

JERUSALEM
PILGRIMAGE,
1099–1185

John Wilkinson with
Joyce Hill and W.F. Ryan



THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY

ASHGATE EBOOK

Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099–1185

Edited by
JOHN WILKINSON WITH JOYCE HILL AND W.F. RYAN

ASHGATE

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JERUSALEM
PILGRIMAGE
1099-1185

JOHN WILKINSON
with
JOYCE HILL
and
W. F. RYAN

THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY
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PREFACE

Nearly a century has gone by since the first publication of most of the texts below in an English translation. They were published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society under the general editorship of General Sir Charles Wilson, who from his intimate knowledge of the Middle East wrote excellent notes on each text. The great disadvantage of these translations was that they were each published as separate pamphlets, which meant that they were not viewed as a whole, and there was a great deal of useless repetition.

I was therefore delighted to receive the Hakluyt Society's agreement to republish a translation of the texts. And I was also very happy to have as allies the other scholars whose work this volume contains, Doctor Joyce Hill, who is the translator for the Icelandic texts, and Doctor William Ryan who has done a new translation from the Russian original of the Abbot Daniel's *Pilgrimage*, for in fact the earlier translation by Charles Wilson was from a French translation. To these two I am doubly grateful, both for their translations and for the notes they have provided. Unless I have mentioned otherwise, all notes to do with the Icelandic texts are by Hill and the Russian text by Ryan, wherever they happen to be found in this volume. I thank the President and Fellows of Harvard College for their permission to reprint Hill's translation of the extract of Nikulás' itinerary.

I am also most grateful to another author who died in 1933, Guy Le Strange. I have slightly altered his translation of Muhammad al Idrisi's text, mainly by omitting his explanatory passages, but I am proud to include this translation, and to pay a tribute to Le Strange himself, and the great contribution he has made to British studies of the Near East. I also express my gratitude to the Palestine Exploration Fund, who have given me permission to reprint the translation.

I am thankful too to the following people who have helped me in various different ways. First and foremost to my wife Alix, who has been patient in exploring various hypotheses I have tried on

PREFACE

her. Then to Dr M. Angold, Dr Peter Edbury, Dr A. M. Gravgaard, Professor A. Kahzdan, Dr B. Z. Kedar, Dr Denys Pringle, Professor Jonathan Riley-Smith, Miss Shefaly Rovik and Brother Gilbert Sinden, SSM.

My greatest gratitude also to the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, under the roof of whose School I started to write this book, to The Ecumenical Institute, Tantur, and to Dumbarton Oaks, of which I was a Fellow when it was finished.

JOHN WILKINSON
Nativity of St Mary, at Tantur

ABBREVIATIONS

- AOL = *Archives de l'Orient Latin* (Société de l'Orient Latin), Paris 1881-4
- Augustinovič = A. Augustinovič, *Gierico e Dintorni*, Jerusalem 1951
- Boeren = P. C. Boeren, *Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth et sa Description de la Terre Sainte: Histoire et Edition du Texte*, Amsterdam 1980
- Btu = Benjamin of Tudela
- Dan = Daniel
- De Sandoli = S. De Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum*, vols 1 and 2, Jerusalem 1978, 1980
- e = J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, Warminster and Jerusalem 1981
- Gbe = Belard of Ascoli
- Gds = Guide before *Work on Geography*
- Gej = Guide in *Gesta Francorum Expugnantium Jerusalem*
- Gge = Guide perhaps by a German author
- Gic = Icelandic Pilgrim
- Gid = Muhammad al Idrisi
- Got = Ottobonian Guide
- Gqu = *Qualiter*
- 1Gu = *First Guide*
- 2Gu = *Second Guide*
- 7Gu = *Seventh Guide*
- Halkin = F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, Brussels 1957
- Hill = J. Hill, 'From Rome to Jerusalem: An Icelandic Itinerary of the Mid-Twelfth Century', *Harvard Theological Review*, 76:2 (1983) 175-203
- j = J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, Warminster 1977
- James = M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford 1924

ABBREVIATIONS

- JN = L. H. Vincent and F. M. Abel, *Jérusalem, Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, Paris 1912-26
- Jph = John Phocas
- Jwü = John of Würzburg
- MGH = *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, ed. G. Pertz, T. Mommsen and others, Hanover 1826 ff
- Nik = Nikulás
- Ovadiah = A. Ovadiah, *Corpus of the Byzantine Churches in the Holy Land, (Theophania 22)*, Bonn 1970
- Pde = Peter the Deacon
- PEFQS, PEQ = *Palestine Exploration [Fund] Quarterly [Statement]*, London 1868 ff
- PG, PL = *Patrologia Graeca, Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne
- PPTS = *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society* (listed as separate pamphlets) collected edition in 13 Vols, London 1896-7
- Prawer = J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, London 1972
- PUM = G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Muslims*, London 1890
- RB = *Revue Biblique*, Paris 1892 ff
- RHC = *Recueil des Histoires des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*, 5 vols (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres), Paris 1844-95
- RSV = Revised Standard Version
- Runciman = S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols, London 1952-4
- Sae = Saewulf
- Sig = Sigurðr
- Thc = Theoderic
- Tobler, *Desc.* = T. Tobler, *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae ex saeculo VIII, IX, XII et XV*, Leipzig 1874
- Tobler, *Theod.* = T. Tobler, *Theoderici Libellus*, Paris 1865
- V = Venevitinov; see p. 351
- V-A = H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, Paris 1914-26
- W = C. W. Wilson; see p. 351
- Wge = *Work on Geography*

ABBREVIATIONS

ZDPV

**= Zeitschrift der Deutschen Palästina-Vereins,
Leipzig 1878 ff**

I. INTRODUCTION

A STAGE IN PILGRIMAGE

Christian pilgrimage began in the second century, but there are no connected accounts of it till 333, when a visitor from Bordeaux wrote his itinerary. Yet already he mentions many holy places which were still objects of pilgrimage to the Latin Kingdom pilgrims eight centuries later. Thus Jerusalem pilgrimage after 1099 serves as a sample of a special stage in a continuous process. It is a particularly clear sample, for there are as many extant texts from the years between 1099 and 1187 as from the whole of the previous period.

