
Pilgrimage to Jerusalem
and the Holy Land, 1187–1291
Denys Pringle
ROUTLEDGE

PILGRIMAGE TO JERUSALEM AND THE HOLY LAND, 1187–1291

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Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187–1291

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CRUSADE TEXTS IN TRANSLATION

Volume 23

About the volume

This book presents new translations of a selection of Latin and French pilgrimage texts – and two in Greek – relating to Jerusalem and the Holy Land between the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187 and the loss of Acre to the Mamluks in 1291. It therefore complements and extends existing studies, which deal with the period from Late Antiquity to Saladin's conquest. Such texts provide a wealth of information not only about the business of pilgrimage itself, but also on church history, topography, architecture and the social and economic conditions prevailing in Palestine in this period.

Pilgrimage texts of the thirteenth century have not previously been studied as a group in this way; and, because the existing editions of them are scattered across a variety of rather obscure publications, they tend to be under-utilized by historians, despite their considerable interest. For instance, they are often more original than the texts of the twelfth century, representing first-hand accounts of travellers rather than simple reworkings of older texts. Taken together, they document the changes that occurred in the pattern of pilgrimage after the fall of Jerusalem in 1187, during its brief reoccupation by the Franks between 1229 and 1244, and during the period from 1260 onwards when the Mamluks gradually took military control of the whole country. In the 1250s-60s, for example, because of the difficulties faced by pilgrims in reaching Jerusalem itself, there developed an alternative set of holy sites offering indulgences in Acre. The bringing of Transjordan, southern Palestine and Sinai under Ayyubid and, later, Mamluk control also encouraged the development of the pilgrimage to St Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai in this period.

The translations are accompanied by explanatory footnotes and preceded by an introduction, which discusses the development of Holy Land pilgrimage in this period and the context, dating and composition of the texts themselves. The book concludes with a comprehensive list of sources and a detailed index.

About the author

Denys Pringle is a Professor in the Cardiff School of History, Archaeology and Religion at Cardiff University, UK

Annæ
sorori piissimæ
quae complurima loca
in hoc libro descripta
mecum visitavit

Preface

In view of the close relationship between pilgrimage and crusading it seems very appropriate to include a book of pilgrim texts in a series of volumes of translated texts relating to the crusades. The timescale for the present volume runs from the fall of the first kingdom of Jerusalem after the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn in 1187 to the ending of the second kingdom with the loss of Acre in 1291. Two principal considerations influenced this choice. First, English translations of pilgrim texts relating to Jerusalem and the Holy Land before 1187 have already been published by John Wilkinson in a series of three books: *Egeria's Travels* (1971), *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (1977), and *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099–1185* (1988). The present volume of translated texts, accompanied by historical, topographical and archaeological commentary, therefore extends by another century a style of presentation already well established by its distinguished predecessors. Secondly, although a good translation of J.C.M. Laurent's 1864 edition of Burchard of Mount Sion's 'Description of the Holy Land' has been available since 1896 in a volume of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society and a French translation of Riccoldo of Monte Croce's 'Pilgrimage' was published by the late René Kappler in parallel with a new edition of the Latin text in 1997, most of the other thirteenth-century texts published here are only available in nineteenth-century editions in Latin, Old French or Greek, published in a variety of different places, some of them relatively obscure. Bringing them all together in one book in a common language and format will, it is hoped, make them more accessible to historians and other scholars, as well as to those wishing to visit the Holy Land, whether in the imagination or in actuality. In the case of Wilbrand of Oldenburg's 'Journey in the Holy Land', the identification of the thirteenth-century manuscript from which all later known manuscript versions of the text were derived has also made it possible to base the present translation on a new edition of the text, which effectively supersedes Laurent's edition of 1864/73.

Among those who have assisted me in translating and commenting on these texts, I am most grateful in the first place to the editors of the Crusade Texts in Translation series, in particular Malcolm Barber, Peter Edbury and Bernard Hamilton. I am also grateful for additional comments and assistance from my colleagues Massimiliano Gaggero, Helen Nicholson, Alasdair Whittle, and especially Frank Trombley, who provided invaluable help and advice in translating the two anonymous Greek descriptions of the Holy Places. The treatment of Matthew Paris's 'Itinerary' and Burchard of Mount Sion's 'Description' in particular has also benefitted considerably from fruitful discussions with Paul D.A. Harvey on the relationship between these texts and the maps with which they were associated. The illustration of Matthew Paris's map of the Holy Land is reproduced by kind

permission of the British Library, while the other maps and plans have been drawn by Ian Dennis (Figs I.1–2, T.1, 6–8), Kirsty Harding (Fig. 5) and the late Peter E. Leach (Fig. 3). Finally I am grateful to the Arts and Humanities Research Council and to the Cardiff School of History and Archaeology for sponsoring a period of research leave devoted to this project in 2007/8.

