Latin Christian Pilgrimage in the Holy Land, 1187-1291

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Abstract

This thesis discusses the practice and sites of Latin Christian pilgrimage in the Holy Land during the period between the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, sultan of Egypt and Damascus, in 1187, and the end of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1291 following the capture of Acre by al-Ashraf Khalīl, the Mamlūk sultan. It demonstrates how pilgrimage of this period changed from pre-1187 practices, and discusses how pilgrimage developed from 1187 to 1291 under the influence of a continued Frankish political presence in the Holy Land which did not extend to control over most of the holy sites. It investigates this through an analysis of both the texts written by and for pilgrims at this time, and a variety of other documentary and chronicle source material. It concludes that Holy Land pilgrimage had a different character to that practised during the period 1099 to 1187 due to: 1) changing access to holy sites as a result of raiding and treaties, in some cases causing complete breaks with earlier tradition; 2) Islamic political control of holy sites; and 3) interaction with non-Latin Christians. Many of the unique aspects of Holy Land pilgrimage, with its dearth of healing shrines and indulgences, focus on the New Testament and the life of Christ, and large number of holy associations in a small area, remained unchanged, but the details of where pilgrims went and the balance of site-types visited was modified. Pilgrims visited a broader range of sites, most of which were shared with Greek and Eastern Christians, and some of which were shared with non-Christians. The geography of several sites changed, and they began to be identified with other locations. New holy sites were visited for the first time, while the area within the walls of Jerusalem was harder to visit than ever. Overall, the thesis demonstrates that Latin Christian holy sites and pilgrimage traditions in the Holy Land were not static, and continued to develop and change into the fourteenth century.

vi

Table of Contents

Lists of Tables and Illustrative Material

Tables

Maps[1]

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[1] Map outlines were originally based on 'Map of Syria with Crusading Names', in Jacques de Vitry, *The History of Jerusalem*, trans. by Aubrey Stewart. (London: Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1896) *end*, unless otherwise stated. Settlement locations came from this and the *Survey of Western Palestine*, ed. by Charles William Wilson (London: Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1881).

x

Abbreviations

Burchard	Burchard of Mount Sion, 'Descriptio Terrae Sanctae', in *Peregrinatores quatuor*, pp. 1–101
Chemins A	'Les Chemins et Les Pelerinages de La Terre Sainte, Texte A', in *Itinéraires*, pp. 177–88
Chemins B	'Les Chemins et Les Pelerinages de La Terre Sainte, Texte B', in *Itinéraires*, pp. 189–99
Eracles	'L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur et la Conquest de la Terre d'Outremer', in *RHC Occ*, II, pp. 1–481
Ernoul	*Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. by M. L. de Mas Latrie (Paris: Libraire de la Société de l'Histoire de France, 1871)
Filippo	Philippus de Busseriis, 'Liber Peregrinationum', in *Itinera*, IV, pp. 221–54
Hec sunt peregrinaciones	'Hec sunt peregrinaciones et loca Terrae Sanctae', in *Itinera*, IV, pp. 333–39
Innom. III	Innominatus III, 'Haec est via ad Terram Sanctam', in *Itinera*, III, pp. 17–21
Innom. IV	Innominatus IV, 'Iter ad Terram Sanctum', in *Itinera*, III, pp. 23–27
Innom. IX	Innominatus IX, 'De via eundi de Iope in Ierusalem et de Sancto Sepulchro et aliis locis', in *Itinera*, III, pp. 90–99
Innom. X	Innominatus X, 'Si quis voluerit ire ab Acon', in *Itinera*, III, pp. 100–07
Itinera	*Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum (saec. XII-XIII)*, ed. by Sabino de Sandoli, 4 vols. (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1978)
Itinéraires	Itinéraires à Jérusalem et descriptions de la Terre Sainte rédigés en français au XIe, XIIe et XIIIe siècles, ed. by Henri Victor Michelant and Gaston Raynaud (Geneva: Jules-Guillaume Fick, 1882)
Itinerarium Ricardi	*Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, ed. by William Stubbs (London: Longman, 1864)
Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or*	Jacques de Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, ed. by Jean Donnadieu (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008)
LCTS	'Liber de Civitatibus Terrae Sanctae', in *Itinera*, IV, pp. 340–67
MGH SS	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores*, ed. by Georg Heinrich Pertz et al., 39 vols. (Hannover: Hahn, 1826-2009)
Pardouns	'Pelrinages et Pardouns de Acre', in *Itinéraires*, pp. 227–36
Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem	'Les pelerinaiges por aler en Iherusalem', in *Itinéraires*, pp. 87–103

Peregrinatores quatuor	*Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor: Burchardus de Monte Sion, Ricoldus de Monte Crucis, Odoricus de Foro Julii, Wilbrandus de Oldenborg*, ed. by J. C. M. Laurent (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1864)
RHC Occ	*Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, 3 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1859)
Riccoldo	Riccold de Monte Croce, *Pérégrination en Terre Sainte et au Proche Orient: Lettres sur la chute de Saint-Jean d'Acre*, ed. and trans. by René Kappler (Paris: H. Champion, 1997)
Rothelin Continuation	'Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr de 1229 a 1261 dite du manuscrit de Rothelin', in *RHC Occ*, II, 483–639
RRH	Reinhold Röhricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani (MXCVII-MCCXCI)* (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1893)
RRH: Add.	Reinhold Röhricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani (MXCVII-MCCXCI): Additamentum* (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1904)
Sains Pelerinages	'Les sains pelerinages que l'en doit requerre en la Terre Sainte', in *Itinéraires*, III, pp. 104–104.7
Templier de Tyr	'Les gestes des Chiprois, III: Chronique du Templier de Tyr', in *Les gestes des Chiprois: Recueil de chroniques françaises ècrites en Orient au XIIIe & XVIe siècles*, ed. by Gaston Raynaud (Genève: Imprimerie Jules-Guillaume Fick, 1887), pp. 139–334
Thietmar A	Magister Thetmarus, *Magistri Thietmari Peregrinatio*, ed. by Johann Karl Moritz Laurent (Hamburg: Nolte & Köhler, 1857)
Thietmar B	Thietmar, 'Epistola Magistri Thetmari', in *Voyages faits en Terre-Sainte par Thetmar, en 1217, et par Burchard de Strasbourg, en 1175, 1189 ou 1225*, ed. by Jules de Saint-Génois (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1851), pp. 19–58
Wilbrand A	Wilbrand of Oldenburg, 'Peregrinatio', in *Peregrinatores quatuor*, pp. 161–90
Wilbrand B	Denys Pringle, 'Wilbrand of Oldenburg's Journey to Syria, Lesser Armenia, Cyprus, and the Holy Land (1211-1212): A New Edition', *Crusades*, 11 (2012), 109–137
Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185	*Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, trans. by John Wilkinson, Joyce Hill, W. F. Ryan (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1988)

Note on Names

Placenames in this thesis are primarily in the form given in the gazetteer of *A History of the Crusades, IV*; where the site is relatively unknown, the name will be that given in *The Churches of the Crusade Kingdom of Jerusalem*.[2] Arabic and Turkic names will be transliterated using the form used by the Cambridge University Press and Encyclopedia of Islam.[3]

Note on Translations

Generally, only the original language versions of the main texts (in Latin and Old French) have been cited within this thesis, with the exception of the occasional direct reference to the notes or interpretation provided by a specific translation. This is partly to allow readers to check the original source material and partly for reasons of space. However, there are a number of good English translations available for many of the texts used in this thesis, and these are noted in the relevant section of the Bibliography. Texts which provide supporting material in languages other than Latin and Old French are cited with the translation.

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[2] *A History of the Crusades, Volume IV: The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, ed. by Kenneth M. Setton and Harry W. Hazard (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977); Pringle, *Churches*.

[3] *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. by H. A. R. Gibb, New ed., 10 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1960).

I. Introduction

Pilgrimage to the Holy Land has a long history. The first pilgrim accounts of Egeria, Antoninus of Piacenza, and others, began to appear in the fourth century, about the time that the sacred geography of the Holy Land first developed.[1] Latin Christian pilgrimage to this area continued following the Islamic conquest in the first half of the seventh century. During the eleventh century, increasingly large groups of pilgrims travelled to the Holy Land on pilgrimage, following the establishment of a predominantly Christian-controlled overland route to the Eastern Mediterranean.[2] However, following the European conquest of the Holy Land as a result of the First Crusade, the rate of Latin Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land increased still further.[3] Pilgrimage during the twelfth century has, as a result, been discussed extensively in the scholarship, but a brief

[1] John F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (Rome: Pont. Institutum studiorum orientalium, 1987), p. 83; J. Stopford, 'Some Approaches to the Archaeology of Christian Pilgrimage', *World Archaeology*, 26 (1994), 57–72 (p. 60); Aryeh Graboïs, *Le pèlerin occidental en Terre Sainte au Moyen Age* (Brussels: De Boeck Université, 1998), pp. 22–24; *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, p. 1; P. D. A. Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land* (London: The British Library, 2012), pp. 7–8; Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage c.700-c.1500* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 2–3. Editions of the pilgrim texts: Egeria, 'Itinerarium Egeriae', in *Itineraria et alia Geographica*, ed. by A. Franceschini and R. Weber (Turnhout: Brepols, 1965), pp. 29–103; 'Ps.-Antonini Placentini Itinerarium', in *Itineraria et alia Geographica*, ed. by Paul Geyer (Turnhout: Brepols, 1965), pp. 128–174. For English translations of the main early pilgrimages, including during the period under Islamic control, see John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1977).
[2] Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion* (London: Faber & Faber, 1975), pp. 115, 117, 133–34; Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage*, pp. 16, 18; Bernard Hamilton, 'The Impact of Crusader Jerusalem on Western Christendom', *Catholic Historical Review*, 80 (1994), 695–713 (p. 696); Graboïs, *Le pèlerin occidental*, p. 35. The most well-known of these groups was the 'Great German Pilgrimage of 1064-65'. See David Jacoby, 'Bishop Gunther of Bamberg, Byzantium and Christian Pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the Eleventh Century', in *Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie: Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur*, ed. by Lars M. Hoffman and Anuscha Monchizadeh (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), pp. 267–85; Einar Joranson, 'The Great German Pilgrimage of 1064-5', in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C Munro*, ed. by Louis J. Paetow (New York: Crofts, 1928), pp. 3–43.
[3] Adrian J. Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades: Society, Landscape and Art in the Holy City Under Frankish Rule* (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 9; Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage*, p. 22; Graboïs, *Le pèlerin occidental*, p. 38; Bernard Hamilton, 'Rebuilding Zion: The Holy Places of Jerusalem in the Twelfth Century', *Studies in Church History*, 14 (1977) 105–116 (p. 115).

overview will be included here for subsequent comparison with the thirteenth century.

Twelfth-Century Pilgrimage

In 1099 and the years immediately following it, the military success of the First Crusade brought the holy sites under the political control of Christians for the first time since the seventh century, and under Latin control for the first time since the Orthodox and Latin churches had drifted apart.[4] The main areas which were of interest to twelfth-century Latin Christian pilgrims were: the area around the Sea of Galilee and Nazareth (Galilee); and the area around Jerusalem which stretches from Bethlehem to the river Jordan (Judaea). The main places visited were Nazareth, Mount Tabor, Mount Quarantana, Jericho, the Jordan, Bethany and Bethlehem.[5] In the first half of the twelfth century, pilgrimage was centred on the area around Jerusalem, which was the pilgrimage area most securely held by the new Latin Christian rulers. The area around the Sea of Galilee was mentioned more frequently in later pilgrimage accounts, but was often considered too far or too dangerous for most pilgrims to visit, particularly during the first years of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem (hereafter 'Latin kingdom').[6] Within Jerusalem, the most popular place to visit was the church of the Holy Sepulchre; also popular were the Temple Mount, the tomb of the Virgin Mary, the pool of Siloam and the church on Mount Sion. Most of these sites were considered important during the twelfth century because of their association with the events of the New Testament.

As the new Latin kingdom expanded, the Latin church in the East took overall

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[4] Latin clergy were present in the Holy Land prior to the Crusades, and were able to observe their own rite, but were under the canonical authority of the Orthodox church, and under the political authority of the Muslim rulers. Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (London: Variorum Publications, 1980), p. 8.

[5] From analysis of the twelfth-century pilgrim guides, many of which can be found edited in *Itinera*, and translated in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*. These locations were noted by at least eight of the pilgrim accounts considered.

[6] *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, p. 66.

control of the holy sites.[7] One of the first acts of Arnulf of Chocques, appointed as Latin patriarch of Jerusalem following the capture of the city in 1099, was to remove all the Eastern Christian clergy from the church of the Holy Sepulchre and replace them with Latin equivalents.[8] Although Greek Orthodox and Eastern Christians, who under Muslim rule had previously administered the holy sites, were later allowed to maintain a presence in the churches, a ruling class of Latin clerics was imposed.[9] The acquisition of the holy sites led to an extensive programme of renovation by the Latin rulers, not least because the only shrines in working order at the arrival of the crusaders were the basilica at Bethlehem and the church of the Holy Sepulchre.[10] They rebuilt using a combination of the Romanesque architecture of French pilgrimage sites and the native building style, in a process that continued throughout the twelfth century, creating a physical environment that looked similar to that in Europe.[11] The holy places within churches were not only made more physically accessible, but were altered to suit the understanding of Latin Christians; some of the Byzantine mosaics, for example, were given Latin inscriptions to aid interpretation.[12] Similar 'Latinising' changes can be found across many of the holy sites; the church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, for example, was decorated with images of local Italian saints at this time.[13]

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[7] Hamilton, 'The Impact of Crusader Jerusalem', p. 698.

[8] Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 14.

[9] Bernard Hamilton, 'Ideals of Holiness: Crusaders, Contemplatives and Mendicants', *The International History Review*, 17 (1995), 693–712 (p. 695); Alan V. Murray, 'Sacred Space and Strategic Geography in Twelfth-Century Palestine', in *Sacred Space in the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia*, ed. by Jarosław Wenta (Toruń, 2013) pp. 13–38 (p. 23).

[10] Hamilton, 'Ideals of Holiness', p. 695; Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), I, p. 1; III, pp. 3–4; Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 361–62; Barbara Baert, 'The Pool of Bethsaïda: The Cultural History of a Holy Place in Jerusalem', *Viator*, 36 (2005), 1–22 (p. 7).

[11] Lisa Mahoney, 'Holy Land Romanesque Architecture', in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. by Larissa Taylor (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 260–62 (p. 260). Stopford compares this transformation with a similar process using Romanesque architecture on the Iberian peninsula. Stopford, 'Archaeology of Christian Pilgrimage', p. 60.

[12] Molly Lindner, 'Topography and Iconography in Twelfth-Century Jerusalem', in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. by B. Z. Kedar (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992), pp. 81–98 (p. 92).

[13] Gustav Kühnel, 'The Twelfth-Century Decoration of the Church of the Nativity', in *Ancient*

A number of sites were newly-accessible to Latin Christian pilgrims in the twelfth century, most notably those on the Temple Mount. During the Late Antique and Byzantine periods, the Mount had been left in ruins, and its Christian associations, even those from the Old Testament, transferred to the church of the Holy Sepulchre.[14] Early Christians saw the ruins on the Temple Mount as a triumph of *'Ecclesia over Synagoga'*, and thus did not see the site as a suitable one for Christian pilgrimage. During the twelfth century however, this process was reversed, and the traditions, both Old and New Testament, started to migrate back to the Temple Mount.[15] This was due in part, firstly to the use of the Aqsa mosque as the palace of the kings of Jerusalem and later to the presence of the Templars on the Temple Mount.[16] The movement of traditions to and from the Temple Mount was part of a wider process which occurred throughout the Latin kingdom during the twelfth century, as the new inhabitants attempted to fit the locations they saw to the Bible (and vice versa). This was coupled with a belief that the Latin Christians alone were able to find the 'genuine' holy places, as demonstrated in such events as the Invention of the Tombs of the Patriarchs in Hebron.[17] Considered the final resting place of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the site was revered by Jews, Christians and Muslims, with a mosque and a synagogue nearby.

Churches Revealed, ed. by Yoram Tsafrir (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993), pp. 197–206 (pp. 202–03). For some of the changes in Jerusalem only, see Hamilton, 'The Impact of Crusader Jerusalem', pp. 700–02.

[14] Robert Ousterhout, 'The Temple, the Sepulchre, and the Martyrion of the Savior', *Gesta*, 29 (1990), 44–53 (pp. 46–47).

[15] Sylvia Schein, 'Between Mount Moriah and the Holy Sepulchre: The Changing Traditions of the Temple Mount in the Central Middle Ages', *Traditio*, 1984, 175–95 (pp. 175–77); Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099-1187)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p. 96. Schein attributes this change in part to the fact that the Crusaders did not feel threatened by Judaism like the Byzantine Christians; however, given the attacks that took place on Jews during the course of the Crusades in Europe, this seems problematic. Jeremy Cohen, 'The Hebrew Crusade Chronicles in their Christian Cultural Context', in *Juden und Christen zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge*, ed. by Alfred Haverkamp (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1999), pp. 17–34 (p. 17).

[16] Schein, 'Mount Moriah', p. 180. Wilkinson provides a useful summary of the biblical traditions of the Temple Mount, and some of their changes. *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, pp. 40–44.

[17] Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 65–66.

Following the conquest of the crusaders in 1100, a group of Augustinian canons was established at the site. They were to find the remains of the Patriarchs under the floor of the existing sanctuary in 1119, as described in the Latin text *Tractatus de inventione sanctorum patriarchum Abraham, Ysaac et Jacob*.[18]

As access to the Holy Land became easier, and as the kingdom became more secure, new foundations at the holy places arose from royal and noble Latin patronage. The village of Bethany, for example, famous for its links to the miracle of Lazarus and the meeting between Mary, Martha and Jesus, became the site of a convent, dedicated to SS. Mary and Martha, and founded by Queen Melisende in 1143.[19]

More pilgrims visited the Holy Land in the twelfth century than previously, particularly during the high season (such as around Easter). Saewulf, an early twelfth-century pilgrim from England, comments that he travelled home accompanied by at least two other ships carrying pilgrims.[20] Jaffa, the closest port to Jerusalem, was unable to cope with the increase in pilgrim traffic, both in terms of the numbers and the size of ships, and Acre, which had a far better harbour, became the main port for the Latin kingdom in the second half of the twelfth century. Benjamin of Tudela, a Jewish traveller from Spain, who visited the Holy Land as part of a longer journey in the years 1166 to 1171 mentions Acre as a major port for pilgrims, noting that it possessed a large harbour for 'all the pilgrims who come to Jerusalem by ship'.[21]

The large numbers of pilgrims made their presence felt outside the port towns too.

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[18] Nazareth and Bethlehem were also elevated to bishoprics in order to reflect how the Latin Christians viewed the sites in light of their biblical importance. Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 77; Brett E. Whalen, 'The Discovery of the Holy Patriarchs: Relics, Ecclesiastical Politics and Sacred History in Twelfth-Century Crusader Palestine', Historical Reflections/Reflexions Historiques, 27 (2001), 139–76 (pp. 152–53).

[19] William of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi: Chronicon*, ed. by R. B. C. Huygens (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), II, p. 709.

[20] 'Saewulf', in *Peregrinationes tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodoricus*, ed. by R. B. C. Huygens (Turnhout: Brepols, 1994), pp. 59–77 (pp. 75–76).

[21] Benjamin of Tudela, 'The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela', ed. by Marcus Nathan Adler (London: H. Frowde, 1907), p. 19.

Theoderic, a late-twelfth-century pilgrim, described how there were guards posted around the area of Calvary, to regulate the number of people entering the area in order to prevent pilgrims being crushed to death.[22] Similar crowd controls were in place in the Holy Sepulchre building, which had one door for those entering, another for exiting, and yet a third for the guards who were there to control the crowd.[23] John of Würzburg described the hospital of St John as housing 'a great crowd of sick people', most of whom were travellers to the area.[24]

The change from Jaffa to Acre had an effect on the routes used by pilgrims. Instead of travelling in ships to Jaffa and then making the relatively short journey to Jerusalem, pilgrims had to travel overland from Acre, and might travel by a variety of routes between Acre and the holy places.[25] Some simply travelled up and down the coast, but many were able to do a circuit, between Acre, Jaffa, Jerusalem and Galilee. Relatively free pilgrim movement was facilitated by the foundation and development of the military orders, which provided military escorts and increased the security of pilgrim routes with the provision of castles and fortifications. The Templars, in particular, were said to have started as military escorts for pilgrims who visited Jericho and the site of Jesus's baptism on the river Jordan.[26]

Christian control of the Holy Land also made it easier for Latin Christians to

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[22] 'que sepius ibi solet accidere, oppressio aliqua sive periculum mortis eveniat', Theoderic, 'Libellus de locis sanctis', in *Peregrinationes tres*, pp. 143–97 (p. 155).

[23] Theoderic, 'Libellus de locis sanctis', p. 148.

[24] 'maxima multitudo'. John of Würzburg, 'Descriptio locorum Terre sancte', in *Peregrinationes tres*, pp. 79–138 (p. 131); John of Würzburg, 'Description of the Holy Land', in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, pp. 244–73 (p. 266).

[25] For further discussion of pilgrimage routes in the holy land, see Liz Mylod, 'Routes to Salvation: Travelling through the Holy Land in the 13th Century', in *Journeying along Medieval Routes*, ed. by Marianne O'Doherty, Alison Gascoigne, and Leonie Hicks (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming).

[26] Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 47–48, 88–89; Adrian J. Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders: A Survey of the Urban Centres, Rural Settlement and Castles of the Military Orders in the Latin East (c.1120-1291)* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 100–02, 111; Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p . 65.

demonstrate their faith publicly, in activities such as the Palm Sunday procession, when the Golden Gate in Jerusalem was opened to pilgrims walking along the Valley of Jehoshaphat from the Mount of Olives.[27] Aside from these larger annual ceremonies, twelfth-century pilgrims would undoubtedly have taken part in smaller weekly or daily services at some of the many churches in the Holy Land, as well as visiting churches and making private devotions. One of the most obvious developments of the twelfth century was that, as well as participating in religious ceremonies and personal devotional acts, some pilgrims took part in fighting for the Crusades whilst visiting the Holy Land.

The twelfth century can be seen as a golden age for Latin Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The years 1099 to 1187 had provided a huge boost to Latin Christian pilgrimage, as churches were rebuilt and restructured to allow better access, new bishoprics were founded, and relics were discovered. Access to sites which had previously been denied, such as the Temple Mount, was now possible. Travelling to the holy sites was also easier than ever: the number and size of ships which could be booked for travel to the area increased along with trade and mercantile contacts; and the military orders were founded, which protected and supported pilgrims while they were travelling.[28] The Holy Land was remade in the Latin Christian image, reflecting the particular interests of that community. Latin pilgrims were effectively able to see as many holy places as their time and money allowed, and much of what they did see would have looked physically similar to sites in Europe. The impression given of the holy places at this time is that they were busy, but easy for Latin Christian pilgrims to access and interpret.

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[27] John of Würzburg, 'Descriptio locorum Terre sancte', pp. 95–96.
[28] Hamilton, 'The Impact of Crusader Jerusalem', pp. 704–05.

Territorial Changes in the Latin Kingdom, 1187-1291[29]

Everything changed when Saladin, the first Ayyūbid sultan of Egypt and Damascus, led

the Muslim reconquest of the Latin states. Following the disaster at the Horns of Hattin

and the rapid conquests by Saladin which followed, by the end of 1187 the Latin

kingdom had been reduced to Tyre and the small area encircling it. When the news

reached Europe, Pope Gregory VIII issued an encyclical calling for another crusade.

The armies of the Third Crusade left Europe in 1189-91, fighting in the Holy Land until

a treaty was negotiated with Saladin in 1192. Following this, the Franks held the coast

from Jaffa to Tyre, holding Ramla and Lydda in condominium with the Muslims. The

treaty also guaranteed access to Jerusalem and made Ascalon a demilitarised zone.[30]

The Frankish-held territories in the Holy Land enjoyed a period of expansion after

1192, brought about by several relatively successful campaigns in the Holy Land and

political uncertainty in the lands of their Muslim neighbours. In 1195, the German

Emperor Henry VI took the cross and, in conjunction with the Pope, launched a new

crusade which arrived in the Holy Land in September 1197. The truce made after the

departure of the German Crusade in 1198 gave the Franks most of the coastline

stretching to Beirut – Jaffa and Sidon, however, remained under Muslim control

following their conquest in 1197.[31] The truce for either 3 years or 5 years and 3 months,

depending on which sources are used.[32] This period of relative peace was renewed

following some brief skirmishing in 1204. The new treaty, between al-ʿĀdil, sultan of

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[29] See pp. 20–22 for maps showing the territorial changes.

[30] Peter Lock, *The Routledge Companion to the Crusades* (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 154.

[31] See map 3. Mahmoud Said Omran, 'Truces between Moslems and Crusaders (1174-1217 AD)', in *Autour de la Première Croisade: Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 juin 1995)*, ed. by Michel Balard (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996), pp. 423–41 (p. 437); *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 316–17; *Eracles*, p. 228; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi'l-Ta'rikh*, ed. by Carl Johan Tornberg 12 vols (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1966), XII, pp. 126–129; *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kamil fi'l-Ta'rikh*, trans. by D. S. Richards, 3 vols. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), III, pp. 28–31

[32] Omran, 'Truces', p. 437.

Egypt, and the Franks, passed control of the areas around Nazareth, Ramla and Lydda, which had previously been under joint administration, to the Latin kingdom.[33]

After this, no major territorial changes occurred until the arrival of Frederick II in the Holy Land in 1227. John of Brienne, the *de facto* ruler of the Latin kingdom since his arrival in Acre in 1210, did agree a truce with al-ʿĀdil, but this was without territorial changes. Although participants in the Fifth Crusade (1217-1221) undertook raids across Galilee which would have made the area more dangerous to visit, they were primarily focused on campaigning in Egypt, and the Fifth Crusade had no effect on the extent of the territory of the Latin kingdom.

After taking, postponing and renewing his crusading vows on several occasions, the Emperor Frederick II finally sent his men to the Holy Land late in 1226. They occupied themselves with renewing the defences of several castles, while awaiting Frederick's personal arrival in 1228, which occurred shortly after his excommunication by the Pope. Little real campaigning took place, but despite this Frederick II negotiated a substantial increase of Frankish-held territory from al-Malik al-Kāmil, al-ʿĀdil's son and successor as sultan of Egypt. This treaty added a long corridor of land stretching to Jerusalem from the Latin kingdom, and the area to the north-west of the Sea of Galilee, including Toron and Montfort. Sidon was also granted to the Franks, although they had already occupied it.[34]

The final expansion of the Frankish territory was due to the participants of the Barons' Crusade, who arrived in Acre in September 1239 and October 1240. The territorial gains of the Barons' Crusade were once again won by negotiation, rather than by fighting. In this case, the Franks, whether knowingly or not, benefited from the rivalry between their neighbours, al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, the Ayyūbid ruler of Damascus

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[33] Omran, 'Truces', p. 438.
[34] Christopher Marshall, *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192-1291* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 22–23.

(1237/39-1245) and al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, the Ayyūbid ruler of Egypt (1240-1249). They were ceded first the castles and neighbouring areas of Safad, Beaufort, Tyron, Chastel Neuf and Toron, as well as having their possession of Jerusalem recognised. They were then offered Ascalon and the district around Gaza.[35]

In 1244 Khwārazmian Turks captured Jerusalem, and the Latin kingdom began to shrink. The response was a crusade organised and led by Louis IX of France (1244-1254), which, similar to the Fifth Crusade (1213-1221), sought to aid the Holy Land by removing the Ayyūbid powerbase in Egypt. This campaign failed, and following the negotiation of a ten-year truce in 1250, Louis IX moved his attention to the Holy Land. There he proceeded to strengthen its defences, by rebuilding fortifications and leaving behind a garrison of (funded) knights when he left. Little changed in terms of territory over the next decade. A further truce was agreed between the sultans of Damascus and Egypt, and the Franks in 1255, but did not result in any significant changes to the extent of Frankish territory.[36] With regard to external threats, this seems to have been a period of relative quiet for the Franks.

Baybars, Mamlūk sultan of Egypt (1261-1277), negotiated another truce with the Franks in 1261, but this only lasted two years. Both sides accused the other of breaking the truce, although it was probably Baybars who initiated military action with the destruction of the monastery on Mount Tabor.[37] However, by the time a replacement truce was concluded between the Franks and Baybars in 1268, the Franks were left with sole control over the cities of Acre, Tyre, Sidon, Beirut and Haifa, the castles of Montfort and 'Atlith and their surrounding areas. Some further areas were to be shared

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[35] See map 6. Peter Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century*, trans. by P.M. Holt (London: Longman, 1992), pp. 18–19. Marshall, *Warfare*, p. 20; Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 261–62.

[36] Thorau, *Baybars*, pp. 142–43 and note 5, pp. 153–54.

[37] Thorau, *Baybars*, p. 147. Judith Bronstein, *The Hospitallers and the Holy Land: Financing the Latin East 1187-1274* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), p. 35.

between the Franks and Baybars, but given the latter's relative dominance, it is doubtful how much independent action and influence the Franks would have had there.[38]

Further truces were concluded by Baybars with the Hospitallers in April 1271, with Templars shortly afterwards, and with John of Montfort in Tyre in the summer of 1271. The arrival on crusade of Lord Edward from England resulted in a further treaty in 1272.[39] The terms ceded several villages to the Franks to be held as condominia, and gave them total control of the plain of Acre and the unhindered use of the pilgrimage route to Nazareth.[40] Nevertheless, Baybars's campaigning in the Holy Land continued intermittently until his death in 1277. His successor, Mamlūk sultan Qalāwūn, concluded a treaty with the Templars in April 1283, then another with the main Frankish government in June 1283, which specified Frankish-held territory as Acre, Sidon, 'Atlith and Haifa.[41] Although small, the Latin kingdom remained stable in size until 1291, when Qalāwūn's son al-Ashraf Khalīl succeeded him, and conquered the remaining settlements.[42]

From this, it can be seen that the boundaries of the Latin kingdom were in a fairly constant state of change throughout the thirteenth century.[43] However, some general patterns can be identified. The period 1187 to 1291 can be divided into three unequal sections: 1187 to 1198, 1198 to 1241 and 1241 to 1295. During 1187 to 1198, the disaster of the battle of Hattin and subsequent large loss of territory was mitigated by the relative success of the Third Crusade. The territory of the Latin kingdom expanded from just one city, to an area covering the coastline from Beirut to Jaffa. There was a lot of campaigning and fighting during this period, and it is very unlikely that pilgrims

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[38] Bronstein, *Hospitallers*, p. 43.
[39] Marshall, *Warfare*, p. 28.
[40] Thorau, *Baybars*, pp. 209–10.
[41] Marshall, *Warfare*, p. 25.
[42] Lock, *Companion*, p. 122.
[43] See map 1, pp. 20–22.

would have felt safe visiting any holy site, unless they were part of a crusading army. 1198 to 1241 was a period of relative peace and territorial expansion, which is likely to have encouraged a growth in pilgrimage. Access to Jerusalem, although intermittent, was possible during this period, and territorial expansion meant that fighting took place on the edge of the kingdom, rather than throughout. Finally, 1241 to 1291 can be seen as a phase of contraction and disintegration, in which the Latin kingdom slowly shrank in size, losing access to areas which had been of interest to twelfth-century pilgrims. A core area can be identified which remained under Frankish control for most of this period: that around and between the two major cities of Acre and Tyre. The area around and between Acre and Haifa might be added to this, although Haifa seems to have been lost to the Franks for some of the period 1265 to 1283. Most importantly, the major pilgrimage sites of Jerusalem and its hinterland were not under the direct control of the Franks, with the exception of the years 1229 to 1244. Provision for visiting Jerusalem and Nazareth was made in several treaties, and for much of the first half of the thirteenth century the rulers of Jerusalem were not actively hostile towards the Franks. Pilgrims visiting prior to the twelfth century and Frankish control of the Holy Land had generally always been able to visit Jerusalem, so one might expect access to be reinstated, even after the loss of Frankish control. However, as the most important twelfth-century pilgrimage sites were not under Christian control in the thirteenth century, and generally more difficult to reach, one might expect to see changes in the sites the Latin Christians visited during the thirteenth century as a result.

Status Quaestionis

Despite the unique circumstances under which Latin Christian pilgrimage took place during the period 1187 to 1291, no study has been produced that focuses exclusively on

Latin Christian pilgrimage in the Holy Land during this time frame.[44] Overviews either merge thirteenth-century pilgrimage with that of the twelfth century, despite the geopolitical changes which occurred; or disregard the thirteenth century entirely, moving straight on to the development of Franciscan control in the fourteenth century.[45] Studies which are more focused geographically or chronologically either do not look at the Holy Land, or concentrate on pre- or post- thirteenth-century pilgrimage.[46] There are, however, two recent works which include analysis and discussion of thirteenth-century pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The first is an article focused primarily on the text of Burchard of Mount Sion, which, as will be discussed later, is not necessarily a representative pilgrim text for the thirteenth century. The second, published during the latter stages of this thesis, is a set of English translations of thirteenth-century pilgrimage texts by Denys Pringle.[47] In addition, there are three recent editions of the pilgrimage texts of Wilbrand, Riccoldo and *Pardouns*, but the nature of the textual edition genre limits the discussion of wider thirteenth-century pilgrimage in these works.[48]

The aim of this present study is to create a comprehensive and cohesive account of pilgrimage during the period 1187 to 1291, to see to what extent the thirteenth century

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[44] Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land: From the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 118–19.

[45] See for example, Sumption, *Pilgrimage*; Graboïs, *Le pèlerin occidental*; Boas, *Jerusalem*; Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie, 'The German Empire and Palestine: German Pilgrimages to Jerusalem between the 12th and 16th Century', *Journal of Medieval History*, 21 (1995), 321–41.

[46] See for example, Debra J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998); Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage*; Diana Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2001).

[47] Denys Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187–1291* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012); Aryeh Graboïs, 'Christian Pilgrims in the Thirteenth Century and the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: Burchard of Mount Sion', in *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem presented to Joshua Prawer*, ed. by B. Z. Kedar, R. C. Smail, and H. E. Mayer (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1982), pp. 285–96.

[48] Denys Pringle, 'Wilbrand of Oldenburg's Journey to Syria, Lesser Armenia, Cyprus, and the Holy Land (1211-1212): A New Edition', *Crusades*, 11 (2012), 109–37; Riccold de Monte Croce, *Pérégrination en Terre Sainte et au Proche Orient*, ed. by René Kappler (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 1997); *I Pélrinages communes, i Pardouns de Acre e la crisi del regno crociato*, ed. by Fabio Romanini and Beatrice Saletti (libreriauniversitaria.it, 2012).

was a period of continuity or change, and what factors affected this. The thesis will discuss where pilgrims went (and how this varied from twelfth-century practice), and where the pilgrims actually wanted to go. It will indicate the type of people who were pilgrims; the kinds of activity that they took part in; and the ways in which they expressed their devotion. It will also consider the impact of the geopolitical changes of the thirteenth century on the sacred geography of the Holy Land.

There are, by necessity, limits to this study. This thesis will discuss Latin Christian pilgrimage only, although it will refer to the practices of Greek Orthodox or Eastern Christians where relevant. It will cover pilgrimage and pilgrim activity from 1187 to 1291 (more generally referred to as the 'thirteenth century' throughout this thesis); that is, from the reconquest of Jerusalem by Saladin to the loss of Acre and subsequent end of the Latin Christian political presence in the area in 1291. This is because, as indicated above, this period provided a unique geopolitical situation for Latin Christian pilgrimage; one in which Latin Christian pilgrims could visit an area which was often actively at war with Latin Christian polities.

The presence of crusaders in the Latin East, and the tendency of thirteenth-century texts to use the same language to describe both crusaders and pilgrims complicates the analysis of pilgrimage and pilgrim activity at this time. For the purposes of this thesis, pilgrim activity will be understood as any non-violent activity with a religious content which is undertaken by a person outside their normal geographical sphere of activity. This includes, for example, prayer by crusaders at the church of the Holy Sepulchre, or their visits to holy places in Galilee in between raids; it does not include fighting undertaken by pilgrims who had been besieged in one of the major cities, although reference will be made to pilgrims 'turning into' crusaders at the end of their pilgrimage.

An important matter to consider for this study is the geographical extent of the Holy

Land itself, as perceived by Latin Christian pilgrims of this period. This affected where

pilgrims wanted to go, and where they needed to visit in order to complete their

pilgrimage. The main body of this thesis will discuss which sites were included by these

pilgrims in their accounts, which is one method of establishing where the Holy Land

was for these pilgrims; but it ought to be noted that several authors also specifically

define its geographical bounds. These were all educated clergy such as Jacques de Vitry,

originally from France but bishop of Acre from 1216, and Burchard of Mount Sion, a

Dominican preacher with links to the city of Magdeburg, both of whom had thought

sufficiently about the real geography of the Holy Land to have particular theories about

its extent. These were generally acquired from statements in the Old Testament, notably

the formulation 'from Dan to Beersheba', which occurs several times to refer to the land

promised to the Israelites.[49] Burchard also noted that the Holy Land was that given to

the twelve tribes of Israel, later identifying each of the regions alotted to the twelve

tribes. This is a reference to the events of the Book of Joshua, where Joshua divides the

Land of Canaan (here equated with the Holy Land) into sections for each of the tribes.[50]

The northern boundary was alternatively located at Acre by several thirteenth-century

texts, as the city was explicitly described as being outside the Holy Land, a

phenomenon which will be discussed in more detail in chapter IX.[51] A more expansive

view of the Holy Land at this time can be found in the maps of Matthew Paris, a monk

at St Albans in the early thirteenth century, who drew two maps of the Holy Land

comprising the land from Armenia and Antioch to Cairo, and from the Mediterranean to

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[49] See, for example, Judges 20: 1, 1 Samuel 3: 20, and 2 Samuel 3: 10. Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or*, pp. 190–92; Oliverus, 'Historia regum Terre Sancte', in *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, späteren Bischofs von Paderborn und Kardinal-Bischofs von S. Sabina*, ed. by Hermann Hoogeweg (Tübingen: Litterarischer Verein in Stuttgart, 1894), pp. 81–158 (p. 110). Burchard (1274-85), pp. 4–9.
[50] Joshua 14.
[51] For more on this, see chapter IX, pp. 248–50.

Damascus. This would have made the Holy Land almost all of the Eastern Mediterranean, and certainly, this would have incorporated virtually everywhere identified in the Bible.[52]

Crucially however, the literary perception of extent of the Holy Land did not prevent pilgrim text authors and others from mentioning many of holy sites beyond what they had previously established as its boundaries, which suggests a reluctance to be exacting about what was and was not the Holy Land. It is also not clear to what extent the pilgrim text readers would have differentiated between holy sites near the Holy Land included in the description, and holy sites in the Holy Land. This thesis requires more definite boundaries than this in order to facilitate analysis of pilgrimage, and so it considers all pilgrimage activities undertaken in an area extending from the environs of Beirut, across to Banyas, along the Jordan to the far end of the Dead Sea, and across to Ascalon, which roughly corresponds to the greatest extent of the Latin kingdom. This includes not only the ever-important Christian pilgrimage regions of Jerusalem and Galilee, but also encompasses the Latin kingdom of both the twelfth and thirteenth century, as well as roughly corresponding to the area covered by the thirteenth-century pilgrim texts themselves.

The thesis is structured so that the first two chapters provide an overview of the types of texts used (chapter II), and of the types of pilgrim and activities they undertook in the Holy Land (chapter III). These survey chapters provide the reader with the necessary textual and source background required for the later chapters, and provide an indication of how thirteenth-century pilgrimage worked in practice, before the pilgrimage sites visited are discussed in detail.

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[52] Matthew Paris, 'Map of the Holy Land (British Library, Royal MS 14 C VII fols. 4-5)' <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal_ms_14_c_vii_> [accessed 18 September 2013]; Matthew Paris, 'Map of the Holy Land (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 26, f. IV R)' <http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/page_turner.do?ms_no=26> [accessed 18 September 2013].

The rest of the thesis is constructed in a geographical fashion, and where possible, the structure and order of sites reflects that given in the pilgrim texts themselves. This prevents repetition, and allows every aspect of all the pilgrimage sites to be discussed, as well as giving the reader a flavour of the type of texts under discussion. A detailed picture of pilgrimage is built up gradually and then synthesised and discussed in a summary at the end of each chapter in order to identify the main trends concerning the sites, activities and routes of the pilgrims in that area.

The area under discussion has been divided into six separate regions: Southern Coast, Judaea, Jerusalem, Samaria, Galilee, and the Northern Coast. The first and last regions are coastal and were held by the Latins for most of the thirteenth century. The coastal region has been split in two for ease of discussion, and because there seems to have been a difference in the type of pilgrimage engaged in within these two areas. The other regions roughly correspond to what a medieval writer might recognise as districts mentioned in the Bible, and the terms were also often used in pilgrim texts. Jerusalem and Judaea have been split simply because of the large number of sites to be discussed in and around Jerusalem. Indeed, discussion of Jerusalem has had to be limited in general to the main sites and trends, since it would be possible to write a thesis exclusively on thirteenth-century pilgrimage here.

Sites are considered to have been places of pilgrimage if they are included in a pilgrim text and have a religious association, or if a text specifically notes them as a place of pilgrimage. Pilgrims might visit sites because a biblical event occurred there; a post-biblical sacred event occurred there; or the site held a sacred item or conferred some spiritual benefit on the visitor. In order to facilitate discussion of the interests of the pilgrims, to cover the full scope of sites in the Holy Land and to analyse their distribution, a typology of pilgrimage sites was constructed and used. This divided the

sites into four categories: Old Testament associations; New Testament associations; post-biblical associations (such as links to martyrs); associations with a relic or miracle. The categories are not exclusive, and often sites might fall into one or more categories. In particular, it is worth noting that the biblical association categories can be further sub-divided into two: those sites whose association was of biblical origin, for example the site of the Annunciation in Nazareth; and those sites whose association was traditional, such as the place where the nails of the Cross were forged.[53]

Not every place mentioned in the pilgrim texts has been discussed in the geographical chapters. The focus is primarily on the goals of pilgrimage, that is, those sites which were the focus of pilgrimage activity and which typical pilgrims aimed to visit, rather than those places passed on the way or visited only rarely. Some sites, therefore, have been excluded because they were waymarkers or rest-stops and thus had no religious association; these have been taken into account when analysing the main route-ways through the Holy Land, and when considering the areas mostly commonly visited by pilgrims. Sites with religious associations which are mentioned in only one pilgrim text and which do not occur in other sources have also not been included in the full discussion.

This disregard of certain sites has been done for two reasons. Firstly, this thesis aims to provide an idea of the typical pilgrimage undertaken during the thirteenth century, and individual notices of holy places generally indicate sites in which the pilgrim author is personally interested, but which were probably not visited or commented on by most pilgrims. Secondly, these sites are often the result of a pilgrim author's desire to identify every rock with a holy event (or every holy event with a rock), and such places were not necessarily the focus of pilgrimage. In some cases, one suspects that the author simply

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[53] See chapter VIII, pp. 218–20 for discussion of the Annunciation, and chapter IV, pp. 91–92 for discussion of the nails of the Cross.

wished to display their erudition. Burchard of Mount Sion's pilgrim text, for example, is a comprehensive discussion of most of the places mentioned in the Bible, many of which are not included by other guides, are not mentioned in other sources, and did not have any formal religious structure to mark their location, such as a shrine.[54] In these cases it has been assumed that these sites were not the focus of pilgrimage (beyond the general belief that the whole of the Holy Land was a site of pilgrimage), and their inclusion would inaccurately skew the discussion of pilgrim sites. One caveat should be given however; although such sites were not the intended goal of Latin Christian pilgrims, it should be borne in mind that fellow travellers or local people may have pointed out at least some of these sites to pilgrims as they passed through the area, for interest; and that some of the sites may also have been subject to pilgrimage from other groups, such as Jews or Eastern Christians.

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[54] See chapter II, pp. 36–38.

Map 1: Territorial Changes in the Latin kingdom, 1187-1291[55]
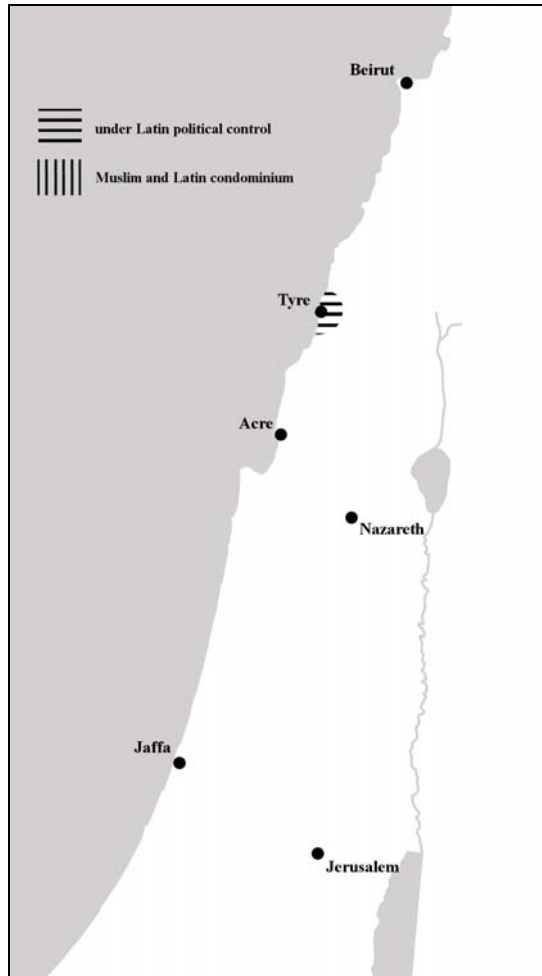
1187
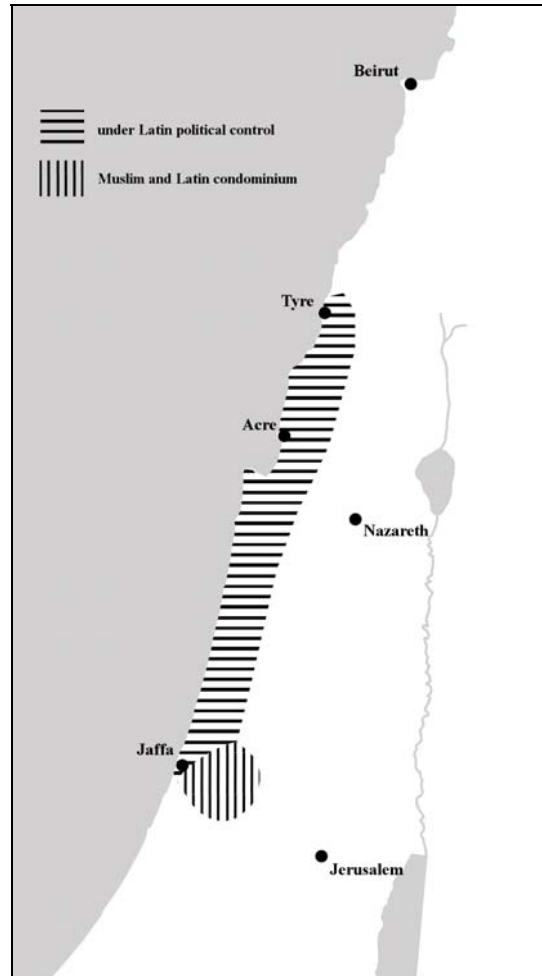
1192
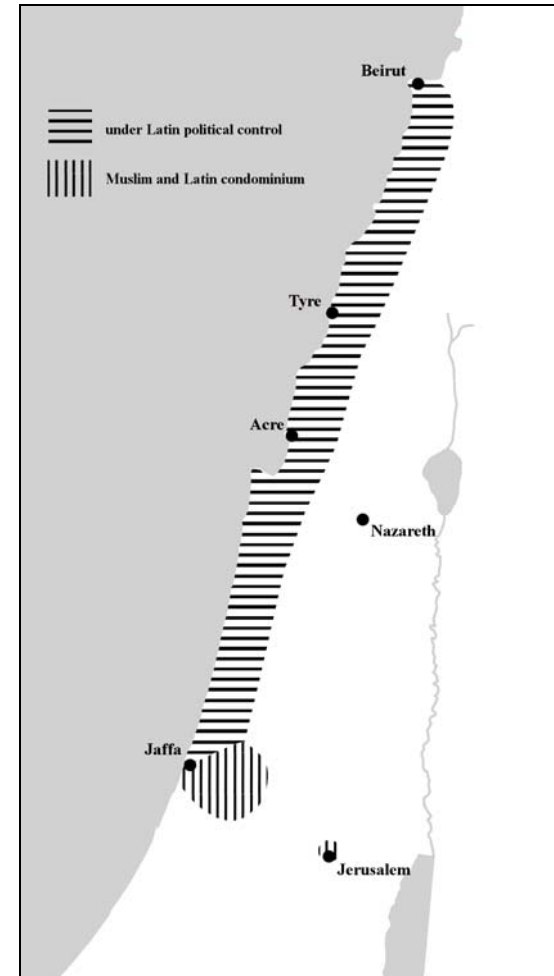
1198

[55] This map uses information from Joshua Prawer and M. Benvenisti, 'The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099-1291', in *Atlas of Israel* (Jerusalem: Survey of Israel, Ministry of Labour, 1971), section IX/10.
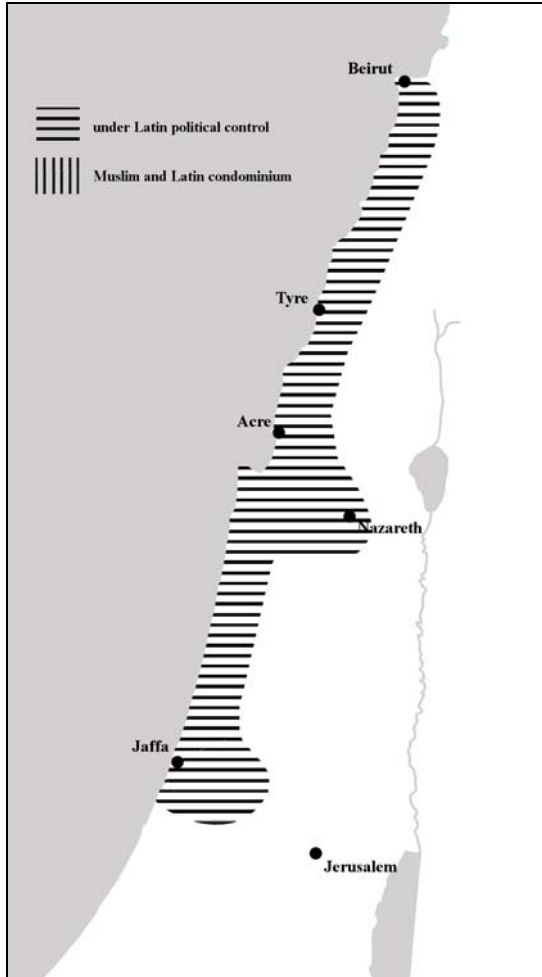
1204
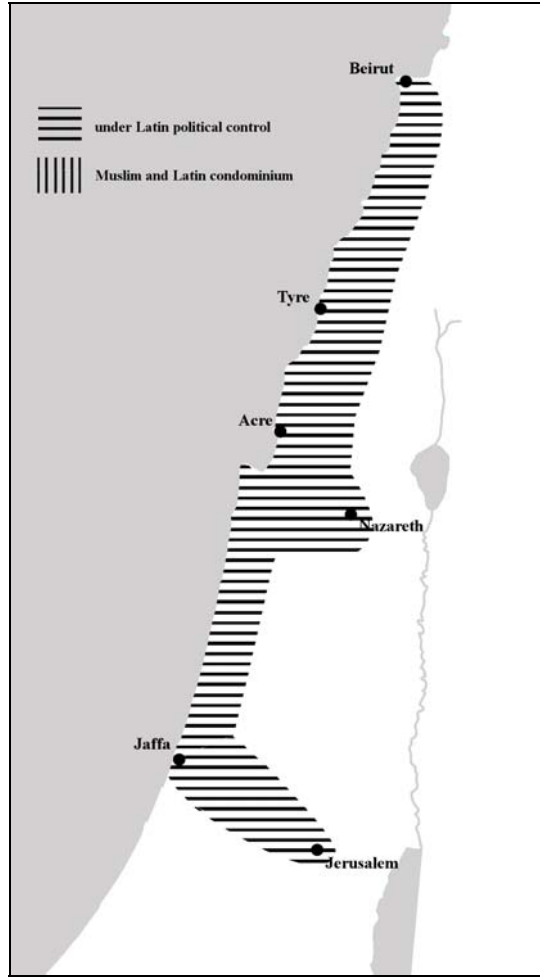
1229
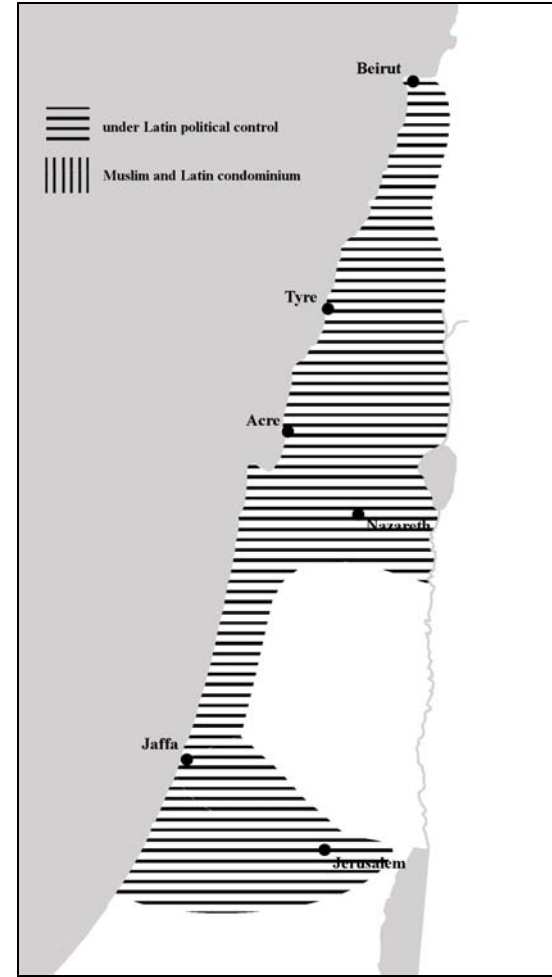
1240-41

Map 1: Territorial Changes in the Latin kingdom, 1187-1291 (cont'd)
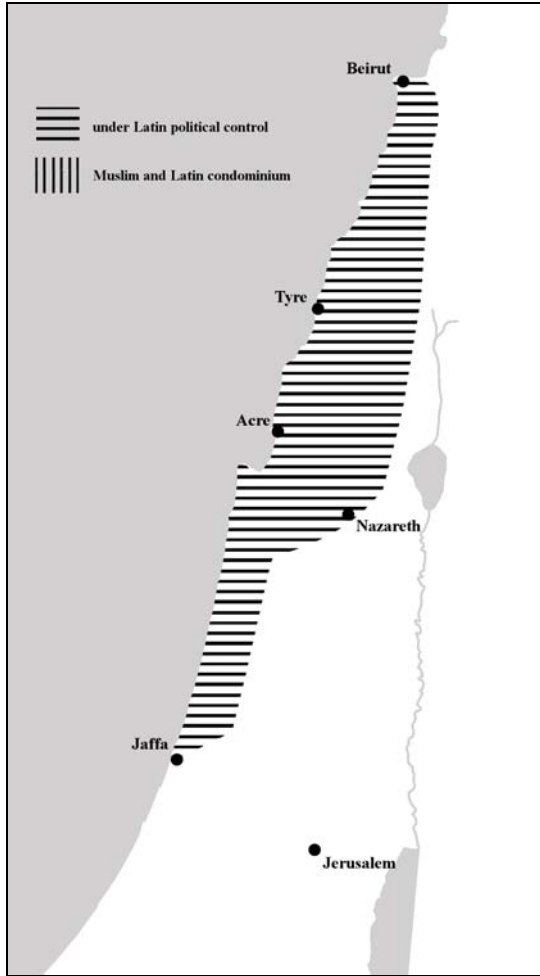
1250
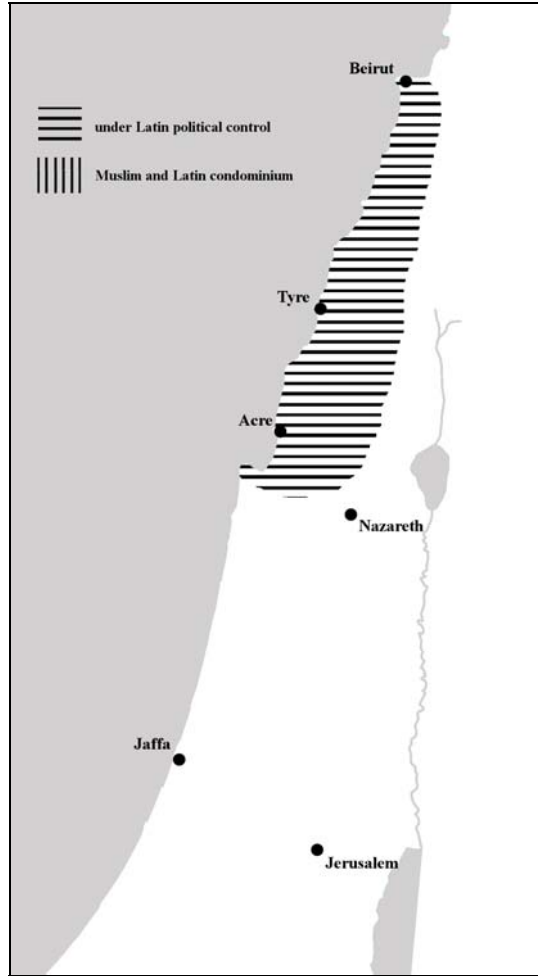
1270
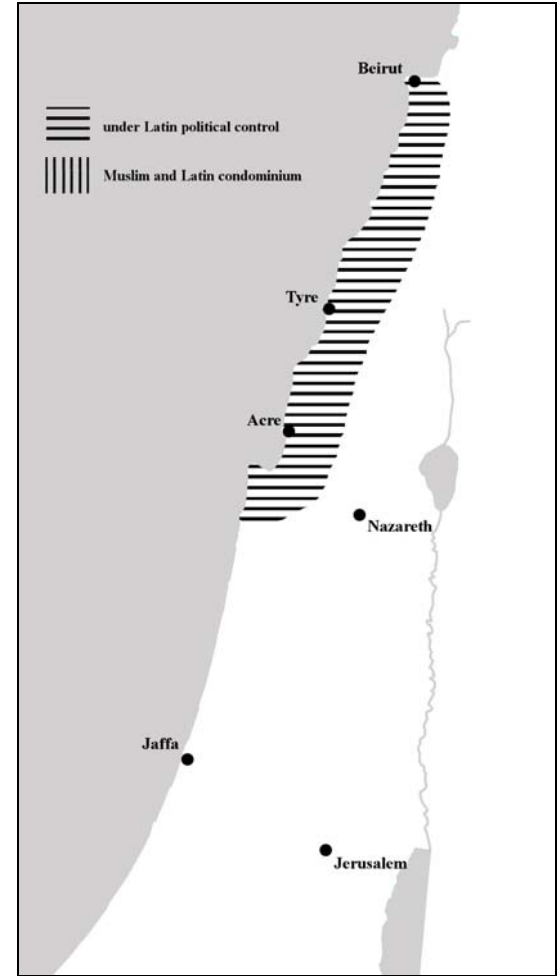
1283

II. Main Sources

The main texts which provide much of the structure and initial discussion of the thesis were those written by and for pilgrims of the thirteenth century, providing the reader with an overview of the pilgrimage places to be found in the Holy Land at this time. These texts are uniquely informative but pose several problems for interpretation, so the information from them has been supplemented by other forms of source, as discussed below. There are eighteen texts which can be dated to the period 1187 to 1291, that were either written by pilgrims themselves, or compiled for them (see table 1). The texts can be split into two main types, *itineraria* and pilgrim accounts, and will be discussed by genre.

Table 1: Main Sources: in chronological order

Abbreviated Name	Date	Type	Language	Regions covered, in order of first appearance: [ ] indicates regions described without pilgrimage sites
Innom. X	1187-1291	Itinerarium	Latin	Southern Coast → Jerusalem → Judaea → Samaria → Galilee
Innom. IX	1187-1291	Itinerarium	Latin	[Southern Coast] → Jerusalem → Judaea → Sinai → Samaria → Galilee
Innom. III	1191-1244	Itinerarium	Latin	[Europe → Mediterranean Islands → Southern Coast] → Jerusalem → Judaea → Galilee → Samaria
Innom. IV	1191-1244	Itinerarium	Latin	[Mediterranean Islands] → Southern Coast → Jerusalem → Judaea → Galilee
Wilbrand A	1211-12	Account	Latin	Northern Coast → Southern Coast → Jerusalem → Judaea
Thietmar A	1217-18	Account	Latin	Northern Coast → Galilee → Damascus → Saydnaya → Southern Coast → Judaea → Samaria → Jerusalem → Sinai → Egypt → [India/Ethiopia → Mecca]
Thietmar B	1218-91	Account	Latin	Northern Coast → Galilee → Damascus → Southern Coast → Samaria → Jerusalem → Judaea → Sinai → Egypt → [India/Ethiopia]

Abbreviated Name	Date	Type	Language	Regions covered, in order of first appearance: [ ] indicates regions described without pilgrimage sites
Sains pelerinages	1229-55	Itinerarium	Old French	[Northern Coast] → Galilee → Southern Coast → Judaea → Jerusalem → Sinai → Samaria
LCTS	1244-60	Account	Latin	[Northern Coast] → Galilee → Samaria → Jerusalem → Judaea → Sinai → Southern Coast
Filippo	1244-91	Account	Latin	Galilee → Samaria → Jerusalem → Judaea → Sinai → Southern Coast → Egypt → Damascus → Saydnaya → Northern Coast
Hec sunt peregrinaciones	1244-99	Itinerarium	Latin	Jerusalem → Judaea → Samaria → Galilee → Damascus → Saydnaya → Sinai → Egypt
Chemins B	1252-68	Itinerarium	Old French	[Northern Coast] → Southern Coast → Judaea → Jerusalem → Sinai → Samaria → Galilee → Northern Coast
Pardouns	1258-63	Itinerarium	Old French	[Northern Coast] → Southern Coast → Judaea → Jerusalem → Samaria → Galilee → Northern Coast → Sinai → Saydnaya
Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem	1260s	Itinerarium	Old French	[Northern Coast] → Southern Coast → Judaea → Jerusalem → Sinai → Samaria → Galilee → Saydnaya → Damascus → North-East Mediterranean Coast
Chemins A	1261-65	Itinerarium	Old French	[Northern Coast] → Southern Coast → Judaea → Jerusalem → Sinai → Samaria → Galilee → Saydnaya → Damascus → North-East Mediterranean Coast
Burchard	1274-85	Account	Latin	Northern Coast → North-East Mediterranean Coast → Galilee → Judaea → Samaria → Egypt → Jerusalem → Southern Coast
Riccoldo	1288-89	Account	Latin	[Northern Coast] → Galilee → Southern Coast → Judaea → Jerusalem → Northern Coast → [North-East Mediterranean Coast → Armenia → Turkey → Persia → Iraq]

Itineraria

Itineraria are texts which usually consist of short notices about each pilgrim site in turn; which note its distance from the next; and why it is holy. The *itineraria,* because of their length, are fairly selective when describing sites, and as a body generally describe the same sites each time. It is reasonable to assume that these sites were those which were of greatest interest to pilgrims at this time. The *itineraria* do, for example, include such sites as the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, which were historically of importance to Latin Christians but to which they had restricted access during the thirteenth century.

There is frequently textual interdependence between the *itineraria* of the thirteenth century and earlier, enough that one could argue that these are simply one set of texts, updated over time. This reuse of earlier material can mean that descriptions of the holy sites are not necessarily contemporary with the text in which they are included. As the *itineraria* focus on important sites, the presence of a site in an *itinerarium* does not automatically prove that pilgrims visited that site during the thirteenth century, merely that pilgrims had visited the site historically, and that it was still of interest to them. Therefore, the *itineraria* can only be reliably used to describe either the practices and sites which emerge for the first time in the thirteenth century, or those which show a change in the descriptions from earlier pilgrim texts. In this thesis, different versions of the same text have been treated separately, to reflect the fact that most *itineraria* are related to each other to some extent, but still vary over time.

The *itineraria* date from just after the Third Crusade, to the end of the Latin kingdom. They are of uncertain authorship, but are most likely a blend of several earlier texts, updated with information from contemporary pilgrims and other travellers. Comparison with pilgrim accounts suggests that the majority of authors were probably clerics.

There are two possible reasons for the composition of the texts: to provide practical information for those intending to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; and as a substitute pilgrimage for those who were not able to make the journey themselves ('armchair pilgrims'). The *itineraria* could have been used as the basis for meditation on the Holy Land and the events of the Bible by readers at home, but the greater detail available in pilgrim accounts would have made these more useful to readers. Indeed, the authors of the pilgrim accounts often state that this was one of the reasons for writing (see below).

The *itineraria* were written in both Latin and Old French; the use of Old French was a thirteenth-century innovation. Only two pilgrim texts were written in the vernacular in the twelfth century, and these were written in Icelandic.[1] As the language used for the *itineraria* was uncomplicated, and the vocabulary relatively restricted, they would have been accessible to those travellers or armchair pilgrims with limited literacy. This period saw a growth in lay literacy, and the use of the vernacular in particular suggests a lay audience, which was a significant change from the earlier pilgrim texts.[2]

If the texts were used practically, during travelling, then it is likely that they would have been copied mostly as individual documents. Such ephemera would be less likely to survive, and may explain the limited manuscript tradition of the texts, most of which survive in only one or two manuscripts. The unstable nature of the texts, which scribes revised as they copied, meant that different versions of the text are nearly as common as straight copies.

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[1] 'Nikulás of Þverá', in *Alfræði íslenzk: Islandsk encyklopædisk litteratur*, ed. by Kristian Kålund, 3 vols. (Copenhagen: S.L. Møllers bogtrykkeri, 1908), I, pp. 20.31–23.21; 'Extract from Nikulás of Þverá', in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, pp. 215–218; 'Icelandic Guide', in *Alfræði íslenzk*, I, pp. 26.17–31.6; 'Icelandic Guide', in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, pp. 215–18.
[2] M. B. Parkes, 'The Literacy of the Laity', in *The Mediaeval World*, ed. by David Daiches and Anthony Thorlby (London: Aldus Books, 1973), pp. 555–57 (pp. 556–57, 564, 572).

