fortunate and most noble river ; for above it the Father's voice hath been heard, the Holy Spirit hath been seen in the form of a dove, and the Son hath been baptized in the likeness of man.³ Also, many of both sexes, both men and women, were baptized by St. John in the aforesaid waters with the

¹ Gen. xix. 24.

² Matt. iii.

³ Matt. iii. ; Mark i. ; Luke iii.

baptism of repentance, and rendered themselves fit and worthy to receive the grace and baptism of Christ, and accustomed to plunging into the waters. As a type of the purification which was to come, Naaman the Syrian was cleansed from his leprosy in these waters, and his flesh came again as the flesh of a little child.¹ Joshua, with a multitude of the children of Israel, crossed over dry-shod, while the waters above stood on a heap, and those below ran down into the sea;² wherefore the children of Israel took from the river-bed twelve stones, according to the number of the twelve tribes. It was to these very stones that St. John the Baptist alluded when he said: 'God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham.'³ Elijah also and Elisha crossed over dry-shod after Elijah had smitten the waters with his mantle and divided them hither and thither;⁴ wherefore many religious men have made their dwellings beside the river, both because of the holiness of the river and the convenience of its water.

LIV. They have built a monastery on Mount Tabor,⁵ out of respect and honour to the place. Mount Tabor is very high and steep, and thereon the Lord was transfigured, together with Moses and Elias, in the presence of Peter, James, and John, showing thereby the glory of His future resurrection.⁶ The aforesaid mount is in the country of Galilee, not far from Nazareth, and has at its foot the brook Kishon. On one side of it are the mountains of Gilboa,⁷ on the other the Sea of Galilee. Concerning these mountains some do vainly declare⁸ that upon them literally no dew or rain falls, but this has often been proved to be false by those who dwell in the neighbourhood. The

¹ 2 Kings v.

² Josh. iii. and iv.

³ Matt. iii. 9.

⁴ 2 Kings ii. 8.

⁵ Ludolph, 126; William of Tyre, p. 1037 (Bongars); Phocas, 13, etc.

⁶ Matt. xvii.

⁷ 2 Sam. i. 21.

⁸ Ludolph, 124; Anon., 34.

Cistercian and Premonstratensian Orders also have built convents on suitable sites. And many of those who through desire for the Holy Land have left their country, their kindred and their father's house, though crowds and press of men be a hindrance to religion, yet have chosen rather to live in the body amid crowds of people than to deprive themselves of the privilege of dwelling in the holy cities of Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth, which even as pots of frankincense are redolent of the presence of the Saviour. For in Nazareth the Lord was conceived by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary; in Bethlehem He was born; in Jerusalem, for our salvation, He was crucified, dead and buried.

LV. Jerusalem is the city of cities,¹ the holy of holies, great among the nations, and princess among the provinces, by especial prerogative called the City of the Great King. She standeth in the midst of the earth, in the centre of the world, and all nations shall flow unto her.² She was the possession of the Patriarchs, the nursing mother of the Prophets, the teacher of the Apostles, the cradle of our Faith, the native country of the Lord, the mother of the Faith, even as Rome is the mother of the faithful; she hath been chosen and sanctified by God, trodden by His feet, honoured by the angels, and frequented by every nation under heaven. Jerusalem stands on a high mount, with hilly country on either side, in that part of Syria which is called Judaea and Palestine; it flows with milk and honey, and abounds in corn, wine and oil, and all temporal blessings. Rivers, however, it entirely lacks; neither has it any fountains, save one, called Siloam, which flows beneath Mount Sion through the midst of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and sometimes yields water plenteously, though generally very little or no water is

¹ Lam. i. 1.

² Isa. ii. 2.

found therein. But both within and without the city there are many cisterns of rain-water, which suffice both men and beasts to drink and for all other needs. The city has many and divers names from its various fortunes, and according to different nations and languages. First it was called Jebus, and afterwards Salem, from which two words comes its third name of Jerusalem. It is also called Solyma, and Hierosolyma, Luz and Bethel. Last of all it was called Aelia, after Aelius, a Roman quaestor (*sic*), who rebuilt it as it now is after its destruction by Titus and Vespasian. Its first Bishop was James the Apostle, who was struck in Jerusalem by a fuller's club and passed to the Lord by martyrdom. After him Jerusalem had only plain Bishops, of no pre-eminence of dignity, down to the time of the Emperor Justinian; but in the days of the aforesaid Emperor, beloved of God, and his religious Empress, at a general synod held at the city of Constantinople, out of respect for the Holy City, they set up a Patriarch therein, and gave him some suffragans whom they took away from the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, seeing that the new patriarchate was established on the borders of these two. In the Church of God the Patriarch of Jerusalem ranks fourth after the Apostolic See. He has under him four Metropolitans, of whom the first is he of Tyre, who rules over four suffragan Bishops, to wit, those of Acre, Sidon, Beyrout and Paneas. Paneas is the city now commonly called Belinas;¹ it stands at the foot of Mount Lebanon, pretty near the city of Damascus. It is the boundary of the Promised Land. The second Metropolitan, or Archbishop, is he of Caesarea, who has only one suffragan under him—to wit, the Bishop of Sebaste.

LVI. Sebaste was known of old by another name—Samaria, where St. John Baptist, Elijah, and Obadiah the

¹ Compare Burchard, p. 23.

prophet are buried. The city named Haifa, or Porphyria, has no Bishop, but is directly under the Archbishop of Caesarea. The third Metropolitan is he of Nazareth, who has only one suffragan, the Bishop of Tiberias. Tiberias is a city on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, in the country of Galilee ; it abounds with corn, wine and fish. The Archbishop's see was formerly in the city of Citopolis (Scythopolis), now called Bethshan, which stands on the plain between the mountains of Gilboa and the river Jordan. It is very fruitful, well watered by streams and wells, and once was the metropolitan city of Palestine Tertia, and all Galilee ; but the see has been translated to the city of Nazareth, because of the grandeur of the place and out of reverence for the conception of the Lord. The fourth Metropolitan is he of Petra, who has only one suffragan, the Greek Bishop¹ on Mount Sinai, of the Church of St. Catharine the Virgin, and Abbot of the monks of that convent. Petra is a very strong fortress, which in the vulgar tongue is called Crac, and Petra in the wilderness. It stands on a somewhat high hill beyond Jordan, in the borders of Moab, and is the capital city of Arabia Secunda. This is the place of which the prophet Isaiah said, ' Send ye the lamb to the ruler of the land from Sela (margin : ' Petra ') to the wilderness,'² etc. It is near a very ancient city called Rabboth, before whose gate by David's practice Uriah was slain.

LVII. The Patriarch of Jerusalem has also suffragan Bishops directly under himself, as, for example, those of Bethlehem, Hebron and Lydda. The church of Bethlehem was a priory of Canons Regular up to the time of Baldwin, the first Latin King of Jerusalem. This King, out of reverence for the grandeur of the place and the excellence of the Lord's nativity, raised it to the dignity of a Cathedral, and established a Bishop therein, by the man-

¹ Anon., p. 31, note.

² Isa. xvi. 1.

date and with the good pleasure of Pope Paschal,¹ of blessed memory, who also gave him direct jurisdiction over the city of Ascalon. In like manner the church of Hebron, which before had been a priory, was raised to episcopal dignity, because of the grandeur of the place where Adam and Eve² and the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, with Sara and Rebecca, are buried in the double cave, and out of respect to the servants of God. The ancient names of Hebron are Arba and Kirjath Arba. The city of Lydda was once called Diospolis, and is now called St. George's.

LVIII. Furthermore, the aforesaid Patriarch has under him Abbots and Priors, who are privileged to bear the ensigns of pontifical dignity, to wit, the staff, the mitre, the ring and the sandals, who reverently assist the Lord Patriarch in Divine service. The patriarchal church, which is the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, at the foot of Mount Calvary, has Canons regularly living in the habit and under the rule of St. Austin. They have a Prior, whose duty it is, together with the aforesaid Canons, to elect the Patriarch, who stands in the place of an Abbot to them. In the churches of the Lord's Temple, of Mount Sion, and of Mount Olivet, there are Abbots and Canons who serve God according to the aforesaid rule of St. Austin. In the churches or monasteries of (St. Mary) the Latin and of the Valley of Jehoshaphat there are Abbots with black monks who serve God under the rule of St. Bene't. In Bethany, which is the village³ of Mary and Martha, and of Lazarus their brother, and is fifteen stadia distant from Jerusalem, beyond Mount Olivet, on the slope of that mount, is the Abbey of St. Lazarus, called of Bethany, wherein is a black Abbess and nuns who profess

¹ Paschal II., 1099-1118. ² Jerome, 'Pilgrimage of St. Paula,' § 11.

³ *Castellum* in the Vulgate. See note 2, p. 45.

the rule and institution of St. Bene't. There is also another Bethany¹ beyond Jordan, where John baptized. To this same rule and profession belongs the Abbey of St. Anne, who bore the Lord's mother; it stands near the gate called the Gate of Jehoshaphat, near the sheep-pool, on the spot where the Blessed Virgin Mary is said to have been born; and therein is an Abbess with black nuns. St. Mary's abbey of nuns in Jerusalem, with an Abbess and black nuns serving God under the rule of St. Bene't, even as a pot of frankincense, was full of holy, chaste and devout persons, who, without being forced thereunto by any adversity or poverty, have yet lost the strictness of their religion, the honesty of their lives, and the warmth of their charity. On Mount Tabor there is an abbey of black monks under the Archbishop of Nazareth. The city of Joppa has no Bishop, but is directly under the Prior and Canons of the holy sepulchre. In like manner the city of Neapolis, which is called Sichar in the Gospel,² where is Jacob's Well, beside which the Lord talked with the woman of Samaria, has no Bishop, but belongs directly to the Abbot of the Lord's Temple. There are also many other cities in the Promised Land which albeit before the time of the Latins they may have had Bishops of their own of the Syrian or Greek Churches, yet on account of their number and their poverty the Latins have subjected many cathedral churches and many cities to one cathedral city, lest the dignity of a Bishop should be made cheap. Let us now briefly add an account of those places which are pre-eminent for holiness among the other venerable places.

LIX. Nazareth is a small city almost at the entrance into Galilee on the west, and stands between two moun-

¹ That is Bethabara beyond Jordan.

² St. John iv. The identification of Sichar with Neapolis was a common mistake in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

tains. Between it and Sephor there is a clear and flowing spring, which pours forth water abundantly, and is called the Fountain of Sephor.¹ At this place the Kings of Jerusalem are wont often to collect their armies, because of the advantages of water and herbage. According to some, the Blessed Virgin Mary was born in this city;² there can be no doubt that the Blessed Virgin dwelt therein after her betrothal to Joseph, and that here the angel was sent to her announcing the beginning of our salvation. This holy city, beloved by God (wherein the Word was made flesh,³ and the flower whose sweet savour passes all perfumes grew in the Virgin's womb, wherefore its name is rightly interpreted a flower),⁴ is privileged beyond all others in that therein the Lord of our salvation was conceived, and also was brought up therein, and He beneath whose feet the Father hath placed all things in heaven and earth deigned to be subject to His parents. Bethlehem, which is being interpreted the House of Bread, wherein was born the true Bread that came down from heaven, stands on the slope of the mountains of Jerusalem, not far, that is to say, four miles, from the Holy City. In this city of David is the holy and venerable cathedral church, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. Here also is the manger wherein He deigned to lie, whose throne is the heavens and the earth is His footstool,⁵ being made according to the flesh into hay to feed pious creatures,⁶ and here is the place where the shepherds, at the bidding of the angels, found the Babe wrapped in swaddling clothes with His mother Mary; and where the three Magi, when by the leading of a star they had been brought to the aforesaid city, humbly adored the King that

¹ The Fountain of Sepphoris, now 'Ain Seffûrieh.

² Luke i.

³ John i.

⁴ Işa. xi.

⁵ Isa. lxvi. i.

⁶ Luke ii.

had been born, and offered to Him mystical gifts. In this city the impious Herod,¹ the enemy of the faith, seeking to slay Christ, cruelly put to death many little Innocents. Here also is the sepulchre of Jacob's wife Rachel,² who died in this same place after she had given birth to Benjamin. Hence came the woman Naomi,³ who brought Ruth the Moabitess from Petra in the wilderness, she whom Boaz took to wife, from whose seed the Lamb, the Lord of the earth, came to the daughter of Sion.⁴ David longed for the water of the well of Bethlehem, desiring to drink the waters of wisdom unto salvation from the well of the Blessed Virgin. St. Jerome, the translator of the Scriptures into Latin, chose for himself this holy city, beloved by God, wherein to serve the Lord, and therein the precious clay of his body is buried. The blessed Paula also, and her daughter Eustochium, together with many other virgins, gave themselves up to the service of God and Divine contemplation in the nunnery there, and scorned all outward adorning for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ and their devotion to this holy place.

LX. The holy city Jerusalem, wherein the Lord made manifest in His body the mysteries of our redemption, as it exceeds all other places and cities in holiness and excellent grandeur, even so, as it were with the scent of a fruitful field that the Lord has blessed, it has drawn unto itself many religious persons, who visited the many venerable places at divers fitting times and seasons with fervour of spirit, were roused to devotion by one of them after another, and suffered not their souls to slumber through weariness, but kept them awake by the ardour of their love. This often-mentioned and often to be mentioned city stands altogether on a lofty mountain; it is enclosed on all sides

¹ Fabri, i. 566.

² Gen. xxxv. 19.

³ Ruth i., etc.

⁴ Isa. xvi. 1.

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 fortress of squared stone cemented together unbreakably with mortar and molten lead, which on one side serves as a wall to the city, and is called the Tower of David. On the south side it has Mount Sion, where David dwelt in the citadel of Sion after he had cast out the Jebusites, and called it 'the city of David.' On the east it has Mount Olivet. Mount Calvary, whereon the Lord was crucified, in the place which is now called Golgotha, and the place of the Lord's sepulchre, which is next to that place at the foot of Mount Calvary, up to the time of the Emperor Aelius Hadrianus stood without the city walls; for the Lord suffered and was buried without the gate.¹ But the aforesaid Aelius Hadrianus rebuilt the city, which Titus and Vespasian had destroyed, decently paved its streets and lanes, and made gutters through which in time of rain the city might be cleansed of filth.

LXI. He so greatly enlarged the city that he enclosed the place of the Lord's sepulchre within the circuit of the walls. Upon this place the Christians afterwards, out of reverence for the Lord's sepulchre, built the glorious Church of the Lord's Resurrection, of cunning workmanship, in a becoming form, round in shape, with an opening above; which church justly takes precedence of all other holy and venerable places. In this place the Lord's precious body lay honourably buried with the myrrh and aloes,² until the third day; but on the third day He rose again. Here the angels appeared to the women; the soldiers that kept the sepulchre became as dead men;³ and hither on the night of the Lord's resurrection the holy fire comes down from

¹ Heb. xiii. 12.

² John xix. 39; Mark xvi. 1.

³ Matt. xxviii. 4.

heaven. Now, when throughout the world the words ‘The Lord rose from the sepulchre, who for our sake hung on a tree,’ are read to the faithful, the Canons of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre alone enjoy the privilege¹ of saying, ‘The Lord rose from this sepulchre,’ and of pointing visibly thereat. Likewise, in the Gospel for Easter, when we read, ‘He is not here, He is risen,’ the deacon who reads the Gospel points with his finger to the Lord’s sepulchre. The place called Calvary, in Hebrew, Golgotha, adjoining the Church of the Lord’s Sepulchre, is very eminent among the holy places, and has great power to affect the heart by its memories of the Lord’s Passion. Here the Lord suffered for our redemption ; He was stripped of His clothes and set up on the cross ; He was nailed to the cross ; He was given gall and vinegar to drink ; was mocked by the Jews ; was numbered with the transgressors ; was condemned to a shameful death ; prayed for His murderers ; commended His mother to the care of the disciple ; promised salvation to the thief ; cried aloud and gave up the ghost with tears ; sent forth blood and water, to wash the world, from His pierced side. Here they parted His garments among them, and cast lots for His coat ; the earth was shaken and the rocks rent ; His blood fell upon the earth, and the sun was darkened, and hid his light. When pilgrims visit this holy place, the thought of all these things touches their contrite and humbled hearts, and the agony of the Passion draws from them tears of pity. Now, as for our strong city of Sion,² a mount of fatness,³ wherein God was pleased to dwell,⁴ a mount that drops sweetness, even a honeycomb, and a flower of sweet savour, it touches, comforts, and restores the minds of the pious, and by its exceeding great holiness refreshes and feeds them. Here the Lord kept the Pass-

¹ Ludolph, p. 107.

² Isa. xxvi. 1.

³ Fabri, ii. 560. Cf. i. 498.

⁴ Psal. lxxviii. 16.

over with His disciples,¹ girded Himself with a napkin, and washed the Apostles' feet, giving an example of humility ; He put on His clothes again and ate and drank with His disciples, instituted the New Testament, the bread which was turned into His body and the wine into His blood ; and taught His disciples with holy talk. Here John lay upon His holy bosom, and here the Blessed Virgin dwelt after her Son's death, as long as she lived, with John, to whose care she had been commended. Here the Lord appeared to His disciples² as they sat with closed doors. Moreover, after the Lord's ascension, the Apostles remained in this place until the Day of Pentecost, awaiting the promised coming of the Holy Ghost with fastings and prayers. Here, when the Day of Pentecost was come, they were strengthened by the receiving of the Holy Ghost in the likeness of a flame of fire, together with the knowledge of all tongues. It was above this place, at the sudden sound in heaven, that the multitude of the Jews came together, to whom St. Peter expounded the prophecy of Joel,³ and converted many to the Lord. All these things make this place pre-eminent in glory above all other holy places, and give it especial dignity and grandeur.