Denys Pringle
Cardiff, June 2011

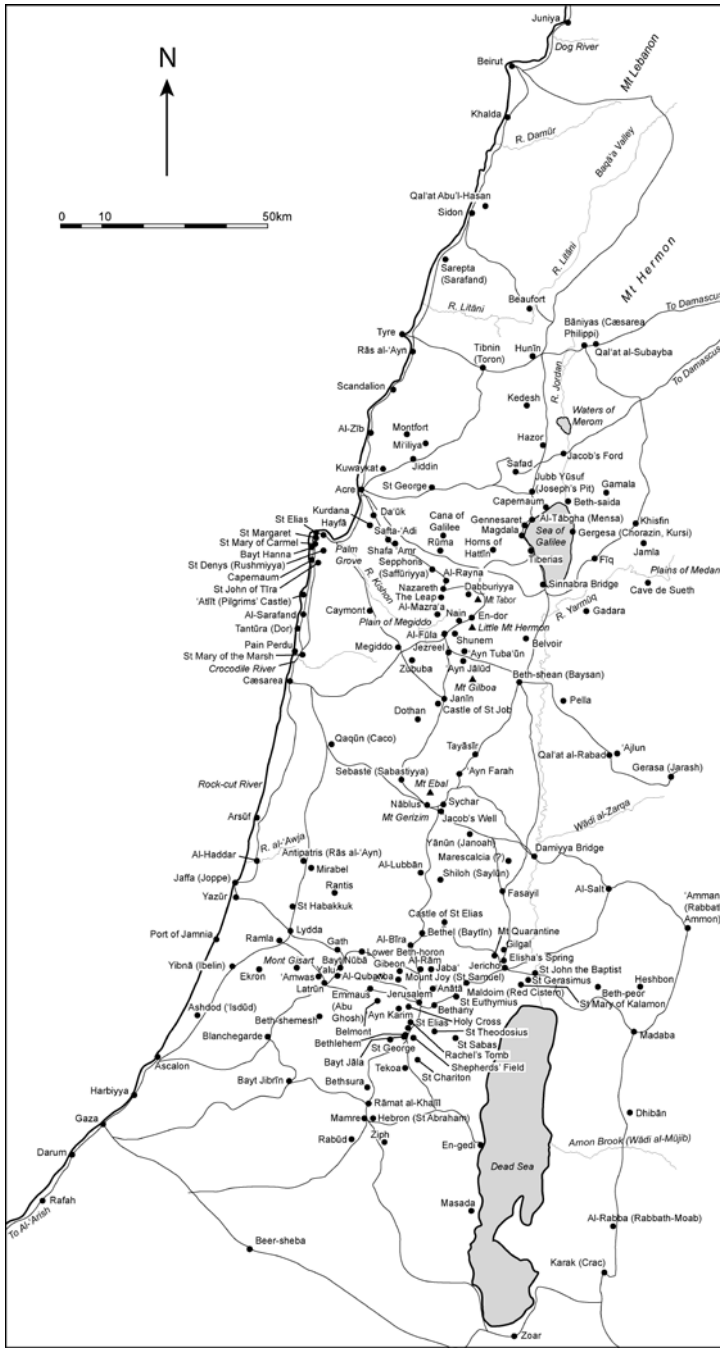


Fig. 1 Map of Palestine

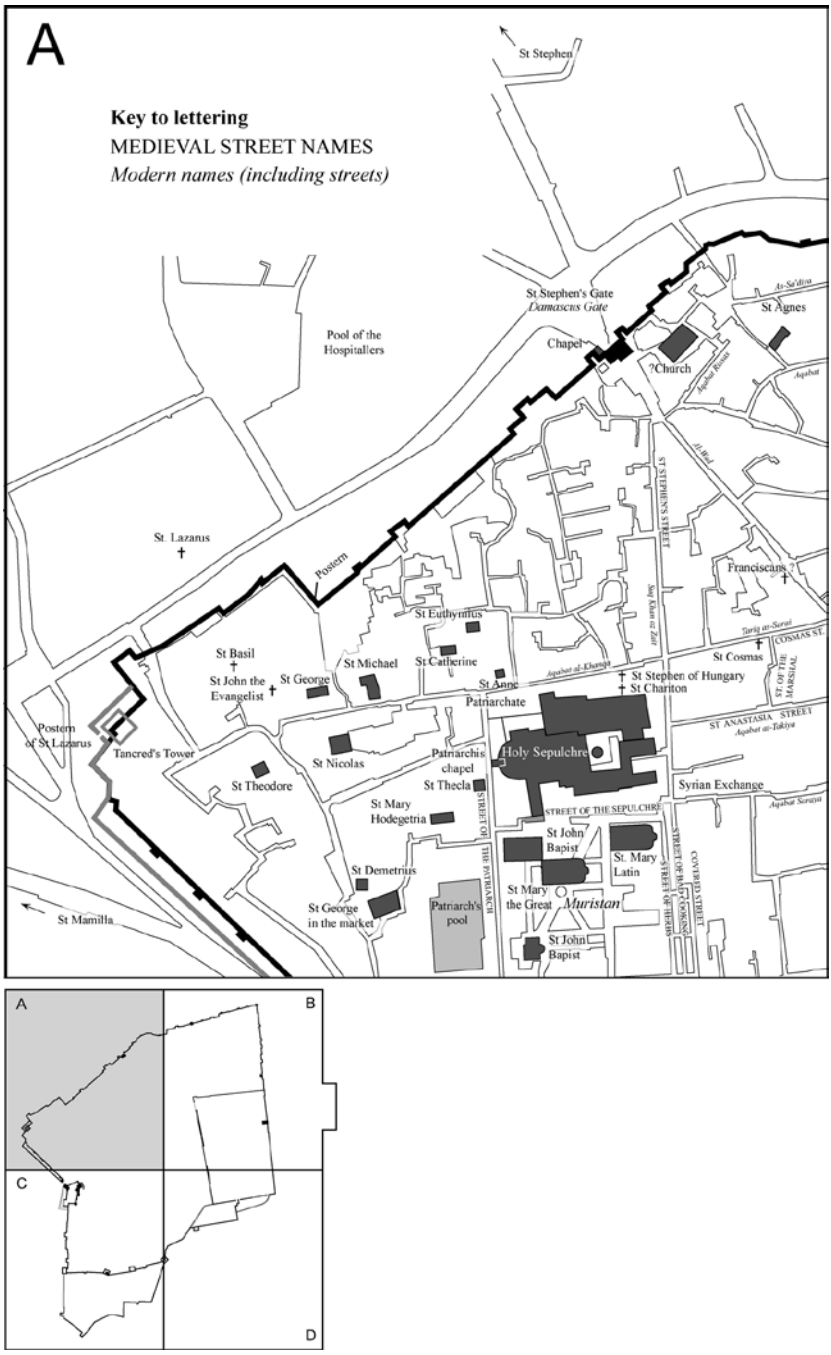
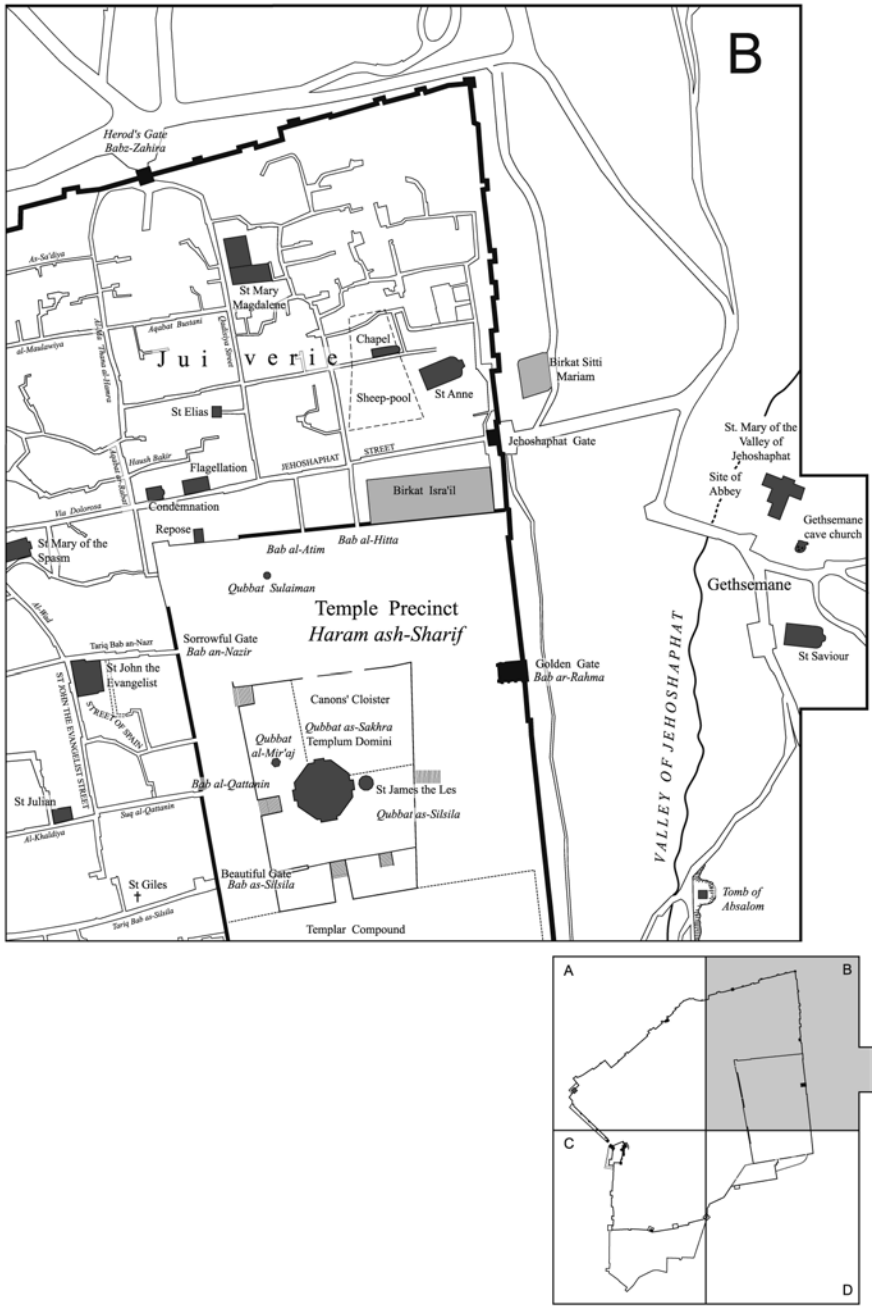
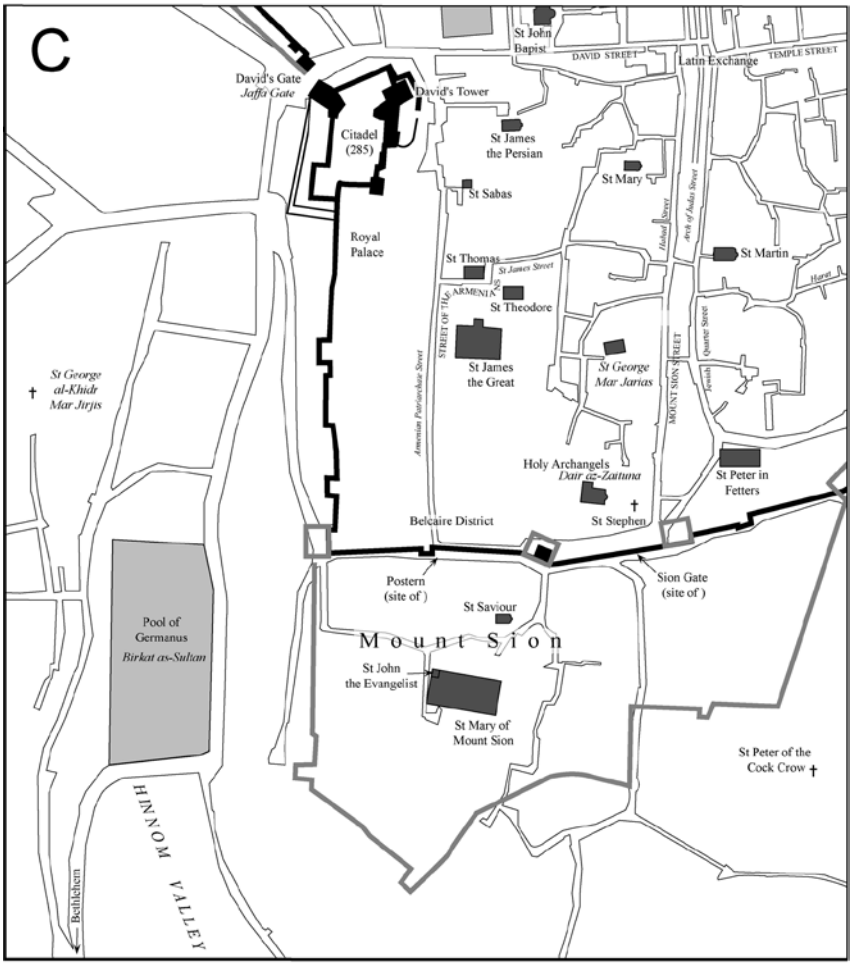
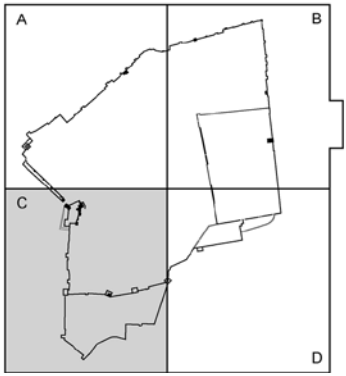
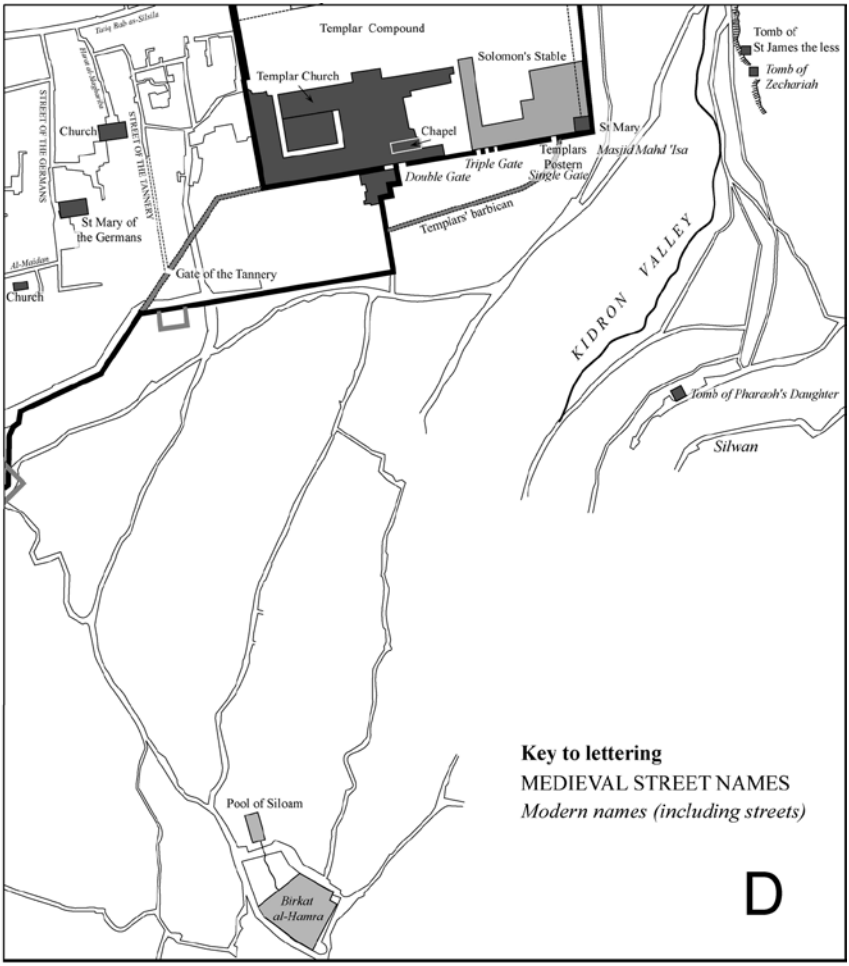


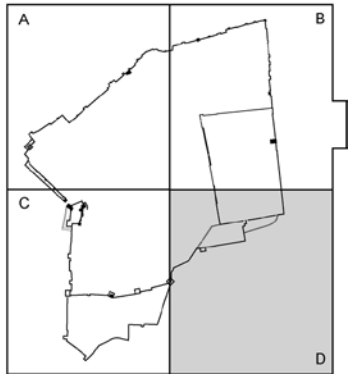
Fig. 2A–D Plan of Jerusalem


B
Herod's Gate
Bab-Zahira
St Mary
Magdalene
Chapel
Jui verie
Sheep-pool
St Anne
Birkat Sitti
Mariam
St Elias
Jehoshaphat Gate
St. Mary of the
Valley of
Jehoshaphat
Site of
Abbey
Flagellation
JEHOSHAPHAT
STREET
Birkat Isra'il
Condemnation
Repose
Gethsemane
cave church
St Mary of the
Spasm
Bab al-Atim
Bab al-Hitta
Qubbat Sulaiman
Gethsemane
Temple Precinct
Haram ash-Sharif
Sorrowful Gate
Bab an-Nazir
Golden Gate
Bab ar-Rahma
St Saviour
St John the
Evangelist
Canons' Cloister
Qubbat as-Sakhra
Templum Domini
Qubbat
al-Mir'aj
Bab al-Qattanin
St James the Les
Qubbat as-Silsila
St Julian
St Giles
Beautiful Gate
Bab as-Silsila
VALLEY OF JEHOSHAPHAT
Tomb of
Absalom
Templar Compound
A
B
C
D


C
David's Gate
Jaffa Gate
David's Tower
Citadel
(285)
St John
Bapist
DAVID STREET
Latin Exchange
TEMPLE STREET
St James
the Persian
St Mary
St Sabas
Royal
Palace
St Thomas
St James Street
ARMENIAN
St Theodore
St Martin
Harat
St George
al-Khidr
Mar Jirjis
St James
the Great
St George
Mar Jarias
Holy Archangels
Dair az-Zatuna
St Peter in
Fetters
Belcaire District
St Stephen
Postern
(site of)
Sion Gate
(site of)
St Saviour
Pool of
Germanus
Birkat as-Sultan
Mount Sion
St John
the Evangelist
St Mary of
Mount Sion
St Peter of the
Cock Crow
HINNOM VALLEY
Bethlehem
Armenian Patriarchate Street
STREET OF THE
Habad Street
Arch of Judas Street
MOUNT SION STREET
Quarter Street
Jewish


A
B
C
D


Templar Compound
Templar Church
Solomon's Stable
Chapel
Church
STREET OF THE GERMANS
STREET OF THE TANNERY
St Mary of the Germans
Gate of the Tannery
Templars' barbican
Double Gate
Triple Gate
Templars Postern
Single Gate
St Mary Masjid Mahd 'Isa
Tomb of St James the less
Tomb of Zechariah
KIDRON VALLEY
Tomb of Pharaoh's Daughter
Silwan
Church
Pool of Siloam
Birkat al-Hamra
Key to lettering
MEDIEVAL STREET NAMES
Modern names (including streets)
D


A
B
C
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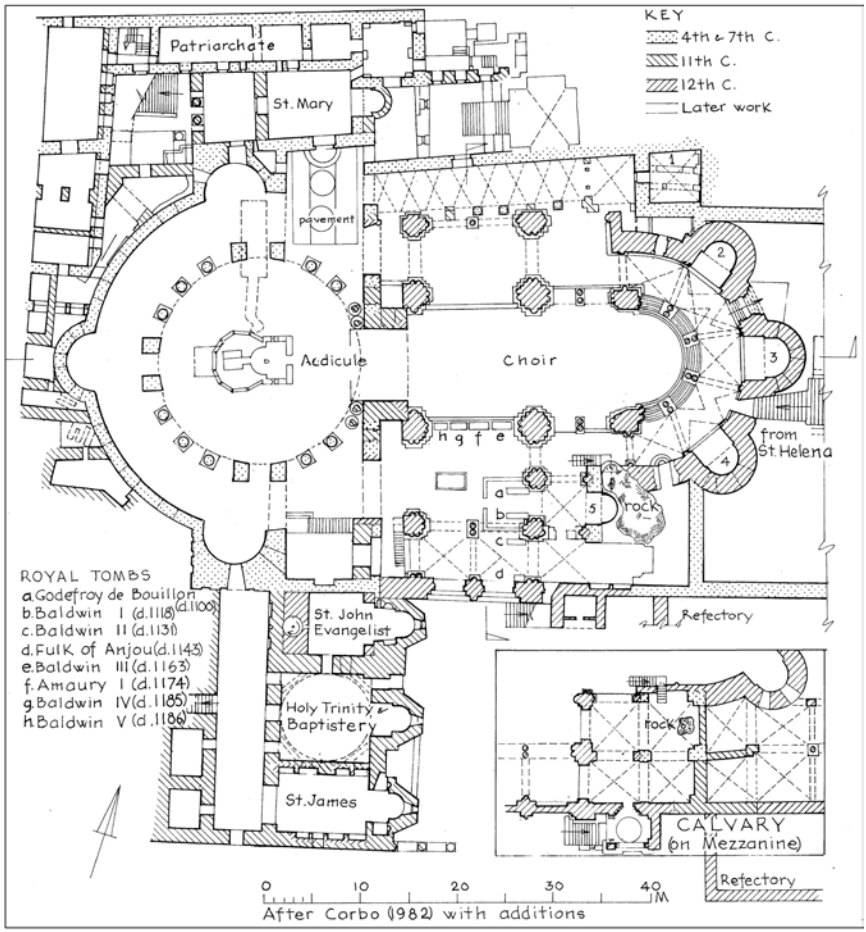