The Holy Places were assumed to be the same as the ones which had been visited long ago, and to a great extent this was true. But the Crusader movement, with its armies which conquered Jerusalem, and Latin Kingdom pilgrimage, which was inseparable from the Latin occupation of the Holy Land, were bound to bring alterations. The aim of the present book is therefore to make the changes more precise, and in doing so to clarify the later history of pilgrimage. The task of this introduction will therefore be first to consider the texts themselves. Secondly there will be an examination of existing pilgrimage to each site, and the changes made by Latin Kingdom pilgrims.

In a collection of texts such as this the spelling of place-names is bound to be different. Biblical names are not recorded, but when they are names applied in the Latin Kingdom they are noted with their different spellings in the Index.

2. INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXTS

THE TEXTS

The pilgrimage texts translated here were written between 1099 and 1185. The majority were simply for practical use. For those who could come to the Holy Land they served simply as Guides, and for those who could not they served as a means of making a spiritual pilgrimage. But three of these guides seem to have been written outside the Latin Kingdom, for they contain such opening sentences as these:

Any one who may wish to go to Jerusalem, the Holy City, should continue to travel eastwards . . .¹

Such a Guide was an advertisement, perhaps distributed or displayed by the churches or the shipping agents.

Most of the others are accounts of their travels written by the pilgrims. But the two categories are not always distinct. For example some documents which have the appearance of being Guides have a paragraph at the end which announces their authorship, such as:

And I, Brother Belardus of Ascoli, have seen all this and examined it, and I myself have written it down in order to be of use to others.²

Quite often it is very hard to tell what places were actually visited by the pilgrims. In their anxiety to produce as full as possible an account of their stay in the Holy Land they quoted long passages from other books, and this tendency increased in the Crusader period, when a pilgrim could not go very far without being within range of the enemy.

¹ See p. 90 below.

² See p. 230 below.

Included among these translations is a much longer guide to the Holy Land. Since the original manuscript (which we have entitled *The Work on Geography*) has been lost, the modern reader has to look for versions of it in a number of other works written in the Latin Kingdom which have borrowed from it. This book is over ten thousand words in length. It seems to be a general description of the holy places in the Latin Kingdom, but contains several which are beyond its boundaries. The information which this book gives is sometimes up to date, but it is at other times about four hundred years old, since it quotes the names of the Levantine provinces as if they were still in the Roman empire.

This desire to quote earlier works may be seen in two ways. In the Latin Kingdom a pilgrim on his travels was doing something which was of great importance to him. In fact he was entering into an experience which was of great antiquity, and earlier books by those who were in his view authorities, might provide some of the information which he required. The advantage for the author was that the authorities were likely to tell the truth. But the disadvantage to his readers was and is that what a pilgrim quotes as his personal observations, is not always the case: one of the first pilgrims, Saewulf states, for example, that the top of Mt Tabor was 'covered with grass and flowers':³ this whole phrase was in fact taken from an authority, in this case the Venerable Bede.

³ See p. 111.

THREE GUIDES OF 1101-1104

THE FIRST GUIDE (IGu)

QUALITER (Gqu)

THE OTTOBONIAN GUIDE (Got)

For the first of these guides I have chosen the title *First Guide* since in the Latin text it is cited as by 'Anonymous Writer 1'. Several guides have titles of the same kind, but the numbers are not necessarily in chronological order. This guide was attached to the first record of the Crusaders' invasion of the Holy Land, *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*,¹ which was completed perhaps in 1101, but at any rate before 1104. Since it contains the Temple it must be after 1099, when the building was captured and turned into a Christian holy place. But since the guide forms part of every manuscript of the *Gesta*, it seems to have been one which was added right from the start. The latest edition of this Guide was written in some foreign country west of the Holy Land, probably in France, since it contains quotations from the Pilgrim of Bordeaux's *Itinerary*, which would very likely be available there.² None of the other writers on pilgrimage in the Latin Kingdom quotes directly from the Bordeaux pilgrim.

The *Itinerary* was nearly eight centuries old when it was incorporated in the *First Guide*, and it contained some inaccuracies which may have worried its readers in the Latin Kingdom. An example is the pilgrim's reference to 'Isaiah's Tomb', which was its name in 333. But this monument, known today as the 'Tomb of Zechariah', was in Crusader times part of the tomb of St James. Some other authors of guide-books accepted the *First Guide*'s comment as authoritative, but they seem to have copied out the information about 'Isaiah's Tomb' without knowing where it was.³

¹ Ed. R. Hill, *Gesta Francorum* (Oxford, 1962), p. xl.

² See Runciman, Vol. 1, 330.

³ Bordeaux Pilgrim, *Itin.* 595.3: *Guide* 7, sec. 10.

INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXTS

GUIDE I	GUIDE 'QUALITER'	GUIDE IN OTT. IA. 169
Invitation	Invitation	
Mount of Joy	Mount of Joy	
Tower of David	Tower of David	Tower of David
<i>Temple (B)</i>		
<i>Mount Sion (B)</i>		
<i>Praetorium (B)</i>		
<i>Holy Sepulchre (B*)</i>	Holy Sepulchre	Holy Sepulchre
St Mary Latin	St Mary Latin	
	Finding the Cross	Finding the Cross
	Beautiful Gate	↓
Temple of the Lord	Temple of the Lord	Temple of the Lord
		Beautiful Gate
Temple of Solomon	Temple of Solomon	Temple of Solomon
		Church of St Anne
Sheep Pool	Sheep Pool	Sheep Pool
Mount of Olives	↓	↓
Valley of Jehoshaphat	Valley of Jehoshaphat	Valley of Jehoshaphat
<i>Tomb of Isaiah (B)</i>		
	Mount of Olives	Mount of Olives
<i>Bethany (B)</i>	Bethany	Bethany
<i>Jericho (B)</i>		
	Quarantana	↓
<i>Jordan (B)</i>	Jordan	↓
<i>Mount of Elijah (B)</i>		
Days to Mount Sinai		
Galilee		
Mount Sion, Siloam	↓	Mount Sion, Siloam
<i>Road to Samaria (B)</i>		
Bethlehem	Bethlehem	Bethlehem
Hebron		
	Mount Sion, Siloam	
	Stoning of St Stephen	
		Quarantana
		Jordan
	I am a witness	

The second guide comes to us linked to the *History* of Archbishop Baudry of Dol. It is called *Qualiter* from the first word of the paragraph linking it to the *History*. This is a guide-book which has been signed by a pilgrim. It does not cover Sinai, Galilee, or Samaria, which have brief mentions in the *First Guide*, but it is an early one, as can be seen from the second column in the table on the previous page. The headings there correspond well with the *First Guide*, and about half of them are in harmony with the quotations from the pilgrim of Bordeaux (the passages marked *B*). Perhaps *Qualiter* was a guide in circulation at the same time as the original version of the *First Guide*, that is to say between 1099 and 1103. The order of places mentioned in *Qualiter* may have been affected by the individual pilgrim's itinerary.

The third early guide-book is *The Ottobonian Guide*,¹ which covers only Jerusalem. It handles much the same places as *Qualiter*, but, like Saewulf, it mentions the Church of Saint Anne. What is more it follows a logical order in mentioning the holy places, and this both makes it the latest of the three, and fits well with its presentation as a simple guide-book.

These three guides therefore can be dated to the period 1099–1103. Within this period they consist of an earlier stage, represented by the *First Guide* and *Qualiter*, when the church of St Anne is not mentioned, and a later one when it is possible to speak of this church, represented by the *Ottobonian Guide* and by Saewulf.

SAEWULF 1101–1103 (Sae)

Saewulf's travel account begins with the voyage to the Holy Land from Apulia, and ends on his way to visit Constantinople. But his Anglo-Saxon or German name shows that he is from further north. It is quite probable that he was from Britain, since his work relies on a British saint, Bede, and the one manuscript which we possess of it was in the library of Matthew Parker, the sixteenth-century Archbishop of Canterbury.

Saewulf's journey lasted ten or eleven months, starting in July and returning at Pentecost. He returned after March 1102, when

¹ So called because in the Vatican Library it is part of the collection of manuscripts preserved in *Codex Ottobonianus latinus* 169.

INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXTS

the Franks had captured Tartus, and before they captured Acre in 1104. Since the capture of Acre was in May and Pentecost was in June in 1104 his return must have been earlier, and we can thus date his pilgrimage either in 1101–1102 or in 1102–1103.¹

The original passages by Saewulf are strikingly well-told, for example his account of the shipwreck at Joppa, or his complaints about the buildings wrecked by the pagans. He retails the general view about the contents of the Temple, to judge by Manuscript L of Fulcher's *History*.² He relies on authorities, and particularly on Bede. But he shows occasional doubts about what local residents told him.³

We have followed the normal modern English spelling of the name 'Saewulf'. In the English of the time however it would have been spelt 'Sæwulf'.

GUIDE PERHAPS BY A GERMAN AUTHOR 1102–1106 (Gge)

This is a very brief guide, dealing with sites in Jerusalem and Bethany. Its author may have been in Germany, since in section 4 he is able to compare the Church at the Holy Sepulchre with Charlemagne's round church at Aix, and the guide is preserved in a manuscript in Trier Cathedral. This guide seems to be written between 1102 and 1106. The Chapel of the Invention of the Cross (sec. 4) had not yet been built, so it was written before Daniel (1106–8) (see his chapter 15). It may be the same period as Saewulf, since there is a church built at St Peter's Tears (sec. 3 and Saewulf 21).

This Guide takes no account of the order of the earlier ones, and the description of the Temple is left to the very end. The commemorations of the Temple are not standard, and its interest lies in displaying what it shows of the reactions of one individual pilgrim.

¹ See M. d'Avezac, *Relation des Voyages de Saewulf*, Paris 1839, 8–10.

² Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana* 1.28, ms. L.

³ See section 9. He believes what local people tell him in sections 9, 12, 13, 18, 26 and 33.

JERUSALEM PILGRIMAGE

FULCHER OF CHARTRES

During the Latin Kingdom the first full prose description of the city of Jerusalem may well be by Fulcher, the historian who lived in the city. His is certainly the first account of a visit to Petra, and shows that Fulcher was a good observer.¹ Fulcher was chaplain to King Baldwin the First.

His *Historia Hierosolymitana* is hard to date. It seems that the earliest examples of it were issued in about 1106 by two independent scribes, one who wrote Manuscript L, and the other the author of *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium*. Manuscript L of Fulcher's work was known to Guibert of Nogent in a work published in 1108.² Fulcher's own work can be seen in two editions, one published in 1118 after the death of Baldwin the First, and the other in 1127.

Between 15 November and 21 December 1100 Fulcher went with Baldwin on a military expedition down to the Dead Sea, and then on to Petra. There he saw the Valley of Moses or Wadi Musa, and the place where Moses struck the rock to produce water for the children of Israel,³ and once inside Petra he saw the monastery of Moses on top of Mount Hor. But none of the other pilgrims between 1099 and 1187 followed him.