Latin Itineraria

There are five Latin *itineraria* which can be dated to the period 1187-1291, although most date from the earlier part of this period. Their main focus was Jerusalem and the area of Judaea; none cover the holy sites of the coast, except for the occasional mention of Jaffa. Galilee and Samaria are mentioned in some texts.

Innom. IX and Innom. X represent two versions of the same Latin *itinerarium*, but the texts vary sufficiently from each other to justify treating them as separate texts. Both texts show similarities to the twelfth-century Innom. VII, such as in the order of the holy sites and with some wording.[3]

Innom. IX was preserved in five manuscripts, some of which date from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and some which are undated.[4] In most of the manuscripts, Innom. IX is followed by the beginning of a treatise on various aspects of the Holy Land, the *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre*. Although sometimes edited together, this end section is not part of the pilgrim text, and as this treatise dates to before 1187, it has not been considered for this thesis. There are two references within the text which indicate a post-1187 date. The author indicated that the church on Mount Sion where the Virgin Mary died was ruined, suggesting a period after the Latins lost control of Jerusalem in 1187.[5] Additionally, the sisters of the abbey of St Mary the Great (near the church of the Holy Sepulchre) are named *monialium de Tyro* in the text, an association they did not acquire until after they fled Jerusalem and set up an institution in Tyre in 1187.[6] This reference also suggests a pre-1291 date, since it seems unlikely that pilgrims would still refer to their claim to the abbey after

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[3] Innominatus VII, 'Descriptio terrae sanctae', in *Itinera*, III, pp. 77–83.
[4] Reinhold Röhricht, *Bibliotheca geographica Palaestinae: Chronologisches Verzeichniss der auf die Geographie des Heiligen Landes bezüglichen Literatur von 333 bis 1878 und Versuch einer Cartographie* (Berlin: H. Reuther, 1890), pp. 40–41.
[5] Innom. IX (1187-1291), p. 94.
[6] Innom. IX (1187-1291), p. 92; Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p. 36; Pringle, *Churches*, III, pp. 254–55.

the complete loss of the Holy Land. It has not been possible to narrow the dating beyond 1187 to 1291. The text is primarily focused on the holy sites of Jerusalem.

Innom. X survives in one undated manuscript from Milan.[7] Like Innom. IX, the text mentions the sisters of Tyre, which dates the text to the thirteenth century. It does not mention that the church on Mount Sion was ruined however, and there are no further criteria to narrow the dating beyond 1187 to 1291. Similar to the Old French *itineraria*, but unlike Innom. IX, the text starts its description in Acre, the main pilgrimage port. The text is primarily focused on Jerusalem pilgrimage.

Hec sunt peregrinaciones also focused primarily on sites in and around Jerusalem. References to holy events in Samaria and Galilee are included in the text, but without any detail, and without really explaining where these were, suggesting that although they were regarded as important, the author did not reach them or have access to descriptions of them. There are two versions of this text which are sufficiently different to have been considered separately.[8] However, there is only one possible reference in the texts which could be used to date them: they describe the rock door of the tomb of Christ as being on Mount Sion, not in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, which suggests a date after 1244 when the Khwārazmians attacked the church of the Holy Sepulchre.[9] The only possible *terminus ante quem* for these texts is the date of the manuscripts, one of which is thirteenth century, and one of which is fourteenth century.[10] For the purposes of this thesis therefore, the version of the text in the thirteenth-century manuscript will be considered, but not that of the fourteenth-century manuscript.[11]

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[7] Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana MS O. 35; Innom. X (1187-1291), p. 100.
[8] Pringle has identified the two editions as being of the same base text, and translates them together in his work. Pringle, *Pilgrimage,* pp. 57–58.
[9] Hec sunt peregrinaciones (1244-99), p. 334.
[10] Hec sunt peregrinaciones (1244-99), p. 333; Röhricht, *Bibliotheca*, p. 98.
[11] The thirteenth-century version (Venice, Manimorte, S. Giorgio MS B 27) is edited in Hec sunt

Innom. III is an incomplete Latin *itinerarium*, preserved in one fifteenth- and one fourteenth-century manuscript, which also includes a copy of Burchard of Mount Sion's text and Innom. IV, as noted below.[12] Like most Latin *itineraria* the language used is basic and straightforward, although as indicated by table 1, the structure of the text and order of sites is different to other *itineraria*. It described a relatively limited number of holy sites in the Holy Land itself, focusing mostly on Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth (the main Christian sites). The text ends with 'Item de Samaria XI', suggesting that it had originally been intended to contain a description of this area, but this was never inserted or was lost.[13] There are a number of dating indications in the text, which include a Templar presence on Cyprus, suggesting a post-1191 date, and the church at Nazareth being described as whole and beautiful at the time of viewing, suggesting a date prior to its destruction by Baybars in 1263.[14] The author also indicated that the rock door of the tomb of Christ was still in the Holy Sepulchre, suggesting a date before 1244, when Jerusalem was overrun by the Khwārazmians who destroyed it, indicating a date range of 1191 to 1244.[15] Innom. III is most useful for its description of Jerusalem and the route across the Mediterranean to the Holy Land.

Innom. IV is preserved in two manuscripts, one of which also contains a copy of Innom. III and Burchard's text.[16] Like Innom. III, the text described the route from Cyprus to the Holy Land; unlike Innom. III, this text noted Acre as a waymarker for travellers. There are

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peregrinaciones (1244-99)., and the fourteenth-century version (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 352) in W. A. Neumann, 'Drei mittelalterliche Pilgerschriften', *Österreichische Vierteljahresschrift für Katholische Theologie*, 11 (1872), 9–11.

[12] Fourteenth century manuscript: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 509. Röhricht, *Bibliotheca*, pp. 39, 55, 57.

[13] Innom. III (1191-1244), p. 20.

[14] The Templars bought Cyprus from Richard I in 1191. Barber, *New Knighthood*, p. 119; Thorau, *Baybars*, pp. 147–49.

[15] Filippo (1244-91), p. 226; LCTS (1244-60), p. 348.

[16] Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 509. Röhricht, *Bibliotheca*, pp. 39, 55, 57.

a number of other similarities between the texts that suggest that these are related, including the overall unusual structure of the texts. The order of sites in Innom. IV partially follows the main routes through the area, but in some cases the order makes odd geographical sense. For example, the text describes the sites around Jerusalem, then the area around the Jordan, then Nazareth, then Hebron and then around Jerusalem again. The text also partially describes the church of the Holy Sepulchre near the start of the text, then returns to it again at the end. Altogether, it gives the impression of a poorly collated and incomplete text; nonetheless, it is still useful as an indicator of which sites were important, and does provide insight into those sites that it does include. The description of the route from Cyprus suggests a date after the Latin acquisition of the island in 1191; the reference to the presence of the rock door at the Holy Sepulchre suggests a date before 1244.[17]

Old French Itineraria

There are five Old French *itineraria*. These *itineraria* show the greatest difference from earlier pilgrim texts, and have thus been treated as being more representative of the thirteenth century than the Latin *itineraria*. All of the Old French texts are guides to the entire Holy Land; of these one, *Pardouns*, also includes a guide to the pardons available in Acre. The Old French texts often survive in the same manuscripts as the Continuations of William of Tyre, and are, indeed, partly related to the tangled textual history of the so-called *Chronicles of Ernoul and Bernard the Treasurer*, *Estoires d'Oultremer et de la naissance Salahadin* and the continuations of William of Tyre.[18]

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[17] Innom. IV (1191-1244), pp. 24, 26. Tobler, the editor dates the text to the thirteenth-century generally, and Röhricht (without noting the dating criteria) to 1270. 'Innominatus IV', in *Theoderici Libellus de Locis Sanctis editus ca. AD 1172 cui accedunt breviores aliquot descriptiones Terrae Sanctae*, ed. by Titus Tobler (Paris: Librairie A. Frank, 1865), pp. 134–40, 253–54 (p. 253); Röhricht, *Bibliotheca*, p. 55.
[18] For example, one of the manuscripts of Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale fr. 9082) also contains a fragment of history of Outremer without continuations. For more on the

Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem survives in three manuscripts. The earliest dates to the second half of the thirteenth century, and was probably written in northern France; the latest is an eighteenth-century copy of this manuscript. Both of these manuscripts also contain versions of the translation and continuation of William of Tyre.[19] The third manuscript dates from the fourteenth century. Paul Riant, who described the text in the preface to Michelant and Raynaud's edition, dated it to 1231, although he did note a number of contradictory dating materials in it which he attributed to its later revision.[20] There are certainly some anachronistic references in the text, particularly in the description of Jerusalem, which seems to reflect the twelfth-century rather than thirteenth-century, but these are common in *itineraria*.[21] Denys Pringle, who has recently translated a version of this text, also notes the contradictory dating material, but prefers to date it to the 1260s, because of the references to Arsuf formerly belonging to the Hospitallers. This is the dating used for this thesis.

Sains pelerinages survives in one fourteenth-century manuscript only.[22] Pringle dates it from 1229 to 1239, based on its descriptions of Jerusalem, which suggest that it was under

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relationship between the Continuations of William of Tyre, the Chronicle of Ernoul and Estoires d'Oultremer, see M. R. Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of William of Tyre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973); Jaroslav Folda, 'Manuscripts of the History of Outremer by William of Tyre: A Handlist', *Scriptorium*, 27 (1973), 90–95; *A Critical Edition of the Estoires d'Outremer et de la Naissance Salehadin*, ed. by Margaret A. Jubb (London: Committee for Medieval Studies, Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London, 1990); Peter W. Edbury, 'The Lyon Eracles and the Old French Continuations of William of Tyre', in *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, ed. by Benjamin Z. Kedar, Jonathan Riley-Smith, and Rudolf Hiestand (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), pp. 139–53; Peter W. Edbury, 'The French Translation of William of Tyre's Historia: The Manuscript Tradition', *Crusades*, 7 (2007), 69–105.

[19] Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, fr. 9082 and Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale fr. 9060. *Itinéraires*, pp. xix–xx; Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre: 1275-1291* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), p. 203; Edbury, 'French Translation of William of Tyre', p. 97; Folda, 'Handlist', pp. 92, 95.

[20] *Itinéraires*, pp. xix–xx.

[21] Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p. 43.

[22] This manuscript is given as 'Cheltenham, 6664' in Michelant and Raynaud's edition, and was part of Sir Thomas Phillipps' collection, which is now mostly in the British Library.

Latin control at the time of the text's creation;[23] however, as noted elsewhere, descriptions of Jerusalem are very tricky to date, and authors were content to use twelfth-century descriptions in thirteenth-century works, particularly when describing somewhere as highly regarded as Jerusalem. The text describes Mount Tabor as being under the control of the Benedictines, which would date the text to 1229 to 1255.[24]

Chemins A and *Chemins B* are two versions of the same *itinerarium*, written in Old French. The texts vary from each other not only in the details of the descriptions, but occasionally in the order of the sites described as well. *Chemins A* was preserved in one fourteenth-century manuscript and Riant states that it was probably copied by a Provençal scribe, judging by the language and spelling used in the text.[25] Pringle provides the narrowest dating for the *itinerarium*, dating it to between 1 May 1261 and 30 April 1265, the period during which Arsuf was under the ownership of the Hospital, as was noted in the text.[26] *Chemins B* was preserved in one fifteenth-century manuscript, alongside a description of Jerusalem and a report on the customs of the Saracens, probably a version of the *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre* text.[27] Riant notes that the scribe who copied this text was probably Anglo-Norman.[28] Pringle again provides the narrowest dating for the text, dating it to between 17 October 1244 – the date of the battle of La Forbie – and April 1263 – when Baybars demolished the church of the Annunciation in Nazareth.[29] Although the battle of La Forbie is specifically mentioned in the text, the description of the church of Nazareth is not sufficiently detailed to confirm that the church was whole at the time of

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[23] Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p. 34.

[24] For more on Mount Tabor, see chapter VIII, pp. 224–27.

[25] Rome, Vatican MS 3316; Röhricht, *Bibliotheca*, p. 54; *Itinéraires*, pp. xxvii–xxviii.

[26] Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p. 42.

[27] Charles Hardwick and others, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge.*, 6 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1858), III, pp. 230–31.

[28] Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Gg.VI.28, Röhricht, *Bibliotheca*, p. 54; *Itinéraires*, pp. xxvii–xxviii.

[29] Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p. 42.

composition. The end date for *Chemins B* is more reliably 1268, when Jaffa was lost to Baybars and stopped being a county, which is how it is described in the text.[30] The *terminus post quem* can be brought later than 1244, as the saint *Guilleme* whose healing tomb was noted in Acre's cemetery, was probably William Longespée, whose bones were moved there following the end of Louis IX's crusade in 1254.[31] This text can thus be dated between 1252 and 1268.

Pardouns is an Old French *itinerarium* with a section on the pardons to be acquired in Acre at the end, and for this reason has attracted the most scholarly attention for the unique information it provides on the city in the thirteenth century.[32] The text survives in one fourteenth-century manuscript, and is written in a late thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman dialect, which shows traits peculiar to texts composed in Outremer.[33] This manuscript contains a variety of texts, written in Latin, Old French and Old English, including secular and religious lyrics and saints' lives. In particular, it ought to be noted that the manuscript also contains notification of the death of St Louis, and a text thought to be book III of Jacques de Vitry's *Historia Hierosolimitana abbreviata* (ff. 129v-131).[34]

Riant dated the text after 1254, when the hospital of St Martin the Breton, which was mentioned in it, was founded. The low status accorded to the Genoese church of St Lawrence in the text led David Jacoby to date the text to after the War of St Sabas, which

[30] Chemins B (1254-68), p. 191.

[31] See chapter IX, p. 255.

[32] See, in particular: David Jacoby, 'Pilgrimage in Crusader Acre: the Pardouns d'Acre', in *De Sion exibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem: Essays on Medieval Law, Liturgy, and Literature in Honour of Amnon Linder*, ed. by Yitzhak Hen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), pp. 105–17.

[33] London, British Library, MS Harley 2253. *Itinéraires*, p. xxxi; *I Pélrinages communes, i Pardouns de Acre e la crisi del regno crociato*, ed. by Fabio Romanini and Beatrice Saletti (libreriauniversitaria.it, 2012), p. 112.

[34] British Museum. Dept. of Manuscripts, *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 2 vols. (London: Eyre and Strahan, 1808), no. 2253 (pp. 585-591); C. Wight, 'Detailed record for Harley 2253' <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=7704&CollID=8&NStart=2253> [accessed 28 May 2013].

ended in 1258.[35] Pringle rejected Jacoby's *terminus ante quem* of 1264 (when the unmentioned church of St Bridget was founded), and instead favoured 1263, when the church on Mount Tabor was destroyed by Baybars.[36] This dating assumes that both sections of the text were compiled at the same time; although undoubtedly originating separately, there is nothing to suggest that the final edition/revision of both texts did not happen at the same time.

As will be discussed later, the pardons section is unique in listing indulgences to be gained in the Latin East at this time. It lists forty places in all, in an order which some have seen as a pilgrimage route, although it is doubtful that it was ever a formal route as one sees with the *Via dolorosa* today.[37] It seems reasonable that the number and importance of the relics at each institution was a significant factor in the grading of indulgences, as in Rome, although one should be aware that the political power of each institution also had an impact. It is not clear as yet why *Pardouns* was created, but it seems to have been an attempt by the local authorities to control and promote Acre pilgrimage in a way that is not seen elsewhere in the Holy Land, where there was competition from other Christian groups. The use of Anglo-Norman suggests an English and secular context for the production of the text, which probably explains why the recently established English order of St Thomas was given the highest indulgence.[38] The most recent edition of the text appeared too late to be used throughout this thesis, although the introductory discussion and analysis of the text have been referred to.[39] Instead, references are to the Michelant and Raynaud edition in *Itinéraires*, which the most recent editors confirm was generally faithful to the original

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[35] Jacoby, 'Pardouns d'Acre', p. 111.

[36] Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p. 45.

[37] Jacoby, 'Pardouns d'Acre', p. 108. For more on the routes used by pilgrims, and their significance, see Mylod, 'Routes to Salvation'.

[38] *Pélrinages communes*, p. 14. The order of St Thomas claimed a foundation by Richard I in 1192. A. J. Forey, 'The Military Order of St Thomas of Acre', *English Historical Review*, 92 (1977), 481–503 (p. 482).

[39] *Pélrinages communes*.

manuscript.[40]

Pilgrim Accounts

The pilgrim accounts were texts which purported to be descriptions of historical pilgrimages written by the pilgrims who undertook those travels. These eight accounts are quite long, descriptive, and are relatively reliable descriptions of contemporary pilgrimage practice. Authors did use information from earlier pilgrim texts, as will be discussed in more detail below, but also included detail from their own experience. The pilgrim accounts were all written in Latin originally, but a number were translated later into the vernacular (Italian, Dutch, French), and the accounts generally survive in many more manuscripts than the *itineraria*, possibly indicating a greater popularity. The authors were all clerics, of whom several were mendicants who had a greater opportunity to travel than other clergy.[41] The pilgrim accounts ranged in date from 1211 to 1289, covering most of the thireenth century. Many of the accounts have different versions, where later copyists (or the authors themselves) had altered and updated the text. Where the alternative versions still seem to reflect the thirteenth century, either through internal evidence or the date of the manuscript, these have been considered as separate textual evidence for pilgrimage in this period.

There is a danger with both *itineraria* and pilgrim accounts that the descriptions included in them are simply copied from earlier ones. However, when one sees differences from earlier texts, one can see where innovations have taken place within pilgrimage at that period. The issue of borrowing from earlier authors is more difficult with the pilgrim accounts, as authors can include literary or biblical references in order to improve their work, which do not necessarily reflect contemporary realities. The area between Jerusalem

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[40] *Pélrinages communes*, p. 114.

[41] James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), p. 16.

and the Jordan, for example, is frequently described in pilgrim texts as being full of bandits. However, although this may have been true, it may also have been simply a reference to the story of the Good Samaritan, where a man, setting out from Jerusalem to Jericho, is set upon by bandits.[42] Editions which note the main references, and familiarity with earlier pilgrim texts, can be used to reduce the effect of these issues. Particular caution has been used in the analysis of Jerusalem, as the pilgrim accounts indicate that, in reality, it was difficult to visit the city for much of the thirteenth century, particularly those sites within the walls. The account of Burchard of Mount Sion is discussed first, as the text has different characteristics to the other pilgrim accounts; the accounts are then discussed chronologically.

Burchard of Mount Sion was a Dominican preacher, with links to the city of Magdeburg.[43] He travelled extensively around the Holy Land in the second half of the thirteenth century, spending at least three years in the country.[44] His *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* is a very different text to the other pilgrim accounts. The work is the result of pilgrimage, but is far more detailed than other pilgrim accounts, covering a much greater variety of holy sites. Burchard's account was uniquely arranged; rather than describing the holy sites geographically, reflecting the main routes around the Holy Land, Burchard decided to divide the Holy Land into a series of wedges radiating from Acre. He then described each wedge in turn, in a structure which makes it difficult to visualise the relative position of the various holy sites, and gives no indication of what a pilgrimage would have been like. It seems unlikely that the text could have been used by readers to recreate a pilgrimage whilst at home, but nevertheless the text was very popular, surviving in over one

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[42] Luke, 10:29–37
[43] Burchard (1274-85), pp. 4–9.
[44] Pringle notes that Burchard mentioned spending the feast day of the Annunciation, at three separate sites of the Holy Land, suggesting that he was in the Holy Land for three years. Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p. 49.

hundred manuscripts.[45] The odd structure means that it is difficult to use the account as evidence for pilgrim routes around the Holy Land, and its expansive text means that, although it does describe pilgrimage sites, it does not really indicate which sites constituted a typical pilgrimage. This is particularly the case for Old Testament sites, which Burchard included in his text far more often than other pilgrim text authors. Indeed, most of the sites disregarded for the reasons outlined in the introduction are Old Testament sites noted only by Burchard.[46] Furthermore, Burchard spent at least three years travelling around the Holy Land, rather than the more common six months to a year, so he travelled for longer and further than most pilgrims. Altogether, this means that Burchard is of limited use in discovering the typical pilgrimage experience at this time. However, his expansive set of descriptions, which were from eyewitness testimony (or from literary descriptions moderated by eyewitness testimony) mean that his account is a source of contemporary physical descriptions of the holy sites, a rarity amongst pilgrim texts of the thirteenth century. In addition, Burchard's extensive knowledge of sacred geography meant that he provided explanations of why sites were holy which were not in other texts, and noted when he disagreed with the location of a biblical event, such as the imprisonment and decapitation of John the Baptist which was shown to him at Sebaste, but which he located (following Josephus) at Macherunta.[47]

Burchard's descriptions can be found in two separate texts. The longer, more comprehensive text, can be found in the edition by J. C. M. Laurent. The shorter text, written separately, but effectively an abridgement of the longer text, can be found an edition

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[45] Röhricht, *Bibliotheca*, pp. 56–58; Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p. 49; P. D. A. Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land* (London: The British Library, 2012), p. 98.
[46] Sites with religious associations which are mentioned in only one pilgrim text, and which do not occur in other sources, have not been included in the full discussion. See chapter I, pp. 18–19.
[47] See chapter VII, p. 209; Burchard (1274-85), p. 53.

by Heinrich Canisius.[48] The longer version, which naturally contains more information than the abridgement, is the main version referred to throughout this thesis, although where additional information is available from the abridged text, this is noted. There are several internal indications as to the date of the text; it can be narrowed down to between July 1274, the end of the Second Council of Lyons, and May 1285, when the Hospitaller castle of Margat was captured by Qalāwūn.[49]

Wilbrand of Oldenburg, born into a noble family, was a canon of Hildesheim at the time that he travelled around the Holy Land (1212), although he was later promoted to bishop of Utrecht. He was sent as a legate to King Leo II of Armenia by the emperor Otto IV in 1211 to 1212, and visited the Holy Land after he had completed his diplomatic mission there. The dates of this trip are given in the text.[50]

The pilgrim account is preserved in four manuscripts, dating from the thirteenth century to eighteenth century.[51] J. C. M. Laurent, whose edition was used for this thesis, used the sixteenth-century manuscript as the main base for his text, ignoring variants from the thirteenth-century manuscript. Pringle, who has recently re-edited this pilgrim account, has highlighted that the thirteenth-century manuscript, which was copied shortly after Wilbrand's trip (around 1220-30) is the version on which the later manuscripts are based.[52] As this edition was not published until towards the end of this thesis, the edition primarily used here will be the Laurent edition (Wilbrand A); however, where the thirteenth-century manuscript shows differences, these will be noted (Wilbrand B).

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[48] Burchard (1274-85); Burchardus de Monte Sion, 'Descriptio Terrae Sanctae', in *Thesaurus Monumentorum Ecclesiasticorum et Historicorum sive Henrici Canisii Lectiones Antiquae*, ed. by Heinrich Canisius and James Basnage, 4 vols. (Antwerp: Rudolph & Gerhard Wetstenios, 1725), IV, 1–26; Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*, pp. 98–99.

[49] Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p. 50.

[50] Wilbrand of Oldenburg, 'Itinerarium terrae sanctae', in *Itinera*, pp. 195–249, p. 195; Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 163.

[51] Röhricht, *Bibliotheca*, p. 46.

[52] Wilbrand B (1211-1212), pp. 112–13.

Wilbrand's account ends, either through author omission or exemplar loss, after his description of Mount Quarantana, so his text does not discuss Galilee or Samaria. His Latin is more literary and complex than the simplistic language of the *itineraria*, and he uses a balance of classical and biblical quotations and allusions in his text.[53] The account contains a great deal of detail and contemporary description and can be used not only to show which sites were visited, but also provides an insight into their condition during the early part of the thirteenth century. It is particularly useful for its description of Jerusalem, of which reliable thirteenth-century descriptions are difficult to find. The account was presumably written, at least in part, as a report for Emperor Otto IV; its incompleteness would, however, have made it less useful for armchair pilgrims.

Thietmar, a German pilgrim probably from Westphalia, reached Acre in the autumn of 1217, after being signed with the cross according to his own account.[54] He was probably a cleric, possibly a monk.[55] His account survives in eighteen manuscripts, which have been divided into two distinct manuscript traditions, both of which are represented by manuscripts dating from the thirteenth century.[56] For simplicity, the manuscript tradition which is considered the closest to Thietmar's text, published in an edition by J. C. M. Laurent, will be called tradition A. The manuscript tradition which is considered to be a later abbreviation with interpolations will be called tradition B. An edition of Thietmar's account from a thirteenth-century manuscript of tradition B has been published by Jules de Saint-Génois.[57] Although there is a great deal of similarity between the traditions, and both date from the thirteenth century, there are sufficient differences to consider the texts

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[53] Wilbrand of Oldenburg, '(Sandoli)', p. 196
[54] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 2; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 20; Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p. 27.
[55] Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p. 27.
[56] Röhricht, *Bibliotheca*, p. 47. For discussion of the two manuscript traditions, see the edition of Laurent, pp. 28-29.
[57] Thietmar B (1218-91), pp. 19–58.

separately. A fifteenth-century chronicle, that of Nicholas Glassberger of Moravia, suggests that Thietmar wrote the work in order to provide information to the Pope on the state of the Holy Land.[58] Although Thietmar was travelling through the Holy Land towards Egypt just prior to the Fifth Crusade's expedition there, it is possible that this comment merely reflects the later use of this text by authors of recovery of the Holy Land texts. Thietmar himself states in his prologue that his account was written to remind him of his journey once he had left the Holy Land, and that he hoped that it would aid others in their reflection on the holy places and God.[59] The areas covered by the text can be seen in table 1; it is worth noting however that Thietmar tried to avoid Jerusalem specifically in order to evade capture by the Muslims. He failed and was captured nonetheless, and then taken to Jerusalem. He was released with the aid of a travelling campanion, saw the holy sites of Jerusalem, then headed across the desert towards Mount Sinai with the aid of Bedouin. The account ends with some descriptions of the Holy Land and its occupants which show similarities to the *Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terre*, mentioned above. These sections have not been considered for this thesis, as they are pre-1187 texts.

The version of Thietmar in tradition B is a standardising one; that is, the main differences from tradition A, are where tradition B has omitted or changed the text to make it a more standard pilgrim text. For example, rather than discussing Thietmar's attempt to evade capture by avoiding Jerusalem, the tradition B account has Thietmar simply travel to Jerusalem from Jaffa. In addition, it describes Thietmar as reaching Jerusalem via Samaria, rather than just seeing the region in the distance during his journey, as was the case in reality. It also reduces the volume of description in the sections on Syria, Mount Sinai and Egypt, which were not usually significant parts of Holy Land pilgrimage texts. Beyond the

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[58] Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p. 27.
[59] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 2; Thietmar B (1218-91), pp. 19–20.

fact that the abbreviation was presumably made after the original account, there is nothing

to date it, apart from its presence in a thirteenth-century manuscript.[60]

Filippo Busserio (Brusserio) di Savona was a Franciscan of noble family from Savona,

born in 1260. He was charged with a number of diplomatic missions by the papacy during

the thirteenth and early fourteenth century, during which he would have had the opportunity

to visit the Holy Land. The account was attributed to him by Röhricht, as several of the

manuscripts name the author as one 'Philippus'.[61] Denys Pringle has recently revisited the

attribution, and although there is no direct supporting evidence, finds it a reasonable one.[62]

The account of Filippo is preserved in fifteen manuscripts dating from the thirteenth to

fifteenth century; a Dutch version of the text can be found in a further two manuscripts

from the fifteenth century.[63] The Latin account survives in two main traditions, which are

sufficiently different to consider them separately.[64] The main tradition is represented by the

editions of de Sandoli and Neumann, and the second tradition can be found edited by de

Sandoli from a thirteenth-century manuscript as *Liber de civitatibus Terrae Sanctae*.[65]

Variants from another, more complete, manuscript of this tradition were included in the

edition of Filippo by Neumann.[66] For ease of reference, this second tradition will be

referred to as LCTS.

The pilgrim account of Filippo mostly follows a geographical structure, but not

completely. It starts not with a port city nor with Jerusalem, but with Nazareth, for the

reason that this was where the Annunciation was. The order of some of the sites is also

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[60] Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 546.
[61] Filippo (1244-91), pp. 221, 252.
[62] Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp. 52–54.
[63] Röhricht, *Bibliotheca*, pp. 60–61.
[64] For discussion of the manuscript traditions, see Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp. 51–52.
[65] Filippo (1244-91); W. A. Neumann, 'Drei mittelalterliche Pilgerschriften: III, Philippi descriptio Terrae Sanctae', *Österreichische Vierteljahresschrift für Katholische Theologie*, 1872, 1–78.
[66] De Sandoli manuscript: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek MS Clm. 14731.

unusual, suggesting that this account was written by traveller reflecting on a number of specific journeys that he made, which did not necessarily reflect the standard pilgrim routes; in other pilgrim texts, for example, one might expect to find the sites of Galilee gathered together, rather than in two separate sections. However, these two sections probably represent separate journeys made from Acre to Nazareth, Naim and Sebaste, and from Tiberias along the Sea of Galilee past Banyas and into Syria.

The order of sites in *LCTS* is roughly the same as that in Filippo, but there are a number of changes. These mostly rationalise the order of sites; for example, the sites of Galilee are put together in the text. The account still begins with Nazareth but ends with the holy sites of the southern coast. The account briefly mentions Sinai, but does not include the sites in Arabia or Egypt which are in the main account. Altogether, it feels as though the editor of the text is trying to fit Filippo's experience into the typical shape of a pilgrimage text.

Both traditions can be dated using internal evidence. The mention of the Khwārazmians dates Filippo to after 1244, and the mention of the body of St Euphemia at Chastel Pèlerin confirms that the text is pre-1291.[67] There is no additional secure dating material in the text, but if Filippo Busserio di Savona was indeed the author, then one might expect a date towards the end of this period, as he was born in 1260. Pringle estimates the text to have been written between 1268 and 1289.[68] He judges that the sparse information on Caesarea and Jaffa indicated a date after their loss to Baybars, and that the sparser note on Tripoli indicated a date before its capture by Qalāwūn in 1289.

The second account, LCTS, also mentions the Khwārazmians, dating it to after 1244; however, it also notes the presence of St Mary in the Marshes as a site to which people freely or happily (in the text, '*libeter*' [sic]) went on pilgrimage, suggesting a date prior to

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[67] Filippo (1244-91), pp. 226, 246.
[68] Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, pp. 54–55.

the conquests of Baybars in the 1260s.[69] It also indicates that pilgrims could enter Jerusalem by the Gate of Stephen, which did not occur in the later thirteenth century.[70] This makes it impossible for *LCTS* to be derived from a text written by Filippo; either the derivation or the identification of the author is wrong.

The author ends by noting that he wrote the text for the glory of God, and for the use of pilgrims. Certainly there is sufficient detail in the text that it would have been useful for pilgrims, although the order of the text is slightly unusual. If the author was Filippo, then, like Wilbrand of Oldenburg, the text may have been written as part of a report into a diplomatic mission.

Riccoldo da Monte di Croce was a Dominican friar, born in Florence in the 1240s. He departed for the Eastern Mediterranean towards the end of 1288, in order to preach the Gospel. [71] His travels around the Holy Land took place from 1288 to 1289, shortly before the fall of Acre in 1291. His account is preserved in eight manuscripts, dating from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, one of which, Wolfenbüttel Herzog August Bibliothek Cod. Guelf. 40 Weiss., includes a number of other thirteenth- and fourteenth-century descriptions of the Holy Land, and one of which, Berlin Staatsbibliothek Lat. 466, contained annotations by Riccoldo himself.[72] The account was also translated into Italian, preserved in two manuscripts from the fourteenth century, and French. The French account survives in six manuscripts, one of which, Bern Burgerbibliothek Cod. 125, similarly contains a number of thirteenth and fourteenth-century descriptions of the Holy Land,

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[69] The term 'libeter' should be seen as an editorial error or scribal omission for 'libenter' (happily, freely, willingly). LCTS, pp. 348, 366.

[70] See chapter VI, p. 199 for further discussion.

[71] Riccold de Monte Croce, *Pérégrination en Terre Sainte et au Proche Orient: Lettres sur la chute de Saint-Jean d'Acre*, ed. & trans. by René Kappler (Paris: H. Champion, 1997), p. 9.

[72] Röhricht, *Bibliotheca*, pp. 61; Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p. 56; Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel Handschriftendatenbank, 'Wolfenbüttel Herzog August Bibliothek Cod. Guelf. 40 Weiss.' < http://dbs.hab.de/mss/?list=ms&id=40-weiss> [accessed 7 September 2013].

including the accounts of Odoric of Pordenone and Marco Polo, and John de Mandeville's *Travels*.[73] The Latin accounts survive in two main traditions, one from the manuscript annotated by Riccoldo, and one which survives in other fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts. The differences between these two lie primarily outside the description of the Holy Land.[74] As Riccoldo travelled towards the end of the Latin kingdom, later changes to his account will not necessarily reflect conditions from before 1291. The edition used for this thesis (Kappler) is based primarily on the manuscript which contains the annotations of Riccoldo himself.[75]

The geographical extent of Riccoldo's account can be seen in table 1. It is worth noting however, that the route from Acre to Jerusalem which he described was not typical, since he travelled inland via the castle of Cacho (south-east of Caesarea, see map 10) rather than along the coast. Riccoldo's account is particularly useful in its descriptions of Jerusalem, as Riccoldo's party was turned away from the church of the Holy Sepulchre at the first attempt, but later managed to gain access. The account is also one of the few to indicate the activities undertaken by pilgrims, such as reciting the Gospels at the holy sites.

Other Sources

The pilgrim texts are supplemented by evidence from: contemporary Latin and vernacular chronicles, such as those of Matthew Paris and the Chronicle of Ernoul and Bernard the Treasurer; crusade accounts, such as that of Oliver of Paderborn, concerning the Fifth Crusade; letters, such as those of Jacques de Vitry, who was Bishop of Acre from 1216 to 1229; charters belonging to the religious orders and institutions of the Latin East, such as

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[73] Röhricht, *Bibliotheca*, pp. 55, 70, 73, 80. Hermann Hagen, *Catalogus codicum Bernensium (Bibliotheca Bongarsiana)* (Bern: B. F. Haller, 1875), pp. 179-80.
[74] Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p. 56.
[75] Riccoldo (1288-89), pp. 24–26.

the church of Our Lady of Jehosaphat, the canons of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Hospitallers; papal documents; some Arabic chronicles and accounts (although these are usually uninterested in Christian travellers); and maps, which during the twelfth and thirteenth century tend to be based on pilgrim accounts, rather than biblical history.[76]

These types of texts suffer from the usual issues of unknown reliability and bias, but for the study of pilgrimage in particular one ought to note that these texts are generally not focused on pilgrimage activity, and thus notices of pilgrims and pilgrimage are sparse and infrequent. This makes drawing any general conclusions from these sources difficult. However, any information they do give on pilgrims and pilgrim activity is very useful, as the pilgrim texts frequently omit information on who took part in pilgrimage or what they did, beyond visiting holy sites. The chronicles and crusade accounts, as well as noting individuals who went on pilgrimage, also include descriptions of the Holy Land. These descriptions are particularly extensive in the Chronicle of Ernoul and Continuations of William of Tyre but also exist in other chronicles and accounts. Some of these descriptions, particularly those in crusade accounts, are based on eyewitness descriptions or on information picked up in the Latin East, and where the description includes holy sites they can be reasonably useful for establishing the state of the sites themselves. However, some are based on earlier descriptions, such as those in the twelfth-century pilgrim texts, and so can be misleading for contemporary descriptions of holy sites. Archaeology also plays an important part in this thesis, and Denys Pringle's four-volume work on the *Churches of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* has been used extensively; where possible, this has been supplemented by accounts of more recent archaeological investigation.

The sources used both complement and reinforce each other's material on pilgrims, sites

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[76] Paul D. A. Harvey, 'Holy Places on Medieval Maps of Palestine', in *Szent Helyek A Térképeken (Sacred Places on Maps)*, ed. by Zsolt Török (Budapest: Pannohalma, 2005), pp. 141–54 (p. 147).

and activity. The *itineraria*, by virtue of their brevity, indicate the most important, key sites of pilgrimage for the typical pilgrim and the favoured routes around them; the use of both Latin and the vernacular indicates these texts were for the use of both lay and clerical pilgrims. The accounts attest to the actual sites visited and routes used, and by comparing the two, one can form a model of pilgrimage which is realistic, yet more representative of a wider group of pilgrims than one generated solely from the accounts of a few specific pilgrims. These geographical patterns are independently supported and confirmed by information in the other sources used; these also provide further details on the sites themselves, helping to establish why the sites were visited, and what pilgrims might have seen. Pilgrimage is more than just sacred geography, and the additional sources are also essential to ascertaining who the pilgrims were, and what activities they undertook, both of which are not commented on in the *itineraria* and frequently ignored in the accounts; these aspects will be focused on in the next chapter.

III. Pilgrims

Pilgrims

Pilgrims generally came from all walks of life, and pilgrimage itself was an integral part of the religious experience of the laity in the thirteenth century. However, the longer the pilgrimage, the greater the need for funding and practical support, and this limited the types of people who might take part in long-distance pilgrimage.[1] Although it might be assumed that the volume of people arriving in the Latin East would have shrunk as a result of the loss of Jerusalem, this seems not to have been the case. The ships which carried the pilgrims increased in capacity throughout this period, and notarial documents suggest that it was not unusual for a pilgrim ship to accommodate up to 1000 passengers.[2] Some accounts and notices of specific pilgrims survive, and these have been collated from the chronicles, charters and other texts used for this thesis. Of these pilgrims, most were male and generally nobles or clerics.[3] These pilgrims came from all over Europe, although the long distance to the ports of the Mediterranean would have made the journey more expensive and difficult for those from northern Europe.[4] Roger of Hoveden noted the presence of *humiles peregrini* in a shipwreck on the way to the Holy Land; these lower-ranked pilgrims may have made the journey independently, but most would have been brought along to support their lords' pilgrimages.[5] Many of the pilgrim accounts were written by clerical pilgrims, despite clergy requiring specific

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[1] Favreau-Lilie, 'German Pilgrimages to Jerusalem', pp. 325–26.

[2] John H. Pryor, *Geography, Technology and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 649-1571* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 42–44; Jacoby, 'Pardouns d'Acre', pp. 105–07.

[3] This corresponds with the results of a recent study of medieval German pilgrims to Jerusalem. Favreau-Lilie, 'German Pilgrimages to Jerusalem', p. 323.

[4] Favreau-Lilie, 'German Pilgrimages to Jerusalem', p. 326.

[5] 'cum multis tam nobilibus quam humilibus peregrinis'. Magistri Rogeri de Houedene, *Chronica*, ed. by William Stubbs, 4 vols. (London: Longman, 1868), IV, p. 185.

permission from the bishop before leaving on pilgrimage themselves.[6] However, two, possibly three of these were mendicants, whose itinerant lifestyle allowed for greater access to pilgrimage.[7]

Although the majority of pilgrims were male, women did travel to the Holy Land during the thirteenth century. The truce concluded between Qalāwūn and the Templars in 1282 which guaranteed the protection of pilgrims to Jerusalem, specifies that these could be male or female, indicating that it was possible for women to travel outside the Latin kingdom.[8] Generally the female pilgrims who have specific notices in chronicles were of noble origin; many travelled independently, although those that did tended to do so following the death of their spouse, with the express intention of maintaining a religious life until they died in the Holy Land. Queen Margaret of Hungary, the wife of Béla III of Hungary and sister of Philip II Augustus of France, travelled to the Holy Land in 1196 after the death of her husband, dying at Acre in 1197.[9] Alis, the countess of Blois, also travelled independently, arriving in 1286/8, and doing good works, such as funding the construction of a tower and a chapel, until she died.[10]

Pilgrims visited the Holy Land primarily to gain some kind of remission for sin, whether it was because they were given the pilgrimage as a punishment for a specific crime, or because they thought that visiting the places would more generally improve their chances in the afterlife. Rudolf of Greifenstein was an example of the former: he was ordered by Gregory IX to do a pilgrimage to Jerusalem for murdering bishop Bertholdt von Chur in 1237.[11] Similarly, Leonhard and Johannes of Wollzog were given

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[6] Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, p. 16.
[7] See chapter II, pp. 35–44.
[8] P.M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260-1290): Treaties of Baybars and Qalāwūn with Christian Rulers* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), p. 137.
[9] Magistri Rogeri de Houedene, *Chronica*, IV, p. 14.
[10] *Annales de Terre Sainte, 1095-1291*, ed. by Reinhold Röhricht and Gaston Raynaud (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1884), pp. 35–36.
[11] Reinhold Röhricht, *Die Deutschen im Heiligen Lande: 650-1291* (Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1894), p. 127.

pilgrimage to the Holy Land as a punishment for raiding the monastery of Obernburg.[12]

Thietmar, who described himself as 'signed with the cross', stated that he went on

pilgrimage for the remission of his sins.[13]

Pilgrims might have additional reasons for undertaking their pilgrimage: many

wished to see the Holy Places so that they might better understand the Bible, a practice

partially endorsed by Jerome.[14] Jacques de Vitry suggested, disapprovingly, that some of

these pilgrims wanted to travel out of sheer curiosity, to see the exotic marvels of the

East.[15] Certainly, thirteenth-century texts do begin to include *mirabilia* in their

descriptions, and this is the start of a trend which developed into the travellers' tales of

the fourteenth and fifteenth century.[16] The *mirabilia* range from exotic fauna, such as

the crocodiles near Caesarea, to miraculous plants such as the apples of Adam which

grew near the Dead Sea, to marvels such as the red earth near Hebron which reproduced

itself, no matter how much was dug up.[17] The thirteenth century also saw an

increasingly widespread wish to replicate the life and suffering of Christ, best

exemplified by the mendicant tradition; Jacques de Vitry records this as a reason for

pilgrims to travel to the Holy Land.[18]

Many pilgrims travelled to the Holy Land with the aim of remaining there until their

death; this was mostly achieved by pilgrims who travelled to the Holy Land whilst

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[12] Röhricht, *Deutschen im Heiligen Lande*, p. 130.

[13] 'Ego, Thietmarus, in remissionmem peccatorum meorum.' Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 1. See also Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 19.

[14] Catherine Delano-Smith and Alessandro Scafi, 'Sacred Geography', in *Szent Helyek A Térképeken (Sacred Places on Maps)*, ed. by Zsolt Török (Budapest: Pannonhalma, 2005), pp. 121–40 (p. 125). Thietmar also includes this as a reason for his visit. 'Multum enim estauaui et ardenter desideraui uidere personaliter, que in nube et enigmate aliquociens audieram scripturarum.' Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 2.

[15] Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or*, p. 334.

[16] Pilgrimage accounts and travellers' tales were indistinguishable by the end of the fifteenth century. Paul Zumthor and Catherine Peebles, 'The Medieval Travel Narrative', *New Literary History*, 25 (1994), 809–24 (p. 811).

[17] See chapters IV and V, pp. 98, 131 & 145.

[18] James of Vitry, 'Sermones ad peregrinos', ed. in Jessalynn Bird, 'James of Vitry's Sermons to Pilgrims', *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 25 (2008), 81–113 (p. 89); Caroline Smith, 'Martyrdom and Crusading in the Thirteenth Century: Remembering the Dead of Louis IX's Crusades', *Al-Masāq*, 15 (2003), 189–196 (p. 192).

already old or infirm, but other pilgrims did enter monasteries in the region. Pilgrims might also take part in crusading activity, with the aim of being martyred. The Templar of Tyre describes how the French knight Sir Robert of Crésèques who, during the siege of Acre by Baybars in 1267, deliberately provoked a group of Saracens outside Acre so that he might be killed in the ensuing fight, since dying for God was his main purpose in travelling to the East.[19]

Travel

The fastest and most popular way to the Holy Land for Latin Christian pilgrims was to gain passage on one of the ships leaving the northern Mediterranean coast.[20] Most travelled via Italy in merchants' ships; Venice was the main port, but as Pisa and Genoa both had merchants' quarters within Acre it can be assumed that ships came from there too.[21] Jacques de Vitry remarks on the importance of the Italians to the Holy Land, not only for the transport of pilgrims, but also for fighting and moving merchandise too.[22]

Marseille was another key point of embarkation and the city's economy relied heavily on pilgrims and trade with the Holy Land.[23] Earl Richard of Cornwall, who travelled to the Holy Land in 1240 from England, is described as trying to choose between the Italy or Marseille route, and an *itinerarium* which was inserted in the thirteenth-century *Annales Stadenses* as part of a rhetorical discussion, also begins from Marseille.[24] As part of their remit to aid pilgrims, the Hospitallers established a house in the city, and were permitted to build and maintain their own ships, which could carry

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[19] 'il estoit venu de sà la mer, pour morir pour Dieu en la Terre Sainte.' Templier de Tyr, p. 184.
[20] Pryor, *Geography*, p. 112.
[21] Nikolas Jaspert, *The Crusades* (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 92.
[22] Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or*, p. 274.
[23] Stopford, 'Archaeology of Christian Pilgrimage', p. 59.
[24] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, ed. by Henry Richard Luard, 7 vols. (London: Longman, 1877), IV, p. 47; Albert of Stade, 'Annales Stadenses', ed. by Johann M. Lappenberg, in *MGH:SS*, ed. by G. H. Pertz, XVI, pp. 271–379 (p. 340). The *itinerarium* itself is probably also thirteenth-century, as it shares characteristics with other thirteenth-century *itineraria* but internal information can only date it to after the reign of Baldwin I (1100-18).

pilgrims without being subject to local taxes. This was so popular and profitable, that in 1233 the Hospitallers became subject to restrictions on the number of their vessels which could carry pilgrims.[25]

Roger of Hoveden described how it was possible to travel directly from Marseille to Acre in only fifteen days, but that this required losing sight of land, something which seems to have been rare for ships to do.[26] More commonly, the trip from Italy and France took between four and six weeks.[27] Pilgrims from the northern countries of Europe did sometimes sail directly from their home ports around Spain and onward to the Holy Land, although most probably went by land to the southern Mediterranean coast. Friar Mauritius, who travelled to the Holy Land in 1271-73, described his sea journey around Spain, noting how the ship stopped off at both coastal cities such as Malaga, Cartagena and Marseille, and passed islands such as Sardinia on the way.[28]

The difficulty of sailing during the winter months meant that trips to the Holy Land were confined to a short sailing period, typically between April and October. The journey-time, patterns of merchant shipping, and meteorological conditions typically meant that pilgrims travelled to and from the Holy Land in large numbers in two main clusters; one in the spring and one in the autumn, returning the following autumn or spring.[29] The government of Venice in particular organised its merchant shipping into two main sailings each year, matching these busy periods. Travelling in a group made it safer for the Venetian merchant fleet, allowing the state to provide a warship guard. This

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[25] Bronstein, *Hospitallers*, pp. 67, 74–75; Sophia Menache, 'The Military Orders in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem', in *Knights of Holy Land: The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, ed. by Silvia Rozenberg (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1999), pp. 137–41 (p. 139).
[26] Magistri Rogeri de Houedene, *Chronica*, III, p. 51.
[27] Pryor, *Geography*, pp. 3–4.
[28] Frater Mauritius, 'Itinerarium in terram sanctam', in *Itinera*, IV, pp. 85–93 (pp. 88–90).
[29] John Dotson, 'Naval Strategy in the First Genoese-Venetian War, 1257-1270', in *Medieval Ships and Warfare*, ed. by Susan Rose (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 403–09, (pp. 403–04); Pryor, *Geography*, pp. 3–4, 114–18; Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥlat* (Beirut: Dar Ṣadir, 1964), p. 284; Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr: Being the Chronicle of a Mediaeval Spanish Moor Concerning His Journey to the Egypt of Saladin, the Holy Cities of Arabia, Baghdad the City Of the Caliphs, the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and the Norman Kingdom of Sicily*, trans. by R. J. C Broadhurst (London: J. Cape, 1952), pp. 325–26.

was primarily for the protection of the merchants and their goods, rather than the pilgrims, but would have benefited the pilgrims who travelled with them; most pilgrim ships were otherwise not escorted. [30] The pilgrim shipping trade was heavily regulated; a Venetian statute of 1233 required Venetian pilgrim ships to leave Acre on the return voyage by 8 October at the latest. By contrast, Genoese ships concentrated their travel to the autumn sailing, returning in the following spring.[31] Regardless of the shipping picked by the pilgrims, it is likely that large numbers of them, all requiring food and accommodation, would have arrived in Acre within a few days of each other, putting an enormous strain on the city's resources. It was not unusual for pilgrims to stay in the city for quite some time before they were able to leave for the holy sites – Thietmar, for example, waited in Acre for a month for a truce to take effect between the Muslim and Latin polities – which would have exacerbated the situation.[32] The patterns of shipping limited the amount of time pilgrims might stay in the Holy Land; if they wanted to return on the same ship which brought them, they might only have a month or two while the ship was resupplied and underwent maintenance.[33]

Sea travel was dangerous, and the safety of pilgrims was threatened by raiders, bad storms, and poor navigation. Typically ships sailed close to land, and hopped from island to island to pick up supplies.[34] Bad weather could delay access to additional food and water, and poorly-prepared pilgrims could face starvation or dehydration. The threat from raiders varied depending on the political situation; during the period directly after 1187 for example, there was a serious threat to pilgrim ships from the independent emir

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[30] John Dotson, 'Fleet Operations in the First Genoese-Venetian War, 1264-1266', in *Medieval Ships and Warfare*, pp. 165–80 (p. 171); Dotson, 'Naval Strategy', p. 404; Pryor, *Geography*, pp. 121–24.

[31] David Jacoby, 'A Venetian Sailing to Acre in 1282', in *In Laudem Hierosolymitani: Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z Kedar*, ed. by Iris Shagrir, Ronnie Ellenblum, and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 395–410 (p. 404); Dotson, 'Naval Strategy', pp. 403–04.

[32] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 1; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 19.

[33] Jacoby, 'Pardouns d'Acre', p. 107.

[34] Innom. III's description of travel to the Holy Land makes it clear that island hopping was the norm. Innom. III (1191-1244), p. 18.

of Beirut, but the capture of Beirut by the Franks in 1197 ended this.[35] William de Forz, earl of Aumale, travelled on pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1241, but died whilst sailing there, of illness and starvation.[36] Wilbrand began his pilgrim text by noting that he arrived at Acre after *multa pericula* on the sea voyage, and *multas quassationes*, and Thietmar also commented on the dangers of sea travel.[37] Soffredo, the cardinal legate sent by Innocent III to the Holy Land, also complained to the Pope of the dangers of his voyage in a (now lost) letter home.[38] Roger of Hoveden inserted a letter from the Master of the Hospitallers in his chronicle, which described the wrecking of a ship from Acre off Tripoli in 1201, noting that it caused the loss of life of nobles and lesser pilgrims, and the death of the bishop of Acre. This letter further noted that the inclement weather had lasted for some time, and that this had made communications with the West difficult.[39]

During the thirteenth century, pilgrims were primarily based at Acre, the gateway to the Holy Land. If they were able, they would travel from here east to the sites of Galilee and south along the coast to Jerusalem. Although there was no clear 'way of the pilgrim', as there was for Santiago de Compostela and as there would be for Holy Land pilgrims of the fourteenth century and later, there were clear itineraries and routes around the Holy Land which were favoured by pilgrims. These routes can be gleaned by a close analysis of the pilgrim texts and chronicles; authors noted that pilgrims travelled from 'x to y', and described the holy places in a similar order in each text, an order which roughly corresponds with what is known of the merchant roads and routes through the region at the time.[40]

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[35] Pryor, *Geography*, p. 126.
[36] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, IV, p. 174.
[37] 'Many dangers' and 'much shaking'. Wilbrand A (1211-1212), p. 163; Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 1; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 19.
[38] Alfred J. Andrea, *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), p. 69.
[39] Magistri Rogeri de Houedene, *Chronica*, IV, p. 185.
[40] Further detailed discussion of the routes used by pilgrims around the Holy Land can be found in Mylod, 'Routes to Salvation'.

Pilgrims favoured travelling within Christian-controlled territory as much as possible, travelling south from Acre along the coast and up to Jerusalem, and travelling from Acre eastwards to Galilee and back. The occasional pilgrim does describe travelling north-south between the two regions, but such pilgrims were rare. As noted in chapter VI, pilgrims did not usually undertake pilgrimage to Samaria in the thirteenth century; it is undoubtedly significant that this was an area with a high non-Christian population, and with fewer churches.[41] Pilgrims who remained on the main routes had the advantage of staying on roads which were more often travelled by groups of merchants or pilgrims, and which were mostly in the Latin kingdom, under the nominal protection of the military orders.

Pilgrims might tour around the holy sites by joining a pilgrim group, or travelling with merchants. Large groups or higher ranking pilgrims might gain the services of a guide from the beginning of their journey; Earl Richard, who travelled to the Holy Land in 1240 as a crusader, was advised and had his arrangements made by Brother Theoderic of the Hospitallers. The Hospitaller guided the Earl all the way from England to the Holy Land.[42] More usually, pilgrims seem to have encountered local guides, who might assist them with one or two sites, as part of a long tradition of guiding pilgrims around the holy sites.[43] Thietmar describes meeting a Saracen at Cana who told him that the cistern from which the water was drawn for the wedding at Cana miracle still tasted of wine; in the Jordan Valley, he noted how his guide or group leader explained details about the local flora to them.[44] Local monks also acted as guides, and Wilbrand noted how the Orthodox monks who held the monastery on Mount Sion during his visit would

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[41] Ronnie Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 251, 282; Denys Pringle, 'Churches and Settlement in Crusader Palestine', in *The Experience of Crusading: Volume 2: Defining the Crusader Kingdom*, ed. by Jonathan Phillips and Peter Edbury (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 161–78 (pp. 174–75).

[42] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, IV, p. 56.

[43] *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, p. 68.

[44] Thietmar A (1217-18), pp. 4, 32; Thietmar B (1218-91), pp. 20, 38.

show pilgrims where the last supper took place.[45] Guides were particularly required in

dangerous areas such as the desert; Thietmar, who travelled from the Holy Land to

Mount Sinai, was escorted by local Bedouin and commented that travelling through the

desert was not possible without them.[46]

Dangers and Safeguards

The dangers which pilgrims faced as they travelled around the Holy Land would have

been familiar ones. Pilgrims were, at least in the view of Jacques de Vitry, targets for

unscrupulous landlords and conmen.[47] They were also targeted by bandits, could be

viewed as spies, and could be captured for ransoming. The stretch of road between

Caesarea and Arsuf, known as 'roche talie' or the Cut Rock, was particularly

notorious.[48] Five pilgrim texts comment that the road was bad for travellers because of

the bandits there, although two also note the presence of a Hospitaller castle nearby

which may have afforded some protection to pilgrims.[49] The problem of bandits was

exacerbated in periods of instability, when the state was unable to provide its usual

protection. Repeated attacks on Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem occurred in 1261,

shortly after Baybars had seized power in Egypt, negating the truce between the Franks

and Egyptians.[50] The problem was multi-confessional; Ibn Jubayr, an Andalusian who

travelled to the Holy Land in the 1180s, described how, along the road outside Banyas,

there was a large oak-tree which indicated the area in which attacks from 'Frankish

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[45] 'Suriani': Arabic-speaking Christians, most likely Arabic-speaking Orthodox Christians who used Syriac as their liturgical language, rather than non-Chalcedonian, Syrian-speaking Christians who were relatively rare, and more often called Jacobites. Hamilton, *Latin Church,* p. 160. Wilbrand A (1211-1212), p. 188.

[46] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 37; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 60.

[47] Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or*, p. 334.

[48] Wilbrand A (1211-1212), p. 83-84; Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104.4; Chemins B (1254-68), p. 191; Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 92; 'Les Chemins A'(1261-65), p. 181.

[49] The role of castles and the Military Orders in the protection of pilgrims will be discussed more fully below. Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 92; 'Les Chemins A'(1261-65), p. 181.

[50] Thorau, *Baybars*, p. 144.

brigands' were common.[51] Jacques de Vitry, although undoubtedly exaggerating for effect, noted that penitents from Europe frequently came to the Holy Land to continue their crimes.[52]

Pilgrims were also subject to targeted attacks by state forces. It has been proposed that the pattern of warfare in the Latin East in the thirteenth century was that of endemic raids and counter-raids which made travelling inherently dangerous, at least outside times of truce.[53] Many pilgrims were killed or injured when the political situation changed suddenly or unexpectedly; the *Itinerarium Ricardi* described how ships full of weary pilgrims put into Acre's harbour following its seizure by Saladin and were immediately made prisoners, and in 1244 pilgrims would have been among those put to the sword when Jerusalem was attacked by the Khwārazmians.[54] Thietmar, who travelled through the Holy Land shortly before the Fifth Crusade, tried to keep safe by avoiding Jerusalem, but was captured by Saracens outside Bethlehem and was imprisoned near Jerusalem until friends of his companions interceded.[55] In the immediate aftermath of Baybars' coup in 1260-1261 (which had in the long term led to a period of instability and increased banditry) the Emir of Jerusalem shut the gates of Jerusalem and detained all the Christian pilgrims inside, in an effort to secure the city.[56] Furthermore, internecine warfare between the Italian city states, as exemplified by the War of St Sabas (1256–1270) meant that pilgrims were not guaranteed safety even in the larger cities such as Acre.

Pilgrims were aware of the risks, and fear of attack did affect their behaviour. As noted above, Latin Christian pilgrims seem to have tried to stay within Frankish

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[51] Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥlat*, p. 273; Ibn Jubayr, *Travels*, p. 315.
[52] Jacques de Vitry, 'Lettre II', in *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry: Édition critique*, ed. by R. B. C. Huygens (Leiden: Brill, 1960), pp. 79–97 (pp. 86–87).
[53] Marshall, *Warfare*, pp. 19, 44–45.
[54] *Itinerarium Ricardi*, p. 18; *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 17; *Eracles*, p. 428.
[55] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 111.
[56] *Rothelin Continuation*, pp. 638–39.

territory for as long as possible, travelling along the coast even when their destination lay beyond it. Thietmar describes waiting in Acre for a month for the conditions to be right for him to travel beyond the city.[57] Jacques de Vitry, although resident in Acre, still wanted to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Sites. He describes waiting for the best time to leave the city, and fearing to travel even northward to Tyre and Beirut. He eventually did so, but comments on the dangers he faced from not only the main Muslim population, but also from the 'Assassins', Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Muslims, some of whom lived within the mountains to the northeast of Acre, in modern-day Lebanon.[58]

Pilgrims faced other dangers beyond physical attacks. Thietmar described how one of his travelling companions died of exposure on a mountain near Kerak, and listed the perils of the desert as including lions, snakes, sudden floods, heat, and lack of water, as well as the bandits already discussed.[59] The crocodiles which were said to infest the marshes north of Caesarea also occur relatively often in the pilgrim texts.[60] It is difficult to say however, to what extent these were a real threat to pilgrims, and to what extent they were included as exotic fauna. This area was also prone to earthquakes.[61]

More common was the suffering associated with disease. William de Forbes' death from illness and starvation on the sea voyage has already been mentioned, but the sudden influx of large numbers of people from all over Europe meant that disease was a problem, particularly in Acre which was subject to an epidemic in 1203 which killed many people.[62] The prevalence of pestilence in Acre had been remarked upon as early as 1185, even before the population increase caused by the loss of Jerusalem and Acre's

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[57] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 1; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 19.
[58] Jacques de Vitry, 'Lettre II', pp. 90–91. The main Nizārī territory in the Eastern Mediteranean was much further north, around Masyaf in modern Syria, although the heartland of the Nizārī community was further east, in the Alamut region of Iran. Farhad Daftary, *A Short History of the Ismailis* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998) pp. 133, 136–138.
[59] Thietmar A (1217-18), pp. 36–40; Thietmar B (1218-91), pp. 40–42.
[60] See chapter IV, p. 98. Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 23; Chemins B (1254-68), p. 190; Burchard (1274-85), p. 83.
[61] Andrea, *Fourth Crusade*, p. 257.
[62] Gunther von Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, ed. by Peter Orth (Hildesheim: Weidmann, 1994), pp. 131–33.

elevation to the primary city of the Latin kingdom. John Phocas, a Greek pilgrim travelling to the Holy Land noted that the air was polluted because of the large transient population, and as a result disease frequently occurred causing a high death toll and a constant foul odour.[63] At a lesser level, Jacques de Vitry complained of being unable to eat anything for a period following his arrival in the Acre in 1216, suggesting some kind of upset stomach.[64] Outside Acre was just as dangerous: Conrad, bishop of Halberstadt, visited the Holy Land on pilgrimage in 1204, but contracted malaria during his travels north of Acre.[65]

In the Holy Land, during times of peace, pilgrims were primarily protected by truces, the clauses of which generally provided for travellers' security. These protected them and their goods from seizure by the ruler of the land in question (Latin or Muslim), provided prohibited articles, such as weapons and military equipment, were not carried. The truces frequently gave a period of grace (usually forty days) following their suspension for travellers to leave hostile territory, although, as noted above, this was not always followed.[66] Several of the treaties prescribed the procedure to be followed in the event of robbery or murder in the frontier areas, suggesting that this was frequently a problem.[67] In some cases, such the treaty made by Qalāwūn with the Latin kingdom in 1283, the issue of pilgrimage was specifically addressed. In this treaty, Latin Christians who wished to make a pilgrimage to the holy sites at Nazareth were given direct permission within the treaty, which also included the provision of priests and

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[63] John Phocas, 'A General Description of Settlements and Places Belonging to Syria and Phoenicia on the Way from Antioch to Jerusalem, and of the Holy Places of Palestine', in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, pp. 315–36 (p. 319). Ibn Jubayr makes similar comments about the stench of Acre; this could however be simply be a topos, reflecting his opinion of Frankish control. Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥlat*, p. 276; Ibn Jubayr, *Travels*, p. 318. See chapter IX, pp. 248–50 for how this affected Acre's role in pilgrimage.

[64] Jacques de Vitry, 'Lettre II', p. 90.

[65] Andrea, *Fourth Crusade*, p. 256.

[66] Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, pp. 11, 19, 32–41, 103.

[67] Thorau, *Baybars*, p. 145.

accommodation for the pilgrims.[68] Earlier treaties, such as the truce made between Lord Edward of England and Baybars in 1272, also directly permitted access to pilgrimage sites. Access was, however, only ever directly granted for the more prominent sites of pilgrimage, those around Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth.[69]

Just as in Europe, additional legal protection was available to pilgrims in the form of letters of introduction and safe-conduct.[70] The truce between Qalāwūn and the Templars in 1282 mentioned specifically that letters of safe-conduct from the king of Aragon would be respected by Qalāwūn and his subjects, so that pilgrims might make the journey to Jerusalem.[71] Although not a Latin Christian pilgrim, the rabbi Samuel ben Samson noted that he travelled with a *firman* from the king of Jerusalem, to allow him safe passage so that he could visit the holy sites in that city in 1210.[72]

The importance of these letters of safe-conduct to pilgrims can not be overemphasised, especially during periods around major crusades. The crusaders with Richard I, following the successful conclusion of the Third Crusade in 1192, were granted permission to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem under the safe-conduct of Saladin. In total, three groups of pilgrims from the crusader armies left Frankish territory to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but only two made the journey without incident. One of the pilgrim groups was nearly attacked by the Muslim army when they accidentally arrived in the area around Jerusalem before the messengers who held the evidence of their permission to travel did.[73] In this case, Saladin took pity on the

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[68] Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, p. 86.
[69] The truce of 1272 allowed access to Nazareth. Thorau, *Baybars*, pp. 209–10; Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, p. 72. Access to pilgrimage areas was also granted in the treaty following the Third Crusade in 1192 (Jerusalem and Bethlehem) and the truce of 1204 with al-'Ādil Abū Bakr, the Sultan of Egypt (Nazareth and Jerusalem). Lock, *Companion*, p. 154; Omran, 'Truces', p. 438. The treaty of Frederick II in 1229 which restored Jerusalem to Frankish control also, of course, guaranteed access to the holy places in Jerusalem. Marshall, *Warfare*, pp. 22–23.
[70] Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, p. 14.
[71] Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy,* p. 137.
[72] 'Itinerary of Rabbi Samuel ben Samson in 1210', in *Jewish Travellers*, trans. by Elkan Nathan Adler (London: G. Routledge & Sons, ltd, 1930), pp. 103–110 (p. 110).
[73] *Itinerarium Ricardi*, p. 438.

pilgrims and gave them his protection so that they might complete their pilgrimage, but the incident shows the risks involved.

Legal protection did not usually work against lower-level attacks by bandits and robbers, who used the porous nature of the borderlands to their advantage. Pilgrims therefore relied on a variety of practical steps to try to protect themselves. Foremost of these was travelling in groups with others, whether they were pilgrims or merchants.[74] This presumably also helped the pilgrims to find their way in an unknown country, and, depending on the make-up of the group, may explain how different pilgrim traditions spread. Three of the pilgrim texts make references which indicate that the author undertook Holy Land travel as part of a group.[75] Thietmar noted that he travelled in a group with Saracens and Syrian Christians towards Galilee, and Riccoldo described his journey from Acre to Galilee as being with 'a group of many Christians'. This group seems to have been predominantly pilgrims, as Riccoldo describes how, at each key site, it paused to recite the relevant section of the Gospels, and to hear preaching.[76] Lastly, Wilbrand, who used the first person plural throughout his account, also describes his entrance into the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as if part of a group; he notes that they enter in the manner of sheep, under the watchful eye of the Saracen guards.[77] Thietmar may have been travelling with a group of Georgians when he disguised himself as a Georgian monk to ensure safe passage to St Katherine's Monastery on Sinai; equally, this may represent one way that individual European pilgrims could try to travel safely without a group.[78] Leaving the group could have serious consequences: the *Itinerarium*

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[74] Leigh Ann Craig, '"Stronger than men and braver than knights": Women and the Pilgrimages to Jerusalem and Rome in the Later Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval History*, 29 (2003), 153–75 (p. 162); Favreau-Lilie, 'German Pilgrimages to Jerusalem', p. 334.

[75] These texts are: Wilbrand A (1211-1212), p. 185; Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 3; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 20; Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 38.

[76] 'cum multis cristianis'. Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 38. The descriptions occur throughout his text, but see in particular the sections on Galilee, pp. 38–46, and Mount Quarantana, p. 54.

[77] 'quam nos sicut oues quedam computati intrantes, inclinatis capitibus ad atria ecclesie sancti sepulcri per nuncium Soldani deducebamur.' Wilbrand A (1211-1212), p. 185.