Fig. 3 Plan of the Holy Sepulchre

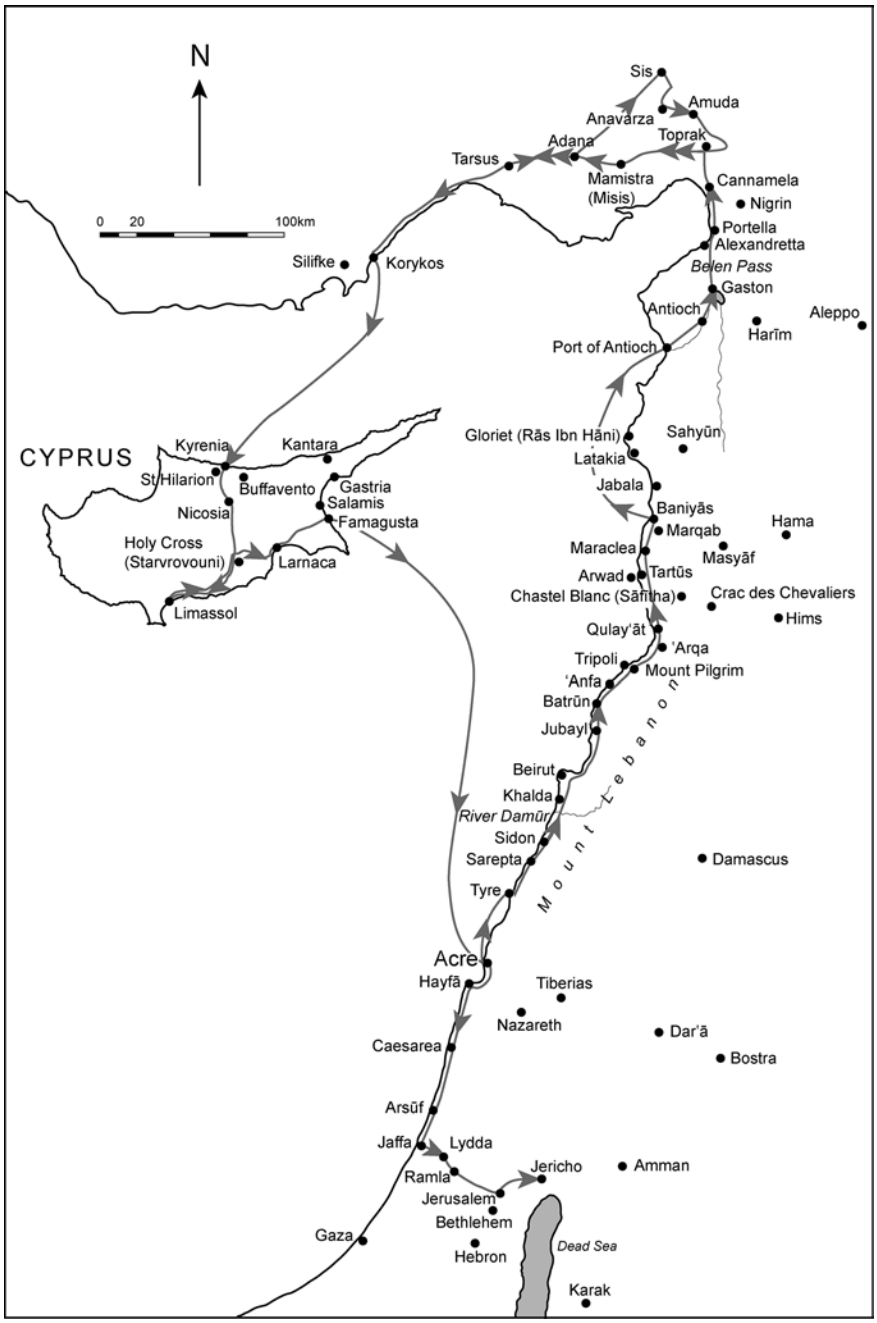

Fig. 4 Map showing Wilbrand's journey from Acre to Cilicia, Cyprus and the Holy Land [1]

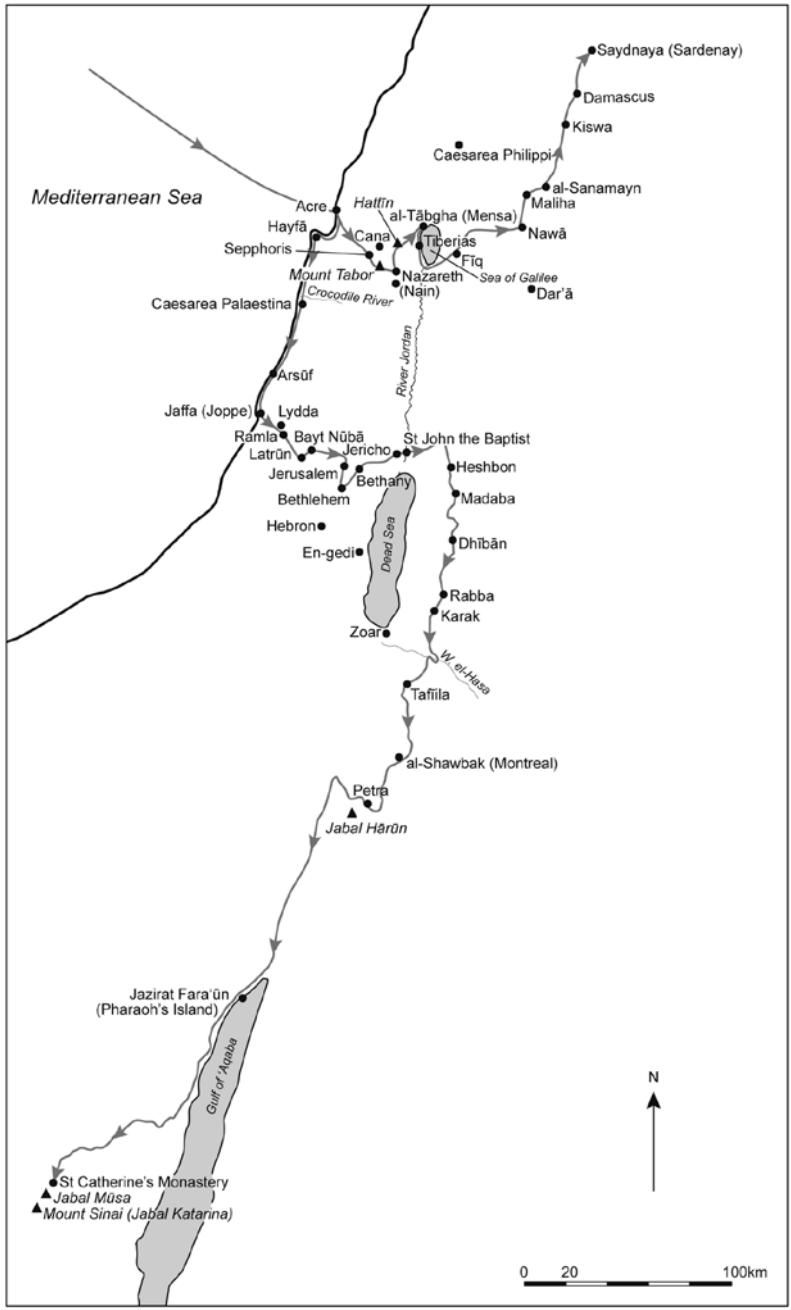

Fig. 5 Map showing Thietmar's journeys to Damascus and Saydnaya, and to the Holy Land and Mount Sinai [2]

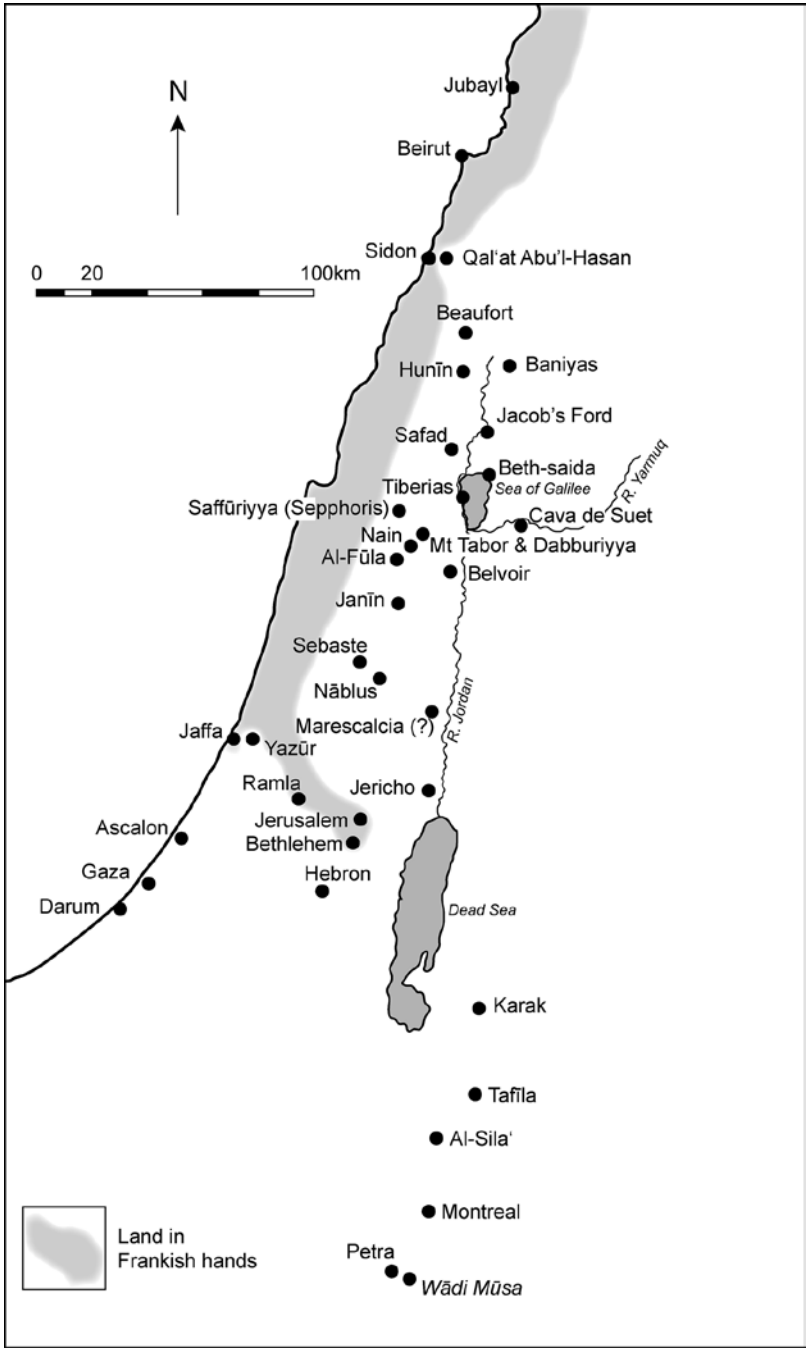

Fig. 6 Map showing the lands held by the Sultan c.1239 [6]

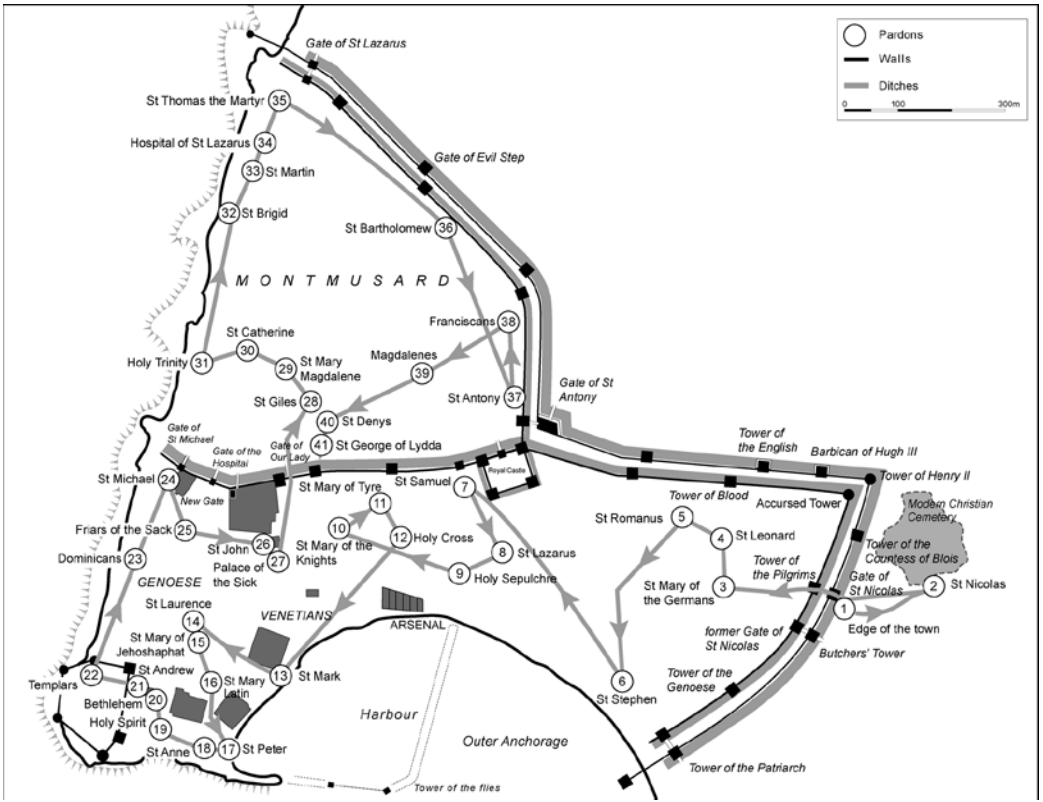

Fig 7 Plan of Acre showing the location of the Pardons, 1258–63 [11]