As regards pilgrimage Fulcher, in his descriptions of Jerusalem, says nothing of special importance, apart from his account of the Temple area. Under the previous Muslim rule this area of the city was unknown to Christians, until they invaded Jerusalem. But in 1099 they suddenly had complete control of it, and it seems that they took a long time to understand it. Manuscript L, which does not represent Fulcher's own opinion,⁴ says that the Hebrews said that various relics were in the Temple of the Lord, including the Ark of the Covenant, and this position was popularly held for a

¹ See the translation by H. S. Fink, *Fulcher of Chartres: A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127* (Knoxville 1969), Book 2, chapters 4 and 5, pp. 143-7.

² See Fink, *op. cit.* 22, note 12.

³ Num. 20.11.

⁴ Comparison between Ms. L (italic note at foot of *RHC. Occ.* 3, p. 356) with Fulcher's own opinion in *Hist. H.* 1.26 on the same page seems to reveal that by 1106 Fulcher felt that the ark was not in the Temple. That this was his early view receives confirmation in *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium* 32 (*ibid.* 3, p. 510).

long time. In 1118 Fulcher still complains about the ugliness and inconvenience of the bare rock which occupied the centre of the Temple, but this seems to be an oversight on Fulcher's part. In 1117 it had been paved over, and in his second edition he says that for nearly fifteen years after the crusaders' arrival the rock had remained visible; it was then given a new floor and made into a choir with an altar.¹

ABBOT DANIEL 1106–8 (Dan)

The account of Abbot Daniel's pilgrimage to the Holy Land, probably in the years 1106–8 and written down immediately after that time, is the first such account in Old Russian literature and certainly the best, both as a literary monument and as an historical source. It was copied many times (Seeman² lists 148 complete or fragmentary manuscript texts, including reworkings, from the fifteenth to the twentieth century) not only for its literary or religious merit, but, to judge from the number of synopses and reworkings, also as a practical guidebook for pilgrims. It covers the whole country, and the monasteries.

Although it can scarcely be supposed that Daniel wrote his account without a Byzantine genre model in mind, his story is nevertheless very much a personal account, which is rather uncommon both for Slavonic and western medieval writing. For example Daniel compares the Jordan with a river near his home, the Snov', he measures things himself, he introduces his own feelings and actions into the story, and if his descriptions of architectural monuments are notably less successful than his descriptions of the countryside, rarely going beyond the adjectives 'big', 'beautiful', 'wonderful' and 'indescribable', they do at least convey the author's sense of awe at what he had seen. And it is clear that with a few obvious exceptions, he did see what he described – as he insists several times: I went there on my own sinful feet and saw with my own sinful eyes. His claims to veracity are sincere: where popular tradition is manifestly false he says so (although we

¹ See Fink, *op. cit.*, 1.26.9, p. 118.

² Klaus-Dieter Seeman, *Abt Daniil: Wallfahrtsbericht* (Slavische Propyläen, 36), Munich, 1970.

must allow him a reasonable measure of medieval gullibility and a general disregard for any distinction between canonical and apocryphal sources). Where his information comes from an informant he usually says as much, although we must assume that the source of much of his information was the unnamed monk from the monastery or Laura of St Saba who acted as his guide and presumably retailed the standard tourist patter of the period.

Daniel tantalisingly fails to maintain this personal approach in one crucial respect: he does not tell us where he comes from. Linguistic evidence points to one of the southern principalities, and the river Snov' may narrow this down to Chernigov, a little to the north of Kiev. Daniel tells us only that he is an abbot 'of the Russian land', i.e. anywhere from the Black to the White Sea. He is not travelling alone but has an entourage. The names which he gives for some of his companions are names of laymen, and this together with the list of Russian princes for whom Daniel prays, and the evident favour shown him by King Baldwin, has suggested to some scholars that Daniel's journey was perhaps as much a diplomatic mission as a pilgrimage. This possibility is strengthened by the fact that the forty-two Greek words found in the text, and Daniel's explanation of some of them, seem to suggest that Daniel knew Greek, which was probably not an accomplishment of most Russian clerics in the twelfth century.

Daniel's opening remarks about the advantage of reading an account of a pilgrimage, if one cannot oneself make the journey, are comparable to similar remarks by pilgrims, both from east and west.¹

SIGURÐR 1100 (Sig)

This extract comes from an Icelandic work, *Magnússona saga*, written by Snorri Sturluson, and can be dated c. 1220-36. It contains the travels of King Sigurðr to Sicily, the Holy Land and Constantinople. Only the travels to the Holy Land are translated in this book. Sigurðr took part with King Baldwin in the siege of Sidon in December 1110, and afterwards returned to rule in Norway. In spite of the fact that the travels are in effect a story

¹ See Jph 1.6, Jwü, prol. 109, and Thc, prol. 9.

of adventure, they contain two elements which concern pilgrimage. In Chapter 10 Sigurðr bathes in the River Jordan, 'The bold and generous chieftain bathed in the waters of Jórðán (that was a deed worthy of praise)', which was a dramatic experience he shared with Abbot Daniel. Secondly, in Chapter 11, a feast is described at which King Baldwin gives a splinter of the Holy Cross to Sigurðr on condition that he swears an oath to promote Christianity with all his power in his own country.

TWO MORE EARLY GUIDES (Gfe and Gds)

These two texts are guides to Jerusalem, and the first contains passing references to Galilee. Both are in good Latin, but they do not add more holy places to those visited by the three early guides and Saewulf, and for this reason their origin is likely to be early.

One guide (Gfe) forms chapters 31-3 of the *Gesta Francorum Jherusalem expugnantium*. The main book has been dated to before 1109 because in it Tripoli is still ruled by Saracens.¹ But there is some confusion in the dates of the sources, since the guide which forms part of the text of the book mentions the Bishopric of Bethlehem which was formed in 1109. Hence the Guide's description of Jerusalem must therefore be in 1109 or later. This guide also forms the main source of a thirteenth-century description of the Holy Land.²

De Situ (Gds) seems to have been written before 1114, at which date the rock in the centre of the Temple of the Lord was paved over, and might very well be a guide-book of the time of Saewulf. This is the guide which comes in front of the *Descriptio* (see below, p. 179), though it may have well have been copied down from an unrelated manuscript.