[78] 'Accon igitur iter arripiens, habitu tamquam Georgianus monachus et longa barba simulaui

Ricardi described how some of a pilgrim group who visited Jerusalem after the Third Crusade strayed into the tunnels of the crypts and never returned.[79]

Pilgrims could be protected by armed escorts. The Templars had originated as an armed group to protect pilgrims travelling between the coast, Jerusalem and the River Jordan in the twelfth century.[80] However, their role and that of the other military orders, had changed and developed by the thirteenth century, and full escorts by the military orders seem to have been less common – they are not, for example, mentioned in the pilgrim texts. Some pilgrims did describe having armed escorts, but these were not necessarily from the military orders, and were provided only as a result of the pilgrims' status or wealth. The area between Acre and Beirut, although nominally under Frankish control, was a patchwork of Frankish- and Muslim-controlled areas, with the Franks having control of the key cities, and when Jacques de Vitry went on a tour of this area in 1216-17 he described having armed guards which changed as he travelled from place from place. He was escorted by Tyrian knights from that city to Sarepta, and then from there he sent for knights from Beirut to conduct him through the Muslim territory past Sidon to Beirut.[81] Alis of Blois, mentioned earlier, also travelled with the protection of an armed guard, although these were probably her own retainers.[82]

The military orders in the thirteenth century seem to have primarily protected pilgrims through the construction and maintenance of castles which controlled the

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quod non eram, et iui super ripam maris tria miliaria uersus Carmelum.' Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 20. Georgians often had preferential treatment in the Muslim-held areas, a fact that Jacques de Vitry also noted. Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or*, p. 322.

[79] *Itinerarium Ricardi*, p. 436.

[80] William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, I, pp. 553–55; Jaspert, *The Crusades*, pp. 146-49; Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 88–89; Menache, 'Military Orders', p. 138; Adrian J. Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders: A Survey of the Urban Centres, Rural Settlement and Castles of the Military Orders in the Latin East (c.1120-1291)* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 100.

[81] Jacques de Vitry, 'Lettre II', pp. 91–92.

[82] *Annales de Terre Sainte*, pp. 35–36.

landscape and roads.[83] The castle of Destroit, located near 'Athlit, was originally built to minimise banditry in the narrow paths which led along the coast to Jaffa.[84] The effectiveness of this policy in the north-east of the Latin kingdom was attested by *De constructione castri Saphet*, which ended with a description of the Galilean holy sites that it was now possible to visit because of the construction of the castle of Safad. These sites included the well of Joseph, Capernaum, the place where the miracle of the loaves and fishes occurred, and Bethsaida.[85] By contrast, Gregory IX complained via letter to the Templars in 1238 that they had not been doing their job correctly, allowing groups of pilgrims to be ambushed between Caesarea and Jaffa. He ordered them to protect the route with more men.[86] Protection was not necessarily freely given to pilgrims however; Gregory IX goes on to state that Walter, count of Brienne and Jaffa, could collect a tax from the pilgrims to pay for their protection along the coastal route.[87]

Pilgrim Infrastructure

Pilgrims required a vast infrastructure to support them, particularly when they visited an area in large numbers.[88] Canon law obliged religious institutions to provide practical support to pilgrims, in the form of accommodation, food, and medical care.[89] However, as there were often more pilgrims than the institutions could cope with and as the pilgrims travelled beyond the Latin kingdom, the pilgrims of the thirteenth century also relied on private individuals and the Muslim state.

Whilst in the Holy Land, pilgrims would probably have stayed in a variety of

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[83] Menache, 'Military Orders', p. 139.

[84] Oliverus, 'Historia Damiatina', in *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters*, pp. 159–282 (p. 169).

[85] See chapter VIII, pp. 235–37.

[86] Bronstein, *Hospitallers*, p. 114.

[87] Pilgrims were charged '*sous tournois*'. *Les registres de Grégoire IX: Recueil des bulles de ce pape*, ed. by Lucien Henri Louis Auvray (Paris: Fontemoing, 1896), no. 4129; Bronstein, *Hospitallers*, p. 114.

[88] Stopford, 'Archaeology of Christian Pilgrimage', p. 59.

[89] Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, p. 14. See also Matt. 25:35.

accommodation types, both with other pilgrims and other types of travellers. In the larger towns of the Latin kingdom such as Acre and Tyre, hostelries for merchants and their goods were set up from the early twelfth century. These *fondaci* provided short-term accommodation to merchants of specific nationalities, as well as somewhere safe to store their goods. Having a *fondaco* for one's nation's merchants was a privilege usually granted by the ruler of the Latin kingdom to various merchant nations, such as Venice and Genoa.[90] The *fondaci* were not charitable, however, and all residents had to pay rent, but pilgrims from the appropriate nationality could stay in them. Burchard also suggests that landlords tended to provide lodging to pilgrims from their own country, which presumably meant that pilgrims could get assistance in their own language, if necessary.[91] Although many private landlords were honest, there were risks involved in staying in such accommodation. Jacques de Vitry commented that some men charged 'excessive prices' to pilgrims and added spurious items to their bills in order to extract more money from them.[92]

Accommodation in religious institutions was also available to pilgrims in the cities, although it was primarily intended for the poor and sick. The Hospitallers had moved their hospital to Acre following the loss of Jerusalem in 1187, and they continued to look after pilgrims. The Hospitallers had previously been tasked with the burial of pilgrims in Akeldama, the area just outside the walls of Jerusalem associated the burial of dead strangers since the sixth century.[93] They continued this practice in Acre, burying

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[90] Olivia Remie Constable, 'Funduq, Fondaco, and Khān in the Wake of Christian Commerce and Crusade', in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. by Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2001), pp. 145–156 (p. 151); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 2nd edn. (London: Continuum, 2005), p. 224.
[91] Burchard (1274-85), pp. 88–89.
[92] 'immoderato pretio' Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or*, p. 334.
[93] Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'The Death and Burial of Latin Christian Pilgrims to Jerusalem and Acre 1099-1291', *Crusades*, 7 (2008), 165–79 (p. 167); Denys Pringle, 'Churches in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099-1291)', in *Ancient Churches Revealed*, ed. by Yoram Tsafrir (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993), pp. 28–39 (p. 34); Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, p. 49.

the dead their section of the cemetery outside the city walls, which had a mortuary chapel dedicated to St Michael. The right to bury the dead seems to have been a highly contested one, mostly because of the opportunity it gave to acquire goods from the deceased. In 1188 Clement III ordered the bishops to take no more than a fourth part of the goods of those who were buried by the Hospital; this excluded any weaponry or horses which were of direct use to the Hospitallers.[94] The request clearly did not work, as Clemens III repeated the order in 1195.[95] The Templars were also granted the right to bury the dead during an interdict.[96]

The Hospital was not the only one available to pilgrims in Acre. There was also a hospital of the Bretons, dedicated to St Martin, which had been founded for the care of the poor, infirm and pilgrims of Brittany and Tours, as noted in its charters. This hospital also seems to have had its own cemetery, or least, had the right to bury its occupants.[97] The monastery of Our Lady of Jehosaphat, originally based in Jerusalem, but from 1187 in Acre, was also founded for the same purpose.[98] The Teutonic Knights continued to provide support for German pilgrims in Acre during the thirteenth century, and were joined by the Knights of St Thomas, who catered for English pilgrims.[99] There also seem to have been Hungarian hospices in Acre and Jerusalem prior to 1187; it is reasonable to assume that the Acre hospital, under the control of the Hospital of St Stephen in Esztergom, continued into the thirteenth century.[100] Lepers were able to find assistance at the leper house of St Lazarus at Acre, and the churches of St Mark in Acre

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[94] Rudolf Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter: Archivberichte und Texte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck &Ruprecht, 1972) no. 205.
[95] Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter*, no. 234.
[96] Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter*, no. 208.
[97] *L'hôpital des Bretons à Saint-Jean d'Acre au XIIIe siècle*, ed. by J Delaville le Roulx (Nantes: Société des Bibliophiles Bretons et de l'Histoire de Bretagne, 1880), pp. 10, 13–14, 21.
[98] François Delaborde, *Chartres de Terre Sainte provénant de l'abbaye de Notre Dame de Josaphat* (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1880), no. xix. The hospital of the Bretons had its own cemetery.
[99] Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or,* pp. 268–70
[100] Rudolf Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985), no. 150.

and Tyre provided similar support for the Venetians. The presence of these churches in *Pardouns* indicates that they was also a place of pilgrimage in themselves.[101] Acre, as the main port for anyone who wished to visit the Holy Land, also had hospices for non-Latin Christians. St Savas, a Serbian Geek Orthodox pilgrim, bought the monastery of St George from the Latins in 1230 and turned it into the Orthodox monastery dedicated to St Sabas the Great, which provided hospitality for Orthodox visitors to the Holy Land, including the saint, when he revisited in 1234.[102] Not everyone agreed with this division of support however; Jacques de Vitry complained in particular against the autonomy of the Italian churches in Acre.[103]

Most of the major religious institutions had their headquarters in Acre, but had properties scattered about the Latin kingdom.[104] Burchard stayed with the Carmelites on Mount Carmel when he visited the Holy Land, and *Chemins B* mentioned a small lodging house near here, close to village of *Francheville*. [105] It is probable that pilgrims generally used the large settlements as bases from which to explore the area; the Old French texts specifically note that Caesarea performed this function for pilgrims who wanted to visit the pilgrimage site of St Mary in the Marshes.[106] It seems likely that castles, particularly those of the military orders, would sometimes double as pilgrim hospices for pilgrims outside the main settlements, since they were both fortified and located close to the main routes through the Holy Land, and it has been suggested that

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[101] See chapter IX, pp. 251–52. Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Kirchen*, no. 161, 168; Pardouns (1258-63), p. 235.

[102] Alice-Mary Talbot, 'Byzantine Pilgrimage to the Holy Land from the Eighth to the Fifteenth Century', in *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, ed. by Joseph Patrich (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2001), pp. 97–106 (p. 106); Dimitri Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 167.

[103] Jacques de Vitry, 'Lettre II', pp. 85–86.

[104] See, for example, the document in which Greogry IX confirmed the properties of the church of Bethlehem in 1227. The church had control of property from Gibelet to Jaffa, although much would have been theoretical since it was in Muslim hands. Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Kirchen*, no. 145.

[105] 'e pus l'em vet à un caselet host près de là, à une petite descendue.' Chemins B (1254-68), p. 189.

[106] Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104.3; Chemins B (1254-68), p. 190; Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 91.

the support of the castles went further, providing medical care for ill and infirm pilgrims, as well as feeding and clothing local paupers.[107] The support of paupers, in particular, was written into the rules of both the Templars and Hospitallers.[108] Smaller fortified dwellings, belonging to the military orders, regular religious orders and noble families provided further shelter between larger settlements.[109] Some castles may have become the focus of pilgrimage themselves; Chastel Pèlerin held the relics of St Euphemia, and it is possible that pilgrims entered the castle to see them.[110]

Outside the Latin kingdom, pilgrims seem to have had a similar choice of accommodation. A system of *khāns* (heavily fortified merchant hostels) formed along the main caravan routes through the Holy Land during the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. These temporary lodgings were designed for Muslim travellers but there is some evidence for the use of *khāns* by non-Muslims in Syria in the thirteenth century, so it is possible that Latin Christians may have been able to take advantage of these hostels.[111] Baybars established a *khān* in 1263 outside the walls of Jerusalem, which Latin Christians later resided in during the fifteenth century and could have stayed in during the thirteenth century.[112] Latin pilgrims could definitely stay in separate hostels designed specifically for Christian pilgrims, run under the close supervision of the Muslim authorities, which could be found both outside Jerusalem and in Nazareth. The treaty of 1283 between the Latin kingdom and Qalāwūn stated that four houses near to the church in Nazareth were for the use of Christian pilgrims travelling to Nazareth from the area of the Latin kingdom and that all nations and groups were welcome to use the houses; this could simply indicate all nationalities, or it might indicate that Greek

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[107] Kristian Molin, 'The Non-Military Functions of Crusader Fortifications, 1187-circa 1380', *Journal of Medieval History*, 23 (1997), 367–88 (p. 386).
[108] Barber, *New Knighthood*, pp. 217–18.
[109] Molin, 'Crusader Fortifications', p. 385.
[110] For further details see chapter IV, pp. 93–94.
[111] Remie Constable, 'Funduq, Fondaco, and Khān', pp. 153, 156; Katia Cytryn-Silverman, 'Khān al-āhir – bi-āhir al-Quds!', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland* ,19 (2009), 149–71 (p. 158).
[112] Cytryn-Silverman, 'Khān al-āhir', pp. 146, 157.

Orthodox and other non-Latin Christians would be sharing the facilities.[113] The truce also attempted to limit the volume of pilgrim donations which might be used to restore the church or support the building of other religious dwellings within the town.[114]

The Muslim authorities used these hostels to control the visits of pilgrims to the Holy Places, both as a way of guaranteeing revenue from the visits and as a way to prevent military espionage and intelligence-gathering. The hostel for pilgrims to Jerusalem was called the *Asnerie*, a former Hospitaller stable located near to the Church of St Stephen, just outside the city walls. Its modern location is likely to have been near the Garden Tomb, or below the barrel vaults near the Byzantine church of St Stephen. It appears first in a document of 1163, in a charter witnessed by 'Bernardus de Asinaria', but its thirteenth-century incarnation is more fully described in 'The City of Jerusalem', a pre-1187 text which was later inserted into the Chronicle of Ernoul.[115] The post-1187 additions to the text descibed how the *Asnerie* acted as a holding point for pilgrims, providing accommodation to Latin pilgrims, who were not permitted to stay overnight in Jerusalem. From here, they were guided by Muslim guides into Jerusalem to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and back out again. Wilbrand of Oldenburg, stated that his pilgrim group were 'compelled to enter' (*intrare compellebamur*) this building when they arrived at Jerusalem and Thietmar seems to have been interned in the same area after being captured just outside Bethlehem.[116]

Burchard received hospitality, in the form of provisions, from the Orthodox monks in Sebaste, sixty-five miles north of Jerusalem and the site of John the Baptist's beheading

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[113] Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, p. 86.

[114] Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, p. 86.

[115] Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, p. 48; *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 200. The *Itinerarium Ricardi* may be referring to this site when it noted that 'illic fusis piis lacrymis et affectuosius illi loco fixis osculis properanter abscessimus, Turcis quoque nos abjicientibus, non modicum condolentes super pollutionibus quibus profanaverant sacra loca infidelium Turcorum equi irreventer illis stabiliti.' *Itinerarium Ricardi*, p. 436.

[116] Wilbrand A (1211-1212), p. 184; Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 26; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 260.

and tomb.[117] Thietmar also described staying in an Orthodox monastery (described as a *pulchrum cenobium*), on Mount Abarim, on his route to Mount Sinai.[118] Latin Christians requesting hospitality from Eastern monks were frequent enough to merit a specific mention in monastic regulations (*typika*). The *typikon* of Mar Saba, an Orthodox monastery about thirteen miles outside Jerusalem, had a strong influence on those of the other monasteries. It included references to 'the Franks' (Latin Christians) who were permitted to join in with services at the monastery, but could not celebrate their own liturgy. They were to be offered hospitality for up to seven days.[119] Such hospitality was made available to twelfth-century pilgrims and continued to be offered during the thirteenth century, when pilgrims had fewer Latin Christian alternatives.

Once outside the main pilgrimage routes, accommodation was more informal. Thietmar, who travelled beyond the Jordan and south towards Mount Sinai, described being offered hospitality by a poor Greek Christian woman and her local Greek Orthodox bishop, and later by a French widow, living in the shadow of Montreal.[120] These not only provided him with accommodation, but provisioned him for his onward journey and directed him on the correct path to take.

Interdicts and Indulgences

Indulgences, which continued to develop throughout the thirteenth century, were one way in which Latin Christian authorities might try to regulate pilgrimage.[121] The theology of indulgences for pilgrims was still being developed during the twelfth and

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[117] Burchard (1274-85), p. 53.

[118] 'In summitate istius montis est pulchrum cenobium a Christianis Grecis inhabitatum, ubi eciam pernoctaui.' Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 35.

[119] 'Sabas: Founder's Typikon of the Sabas Monastery near Jerusalem', in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, ed. by Angela Constantinides Hero and John Thomas, trans. by Gianfranco Fiaccadori (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2000), pp. 1311–1318 (pp. 1316–17).

[120] Thietmar A (1217-18), pp. 35–37.

[121] Maureen Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy: The Chief Instruments of Papal Crusading Policy and Crusade to the Holy Land from the Final Loss of Jerusalem to the Fall of Acre 1244-1291* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), p. 37; Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, pp. 148–49.

thirteenth centuries, and the focus in the Holy Land was primarily on indulgences for crusaders, not pilgrims. [122] Indeed, most of the indulgences granted by the papacy to pilgrims at this time were for Rome, which benefited the papacy rather than the 'Saracens' who controlled many of the pilgrimage places in the thirteenth-century. Generally, the overall indulgence or remission of sins to be gained from visiting the Holy Land seems to have been enough for most pilgrims, and site-specific indulgences are rarely noted in the pilgrim texts because they were both scarce and often not considered as important as other aspects of Holy Land pilgrimage. There were, of course, the indulgences reported in *Pardouns* for Acre, but as will be discussed later, this city was not typical of Holy Land pilgrimage.[123] There were also two possibilities outside Acre: Innom. III noted that an *indulgentia* might be gained from visiting the church of the Virgin Mary in Jehosaphat, and the twelfth-century text of Theoderic noted that another could be acquired at the spot where Jesus absolved the adulterous woman in the Temple, although as the Temple Mount was not accessible during the thirteenth century, it is unlikely to have continued into the thirteenth century.[124] *Absolutio, remissio, relaxio* and *indulgentia* were used interchangeably in the early thirteenth century, so it is impossible to be sure exactly what form of dispensation, if any, was indicated by these texts.[125]

Holy Land pilgrimage could be influenced on a larger scale through the use of

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[122] For the development of canon law for pilgrims and crusaders, see Jessalynn Bird, 'Canon Law Regarding Pilgrims', in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. by Larissa Taylor and et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 78–80; Elvio Ciferri, 'Papacy and Pilgrimage', in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. by Larissa Taylor and et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 483–84; and Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*.

[123] See chapter IX, pp. 246–56 for further discussion of this.

[124] 'Redeuntibus in ecclesiam majorem ad meridiem iuxta chorum, ymmo sub ipso choro, ostium patet, per quod gradibus fere XLV in criptam intratur, ubi scribe et pharisei mulierem in adulterio deprehensam adduxerunt ad Dominum Iesum eam accusantes, cui pius magister peccata dimisit et a condempnatione liberavit, quo exemplo peregrinis indulgentia ibidem dari solet.' Theoderic, 'Libellus de locis sanctis', p. 163. 'Ibi dicitur tanta esse indulgentia, quod, quicunque fidelis homo in die assumtionis gloriosae virginis venerit in peregrinatione illuc contritus et confessus, absolvitur a poena et a culpa.' Innom. III (1191-1244), p. 20.

[125] Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy*, p. 49.

interdicts. Concerned that pilgrims might be economically supporting the Muslims, Clement III introduced a regulation in 1188 which required those visiting the Holy Land to acquire a licence first.[126] Later, the papacy specifically prohibited non-combatant pilgrims from visiting the Holy Land three times in the thirteenth century, for a period for four years. These bans were additionally enforced by a ban on ships going to the eastern Mediterranean, unless they carried crusaders. Sea travel to the Holy Land was banned for four years at the Fourth General Council of the Lateran (1215) and the First General Council of Lyons (1245), and for six years at the second General Council of Lyons (1274).[127] It is not clear, however, how effective these bans were; Thietmar definitely travelled via the sea to the Holy Land during the first ban, for example. The interdict placed on Jerusalem by Patriarch Gerold after the Treaty of Jaffa in 1229 seems to have had no effect on pilgrims, although it did restrict the provision of Latin clergy at Jerusalem shrines.[128]

Pilgrim Activity

Pilgrims expressed their devotion at pilgrimage sites in a number of ways, both formal and informal. As at shrines in Europe, pilgrims could express their devotion by touching or kissing the holy site or object, and this seems to have been common practice in the Holy Land as well. The *Itinerarium Ricardi* included several examples of devotional kissing in the description of Jerusalem pilgrims following the Third Crusade. The author described how the pilgrims reverently kissed the stone into which the Cross had been fixed; the table upon which the Last Supper took place; and the tomb of the Virgin Mary. The pilgrims also wept with contrition at the site of Mary's tomb and in the

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[126] Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy*, p. 80, note 80.
[127] *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. & trans. by Norman Tanner, 2 vols. (London: Sheed & Ward, 1990), I, pp. 270, 300, 312.
[128] Folda, *Crusader Art*, p. 155.

Prison of the Lord.[129] Weeping, in fact, seems to have been a common activity; Riccoldo wept copiously within the church of the Holy Sepulchre, but also did so at the church in Magdala, on the hill of the sermon on the mount, and on Mount Tabor.[130]

The custom of leaving gifts and oblations which occurred at European shrines, was fraught with difficulty in the Holy Land outside the Latin kingdom. Pilgrims had to weigh up the potential spiritual benefit against the possibility that the offerings would go into the hands of the Muslim enemy. The pilgrims described in the *Itinerarium Ricardi* specifically note this problem, and they resolve it for themselves by offering the gifts directly to the French and Syrian slaves who worked in the city. Earlier, Richard I of England requested that crusaders undertaking the pilgrimage to Jerusalem should bring back their oblations, so that the money might be used to refortify Jaffa.[131] This fear, of ultimately working against the crusade movement, resulted in the Pope later placing the entire area under interdict, forbidding pilgrims to visit the holy places (see above).

Unique to the Holy Land was the opportunity to recite and re-enact the Gospels at the place where the events originally took place. Riccoldo described how he recited the relevant part of the Gospel at each holy site he visited. He also engaged with the holy sites by partially re-enacting the events which occurred there, eating bread and fish at the site of the post-resurrection meal, and washing himself in the Jordan in a re-enactment of the baptism of Jesus.[132] Wilbrand described how he was able to sing the relevant antiphon at Vespers at the fountain in the gardens outside Tyre, which were associated with those in the Song of Songs.[133] Although there is no mention of it in the thirteenth-century texts, pilgrims in the twelfth century were flogged at the column at

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[129] *Itinerarium Ricardi*, p. 436.
[130] Riccoldo (1288-89), pp. 40–44.
[131] *Itinerarium Ricardi*, pp. 431–32, 435–36.
[132] Riccoldo (1288-89), pp. 42, 52–54.
[133] Wilbrand A (1211-1212), p. 165; Cantic. 4: 15. See chapter IX, pp. 258–59.

which Jesus was flogged, and it is possible that this practice continued.[134] Certainly, the column of flagellation is mentioned frequently by the texts in the thirteenth century.

During the twelfth century, pilgrims were able to take part in a variety of more formal religious activities throughout the Holy Land. These included participation in Mass and in processions such as the Palm Sunday procession from the Mount of Olives through the Valley of Jehosaphat to the Holy Sepulchre.[135] Such activities were severely curtailed in those areas outside the Latin kingdom for most of the thirteenth century. Processions were not theoretically possible in Muslim-held territory, where laws prevented Christians from publicly displaying their faith by ringing bells or taking part in outside processions, although the Palm Sunday procession may have taken place in a truncated or altered format, under the auspices of one of the Eastern Christian churches.[136] However, it was possible for Latin Christians to take part in processions and formal religious rites within the churches themselves. Riccoldo describes how, at the church of the Annunciation in Nazareth, he circled inside the church, preaching and reciting the Gospels with his group. He and his companions also celebrated mass there, as did Burchard of Mount Sion, who claimed to have celebrated '*plures missas*' there.[137] Riccoldo's activity at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was more elaborate, mimicking both the order of events following the crucifixion and reflecting the Easter liturgical drama known as the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, a very popular performance which was also

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[134] William Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095-c.1187* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), p. 63.

[135] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. by Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1913), pp. 612–13. Other processions recorded in the twelfth century, included those for the purification of the Temple, on the days of Ascension and Assumption and at Pentecost. Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire de Chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1984), no. 54.

[136] Lindner, 'Topography and Iconography', p. 93. Palm Sunday processions did occur in the fourteenth century under the direction of the Armenian church, and both Christians and Muslims could be found in the large crowds watching it. Andrew Jotischky, 'Pilgrimage, Procession and Ritual Encounters between Christians and Muslims in Crusader States', in *Cultural Encounters during the Crusades*, ed. by Kurt Villads Jensen, Kirsi Salonen and Helle Vogt (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2013), pp. 245–262 (p. 251).

[137] Burchard (1274-85), p. 47.

enacted in Jerusalem whilst it was under Latin rule.[138] He started at Mount Calvary, weeping at the spot where Mary wept. He then gathered all the Christians in the church into a group, and they formed an impromptu procession which moved towards the tomb to look for Jesus's body, in the way that the Marys did. The group sang and spoke responses to each other as they approached the Tomb itself, before the drama culminated in entering the tomb and seeing that it was empty. Riccoldo notes that the event got so loud that Saracens outside the church heard and seemed to protest.[139] He then proceeded to spend a day and a night within the church, praying, preaching and performing communion.

The Orthodox miracle of the Easter fire, when the lamps in the Holy Sepulchre were miraculously relit on Easter Sunday, was one of the most important events to take place in the church. However, although it is mentioned occasionally in the thirteenth-century pilgrim texts, there are no detailed descriptions of it as there are from the twelfth century, and nothing to suggest that any of the pilgrim authors actually witnessed the miracle themselves. It is therefore difficult to say to what extent Latin Christians took part in this event during the thirteenth century.[140]

Formal Latin Christian pilgrim activities, such as the large processions, should have been possible again in the period 1229 to 1244 when the city of Jerusalem was under Latin control again, but as many religious did not return to the city from Acre, it is not clear whether these earlier traditions were revived. It seems likely that the canons of the Holy Sepulchre replicated some events at Acre when they moved there following the loss of Jerusalem in 1187. In 1218 a piece of the Holy Cross was carried in the

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[138] Robert Ousterhout, 'The Memory of Jerusalem: Text, Architecture, and the Craft of Thought', in *Jerusalem as Narrative Space / Erzählraum Jerusalem*, ed. by Annette Hoffman and Gerhard Wolf (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 139–54 (pp. 149–50); Iris Shagrir, 'The Visitatio Sepulchri in the Latin Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem', *Al-Masāq*, 22 (2010), 57–77 (pp. 61, 64).
[139] Riccoldo (1288-89), pp. 68–70.
[140] Innom. III (1191-1244), p. 18; Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 185.

Ascension procession from the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Acre to the ships leaving for Egypt and the Fifth Crusade.[141] Pilgrims might take part in processions to welcome or dispatch crusaders and visiting dignitaries, such as the papal legate or kings – in 1214, the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem Albert Avogadro died at one such event.[142] Henry II of Cyprus was also greeted with a procession when he arrived in Acre in 1286, which took him through the streets of Acre to the cathedral church of the Holy Cross.[143] In the event of bad weather, the Templars even processed with one of their holy relics through Acre.[144]

On a smaller scale, ritual movement of individual pilgrims between and around shrines seems to have occurred, at least in Acre. *Pardouns* describes how pilgrims were entitled to different indulgences depending on whether they simply visited the Hospital in Acre, whether they went around the Hospital, and whether they took part in the Sunday procession.[145] Pilgrims might also have heard preaching or sermons from the priests who accompanied them or from local bishops such as Jacques de Vitry. Jacques de Vitry describes in one of his letters how he used to regularly preach outside the walls of Acre, for all to hear.[146]

Aside from those described, pilgrims might also undertake activities which, though not strictly associated with pilgrimage, were devotional or religious in some way. Conrad, bishop of Halberstadt, travelled to the Holy Land on pilgrimage in 1203, and once he had recovered from the malaria he had caught in Tortosa, he spent his time

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[141] Jacques de Vitry, 'Lettre IV', in *Lettres*, pp. 101–111 (p. 103).

[142] *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 12; 'Les gestes des Chiprois, I: Chronique de Terre Sainte', in *Les gestes des Chiprois: Recueil de chroniques françaises ècrites en Orient au XIIIe & XVIe siècles*, ed. by Gaston Raynaud (Geneva: Imprimerie Jules-Guillaume Fick, 1887), pp. 1–24 (p. 18); Peter Edbury, 'A New Text of the Annales de Terre Sainte', in *In Laudem Hierosolymitani*, ed. by Iris Shagrir, Ronnie Ellenblum, and Jonathan Simon Christopher Riley-Smith (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 145–61 (p. 151).

[143] Templier de Tyr, p. 219.

[144] Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, p. 32; *Procès des templiers*, ed. by Jules Michelet, 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1841), I, pp. 646–47.

[145] Pardouns (1258-63), p. 235.

[146] Jacques de Vitry, 'Lettre II', p. 86.

visiting and doing good deeds. He helped to rebuild the flattened walls of Tyre, an activity more commonly associated with crusaders, and provided alms to a number of paupers, pilgrims, captives, and religious institutions.[147] Although pilgrims were commonly the recipient of alms, they did provide them as well. In some cases, as noted above, they were given instead of gifts and oblations to the shrine.

There was a great deal of overlap between pilgrims, crusaders, and the activities they undertook. Crusaders might begin or end their crusade with activity typically associated with pilgrimage, such as visiting the holy places, or praying at shrines.[148] Equally, pilgrims, that is people who had expressly come to the Holy Land to see the holy sites, but not to fight, did get involved with more martial activities. The castle of Safad, as described in *De constructione castri Saphet*, was constructed under the direction of the bishop Benedict d'Alignan of Marseille, who managed to persuade a number of pilgrims to contribute to its creation whilst preaching at Acre.[149] In 1271, the army which campaigned against Cacho under the leadership of Lord Edward was swelled by the presence of pilgrims.[150] Riley-Smith has suggested that pilgrims volunteered for crusading activity at the end of their pilgrimage, but it is more likely that pilgrims normally became crusaders as required, such as when the city they were in was besieged.[151]

The final activity to be considered was the commissioning, collecting and purchasing

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[147] Andrea, *Fourth Crusade*, p. 257.

[148] See for example, the three groups of crusader-pilgrims at the end of the Third Crusade or Thibaut de Champagne, king of Navarre, in 1240, who both went on pilgrimages to Jerusalem after the end of their crusades. Richard, earl of Cornwall, completed his crusade in 1240 and then went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and 'autrez Sainz Leuz'. *Itinerarium Ricardi*, pp. 429–38; *Rothelin Continuation*, pp. 554, 556.

[149] R. B. C. Huygens, 'Un nouveau texte du traité "De constructione castri Saphet"', *Studi Medievali*, 1 (1965), 355–87, pp. 381–82.

[150] Bronstein, *Hospitallers*, p. 46; *Eracles*, p. 461.

[151] Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, p. 114; Mary Nickerson Hardwicke, 'The Crusader States, 1192-1343', in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. by Kenneth M. Setton (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962), p. 544.

of souvenirs and relics.[152] The line between souvenir and relic was ambiguous during the thirteenth century, since virtually everything a pilgrim brought back would have had the positive quality of having been in the Holy Land. Two main types of relics or souvenirs can be found in the sources: high-quality, unique, primary and secondary relics which were usually acquired by or for higher ranking members of society, such as pieces of a saint's body, or parts of the Cross; and the inexhaustible supply of tertiary relics and holy souvenirs, which had been created either upon contact with a primary or secondary relic such as dust from a tomb, or by the inclusion of parts of the Holy Land itself, such as water from the Jordan.

Notices of the first kind of relics can be found throughout the chronicles, and although they do vary, tend to be those relics associated with Christ. Few people had access to these kind of relics, and they occur frequently as political gifts, such as the portion of Christ's blood brought by the Templars from the Holy Land to England for Henry III, or the white marble stone with the footprint of Christ which was similarly brought to Westminster by the Dominicans.[153] Many were sent to the European houses of institutions in the Latin East, such as the relics of St George and St John sent by Nicholas of Lorgne, Master of the Hospital, to the Hospitaller house in Auvergne.[154] These relics were very valuable, and could be the subject of conflict. Martin of Pairis, a participant in the Fourth Crusade, travelled to the Holy Land after the capture of Constantinople with relics he had acquired there. A friend, who was based in the Holy Land, tried to convince him to leave the Constantinopolitan relics with him, as travelling with them was so dangerous. When this did not work, the friend tried to bribe him with bishoprics and high offices. Martin of Pairis rejected all these offers, and returned to Pairis with the relics, but this incident indicates the value placed on relics,

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[152] The visiting of relics is covered in the geographical chapters.
[153] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, IV, pp. 640–41; V, pp. 81–82.
[154] *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, 1100-1310*, ed. by J Delaville le Roulx, 4 vols. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894), III, no. 3797.

even in the Holy Land.[155] Indeed, the sale of valuable relics from Bethlehem led its bishop to send a letter to the pope in 1245 arguing for their return.[156] When Aimaro Monaco dei Corbizzi, the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, tried to transfer the arm of the Apostle Philip to Florence, the nobles and king of the Latin kingdom opposed him, and it took some time and negotiation before the relic was allowed to depart.[157] This, as will be discussed later, was because although the Holy Land did have some relics, it did not have many by the thirteenth century. The relics had been transferred to Europe or had been lost during territorial changes, and are rarely mentioned by the pilgrim guides. During the thirteenth century, when access to the holy sites was more difficult, relics gained an increased importance, as it allowed churches not previously associated with pilgrimage to attract pilgrims, in much the same way as relics did in Europe.

The second type of object acquired by pilgrims was the tertiary relic or the holy souvenir. These items were the type most likely to be collected by pilgrims, and were accessible to all classes of pilgrims. The most famous was the water from the Jordan at the spot where Christ was baptised. This area was difficult to reach for much of the thirteenth century, and it is difficult to establish how often pilgrims would have been able to collect the water directly themselves. In the early medieval period pilgrims touched ampullae filled with Holy Sepulchre lamp oil to a relic of the Cross, to imbue the oil with further holiness.[158] This was not possible following the loss of this relic in 1187, but pilgrims nonetheless continued to take lamp oil: the Polos, for example, were commissioned by the Great Khan to bring him some oil from the lamp over the tomb of Christ.[159] Other souvenirs included pieces of rock or earth. Pilgrims to Bethlehem may

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[155] Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, pp. 168–69.

[156] Folda, *Crusader Art*, p. 208.

[157] Franco Cardini, 'Crusade and "Presence of Jerusalem" in Medieval Florence', in *Outremer*, pp. 332–46 (pp. 338–39).

[158] Cynthia Hahn, 'Seeing and Believing: The Construction of Sanctity in Early-Medieval Saints' Shrines', *Speculum*, 72 (1997), 1079–1106 (p. 1086).

[159] Rusticien de Pise, 'Voyages en Syrie de Nicolo, Maffeo et Marco Polo', in *Itinéraires*, pp. 203–12, p. 206.

have acquired some of the white chalky substance which lined the walls of the church of St Mary, which was said to aid fertility. It was not noted in the thirteenth century texts, but it is mentioned in those of the twelfth century, and is a practice which continues to this day. Pilgrims were also among those who collected the miraculous red clay which marked spot where God created Adam.[160]

These tertiary relics often required a vessel to contain them. These vessels were usually ampullae, mostly made from a lead-alloy in workshops in Acre. Prior to the thirteenth century, these ampullae had designs that tied them to specific sites, but this changed during the thirteenth century, when general geometric or floral designs were used instead. It has been suggested that this was to allow pilgrims to buy all their ampullae at Acre before their tour of the holy places, since acquiring ampullae outside the main Frankish cities could be difficult.[161] However, some ampullae with specific decoration do survive from the thirteenth century. In particular, an ampulla survives showing the image of the Incredulity of Thomas, which has been associated with the church of Holy Sion, in which the Last Supper took place and was also considered the location for Christ's appearance to the disciples after his resurrection.[162] This church was not under the control of Latin Christians for most of the thirteenth century, so the ampulla may represent an Orthodox tradition, or date from the period of Latin rule 1229-1244.[163] It is not impossible that 'pre-filled' ampullae were available for purchase for those pilgrims who were unable to travel far beyond Acre's walls. The Templars, for example, provided oil from the Damascene pilgrimage site of Saydnaya to visitors who did not travel outside the Latin kingdom.[164]

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[160] See chapter V, p. 131. Burchard (1274-85), p. 92.

[161] Danny Syon, 'Souvenirs from the Holy Land: A Crusader Workshop of Lead Ampullae from Acre', in *Knights of the Holy Land: The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, ed. by Silvia Rozenberg (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1999), pp. 111–115 (pp. 112, 114).

[162] John 20:24–29; See chapter VI, pp. 182–84.

[163] Lamia Doumato, 'Opening the Door to Paradise: Bishop Theodorus and Saint Thomas Imagery in Thirteenth Century Syria', *Al-Masāq*, 12 (2000), 141–71 (pp. 151–62).

[164] Bernard Hamilton, 'Our Lady of Saidnaya: An Orthodox Shrine Revered by Muslims and

Richer pilgrims might commission or purchase works of art, such as manuscripts or icons, and this seems to have been a popular option for many: the period between c.1250 and 1291 has been described as having had an 'outpouring' of crusader icons.[165] These, again, would have been primarily acquired in Acre, where the major manuscript and icon workshops were.[166] Louis IX, who spent some time in Acre in the course of his first crusade, commissioned an illuminated manuscript of the Old Testament which survives today (Paris, Arsenal, Ms. 5211), and it possible that he commissioned other manuscripts and icons which have since been lost.[167] There is also the Freiburg Leaf, which was associated with a German pilgrim to the Holy Land around 1200.[168]

Finally, it was customary for pilgrims to gather palm leaves at the end of their Holy Land pilgrimage, in order to prove that they had completed the journey once they were home. Before 1187, pilgrims might collect the leaves themselves, on the Mount of Olives, or on the way to Jericho and the Jordan.[169] They were also, according to an earlier redaction of 'The City of Jerusalem', able to purchase them from sellers in the main market in Jerusalem.[170] Given Acre's position as the main trading hub of the Latin kingdom, it seems reasonable to assume that pilgrims could buy palm leaves from the market there in the thirteenth century, before returning home.

Summary

Pilgrimage to the Holy Land continued throughout the thirteenth century, and despite

Knights Templar at the Time of the Crusades', in *The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History: papers read at the 1998 Summer Meeting and the 1999 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. by R. N. Swanson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), pp. 207–15 (p. 211).
[165] Kurt Weitzmann, '"Loca Sancta" and the Representational Arts of Palestine', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 28 (1974), 31–55 (p. 53); Folda, *Crusader Art*, p. 1.
[166] Jaroslav Folda, 'The Freiburg Leaf: Crusader Art and Loca Sancta around the Year 1200', in *Experience of Crusading*, pp. 113–34 (pp. 19, 124–25).
[167] Daniel H. Weiss, 'Biblical History and Medieval Historiography: Rationalizing Strategies in Crusader Art', *MLN: Modern Language Notes*, 108 (1993), 710–37 (p. 715).
[168] Jaroslav Folda, 'The Figural Arts in Crusader Syria and Palestine, 1187-1291: Some New Realities', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 58 (2004), 315–31 (p. 317).
[169] Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, p. 18.
[170] *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 193.

the inherent difficulties, increasing numbers of people reached the Holy Land. The majority of pilgrims would probably have been relatively well-off men, but clerics, women, and the poor were also represented at the shrines. The reasons for going on Holy Land pilgrimage were similar to those for pilgrimage elsewhere – for penance, general spiritual benefit or curiosity - but there were some differences. Pilgrims to the Holy Land did not travel there for healing, since there were no healing shrines; nor necessarily for indulgences, since few were available (unless one was also crusading). They could however travel to gain a deeper understanding of the events of the Bible, something not possible elsewhere.

Travel to, and around, the Holy Land was dangerous, but not necessarily more so than elsewhere in Latin Christendom. The well-defined trade routes which ran through the area ensured that pilgrims had sufficient groups of travellers to join for protection, and the castles of the military orders provided further security. Furthermore, pilgrims were supported by an infrastructure supplied by a network of religious institutions, local government, and private individuals, which stretched throughout the Holy Land. Attempts to control pilgrims and pilgrimage by the papacy and local government met with limited success, except in the case of pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, which was strictly controlled by the Muslim authorities for much of the thirteenth century.

Pilgrims undertook a variety of devotional activities during their stay in the Holy Land, most of which would have been the same as those carried out in the twelfth century or earlier. The main difference would have been the restriction on public displays of devotion in the Muslim-controlled areas, such as processions or the use of bells. The limited access to the holy places, and the large number of pilgrims visiting at the same time, may have made the holy places more crowded than before, changing the pilgrim experience. Pilgrims would also have noticed the lack of clergy able to guide them in familiar formal Latin devotions, unless they themselves happened to be

accompanied by priests. One might conclude that much of the practice of pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the thirteenth century was similar to that of the twelfth century; it simply took place under more difficult circumstances.

IV. The Southern Coast
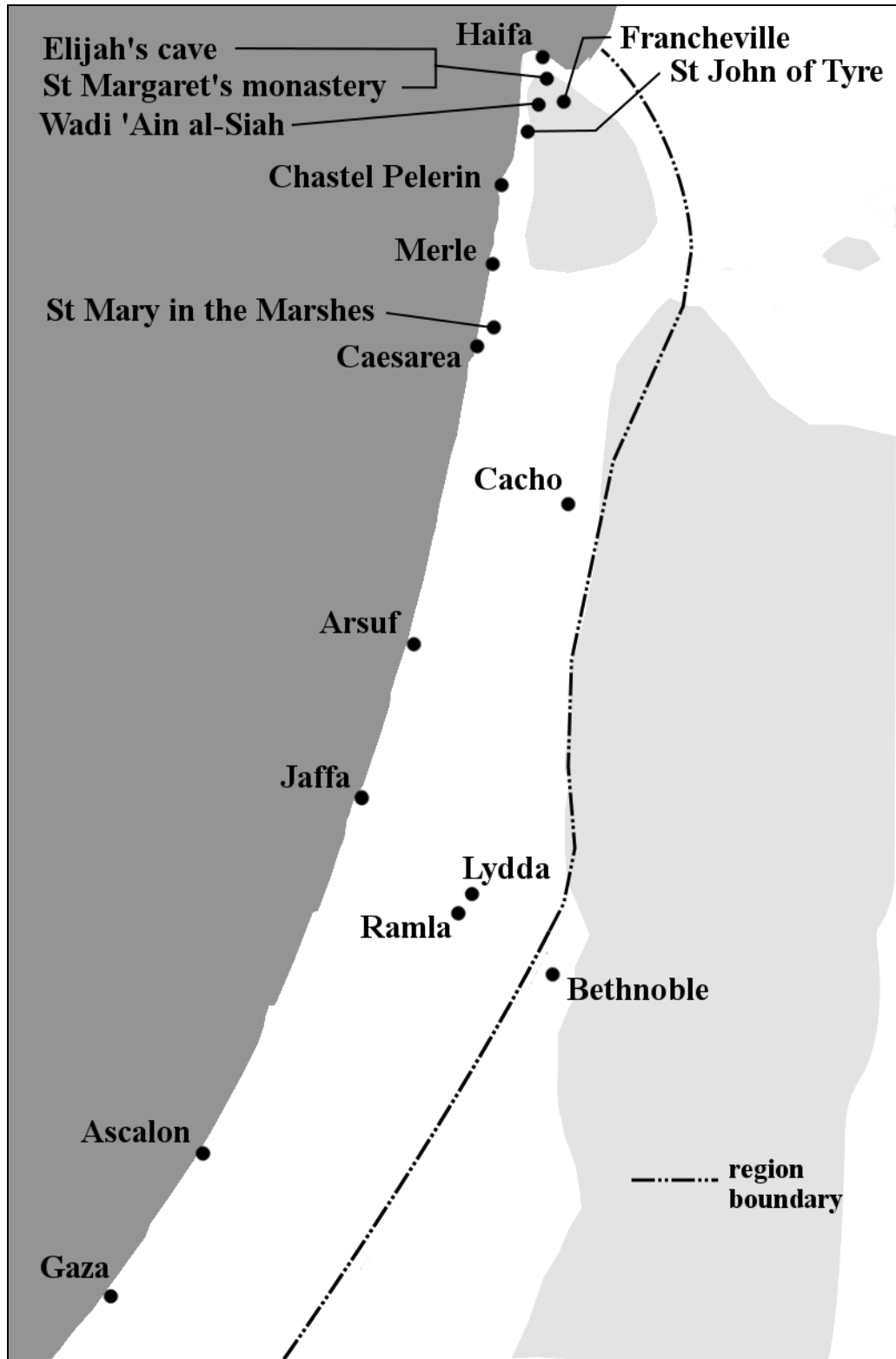
Map 2: Extent of Southern Coast. Pale grey indicates approximately areas of high ground.

Table 2: Sites in Southern Coast: by pilgrim text, with page references

	Innom. X (1187-1291)	Innom. IX (1187-1291)	Innom. III (1191-1244)	Innom. IV (1191-1244)	Wilbrand A (1211-12)	Thietmar A (1217-18)	Thietmar B (1218-91)	Sains Pelerinages (1229-55)	LCTS (1244-60)	Filippo (1244-91)	Hec sunt Peregrinaciones (1244-99)	Chemins B (1254-68)	Pardouns (1258-63)	Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s)	Chemins A (1261-65)	Burchard (1274-85)	Riccoldo (1288-89)
Mount Carmel	102	-	-	-	183	21	31	104.2-04.3	-	246	-	189-90	229	89-90	179-80	83	48
Chastel Pelerin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	246	-	-	229	91	181	83	48
Merle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	229	-	-	-	72-74
Caesarea	102	-	-	-	183	23	-	104.3	364	246	-	191	229	91	180	83	72
St Mary in the Marshes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	104.3	364	-	-	190	229	91	181	-	-
Arsuf	-	-	-	-	184	-	-	104.4	-	246	-	191		92	181	83	-
Jaffa	102	-	18	24	184	-	-	104.4	364	246	-	191	229	92	11	78	-
Chapel of St Habakkuk	-	-	-	-	-	24	32	-	364	244	-	192	229	-	-	-	-
Ascalon	-	-	-	-	-	24-25	-	-	-	242-44	-	192	-	92	181	43/81/85	-
Gaza	-	-	-	-	-	24	-	-	-	242	-	192	-	92	181	73/81/85	-
Ramla-Lydda	-	-	18	24	184	24	32	104.4	-	244	-	192	229	92-93	181	77-78	48/72

The region of the Southern Coast stretched from Ascalon, at the southern coastal edge of the Latin kingdom, all the way up the coast to the area between Acre and Haifa. It included all the area between the Mediterranean and Bethnoble, Samaria and Galilee. This area is a flat plain lying adjacent to the coast, with the exception of Mount Carmel, a mountain range extending twenty-four miles along the coast south of Haifa.

Frankish control of this region varied. The area between Caesarea and Acre, although subject to occasional raids, was under Frankish control from 1187 until the attacks of Baybars in the 1260s. Caesarea was lost in 1265, and the area around Acre was destroyed in 1267. Although Acre and Chastel Pèlerin (the Templar fortress) remained in Frankish hands, the area around Mount Carmel was held in condominium with the Sultan from 1268.[1] In 1271, the plain of Acre and the route to Nazareth were conceded in a truce.[2] The area south from Caesarea was less secure; Jaffa for example, was captured and recaptured at least five times between 1187 and 1268, when it was finally lost to Baybars along with most of the rest of the Southern Coast region.[3]

The Southern Coast, unlike the region of the Northern Coast, was unambiguously within the Holy Land for visitors to the Latin East; despite this, it was not very popular as a goal of pilgrimage with pilgrims during the twelfth century.[4] Its sites and settlements were described in twelfth-century pilgrim texts in much the same terms as those in the Northern Coast; they were included for geographical context or as waymarkers for pilgrims travelling through the area in order to reach the more religiously important areas of Judaea and Jerusalem. Very few religious references were included to sites in this region in the pilgrim texts, something which changed during the thirteenth century.

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[1] Dan Barag, 'A New Source Concerning the Ultimate Borders of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', *Israel Exploration Journal*, 9 (1979), 197–217 (p. 214); Thorau, *Baybars*, p. 187.
[2] Thorau, *Baybars*, p. 210.
[3] Thorau, *Baybars*, p. 188; Bronstein, *Hospitallers*, p. 38.
[4] For further discussion of the extent of the Holy Land, see chapter I, pp. 14–16 and chapter IX, 248–50.

Thirteenth-century pilgrim texts for this region indicate one preferred route through the area. This is the route south along the coast, although one pilgrim (Riccoldo da Monte di Cruce) did travel partially inland via Cacho towards Ramla. Most pilgrims started at Acre, and then went to Haifa and Mount Carmel, Caesarea, Arsuf, and Jaffa, before moving inland towards Jerusalem. Not all pilgrims would have been able to complete this journey, as the area could be unstable and dangerous.[5] Some accounts include sites further south along the coast from Jaffa; these are normally included before the pilgrim describes going towards Jerusalem, and would have necessitated the traveller doubling back on themselves. Given this, and the relatively sparse nature of the descriptions of these sites, it seems probable that these were most likely referred to because they could be seen in the distance, or because someone had informed the pilgrim that this was the route to those places.[6] This chapter will use the main route through this area as the basis for discussion of the pilgrimage sites of the area.

For some pilgrims, the journey south from Acre was a journey into the Holy Land, not around it. Acre's position with respect to the Holy Land was ambiguous, and it was sometimes considered to be outside the Holy Land. Several of the pilgrim texts specifically note that the *terra promissionis* actually began on the way south from Acre, at the river which lay between it and Haifa.[7] More on the relationship between Acre and the Holy Land can be found in Chapter IX.

After this river, the first settlement pilgrims came across was Haifa. However, although one pilgrim text links Haifa to Caiaphas, the first site south of Acre of religious significance in the majority of sources was the area of Mount Carmel.[8] For the purposes of this thesis, sites on and around the mountain range which extends twenty-

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[5] See territorial changes in chapter I.

[6] See discussion on Mount Tabor in chapter VIII.

[7] See chapter I, pp. 14–16 and chapter IX, pp. 248–50. The River Kishon, which enters the sea between Haifa and Acre, was also associated with the contest between Elijah and the priests of Baal. Burchard (1274-85), pp. 23, 48, 49; Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 46; 3 Kings 18: 40.

[8] Wilbrand B (1211-12), p. 131.

four miles along the coast south from Haifa, will be considered part of the 'Mount Carmel' area.[9]

Up to eleven separate sites with religious associations were located on Mount Carmel during the thirteenth century. Most of these eleven sites appear for the first time in the pilgrim text tradition in the thirteenth century, since twelfth-century texts either do not mention Mount Carmel, or describe it in terms of the Old Testament only. In the thirteenth century, the Old French texts add in associations with the New Testament and post-biblical tradition, although the more limited Old Testament description is still maintained in the Latin *itineraria* tradition of the thirteenth century.

Starting with these Old Testament links, the pilgrim texts note that Mount Carmel was where the prophet Elijah fought with the priests of Baal; where Elijah was nourished by ravens; and was a residence of the prophet Elisha.[10] Most often mentioned however, was the cave which was located below the summit on the northern promontory overlooking Haifa and the sea.[11] This cave had been associated with Elijah from at least the fourth century, and was also the subject of Jewish and Muslim veneration.[12] R. Jacob of Paris, for example, visited Mount Carmel around 1238-1240, and described how he visited the altar of Elijah at the top of Mount Carmel. He noted that Muslims also visited the site, and lit lights there because it was holy.[13]

Inside the cave was a chapel dedicated to Elijah. Wilbrand notes that a 'solemn mass' was said here every day, suggesting that priests were established at the site by his visit

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[9] Thietmar notes its length as a journey time of two days, and its width as one day. Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 22; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 31.

[10] 1 Kings 17-18, 2 Kings 4:8-37. Both Wilbrand and Burchard also note that Mount Carmel was where the Shunamite woman found Elisha when she needed help for her son, but neither provide a more exact location. Wilbrand B (1211-12), p. 131; Burchard (1274-85), p. 50.

[11] The *Itinerarium Ricardi* also notes the connection between Elijah and Mount Carmel. *Itinerarium Ricardi*, p. 76.

[12] Andrew Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity: Mendicants and their Pasts in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 8.

[13] 'Rabbi Jacob, the messenger of Rabbi Jechiel of Paris (1238-1244)', in *Jewish Travellers*, pp. 115–29 (p. 116).

of 1211-12.[14] However, it is not clear what denomination controlled the cave for most of the thirteenth century. Most of the texts do not specify the occupants of the cave, although one might assume, at least for the earliest period before the Carmelites were properly established, it was under the management of the Greek and Syrian monks of St Margaret above the cave. *Sains Pelerinages* calls the occupants of the cave 'les hermitains dou Carme' which may refer to the Carmelite order, but may just indicate that hermits lived there, especially as this text goes on to note a separate monastery of the Carmelites elsewhere on Mount Carmel (Wadi 'Ain al-Siah – see below).[15] The Carmelites definitely had a presence in the cave by ca.1274-1283, as Burchard describes them during his visit here.[16] Two texts, Burchard and *Chemins B*, locate a spring in the cave-chapel; however, it seems likely that the authors had confused the cave with that of St Denis, or with the spring at the Carmelite monastery in Wadi 'Ain al-Siah.

Above the cave-chapel of Elijah was the abbey of St Margaret, whose monks may also have had access to the cave-chapel. The abbey was not noted in pre-thirteenth-century pilgrim texts, and the abbey appears in the pilgrim text tradition for the first time in the thirteenth century. St Margaret herself was an early fourth-century virgin martyr from the Diocletian and Maximian persecutions; she was believed to protect particularly pregnant women.[17] The origins of the monastery seem to have been with a group of Greek hermits in the early twelfth century.[18] This monastery was either Greek or had a mix of Greek and Syrian monks, according to the pilgrim texts and a contemporary document issued at Acre in 1255.[19] The site was attractive to pilgrims as

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[14] Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 183.

[15] Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104.3.

[16] 'est spelunca Helie et mansio Helisei et fons, ubi...habitant hodie fratres de Carmelo.' Burchard (1274-85), p. 83.

[17] Carole Hill, '"Leave my Virginity Alone" The Cult of St Margaret of Antioch in Norwich: In Pursuit of a Pragmatic Piety', in *Medieval East Anglia*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 225–45 (p. 227).

[18] Pringle, *Churches*, II, p. 245.

[19] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 21; Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104.3; Chemins B (1254-68), p. 189; Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), pp. 89–90. 'S. Margarethae Graecorum', *RRH*, p. 325,

the site of miracles by St Margaret, and had a set of 'good' relics, presumably also from St Margaret.[20] It was described as beautiful, suggesting first-hand knowledge of the site, and it is possible that there was a village associated with this abbey, near Haifa.[21]

Further along Mount Carmel was the Wadi 'Ain al-Siah, set back from the main coastal road. The founding members of the Carmelite order had lived here, having taken over the site of a Byzantine monastery.[22] There had been Calabrian Orthodox monks at the site at the end of the twelfth century, but by 1214 Latin hermits seem to have merged with, or replaced this community.[23] Although Mount Carmel was subject to Baybars's attacks of the 1260s, the Carmelites had returned to Mount Carmel by 1283, when Burchard of Mount Sion visited them at the Cave of Elijah. Although he mentions no monastic building per se, he does stay with the monks, suggesting that additional buildings were available either at the Cave or in the Wadi 'Ain al-Siah.

Although the monastery or hermitage was set back from the main coastal road and visiting it necessitated a detour, the Old French pilgrim texts note the presence of a spring here of *bones aigues*, which was associated with a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary.[24] This spring may have had healing properties which would have attracted pilgrims; although they could have stopped here regardless, for refreshments or to visit the hermits. It seems likely that the church fell to the raiding of Baybars in the 1260s, and was never reconstructed.[25] The Carmelite community is one of the new sites not

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no. 1234.

[20] 'où seynte Margarete fist must de miracles, e sunt là de *bons* sentuaries.' Chemins B (1254-68), p. 189.

[21] There is a possible biblical antecedent, as Mount Carmel is described in the Old Testament as beautiful. Isaiah 35:2; Barag, 'Ultimate Borders', p. 208 (notes 42–43).

[22] Elias Friedman, *The Latin Hermits of Mount Carmel: A Study in Carmelite Origins* (Rome: Institutum Tresianum, 1979), pp. 36, 40–41.

[23] Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104.3; Chemins B (1254-68), p. 189; Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 90; Chemins A (1261-65), p. 180; Andrew Jotischky, 'Greek Orthodox and Latin Monasticism around Mar Saba under Crusader Rule', in *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present* (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2001), pp. 85–96 (p. 93); Andrew Jotischky, *The Perfection of Solitude: Hermits and Monks in the Crusader States* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), p. 146.

[24] Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104.3.

[25] Pringle, *Churches*, II, p. 257.

mentioned in the earlier texts, and is predominantly represented by the Old French texts.

The *Hystoria Constantinoplitana* of Gunther of Pairis describes the journeys of Martin of Pairis with the members of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), which included a visit to the Holy Land itself. The text includes a brief description of Mount Carmel, noting its beauty, fertility and vineyards, but also noting that there were three monastic communities on the mountain at the time. These can presumably be identified with the Carmelites at Wadi 'Ain al-Siah, the monks at the Cave of Elijah and the abbey of St Margaret, but the author may also be referring to the monastery of St John of Tyre (see below). It is interesting to note that the author emphasises the separate nature of the monasteries.[26]

As mentioned earlier, a number of sites on Mount Carmel seem to have been thirteenth-century Old French innovations. One of the first sites mentioned by these Old French texts was *Francheville*. This site was the birthplace of one St Denis, and although its location has not been definitely identified as yet, the context of the pilgrim texts makes it clear that it was on or near Mount Carmel. Suggestions for its location range from Old Haifa to Palmarea, but Denys Pringle has identified the site as Khirbat Rushmiya. This site, which commands the area of the main entry to Mount Carmel, seems to fit the descriptions of the pilgrim texts.[27] The village had a chapel dedicated to the saint, which was located below the cave in which he was supposed to be born, and there was also a spring which was supposed to have been created by St Denis. Unfortunately, this is not enough information to positively identify who St Denis was; it has been suggested that St Denis was a local hermit whose cult was preserved by the Orthodox population.[28] However, all the other saints mentioned in the Old French texts are all either from the New Testament or early martyrs, which would make this

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[26] Gunther von Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, pp. 168–69.
[27] 'En l'un chef de la montagne, est *Franche vile*'. Chemins B (1254-68), p. 189. Pringle, *Churches* II, p. 205.
[28] Jotischky, *Perfection*, p. 111.

identification with a local hermit unusual. More likely would be for the site to be associated with St Dionysius the Areopagite, who features in the Acts of the Apostles.[29] However, as in the case of Emmaus, associations with particular holy events or people did not remain static over time, and it is possible that St Denis the local hermit was identified by the Latins, or by the author, with a more famous Dionysius/Denis cult, which could explain both his inclusion in the Old French text, and his local popularity.[30] As well as explaining the reasons for *Francheville*'s significance, the pilgrim texts also note that the site is beautiful, and one of the healthiest places in the area. Both of these comments suggest that the author had first-hand or eyewitness information about the site, and there is a striking contrast with the sparser, more impersonal, descriptions of the holy sites in Judaea and Jerusalem.[31] Pilgrims probably stayed near to *Francheville* while visiting the area, as the texts indicate the presence of a small lodging house nearby.[32]

Another new site, *Anne*, was a *casale* recorded as one of a set of sites included within the Old French texts because of a somewhat tenuous link to the life of Christ. In this case, *Anne* is not the site of the nails of the Holy Cross, but simply the place where they were forged.[33] Neither *Anne* nor the forging of the nails are recorded in the pilgrim texts prior to the thirteenth century, and with the exception of Filippo, are not included in Latin pilgrim texts. For Filippo, it is clear from the text that *Anne* was similar to Haifa, in that it was a place to be passed through, on the way to somewhere else.[34] *Anne* was described in the Old French pilgrim texts as being between the abbey of St

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[29] Acts 17:34.

[30] Another suggestion for the saint's popularity was that he may have been identified with Pope Denys/Dionysius, who according to legend had been a hermit on Mount Carmel. Pringle, *Churches*, II, p. 206.

[31] Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 89. Note, however, the earlier comment regarding the Mount Carmel beauty topos.

[32] 'un caselet host près de là', Chemins B (1254-68), p. 189.

[33] 'Iluec…furent forgiés les clous dont Nostre Sires fu crucefiiés', Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104.3.

[34] Although *casale* is included in the account of Filippo, the forging of the nails is not. Filippo (1244-91), p. 246.

Margaret and the monastery of the Carmelites, and it may be that the Old French tradition was created as result of it being on a major route, rather than from a longstanding tradition.[35] Additionally the texts themselves do not indicate that there was a church or formal religious structure at *Anne*, nor is there any archaeological evidence for religious occupation at this site during this period. It is possible that *Anne* was a site to be pointed out and explained whilst travelling, without there being a specific spot at which to stop.[36]

Near here, some Old French texts record the place where the money was made which was used to 'buy' Jesus, known as Capharnaum.[37] For Filippo, and for one of the later Old French texts, Capharnaum was a place to pass through, just like *Anne*. Wilbrand's account is slightly longer, describing the site as a small castle above the sea, but focusing on the similarity of name with a holy place in Galilee, with which this Capharnaum was often confused. Wilbrand also identifies a *casale* near to here as the birthplace of Mary Magdalene, probably as a result of further confusion with Galilee – the birthplace of Mary Magdalene is more commonly described in the texts as near to Capharnaum in Galilee.[38] The site has been identified as Khirbat al-Kanisa, but no formal religious structures dating to this period have been found at the site as yet, suggesting that there was no formal pilgrimage site at this location, like *Anne*.[39]

Also in this area was St John of Tyre. Unlike many sites, it is actually named as 'holy place' (*un seynt luy*).[40] Its holiness stemmed from its relationship to John the Baptist, who performed many miracles there, and from its possession of relics. These relics were

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[35] Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104.3; Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 90; Chemins A (1261-65), p. 180.

[36] *Anne* has been identified with Bir Bait Hanna/Hanun. Pringle, *Churches*, II, p. 370.

[37] 'iluec furent batus les deniers dont Diex fu vendu.' Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 90; Chemins A (1261-65), p. 180.

[38] Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 183.

[39] Pringle, *Churches*, II, p. 370.

[40] Chemins B (1254-68), p. 190.

presumably also from John the Baptist, although this is not specified.[41] St John of Tyre had a Greek monastery, and has been identified with al-Tira, a Frankish estate village possibly controlled by the Templars.[42] Near to this village one text records the location of a rock on which Jesus rested.[43] This was one of the many sites which were not goals of pilgrimage in themselves, but which did have holy associations remarked upon by the pilgrims.

Near to Mount Carmel was another site which had a thirteenth-century origin, Chastel Pèlerin. Oliver of Paderborn describes how this Templar castle was built in 1218 as a replacement for an earlier castle, Destroit, which had been created to protect the road to Jerusalem for pilgrims, indicating the importance of these castles to pilgrim traffic.[44] Oliver goes further, noting that the Templars moved the majority of their membership from Acre to Chastel Pèlerin, because they disliked the immorality of Acre.[45] The castle was surrounded by a town, which grew up around the castle from around 1225.[46]

Some of the pilgrim accounts which include Chastel Pèlerin emphasise the castle's ownership, its position in the sea, and its formidable defences. Others mention the religious side of the castle, noting that the castle (most likely the castle oratory, also described in Oliver of Paderborn) held the body of St Euphemia, a martyr of the Diocletian persecution, whose head later turned up in the Templar treasury at Nicosia on Cyprus.[47] St Euphemia had apparently come into the possession of the Templars when

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[41] Chemins A (1261-65), p. 180; Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104.3.

[42] Pringle, *Churches*, II, pp. 370–72.

[43] Pardouns (1258-63), p. 229.

[44] Oliverus, 'Historia Damiatina', p. 169; see also *Annales de Terre Sainte, 1095-1291*, ed. by Reinhold Röhricht and Gaston Raynaud (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1884), p. 12; Peter Edbury, 'A New Text of the Annales de Terre Sainte', in *In Laudem Hierosolymitani*, pp. 145–61 (p. 152); and Jacques de Vitry, 'Lettre IV', (p. 101).

[45] Michael Ehrlich, 'Crusaders' Castles – the Fourth Generation: Reflections on Frankish Castle-Building Policy during the 13th Century', *Journal of Medieval History*, 29 (2003), 85–93 (pp. 88–89).

[46] Folda, *Crusader Art*, p. 15.

[47] Filippo (1244-91), p. 246; Pardouns (1258-63), p. 229; Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p.

she had been miraculously translated to Chastel Pèlerin from Chalcedon in Greece. The exact details of this miracle are not specified, but were used to justify the possession of a Greek saint by the Templars. As well as having a miraculous relic of interest to pilgrims, there is also some slight evidence to suggest that Chastel Pèlerin was used generally as a base for pilgrims to the area; in the description of St Mary in the Marshes, the Old French texts describe how the church of St Mary was a popular place of pilgrimage for pilgrims from Caesarea and Chastel Pelerin, situated as it was between the two.[48] Neither Chastel Pelerin, nor its predecessor Destroit, were associated with pilgrimage (except defensively) before the thirteenth century. Indeed, the idea of a castle being a site of pilgrimage was an idea new to the thirteenth century.[49]

Also between Caesarea and Chastel Pèlerin was *Merle*, which was described by *Pardouns* as the site of St Andrew's birth, and close to 'the cave where our Lady hid with her son for fear of the Jews'.[50] Riccoldo described the cave as being close to the roadway between Egypt and Galilee, and that the Holy Family rested there during their flight. The rock on which they rested miraculously liquefied, and hid them from their pursuers. Both *Pardouns* and Riccoldo were written later in the thirteenth century, so this tradition may have been a later development.[51]

Moving down the coast, the next main settlement was Caesarea. Caesarea was situated along the main road to Jerusalem in the thirteenth century, and both it and the road were guarded by a fortress which was refortified during the course of the Fifth Crusade, along with the walls of the city itself.[52] The town, although sited on the

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91; Chemins A (1261-65), p. 181. Helen Nicholson, 'The Military Orders and their Relations with Women', in *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. by Zsolt Hunyadi and József Laszlovsky (Budapest: Central European University, 2001), pp. 407–14 (p. 411); Oliverus, 'Historia Damiatina', p. 171.

[48] See below, p. 97.

[49] Folda, *Crusader Art*, p. 134.

[50] 'la cave là où Nostre Dame se mussa ou son fitz, pur doute des Gyws.' Pardouns (1258-63), p. 229. *Merle* is also known as Tantura, or Dor. Pringle, *Churches*, II, p. 152.

[51] Riccoldo (1288-89), pp. 72–74. The origins of this tradition have yet to be identified.