LXII. The Lord's holy Temple, which was built by Solomon on Mount Moriah, on the threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite, is second to none of the holy and venerable places ; for albeit it has been destroyed first by the Babylonians⁴ and afterwards by the Romans, yet it has been again rebuilt on the same spot by faithful and religious men in a round building, of wondrous and cunning workmanship, exceeding fair and stately. At this place, upon the rock which is still in the Temple, the Destroying Angel⁵ is said to have stood and appeared to David ;

¹ John xiii.

² Luke xxiv. 36.

³ Joel ii. 28, 29.

⁴ 2 Kings, last chapter.

⁵ 2 Sam. xxiv.

which same angel slew many thousands of the people of Israel because of the sin of numbering the people, which was done at David's command. Because of this, the Saracens to this day call the Lord's Temple the Rock,¹ and hold it in such reverence that none of them dare to defile it with any filth, as they do at the other holy places; but from the time of Solomon even until now they come from distant countries to worship there. Whenever they possess the Holy City, they set up the image of Mahomet in the Temple, and suffer no Christian to enter it. Some believe that the Ark of the Lord is hidden in the aforesaid rock even to this day, for that Josiah,² King of Israel, seeing that the ruin of the city was near at hand, ordered it to be put in the Holy of Holies in the Temple and hidden. But in the second Book of Maccabees³ we read that when the Captivity was drawing nigh, Jeremiah the prophet went out into the mount where Moses climbed up⁴ and saw the heritage of God, where he took the tabernacle and the ark and the altar of incense into a cave which he found there, and stopped the door of the cave, saying: 'As for that place, it shall be unknown until the time that God shall gather His people again together, and receive them unto mercy; then shall the Lord show them these things, and the glory of the Lord shall appear.' It was in this holy and venerable place, when Solomon had accomplished his work and was offering sacrifice to the Lord, that a cloud⁵ filled the house, and the glory of the Lord appeared, and fire came down from heaven and consumed the burnt-offering and the sacrifices, and the glory of the Lord filled the house; and the priests could not enter into

¹ The mosque, *Kubbet es-Sakhrah*, 'Dome of the Rock.'

² 2 Chron. xxxiii. 7; xxxv. 3.

³ 2 Macc. ii. 5, 6; Fabri, ii. 182.

⁴ Mount Nebo.

⁵ 2 Chron. vii.

the house of the Lord: so all the children of Israel saw how the fire came down, and the glory of the Lord upon the house. Then Solomon kneeled on his knees and spread forth his hands toward heaven, and prayed to the Lord, that whosoever might enter into the Temple and ask anything, the Lord should hearken unto his prayer; and the Lord appeared unto him, saying, 'I have heard thy prayer, and the supplication which thou hast made before Me: I have sanctified this house which thou hast built for Me. Now Mine eyes shall be open and Mine ears attend unto the prayer that is made in this place, for I have chosen and sanctified this place for Myself.' In this place we read, in the second Book of Maccabees,¹ that when Heliodorus was sent by King Antiochus² to violate the sanctuary and take away by force the money that was laid up in the treasury, there appeared a horse with a terrible rider upon him, and adorned with a very fair covering; and the horse ran fiercely and smote at Heliodorus with his fore-feet, and it seemed that he that sat upon the horse had complete harness of gold. Moreover, two other young men appeared before him, notable in strength, excellent in beauty, and comely in apparel, who stood by him on either side, and scourged him continually, and gave him many sore stripes. It was here that the Blessed Virgin,³ before she was betrothed to Joseph, is said to have served with other maidens, making ready the vessels and vestments for the priests, learning holy letters, fasting, watching, praying, and wisely and humbly studying the Scriptures. Moreover, when she was brought by her parents to the Temple as a child to be presented before the Lord, she is said to have gone up all the steps leading to the Temple by herself without any

¹ 2 Macc. iii.

² Seleucus.

³ Pseudo-Matt., Ev., iv. Compare Vincent of Beauvais's '*Speculum Historiale*,' ch. viii.

difficulty, which seemed marvellous in all men's eyes, and an unheard of thing to be done by a little child. It was in this place that the holy Zacharias was offering incense¹ to the Lord, when the angel appeared to him and told him that his prayer was heard by God—for all the priests were praying to the Lord at the time of incense² for the coming Messiah and the deliverance of the people—and added that his barren wife, Elizabeth, would bear him a son. In this place our Lord Jesus Christ was presented by His parents with a pigeon and a dove, was taken up into Simeon's arms, was spoken of by the holy widow Anna to all them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem. Here, when He came to the age of twelve years, that He might set an example of studying the Holy Scriptures, He sat in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them and asking them questions, so that all who heard Him were astonished at His understanding and His answers.³ When He went up to the Temple to pray, He cast out thence those who bought and sold, and overturned the tables of the money-changers, and the seats of them which sold doves, casting in their teeth the text, 'My house shall be called the house of prayer.' Once also He ascended to the pinnacle⁴ of the Temple, where the devil, tempting Him, proposed that He should cast Himself down. When His Passion was near at hand, He was all day teaching in the Temple, and in the evening went away to Bethany, and returned at daybreak. At His death the veil of this Temple was rent from the top to the bottom, to open the way into the Holy of Holies. From the pinnacle of this Temple St. James the Apostle was cast down while he prayed, and received his martyr's crown by a blow from a fuller's club.⁵ There is also at Jerusalem another Temple

¹ Luke i. 9.² Exod. xxx. 7, 8.³ Luke ii.⁴ Anon., p. 66, note.⁵ John of Würzburg, ch. xvii.

of vast size and extent, after which the militant friars of the Temple are called Templars. This is called Solomon's Temple, perhaps to distinguish it from the other, which is called the Lord's Temple. Mount Olivet,¹ the mount of fatness, the Mount of Olives, the mount of three lights, the holy and acceptable hill, is about a mile distant from Jerusalem. On its slope is Bethphage, which is, being interpreted, the house of the jaw, a village of priests; and Bethany, the village² of Martha and Mary and Lazarus, where Mary anointed the Lord's feet and wiped them with her hair, and, while Martha was busy ministering to the Lord, sat at His feet and eagerly listened to the words of His mouth. On this mount Christ raised Lazarus, and hereon He often deigned to be a guest, to preach, and work miracles. It was on this most holy and reverend mount that the Lord was sitting over against the Temple when His disciples asked Him what should be the signs of His coming judgment and of the end of the world.³ To this mount He and His disciples often went out to pray, more especially when the Passion was drawing nigh. On this mount He was honourably greeted by the Hebrew boys who met Him, carrying branches of palms; and from that place He was led in triumph riding upon the ass, with hymns of praises. From this mount, in the presence of His disciples, He ascended with glory into heaven.

LXIII. There are other holy and venerable places both within and without the city; to wit, the Valley of Jehosh-

¹ See St. Augustine's 'Commentary on St. John's Gospel,' tract. vi. 20 and xxxiii. 3; Fabri, i. 495-499.

² *Castellum*. 'By Maundeville and other mediaeval travellers the town is spoken of as the "Castle of Bethany," an expression which had its origin in *castellum* being employed in the Vulgate as the translation of κώμη in John xi. 1.'—Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible,' art. 'Bethany.'

³ Matt. xxiv.

aphat, between Mount Sion and Mount Olivet, wherein we are told that beyond the brook Cedron there is a small village called Gethsemane, and near it the garden wherein the Lord was taken by the Jews. In this valley the Blessed Virgin was buried. Hither it is believed that the Lord will come to judge the world. Here is the sheep-pool wherein sick persons were healed after the waters had been troubled by the angel, and the bathing-pool of Siloam, wherein the blind man was healed of his blindness. There is the Church of St. Stephen, the first martyr, on the spot where he was stoned by the Jews. There is the village¹ of Emmaus,² about sixty stadia distant from Jerusalem, having Modin, a city of the Maccabees, and the city of Gibeon, near it; in which city of Emmaus the Lord broke bread and gave thanks, and was known of them in the breaking of bread.³ There are very many other places which the Lord has deigned to visit and sanctify by His bodily presence, for wherever the Lord's feet have trodden, the place is held by the faithful to be holy and consecrated, and a precious relic. No wonder, therefore, that this Promised Land, flowing with milk and honey, and sweeter than all fragrant perfumes, should have attracted and drawn to itself not only religious clerks, but also laymen, both knights and civilians, to leave their parents and their own patrimonies and dwell therein under a rule. Some of these in Jerusalem are the Hospitallers, or Brethren of St. John's Hospital. Others are Brethren of the Knights Templars; others are Brethren of St. Mary's Hospital of the Germans.

LXIV. St. John's Hospital had its beginning in the times of the Syrians and Greeks, when the Holy City was still held in bondage under the dominion of the Saracens,

¹ *Castellum*. Cf. note 2, p. 45, and Sir John Maundeville in 'Early Travels in Palestine,' p. 175.

² Emmaus-Nicopolis, now 'Amwās.

³ Luke xxiv.

in the following manner: Albeit for our sins the Saracens at the time held the whole of the Promised Land, yet many Christians of the Syrian nation were loath to leave their country, but continued to dwell among the Saracens, though they were brought down into a low estate, and oppressed by a hard yoke of slavery. Now, the Prince of Egypt, who was Lord over all the countries from Laodicea in Syria even to Alexandria, the furthestmost city of Egypt, had granted the fourth part of the city of Jerusalem on the side of the Holy Sepulchre to the Syrians and their Patriarch to dwell in, in consideration of their paying a yearly tribute; but the Saracens dwelt in the other three parts. Now, Christians used to come from the West to the Promised Land, some in order to trade, and some, at great peril, came out of devotion, on pilgrimage, to visit the holy places, and paid tribute to the Saracens. Among them were some Lombards, and especially Amalfitans, men of the city of Amalfi, which is not more than seven miles distant from the noble city of Salerno, who brought foreign merchandise, and had made the Prince of Egypt their friend by giving him tribute and presents, and were in high favour with him. These men easily persuaded the Prince to suffer them to build a Latin church in honour of St. Mary, near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, scarce a stone's-throw from it; because the Syrians followed the customs and rules of the Greek Church throughout their Divine service. Wherefore the aforesaid church is even to this day called St. Mary the Latin, for they established therein a Latin Abbot and monks to conduct Divine service according to the Latin rite. In the course of time, without the walls of the aforesaid convent, whose monks thought it unbecoming that they should lodge women pilgrims, they established another convent dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, and a sisterhood therein of religious women to

minister to Latin women pilgrims in that place, and give them entertainment. Afterwards, however, as multitudes of pilgrims flocked thither, and the aforesaid monasteries were not sufficient to lodge all the poor, sick and afflicted people, the aforesaid Abbot and monks, on the same site, close by their own church, built for the use of sick and poor people a hospital and chapel dedicated to St. John the Charitable.¹ This holy man, approved by God and commendable in all things, was a Cyprian by nation, and by merit of his holiness was appointed Patriarch of Alexandria. Since he was remarkable for his charities and other works of piety, he was called *Eleemon*, that is to say, the Charitable. Now, seeing that in the beginning, the aforesaid Xenodochium or Hospital of St. John had no revenues or other property, the Abbot of St. Mary the Latin, who was the Superior thereof, used to provide for the sick and needy out of the scraps and leavings of the tables of the two monasteries, and out of the alms of the faithful. But when it pleased God of His mercy, by means of Duke Godfrey and the rest of Christ's faithful people, to set free the city of our redemption from the infidels, and to restore it to the Christian religion, a certain man of holy life and approved faith, named Gerard, who for a long time had at the Abbot's bidding devoutly ministered to the poor people in the aforesaid hospital, together with some other honourable and religious men, took the vows of regular monks, putting a white cross outside his clothes on his breast, and bound himself by a solemn profession to observe a wholesome rule and good customs. He was joined in his ministry to the poor by a lady named Agnes, a Roman by nation, noble according to the flesh, but nobler by her holiness of life, who had held the post of Abbess in the convent of women, and now took upon herself by a vow

¹ See 'Extracts from 'Aristeas,' etc., in this series, pp. 25, 37-39.

the same rule and the same humble habit. The aforesaid brethren humbly and devoutly served God, diligently ministered of their poverty to the sick and needy, and buried their dead in a field which is called *Aceldama*. This is the potter's field¹ which was bought by the Jews to bury strangers in with the thirty pieces of silver which Judas cast down in the Temple. As long as they were poor they did not refuse obedience and respect to the Abbot of St. Mary the Latin, who had founded the aforesaid hospital, and had for a long time fed both them and their sick people from his own table ; they also honoured with most devout reverence St. John the Charitable, their first patron and helper, the advocate of them and of their hospital before God, and acknowledged him as their mediator and lord ; while they faithfully obeyed the Lord Patriarch of Jerusalem, and unquestioningly paid him tithes of their goods according to the canons and the precepts of the Old and New Testament. They were instant in prayer, mortified themselves with fasts and vigils, abounded in works of mercy, and lived sparingly and austere themselves, but were kind and open-handed to the poor and sick, whom they used to call their masters. They used to lavish pure wheaten bread on the sick, and keep what was left, with the bran, for their own use. If any one of them committed any fault, they by no means left him unpunished, lest easiness of sinning should encourage sin. According to what was called for by the offence whereof they were guilty, some had the cross torn from their clothes and were utterly cast out as rotten members ; others were condemned to chains and prison ; others were sentenced to eat very scanty meals on the ground and at the feet of the brethren until they had made a proper atonement. They were beloved by all, because God was with them :

¹ Matt. xxvii. 7.

wherefore it came to pass that their sound went out into all lands,¹ and the fame of their holiness unto the ends of the earth. And since, after the recovery of the Holy Land, Christ's faithful people of every nation, tribe and language, flocked to Jerusalem to visit the Lord's sepulchre, by the gifts of Princes and the alms of the faithful they in a short time became so rich that they drew ample revenues from every country in the West, and became possessed of towns and villages, which they domineered over as though they were lords of the land.

LXV. Now, after this, seeing that as time went on people from all parts of the world, both rich and poor, young men and maidens, old men and children, went to Jerusalem to visit the holy places, certain thieves, foot-pads, and highway robbers used to lay ambushes for careless pilgrims, plundered many of them, and slew some of them. [Now, certain devout Knights, beloved by God, out of their fervent charity renounced the world, made themselves bondslaves of Christ, and by a solemn profession and vow bound themselves to defend pilgrims from the aforesaid robbers, and keep guard over the public roads, living, like Canons Regular, in poverty, chastity, and obedience, as soldiers of the King of kings. Their chiefs were those venerable men, beloved by God, Hugh de Payens and Geoffrey de St. Omer.] Only nine at first undertook this holy project. They did service for nine years, wearing secular habits, such as the faithful gave them out of charity ; but the King and his Knights, having compassion on the aforesaid noblemen, who had given up all for Christ's sake, and together with the Lord Patriarch, supported them out of their own private means, and afterwards bestowed upon them gifts and grants for the benefit of their own souls ; and, since they had not as yet any church of their own, or

¹ Psa. xix. 4.

any fixed abode, our Lord the King allowed them to lodge for a time in a part of his palace near the Lord's Temple. The Abbot and Canons of the Lord's Temple gave them an open space which they had near the King's palace¹ to use for offices. As they dwelt near the Lord's Temple, they were afterwards called Brethren of the Knights Templars. Now, after they had passed nine years in this profession and holy poverty, living their lives in common in holy poverty, and had dwelt in concord and of one mind in the house,² in the year of grace 1128, by the mandate of our Lord Pope Honorius and of the Lord Stephen, Patriarch of Jerusalem, they were given a rule and a white habit, without any cross. This was done in a General Council held at Troyes in Champagne, under the presidency of the Lord Bishop of Alba, the Legate of the Holy See, in the presence of the Archbishops of Rheims and Sens, the Abbots of the Cistercian Order, and many other prelates of churches. After this, in the time of our Lord Pope Eugenius,³ they attached red crosses to the outside of their garments, while they wore white as a symbol of innocency; by the red crosses they alluded to martyrdom, because, according to the terms of their rule, they were bound to shed their own blood in defence of the Holy Land, and manfully overthrow the enemies of the Cross of Christ, and drive them away from the borders of Christendom. At their leader's command they were to join battle, not rashly or disorderly, but wisely and with all caution, being the first to attack and the last to retreat. They were not allowed to turn their backs and flee, nor to retreat without orders. Wherefore, seeing that they were stout and brave soldiers of Christ, like a second race of Maccabees, who

¹ This palace was in the *Aksa* mosque, west of which the Templars' refectory was built. See notes on the 'City of Jerusalem.'

² Psa. lxxviii. 6.

³ Eugenius III., 1145-1153.

did not presume upon their own strength, but whose whole hope was in the power of God, and all their trust in the Cross of Jesus Christ, they exposed to death for Christ's sake their bodies, which were right dear in the sight of the Lord;¹ and the Lord fought with them and fought for them. Thus they became so terrible to the enemies of Christ's faith that one of them used to chase a thousand, and two of them ten thousand;² when they were called to arms, they did not ask how many of the enemy there were, but where they were. [They were lions in war, and gentle as lambs at home; in the field they were fierce soldiers, in church they were like hermits or monks;] they were harsh and savage to the enemies of Christ, but kindly and gracious to Christians. They had a black and white banner, which they called *Bauceant*, borne before them, signifying that they are fair and kindly to their friends, but black and terrible to their enemies. Now, seeing that religious zeal cannot be kept up without strict discipline, these wise and devout men from the beginning safeguarded themselves and provided for the good government of their successors by determining in nowise to disregard or to leave unpunished the negligences and trespasses of their delinquent brethren, but they weighed carefully and exactly measured the heinousness of the crime and the circumstances of the sinner. From some they took away their red cross, and cast them out for ever, lest one scabby goat should infect the whole flock of sheep; others they condemned to eat scanty meals on the floor without table-linen, until they had made due atonement for their faults, that by this public disgrace they might be made to blush, and the rest to fear. For their greater confusion and penance they were not suffered to drive away the dogs that ate with them.³

¹ Psa. cxvi. 18.

² Lev. xxvi. 8; Deut. xxxii. 1; Josh. xxiii. 10.