¹ See *G.F.J.E.* chapters 68 and 71.

² Guide in the *Chronicon Universale Anonymi Laudunensis*, ed. A. Cartellieri and W. Stechele, Leipzig 1909, 41-6.

OTHER TEXTS 1114-19

Latin authors still continued to think that the Temple of the Lord had been built by Christians. Abbot Daniel had been told the truth by the Greeks, that it had been built by a Muslim, But perhaps the main cause that Latin Christians maintained a false view was that it was still the opinion of the Prior of the monastery who was in charge of Christian services in the Temple. This was Acard of Arrouaise, who had been appointed soon after 1099, and still maintained his view shortly before 1114. In that year he wrote a poem to King Baldwin which ended with a request that the Temple be repaired. This poem is largely a résumé of the history of the Temple in the Bible, but in lines 479 to 487 Acard says that he does not know which Christian built it. It might have been Empress Helena, or Justinian, or Heraclius. This view is also held by Albert of Aix in his *Historia Hierosolymitana* (VI.24).

Several historical authors mention the ceremony of the Holy Fire, which was held in the Holy Sepulchre on Easter Eve and Ekkehard of Aura, writing in about 1115 (*Hierosolymita* 32) gives an eyewitness account of the service.

THE WORK ON GEOGRAPHY 1128-37 (Wge)

This work seems to be the one of the main sources of two other writings, one the *Descriptio*, which was finished between 1131 and 1143, during the reign of King Fulk, and the other a letter written by Fretellus to Bishop Henri Sdyck in 1137. I have called the latter work *Patri H*. Some of the later manuscripts, based on Fretellus' work, but after his death,¹ about 1157, make additions which are the same as passages in the *Descriptio*,² and it is therefore likely that they were drawing on some third book for source material.

¹ See Boeren, p. xi, note 14.

² Fretellus' manuscripts of 1162-73 (D : Douai, *Bib. mun.* 882 and D², the interpolations) and of 1181-4 (Vat : Vatican, *Bib. Apost. cod. Reg. lat.* 712) coincide with the *Descriptio*, as shown by Boeren's notes on pp. 9-11, 13, 15, 17, 20-1, 23, 29-30, 32-4, 37-44.

There is a work called *On the Distances between Places* which has been ascribed to Saint Jerome,¹ and a book with the same title was at the end of the twelfth century in the library of the church in Nazareth,² of which Fretellus was Archdeacon. Indeed this title has been preserved in a version of Fretellus,³ no doubt from this book. Generally speaking the book is a collection of the main cities in the area, the places in their neighbourhood, and the distances between them. But it has the *Liber locorum* by Jerome as one of its main sources; and since Jerome's original exists, a reader can tell where both the *Descriptio* and Fretellus make errors in quoting it, and the mistakes of one twelfth-century author do not arise out of the mistakes of the other.

The style of the *Descriptio* is less accomplished than that of the letter of Fretellus, but where Fretellus adds material it provides almost no factual information but is rather of a spiritual nature. The one exception to this is Fretellus' frequent quotations from Jerome's *de Interpretationibus Nominum*, which was also one of the books in the library at Nazareth.⁴ It is thus possible to reconstruct the main points of *The Work on Geography*. There are some descriptions of areas beyond the Latin Kingdom, like Damascus and Arabia, as would be expected from a work based on Jerome, but the *Work* seems to be mainly a book about holy places in the Latin Kingdom, since the manuscripts written after Fretellus' death include the kingdom's boundaries.⁵

In the translation of the *Work* which is printed below the order of the *Descriptio* has been followed, but additional material from the manuscripts written after Fretellus' death has also been included in the paragraphs which have a side-line. The order of the source is not known for certain, since it varies in the *Descriptio* and the works of Fretellus, but its contents are clear. They are as follows:

1. Description of Hebron and the Dead Sea.
2. Description of Arabia, mainly composed of a long paraphrase of Jerome's *Letter* 78, and ending with the Roman capital, Bostra.

¹ See Boeren, p. xiii.

² See J. S. Beddie, 'Some notices of books in the East in the period of the Crusades', *Speculum* 8 (1933) 240-2.

³ Eugesippus in his version of Fretellus' *Fratri R.*, PL 133.991-1004.

⁴ See Boeren, p. xiii.

⁵ See Wge 226.

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3. Damascus, Jordan.
4. Galilee, Samaria, and (omitting Jerusalem), Bethlehem.
5. Section A on Jerusalem, with a passage describing places mentioned on the order of Christ's Passion.
6. Surroundings of Jerusalem.
7. Jericho.
8. Journey up the coast road to the north, as far as the northern boundary of the Latin Kingdom, the River Albana.
9. Section B on Jerusalem.

This therefore seems to be a guide to the Latin Kingdom produced by some twelfth-century scholar. It may have gone through several versions, since the ending is with the epitaph of Duke Godfrey, which argues for an early date. The addition of *De Situ*, which as we have seen was written before 1114, may form another suggestion that there was an earlier version of the work. The latest dated material common to the *Descriptio* and Fretellus, *Patri H.*, is the death of Patriarch Warmund, so the version used by both these authors was after 1128.

One of the main sources of the 'Work on Geography' was the *Liber locorum* by Saint Jerome, and entries from this are very frequent. Another source deals with the translation of relics, and this seems to be known in the eleventh century, and accounts for most of the references to the empire of Charlemagne. Perhaps the most difficult part to date is the descriptions of cities. The areas round the cities are described in terms of the provinces of the Roman empire, namely Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, Arabia and Egypt. Such passages may therefore date to long before the time of the Latin Kingdom.