[52] Jacques de Vitry, 'Lettre IV', p. 101; *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 12; Edbury, 'New Text:

seashore, did not have a convenient harbour, which placed the city at a disadvantage when compared to Acre, and made the safety of the roads paramount. The town, as the centre of the lordship of Caesarea, was one of the bigger settlements in the area, but, like Jaffa, was frequently attacked during the thirteenth century, leaving Latin control finally in 1265.[53] Several texts comment on the history of the town, distinguishing it from Caesarea Philippi (Banyas) and noting that it was originally called Strato's Tower, before being rebuilt and renamed in honour of Caesar Augustus.[54]

Caesarea was noted in the New Testament as the place where Peter converted the centurion Cornelius and his household following the vision from God which allowed him to preach to Gentiles (Acts 10:1-31). It was also the place where St Philip the Evangelist lived with his prophetic daughters (Acts 21:8-10). Both of these reasons for Caesarea's holiness are noted in the thirteenth-century pilgrim texts; the link between Caesarea and the New Testament was also noted in the account of the *Itinerarium Ricardi*.[55] When compared with the descriptions of the twelfth century (which usually describe Caesarea as a waymarker only), this suggests that the settlement held increasing significance for pilgrims of the thirteenth century, becoming an intrinsic part of Holy Land pilgrimage, and a focus for pilgrimage in its own right.

Outside Caesarea's walls, at least for part of the thirteenth century, was the chapel and tomb of St Cornelius.[56] The same chapel also probably held the bodies of St Philip the Evangelist's daughters, and possibly St Philip himself.[57] Also outside the city, near

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Annales', p. 152; John L. La Monte, 'The Lords of Caesarea in the Period of the Crusades', *Speculum*, 22 (1947), 145–61 (p. 152).

[53] Caesarea had always been a major town, having been the chief city of Palaestina Secunda. Chemins A (1261-65), p. 180. Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or*, p. 176; Jacques de Vitry, 'Lettre IV', p. 101; La Monte, 'The Lords of Caesarea', p. 152.

[54] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 23; Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or*, p. 176. Jacques de Vitry names the rebuilder as Herod.

[55] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 23; Innom. X, p. 102; LCTS (1244-60), p. 364; *Itinerarium Ricardi*, p. 236.

[56] Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 91. The chapel outside the walls is also noted in: Chemins A (1261-65), p. 180; Chemins B (1254-68), p. 191.

[57] LCTS (1244-60), p. 364; Filippo (1244-91), p. 246; Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 91.

to the chapel, were a set of marble stones identified as the 'Table of our Lord' and the 'Candlesticks of our Lord', which are generally not associated with any specific tradition in the pilgrim texts.[58] The one exception is LCTS, which added that St Peter celebrated mass there. The table was damaged by 'Saracens' at some point in its history, and a spring was also associated with these relics. These stones were in reality part of the spina of the Roman hippodrome of Caesarea, being two metae and an obelisk.[59] The hippodrome was last used as such in the fifth century, and it is not clear when the tradition surrounding the spina developed, although neither the Candlesticks nor the Table are mentioned in twelfth-century pilgrim texts. The metae and obelisk may have been added to the pilgrim text tradition as part of the same process which added *Anne* and Capharnaum, that is, by being close to major pilgrim routes.

Still outside the city, but close to the sea, *Chemins B* additionally lists a Chapel of Mary Magdalene, which was the site of her penance. No other account includes this site.

Within the city itself, there was the cathedral church of St Peter. This twelfth-century church was built by the local bishop overlooking the harbour, on a pre-Christian sacred site which had later been the subject of Christian pilgrimage in the fifth to seventh centuries.[60] The pilgrimage tradition was interrupted following the destruction of the martyrion which had been its subject, and although the cathedral was constructed in the twelfth century, there is no suggestion in the pilgrim texts that pilgrimage here resumed at this point. The church of St Peter was the main church in the area, but is only listed in one pilgrim text, that of Thietmar A. This account notes the presence of a church of St Peter within the city, and additionally notes that it was built from the houses of

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The texts are not clear whether or not the bodies lay in the same chapel or adjoining ones.

[58] Innom. X (1187-1291), p. 102; LCTS (1244-60), p. 364; Chemins B (1254-68), p. 191; Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 91; Chemins A (1261-65), p. 180.

[59] John H. Humphrey, 'Prolegomena to the Study of the Hippodrome at Caesarea Maritima', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 213 (1974), 2–45 (p. 20).

[60] Kenneth G. Holum, 'Caesarea's Temple Hill: The Archaeology of Sacred Space in an Ancient Mediterranean City', *Near Eastern Archaeology*, 67 (2004), 184–99 (pp. 194, 197).

Cornelius the Centurion and Philip the Evangelist. [61] This indicates that there was an alternative tradition to that described in most pilgrim texts, possibly arising from the fact that it was safer to visit within the city walls than outside when Thietmar visited in 1217. As noted earlier LCTS does note that St Peter celebrated mass at the Hippodrome and adds that St Peter had a seat (*cathedra*) at Caesarea, which may be a tradition linked to the church. The cathedral church itself underwent structural alterations and reconstruction after 1191, and was in use for at least part of 1191-1291.

There may have been another church, representing the prison of St Paul the Apostle within the city; however, the Latin is not clear as to whether the prison is within a new, unidentified, church, or whether it is part of the church complex which includes the bodies of St Philip's daughters. [62] Wilbrand additionally sites the toll-booth of the disciple Matthew in Caesarea, but does not link it to a specific site. He includes the toll-booth using the phrase 'ut quidam volunt' ('as certain people think') suggesting that he himself was unsure of the reliability of the tradition. [63]

The church of St Mary of the Marshes was located inland from Caesarea, and was one of the few sites specifically described as a focus for pilgrimage. [64] It marked the place where the Virgin Mary had rested. [65] It was situated close to a village called *Peine Perdue*, a village which was included by the pilgrim texts mostly as a way of locating St Mary of the Marshes, although it did itself have a church. This church was dedicated to St Lawrence, and along with some other property (possibly including a tower

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[61] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 23.

[62] The imprisonment of St Paul is the only religious association mentioned by Jacques de Vitry for Caesarea. LCTS, the only pilgrimage text to add in the association with St Paul, uses exactly the same words as Jacques de Vitry in this section; however it also added extra associations to Jacques de Vitry's description. These were links to Cornelius the centurion, the daughters of Philip, the Table and the cathedral church. Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or*, p. 176; LCTS (1244-60), p. 364; Pringle, *Churches*, I, p. 151

[63] Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 183. Matthew 9:1-9; Mark 2:1-14. Matthew was more commonly linked with Capernaum; see chapter VIII, pp. 230–32.

[64] 'iluec venent mut de gens en pelrimage', Chemins B (1254-68), p. 190.

[65] Pardouns (1258-63), p. 229. LCTS (1244-60), p. 364. The exact location of the church is as yet unknown, although some have associated the site with the maqām of Shaykh Manṣūr al-ʿAqqab. Pringle, Churches, II, pp. 257–58.

fortification) it belonged to the Order of St Lazarus.[66]

Peine Perdue itself was not a pilgrimage destination, and the church was not mentioned by any of the pilgrim texts. The church of St Mary of the Marshes however, was a popular pilgrimage destination for pilgrims from both Caesarea and Chastel Pelerin, despite its position in a marsh full of man-eating crocodiles.[67]

After heading south from Caesarea, pilgrims went along a stretch of the road between Caesarea and Arsuf which was particularly well-known for banditry and robbery. This was known as 'roche taillie' or the Cut Rock.[68] There was a castle nearby at Arsuf, which may have afforded some protection to pilgrims nearby. Arsuf, which had been fortified in 1101 by Crusaders visiting the Latin kingdom, was destroyed in 1187 by Saladin, regained in 1191, strengthened in the 1240s, passed to the Hospitallers in 1261 and destroyed in 1265 by Baybars.[69] This meant that its role in pilgrimage during the thirteenth century varied. It probably protected pilgrims from 1240s to1265; prior to this Wilbrand noted that the ruined Arsuf was being used by Saracen bandits.[70]

The next settlement along the coast was Jaffa, the port which pilgrims to Jerusalem used prior to Acre. It was generally the place where pilgrims left the coastal route to go inland to Jerusalem. It was within the Latin kingdom for much of the thirteenth century but was on the border and subjected to frequent raids. Wilbrand noted that the city was inhabited by Franks only as a result of a truce with the Saracens. Thietmar, visiting in 1217, describes the city as 'desolate' (*modo desolata*); it was rebuilt in 1228-29 as part

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[66] Pringle, *Churches*, II, p. 152.

[67] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 23; Chemins B (1254-68), p. 190; Burchard (1274-85), p. 83; *Itinerarium Ricardi*, p. 236. These crocodile-infested marshes can be identified with the modern Nahal Taninim / Wadi a-Zarka (the Hebrew means 'Crocodile Stream'), a watercourse which runs through the area just north and east of Caesarea, which was the principal stream in the area, and thus popular with travellers. Duane W. Roller and Robert L. Hohlfelder, 'The Problem of the Location of Straton's Tower', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 252 (1983), 61–68 (p. 61).

[68] Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104.4. See also Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 184; Chemins B (1254-68), p. 191; Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 92; Chemins A (1261-65), p. 181.

[69] Adrian J. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology: The Material Culture of the Latin East* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 41; Edbury, 'New Text: Annales', p. 157.

[70] Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 184.

of Frederick II's Treaty of Jaffa.[71] It was destroyed by Baybars in 1268.[72]

Jaffa is noted in the New Testament as the location for St Peter's resurrection of the widow Tabitha/Dorcas (Acts 9:36-42), and as the place where St Peter was staying when he had the vision allowing him to preach to Gentiles (Acts 10:6-23). As a result, Jaffa had a number of pilgrim sites within its walls; the house where St Peter lived when he baptised Cornelius; the house of Simon the Grey (also called the Tower of the Patriarch); and the church of St Peter. The church of St Peter, situated just beneath the castle in the Old French pilgrim texts, was under the control of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre during the twelfth-century. As the charter confirming this was probably collated in the thirteenth-century, it seems probable that they retained a claim on the site. [73] Despite the dedication to St Peter, the church was nonetheless the site of a relic called the rock of St James, on which it was said that St James crossed the sea.[74] It is interesting to note that one author felt the need to gloss St James with 'the apostle of Galicia', making a connection to Santiago de Compostela.[75] This may be an indication of the origin of the pilgrim texts, but could simply be a way of linking the Jerusalem pilgrimage with a pilgrimage closer to home. It was also noted that the church held other, unspecified relics.[76]

There were other churches and houses associated with religious institutions in Jaffa, such as the church of St Mary, but these seem to have been of local, parochial interest only.[77] Jaffa was described as having a castle only by the Old French pilgrim texts and by LCTS; the Latin and Old French texts overlap in time, so it can not simply be a matter of the destruction of the castle.

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[71] Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 184; Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 24; Marshall, *Warfare*, p. 27.
[72] Templier de Tyr, p. 190.
[73] Bresc-Bautier, *Cartulaire: Saint-Sépulcre*, p. 292.
[74] Innom. X (1187-1291), p. 102; Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104.4; LCTS (1244-60), p. 364; Chemins B (1254-68), p. 191; Pardouns (1258-63), p. 229; Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 92; Chemins A (1261-65), p. 181.
[75] Chemins A (1261-65), p. 181.
[76] Chemins B (1254-68), p. 191.
[77] Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Kirchen*, no. 195.

Jaffa had an additional five traditions associated with it in the thirteenth-century pilgrim texts. It was the place where Peter had his vision telling him to preach to the Gentiles, and revived Tabitha, as well as where the Magi left on a miraculous boat to Tarsus.[78] Filippo noted in his account that some people believed St James was originally decapitated in Jaffa, additionally noting the tradition that an angel moved this head to Jerusalem. He himself seemed to favour a church in Jerusalem as the actual site of decapitation.[79] Jaffa was also believed to be the port from which Jonah sailed, and the rocks in the bay were linked to the classical legend of Andromeda and Perseus.[80] This type of reference was unusual for pilgrim texts generally, but Thietmar, who noted it, included several such references in his text.[81] Most of these traditions did not have a specific location attached to them and so were definitely not the subject of pilgrimage, but these associations may have been passed on to pilgrims who stayed in Jaffa.

Just outside Jaffa, on the way to Ramla (the main route to Jerusalem), was the chapel of St Habakkuk. St Habakkuk was a prophet, and wrote one of the minor books of prophets in the Old Testament. Little is revealed about St Habakkuk in the Old Testament beyond his name, so any associations must have arisen from later tradition. The church was connected with the youth of Habakkuk, and was considered to be very old and holy.[82] It was considered by pilgrims to mark the field where the angel of Lord seized St Habakkuk to take him to Daniel in the lions' den.[83]

Further down the coast from Jaffa was the settlement at Ascalon. This town's harbour

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[78] Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 184; Filippo (1244-91), p. 226. Thietmar locates Peter's revival of Tabitha in Lydda, rather than Jaffa. Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 24. See the section on Lydda-Ramla, below.

[79] Filippo (1244-91), p. 226.

[80] Burchard (1274-85), p. 78; Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 24.

[81] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 24. The association between Andromeda and Jaffa, although not recorded in other twelfth or thirteenth-century accounts, can be found in Josephus. Flavius Josephus, *Josephus: The Jewish War, Books I-III*, 9 vols. (London: Heinemann, 1927), II p. 695.

[82] 'De hors le murs de Iaffe un poi loinz cum l'om vet à Rames est une Chapelle de Seint Abacuc, mult seinte, mès mult anciene.' Chemins B (1254-68), p. 192. 'e une chapele où seint Abakuc soleint meindre.' Pardouns (1258-63), p. 229.

[83] Daniel 14. Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 24; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 32; LCTS (1244-60), p. 364; Filippo (1244-91), p. 244.

was difficult to access, and was thus little used by travellers and merchants.[84] Like Haifa and Arsuf, this settlement was not a pilgrimage site, being primarily described in terms of distance from other places. There was a church of St Paul, which Filippo noted had been the episcopal church of the bishop of Ascalon prior to the translation of the see to Bethlehem as befitting Bethlehem's holy status.[85] The merging of the two sees had taken place much earlier, between 1163 and 1168, following a long-standing dispute regarding the extent of the episcopal authority of the bishops of Bethlehem and Ascalon.[86] Another text noted that the seat of the bishop and related items could still be found at the church in the thirteenth century, suggesting that its earlier episcopal role had not been forgotten, and was of significance to pilgrims.[87] The city also apparently had a tower called the *turris puellarum*, which had been constructed with human blood.[88]

Archaeological evidence has shown that Ascalon was the site of a number of churches, and although two were built or rebuilt during the Crusader period, there is no evidence to suggest that these were used after 1187.[89] The 'Green Mosque' of Ascalon became the church of St Mary after it was conquered in 1154, but presumably was changed back again after 1187.[90] Documentary evidence provides short references to two possible ecclesiastical sites which were in use in the thirteenth century; one was a hospital connected with the Greek Orthodox monastery of St Theodosius and one was a cemetery chapel dedicated to St Michael.[91] It is entirely reasonable that both sites were still in use during the thirteenth-century, but the insecure location of Ascalon, subject to

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[84] *Itinerarium Ricardi*, p. 313.

[85] Filippo (1244-91), p. 244; Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 92.

[86] H. E. Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1977), pp. 162–63. Detailed discussion of the dispute can be found on pp. 112–71.

[87] '& encores i est li siéges de l'avesq[ue] en l'yglise de monseignor saint Poul, avesques de totes ses apartenances.' Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 92.

[88] Thietmar A (1217-18), pp. 24–25.

[89] Pringle, *Churches*, I, pp. 66–69.

[90] Ronnie Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 75.

[91] Pringle, *Churches*, I, p. 67.

frequent raiding, makes it unlikely that this town attracted many pilgrims at all.

Still further south on the southern coast was the town of Gaza. The town was three leagues from Ascalon, and similarly situated above the sea. It had been captured and fortified in the twelfth-century, and had been under the control of the Templars.[92] The settlement was lost in 1187, and never fully regained. The town was linked to an Old Testament tradition which had Samson carry the gate of the city to the top of a hill which faced Hebron.[93] One *itinerarium* mentions, near to here, La Forbie, the location of a battle between the Franks and the Egyptian sultan in 1244, during which the Franks were annihilated.[94] The text specifically refers to this battle.[95]

Although pilgrim descriptions do include settlements further south along the coast from Jaffa, most pilgrims would, as Thietmar's account makes clear, have gone from Jaffa straight up to Jerusalem. Descriptions of these coastal settlements tend to be sparse, and focus predominantly on their location. They seem to have been included in pilgrim texts for information only, probably because the route to them led from Jaffa. Burchard, for example, saw Gaza from a boat whilst travelling to Egypt.[96]

Moving inland from Jaffa, the main pilgrim route to Jerusalem led from Jaffa to Ramla-Lydda. Ramla was very close to Lydda, which probably explains why Lydda was often not included by the pilgrim texts, and why sites in Lydda are often instead described as being in or near Ramla.[97] Ramla suffered ruination during the campaigns of Saladin in 1187, and was still not fully restored in 1217 when Thietmar visited the area.[98]

The main pilgrim site in this area was the place of St George's death and burial, and

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[92] William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, II, p. 776; Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or,* pp. 194–96.

[93] Judges 16:2–3. Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 24; Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 92.

[94] *Rothelin Continuation*, pp. 562–566 ; *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 17; Edbury, 'New Text: Annales', p. 154; *Eracles*, pp. 429–31; Peter Lock, *The Routledge Companion to the Crusades* (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 106; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, p. 106.

[95] Chemins B (1254-68), p. 192.

[96] Burchard (1274-85), p. 91.

[97] Chemins B (1254-68), p. 192.

[98] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 24; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 32.

its associated buildings.[99] St George had been associated with Lydda in particular since at least the sixth century, when the pilgrim Theodosius commented that this was where he had been martyred.[100] The church of St George was rebuilt in the twelfth century by the Franks, but despite the area being held in condominium between the Muslims and Franks from 1192, and being fully part of the Latin kingdom again from 1229-1244, the church was under Syrian or Greek Orthodox control for the whole of the thirteenth century.[101] One might expect pilgrims to have been influenced by Orthodox traditions about the saint as a result.

Like Theodosius, thirteenth-century pilgrims associated the monastery of St George with the place of his martyrdom and tomb. They also noted that miracles of St George had taken place there, although it is not specified what these were.[102] *Chemins B* calls visiting this site a 'bon pelrimage', presumably since it had relics for pilgrims to see, at least until 1267. The Templar of Tyre describes how, in this year, Baybars attacked Jaffa and the area around it, carrying off the head of St George and burning the body. This was presumably from the church at Lydda, but it is possible that the body had previously been translated to Jaffa.[103] It is significant that all references to St George and associated buildings date to before this raid; it is seems likely that pilgrimage activity associated with St George would have been limited after this, reducing Ramla and Lydda to the status of waymarkers. Indeed, there are fewer references to specific shrines or buildings in this area after this time.

Three accounts associate events from the Acts of the Apostles with this area generally, although no specific spot was indicated by them. The texts refer to Acts 9,

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[99] Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 184; Chemins B (1254-68), p. 192; Filippo (1244-91), p. 246; Pardouns (1258-63), p. 229.
[100] Theodosius, *De situ terrae sanctae*, ed. by Johann Gildemeister (Bonn: Adolph Marcus, 1882), p. 18.
[101] Pringle, *Churches*, II, p. 25; Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 184. See chapter I, pp. 8–12 for the territorial changes of this time.
[102] 'ubi sanctus Georgius martyrizatus est. ibi et corpus eius est et multa mirabilia fiunt.' Theodosius, *De situ terrae sanctae*, p. 18.
[103] Templier de Tyr, p. 190.

where Peter cures a paralysed man in Lydda, before being taken to Jaffa to revive Tabitha/Dorcas. Two of the texts correctly identify that Peter heals the paralysed Aeneas here, but only one places the revival of Tabitha in Jaffa; the other two locate this event also in Lydda.[104]

Although not noted in the twelfth-century pilgrim text tradition, Ramla had been identified by the Franks with Arimathea, the home town of Joseph of Arimathea, who provided Christ's tomb.[105] This association was noted in two of the later pilgrim accounts, who describe the town as that of Joseph 'who buried Christ'.[106] This may indicate either that it took some time for new associations to enter the pilgrim text tradition, or simply that the association had been lost, along with control of the city, except to those authors who sought more obscure references such as these. Both the authors who include Arimathea also note that Ramla was where the prophet Samuel originated and was buried, another association omitted from the pilgrim text tradition, probably because the body of Samuel had been translated from its resting place in a Jewish cemetery to Montjoie.[107]

Finally, the battle of Mont Gisard (1177), which took place on a mount a short distance south-west of Ramla, was also noted by one pilgrim text.[108] They note that a fragment of the True Cross was carried, and St George appeared during the battle, which took place on the feast of St Katherine. The site was closely linked by the pilgrim texts to the monastery and shrine of St George at Lydda, suggesting that the battle was included by the pilgrim texts as an example of a miracle of St George, rather than as a

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[104] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 24; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 32; Chemins B (1254-68), p. 192; Filippo (1244-91), p. 246.
[105] Matt. 27:57; Mark 15:43; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, VI, pp. 423–24.
[106] Burchard (1274-85), pp. 77–78; Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 72. Thietmar does not directly link Ramla and Arimathea, but did note that Arimathea was near Ramla and Lydda. Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 24.
[107] Benjamin of Tudela, p. 26.
[108] William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, II, pp. 991–92; Lock, *Companion* p. 64. Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 184; Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 93.

sign that contemporary events were becoming sites of pilgrimage.[109]

From here, pilgrims travelled further eastwards towards Bethnoble and Jerusalem. These sites will be covered in chapter V: Judaea.

Summary

Although Latin Christian pilgrims had been travelling through Southern Coast region since the second half of the twelfth century, when the primary port switched from Jaffa to Acre, they rarely undertook any pilgrimage activity at sites here. That is, the places en-route to Jerusalem were not the focus of pilgrimage themselves. This changed in the thirteenth century, undoubtedly as a result of a changing geopolitical situation which meant that fewer sites were under Latin political control. Pilgrims began to undertake pilgrimage activity throughout this region. This can be seen from the pilgrim texts, which begin to describe places here within a religious framework, rather just a geographical one. The texts also include greater detail on the sites, and in some cases specifically note that these sites were subject to pilgrimage activity.

Pilgrimage in the Southern Coast region had a decidedly different character to that of other Holy Land regions, as a result of post-twelfth-century developments in pilgrimage. The balance of pilgrimage site types was different to other regions, particularly those of Judaea and Galilee. Pilgrimage sites in this area were more diverse, and focused very little on the life of Christ. Where there were associations with the New Testament, as at Caesarea, these were the result of links to the Acts of the Apostles rather than the Gospels. The area also saw a greater number of links to post-biblical saints, such as St Euphemia at Chastel Pelerin, or St George at Lydda. Perhaps as a result of the lack of sites associated with the Gospel life of Christ, there were more sites in this area whose holiness was the result of a post-biblical Christological tradition, such

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[109] Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 184; Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104.4; Chemins A (1261-65), p. 181.

as *Anne*, where the nails of the Cross were forged.

The northern section of this region, around Mount Carmel and Caesarea, were relatively secure for most of the thirteenth century, which had an effect on Latin Christian pilgrimage. One sees the development of 'new' pilgrimage sites in this area during this period, such as at *Anne*, and a renewed interest in holy associations of pre-existing stops on the pilgrimage route, such as at Caesarea. Additionally, perhaps as a result of this innovation, the region had more relic- or miracle-based shrines than most of the other regions. Relics were recorded at the abbey of St Margaret and the monastery of St John of Tyre. Chastel Pèlerin was considered the location for the relics of St Euphemia, who had been miraculously translated from Chalcedon. Caesarea held the bodies of St Philip's prophetic daughters, and possibly that of St Philip himself, as well as the tomb of Cornelius the Centurion. Jaffa had the rock which had carried St James across the sea, as well as other unspecified relics. The region also had relics of St George, until their destruction by Baybars. Several of these relics were considered miraculous themselves, but a number of pilgrim sites were noted by the Old French *itineraria* as having other general miracles associated with them, although there is no explanation of what these miracles were, and whether they affected those visiting the shrines or not.

The relative lack of sites in the twelfth century, and the development of new sites and associations in the thirteenth century meant that, unlike other regions such as Jerusalem and Galilee, pilgrimage in the Southern Coast did not have much movement or duplication of sites. Latin Christian political control of the region meant that most sites were under Latin Christian control, which should have limited opportunities for inter-denominational exchange. However, the pilgrim texts do note the presence of several Greek or Syrian Orthodox religious institutions in the area, notably on Mount Carmel and at Lydda, and it is not clear where the 'new' holy associations in the region would

have come from, if not the local population. It is worth noting that the Cave of Elijah was also the focus of worship of Jews and Muslims, and there was a mosque associated with St George in the Ramla-Lydda area.

Pilgrimage in this region probably changed again in the 1260s with the raids of Baybars, which devastated most of the area including the pilgrimage sites. The Carmelites, for example, temporarily abandoned Mount Carmel, and as map 1 shows, the area south of Haifa was not under Latin control from the end of this decade. Although only two pilgrim texts can be definitively dated to after this period, it is perhaps noteworthy that the only one of them to indicate a pilgrimage route, indicates one which does not include southern coast and the main settlements there.[110] Descriptions of sites in this region are more limited in these two texts, although this may be as a result of language and genre differences, since the innovations in pilgrimage are predominantly recorded in the Old French *itineraria*.

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[110] Riccoldo (1288-89) travels south past Mount Carmel, and then takes the inland route past Cacho. See chapter II, pp. 43–44.

V. Judaea
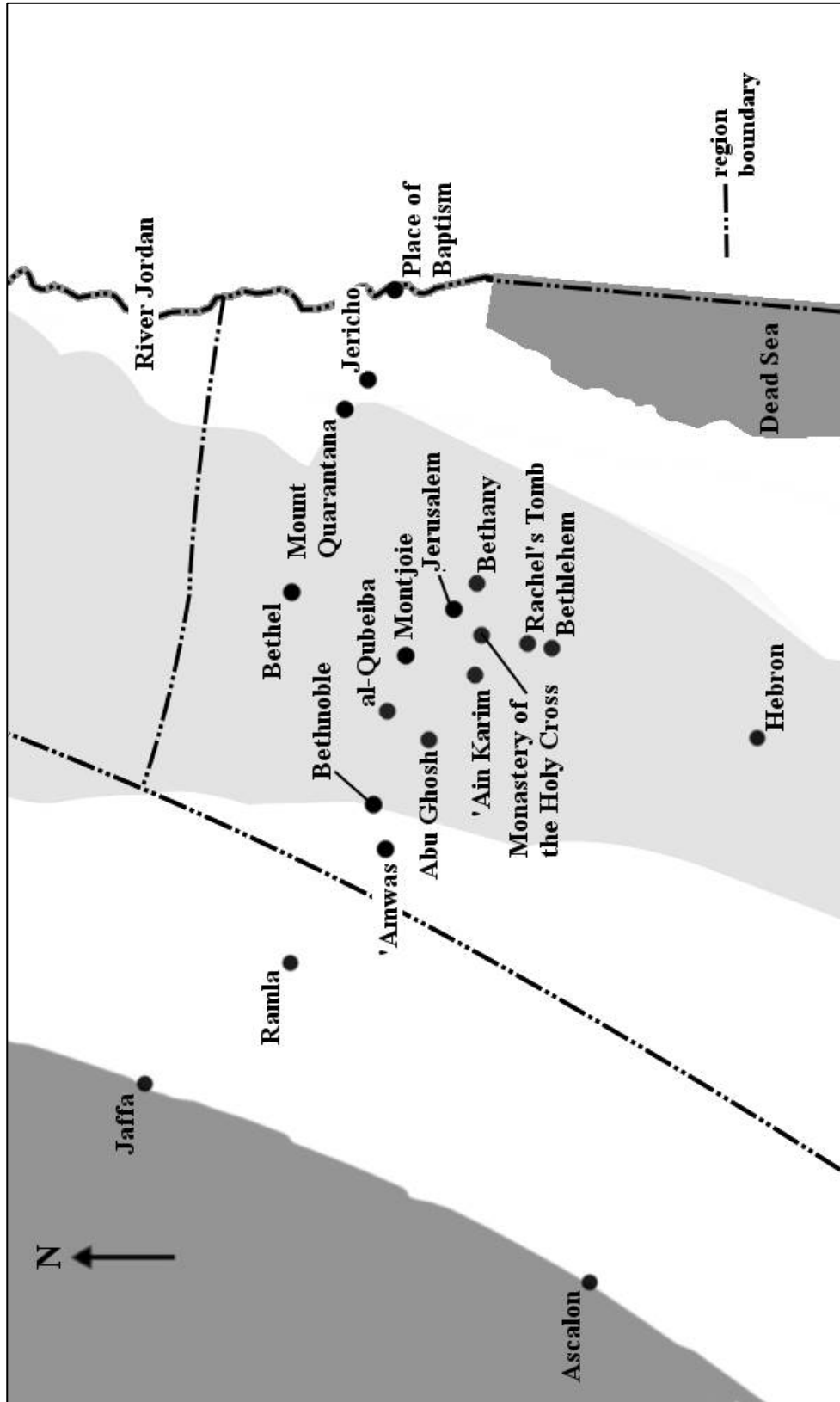
Map 3: Extent of Judaea. Pale grey indicates approximately areas of high ground.

Table 3: Sites in Judaea: by pilgrim text, with page references

	Innom. X (1187-1291)	Innom. IX (1187-1291)	Innom. III (1191-1244)	Innom. IV (1191-1244)	Wilbrand A (1211-12)	Thietmar A (1217-18)	Thietmar B (1218-91)	Sains Pelerinages (1229-55)	LCTS (1244-60)	Filippo (1244-91)	Hec sunt Peregrinaciones (1244-99)	Chemins B (1254-68)	Pardouns (1258-63)	Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s)	Chemins A (1261-65)	Burchard (1274-85)	Riccoldo (1288-89)
'Ain Karim	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	356	236	338	196	233	99	186	82	62
Bethany	104	94	-	26	189	30	37	104.7	362	240	336	196	232	97-98	185	62	54
Bethel	-	-	-	-	-	32	38	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	60	-
Bethlehem	104	94	18	-	-	28	35	104.6	358	236	336	196	232-33	99	186	78-79	60-62
Bethnoble	-	-	-	-	184	24	-	104.4	-	-	-	192	229	93	181	-	48
Campus floridus	104	94	-	-	-	-	-	104.6	358	-	-	196	232	98	186	-	58
Dead Sea	-	-	-	-	189-90	32-33	38-39	-	364	240	336	-	-	-	-	58-59	54
Emmaus	106	96	-	-	-	25	33	104.7	356	246	-	196	229	99	186	77/84	72
Abu Ghosh			-	-	-						-	196		99	196	84	
al-Qubaiba			-	-	-						-		229				
Imwas			-	-	-	25			356	246	-						

Field of chickpeas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	236	338	-	-	-	-	-	58
Doch	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	58	52
Garden of St Abraham	104	94	-	24	-	-	-	-	364	-	-	196	-	-	-	-	-
Hebron	106	96	-	26	-	29	36	104.6	360	358	338	196	233	99	186	81	-
Jericho	104	94	20	-	189	30-31	37	104.7	364	240	336	196	232	98	185	58	52
Jordan	104	-	20	24	189	31-32	38	104.7	362	240	336	196	232	98	185	58	52-54
Monastery of St Chariton	-	-	-	-	-	29	-	-	-	240	-	-	-	-	-	82	-
Monastery of the Holy Cross	106	96	-	-	-	-	-	104.7	356	236	338	196	233	99	186	-	62
Montjoie	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	104.4	358/364	-	-	192	230	93	181	76	48
Mount Quarantana	104	94	-	24	190	31	37	104.7	364	242	336	196	232	98	185	57-58	54
Oak of Mamre	-	96	-	-	-	29	36	-	-		338	196	-	99	186	81	-
Pastors	106	96	-	-	-	30	36	104.6	358	238	338	-	-	-	-	78	60
Spring near Holy Cross	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	356	236	-	-	-	-	-	82	62
Spring of Elijah	-	-	-	-	-	31	37	-	-	242	336	-	-	-	-	58	-
St Elias	104	94	-	-	-	-	-	104.6	-	236	338	196	232	98	186	-	58
Tomb of Rachel	104	94	-	-	-	28	-	104.6	358	236	338	196	232	98	186	78	58
Where Adam created	106	96	-	-	-	29	36	104.6	358	238	338	196	233	99	186	81	-

The region of Judaea covered the area between the Jordan and Bethnoble, and between Bethel and Hebron. The region is predominantly hilly, containing, as it does, the Judaean Hills; however, it also includes the flat flood plain of the Jordan, and the associated agricultural area there. The most prominent city of the region was of course Jerusalem, although the large number of pilgrimage sites in Jerusalem means that it will be considered separately.

Frankish control of this region was extremely limited during the thirteenth century. The outlying areas, like those along the Jordan and around Hebron, were never again under Frankish control after 1187. The area leading to Jerusalem from Jaffa, and around the city itself came under Frankish control for the period 1229 to 1244, following the treaty arranged by Frederick II. Access to Jerusalem and Bethlehem for pilgrims was specifically permitted under the terms of various truces, such as that between Lord Edward of England and the Mamluks in 1272.[1]

Pilgrim texts for this region emphasise the importance of Jerusalem, as the descriptions tend to be ordered in a way which follows the main route into Jerusalem from Jaffa, and then the main routes out of Jerusalem to the north, south and east. This chapter will use these routes as the basis for the discussion of pilgrimage sites in this region.

Jaffa to Jerusalem

Bethnoble was the first site in the region of Judaea to which pilgrims travelling from Jaffa to Jerusalem came. Descriptions of it are usually short, and rarely include any reasons for holiness, although the settlement was sometimes identified with the Old Testament city of Nobe, and described as the 'village of priests'.[2] The village was not noted in the twelfth-century pilgrim text tradition, and its appearance in the thirteenth

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[1] See the discussion of truces in chapter III, pp. 58–59.
[2] 1Kings 22:19. Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 48; Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 24.

century was undoubtedly as a result of it becoming a prominent rest-stop or waymarker for pilgrims. This new prominence indicates a change in the route taken by pilgrims between Jaffa and Jerusalem (see discussion on Emmaus below). The *casale* was inhabited by Saracens for most of the thirteenth century, and was unfortified. [3] Travellers on the route between Ramla and Bethnoble were prone to banditry from the local Bedouin, who killed those going to Jerusalem, making it a risky journey for pilgrims.[4] The new inclusion of this settlement however, supports the view that pilgrimage to Judaea continued to develop throughout the thirteenth century.

Emmaus, the place where Jesus appeared to two of his disciples after his Resurrection, was identified with mainly two sites during the Crusader period.[5] The first was Abu Ghosh, located eight miles from Jerusalem on the road to Ramla, close to 'Ain Karim, and owned for a time by the Hospitallers; the second was al-Qubaiba (known as *Parva Mahomeria* in the twelfth century) located on the Bethnoble-Montjoie road.[6] Abu Ghosh was identified with Emmaus in the twelfth century.[7] Al-Quabiba itself was created as a new village by the Franks in the twelfth century, and became the primary location associated with the biblical Emmaus from the fifteenth century, as a result of an alteration in the main route used by travellers to Jerusalem.[8] The new route went through Bethnoble, al-Qubaiba and Montjoie, rather than going through Ramla, and Abu Ghosh before Jerusalem.

This new route to Jerusalem began to be used in the thirteenth century, as indicated by the appearance of Bethnoble in the pilgrim text tradition. However, Abu Ghosh remained the site of Emmaus in most of the pilgrim texts where it is possible to identify

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[3] Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 184. Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 24.

[4] 'le quel chemin est mult dutus pur les bucement de bedeuins, ke ocient la gent ke vunt en Ierusalem.' Chemins B (1254-68), p. 192.

[5] Luke 24:13-27. Several of the pilgrim texts identify these disciples as St Cleophas and St Luke. Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 99; Chemins A (1261-65), p. 186; Chemins B (1254-68), p. 196.

[6] Pringle, *Churches*, I, p. 7.

[7] Pringle, *Churches*, I, pp. 7–8.

[8] Pringle, *Churches*, II, pp. 168–69.

to which Emmaus was being referred.[9] This separation between the route to Jerusalem and the location of Emmaus is reflected in the pilgrim texts which, rather than describe Emmaus as part of the route to Jerusalem, describe it as a separate trip out from Jerusalem or 'Ain Karim.[10] LCTS, Filippo and Thietmar seem to have located to Emmaus at 'Amwas, the location for Roman Nicopolis and where Latin Christian pilgrims placed Emmaus prior to the Crusader period. 'Amwas was between fifteen and twenty miles west of Jerusalem, close to Latrun; this distance led later pilgrims to favour closer sites such as Abu Ghosh, which more accurately fitted the depiction of the settlement in the New Testament.[11] The unexpected thirteenth-century identification of Emmaus at 'Amwas may be as a result of those authors retaining descriptions or information from earlier guides.

Evidence from the archaeology and material culture suggests that there was a shrine church at Abu Ghosh by c. 1140, which was associated with a travellers' hostel or pilgrims' hospice. Both the shrine church and the hospice are likely to have been run by a single religious community (probably the Hospitallers) during the twelfth century.[12] The 1187 conquest would have led to the expulsion of this community and it is not clear who was responsible for the site afterwards. The church was built over a Roman cistern and spring (identified as the spring of Emmaus), which would have made the site an attractive place to stop for travellers, so the church and hostel may still have served in a pilgrimage function during the thirteenth century. Very little description of the site survives from the thirteenth century; Riccoldo noted that the church at Emmaus was

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[9] When a text described Emmaus between Montjoie and Bethnoble it indicated al-Qubaiba; when it described it near 'Ain Karim (see below), it indicated Abu Ghosh. Several texts were unidentifiable.

[10] 'Illeq fu nés Saint Iohan Babtiste, & Zaquarias sson pére. A .ii. lieuas d'aqui est .i. Chastel que l'on apela Hemaüs', Chemins A (1261-65), p. 186.

[11] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 25; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 33; LCTS (1244-60), p. 356; Filippo (1244-91), p. 246. These three pilgrim texts describe Emmaus at a greater distance from Jerusalem, and close to Modi'in, which indicates Emmaus at 'Amwas.

[12] Pringle, Churches, I, pp. 16–17; Denys Pringle, 'The Planning of Some Pilgrimage Churches in Crusader Palestine', World Archaeology, 18 (1987), 341–62 (p. 356).

beautiful, but it is difficult to say with certainty which Emmaus he visited.[13].

   Montjoie was the place where pilgrims saw Jerusalem for the first time, and where they traditionally gave thanks for their journey.[14] The site had been associated with the prophet Samuel since the early sixth century, and this link was maintained into the thirteenth century. The site was identified by pilgrims with the city of Ramatha Sophym, the traditional place of Samuel's birth, house and burial.[15] Pilgrims could see Samuel's house and tomb here, and there was a church on the site.[16] As with many of the churches in the Holy Land, pilgrims who wanted to see the shrine were directed to the crypt where the tomb of the prophet Samuel was located.[17] In the early twelfth-century the Franks had established the Premonstratensian abbey of St Samuel on Montjoie, although the site's fortifications were never completed.[18] Like most of the ecclesiastical institutions of the area, the monks of St Samuel were expelled following the capture of the abbey site in 1187, and moved to Acre. The canons probably never returned from Acre.[19] However, although Montjoie itself was mentioned regularly throughout the twelfth-century pilgrim texts, it is not until the thirteenth century that the church of St Samuel begins to be noted in the pilgrim text tradition. It is odd, therefore that a monastery flourishing in the early twelfth century was not mentioned in contemporary pilgrim texts, but that the abandoned site was mentioned and visited in the thirteenth century. It seems likely therefore, that St Samuel's was taken over by non-Latin Christians, who retained the pre-Crusader traditional links to St Samuel, and passed these on to pilgrims.

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[13] Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 72.

[14] *Itinerarium Ricardi*, p. 435.

[15] Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 48; Burchard (1274-85), p. 76. See 1 Kings throughout, although in particular 1 Kings 1:1; 1 Kings 1:1, 1 Kings 2:11, 1 Kings 16:13.

[16] LCTS (1244-60), p. 364; Chemins A (1261-65), p. 181.

[17] Pringle, 'Some Pilgrimage Churches', p. 348.

[18] Boas, *Jerusalem*, p. 15.

[19] Pringle, *Churches,* II, p. 87.

Jerusalem to Hebron

The Georgian monastery of the Holy Cross, an eleventh-century foundation built on an earlier fifth- or sixth-century site, marked the place where the wood for the Cross grew.[20] It was believed to have been built by the Georgian king on land granted by the Emperor Constantine.[21] The monastery had a privileged position throughout most of the thirteenth century and like many Georgian institutions, was often under the special protection of the Muslim authorities. The Georgians were, for example, permitted bells, something denied to other Christians institutions.[22] The monastery flourished during the early part of the thirteenth century, when a series of wall paintings were executed, and thirteenth-century pilgrims note how beautiful the church was.[23] However, the monastery was changed into a *zāwiya* sometime during the period 1268-1273 (under Baybars) for reasons which are still disputed, and not returned to the Georgians until 1305/06. It is by no means certain however, that pilgrimage to the site stopped during this period, and the Georgians maintained relatively friendly relations with the Muslim authorities despite the changes.[24]

The site was mentioned in a few of the twelfth-century pilgrim texts, but in the thirteenth century it was included more frequently, becoming an established part of the pilgrim text tradition. The increased popularity of the Georgian site was the result of increased interaction between Latin and non-Latin Christians. Filippo, for example, described a beautiful church here which he claimed was called *mesalibe* in Hebrew.

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[20] Vassilios Tzaferis, 'The Monastery of the Cross in Jerusalem', in *Ancient Churches Revealed*, pp. 143–46 (pp. 143–44); Johannes Pahlitzsch, 'The People of the Book', in *Ayyubid Jerusalem: The Holy City in Context, 1187-1250*, ed. by Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand (London: Altajir Trust, 2009), pp. 435–40 (p. 438).

[21] Joshua Prawer, 'The Monastery of the Cross', *Ariel*, 18 (1967), 59–62 (p. 60).

[22] Christian Müller and Johannes Pahlitzsch, 'Sultan Baybars I and the Georgians: In the Light of New Documents Related to the Monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem', *Arabica*, 51 (2004), 258–90 (pp. 259–60); Tzaferis, 'Monastery of the Cross', p. 145; Prawer, 'Monastery of the Cross', pp. 60–61.

[23] Pringle, *Churches*, II, p. 37.

[24] Müller and Pahlitzsch, 'Baybars and the Georgians', *passim* (the article is predominantly concerned with this event); Prawer, 'Monastery of the Cross', pp. 60–61.

LCTS used virtually the same words to describe the site, except that it noted that *Messabilie* was Arabic, and meant *mater crucis* ('mother of the cross').[25] Since in modern Arabic the church is still called *Der-el-Musalabe*, this suggests that there was sufficient interaction with local Christians to pass on the local name of the church. Presumably the traditions associated with the church were passed along with it.[26]

There were other traditions circulating among Latin Christians as to the origin of the wood of the Cross. These traditions exemplify the thirteenth-century trends of the duplication of sites and recording of alternative traditions. The Rothelin Continuation, for example, noted that the Cross was said to come from a tree grown from a twig placed in Adam's mouth after death, which was cut for the building of the Temple, worshipped by the Queen of Sheba, and finally used for the Cross. This wooden post had retained the head of Adam through all its uses, and this was then washed or baptised with blood during the Crucifixion.[27] This tradition has the tree grown on the grave of Adam, which the pilgrim text tradition also recorded at Golgotha, in order to allow for Adam's baptism by Christ's blood, and at Hebron, with the other patriarchs, giving three possible locations for the tree of the Cross for Latin Christians.[28]

The increased number of references to the Georgian site of the wood of the Cross are probably partly to do with access, since it was easier to visit sites outside Jerusalem's walls and pilgrims could have stayed there prior to 1266, and partly because pilgrims could see and touch the stump of the tree, located below the altar.[29] This was one of very few relics available to pilgrims in this area. A number of the pilgrim texts do not

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[25] LCTS (1244-60), p. 356; Filippo (1244-91), p. 236.

[26] Hanns Swarzenski, 'Two Heads from Jerusalem', *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, 54 (1956), 34–38 (p. 36).

[27] *Rothelin Continuation*, pp. 503–04. A version of this is later circulated in the Golden Legend.

[28] See below, p. 129, and chapter VI, p. 158.

[29] The stump was recorded as being under in the altar in the twelfth century, and presumably remained there into the thirteenth, since it can be seen there today. Daniel the Abbot, 'The Life and Journey of Daniel, Abbot of the Russian Land', in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, pp. 120–71 (p. 150); Theoderic, 'Libellus de locis sanctis', pp. 143–97 (pp. 183–84); Pringle, *Churches*, II, p. 35.

mention the monastery or church, but do mention the tree of the Holy Cross.[30] This may be because these texts were less interested in the physical, 'real' aspects of the Holy Land; it may also be because the texts reflected the situation following 1266 and the conversion of the monastery.

Near to the monastery of the Holy Cross was a spring believed to be where Philip baptised the Ethiopian eunuch, as described in Acts 8.[31] The site has been identified by J. C. M. Laurent as 'Ain Hani'eh (Ein El-Haniyeh, in the Wadi al-Ward near Jerusalem).[32] The New Testament does not provide a specific location for the event, simply that it was in the desert between Jerusalem and Gaza. Ein El-Haniyeh has the remains of a Byzantine church and Roman fountain, but these might have been already ruined in the thirteenth century, so it is not clear what pilgrims would have seen at the site; it is possible that this was simply a spring pointed out to travellers. The text of Riccoldo gives some indication of the location of the site, as he notes that his party travelled from the monastery of the Holy Cross to Jerusalem via the valley in which the eunuch travelled and was baptised.[33]

After the monastery of the Holy Cross, the next site on the road to Hebron was St Elias, another Orthodox monastery.[34] The site was considered holy because it was where Elisha lived and had his house.[35] There was a church on the site, which several pilgrim texts include, one of which noted that this was where Elijah *decit penitenciam* .[36] The presence of this Orthodox monastery in the pilgrim texts again indicates the influence of

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[30] See in particular the Old French texts: Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 99; Chemins A (1261-65), p. 186.
[31] Acts 8: 26-40. Filippo (1244-91), p. 236; Burchard (1274-85), p. 82; Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 62.
[32] Burchard (1274-85), p. 82.
[33] There seems to be some confusion here, as the place likely to be Philip's spring is south west of the monastery of the holy cross, and is not between the monastery and Jerusalem. Both sites are in the same valley however.
[34] *Rothelin Continuation*, p. 503. The monastery was a twelfth-century refoundation by Manuel I Komnenos, Byzantine Emperor, 1118–1180.
[35] Hec sunt peregrinaciones (1244-99), p. 338.
[36] 'vbi Elyas propheta decit penitenciam.' Filippo (1244-91), p. 236. It is not clear to what this refers.

non-Latin Christians, but the interest of the pilgrims may also have been piqued by the tradition that the abbot of Mar Elias, during the Third Crusade, took Richard the Lionheart to a hiding place of part of the True Cross which had been sealed within the walls of the church of St Elias itself.[37] Roger of Hoveden noted that this cross was known as the Cross of the Syrians, and was taken away by Richard. This may explain the interest of Latin Christian pilgrims in the site, and suggests why the church was mentioned far more after 1187 than before. Its importance may also have been for similar reasons to that of the monastery of the Holy Cross – it was close to both Jerusalem and Bethlehem, and would have provided a convenient rest-stop for pilgrims to either place. Riccoldo does not mention the monastery itself, but does mention a *casale* in this area which was associated with Elijah and Elisha. This suggests that a small settlement had grown up around the monastery, which could have provided practical support to pilgrims.

Next to the monastery of Mar Elias was the *campus floridus /champ fleury*. The site is mentioned by name only in the anonymous pilgrim texts. Only LCTS provided some background; it makes the *campus* the place where Elijah was seized.[38] No reason for its inclusion is otherwise noted in the thirteenth-century texts which include it, and the site is not mentioned by any twelfth-century texts. By the fifteenth century however, John Mandeville was explaining to his readers that the field was called thus because a virgin was wrongly accused of fornication and sentenced to death, only for her pyre to be miraculously transformed into roses, which still covered the field.[39]

Another field near to Mar Elias was the site for an apocryphal miracle from Jesus.[40]

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[37] Pringle, *Churches*, II, p. 224; Magistri Rogeri de Houedene, *Chronica*, ed. by William Stubbs, 4 vols. (London: Longman, 1868), IV, p. 182.

[38] 'Deinde ad unam leaucam est Sanctus Samuel ubi manebat et Helias. Campus autem in quo raptus fuit Helias nominatus campus Floridus.' LCTS (1244-60), p. 358.

[39] John Mandeville, *The Book of Marvels and Travels* (Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 37–38.

[40] The anonymous author of *Hec sunt peregrinaciones* may also be referring to this place when

Both Riccoldo and Filippo relate how Jesus asked a man sowing chickpeas in the field what he was sowing; the man replied that he was sowing stones. Jesus then turned all the chickpeas into stones. Filippo commented that visitors could still find chickpea stones in the field.[41] This site is probably the Field of Grey Peas, located near to Mar Elias, which one can still view today.[42] The tradition originated locally, and is further evidence of interaction with non-Latin Christians.

Near here was the tomb of Rachel, Jacob's wife, who was buried after dying on the way to Bethlehem, as described in the Old Testament.[43] Most of the pilgrim texts simply note the location of the tomb of Rachel alone, without describing it. However, LCTS describes a tomb covered with twelve *lapides magnos* ('large stones'), which represented the twelve sons of Rachel.[44] This accords well with archaeological evidence which suggests that thirteenth-century pilgrims would have seen a tomb underneath a domed structure with pillars – the *lapides* referred to by LCTS.[45] Aside from the tomb structure itself, there does not seem to have been a church or formal building associated with the site, nor is there evidence for any clergy (Latin or otherwise) attached to it. Pilgrims therefore would have required the use of either a guide or a guidebook in order to interpret the site and understand its holy significance. Although a location from the Old Testament, the site was included in most of the pilgrim texts; its popularity was most likely because it was a distinctive structure by the main road to Bethlehem, rather than that it was a goal of pilgrimage itself.

Close to Bethlehem was the location of the annunciation to the shepherds, also known as *Pastors*. This site was generally described by the texts in terms of its location

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he described an area near the tomb of Rachel thus: 'sequitur locus ubi inveniuntur cisere.' Hec sunt peregrinaciones (1244-99), p. 338.

[41] 'et usque nunc inueniuntur cicera lapidea ibi.' Filippo (1244-91), p. 236.

[42] Daniel Jacobs, *Jerusalem: The Mini Rough Guide* (London: Rough Guides, 2000), p. 158.

[43] Gen 35.16-20.

[44] LCTS (1244-60), p. 358. Filippo also references the fact that Rachel died following the birth of her son Benjamin, but does not make the link to the tomb's location.

[45] Pringle, *Churches*, I, p. 176.

and significance, and most texts comment that the site was the first place that 'Gloria in excelsis Deo' was heard. The church of the Shepherds was originally a late fourth-century cave-chapel, located to the east of Bethlehem.[46] Riccoldo, describing the thirteenth-century site, noted the presence of a great ruined church dedicated to the memory of the shepherds.[47] However, as Daniel the Abbot, writing in the twelfth century, also described the church here as a ruin, it seems probable that the structure was in this state throughout the period of the Latin kingdom.[48] The expanded Byzantine church had been abandoned in the tenth century, but had evidently never been rebuilt or repaired; the accounts of the pilgrims, plus pottery found at the site does suggest that it was at least in partial use during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[49]

The church's poor state of repair undoubtedly contributed to thirteenth-century pilgrim confusion over the exact location of the site. The pilgrim texts suggest that the site was anything from half a mile to two miles from Bethlehem. Most agree that the field was east of Bethlehem, but some texts link it to the area around the tomb of Rachel. The *Chronicle of Ernoul* located the field of shepherds close to the *campus floridus*, and indicated the existence of a Greek monastery marking the site; it seems probable that this monastery was Mar Elias, which was on/near the *campus floridus*.[50] Burchard identifies the tomb of Rachel with the same site as the announcement to the shepherds, but most of the pilgrim texts treat these two sites separately and describe them as if in different locations. It may be that there were two different physical locations identified for this event; however, the pilgrim texts also may have followed a particular order in describing the area, which put the description of the shepherds in a different place textually, although it was in reality near the tomb of Rachel.The *campus*

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[46] Pringle, 'Some Pilgrimage Churches', p. 347; Pringle, *Churches*, II, p. 315.

[47] Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 60; 'A une liue de Bethleem estoit une esglyse ou li angrez annonca aus Pastoriaux la Nativité Nostre Seigneur.' *Rothelin Continuation*, p. 512.

[48] 'Daniel the Abbot', p. 144.

[49] Pringle, 'Some Pilgrimage Churches', p. 348; Pringle, *Churches*, II, p. 315.

[50] *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 71.

floridus, tomb of Rachel and field of the shepherds were located by Prawer and Benvenisti north/north-east of Bethlehem in their map of the Crusader Kingdom; perhaps the sites were all visible from each other, or from the same place, making it difficult for pilgrims to differentiate between the two when these were pointed out from a distance.[51]

There is one final possibility. Burchard stated in his text that the Tower of Edar (Migdal Edar / the Tower of the Flock), where Jacob put his flocks after the death of Rachel, was near there.[52] Perhaps the tradition which placed Jacob's sheep here may have been merged or changed into a tradition of the field of the shepherds. Indeed, Burchard specifically commented to this effect, noting that Jacob pastured his sheep on the same field as the shepherds who received the announcement of Jesus's birth. Thietmar also merged the two traditions, but sited the field to the east of Bethlehem, where the field of shepherds was usually placed.[53]

The most famous site along this route was Bethlehem, the place of Jesus's birth. There had been shrines and pilgrims here from the earliest period of Christian pilgrimage, although the holy sites here underwent a period of renewal and revival under Frankish control in the twelfth century. Virtually all twelfth-century pilgrims visited the town, and it was one of the key sites for pilgrimage. In 1187 Bethlehem was captured by Saladin, who returned the church of the Holy Nativity to the control of the Syrian clergy who had held it previously. The Latin bishop and clergy were expelled, but later two Latin priests and deacons were allowed to return to serve alongside the Syrian clergy. This was presumably to cater for any Latin pilgrims who visited the site, since the local Latin congregation would have been exiled to Acre along with the bishop. There is no evidence for structural work on the church of the Holy Nativity or

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[51] Prawer and Benvenisti, 'The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099-1291'.
[52] Genesis 35.2. Burchard (1274-85), p. 78.
[53] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 30.

the buildings associated with it during the thirteenth century, although new west doors inscribed in Armenian and Arabic were presented in 1227, confirming that the church continued in use during this time.[54] Bethlehem, along with Jerusalem, returned to Latin political control following the treaty of 1229 between Frederick II and al-Kamil. The Latin clergy at the church survived the Kharwazmian attack in 1244, only to be expelled by Baybars in 1266. The Latin rite again returned to the church in 1277, but the clergy never had control of the church again as they had in the twelfth century.[55] Therefore, despite the political difficulties, Latin Christian pilgrims to Bethlehem would have found a familiar rite at the church for most of the century, with the exception of the period 1266-1277.[56]

Bethlehem was described in detail by several pilgrim texts, which demonstrates that pilgrimage to the site did take place during the thirteenth century. Descriptions of Bethlehem tended to focus on the events of the Nativity, in particular the church of the Nativity and the sites in and around the church itself. The first thing that visitors to the site would have seen, at least during the period of Muslim control, would have been the Muslim guards at the entrance to the site, as described by Thietmar.[57] These received payment from the pilgrims wishing to enter the church. It is clear from this, and from treaties which include the church of the Nativity, that the Muslim government had decided that access to the holy places of Bethlehem needed to be controlled, but was sufficiently beneficial to warrant this administration. Thietmar comments that the site

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[54] A series of thirteenth-century bells were found in and around the church is the mid-eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries, although given Islamic legal prohibitions against the ringing of church bells, they could only have been rung during the period 1229-1244. Pringle, *Churches*, I, p. 141. Perhaps the bells are witness to an over-ambitious refurbishing scheme from 1229-1244, similar to that which the Franks engaged in when they first gained control of the holy places in the twelfth century.

[55] This paragraph is based on Pringle, *Churches*, I, pp. 138–54.

[56] Pringle indicates that Latin pilgrimage to Bethlehem was banned by Baybars from 1266-1271, but this is the exact period when the Polos were visiting Judaea, specifically Jerusalem.Rusticien de Pise, 'Voyages', p. 210; Pringle, *Churches*, I, pp. 138–39.

[57] 'Sunt tamen quidam Sarraceni custodes ad limina monasterii deputati, a peregrinis introeuntibus pedagium accipientes', Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 28; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 35.

would often have been destroyed by the Saracens, except it was monetarily beneficial not to.[58] Most pilgrim texts specifically note the presence of a church on the site, further indicating that the church remained in use and in good condition throughout the thirteenth century. This was in contrast to the sites around the Galilee (see chapter VIII) which were often described as destroyed. The church of the Nativity was not only not destroyed, it was looked after well, retaining the precious source materials used in its construction throughout the thirteenth century.[59] Filippo noted that the lead roof was still in place during his visit, and added that the entire church was still covered in mosaic, and Burchard described seeing mosaic, paintings and marble covering the walls.[60] Regardless of the state of churches elsewhere in the Holy Land, the church of the Nativity retained its importance and was allowed to flourish.

Within the church, the pilgrim texts generally refer to the most important part first: the place of the nativity. This was located in the crypt, which could be reached via steps from the choir of the main church.[61] The cave-chapel of the Nativity was said to be the original, rock-hewn stable, and the pilgrim texts described here the manger where Jesus was placed, and the cloths which covered him, both of which would have been significant relics.[62] The place where the three kings arrived to honour Jesus was also specifically noted by pilgrims, and Riccoldo noted the position of the place where the Virgin Mary actually gave birth to Jesus. This was marked by an altar.[63] Also in the crypt was a cistern identified as the well into which the guiding star fell.

Although pilgrims were mostly concerned with the events of the Nativity, the church

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[58] 'Sarraceni sepe destruxissent hoc monasterium, nisi sollicitudo Christianorum multa pecunia precauisset.' Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 28; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 35.

[59] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 28.

[60] Filippo (1244-91), p. 236; Burchard (1274-85), pp. 78–79.

[61] Burchard (1274-85), p. 78.

[62] Burchard (1274-85), pp. 78–79. Relics of the Nativity and of the Crib received from the bishop of Bethlehem were allegedly distributed to various religious houses in the Limousin in 1150. Pringle, *Churches*, I, p. 155. It is possible that relics may have been available for pilgrims to Bethlehem to take away as souvenirs, even in the thirteenth century.

[63] Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 60.

did have other holy associations which the pilgrim texts noted. The bodies of the massacred Holy Innocents lay in the church, on the south side of the choir.[64] To the north of the choir was a cloister which contained the cell and bed of St Jerome.[65] Filippo, Thietmar and Riccoldo clarify that this was the place that Jerome translated the Bible, adding a another layer of sanctity to the site.[66] St Jerome's tomb was located under the monastic cloister.[67] Thietmar adds the bodies of St Paula and St Eustochium, and *decem discipuli* (ten followers) to that of St Jerome; these two were commonly included by twelfth-century pilgrim texts, so it is surpising that they are not mentioned by more of the thirteenth-century pilgrim texts.[68] The pilgrim texts as a whole seem to imply that these bodies were within the main church; however both Burchard and Riccoldo indicated that they were in a separate church (either nearby or next door), dedicated to Paula and Eustochium.

The church of the Nativity in Bethlehem had, at one point, a number of relics including the nails, pincers and hammer from the Crucifixion, but it is probable that these were taken to Acre following the expulsion in 1187.[69] At least one relic made it further west however: the manger/crib of Jesus, which was mentioned in virtually all the pilgrim texts, had by the time of LCTS been moved to the church of St Mary the Great in Rome.[70] Filippo (who visited around 1280-1291) includes the same information, although Riccoldo, visiting much later, claims to have still seen the crib in the church. Evidently there was a duplicate.[71] LCTS and Filippo also note the place where the

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[64] 'de l'autre part sunt les Innocens que furent ocis', Pardouns (1258-63), p. 233. Innom. X (1187-1291), p. 104; Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 28; Burchard (1274-85), p.79.
[65] Burchard (1274-85), p.79.
[66] Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 62; Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 28. Filippo goes on to say that this was the site of his penance too. Filippo (1244-91), p. 236.
[67] 'Desous le cloistre est le sepulcre saint Ieroime.' Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 99. Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 28, locates the burial site simply in another cave. See also Innom. X (1187-1291), p. 104; Burchard (1274-85), p. 79.
[68] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 28; Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 62.
[69] Pringle, *Churches*, I, p. 155.
[70] LCTS (1244-60), p. 358.
[71] Filippo (1244-91), p. 236; Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 60.

umbilical cord and circumcision of the Lord were placed at the church in Bethlehem, and one might also see the stone pillow of Jesus.[72]

Like many of holy sites in Europe, and unlike most of those in the Holy Land, the church of the Nativity at Bethlehem was associated with the miraculous healing of visitors. Innom. III comments that those who were possessed and blind were cured within the church, along with 'multa alia miracula quotidie.' Furthermore, on the hour of Jesus's birth annually, the trees surrounding the city would bend to the ground and point toward the place of his birth. [73] Burchard's miracle is provided by him in the context of the importance of the church to the Saracens, which he attributes to the Virgin Mary. In his description he says that when the Sultan came to loot the church of its decor, a giant serpent appeared and prevented him, before miraculously disappearing again.[74]

Near to the church of the Nativity was the chapel of Mary, which in its modern guise is known as the Milk Grotto. LCTS is the only text to link the chapel to St Paula; this may be either a confusion with the church of the Nativity, which was supposed to contain the bodies of SS. Paula and Eustochium, or may indicate the movement of this tradition. LCTS goes on to describe the crypt under this chapel, where the ground was white, which the guide attributed to the miraculous effect of the Virgin Mary's milk being spilt on the ground. Filippo also described the Milk Grotto, although he located it beneath the church of the Nativity. He added a further miracle to the site, which is that the earth, when added to water, changed back to milk.[75] *Hec sunt peregrinaciones* also included the Milk Grotto, but allocated nearly as much space to describing it as it did to

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[72] 'est locus ubi positus fuit umbilicus et circumcisio Domini', LCTS (1244-60), p. 358; Filippo (1244-91), p. 236. 'En Bethleem estoit l'esglyse Nostre Dame ou Nostre Sirez nasqui, et la croische ou il fu couchiez et ses orillierz d'une dure pierre.' *Rothelin Continuation*, p. 512.
[73] Innom. III (1191-1244), p. 20.
[74] Burchard (1274-85), p. 79.
[75] 'Affertur eciam qui similiter perdidit lac ex aliqua causa et mittat pars de terra illa in cyatum aque et bibat quod statim lac reuertitur.' Filippo (1244-91), p. 238.

the church of the Nativity. This may indicate a change in the relative importance of both sites, possibly due to the influence of the local beliefs.[76]

The thirteenth-century pilgrim texts record the presence of a cave-chapel *desous* ('below') Bethlehem, which was regarded as a place in which Mary rested when she was pregnant.[77] The chapel has been identified with the Milk Grotto, but it seems strange that a site which was a few minutes walk from the church of the Nativity would be described as 'below' Bethlehem.[78] The site was only mentioned in the Old French pilgrim texts, but was mentioned as frequently as the shepherds' field, suggesting that the site was relatively popular. This would apply equally to the Milk Grotto or to any shrine located on the main route south.

East of Bethlehem was St Sabas, an Orthodox monastery which survives in this area to this day. The monastery was not included in the Latin Christian pilgrim texts, but it is likely that some pilgrims and other travellers stayed at the site. The *typikon* (rule) of the monastery records that Franks visiting the monastery were permitted to sing the office and some psalms there, and could join the brethren in the church, suggesting that there was interaction between the two denominations here.[79]

The next places that pilgrims would have reached along this road would have been the Oak of Mamre and Hebron. Although the Oak was mentioned frequently in the twelfth-century text tradition, it was mentioned less often in the thirteenth century. Some pilgrim texts note that the Oak was on a mound near Hebron, and was the location for the revelation of the Trinity to Abraham.[80] Burchard adds the more practical detail that the original tree was dead, and that the current tree had sprung from its roots; it is not clear whether this was a tradition that he heard, or if he had simply assumed this

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[76] Hec sunt peregrinaciones (1244-99), p. 336.
[77] Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 9.
[78] Pringle, *Churches*, II, p. 158.
[79] 'Sabas: Typikon', pp. 1313, 1316.
[80] Innom. IX (1187-1291), p. 96.

was the case for practical reasons.[81] However, a more detailed description of the area can be found in the descriptions of Jewish travellers at this time. R. Samuel ben Samson, travelling in 1210, noted that it was possible to see the Oak and wells associated with Abraham and Sarah.[82] R. Jacob, travelling twenty-five years later, added that there was a stone there on which Abraham sat, and whose dust had healing properties.[83] One might expect such a miracle to be noted in the pilgrim texts, if known, suggesting that this was one tradition which was not passed on. There is some evidence for a church of the Holy Trinity at Mamre in the twelfth century, but the exact location of this site has not been identified and wherever it was, it was ignored by thirteenth-century pilgrims.[84] Finally, *Hec sunt peregrinaciones* noted Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac near to this site too; the pilgrim text tradition recorded a further two sites which were also considered the location for this event – the church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Temple Mount.[85]

Hebron, located 26 miles south of Jerusalem, was considered sacred as the place where a number of Old Testament patriarchs were buried. There was a long history of devotion at the site prior to the arrival of the Franks, and the Tombs were the focus of veneration for local Christians, Jews and Muslims.[86] Austin canons were established at the site by 1112, as was common at the main pilgrimage sites of the Latin Kingdom (such as Bethlehem and the Holy Sepulchre).[87] However, Latin Christian pilgrimage to the settlement was intensified by the discovery of the 'real' tombs of the Patriarchs in 1119, when canons of the church investigated a crack in the sanctuary floor.[88] The text *Tractatus de inventione sanctorum patriarchum Abraham, Ysaac, et Jacob* describes

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[81] Burchard (1274-85), p. 81.
[82] 'Rabbi Samuel ben Samson', p. 105.
[83] 'Rabbi Jacob', p. 120.
[84] Pringle, *Churches*, I, pp. 201-04.
[85] Hec sunt peregrinaciones (1244-99), p. 338. See chapter VI, pp. 159 & 175.
[86] Whalen, 'Discovery of the Holy Patriarchs', p. 145.
[87] Hamilton, 'Ideals of Holiness', p. 696. Pringle, *Churches*, I, p. 225.
[88] Whalen, 'Discovery of the Holy Patriarchs', p. 144.

how, with the permission of God, the canons thus found the real burial place of the Patriarchs, whose remains were later translated into the sanctuary.[89] This discovery was recorded also by the chroniclers Ibn al-Furāt, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Harawī al-Mawṣilī and Ibn al-Qalānisī, and in several twelfth-century Jewish travel accounts.[90] The latter noted that the 'real' tombs were still hidden, and only accessible to the Jewish people. As statements which demonstrated the Christian tradition to be false were a common topos of the Jewish pilgrimage text genre, it is difficult to guage how accurate are the descriptions of alternative tombs for different visitors, and how much access was afforded to the different groups.[91] Certainly, no other shrine regularly visited by Christian pilgrims gained such diverse attention, either in the twelfth or thirteenth century. Hebron was made the centre of a bishopric under the patriarch of Jerusalem in 1168, a development which brought the religiously significant settlement in line with the other pilgrimage centres of Nazareth and Bethlehem, and which recognised the strategic importance of the settlement on the southern edge of the Latin Kingdom.[92]

Hebron remained a popular pilgrim site into the thirteenth century, although access was limited once Baybars banned Jews and Christians from the sanctuary in 1266.[93] The thirteenth-century pilgrim texts, like those of the twelfth century, include the information that Hebron had the tombs of the Patriarchs (various combinations of

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[89] 'Tractatus de inventione sanctorum patriarchum Abraham, Ysaac, et Jacob', in *Itinera*, pp. 331–338; Whalen, 'Discovery of the Holy Patriarchs', p. 154.