³ Anon., 30.

Others they used to chain and imprison either for a time or for life, according as they thought fit, that they might set them free from the prison of hell; and in many other ways, according to the precepts of their wholesome rules, they constrained such as were rebellious and stiffnecked to walk in the ways of regular discipline and honourable conversation. They showed due obedience and humble reverence to the Lord Patriarch of Jerusalem, to whom they owed the establishment of their Order and their subsistence in things temporal, rendering tithes and other things that are God's unto God, and unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's.¹ They were not burdensome to any man, but were beloved by all because of their piety and humility. Thus it came to pass that the renown of their glory and the fame of their holiness was spread over the whole world like a pot of frankincense of a sweet-smelling savour; their fragrance filled all the house of Holy Church, and their memory was sweet as honey in the mouths of all the faithful; their courage, their battles, and glorious victories over the enemies of Christ, shall be told in all churches of the saints. Knights from all parts of the world—not only poor ones, but Dukes and Princes—following their example, broke their worldly chains, renounced all for Christ's sake, and flocked to them, desiring to belong to their Order of religion: they utterly renounced the pomps and vanities of this world and all the delights of the flesh, and held them as mere dirt, but under Divine inspiration most devoutly embraced the service of Christ and the lowliness of monks. Wherefore in a short time their numbers increased so much that they had in their convent more than three hundred Knights, all wearing white mantles, without counting serving-men, who were numberless. They have been prodigiously increased by vast possessions both on

¹ Luke xx. ; Matt. xxiii.

this side of and beyond the sea, for they own villages, cities and towns, after the manner of the Brethren of St. John's Hospital, from which they send a certain sum every year for the defence of the Holy Land to their Grand Master, whose chief seat was in Jerusalem. In like manner, the bursars of the houses of the Order of St. John's Hospital, whom they call preceptors, send every year a certain sum to their Grand Master ; for the brethren of the aforesaid hospital, in imitation of the Knights Templars, use the arms of the flesh, and have received Knights, with their esquires, into their body, that it might be brought to pass which was spoken by Isaiah the prophet¹ about the rise and position of the Church that was to be : ' I will make thee an eternal excellency, a joy of many generations ;' and again, ' The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the bullock ; the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the panther shall lie down with the kid ; the calf and the lion and the sheep shall dwell together.'

LXVI. Now, since a threefold cord² is not easily broken, it hath pleased Divine providence to add a third to the two aforesaid houses, one which is very needful to the Holy Land and is, as it were, compounded from the other two. These men exactly follow the rule and institutions of the Order of Knights Templars both in peace and war, and, like the Brethren of St. John's Hospital, they nevertheless tend the sick, strangers, and others in their own hospital, which is called the Hospital of St. Mary of the Teutons in Jerusalem, and do them good and sufficient service with all piety and devotion, in humble obedience to the Lord Patriarch and the other prelates of the Churches. They pay the whole tithes of all that they possess, as is required by law and by God's holy ordinance, and do no wrong to

¹ Isa. lx. 15 ; lxx.

² Eccles iv. 12.

the prelates of the Churches. These men, starting from a slender and modest source, have swelled into a great river, the Blessed Mary their patroness, whom they serve with all piety and humility, having prospered them and given them increase both in things temporal and spiritual. When, after its aforesaid recovery, the Holy City was inhabited by Christians, and many Teutons and Almayns who went to Jerusalem on pilgrimage could not speak the tongue of the city, the Divine clemency inspired an honourable and religious Teuton, who dwelt in the city with his wife, to build a hospice at his own cost, wherein he might entertain poor and sick Teutons. But as many poor pilgrims used to frequent his house, that they might talk in the language which they knew, he, with the Patriarch's consent and goodwill, built an oratory near the aforesaid hospital, and dedicated it to the Mother of God, the Blessed Mary. For a long time, in great poverty, he ministered to the sick and needy, both of his own substance and of what alms he collected from the faithful. But some men, chiefly of the German nation, when they saw the aforesaid man's charity and good works, gave up all that they had, laid aside their worldly habit, and bound themselves by a vow whereby they devoted themselves to God and the aforesaid hospital, to serve the poor. As time went on, since not only poor men, but devout knights and nobles of Germany, took the vows of the aforesaid hospital, choosing for themselves voluntary poverty, preferring to dwell as poor men in the House of their God than to dwell in the tents of ungodliness,¹ they thought it would be grateful and acceptable to God not merely to minister to the sick and needy, but also to lay down their lives for Christ's sake, and to become Christ's soldiers as well in the body as in the spirit by defending the Holy Land against Christ's enemies. Where-

¹ Psa. lxxxiv. 11.

fore, as aforesaid, they adopted the rule and practice of the Knights Templars, yet so as not to give up the doing of works of piety, and of hospitality that is pleasing to God, like the creatures of Holy Writ,¹ which had at the same time the face of a man and of a lion.) They acquitted themselves so devoutly and diligently in both kinds of service that they won grace and favour with both God and man. For distinction, they wore black crosses on flowing white mantles. And whereas they have continued even to this day in humble poverty and religious zeal, I pray that the Lord may save them from wealth, which makes men proud, greedy, and quarrelsome, full of anxiety, and the enemies of religion. For what shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?²

LXVII. ³Moreover, the Holy Land flourished like a garden of delight with many regular clergy, religious persons, hermits, monks, Canons, nuns, cloistered virgins dedicated to God, and chaste and holy widows, and breathed sweet perfume as it were from roses, lilies, and violets. The Lord had blessed the crown of the year with His goodness, and made the wilderness so fat that where dragons and serpents had had their dwelling there arose green reeds and canes. Though for a time the Lord had somewhat left it desolate, yet of His great loving kindness He gathered together its children, and made all the land so full of people of divers races of men, of various tongues and nations, that therein the prophecy seemed to be fulfilled: 'Thy sons shall come from far, and thy daughters shall be nursed by thy side.'⁴ The land saw it and was full, it wondered, and its heart was glad when the multitude flowed thither from the sea, especially

¹ Ezek. i. 8.

² Matt. xvi.

³ Paraphrased in Besant and Palmer's 'Jerusalem,' 1889, p. 273.

⁴ Isa. lx. 4.

they of Genoa, Venice, and Pisa. Thither came the strength of the nations, especially from France and Germany, men of war. The former are more powerful at sea, the latter on land; the one are fitter for sea-fights, and better able to do battle on the water by their practice and use thereof; the latter are better soldiers on land, well skilled in the wars, and stouter warriors on horseback with sword and lance; the glory of the former is in their galleys, of the latter in their horses. The Italians are graver and more discreet, prudent and wary, frugal in eating, sober in drinking. They make long and polished speeches, are wise in their counsels, eager and zealous to further the interests of their own States, grasping and provident for the future, unwilling to serve under others, defending their own liberty above all; they make their own laws and rules for themselves under a chief of their own choosing, and strictly keep them. They are very necessary to the Holy Land, not only for fighting, but for seafaring, and carrying merchandise, pilgrims, and victuals. As they are sparing of food and drink, they live longer in the East than other nations of the West. The Germans, French, Bretons, English, and others from beyond the Alps, are less wary, and more reckless, less careful in their dealings, more prodigal in eating and drinking, more profuse in expense, less cautious in words, rasher and less prudent in their plans. In church they are devout, more charitable in almsgiving and other works of mercy. They are more courageous in battle, and they, especially the Bretons, are exceeding useful to the Holy Land, and are greatly feared by the Saracens. Yet, because of their levity and intemperance, they are called fools¹ by the Pullani. Pullani is

¹ *Filios Hernaudi*. See Ducange, art. *Filius*. The word Pullan is supposed to be derived from the Arabic, *Ibn Fulān* (ابن فلان), 'son of So-and-so.' Pilgrims from Europe were so called by the native-born

the name given to those who have been born in the Holy Land after its freedom, either because they are new-comers—as it were pullets, as compared with the Syrians—or because for the most part their mothers, according to the flesh, were of the Apulian nation; for since our people brought into the Holy Land but few women, as compared with the men in the army of the Western Princes, those who remained in the Holy Land invited over women from the kingdom of Apulia, because it was nearer than any other, and married them. Furthermore, in the aforesaid Holy Land there are many other nations, with different customs, who differ greatly from one another in their Divine service and religious rites, to wit, Syrians, Greeks, Jacobites, Maronites, Nestorians, Armenians, and Georgians, who both for trade, agriculture, and other useful arts, are very necessary to the Holy Land, that they may sow the land, and plant vineyards, to yield them fruits of increase.¹

LXVIII. Seeing, then, that the clouds dropped fatness at the Lord's bidding, and the Holy Land yielded her fruit, men ran together thither with joy, according to the joy in harvest,² and as men rejoice when they divide the spoil. One prophet called unto another, and they who heard said, 'Come ye, and let us go up into the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob;³ for God hath visited the earth, and blessed it; He hath made it very plenteous.'⁴ Not only from Sheba,⁵ but from all the world, they came, bringing gold and incense to Jerusalem, and showing forth the praises of the Lord; and His sepulchre was glorious, so that the prophecy⁶ seemed to be fulfilled to the letter: 'The mountain of the Lord's

Pullani, but the words were used with a contemptuous significance, 'sons of ——' Compare Marino Sanuto, iii., part viii., c. 2 and c. 5.

¹ Ps. cviii. 37.

² Isa. ix. 3.

³ Isa. ii. 3.

⁴ Ps. lxiv.

⁵ Isa. lx. 6.

⁶ Isa. ii. 2, 3.

house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow into it. And many people shall go . . . shall say' of Jerusalem that which we read in Tobit,¹ 'Thou shalt shine forth gloriously, and all the ends of the earth shall worship thee; many nations shall come from far to thee, and shall bring presents and praise the Lord in thee.' Then was that seen to be fulfilled which the Lord did not fulfil in the time of the Jews, which is written in the Book of Deuteronomy:² 'Every place whereon the soles of your feet shall tread shall be yours; from the wilderness and from Lebanon, from the river, the river Euphrates, even unto the uttermost sea shall your coast be.' Now, when the aforesaid vineyard of the Lord was breathing forth a sweet savour even to the end of the land, the old serpent, the venomous dragon, the enemy of mankind, unable to endure a wholesome fragrance for long, when he saw the great change which the right hand of the Most High had brought about in the East, and grieved thereat—to wit, that Holy Church should be enlarged, Divine worship extended, infidels put to confusion, Christians exalted; that signs and wonders should be renewed, that on Easter Even fire should come down from heaven in the Church of the Lord's Resurrection, that the people should devoutly meet together to set forth God's glory and magnify His wondrous doings, that infidels should be confounded, and that the faithful should rejoice in the Lord—he, being blinded with so great a light, and smitten with a deadly wound to his malice, began to cast about and scheme sundry devices whereby he might pour in his poison secretly, uproot the Lord's vineyard, and while men slept sow tares in the Lord's field.³

LXIX. Seeking rest,⁴ he could find none in the be-

¹ Tob. xiii.

² Deut. xi. 24.

³ Matt. xiii. 25.

⁴ Matt. xii. 43.

ginning, that is, among the early pilgrims, who were still poor and worn out with many toils; but at last he found a house that was empty, swept and garnished—to wit, men at leisure and dwelling without fear, whose corn and wine and oil had increase,¹ and who were filled to overflowing with all temporal goods. Then, taking unto himself seven other spirits more wicked than himself—that is to say, the seven deadly sins—he entered into these men, whom ingratitude had made degenerate, and their last state was worse than the first. Their wounds stank and were corrupt because of their foolishness;² they waxed fat and kicked;³ they were grown thick, and from out of the fat of riches and luxury came forth the wickedness of fools:⁴ when they were fed to the full they committed adultery,⁵ and assembled themselves by troops in the harlots' houses; even as water they were poured out, and went after their lusts;⁶ they were not poured from vessel to vessel,⁷ they lay in their own dung like beasts; they were as fed horses, everyone neighed after his neighbour's wife.⁸ They consumed away, and did not see the sun:⁹ they turned their eyes away to the earth, being proud, puffed up, disdainful, rebellious, fighting with one another, sowing discord between brethren, malicious, given to witchcraft, sacrilegious, angry and unjust, sunk in sloth and laziness, insatiate in greed, heavy with surfeit and drunkenness, foul with vice and uncleanness, thieves, robbers, homicides, men of blood, traitors, disobedient to their parents and elders, being fools and simpletons, who had neither love, nor good faith, nor mercy. To use the prophet's words: 'By swearing and lying, and killing and stealing, and committing adultery, they broke out, and blood

dangers
of affluence

¹ Psal. iv. 7.⁴ Psal. lxxiii. (?).⁷ Joel i. (?).² Psal. xxxviii. 5.⁵ Jer. v. 7.⁸ Jer. v. 8.³ Deut. xxxii. 15.⁶ Ecclesi. xviii.⁹ Psal. lviii. 7.

touched blood.¹ Wherefore the devil enlarged the bounds of his soul without end, and prepared places for each vice and crime to dwell in, and greatly increased his torments. Thus were all those wicked men's thoughts turned ever to evil, and they had corrupted² their way upon the earth : all goodness and true religion had withered away, and the zeal of many had grown cold. The Son of man had not found faith on the earth,³ for scarce anyone could be found who showed⁴ difference between the holy and profane, or between the precious and the worthless. All were going down to ruin and confusion ; from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head there was no soundness in them ;⁵ and they were like people, like priests.⁶

LXX. To begin with the Lord's sanctuary. Whereas almost all the world pays tribute in alms and oblations and divers offerings; to the prelates of the Churches and the regular clergy, the shepherds⁷ fed themselves, taking wool and milk from their flock, but taking no heed of their souls ; nay, rather showing an example of treason to their inferiors ; like fat oxen on the mountain of Samaria, they were made rich by Christ's poverty, proud by His humility, vainglorious by His shame ; they were fattened, increased and enriched by the heritage of the Crucified. Yet when the Lord said unto Peter, ' Feed My sheep,'⁸ we nowhere find that He said, ' Shear My sheep !' Looking after their own profit,⁹ not after the things of Jesus Christ, they became blind leaders of the blind, dumb dogs that cannot bark.¹⁰ They went into the Lord's house with pomp ; they had the key of knowledge,¹¹ yet entered not themselves nor suffered

¹ Hos. iv. 2.² Gen. vi. 12.³ Luke xviii. 8.⁴ Ezek. xxii. 26.⁵ Isa. i. 6.⁶ Hos. iv. 9.⁷ Ezek. xxxiv. 3.⁸ John xxi. 16, 17.⁹ Phil. ii. 4.¹⁰ Isa. lvi. 10. Cf. Luke vi. 39.¹¹ Luke xi. 52 ; Matt. xxiii. 13.

others to enter ; they were sore smitten with the leprosy of Gehazi ;¹ they everywhere set up in their churches the seat of them which sold doves, and the tables of the money-changers, which the Lord overturned ; they said even as Judas the traitor said, ‘ What will ye give me, and I will deliver Him up to you ?’² They all loved presents, and sought after revenues, taking away the keys from Simon Peter, and giving them to Simon Magus. Sunk in luxury of divers kinds, and grown feeble with shameful sloth, they used not merely the crumbs which fell from the Lord’s table, but whole loaves therefrom, to feed the brood which they begat from shameful concubines with still greater shame to themselves.

LXXI. The regular clergy, after they had become infected by the poison of riches, and had gotten very great possessions, set at naught their superiors, brake their bonds asunder, and cast away their yoke from them ;³ they became an offence not only to the Churches and the people of the Church, but envying and belittling one another, to the grave scandal of all Christendom, they proceeded to open insults, manifest hatred, and almost to battle with one another, and often fought not only with words, but with blows. When they began to build their Tower of Babel,⁴ they were severed and divided one from another by the confusion of tongues, and not only were at variance one with another, but made factions and set other men by the ears. Yet many of them were of a better temper, just and God-fearing men, who, as far as they could at such a time, kept the wholesome rules and holy institutes of their Order, being as wheat among chaff and the lily⁵ among thorns. They were touched and cut to the heart, and bitterly grieved ; they ‘ walked not in the counsel of the

¹ 2 Kings v. 27.

² Matt. xxvi. 15.

³ Psal. ii. 3.

⁴ Gen. xi.

⁵ Cant. ii. 2.

ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners, nor sat in the seat of the scornful.¹ So greatly did the impiety and unrighteousness of wicked men abound, that they often did not fear to administer the Holy Sacrament to men who were put under an interdict by the prelates, and specially anathematized by name. They who ought to rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep, were the only men who rejoiced when all others wept.² Wherefore it came to pass that the strictness of Church discipline was relaxed, and worldly and pestilent men set at nought the sentences passed upon them by their prelates, and cared not for the terrible sword of spiritual justice. Abbots and Priors, with their hireling monks and pitiful chaplains, cast aside the fear of the Lord, and feared not to put their sickle into other men's corn, joining together unlawful or runagate persons in holy matrimony; visiting the sick out of covetousness, not out of piety, and administering the Sacraments to them against the will of their own proper pastors; binding and loosing souls whose care did not belong to them, contrary to the law of God and of the holy canons, whereas the Apostle says, 'Who art thou, that judgest another man's servant?'³ They used to admit the dead freely to burial, against the will of the prelates, thus illegally taking upon themselves the rights of parish priests. The duty of monks is to mourn and to pray, not to administer the Sacrament to the laity. Not only monks, but even nuns, disobeyed their superiors, shook off the yoke of discipline, and came out of their cloisters—'the stones of the sanctuary were poured out in the top of every street'⁴—and they irreligiously frequented the public baths in the company of secular persons. I have not written the above meaning to impute the crimes of their predecessors to the following generations and to those of

¹ Psa. i. 1.² Rom. xii. 15.³ Rom. xiv. 4.⁴ Lam. iv. 1.

the present time, but that they may wash their hands in the blood of the ungodly, and learn to imitate the good, and to loathe and reprove the evil.¹ Let them learn to humble themselves with Christ, to embrace His poverty, purity, and charity, that they may renounce the outer world not merely in their dress, and may possess their souls in patience.²

LXXII. The greater and more powerful they became among the laity and secular persons, the more ruinously did they corrupt their ways. It was an evil and perverse generation, wicked and degenerate sons, corrupt men, who proceeded from the aforesaid pilgrims, religious men, acceptable to God and full of grace, even as lees from wine, dregs from olives, tares from wheat, and rust from silver; they succeeded to their fathers' property, but not to their good morals; they squandered the worldly wealth which their fathers had won by the shedding of their own blood, fighting manfully against the infidels for the honour of God. Their children, who are called Pullani, were brought up in luxury, soft and effeminate, more used to baths than battles, addicted to unclean and riotous living, clad like women in soft robes, and ornamented even as the polished corners of the Temple;³ how slow and slothful, how timid and cowardly they proved themselves against the enemies of Christ, is doubted by no one who knows how greatly they are despised by the Saracens. A multitude of Saracens would flee from before their fathers, even though they were few; at the voice of their thunder they hasted away;⁴ but they feared their cowardly descendants no more than so many women, unless they had some French or other Westerns with them.) They make treaties with the Saracens, and are glad to be at peace

¹ Psal. lvi. 9.