A particularly difficult name for a province is 'Idumaea'. In the period of the New Testament Idumaea was an area whose capital was Hebron, and therefore to the south of Jerusalem, but in the *Work on Geography* it seems to cover roughly the same area as the Roman province of Arabia. Indeed Bostra, the capital of the province of Arabia, is said to have been once the capital of Idumaea (sec.44). It thus seems likely that 'Idumaea' is a name for the traditional enemy of Israel, namely Edom. If the crusaders felt themselves in religious terms to be akin to the Kingdom of David, then they would naturally have Edom as their enemy. Fretellus

seems to give an indication of this when, in the prologue to *Patri H.*, he says,

Look at Sion itself, which is an allegory for Paradise, and how *the mighty men from Israel*, that is to say *the new Maccabees*, rise from the bed of the true Solomon, and drive out from thence the Idumaeans and Amalech.

The quotation in this passage is from St Bernard's *Book to the Soldiers of the Temple*,¹ and it is therefore very likely that the word was in regular use.

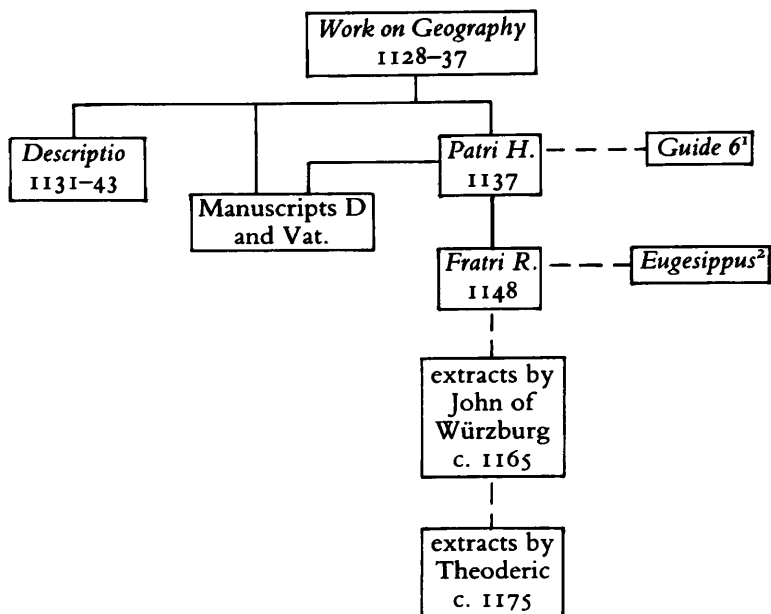
One important change from the pilgrimage pattern of the Christians who had been present before the Latin Kingdom is the inclusion in the *Work on Geography* of places listed in the order in which they would be visited during the week before Easter. This order is mentioned in sections 155–170, and also the Holy Fire ceremony on Easter Eve. Fretellus mentions this period at greater length (chapters 60–6). At the beginning he mentions the Day of Palms or Palm Sunday and at the end the 'Fiftieth Day', or Pentecost, putting the events in the order of their celebration during the period round Easter. This was evidently an alternative way of describing the Holy Places. Whether it had results in private pilgrimages apart from Holy Week it is not possible to tell.

The *Work on Geography* was used again and again as a source, first of all by Fretellus in another work which we shall call by part of its opening words *Fratri R.*² This was another letter speaking about pilgrimage in much the same way as *Patri H.*, his earlier one. *Fratri R.*, was both copied as whole work, and extracts were also made from it by the German pilgrims John of Würzburg and Theodoric. The family tree is reproduced on the following page.

¹ J. Leclercq, C. H. Talbot and H. M. Rochais, eds (Rome 1957) 3, 213.

² Boeren 53–63 and Migne, *PL* 155. 1037–54.

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INVENTION OF THE PATRIARCHS 1136

In 1119 a discovery was made of the relics of the Patriarchs in their grave in Hebron. In 1136 this is described by one of the Canons of Hebron, and he gives an interesting description of the monument.

Pilgrims between 1099 and 1187 visited relics, but none of their writings show that (apart from King Baldwin's gift to Sigurðr) they collected any, and relics, important though they were to the history of the Latin Kingdom, will therefore not be described in this book. But original discoveries of saints' bodies, as they believed them to be, were an important part of the Crusaders' psychology, and increased their awareness that they had possession of the Holy Land. One of the first such discoveries in the area of the Latin Kingdom was said to be of St George's body at Lydda,³ and there is also a Jewish story about a Latin attempt to visit David's Tomb in Jerusalem.⁴

¹ *Guide 6*, also known as Pseudo-Bede, and beginning *Sumamus initium*, is edited by A. Neumann, in *Tübinger Theologische Quartalschrift* (1868) 7, 398ff. See also Boeren, *op. cit.* 4.

² Eugesippus, *De distanciis locorum*, Migne, *PL* 133.991-1004. See also Boeren, *op. cit.* 87.

³ John Phocas, *Descr.* 29.4-6.

⁴ Benjamin of Tudela, *Itin.* p. 24f.

PETER THE DEACON 1137 (Pde)

In 1137 the Librarian of Monte Cassino, Peter the Deacon, addressed a work to his Abbot, who was about to go on pilgrimage. In his prologue he said that he had 'collected the material from all the books'. His main book was the work of Bede on the holy places, and he gives several valuable quotations from a fourth-century pilgrim, Egeria. But among the quotations some are clearly from a twelfth-century Guide or description of the Holy Land, of which extracts are given below.¹

NIKULÁS OF ÞVERÁ about 1140 (Nik)

Embedded in a fourteenth-century encyclopaedic miscellany, MS AM 194, is an independent text, said to have been by a certain Abbot Nikulás, which describes a journey from Iceland to Rome and on to Jerusalem. The journey from Rome to Jerusalem is translated below. Nineteenth-century scholars identified Nikulás with Nikulás Sæmundarson, who died as Abbot of the Icelandic Benedictine monastery of Þingeyrar in 1158, but it is now accepted that the reference is to Nikulás Bergsson, who became abbot of the other Benedictine monastery of Þverá in 1155, and who died in 1159 or 1160.² The fact that he is said to have been 'blessed with a good memory' may perhaps suggest that he had made his pilgrimage long before. Another pilgrim, St Willibald, made a pilgrimage fifty years before his biography was written down by a nun, and she too took down the words from his dictation. It is thus impossible to tell when the pilgrimage took place.