[90] Whalen, 'Discovery of the Holy Patriarchs', p. 150; Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders: Selections from the Tārīkh al-Duwal wa'l-Mulūk of Ibn al-Furāt*, ed. by U. Lyons and M. C. Lyons, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Heffer & Sons), I, pp. 107-08; II, p. 84; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi'l-Ta'rikh*, X, p. 560; *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir*, I, p. 208; Benjamin of Tudela, p. 25; Rabbi Jacob Ben R. Nathaniel Ha Cohen, 'Account of the Journeys to Places in the Holy Land and the Tombs there of the Righteous', in *Jewish Travellers*, pp. 92–99 (p. 98); 'Rabbi Petachia of Ratisbon', in *Jewish Travellers*, pp. 64–91 (pp. 89–90).

[91] Elchanan Reiner, 'A Jewish Response to the Crusades: The Dispute over Sacred Places in the Holy Land', in *Juden und Christen zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge*, ed. by Alfred Haverkamp (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1999), pp. 209–31 (p. 212).

[92] Mayer, *Bistümer*, p. 113; Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 77; Jean Richard, *The Crusades* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 111–13. See also William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, II, p. 914; Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or*, p. 234.

[93] Thorau, *Baybars*, p 167; *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. by H. A. R. Gibb, New ed, 10 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1960), pp. 958-61.

Adam, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and their wives Eve, Sarah, Rebecca, Leah), although a few of these focused more on Adam and Eve, the events of Genesis, and New Testament events. LCTS placed the tomb of Joseph at Hebron as well, although outside the main site.[94] Usually the pilgrim texts of the twelfth century and later referred to the nearby Castle of Abraham (naming the place 'St Abraham') where the tombs were, rather than to Hebron itself, which was destroyed prior to the twelfth century. This is the modern-day Haram al-Khalil.[95] Several texts do not mention the tombs of the Patriarchs however, so it is possible that these refer to Hebron itself. Only Burchard explains the difference between 'Old' Hebron, where David reigned, and which was destroyed; and 'New' Hebron, which was the settlement built nearby around the tombs.[96]

Access to the site varied throughout the thirteenth century, as the Muslims held the site in high regard (as noted by several pilgrims) and as the tombs of the Patriarchs and the surrounding precinct had been converted in to a mosque in 1187.[97] Visiting the tombs was completely forbidden in 1266 by Baybars, who expressed disgust that Jews and Christians had been allowed to visit the tombs, and even after his demise, Ibn Furāt indicates that access to the tombs in particular was difficult for these groups.[98] However, access to the rest of the site must have relatively straightforward during Burchard's visit in the 1280s, since he was also permitted to stay the night in Hebron, in contrast to the practice at Jerusalem.[99] When access was possible, Christians who wanted to visit the tombs were charged a fee.[100]

Samuel ben Samson, a Jewish visitor in 1210, does not seem to have been charged,

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[94] LCTS (1244-60), p. 360.
[95] Pringle, *Churches*, I, p. 224.
[96] Burchard (1274-85), p. 81.
[97] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 29; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 36; LCTS (1244-60), p. 360; Pringle, *Churches*, I, p. 228.
[98] Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, I, pp. 107–08; II, p. 84.
[99] Burchard (1274-85), p. 81; see chapter III, p. 67.
[100] Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, I, pp. 107–08; II, p. 84.

but was required to visit at night-time, and was escorted by the gatekeeper. [101] He saw three monuments, undoubtedly the tombs of the Patriarchs, and commented on the age of the building. There was some provision for Christian worship at the site as well, as Thietmar, LCTS and Burchard noted a church at the site. LCTS indicates the presence of an altar within this, suggesting that this building remained in use.[102] By the time Burchard visited, the cave and church had been surrounded by a strong fortress-like structure, intended to protect the tombs.

A second tradition associated Adam with Hebron. There was a miraculous field near here, which had red earth which would refill itself each year, regardless of the amount taken out.[103] This field was considered to be where Adam was created. The field was described as 'Damascene' by several pilgrim texts; as Thietmar indicates, this was an attempt to integrate a separate tradition which had Adam being created near Damascus.[104] The earth was sold to the Egyptians by the local people; it is not clear for what purpose, but Burchard commented that the earth could be 'moulded like wax' and was also used as a spice. He also noted that it had miraculous or marvellous qualities as well, as possessing it apparently prevented beast attacks, and falling accidents. The earth (presumably clay) also attracted pilgrims, and was probably collected as a souvenir.[105] No formal structure was associated with this site, so pilgrims would need to have been directed to it by a guide of some kind.

Near to here there was a cave with further links to Adam. It was variously believed to be the place in which Adam and Eve lived after the expulsion from Eden, and where

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[101] 'Rabbi Samuel Ben Samson', p. 105.

[102] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 29; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 36; LCTS (1244-60), p. 360; Burchard (1274-85), p. 81.

[103] See also Albert of Stade, 'Annales Stadenses', p. 341. This site was also mentioned in the twelfth-century description of Fretellus. Rorgo Fretellus, *Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth et sa description de la Terre Sainte histoire et edition du texte*, ed. by P. C. Boeren (Oxford: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1980), p. 9; Innominatus II, 'Peregrinationes ad Loca Sancta', in *Itinera*, III, pp. 9–15 (p. 14).

[104] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 29.

[105] 'De qua tuli in magna quantitate. Similiter faciunt peregrini alii et Christiani uisitantes loca ista.' Burchard (1274-85), p. 81. Genesis 2:7.

they cried following the murder of Abel by Cain.[106] Burchard stated that one could see

Adam and Eve's beds in this cave, and the spring from which they drank.[107] This cave

was presumably located in the *Vallis lacrimarum* ('valley of tears') which was marked

on a map of ca. 1200, and which was also said to be the place where Adam and Eve

wept.[108] Hebron was also said to be the location for the house of Cain and Abel. [109]

There were two further New Testament traditions in the area around Hebron, but

these were noted in only one text apiece, *Hec sunt peregrinaciones* and LCTS. *Hec sunt*

peregrinaciones noted the desert in which John the Baptist lived and the spring in which

he washed.[110] This spring has been identified with one in a cave associated with a ruined

Byzantine baptistery at 'Ain al-Ma'mudiya west of Hebron.[111] The baptistery was

ruined when visited by twelfth- and thirteenth- century pilgrims. It is significant that

neither the cave nor the ruined church were mentioned in *Hec sunt peregrinaciones*.

Given that this is the only pilgrim text to include it, it seems likely that, in the thirteenth

century, this was a tradition simply noted from a distance; it seems certain that

thirteenth-century pilgrims rarely visited it.

LCTS's reference is to a spring of the Virgin Mary, where she rested, drank the water,

and washed the clothes of Jesus whilst on the flight to Egypt. This was two stones'

throw (*duos iactus balliste*) from the cave where Adam and Eve wept, and was probably

the result of a local tradition.[112] No other text mentions this specific cave, but similar

sites crop up throughout the Holy Land and the pilgrim texts.[113] LCTS further

commented that there were too many pilgrimages to enumerate around Hebron,

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[106] Innom. X (1187-1291), p. 106; LCTS (1244-60), p. 360. Filippo (1244-91), p. 238.
[107] Burchard (1274-85), pp. 81–82.
[108] Paul D. A. Harvey, 'Holy Places on Medieval Maps', p. 148.
[109] Pardouns (1258-63), p. 233.
[110] Hec sunt peregrinaciones (1244-99), p. 338. The site can also be found in the twelfth-century Innominatus II, 'Peregrinationes ad Loca Sancta', p. 14.
[111] Pringle, *Churches*, I, p. 29.
[112] LCTS (1244-60), p. 360.
[113] See, for example, the Milk Grotto above; the cave where Mary rested on the flight to Egypt in chapter IV, p. 94 and the stone on which she (or Jesus) rested near Safad, chapter VIII, p. 234.

indicating that the area was seen as particularly holy, or full of additional traditions, although LCTS does list several further Old Testament associations in the area.

The Orthodox monastery of St Chariton lay close to Bethlehem. It held the tomb of the abbot, St Chariton and his monks, and would have been a key pilgrimage location for Orthodox pilgrims. It was included in two Latin Christian pilgrim texts, suggesting further influence from the Orthodox on to the Latin Christian tradition. Thietmar related that when St Chariton died, all the monks with him did too, in a miraculous fashion. Local Saracens tried to burn these bodies, but were unable too. These corpses were then placed in the church crypt.[114]

The final set of holy sites south of Jerusalem were where Mary greeted St Elizabeth, and where John the Baptist was born.[115] In the twelfth century, these events were identified with 'Ain Karim, which is south-west of Jerusalem, and west of the Monastery of the Holy Cross, and this identification seems to have held for the thirteenth century, although the name used at this time was *St Jehan du Boiz*/*Seint Iohan de Boys* ('St John of the Woods').[116]

The position of the description of these sites in the pilgrim texts indicates quite firmly that the 'Ain Karim was not on the main pilgrimage route south towards Bethlehem and Hebron, and that pilgrims made separate trips to reach there. This is because the description of these sites comes after Hebron in the pilgrim texts, rather than after the monastery of the Holy Cross which is what one would expect if pilgrims were following a route to Hebron which included 'Ain Karim. The texts do make it clear that 'Ain Karim was the place intended, as the texts state that the sites were two leagues from Emmaus and from the monastery of the Holy Cross.[117]

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[114] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 29.
[115] Luke 1:39–63.
[116] Pringle, *Churches*, I, p. 30; *Rothelin Continuation*, p. 512; Pardouns (1258-63), p. 233.
[117] Pardouns (1258-63), p. 233; Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 99; Chemins A (1261-65), p. 186. See also *Rothelin Continuation*, p. 512.

In terms of formal structures, some pilgrims recorded seeing the *domus* ('house') of Zechariah, which would have been a church or chapel.[118] Riccoldo, writing towards the end of this period, provides an expanded description which records that there was also a house of Elizabeth and a little river nearby, where Mary and Elizabeth used to meet.[119] This second house would also have been a church. It is not clear who controlled the church associated with the house of Zechariah in the thirteenth century, but the second church, associated with Elizabeth, was part of a monastic complex which had come under the jurisdiction of the Armenian Patriarchate by 1240, if not before.[120] It is possible that the house of Zechariah was also under Armenian control at this time. Regardless, pilgrims would have had access to some formal religious activity, although not that of the Latin rite.

The fact that several of the pilgrim texts record the events, but not the houses, may suggest that this was another site which was rarely visited in reality. *Pardouns*, in its description of this area noted that there were a number of other sites of pilgrimage nearby.[121] Given that the text otherwise does not mention them, it is probable that these other pilgrimage sites were simply the place where Mary greeted Elizabeth, and the house of Zechariah, both of which were associated with the birthplace of St John in the other pilgrim texts.

Jerusalem to the Jordan

This section will discuss the sites to the east of Jerusalem, that is, those sites on the road leading from Jerusalem east to Jericho and the Jordan. The Jordan and the area around it was one of the most popular destinations for pilgrims. In the early part of the twelfth

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[118] Hec sunt peregrinaciones (1244-99), p. 338; Burchard (1274-85), p. 82; Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 62; Pringle, *Churches*, I, p. 30.
[119] Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 62
[120] Pringle, *Churches*, I, pp. 31, 39.
[121] 'e de ileque à ii liwes est Seint Iohan de Boys, e là nasqui seint Iohan le baptist; e là sunt autres pelrynages plusours.' Pardouns (1258-63), p. 233.

century the road to the Jordan (via Jericho) was dangerous for unarmed groups, and attacks along this road contributed to the formation of the Templar military order.[122] Until 1187, there was even a special commander for Jerusalem, who was responsible for the safety of the pilgrims between Jerusalem and the Jordan. The area was under the control of Muslim principalities for all of the thirteenth century, but this did not produce a stabilising effect; both Wilbrand and Riccoldo, writing at either end of the thirteenth century, describe the route in much the same way as the early twelfth-century pilgrims.[123]

However, such descriptions provide an example of one of the main problems with using these pilgrim texts, that is, establishing to what extent descriptions reflect reality. This route was in fact the location for the story of the Good Samaritan, and so the dangers commonly attributed to this area were both biblical and traditional.[124] Wilbrand and Thietmar do specifically say that there were still robbers there during the time of their visit, but it is important to note how biblical events affect descriptions.[125]

The first site on the way to the Jordan, after leaving the Mount of Olives behind, was Bethany.[126] This holy place was mentioned in many twelfth-century pilgrim texts and in the majority of thirteenth-century pilgrim texts as well. The village was the location of the miracle of the resuscitation of Lazarus and of the house of Simon the Leper, where Mary anointed the feet of Jesus, and had been consequently the focus of Palm Sunday processions from Jerusalem intermittently from the fourth century, joining it to the religious life of that city.[127]

A number of sites around and in the village were associated with these two events,

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[122] William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, I, pp. 553–54;Barber, *New Knighthood*, pp. 47–48; Boas, *Jerusalem*, p. 27.
[123] Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 189; Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 52.
[124] Luke 10:30–37.
[125] 'Inde transeuntes uiam difficilem et periculosam uenimus Hiericho...Et uere ipsa uia hodie periculosa est, multos habens latrones.' Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 189; Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 30; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 37.
[126] See chapter VI, pp. 197–98 for more on the route via the Mount of Olives.
[127] Mayer, *Bistümer*, p. 374.

although the pilgrim texts are not always clear to which location they refer, and describe sites as being both inside and outside Bethany. There were at least two formal religious structures to visit in Bethany: the house of Mary and Martha, which was the church of SS Mary and Martha, and the crypt/cave-chapel where Lazarus was buried and resurrected.[128] In addition, pilgrims also noted a field outside Bethany where Mary and Martha met Jesus to beg for Lazarus' life.[129]

The crypt-chapel containing the tomb of Lazarus was sited within Bethany, across a courtyard from the church of SS Mary and Martha, underneath the important church of St Lazarus, which had been restored in the twelfth century and was the burial place of several bishops of Jerusalem.[130] Like many of the churches in the Holy Land, this upper church, which served a Benedictine convent in the twelfth century, was separated from the crypt to allow pilgrims to enter the pilgrimage site without disturbing the nuns.[131] The convent had been founded in 1138 for Iveta, the younger sister of Queen Melisende (daughters of Baldwin II), and was thus an important and prestigious institution, having been endowed with rich estates and expensive chattels (such as silk vestments) by the royal family.[132]

The creation of the convent had led to a remodelling of the religious sites in Bethany, not least to accommodate the defensive architecture required to protect the nuns, and the odd spatial relationship between the three shrines is probably part of the reason why descriptions in the thirteenth-century pilgrim texts can be confused, a situation

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[128] Burchard (1274-85), p. 62.
[129] 'Ante castellum Bethaniae est locus ad jactum lapidis, ubi Martha et Maria occurrerunt Domino pro resuscitatione Lazari.' Innom. IV (1191-1244), p. 26; LCTS (1244-60), pp. 360–62; Burchard (1274-85), p. 62.
[130] Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 189; Pringle, 'Some Pilgrimage Churches', p. 357; Mayer, *Bistümer*, p. 374.
[131] Pringle, *Churches*, I, p. 131.
[132] Queen Melisende Mayer, *Bistümer*, pp. 372–73, 386; Pringle, *Churches*, I, pp. 123–24. Discussion of a possible double monastery can be found in Mayer, *Bistümer*, pp. 399–402 and Pringle, *Churches*, I, p. 124.

worsened by the ruination of the upper church in 1187.[133] The crypt-chapel, however, remained in a relatively good state of repair into the thirteenth century, as the pilgrim texts describe both it and the tomb as being covered in marble.[134] There is no indication that the site was adopted by Eastern or Orthodox Christians during the thirteenth century, and, as the site was subject to Muslim veneration as well, it is just as likely that the site became a mosque.[135] Certainly, the site was a mosque by the end of the fourteenth century.[136]

The church of SS Mary and Martha, close to the crypt-chapel of St Lazarus, was originally built in the fourth century, entirely rebuilt in the sixth century, and was remodelled as part of the development of the area into a Benedictine monastic complex in the twelfth century.[137] Although dedicated to Mary and Martha, by the thirteenth century this building was also being identified as the house of Simon, in which Mary/the sinful woman anointed Jesus and was forgiven.[138] This neatly resolved the contradiction in the Gospels where this incident occurred in both the house of Simon (Matthew, Mark and Luke) and in the house of Mary and Martha (John), and allowed most of the traditions associated with Bethany to be effectively in one site. Furthermore, by the mid-twelfth century it was Mary Magdalene who was being identified with Bethany and the church thus became dedicated to her in a further change to devotional practice which linked the site to more holy traditions.[139] The church was described in pilgrim texts right up to the end of the Latin kingdom, and so was clearly accessible to

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[133] Pringle, *Churches*, I, p. 135.
[134] Innom. IV (1191-1244), p. 26; Burchard (1274-85), p. 62.
[135] Burchard (1274-85), p. 62.
[136] Pringle, *Churches*, I, p. 125.
[137] Pringle, *Churches*, I, pp. 122–23, 126.
[138] Matt. 26:6–1; Mark 14:3–9; Luke 7:36–50; Mayer, *Bistümer*, p. 382.
[139] Andrew Jotischky, 'The Frankish Encounter with the Greek Orthodox in the Crusader States: The Case of Gerard of Nazareth and Mary Magdalene', in *Tolerance and Intolerance: Social Conflict in the Age of the Crusades*, ed. by Michael Gervers and James M. Powell (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2001), pp. 100–114 (p. 106).

pilgrims during this time.[140] The monastery may have been returned briefly to Latin Christian control in 1241, although it is not clear to what extent clergy and the nuns returned to the site, since the monastery definitely was destroyed following the conquest of Jerusalem in 1244.[141] Access to the pilgrimage sites thus was usually mediated by local Muslims; Wilbrand noted that both the crypt-chapel of St Lazarus and the church of SS Mary and Martha were guarded by Saracens during his visit.[142] Pilgrim activity at these sites was the same as elsewhere; Riccoldo describes how his band of pilgrims sang the appropriate gospel passages, just as at other sites.[143]

The religious institution of St Lazarus itself continued to exist in safety at Acre throughout the thirteenth century.[144] A church of *Seint de Lazer de Bethayne* can be found in *Pardouns*, and as a visit to the site was worth eight years and 160 days (one of the higher pardons available), the clergy and nuns either had retained considerable political influence, as might be expected of a royal foundation, or had managed to bring high-quality relics with them from Bethany.[145]

The next site on the road to Jericho which pilgrims might have come across was an Old Testament site, the location of the fortress Doch, where Ptolemy killed his father-in-law Simon Machabeus.[146] The fortress could be identified by a red tower. This site is mentioned by Burchard of Mount Sion, and Riccoldo only; we may have an example here of an author using his own learning to supply a provenance for an eye-catching building or monument which is otherwise unexplained.[147] The nineteenth-century translator of Burchard of Mount Sion, Aubrey Stewart, comments that Doch should be

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[140] Burchard (1274-85), p. 62.

[141] Mayer, *Bistümer*, p. 383.

[142] Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 189.

[143] See chapter III, p. 71. Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 56.

[144] Mayer, *Bistümer*, p. 383.

[145] See chapter IX, p. 251.

[146] 1 Machabees 16:14–18.

[147] Riccoldo (1288-89), 52. Burchard of Mount Sion, *Description of the Holy Land*, trans. by Aubrey Stewart (London: Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1896), p. 56, note 3; Denys Pringle, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: An Archaeological Gazetteer* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 19.

identified with 'Ain Duq, a village north of Jericho at the foot of Mount Quarantana. Pringle identifies 'Ain Duq with the garden of Abraham, discussed later. Both were at the foot of Mount Quarantana.

After Bethany, the next site usually mentioned by the pilgrim texts describing this route was Mount Quarantana, although the site itself was located some distance north of the road which ran through Jericho to the Jordan. Rising 300 metres above the plain, Mount Quarantana would have been seen by pilgrims long before they reached it.[148] Most descriptions of the site in the pilgrim texts were limited to noting that Mount Quarantana was where Jesus fasted for forty days and nights, and/or where he was tempted by the Devil.[149] There is usually nothing in the descriptions to suggest that many pilgrims actually climbed the mountain, and it seems likely that most did not go up Quarantana, but simply saw it on the way to the Jordan. Indeed, Thietmar explicitly noted that ***uidi*** *montem querentium* ('on the left **I saw** Mount Quarantana') as he went to Jericho.[150]

Some pilgrims did make the effort to go on to the mountain however. Wilbrand and Riccoldo describe Mount Quarantana after they have visited Jericho and the Jordan, which is what one might expect in pilgrim accounts arranged in journey order, if pilgrims did visit the mountain.[151] The use of the verb *ascendere* when describing their journey confirms that these pilgrims did actually climb up the mountain, as does their description of the top of the mountain.

Mount Quarantana was the site of a Latin monastery and church under the control of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre during the twelfth century, but all religious were

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[148] Pringle, *Churches*, I, p. 252.

[149] Most texts conflate the two locations, but Burchard makes it clear that the temptation was elsewhere. Burchard (1274-85), p. 58.

[150] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 31. Contrast this with the generalising text B, which states that the pilgrim reached the mountain. 'Item ad perveni montem Querentium', Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 37.

[151] 'reuertebamur Hiericho, et non longe ab illa ascendebamus quendam montem altissimum... Quarennia nuncupatur.' Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 190. Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 54.

expelled following the Muslim conquest of the area in 1187.[152] As many pilgrims did not go up Quarantana, it is difficult to say whether or not monks returned in the thirteenth century, although one guide does note hermits living on the mountain during the mid to second half of the thirteenth century.[153] Crucially however, the guide seems to be referring to individual hermits rather than a fully organised monastery or church, which suggests that the monastery itself was not fully re-established. When Riccoldo visited Quarantana in the years shortly before 1291, he saw a church associated with the hermits' cells. He also commented that *multis Christianis* had convened there, and prayed with him.[154] Perhaps because the area was no longer a borderland (as the area all the way to the coast was controlled by a single polity) it was safer to visit the mountain.

Riccoldo's description of Mount Quarantana provides an insight into pilgrimage practice here at this time. Riccoldo was taken by the Christians on the mountain and shown exactly where Christ was tempted. These Christians were presumably not Latins, as the Latins had been expelled, so this could be an example of the influence of non-Latin Christians. The second half of the description, where Riccoldo describes the view from the place of temptation demonstrates very clearly how pilgrims to the Holy Land attempted not just to follow in the footsteps of Jesus, but also to relive the events as much as possible. Riccoldo described how the view tempted the viewer, and how the group of Christians he was with fended off this temptation with singing and gospel reading.

At the foot of Mount Quarantana was a site known as the garden of St Abraham. The site, which had a large spring, has been identified with 'Ain Duq.[155] It acted as an oasis and rest-place for pilgrims, which is why it was included in the pilgrim text tradition. It

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[152] Bresc-Bautier, *Cartulaire: Saint-Sépulcre*, no. 150. Pringle, *Churches*, I, p. 253.

[153] 'Peregrini et omnes religiosi exemplo Domini principaliter ducti desertum illud desiderabile ut vitam ducerent heremiticam preeligentes in modicis cellulis devotissime militabant.' LCTS (1244-60), p. 364.

[154] Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 54.

[155] Pringle, *Churches*, I, p. 253.

was noted in a number of twelfth-century pilgrim texts, and was protected by the Templars and Hospitallers during this time.[156] It is unlikely there was any formal protection following the Muslim conquest of the area, but pilgrims continued to visit it.[157] The site was identified as the place where Abraham died, leaving behind a palm which was carried by an angel to Mount Sion, and was also identified by one text as the place where he was buried, providing alternative burial site for one of the patriarchs of Hebron.[158] There is no contradiction in the text which includes this however, as its description of Hebron concerns only the resting place of Adam.[159]

Near here was the rivulet or well of Elisha. This place was a location from the Old Testament, where Elisha turned a bitter river into one which was potable, shortly after Elijah was taken up to heaven.[160] In the Old Testament, these events occur just outside Jericho, and the pilgrim descriptions certainly seem to suggest that the location was on the way to Jericho. The site is mainly in pilgrim accounts, suggesting that its inclusion may be the result of the greater learning of his authors.

Thietmar associated another passage from this part of the Old Testament with this site. This described Elisha setting bears on boys who were taunting him for being bald. The Old Testament passage itself locates the event near Bethel, but its textual position next to the Jericho passage may be why Thietmar chose to mention it here.[161]

Close to the garden of Abraham was Jericho, the final site before the Jordan. The settlement (and any holy sites) were ruined for most of the thirteenth century, and it

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[156] Innominatus II, 'Peregrinationes ad Loca Sancta', p. 14; Innominatus V, 'De locis sanctis et populis et bestiis in Palaestina vitam degentibus', in *Itinera*, III, pp. 29–43 (p. 32); Theoderic, 'Libellus de locis sanctis', p. 175; Pringle, *Churches*, I, p. 253.

[157] The Rothelin Continuation also describes the garden, but adds nothing further. *Rothelin Continuation*, p. 511.

[158] Genesis 25: 8–10.

[159] Innom. IV (1191-1244), p. 24. 'Item sub Quarentena est ortus Abraham; morto illo crevit palma quam angelus detulit in montem Sion in transitu Marie Virginis.' LCTS (1244-60), p. 364.

[160] IV Kings 2:19–22.

[161] IV Kings 2: 23–24. Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 31; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 37.

seems to have been primarily a waymarker for pilgrims on the way to the Jordan.[162] There is only one reference to a church in the thirteenth century, which was built on the road into Jericho to commemorate the healing of the blind men by Jesus.[163] It seems likely that this church was ruined for most of the century, like the rest of the settlement; its presence in Innom. III may be a remnant from an earlier text, as the description of Jericho is near the end and the text breaks off shortly afterwards.

Aside from this church, the settlement as a whole was associated with several Old and New Testament traditions. However, it does not seem to have been a focus for pilgrimage and there were no other specific sites associated with these traditions.[164] On the road into Jericho was where Zacheus climbed a sycamore tree to see Jesus; although trees were a focus for pilgrimage during this period and there had been a church and tree here associated with Zacheus until the early twelfth century, one is not mentioned in the the thirteenth-century texts.[165]

The Jordan near Jericho was considered to be the place where Jesus was baptised, and was popular with pilgrims throughout the history of pilgrimage who wished to wash in the waters. The political changes of the thirteenth century made accessing and bathing in this section of river more difficult, but the river retained its importance. Latin Christian pilgrims replicated the life of Christ by bathing in the river, and washed themselves and their clothes in the water.[166] They joined local Christians who also

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[162] 'Subter est locus qui dicitur ortus Abrae et ibi iuxta est locus qui dicitur Ierico. De Ierico usque ad flumen Iordanis.' Innom. X (1187-1291), p. 104; Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 189; Burchard (1274-85), p. 58; Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 52.

[163] Matthew 20:29–30. 'ubi locus est amoenus, abundans vinetis et terra fertilis ubi et Dominus in via coecum clamatem illuminavit. Ibi est ecclesia aedificata, quae vocatur miracula Christi.' Innom. III (1191-1244), p. 20. Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104.7; Hec sunt peregrinaciones (1244-99), p. 336; Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 31; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 37.

[164] Jericho was described as the place where the Battle of Jericho took place and from whence came Rahab the harlot. Joshua 6. Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 31.

[165] Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 189. Thietmar noted that Zacheus came from Jericho. Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 31. Pringle, *Churches*, I, p. 276.

[166] Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or*, p. 226. Albert of Stade emphasises the importance of this ritual in his text by using the imperative, and telling the listener to run from Jericho. 'De Ierico curre et et in Iordane lavare.' Albert of Stade, 'Annales Stadenses', p. 341.

venerated the site.[167] Even in the thirteenth century the river could be quite busy, and both Thietmar and Riccoldo suggest that the Jordan was the site of celebrations particularly at Epiphany, when many Christians arrived to be baptised in the Jordan. Thietmar specifically mentions that these were Greek and Syrian Orthodox Christians with their children, and Riccoldo adds that people sang the Gospel and shouted 'Kyrieelesion'.[168] Pilgrims were not the only ones to use the river however, and in some cases the other users could be hostile. Wilbrand described bathing in the river while Arabs on the other side threw mud into it.[169]

As well as washing in the water, pilgrims took relics from the river. In the same way that the Polos were asked to bring oil from the lamps of the Holy Sepulchre to Qubilay Khān, in 1275 Rabban Sauma, a Nestorian Christian, was asked to dip garments into the Jordan for him, before touching them to the Holy Sepulchre.[170] This would create a tertiary relic, and it is not unreasonable to assume that a similar practice was carried out by any Latin Christians who reached the Jordan.

The place of baptism had a chapel in the early period of Christian pilgrimage to the Jordan, but this was ruined by the end of the twelfth century, and remained so throughout the thirteenth century.[171] The only formal structure which was mentioned by the pilgrim texts was the place where John the Baptist had lived.[172] This was the monastery church of St John the Baptist, located close to the Jordan and associated with a monastery of Greek monks.[173] The monastery was fortified, and seems to have been

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[167] Thietmar A (1217-18), pp. 31–32; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 38; LCTS (1244-60), p. 362; Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 54. Pringle, *Churches*, I, p. 276.

[168] Thietmar A (1217-18), pp. 31–32; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 38; Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 54.

[169] Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 189.

[170] Peter Jackson, 'Marco Polo and his "Travels"', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, 61 (1998), 95–101 (p. 95). Jackson suggests that this episode inspired Rustichello da Pisa to insert his own version for the Polos, but the similarity between the two could just as easily be a reflection of Mongol policy or personal interest on the part of Qubilay Khān.

[171] Pringle, *Churches*, I, p. 109, and II, p. 241.

[172] Hec sunt peregrinaciones (1244-99), p. 336; Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 52.

[173] Pringle, *Churches*, I, p. 241; *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 79.

easily defensible, making it an ideal rest-stop for pilgrims, if required.[174] The church was destroyed when Wilbrand visited the site at the start of the thirteenth century, but he was evidently mistaken, since Thietmar visited at a similar time, and commented on the beauty of the church. [175] Burchard, writing later, noted that the site had a chapel.[176] Riccoldo refers to a *monumentum* or *monasterium* rather than *ecclesia*, recognising that it was a monastery church; nevertheless it is clear that the site was not ruined when he visited.[177] Filippo, showing the influence of local tradition, added that the Abbot Zosimas had lived near to the church of St John, during the time that he found St Mary the Egyptian in the desert.[178]

Some pilgrim accounts also link the area around the river to Old Testament events. These include: the dry crossing of the Jordan by the Israelites; the dry crossing by Elijah and Elisha; the place of circumcision by Joshua (Gilgal); the valley of Achor; the taking up of Elijah; and the place where Naaman the Syrian was purified.[179] None of these were associated with specific sites in the text, which suggests that they were not the focus of pilgrimage activity. Several also include information on the geography, flora and fauna of the area, and where the Jordan originates.[180] Finally, it is worth noting that pilgrims also accessed the Jordan in Galilee, and it is possible that pilgrims who could not reach the place of baptism, washed here. Oliver of Paderborn describes washing in the Jordan here, as part of a raid into Galilee which also included seeing the holy sites. It was probably a practical stop, rather than a pilgrimage activity, but nonetheless it

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[174] Pringle, *Churches*, I, pp. 242–43.

[175] It is possible Wilbrand was referring to the chapel at the place of Baptism. Pringle, *Churches*, I, p. 109. Thietmar A (1217-18), pp. 31–32; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 38; Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 189.

[176] Burchard (1274-85), p. 58.

[177] Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 52.

[178] Filippo (1244-91), p. 240.

[179] Thietmar A (1217-18), pp. 31, 32; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 38; Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 189; LCTS (1244-60), p. 362; Burchard (1274-85), p. 58.

[180] Thietmar A (1217-18), pp. 31, 32; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 38; LCTS (1244-60), p. 362; Burchard (1274-85), p. 58

opens up the possibility of alternative pilgrimage sites on the Jordan.[181]

One final place is mentioned in both the pilgrim texts and chronicles in the area south of Jerusalem: the Dead Sea. This site is usually described in terms of its association with Sodom and Gomorrah, and the story of Lot, although odd miraculous traditions are also reported, along with some geographical descriptions. The Dead Sea was supposed to have submerged the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, and Lot's wife, as a pillar of salt, stood nearby.[182] The Dead Sea was often mentioned as a marvel or a strange phenomenon for the traveller to see, rather than as a place of religious significance. Thietmar noted that the Sea had an annual deadly wind, which periodically killed many people, and the Chronicle of Ernoul noted that the sea was very bitter and salty, and that for this reason no fish lived there.[183] Two of the Latin pilgrim texts, and the account of Jacques de Vitry reported that trees next to the sea bore beautiful red apples, which turned to dust once you bit into them. [184] This has all the appearance of being a local tradition, but was mentioned by Fulcher of Chartres in his description of the First Crusade; the earliest reference to these apples comes from Josephus' description of the Dead Sea, written in first century.[185] The Dead Sea's inclusion in the texts and chronicles of this period was thus undoubtedly linked to the developing thirteenth-century interest in *mirabilia*, and its description is a forerunner of the later marvellous travel accounts. It was not a focus for pilgrimage, but was sufficiently interesting to be

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[181] Oliverus, 'Historia Damiatina', p. 164.

[182] Thietmar A (1217-18), pp. 32–33; Thietmar B (1218-91), pp. 38–39; Wilbrand A (1211-12), pp. 189–90. See also Oliverus, 'Historia regum Terre Sancte', p. 91; Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or*, p. 224.

[183] Thietmar A (1217-18), pp. 32–33; Thietmar B (1218-91), pp. 38–39; *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 68.

[184] Thietmar A (1217-18), pp. 32–33; Thietmar B (1218-91), pp. 38–39; Burchard (1274-85), p. 61. Thietmar also adds another type of tree to this area, one which has a smelly sap that cannot be washed off, once it is on clothes or skin. Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or*, p. 224.

[185] Flavius Josephus, *Josephus: The Jewish War, Books IV-VII*, 9 vols. (London: Heinemann, 1928), III, pp. 143-44. The tale was repeated in Fulcher of Chartres' account of the First Crusade. Fulcher of Chartres, 'Historia Hierosolymitana', p. 379. J. Penrose Harland, 'Sodom and Gomorrah: The Destruction of the Cities of the Plain', *The Biblical Archaeologist*, 6 (1943), 41–54 (pp. 49–51).

pointed out to pilgrims in the area.

Jerusalem to Samaria

The only site to be mentioned on the route north out of Jerusalem was Bethel. This was considered to be the place where Jacob fell asleep and saw the ladder by which angels ascended and descended from heaven.[186] The stone on which he fell asleep was apparently shown to visitors still, along with the tomb of Deborah.[187] Samuel ben Samson visited Bethel in 1210, and noted that he saw the place where Abraham erected his altar.[188] Nonetheless, the village does not seem to have been often visited by Latin Christian pilgrims, since the site was rarely mentioned in the pilgrim texts. Furthermore, Thietmar described the village as part of his description of the area around the Jordan and Dead Sea, and rather than as part of a trip north from Jerusalem to Samaria, as one might otherwise expect, suggesting that he did not actually visit the site. In the twelfth century the village had a crusader chapel which functioned as a parish church, but this was not mentioned in the thirteenth century, suggesting that it fell into ruin or underwent conversion to another use.[189]

Summary

Pilgrims travelling in Judaea visited a mix of sites. The majority were of biblical origin, which is not surprising given that this was the heartland of Latin Christian pilgrimage, but in particular there were far more Old Testament sites than in other regions, almost on a par with the New Testament sites. Pilgrims additionally visited quite a few sites which were not biblical but had traditions which linked to biblical events or personages, such as the garden of Abraham or the Milk Grotto. There seems to have been greater

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[186] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 32; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 38; Genesis 28:11-19.
[187] Burchard (1274-85), p. 60. Deborah was a wet nurse for Rebecca, the mother of Jacob. Genesis 35: 8.
[188] 'Rabbi Samuel Ben Samson', p. 105.
[189] Pringle, *Churches*, I, p. 104.

opportunity to interact with non-Latin Christians, and pilgrims visited monasteries run by a mix of non-Latin Christians such as the Georgian monastery of the Holy Cross, and the Orthodox monastery of Mar Elias. Furthermore, the tombs of the Patriarchs at Hebron were controlled by Muslims and venerated by Jews, adding the possibility of influence from non-Christian traditions.

The region would have had many relics prior to 1187, but even after the movement of religious institutions and their relics to Acre, a number remained. Pilgrims could see the stump of the tree which became the Cross, and for some of this period could visit the manger of Jesus at Bethlehem. The swaddling cloths, in which Jesus was wrapped, were also at the church of the Nativity for a while. They could collect tertiary relics from the Milk Grotto, the Jordan and the field of red earth from which Adam was made. Although miracles were not the primary motive for pilgrimage in this area, in line with belief for other sections of the Holy Land, one site could offer miracles to pilgrims. The church of the Nativity in Bethlehem was said to cure all illnesses of the mind and demoniacs, and did 'other miracles' on a daily basis.[190]

Descriptions of this area also include a number of marvels, such as the regenerating red earth from which Adam was made and the apples which turned to dust near the Dead Sea, as part of the trend which culminated in the *mirabilia* of the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century traveller accounts.

This region, because of its long history of pilgrimage, had some difficulties regarding identification and duplication of sites. Emmaus in particular had two locations in this period, although the twelfth-century location still seemed to be favoured. The Shepherds' Field appeared to confuse pilgrims,who seemingly located it in two places, and the sites of Bethany were equally complex.

Travel around the region was not as easy as in the twelfth century, but many of the

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[190] Innom. III (1191-1244), pp. 18.

same sites were visited, such as the place of baptism at the Jordan. However, this region did see a number of developments in the thirteenth century. More sites of non-Latin Christian origin were noted by the pilgrims. Bethnoble begins to be mentioned for the first time during this period, because of a change to the route taken by pilgrims. Montjoie was also mentioned more often in the pilgrim texts, perhaps because Jerusalem was more difficult to reach, and pilgrims spent more time outside the city.[191] South of Jerusalem, there were a number of pilgrimage sites which were mentioned first in the thirteenth century, all of them accessible from the Jerusalem to Hebron road. This suggests that pilgrims to this region in the thirteenth century were focused along the main routes from Jaffa to Jerusalem and down to Bethlehem. These were the routes with access often guaranteed by treaty, and were therefore easier for pilgrims to reach. Like most of the regions, it is difficult to outline a chronology of changes which took place within the thirteenth century, but presumably access to Judaea was easier and more popular during the truces which specifically guaranteed access to Jerusalem and Bethlehem.

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[191] See chapter VI, p. 154.

Asnerie

St Stephen's Gate

St Anne

Probatic Pool

Praetorium

tomb of Virgin Mary

St Chariton

Ascension

Temple
Mount

Gethsemane

St Pelagia

Holy Sepulchre

St Mary Latin
/the Great

Pater Noster

carnerium leonis

Bethphage

Hospital of
St John

rock-cut tombs

tower of David

martyrdom of
St James

St James
St John Chrysostom

Holy Sion
Praetorium

Gallicantu

Brook Cedron

pool of Siloam

Akeldama

Map 12: Jerusalem and Environs[1]

[1] Based on map of Jerusalem in *Theoderich's Description of the Holy Places*, trans. by Aubrey Stewart (London: Adelphi, 1891), *frontispiece*.

Table 4: Sites in Jerusalem: by pilgrim text, with page reference

	Innom. X (1187-1291)	Innom. IX (1187-1291)	Innom. III (1191-1244)	Innom. IV (1191-1244)	Wilbrand A (1211-12)	Thietmar A (1217-18)	Thietmar B (1218-91)	Sains Pelerinages (1229-55)	LCTS (1244-60)	Filippo (1244-91)	Hec sunt Peregrinaciones (1244-99)	Chemins B (1254-68)	Pardouns (1258-63)	Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s)	Chemins A (1261-65)	Burchard (1274-85)	Riccoldo (1288-89)
Church of the Holy Sepulchre	102	92	18	24/26	185-87	26	34	104.4	346	224	334	193	230	93	182	70-72	48/68
Monastery of St Mary Latin/Convent of St Mary the Great	102	92	-	-	-	-	-	104.5	-	-	334	193	230	94	183	-	-
Church of St Chariton	102	92	-	-	-	-	-	104.5	-	-	-	193	230	94	182	-	-
Hospital of St John	102	92	-	-	-	-	-	104.5	-	-	-	193	230	94	183	67	-
Temple Mount	102	92	-	24	-	26	34	104.5	352-54	232	336	193-94	230-31	94-95	183-84	65-66	52
Church of St Anne	104	92	-	24	-	-	-	104.5	356	234	336	-	232	96	184	66	64
Probatic Pool	102	92	-	24	188	-	-	104.5	356	234	336	194	231	95-96	184	66	64

- Birkat Isra'il		92	-	24	188	-	-	104.5	356	-	-	194	231	95-96	184	66	-
- at St Anne		92	-	-	-	-	-	104.5	-	234	336	194	-	95-96	-	66	
Praetorium	104	94	-	24	-	26	34	104.6	348/356	226/234	336	194	231	96	184	72	64
- near St Anne		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	356	234	336	-	-	-	-	-	64
- on Mount Sion	104	94	-	-	-	26	34	104.6	348	226	-	194	231	96	184	72	50
Tower of David	104	94	-	-	185	-	-	104.5	356	234	-	-	231	-	-	64-66, 72-73, 78	48
Church of St James	104	94	-	-	-	-	-	104.5	348	226	334	-	231	-	-	72	48
Chapel of John Chrysostom	104	94	-	-	-	-	-	104.5	-	-	-	-	231	-	-	-	-
Church of Holy Sion	104	94	-	24	188-89	26-27	34	104.6	348	226	334	194	231	96	184	72	48-50
Church of St John the Evangelist	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	348	228	334	-	-	-	-	-	-
Akeldama	104	94	-	24/26	187	27	34	104.6	350	230	334	195	231	96	184	69 / 76	52
Church of Gallicantus	-	-	-	-	-	27	35	104.6	348/350	230	334	-	231	-	-	-	50
Pool of Siloam	104	94	-	24/26	-	-	-	104.6	350	230	334	195	231	96	184	64/67/69	62
Tomb of the Virgin Mary	104	94	20	24/26	187	-	-	104.7	352	232	336	195	232	97	185	68	64
Tomb/Martyrdom of James	-	92	-	-	-	-	-	-	352	232	336	194	-	95	183	-	52
Rock-cut tombs	104	94	-	-	-	-	-	-	352	232	-	-	-	97	185	69	52

Table 4: Sites in Jerusalem: by pilgrim text, with page reference (cont'd)

	Innom. X (1187-1291)	Innom. IX (1187-1291)	Innom. III (1191-1244)	Innom. IV (1191-1244)	Wilbrand A (1211-12)	Thietmar A (1217-18)	Thietmar B (1218-91)	Sains Pelerinages (1229-55)	LCTS (1244-60)	Filippo (1244-91)	Hec sunt Peregrinaciones (1244-99)	Chemins B (1254-68)	Pardouns (1258-63)	Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s)	Chemins A (1261-65)	Burchard (1274-85)	Riccoldo (1288-89)
Church of the Ascension	104	94	-	24	188	27	34	104.7	352	232	336	195	232	97	185	75	56
Tomb of Pelagia	104	94	-	24	-	-	-	104.7	352	232	336	196	232	97	185	75	-
Church of the Pater Noster	104	94	-	-	187	-	-	104.7	352	230	-	196	232	97	185	75	-
Garden of Gethsemane	104	94	-	24/26	187	27	34	104.7	350	230	336	195	232	97	185	68-69	64
Bethphage	-	-	-	-	188	-		-	352	232	336	-	232	97	185	62	56
Mount of Galilee	-	94	-	-	-	-	-	-	360	240	336	195	-	-	184	-	56
Martyrdom of St Stephen (N)	102	92	-	-	184-85	26	33	-	346	-	-	192	230	-	-	65/74	-
Martyrdom of St Stephen (E)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	356	234	336	-	-	-	-	-	64
St Stephen's tomb	-	-	-	-	-	27	34	-	350	228	334	-	-	-	-	-	-
Carnerium leonis	-	-	-	-	-	27	35	-	-	234	-	-	-	-	-	-	58

The area of 'Jerusalem', for the purpose of this analysis, encompasses much of the modern city of Jerusalem. For the medieval pilgrim, Jerusalem included not only the area within the medieval city walls, but also the valleys and mountains directly surrounding the city. Jerusalem was sited in the Judaean Hills, a mountainous region some distance from the sea; the nearest port was Jaffa, but during the thirteenth century pilgrims more commonly arrived in the Holy Land at Acre, some distance away, necessitating travel along the coast to Jaffa before ascending to the city.

The Franks controlled Jerusalem between 1229 and 1244, following the Treaty of Jaffa and Tell Ajul between Frederick II and al-Malik al-Kāmil. Control of the city did not include the Temple Mount, and it is not clear to what extent religious and other institutions chose to re-inhabit the city.[1] The fortifications of the city were ruined, which would have made many wary of returning to the city, surrounded as it was by Muslim territory. There was a brief break in Frankish control between 1239 and 1241, after al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, Ayyūbid ruler of Damascus (1227-1229) and Kerak (1227-1250), and nephew to al-Malik al-Kāmil, briefly occupied the city and destroyed some of the fortifications, but Frankish control resumed from 1241 until 1244. The Franks expelled the Muslim population in 1243, but full control of the city ended in 1244 when Khwārazmians, a nomadic people fleeing from the Mongols, raided the city.[2] Very little was changed in Jerusalem during this second period of Frankish rule, with the exception of the citadel around the Tower of David which was rebuilt at this time, and the church of the Holy Sepulchre, which was repaired and re-blessed.[3]

Access to the city whilst not under Frankish control was guaranteed in some treaties, such as the 1272 treaty between Lord Edward of England and the Mamlūks. Pilgrims

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[1] Pahlitzsch, 'The People of the Book', p. 435.

[2] Pahlitzsch, 'People of the Book', p. 437; Dan Bahat, 'Crusader Jerusalem', in *Knights of the Holy Land*, pp. 71–81 (p. 77). Boas, *Jerusalem*, pp. 1, 20.

[3] 'Les gestes des Chiprois, II: Phelippe de Nevaire, Estoire de la Guerre qui fu entre l'Empereor Frederic & John d'Ibelin', in *Les gestes des Chiprois*, pp. 25–138 (p. 77); *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 14; Edbury, 'New Text: Annales', p. 153.

could also acquire safe-conduct passes from the rulers.[4] Judging by the pilgrim texts and

chronicles, access to the holy sites, at least to those outside the city walls, was possible

for pilgrims for much of the thirteenth century although mediated through Muslim

custodians and non-Latin Christian clergy. Latin pilgrims, even when it was possible to

go into the city, were not able to freely explore within the city walls, and in general the

pilgrim experience in Jerusalem was far more limited than before.[5] In addition, the city

was not physically the same as that left by the Latin Christians in 1187; one of the first

acts of Saladin had been to convert many of the churches into mosques and madrasas, in

a process that continued to occur across the thirteenth century.[6] Some churches

remained, of course, but these had their Latin clergy removed and replaced by Greek

Orthodox (mostly Arabic-speaking) clergy and other, Eastern Christian, denominations.[7]

Jerusalem's central role in Latin Christian pilgrimage made it an essential part of any

pilgrim text, but access to the city was varied and intermittent. It is difficult to ascertain

therefore, to what extent its holy sites were included in pilgrim texts in order to be

comprehensive in coverage, rather than because pilgrims were able to visit them.

Descriptions which refer to the contemporary state of the city are mostly found in the

pilgrimage accounts, rather than the *itineraria* which tended to focus only on the sacred

aspects of the sites. Changes to the standard descriptions in *itineraria* can be taken as

evidence not only for the continuation of pilgrimage to that area, but also for

development and change in practice; however, evidence for continuing practices is

harder to acquire. The pilgrim accounts are clearer and more reliable about which

sections of the city were accessible, so these are the only texts which can demonstrate

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[4] For more on this, see chapter III, p. 59.

[5] Boas, *Jerusalem*, p. 18.

[6] Folda, *Crusader Art*, pp. 25, 28.

[7] Boas, *Jerusalem*, pp. 16–17, 19; Andrew Jotischky, 'The Fate of the Greek Orthodox Church in Jerusalem at the End of the Twelfth Century', in *Patterns of the Past, Prospects for the Future: the Christian Heritage of the Holy Land*, ed. by Thomas Hummel, Ulf Carmesund and Kervork Hintlian (London: Melisende, 1999), pp.179–194 (pp. 182–83). See pp. 156–57 for discussion of this for the Holy Sepulchre.

where pilgrimage does not change. Riccoldo, for example, described Jerusalem as 'city of ruin and destruction' and Wilbrand's description of Mount Sion suggested that he was not able to reach the holy sites in this area.[8]

A number of the texts associated with the continuations of William of Tyre include a descriptive section commonly referred to as 'The City of Jerusalem'. This text, according to the notes given by the anonymous compilers of the continuations and associated chronicles, was written to describe the situation of the city just prior to its capture by Saladin in 1187.[9] The text notes, among many others, the position of the shops of Latin goldsmiths and drapers, the convent of St Mary the Great, and the abbey of St Mary the Latin, all of which disappeared after 1187; furthermore, the version in the Rothelin Continuation specifically stated that the description which followed was of the city prior to its destruction in 1187.[10] The anonymous authors add comments which clearly note the differences between pre- and post- 1187 holy sites; for example, they note that after 1187, pilgrims were often forced to use stables outside the city for accommodation.[11] These additions provide useful additional information, and confirm practices which took place at the time.

Although there is no evidence for a *via sacra* as was seen during the fourteenth century, the pilgrim texts generally follow a similar descriptive scheme. This scheme will be adopted for this chapter. This is a smaller scale version of what the texts do for the Holy Land as a whole; they pick one main site/town and describe everything in that area before moving on to the next. In Jerusalem this scheme manifests itself as five main areas: the Holy Sepulchre and environs; the Temple Mount and environs; Mount Sion; the Valley of Jehosaphat; and the Mount of Olives.

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[8] 'ruine et destructionis', Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 48. 'Ex predicta eminencia oliueti perspeximus montem Sion…In summo illius.' Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 242.
[9] Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p. 32.
[10] *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 193, 201; *Rothelin Continuation*, pp. 490, 493–94, 501.
[11] For more on this, see chapter III, p. 67. *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 199–200; *Rothelin Continuation*, pp. 499–500.

The Holy Sepulchre and Environs

The Holy Sepulchre was the holiest site in Christendom as far as the Latin Christians were concerned. In the pilgrim texts it was usually the first site to be mentioned, even when, as in the case of Riccoldo, access to the site was not possible. He describes how he went first to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, on arrival at the city, but was turned away by the Muslim guardians.[12] Indeed, pilgrims visiting the Holy Sepulchre during times of Muslim rule encountered several access issues. The first was that pilgrims were escorted to and from the church by guides, who kept a close check on the pilgrims by counting them.[13] Access to the church of the Holy Sepulchre itself was reduced by blocking some entrances and reducing the size of others.[14] Entering the church was usually only possible after payment of a fee. Saladin had removed the ten bezant fee as part of his 1192 treaty with Richard the Lionheart, but the fee had been reintroduced by the time Wilbrand visited in 1211-12, since he was asked to pay eight and a half drachmas to the guards before being allowed to enter.[15] Thietmar also makes reference to payment, although he implies this only gained you limited access to the church.[16] Finally, the time which pilgrims could spend in the church seems to have been limited, as Wilbrand states that he saw the chapel of St Helena (see below) from afar but was hurried out of the church and then the walls of Jerusalem by the Saracen guides before he could visit it properly.[17]

Latin Christian pilgrims shared the church of the Holy Sepulchre in the thirteenth century with a variety of different Christian denominations. Although the shrine church was initially closed by Saladin and threatened with destruction, it was preserved and its

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[12] 'iuimus ad ecclesiam sepulchri Domini nostri…non potuimus intrare nolentibus sarracenis.' Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 48.

[13] Wilbrand A (1211-12), pp. 185–87; *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 200.

[14] Boas, *Jerusalem,* p. 18

[15] Wilbrand A (1211-12), pp. 186v87. Boas, *Jerusalem*, p. 18; Folda, *Crusader Art*, p. 26.

[16] 'Ecclesia Dominici sepulchri et locus passionis...clausa existit, nisi forte gracia oblationum peregrinis aperiatur.' Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 26; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 34.

[17] Wilbrand A (1211-12), pp. 186–87.

seems likely that the local Arabic-speaking Greek Orthodox community were the first to be permitted access.[18] The Georgian clergy were permitted back into the church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1192, and were given tax exemption and permission to repair the shrines, as well being exempt from entrance fees.[19] In the same year, Isaac II Angelos unsuccessfully requested from Saladin the return of both the church of the Holy Sepulchre and the fragment of the True Cross to the Byzantine government and its nominated priests.[20] The Greek Orthodox Patriarchate itself was eventually returned to Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre around 1206-7, and the church had Coptic clergy and pilgrims, Syrian Orthodox (non-Chalcedonian) pilgrims, and at least one Ethiopian monk by 1237.[21] Wilbrand noted that within the church the only clergy during his visit were four *Suriani* priests, who were not allowed to leave the building.[22] This suggests that during the early part of the thirteenth century, Latin pilgrims were probably unable to hear the Latin rite, and may not have been able to take part in formal religious ceremonies in the church. Thietmar describes the church as *sine luminaribus, sine honore, sine reuerentia* ('without light, honour or reverence') which is probably rhetoric on his part, but may indicate that even the priests seen by Wilbrand had been removed by 1217.[23] The presence of non-Latin denominations would have continued throughout the period 1229-1244, when the Latin Christians had political control of the city, as not enough of the clergy returned to Acre to oust fully the other denominations.[24]

Although repairs to Christian sites under Muslim government were frequently

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[18] Jotischky, 'The Fate of the Greek Orthodox Church in Jerusalem', pp. 192–193.
[19] Lucy Ann Hunt, 'Eastern Christian Art and Culture in the Ayyubid and Early Mamlūk Periods: Cultural Convergence between Jerusalem, Greater Syria and Egypt', in *Ayyubid Jerusalem*, pp. 327–347 (p. 328). Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or*, p. 322.
[20] Jotischky, 'The Fate of the Greek Orthodox Church in Jerusalem', pp. 182–183.
[21] Pahlitzsch, 'People of the Book', pp. 437–439; Nikolas Jaspert, *The Crusades* (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 111–12.
[22] *Suriani* here refers to Arabic-speaking Orthodox Christians who used Syriac as their liturgical language. The Orthodox community had been present in the church from 1206. Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 186; Folda, *Crusader Art*, p. 24. See also p. 55, note 45.
[23] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 26; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 34.
[24] Pahlitzsch, 'People of the Book', p. 437.

forbidden, the Holy Sepulchre seems to have remained in relatively good condition throughout the thirteenth-century, although the church suffered some physical damage during the attack of the Khwārazmians on Jerusalem in 1244. There was probably no bell, since Saladin had broken it after his capture of the city, but when the pilgrim texts do occasionally describe the contemporary state of the church, they indicate that much of the marble, gold and mosaic was still in place. Wilbrand commented on the marble tablets and golden figurines which decorated the church, and Innom. III noted the marble of the doors (presumably the door frames).[25] However, pilgrim descriptions of the holy sites within the church indicate a level of confusion and duplication (also reflected in the wider Jerusalem area) which is probably from the break in the Latin Christian pilgrimage tradition that occurred as a result of the expulsion of the Latin clergy in 1187, despite the fact that there was continuity in liturgical observance via the Greek Orthodox clergy.

Within the church, usually the first place visited was Calvary, the site of Jesus's crucifixion. This site was located close to the church's southern entrance, and was a raised platform reached by ascending stairs. The pilgrim texts comment on the fact that pilgrims could see (and in some cases touch) the opening in the rock where the Cross was placed, and a crack in the rock created when Jesus's blood fell onto it.[26] Several texts note the tradition that Adam was buried below Calvary, and many of these also suggest that the blood of Jesus went through the cracked rock onto his head.[27] The thirteenth-century pilgrim texts explain this tradition no further, but earlier pilgrims such as Saewulf and the Abbot Daniel noted that the blood dripped onto Adam and thus

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[25] Innom. III (1191-1244), p. 18; Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 186.
[26] Innom. III (1191-1244), p. 18; Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 186.
[27] Innom. X (1187-1291), p. 102; Innom. IX (1187-1291), p. 92; Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104.4; LCTS (1244-60), p. 346; Filippo (1244-91), p. 224; Hec sunt peregrinaciones (1244-99), p. 334; Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s) p. 93; Chemins A (1261-65), p. 182.

baptised and redeemed him.[28] The belief that Adam was buried under the site of the crucifixion of Christ, albeit post-biblical, is attested in sources as early as Origen, although there is some debate as to whether Origen's claim is correct that this tradition is of Jewish origin. A tomb and a chapel dedicated to Adam were included in descriptions of the church of the Holy Sepulchre from the eighth and ninth centuries although these had disappeared from the Latin Christian pilgrim text tradition by the twelfth century.[29] Adam's burial place was also located in Hebron, with the other biblical Patriarchs.[30]

Calvary had a second tradition attached to it. It was considered to be the site of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, which was thus neatly located in the same place as the event it prefigured (the sacrifice of Jesus).[31] This tradition dates from the period of the sixth-century transfer of Temple Mount associations to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and was included in texts such as the pilgrim accounts by Theodosius and Antoninus of Piacenza.[32] Although there is thought to have been a movement of traditions back to the Temple Mount during the twelfth century (see below), several twelfth-century pilgrim texts maintain the link to Calvary, and equally, some of the thirteenth-century pilgrim texts maintain Abraham's sacrifice as the Temple Mount. Two thirteenth-century texts include both traditions.[33] The link was of particular interest to

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[28] Saewulf, pp. 65–66; Daniel the Abbot, p. 129.

[29] The redemption of Adam through the blood and water of Jesus is present in apocrypha relating to Adam from at least the sixth century. See, for example, *The Book of the Cave of Treasures*, trans. by E.A. Wallis Budge (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1927), pp. 231–32. Bellarmino Bagatti, 'Notes on the Iconography of Adam under Calvary', *essays SBF (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum)*, 2007, 1–19 (p. 2); Joan E. Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places: The Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins* (Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 127–28.

[30] See the discussion on Adam in chapter V, p. 117. Noting the burial of Adam under Golgotha, did not however preclude authors from also noting the tradition at Hebron. See, for example, Filippo (1244-91), pp. 224, 238.

[31] Innom. IX (1187-1291), p. 92; Chemins B (1254-68), p. 193.

[32] Robert Ousterhout, 'The Temple, the Sepulchre, and the Martyrion of the Savior', *Gesta*, 29 (1990), 44–53, p. 47; Isabel Speyart van Woerden, 'The Iconography of the Sacrifice of Abraham', *Vigiliae Christianae*, 15 (1961), 214–55 (p. 239); Theodosius, *De situ terrae sanctae*, p. 19.

[33] See below, pp. 173–74 for more details. 2 Chronicles 3: 1 locates the sacrifice on Mount

Orthodox Christianity, and the thirteenth-century inclusion may be the result of the resumption of closer ties between Latin and non-Latin pilgrims.[34]

The space underneath Calvary was the location for the burial of the kings of Jerusalem. *Pardouns* states that there were seven kings buried near to Calvary, one of whom was Godfrey of Bouillon, and effigies of both him and Baldwin I were located in the chapel under Calvary until 1810.[35] Holy sites were rarely described with reference to recent events or figures, although this particular association was also noted by the twelfth-century pilgrim Theoderic.[36] Its inclusion might indicate a greater interest in the reality of the church of the Holy Sepulchre's geography or a new type of pilgrimage site.

There were several other sites near Calvary. One of the most confusing was the column of flagellation, to which Jesus was bound and then whipped, prior to crucifixion. This is because there were alternative columns of flagellation not only elsewhere in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, but also elsewhere in Jerusalem. The multiplication of sites seems to have been, in part, the result of the tension between the tendency for sites associated with the Passion to be in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the tradition linking the column with the Praetorium of Pilate, which was considered to have been elsewhere.[37] The column was mentioned as being in the church of the Holy Sepulchre in earlier pilgrim texts, so the tradition was not new to the thirteenth century. Furthermore, given the ubiquity of columns as architectural features,

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Moria, the Temple Mount. Speyart van Woerden, 'The Iconography of the Sacrifice of Abraham', p. 239. Innom. X (1187-1291), p. 92; Chemins B (1254-68), p. 193; Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 93.

[34] The association can be found in Orthodox pilgrim texts and icons from an early period, and the theological explanation originates from Orthodox writers such as John Chrysostom. Kurt Weitzmann, 'Representational Arts of Palestine', pp. 46–47. Weitzmann indicates that the Golgotha association was Christian, and the Temple Mount association was Jewish and Christian.

[35] Pardouns (1258-63), p. 230. See also Innom. X (1187-1291), p. 102 and Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 186. Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *The Holy Land: An Oxford Archaeological Guide* (Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 40.

[36] Theoderic, 'Libellus de locis sanctis', p. 154.

[37] See p. 179.

it is not surprising that there were so many candidates.

The first column seems to have been part of an altar near to Calvary. It is usually described in the text between Calvary and descriptions of the chapel of St Helen. This column was relatively small, at least by the time of Riccoldo, who described it as a 'partial column'.[38] Burchard noted that the column was part of an altar, but made of a dark porphyritic stone which looked as if it was stained with blood. He was the only author to attempt to rationalise the column's location, as he explained that it was brought from the house of Pilate. This column can probably be identified with the modern-day 'column of derision', which is located under an altar in the small Greek chapel of derision behind Calvary. The modern name associates the column with one on which Jesus sat while he was being mocked prior to crucifixion.

Two pilgrim texts describe the column of flagellation near to the prison of Jesus, on the northern side of the church. That this is a different column is made clear by a further two pilgrim texts, which specifically note that there were two columns of flagellation in the church. One they describe as being beneath an altar, and another as being smaller, and located on the 'left' side of the church.[39] The second column might be the modern 'column of flagellation', shown by the Franciscans in their chapel on the northern side of the church. Equally, the pieces of column displayed in the modern church are quite small and moveable, so may have been anywhere prior to their final resting place. Neither text expresses any preference for a particular column being the correct one.

Another confusing site, located close to Calvary, and also frequently one of the first to be described by pilgrim texts, was the place of anointing/centre of the world. The place of anointing was considered to be where Jesus was laid by Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus when they prepared his body for burial; currently, this site is

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[38] 'partem columpne.' Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 68. See also: Innom. X (1187-1291), p. 102; Innom. IX (1187-1291), p. 92; Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 186 (partial column); Pardouns (1258-63), p. 230; Burchard (1274-85), p. 71.
[39] 'in sinistra parte ecclesie.' Filippo (1244-91), p. 224; LCTS (1244-60), p. 348.

represented by the stone of unction, and is located close to the base of Calvary.[40] However, this marker stone has only been in place since 1810.[41] The centre of the world was considered to be the geographical centre, and in the modern church is considered to be separate to the stone of unction, being located in the centre of the choir. During the thirteenth century however, these two sites were frequently (but not always) conflated in the texts of pilgrims. Such a conflation seems far more possible when one realises that, prior to the relatively recent erection of the wall around the Greek Orthodox Catholicon in the centre of the church there would have been a sight line between Golgotha and the centre of the choir and the two would have seemed much closer together than they currently do. The issue is further complicated by the fact that although the centre of the world was marked in the centre of the courtyard (later choir) of the church of the Holy Sepulchre from the seventh century, early church Fathers (such as Jerome) named Golgotha as the centre of the world. This was a Christian development of the long-standing Jewish belief that named the Temple Mount as the centre of the world.[42] As far as the canons of the Holy Sepulchre were concerned, the compass, or centre of the world, was located in the centre of the choir. Their right to offerings placed on it was confirmed by Celestine III in 1196, after the Third Crusade.[43] This confusion suggests that the periodic absence of Latin priests did cause some problems for pilgrims, who may not have recognised the significance of the choir marks without a guide.[44]

The stone of anointing does not seem to have been recorded before the twelfth century; Freeman-Grenville suggests that it developed as part of the medieval elaboration of the liturgy, rather than from the locating of a biblical tradition. Its position would therefore depend on where in the church the clergy were in the habit of

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[40] Nicodemus was a member of the Sanhedrin who had listened to Jesus's teaching, and had prepared his body for burial with Joseph of Arimathia. John 19:39–42.

[41] Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, p. 40.

[42] Taylor, *Christians and Holy Places*, pp. 128–29

[43] Bresc-Bautier, *Cartulaire: Saint-Sépulcre*, no. 170.

[44] Wilbrand A (1211-12), pp. 186–87

performing the *depositio* during the liturgy, and may explain why the site seems to move, as the place of anointing would depend on the right to perform the liturgy in specific parts of the church. Examining the pilgrim texts written after the remodelling of the church in the mid-twelfth century one discovers two locations for the place of anointing.[45] Theoderic, a pilgrim writing in 1169-1174, includes two places where Jesus was laid by Joseph and Nicodemus prior to burial. One was around the tomb itself, a tradition which did not continue into the thirteenth century, and the other was in the centre of the choir, where other pilgrim texts locate the centre of the world. Theoderic makes no mention of the centre of the world at all. [46] John of Würzburg, writing at a similar time, locates the centre of the world in the centre of the choir 'not far from the Place of the Skull [Golgotha]', and comments that there was a tradition identifying this place as that of the place of anointing. He also notes a possible place of anointing near the tomb itself, agreeing with Theoderic.[47]

A close examination of the thirteenth-century texts indicates that most either record both the place of anointing and centre of the world separately, or include only one of the sites. When the centre of the world is recorded independently, it is located either in the centre of the choir, or described in a way which would not exclude this location. The balance of evidence suggests that the tradition of the choir location was the preferred one for thirteenth-century pilgrims looking for the centre of the world. Wilbrand seems to have been shown a circle on the ground during his visit, which marked the centre of the world in this location. He exhibits some scepticism regarding what he was shown however, noting that astrologers would place the centre of the world *sub torrida zona*,

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[45] G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, 'The Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: History and Future', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 2 (1987), 187–207 (p. 194).