³ Psal. cxliv. 12.

² Luke xxi. 19.

⁴ Psal. civ. 7.

with Christ's enemies; they are quick to quarrel with one another, and skirmish and levy civil war against one another; they often call upon the enemies of the faith to help them against Christians, and are not ashamed to waste the forces and treasure which they ought to use against the infidels to God's glory, in fighting against one another to the injury of Christendom. They have so learned to disguise their meaning in cunning speeches, covered and bedecked with leaves, but no fruit, like barren willow-trees, that those who do not by experience know them thoroughly can scarce understand their reservations and tricks of speech or avoid being deceived by them. They are suspicious and jealous of their wives, whom they lock up in close prison, and guard in such strict and careful custody that even their brethren and nearest relatives can scarce come at them; while they forbid them so utterly to attend churches, processions, the wholesome preaching of God's Word, and other matters appertaining to their salvation, that they scarce suffer them to go to church once a year; howbeit some husbands allow their wives to go out to the bath three times a week, under strict guard. The richest and most powerful of them, to show that they are Christians, and to somewhat excuse their conduct, cause altars to be set up near their wives' beds, and get Masses performed by starveling chaplains and half-fledged priests. But the more strictly the Pullani lock up their wives, the more do they by a thousand arts and endless contrivances struggle and try to find their way out. They are wondrously and beyond belief learned in witchcraft, and wickednesses innumerable, which they are taught by the Syrian women. Now, the pilgrims who come, with very great toil and at ruinous expense, from far away, out of devotion and to help them, offering themselves and all that they have to the Lord, are not only treated with ingratitude by

witchcraft

divine

weakness these Pullani, but they make themselves offensive to them in divers ways; for they would rather indulge their sloth and gratify their carnal desires than fight the Saracens when the truce is broken or run out. When by their outrageous charges for lodging, their trafficking and money-changing, and many other kinds of trading, they have cheated and plundered pilgrims, and so have gained great wealth, they then pour contempt upon those warriors and exiles for Christ's sake, insulting them and calling them the idiots,¹ as though they were fools and half-witted, and reproaching those who are about to fight on their own behalf. . . . So great, and much worse than this, is the perverse wickedness and wicked perversity of those men who rejoice to do evil, and delight in the frowardness of the wicked, for whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever.² They indeed pass their days in all good things, but in a moment they shall go down to the depths of hell.³ Now, like as we hate the wickedness of the ungodly, even as the prophet hath said, 'It grieveth me when I see the transgressors, because they keep not Thy law';⁴ and again, 'I hate them with a perfect hatred; I count them mine enemies'⁵—so we commend to the Lord the good ones, if there be any among them. Should any man be angry with me because of what I have said, he will appear to testify of his own self that he is such a one.

LXXIII. As for those men from the noble cities of Genoa, Pisa, and Venice, and from other parts of Italy, who dwell in Syria, whose fathers and predecessors won for themselves imperishable renown and an eternal crown by their glorious triumphs over Christ's enemies, they would be very terrible to the Saracens if they would cease from

¹ See note 1, p. 57.

² Jude 13.

³ Job xxxi. (?).

⁴ Psal. cxix. 158.

⁵ Psal. cxxxix. 22.

their jealousy and avarice, and would not continually fight and quarrel one with another. [But since they more often join battle against one another than against the treacherous infidels, and have more to do with trade and merchandise than with warring for Christ, they whose bold and warlike fathers were greatly dreaded by the infidels now cause them to be of good cheer and fear nought]

not
ded: into

LXXIV. There are other men who, since the days of old, have dwelt in the land under divers lords, and borne the yoke of slavery successively under the Romans and Greeks, the Latins and Barbarians, the Saracens and the Christians. These men are everywhere slaves, always tributaries, kept by their masters for husbandry and other ignoble uses; they are altogether unwarlike, and helpless as women in battle, save some of them who use bows and arrows, but are unarmed and ready for running away. These men are known as Syrians, either from the city called Sur (Tyre), which from ancient times has always been chief among the cities of Syria, or from Syria, by changing *y* into *u*, they who by the ancient writers are called Syrians are now called *Suriani*.¹ They are for the most part untrustworthy, double-dealers, cunning foxes even as the Greeks, liars and turncoats, lovers of success, traitors, easily won over by bribes, men who say one thing and mean another, who think nothing of theft and robbery. For a small sum of money they become spies and tell the secrets of the Christians to the Saracens, among whom they are brought up, whose language they speak rather than any other, and whose crooked ways they for the most part imitate. They have mingled among the heathen, and learned their works;² they shut up their wives after the

¹ De Vitry's guess cannot be translated into English, as we spell both words with a *y*. His etymologies are pure nonsense, like those of all mediaeval writers.

² Psa. cvi. 35.

Saracen fashion, and wrap up both them and their daughters with cloths, that they may not be seen. They do not shave their beards as do the Saracens, Greeks, and almost all Easterns, but cherish them with great care, and especially glory in them, holding the beard to be a sign of manhood, an honour to the face, and the dignity and glory of man. Like as eunuchs, who are quite beardless, are thought to be contemptible and effeminate by the Latins, so these think it to be the greatest disgrace not only to have their beards shorn, but to have a single hair pulled out of them. So when Hanun,¹ King of the Ammonites, shaved half the beards of David's servants to show his contempt for David, they would not shave the rest, but hid themselves in Jericho until their beards had grown. So when Baldwin, Count of Edessa, had grown a beard in the Eastern fashion, and had married the daughter of a noble Duke named Gabriel, an Armenian by nation but a Greek in religion, he, being a poor man, in order to wring money out of his rich father-in-law, told him that he had been forced to pledge his beard to some of his creditors for a great sum of money ; whereat Gabriel was much surprised and grieved, and, willing to save his daughter and his son-in-law from an everlasting disgrace, gave him thirty thousand bezants, on condition that thereafter he must never pawn his beard, however poor he might be or whatever trouble might befall him. The Syrians² use the Saracen language in their common speech, and they use the Saracen script in deeds and business and all other writing, except for the Holy Scriptures and other religious books, in which they use the Greek letters ; wherefore in Divine service

¹ 2 Sam. x. 4.

² These Syrians were descendants of native Christians who agreed with the Greeks at the Council of Chalcedon ; they therefore belonged to the Greek Church and not to the Syrian.

their laity, who only know the Saracenic tongue, do not understand them; whereas the Greeks, who use the same language in common talk and in the Scriptures, can understand their priests in their churches and in their written language, which is the same as the spoken language. The Syrians exactly follow the rules and customs of the Greeks in Divine service and other spiritual matters, and obey them as their superiors. As for the Latin prelates in whose dioceses they dwell, they obey them in word, but not in deed, and only in outward show say that they obey them, out of fear of their masters according to the flesh; for they have Greek Bishops of their own, and would not fear excommunication or any other sentence from the Latins in the least, save that our laity would avoid all business or other dealings with them: for they say among themselves that all Latins are excommunicate, wherefore they cannot give sentence upon any one. At the Council of Nice, one of the four chief Councils whose decrees are received by the Church as fully as the Four Gospels, at which three hundred and eighteen Bishops were present, it was decided, among many other points, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father; and at the end they pronounced any who should add anything to or take away anything from the work of the Council to be *anathema*. Yet although they stated that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father, yet they never said that He did not proceed from the Son: for many things were not stated in the beginning, which afterwards have been stated and defined by holy men in later times to put away error. Wherefore while the Greeks have in their creed, 'I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life,' the Latins more distinctly say, 'Who proceedeth from the Father and from the Son.' In like manner, when the Greeks say, 'The Holy Ghost is of the Father, neither made nor created nor begotten, but proceeding,' the Latins

add, 'The Holy Ghost is of the Father and of the Son'; but they do not add anything that is contradictory: for thus the above sentence ought to be understood, and it is directed against those who have added contradictory matter. Wherefore St. Paul, in the Epistle to the Galatians, says: 'If any man preach any other Gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed.'¹ Now it is certain that the saints preached many things beside what Paul preached, but not contrary to what Paul preached: for thus we must understand this prohibition. Wherefore both the Greeks and the Syrians lamentably misunderstand the Creed which was composed by the holy Fathers at the Council of Nice, and declare that the Holy Ghost does not proceed from the Son, albeit the Lord Jesus breathed upon His disciples, and said unto them, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost,'² clearly proving thereby that He breathed forth the Holy Ghost, and that it proceeded from Him even as from the Father, as a pledge of love from Both. Wherefore in the Gospel He Himself says: 'I perceive that virtue is gone out of Me';³ for by virtue of the Holy Ghost, which went out of Him, He healed the woman who had touched the hem of His garment. For when He said to the Father, 'All Mine are Thine, and Thine are Mine,'⁴ it is plain that as the Holy Ghost is of the Father, even so is He of the Son. Thus St. Paul the Apostle says: 'God sent the Spirit of His Son into our hearts, whereby we cry, Abba, Father.'⁵ St. John, too, in his Epistle General says: 'His anointing teacheth you of all things.'⁶ And again: 'The anointing which you have received abideth in you.' Hence we clearly see that the Holy Ghost, or anointing—which is the same thing—is the Spirit of the Son, even as it is of the Father; that the Son,

¹ Gal. i. 9.² John xx. 22.³ Luke viii. 46.⁴ John xvii. 10.⁵ Gal. iv. 6.⁶ I John ii. 27.

sends Him even as the Father sends Him, by the testimony of Him who said : ' If I depart, I will send Him unto you.'¹ Thus the Holy Spirit is common to both Persons and proceeds from both. ' A fiery stream,' says Daniel, ' issued and came forth before him.'² For this cause, like as all Latins confess that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son, so also the wisest of the Greeks do not deny this, albeit they do not formally assert it, because the formula ' proceeding from the Son ' is not found in their Creed. Now, since both the Greeks and Syrians, as aforesaid, hold all Latins to be excommunicate, they are wont to wash altars whereon Latins have celebrated Mass, before they celebrate thereon. Moreover, they pay no respect to our Sacraments, and will not rise when our priests pass by carrying the Host to visit the sick. Whereas the Holy Roman Church, and all the Westerns, in imitation of the Lord, make the Host of unleavened bread ; for it was after having eaten the Paschal lamb with unleavened bread, after the manner of the Jews, that He turned the bread which was used at supper into His body : the Greeks, on the other hand, reject this mystery, and celebrate the Sacrament with fermented bread ; yet we are taught to ' keep the feast, not with the old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.'³ But in many other things these schismatics contradict the teaching of the holy and supreme Church of Rome, breaking the ordinance of God, who hath appointed Rome to be the metropolitan and capital city of the whole world, and to rule the faithful in things spiritual even as it did in things temporal : for Cephas, which is, being literally interpreted, the head—that is, Peter—was appointed by the Lord Head of the whole world, when the Lord said, without making any exception : ' Whatsoever thou shalt bind on

¹ John xvi.² Dan. vii. 10.³ 1 Cor. v. 8.

earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.¹ And again: 'Feed My sheep.'² He did not say only the Latins or Westerns, but simply 'My sheep,' that there may be one fold and one shepherd.³ Clearly, then, since Christ's Church has been built and founded upon this rock,⁴ Peter, for whom the Lord prayed that his faith might not fail,⁵ all they who fall away from the Church of Rome labour in vain, because they build without a foundation, and are separated from him whom the Lord called Cephas, and should be regarded as headless⁶ monstrosities. The Syrians agree with the Greeks in not permitting fourth marriages; but their priests and deacons, albeit when in those orders they may not contract marriages, yet are allowed the use of the wives to whom they were married before ordination. They do not hold subdeaconship to be a holy order. Their children, immediately after baptism, are marked by the priests on the forehead with holy ointment, which thing only Bishops and their superiors in rank are allowed to do among the Latins, because the Bishops stand in the place of the Apostles in God's Church: for by the laying on of the Apostles' hands the Holy Ghost was given for strengthening and comfort; which laying on of hands takes the place of the aforesaid Sacrament. They hold Saturday so very holy that no one is suffered to fast on a Saturday, except only on Easter Even. They hold solemn services on Saturday just the same as on Sunday, and feast splendidly on that day, eating flesh after the manner of the Jews. But this observance is blamed by the Latins for fear of appearing to follow the customs of the Jews.

¹ Matt. xvi. 19. Cf. Hooker's 'Eccl. Polity,' vi., iv. 1.

² John xxi. 17.

³ John x. 16.

⁴ Matt. xvi. 18.

⁵ Luke xxii. 31, 32.

⁶ John x. Cf. Hooker, Sermon v., § 15.

LXXV. Moreover, there are in the Holy Land, and in other parts of the East, other barbarous nations who differ in many points from the Greeks and Latins. Of these, some are called Jacobites,¹ from a teacher of theirs named Jacobus, a disciple of one of the Patriarchs of Alexandria. They were a long time ago excommunicated and cast out of the Greek Church by Dioscorus, Patriarch of Constantinople, and inhabit the greater part of Asia and of the entire East: some of them dwell among the Saracens, others possess countries of their own, and do not consort with infidels, to wit, Nubia, which adjoins Egypt, and the greater part of Ethiopia,² and all the countries as far as India—more than forty kingdoms, they declare, belong to them. They are all Christians, and were converted by the Apostle St. Matthew, and other Apostolic men; but afterwards the enemy sowed tares³ among them, and they have for a long time wandered in lamentable darkness and error. They for the most part circumcise their children of both sexes after the fashion of the Saracens, not understanding that baptismal grace hath made circumcision of no effect, even as flowers fall off and wither when fruit is ready to come. Wherefore St. Paul says to the Galatians: ‘If ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing’;⁴ and again: ‘For I testify again to every man that is circumcised, that he is debtor to perform the whole law. Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the law; ye are fallen from grace.’ Another error of theirs, no less than the aforesaid, is that they confess their sins not to priests, but to God alone in secret, setting frankincense on

¹ Jacobus Baradaeus, a monk of Constantinople, was consecrated Bishop about A.D. 541. The Jacobite Church was not so widely spread as de Vitry states on Jacobite authority.

² At this period there were flourishing Christian kingdoms on the Upper Nile and in Abyssinia.

³ Matt. xiii. 1

⁴ Gal. v. 2, 3.

fire beside them as though their sins would ascend unto God in the smoke thereof. They do miserably err, not understanding the Scriptures, and perish through false doctrine, concealing their wounds from their spiritual leeches, whose duty it is to distinguish between leprosy and leprosy, to weigh the circumstances under which men have sinned and impose penances upon them, to bind and to loose¹ according as they have received the keys, and to make special prayers for those who confess to them. Wherefore in the Gospel the Lord said to the lepers : ‘ Go, show yourselves to the priests.’² And we read of St. John the Baptist, that men ‘ were baptized of him, confessing their sins.’³ Now, blushing and anxious shame and humble confession is the greatest part of penance. Men are made more apt to sin if they think that they need not disclose their evil deeds to men ; for it is written, ‘ He that covereth his sins shall not prosper, but whoso confesseth and forsaketh them shall have mercy.’⁴ The third error and crass ignorance, and, as it were, darkness that may be felt, of the aforesaid Jacobites or Jacobins, is that many of them, before baptism, burn and mark their children with a red-hot iron, making a cautery upon their foreheads. Others mark their babes with a cross on both cheeks or both temples, wrongly supposing that they make atonement for their sins by actual fire, because it is written in St. Matthew’s Gospel that St. John the Baptist said of Christ : ‘ He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire ;’⁵ though it is plain to all believers that the remission of sins shall be performed by spiritual fire, that is, by the Holy Ghost, not by visible fire. Wherefore, in the books of the Prophets, the Lord often reproves the children of Israel, and terribly threatens them because they passed their children through the fire as

¹ Matt. xviii. 18.² Luke xiii. 14.³ Matt. iii. 6.⁴ Prov. xxviii. 13.⁵ Matt. iii. 11.

the Gentiles did. For the Lord says in Deuteronomy, by the mouth of the prophet Moses: 'Thou shalt not learn to do after the abominations of those nations; there shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire.'¹ And all Christians know that neither our Lord nor His Apostles, nor any of the holy Fathers, left any custom of this sort in the Church, or ordered any such brandings² to be done. I have seen both the Jacobites and the Syrians who dwell among the Saracens with crosses branded on their arms with hot irons; they say that it is to distinguish them from the infidels, and out of respect for the holy Cross, that they have the figure of the cross thus imprinted upon them. I made diligent inquiry of the Greeks and Syrians wherefore they abominate the Jacobites, and have cut them off from their communion. They said that the chief reason was that they had fallen into the most evil and damnable heresy of declaring that, as Christ had only one person, so He had only one nature. Now, heretics of this kind were excommunicated and condemned by the Council of Chalcedon.³ Some of them erroneously affirmed that Christ after He had taken our nature upon Him did not exist in two natures, but that the Divine nature alone existed in Him. This error was brought into the Church by Eutyches, an Abbot at Constantinople. Others declare that the two natures in Christ are made one; the authors of this error are certain Bishops of Alexandria, named Theodosius and Galanus. Yet we know for certain that Jesus Christ

¹ Deut. xviii. 10.