Like Saewulf (9) or Daniel (10) he calls the building containing the Holy Sepulchre a 'Church'. But he implies that the centre of the world

¹ In a previous work of mine, J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, London 1971, I made a different selection. The main points where I now differ from the previous selection are that the twelfth-century pieces are (I) up to 'Jehoshaphat' and 'holy Stephen' to the end; (M2) 'eleven sons of Jacob' to the end; whole of (P1); (P3) from 'Mount Hermon' to end; and all of (P4).

² For these and other details I rely on two articles for which I am most grateful: Joyce Hill, 'From Rome to Jerusalem: an Icelandic Itinerary of the mid-twelfth century', *Harvard Theological Review*, 76 (1983) 175-203, and B. Z. Kedar and Chr. Westergaard-Nielsen, 'Icelanders in the crusader kingdom of Jerusalem: a twelfth-century account', *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 11 (1978-79), 193-211.

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was outside, in a position where the sun 'shines directly down from the sky on the Feast of St John' (85). The Holy Sepulchre was made into one church and consecrated on 15 July 1149, and it must be before that date. But the dateable material before that is the capture of Acre in 1104. The reference to the Hospital as 'the most magnificent in the world' (94) may tend to make it late in the period before 1149, and I have therefore suggested about 1140.

The list of stages by which Nikulás travelled from Iceland to Jerusalem is even more interesting than his rather summary account of the holy places. The part of the account translated here, brief as it is, is a description of Jerusalem, and the road to Nazareth and the coastal cities to the north.

HUGH OF ST VICTOR before 1141

Whether or not Hugh of St Victor was responsible for the copying of the work named *De locis circa Jerusalem*, it is no more than a paraphrase of Bede's work *De locis Sanctis*, written in 702-3. But it has an addition of considerable interest at the end. This is a story first told in the eleventh century by 'Master Franco of Liège' and it is almost an exact copy of the original.¹ As will be seen on page 75 below, this story is of considerable importance, since it describes King Solomon putting the wood of the Cross into the Sheep Pool near the east gate of Jerusalem. The story was to change the topography of Jerusalem.

AN ICELANDIC PILGRIM about 1150 (Gic)

Another Icelandic pilgrim quoted in *Alfrædi islensk* gives a detailed account of his pilgrimage in Jerusalem. He seems to describe the Holy Sepulchre as one church, with several allusions to its former condition, and this suggests that he was writing not very long after it was rebuilt as one church in 1149.¹ This guide has a different order from that of Abbot Nikulás, and a great deal more detail.²

¹ See A. Wilmart, *RB* (1927) 230f.

² Gic is clearly the basis for the description of the Emperor Kirialax's visit to the Holy Land in *Kirialax saga*, ed. Kr. Kålund, *Kirialax saga*, Copenhagen 1917. For comment and translation see Kedar and Westergård-Nielsen, *op. cit.*, 197, n. 15.

AL IDRISI 1154 (Gid)

Al Idrisi was a Muslim Arab who lived at the court of the Norman King, Roger II, in Sicily. At the King's request he wrote a work on geography, and his description of Jerusalem is evidently a version of a guide to the place by some Christian writing in Arabic.

BELARD OF ASCOLI about 1155 (Gbe)

Since Belard describes himself as a 'Brother' it is likely that he was a monk. Despite the fact that his manuscript is repetitive (perhaps due to careless copying) and written in poor Latin, it gives us yet another individual approach to the Holy Places. Belard may have been told about a description of the places by a guide, or he may have read it, and some of his phrases seem to be borrowed from some earlier source.¹ But such literary parallels seem to lead to no conclusions about his sources.

The earliest person to comment on this work² thought it must be before 1120. But it is certainly after 1141, since it mentions a church at Emmaus, and clearly also some time after about 1142, when the choir was begun at the Holy Sepulchre. Since Belard does not speak of the alteration as new, this Guide might have been written in 1155, but it might equally be at any stage between 1142 and 1187.

In addition to his description of Jerusalem Belard writes about Hebron, Shechem, Nazareth and Galilee, and briefly mentions Emmaus and the northern coastal cities.

SEVENTH GUIDE about 1160 (7Gu)

The *Seventh Guide* is partly based on the *First Guide* and the end of it

¹ For instance his statement that Samaria is 'the name of a city and a nation' (3) compares with Fretellus, *Fratri R.* 42, and his statement on the Jor and the Dan (3) compares with Fretellus 31.

² W. A. Neumann, *AOL* 1, 225-9.

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is very like the *Second Guide*. In its turn this *Seventh Guide* formed the basis of two more guides written after 1187.¹

It was written before the new church at Gethsemane was built, and therefore before the visit of John of Würzburg, and it has only a 'small church' at the Pater Noster.

The text covers Jerusalem, Hebron and Emmaus and the road to Shechem and Nazareth.

THEOTONIUS' PILGRIMAGE

Saint Theotoniuss visited Jerusalem twice, not long after 1100, and then returned to Portugal. There he founded the monastery of the Holy Cross near Coimbra. One of his disciples wrote his life not long after 1160 but the author's account of the pilgrimage is modelled so closely on St Jerome's account in *Letter 108* of the pilgrimage of St Paula that it conveys no true information about pilgrimage in the twelfth century.