[46] Theoderic, 'Libellus de locis sanctis', p. 147.

[47] John of Würzburg, 'Descriptio locorum Terre sancte', pp. 119–20.

that is in the Tropics, near the equator.[48]

Turning to the place of anointing, one sees that it is frequently recorded as being on the centre of the world and/or near Calvary. If one accepts John of Würzburg's view that the centre of the choir was considered 'not far' from Golgotha, then the two are not mutually exclusive. In this case, the Old French pilgrim texts prove to be the most precise, since they specify the relationship between the three sites in the most detail. They indicate that the centre of the world was in the choir, along with the place of anointing, and that on the left as you exited the choir was Calvary.[49] Although the thirteenth-century manuscript tradition of *Hec sunt peregrinaciones* simply notes the place of anointing next to Calvary, the version in a fourteenth-century manuscript expands on its description by indicating that it was between Calvary and the tomb, in the centre of the church, that is, in the choir.[50] Only one description, that of Riccoldo, definitely describes the centre of the world and the place of anointing as being separate. For him, the place of anointing was near to Calvary (as with the other texts), but the centre of the world was elsewhere, and represented by another column.[51] Riccoldo was, however, one of the last pilgrims to visit the Holy Sepulchre before the loss of Acre, and his text may represent further changes to the layout of the church.

Some pilgrims visited one further site around Calvary. This was the place where Mary and the 'other women' wept while Jesus was on the Cross.[52] This event had been located either at the Monastery of St Mary the Latin, or in a small chapel outside the main body of the church during the twelfth-century, and its thirteenth-century

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[48] Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 186.
[49] 'Empress d'iqui, ce est à savoir au cuer où est le Compas de nostre Seigneur, & si est ausi le lieu où Nichodemus & Ioseph ad Aramatie mistrent son beneet cors, quant il fu ensevelis après sa beneete passion. A l'issue de cuer, à la senestre main, est li mont de Calvaire', Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 93.
[50] Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, p. 377
[51] Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 68.
[52] Traditionally these women were Mary Clophas and Mary Magdalene, as named in Wilbrand's account. Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 186. This site is also mentioned in: LCTS (1244-60), p. 348; Filippo (1244-91), p. 224; Burchard (1274-85), p. 71; Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 68.

appearance within the church of the Holy Sepulchre may be part of the general trend towards having as many events associated with the Passion within the church of the Holy Sepulchre as possible.[53] Given that St Mary the Latin was no longer a Latin monastery however, one might see this change as another example of religious practicality.[54] Burchard of Mount Sion specifically mentions the site as being venerated by the faithful, which emphasised the contemporary importance of a site which would later become one of the Stations of the Cross.[55]

After describing the area around Calvary, most pilgrim texts go on to describe the place of the invention of the Cross, or chapel of St Helena. This chapel was located at the eastern end of the church, a short distance from Calvary. Most texts which describe it indicate that the chapel was below the level of the main church; indeed its crypt-chapel form was emphasised in some cases by pilgrims, who noted the number of steps (40) required to reach it. Burchard further emphasises the position of the chapel by noting that it was *longe infra terram*.[56] Such emphasis on the depth of the chapel not only stressed the authenticity of the site for the pilgrim, but also emphasised the strength of St Helena's belief, to have searched so far down. The depth of the chapel is further highlighted by two of the pilgrim texts, which commented that a hole in the wall was in fact a window to purgatory.[57] This tradition was not noted in the twelfth-century pilgrim texts, and appears to be a thirteenth-century innovation, possibly as a result of the contemporary developments in religious theory regarding purgatory. The chapel was described by one text as being the location for four columns which wept at the Passion;

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[53] The location of the weeping women in the small chapel outside the main building may be an Orthodox tradition. Pringle, *Churches*, III, p. 237.

[54] The event is located outside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre even in accounts written after the incorporation of the courtyard and Calvary into the main body of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. See, for example, the account of Theoderic, written 1169-1174. Theoderic, 'Libellus de locis sanctis', p. 157. This event was also located at the monastery of St Mary the Latin. See below, pp. 170–71.

[55] Burchard (1274-85), p. 71. Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 68.

[56] Burchard also noted that the number of steps was 48, rather than biblical number of 40. Burchard (1274-85), p. 71.

[57] Filippo (1244-91), p. 224. Hec sunt peregrinaciones (1244-99), p. 334.

this is a unique explanation for the architecture, and it is not clear from where this idea originates.[58] The chapel and invention of the Cross was included in virtually all the pilgrim texts, indicating its importance to pilgrims to Jerusalem, and the altar there was one of those whose offerings were specifically claimed by the canons of the Holy Sepulchre.[59]

The prison in which Jesus was held prior to crucifixion was located on the north side of the choir. Despite its prior association with the Praetorium, the prison had been located in the Holy Sepulchre by twelfth-century pilgrims, resulting in a duplication of sites which continued into the thirteenth century. Although included by several *itineraria*, the prison is only located in the church by one pilgrim account, that of Filippo. It is possible that although the location was part of Latin pilgrim tradition, not all learned authors accepted it, resisting the trend which brought many sites related to the passion of Christ into the church of the Holy Sepulchre. The altar of the prison had been one of those whose offerings were confirmed as belonging to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre in 1196 by Celestine III. The prison itself was said to contain the chains with which Jesus was bound; if these were indeed still present in the thirteenth century they would be one of the few relics (besides the buildings and rocks) available for pilgrims to view in Jerusalem at this time.[60]

The western end of the church of the Holy Sepulchre was dominated by the Holy Sepulchre itself. Despite being the main reason for visiting the church, descriptions and information on the Holy Sepulchre were oddly lacking in the works of the pilgrims, especially the *itineraria*-style pilgrim texts, which often simply noted that the tomb was

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[58] Hec sunt peregrinaciones (1244-99), p. 334.

[59] The chapel was included in most twelfth-century texts as well. Bresc-Bautier, *Cartulaire: Saint-Sépulcre*, p. 323.

[60] The chains are mentioned by four *itineraria*: Innom. X (1187-1291), p. 102; Chemins B (1254-68), p. 193; Pardouns (1258-63), p. 230; Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 182. One text noted that there was a stone in the Prison, to which Jesus was bound, but no chains. Hec sunt peregrinaciones (1244-99), p. 334.

there; the tomb was frequently not the first site to be noted within the church of the Holy Sepulchre. There is no indication in the account of Filippo, for example, that he entered the tomb at all.[61] By contrast, Wilbrand described how he entered the church of the Holy Sepulchre and went straight to the area of the tomb, likening the roof of the rotunda to 'a cleric's crown', and noting that the tomb itself was simply a large, square, marble-covered box. He stated that inside was the rock on which Jesus's body was placed, but that this was also covered in marble, except in three places where pilgrims were accustomed to kiss and touch the bare rock. Next to here, he says he saw the place where the angel appeared to the Three Marys.[62] The tomb is briefly described in the charters of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, which reveal that there was an altar at the head of the Tomb and a smaller one behind.

The pre-eminent miracle of the Holy Land was that of the Easter Fire, when the lights in the Holy Sepulchre were miraculously relit on Easter Sunday. This miracle predated the Latin kingdom and was closely associated with the Greek Orthodox church. Wilbrand refers to the miracle when he describes the hole in the roof of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and Innom. III and the *Itinerarium Ricardi* also note the presence of the miracle; there do not, however, seem to be any thirteenth-century descriptions of the miracle taking place.[63]

The tomb itself underwent at least one change during the thirteenth century, which the pilgrim accounts document. This is regarding the large stone which was rolled back from the tomb following the Resurrection. Innom. III, describing the tomb prior to 1244, notes that the stone was present next to the tomb itself; however, during the next

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[61] Filippo (1244-91), pp. 224–26

[62] The 'Three Marys' developed from the group of women mentioned in Mark 16.1. The identification of the Marys varied; the Three Marys at the tomb were considered to be Mary Magdalene, Mary Salome, Mary Cleophas.

[63] Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 185. LCTS also comments on the distinctive shape of the main part of the church. LCTS (1244-60), p. 348. Innom. III (1191-1244), p. 18. The *Itinerarium Ricardi* claimed that the miracle continued to occur whilst Jerusalem was under Saladin's control. *Itinerarium Ricardi*, p. 328.

few decades this stone moved, and by the time of *Hec sunt peregrinaciones*, it was being located on Mount Sion.[64] An explanation comes from LCTS, which commented that the Khwārazmians, who attacked Jerusalem in 1244, broke and dispersed the stone whilst looking for treasure.[65] This account of the destruction in the church of the Holy Sepulchre is confirmed by Ibn al-Furāt, who noted that the Khwārazmians destroyed the Holy Sepulchre itself, and burned bones from the graves within the church.[66] It seems unlikely that they dispersed the stone as far as Mount Sion, but the story is a good example of how pilgrimage sites changed to explain away the results of contemporary events. Although most pilgrims seem to suggest that the stone was on Mount Sion alone from the mid-thirteenth century, Burchard claims to have seen part of the stone in front of the tomb in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and part on Mount Sion.[67] The 'movement' of the stone provides an example of the practical, yet persistent, belief behind many holy sites.

Near to the tomb, probably in the vicinity of the modern Franciscan chapel of Mary Magdalene, was the place where Jesus appeared to Mary Magdalene following the Resurrection. This site was designated by the provision of an altar in honour of the event, and was described as being *ante* the cell of the tomb.[68]

Also associated with the church of the Holy Sepulchre was the early Christian saint, Mary of Egypt. The fifth-century Mary of Egypt was a prostitute living in Alexandria who travelled to Jerusalem to seek more work and immoral living. She attempted to enter the church of the Holy Sepulchre, but was prevented by a miraculous image of the Virgin Mary, which rebuked her for her lifestyle. Ashamed, she spent the rest of her life

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[64] See below, pp. 183.
[65] LCTS (1244-60), p. 348. The Khwārazmian attack is noted in *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 17; Edbury, 'New Text: Annales', p. 154.
[66] Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, p. 3.
[67] Burchard (1274-85), p. 71.
[68] Filippo (1244-91), p. 224. The pilgrim texts vary as to how many, and which, Marys were met by Jesus following the Resurrection, but most focus on Mary Magdalene, as in John 20.1-2, 11-18.

in ascetic contemplation in the desert beyond the Jordan.[69] The saint was included in

twelfth-century pilgrim texts to the Holy Sepulchre, but to a lesser extent than in the

thirteenth, when the majority of accounts which describe the Holy Sepulchre include

some reference to Mary of Egypt. Her presence within the texts takes two forms.

Firstly, some *itineraria* describe a Greek chapel dedicated to the saint, presumably

located near to the entrance she attempted to use. The pilgrim accounts describe the

Greek chapel not only as the location for the original miraculous image of the Virgin

Mary, but also the location for a fragment of the True Cross.[70] *Sains pelerinages*

described the Cross as having been in a 'storehouse' near to St Helena's chapel until it

was lost by the army; this may refer to the Greek chapel.[71] This chapel, although not

firmly located, seems from the texts to have been near the chapel of Helena, and

similarly down a set of forty steps. [72] The descriptions also indicate that one passed

through the chapel, or an entrance near there, to get to the church of St Chariton, which

was just to the north of the church of the Holy Sepulchre.[73]

The other type of description noted the location of the gate she tried to use to enter

the church. These descriptions include reference to neither the Greek chapel nor the

miraculous image. Burchard, for example, commented that Mary of Egypt tried to enter

via the west door of the church, and logically indicated that this place was therefore,

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[69] 'Mary of Egypt', David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints: Oxford Reference Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) <http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.wam.leeds.ac.uk/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t100.e1113> [accessed 12 January 2012]. Farmer seems to suggest that, although known in the West prior to the 12th century, the saint became more popular following the creation of the Latin Kingdom.

[70] It is possible that fragments of the Cross were shown to pilgrims after 1187, as part of a selective promotion of pilgrimage by the authorities. Boas, *Jerusalem*, p. 18.

[71] Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104.4

[72] Innom. X (1187-1291), p. 102; Innom. IX (1187-1291), p. 92; Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), pp. 104.4; Chemins B (1254-68), p. 193; Pardouns (1258-63), p. 230; Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 94; Chemins A (1261-65), p. 182.

[73] 'Et par cele issue dou Sepulcre irez à Saint Carito.' Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104.5. For St Chariton's location, see Innom. X (1187-1291), p. 92; and Pringle, *Churches*, III, p. 159.

outside the church itself.[74] It is not clear to which door he refers, since a door on the west of the church would lead directly onto the Holy Sepulchre itself. Both Filippo and LCTS also include the gate of Mary of Egypt, but their description seems to suggest that the gate was within the greater church, somewhere in the vicinity of the prison. Taken together, the descriptions suggest that pilgrims were looking at an entrance gate, and possibly a chapel, somewhere in the north-east section of the church of the Holy Sepulchre. The inclusion of this site was part of the general trend toward including more non-Latin Christian sites in the pilgrim texts. [75]

The charters of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre reveal two further altars within the church which were not mentioned by the pilgrim texts. These were altars dedicated to St Peter and St Stephen. It is possible that the altar to St Stephen may represent another movement of a holy site within the church – that of the martyrdom of St Stephen – but it is interesting that neither altar is mentioned by the pilgrim texts.[76]

There were several holy sites of interest around the church of the Holy Sepulchre, which were noted in the twelfth-century pilgrim texts. None of these sites were included in the pilgrim accounts of the thirteenth century, possibly indicating that pilgrims were not able to visit them.[77] The sites are included in the *itineraria*, but it is difficult to judge to what extent these descriptions are contemporary or derived from earlier texts, particularly if one considers that these sites had been reused for non-religious purposes.

Among these sites were a cluster which were associated with the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene. The places where the Virgin Mary was commended to John the Evangelist and where the Virgin Mary, Mary Clophas, and Mary Magdalene wept and

[74] Burchard (1274-85), p. 72; Filippo (1244-91), p. 226; LCTS (1244-60), p. 348.
[75] The modern sealed gate entitled 'St Mary's Gate', agrees with Burchard's view, that the gate was as the western end of the Holy Sepulchre. Todd Bolen, 'IAA Work on Mary's Gate' <http://blog.bibleplaces.com/2009/12/iaa-work-on-marys-gate-makes.html> [accessed 12 January 2012].
[76] Bresc-Bautier, *Cartulaire: Saint-Sépulcre*, no. 170.
[77] Wilbrand A (1211-12), pp. 186–88.

pulled their hair while Jesus was on the Cross, were typically associated with the monastery of St Mary the Latin in most of the pilgrim texts, or an unspecified church in the same location. One text fails to mention a building at all; this is *Sains Pelerinages*, which describes the place of hair-pulling as a fountain.[78]

Most of the inhabitants of the monastery of St Mary the Latin left Jerusalem following its conquest by Saladin, although there is a reference to some brothers remaining in Jerusalem in 1189.[79] However, since the Jerusalem monastery was turned into a *madrasa* by 1203, it is not clear how long these monks were allowed to remain in the monastery itself, or indeed, if they returned to the monastery for the brief period of Latin rule, 1229-1244.[80] The abbey of St Mary the Latin in Agira, Sicily, seems to have become the institution's principal house by 1195, and it is likely that many of the monks moved there.[81] Like many Jerusalem institutions, St Mary the Latin did have a daughter house in Acre, founded between 1158 and 1173, which presumably took at least some of the monks who had been in Jerusalem.[82] The foundation is mentioned in several charters in the thirteenth century, but its status seems to have been comparatively low, since it was accorded only a one year pardon in *Pardouns*.[83] The abbey's privileges in Sicily were confirmed in 1224, and it was to Sicily that the monks turned at the fall of Acre in 1291 – together with the low status of the Acre house, this suggests that institution's headquarters remained on Sicily throughout the thirteenth century.[84]

Very close to St Mary the Latin in Jersualem here had been a convent dedicated to Mary Magdalene, which served as a hostel for female pilgrims visiting Jerusalem in the

[78] Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104.5.
[79] G. P. Sinopoli di Giunta, 'Tabulario di S. Maria di Agira', *Archivio storico per la Sicilia orientale*, 22 (1926), pp. 135–90 (no. 51); Pringle, *Churches*, III, p. 238.
[80] Pringle, *Churches*, III, p. 239.
[81] Pringle, *Churches*, III, p. 238 and IV, p. 139.
[82] *RRH*, p. 86, no. 331; Sinopoli di Giunta, 'S. Maria di Agira', no. 5; Pringle, *Churches*, IV, p. 139.
[83] *RRH*, p. 249, no. 937; p. 206, no. 775; p. 251, no. 945, p. 278, no. 1067. See Pringle, *Churches*, IV, p. 139 for further associated documents. *Pardouns*, p. 235.
[84] Pringle, *Churches*, III, p. 239; IV, pp. 139–40.See also p. 247.

twelfth century. This was known as St Mary the Great.[85] The building of St Mary the Great was converted to a hospital by Saladin; again, it is not known if the nuns returned in the period 1229-1244.[86] Some of the thirteenth-century Old French *itineraria* make an association with Tyre when they note the site of this convent; this is a reference to the later history of the nuns, who fled first to Tyre, and then to Acre, founding the convent of Our Lady of Tyre there in 1203.[87]

The site of the weeping Marys was attributed to St Mary the Great in the twelfth century instead of St Mary the Latin.[88] However, the proximity of these two buildings may be why the thirteenth-century pilgrim texts are unclear as to the exact location of these events; this was undoubtedly exacerbated by the remarkably similar architecture and structure of the two buildings, which were constructed at the same time.[89] This, plus the possible loss of local knowledge associated with the movement of the institutions themselves away from Jerusalem in 1187, would have meant that many visitors would have been unclear about which institution they were visiting. The presence of the same relics from the event (hairs) in both institutions in the twelfth century brings forth the possibility that both institutions claimed the holy site even in the earlier period.[90]

The church of St Chariton, mentioned earlier, was noted in the twelfth-century pilgrim texts as well as those of the thirteenth century. The church, run by Orthodox clergy, was probably located north of the precinct of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, on a street between the latter and the gate of St Stephen, according to one of the twelfth-century pilgrim texts.[91] Although part of the Orthodox tradition, the church's proximity

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[85] Pringle, *Churches*, III, pp. 253–54.
[86] Pringle, *Churches*, III, pp. 254–55.
[87] Pringle, *Churches*, III, pp. 254–55. Innom. X (1187-1291), p. 102; *Sains pelerinages* (1229-55), p. 104.5.
[88] Pringle, *Churches*, III, p. 253.
[89] The architecture and structure of St Mary the Latin is described in Pringle, *Churches*, III, pp. 241–49 and St Mary the Great on pp. 255–58.
[90] The Hospital was also close to both these buildings. Pringle, *Churches*, III, pp. 253–54. For a map, see Pringle, *Churches*, III, p. 478.
[91] John of Würzburg, 'Descriptio locorum Terre sancte', p. 137; Pringle, *Churches*, III, p. 159.

to the Holy Sepulchre made it attractive to Latin pilgrims who might not have noticed it otherwise, particularly during those periods when these pilgrims had limited access within the walls of Jerusalem. The presence of relics, in the form of the body of St Chariton would also have appealed, although there are no references to associated miracles occurring at this site in the pilgrim texts.

The hospital of St John faced on to the same street as the church of the Holy Sepulchre, although it was abandoned by the Hospitaller central administration following the loss of Jerusalem in 1187, in favour of a headquarters in Acre.[92] Saladin allowed ten Hospitaller monks to remain on for a year after his conquest, to care for those sick left, but after this the hospital was turned into a lodging for Saladin's son, and then into a mosque.[93] The Hospitallers did take the hospital back over during the 1229-1244 period of Frankish rule, but this does not explain why pilgrim texts continued to mention the site outside of this period.[94] It is possible that the other pilgrim texts failed to update their descriptions from their earlier sources to indicate that the hospital had moved, but the building was still visible for pilgrims to see, even if it had a different purpose. Earlier texts name the hospital 'hospitale sancti Johannis Baptistae', whereas the later Latin texts add *domus* 'domus hospitalis sancti Ioannis pauperum' and 'domus sancti Ioannis', perhaps a way of indicating that it was the building, rather than the insitution which was being visited. Two of the Old French texts also make this distinction - 'la maison de l'ospital de Saint Iohan'.[95] However, one of the churches near to the hospital was converted into an Islamic hospital in 1192, and it is possible that pilgrims visiting the area conflated this hospital with that of St John, as they had

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[92] Pringle, *Churches*, III, p. 194.

[93] Denys Pringle, 'The Layout of the Jerusalem Hospital in the Twelfth Century: Further Thoughts and Suggestions', in *The Military Orders, Volume 4: On Land and by Sea*, ed. by Judi Upton-Ward (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 91–110 (p. 98); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c.1050-1310* (London: Macmillan, 1967), pp. 108–09.

[94] Pringle, *Churches*, III, p. 198.

[95] Innom. X (1187-1291), p. 102; Innom. IX (1187-1291), p. 91; Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 94.

essentially the same function and the new hospital was very close to the old one. Two texts mention that it was for the poor, although this does not exclude reference to the Muslim replacement.[96] Finally, it is worth noting that the hospital is not usually described in terms of being a site of pilgrimage; the texts do not mention any holy associations or relics based there, although one of the twelfth-century texts indicated that it had one of the stone jars from Cana.[97] The institution was probably originally included in the pilgrim texts because it was a useful place for pilgrims to know, since it catered to their needs, rather than as a focus for pilgrimage, and remained in the pilgrim text tradition after it had lost its usefulness.

The Temple Mount and Environs

Twelfth-century pilgrims identified two main buildings on the Temple Mount. These were the Templum Domini, identified with the Jewish Temple of Jesus's time and the location for a number of events of the Old and New Testament such as where Jesus was presented as a boy; and the Temple of Solomon, the building which was the palace of the king of the Latin kingdom and latterly the headquarters of the Templars. The Temple Mount was one of the most mentioned sites in the twelfth-century pilgrim texts, being noted almost as often as the church of the Holy Sepulchre. The situation altered in the thirteenth century, and many of the traditions associated with it began to return to the Holy Sepulchre. The Temple Mount came back under Muslim control in 1187, and remained this way for the rest of the period of the Latin kingdom, except for a short period from May to July in 1244, when the Temple Mount was reclaimed by the Latins, who expelled the Muslims from Jerusalem.[98] Ibn Wāṣil, a thirteenth-century historian and qāḍī who passed through Jerusalem on the way to Cairo in the spring of 1244,

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[96] Anne-Marie Eddé, 'Religious Circles in Jerusalem in the Ayyubid Period', in *Ayyubid Jerusalem*, pp. 195–201 (pp. 196–97); Pringle, 'The Layout of the Jerusalem Hospital', p. 98; Innom. X (1187-1291), p. 102.
[97] Pringle, *Churches*, III, p. 205.
[98] Pringle, *Churches*, III, pp. 408-09; Folda, *Crusader Art*, p. 171.

described seeing monks and priests in the Templum Domini, and a bell in the Aqsa mosque in the spring of 1244. Latin Christian pilgrims would presumably have been able to visit the sites of the Temple Mount during this time.[99] However, this access was short-lived, lasting only until the Khwārazmians, a Turkic people fleeing the Mongols, overran Jerusalem in July 1244. Thirteenth-century descriptions of the Temple can be divided into three categories.

The first type are those which make clear that access to the Temple Mount was not possible for Latin Christian pilgrims. Filippo's description is fairly typical, being short and confined to describing the Temple of Solomon and the Templum Domini from a distance. He notes the location of the buildings, and the events which occurred there, but does not describe their interior; he explicitly states that *nullus christianus audet intrare metu Sarracenorum* ('no Christian dares enter for fear of the Saracens').[100] Similarly, Wilbrand's description was drawn from what he saw on the Mount of Olives. He denied that the building was actually the Temple of Solomon, as the city had been destroyed too many times, and indicated that the building had been converted to a mosque where the inhabitants went to pray every six days.[101] The traditions which the authors associated with the Temple were a mix of Old and New Testament associations. These were the presentation of Jesus, the sacrifice of Isaac, the appearance of the exterminating angel to David, and the ejection of the money-lenders. One traditional, non-biblical, story was also included, which was where James, the first bishop of Jerusalem, was thrown to his death. This was rarely mentioned in the pilgrim texts from

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[99] D. S. Richards, 'Ibn Wasil, Historian of the Ayyubids', in *Ayyubid Jerusalem*, pp. 456–59 (p. 457).

[100] Filippo (1244-91), p. 234. See also LCTS (1244-60), pp. 352–54; Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or*, pp. 246–50. Thietmar also comments that it was not possible to enter the Temple of Solomon; he adds that it was converted to a mosque and marvellously decorated. Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 26; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 34.

[101] Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 188; Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 26; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 34; Oliver of Paderborn also records the importance of the Templum Mount to the Saracens. Oliverus, 'Historia regum Terre Sancte', p. 88.

the first half of the twelfth century, and seems to have been a late twelfth-century development. Otherwise the traditions included were similar to those noted by the twelfth-century pilgrim texts.[102] In addition to omitting descriptions of the interior of the Temples, this type of description did not discuss the Temple Mount nor name the gates to the Mount, and is predominantly found in pilgrim accounts.

The next type of description either does not include the Temple Mount at all, or simply mentions its location with reference to other holy sites.[103]

Finally, there are a number of texts which describe it in the same way as in the twelfth century. These texts are all anonymous, and presumably their text is based on twelfth-century descriptiones rather than contemporary experience or accounts.[104]

Of the three types of description, the first and second are the only ones to represent pilgrimage to the Temple Mount at this time, since it is known from other sources, such as Frankish-Muslim truces, that Latin Christian access to the Mount was not permitted. Descriptions of the Temple Mount which resemble twelfth-century descriptions should be assumed to be the result of the reuse of descriptions rather than a continuance of practice in reality.

Around the Temple Mount were a number of sites related to Jesus's family and his last days. These tend to be described either in the sections on the Temple Mount or as the authors enter the city from the Valley of Jehosaphat. Like the Temple Mount, some of the pilgrim authors note that they could not access these places, and describe them from afar only, supporting the assertion made earlier that access to areas within

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[102] The story of James' death is traditional rather than biblical, and surfaces in the Latin tradition with Eusebius. It enters the pilgrim text tradition in the sixth century, with Theodosius. James was thrown from the pinnacle of the temple, stoned, and clubbed to death with a fuller's club – various twelfth- and thirteenth-century texts mention various parts of his death. Painter, John, *Just James: The Brother of Jesus in History and Tradition* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004), p. 320; Theodosius, *De situ terrae sanctae*, p. 21.

[103] Innom. III (1191-1244); Innom. IV (1191-1244), p. 24; Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104.5; Hec sunt peregrinaciones (1244-99), p. 336.

[104] Innom. X (1187-1291), p. 102; Innom. IX (1187-1291), p. 92; Chemins B (1254-68), p. 193; Pardouns (1258-63), p. 230; Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), pp. 94–95 (1231); Chemins A (1261-65), p. 183; Pringle, *Churches*, III, p. 408.

Jerusalem away from the church of the Holy Sepulchre was sporadic, and that pilgrims were generally not permitted to walk through the city itself, instead having to travel around the walls.

The first site after entering Jerusalem from the Valley of Jehosaphat was the church of St Anne, the Virgin Mary's mother. This marked the location of her house, and was considered to be the place where the Virgin Mary was born; the two rock-cut caves situated under the church, which contain aspects of Hellenistic and Roman style, were probably the original holy sites shown to pilgrims.[105] The site was associated with a convent of St Anne, into which William of Tyre says that Baldwin I put his wife Arda prior to his remarriage in 1113.[106] The convent attracted increased donations as a result of this royal patronage, and Baldwin himself added to their patrimony. By 1187, the convent was both popular and wealthy.[107] When the institution moved to Acre following the fall of Jerusalem in 1187 it seems to have retained its influence, as the indulgence noted in the *Pardouns* text was 5 years, which was relatively high, compared with others given.[108] In Jerusalem however, the site of the church was rarely visited by thirteenth-century Latin pilgrims as a result of its proximity to the Temple Mount, distance from the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and not least because it had been turned into a madrasa in 1192. This madrasa may have been reclaimed by the Latins during their control of Jerusalem 1229-1245, but as it is referenced after 1245 as well it is just as likely to have had a continuous existence, especially as it was close to the Temple Mount which itself remained mostly under Muslim control during the brief period of Latin Christian control of Jerusalem.[109]

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[105] Pringle, *Churches*, III, pp. 145, 153–54; Denys Pringle, 'Some Pilgrimage Churches', p. 348.
[106] Natasha Hodgson, 'Conflict and Cohabitation: Marriage and Diplomacy between Latins and Cilican Armenians, c. 1097-1253', in *The Crusades and the Near East*, ed. by Conor Kostick (Oxford: Routledge, 2011), pp. 83–107 (p. 88).
[107] William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, pp. 495–96.
[108] Pardouns (1258-63), p. 235.
[109] Eddé, 'Religious Circles in Jerusalem', pp. 196–97.

Riccoldo and Innom. X noted that the site was the place of St Anne's death and burial, but otherwise there was little change in the descriptions from earlier pilgrim texts.[110] The account of the Greek pilgrim Perdiccas of Ephesus (visiting in 1250) noted that there was a miraculous tree near to the church site, which began to grow the moment SS. Anne and Joachim became fertile. If Latin pilgrims were regularly visiting this area, one might expect this to be noted in their texts, as was the miraculous tree in Tiberias.[111]

Next to the church of St Anne was the Probatic Pool, also known as the Pool of Bethesda or the Sheep Pool. This site was an open air pool which was identified with that in John 5: 1-10, where the sick and infirm gathered to be healed by an angel, and where a lame man was healed by Jesus. The pool was visited by pilgrims during the Late Antique and Byzantine periods, but was later lost.[112] During the the renovation of the church of St Anne in the twelfth century, the pool was rediscovered and a new chapel was built for it. However, the later twelfth century saw a rival Probatic Pool develop, championed by the Templars, to the north of the Temple Mount. This is the modern Birkat Isra'il, which was considered to be the Probatic Pool from the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries.[113] During the thirteenth century, both pools attracted the attention of pilgrims. In some cases, pilgrim texts note the presence of both pools, although most note just one pool. There was a relatively equal split between the use of the Temple Mount and the church of St Anne as reference points for the Probatic Pool, suggesting that both traditions continued during the thirteenth century. Although Birkat Isra'il was the favoured location for pilgrims after the thirteenth century, the church of St Anne tradition was favoured in the second half of the thirteenth century. This may

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[110] Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 270; Innom. X (1187-1291), p. 104 – this mentions St Anne's tomb only, not her house or death.

[111] Barbara Baert, 'The Pool of Bethsaïda: The Cultural History of a Holy Place in Jerusalem', *Viator*, 36 (2005), 1–22 (p. 9). See chapter VIII, pp. 228–30 for discussion of Tiberias.

[112] Baert, 'The Pool of Bethsaïda', pp. 3–4.

[113] Pringle, *Churches*, III, pp. 390–91.

reflect the resilience of the Orthodox tradition during the thirteenth century, against the Templar Birkat Isra'il location.

Confusion over the events of Jesus's arrest and final hours occurred from the twelfth century; as a consequence, the locations for these events were often combined.[114] The Praetorium, where Pilate judged Christ, was often identified or closely linked with, the house of Caiaphas, the house of Annas, and sometimes the palace of Herod, and in the thirteenth century the resulting holy locations were identified with several places across Jerusalem.[115] There were references to the Praetorium on Mount Sion (see below), and links between the events in the Praetorium and sites in the church of the Holy Sepulchre (see above). Additionally, a few thirteenth-century pilgrim texts note the location of the Praetorium in a way that would indicate a position near to the Temple Mount and the church of St Anne. The authors of these particular thirteenth-century texts were generally aware that there were also links to Jesus's final hours on Mount Sion; they sought to distinguish between these sites, by noting that it was the house of Caiaphas/Annas on Mount Sion, not the Praetorium, as other texts did. In some cases the events – such as flogging and judgement – are duplicated; in others the places themselves are repeated. The Praetorium was located near the church of St Anne in earlier pilgrim texts, but presumably the difficulty reaching this area led to the movement of the traditions to Mount Sion, which was more easily accessible.[116]

Mount Sion and Environs

Between the area around the Holy Sepulchre and the area around Mount Sion, around

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[114] Wilkinson, Hill and Ryan, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, p. 74.

[115] Matt. 26:57–65, 27:1–2; Mark 14:53–64, 15:1–5; Luke: 22:66–23:11; John 18:13–24, 28–40. See for example, 'le Pretoire de Chaïphas et ssa maisson', Chemins A (1261-65), p. 184; and 'Et ibi ante est quedam capella in qua fuit Dominus iudicatus et flagellatus, et spinis coronatus, et hec fuit domus Cayphe et pretorium.' Innom. X (1187-1291), p. 104.

[116] Jotischky, 'Ritual Encounters between Christians and Muslims', pp. 251–52. See, for example, Theoderic, 'Libellus de locis sanctis', pp. 147, 172; Belardus de Esculo, 'Descriptio Terrae Sanctae', in *Itinera*, II, pp. 43–49 (p. 44).

the tower of David, there were several holy sites, which could be visited by pilgrims en route between the two areas. However, as they were within the city walls, it is difficult to establish to what extent pilgrims were able to do this.

The tower of David was one of the most visible and recognisable buildings in Jerusalem, which was undoubtedly why it was noted in the pilgrim texts, although it was not a pilgrimage site itself. East of the tower was the church and hospice of St Sabas, described in the pilgrim texts as a Greek church containing the relics of John Chrysostom, St Demetrius and St Martin.[117] The church is rarely noted in twelfth-century accounts, and the associated relics are not referenced; its increased popularity amongst pilgrims in the thirteenth century is undoubtedly part of the increased interest in Eastern and Greek Orthodox churches which occurred as a result of the lack of Latin pastoral support outside the Latin Kingdom at this time.[118] Near here was an Armenian church which was the location for the beheading of St James (the Greater, sometimes described as 'of Galicia'), and which was often described in more detail in the pilgrim texts. Pilgrims to the church were able to see the relics of St James's head and the rock on which he was beheaded – a piece of marble spotted with red which was identified as his blood.[119] The church was under Armenian control throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, although specific references to Armenian pilgrims are not found until later.[120] The church featured much more in the thirteenth-century than the twelfth-century texts, and although this may have been part of a general thirteenth-century trend of increased interest in non-Latin Christian churches, it had also only recently been rebuilt by the Armenians (1140s-1160s).[121] The decapitation of James was also noted as

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[117] Pringle, *Churches*, III, pp. 356–57.
[118] The church of St Sabas is noted in John of Würzburg, 'Descriptio locorum Terre sancte', pp. 132–33 and Saewulf, p. 71.
[119] Filippo (1244-91), p. 226; Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 48.
[120] Pahlitzsch, 'People of the Book', p. 440.
[121] Pringle, *Churches*, III, pp. 169, 174.

taking place at Jaffa.[122]

Traditionally, Mount Sion was considered to be outside the walls of the city, as this was the situation during the final days of Christ. However, the walls themselves were destroyed and rebuilt several times prior to the arrival of the crusaders in 1099, and this destruction and recreation continued afterwards as well, often resulting in parts of Mount Sion being enclosed within the walls. The church of Holy Sion, due to ruination and the reuse of its stones for the walls of Jerusalem, was outside the walls when Jerusalem was conquered by the Latin Christians in 1099. Despite rebuilding, the church remained outside the walls during the twelfth century, although it had land and property within the walls.[123] The walls were then destroyed during the siege of Jerusalem in 1187, but were partially rebuilt by Saladin in 1192. Mount Sion was sufficiently within the city walls at the time of Wilbrand that he was unable to get access to the summit, only being able to enter the walls to visit the church of the Holy Sepulchre.[124] Thietmar, visiting five years later, also noted that Mount Sion was within the city.[125] Following this, the walls were removed in 1219 by al-Muʿaẓẓam, ruler of Damascus (1198-1227), who was concerned that the Franks would capture the city and use it as a base for further expansion. The walls were not rebuilt completely until after the Mamlūk period, and the area has been described as 'demilitarised'; the Franks were forbidden by treaty to rebuild, and the Muslims were too concerned about the area being recaptured to construct walls.[126] This causes some problems for the study of pilgrimage, as access to the sites considered to be outside Jerusalem seems to have been easier for pilgrims visiting during the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk control.

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[122] Acts 12:1-2 describes his death, but does not indicate where this occurred. The tradition for Jaffa notes that the head was carried to Jerusalem by angels to rest in the church. This shows some similarity to the story which put St James' relics in Galicia. See also chapter IV, pp. 99-100.

[123] Pringle, *Churches*, III, pp. 265–66.

[124] Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 188.

[125] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 26; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 34.

[126] Yasser Tabbaa, 'An Image of What Once Was: The Ayyubid Fortifications of Jerusalem', in *Ayyubid Jerusalem*, pp. 460–68.

The most prominent holy place on Mount Sion was the church of Holy Sion, or at least, the area where it used to be. A church had stood on the site from the fourth century, but was at least partially ruined by the time the crusaders came across it during the siege of Jerusalem in 1099. The church was refounded following the capture of the city, and was administered by Austin canons under the direction of a prior (later abbot) around 1112.[127] Over the course of the twelfth century the foundation was granted the whole of Mount Sion, along with other privileges and possessions around Jerusalem and further afield, including churches in Sicily, Apulia and Calabria.[128] The monastery played a significant role in the political and religious life of Jerusalem, providing hospitality to visiting royalty, hosting the council of a papal legate, and being closely involved with the celebrations around Easter.[129] Following the events of 1187, the canons abandoned Mount Sion, moving to the church of Santo Spirito near Caltanissetta in Sicily.[130] Similar to many Jerusalem institutions, the canons also possessed property in Acre, including two churches dedicated to St Leonard and St Romanus, and by 1218 there are references to the 'abbati S. Leonardi de Monte Sion', suggesting that a significant part of the community was based here.[131] Both churches were noted in *Pardouns*, but although the pardon attributed to the principal church (St Leonard) was higher than that of St Mary the Latin in Acre, it was still relatively low and may indicate that the institution suffered a loss of prestige in the move to Acre. The church at Acre may not have been the principal church of the community; following the events of 1187 the possessions of the monastery of Mount Sion were more extensive outside the Latin Kingdom than within it, and abbots of the church are twice recorded as residing outside

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[127] Hamilton, 'Rebuilding Zion', pp. 107–108.
[128] *RRH*, pp. 153–54, no. 576; Pringle, *Churches*, III, pp. 263–64, 267;
[129] Pringle, *Churches*, III, pp. 264, 266–67.
[130] Pringle, *Churches*, III, p. 267; Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Kirchen*, no. 113.
[131] *RRH*, pp. 153–54, no. 576; *RRH*, pp. 244–45, nos. 916–17; Pringle, IV, pp. 124, 158.

Acre in the thirteenth century.[132] The church of Santo Spirito had received canons fleeing Jerusalem in 1187, and would do so again for those leaving Acre in 1291; it is possible that it may have retained any relics which survived from Jerusalem.[133]

Wilbrand, viewing the church of Holy Sion from the Mount of Olives in 1211-12, described it as a large and beautiful Syrian monastery under tribute to the Saracens, with relics of the table of the Last Supper, and the basin in which Jesus washed his disciples feet. Given that he seems to have been unable to access the site itself, it is possible that he was in contact with Syrians or other non-Latin Christians, most likely as guides, in order to find this out.[134] Sometime after Wilbrand's visit, it was destroyed; this might have been by al-Muʿaẓẓam in 1219 along with the walls of Jerusalem, or during the attack of the Khwārazmians in 1244, and several pilgrim texts confirm that the church of Holy Sion was 'ruined' or 'destroyed' at the time of their description.[135] This destruction had an effect on the later descriptions of this site, such that many holy associations of the pre-destruction church were described as being in a series of separate chapels. It seems likely that the ruination of the church gave the impression of separate buildings to those who visited after the church was partially destroyed. Pilgrims visited this church because this was where the Last Supper took place, where Jesus washed the feet of the disciples, where the Holy Spirit descended, and where Jesus appeared to Thomas following his death. Wilbrand noted that this was where the Virgin Mary died; the *Itinerarium Ricardi*, describing the church in 1187, located Mary's death on the 'left-hand side' of the church.[136]

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[132] In 1254 and 1268 the abbot was based in Orleans. E. -G Rey, ed., 'Chartes de l'abbaye du Mont-Sion', *Mémoires de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*, 5 ser., 8 (1887), 31–56 (pp. 35–36); *RRH* p. 335, no. 1359; Pringle, *Churches*, IV, p. 124.

[133] For more on *Pardouns* and the relative size of pardons granted, see chapter IX, pp. 250–54.

[134] Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 188.

[135] Pringle, *Churches*, III, p. 268; Innom. IX (1187-1291), p. 94; Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104.6; Chemins B (1254-68), p. 194; Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 96; Chemins A (1261-65), p. 184.

[136] Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 189. Richard also noted the connection with the Last Supper. *Itinerarium Ricardi*, p. 436.

Several details which were not noted in the twelfth-century pilgrim texts, confirmed that pilgrimage to this area took place during the thirteenth century. The place of the feet washing was considered to have a relic of the stone vase used for the feet washing; there was a separate place where the water was heated for this event; and the table for the Last Supper was supposed to be still visible. [137] One pilgrim text noted that the Virgin Mary washed her hands in the church; this does not seem to have a biblical antecedent, but may provide an explanation for a physical basin which pilgrims were shown.[138]

The tomb of David had been located in the church on Mount Sion since the mid-twelfth century, but was not mentioned as often in the thirteenth-century pilgrim texts.[139] Near here was a large red rock, which was said to have been brought from Mount Sinai by an angel at the request of St Thomas, when he returned from India.[140] This tradition was new to the thirteenth-century pilgrim text tradition, and it is not clear from where it originates. Other traditions associated with this site included the selection of Matthew as an apostle, and the appointment of St James the Less as the first Bishop of Jerusalem.[141]

The tomb of St Stephen the Protomartyr was also located in or near the church of Holy Sion complex. This was some distance from the church associated with his stoning outside the Gate of St Stephen. One text comments that this was where Stephen was first entombed; this is probably an allusion to the tradition of Stephen's translation, from Jerusalem, to Constantinople and finally to Rome.[142] Various holy men were said to be

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[137] LCTS (1244-60), p. 348; Chemins B (1254-68), p. 195; Filippo (1244-91), pp. 226–28; Hec sunt peregrinaciones (1244-99), p. 334; Chemins A (1261-65), p. 184.

[138] 'locus ubi virgo Maria lavit manus suas.' Hec sunt peregrinaciones (1244-99), p. 334.

[139] The Jewish community did not accept this tomb as that of David. Reiner, 'Jewish Response', p. 216.

[140] David's tomb: Innom. IV (1191-1244), p. 24. Solomon's tomb: Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 96. Both: LCTS (1244-60), pp. 348-350; Filippo (1244-91), p. 228; Hec sunt peregrinaciones (1244-99), p. 334.

[141] Filippo (1244-91), p. 228. See also LCTS (1244-60), p. 350.

[142] 'ubi sepultus fuit primo', Hec sunt peregrinaciones (1244-99), p. 334. Albert of Stade noted the translations of St Stephen. Albert of Stade, 'Annales Stadenses', p. 341.

buried with him: St Lawrence; Gamaliel; Nicodemus; and Abdias.[143]

Near here was the building considered to have been the house of Caiaphas, and in some cases also the Praetorium.[144] This was identified as the church of the Holy Saviour in one text, which was in existence by the 1160s, and was under Armenian control in the latter part of the thirteenth century.[145] The house of Caiaphas and the Praetorium were considered to be locations for Jesus's flogging, and so this church also had a column of flagellation for pilgrims to view. The authors seem to have had no problem with including more than one column; Filippo includes three columns of flagellation in his text in total (one on Mount Sion and two in the church of the Holy Sepulchre) but does not comment on which was the 'real' column.[146] Riccoldo authenticates the column of flagellation on Mount Sion by noting that it was spotted with the blood of Christ, although he does not identify the church that contained it with the house of Caiaphas. Instead he notes that the house next to this was the house of Annas, the high priest and father-in-law of Caiaphas.[147] Unlike the descriptions for the column in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, this column was site of not just Christ's binding and flogging, but his crowning with thorns too. As the church was seen as the site of the Praetorium, the pilgrims also associated the prison of Christ with this site, again, regardless of whether they had also located the prison in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. The church of the

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[143] Gamaliel was a member of the Sanhedrin who had spoken for arrested apostles (Acts 5:34) and Abdias was said to be one of the seventy apostles mentioned in Luke 10:1-20. Thietmar A (1217-18), pp. 26–27 ; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 34; LCTS (1244-60), p. 350; Filippo (1244-91), p. 228; Albert of Stade, 'Annales Stadenses', p. 341.

[144] As discussed earlier, the Praetorium and house of Caiaphas was also located near the Temple Mount, within the walls of Jerusalem. Innom. X (1187-1291), p. 104; Innom. IX (1187-1291), p. 94; Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 26; Thietmar B (1218-91), pp. 34–35; Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104.6; LCTS (1244-60)* p.348, 356 Chemins B (1254-68), p. 194; Filippo (1244-91), pp. 226; Pardouns (1258-63), p. 231; Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 96 Chemins A (1261-65), p. 184; Burchard (1274-85)*, pp. 150-52; Riccoldo (1288-89)*, p. 50. Hec sunt peregrinaciones (1244-99), p. 334, includes only a general reference to the place of Jesus's judgement. (*) indicates texts which locate the house of Caiaphas/Annas on Mount Sion and near the Temple Mount.

[145] Pringle, *Churches*, III, pp. 370–71.

[146] Filippo (1244-91), p. 226.

[147] Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 50.

Holy Saviour was identified by some of the pilgrim texts as being the place to which the rock from the Holy Sepulchre's entrance (see above) was taken following its removal from the church of the Holy Sepulchre. The rock was placed over the altar in the church. This tradition is a thirteenth-century innovation; if one accepts the testimony of the pilgrim texts then the change was the result of the Khwārazmians attack in 1244.[148]

Near here was a site associated with St John the Evangelist.[149] This was described by the pilgrim texts as the *prima ecclesia in hoc mundo*.[150] The church of St John the Evangelist was given to St Sava of Serbia in the 1230s and he used it to found an Orthodox monastery.[151] Although the church and association with St John the Evangelist predate the Serbian foundation, this site was not mentioned in the twelfth-century pilgrim texts, and is another example of Orthodox influence on Latin Christian pilgrimage practice.

Jehosaphat

Between the summit of Mount Sion and the Mount of Olives lay a number of pilgrimage sites which were in the Valley of Jehosaphat (as known as the Kidron Valley). This valley, as noted by Wilbrand, extended from the walls of Jerusalem to the foot of the Mount of Olives in width, and in length stretched nearly as far as Bethlehem.[152] Innom. III described the Valley as a *locus amoenissimus*, a superlative version of the topos used by writers wishing to evoke an idealised location.[153] The sites located here included Old Testament and New Testament sites, and, unusually for Jerusalem, the sites were not predominantly associated with the last days of Jesus.

Several sites were described as being either in the Mount Sion area or the Jehosaphat

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[148] Filippo (1244-91), p. 226; LCTS (1244-60), p. 348.
[149] Filippo (1244-91), p. 228; Hec sunt peregrinaciones (1244-99), p. 334;
[150] LCTS (1244-60), p. 348.
[151] Pringle, *Churches*, III, p. 211.
[152] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 187.
[153] Innom. III (1191-1244), p. 20.

area. The largest, and most frequently noted of these sites was Akeldama. Also known as the Field of Blood, Field of Pilgrims or the Potters' Field, the field was said to have been bought with the thirty pieces of silver for which Judas betrayed Jesus. It was the traditional burial place of strangers and pilgrims to Jerusalem, which is presumably why it featured in most of the pilgrim texts of the twelfth and thirteenth century, although few of these note much about Akeldama beyond its name.[154] The hospital of St John had its charnel house there, although this presumably fell into disuse following their departure from Jerusalem in 1187.[155] Wilbrand's description of Akeldama places it next to the tomb of the Virgin Mary at the base of the Mount of Olives, and it seems to have stretched to the base of Mount Sion. During Wilbrand's visit, it was used for the burial of Christian captives, which suggests that despite the Hospitaller absence, the field seems to have continued in its original use. The area was considered holy for other reasons as well. Riccoldo describes how the holy Onuphrius and 'other holy fathers' had lived in caves or cells there.[156] These cells may be the *habitaciones* that *Hec sunt peregrinaciones* described as being where Jesus and his disciples spent the night, close to Akeldama. Two further Old Testament traditions were associated with the field: it was the site where David collected the five stones with which he killed Goliath, and next to this field was *mons Gyon*, where Solomon was crowned.[157]

Near here, between Mount Sion and the Mount of Olives, was the place where St

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[154] A number of texts specifically note that this was the site of burial for pilgrims, although it is not clear to what extent burial here continued during the thirteenth century. Matt. 27: 8–10 (refers back to Zech. 11:12,13; Jer. 19:1–13; 32:6–9). Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or*, p. 258.

[155] Adrian J. Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders: A Survey of the Urban Centres, Rural Settlement and Castles of the Military Orders in the Latin East (c.1120-1291)* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 49.

[156] 'Ibi prope iuenimus cellam sancti Eunofrii et aliorum santorum patrum'. Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 52. St Onuphrius was a fourth- or fifth-century hermit who lived in the Egyptian desert. Alban Butler, *The Lives of the Primitive Fathers, Martyrs, and Other Principal Saints*, 12 vols. (Edinburgh: J. Moir, 1800), VI, p. 177.

[157] The Old Testament states that David collected the stones from a stream; several pilgrim texts associate this event with the Brook Cedron, at the bottom of the Valley of Jehosaphat. 1 Kings 17: 40. Innom. X (1187-1291), p.104; Chemins A (1261-65), p 184. 'mons Gyon' refers to Solomon's anointing near the spring of Gihon. 1 Kings 1: 33–39. Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 27; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 34. See also Albert of Stade, 'Annales Stadenses', p. 341.

Peter wept penitently following his third denial of Christ and hearing the cock crow.[158] This site was known as 'Gallicantus'. The church associated with it was probably a crypt-church, as several of the accounts refer to a cave or cave-church. The church was variously described as being *in decensu montis Syon* ('on the descent from Mount Sion') or *sous Monte Syon* 'under Mount Sion', and it was effectively towards the bottom of the Mount.[159] The church was recorded in the twelfth-century pilgrim texts, as well as those of the thirteenth century. Riccoldo seemed to locate Peter's denial near to the church of the Holy Saviour and the house of Caiphas.[160] Both locations are included by Filippo, who explains this duplication by noting that the house of Caiphas was the place where Peter denied Christ three times, and the church of Gallicantus was a deep cave in which he wept bitterly, repenting his actions. In the New Testament accounts, Peter denies Christ three times at the house of Caiphas (where he warms himself by the fire) and following the cock crow after the third denial, and *goes forth*, weeping bitterly.[161] Therefore, there could be separate locations for the denial and for the place in which Peter wept following the denial. Separate events are maintained in the text of Filippo and in Thietmar (who describes Peter denying Christ at the Praetorium before disappearing into a cave to weep), but merged in the other texts, which locate the denial, cock crowing and weeping either in the house of Caiphas or in the church of Gallicantus. There had been a church of St Peter in Fetters in the twelfth century, which marked St Peter's imprisonment following the denial, but this was located within the city walls, and so seems to have been ignored by most thirteenth-century pilgrims.[162]

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[158] Matt. 26:33–35; Mark 14:29–31; Luke 22:33–34; John 13:36–38.
[159] Filippo (1244-91), p. 230; Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104.6. This text calls the church 'Galilée' but this is probably a misreading for Gallicantus.
[160] Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 264.
[161] Matt 27: 58–75; Mark 14: 54–72; Luke 22: 54–62; John 19: 15–27. Filippo (1244-91), pp. 226, 230.
[162] Pringle, *Churches*, III, pp. 349–50.

Towards the bottom of the Valley of Jehosaphat, described as *puis amont sur la cité*, or 'a stone's throw away', was the pool (or spring) of Siloam.[163] Like the Brook Kidron which it fuelled, the spring varied in size depending on the recent rainfull in the city, so pilgrims visiting the site might often see very little.[164] Rabbi Jacob noted that the waters of the pool were supposed to heal the sick, and so Muslims bathed in the pool; it is slightly surprising that Latin Christian pilgrims did not adopt this miraculous tradition.[165] This site was mostly described as the place where Jesus healed a blind man, although a number of the pilgrim texts also associated an Old Testament tradition with this location.[166] This was the death of the prophet Isaiah at the hands of King Manasseh; the pilgrim texts indicate that Isaiah was sawn in two with a wood-saw and buried in a mound beneath an oak tree here.[167] It is possible, from this description, that pilgrims were shown an oak tree to mark the spot. This story, and the death of Isaiah, were not included in the twelfth-century accounts, and appear to be a thirteenth-century innovation. The legend seems to have been transmitted via works such as the *Vitae Prophetarum*, a Jewish apocryphon from the apostolic period. It was known in the Christian tradition as early as the works of Isidore of Seville and St Ambrose; however, it seems to have reached the height of its popularity from the mid-twelfth century onwards, when it was included in Petrus Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, a work which subsequently influenced world chronicles from the thirteenth century onwards.[168] Evidently, the more widespread knowledge of the death of Isaiah in the thirteenth century meant that pilgrim authors felt obliged to note its location at this time.

The main holy site in the area of the Valley of Jehosaphat was the burial place of the

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[163] Oliverus, 'Historia regum Terre Sancte', p. 88; Chemins A (1261-65), p. 184.

[164] Oliverus, 'Historia regum Terre Sancte', p. 88; Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or,* p. 338.

[165] 'Rabbi Jacob', p. 117.

[166] John 9:7-11. The pool of Siloam is the Birket Silwan, south-east Mount Sion.

[167] Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p.104.6; LCTS (1244-60), p. 350; Chemins B (1254-68), p. 195; Filippo (1244-91), p. 230; Pardouns (1258-63), p. 231; Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 96; Chemins A (1261-65), p. 184.

[168] Richard Bernheimer, 'The Martyrdom of Isaiah', *The Art Bulletin*, 34 (1952), 19–34 (pp. 21–23).

Virgin Mary; this was located close to the Garden of Gethsemane and the Mount of Olives and is therefore sometimes included by the pilgrim texts in this area instead. The spot where she was buried was marked within a large crypt, access to which was by a set of large steps; above the crypt was a church and monastery.[169] The crypt-church had been built first in the sixth century, although there had been a church on the site since the fourth century.[170] Pilgrims visiting the holy site were kept from interrupting services and the monks who lived there by means of the steps which provided direct external access to the holy shrine. There appears to have been no access between the upper level and crypt during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, further ensuring separation; that this was necessary indicates the popularity of this holy place during the period of remodelling in the twelfth century.[171] Latin monks were established at the site shortly after the capture of Jerusalem in 1099, probably by Godfrey of Bouillon; they were certainly firmly established by 1113, when Pope Paschal II confirmed the abbey's privileges.[172] Like the other main churches in Jerusalem, the abbey played a key role in the Easter celebrations, and was an important part of religious and political life in city. The abbey was successful, favoured by royalty such as Queen Melisende (who had founded the convent at Bethany), and by 1187 had extensive property around Jerusalem, within the Latin Kingdom, and outside it, notably in Sicily and Calabria.[173]

Following the fall of Jerusalem in 1187, the church itself was destroyed, but the crypt below was preserved and converted into a Muslim place of prayer.[174] This did not prevent access by pilgrims though, and the site seems to have been visited fairly often. Innom. III, for example, refers to the large underground crypt when it notes that the

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[169] Innom. IV (1191-1244), p. 26.

[170] Pringle, *Churches*, III, pp. 287–88; Mayer, *Bistümer*, pp. 261–62.

[171] Pringle, 'Some Pilgrimage Churches', pp. 351-52.

[172] Mayer, *Bistümer*, pp. 259–66, 274–75, 286–87; Pringle, *Churches*, III, p. 289.

[173] Queen Melisende was buried in the church, along with other members of the royal family. Hamilton, 'Rebuilding Zion', p. 108; Pringle, *Churches*, III, pp. 289–92, 98; Mayer, *Bistümer*, pp. 264–69, 272–73, 280; see chapter V, pp. 135–38 for Bethany.

[174] The author of the *Itinerarium Ricardi* was able to visit the tomb following the truce with Saladin. *Itinerarium Ricardi*, p. 436; Pringle, *Churches*, III, p. 293.

church associated with the Virgin Mary was constructed entirely out of rocks.[175] Another anonymous text referred directly to an underground church which was damp, due to its location above the Brook Kidron; Burchard commented that in fact one could hear the brook running beneath the church, and that this meant it often flooded.[176] Wilbrand described the tomb and surrounding monument in detail, noting that they were adorned in white marble, and attended by Orthodox priests, who cared for the tomb under the direction of the Muslims, on whose worthiness to manage the tomb he also commented.[177] Riccoldo, visiting later, described the guardians of the tomb as Saracens, who decorated it with lots of lights and held it in great reverence.[178] The Orthodox priests had control over an altar in the church above the crypt containing Mary's tomb in the twelfth century; clearly, they were granted complete control of the site in the years following 1187.[179]

The monks of Jehosaphat left the holy site following the fall of Jerusalem, moving first to a daughter house near Messina on Sicily, before establishing themselves in Acre by 1198.[180] Their church is listed as having a relatively high pardon of four years and forty days, suggesting that the institution retained its importance despite the relocation, possibly indicating that the house in Acre became the headquarters for the institution rather than one outside the Latin Kingdom.[181] The monks may have tried to re-establish themselves in Jerusalem during the period of Latin rule, 1229-1244, as there is mention of a prior in Jerusalem at this time.[182] Although it is not clear how many monks returned, it certainly suggests that pilgrims to the site at this time might have had access to Latin Christian clergy for religious rites. The monks returned to Messina after the fall

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[175] Innom. III (1191-1244), p. 20

[176] Innom. IV (1191-1244), p. 26; Burchard (1274-85), p. 68.

[177] *Suriani*, being Arabic-speaking Orthodox Christians. See p. 157. Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 187.

[178] Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 187; Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 64.

[179] Theoderic, 'Libellus de locis sanctis', p. 170.

[180] Pringle, *Churches*, III, p. 293; IV, p. 144; *RRH: Add.*, p. 49, no. 740b.

[181] Compare with the institutions of St Mary the Latin and Mount Sion, pp. 171, 182.

[182] Pringle, *Churches*, III, p. 293; IV, pp. 144-45; *RRH: Add.*, p. 68, no. 1098a.

of Acre in 1291.

The crypt-church was one of the few places in the Holy Land to have a contemporary miracle which pilgrims might encounter. This was a miraculous smell, which only virgins, the chaste and the devout were holy enough to sense. The text that includes this refers to an indulgence at this location, an even rarer occurence indeed for the Holy Land.[183]

In addition to noting the burial place of Mary, several texts record the events of her funeral on the descent from Mount Sion into the Valley of Jehosaphat. They relate how a group of Jews attempted to attack the bier carrying the Virgin, and that this attack resulted in one of the attackers's arms being miraculously withered. The injured man asked St Peter to restore him and in answer to St Peter's prayers, the man was made whole again.[184] This tradition was also related in the twelfth-century pilgrim texts, although with some differences. The twelfth-century texts replace withering with amputation by an angel, and end the story without the redemption or healing of the injured man.[185] Filippo noted a site specifically associated with this tradition, where the apostles rested with the bier prior to the attack.[186] There does not seem to have been a building or shrine present in the thirteenth century, although a convent marking the site was noted in the twelfth-century Orthodox Christian pilgrim account of the abbot Daniel. It is possible that the tradition was Orthodox in origin.

The Valley of Jehosaphat was the site of several rock-cut tombs and associated *nefashot*, which had been dug into the side of the valley. Pilgrims were keen to know to whom these belonged, and a number of traditions had emerged by the thirteenth century. The tomb of James, the first bishop of Jerusalem, who was believed to have been

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[183] See chapter III, pp. 68–69. Innom. III (1191-1244), p. 20.
[184] LCTS (1244-60), p. 350.
[185] See Theoderic, 'Libellus de locis sanctis', pp. 170–71; Daniel the Abbot, pp. 133–134.
[186] Filippo (1244-91), p. 230. See also, LCTS (1244-60), p. 334.

martyred by being thrown from the Temple into the Valley, was located here.[187] The tomb was not mentioned in the twelfth-century pilgrim texts, although the association dated from at least the time of Theodosius; this was probably because the authors would have had access to the starting place of martyrdom (the Temple Mount) instead.[188] Most twelfth-century pilgrim texts which discuss the martyrdom do so when they describe the area of the Temple Mount, rather than linking it to the Valley of Jehosaphat.

The tomb of King Jehosaphat, often described as a 'mound', was located here as well, in a tradition which provided an etymology for the Valley. Burchard describes it as having a pyramid on top, which means that it can be positively identified with one of the *nefesh* which still stand in the Valley of Jehosaphat today. Finally, a third tomb, mentioned only by Riccoldo, was sited here; this was a tomb for the wife of Solomon. Riccoldo called the tomb *mirabile*, probably indicating 'marvellous' here, rather than 'miraculous'.[189]

The Mount of Olives

The final set of sites in the area of Jerusalem were those on the Mount of Olives. These sites were primarily associated with the final days of Christ.

Many of the pilgrim texts mention the site of Jesus's ascension first in their description of the Mount of Olives, although this was at the very top of the Mount, and would not have been the first site visited. The exact spot of the Ascension was marked by a stone with the footprints of Jesus impressed upon it, a relic noted by many of the pilgrim texts.[190] The architectural history of the structure surrounding the sacred stone is still debated, but it is clear that by 1187 the stone sat under an aedicule within a

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[187] St James also had a church near to the Temple Mount, according to Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem, although this may also be a reference to his tomb below the Temple Mount. Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 95.
[188] Theodosius, p. 21; Pringle, *Churches*, III, pp. 182–83.
[189] Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 52.
[190] Footprints: Innom. X (1187-1291), p. 104; Innom. IX (1187-1291), p. 94; Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 27; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 34; LCTS (1244-60), p. 352.

Crusader-style church.[191] Although ruined and made part of a *waqf* by Saladin after 1187, enough of the structure remained that two texts referred to a church on the site during the thirteenth century. That most of the pilgrim texts who include the stone do not mention a church is explained by the description of Wilbrand; he noted that by his visit in 1211, the place of the Ascension was within a ruined monastery which had a Saracen 'oratory' inside.[192] The place of the Ascension seems to have remained a mosque, or at least remained under Islamic control, throughout the thirteenth century.[193] Burchard was, nevertheless, able to go inside and described how the site of the Ascension was located in the centre of the church, under a hole in the roof, much like the church of the Holy Sepulchre. The footprints were placed such that a pilgrim could reach and touch them, without seeing them. It is difficult to estimate more generally to what extent Latin Christians could access this holy site across the thirteenth century, since several pilgrim texts just refer to the Mount of Olives overall as the place of Ascension, suggesting that access to the exact position was either not possible, or the holy site was unknown to the author.

Next to the place of Ascension was one of the few sites in Jerusalem associated with a post-biblical saint; the tomb of Pelagia. Pelagia was a fifth-century actress of poor morals in Antioch, who repented of her sins and moved to a cave on the Mount of Olives to live out her days in penance.[194] The saint's life and traditions show some similarities with Mary of Egypt, which explains why two pilgrim texts (Innom. IV and *Hec sunt peregrinaciones*) put Mary of Egypt in this tomb, rather than St Pelagia. Filippo tries to reconcile the two traditions by noting that the tomb was that of Pelagia, but that Mary of Egypt's body was buried here as well until the body was moved by Latins following the conquest of Jerusalem. He says that the body was translated to a

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[191] Pringle, *Churches*, III, pp. 86–87.
[192] 'oratorium'. Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 188.
[193] Pringle, *Churches*, III, pp. 75, 87
[194] Butler, *Lives of Saints*, XI, pp. 170–72

castle in France called Blesis, as yet unidentified.[195] St Pelagia's tomb was located underground in a cave-chapel dating from the Byzantine period, which was thought to be the cave in which she had lived. The chapel is described in the pilgrim texts as 'Greek', further supporting the idea that it was part of the Orthodox tradition. The site was also included in Islamic tradition as the tomb of Rabi'a al-'Adawiyya, a ninth-century Muslim saint whose life shows similarities to those of Mary of Egypt and St Pelagia.[196] The tomb had miraculous properties, as visitors to the site were not able to encircle the tomb until they had properly confessed.[197]

Near to the place of Ascension was the church of the Pater Noster. This crypt-chapel, the crypt likely being the only part of the Byzantine church left in the thirteenth century, commemorated the place where Jesus taught the disciples the Lord's Prayer.[198] Most of the texts which include this location note the presence of a church or chapel, suggesting that this building survived the fall of Jerusalem in 1187. Also near here was the place where Jesus wept over Jerusalem on Palm Sunday. The descriptions indicate that there was a stone on the ground to mark the spot, but that there was no church at this stage.[199]

At the bottom of the Mount of Olives was the garden of Gethsemane, which was associated with several key events from Jesus's last days. This was located close to the church of the tomb of the Virgin Mary, and was virtually in the Valley itself. The texts

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[195] Innom. IV (1191-1244), p. 24; Filippo (1244-91), p. 232.

[196] Rabi'a was slave girl and entertainer who repented of her immoral life. Julian Baldick, *Mystical Islam: An Introduction to Sufism* (London: I. B.Tauris, 2000), p. 29. For more on the sharing of the Pelagia tomb, including the later addition of a Jewish tradition, see Ora Limor, 'Sharing Sacred Space: Holy Places in Jerusalem between Christianity, Judaism, and Islam', in *In laudem hierosolymitani*, pp. 219–32 (pp. 227–28).

[197] Filippo (1244-91), p. 232; Pardouns (1258-63), p. 232; Burchard (1274-85), p. 75. This tradition was still present in the fifteenth century. Limor, 'Sharing Sacred Space', pp. 230–31.