² The custom of branding still exists in some districts.

³ 'A.D. 451, Chalcedonense, the Fourth General Council, transferred to Nice. Herein Flavian was justified, and Dioscorus anathematized. Pardon was granted to the Bishops who at the Council of Ephesus had yielded to violence. Eutychianism and Nestorianism were proscribed,' etc.—'Chronology of History,' by Sir H. Nicolas.

hungered, thirsted, and felt other needs according to His human nature, and even suffered death upon the cross, while according to His Divine nature He raised the dead and wrought other miracles; it was according to this nature that He said, 'Before Abraham was, I am'; and again, 'I that speak unto you am the Beginning';¹ and yet again, 'I and My Father are One.'² The same said according to His human nature, 'My Father is greater than I.' And again, when He would have had the cup pass away, 'Not as I will, but as Thou wilt.' Now, when I made most careful inquiry of the aforesaid Jacobites whether they held that there was only one nature in Christ, they said that they did not; I know not whether they were influenced by fear or some other reason. When I asked them why they used only one finger to cross themselves withal, they answered that by the one finger they symbolized the One Divine Being, the Trinity in Three Persons, and that thus they fortified themselves with the sign of the cross in the name of the Trinity in Unity. But the Greeks and Syrians say in reproach that they sign themselves with one finger because of the one nature which they believe Christ to possess. Some of them use the Chaldean alphabet,³ some the Arabic alphabet, which we call Saracenic. Their laity use divers idioms in their common speech, according to their various nations and provinces, and do not understand the language which their clergy use for Holy Scripture; for though these use the Saracenic alphabet, yet what is written is not the vulgar Saracen tongue, but a peculiar language understood only by the learned.

LXXVI. There are other nations who dwell not only in the Holy Land and among the Saracens, but by themselves

¹ So in Vulgate: '*Principium qui et loquor vobis*' (John viii. 25).

² John x. 30.

³ The language and characters were Syriac.

in the greater part of India. Men call these Nestorians,¹ from an arch-heretic named Nestorius, who has infected most of the East with the deadly poison of his doctrine, and especially those who dwell in the land of that most puissant Prince vulgarly called Prester John.² All of these, together with their King, are Nestorians, and together with the Jacobites are said to be many more in number than the Latins or the Greeks. Of those who dwell by themselves, whose numbers are countless, we will not speak; but among the Saracens there are as many Christians consorting with the infidels and subject to their rule as the Saracens themselves; however, these men, albeit they will not receive the pestilent law of Mahomet, yet have been miserably corrupted by heretics. The aforesaid son of perdition, Nestorius, who was (Arch)bishop of Constantinople, and all his crew,³ say that the Blessed Virgin Mary was not the Mother of God. But they admit that she was the mother of Christ the man, declaring that in Christ there was one Divine and one human person, and that according to His two natures there were in Christ two distinct persons. They do not believe that the Word of God and the flesh were one Christ; but they believe that, of two separate, distinct persons, the one was the Son of God, and the other the Son of man. This detestable heresy was reprobated and condemned by the Council of Ephesus,⁴ whereat were present three hundred Fathers of the Church. For as the

¹ The Nestorians were widely spread over Arabia, India, and China. They found toleration under the rulers of Persia, the Abbaside Khalifs, and the Mongol Khâns. Hulagu and other Mongol chiefs had Christian wives.

² The reference is to Ung Khân, chief of the Kara Khitai, whose daughter married Jenghiz Khân.

³ They were almost exterminated by Timûr (1386-1403).

⁴ June 22, 431. See Gibbon, ch. xlvii., for a full account of the doctrines and life of Nestorius.

reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and man is one Christ; for albeit the nature of the spirit differs from the nature of the flesh, yet there is not one man according to the spirit, and another according to the flesh. Although the nature of iron be one thing, and that of fire another, nevertheless red-hot iron is one thing. According to the aforesaid heresy, one must not use the words, 'Christ is God and man. The Son of God died and was buried;' because in respect of His being the Son of God He can neither suffer nor die. Yet Isaiah says, 'For unto us a child is born . . . and His name shall be called . . . the Mighty God.'¹ Thus God was a little child, which is contrary to their heretical doctrine. In like manner doth Jeremiah speak of the Son of God, 'Afterwards did He show Himself on earth, and conversed with men,'² whereas as God He is invisible. And St. Paul, 'God sent forth His Son, made of a woman, made under the law.'³ From this it is plain that the Son of God was the son of the Virgin, and thus Mary was the Mother of God. 'It shall be reported that He was born in her, and the Most High shall stablish her.'⁴ Thus, the man who was born of the Virgin Mary did also create her, and that man was God. In like manner, we must admit that that child made the heavens, and was from everlasting of the same substance with the Father, and equal to Him. For 'the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us.'⁵ Now, seeing that He says of Himself, 'I that speak to you am the Beginning,'⁶ no sane man can doubt that this same person, the Beginning and Creator of all things, talked with men; and thus it is clear beyond a shadow of doubt that the Divine and human persons are one and the same, which, however, the wretched Nestorians

¹ Isa. ix. 6.² Bar. iii. 37.³ Gal. iv. 4.⁴ Psa. lxxxvii. 5.⁵ John i. 14.⁶ John viii. 25, according to the Vulgate.

deny. They use the Chaldaic alphabet for Holy Scripture,¹ and use leavened bread in the Mass like the Greeks.

LXXVII. There are some people who dwell on the mountains of Lebanon, in the province of Phoenicia, not far from the city of Biblum. They are numerous, use bows and arrows, and are swift and skilful in battle, and are called Maronites, after their teacher, one Maro,² a heretic, who taught that Christ had only one will and one energy. The author of this error was a Bishop of Antioch named Macarius, who, together with his followers, was condemned as an arch-heretic, and cast out of the Church of Christ's faithful people bound with the chain of anathema, by the sixth Synod of Constantinople,³ in which one hundred and fifty Fathers of the Church assembled. For as in a mere man there is one will of the reason, and another of lust, so in Christ there was a human will, which made Him desire to eat, to drink, to have the cup pass from Him, and another Divine will, which was one with the Father's will. He distinctly manifested these two wills when He said, 'Not as I will, but as Thou wilt.'⁴ Who does not know that eating and drinking, and other needs to which Christ the man was subject, are human operations, and have nothing to do with the eternal Godhead? whereas to raise the dead, and to resume life after death, belong not to human but to Divine power alone. By this it is clear that the working of manhood is different to that of Godhead. In like manner, the Apostle St. Paul distinctly teaches us how that man's will is twofold, when in his

¹ The language and alphabet are Syriac. The modern Nestorians speak a dialect of Syriac, in which are many Persian, Arabic, and Kurdish words.

² Maro is said to have lived about 400.

³ Gibbon, ch. xlvii. There is a note on monotheism in 'Extracts from Aristeas,' etc., p. 57, in this series.

⁴ Matt. xxvi. 39.

Epistle to the Romans, he says, 'The good that I would I do not, but the evil which I would not, that I do.'¹ See how great a struggle is here between the will of reason and the will of lust. Again he says, 'To will is present with me, but how to perform that which is good I find not.'² 'The spirit is willing,'³ acting according to the rational will; but the flesh is weak, because it acts according to the sensual will; according to which, one took Peter and led him whither he would not, but yet by the operation of his rational will he returned to Rome of his own accord, and chose to be crucified. The Apostle Paul explains these two wills as two laws warring together within a man, and says, 'I see another law in my members warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members.'⁴ Now, the aforesaid Maro, who was foolishly blinded by an illusion sent by the devil, had many followers in his error, who are called Maronites, and for nearly five hundred years were cut off from Holy Church and from communion with the faithful, and celebrated their Sacraments by themselves apart: yet afterwards they turned their hearts, and in the presence of the venerable Father Amalric, Patriarch of Antioch, professed the Catholic Faith, abjured the aforesaid error, and followed the customs of the Church of Rome.⁵ Hence, whereas all Eastern prelates save only the Latins do not use rings and pontifical mitres, nor carry pastoral staves in their hands, nor use bells, but are wont to call the people to church by beating a wooden board with a staff or hammer, these aforesaid Maronites, in token of their obedience to Rome, follow the customs and rites of

¹ Rom. vii. 15, 19.

² Rom. vii. 18.

³ Matt. xxvi. 41.

⁴ Rom. vii. 23.

⁵ In 1182; the full submission of the Maronites to the Church of Rome dates from about 1600.

the Latins. So their Patriarch was present at the General Council at the Lateran¹ which was held with much solemnity in the reign of the venerable Pope Innocent III. They use the Chaldaean alphabet² and the common Saracen speech.

LXXVIII. The Armenian people, who dwell by themselves in the province of Armenia³ near Antioch, between the Christians and the Saracens, are separated and differ from every Christian nation, having peculiar rites and strange customs of their own. The aforesaid Armenians have a Primate of their own, whom they call Catholicos, and whom they all, from the meanest to the greatest man among them, obey with the utmost honour, and reverence like another Pope. Between them and the Greeks are implacable quarrels, and disputes that cannot be accommodated, each party loathing the practices and rites of the other. They have a language of their own, and an alphabet, and read Holy Scripture in the vulgar tongue, so that their priests and clergy can be understood in their churches by the laity, as we have said is the case with the Greeks. They do not celebrate the Lord's Nativity according to the flesh, but fast on the days of the Lord's Nativity. When the fast is over, they keep the Feast of the Lord's Apparition,⁴ together with the Feast of St. John the Baptist, and declare that on that same day they keep the Feast of the Lord's Nativity according to the spirit. Yet the Lord cannot be said to have been regenerate or born again, because He who had no original sin was not cleansed by the water of baptism, 'who did no sin, neither was guile

¹ A.D. 1216.

² The Mass is still read in Syriac.

³ The province of Armenia was that called 'Lesser Armenia,' established in Cilicia. The capital, when Jacques de Vitry wrote, was at Sis, where the Catholicos resided. Anon., 15, 24, 28.

⁴ *Apparitio Domini*, January 6.

found in His mouth.¹ They keep Lent,² before the Lord's Resurrection, so strictly that they not only abstain from flesh, cheese, eggs and milk, but they do not eat fish, they use no oil, they drink no wine: yet it scarce ought to be called a fast, for they eat fruit and vegetables as often as they please in the day. But that they may differ from their rival sects, the Greeks and Syrians, they eat flesh on some Saturdays. They do not mix water with the wine in the Sacrament of Christ's Blood, in which heretical rite they can be shown greatly to err.³ For our Lord Jesus Christ when He placed supper on the table mixed the wine after the fashion not only of the Jews, but of all Easterns, who never drink wine unmixed. And He made His Sacrament of watered wine. Indeed, in those parts no one could drink pure wine without falling ill. Wherefore St. Cyprian says about this mixture of water with wine, 'If any one of my predecessors either from ignorance or simplicity has not observed and kept the rule which the Lord taught us by His example and authority, his simplicity may by the Lord's indulgence be pardoned; we cannot be pardoned, for we have now been warned and instructed by the Lord to offer the Lord's cup with a mixture of water, even as the Lord offered the same.' Hence it is clear that at the Last Supper the Lord offered a cup of wine mixed with water. So the aforesaid Armenians in the Sacrament of the altar neither imitate the Lord nor perceive the mystery. For water, which is a fleeting, unstable thing,

¹ 1 Pet. ii. 22.

² See 'Extracts,' in this series, p. 49; and Gibbon, ch. lviii., note 142.

³ 'The Armenians were the first Christians who prohibited the mixture of water with the sacramental wine; but they were condemned for this in the Council of Constantinople, called "In Trullo," A.D. 691, and the decree has been received by all Christians,' etc.—Palmer, 'Antiquities of English Ritual,' iv. 9.

symbolizes the mortal and fleeting people ; wherefore water is mixed with wine, to signify that the people are joined to Christ, as to the blood of our Redemption. For were anyone to offer wine by itself, it would begin to be Christ's blood without us ; if water by itself, it would be the people alone without Christ, and would not have the meaning of the mixture aforesaid, whereas a Sacrament ought to be a sign of a sacred thing. In the Lord's cup, therefore, neither wine nor water ought to be offered by itself, because we read that in His Passion both together came forth from His side.¹ Now, albeit the Armenians promised to obey the Pope and the Holy Church of Rome, when their King received his land from the Holy Roman Emperor Henry,² and was crowned by the Archbishop of Mainz, yet they would not change their old and established customs.

LXXIX. There is also in the East another Christian people, who are very warlike, and valiant in battle, being strong in body, and powerful in the countless number of their warriors. They are much dreaded by the Saracens, and have often by their inroads done great damage to the Persians, Medes, and Assyrians, on whose borders they dwell, being entirely surrounded by infidel nations. These men are called Georgians,³ because they especially revere and worship St. George, whom they make their patron and standard-bearer in their fights with the infidels, and honour him above all other saints. They read the Scriptures in Greek, and administer the Sacraments after the Greek

¹ John xix. 34.

² Anon., p. 15, note ; Ludolph von Suchem, p. 25, note. Leo II., 'The Great' (1185-1219), was crowned by the Archbishop at Tarsus in 1198.

³ The Georgians were greatly weakened by the invasion of the Mongols, and afterwards by that of Timûr. Since 1801 Georgia has formed part of the Russian Empire.

fashion. Their clergy have round tonsures, and their laity square ones. Whenever they come on pilgrimage to the Lord's sepulchre, they march into the Holy City with banners displayed, without paying tribute to anyone; for the Saracens in no wise dare to molest them, lest on their return to their own country they should revenge themselves on other Saracens their neighbours. Their noblewomen, like the Amazons, bear arms in battle like knights. The Georgians were very indignant, and threatened Corradinus, Prince of Damascus, because he presumed to throw down the walls of Jerusalem against their will, when the Latins were besieging Damietta. They wear their hair and beards about a cubit long, and have hats on their heads.

LXXX. The Christians who dwell in Africa and Spain among the Saracens of the west are called Mozarabi;¹ they use the Latin alphabet, read the Scriptures in the Latin tongue, and, like all other Latins, humbly and devoutly obey the Holy Roman Church, without deviating in any way from its articles of faith or Sacraments. They celebrate the Eucharist with unleavened bread, as do the other Latins. However, some of them divide the service of the Eucharist into seven parts, and some into nine, whereas the Roman Church and its other subjects divide the Eucharist into three parts only. But as this division has nothing to do with the essence of the Sacrament, it does not alter it or hinder its virtue.

LXXXI. There are in the East other miserable nations, hateful to God, and abject and contemptible to men, of whom some are called Essenes, and come of Jewish stock. Some of these make life after death an article of faith, and trust to obtain the same again. They do not marry, for fear of the dissoluteness of women, who they believe are

¹ That is *Mogharabi*, or people from the West. The term is now applied to Moslems and Jews of Western origin.

never faithful to one man. Others marry, but do not converse with their wives when pregnant, to show that they have intercourse with them only in order to beget offspring, and not for pleasure. These say that after death the soul receives neither punishment nor honour; but as they run counter to these sects these infatuated men waste their labour. Of these (Essenes) the Assassins,¹ mentioned before, are said to be the chief; wherefore they keep part of the Jewish alphabet, using a mixture of Hebrew and Chaldee letters. Others are Sadducees, who do not believe in the resurrection of the dead. They receive the books of Moses, but do not understand them. Wherefore the Lord reproves them in the Gospel, saying, 'Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God';² and after quoting His authority from the books of Moses, 'I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob,' He confuted them, ending in this manner: 'He is not the God of the dead, but of the living.' Others are Samaritans, who have the Hebrew alphabet, like the Jews. They receive only the Pentateuch of Moses, but will not admit the prophets and other books of the Jewish Scriptures. When Shalmanezar, King of Assyria, led away captive the ten tribes of Israel,³ he sent the aforesaid Samaritans into Samaria to till the land in the place of the Jews. When by the preaching of the Apostles the Samaritans received⁴ the Word of God, some of them abode still in their old errors, whom therefore the Lord cursed with a barren womb and dry breasts; so utterly did He curse this evil and reprobate land, doomed to eternal fire, with drought and barrenness, that it is said that there are not more than

¹ The Assassins were not Jews, but Muhammadan Sectaries. Those of Persia were exterminated by Hulagu Khân, and those of the Lebanon by the Memlûks.

² Matt. xxii. 29.

³ 2 Kings xvii.