BENJAMIN OF TUDELA (Btu) and IBN JUBAIR

Benjamin of Tudela visited the Holy land in the course of a longer journey from 1166–71 and wrote an itinerary. Apart from the details it gives about the topography of the Holy Land it is of little relevance to the history of Christian pilgrimage. But for the wider history of the Latin Kingdom it is of great importance, since it reveals a great deal about the life of the Jewish population.

Similarly Ibn Jubair, who travelled across Galilee and wrote an itinerary in 1181 mentioning Muslim holy places, has not been translated in this collection.

¹ Namely the *Ninth Guide* (*Si quis de Joppe . . . Jacobus filius Zebedaei*), edited by W. A. Neumann, *Tübinger Theologische Quartalschrift* (1874) 534–9, and the *Fifth Guide*, soon after 1198 (*Ego ivi de Acon . . . honore B. Virginis*), edited by W. A. Neumann, *Österreichische Viertelsschrift für Katholische Theologie* (1866) 221–57.

SECOND GUIDE about 1170 (2Gu)

This guide is an account of an individual's approach to pilgrimage, and it reflects the interest which the Templars took in the site of the Probatica pool.

It seems to be at about the same time as the visit of John of Würzburg. But its Latin is poor and the writer of the manuscript was careless. It is a short guide, and this may be why there is no church mentioned at Akeldama. But it covers a lot of ground: Jerusalem, Hebron, Emmaus, and the road to Shechem and Nazareth. There is a very brief description of Galilee.

JOHN OF WÜRZBURG about 1170 (Jwü)

John was a priest of Würzburg and he wrote his account of his visit to the Holy Land for a colleague called Dietrich. He wrote the work in good Latin and showed good powers of observation, especially of the way the monuments were decorated. He disliked the Franks because they were conceited and despised the Germans. He is very informative about his visits to Jerusalem and Nazareth, but seems to have visited very few other places. When he wishes to describe places he has not visited he quotes extensively from the *Work on Geography*, and these passages have not been included in the translation below.

Since Theoderic's quotations from the *Work on Geography* are the same as those of John of Würzburg he must have depended on John's book, and the book was therefore written before Theoderic's. The name 'Theoderic' is cognate with 'Dietrich', so perhaps John's book was addressed to him. The earliest date when John's book was written depends on the rebuilding of the church at Gethsemane (p. 253). Since we do not know the date when the church was rebuilt we have given a conjectural date of about 1170.

THEODERIC 1169-74 (Thc)

Theoderic was a monk, and seems to have come from Germany, since he was familiar with the Church at Aix, and reported the death in the Holy Land of a man from Cologne. If 'Theoderic' means the same person as 'Dietrich', he may well have been the person to whom John's book was dedicated. He was an even better observer and writer than John of Würzburg and displayed none of John of Würzburg's racist tendencies, though the general pattern of his book is not so good as John's.

For the places he had not visited he depended on John of Würzburg, and had apparently no direct knowledge of the *Work on Geography*. Again, his paraphrases from John are not translated below. He used other books, among them a Martyrology and the works of Josephus.

He was impressed by the castle of Belvoir (his p. 44), and since this cannot have been built until 1168, when the Hospitallers were granted the land, he cannot have been there until 1169, at the earliest. At the time Nur ed Din was the 'enemy', and he died on the 15 May 1174.

He was particularly interested in the constitution of the religious communities he visited and the different communities who owned the holy places.

One of the striking things about this guide is the attention it pays to the finding of the Cross and its relation to Solomon. Evidently he was influenced by some version of the story of 'Master Franco'.

He does not appear to have visited Hebron and his description of Galilee is borrowed from elsewhere. But apart from these sites, he was present in all the other places he described in the Holy Land and the coastal cities to the north.

JOHN PHOCAS 1185 (Jph)

John Phocas' powers of descriptive writing and the devotion with which he made his pilgrimage are quite different from the Latin pilgrims who preceded him. This pilgrimage consisted in visiting

INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXTS

holy men as much as Holy Places. He wrote both about monastic saints, and living holy men, or 'Old Men', as he called respected monks.

He was born in Crete. Then he became a soldier, and showed familiarity with places as far apart as Lake Ochrid and Adalia in the southern part of Turkey. He served the Emperor, and was very proud of the decorations which the Emperor had put up, particularly in Bethlehem. He does not seem to have visited Hebron, but otherwise he visited all the Holy Places, and the coastal cities to the north.

A marginal note in the original manuscript states that 'John, son of Phocas' visited the Holy Places in 1185.

3. HISTORY OF PILGRIMAGE

ABBASID AND LATIN KINGDOM PILGRIMAGE

In this section the aim is to compare pilgrimage in Abbasid times with its development under the rule of the Latin Kingdom, up to the year 1187. By 'Abbasid times' we shall also include the eleventh century, when Abbasid power was weak, and the city of Jerusalem and some other parts of Palestine were in fact ruled by the Fatimid Caliphs of Egypt.

First of all the Holy City must be considered. Just before 1099 the walls of Jerusalem stretched round about the same area as they do today (see Figure 1). They excluded the Pool of Siloam, and the steep hilly area to the south of the city (on the figure to the right) and the city was confined to the less hilly area within the walls. Round three sides Jerusalem was defended by valleys, and their names will follow. But the names are important. For the same names had been used in pilgrim accounts of Jerusalem in the Byzantine and Abbasid periods, and reference to the sources (pages 346-350) shows that Jerusalem had not changed very much on the arrival of the Crusaders. All the names that will be used in this description go back to a period long before the invasion of Jerusalem by the Crusaders in 1099.

The Valley on the east of Jerusalem, which divided it from the Mount of Olives,¹ had long been called by a biblical name deriving from the prophet Joel,² the Valley of Jehoshaphat. Half a mile to the north of Jerusalem this valley began. It ran east, then southwards past the city. After four miles it turned east to reach the Dead Sea. It was joined by another valley, the 'Valley of

¹ Matt 21.1.

² Joel 3.2, 12.