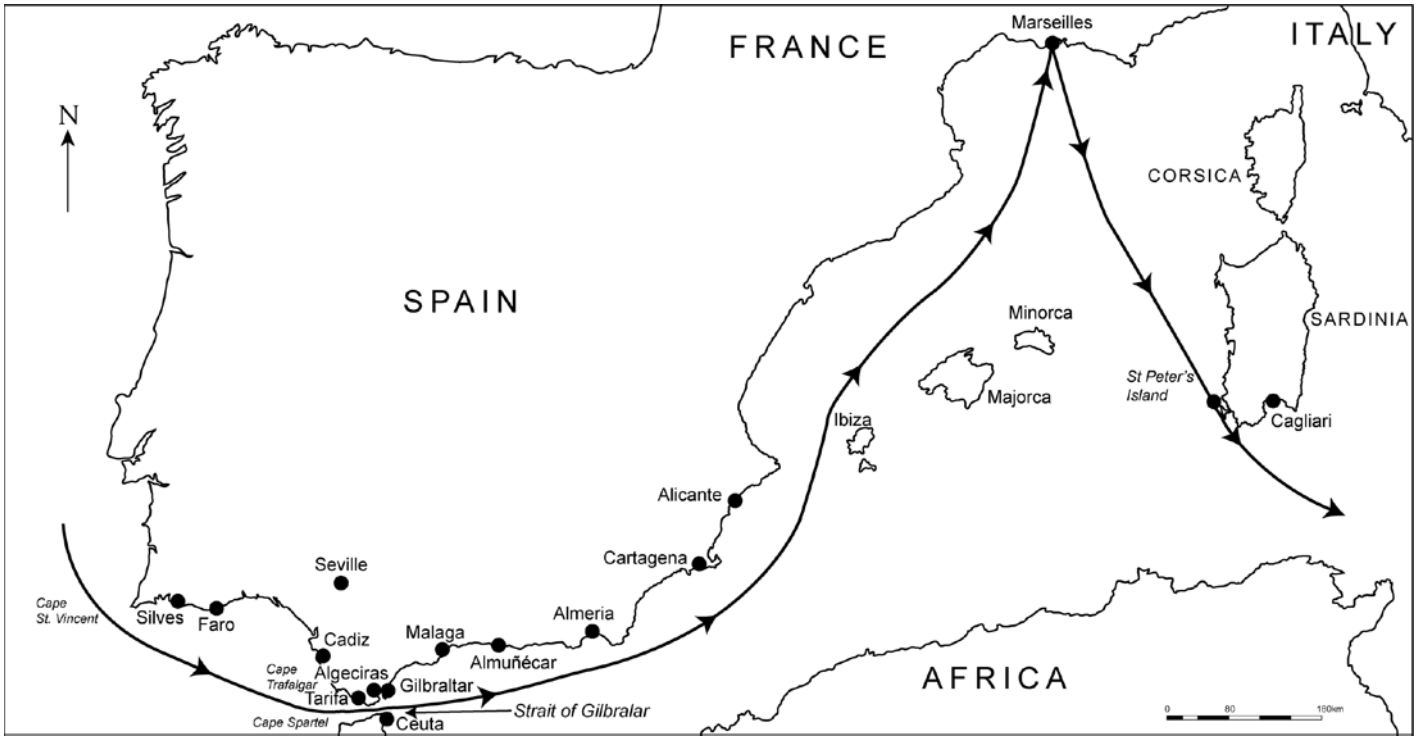

Fig. 8 Map showing Friar Maurice's voyage through the Western Mediterranean [12]

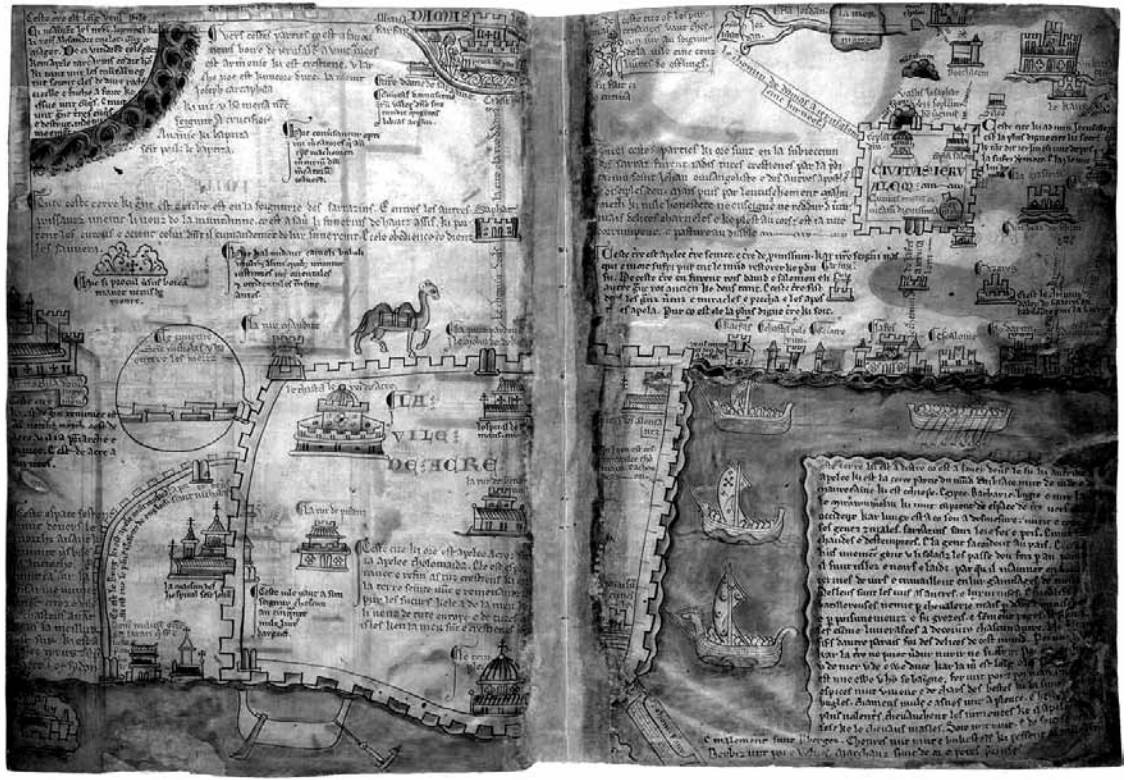

Fig. 9 Matthew Paris's map of the Holy Land (map B), 1250–59 (British Library, MS Roy., 14c.vii, fols. 4v–5r) [9]

Introduction

Pilgrimage Between 1187 and 1291

1187–1229

On 4 July 1187, the army of the kingdom of Jerusalem was crushed by Saladin at the Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn above Tiberias and the king, Guy of Lusignan, taken prisoner. With the army effectively destroyed, the cities and castles of the kingdom quickly fell, one after another.[1] Finally on 2 October Jerusalem itself capitulated and, after some eight decades in Christian hands, the Holy Places of Christendom returned once again to Muslim control.

Christian control of Jerusalem and the Holy Land during the earlier part of the twelfth century, together with the establishment of merchant colonies in the coastal cities linked to the West by sea lanes relatively safe from Muslim attack, had given a huge impetus to the development of Christian pilgrimage to Palestine, not only from western Europe but also from Byzantium, Russia, Armenia and Georgia.[2] The churches and shrines associated with the Holy Places had been rebuilt and provided with facilities for receiving large numbers of pilgrims, especially around the time of Holy Week.[3] Guidebooks and descriptions of individual pilgrimages show how the itineraries followed by pilgrims were adapted and developed as sites once again became accessible and as new churches were erected at them.[4] The sudden loss of the Holy Land, however, was accompanied by the re-Islamification of former Muslim buildings like the Dome of the Rock, which the Franks had made into a church, by the destruction or conversion to Muslim use of others, and by the forced emigration or enslavement of much of the Latin population who had cared for them. In the immediate aftermath of Saladin's conquest, however, while the Latin clergy were forced into exile in Tyre or overseas, the churches of the

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[1] Lists of the places captured or destroyed are given in various sources, both Christian and Muslim, including: *De Expugnatione Terrae Sanctae Libellus*, ed. Stevenson, in *RS* 66, pp. 209–62; *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* 4.23, in *RS* 38.1, p. 280, trans. Nicholson, p. 261; Ambroise, lines 6826–60, ed. Ailes and Barber, pp. 110–11, trans. 124–5; Bahā' al-Dīn, trans. Richards, pp. 247–8; 'Imād al-Dīn, trans. Massé, p. 99; Jaspert, 'Zwei unbekannte Hilfsersuchen', pp. 511–16, no. 2; Kedar, 'Ein Hilferuf aus Jerusalem'; *Gesta Regis Henrici II*, in *RS* 49.2, pp. 22–4; Barber and Bate, *Letters from the East*, pp. 79–81, nos. 43–4 and pp. 83–8, nos. 46–8; cf. Kedar, '*Civitas* and *Castellum*'.

[2] Richard, *Royaume latin*, pp. 11–18; Jacoby, 'Pèlerinage médiéval', pp. 27–8.

[3] See Pringle, *Churches* 1–4; id., 'The Planning of some Pilgrimage Churches'.

[4] See *IHC* 1–4; Wilkinson *et al.*, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, pp. 24–84.

oriental Christian communities – the Greek and Syrian Orthodox, Jacobites and Armenians – were left relatively unharmed.

In such circumstances the prospects for maintaining the same level of pilgrimage from the West that had been possible in previous decades would have seemed bleak. Indeed, in a letter to western rulers written even before the fall of Jerusalem, Patriarch Heraclius had promised absolution to those who had bound themselves to visit the Holy Sepulchre but were unable to do so through illness, infirmity or for some other serious reason, so long as they paid to the canons of his church then visiting the West the money that they had set aside for their intended pilgrimage.[5] The most that many western Christians could probably have hoped for was a restoration of the *status quo* before the First Crusade, in which Muslim rulers had permitted pilgrims from overseas to visit the Holy Places as guests of the local Christian community, on payment of taxes to the Muslim authorities. Pilgrimage controlled in this way had been a source of economic value to the Fatimids; and it appears from Saladin's initial actions that he too saw its advantages. Shortly after taking Jerusalem, he therefore placed the church of the Holy Sepulchre in the hands of the Orthodox, allowing four priests to serve it and Latin pilgrims to visit it on payment of an entrance fee.[6] In 1192, on the conclusion of the Treaty of Jaffa, by which the sultan recognized Frankish possession of Tyre, Acre and a strip of coastal territory as far south as Jaffa, three groups of pilgrims from the crusader army were permitted to visit the Holy Sepulchre and to view the relic of the Holy Cross. During one of these visits Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury and the leader of one of the groups, obtained from Saladin permission to install two Latin priests and two deacons in the Holy Sepulchre, the church of the Holy Nativity in Bethlehem and the church of the Annunciation in Nazareth respectively; these, like the eastern clergy, were to be supported by the alms rendered by pilgrims.[7] In 1207, Saladin's son, Malik al-ʿĀdil of Egypt, also guaranteed pilgrims safety for their goods and persons when travelling to the Holy Sepulchre under Venetian auspices.[8]

In fact, although it might be expected that the volume of pilgrims visiting Jerusalem would have declined after the loss of the city, picking up again only between 1229 and 1244 when it was again in Christian hands, such a view is not entirely supported by the historical evidence.[9] However, pilgrims certainly

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[5] Jaspert, 'Zwei unbekannte Hilfsersuchen', pp. 508–11, no. 1; Barber and Bate, *Letters from the East*, pp. 73–5, no. 39.

[6] 'Imād al-Dīn, trans Massé, p. 59; Abū Shāmā, in *RHC Or* 4, pp. 340–41; al-Maqrīzī, trans. Broadhurst, p. 85; Bar Hebraeus, ed. and trans. Budge 1, p. 327; Pringle, *Churches* 3, p. 31.

[7] *Itinerarium* 6.30–34, in *RS* 38.1, pp. 431–8, trans. Nicholson, pp. 373–9; Ambroise, lines 11834–12158, ed. Ailes and Barber, pp. 191–6, trans. pp. 187–91; 'Imād al-Dīn, trans Massé, p. 394.

[8] Tafel and Thomas (eds), *Urkunden* 2, pp. 187–8, no. 244; Jacoby, 'Il ruolo di Acri', pp. 41, 49 n.95; cf. id., 'Pèlerinage médiéval', p. 30.

[9] Jacoby, 'Pilgrimage in Crusader Acre', pp. 105–7.

appear to have faced difficulties in visiting Jerusalem when it was fortified as a military base by the Ayyubids between 1192 and 1219–20. In this period they were not allowed to stay inside the city, but were housed instead in the *Asnerie*, or former Hospitaller donkey-stables, beside St Stephen's church. Wilbrand, in 1212, describes being escorted from there through David's Gate to the Holy Sepulchre, where each person was obliged to pay 8½ drachmas (or *dirham*s) to enter **[1.5–6]**. Thietmar, in 1218, tried to avoid Jerusalem altogether, but was arrested as he made his way towards Bethlehem and was detained in the same *Asnerie*, being released only through the intervention of some Hungarian Muslims, who recognized one of his companions **[2.8]**. The Muslim authorities' nervousness about pilgrims visiting Jerusalem is also alluded to in the description of the city inserted into Ernoul's chronicle, which relates how during that period pilgrims had to stay in the *Asnerie*, enter the city through the postern of St Lazarus, and go straight to the west door of the Holy Sepulchre along the street of the Patriarch, since 'the Saracens did not want the Christians to see anything of the state of the city' **[3.17.3]**. Another problem for those in Acre who relied on the advent of merchants and pilgrims for their livelihood was highlighted in a letter written by the bishops and abbots of the Holy Land to Philip II Augustus of France on 1 October 1220, complaining not only of the economic impact of the Muslim raids that had occurred during the absence of the king and army in Damietta, but also of the absence of merchants and pilgrims, who had almost all gone to Damietta as well.[10] By this time, however, Jerusalem had ceased to have any strategic importance for the Ayyubids, as al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā had already begun demolishing the city walls before the fall of Damietta to the crusaders in November 1219.[11]

Wilbrand's journey in 1211–12 **[1]** was not a typical pilgrimage, since he began with a diplomatic mission from Acre to Cilician Armenia, travelling northward along the Syrian coast and returning through Cyprus. The second part of his account, however, describes his more conventional pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The route that he took was south along the coast to Jaffa, and then inland through Ramla and Bayt Nūbā. Although, as mentioned, his visit inside the city was restricted to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, he was able to observe some of the other sites in and around the city from the Mount of Olives. From there he proceeded to Bethany, Jericho and the River Jordan; but his narrative breaks off at the Mount of Temptation as he was returning along the same road.

Thietmar's account **[2]** describes two pilgrimages, both starting and ending in Acre. The first was to see the icon of the Virgin Mary in the Orthodox abbey of Saydnaya, north of Damascus. He travelled first through Galilee by way of Nazareth, Cana, Mount Tabor, Nain, al-Ṭābgha and Tiberias. From there he followed the shore of the sea of Galilee to the south and after crossing the Jordan proceeded through Nawā, Maliḥa and Ṣanamayn to Damascus and thence

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[10] Delaborde (ed.), *Chartes de Terre Sainte*, pp. 123–6, appx.; cf. Jacoby, 'Il ruolo di Acri', pp. 43–4, 50 n.114.