⁴ Acts i. 8.

three hundred survivors of them to be found in the whole world. Others of them receive the books of Moses and the prophets, and all the Old Testament, but only in its literal meaning. These are they against whom St. Paul said, 'The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life';¹ and the Lord says in the Gospel, 'The spirit quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing.'² Hence it is evident that Holy Scripture is of no use to the Jews; nay, that it does them harm, as says the prophet David: 'Let their table be made a snare to themselves withal, and let the things that should have been for their wealth be unto them an occasion of falling. Let their eyes be blinded that they see not,'³ where by 'table' he means the Holy Scriptures. But the greater part of them⁴ dwell by themselves in that part of the East where Alexander, King of Macedon, is said to have shut them up below the Caspian Mountains, whence they shall be brought out in the time of Anti-christ, and led back to the Holy Land. Between these Caspian Mountains and the sea this same Alexander shut up Gog⁵ and Magog, whose numbers are countless as the sands of the sea, because he loathed their abominable habits of eating human flesh and the raw flesh of unclean animals. Others of the Jews, whose fathers were of those that cried out, 'His blood be upon us and upon our children,'⁶ are scattered all over the world, and to all the winds of heaven, being everywhere slaves and payers of tribute. Their strength, in the words of the prophet Isaiah,⁷ hath been turned into ashes; for, indeed, they have become weak and

¹ 2 Cor. iii. 6.² John vi. 63.³ Psa. lxi. 23.⁴ The reference is to the Karaite Jews in the Caucasus, who were Sadducees.⁵ Ezek. xxxviii. 2; xxxix. 1, 6. Compare Ricoldus de Monte Crucis, ch. x., in Laurent's '*Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor*,' Leipsic, 1873, 4to.⁶ Matt. xxvii. 25.⁷ Isa. x.

unwarlike even as women, and it is said that they have a flux of blood every month.¹ God hath smitten them in the hinder parts, and put them to a perpetual shame.² Ever since they slew their true brother Abel, they have been made fugitives and vagabonds upon the earth, even as the accursed Cain, having a trembling head,³ that is, a fearful heart, passing their days and their nights in dread, and living in the fear of death. The Saracens among whom they dwell hate and despise them more than the Christians; for whereas the abominable avarice of Christian Princes tolerates them for the sake of worldly profit, allows them to hold Christian men in bondage, and suffers Christians to be plundered by them by their intolerable usury, among the Saracens they work with their own hands at the vilest and roughest trades, they are the serfs and slaves of the infidels, and are only suffered to dwell among them in the lowest station of life. Yet they are not murdered by the Saracens any more than they are by the Christians, for the Lord keeps them for a time like a log from the forest to be burned in winter, and like an evil vineyard, to the end that at the end of the world, when the remnant of Israel shall be saved, that which now is turned to bitterness, and bringeth forth only wild grapes,⁴ may bring forth precious fruit and true grapes. Thus saith the prophet David about them: 'God shall let me see my desire upon mine enemies. Slay them not, lest my people forget it, but scatter them abroad,' etc.⁵ For they remind us of Christ's death, and we receive their testimony from the Scriptures about the things which God hath wrought for us, as says Daniel, 'Messiah shall be cut off, but not for Himself, and the

¹ This is said of the Maronites by the Druzes to the present day.

² *Psa.* lxxviii. 67.

³ *Caput tremulum*. Apparently a quotation, but not from the Vulgate.

⁴ *Isa.* v.

⁵ *Psa.* lix. 11.

people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary' (A.V.);¹ and David, 'The strange children shall fail, and be afraid out of their prisons.'² Nor is there any prophet who does not bear witness against them for us. So blinded is the heart of this people that they grope and blunder at mid-day as in the dark; their ears are dulled, and their eyes are closed, so that this foolish and stiff-necked people does not understand or know how terribly they have enraged the Lord against them by the death of Christ. Even before Christ's death they offended God in divers ways, by worshipping idols and working other abominations, so that the Lord delivered³ them into the hands of their enemies, to serve them sometimes for ten, sometimes for twenty, and sometimes for forty years, as we find in the Book of Judges. Once they were held in captivity at Babylon for seventy years, and afterwards the Lord set them free.⁴ But after they had slain the Lord Jesus, albeit we do not read that since then they have worshipped idols, they have been held in captivity for more than a thousand years, and have not yet won the Lord's pardon. But as Christ prayed to God, 'Lord, be merciful unto Me; raise Thou Me up again, and I shall reward them,'⁵ so did He obtain His prayer from God the Father; and as Moses had long before prophesied to them saying, in the Lord's person, 'Vengeance is Mine, and I will repay,'⁶ and again, 'And evil will befall you in the latter days; because ye will do evil in the sight of the Lord, to provoke Him to anger through the works of your hands.'⁷

¹ In the Vulgate: 'Occidetur Christus, et non erit populus ejus qui eum est negaturus.'—Dan. ix. 26. 'Filii alieni inveterati sunt, et claudicaverunt a semitis suis.'—Psa. xviii. 46.

² Psa. xviii. 46.

³ Judg. iv. 2.

⁴ 2 Chron. xxxvi. ; Jer. xxv.

⁶ Psa. xli. 10.

⁶ Deut. xxxii. 35 ; Rom. xii. 19 ; Heb. x. 30.

⁷ Deut. xxxi. 29.

This last captivity was foretold by Daniel the prophet in these words: 'And the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined. And he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and in the Temple there shall be the abomination of desolation, its desolation shall continue even until the consummation and the end.'¹

LXXXII. But they who from the beginning of the recovery and redemption of the Holy Land have thoroughly known its condition and its divers alternations of fortune, and have looked narrowly into its prosperities and adversities, do affirm of a truth that no race of men and no plague has had greater power to hurt it than criminal and pestilent men, wicked and impious, sacrilegious, thieves and robbers, homicides, parricides, perjurers, adulterers, and traitors, corsairs—that is, pirates—whoremongers, drunkards, minstrels, dice-players, mimes and actors, apostate monks, nuns that are common harlots, and women who have left their husbands to live in brothels, or men who have run away from their true wives and taken others in their stead. Wicked people such as these in the West crossed the Mediterranean Sea, and took refuge in the Holy Land, where, as they had only changed their climate and not their character,² they defiled it by numberless crimes and shameful deeds, for they neither feared God nor regarded man, but sinned without shame, doing their accustomed villainies all the more boldly the further they were from their acquaintances and kinsmen. The ease with which they could escape punishment, the impunity wherewith they could do wrong, had so given the rein to their impiety, that after doing any great wickedness they would either forswear Christ and go over to the neighbour-

¹ Dan. ix. 27.

² 'Hor. Ep.' i., xi. 27.

ing Saracens, or would get on board of galleys or ships and betake themselves to the isles of the sea; or they would take sanctuary in some of the houses of regular clergy, which men fleeing from justice found everywhere on their way, where a ruinous privilege defended evildoers, and so they got off scot-free. Some men of blood and children of death when caught in their own country in their wickedness, and condemned to lose a limb or to be hanged, by entreaty or bribery could generally succeed in getting a sentence to perpetual exile in the Holy Land without hope of return. These men, who became denizens of the Holy Land, not by penitence but by force, used to let lodgings to pilgrims at immoderate rents, and cheated innocent strangers in every way that they could, worming money out of them for debts which they never incurred, and so made a wretched living by plundering their guests; they used to harbour assassins and robbers, gamblers and common harlots, in hopes of thereby obtaining greater gain, and they paid a yearly tribute to rich and powerful men that they might be their patrons, and back them up in their aforesaid iniquities, to the greater wickedness and damnation of both parties: for they who had for a great sum gained the privilege of keeping whores and gamblers, wrung all the more money out of those whores and gamblers. But those who, against the Lord's command, receive the hire¹ of a whore, make themselves sharers of all their sins and abominations; for accomplices receive the same punishment as criminals. Some light-minded persons went on pilgrimage to the holy places, not so much out of devotion as out of curiosity and love of novelty, that they might travel to unknown lands, and with great toil might prove the truth of the strange and, to the ignorant, miraculous stories which they had heard about the East. Indeed,

¹ Deut. xxiii. 18.

God hath wrought many wondrous works in those parts, which just, wise, and right-thinking men turn to the praise and glory of God, even as St. Brandan¹ sailed about the seas for a long time, that he might behold God's wonders in the deep; but light-minded and inquisitive men turn into folly those things which God hath deigned to do to prove His power and set forth His praise. A few of these we have thought fit to add to this present work, as they may be of profit to diligent and studious readers.

LXXXIII. Dangerous, dreadful, and terrible earthquakes² often take place, not only in the kingdom of Jerusalem, but also in the countries round about, especially by the seaside, because of the violence of the winds, which being formed by the breath and impulse of the waves in underground places and caves in the earth, as the enclosed and rushing air has no free vent, shake the earth with strong trembling and blows. If the earth cannot resist this force, it bursts open, and there is a great gulf, so that thereby cities are sometimes swallowed up in the abyss. When the earth is not burst open, it is shaken with such violent blows by the blowing of the winds that cities, with their walls and towers and other buildings, suddenly fall down, and, taking the people unawares, smother and overwhelm them. Wherefore, wise men in those parts, who know not in what hour the aforesaid storm may come upon them, watch with all diligence, and neglect not to prepare their souls for death, not presuming to live in a state

¹ St. Brandan the Elder was Abbot of Clonfert in Ireland, and died in the year 576, aged ninety-four. The story here alluded to of his seven years' voyage of discovery to unknown islands, and the wonders which he saw, is rejected as fabulous by Vincent of Beauvais ('Speculum Historiale,' book xxi., ch. lxxxi.), and by the authors of the 'Acta Sanctorum.' See that work for May 16, and 'The Golden Legend,' fol. ccxxx. Printed by Julian Notary, of Temple Bar, 1503.

² Compare Seneca, 'Nat. Quaest,' book ii., ch. i., ii., iii.

wherein they would not dare to die. It was by a destructive overthrow of this sort that the city of Tyre, after it came into the hands of the Latins, was almost destroyed, together with all its inhabitants. Whereas in the West lightnings and thunder take place in summer, in the Holy Land they are in winter : for in summer time it never or hardly ever rains there ; but in winter it often rains for three or four days together, which rains make great water-floods, which, like another deluge, drown and soak the whole land. Snow is very rarely found in the Holy Land, save on the tops of the highest mountains, such as Lebanon. All through the summer, and especially in the extreme heat of the dog-days and in the month of August, cold snow is brought down to Jerusalem in two or more days* journey from Lebanon, which, when mixed with wine, makes it as cold as ice. This snow is preserved by being covered with straw, that it may not be melted by the heat of the sun or warmth of the air.

LXXXIV. Springs of purest sweet water are found both in the sea and in the land. One of these, in Samaria, is said to turn four different colours in the year, to wit green, blood colour, dust or mud colour, and quite clear, thus affording a wondrous and pleasing change to the eyes of the beholder. The Fountain of Siloam does not send forth its sweet waters from its bowels every day without intermission, but at intervals, for three or four days in the week. Near Mount Lebanon, between the two cities of Archas and Raphanea, there is a river with a swift current and full of water, which they call the Sabbatical¹ River, because for six days in the week it shows no water at all, and on the seventh day suddenly bursts forth and overflows with water from its dry bed. In the territory of Tyre and Acre

¹ *Fuwâr ed-Deir*. It is called also *Nahr es-Sebba*. See Nâsir-i-Khusrau, in this series, p. 5, note.

they make the purest glass by cunning workmanship out of the sands of the sea, that is, out of sand and sea-gravel.

* * * * *

XCII. So utterly did the Lord¹ give His people over unto the sword, and was wroth with His inheritance; so completely were our enemies made the head, and we the tail, that they took from us by force, not only the Promised Land, but almost all the countries, cities, and castles, from the going in unto Egypt even to Mesopotamia; of the cities on the sea-shore they left us only two, to wit, Tyre and Tripoli, beside Antioch and a few strong places, such as the castle called Cursatum, near Antioch, Crac, Margat, and the White Castle,² Archis, and the Tower of Antaradus, and the Castle of Nephin, in the county of Tripoli, and all the cities and strong places inland fell into their impious hands. This calamity, this bitter adversity and tribulation, had its unlucky beginning with the county of Edessa: for on the death of the brave and wise Joscelin, Count of Edessa, his son Joscelin II. degenerated from his father's worth and honour, gave himself up to shameful debauchery, neglected the defences of the city of Edessa, and lost it; for Sanguin, the Lord of Mosul, which is the capital city and metropolis of the province of Assur, laid siege to the city, broke forcibly through the walls, and took it.³ After this the vengeance of heaven brought a judgment on the aforesaid Joscelin, and he was taken prisoner by the Saracens, and died miserably starved to death in prison at Aleppo. Hereupon his wife made over what territory was left her to the Emperor of Constantinople, for an annuity.

¹ Psa. lxxviii. 63.

² Crac, or Crac des Chevaliers, is now *el-Hosn*; Margat is *el-Merkeb*; Chastel Blanc is between Crac and the sea at *Safita*; Archis is *'Arkah*; Antaradus is at *Tartûs*.

³ Zengi, the Atabeg, who founded the short-lived Zengid dynasty of Mosul, captured Edessa in 1144.

The Emperor sent a mighty host of Greeks, and promised that he would defend the land against the Saracens; but Noradin, the son of Sanguin aforesaid, rejoicing at the retreat of the Latins, few though they were, and caring little for the unwarlike host of Greeks, whom he knew to be weak and cowardly, got the whole of the country into his power that same year, killing some of the Greeklings, and taking the rest prisoners. This same Noradin also laid siege to the castle called Harenc,¹ belonging to the principality of Antioch, ten miles from the city of Antioch. As at that time Raymond, Prince of Antioch, was slain in battle, and his son Bohemond, his successor in the principality, was a prisoner in the hands of the Saracens, Noradin easily stormed the castle, meeting with little resistance. He likewise took away from us by force, and added to his own dominions, the city of Paneas,² as Almaric, King of Jerusalem, was then away in Egypt. Thenceforth our power began to fail; yet our people defended what land was left as long as the kingdoms of Egypt and Damascus remained in the hands of different and hostile masters; but when, for our sins, the aforesaid two kingdoms doubled their strength by uniting under one lord, the kingdom of Jerusalem, which lay between them, began to be thrown into confusion and greatly troubled. Siracunus,³ one of the satraps of the aforesaid Noradin, had forcibly made himself master of the kingdom of Egypt, and at his death left it to his brother's son, Saladin. This Saladin was of a wise disposition, well skilled in arms and war, long-sighted and prompt in action. He was very generous and open-handed, not only to his own people, but also to some of ours, whom he attracted to his side by presents and promises. All the world well knows how much evil he

¹ In 1163 Nûr-ed-dîn defeated the Christians at Harenc, now *Hârim*.

² *Baniâs*.

³ Shirkuh.

did us, and how, like the scourge of God, he destroyed and broke to pieces the Christians. For after, as aforesaid, he had treacherously slain his Lord, the Caliph of Egypt, he took away the kingdom of Damascus from his master, a boy who was living in Aleppo, the son of Noradin, who was now dead, as the chief men of the kingdom had either been won over by presents and promises, or terrified by violence into approving of his treason. He went on to take away some of his richest cities from his aforesaid master, whose servant both he and his father had been ; to wit, Hama,¹ and Maubec,² the city of Emesa, commonly called La Chamele,³ and also Caesarea Magna.⁴ When by the death of Noradin's aforesaid son Aleppo fell into the power of his uncle, the Lord of Mosul, by hereditary right, Saladin took away from the aforesaid Lord of Mosul by force, not only Aleppo, but also the county of Edessa, and all the country as far as the Euphrates, and also the noble cities of Mesopotamia, Edessa, Carra, and almost all the land. His rise and success was to our people fear, danger, and dejection, especially since the Saracens, who in the beginning, when first the Latins came into the land, were unskilled in war, and went forth to battle as it were unarmed, carrying nothing but bows and arrows, by constant practice and frequent meeting with our people in the field, had learned military discipline, and imitated the Latins in the use of breastplates and helmets, lances, swords, and shields. To crown all our woes, the kingdom of Jerusalem was fallen into the hands of one who came not of the seed of those by whose hand deliverance was given unto Israel,⁵ wherefore there were great quarrels and dissensions among the Barons of our kingdom.

¹ *Hama*, Hamath.

² *Membij*, Hierapolis.

³ *Homs*. Poloner, 25.

⁴ Larissa. Note 1, p. 24.

⁵ 1 Macc. v. 62. The reference is to Guy de Lusignan.

XCIIL. The first of the Latins who bore rule over the kingdom of Jerusalem was Godfrey, the beloved of Heaven, by whom God wrought the salvation and redemption of the Holy Land. He mightily governed the realm for one year only. He overthrew in battle the chief captain of the Soldan of Egypt with an infinite multitude of infidels. When he was gone the way of all flesh, his brother Baldwin, Count of Edessa, succeeded him in the kingdom. He was the first King of Jerusalem, for his brother refused to wear a royal crown on the spot where his Master had worn a crown of thorns. This Baldwin, with two hundred and sixty horse and nine hundred foot, overthrew the chief captain of the Caliph of Egypt, who led eleven thousand horse and thirty thousand foot against him. Baldwin slew the chief captain himself with five thousand of his people, while of the rest some were taken prisoners, and some saved themselves by flight. Also in another battle he with a very small force defeated a great multitude of people from Ascalon and Egypt. In a third battle he with five hundred horse and two thousand foot overthrew twenty-five thousand Egyptians, slew four thousand of them, among whom was the Lord of Ascalon, and put the rest to flight. He reigned for eighteen years, and then died. His successor, the second Latin King of Jerusalem, was Baldwin de Burgh, his kinsman, who in the second year of his reign, at the head of seven hundred horse, joined battle with Gazi,¹ a very puissant Prince of the Turks.

This Gazi, who led a countless multitude of Turks, was overthrown in battle, four thousand of his people were killed, many taken prisoners, and he himself scarce escaped with the rest. In a second battle, with eleven hundred horse and two thousand foot, he conquered the King of Damascus, who was said to have had fifteen thousand horse,

¹ El-Ghazi, one of the Ortakids of Diarbekr.

two thousand of whom were slain, many were taken, very many wounded, and the rest, together with their leader, ran away. On our side twenty-four fell. In a third battle this King beat the men of Ascalon, together with the Egyptians, who had come to help them. In a fourth campaign he crushed Doldequin, King of Damascus,¹ slaying two thousand of the enemy, with a loss of only twenty-four of our Knights, and eighty foot soldiers. He reigned for thirteen years, and then he died. His successor on the throne was his son-in-law, Fulke, Count of Anjou, Le Mans, and Tours, to whom the aforesaid King had given his eldest daughter, Millicent, in marriage. He fought a battle near Antioch against a countless host of Turks, who had swarmed forth from the Persian Gulf, and won a glorious triumph over the enemy, slaying three thousand of them, taking many prisoners, and putting the rest to flight. He reigned for eleven years; but when hunting a hare near Acre, his horse fell with him, and by a sudden and lamentable disaster he perished, leaving two sons: the elder, Baldwin, who succeeded him on the throne, and Amalric. This Baldwin, in the third year of his reign, at the head of his entire army, won a battle against some noble Turkish satraps on this side of Jericho, slew five thousand of them, and put the rest to a shameful flight. In the fifteenth year of his reign this King fought Noradin,² the Prince of Damascus, and remained master of the field, Noradin fleeing with some of his army, while the rest were slain. He reigned for twenty-four years, and died childless; he was succeeded by his brother Amalric. In the first year of his reign Amalric fought Dargam,³ the chief captain of the Egyptians, in the land of Egypt, and miraculously won the day, with great slaughter of the enemy. In a second battle

¹ Toghtekin, one of the Bûrîds of Damascus.