[198] Pringle, 'Some Pilgrimage Churches', p. 348; Pringle, *Churches*, III, p. 123. This event is described in the Gospels at Matt. 6:9–13 and Luke 11:2–4 but neither Gospel links the event to Jerusalem. The association with the Mount of Olives is a later one. Wilbrand confuses the site where Jesus prayed prior to the Passion the church of the Pater Noster, and a destroyed monastery on the summit of Mount of Olives. Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 187.

[199] Luke 19:41. The Gospel account places the events on the Mount of Olives. Innom. IV (1191-1244), p. 26; LCTS (1244-60), p. 350; Filippo (1244-91), p. 230; Hec sunt peregrinaciones (1244-99), p. 336.

vary in their descriptions, with some locating all events generally in the garden of Gethsemane, and with others indicating specific sites. There seems to be no specific reason for the variation in how the events are described, although some of the differences can be attributed to inconsistency in the Gospel accounts of the event. The garden was the place where, according to the New Testament, Jesus prayed apart from the disciples three times, the third time with such passion that he sweated blood; or, if following Luke's account, where he prayed once and was comforted by an angel.[200] In the thirteenth century each of these events seems to have been associated with a separate site, including the comforting by the angel, and at least one had a stone marked with finger impressions, where Jesus had squeezed the rock during prayer. Various combinations of these sites were noted by the texts. These sites were associated in some accounts with the main church for this area, dedicated to St Saviour; as there is no overlap between those texts which mention the church and those which mention the fingermarks, it is possible that the two are mutually exclusive traditions, perhaps resulting from the destruction of either the church or the stones. The original Byzantine church had an outcrop of rock for each prayer, but when this was rebuilt during the twelfth century, the sites were moved.[201] Wilbrand, writing at the start of the thirteenth century, noted that the church which marked where Judas had betrayed Jesus, and in which Jesus was accustomed to meet his disciples was the *ecclesia Sanctum Pater Noster* ('church of the Pater Noster'), which was further up the Mount of Olives. He comments that this information came from the 'people' (*a populo*); he was perhaps recording an alternative local tradition, or misunderstanding what a local guide told him.[202]

Virtually all of the pilgrim texts also note the Garden as the place of the betrayal and

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[200] Mark and Matthew have the grieving Jesus pray three times, whereas in Luke he prays only once. Matt. 26:36-46; Mark 14:32–42; Luke 22:40–46.

[201] Pringle, 'Some Pilgrimage Churches', p. 347.

[202] Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 187.

arrest of Jesus, which was associated with another rock or wall with finger-marks, created when Jesus grabbed it upon his arrest.

The village of Bethphage, located on the far side of the Mount of Olives, was the place where Jesus started to ride on the donkey on Palm Sunday, after it had been procured there by Philip and John.[203] This holy place, mentioned by many of the twelfth century texts, is also included in several thirteenth-century sites. Although there had been a church there in the twelfth century, with a rock identified as the mounting block used by Jesus, it is not noted in the thirteenth-century texts, and was probably destroyed in 1187, in the Muslim conquest of Jerusalem.[204] References to Bethphage may simply be references to the village itself as pilgrims passed it on the way to the Jordan – of those texts which include it, only Riccoldo's account shows evidence that he definitely visited the site.

One of the more curious sites included by pilgrim texts in the section on the Mount of Olives, despite not being on the Mount of Olives, was 'Galilee'. The site was the medieval solution to a theological problem which is still discussed today; the apparent contradiction between the Gospel accounts of Jesus's post-resurrection appearances, in which he seemingly tells his disciples to meet him in both Galilee and Jerusalem. By having a 'Galilee' in Jerusalem, the pilgrim texts make the Gospels tally. Riccoldo provides a short discussion on the topic, explaining to the reader that the Mount Galilee listed in the Gospels was in Judaea and not Galilee; he does however mention the alternative view was that this mountain was Mount Tabor. This site was undoubtedly included in the texts during descriptions of the Mount of Olives because it was visible from this location, suggesting that it was a site viewed but not visited by pilgrims. The site was also sometimes included in the sections on Mount Sion, partly for the same reason, but also possibly due to confusion with the chapel of Gallicantu in the texts,

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[203] Matt 21:1–11; Mark 11:1–11; Luke 19:28–44.
[204] Pringle, *Churches*, I, pp. 157–58; Pringle, 'Some Pilgrimage Churches', p. 346.

which can be spelt similarly. *Sains pelerinages*, for example, calls the chapel of Gallicantu 'Saint Pierre en Galilée'.[205] It seems likely that Innom. IX's description of a chapel of Galilee above Mount Sion, where the disciples met Jesus, is a conflation of the two traditions.[206] Filippo and LCTS further complicate the tradition by identifying this 'Mount Galilee' with the Old Testament Mount of Offense where Solomon had his idolatorous shrines.[207] These texts place the mount alongside the Mount of Olives, but separated by the Jericho road. Taking all this into account, one can suggest that the southernmost hill of the Mount of Olives range, just eastwards of Mount Sion, was being pointed out to pilgrims on Mount Sion and the Mount of Olives as Galilee.

Other Sites around Jerusalem

A number of sites in and around Jerusalem defy any discussion associated with one particular area, and so have been placed in a separate section. The first set of sites are those associated with St Stephen the Protomartyr, which present some difficulties when discussed in relation to the thirteenth century. Looking to the earlier period first, one notes that twelfth-century pilgrim texts all generally locate his martyrdom outside the main gate to the city, on the route to Jaffa. This is the site preferred in the thirteenth-century itineraria and early pilgrim accounts which mostly locate his death just outside the city walls to the north, on the road past Montjoie. This area was one of the first holy places in the area of Jerusalem which pilgrims came across, since it was one of the main routes into Jerusalem. The site of the stoning was marked by a twelfth-century church, which had been built by the Benedictines of St Mary the Latin near to the ruined

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[205] Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104.6;
[206] Innom. IX (1187-1291), p. 94.
[207] Kings I 11:17. LCTS (1244-60), p. 360; Filippo (1244-91), p. 240. Thietmar notes that Bethany was contiguous with the Mount of Offense rather than the Mount of Olives. Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 30; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 57. Burchard discusses the Mount of Offense separately, Burchard (1274-85), pp. 70, 75–76.

Byzantine church which had previously marked the site.[208] In 1187 this church seems to have been pulled down by the Frankish defenders during the attack on Jerusalem by Saladin, in order to make it harder for the Muslim army to reach and attack the walls.[209] Thietmar, however, believed that the destruction of the church had been by the Muslims.[210] Nevertheless, the gate nearest the area associated with Stephen's stoning had become known as the Gate of St Stephen, and it was through this gate that many pilgrims entered Jerusalem for the first time, particularly during the period 1229 to 1244.[211] At some point following this however, the identification of this gate moved, so that it led out onto the Valley of Jehosaphat rather than on to the road to Montjoie. The pilgrim texts start then to suggest that St Stephen's stoning took place here, in the Valley of Jehosaphat instead. This was made possible by the lack of physical evidence for the stoning on the northern side of the city, caused by the destruction of the church in 1187. The situation was exacerbated by the closure of the original Gate of St Stephen to Latin Christian pilgrims by the Mamlūks.[212] LCTS, the text which contains an alternative version of Filippo's pilgrim account, tries to maintain both traditions, noting that one arrived in Jerusalem from Jaffa via St Stephen's Gate, but that St Stephen's gate could also be identified with the Fish Gate, on the east side of the city.

Finally, St Stephen's tomb was also located separately to the place of his martyrdom, and as noted above, this was on Mount Sion. This was the continuation of an association started in the fifth century, when the body of St Stephen was translated to a church

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[208] Pringle, 'Some Pilgrimage Churches', p. 344.
[209] Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, p. 48.
[210] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 26; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 33.
[211] Frederick II is believed to have rebuilt the northern gate, known as the Gate of St Stephen/Damascus Gate, during the brief period of his control of Jerusalem, making it the main gate of the city. Bahat, 'Crusader Jerusalem', p. 74.
[212] Pringle, *Churches*, III, p. 375.

there.[213] Pilgrims interested in the death of St Stephen might therefore be shown three different sites around Jerusalem, each of which contained a slightly different tradition.

To the south of Jerusalem, outside the city, the pilgrim texts describe a curious post-biblical site. At this site were buried Christian martyrs who had been killed by pagans, but whose bodies had been miraculously dragged by lions into a cave. Riccoldo notes that this site was associated with a beautiful monastery, which was run by 'Saracen' (probably Syrian) monks; he locates the site some four miles outside of Jerusalem.[214] Thietmar, writing considerably earlier, locates these events just outside the southern city gate, in the 'carnerium leonis'.[215] Rabbi Jacob, a Jewish traveller who visited Jerusalem between 1238-1244, also describes this site, noting that it was where the bones of the righteous were placed in the cave by a lion following their execution by the 'Greek king'.[216]

Summary

The most important conclusion to be drawn is that, despite the evident difficulties with doing so, Latin Christian pilgrims continued to visit Jerusalem throughout the thirteenth century, although they were not always able to visit all of the holy sites that they wished to. The Temple Mount was inaccessible for the whole period, except perhaps for a few months in 1244. The church of the Holy Sepulchre was usually accessible to Latin Christian pilgrims, although outside of the period 1229 to 1244 entrance was upon payment of a fee, and the time that a pilgrim could spend there was limited. The other areas within the walls seem to have been usually inaccessible, although occasionally pilgrims such as Riccoldo, were able to walk through the main part of the city. Outside the walls, pilgrims seem to have had more freedom, visiting most sites easily, including

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[213] Pringle, *Churches*, III, pp. 380.
[214] Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 58; *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 203.
[215] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 27; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 35. Pringle identifies this with the Mamilla Pool. Pringle, *Churches*, III, pp. 217–20.
[216] 'Rabbi Jacob', p. 119.

those which had been converted into mosques.

Latin Christian pilgrimage to Jerusalem was different to that in other areas of the Holy Land. The emphasis was on the sites associated with the last days of Christ, and to a lesser extent on other events of the New Testament. Few sites with Old Testament or non-biblical associations were noted by the Latin Christians; however, those that were mentioned were more commonly associated with Eastern or Greek Orthodox Christianity, and their inclusion hints at an increasing non-Latin Christian influence. Orthodox sites, such as the church of St John the Evangelist, began to be mentioned more often in the thirteenth-century texts than in the twelfth-century ones. There were also two examples of religious syncretism in this area, albeit outside the walls of Jerusalem. These were the church of St Mary in Jehosaphat and the cave-church of St Pelagia, both of which attracted the veneration of Muslims at this time.

It is difficult to estimate to what extent pilgrims were able to see relics in Jerusalem. Many of the Latin Christian-controlled relics would have been lost or transferred to Acre, but presumably some must have remained under the control of the remaining non-Latin Christian clergy. The pilgrim texts refer mostly to larger, harder-to-move relics, such as the footprints at the place of Ascension, the finger-marks in Gethsemane and the columns of flagellation, although even these were subject to movement and destruction. Pilgrims may also have been able to see relics in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, at least before the Khwārazmian destruction of 1244. There are references to the chains used to bind Jesus in the prison, and it is suggested that the Muslim authorities made fragments of the Cross available in order to promote profitable pilgrimage.[217] Furthermore, the Jerusalem churches which had never come under Latin Christian control seemed to have retained their relics. The church of St Chariton retained its relics, as did the church of St Sabas. The head of St James was said by Filippo to have

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[217] Boas, *Jerusalem*, p. 18.

been miraculously translated from Jaffa to Jerusalem, and it is likely that the Armenian church of St James was also able to keep this relic.[218]

Although miracle shrines were relatively rare in the Holy Land, there were two in Jerusalem; the tombs of the Virgin Mary and St Pelagia, both of which had miracles which claimed to identify the religious purity of the visitor. The church of the Holy Sepulchre was also the location for the miracle of Easter fire; although it is referred to, there are no thirteenth-century descriptions from a pilgrim attending the event, which suggests that Latin Christians were rarely able to experience this at this time. This was probably partly due to the sailing season, the timing of which meant that pilgrims would often have overwinter in the Holy Land in order to experience Easter there.[219] However, for all their importance, the church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Temple Mount never became miracle shrines in the traditional sense.[220]

One of the key trends in this area was the movement, proliferation and confusion of sites. Although this can be seen elsewhere in the Holy Land at this time, it is particularly prevalent in Jerusalem, due to the lack of Latin religious institutional continuity (which occurred as a result of the conquests of Jerusalem), the greater presence of non-Latin Christian traditions which could provide alternative sites, and the practical considerations of access. The difficulty in reaching some areas, such as that around the Temple Mount, led to traditions migrating to the church of the Holy Sepulchre and Mount Sion, which were more easily visited. However, the original locations frequently remained in the pilgrim text tradition as well, leading to site duplication, as with the Praetorium and prison of Jesus. In some cases, differences in the Gospel accounts led to duplication of sites, as pilgrims sought to include all possible places during their pilgrimage. This is the case for the garden of Gethsemane, where pilgrims saw the three

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[218] Filippo (1244-91), p. 226.
[219] See the discussion in chapter I, pp. 5–6 and chapter IX, pp. 242–43.
[220] Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*, p. 82.

places of prayer (Matthew and Mark) and the one place of prayer where the angel supported Jesus (Luke).

Saladin did not allow Latin Christians to occupy the Holy Sepulchre following the Third Crusade, so this and other religious sites in Jerusalem were under the control of non-Latin Christians for much of the thirteenth century. Latin Christian institutions may have returned in the period 1229-1244, but it is not clear to what extent. It has been suggested that these non-Latin denominations, particularly the Arabic-speaking Greek Orthodox provided a religious continuity for the city's holy sites during the late twelfth and thirteenth century; if this is the case, then it is very likely that their traditions were the ones shown/told to the Latin Christians who did manage to reach the city.[221] Certainly, one sees an increase in references by Latin Christians to non-Latin Christian sites or aspects of sites, in the thirteenth century. Not only were churches such as the Armenian church of St James and the Orthodox hospice of St Sabas were mentioned more often, presumably in part because they retained their relics, but also established Latin Christian sites of pilgrimage, such as the Holy Sepulchre and tomb of the Virgin Mary, were described with reference to those denominations who ministered to pilgrims there. Furthermore, the pilgrim texts also refer to the presence of Muslims at the sites; these are predominantly guards and guides, but reference is made to the reverence with which they viewed sites. Jerusalem had at least three Christian shrines which were shared with Muslim worshippers; these were the place of the Ascension, the tomb of the Virgin Mary and the tomb of Pelagia. It is possible that Muslim traditions regarding these sites were also passed on to the Latin Christians who visited them.

In general, pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the thirteenth century shared many of the characteristics of the twelfth century, focusing on the life of Christ and key events in the aftermath of the Passion, and many of the same sites seem to have been visited.

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[221] Hunt, 'Eastern Christian Art', pp. 327–29.

However, as noted above there were changes, notably the inability to visit the Temple Mount, the difficulty in exploring within the walls of the city and the increasing prominence of non-Latin Christians. Although one might see a standard pilgrim route begin to be established in the twelfth century, this was not the case for the thirteenth century, as a result of the ever-changing patterns of access. Riccoldo, for example, was first unable to enter Jerusalem and the church of the Holy Sepulchre, but then later came back and was able to walk up through the city, past the Probatic Pool to the tomb. There were areas in which pilgrims visited all the sites at the same time, but nothing that really indicates a standard order or route. Although it is tempting to say otherwise, there is nothing to indicate that the fourteenth-century development of the *via dolorosa* had its origins in this period, if for no other reason than the holy sites themselves were not fixed.

As with other regions, it is tricky to establish a chronology of pilgrimage during the thirteenth century. However, it is noticeable that the later, post-1229 pilgrims, were able to visit more sites than those prior to this date. Thietmar and Wilbrand's experiences of Jerusalem seem to have been quite limited, by comparison to later pilgrims. For the period 1229 to 1244, this was undoubtedly due to Latin political control, which made most holy sites available to pilgrims; after this however, the increased access must have been due to a policy change on the part of the Muslim authorities, possibly because after the governmental centralisation and the destruction of Baybars's rule in the 1260s, the Latin state was less of a threat to the rulers of Jerusalem.

VII. Samaria
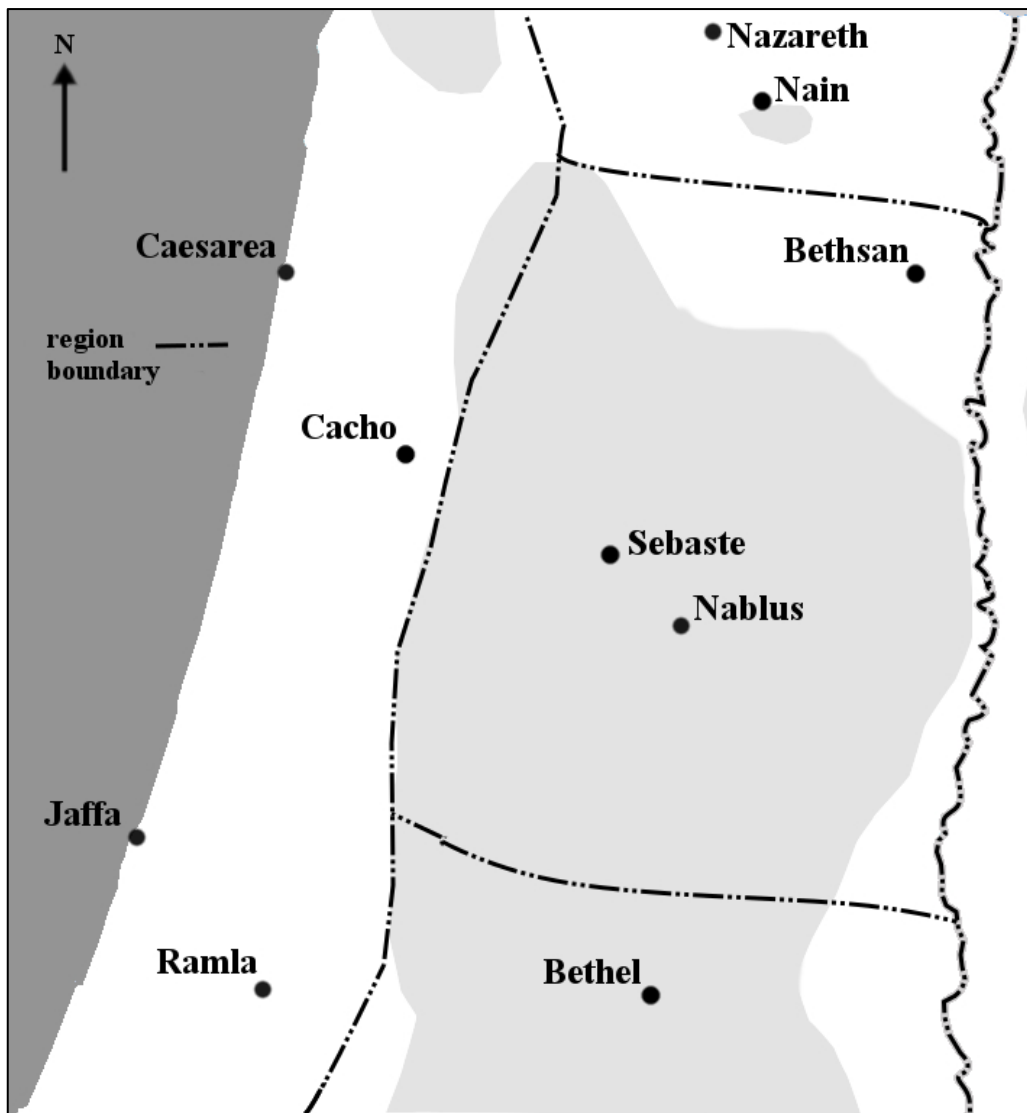
Map 5: Extent of Samaria. Pale grey approximately indicates areas of high ground.

Table 5: Sites in Samaria: by pilgrim text, with page references

	Innom. X (1187-1291)	Innom. IX (1187-1291)	Innom. III (1191-1244)	Innom. IV (1191-1244)	Wilbrand A (1211-12)	Thietmar A (1217-18)	Thietmar B (1218-91)	Sains Pelerinages (1229-55)	LCTS (1244-60)	Filippo (1244-91)	Hec sunt Peregrinaciones (1244-99)	Chemins B (1254-68)	Pardouns (1258-63)	Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s)	Chemins A (1261-65)	Burchard (1274-85)	Riccoldo (1288-89)
Sebaste	106	96	-	-	-	25	33	104.7	346	224	338	197	233	100	186	52-53	-
Nablus	106	96	20	-	-	25	33	104.7	346	224	338	197	233	100	186	55	-
Bethsan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	248	-	-	-	-	-	51	-
Mount Gilboa	-	-	-	-	-	7	22	-	-	248	-	-	-	-	-	50-51	-

Between the regions of Judea, Galilee and the Southern Coast, was Samaria. This region stretched across the mountainous area north of Jerusalem, between Bethel and Bethsan. The area, by contrast to the other areas, was sparsely populated: it was settled by Christians just north of Jerusalem, but otherwise was a Samaritan and Muslim area.[1] Unlike the other regions under discussion, Samaria was never under Frankish control during the thirteenth century. It was recognised as a distinct area by contemporary accounts, in much the same way as Galilee.[2]

During the twelfth century, travellers frequently passed through Samaria to go between Galilee and Jerusalem, and the region provided an alternative route back to Acre from Jerusalem. Twelfth-century and thirteenth-century pilgrim texts focused mainly on Sebaste and Nablus, so these locations will be used as the basis for discussion in this chapter.

North from Jerusalem was Nablus, also known as Neapolis or Shechem. The medieval town was situated to the west of the original ancient city. Burchard described it as very pretty, sited in a valley between high mountains, but not fortified. He noted further that the area around the city was fertile, and recorded the existence of various ruins around the area.

Nablus was described in thirteenth-century pilgrim texts primarily as the place where Jesus spoke to the Samaritan at the well of Jacob, despite this being a short distance from the town itself.[3] The well was located next to the main road between Jerusalem and Nablus, making it easily accessible and visible to all pilgrims who used that road, regardless of whether they stopped at Nablus or not.[4] Burchard provided the longest description of the site, and it is clear from his text that he did actually visit it. His

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[1] Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*, pp. 244–52.
[2] See, for example: 'De Iherusalem à Samarie', Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 100.
[3] John 4:1-43.
[4] Burchard (1274-85), p. 55.

description does not include a church, and it is possible that the cruciform church built here by the Franks around 1172 had been destroyed by the time he visited.[5]

Nablus was linked by pilgrims to the patriarch Joseph, whose body was said to have been translated from Egypt to the area.[6] This tradition was noted in the twelfth-century pilgrim texts, but is mentioned significantly less often in the thirteenth century. R. Samuel ben Samson, a traveller who visited in 1210, describes seeing the tomb of Joseph here, as did R. Jacob, who visited in 1238-1244.[7] The tomb was described as having marble pillars at either end, with a stone wall around it; it would have been a prominent part of the landscape, and highly visible to those who visited the area. Benjamin of Tudela, who visited the tomb in the mid-twelfth century, commented that the site was under Samaritan control; it is quite likely that this was still the case in the thirteenth century.[8]

Nablus was also associated, in one crusade account, with the mountain on which Abraham tried to sacrifice Isaac. This is not mentioned in any further Latin Christian sources, but R. Samuel ben Samson described the altar of Abraham as being in this area, visible from the road between Bethel and Ai.[9] This tradition may have been of non-Latin Christian origin.

There is no evidence for any Christian churches in use after 1187 either in Nablus or at the site of Jacob's well. Those constructed before 1187 seem to have been converted into mosques after this time, with the possible exception of an Armenian church which is noted in contemporary documents but has not been located.[10] As the well of Jacob was by the main road, it would have been relatively easy to note the location of the

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[5] Pringle, 'Some Pilgrimage Churches', p. 349.
[6] LCTS (1244-60), p. 346; Filippo (1244-91), p. 224; Burchard (1274-85), p. 55.
[7] 'Rabbi Samuel Ben Samson', p. 105; 'Rabbi Jacob', p. 116.
[8] Benjamin of Tudela, pp. 20–21.
[9] *Rothelin Continuation*, p. 512; 'Rabbi Samuel Ben Samson', p. 105. The mountain is not named the Bible. Genesis 22:9.
[10] Pringle, *Churches*, I, pp. 258–64 and II, pp. 94–115.

remains, as would it have been to note the monument holding the tomb of Joseph.

Further north on the road towards Nazareth was Sebaste. This settlement was traditionally associated with the beheading and burial of John the Baptist, whose death and burial were not specifically located in the Gospel accounts. Most of the pilgrim texts which included Sebaste linked it with John the Baptist's beheading and burial, but rarely include any extra information or description of the site.[11] As with Nablus, the best description of Sebaste was from Burchard of Mount Sion. He described how the tomb of John lay between those of Elisha and Obadiah, within a mosque which had formerly been the town's cathedral. He noted in particular the importance of John to the Muslims, before adding that there was a second church in Sebaste. This church was associated with an Orthodox monastery, which apparently claimed to be the both the place of John's imprisonment and beheading.[12] Although he included this association in his text, Burchard disagreed with it, informing the reader that the true location was Macherunta, beyond the Jordan.[13]

In addition to the places associated with John the Baptist, Burchard also recorded the location of various ruins around Sebaste, which he linked to Old Testament descriptions of the area, but which have been identified as the ruins of Herod's Temple to Augustus.[14] Also described in this area were the hills of Dan and Bethel, on which King Jeroboam put golden calves. These hills were mentioned in both versions of Filippo and Thietmar, as well as Burchard of Mount Sion.[15] From the position in the text, it seems

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[11] Similarly, see the description in *Rothelin Continuation*, p. 512.

[12] Burchard (1274-85), pp. 52–53.

[13] This association first occurs in Josephus. Flavius Josephus, *Josephus: Jewish Antiquities, Books XVIII-XIX*, 9 vols. (London: Heinemann, 1965), IX, p. 85. Albert notes that the beheading took place in Macherunta, but that John's body was carried to Sebaste for burial. Albert of Stade, 'Annales Stadenses', p. 343.

[14] Burchard (1274-85), p. 53; Burchard of Mount Sion, *Description of the Holy Land*, trans. by Aubrey Stewart (London: Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1896) p. 51, note 2.

[15] 2 Kings 10:29; Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 25; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 33; LCTS (1244-60), p. 346; Filippo (1244-91), p. 224; Burchard (1274-85), p. 54.

that the authors of these accounts located the hills of Dan and Bethel in the area of Jacob's well; Thietmar stated that King Jeroboam made the golden calves next to the well itself.[16] Burchard again provides the most information, locating the hills of Dan and Bethel on either side of Nablus, and providing the Arabic version of the name. He also records a separate tradition linking the hill of Dan to Banyas/Caesarea Philippi, where the mound of Dan is commonly located today.[17]

Finally, running through most of Samaria was the mountain range known as Mount Gilboa. This area is recorded in the Latin guides as a site with links to events in the Old Testament. It was the place where Saul and his son Jonathan were killed, and was famous for never having any rain.[18] The bodies of Saul and Jonathan were hung outside the walls of Bethsan, the northernmost point of the area of Samaria, about which the guides record little else. Both Mount Gilboa and Bethsan overlook the Jezreel valley, which was mentioned by the two pilgrim texts, but only as a waymarker. Next to the valley was a plain on which the Old Testament king Ozymandias was killed, and within the valley was a fountain which was also noted in the Old Testament.[19] There is nothing to suggest these were visited regularly by pilgrims, nor that these were goals of pilgrimage in themselves, rather than sites to be pointed out along the way.

Summary

It is difficult to say to what extent Latin Christian pilgrimage continued through the thirteenth century in Samaria. There were a limited number of sites to visit, it was not under Latin control, and was in the borderland between the Latin and Muslim polities.

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[16] Thietmar A also suggests that David killed Goliath around this area. This event is located in the other guides on the outskirts of Jerusalem, near the Brook Kidron. See chapter VI, p. 187.
[17] Burchard (1274-85), p. 54. Avraham Negev and Shimon Gibson, *Archaeological Encyclopedia of the Holy Land* (New York: Continuum, 2001), p. 131.
[18] 1 Samuel 31:3-6; 1 Chronicles 10:3-6.
[19] Burchard (1274-85), p. 51; Filippo (1244-91), p. 248. 1 Samuel 24:1.

Although some sites such as Jacob's well were frequently mentioned in the thirteenth-century pilgrim texts, very little detail about Samaria is generally included in the texts, probably because the sites were no longer on the main routes of pilgrimage to and from Jerusalem.[20] The account of Thietmar A makes it clear that this pilgrim did not visit Samaria itself, but saw it from a distance whilst travelling between Ramla and Bethlehem.[21] Of the authors of pilgrim accounts, only Filippo and Burchard of Mount Sion, both of whom were travelling in the second half of the thirteenth century, definitely visited Samaria themselves. It is significant that the pilgrim texts tend not to mention any additional places in this region, such as waymarkers, rest-stops or other interesting sites. This is unique to Samaria, and suggests that there was little 'real' pilgrimage to this area. Further support for this view can be found in the maps of Matthew Paris, which completely omit any sites associated with this region, focusing instead on the routes between holy sites along the coast.[22]

Most of the sites in this area were described with reference to the Old Testament, although two of the three main sites, the well of Jacob and tomb of John the Baptist, were holy through association with the New Testament.[23] These main sites were described in the same way as when noted in the twelfth-century pilgrim texts. There were no references in the thirteenth-century pilgrim texts to any post-biblical traditions, nor to any miracles or indulgences. Presumably there were relics of John the Baptist in either the mosque which held his tomb, or in the Orthodox monastery where he was beheaded, but these are not specially referenced in any of the texts, and there is nothing to suggest there were other relics here. It ought to be noted that over half the Old

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[20] See chapter VI; Liz Mylod, 'Routes to Salvation: Travelling through the Holy Land in the 13th Century', in *Journeying along Medieval Routes*, ed. by Marianne O'Doherty, Alison Gascoigne, and Leonie Hicks (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming)

[21] The text and context make it clear that the description is not the result of a visit from Thietmar. Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 25.

[22] Matthew Paris, 'Holy Land Map (BL)'; Matthew Paris, 'Holy Land Map (CCCC)'.

[23] The third main site was the tomb of Joseph.

Testament sites here are described only by Burchard of Mount Sion, a writer who focused much more heavily on the Old Testament than any other pilgrim author. These have not been noted in this chapter, for the reasons noted in the Introduction.

Pilgrimage in this area shows, perhaps, more influence from non-Latin Christians than others, as a result of the infrequency of Latin Christian pilgrimage here. The location of John the Baptist's beheading was probably an Orthodox tradition, and his tomb was under Muslim control. The tomb of Joseph was visited and noted by Jewish travellers, although was itself most likely under the control of Samaritans. The other sites noted, with the exception of Jacob's well, seem to have had no formal structures associated with them by the thirteenth century.

This region seems to have suffered a decline in pilgrim interest in the thirteenth century; although it was important enough to be referred to in pilgrim texts, most likely few pilgrims visited here. Those that did visit visited the same sites as twelfth-century pilgrims, although they were subject to greater non-Latin Christian influence.

VIII. Galilee

Map 6: Extent of Galilee: Pale grey approximately indicates areas of high ground.

Table 6: Sites in Galilee: by pilgrim text, with page references

	Innom. X (1187-1291)	Innom. IX (1187-1291)	Innom. III (1191-1244)	Innom. IV (1191-1244)	Wilbrand A (1211-12)	Thietmar A (1217-18)	Thietmar B (1218-91)	Sains Pelerinages (1229-55)	LCTS (1244-60)	Filippo (1244-91)	Hec sunt Peregrinaciones (1244-99)	Chemins B (1254-68)	Pardouns (1258-63)	Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s)	Chemins A (1261-65)	Burchard (1274-85)	Riccoldo (1288-89)
Sepphoris	106	-	-	-	-	3	20	104	342	222	-	198	234	100	187	44/46	-
Nazareth	106	96	18-20	26	-	3	20	104	342	222	338	198	234	100	187	47	46
Saltus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	104	342	222	-	198	234	100	-	47	44
Cana in Galilee	106	96	-	-	-	4	20	104-104.1	342	222	338	197-98	234	101	187	44	38
- Kafa Kanna	106		-	-	-	4	20	104-104.1	-	-	-	197-98	-	101	187	-	-
-Khirbat Qana	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	234	-	-	-	-
Mount Tabor	106	96	-	-	-	4	21	104.1	342	222	338	197	233	101	187	107	42-44
Naim	-	-	-	-	-	5	21	104.1	344	222	-	197	233	101	187	48	44

Tiberias	-	-	-	-	-	6	22	104.1-04.2	342-44	246-48	-	197	-	101-03	187	45	42
Magdala	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	248	-	-	233-34	-	-	40-41	42
Capernaum	106	-	-	-	-	6	22	104.1	344	248	-	197	-	90/102	187-88	36/38/40	40
Bethsaida	-	-	-	-	-	6	22	-	344	248	-	-	-	-	-	39	40
Gergessa/demon Legion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	248	-	-	-	-	-	-	40
Corrosaim	-	-	-	-	-	7	22	-	344	248	-	-	-	-	-	36-37	-
Cedar	-	-	-	-	-	7	22	-	344	248	-	-	-	-	-	36-37	
Safad	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	104.2	-	-	-	-	-	102	188	34	40
Dothaim	-	-	-	-	-	7	2	104.2	344	248	-	-	-	102	188	39	40
Bethulia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	344	248	-	-	-	-	-	39-40	42

The region of Galilee consisted of the area around the Sea of Galilee, a freshwater lake roughly 33 miles in circumference. It stretched west as far as Sepphoris, south to Bethsan, and north to the castle of Safad; its eastern edge included the eastern coast of the Sea, but no further. The region was hilly, but not mountainous, and fertile. Eastern Galilee had a mixed Jewish and Muslim population, and the presence of brigands and nomads made it relatively lawless and dangerous, at least until the construction of Safad castle. As a result, this area had never had a consolidated Latin political presence.[1]

At the start of the twelfth century, before Latin control over the region was established, access was relatively tricky even for non-Latin, Christian pilgrims, because of the relatively lawless nature of the area. The Greek Orthodox abbot Daniel, for example, tagged along with a raiding party from the Latin kingdom to enable him to visit sites there.[2] From the 1130s it became more secure, so pilgrimage here increased in line with that elsewhere in the Holy Land. The entire region was captured by Saladin in 1187, and never fully recovered. Western Galilee came under sporadic Frankish control until 1266, when Baybars conquered Safad, bringing the whole area under Muslim political control.[3] Neverthless various treaties, including that of 1272 between the Mamluks and Lord Edward of England, and 1283 between Qalāwūn and the Latin kingdom, specifically guaranteed access to some of the holy sites, enabling pilgrimage to continue.[4] The main trading routes to Damascus ran from Acre along the edge of this area, making it relatively straightforward for travellers to join groups going through the western half of the region, but eastern Galilee remained outside the Frankish sphere of influence.

Pilgrim accounts indicate one main route through this region. This went from Acre

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[1] Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*, pp. 217–21.
[2] Daniel the Abbot, p. 154.
[3] Marshall, Warfare, p. 32.
[4] For more on these treaties, see chapter III, pp. 58–59.

south and west to Nazareth, west past Mount Tabor to the Sea of Galilee, and north along the western shoreline towards Safad. From here, travellers could either return back to Acre via St George, retrace their steps, or go on to Damascus. There is virtually no evidence for pilgrimage to the east side of the Sea, presumably because of the heightened risk of attack in that area for much of the period. This section will use this route as the basis for discussion of the pilgrimage sites of the area.

Most of the pilgrim texts mention Sepphoris as the first place on the road after Safran. Sepphoris is described as being a pleasant town, with an overlooking castle. The town had several springs, and there are several references to it being the place where armies or raiding parties camped on the way to or from the main part of Galilee. The town was militarily significant and strongly defensible: in 1182 the army of the Latin Kingdom mustered there before and between attacks from Saladin, which they successfully repulsed. Again, 1183, the army mustered at Sepphoris whilst ascertaining in which direction Saladin planned to attack, before going out to meet him near other springs at Tubania, failing to engage his army in battle and then retiring again to the springs at Sepphoris to await further attacks. Finally, it seems likely that the decision to move the army away from its secure encampment there in the summer of 1187 led to the Frankish defeat in the Battle of Hattin.[5] In the thirteenth century, Philip of Novara noted how the horses were pastured there by crusaders after a raiding party in 1239, and Jacques de Vitry specifically commented on the military use of the town in the *Historia Orientalis*.[6] William of Tyre had made similar comments in the twelfth century, when he described Sepphoris as the place where armies were accustomed to muster.[7] The

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[5] William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, pp. 1030–36; 1048–55 *Eracles*, pp. 49–50, 62–63.
[6] Oliverus, 'Historia regum Terre Sancte', p. 136; *Eracles*, pp. 417–18; *Rothelin Continuation*, p. 552; Phelippe de Nevaire, p. 121; Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or*, p. 238.
[7] 'ubi convenire de prisca consuetudine solent exercitus', William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, p. 1048.

settlement was described as a Templar outpost in 1250 by the biographer of Louis IX.[8] The same qualities which made the town a good choice for soldiers would also have made it a good place for pilgrims to stop, and one might reasonably assume that the town was the standard rest-stop on the way to Galilee.

In addition to its practical aspects, the town was also a place of pilgrimage, with Louis IX visiting the site on his pilgrimage to Nazareth in 1251.[9] Various traditions linked the Virgin Mary to Sepphoris, with the town being variously the birthplace of Mary herself, of St Anne her mother, and of St Joachim her father. The association with St Anne was, however, the primary one in both the twelfth- and thirteenth-century pilgrim text tradition.[10] The site of St Anne and St Joachim's house was marked by a church, built in the mid- to late twelfth century. Into the choir of this church was a protrusion of bedrock which was probably marked the birthplace of the Virgin Mary or St Anne.[11] The town was destroyed in 1263 by Baybars, but is mentioned in later pilgrim texts; presumably the springs which made this a convenient stop were still accessible. The church itself seems to have remained in ruins throughout the thirteenth century.[12]

Nazareth was the most important site of pilgrimage in Galilee. Its presence in virtually all of the pilgrim texts, even if it was not always described in detail, testified to its importance to pilgrims, as did its presence as one of only two Galilean sites on both Holy Land maps of Matthew Paris.[13] Nazareth was the site of the Annunciation, which

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[8] Jaroslav Folda, 'The Church of Saint Anne', *The Biblical Archaeologist*, 54 (1991), 88–96 (pp. 88–89).

[9] Folda, 'Church of Saint Anne', pp. 88–89.

[10] The tradition of St Anne's birth in Sepphoris can be seen in twelfth-century pilgrim texts such as Theoderic, 'Libellus de locis sanctis', p.193.

[11] Folda, 'Church of Saint Anne', pp. 88, 92.

[12] Folda, 'Church of Saint Anne', pp. 89, 94.

[13] The other site was Mount Tabor; Safad was also included, but only on the British Library map, as part of the route to Damascus. Matthew Paris, 'Holy Land Map (BL)'; Matthew Paris, 'Holy Land Map (CCCC)'.

was marked by the church of the Annunciation within the village. This church was hewn from the rock, and contained a cave-chapel or crypt beneath it, which was considered to be the actual site of the Annunciation itself.[14] Innom. III attributed *miracula multa* ('many miracles') to the church, although it did not specify which these were. Prior to the thirteenth century, the church was run by Augustinian canons, who abandoned the church during the attacks of Saladin, moving to Acre. After a truce was concluded with Saladin following the Third Crusade (1192), permission was granted for two Latin priests with two deacons to go back to Nazareth, to care for the church and its pilgrims.[15] In 1251, the archbishop and canons ratified new statutes in Acre, emphasising their wish to return to Nazareth, which suggests that they were not resident there at that point. Their wish does not seem to have been accomplished, as in 1256 the Pope granted permission for them to reside permanently in Acre.[16] In 1263, Baybars completely destroyed the 'moustier de Nazareth', here referring to the church.[17] This suggests that from at least the mid- thirteenth century, religious support for Latin Christian pilgrims would have been limited to any clergy they brought with them, or from non-Latin, Christians.

Riccoldo found the church of the Annunciation still ruined following Baybars's destruction two decades previous, aside from the cell/cave which was the location for the Annunciation. This had two altars; one where the Virgin Mary prayed, and one where Gabriel stood at Annunciation. The latter was dedicated to St Michael. These

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[14] Innom. III (1191-1244), p. 20; Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104; Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 100; Chemins B (1254-68), p. 198; Burchard (1274-85), p. 47; Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 46.

[15] *Itinerarium Ricardi*, p. 438.

[16] Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, II, p. 200 (note 1). *Les Registres d'Innocent IV: recueil des bulles de ce pape* (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1884), no. 5538; *Les Registres d'Alexandre IV*, ed. by Charles Germain Marie Bourel de La Roncière, Joseph de Loye, and Auguste Coulon, 4 vols. (Paris: Thorin & Fils, 1902), nos 1300, 1330; *RRH*, no. 1242.

[17] *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 26; Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, II, p. 56.

could be used for celebrating mass.[18] Indeed, Burchard specifically notes that he was able to say 'many masses' in what was left of the church of the Annunciation during his time in the Holy Land; clearly, even at this late stage, Latin Christians could gain permission from the non-Latin Christians who controlled the site to undertake their own rites.[19] Riccoldo noted that the whole of Galilee was under Saracen control and was 'peaceful and quiet'; his presence in Nazareth was possible because of the 1283 truce between the Latin kingdom and Qalāwūn, which expressly granted to pilgrims access to Nazareth.[20] This truce, although it permitted the Latins to have several houses to provide for the pilgrims, denied permission to rebuild or fix the church, which remained in a parlous state.

Both Burchard and Riccoldo also note the presence of a synagogue close to the church of the Annunciation, which was considered to be the place where Jesus taught the Book of Isaiah.[21] Burchard notes that the synagogue was now a church, but Riccoldo indicates no such change. *Pardouns* may allude to this when it noted that near to the well of St Gabriel (see below) was the place where Jesus expounded God's teaching to the Jews.[22]

At the other end of the city was the well of St Gabriel. This well, although named for St Gabriel in some accounts, was described in the pilgrim texts as being the place from where Jesus fetched water for Mary during his youth.[23] Burchard states that this well

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[18] Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 46.

[19] 'plures missas', Burchard (1274-85), p. 47.

[20] Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, p. 86; 'pacifice et quiete.' Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 46. See also chapter III.

[21] Luke 4:14–37. The same incident can also be found in Matthew 13:54–58, Mark 6:1–6, although the wording is not the same.

[22] Burchard (1274-85)', p. 47; Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 46; Pardouns (1258-63), p. 234.

[23] Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 46. See also: Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104; LCTS (1244-60) , p. 342; Chemins B (1254-68), p. 198; Filippo (1244-91), p. 222; Pardouns (1258-63), p. 234; Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s); Burchard (1274-85). The association of Mary and Jesus with the well is apocryphal, and can be found in the Proto-Gospel of James and the Gospel of Thomas. Pringle, *Churches*, II, p. 140.

was within a church dedicated to St Gabriel, although other pilgrim texts do not refer to this church. This church is likely to have been an Greek Orthodox church, rather than a Latin one.[24]

Located close to Nazareth was a chapel of St Zechariah (the father of John the Baptist), which marked the place where St Zechariah and St Elizabeth lived after moving from Jerusalem.[25] *Chemins B* notes that the chapel held the altar at which St Zechariah was accustomed to sing.[26] This chapel is described as belonging to the Armenians by both *Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem* and *Sains pelerinages*.[27] The description in the *Chronicle of Ernoul* (1230) noted that there was a Greek abbey there, rather than an Armenian chapel.[28]

One final site located in the vicinity of Nazareth is named as *Saut Nostre Seignor* in the Old French texts and *Saltus* in the Latin texts. This is the 'Leap of the Lord' or 'Mount of Precipitation', the hill close to Nazareth from which the townspeople attempted to throw Jesus, as described in the Gospel of Luke.[29] In the Gospel account Jesus simply walks back through the crowd unseen, but it seems that a later tradition developed in which Jesus was thrown by the crowd, but managed to land on another hill. The use of the term 'saltus' seems to be a new development for the thirteenth-century; prior to this the Latin used was 'praecipitare'.[30] One of the few deviations

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[24] Pringle, *Churches*, II, pp. 139–42.

[25] Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104; Chemins B (1254-68), p. 198; Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 100.

[26] Chemins B (1254-68), p. 198. These pilgrimage sites are related to the birth of John the Baptist, and the altar here is presumably that mentioned in the New Testament as the place where St Zacharias was informed of the conception of John the Baptist - Luke:1. This contrasts with some of the pilgrim texts, which have the annunciation of John the Baptist take place in the *Templum Domini*. Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 95; Chemins A (1261-65), p. 183.

[27] '& en cest chemin en la costiére a un chapele de Saint Zacharie qui est d'Ermins; & si est beau lieu.' Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 100; Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104.

[28] *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 66.

[29] Luke 4:29.

[30] It is possible that this change was a reflection of Cant. 2.8, which speaks of the Lover/Christ 'saliens in montibus'. The *Chronicle of Ernoul* informs its readers that the Latin name for the site was 'Montem excelsum valde'. *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 66–67.

Oliver of Paderborn makes in his 'Descriptio Terre Sancte' from his twelfth-century sources, is to replace 'praecipitare' with 'saltus' when discussing this site.[31]

Both Burchard and Riccoldo suggest that traces of the Gospel event could still be seen, as there were imprints of Jesus's clothes and feet in the rock.[32] There is no evidence of the site ever having a church, but Riccoldo describes how he and his group read and preached the relevant section of the Gospels at the site, suggesting that informal religious activity did take place. In this version, Jesus sits on a rock on the mountain when the townspeople try to throw him off, and simply disappears. The rock on which Jesus sat was still there for people to see. The mountain was linked to other traditions as well. The *Chronicle of Ernoul* linked this 'high mountain' to the mountain to which Jesus was transported during his Temptation so he could see all the kingdoms and people of the world.[33] *Pardouns* linked the Mount of Precipitation to another event earlier in Luke 4, where Jesus is asked to test the Lord by throwing himself off a high place.[34]

Cana in Galilee was identified with two main sites in the medieval period: Khirbat Qana, the twelfth-century site of Cana, also known as Kenet-el-Jalil; and Kafr Kanna, the pre-twelfth and post-fourteenth-century site.[35] The descriptions of Cana in the thirteenth-century Old French *itineraria* (except *Pardouns*) and Innom. X are vague, but sufficient to estimate which Cana was intended by the authors. 'Cana', in these texts, is variously described as two or three leagues from Nazareth, five leagues from Tiberias, and one league from Sepphoris. When compared with other descriptions in Old French pilgrim texts, one notes that the authors list the same distances from Nazareth to Cana in

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[31] Oliverus, 'Descriptio Terre Sancte', p. 6.

[32] Burchard (1274-85), p. 47; Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 44.

[33] 'Cil mons qui est en haut' *Chronique d'Ernoul,* p. 67. Matthew 4: 8–10, Mark 4: 5–8, Luke 4: 5–8.

[34] Pardouns (1258-63), p. 234; Luke 4: 9–12.

[35] Pringle, *Churches*, I, pp. 285–86 and II, pp. 162–64.

Galilee as from Nazareth to Mount Tabor (or slightly less). *Chemins A* additionally

expressly notes that the site was close to Mount Tabor. This makes Kafr Kanna the most

likely candidate for these texts. *Pardouns* includes Cana in between descriptions of

Sepphoris and Safran, making Khirbat Qana more likely.[36] There is no obvious reason

for this difference, as texts which prefer Kafr Kanna are both older and younger than

Pardouns.

Thietmar's text structure and order of sites suggest that he also visited Kafr Kanna.[37]

However, these indicators in the other Latin texts are not sufficient to identify which

Cana is represented in them. Pringle suggests that the association of Cana with Kafr

Kanna, generally the preferred thirteenth-century pilgrim choice, was more of a Greek

Orthodox tradition, and that Khirbat Qana was favoured by Latin Christians. The fact

that thirteenth-century Latin Christian pilgrims seem to have favoured the former

suggests an increasing reliance on Orthodox tradition at this time. Archaeology is

otherwise unable to help resolve the issue of which site was visited by pilgrims in the

thirteenth century, since remains of buildings with possible medieval ecclesiastical use

have been found at both Kafr Kanna and Khirbat Qana.[38]

Cana was considered holy by pilgrims as the location for Jesus's water-into-wine

miracle.[39] Leaving aside the question of which settlement was actually visited,

thirteenth-century pilgrims seem to have been able to see, just outside the casale, the

house of the wedding, various numbers of water-jars which had held the miraculous

wine, and the well from which the water was drawn.[40] The water from the well was said

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[36] Pardouns (1258-63), p. 234;

[37] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 4; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 20.

[38] Pringle, *Churches*, I, pp. 285–86 and II, pp. 162–64.

[39] John 2:1–11. The *Chronicle of Ernoul* notes the water into wine miracle in its description of Tiberias, rather than Cana for some reason. See below.

[40] Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 38;

by locals to still taste like wine.[41] There had been a church at the site, but as at Nazareth, this was destroyed during the raids of Baybars in the 1260s. Burchard notes in his description that the church was still ruined, but that pilgrims could still enter the crypt of the church, much like at the church of the Annunciation.[42] Two texts add to the description of Cana by noting that this was where James of Galicia was born; he was more commonly said to have been born in Safran.[43] This is surprising, as one of these (*Sains pelerinages*) agrees that a St James was born in Safran; although, as it does not also mention St John like many of the other texts, the author was presumably identifying this St James as St James the Less or St James the Just.[44]

Located three leagues from Nazareth, Mount Tabor was the site of the Transfiguration and for part of the thirteenth century was also home to a monastery of Latin monks, whose buildings were heavily fortified against raids.[45] The monks had attempted to repel Saracen raids in 1188 and were successful for a time, but the monastery had disappeared and been replaced by a heavily-guarded Saracen fortification by the time Thietmar visited the Mount.[46] This fortification was attacked by the second raid described by Oliver of Paderborn, who was with the crusade army in 1217.[47] The monks returned shortly after this; although responsibility for the fortifications was given to the Hospitallers in 1255, the monks remained on the Mount until its devastation by Baybars in 1263.[48] The surviving remains of the medieval

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[41] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 4; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 20.
[42] Burchard (1274-85), p. 44.
[43] Innom. IX (1187-1291), p. 96; Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), pp. 104–104.1. See the section on Safran in chapter IX.
[44] St James the Less (also know as James Alphaeus, or Jacob Alphaeus) is listed by the Latin guides as having been born in Bethsaida.
[45] Thietmar A (1217-18); Oliverus, 'Historia regum Terre Sancte', p. 139.
[46] The monastery was converted into Ayyūbid fortification between 1212 and 1218. Pringle, 'Some Pilgrimage Churches, p. 353.
[47] Oliverus, 'Historia Damiatina', p. 165; *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 12.
[48] Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, p. 199 (note 1); Edbury, 'New Text: Annales', p. 156.

church of the Transfiguration show that it was partially surrounded by monastic buildings, and that prior to the destruction pilgrims passed through the monastery to reach the church.[49] It is not surprising therefore that the earlier pilgrim texts tend to mention only the monastery and the later pilgrim texts tend to mention only the church (if they mention buildings at all). Both Burchard and Riccoldo, visiting the site twenty years after Baybars, report nothing but ruins and devastation; like elsewhere in Galilee, the pilgrimage sites were not rebuilt.[50]

The place of the Transfiguration was an outcrop of rock located in a crypt below the altar of the main church. This crypt had separate access to the main church, and pilgrims were kept apart from the upper church of the monastic community, in much the same way as they were at the monastery of the Virgin Mary's tomb in Jehosaphat.[51] In addition to the church and monastery of the Transfiguration, excavations have shown that there were three other small churches or chapels on Mount Tabor during the twelfth century – these may be Burchard's *ruine trium tabernaculorum*.[52]

The Mount also had links to the Old Testament. Mount Tabor was considered to be the location of the events of Genesis 14:18–20, although no specific place is mentioned in that passage. This passage described how Melchizedek met Abraham when Abraham was returning from a battle, and gave him bread and wine. It is not clear how this event came to be associated with Mount Tabor, although it may represent a local tradition.[53]

Mount Tabor is a good example of how associations with the New Testament took precedence over the Old Testament. The Old Testament association was noted only in two of the thirteen pilgrim texts which described Mount Tabor. Even in the text of Burchard, who was uniquely interested in the Old Testament, the description of this

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[49] Pringle, *Churches*, II, p. 76.
[50] Burchard (1274-85), p. 107; Riccoldo (1288-89), pp. 42–44.
[51] Pringle, 'Some Pilgrimage Churches', p. 353.
[52] Pringle, *Churches*, II, pp. 80–85; Burchard (1274-85), p. 107.
[53] LCTS (1244-60), p. 342; Riccoldo (1288-89), pp. 42–44.

tradition is made subordinate to those of the New Testament. The Melchizedek tradition

was noted after the New Testament traditions of Mount Tabor, and its subordinate nature

was further reinforced by the language used: the author used *fuit* to indicate that Jesus

was transfigured (a definite event), but notes only *dicitur* ('it is said') that Melchizedek

met Abraham on Mount Tabor.[54] Furthermore, Old Testament references were often

included in the pilgrim texts because they prefigured New Testament events; this is

certainly the case here, as the pilgrim texts specifically note that Melchizedek was

considered to signify Christ (and thus the church).[55]

One further issue exemplified by Mount Tabor is the difficulty of establishing

whether sites in the pilgrim texts were visited by pilgrims as goals of pilgrimage, or

whether they were simply noted as the pilgrim passed. This is especially an issue with

sites associated with significant points in the landscape such as Mount Tabor, as

pilgrims could be quite some distance away and still see it. If a text described the

buildings or ruins on the top of the mountain, then that probably indicated that the

author visited the site. In some cases the author is more direct; Riccoldo specifically

noted that *ascendimus* ('we ascended') Mount Tabor.[56] By contrast, two *itineraria*

describe Mount Tabor while apparently in the area of Sebaste, showing that in this case

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[54] 'De Nazareth duabus leucis contra orientem est mons Tabor, in quo transfiguratus fuit Dominus. Ubi hodie ostenduntur ruine trium tabernaculorum siue clautrorum secundum desiderium Petri constructorum. Sunt preterea ibidem ruine maxime palaciorum turrium et regularium edificiorum...In pede...est locus, ubi dicitur Melchisedech occurrisse Abrahe reuertenti a cede quator regum de confinion Damasci. Ad pedem uero eius ad partem occidentis contra Nazareth est capella constructa in loco, in quo Dominis de monte descendens dixit discipulis suis: Nemini dixeritis uisionem etc.' Burchard (1274-85), pp. 47–48. See also Mylod, 'Routes to Salvation'. The use of an indefinite phrase may also partly reflect the author's awareness that the event was not given a location in Genesis (Gen. 14:18–20).

[55] The idea that Melchizedek signified Christ (and thence the Church) is preserved in the Glossa ordinaria. In the Glossa, there is a discussion around these verses in Genesis about how Melchizedek signifies Christ, and how the priesthood is passed down from him. Parallels are drawn between the bread and wine provided to Abraham and the Body and Blood of Christ. The Glossa goes on to note that Melchizedek is called the king of Jerusalem ('Salem' being the earlier name of Jerusalem), of Justice and of Peace, just as Christ was to be called. 'Glossa ordinaria', in *Patrologia Latina*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, 113-114 (1852), CXIII, col. 120B-D. Riccoldo (1288-89), pp. 42–44. Limor, 'Holy Journey', p. 351.

[56] Riccoldo (1288-89), pp. 42–44.

Mount Tabor was a distant view, rather than a visited location.[57] Most texts fall somewhere between the two, making it difficult to assess to what extent pilgrims visited certain sites, and how important these were for pilgrims. Thietmar, for example, describes the presence of a Saracen encampment at the top of Mount Tabor, but as a result, probably did not visit the site. Matthew Paris includes the mount in his maps of the Holy Land, and although it is possible that he considered the transfiguration to be sufficiently important to include it as one of only two Galilean holy sites on both his maps, it is more likely that the mount was included because it was so distinctive, and could be viewed from a distance.[58]

Naim, a settlement near Mount Tabor, was the place where Jesus healed the son of the widow-woman outside the gate of the city.[59] There is no mention of a church or any description of the site itself, and no remains of any definitively thirteenth-century structures have been found in the area.[60] The authors of the accounts may not have visited the site itself, but had it pointed out from a distance. Thietmar describes his view of the city, but does not indicate that he actually reached it; Riccoldo on the other hand definitely went to Naim – he describes going through the city – but does not note any holy associations with the site.[61]

The Sea of Galilee is included by most of the pilgrim texts which discuss the region of Galilee. From its position within the Old French texts, and within the text of Filippo, it is clear that these authors were envisaging that a traveller would take the road directly to Tiberias, and would see the Sea there for the first time, rather than taking the road which led to the south of the lake, and travelling up the side to Tiberias. Oliver of Paderborn, visiting the area as part of a pre-Fifth Crusade raid into Galilee, describes

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[57] Innom. X (1187-1291), p. 106; Innom. IX (1187-1291), p. 96.
[58] Matthew Paris, 'Holy Land Map (BL)'; Matthew Paris, 'Holy Land Map (CCCC)'.
[59] Luke 7:11–17.
[60] Pringle, *Churches*, II, pp. 115–16.
[61] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 5; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 21; Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 44.

how he reached the river Jordan, before heading north along the Sea of Galilee. He adds that the army washed in the Jordan when they reached it; this mimicked the practices of pilgrims further south, but was probably for practical reasons rather than anything else.[62] Although the place of baptism is now celebrated at Yardenit just south of the Sea of Galilee, this is as a result of twentieth-century geopolitical realities rather than from any long-standing religious association.

Oliver goes on to describe the army's visit to the Sea of Galilee itself, commenting that it was where Jesus had performed miracles and talked to people.[63] The pilgrim texts also discuss the Sea of Galilee, in particular the miraculous catch of fish with Peter and Andrew (and the associated call to being disciples), Jesus's walking over the water, his calming of the sea, and the money-bearing fish miracle are mentioned.[64] No church or other building is associated with these general events, but Riccoldo does describe how his party stood next to the sea and sang/preached the relevant sections of the Gospel in memory of them.[65] Modern pilgrims go on boat-trips across the sea, and this may also have been possible for the medieval pilgrim.

Tiberias was a city on the west side of the Sea of Galilee, and was the main settlement in the area, extending some distance along the shore of the sea. Twelfth-century pilgrim texts mention Tiberias only as a waymarker to other sites around the Sea of Galilee, but the thirteenth-century accounts include sites within the city itself. This is slightly unexpected, as the town had gone into decline in the thirteenth century, as a result of being frequently raided by both the Muslims and Franks. Indeed Thietmar

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[62] Oliverus, 'Historia Damiatina', p. 164.

[63] 'mirabilia Salvator noster operari dignatus corporali presentia cum hominibus conversatus est.' Oliverus, 'Historia Damiatina', p. 165. See also Chemins B (1254-68), p. 197.

[64] Luke 5:1–11, 8:22–25; John 6:16–21, 21:1–14; Matthew 8:23–27,14:22–34, 17:23–26; Mark 4:35–41, 6:45–53. See, for example, Chemins B (1254-68), p. 197; Chemins A (1261-65), p. 187; LCTS (1244-60), p. 344. See also: *De constructione castri Saphet*, pp. 386–87 and *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 64–65.

[65] Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 40.

describes the town as 'devastated by Saracens' when he visited in 1217; Burchard, visiting seventy years later, comments that the town was *ruine multe*.[66] The accounts note that Tiberias contained hot baths, described as medicinal and of the Virgin Mary – these are the hot springs which naturally occur in and around Tiberias. The descriptions of the baths suggest that they were considered healing baths, which makes it likely that pilgrims to the area would have visited them.[67] The twelfth-century Jewish traveller, R. Jacob Ben R. Nathaniel Ha Cohen, noted that the hot springs of Tiberias consisted of four baths on the sea-shore, filled with water 'sweet as honey', and his thirteenth-century equivalent, R. Jacob, also comments on the presence of hot baths in Tiberias.[68]

In addition to the hot baths, the texts record a tradition related to Jesus's youth. In this, a man throws a firebrand at Jesus, which hits a wall and grows into a great tree which flowers and fruits. [69] Filippo notes that the tree flowered 'to this day', suggesting that pilgrims visited the tree during their stay in Tiberias.[70] As the legend is neither recorded in the Bible, nor in the earlier pilgrim texts, it is possible that this is another example of the influence of local tradition on Latin Christian pilgrims. The tree and the story were clearly well-known, as they are associated with a 'church of the Tree'.[71] The idea of Jesus visiting the town in his youth is also recorded in Thietmar – who notes that he visited there *saepe* ('often').[72]

Ibn Jubayr, who visited the town in 1184, describes how the town contained the tombs of many prophets – including Shuʿayb, Solomon, Shuʿayb's daughter the wife of

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[66] 'a Sarracenis destructa', Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 6; Burchard (1274-85), p. 45.

[67] Burchard (1274-85), p. 45; Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104.2;

[68] Rabbi Jacob Ben R. Nathaniel Ha Cohen, 'Account of the Journeys to Places in the Holy Land and the Tombs there of the Righteous', in *Jewish Travellers*, pp. 95–96; 'Rabbi Jacob', p. 124.

[69] Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104.2; LCTS (1244-60), p. 344; Filippo (1244-91), p. 248; Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), pp. 102–03.

[70] 'in hodiernum diem florem produxit', Filippo (1244-91), p. 248.

[71] Pringle, *Churches*, II, p. 364.

[72] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 6; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 22;

Moses the Interlocutor.[73] R. Jacob Ben R. Nathaniel Ha Cohen also noted the presence

of holy tombs in Tiberias, although he did not specify whose they were. It is possible

that these were the same place; certainly the tomb complex described by R. Jacob Ben

R. Nathaniel Ha Cohen was very large, being as high as a house. These tombs were still

being visited in the thirteenth century; R. Samuel ben Samson describes visiting the

tombs of holy men outside Tiberias in 1210, as does the R. Jacob.[74] These tombs were

clearly of non-Christian origin; however, R. Jacob Ben R. Nathaniel Ha Cohen noted

that at least one of the tombs was a shrine used by Christians as well, who put many

candles on the tomb of a righteous Jew which was known to produce miraculous

healing - and which had miraculously killed the Provençal knight who dared to strike

the tomb.[75] Unlike the similar sites of Hebron or the tomb of St Pelagia however, these

tombs are not included in the Latin Christian pilgrim texts. This probably indicates that

these tombs were of local Christian interest only.

Magdala was located on the coast of the Lake of Galilee, between Tiberias and

Capernaum, and was where Mary Magdalene was born.[76] Riccoldo provides the longest

passage on this *castellum*, describing a beautiful church (which he emphasises was not

destroyed, in contrast everywhere else in Galilee) where he and his companions recited

the gospel concerning Mary Magdalene.[77] This church was probably the 'house of Mary

Magdalene', which Burchard entered during his visit a few years earlier.[78]

Capernaum was located on the north-west shore of the Lake of Galilee, and was the

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[73] Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥlat*, p. 282; Ibn Jubayr, *Travels*, p. 324.
[74] 'Rabbi Samuel ben Samson', p. 106.
[75] Rabbi Jacob Ben R. Nathaniel Ha Cohen, pp. 95–96.
[76] *De constructione castri Saphet*, p. 387. As yet, there is no physical evidence for religious buildings on this site. Pringle, *Churches*, II, p. 28.
[77] 'euangelium Magdalene', Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 42. Riccoldo is most likely reciting the parts of the gospels regarding Mary Magdalene, rather than reciting an apocryphal Gospel of Mary Magdalene.
[78] 'castrum Marie Magdalene, cuius domum…intraui.' Burchard (1274-85), p. 40.

location for *mult de miracles* ('many miracles'), recorded in the New Testament.[79] These included healing miracles, such as the healing of a leper following the Sermon on the Mount.[80] Capernaum was also known as the birthplace of St Peter and St Andrew – probably as a result of conflation with the nearby Bethsaida which was also considered as their birthplace – and also the birthplace of St James.[81] It was also considered an alternative location to Caesarea for the calling of Matthew from his tax booth.[82]

However, Capernaum was mostly seen as a base from which to explore the numerous pilgrimage sites in the surrounding area which were generally associated with the ministry of Jesus.[83] These sites were where the feeding of the five thousand, the Sermon on the Mount, and the post-Resurrection meal between Jesus and his disciples took place. The textual context of the pilgrim descriptions of these sites indicates that they were in the north-west corner of the Sea of Galilee, in the area between Tiberias and Capernaum, and were generally visited from Capernaum.[84] More specific clues to the exact location of these events for thirteenth-century pilgrims are lacking; *Chemins B*, for example simply notes that the feeding of the five thousand took place above the Sea of Galilee, and *De constructione castri Saphet* notes that this was on the way to Tiberias from Capernaum.[85]

One of the main problems with this particular set of sites is that, depending on the text, one or more of them may be amalgamated with another in descriptions. Thus many

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[79] Chemins B (1254-68), p. 197.

[80] Innom. X (1187-1291), p. 106; Burchard (1274-85), p. 35; Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 40. Matt. 8: 1–4, Mark 1: 40–45, Luke 5:12–16.

[81] *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 65. St James, as discussed above, was also born in Safran and Cana. Innom. X (1187-1291), p. 106.

[82] Matt. 9:9. See chapter IV, p. 97. Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 40; *De constructione castri Saphet*, p. 386.

[83] John 6: 1–14, Matt. 14: 16–21, Mark 6: 35–44.

[84] The Latin pilgrim texts generally note that the sites are in the neighbourhood of Capernaum, or only one or two miles away from this town; the exception is Riccoldo, which places the Sermon on the Mount three miles from Bethsaida (which was next to Capernaum anyway).

[85] 'en sus de la Mer de Tabarie à main destre est un mont..' Chemins B (1254-68), p. 197; *De constructione castri Saphet*, p. 386.

of the pilgrim texts make the Sermon on the Mount and the feeding of the five thousand take place in the same spot, or fail to distinguish between the feeding of the five thousand and the post-resurrection meal. The same terminology - *Mensa Christi* or *la Table* – is often used for both of the latter events. Others, like Filippo and Riccoldo, separate them all out. Filippo notes distances of a mile or so separating the sites, and Riccoldo notes that the Sermon on the Mount and feeding of the five thousand were on separate hills near Bethsaida, and the post-resurrection meal was near Capernaum.[86] None of the pilgrim texts notes the presence of any structures connected to either the Sermon on the Mount or the feeding of the five thousand; the modern church marking the site of these events is built on the remains of a fifth-century Byzantine church, but this seems to have been destroyed in the seventh century, and not rebuilt until after the thirteenth century.[87] It is worth noting however, that this church close to where the twelfth-century church of the post-resurrection meal was located. It seems likely that the traditional sites of these events were lost, and pilgrims during the thirteenth century were obliged to try and work out the location by reference to the Gospels, earlier pilgrim texts, or from the information of local Christians, hence the confusion in the descriptions. The evidence from Riccoldo suggests that regardless of where they estimated the site to be, the pilgrims undertook specific activities there. Riccoldo, for example, notes that the pilgrims went up the mount, recited the Gospel and prayed, before mimicking the events of the Gospel by sitting and breaking bread together.[88]

As indicated above, there was a church on the site of the post-resurrection meal; however, Thietmar, the only pilgrim text to reference it, also noted that it had been

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[86] Filippo (1244-91), p. 248; Riccoldo (1288-89), pp. 40–42. *De constructione castri Saphet* noted that the feeding of the five thousand took place near to the post-resurrection meal, as would be supported by the modern positioning of these events. *De constructione castri Saphet*, p. 386.