[11] Prawer, *Histoire* 2, pp. 153–5, 161.

to Saydnaya. He does not say how he returned to Acre and one may only guess that it would have been by the same route, rather than the more direct one by Jacob's Ford and Ṣafad. His second pilgrimage, to visit the tomb of St Catherine on Mount Sinai, began like Wilbrand's by following the coastal road south to Jaffa and then inland to Ramla. From there he tried to make directly for Bethlehem, avoiding Jerusalem; but, as already mentioned, he was arrested and detained for two days. After his release, he proceeded to Bethlehem and Hebron, then back to Bethlehem and on to Bethany and Jericho, avoiding Jerusalem once again. After Jericho he crossed the Jordan. He then claims to have visited Zoar and En-gedi; but since these lay on the south and western sides of the Dead Sea respectively, that seems improbable – unless he went by boat, which he does not mention. More likely he simply continued eastwards to the area around Mount Nebo and Madaba, and then south through the mountains of Moab along the King's Highway, the ancient road rebuilt by the emperor Trajan in AD 106 as the *Via Nova Traiana*. He passed through Heshbon (Hisbān), Rabbath (al-Rabba), al-Karak and al-Shawbak, then through the deserted site of Petra, past Jabal Hārūn and down into the Wādī ʻAraba. When he reached the Red Sea, he followed the western side of the Gulf of ʻAqaba, passing the castle on Pharaoh's Island (Jazirat Faraʻūn), until he came to Mount Sinai and its monastery. As with his pilgrimage to Saydnaya, he does not say by what route he returned to Acre. His account of his visit to Sinai, however, is the fullest that we have by any pilgrim of the twelfth or thirteenth century.

Although these two accounts are somewhat unusual, the pilgrimages that they describe both differ from those described in twelfth-century texts and anticipate ones followed in later years. For example, although Latin pilgrims, including Philip of Milly, lord of Montreal, had visited Mount Sinai in the twelfth century,[12] the pilgrimage is not described in any surviving pilgrimage text. Similarly, although Burchard of Strasbourg visited and described Saydnaya in 1175 while on a diplomatic mission,[13] the pilgrimage does not feature in other pilgrimage texts of the period. Both of these sites, however, became immensely popular pilgrimages in the thirteenth century and afterwards. On the other hand, the coastal route south from Acre to Jerusalem was followed by pilgrims in the twelfth century and is described – albeit from south to north – by Theoderic in 1172;[14] but, as will be seen, in the thirteenth century it came to be the usual route for pilgrims to take between Acre and Jerusalem, and additional stations were added at supposed holy sites along its route, most of them apocryphal and some of them quite possibly newly invented.

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[12] De Brousillon, *Maison de Craon* 1, p. 101, no. 138; cf. Pringle, *Churches* 2, pp. 51–2.

[13] Account in Arnold of Lübeck 7.10, *MGH SS* 21, pp. 235–41, repr. in *IHC* 2, pp. 393–412; cf. Pringle, *Churches* 2, pp. 219–20.

[14] Ch. 39–40, ed. Huygens, pp. 185–6, trans. in *PPTS* 5, pp. 58–60.

1229–44

Pilgrimage to Jerusalem was boosted after 1229, when Sultan al-Kāmil of Egypt ceded the city, apart from the Ḥaram al-Sharīf, to Frederick II, along with Bethlehem, some surrounding villages and a corridor of land linking them to the coast. At the same time Nazareth and the road to it from Acre also passed back under Christian control, though the sultan may have retained control of the castle of Saffūriyya.[15] The treaty was to run for ten years. In anticipation of its expiry, a new crusade was summoned for 1239, led by Tibald, count of Champagne, and supported by an impressive array of the French nobility. The first objective of the so-called Barons' Crusade was Gaza, held by al-Malik al-'Ādil II of Egypt; but in November 1239 the Frankish army was annihilated near Bayt Ḥānūn, north of the city, and those leaders who survived were taken prisoner. Meanwhile in December 1239, al-Nāṣir Dā'ūd, 'amīr of Karak, took the opportunity to raid Jerusalem and demolish the Citadel, also known as the Tower of David. However, a treaty subsequently negotiated in 1240–41 between Richard, earl of Cornwall, on behalf of the emperor, and al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ of Egypt allowed the prisoners from Bayt Ḥānūn to be set free and extended Christian control once more over much of Palestine west of the Jordan rift valley. The only parts remaining under Muslim control were southern Palestine south of a line running a little south of Ascalon, Bayt Jibrīn and Hebron, which remained in Egyptian hands, and the hill country of Judæa and Samaria north of Jerusalem, including Nāblus, which was retained by al-Nāṣir Dawud of Karak. The result was that the kingdom now extended along the whole Mediterranean coast from Ascalon in the south to its northern border with the county of Tripoli, while inland it included Galilee, with the castles of Beaufort, Hunīn, Tibnīn (Toron), Ṣafad and Belvoir, the towns of Tiberias and Nazareth, and the monastery and dismantled Ayyubid castle on Mount Tabor, as well as the area around Jerusalem (including the Ḥaram al-Sharīf) and Bethlehem. Jerusalem and Bethlehem were lost in 1244, however, when they were sacked by the Khwarizmian Turks.[16]

Notarial documents show an increase in pilgrimage through this period. One reason for this was the rising to prominence of Acre, following its reconquest by the Third Crusade in 1191, as the most important commercial centre of the East Mediterranean, serving both as an *entrepôt* affording western merchants access to trade from the Far East operating through Damascus, Mosul, Baghdad and the Persian Gulf, and as the centre of pilgrim traffic to the Holy Land itself.[17] As in the twelfth century, most pilgrims arrived within the spring or autumn sailing period, or *passagium*, and departed during the same one, while the winds were still favourable for the return voyage; those wanting to stay longer would

[15] Prawer, *Histoire* 2, pp. 198–201, map VII. Saffūriyya, Mount Tabor and Dabburiyya were listed among the sultan's possessions *c*.1239 **[6.13–14]**.

[16] Prawer, *Histoire* 2, pp. 265–312.

[17] Jacoby, 'Il ruolo di Acri'.

alternatively arrive in the autumn and depart in the spring, thus taking in both the Christmas and Easter festivals.[18] Some ships carried both cargo and passengers, but those specializing in passengers were able to carry them in large numbers.[19] In 1184, the Andalusian Muslim Ibn Jubayr had embarked on a Genoese ship from Acre to Messina carrying what he estimated to be over 2,000 Christian pilgrims (*balaghriyyūn*) returning from Jerusalem.[20] Thirteenth-century Italian ships were equally capacious. In October 1233, for example, the merchants of Marseilles living in Acre agreed to allow the Templars and Hospitallers to transport annually from Marseilles to Acre two shiploads of 1,500 pilgrims each, making 6,000 in all.[21]

The general increase in the size of ships in the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries seems to have had the effect of lowering the individual cost of passage, thereby making a pilgrimage to the East easier to afford for larger numbers of people.[22] This also had economic benefits for the kingdom itself. Laws dating from the early twelfth century had permitted pilgrims to import free from customs tolls clothing and goods for their own use and other goods up to a value of 40 bezants;[23] the goods of those dying intestate in the kingdom, however, went to the king.[24] Shippers were also normally required to pay as tax a third of the cost of passage of pilgrims both entering and leaving the kingdom. This right had been asserted in 1123 in the agreement made with the Venetians by Patriarch Warmund on behalf of King Baldwin II, then in captivity, though in compensation the Venetians were granted an annual 300 bezants from the market (*funda*) of Tyre;[25] but when the agreement was ratified in May 1125, after the king's release, the third was charged only on pilgrims leaving the kingdom.[26] In his report as Venetian *baili* compiled between 1242 and 1244, Marsilio Zorzi affirmed that this latter agreement was still in force, though he added that during his time in the East no Venetian had ever paid it, as they had not received anything from the market of Tyre.[27]

In this period, although the Hospital of St John in Jerusalem was reoccupied and the Teutonic Order was able to acquire the properties that had formerly belonged

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18 Jacoby, 'Aspects of Everyday Life in Frankish Acre', pp. 93–4.

19 On the ships of this period, see Pryor, *Geography, Technology and War*, pp. 25–39.

20 *Riḥla*, trans. Broadhurst, p. 325, Fr. trans. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, p. 364; Kedar, 'Passenger List', p. 269.

21 *CGOH* 2, pp. 462–4, no. 2067 and p. 469, no. 2079; Jacoby, 'Pilgrimage in Crusader Acre', p. 106; id., 'Il ruolo di Acri', p. 34.

22 Jacoby, 'Pèlerinage médiéval', p. 29.

23 Bresc-Bautier, *Cartulaire*, pp. 91–2, no. 29 (1129).

24 *CGOH* 2, pp. 183–4, no. 244; *RRH*, p. 82, no. 321 (1156); Richard, *Royaume latin*, p. 16.

25 Tafel and Thomas (eds), *Urkunden* 1, p. 86, no. 40.

26 Tafel and Thomas (eds), *Urkunden* 1, p. 92, no. 41.

27 Tafel and Thomas (eds), *Urkunden* 2, p. 397, no. 299; Berggötz, *Der Bericht des Marsilio Zorzi*, p. 179; cf. Jacoby, 'Pèlerinage médiéval', pp. 29–30, 50–51 nn.17–20.

to St Mary of the Germans, including the German hospital, the Holy Sepulchre seems to have been left largely in the hands of the Orthodox under their patriarch, Athanasius II (*c.*1231–44). The Latin patriarch, Gerold, had opposed Frederick II's treaty with Malik al-Kāmil and dispatched the archbishop of Cæsarea to place the city under interdict.[28] The next Latin patriarch, Robert of Nantes, may have intended returning with his chapter to Jerusalem, but although he visited it the formal return was never effected before the Khwarizmian sack of the city, when Latin clergy and the Greek patriarch were included among the slain.[29] The bishop and chapter of Bethlehem, however, do appear to have returned from Acre to their cathedral in this period, and Benedictines are mentioned by pilgrim sources on Mount Tabor in the 1230s, before the area's formal return to Christian hands in 1241.[30] Nazareth had to wait until after 1250 for its bishop and chapter to return, but the bishop was back in Acre by 1255.[31]

The principal surviving pilgrim texts of this period are 'The Holy Pilgrimages' **[4]** and Anonymous IX and X **[5]**. Although the former is in French and the latter two in Latin, the itineraries that they describe are quite similar. In each case there is a major circuit to Jerusalem, starting and ending in Acre. This follows the coast southwards from Ḥayfā to Jaffa, and from there to Jerusalem through Ramla, Bayt Nūbā and Nabi Ṣamwīl (Mountjoy). After entering St Stephen's gate and visiting the Holy Places inside the city, shorter circuits took the pilgrim to Bethlehem and Hebron, to the Mount of Olives, Bethany, Jericho and the Jordan (with the possibility of continuing on to Sinai), and to the Monastery of the Cross and Emmaus (Abū Ghosh). The pilgrim then returned to Acre through Samaria, by way of Nāblus, Sebaste, Janīn and Mount Tabor, Nazareth, Saffūriyya and Shafa 'Amr. In 'The Holy Pilgrimages' there is also a shorter Galilean circuit, going from Acre through Shafa 'Amr and Saffūriyya to Nazareth, with a diversion to Cana, and then on to Mount Tabor and Tiberias, Capernaum and Ṣafad, returning to Acre through St George (al-Ba'ina).

In Jerusalem itself, the relatively low numbers of Latin clergy and, more especially, the destruction of the major Latin religious houses that had occupied the city before 1187 are reflected in the pilgrim texts' rather summary descriptions of the holy sites to be visited there, many of them now in the hands of the Greeks, Syrians (Malkites) and Armenians. As the Haram al-Sharīf was still inaccessible to Christians during most of this period – and was to be more decisively so after 1244 – the pre-1187 Way of the Cross (*Via Dolorosa*) that had begun at the Sheep-Pool and sites associated with the *Praetorium* on the north side of the Temple precinct and had passed through the Haram, emerging again from it at the Sorrowful Gate

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28 Pringle, *Churches* 3, pp. 31–2, 198, 229.

29 Pringle, *Churches* 3, pp. 32.

30 Pringle, *Churches* 1, p. 139 and 2, p. 68. For Benedictines on Mount Tabor see below **[4.3]**, though according to **[6.14]** it was still held by the sultan *c.*1239.

31 Pringle, *Churches* 2, pp. 120–21.

(Bāb al-Nāẓir)[32] in order to reach the Holy Sepulchre, shifted its course to establish the route that it has followed, with minor changes, to the present day.[33]

1244–91

Tiberias and Ascalon were lost to the Ayyubids in 1247, but during the period from May 1250 to April 1254 when King Louis IX of France was in the Holy Land the coast between Jaffa and Beirut remained in Frankish hands, as did Beaufort, Ṣafad and Nazareth in Galilee.[34] In March 1251, Louis visited Nazareth as a pilgrim and may have made donations to the church **[7]**. However, after the Mamluks of Egypt had neutralized – for the time being, at least – the threat from the Mongols and ousted the last Ayyubid princes from Syria in 1260, the remaining Frankish centres were gradually picked off. Sultan Baybars took Nazareth in 1263 and destroyed the church there along with those of Mount Tabor and al-Ṭābgha in April of that year. Arsūf and Cæsarea fell to him in 1265, Ṣafad in 1266, Jaffa and Beaufort Castle in 1268, and Montfort Castle in 1271.[35] The following year, Baybars signed a ten-year truce with Hugh I of Jerusalem (III of Cyprus);[36] but when this was renewed by his successor al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn in 1283, the detailed description that it contained of the Frankish territory dependent on Acre amounted to no more than the coastal strip between Sidon and Pilgrims' Castle ('Atlīt), including Ḥayfā, the plain of Acre and parts of the Carmel range, the Hospitaller estates in the lordship of Cæsarea, and joint control of Iskandarūna and some other villages.[37] By the terms of a similar treaty made with Margaret, lady of Tyre, in 1285, only ten villages (*casalia*) remained in Christian hands and five in the sultan's, with the other seventy-eight being administered as condominiums.[38] Similar treaties were made with Beirut, but their texts have not survived.[39]

In the summer of 1290, Qalā'ūn began preparations for a final assault on Acre, but he died in November before being able to launch it. Acre was besieged, however, by his successor, al-Ashraf Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl, in April 1291. On 18 May the Mamluks broke into the city and ten days later the last strongpoint, the Templar Castle, was taken and the remaining inhabitants massacred. The other

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[32] See Ernoul **[3.17.4]**.