² Nûr-ed-din.

³ Darghan.

in the wilderness of Egypt, he at the head of three hundred and seventy horsemen fought against Siracunus,¹ chief captain of the Soldan of Damascus. This Siracunus had in his army twelve thousand Turks and eleven thousand Arabs. At night they parted, when a hundred of our men had fallen, and they say that a thousand of the enemy perished. He reigned for twelve years, and when he went the way of all flesh, his son Baldwin succeeded him on the throne. He, albeit afflicted by Heaven with leprosy, was nevertheless an able King. In the third year of his reign, at the head of three hundred and seventy-five horse, he met Saladin near Ascalon with twenty-six thousand horse, and beat him; Saladin fled with some of his host, the rest were either slain or taken prisoners; only four or five of our men are said to have fallen. He met Saladin in another battle near Tiberias, and there, with seven hundred horse, beat him, though he is said to have had twenty thousand horse; Baldwin slew a thousand of the enemy, and very few fell on our side. Since, on account of his disease, this King would not marry, he gave his two sisters, Sibylla, the elder, and Isabella, the younger, in marriage to two noblemen: he gave Sibylla to William Longsword, Marquis of Montferrat, and Isabella to Humphrey of Toron. On the death of the aforesaid William, leaving one little son named Baldwin, the King gave his aforesaid sister to a Poitevin youth, Guy de Lusignan, to whom, as his disease was growing heavy upon him, he handed over the management of his whole kingdom. But afterwards Guy incurred the King's displeasure, and lost the charge of the kingdom; for the King called together the magnates of the kingdom, caused his little nephew Baldwin to be anointed King, and put both Baldwin and the whole charge and defence of the kingdom into the hands of the Count of Tripoli.² Not long after-

¹ Shirkuh.

² Raymond, Count of Tripoli.

wards King Baldwin the leper went the way of all flesh, and, the young King Baldwin also being dead, the aforesaid Guy, by the contrivance of his wife Sibylla, the heiress of the kingdom by hereditary right, was raised to the throne, without asking the consent of the Count of Tripoli, who was then regent of the whole kingdom. The Count thereupon, in great indignation, especially as he himself aspired to the throne, made a truce with Saladin without the consent of the King, whose bitter enemy he was; and to increase his power in the kingdom wherewith to resist the King, and to obtain the means of doing mischief, he married the heiress of Tiberias and all Galilee. Hence there arose a very dangerous and ruinous dispute in the kingdom, some taking the Count's side, and some the King's.

XCIV. Saladin, a wise man, knew by practice in war, and by experience, that a kingdom divided against itself cannot stand, and that discord can easily enter through a great breach; and more especially seized his opportunity because the Lord of Monreal¹ and of all the country beyond Jordan had broken the truce which our people had with the Saracens, and had carried off much plunder. He collected together a multitude of warriors from all the countries under his rule, calling out both horse and foot to fight against us from Egypt, Arabia, Damascus, Aleppo, and Mesopotamia. He sent before him ten thousand chosen horsemen, who passed through the lands of the Count of Tripoli, who had a truce with the Saracens—that is, through the country of Tiberias and Nazareth—up to the very suburbs of Acre, meaning, after their wont, to provoke a battle with our people, to the end that, if we followed them rashly and disorderly, they might overthrow our men or take them prisoners; nor did this cunning device of the infidels

¹ Renaud de Châtillon, Seigneur de Kerak. See William of Tyre's History, book xxii., ch. xxviii.

fail of accomplishment. The Grand Master of the Templars, with more than seven hundred Knights, rashly sallied forth, together with the Grand Master of the Hospitallers, who was returning with ten Knights from his Castle of Belvoir,¹ and was cut off by them near Casale Roberti.² Although they had only a hundred and twenty Knights in their company, against ten thousand Saracens, yet they manfully resisted, and slew many of them, but themselves were almost all either killed or taken prisoners. The Grand Master of the Templars escaped with a few followers, the Grand Master of the Hospitallers was slain, and thus, on the first of May, the enemy won a bloody victory over our people. The Saracens, inspired by this, collected all their forces together, and in the following June laid siege to the furthest city in our kingdom towards Damascus—to wit, Tiberias; for the Count of Tripoli, to whom this city belonged, had drawn off from the Saracens when the truce was broken, because it had been said of him that he was in league with the Saracens, and had plotted much evil against the King and the kingdom. He therefore had fortified the aforesaid city against the Saracens, and had left his wife with the garrison. Now, the Lord Guy, King of Jerusalem, and Raymond, Count of Tripoli, with almost all the nobles of the kingdom, and all the horse and foot soldiers that they could muster, in an evil hour, deprived of Heaven's assistance, went to fight Saladin and his people, and pitched their tents near the Well of Sepphoris.³ They trusted more in their great numbers than in the Divine aid; for, since their first entrance into the Holy Land, our people were never able to gather together so many soldiers in one battle. It is said that twelve hundred horsemen in armour, and about twenty thousand foot with arms, bows, and cross-bows, took part in this unlucky expedition. On the morrow,

¹ *Kaukab el-Hawa.*² *Kefr Kenna.*³ *'Ain Seffûrieh.*

when our army was marching toward the beleaguered city, a great multitude of light horsemen of Saladin's army assailed it most audaciously on the right hand and on the left, incessantly wounding both the horses and their riders, until they forced the army to encamp and pitch its tents in a dry and waterless place. Saladin wisely observed this, and on the morrow, before our army could reach the water, met it at Ethin, near Toron.¹ With his ranks in proper military array, he fell upon our troops, who, horses and riders alike, were perishing of thirst. The days were then scorching hot, for it was in the month of July, on the fourth day thereof, the Feast of the Translation of St. Martin, in the year eleven hundred and eighty-seven from the Lord's Incarnation, that, for their many sins, the Lord delivered the Christian people into the hands of the infidels; for our people of a sudden ran away, and almost all, from the greatest to the least, were either slain or taken prisoners. With such fearfulness and cowardice did the Lord disgrace them, that it was now the turn of one of the enemy to chase a hundred of our men, and some of them threw down their arms, and of their own accord gave themselves into the enemy's hands. After much slaughter, Guy de Lusignan, King of Jerusalem, and the Grand Master of the Templars, with many others of greater degree, were led away captive, and fled cowardly before the face of their pursuers. That they might know by a certain sign and manifest proof that the Lord was terribly wroth with them, and might not doubt that the shield of His Divine protection was withdrawn from them, they had the lamentable misfortune on that black day to lose the beams of the cross of our salvation, which they took down into battle with them. Saladin, thinking to utterly destroy the orders of the Templars and

¹ That is '*Hattin*, near *T'ôrân*.' The last stand of the Christians was made at *Kurn Hattin*. See '*Recovery of Jerusalem*,' p. 357.

Hospitallers in the East, gave orders that every one of them whom his people could take should have his head cut off.

XCV. For a long time after this disaster, such of the Christians as by any means had contrived to escape, and even those who remained behind in cities and strong places, became as timid as women, and their hearts shrank, so that many of them did not dare to await the attack of a few Saracens. Wherefore, when presently, after his aforesaid victory, Saladin arrived before Acre, they surrendered the city on condition of their lives being spared. Thence he proceeded to Beyrout,¹ and that city also was yielded up to him without any check by its despairing citizens; he also got Biblium² without difficulty. None of the cities by the sea-shore, from Acre to Ascalon, dared to resist him; but the people of Ascalon, who believed their city to be impregnable, checked his progress awhile, and replied that they would not surrender until they knew whether the people of Jerusalem were holding out or had yielded. When he pitched his tents before Jerusalem, they³ yielded up the city to him on condition that they should come forth free with what of their goods they could carry, and be escorted by him to a land of safety. Thus they escaped out of the hands of the enemy; but when they came to Tripoli they fell into worse hands, profane and sacrilegious. All that they brought with them was utterly taken away from them by Bohemond, Count of Tripoli, and the sons of Belial his followers, who ought to have shown compassion for their brethren in exile, but proved themselves more cruel to Christians than the Saracens. Wherefore it is said that a pitiable deed was done there, such as had not been heard of for ages before. A mother carrying her little one on her

¹ *Beirût.*

² *Jibeil*, north of Beirût.

³ The people of Jerusalem.

shoulders was robbed by those wicked enemies ; for they spared neither rank nor sex, nor regarded decency in their plundering. When this woman saw the property which the Saracens had left her, for the maintenance of herself and her child, taken from her by those to whom she had fled for refuge, rendered desperate by anguish and despair, she flung her own son into the sea. Saladin returned to Ascalon, and the town was surrendered to him on condition that he should set at liberty the King and the Grand Master of the Templars, whom he held in prison. He then, like an active and brisk soldier as he was, proceeded to Tripoli, where he found the citizens and refugees prepared to resist him. Thinking that this city would not escape him if he came back to it at a convenient season, after he had reduced the other strong places, he marched to Antioch, because at that time he did not care to meddle much with the castles on the sea-shore, for the chief of the pirates, named Margarit,¹ a man of great power at sea, had come from the kingdom of Sicily, with eighty galleys, to help our people, having been sent by the brave and illustrious King William of Sicily. This King, when he heard the lamentable fall of the kingdom of Jerusalem from those who fled for refuge to his country by sea, straightway that same summer sent not only the aforesaid galleys, but five hundred soldiers and three hundred Turcopoles,² and provisions innumerable, to help what was left of the country, the good and God-

¹ The unknown, but probably English, author of the fragment called 'Historia Hierosolimitana' says of him : 'Margaritus classi Regie (William, King of Sicily), regendae praeerat, vir admodum strenuus, qui cum galeis praecurrens, ausus piraticos reprimat, et praetemptata veniendi fiduciâ sequentes invitat. Hic, insulas procul positas premens imperio, et tot casus aequoreos fato felici expertus, victoriis multis obtinuit ut Rex maris, et a nonnullis alter diceretur Neptunus.'—Bongars, 'Gesta Dei per Francos,' p. 1156, init.

² 'Low Latin *Turcopoli*, light armed soldiers, from the Byzantine Greek *τυρκόπουλοι*, from "Turk," and *πouλος*, a child.'—Littré.

fearing man! Saladin's impetuous spirit made him vigorously follow up his success, and within three months he had won the entire principality of Antioch, all save the Patriarch of Antioch's impregnable castle, called Cursatus, and the city of Antioch itself, whose siege he raised on the receipt of a great sum of money from the Patriarch, with a sure and certain confidence that, after he had taken all the strong places round about, that one city would not long be able to resist him ; for he had made himself master of more than five-and-twenty cities and towns in that principality. Returning, therefore, to the kingdom of Jerusalem, he with his entire army beleaguered, by sea and by land, the city of Tyre, the only one left of all the cities of the Holy Land. There was in Tyre at that time a valiant nobleman, Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat, who had sailed thither on board a ship from Constantinople, on the same day that our people were overthrown in the aforesaid battle. This man promised the citizens that he would defend the city if they would give it to him when it was saved from the enemy. The citizens willingly and gratefully agreed to do this, for they were at their wits' end, and did not believe it in any way possible for them to withstand the might of Saladin, who had now made himself master of the whole country. Conrad manfully resisted Saladin on the land side, and set fire to his galleys at sea ; whereupon Saladin, in great confusion and rage, raised the siege and departed straightway. He had thought to straiten the people of Tyre, and force them to surrender without great expenses and losses, and without any bloodshed ; and this he might easily have done had not God provided otherwise, for Saladin forced the exceeding strong castles of Saphet, Belvoir, Toron, and Belfort,¹ in the mountains, to surrender, albeit they might have held out for as long as their provisions lasted. How,

¹ *Safed, Kaukab el-Hawa, Tibnin, and Kul'at esh-Shakîf.*

indeed, should a few terrified and helpless men withstand so puissant a Prince, who had made himself master, not only of the land of Egypt, but of almost the whole of Syria, from the river Tigris to Egypt, and from Cilicia to the Red Sea.

XCVI. The first part of Syria, which lies between the Tigris and the Euphrates, is called Syria Mesopotamia. The second part is called Coele Syria; in this stands the city of Antioch, with its subject cities, and it reaches as far as the river Valania,¹ below the Castle of Margat.² The third part of Syria is called Syria by the Sea, or Syria Phoenice. In it are Tripoli, Tyre and Acre; it begins at the aforesaid river, and ends at Lapis Incisa, which is called Districtum, and at this day is called Pilgrims' Castle.³ The fourth part is called Syria of Lebanon, wherein stands Mount Lebanon. It is also called Syria of Damascus, for Damascus is its capital city. Sometimes it is simply called Syria, a part taking the name of the whole, as in the text, 'The head of Syria is Damascus.'⁴ And there are three Palestines, which are parts of Greater Syria. The first is that whose capital is Jerusalem, and this part is specially named Judaea. The second is that whose capital is Caesarea Philippi,⁵ which includes all the country of the Philistines. The third is that whose capital is Scythopolis, which at this day is called Bethshan.⁶ Moreover, both the Arabias are parts of Syria: the first is that whose capital is Bostrum;⁷ the second is that whose capital is Petra in the Wilderness. But Syria Sobal⁸ also, whose capital is

¹ *Bânîds.*

² *El-Merkeb.*

³ District (Dustrey) is an old port north of Château Pelerin (*'Athlîl*). The latter was built by the Templars, A.D. 1192, but District existed earlier.

⁴ Isa. vii. 8.

⁵ Apparently a mistake for Caesarea Palestina.

⁶ *Beisan.*

⁷ *Bosrah.*

⁸ Syria Sobal was apparently the Negeb and the desert to the south.

Sobal, is part of this Greater Syria. The last part of Syria is Idumaea, looking toward Egypt. So great and puissant an adversary, having dominion over so many kingdoms, so many-headed a beast, did the Lord raise up against us, as it were, to be the scourge of God's vengeance for our sins.

XCVII. Meanwhile, our lamentable misfortunes and sad rumours thereof had shocked all the countries of the West ; all who heard thereof were downcast, and like men struck by a grievous wound. Above all, the venerable Father Urban,¹ who then was Pope of the Holy Roman Church, when he learned the news, was inconsolable with grief, that in his days the Eastern Church should have been so sadly laid waste and so irretrievably ruined. When he heard that the holy places had been profaned and trampled upon by unclean dogs, that the precious wood of the cross of our salvation was owned and handled by impious and unworthy men, and that the Holy Land—recovered at the price of so much Christian blood—was again occupied by infidels and profane men, his grief and sorrow so disturbed him that they threw him into a fever, and not long afterwards, partly from fever and partly from sorrow and weakness, he died. His successor on the pontifical throne was Gregory,² a good man and worthy of all acceptance, but for our sins he died seven weeks later. After him Clement III.³ was raised to the highest Apostolic dignity. He, together with his brethren, the Cardinals, laboured in all possible ways to succour the Christians, who were left few in number like sheep among wolves. He invited, threatened and implored the Princes of the West, and all Christ's faithful people, to set free the Holy Land, [granting

¹ Urban III., elected November 25, 1185, died October 11, 1187.

² Gregory VIII., elected October 29, and died December 17, 1187.

³ Clement III., elected December 19, 1187, crowned next day ; died March 27, 1191.

them plenary remission of all their sins, provided that they would take power from on high, and not delay to come to the rescue of Christ's Church and the city of our redemption.] Wherefore, it came to pass that Frederick, the Roman Emperor, Philip, King of France, and Richard, King of England, with almost all the Princes, Dukes, Earls and nobles of their realms, together with the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots and other ecclesiastical personages, and the people of the baser sort, beyond any man's counting, put upon their shoulders the badge of the life-giving cross, and made a solemn vow to succour the Holy Land, encouraging one another by word and example, and kindling the zeal of others, so that it seemed a shame and a disgrace for them to stay at home like sluggards and cowards when the others were going crusading.

XCVIII. In the summer following after the loss of the Holy Land, King Guy, being unable to recover Tyre, because the aforesaid Marquis, who had saved it, had claimed it for his own according to agreement, and of all his kingdom he had not so much as one village remaining wherein to lay his head; being, moreover, filled with shame and confusion, especially at the Holy Land having been lost during his reign, he—as though reckless of his life, with a very few followers whom he got together, laid siege to Acre, and pitched his tent on a high mound near the city. With him was his brother Geoffrey de Lusignan, a brave and valiant man, who by the favour of his brother took precedence of all other pilgrims. When Saladin heard of this, he is said to have thanked God for having delivered the remnant of the Christians and their King into his hands; and, indeed, so few men could not have withstood the people of Acre, far less Saladin and his countless host. When Saladin's Princes bade him haste to take the prize which the Lord had put in his way, he is said to have

answered that, as they could not escape, he should like to wait for his brother—who was shortly expected to arrive—to take part in his joy and victory. But not many days afterwards he learned by experience that it ever does harm to delay when one is ready to act; for a noble and most approved servant of God, named James of Auvergne, with a force of Flemings, Brabanters and Frisians, came in the nick of time and encamped before Acre. Moreover, a multitude of nobles and others from Champagne and Burgundy, and some from Italy, not long afterwards arrived at the camp before the aforesaid city. To avoid sudden and unexpected attacks from the Saracens, they fortified their camp with a ditch on every side. It would take long to tell what tribulation and misery, what dangers and losses, they underwent before the coming of the Kings of France and England; for the Saracens often burned their siege-engines, and slew many of them, mortally wounding them with arrows and javelins, while many more died on the sand before the city of famine, toil and pestilence. Now, as our people saw that they could not easily take the city, and Saladin with his army was always skirmishing about the ditch of the camp, one day they marched out to fight the enemy. Though the Saracens were many more in number than our people, yet they did not venture to await their onset, and fled, leaving their camp behind them. When our people had come up to the Saracen camp without any opposition, they were confounded and panic-stricken by the just, though secret, judgment of God, and fled, though no man pursued them. When the Saracens saw this, they regained their confidence and boldness, came back after our people, and began to wound both horses and riders with an unceasing flight of arrows. The Saracens surrounded with their numbers and slew some few of the greater nobles, who held it base and

shameful to turn their backs. Among these was the Grand Master of the Templars, and Andrew de Brienne, who with many others fell on that day. So great was the fear and confusion of our people, and so panic-stricken were they in their flight, that scarce one of those who marched out would have escaped had not the aforesaid brave and experienced soldier, Geoffrey de Lusignan—who had stayed behind to guard the camp—hastened to help our people with what men he had with him. They say that our people were thrown into confusion on that day by a strange accident. A horse got away from his master and ran off, and as many ran after him shouting, the others believed that our people were running away from the enemy; and thus all ran away, and made their way home to their tents, to their own very great disgrace and to the great injury of the cause of Christendom.