[33] Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, pp. 610–41; Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, pp. 73–7; Storme, *Voie Doulouseuse*, pp. 67–73, 82–112, 125–39; Pringle, *Churches* 3, p. 4. A good late thirteenth-century description is given by Philip of Savona **[14.6]**.

[34] Prawer, *Histoire* 2, pp. 315–57.

[35] Prawer, *Histoire* 2, pp. 426–504.

[36] Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, pp. 71–2; Prawer, *Histoire* 2, p. 504.

[37] Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, pp. 69–91; Barag, 'New Source Concerning the Ultimate Borders of the Latin Kingdom'.

[38] Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, pp. 106–17.

[39] Cf. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, pp. 42–7.

coastal cities that remained in Christians hands were evacuated, Pilgrims' Castle being the last foothold on the Syrian coast to be abandoned by its Templar garrison on 14 August.[40]

The volume of western pilgrims travelling to Acre does not appear to have declined immediately after 1244. It was still quite normal for ships to arrive with a thousand or more pilgrims on board; one, for instance, the *Oliva* of Genoa, had 1,100 places on board in 1248, while the Provençal vessel *St Victor*, *en route* to the East in 1250, had 453 passengers listed on board in Messina.[41] In 1284, Venice restricted the size of vessels sailing to the East to those over 250 tonnes.[42] An indication of the rates charged to pilgrims for a passage to the East in this period is given in Provençal sources. In 1248, for instance, the *St Francis* of Marseilles was charging 38 *sous* per passenger, while the statutes of Marseilles of 1268 set a tariff of 25 *sous* for a fourth-class passage and 60 *sous* for first-class.[43] This disparity in rates was evidently reflected in the conditions provided on board, as some of the larger vessels, which could attain 477 tonnes or more, even provided private cabins.[44]

Pilgrims do not appear to have been put off visiting Palestine either by the Mongol raids or by the Mamluks' struggle to gain power there. Following Baybars' accession to the sultanate after his assassination of Qutuz in October 1260, for instance, a large group of Latin pilgrims then in Jerusalem were detained by the 'amīr of the city; on their eventual release, many were killed and robbed as they made their way back to Acre.[45]

In the later thirteenth century, the pilgrim traffic from the West came to be dominated by Venice.[46] A group of guidebook texts from the 1260s **[10–11]**, contemporary with the Mamluk conquests, were continually updated to take account of the fall of towns and castles to Baybars. Even after Baybars had destroyed the churches of Nazareth, Mount Tabor and al-Ṭābgha in April 1263, the truce that he made with Hugh I on 21 April 1272 made provision for Christian pilgrims to continue to be allowed access to Nazareth;[47] and in 1271 Marco Polo, accompanied by his father Matteo and his uncle Niccolò, visited Jerusalem from Acre to obtain oil from the lamp in the Holy Sepulchre.[48] In the

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[40] Prawer, *Histoire* 2, pp. 539–57; Pringle, *Churches* 4, pp. 11–15.

[41] Byrne, *Genoese Shipping*, pp. 9–10, 81, no. 15; Kedar, 'Passenger List'; Jacoby, 'Pilgrimage in Crusader Acre', pp. 106–7; id., 'Il ruolo di Acri', p. 34.

[42] Jacoby, 'Pèlerinage médiéval', p. 30.

[43] Richard, *Royaume latin*, p. 16; Jacoby, 'Pèlerinage médiéval', p. 29.

[44] Jacoby, 'Pèlerinage médiéval', pp. 30–31, 51 n.24.

[45] *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr … du manuscrit de Rothelin* 82, in *RHC Occ 2*, pp. 638–9; cf. Jacoby, 'Il ruolo di Acri', pp. 41–2; Holt, *Age of the Crusades*, pp. 88–9.

[46] Jacoby, 'Pèlerinage médiéval', p. 31.

[47] Sanudo 3.12.11, ed. Bongars, p. 224.

[48] Thiébault de Cépoy, *Voyages en Syrie de Nicolo, Maffeo et Marco Polo*, ed. Michelant and Raynaud, in *Itinéraires*, pp. 223–4; cf. Jacoby, 'Pilgrimage in Crusader Acre', p. 107.

treaty of 3 June 1283 the Latins were also permitted by Sultan Qalāwūn to hold services in the church in Nazareth – or what was left of it – and to have four houses near by for the use of the pilgrims and clergy; the clergy also appear to have been allowed to retain the offerings of the pilgrims, but they were not permitted to rebuild any part of the church that became dilapidated.[49] In 1290, in the treaty that he made with King Alfonso III of Aragon, Qalā'ūn also promised that anyone bearing a sealed letter of the king would be permitted to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem and back safely and securely.[50] Even after the fall of Acre in May 1291, pilgrimage traffic did not stop. In September 1304, a treaty made between the Venetians and the Mamluk governor of Ṣafad allowed their nationals to reside within the territory of Acre and to travel through it under escort to and from the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.[51] In later times, however, many pilgrims preferred to disembark in Jaffa rather than Acre to avoid the dangers of the overland route.[52]

The routes taken by pilgrims in the Holy Land between 1244 and 1291 seem to have been the same as in the period 1229–44. Indeed, the guides dating from this period are virtually identical to earlier ones, the main differences being their remarks as to which of the places passed through were now in Mamluk hands. The two different versions of 'The Ways and Pilgrimages' **[10]**, for example, contain essentially the same itineraries as 'Holy Pilgrimages' **[4]**, but in a different order. One version also adds a few words about the pilgrimage from Acre through Damascus to Saydnaya, which Thietmar **[2]** had undertaken in 1217, and the one northwards to the church of Our Lady in Tortosa (Ṭarṭūs), which Wilbrand had visited *en route* to Cilicia in 1211 **[1]**. The first part of 'Pilgrimages, and Pardons of Acre' **[11]** is similar. When the guide comes to the River Jordan from Jericho, however, it states, 'and you can go no further by that road' **[11.6]**, indicating that the route to Sinai through Transjordan was now closed to pilgrims.

In fact, following the Mamluk conquest of the area, the usual route taken by pilgrims between Jerusalem and Sinai seems to have shifted west of the Wādī 'Araba to one passing through Gaza, al-'Arīsh and the oases directly to the south. Of the two Greek texts of this period, the first, though somewhat confused at this point, appears to describe a journey from Gaza to Raythou (al-Ṭūr) on the Gulf of Suez and from there to Mount Sinai and on to Alexandria **[8.28–30]**. In the case of the second text it is unclear whether the outward journey from Jerusalem was through Jericho or Gaza; the return, however, was by way of Raythou, Cairo and Gaza **[17.6a, 9–10]**. In the fourteenth century, the Gaza route to Sinai often formed part of a circuit taking in Cairo, Alexandria and Damietta, with pilgrims either travelling entirely overland from Jerusalem as James of Verona did in

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49 Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, p. 86; Pringle, *Churches* 2, p. 121.

50 Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, p. 137.

51 De Mas Latrie, 'Traité des Vénitiens', p. 407; Pringle, *Churches* 4, p. 26.

52 Tzewers, *Itinerarius*, p. 370; Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, p. 156; Pringle, *Churches* 4, p. 27.

1335,[53] arriving in and departing from Egypt by sea as Niccolò da Poggibonsi did in 1349,[54] or arriving by sea directly from Venice and leaving by land to Jerusalem as the Florentine pilgrims did in 1384.[55]

The first part of 'Pilgrimages and Pardons of Acre' **[11]** also mentions the journey north from Acre as far as Beirut, and the pilgrimage to Saydnaya. The second part of the text, however, marked a new departure in setting out a circuit of pilgrimages to churches within the city of Acre itself; these were associated with indulgences, of which more will be said below. The existence of a pilgrimage circuit in Acre itself, however, meant that pilgrims who were only able to spend a short period in the East or who were unable for whatever reason to venture much outside the city would still have been able to complete a Holy Land pilgrimage of a sort, even though Acre was technically not itself part of the biblical Holy Land.[56]

The Motivations of Pilgrims and the Practicalities of Pilgrimage

Our texts say little about the purpose of pilgrimage, although some of the hardships that pilgrims had to endure are clear enough in personal accounts such as that of Thietmar. Contemporary sermons, however, are more informative. Two sermons delivered to pilgrims survive among a collection of sermons given by James of Vitry, bishop of Acre between 1216 and 1228 and later cardinal bishop of Tusculum. The first stresses above all the penitential aspect of pilgrimage and the necessity of enduring hardship in order to obtain salvation. Privations included the leaving behind of home and family and the experience of hard beds, early rises and extreme physical exertion. James's injunction to pilgrims not to stray to left or right from the path finds echoes in some of the texts presented here **[4.10, 10.1.3]**. Pilgrims are also told to take few possessions: a scrip and staff would suffice. The embracing of simplicity and poverty had the additional benefit that by not displaying his wealth the pilgrim would be less likely to attract robbers. Unlike the first sermon, which was evidently intended for ordinary people, the second appears to have been intended for a more educated audience. It is therefore less concerned with the practicalities of pilgrimage than with developing the theme of pilgrimage as a metaphor for man's life on earth.[57]

Pilgrimage could be undertaken as a voluntary penitential exercise, but it was also sometimes imposed by bishops or the pope as a punishment for misdeeds.[58]

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53 'Pèlerinage', ed. Röhricht, pp. 168–9, 225–59.

54 *Libro d'Oltramare*, ed. Bacchi della Lega, pp. 96–150.

55 Frescobaldi, Gucci and Sigoli, *Visit to the Holy Places*, trans. Bellorini and Hoade, pp. 37–71, 93–127, 159–80. See also Hyde, 'Navigation of the Eastern Mediterranean'.

56 See the discussion in Jacoby, 'Pilgrimage in Crusader Acre'; id. 'Il ruolo di Acri', p. 42.

57 Birch, 'Jacques de Vitry and the Ideology of Pilgrimage'.

58 Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, pp. 51–63.

Håkon Paulsson, earl of Orkney, for example, travelled to Palestine and bathed in the River Jordan to expiate the part that he had played in the martyrdom of St Magnus on Egilsay in 1117, returning a better man;[59] but at a lower level in the social scale, in 1203 the prior of Osney Priory near Oxford was enjoined to impose a fitting penance on a man who had committed incest and adultery with his wife's sister 'and says he is too poor to go to Jerusalem', implying that this would otherwise have been an option.[60] From the mid-thirteenth century onwards the inquisition in Languedoc listed major and minor pilgrimage destinations to which convicted heretics might be sent according to the seriousness of their offences, though it seems that the Holy Land occupied a category of its own.[61] The effects of such practices on Palestine, and especially Acre, in the later thirteenth century are elaborated upon by Burchard of Mount Sion:

> The Holy Land contains inhabitants from every nation under heaven and each lives according to its own rite; and to tell the truth, we Latins are worse than all the other inhabitants. The reason is this, as it seems to me: when anyone has been an evil-doer, such as a murderer, a bandit, a thief or an adulterer, he crosses the sea as a penance, or because he fears for his skin and thus does not dare stay in his own country. Thus, they come hither from different regions, such as Germany, Italy, France, England, Spain, Hungary and other parts of the world; but in truth they change their sky, but not their inclination. For living there, after they have spent what they brought with them, they have to go in search of more, and thus once again 'they return to their vomit', committing evil deeds far worse. They receive pilgrims of their own nation in their lodgings; and these people, if they do not know how to look after themselves, put their trust in them and lose their possessions and honour. They produce children who imitate the crimes of their fathers, making from bad parents worse children and from these even worse grandchildren, who trample upon the Holy Places with polluted feet. Thus it comes about that, because of the sins of its inhabitants before God, the land itself with the place of sanctification comes into contempt **[13.13]**.[62]

Examples of people fleeing justice through pilgrimage to the Holy Land are to be found in English court records of the period. In 1221, for example, a Worcester carter who had killed a robber in self-defence fled to Jerusalem, but was subsequently allowed to return without fear of prosecution; and in 1218–19, a woman whose son was found drowned was said by the villagers of Walton in

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[59] *Orkneyinga Saga* 44, trans. Hjaltalin and Goudie, p. 68; *Magnus' Saga* 16, trans. Pálsson and Edwards, p. 34.

[60] Innocent III, *Register* 6, pp. 5–6, no. 2, trans. in Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, p. 56.

[61] Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, pp. 51, 59.

[62] Compare the sinfulness of Acre as described by James of Vitry on his arrival there in 1216: *Lettres* 2, ed. Huygens, pp. 86–8, trans. Barber and Bate, *Letters*, pp. 101–4.

Yorkshire to have gone to Jerusalem, though in this case she was not suspected of wrongdoing.[63] In the treaty made between Qalā'ūn and the Franks of Acre in 1283, the oath sworn by the Franks also included among the penalties to be incurred if anyone violated or abrogated it the obligation to undertake thirty pilgrimages to Jerusalem, barefoot and bareheaded.[64]

Another concern of successive popes while the Holy Land was in Muslim hands was the economic benefit that the Muslims might derive from Christian pilgrims visiting their lands or from trade conducted in the guise of pilgrimage. At the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, Innocent III prohibited any dealings with the Muslims and forbade western ships from visiting the Holy Land for four years, while preparations were being made for the Fifth Crusade.[65] This prohibition was reiterated by Urban IV in October 1263, only a few days after he had conferred on Walter, bishop of Worcester, the power to absolve 'those who contrary to the prohibition of the holy see or of its legates have visited the Lord's Sepulchre and those who have conveyed iron, arms, timber and prohibited goods to the Saracens.'[66] It is impossible to tell to what extent western pilgrims complied with the requirement to obtain the permission of the pope or his legates before visiting the Holy Land. Among the pilgrims whose accounts are presented here, Wilbrand of Oldenburg obtained the permission of the patriarch of Jerusalem before visiting the Holy City from Acre in 1212 **[1.2.1]** and Riccoldo of Monte Croce that of Pope Nicolas IV before leaving Italy in 1288 **[15.1]**; but the other texts are silent concerning the need for such authorization. The fact that general prohibitions continued to be renewed and individual permissions and absolutions granted through most of the fourteenth century, however, indicates that the church continued to regard commercial contact with the Mamluks as a problem. By the later fourteenth century, however, a form of regulation for western pilgrims was effected by the Franciscans becoming the official Latin guardians of the Holy Places and the Venetians operating a virtual monopoly of the shipping route from the West.[67]

In medieval texts it is not always clear who was a pilgrim and who a crusader, as the word *peregrinus* was applied to both.[68] The nature of the oath taken by crusaders, however, was quite different to that taken – or not, as may be – by pilgrims. By the thirteenth century English lawyers were distinguishing between

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[63] Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, p. 168.

[64] Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, p. 91; cf. Jacoby, 'Il ruolo di Acri', p. 49 n.96.

[65] *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, pp. 267–71; Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, p. 86.

[66] *Registres* 2, ed. Guiraud, pp. 226–9, nos. 467–8; Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, p. 87.

[67] Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, pp. 86–7, 105.

[68] See Kedar, 'Passenger List', p. 268; Tyerman, *Invention of the Crusades*, pp. 49–55. Thietmar **[2]**, however, who in 1217 set out from Germany with his *peregrini*, 'signed with and protected by the cross', was evidently a pilgrim rather than a crusader.

the legal rights of those who went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and those taking part in a crusade or 'general passage'.[69] Early fourteenth-century penitential tariffs, like that drawn up in Oudenarde in 1338, listed the monetary values of different pilgrimages.[70] Once a monetary value had been attached to a pilgrimage, however, it then became possible for pilgrimage vows to be commuted for payment, as also happened in the case of crusading vows.[71] The practice may be observed in wills, in cases where the testator had promised to go on pilgrimage but had not done so and therefore left a legacy to allow someone else to go on his behalf. In other cases, however, there did not even have to be an initial promise to go, simply the belief that pilgrimage could be performed vicariously by one person on another's behalf. The surrogate pilgrim could be a relation, or sometimes a clerk who would also say masses along the way. The practice of leaving bequests for pilgrimages in wills became common from the fourteenth century onwards, most of the pilgrimages themselves being within Europe itself.[72] In Florence, however, the Holy Land features as a destination for pilgrimages sponsored in wills from 1275 onwards and continued to be through the fourteenth century.[73] In England, John de Holegh, a London hosier, left £20 in 1352 to anyone going to Jerusalem and St Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai; and in 1410, Queen Margaret of Denmark's will provided, among other pilgrimages, for six men to go to Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Sinai.[74]

One of the most significant changes in the practice of pilgrimage to have occurred in the thirteenth century was the establishment of scales of indulgences, measured in years and days of remission from purgatory, that pious and penitent visitors to particular churches and holy places could hope to obtain. This practice had had its origins in the twelfth century and was to become more fully developed in the fourteenth and fifteenth. In 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council limited the amount that a bishop could grant to 40 days, which was the level that the pope normally set, and this remained the limit for most of the thirteenth century.[75] The Franciscan pope, Nicolas IV, took an especial interest in indulgences, confirming those issued by his predecessors to St Peter's in Rome in 1289.[76] The indulgences recorded in churches in the Holy Land in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are listed in Tables 1 and 2.

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[69] Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, pp. 163–4; Tyerman, *Invention of the Crusades*, pp. 55–62.

[70] Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, pp. 55, 60–61.

[71] Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, p. 68; Tyerman, *Invention of the Crusades*, p. 36.

[72] Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, pp. 133–47; Epstein, *Wills and Wealth in Medieval Genoa*, pp. 197–8.

[73] Pirillo, 'La Terrasanta nei testamenti fiorentini'.

[74] Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, pp. 140–41.

[75] Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, pp. 64, 74.

[76] *Registre*, ed. Langlois 2, no. 653; Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, pp. 64–5.

Table 1: Papal Indulgences granted to Churches in the East in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries

Date	Pope	Church	Years	Days
1163, 18 July[77]	Alexander III	Jerusalem	1	
1171, 11 Sept.[78]	Alexander III	Holy Sepulchre	1	
1226, 13 Dec.[79]	Honorius III	Hospital and church of St John the Baptist, Acre		20
1256, 11 July[80]	Alexander IV	Friars Minor in Acre and Tyre		100
1257, 6 March[81]	Alexander IV	*Carpitanæ* (Benedictine nuns), Antioch		100
1257, 7 May[82]	Alexander IV	Holy Cross, Tyre		100
1288, 22 Sept.[83]	Nicolas IV	St John the Baptist, Acre	1	40
1288, 22 Sept.[84]	Nicolas IV	St Michael (Hospitaller cemetery chapel), Acre	1	40
1290, 23 Oct.[85]	Nicolas IV	St John the Baptist, Acre		40
1291, 9 March[86]	Nicolas IV	Poor Clares, Nicosia	1	40
1291, 30 June[87]	Nicolas IV	Friars Minor, Nicosia	1	40

In the 1250s–60s, because of the difficulty that pilgrims were experiencing in reaching Jerusalem and the other Holy Places themselves, there also developed an entirely new circuit of holy places offering indulgences in the churches of Acre, a city that in previous centuries had not merited a single holy place of its own. This

[77] Reference to an existing indulgence: *Epistolæ et Privilegia*, in *PL* 200, cols. 250–51, no. 185.

[78] Reference to an existing indulgence: *Epistolæ et Privilegia*, in *PL* 200, cols. 860–61, no. 980; cf. Bagatti, in Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'Oltramare*, p. xxvii.

[79] On the feast of St John: *Regesta*, ed. Pressutti 2, p. 452, no. 6097; *CGOH* 2, p. 357, no. 1849.

[80] Within the octaves of the feasts of St Francis, St Antony and St Clare: Golubovich, *Biblioteca* 1, pp. 234, 417; Bagatti, in Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'Oltramare*, p. xxvii; Governanti, pp. 33–4, appx 1.

[81] Bagatti, in Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'Oltramare*, p. xxvii.

[82] Within the octaves of the feasts of the Holy Cross and St John the Evangelist: *Registres*, ed. Bourel de la Roncière *et al*. 2, p. 600, no. 1940.

[83] On the feasts of St John the Baptist, St Mary and St Michael: *Registres*, ed. Langlois 1, p. 64, no. 334.

[84] On the same feasts as for St John's church: *Registres*, ed. Langlois 1, p. 64, no. 333; *CGOH* 3, pp. 523–4, no. 4020; *RRH Ad*, p. 101, no. 1479e.

[85] On the day of the solemn procession: *Registres*, ed. Langlois 1, p. 537, no. 3457; *CGOH* 3, pp. 576, no. 4128.

[86] Bagatti, in Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'Oltramare*, p. xxvii.

[87] Bagatti, in Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'Oltramare*, p. xxvii.

Table 2: Indulgences in Acre listed in 'The Pilgrimages and Pardons of Acre' (1258–64)

Stations mentioned in the text	Identification	Years	Days
a la bourde la vile	at the edge of the city	4	40
a Seint Nicholas	St Nicolas	4	160
as Alemayns	St Mary of the Germans	4	–
chescun jour	(and) each day (thereafter)	–	100
a Seint Leonard	St Leonard	1	100
a Seint Romant	St Romanus	–	40
a Seint Estevene	St Stephen	4	40
a Seint Samuel	St Samuel	1	40
a Seint Lazer de Bethayne	St Lazarus of Bethany	8	160
a Sepulcre	Holy Sepulchre	7	160
a Nostre Dame de Chevalers	Our Lady of the Knights	5	–
a Nostre Dame de Sur	Our Lady of Tyre	3	–
a Seinte Croyz	Holy Cross	3	40
a Seint Marc de Venyse	St Mark of the Venetians	5	–
a Seint Lorenz	St Laurence of the Genoese	–	40
a Iosaphat	St Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat	4	40
a La Latyne	St Mary Latin	1	–
a Seint Pere de Pyse	St Peter of the Pisans	5	–
a Seint Anne	St Anne	5	–
a Seint Esprit	Holy Spirit	7	–
a Bedlehem	Church of Bethlehem	7	–
a Seint Andre	St Andrew	5	–
al Temple	Templars	8	120
a Freres preschours	Dominicans	3	40
a Seint Michel	St Michael	4	160
a Freres desakes	Brothers of the Sack	–	140
a le Hospital Seint Iohan	Hospital of St John	8	–
e tant de foyz come vous alez entour le paleis de malades	and each time that you go around the infirmary	–	40
e le digmangt a processioun	and at the procession on Sunday	–	240
a Seint Gyle	St Giles	–	200
a la Magdalene	St Mary Magdalene	11	–
a la Katerine	St Catherine	4	160
a la Trinite	Holy Trinity	1	–
a Seinte Bryde	St Brigid	8	–
a Seint Martyn de Bretons	St Martin of the Bretons	4	40
a Lazer de Chevalers	St Lazarus of the Knights	2	70
a Seint Thomas	St Thomas	15	–
e chescun mardi	and each Tuesday	7	–
a Seint Bartholomeu	St Bartholomew	4	160
a Seint Antoyne	St Antony	3	40
as Freres menours	Franciscans	1	35
a Repentires	Magdalenes	1	40
a Seint Denys	St Denys	4	160
a Seint George	St George	7	–

text, 'The 'Pilgrimages and Pardons of Acre' **[11]**, is arranged topographically and describes a tour of Acre's churches and hospitals, beginning at the city gate and ending in the walled suburb of Montmusard (see Fig. 7). Lists of indulgences such as this become much more common in the fourteenth century.[88]

Archaeological Evidence for Pilgrimage

Very little evidence of thirteenth-century building work survives at the sites in Syria and Palestine that were visited by pilgrims in the thirteenth century as most of the structural changes of this period involved demolition rather than construction. In Ṭarṭūs, however, the cathedral of St Mary, which incorporated the supposed remains of the church erected by the Apostles, had been left incomplete when the town fell to Saladin and was finished and subsequently fortified in the thirteenth century.[89] In Nazareth, a seventeenth-century engraving and surviving architectural fragments indicate that the antechamber to the Holy House of the Virgin within the church of the Annunciation was covered by rib-vaults. Camille Enlart proposed dating these to the mid-thirteenth century; but the only plausible context would have been the period 1251–57, when the chapter briefly returned from Acre and the church benefited from the patronage of Louis IX. It is possible therefore, as Bellarmino Bagatti suggested, that they should be dated before 1187.[90] Nothing identifiably medieval remains visible of the buildings that must once have adjoined the cave of Elijah at the foot of Mount Carmel.[91] The Latin Carmelite monastery of St Mary, however, which pilgrims also mention, is entirely a thirteenth-century construction. It includes a two-bayed church, built in the first two decades of the century, which was extended east by another two rib-vaulted bays in the 1250s–60s.[92] A little further south, Pilgrims' Castle, built by the Templars at 'Atlīt from 1217 onwards, enclosed the centrally planned chapel in which the relics of St Euphemia were displayed to pilgrims. The castle's suburb also contains another church, albeit never finished; and outside the walls of the suburb lies a walled cemetery containing over 4,000 tombs, a number too high to be accounted for by deaths among the inhabitants of the castle and suburb alone and probably therefore including pilgrims and others who either died while travelling along the coastal road or whose bodies were brought here from

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88 They are conveniently tabulated by B. Bagatti, in Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'Oltramare*, pp. xxii–xxx, xliv–liii.

89 Enlart, *Monuments des croisés* 2, pp. 395–426; Deschamps, *Terre Sainte romane*, pp. 231–6, pls. 79–94.

90 Enlart, *Monuments des croisés* 2, pp. 300, 308; Bagatti and Alliata, *Scavi di Nazaret* 2, pp. 54–9, figs. 18–21, pl. 16; Pringle, *Churches* 2, pp. 130–33.

91 Pringle, *Churches* 2, pp. 226–9.

92 Pringle, *Churches* 2, pp. 249–57.

elsewhere, possibly Acre.[93] South of 'Atlīt, the pilgrimage church of St Mary of the Marshes has not yet been found.[94] In Cæsarea, however, there is evidence for the thirteenth-century rebuilding of the east end of the cathedral church of St Peter, marking the site of the house of Cornelius.[95]

In Acre, little survives from the twelfth or thirteenth centuries as a result of the comprehensive destruction that was carried out by the Mamluks after they seized the city in 1291 and of the rebuilding of the city and its walls in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[96] Recent excavations, however, have uncovered much of the headquarters building (or *palais*) of the Order of St John and have elucidated details of the adjacent conventual church of St John. Part of the church of St Andrew, which served in the thirteenth century as a beacon to sailors entering the harbour of Acre and is also known from seventeenth-century drawings, has also been identified, incorporated into the present Greek Catholic church of the same name.[97] Excavations continue to shed light on the layout of the walls, streets and buildings of the city in which most western pilgrims of the thirteenth century would first have set foot on Palestinian soil.

The importance of pilgrimage for the economy of Acre is also shown archaeologically by the objects that were manufactured there for pilgrims to purchase and take home with them as souvenirs of their visit. These include lead-alloy phials (*ampullæ*), tokens, reliquaries and crosses.[98] Phials made of clay, glass or lead-alloy and intended to contain holy oil or water had been produced in the Holy Land since the sixth century and were held to confirm – or even to continue to confer – the *eulogiæ* or 'blessings' that the pilgrim had obtained by visiting a particular holy site.[99] A series of slate moulds excavated from a workshop in Acre, however, show that the phials being manufactured in Acre in the thirteenth century were not intended to relate to any one specific site, but could have been purchased and filled by pilgrims wherever they chose. Finds of such phials in Corinth and Braunschweig hint at a potentially extensive distribution of them by pilgrims returning to the West.[100] Studies of the distribution of pilgrim tokens found in archaeological excavations in northern France, England and Holland, however, also emphasize the extreme rarity of objects from the Holy Land and even Rome

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[93] Johns, *Guide to 'Atlit*, pp. 52–5, 70, 77–81, 92–4, figs. 16, 27, 33, 37; id., 'Excavations at Pilgrims' Castle, 'Atlit (1931–2): An Unfinished Church'; Pringle, *Churches* 1, pp. 69–80; Thompson, 'Death and Burial in the Latin East', pp. 152–81.