After the first of our people in the field had waited for a year and a half for the Emperor and the other princes who were to follow them, such a famine and dearth of victuals arose in the camp that they were forced to eat horse-flesh and the bodies of dead animals; for the bushel of wheat, which in time of peace sold for half a bezant, was then sold for sixty bezants. Wherefore the foot soldiers of the army, declaring that they could no longer bear such want, sallied out, thirty thousand in number, against the command of their chiefs, to attack the Saracens and carry off victuals from their camp. The cunning enemy feigned flight, and suffered these heedless men to load themselves not only with victuals, but with gold and silver and furniture of divers kinds. When they were on their way back again, thus loaded and cumbered with heavy weights, their harp was turned into mourning,¹ and the end of that mirth was heaviness: for the Saracens charged them with loud shouts,

¹ Job xxx. 31; Prov. xiv. 13.

and not one of them was found who resisted the enemy. They cast away not only the gold and silver, but even their arms, and nearly all of them either fell on the way or were driven into the sea and drowned. Many of those who escaped went mad through terror. Thus did the Lord suffer their murmurings and disobedience to be punished. During this time Sibylla, the wife of the aforesaid King Guy, went the way of all flesh in the camp; so the crown, by hereditary right, devolved upon her sister Isabel, the wife of Humphrey of Toron.¹ But the Marquis of Montferrat, who, as has been told, had already made himself master of Tyre, when he heard this, was seized with ambition to reign and desire for a throne. He carried off the aforesaid Elizabeth² from her husband, and straightway married her. Albeit the pilgrims were much displeased at so great a crime, yet they put off the aforesaid Count Humphrey with excuses when he appealed to them for redress, because they could buy food nowhere save at Tyre, where it passed through the hands of the aforesaid Marquis. Moreover, he had bribed some of the chiefs of the army to favour his cause.

XCIX. While these were the varied fortunes of the first in the field, Frederick, the Roman Emperor, set out on his journey by land with great power and a countless host of warriors. Passing over the borders of Germany, he crossed Hungary, Macedonia, and Greece,³ and marched through the land of the Saracens with a mighty hand and a stretched-out arm. He took Iconium,⁴ Philomena,⁵ and many other cities, and reached Armenia,⁶ where, during great heat, he went into the river,⁷ which the natives call

¹ *Tibnin*.

² She is called by both names.

³ The territory of the Emperor of Constantinople.

⁴ *Konia*.

⁵ Philomelium, now *Ilghin*.

⁶ Lesser or Cilician Armenia. See note, Anon., p. 15.

⁷ 'The desire of comparing two great men has tempted many

the Iron River, to bathe, and therein for our sins was miserably drowned, and so died to the loss of all Christendom. Saladin so greatly feared his approach that he ordered the walls of Laodicea, Gibelet, Tortosa, Biblum, and Beyrout,¹ to be pulled down, sparing only the fortresses—that is, the citadels and the towers.

Now, Philip, King of France, and Richard, King of England, after passing the winter at Brundisium² waiting for the rear of their armies to join them, sailed into the harbour of Acre³ the following spring with ships and galleys, with many horses and engines of war and store of provisions, and filled our people's army with immense joy. The first to come was the King of France, for Richard, King of England, on his arrival, conquered the Isle of Cyprus, and overthrew the Greeks therein. They now laid siege to Acre, invested it on all sides, and throughout all that summer continually assaulted it, while those within it resisted manfully, matching their engines⁴

writers to drown Frederick in the Cydnus, in which Alexander so imprudently bathed (Q. Curt., lib. iii., cap. iv., v.). But, from the march of the Emperor, I rather judge that his Saleph is the Calycadnus, a stream of less fame, but of longer course.'—Gibbon, vol. vi., p. 82, note; ch. lix. Frederick Barbarossa was drowned in the Calycadnus (*Geuk Su*, or 'Blue River') when on the march from Laranda (*Karaman*) to Seleucia (*Selefke*).

¹ *Ladikiyeh* (*Latakia*), *Jebâl*, *Tartûs*, *Jibeil*, and *Beirût*.

² *Brindisi*.

³ *Portui Acon*. He probably means the bay of Acre, as the harbour was in the hands of the Moslems.

⁴ *Petrariae*. Fr. *Pierrier*: 'Anciennement, arme à l'aide de laquelle on jettait des pierres, et qui est citée avec les mangonnaux dans les documents du moyen-âge' (Littré). '*Lors fist Looyz drecier ses pierieres et ses mangonniaux pour jeter à la porte et au mur*,' says the '*Histoire des Ducs de Normandie*,' describing the siege of Dover Castle in 1216, quoted by Viollet le Duc, who also observes: 'Mais il ne faut pas oublier que les Orientaux possédaient des engins supérieurs aux nôtres' (Viollet le Duc's '*Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture Française*,' art. 'Siège'). I do not know of any English word for *petraria*.

against our engines, burning with their Greek fire the wooden castles which our people had built at great expense, and doing our people much harm. But one day, when Saladin was sending a reinforcement of fresh men-at-arms into the city, with arms and victuals, in a very great ship called a Dromond,¹ the King of England met the ship off the mouth of the harbour with his galleys, and sunk it to the bottom with all the soldiers in it, to the great delight of the Christians and confusion of the Saracens; for, besides the rest of the vessel's freight, it was said that she carried some serpents² which they intended to send into our army, and thought thereby to do us much harm. King Philip of France battered the city walls, towers, and battlements incessantly, both by day and by night, with huge stones, breaking the enemy's machines, houses, and buildings within the city, and giving the besieged no rest. On the other side, the King of England frequently made perilous assaults on the besieged; wherefore, as the wall was giving way under the continual strokes of the great stones flung against it, the citizens, perceiving that they could not much longer resist, surrendered the city on the condition that they should march out of it free and unharmed, and to obtain this they promised to give back the holy cross, which the Christians had lost in battle. But as they could not find it, the King of England flew into a rage, and ordered all those in his part of the town to be put to the sword; but the King of France dealt more gently with the Saracens whom he had in his power, and cast them into prison, to exchange them for our own people. Yet the King of England did

¹ One of the galleys with two tiers of oars called Dromones, from the Byzantine *δρόμῳνες*. See Willibald, p. 8, note.

² Fuller, quoting from Matthew Paris, in anno 1191, says that they were scorpions ('Holy Warre,' book iii., ch. viii.). The 'serpent' was a sort of rocket of Greek fire.

more to injure and weaken the enemy by slaying many thousands of them, who had they lived might thereafter have done much harm to the Christians. When Saladin saw that the city was taken, and a great part of his force destroyed, being greatly cast down, and having no hope of defending the other cities against us, he destroyed the walls of the cities by the sea, that is to say, of Porphyria,¹ Caesarea, Joppa, Ascalon, Gaza, and Darum.² King Richard rebuilt Joppa and fortified it. After this, Saladin laid siege to it; but the King hastened thither in a galley by sea, his army following with great difficulty by land, succoured the besieged, and drove away the Saracen host. Now were the Saracens greatly frightened and put to confusion, and fled, together with their Prince, before the face of our people. Now our people could easily have won, not only the kingdom of Jerusalem, but the greater part of their country, had not the enemy of the human race, jealous of such great successes of the Christians, sowed tares,³ raising quarrels and discord between the Kings. There was contention between the Princes, and he caused them to wander in the wilderness where no road was.⁴ They each tried to win glory for themselves, and sought after their own, and not the things which are Jesus Christ's,⁵ and by their insults and jealousy of one another they gladdened the hearts of their enemies, and brought great confusion upon Christendom. To such a pitch did the envy, hatred, and discord between the Kings arrive, that often when the King of France assaulted the city on one side, the King of England would hold his people back, and not suffer them to attack it on the other; moreover, he secretly won over to his side as many French Princes

¹ Near *Haifa*.

³ Matt. xiii. 25-30.

⁶ Phil. ii. 21.

² *Deir el-Belâh*, south of Gaza.

⁴ Psa. cvii., in the Vulgate version.

and Barons as he could by presents and promises, and made them take his part. The King of France, greatly disturbed and alarmed at this, and more especially because he was sick, went home directly after the taking of Acre, leaving behind the Duke of Burgundy with a part of his army. But he did unwisely in spreading abroad the news of his premature return, for they say that Saladin would have been willing to give up the whole land to us, if only the Kings had pretended that they were of one mind about invading it, and were at peace and amity with one another. The King of England with his army, and the Duke of Burgundy with his, now set out from Acre towards Joppa, meaning to lay siege to Jerusalem. On the way many troubles befell them, for Saladin hung on their skirts with numberless soldiers and Turcoples, and, with the Saracens shooting missiles at them on either side in a cloud, it was only with the greatest difficulty that our people could make their way to the city of Assur,¹ between Caesarea and Joppa, with many of the horses and their riders grievously wounded, and King Richard himself hurt with some missile on that march. Near the aforesaid castle our people sharply charged the Saracens, meaning to pay them out, and, pressing their retreat, slew many of them; yet not without grave loss to the Christian army, for on that day fell the noble Knight and brave warrior, James of Auvergne, and many others with him gained the crown of martyrdom, as they fought the Saracens in a place apart, unknown to our people. Saladin, with the fugitives, betook himself to Jerusalem, while our people pitched their camp in a place called Bethenuble,² between Joppa and Jerusalem, meaning to advance from thence and lay siege to Jerusalem. At this place news came to King Richard that a great caravan was coming to Saladin's

¹ *Arsuf*.² *Beit Nuba*.

army from Egypt, with numberless mules, horses, and camels, loaded with victuals and other goods. He started in haste to meet it, made a night march, and brought much plunder back to his army. But he had left his army in great peril, for he took the greater part of his people with him, and left very few behind compared with Saladin's force. After this they held a council of war, at which it was decided not to lay siege to Jerusalem in the winter, seeing that between Jerusalem and Acre they had no strong place save Joppa, and could not bring provisions to feed the army without great and evident danger; wherefore, to the many tears and bitter sorrow of the greater part of the army, they gave up their enterprise. Indeed, many men said, and men who thoroughly well knew the condition of the Saracens, that Saladin had never expected our army to come; that he could not find any who cared to be shut up in Jerusalem, or dared to remain and stand a siege there: for they were terrified at the example of the people of Acre, whom Saladin had been unable to help, but had suffered to be either put to the sword or cast into prison, though he might have bought them off. The King of England now went with his army to Ascalon, and ceased not to repair its walls throughout all that winter, with great labour and expense; moreover, he rebuilt and fortified the little town of Darum.¹ He repaired Gaza, and gave it to the Templars, to whom it formerly belonged, to keep it. The Duke of Burgundy, and the Frenchmen who had stayed behind with him, as they did not agree well with the English, went away to Tyre, and spent the winter there with the Marquis. Next spring, when both armies were come to Bethenubel to besiege Jerusalem, King Richard, as if changed into another man, said that he must by all means go home again, alleging

¹ *Deir el-Belâh.*

that his brother John was aspiring to the kingdom, and had already made himself master of a part of his land. On the other hand, he rightly suspected the King of France, who had parted from him in anger, and feared that in his absence King Philip might invade the duchy of Normandy in force. Hearing these rumours, the Saracens were filled with joy, and took courage as though awaking from a heavy sleep,¹ while our people were put to confusion and sorrow, and quite gave up all hope of recovering the Holy City. They mourned and groaned because the end of their sacrifice was cut off, and they saw that all their labours, begun but not ended, were brought to nothing. If the King of England for sometime before his departure had concealed his intention, we might have got good conditions and an honourable peace from the Saracens; but he, like the headlong being that he was, to the great harm of all Christendom, eager and hurrying to go away, agreed to whatever terms of truce Saladin chose to offer, without raising any objection or difficulty. Hence it came to pass that our people were forced by the terms of the truce to dismantle Ascalon, Darum, and Gaza. They let us keep Joppa and the rest of the coast up to Acre, showing for certain that when the strong places were destroyed we could not long defend the plain country against them after our army had gone home. Meanwhile Conrad,² Marquis of Montferrat, was slain by some baptized Saracens whom he had for a long time

¹ Psa. xlv. 23.

² 'About the time of the King of France his departure, Conrade, King of Jerusalem, was murdered in the market-place of Tyre; and his death is variously reported. Some charged our King Richard with procuring it. And though the beams of his innocency cleared his own heart, yet could they not dispell the clouds of suspicion from other men's eyes. But the generall voice giveth it out that two Assasines stabbed him, whose quarrell to him was onely this, That he was a Christian.'—Fuller, 'Holy Warre,' book iii., ch. x.

maintained in his house ; and Henry, Count of Champagne, at the suggestion of the King of England, married Isabella, Conrad's widow, and remained in the Holy Land. On his way home the King of England was taken prisoner in Germany, and kept by the Emperor until he was ransomed for a great sum of money,¹ and so with difficulty made his way to England. Count Henry, although he married the Queen and became master of Acre and Tyre, yet refused to be crowned and made King, for, like all the rest, he longed to go home. But after he had dwelt for some years in the Holy Land, and had made all preparations for going home, he fell out of one of the windows of his house upon the stonework of the ditch of the city of Acre, broke his neck, and died. Aymer, King of Cyprus, the brother of Guy de Lusignan, who was now dead, married Queen Elizabeth,² and undertook the rule and government of the Holy Land as successor to the aforesaid Count.

But after the departure of the King of England and the other pilgrims, the Saracens would soon have shown us how perilous was the state of the few remaining Christians and their remnant of the Holy Land, had not Saladin died, whereupon there sprang up dissensions among them which led to quarrels and civil war, which were exceeding useful to the Christians. Saladin's brother, his sons' uncle, took away from them all their kingdoms, save only the kingdom of Aleppo, and by so doing provoked all the Saracens against himself. Our people could not and dared not attempt anything against him : they thought it much to live and to keep possession of their land beside the infidels at all, although they received many insults from them. However, by bribes, certain Saracens were prevailed upon to deliver up the city and fort of Biblum,³ unbeknown to the Soldan, to those to whom it belonged by hereditary right ;

¹ 150,000 marks.

² See note 2, p. 110.

³ *Jibeil*.

and likewise the city of Beyrout, with its citadel, was deserted by its Saracen garrison and was restored to Christendom. The Roman Emperor Henry¹ now sent a host of Germans to the Holy Land, and bade them break off the truce. They accordingly laid siege to the fortress called Toron,² near Tyre. The besieged would have surrendered on condition of their lives being spared, but the Germans put off taking possession of the place for one night, thinking that neither the fort nor the garrison could escape from their hands. But on the morrow a countless host of Saracens assembled to relieve the castle, and they retreated in confusion. When they came near to Beyrout, the Saracens who remained in the city fled in terror, and left the city and the citadel to them. But when they heard that their master, the Emperor Henry, was dead, they did no more service, and hastened home.³ Howbeit, some of our people, emboldened by their presence, fortified Joppa against the Saracens ; but in a short time, and without much trouble, the Saracens took the fort which they had built, levelled it with the ground, and made prisoners of all whom they found within. Hereupon the truce was renewed—a matter to which the Saracens willingly agreed, because almost all the kingdom of Jerusalem was in their hands, and they were at variance and quarrelling bitterly among themselves, and our people were in too desponding a case to break the truce on light occasion, to accomplish the siege of any strong place, or to rebuild any dismantled fort. So when, not long afterwards, some noblemen, chiefly from Champagne and other provinces of France, came thither by sea, our people refused to break the truce, and they went off to Antioch to take service with the Prince of Antioch, who

¹ Henry VI., 1190—1197.

² *Tibnin*.

³ Henry VI. died in Sicily, 1197, and was succeeded by Frederick II.

was then at war; but between Tripoli and Antioch they were taken by the Saracens and cast into prison at Aleppo. Twice our people broke the truce after the departure of the aforesaid Germans: once when some nobles came from France, to wit, Simon de Montfort—a nobly-born and most pious man, and a very good soldier—and his brother Guy, and some others, among whom was the Countess of Flanders, who had followed her husband, who had been crowned Emperor¹ of Constantinople; and again when, on the death of King Aymer and his wife, John, Count of Brienne, being invited to assume the crown of Jerusalem, crossed the sea and married the heiress of the kingdom, the daughter of the Marquis Conrad and Queen Isabella. But they did little or no good, for they neither laid siege to any strong place nor repaired any ruined fort; they only rode into the Saracen territory, burned a few villages, and carried off plunder. Immediately after the aforesaid John was crowned and anointed King, the Saracens, to the disgrace and injury of Christendom, and more especially to the end that they might straiten the city of Acre, fortified Mount Tabor against us. Now our people renewed their truce with the Saracens, and, sorrowing and groaning under many miseries and oppressions, called for help from on high, day by day waiting for consolation and help from God and the Holy Roman Church.

HERE ENDETH THE HISTORY OF JERUSALEM.

¹ Baldwin, Count of Flanders and Hainault, Emperor of Constantinople, 1204.

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