[94] Pringle, *Churches* 2, pp. 257–8.

[95] Pringle, *Churches* 1, pp. 166–79.

[96] Makhouly and Johns, *Guide to Acre*, pp. 44–64; Pringle, *Churches* 4, pp. 24–35.

[97] Stern, 'Center of the Order of Hospitalers in Acre'; Pringle, *Churches* 4, pp. 63–70, 82–114.

[98] Syon, 'Souvenirs from the Holy Land'; Rozenberg, 'Metalwork and Crosses'; Jacoby, 'Il ruolo di Acri', pp. 42–3; id., 'Aspects of Everyday Life', pp. 95–6.

[99] Hahn, 'Loca Sancta Souvenirs'; Vikan, *Byzantine Pilgrimage Art*.

[100] Syon, 'Souvenirs from the Holy Land', pp. 112–15.

and Compostela in comparison with the numbers derived from local pilgrimage sites.[101]

From the 1250s onwards Acre was also producing finely illustrated books and icons, many of which were purchased by visiting westerners.[102] Some of the icons would doubtless have been acquired as aids to personal devotion; but a group of over a hundred 'Crusader' icons surviving in St Catherine's Abbey on Mount Sinai also raises the possibility that some of them may have been bought by pilgrims in Acre or Tripoli with the intention of presenting them as votive offerings to the abbey church or its dependent chapels.[103]

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[101] Bruna, 'Diffusion des enseignes de pèlerinage'.

[102] Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*; id., *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, pp. 282–356, 369–479; Jacoby, 'Aspects of Everyday Life', p. 96–7.

[103] Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land*, pp. 305–8; id., *Crusader Art*, pp. 86, 164. Note, however, that, *pace* Folda, there is no evidence for the presence of Latin monks – still less the existence of a Latin chapel – at St Catherine's in the twelfth or thirteenth century; if any 'western-influenced' icon-painters were working there in that period, they are therefore more likely to have been doing so under the auspices of the Orthodox abbot than of the Latin hierarchy. It seems more probable in any case that most of the portable icons came from elsewhere, some of them quite possibly arriving there after the fall of Tripoli and Acre to the Mamluks, when eastern markets were full of goods taken from churches and religious houses in the conquered Frankish cities.

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The Texts

Like the pilgrimage texts of earlier centuries, thirteenth-century ones fall into a number of different categories. First of all there are some relatively brief ones, which typically begin with a sentence like, 'Whoever wants to go to Jerusalem correctly must first go from Acre to Ḥayfā' **[9]**; or 'If anyone should want to go from Joppe to Jerusalem', this is what he must do **[5]**; or 'These are the Holy Pilgrimage sites that one must seek out in the Holy Land' **[4]**. A very basic text of this type simply begins, 'These are the Pilgrimages and Places of the Holy Land' **[16]**. Like the two Greek pilgrimage texts from this period **[8, 17]**, such texts are in effect short guidebooks. By this date many of the western ones are also in French (or in some cases Anglo-Norman), rather than Latin. Often they are prescriptive, telling the pilgrim what must be done in order to complete the pilgrimage correctly. This suggests that some of them – or at least the texts on which they were based – may have had some kind of official status, perhaps related to the taking of pilgrimage vows or the imposition of penances. Also included in this category is the document already mentioned, which gives a list of the indulgences that could be obtained from visiting the churches of Acre **[11]**.

Next there are accounts of actual pilgrimages. Thirteenth-century examples include: Wilbrand of Oldenburg **[1]**, whose pilgrimage was combined with a diplomatic mission to Armenia in 1211–12; Thietmar **[2]**, whose itinerary in 1217–18 included the pilgrimages to Saydnaya and Mount Sinai; Geoffrey of Beaulieu's account of the pilgrimage of St Louis to Nazareth in 1251 **[7]**; an account of a completely fictitious pilgrimage written by Albert of Stade around the same time;[1] the accounts of the journeys to Acre and Palestine by Niccolò, Maffeo and Marco Polo in 1269–71;[2] and the pilgrimage of Friar Maurice, a Norwegian Franciscan from Bergen who accompanied Andrew Nicolasson on crusade in 1271–73 **[12]**.

With all such accounts, quite apart from those that are clearly fictitious, the modern reader must take great care, since the pilgrim does not always report what he actually saw. Like some of the journalists who compile the travel sections of weekend newspapers today, the writers of pilgrimage accounts often relied heavily on existing guidebooks or other pilgrims' accounts and were not averse to simply copying out sections from them. They also often describe places that they had not been to. In order to winnow out original first-hand information from repetition,

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[1] *Itinerarium Terrae Sanctae*, ed. G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica* 1, pp. 181–5; *IHC* 4, pp. 1–9.

[2] Rusticello of Pisa, *Voyages en Syrie de Nicolo, Maffeo et Marco Polo*, ed. Michelant and Raynaud, *Itinéraires*, pp. 203–12; Thiébault de Cépoy, *Voyages en Syrie de Nicolo, Maffeo et Marco Polo*, ed. Michelant and Raynaud, *Itinéraires*, pp. 213–26.

one therefore needs to be aware of all the earlier sources that might have been available to the writer. In the case of thirteenth-century western pilgrims the favourite earlier sources include: Jerome's letter to Eustochium in 404, describing his travels with Paula nineteen years before;[3] Jerome's 'Book of the Places' (*Liber Locorum*), which is a Latin translation of Eusebius's *Onomasticon*, a gazetteer of places mentioned in the Bible together with their fourth-century identifications;[4] the account of the late fourth-century pilgrimage of the Spanish lady, Egeria, including sections of her account that have only survived in the composite pilgrimage account compiled by Peter the Deacon in the mid-twelfth century;[5] the description of the Holy Places by Bishop Arculf, as related to Adomnán, abbot of Iona around 685;[6] and more especially the Venerable Bede, whose account of the Holy Places was based on all these earlier texts and was widely used in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[7] Thirteenth-century writers also had the accounts of twelfth-century writers to follow, in particular a 'Description of the Places lying round about Jerusalem' dating from the 1130s,[8] which had already been utilized by Rorgo Fretellus of Nazareth (1137–38)[9] and the German pilgrims John of Würzburg (*c.*1165)[10] and Theoderic (1172).[11] They also copied each other.

A third category of pilgrim text comprises straightforward descriptions of the Holy Land, usually arranged geographically. These follow in the tradition of Eusebius, Jerome and Bede. The distinction between these and pilgrimage guides is not always clear cut, since the locations of places are often described according to their distance from a fixed place, such as Jerusalem or Nazareth, or in the context of an itinerary along a particular road. They are also used by the writers of pilgrimage guides and travelogues, thus further blurring the distinction between them. Texts of this type dating from the thirteenth century include: Aymar the Monk,[12] whose description was based on the late twelfth-century *Tractatus de*

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[3] *Epistula* 108, ed. Tobler and Molinier, *Itinera hierosolymitana*, pp. 27–40, partial trans. in Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, pp. 47–52, cf. pp. 1–2.

[4] Ed. Klostermann, *Das Onomastikon der Biblischer Ortsnamen*, in *GCS* 11.1.

[5] Egeria, *Itinerarium*, in *CCSL* 175, pp. 27–90, trans. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, pp. 89–147; Peter the Deacon, *Liber de Locis Sanctis*, in *CCSL*, vol. 175, pp. 93–8, 252–78, in *IHC* 2, pp. 171–205, extracts trans. in Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, pp. 179–201.

[6] Adomnán, *de Locis Sanctis*, in *CCSL* 175, pp. 175–234, trans. in Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, pp. 93–116.

[7] Bede, *de Locis Sanctis*, in *CCSL* 175, pp. 245–80.

[8] *Descriptio locorum circa Hierusalem adjacentium*, ed. de Vogüé, in *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte*, pp. 414–33, in *IHC* 2, pp. 78–115, trans. in *PPTS* 5 (Fetellus), pp. 8–54.

[9] *Liber Locorum*, ed. Boeren, *Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth et sa description de la Terre Sainte*.

[10] *Descriptio Locorum Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Huygens, in *CCCM* 139, pp. 78–141, trans. (based on a faulty earlier edition) in *PPTS* 5.

[11] *Libellus de Locis Sanctis*, ed. Huygens, in *CCCM* 139, pp. 143–97, trans. in *PPTS* 5.

[12] *Tractatus de Locis et Statu Terre Iherosolimitanae*, in *IHC* 3, pp. 163–93.

Locis and on Bede; James of Vitry, who was bishop of Acre between 1216 and 1228;[13] Oliver of Paderborn (or Cologne), whose description dates from the same period;[14] Burchard of Mount Sion (1274–85) **[13]**; Philip of Savona (1285–89) **[14]**; Riccoldo of Monte Croce (1289–89) **[15]**; and Marino Sanudo (1306–1309, revised 1320).[15] There are also some French descriptions, including the celebrated description of Jerusalem at the time of its conquest in 1187, that are woven into the chronicle of Ernoul and Bernard the Treasurer **[3]** and into one of the continuations of William of Tyre's chronicle.[16] Some of these writers had evidently visited the places that they describe and occasionally they slip in an anecdote or a particular observation that they can only have known about from personal experience. One major difficulty in relating what they say to actuality, however, is that the geography that they are describing is usually that of the Old Testament, their understanding of which is often at variance with what is know about it today. The supposed biblical and medieval geographies – and their place names – therefore tend to become merged and confused, making it sometimes difficult to disentangle one from the other.[17]

Some of the thirteenth-century medieval descriptions were originally accompanied by maps, though none has survived apart from Matthew Paris's 'Itinerary from London to Jerusalem' **[10]**, which is itself a map with blocks of text describing the places along the route. Burchard of Mount Sion's map does not survive; but an early fourteenth-century map in Florence corresponds closely with his description.[18] Marino Sanudo's description, which is incorporated into his treatise on the proposed reconquest of the Holy Land, written in 1306–1309 and published in 1321, also has a coloured map with a grid referring to the text, as well as plans of Acre and Jerusalem.[19]

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[13] *Historia Hierosolimitana, Orientalis et Occidentalis*, ed. Moschus (Douai 1597), ed. and trans. Donnadieu.

[14] *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Hoogeweg, *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters*, pp. 1–24, extracts in *IHC* 4, pp. 377–401.

[15] *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis super Terrae Sanctae Recuperatione et Conseruatione*, ed. Bongars.

[16] *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr de 1229 à 1261, dite du manuscrit de Rothelin*, chs. 2–11, in *RHC Occ 2*, pp. 490–515, ed. Michelant and Raynaud, *Itinéraires*, pp. 141–75, trans. Shirley, *Crusader Syria*, pp. 13–29.

[17] This is not just a medieval problem: the post-1948 Israeli renaming of settlements and natural features in Palestine on the basis of the Old Testament – and in many cases of pure fantasy – in an attempt to blot out two millennia or more of post-Israelite history raises similar difficulties for those wanting to identify medieval – and in some cases even the correct Old Testament – sites on the ground today. See Benvenisti, *Sacred Landscape*, pp. 11–54.

[18] See section 13 below.

[19] On Sanudo's maps, see Röhricht, 'Marino Sanuto sen. als Kartograph Palästinas'; Edson, 'Reviving the Crusade'; Delano-Smith, 'The Intelligent Pilgrim', pp. 117–19. For

Marino Sanudo's treatise also contains a portolan chart and guide for sailors,[20] which is in fact a translation of a thirteenth-century Italian one, *Il Compasso da navigare*.[21] This describes landmarks, reefs and islands along the Syrian and Palestinian coasts and gives instructions, for example, on how to enter the harbour of Acre. There is only one surviving portolan guide from the very end of the twelfth century, the *Liber de Existencia Riveriarum et Forma Maris Nostri Mediterranei*, though the chronicle accounts of the Third Crusade suggest that others existed and had been in use at an earlier date.[22] Many more such guides and charts exist from the fourteenth century onwards.

Because of the way in which they were compiled, incorporating information from earlier texts, many of these texts have depths of meaning that can only be separated out and understood by detailed study and comparison with other texts. Even so, any given text was usually compiled at a certain point in time and therefore represents a view of the situation at that time, whatever sources of information it may contain. Some such texts, such as that of the pilgrim Theoderic (1172), are also well-balanced literary works, despite their composite nature. In selecting texts for translation, the policy adopted here has therefore been to present the selected texts in their entirety and not to attempt either to suppress passages that appear to have been derived from earlier sources or to reconstruct a hypothetical 'original text' on which others were supposedly based. Readers should be aware, however, of the different levels of information that these texts may contain and be cautious about taking anything that they find in them at face value.

1. Wilbrand of Oldenburg: Journey in the Holy Land (1211–12)

Wilbrand of Oldenburg was the son of Henry II, count of Oldenburg (1167–98), and Beatrix of Hallermund. By the time of his journey to the East in 1211 he was already a canon of the church of Hildersheim. After his return he became prior of Hildersheim in 1218. In 1225, he was appointed to the see of Paderborn and also administered the sees of Münster and Osnabrück between 1226 and 1227. From 1227 until his death in Zwolle in July 1233, he was archbishop of Utrecht, where he was also buried in the abbey church of St Servaas.[23]

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discussion of thirteenth-century Holy Land maps in general see: Nebenzahl, *Maps of the Bible Lands*; Harvey, *Maps of the Crusaders' Holy Land*.

[20] *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis* 3.14.2, ed. Bongars, pp. 244–6, pl. p. xii; cf. Rey, 'Périples'.

[21] Ed. Motzo; index in Dalché, *Carte marine et portolan au XII^e siècle*, pp. 239–53.

[22] See Dalché, *Carte marine et portolan au XII^e siècle*.

[23] Hucker, 'Wilbrand'; Halfter, 'Beschreibung', p. 177; Laurent, *Peregrinatores* (1864), pp. 161, 191; Graboïs, 'Terre sainte', p. 261; Delpech and Voisin, 'Mission', pp. 294–5.