[87] Murphy-O'Connor, *The Holy Land*, pp. 201–05.

[88] Riccoldo (1288-89), pp. 40–42.

destroyed by Saracens.[89] Some of it must have survived however, or been rebuilt, as a church is recorded in *De constructione Saphet*, a tract written around 1260. This text also specifically notes that this site was a pilgrimage destination.[90] It is likely that this church was built at Tabgha, on the north-western shore of the Sea of Galilee not far from Capernaum, which is considered to be the site of the post-resurrection meal today. The church was built over an outcrop of rock, commonly believed to be the table on which the meal took place - hence the use of the name *Mensa Christi* or *la Table* in the pilgrim texts.[91] Thietmar noted that on the site was an aromatic plant which grew continuously there, throughout summer and winter; it is not clear whether this was intended to be a marvel of the Holy Land, or a miraculous occurrence which showed that the site was sanctified. Burchard does not record the church, but did note that the sea-shore had a stone with the imprint of Jesus's feet, until it was removed by Saracens.[92] As at the place of the feeding of the five thousand, Riccoldo and his party ate bread and fish on the sea-shore where Jesus and his disciples ate bread and fish.[93]

It seems that, due to the destruction of many of the pilgrim sites and the break in pilgrim tradition, some pilgrims were visiting several sites whereas others were only visiting one in the vicinity of Capernaum. Oliver of Paderborn, although nominally a crusader, described having the holy places pointed out to him as he passed through the area following a raid.[94] If this is typical of the pilgrim experience for many – having sites pointed out without the opportunity to visit them – it may be part of the reason why this area is so confused in the pilgrim texts. If there were no formal structures for pilgrims to view, except at the post-resurrection meal site, then it would be easy for

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[89] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 5; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 21.
[90] 'ubi est ecclesia et peregrinatio sollempnis.' *De constructione castri Saphet*, p. 386.
[91] Pringle, 'Some Pilgrimage Churches', p. 346.
[92] Riccoldo (1288-89), pp. 40–42; Burchard (1274-85), pp. 35–36.
[93] Riccoldo (1288-89), pp. 40–42.
[94] 'demonstrata sunt locus, ubi Christus', Oliverus, 'Historia Damiatina', p. 165.

them to conflate various sites, or to be confused by the guide. Alternatively the conflation of sites can be seen as part of the trend identified in Jerusalem pilgrimage at this period, where many of major sites connected to the death of Jesus 'moved' into the church of the Holy Sepulchre, at a time when pilgrims had restricted access to other parts of Jerusalem. Pilgrims could have been directed to one site along this route, which was then used for all associations.

One final tradition was recorded in the Old French *itineraria* for this area. This was that Jesus was imprisoned somewhere close to Capernaum until he made payment for his passage through the area. He secured this money through the miracle of the money-bearing fish, whereby the Apostle Peter was sent fishing and found the required money in the fish he caught.[95] Although the imprisonment of Jesus close to Capernaum was a post-biblical tradition, the miracle itself was related in Matthew 17: 23-26.

Along the shore from Capernaum was the town of Bethsaida, located on the north-east shore of the Lake of Galilee.[96] The town was considered the birthplace of various combinations of the disciples Peter, Andrew, Philip, James Alphaeus (St James the Less) and John.[97] Aside from the settlement itself, it is likely that there was little to see here. Oliver of Paderborn, visiting the area in November 1217, noted that it had been reduced to a *casale modicum*.[98]

Further along the shoreline, on the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee was Gergessa. This was associated with the purging of the demon Legion in one pilgrim text only.[99] Gergessa is otherwise not mentioned in the pilgrim texts, and it seems unlikely that it

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[95] Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104.2; Chemins B (1254-68), p. 197; Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 102; Chemins A (1261-65), p. 188. See also *De constructione castri Saphet*, p. 386.
[96] See Prawer and Benvenisti, 'The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099-1291'.
[97] John 1:44; John 12:21, Matt. 8:14; Mark 1:29. Jacques de Vitry*, H.Or*, p. 222; *De constructione castri Saphet*, pp. 386–87.
[98] Oliverus, 'Historia Damiatina', p. 165.
[99] Matt. 8: 28–34, Mark 5: 1–17, Luke 8: 26–37. Filippo (1244-91), p. 248.

was a focus for pilgrimage in the thirteenth century, not least because the eastern side of Galilee had always been considered more lawless, even in the twelfth century, and was further from the main trade routes through the area, which ran to the west of the Sea. The purging of the demon Legion, however, was mentioned in other descriptions of Galilee, although not placed at Gergessa. The *Chronicle of Ernoul* talks generally of the area around the Sea of Galilee, so it does not refute the association with Gergessa, but Riccoldo's account comes between his description of Cana and Bethsaida, suggesting a location north-west of the Sea of Galilee, rather than north-east.[100] This would put this tradition in the same area as other events of Jesus's ministry, as discussed above, and might be a further example of the movement and conflation of sites based on how accessible they were.

Further still was Corrosaim, famous for being the place where the Antichrist would be nourished. Although noted in the pilgrim text tradition, there is nothing to indicate that pilgrimage took place here. Indeed, Burchard and the Thietmar B account specifically state that they saw, rather than visited Corrosaim, suggesting that the settlement was simply pointed out from a distance to pilgrims, much like Mount Quarantana or Mount Tabor.[101] This applies to another settlement, Cedar, which was mentioned in the Psalms, and seems to have been located by pilgrims near to Corrosaim. Like Gergessa, Corosaim would have been difficult and dangerous to reach for most of the thirteenth century, and it is reasonable to assume that it was simply pointed out from the opposite shore.

At the far north of the region of Galilee was Safad, a Crusader castle built in upper Galilee on a steep-sloped hill surrounded by rocky roads, which was considered highly

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[100] *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 65–66; Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 40.
[101] 'Item vidi etiuam civitatem Genezareth et civitatem Corrosayam et Cedar' Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 22. 'in cuius litore ulteriori uidentur adhuc ruine ciuitatis Corrozaym supra mare Galilee.' Burchard (1274-85), p. 36.

defensible. Under Muslim control from 1188, it was returned to Latin Christians in 1240 as part of a truce with Sultan Ismāʿīl of Damascus.[102] Its reconstruction in 1240 was described in the tract *De constructione castri Saphet*, and once completed it provided protection for pilgrims travelling around Galilee.[103] Riccoldo noted that the castle was the 'key to Galilee', reflecting the belief held by Benedict of Alignan, the protagonist of the *De constructione castri Saphet* that the castle could control the whole area, a significance echoed in its appearance in the British Library Holy Land map of Matthew Paris.[104] It was destroyed by Baybars in 1267.[105]

Like many castles, Safad had an extra-mural settlement, which was reasonably large, and had a market, mosque and synagogues.[106] Archaeological evidence shows that the castle seems to have had a castle chapel but otherwise provides no evidence for ecclesiastical or pilgrim buildings. This chapel was probably dedicated to St George; prior to 1267, the castle had a large statue of St George in one of the towers, which was said to protect the castle.[107]

It is not clear what role Safad played, if any, in thirteenth-century pilgrimage, beyond its significant role in securing the region. Riccoldo does note that 'castrum Zaffetanum' was the birthplace of John the Evangelist and James, son of Zebedee, but the position of the comment in the text, plus the reference to Christians living there suggests that he actually meant the castle at Safran.[108] The text *De constructione castri Saphet* has a section outlining the *loca famosa* in the local area, as part of the overall authorial

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[102] Hugh Kennedy, *Crusader Castles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 210 (note 2).

[103] *De constructione castri Saphet*, p. 386.

[104] 'clauis totius Galilee', Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 40. Matthew Paris, 'Holy Land Map (BL)'.

[105] Its ignominious end was noted by Burchard (1274-85), p. 34.

[106] *De constructione castri Saphet*, pp. 382, 386.

[107] Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, II, p. 105. As a military saint, St George was favoured by the military orders, particularly the Templars, so this may not indicate a particular connection between George and Safad. See the prayer in *Procès des templiers*, ed. by Jules Michelet, 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1841), I, p. 124.

[108] Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 46. See chapter IX, p. 263.

strategy to attract funding for the castle, and it is possible that the town and castle were used as a base for those visiting Galilee. It is interesting to note that the town was included by Jewish travellers as a holy place to visit, since it had a number of beautiful synagogues, a large Jewish community and there were tombs of holy men outside.[109] Near to Safad was *Cave Thobie*, where Tobias was accustomed to shroud the dead. *Cave Thobie* should probably be identified with Naphtali, located a league from Safad, and the place from which the Old Testament states that Tobias came.[110] Near to here was *Pont dou Sapheth*, which had a rock on which the Virgin Mary (or Jesus) rested.[111] Both of these sites were new to the pilgrim tradition of the thirteenth century, but do indicate that pilgrimage did occur near Safad. From Safad, travellers could return to Acre, or go on to Banyas and thence to Damascus, as Thietmar did.

Joseph's well was located near Dothaim, on the road leading north from the Sea of Galilee to the castle of Safad. It was considered to be the place where Joseph's brothers captured him and sold him into slavery. The tract *De constructione castri Saphet* includes the well of Joseph in its list of *loca famosa* which could be visited in the area around Safad.[112] Although Dothaim does not seem to have been a regular site of pilgrimage as such, the well of Joseph was definitely shown to travellers who passed, and probably received a boost to its popularity once the reconstruction of the castle of Safad secured the area.

The final site in Galilee to be discussed is Bethulia, identified in the Old Testament

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[109] 'Rabbi Samuel Ben Samson', p. 107.

[110] This site referenced the events of the Old Testament Book of Tobias, whose eponymous hero was concerned with the proper burial of the Israelites. The Old Testament indicates that Tobias was a native of *Sephet* in upper Galilee, which is presumably where the association comes from, although the incident of the burying of the dead was said to have taken place in Nineveh. Tobias 1: 20–25. Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104.2; Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 102; Burchard (1274-85), p. 40.

[111] Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 102; Chemins A (1261-65), p. 188; Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104.2.

[112] Genesis 37: 22–24. See also *De constructione castri Saphet*, p. 386.

as the site of Judith's assassination of Holofernes.[113] The site exemplifies some of the issues with discussing pilgrimage in the thirteenth-century. Four Latin pilgrim texts mention Bethulia, two of which simply note its distance from Tiberias (four miles or seven miles) and why it was famous.[114] The language used in the description of Riccoldo makes it clear that he did visit the site, and although he does not mention any churches associated with the event, he does note that at the base of the mount of Bethulia was a spring at which his party rested.[115]

Modern scholars disagree over the location of Bethulia, but Riccoldo clearly visited somewhere. He travelled from Tiberias to Bethulia, up Mount Tabor and then to Naim. His description seems to suggest that Bethulia was in the vicinity of Mount Tabor. However, Bethulia is described also by Burchard of Mount Sion. In his text he places Bethulia on a high mountain near Dothaim, north of Tiberias. This description would put Bethulia somewhere near Safad, at a considerable distance from Mount Tabor.[116] In addition, Burchard's description indicates that he may also have visited the site in person. He describes the presence of ruins on the top of the mountain, and ends his description by stating 'hoc, quantum potui, inuestigaui diligenter'.[117] However, since he also notes that he stayed overnight in Dothaim, near to the mountain, he may be recording a local tradition he discovered whilst in the area. Since both Burchard and Riccoldo were visiting the area in the 1280s, it seems unlikely that this represents a shift in tradition; more likely, these represent parallel traditions of the location of Bethulia.

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[113] Judith 6:7–10.

[114] Albert of Stade notes that it was five miles from Tiberias, which was half the distance given between Tiberias and Nazareth. He mentions it at the same time as Dothaim, suggesting that it was near there. Albert of Stade, 'Annales Stadenses', p. 343.

[115] 'uenimus .X.m. in Betuliam paruulam ciuitatem Iudit et ad pedes ciuitatis quieuimus ad fontem.' Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 42.

[116] Burchard's nineteenth-century translator, Aubrey Stewart, comments that Bethulia was commonly shown at Safad in the twelfth century. Burchard of Mount Sion, *Description of the Holy Land*, trans. by Aubrey Stewart (London: Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1896), p. 28, note 3.

[117] Burchard (1274-85), pp. 39, 45.

The vague description of the other texts, which simply note Bethulia's distance from Tiberias, makes it impossible to tell which tradition was more prevalent in this period, and whether these traditions were of non-Latin Christian origin.

Summary

Latin Christian pilgrimage to Galilee clearly continued into the thirteenth century, and there seems to have been some continuation of twelfth-century tradition, although it is perhaps significant the region is accorded very little space on the maps of Matthew Paris.[118] Unlike the Southern and Northern Coast, pilgrimage sites here were relatively limited in scope. They were primarily considered holy for their associations with the New Testament, particularly the early life and ministry of Jesus, such as the church of the Annunciation at Nazareth. Pilgrims did also visited Old Testament sites, but even these were frequently sites which also had New Testament associations, or prefigurations, as at Mount Tabor. Unlike the Southern Coast, the region of Galilee seems to have had no pilgrimage sites associated with post-biblical saints equivalent to St George at Lydda, or St Euphemia at Chastel Pelerin. There were places with associations to post-biblical holy people in the region, but these were primarily of Jewish and Muslim origin, and did not feature in the Latin Christian pilgrim tradition, as St Pelagia did in Jerusalem. There were some sites whose holiness came from post-biblical traditions, but these traditions still linked the site to the life of Christ, such as the miraculous tree at Tiberias, or the rock on which the Virgin Mary rested, near Safad. There were some relics for the pilgrims to see, but these were limited to relatively immovable stone objects, such as the water-jars at Cana, or the imprints of Jesus's feet at the Mount of Precipitation. There were two possible sites of contemporary miracles in Galilee; one was the wine-like water at Cana, and the other was the baths at Tiberias,

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[118] Matthew Paris, 'Holy Land Map (BL)'; Matthew Paris, 'Holy Land Map (CCCC)'.

which may have had healing properties.

In many respects, thirteenth-century pilgrimage to Galilee shares many of the characteristics of twelfth-century pilgrimage. The sites visited are generally the same, and the emphasis on the life of Christ remains consistent. However, it is clear that there has been a break in the pilgrimage tradition, because the region demonstrates similar trends to those seen in Jerusalem at this time. Some of the sites have undergone amalgamation, notably those around Capernaum, and there is clearly some confusion around the exact location of some sites. Two different places were being visited as Bethulia, and it seems from the texts, that two versions of Cana were being visited as well. This period also sees the emergence of several traditions which are new to Latin Christian pilgrimage, such as the baths and tree at Tiberias. Although there are fewer references to non-Latin Christian institutions in this region than others, this may represent a general lack of religious institutions in the area, rather than a lack of interaction between Latin and non-Latin Christians. Thietmar, for example, discussed the water-into-wine miracle with a Saracen or Syrian guide at Cana. The region was frequently raided, from both sides, and seemed to suffer the same lawlessness as it did in the early period of the twelfth century. Certainly, pilgrim authors frequently note the ruination not only of the churches in the region, but also the settlements, which suggests that the intermittent warfare had led to a general decline in the area.

Although it is difficult to establish a detailed chronology of pilgrimage in Galilee, it is possible to make some general remarks. Firstly, the unstable nature of Galilee during the thirteenth century meant that it was difficult to maintain a continuity of tradition, particularly for the Latin Christians. Pilgrimage from 1187 until 1240 seems to have been difficult, but possible during this period. The area was subject to intermittent raiding, particularly during crusading periods such as the Fifth Crusade, but outside of

this period pilgrims could join other travellers en route to Damascus. Permission to rebuild churches in this area seems to have been denied, so many of the places visited were in a poor state of repair, when compared to the twelfth century. The construction of Safad in 1240 made access to the region easier until its destruction in 1267, ensuring security for travellers and visitors within its sphere of influence on the western side of the Sea of Galilee. Equally, it is clear from the texts that the subsequent raids of Baybars had a devastating effect on the pilgrimage sites. Although most sites were partially ruined prior to the 1260s, pilgrims travelling after this time saw wholly devastated sites; Burchard comments on how all the churches he visited were only crypts when he saw them, and Riccoldo seems to express genuine surprise at finding Magdala whole. The truces of 1272 and 1283 ensured access to Nazareth, and this would have made travel easier for pilgrims, at least as far as Nazareth.

IX. The Northern Coast
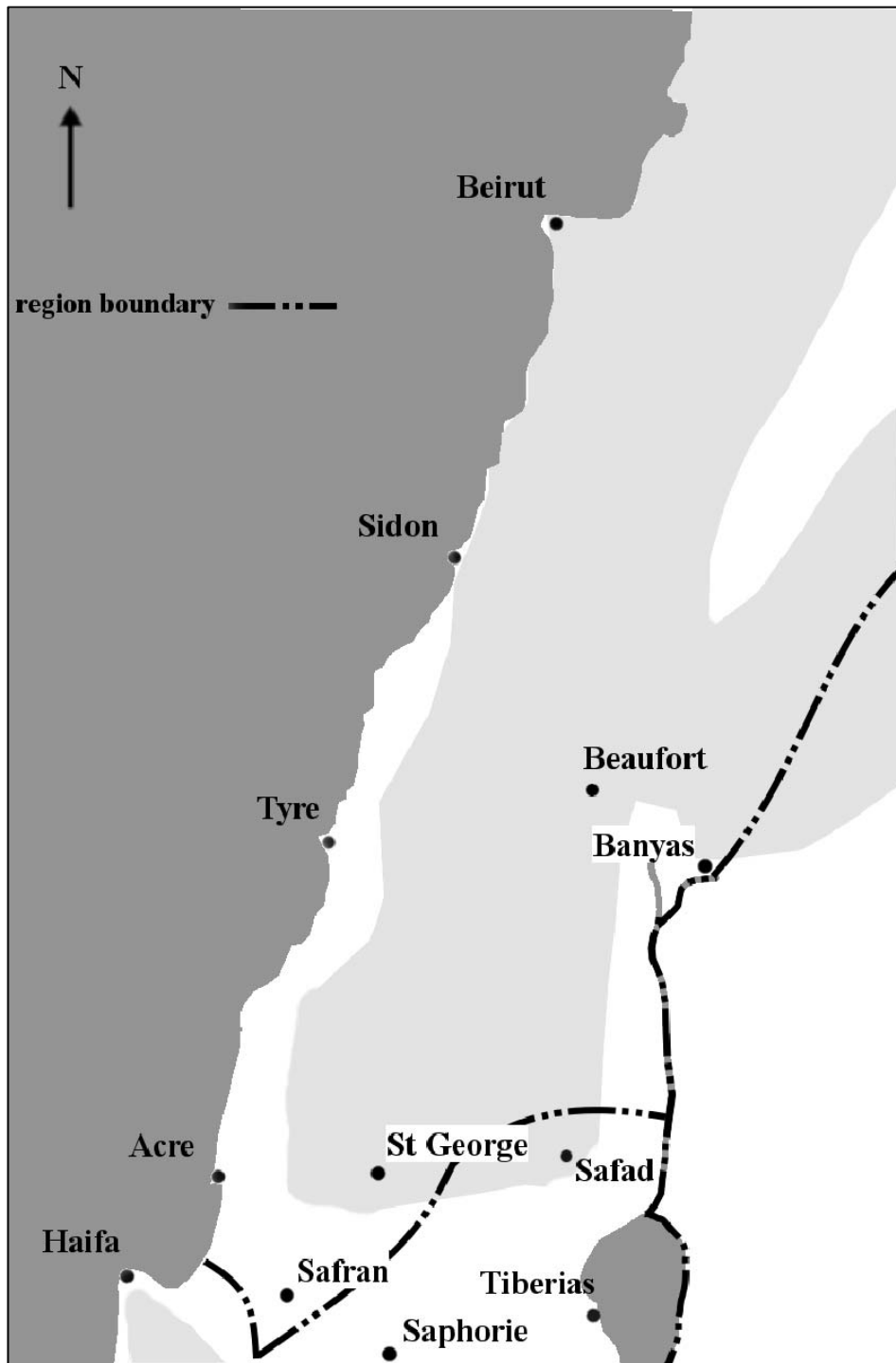
Map 7: Extent of the Northern Coast. Pale grey approximately indicates areas of high ground.

Table 7: Sites in the Northern Coast: by pilgrim text, with page references, in chapter order

	Innom. X (1187-1291)	Innom. IX (1187-1291)	Innom. III (1191-1244)	Innom. IV (1191-1244)	Wilbrand A (1211-12)	Thietmar A (1217-18)	Thietmar B (1218-91)	Sains Pelerinages (1229-55)	LCTS (1244-60)	Filippo (1244-91)	Hec sunt Peregrinaciones (1244-99)	Chemins B (1254-68)	Pardouns (1258-63)	Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s)	Chemins A (1261-65)	Burchard (1274-85)	Riccoldo (1288-89)
Acre	102	-	-	24	163	2-3	20	104	342	246	-	189	235-36	89	179	23	38
Tyre	-	-	-	-	164-65	53	58	-	-	252	-	-	234	-	-	24-25	74
Beirut	-	-	-	-	166-67	-	-	-	-	252	-	-	234	-	-	27	-
Sarepta	-	-	-	-	165	-	-	-	-	252	-	-	234	-	-	26	-
Sidon	-	-	-	-	165-66	-	-	-	-	252	-	-	234	-	-	26	74
Safran	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	104	-	-	-	198	234	100	187	-	74
St George	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	104.2	-	-	-	-	-	102	188	38	-
Banyas	-	-	-	-	183-84	8	23	-	-	250	-	-	-	-	-	31-32	-

The area of the Northern Coast stretched along the coast from Acre in the south to Beirut in the north. From here, it reached east as far as the Jordan, and then south-west, following the line of the coast to the area around Sepphoris. This area is mountainous to the east, and particularly so in the north-east, where there was part of the stronghold of the Ismāʿīlī Muslims, also known as the 'Assassins'. The flat coastal region was ideal for agriculture, and the main settlements of the area were also located here. Both Acre and Tyre were known for the productive gardens that surrounded the cities.

Control of this region was ensured by castles located to the east, in the mountainous area, and the area was a patchwork of castles and cities between which were pockets of Muslim-held land.[1] Frankish control stretched as far inland as the castles of Beaufort (1268), Toron (1266), Montfort (1271) and Safad (1266); once these were lost Frankish control was reduced to the hinterland around the main cities, although a number of villages further east were held in condominium with the rulers of Damascus for a while.[2]

The importance of this region was relatively new; although pilgrims did arrive in Acre prior to 1187, most did not include this area in their texts and the region was not traditionally considered as an essential part of the Holy Land pilgrimage experience. Even in the thirteenth century, the position of the region in pilgrimage was unclear. Burchard, although acknowledging Acre's importance by making it the centre of his descriptive scheme, states that this area was not part of the Holy Land.[3] Perceptions of the extent of the Holy Land are crucial to this region.

The pilgrim texts for this region do not indicate any preferred routes through, unlike for the other regions. Indeed, some texts even suggest sailing between Acre, Tyre and

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[1] Jacques de Vitry describes travelling through this area with a series of escorts who guide him between the Frankish-held areas. Jacques de Vitry, 'Lettre II', pp. 91–95.

[2] Bronstein, *Hospitallers*, p. 40; Thorau, *Baybars*, pp. 206–07; Marshall, *Warfare*, p. 32.

[3] 'Sciendum tamen, quod hec ciuitas nunquam fuit de terra sancta', Burchard (1274-85), p. 23.

Beirut, as the fastest and safest way to travel.[4] This all suggests that pilgrims were less likely to visit the area specifically for pilgrimage, and that visits to religious sites might be a secondary activity. The order of this chapter reflects this by focusing on the main cities, and then the smaller sites outside these.

Acre

Despite being roughly 100 miles from Jerusalem, Acre became the main port for the Latin kingdom, surpassing Jaffa in importance by the mid-twelfth century. Although convenient for Jerusalem, Jaffa's small harbour could not cope with the increasing number and size of pilgrim and merchant ships bound for the Latin East. Additionally, Jaffa was positioned on the edge of Frankish territory during the thirteenth century, making it vulnerable to raids and making it difficult to maintain the kind of infrastructure needed to support pilgrims and trade.

By contrast, Acre's harbour was larger and more suitable for the new ships. Fulcher of Chartres, describing the city in the twelfth century, noted that the port was 'so commodious that a great many ships could be safely berthed within its secure walls' and Jacques de Vitry, describing it in the thirteenth century, noted that it was ideal for pilgrims, having a good, safe harbour.[5] The alignment of the harbour could mean that ships were sometimes trapped there for several days if the wind was in the wrong direction, but the city was otherwise well-placed, having access to convenient routes through to Damascene hinterland and the trading opportunities beyond.[6] This made the city popular with merchants, and the Genoese, Pisans and Venetians all had quarters

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[4] Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 164; Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 74.

[5] 'erat enim nobis valde necessaria, quoniam inest ei portus adeo utilis, ut inter moenia secura naves quamplurimas sane concipiat.' Fulcher of Chartres, 'Historia Hierosolymitana', p. 463. Translation: Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127* , ed. by Harold S. Fink and trans. by Frances Rita Ryan (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969), p. 176. Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or*, pp. 176–178.

[6] Jacques de Vitry, 'Lettre IV', p. 103; Magistri Rogeri de Houedene, *Chronica*, IV, p. 542.

within the city, as did merchants from southern France. [7] This ensured a steady stream of shipping of which the pilgrims could take advantage. Acre's mercantile status not only ensured transport for the pilgrims via both sea and land, but also that there were enough provisions to cater for the large number of temporary visitors. Although one might expect pilgrim numbers to the Latin kingdom in general to decline during the thirteenth century, documentary evidence suggests that ships carrying upwards of a thousand passengers into Acre were not unusual.[8] Merchants also commonly used the city as a rest-stop; for example, the Polos used Acre several times during their travels around the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea.[9] Unlike Jaffa, the city was under Frankish control for the life of the Latin kingdom, which also ensured that any visitors passing through the city would be protected by the truces of the Latin kingdom.

The city was not only important as a port, but after the fall of Jerusalem in 1187, it also became the seat of government for the Latin kingdom, and was considered the *de facto* capital, if not the spiritual one. Acre was the city in which many of the religious institutions exiled from Jerusalem sought refuge.[10] These included the military orders - both the Templars and Hospitallers had houses in the city – and Latin ecclesiastical institutions such as the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre and the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. These joined houses already in Acre, such as the Teutonic Knights and the Knights of St Thomas. In addition, Eastern Christianity was represented in Acre by a number of churches and institutions, such as that of St Sabas. Jacques de Vitry also comments on the presence of Jacobites, *Suriani*, Nestorians, Georgians and Armenians in the city. [11] According to Pringle, there were more churches in Acre in the thirteenth century than in

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[7] Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, II, p. 246.
[8] Jacoby, 'Pardouns d'Acre', p. 107.
[9] Rusticien de Pise, 'Voyages', pp. 209–11 (passim).
[10] 'Que post perditionem terre sancte multis laboribus nostrum recuperata reliquias sancte Hierusalem, sue matris, uidelicet dominum patriarcham, dominum regem, templarios et alios uiros religiosos, episcopos et abbates, sicut fidelis filia in se fouet et enutrit. Unde et ipsa nunc temporis inter alias ciuitates, quibus nostri in Suria dominantur, principalis et capitanea reputatur.' Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 163.
[11] Jacques de Vitry, 'Lettre II', pp. 83–85.

the holy city of Jerusalem itself.[12] Wilbrand was one of the few pilgrim visitors to comment on the cosmopolitan nature of the city, noting the presence of 'Franks and Latins, Greeks and Syrians, Jews and Jacobites', all of whom had their own sets of laws.[13] The diverse range of people living and working in the city led Jacques de Vitry to describe the city as *monstrum et beluam IX capita sibi adinvicem repugnantia habentem* ('a monster and beast having nine heads by turns fighting itself').[14]

The city was defended on two sides by the sea, and the landward side was defended by a double wall, towers and ditches. Inhabitants were frequently able to hold out for extended periods during sieges. Wilbrand's description of the city suggests that he was impressed not only by its defensive capabilities, but also its architecture, describing its gates and walls as *pulchra turre custoditum* ('guarded with beautiful towers').[15]

Although it was at the heart of the post-1187 Latin kingdom, Acre's position with regard to the Holy Land was uncertain, and its role in Holy Land pilgrimage was ambiguous. Jacques de Vitry, despite also using Banyas as the northern boundary, stated in one of his letters written while living in Acre, that he had not yet reached the holy land, but that he was close. He went on to complain that Mount Carmel, which was part of the Holy Land, was a mere three miles away.[16] *Chemins B* went further in its description, noting that the boundary of *la terre seynt* could be found at the river between Acre and Haifa. [17] Thietmar also noted the boundary of the Holy Land at Acre in his prologue, and Burchard specifically states that the city was outside the Holy Land, despite using it as the centre of his descriptive structure.[18]

Indeed, the city was often described in a manner which made it seem unholy. Jacques de Vitry, although probably exaggerating to make his own pastoral work seem more

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[12] Pringle, 'Churches and Settlement', p. 176.
[13] 'Francos et Latinos, Grecos et Surianos, Iudeos et Iacobinos', Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 163.
[14] Jacques de Vitry, 'Lettre II', p. 83.
[15] Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 163.
[16] Jacques de Vitry, 'Lettre II', pp. 89–90.
[17] Chemins B (1254-68), p. 190.
[18] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 1; Burchard (1274-85), p. 23.

effective, noted that the city was *innumeris flagitiis et iniquitatibus repletam* ('full of innumerable outrages and injustices'), and he devoted a significant proportion of his early Acre correspondence to the immorality and heresy of the local inhabitants, and criminality of the settlers.[19] Furthermore, by the thirteenth century, Acre was being identified with Ekron in the Old Testament, a town famous for being the centre of the cult of Baal-Zebub, a Phoenician god whom King Ahaziah turned to upon injuring himself.[20] The thirteenth-century descriptions of the city connect Acre's towers to Beelzebub, blood sacrifice, the minting of the coins for which Judas betrayed Jesus, and holy curses, and they further note that Jesus actively avoided the city.[21] As a result, the overall impression given was generally a negative one. John Phocas, a Greek pilgrim writing in 1185, prior to Acre's elevation to the capital of the kingdom, suggested one possible practical reason for Acre's bad reputation –the pollution generated by the large numbers of people who arrived there.[22] Presumably the increase in population following 1187 only exacerbated matters. In addition, the author of the *Itinerarium Ricardi* noted in his description of the Third Crusade that the city had proved tempting for the crusaders, making them reluctant to leave the city and join the army, to the detriment of the Crusade itself.[23] It is possible that the common temptations of a city were also responsible for the city's reputation. The Templars, according to Oliver of Paderborn, found the city so unclean and sinful, that they moved their main headquarters from Acre to Chastel Pèlerin.[24]

The bad reputation of Acre was not limited to Christian sources; a Jewish pilgrim to the Holy Land in the thirteenth century noted the immoral character also of the Jewish

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[19] Jacques de Vitry, 'Lettre II', pp. 83–88; Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or*, pp. 332–34. Similar sentiments can be found in Caesarii Heisterbacensis, *Dialogus miraculorum*, ed. by Joseph Strange, 2 vols. (Bonn: J. M. Heberle, 1851), I, pp. 186–87.

[20] 2 Kings 2:1. Graboïs, *Le pèlerin occidental*, p. 111.

[21] Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 163; Thietmar A (1217-18), pp. 2–3; *Itinerarium Ricardi*, pp. 75–76.

[22] John Phocas, 'Holy Places of Palestine', p. 319.

[23] *Itinerarium Ricardi,* p. 248.

[24] See chapter IV, pp. 93–94. Oliverus, 'Historia Damiatina', p. 171.

inhabitants of Acre.[25] This all suggests the development of an 'unclean' topos regarding Acre during the thirteenth century, which, following the destruction of the city in 1291, persisted into the fourteenth century in recovery of the Holy Land texts, among others.[26]

However, there is some evidence for pilgrimage in Acre. Most of this comes from *Pardouns*, which had a list of indulgences to be gained in Acre, positioned at the end of a twelve-section description of the Holy Land. The final two sections focused on Acre alone, and noted the pardons to be collected from sites within Acre. The text provided only the pardon value for the site, and did not explain why the pardons had been granted. Several of the sites have yet to be identified, and the origin and purpose of this section of text is unknown. It has been suggested that the text is a propaganda tool, to try to promote pilgrimage within Acre; this would need to have been at quite a high level, given the autonomous nature of many of the sites. Several charters were issued during the thirteenth century which placed the military orders and various church institutions under the direct control of the pope. This exempted them from the tithes and the duties usually due to the bishop. Jacques de Vitry, the bishop of Acre in the early thirteenth century, was already complaining about the Genoese, Pisans and Venetians who ignored him and installed their own chaplains in their churches.[27]

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[25] Michael Ehrlich, 'Crusaders' Castles – the Fourth Generation: Reflections on Frankish Castle-Building Policy during the 13th Century', *Journal of Medieval History*, 29 (2003), 85–93 (pp. 88–89).

[26] Sylvia Schein, 'Babylon and Jerusalem: The Fall of Acre 1291-1996', in *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusader and Crusader Societies 1095-1500*, ed. by Alan V. Murray (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), III, 141–150 (pp. 143, 146).

[27] Jacques de Vitry, 'Lettre II', pp. 85–86. See, for example, Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Kirchen*, nos. 156, 163; and Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter*, nos. 214, 215, 222.

Table 8: Sites listed in *Pardouns*: with associated pardons, in the order listed in the text[28]

Place	Pardon
la bourde la vile	3 yrs, 40 days
St Nicholas	4 yrs, 160 days
Alemayns	4 yrs, each day, 100 days
St Leonard[29]	1 year, 100 days
St Romant[30]	40 days
St Stephen	4 yrs, 40 yrs
St Samuel	1 yr, 40 days,
St Lazarus of Bethany	8 yrs, 160 days
Holy Sepulchre	7 yrs 160 days
Our Lady of the Knights	5 yrs
Our Lady of Tyre	3 yrs
Holy Cross	3 yrs 40 days
St Mark of Venice	5 yrs
St Lorenzo (Genoese) [31]	40 days
Jehosaphat[32]	4 yrs 40 days
St Mary the Latin[33]	1 yr
St Peter of Pisa	5 yrs

[28] This site order has been identified by David Jacoby as following a definite itinerary, starting outside the walls of the city, moving around the Old City, then visting the suburb of Montmusard. Jacoby, 'Pardouns d'Acre', p. 108.

[29] This church belonged to the church of Mount Sion, and hosted the canons of the church from 1218. RRH, pp. 153–54, no. 576; Pringle, *Churches*, III, p. 267; iv, p. 124. See chapter VI, pp. 182–83.

[30] This church belonged to the church of Mount Sion. RRH, pp. 153–54, no. 576. See chapter VI, pp. 182–83.

[31] St Lorenzo was confirmed as a donation to the Genoese by Urban III in 1187, and reconfirmed by Celestine III in 1193. Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Kirchen*, nos. 147, 167.

[32] The monks of Jehosaphat had moved to Acre by 1198, although some may have tried to return to Jerusalem during the period 1229-1244. The house suffered badly in the War of St Sabas, but seems to have retained its importance, despite its poverty and the damage inflicted, judging by the pardon offered. The monks remained in the city until 1291, when they transferred to Sicily. Pringle, *Churches*, III, p. 293; IV, pp. 144-46; see chapter VI, pp. 191–92.

[33] The house in Acre was reconfirmed to the monks of the monastery of St Mary the Latin in 1304, by Benedict XI; this charter most likely reflects the aspirations of the monastery, rather than the early fourteenth-century reality. Nevertheless, it supports the presence of the monastery in Acre in the thirteenth century. Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Kirchen*, no. 195.

Place	Pardon
St Anne	5 yrs
Place	**Pardon**
Holy Spirit	7 yrs
Bethlehem	7 yrs
St Andrew	5 yrs
Templars	8 yrs, 6 days
Dominicans	3 yrs, 40 days
St Michael	4 yrs, 160 days
Sack Friars[34]	140 days
Hospital of St John	8 yrs: + 40 days for each time you go around; + 240 days for the Sunday procession
St Giles	200 days
Magdalene	11 yrs
Katherine	4 yrs 160 days
Trinity	1 year
St Bryde	8 yrs
St Martin of the Bretons (Hospital)[35]	4 yrs, 40 days
Lazer de Chevalers	600 days
St Thomas	15 yrs, and every Tuesday 7 yrs
St Bartholomew	4 yrs, 160 days
St Antony	3 yrs, 40 days
Franciscans	300 days
Repentires	1 year, 40 days
St Denis	4 yrs, 160 days
St George	7 yrs

[34] The Friars of the Penitence of Jesus Christ, popularly known as the Sack Friars, emerged in Provence in the 1240s, expanding rapidly throughout western Europe and into the Latin East. The group was suppressed at the Council of Lyons in 1274, but some houses survived until the end of the century. Frances Andrews, *The Other Friars: The Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 175–-77, 181–-85, 207–13. The house in Acre was authorised for sale by the Pope in 1285, 1288 and in 1289, when it was sold to the Augustinians. Richard W. Emery, 'The Friars of the Sack', *Speculum*, 18 (1943), 323–334 (pp. 325, 327–28).
[35] Founded in 1254, probably in the English quarter, to care for sick and infirm. *L'hôpital des Bretons*, pp. 6–8.

No reasons were given in the text for the order, or for the level of indulgence at each site; the sites were not, for example, identified as containing relics, or being the location of specific biblical events. This makes it difficult to ascertain the reason for the variation in the extent of pardon received. The houses of the Templars and Hospitallers had reasonably large pardons, which could be partly linked to their political influence at this time, and partly to their possession of relics. The Templars, for example, had a cross made from Jesus's bathtub, which was carried in procession through Acre during inclement weather.[36] One might have expected those institutions present in Jerusalem before 1187 to have the largest pardons, since they had not only the greatest need of the financial support, being alienated from many sources of income by the Islamic reconquest, but also had the closest association with the life of Christ and presumably had previously had the opportunity to acquire important relics, although one can not be sure to what extent relics were taken from Jerusalem to Acre during 1187. Certainly, as noted earlier, a number of the heavier relics, such as the footprints of Jesus or column of flagellation, were left behind for thirteenth-century pilgrims to visit in Jerusalem. Relics continued to be sent from the Latin East to Europe in the thirteenth century, but with the exception of Jesus's bathtub, there are few references to relics specifically being in Acre.[37]

Table 8 makes it clear that an association with Jerusalem was not enough to guarantee a large pardon. The largest pardon was, for example, available at the institution of St Thomas, which originated in Acre after 1187.[38] Equally, some Jerusalem institutions, such as the well-known St Mary the Latin monastery, and the Premonstratensian monastery of St Samuel, had relatively small pardons. Jacoby suggests that the number and importance of the relics at each institution was a

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[36] Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, p. 32; *Procès des templiers*, I, pp. 646–47.
[37] See the discussion on relics and souvenirs in chapter III, pp. 75–79.
[38] The order of St Thomas claimed a foundation by Richard I in 1192. A. J. Forey, 'The Military Order of St Thomas of Acre', *English Historical Review*, 92 (1977), 481–503 (p. 482).

significant factor in the grading of indulgences, and this seems reasonable.[39] However, political influence was clearly a factor in the level of indulgence, as one can see from the relatively low indulgence granted to the church of St Lorenzo, which was affiliated with the Genoese who had been recently defeated in the War of St Sabas.

The church of St Nicholas was located on the outskirts of Acre, along with a cemetery dedicated half to St Nicholas, and half to St Michael.[40] These were the site of a healing miracle and holy relics which were attested independently of *Pardouns*, making it much more likely that they were genuinely the focus for thirteenth-century pilgrimage, as opposed to the otherwise unmentioned holy sites of *Pardouns*. The split dedication of the cemetery was because the Hospitallers managed their own section of the graveyard, which had a mortuary chapel in it dedicated to St Michael.[41] Presumably, in line with Hospitaller practice at Akeldama in the twelfth century, this cemetery was used for the burial of pilgrims. The main part of the cemetery, which was for the occupants of the rest of the town, was dedicated to St Nicholas, and was associated with one of the gates out of the city, also named for St Nicholas.[42] The *Annales de Terre Sainte* records that in 1260 and 1265, fearing attacks, the inhabitants of Acre removed all the stones from the tombs and destroyed the cemetery, presumably to stop it being used against them in the event of a siege. It is not clear whether the stones were put back afterwards, or whether the cemetery remained mostly empty following this.[43] Furthermore, both the *Chronique d'Amadi* and the *Annales de Terre Sainte* note that the church of St Nicholas, was also destroyed by the local people in the face of the attacks by Baybars in 1265.[44]

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[39] Jacoby, 'Pardouns d'Acre', pp. 114–17.
[40] Chemins B (1254-68), p. 199.
[41] See chapter III, pp. 63–64.
[42] Riley-Smith, 'Death and Burial', pp. 177–78. See also Matthew Paris, 'Holy Land Map (BL)' Matthew Paris, 'Holy Land Map (CCCC)'.
[43] *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 25; Edbury, 'New Text: Annales', p. 157.
[44] Francesco Amadi, *Chroniques d' Amadi et de Strambaldi*, ed. by René Marie Louis Mas Latrie, 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1891), I, p. 207; *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 28

Although *Pardouns* notes St Michael and St Nicholas separately, it indicates that the indulgences for both halves of the cemetery were the same.[45] These indulgences were granted because the church of St Nicholas had the relics of *meynt seint cors* ('many a holy body').[46] One of these bodies belonged to St *Guilleme,* whose tomb and well *Chemins B* located in the cemetery. These were sites of miraculous healing, which would have attracted pilgrims, as such shrines did in Europe.[47] St *Guilleme* has been identified by some with Bishop William of Acre (c. 1166-1172), who was murdered by one of his own servants.[48] However, one might also identify the saint with William Longespée, who was killed in a skirmish during the first crusade of Louis IX (1248-1254). Matthew Paris describes how, sometime after the end of the crusade, the 'Sultan of Babylon' sent word that miracles were happening with the bones of William; these were then collected and taken to be buried in Acre. The text states that the bones were buried in the church of the Holy Cross; it is however possible that by the time of *Pardouns*, these had been moved to the cemetery of St Nicholas, the main cemetery for the city, and under the jurisdiction of the church of the Holy Cross.[49] Although not officially canonised, this would make William Longespée one of the few crusader saints from the Crusades of the Latin East, and the only one to have died fighting.

About a decade later, Eudes of Burgundy, count of Nevers, was added to the holy bodies. Eudes, a baron described as a 'holy man' by the Templar of Tyre, arrived in the Holy Land in 1265 on crusade, but died in August 1266 in Acre. He bequeathed all his possessions to the poor, and it was said that everything bequeathed had the power to heal those who touched it.[50] His tomb became a healing shrine in the later years of Latin

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(version B); Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, II, p. 206 (note 2).
[45] Pardouns (1258-63), p. 235.
[46] 'saint home', Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 234. See also: 'mult de cors seins', plus ke l'om ne set dire ne anunbrer.' Chemins B (1254-68), p. 199.
[47] Chemins B (1254-68), p. 199.
[48] Riley-Smith, 'Death and Burial', p. 177; William of Tyre, *Chronicon,* pp. 947–48.
[49] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, v, p. 342; Pringle, *Churches*, IV, p. 151.
[50] Templier de Tyr, pp. 176–77.

control of Acre, and was probably located in the Hospitaller part of the graveyard.[51]

One further possible pilgrimage site is noted in Wilbrand's text. This is a church within the city which marked the spot where the Virgin Mary rested during her stay in the area.[52] There are, however, two churches dedicated to *nostre Dame* in the list by *Pardouns*, and it is not possible as yet to identify which of these is meant by Wilbrand.

Tyre

Tyre, the only place not to fall to Saladin in his reconquest of the Latin kingdom, had a port but never became as important an entry point to the Latin kingdom as Acre. William of Tyre, describing the city in the twelfth century, comments that the sea around the harbour was dangerous, and ships without local pilots risked being lost to shipwreck. This was due to the presence of underwater rocks around the harbour wall.[53] However, Ibn Jubayr clearly preferred Tyre to Acre, commenting that it was cleaner and the people had better manners. He thought the harbour bigger and better protected, and better able to take larger ships.[54] Jacques de Vitry, writing in the thirteenth century, nevertheless describes it as a *portum idoneum et securam* ('a convenient and easy port').[55] The city was thus defended on one side by the sea and rocks, and a complex series of walls and ditches on the landward side. Wilbrand compares these defences to the maze of Daedalus, famously created to hold the Minotaur, suggesting that the gates between each set of walls were offset to deter attackers.[56] The Templar of Tyre, describing the city in the late thirteenth century, noted that two of the city's towers were named: the Tower of the Chain, which defended against attacks from the sea, and the

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[51] Riley-Smith, 'Death and Burial', p. 177.
[52] 'Domina uero nostra intrauit, et ubi ipsa requieuit, illic ecclesia pulchra est edificata', Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 164.
[53] William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, pp. 591–92; Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 164.
[54] Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥlat*, p. 277; Ibn Jubayr, *Travels*, pp. 319–20.
[55] Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or*, p. 198.
[56] Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 164.

Tower of St Catherine.[57]

Like Acre, Tyre had different populations of merchants: the church of St Mark in Tyre, as in Acre, catered to the Venetian population and visitors providing pastoral support and burial space; and there was also a Genoese chapel, which provided similar services for the Genoese.[58] The town had links with some of the major religious institutions, as Acre did. The church of St Mary of Tyre was given to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre in 1129, and benefited from their patronage.[59] The church of Bethlehem also had a church under its control in Tyre; the church of St Martin.[60] Furthermore, the city was a metropolitan centre, having under it the bishop of Acre.[61]

Unlike Acre however, Tyre is far more frequently described as a site of pilgrimage. *Pardouns* describes Tyre as the place where Jesus preached the word of God.[62] Both Filippo and Burchard expand on this description, noting that the site was marked by a large marble rock on which Jesus stood to preach to the crowd, just outside the city.[63] Jacques de Vitry explains that the site was located thus because Jesus would not enter a city of Gentiles. The site was (somewhat miraculously) never covered in sand, regardless of the wind and amount of sand elsewhere, and the site was honoured by both visiting pilgrims and the local people, suggesting that the site was from local Eastern Christian tradition.[64] Wilbrand added a further three rocks to his description of Tyre, on which Jesus and his disciples rested outside the city.

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[57] The Templar of Tyre probably lived in Tyre during the period 1269-1283. He described the towers as part of the section describing the War of St Sabas, between the Venetians, Genoese and Pisans. Templier de Tyr, p. 170.

[58] Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Kirchen*, nos. 161, 164, 175.

[59] Bresc-Bautier, *Cartulaire: Saint-Sépulcre*, no. 55.

[60] Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Kirchen*, nos. 190.

[61] Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or*, p. 178.

[62] 'Là precha Iesus la parole Dieu', Pardouns (1258-63), p. 234. This refers to Luke 11:27–28, which does not locate the event any specific place, and certainly does not suggest that the event happened in Tyre.

[63] See also Albert of Stade, 'Annales Stadenses', p. 342.

[64] Filippo (1244-91), p. 252; Burchard (1274-85), p. 25. The rock associated with Jesus was present in twelfth-century accounts, such as that of Innominatus VI, 'Incipit Beda de Descripcione eiusdem Terrae Sancte', in *Itinera*, III, pp. 45–75 (p. 56). See also Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or*, p. 198.

Wilbrand additionally linked the city to the medieval tale of Apollonius of Tyre, whose palace was shown to visitors of the city. Jacques de Vitry commented that Apollonius's deeds could be read about in 'common story-books', and this may be one of the earliest of examples of tourism influenced by fiction.[65] Wilbrand also referenced the classical tradition of Dido, the first Queen and founder of the city of Carthage in Tunisia, who originally came from Tyre.[66] There were presumably also pilgrimage sites within the city, although these are not usually commented on. Burchard alone commented on the presence of *multe reliquie* in the city, including those of the Diocletian martyrs and the body of Origen.[67]

Surrounding Tyre were gardens, orchards and mills, fed by a series of watercourses and springs which made the area very productive. These gardens and springs were sufficiently striking to visitors that they were described by all the accounts which mention Tyre. The gardens and springs were identified by pilgrims with the gardens and springs described in the Song of Songs, and in particular with the 'well of living waters' of Cant. 4:15.[68] Jacques de Vitry told his readers that the water around Tyre was fed via underground channels from Mount Lebanon – as noted in the Song of Songs – and that this resulted in a spring the size of a small lake. Jacques further noted another local tradition, which stated that Jesus rested here when visiting the area.[69] This spring seems to have been a focus for devotion, since Wilbrand described taking part in the service of Vespers and singing the antiphon *fons ortorum* (Cant. 4:15) near here.[70]

However, both Wilbrand and Jacques de Vitry noted that the gardens and springs

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[65] Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or*, p. 200; Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 164.

[66] Albert of Stade placed Dido in Sidon. Albert of Stade, 'Annales Stadenses', p. 342.

[67] Burchard (1274-85), p. 25. Origen, a Church Father, but with some links to later heresies, died in Tyre in 255 AD. His death in Tyre is recorded early in the literary tradition, and Jacques de Vitry explicitly states that his information on Origen came from St Jerome's works. Jacques de Vitry also noted that the third-century lawyer Ulpian had been born in Tyre. Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or*, p. 200.

[68] 'puteus aquarum uiuentium', Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 165; Filippo (1244-91), p. 252; Pardouns (1258-63), p. 234; Burchard (1274-85), p. 25.

[69] Jacques de Vitry, 'Lettre II', p. 91; Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or*, p. 198.

[70] Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 165.

surrounding Tripoli were also claimed to be the location of Cant. 4:15, although Wilbrand seems to have favoured the link with the gardens of Tyre.[71]

Tyre could claim to have locations linked to the life of Christ; several sets of relics, including the body of a Church Father; a location from the Song of Songs (one of the most popular sections of the Old Testament in the Middle Ages); and several Classical literary links. Burchard also records that outside the gate there was also a monument to certain pilgrims slain by Saracens.[72] All these recorded links to holiness would seem to make pilgrimage to Tyre more attractive than to Acre, and certainly explains why it was mentioned more often than Acre.

Beirut

Beirut was located at the northern end of the Latin kingdom. The city was sited above the sea, and was strongly defended by a rock cliff, towers and a deep walled ditch, into which were cast prisoners. The city and its hinterland were also very productive, judging by the lavish hall the Lord of Beirut, John of Ibelin, was able to construct in the thirteenth century.[73] There were few settlements between Tyre and Beirut, and *Pardouns* comments that the distance from Sidon (halfway between Tyre and Beirut) to Beirut was the same *per terre ou par eawe* ('through land and over sea'), suggesting that travellers to this area also took the sea route to this area.[74]

Beirut was specifically noted as a site of pilgrimage during the thirteenth century by the *Rothelin Continuation*.[75] It was known mostly for its possession of a miraculous image of Jesus, which had bled upon being crucified by Jews, and thus converted

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[71] Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 165; Jacques de Vitry, 'Lettre II', pp. 91, 93; Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or*, pp. 188, 198.
[72] These may have been crusaders rather than ordinary pilgrims. Burchard (1274-85), p. 25.
[73] This is described in great detail by Wilbrand A (1211-12), pp. 166–67. The hall was covered in marble and frescos, and had a fountain which acted as air conditioning for the hall. Jacques de Vitry noted that the hinterland had vineyards and fruit-trees. Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or*, p. 178.
[74] Pardouns (1258-63), p. 234.
[75] *Rothelin Continuation*, p. 514.

them.[76] Relics of the blood were available across Europe. Although mentioned by many of the pilgrim texts, it seems unlikely that the icon was there for pilgrims to view. Wilbrand, during his trip of 1211-1212, mentions that the icon had *aliquando* ('once') been in Beirut, suggesting that it was not currently available, and Jacques de Vitry does not mention the icon as still being associated with a church in his description. The icon had definitely gone by the time of Filippo, writing sometime between 1244 to 1291, as he noted that it had been translated to Rome.[77] While the image-relic was in Beirut, it would most likely have been in the cathedral, as described in the twelfth-century pilgrim guide of Theoderic.[78]

In addition to the miraculous image, Wilbrand noted that the city had two more interesting sites. There was a tomb of Simon and Jude, which had been in a monastery destroyed by the Saracens prior to his arrival. He also mentions that he first saw in Beirut the *poma Adami*, although it is not clear whether he is referring to the 'apples' which other pilgrim texts claim grew by the Dead Sea, or simply a type of fruit or vegetable found in the area.[79]

Little archaeology survives from medieval Beirut, aside from the twelfth-century cathedral, which is now a mosque. Documentary evidence does however supply details of several other possible thirteenth-century churches. These are: a Venetian church of St Mark, which was subject to the Italian ecclesiastical hierarchy; a chapel of St Barbara; a church and hospital dedicated to St Nicholas; and a monastery of St Michael de Clusa.[80] The pre-crusader date of the Venetian church, and its later combination with a similar church in Acre, suggests that this church was provided primarily to serve the needs of

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[76] Albert of Stade, 'Annales Stadenses', p. 342.
[77] Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 167; 'Quicumque eciam ex illa ycone pervncti a quacumque grauarentur infirmitate sani reddebantur. Hec ycona postea Romam translata perhibetur.' Filippo (1244-91), p. 252; Pardouns (1258-63), pp. 234–35. Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or*, p. 178. See also *Rothelin Continuation*, p. 514.
[78] Theoderic, 'Libellus de locis sanctis', p. 196.
[79] See chapter V, p. 145.
[80] This was probably the location for the tomb of Simon and Jude mentioned by Wilbrand. Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 167.

the large Venetian population who were resident, both temporarily and permanently, in both cities. It was probably therefore not visited by most pilgrims, although presumably Venetian travellers would have used the church. The chapel of St Barbara was established in the twelfth century and although it is not mentioned by thirteenth-century sources, was not made into a mosque until the fourteenth century, suggesting a continuation of use throughout the thirteenth century. This was not, however, necessarily a church used by pilgrims. Pringle has tentatively identified it with a chapel found in 1941 with thirteenth-century Latin graffiti; depending on the character of the graffiti, this could indicate use by pilgrims. Similarly to the chapel of St Barbara, there is evidence for the monastery of St Michael de Clusa both before and after the thirteenth century, suggesting a similar continuity of use but probably not by pilgrims. The hospital of St Nicholas (and associated church) was confirmed in 1237 by Pope Gregory IX as a possession of the Holy Trinity church in Acre. [81] As Beirut was a site of pilgrimage, this hospital would have tended to the needs of the pilgrims in a similar fashion to the hospitals in both Acre and Jerusalem.

Other Sites

Four leagues from Tyre was Sarepta, a small settlement near the sea with few fortifications, belonging to the people of Sidon. This was the place where the prophet Elijah aided a poor woman, and the location was marked by a small chapel in a field outside the southern gate of the settlement.[82] This chapel was ruined when Jacques de Vitry visited it in the early part of the thirteenth century, and was still ruined at the end of the century when Burchard visited it, presumably because the city was under Muslim

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[81] Pringle, *Churches*, I, pp. 112–119; *Les Registres de Grégoire IX: Recueil des bulles de ce pape*, ed. by Gregory IX (Paris: Fontemoing, 1896), no. 4014.
[82] 3 Kings 17: 8-24. This story is also referenced in the New Testament, which may be a better explanation for its interest to thirteenth-century pilgrims – Luke 4:24–27. Pardouns (1258-63), p. 234; Jacques de Vitry, 'Lettre II', p. 92; Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or*, p. 204.

governance.[83]

Further up the coast from Tyre was Sidon, three leagues from Sarepta and the centre of the lordship and bishopric of Sidon.[84] The small, thirteenth-century town was surrounded by ruins, as it had been built inside the remains of the ancient city. Sidon was overlooked by two castles, one built in the thirteenth century on a reef just offshore, and one built in the twelfth century on the landward walls of the city.[85] However, at least in the first part of the thirteenth century, the town was inhabited primarily by Saracens who paid rent to the Franks.[86] Islamic governance, albeit under Frankish taxation, seems to have affected Wilbrand's view of the area, as he mentions the military success of Duke Leopold V of Austria, in 1191 here, but does not relate any religious associations.

Outside Sidon's eastern gate was the location for a New Testament miracle; this was where Jesus cured the Canaanite woman possessed by demons.[87] Like Sarepta, a chapel outside the walls was associated with this event. Jacques de Vitry noted that there was a Syrian archbishop living in Sidon, who came out to greet him as he travelled past. This suggests that those pilgrims who did visit the site were visiting one under non-Latin control.[88] Within Sidon was the church of the Holy Saviour, which was described as having many relics.[89] This church has not been located as yet, but other sources suggest that it also was located outside the town itself.[90] In addition to the church of the Holy Saviour, thirteenth-century Sidon was home to a church which was a former mosque,

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[83] Wilbrand A (1211-12), pp. 165–66; Burchard (1274-85), p. 26; Jacques de Vitry, 'Lettre II', p. 92; Jacques de Vitry, *H.Or*, p. 204.

[84] Pringle, *Churches*, II, p. 320.

[85] The sea castle was the primary fortification in the thirteenth century; it is not clear how much of the twelfth-century castle was reused at this time. Hugh Kennedy, *Crusader Castles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 121–22.

[86] Wilbrand A (1211-12), pp. 165–66; Burchard (1274-85), p. 26; Jacques de Vitry, 'Lettre II', p. 92.

[87] Filippo (1244-91), p. 252; 'Là delivera la femme Cananée Dieu par sa pieté, e autres merveilles sunt la plusours.' Pardouns (1258-63), p. 234. Mark 7:24–30; Matthew 15:21–28.

[88] Jacques de Vitry, 'Lettre II', p. 92.

[89] 'est une Eglise de Seint Salveour; e là sunt relykes plusours.' Pardouns (1258-63), p. 234.

[90] Pringle, *Churches*, II, p. 321.

and houses belonging to the Hospitallers, Teutonic Order, Franciscans, and Templars. Archaeological evidence suggests that the sea castle of Sidon, built in the 1220s, also had a chapel, although like the Italian churches in Beirut mentioned above, this was probably intended for the inhabitants only.[91]

Safran was the site of a Templar castle on the road between Acre and Nazareth, and as such was often described in the pilgrim text tradition as part of the pilgrimage to Galilee. As well as being a significant waymarker and rest-stop, Safran was also considered to be where St James and St John were born; this site was marked with a church.[92] Interestingly, St James was identified as St James of Galicia by some of the texts; this could be a way of linking the site to the more famous pilgrimage of Santiago de Compostela, or it could simply be the European author explaining which 'St James' this was for the benefit of his readers.[93] It seems likely that Safran can also be identified with Riccoldo's *castrum Zafetanum*, described as being on the road between Nazareth and Acre, and the birthplace of St John the Evangelist and St James the Great. Riccoldo comments that Christians lived in that place; given that he describes Acre also as a city of Christians, he could be indicating the boundary of Frankish territory for the reader.[94] It is also possible that Riccoldo's reference indicates a local Christian settlement, rather than simply a Frankish one.[95] If the latter is the case, then this may be where the tradition of John and James' birth came from, since this is not mentioned in the twelfth-century pilgrim text tradition. No church site has been identified on the ground as yet, although the archaeology suggests that there was a crusader church in this area, dedicated to St Phocas.[96]

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[91] Pringle, *Churches*, II, pp. 322–29
[92] Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104; Chemins B (1254-68), p. 198; Pardouns (1258-63), p. 234; Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 100; Chemins A (1261-65), p. 187.
[93] Chemins B (1254-68), p. 198. See also chapter IV, p. 99 and chapter VIII, p. 221.
[94] 'Ibi habitant Christiani. Inde reuersi fuimus .X.m. in Accon ciuitatem Christianorum.' Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 46.
[95] Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*, p. 144.
[96] Pringle, *Churches*, II, p. 302–04.

Also on the route into Galilee from Acre was the settlement of St George (al-Ba'ina). It had a Greek monastery, and as the settlement was well-known as the birthplace of St George, presumably this monastery was dedicated to him.[97] The monastery was preserved alongside a church, and both have been identified as being both twelfth century and Orthodox in origin, further supporting the suggestion that this was a Greek monastery.[98] The church may have been one dedicated to St Barbara for the Syrian Christian inhabitants in St George during the crusader period.[99] Pilgrims to this settlement would have been visiting sites under the control of non-Latin Christians, and the association with St George may have been also a non-Latin Christian tradition. The settlement is not mentioned in the twelfth-century pilgrim text tradition.

East of Tyre, on the road to Damascus, was the town of Banyas, also known as Caesarea Philippi or Belinas. This area changed hands several times in the thirteenth century, and for some of this period was held in condominium with the ruler of Damascus.[100] Burchard described the city as having an Old Testament origin, and being the location for the twin sources of the Jordan.[101] The site also had New Testament connections; it was identified with the events of Matthew 16, when Jesus promises the keys to heaven to Peter.[102] It is noteworthy that even Banyas, a site not considered as 'holy' in the twelfth-century pilgrim texts, is given a holy association by Thietmar, who notes that it was mentioned in the Gospels (Matt. 16:13); this indicates the need for some pilgrims to identify every site as holy in the Holy Land.[103] The city was also identified in the pilgrim accounts as the biblical 'Dan', the limit of the land given to the

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[97] 'Dou Safet à Saint George si a .v. liues; si est une eglyse de moines grés. De Saint George à Acre a .iii. liues.' Sains Pelerinages (1229-55), p. 104.2; Pelerinaiges en Iherusalem (1260s), p. 102; Burchard (1274-85), p. 38.

[98] Pringle, *Churches*, I, p. 80–94.

[99] Pringle, *Churches*, I, p. 80–94.

[100] See the section on territorial changes in chapter I.

[101] Burchard (1274-85), pp. 31–32. Joinville also records this tradition. Joinville, *Saint Louis*, p. 282.

[102] Matthew 16:13-17. Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 8; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 23; Filippo (1244-91), p. 250.

[103] Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 8; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 23.

Israelites, also seen as the limit of the Holy Land.

Summary

Much like the Southern Coast, the Northern Coast region did not have a long-standing pilgrimage tradition, and the sites here were generally not mentioned in the twelfth century. Pilgrimage became more prominent in this region in the thirteenth century, and many of the sites were not mentioned in the pilgrim text tradition prior to this time. Indeed, the region features more prominently in the Holy Land maps of Matthew Paris than the traditional twelfth-century pilgrimage areas of Galilee and Samaria, even if one ignores the large depiction of Acre at the heart of the map.[104] However, the region was rarely mentioned in the New Testament, and thus had few related sites to offer pilgrims. Those that it did have, like the preaching rock outside Tyre, were generally the result of local traditions associated with the New Testament, rather than the location of New Testament events. The region was represented more heavily in the Old Testament, and some of these sites did attract pilgrims, such as at Sarepta or outside Tyre. The region also had a number of holy sites associated with post-biblical holy people or events, such as the Diocletian martyrs at Tyre.

Relic-based sites occur relatively frequently across the Northern Coast region, particularly when compared to the other types of site. If the *Pardouns* text does indicate the presence of relics at churches in Acre, then pilgrims would have had many relic shrines to see here, as well as those in Tyre and Sidon, which were described as having 'many relics'. The Northern Coast had several miracle-based shrines, such as the icon at Beirut; unlike the other regions, it also had a healing shrine, in the form of the tombs of St William, and Eudes, count of Nevers. These relic- or miracle-based sites were as prevalent in the Northern Coast region as any other type of site, giving the region an almost European-style pilgrimage tradition, and contrasting with the types of sites

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[104] Matthew Paris, 'Holy Land Map (BL)'; Matthew Paris, 'Holy Land Map (CCCC)'.

pilgrims visited in the other regions.

As pilgrimage around the Northern Coast was relatively new, it did not have any movement of sites. However, the proliferation of alternative sites, which occurs elsewhere in the Holy Land, also occurred here, with Tyre and Tripoli competing for identification with Cant. 4:15.

This region shows some evidence of interaction with non-Latin Christians. A number of the sites visited by pilgrims were under Greek or Syrian Orthodox control, such as the monastery at St George, or the churches in Sidon and Sarepta. Acre, for example, had its fair share of Eastern Christian churches, and at least one hospice, that of St Sabas the Great. Additionally, it seems likely that the holy traditions which appear for the first time in the Latin pilgrim text tradition in the thirteenth century, were the result of interaction with local belief.

This region saw relatively little territorial change during the thirteenth century, and so the sites of pilgrimage here do not change much during the thirteenth century. However, one might expect that, due to the loss of territory elsewhere, the sites here were visited increasingly often over the course of the thirteenth century. The exception would be during times of war; as indicated by Jacques de Vitry, the areas between the major Latin settlements were not wholly under Latin control, and even in quiet periods some escorts were necessary for pilgrim groups.

Many of the places in the Northern Coast region had the potential to attract pilgrims, not only with biblical associations, relics and miracles, but also with the ecclesiastical and practical structures, such as churches and escorts, to support them. However, it remains difficult to establish to what extent travellers arriving in Acre chose to travel away from the rest of the Holy Land to these sites specifically for the purpose of pilgrimage, rather than for trade or crusading with pilgrimage as an additional activity.

X. Conclusion

Holy Land pilgrimage was essentially different to that in Europe. There was a christological focus to Holy Land pilgrimage, which emphasised the importance of places touched by Jesus, particularly during his last days, something that was impossible to achieve in Europe. Most sites were important because of a biblical event which had occurred there, rather than through the possession of relics as was the case with European shrines. The most important shrines in Europe provided the possibility of physical healing, or other miracles; this was not the case with Holy Land pilgrimage, where the benefits were usually intangible.[1] It is noteworthy that the only healing shrine in the Holy Land was in Acre, a city which was fairly unrepresentative of Holy Land pilgrimage, since it did not have any holy sites associated with events of the Bible, was often ignored by pilgrim texts, and was sometimes considered to be outside the Holy Land.[2]

The pilgrims who visited shrines in Europe would have represented a much broader cross-section of society than in Jerusalem; even allowing for source omission, it is clear that the prohibitively expensive nature of the journey, plus the need to be away for around a year, made it far more likely that the rich and nobles made the journey to the Holy Land. One might expect that men, particularly fighting men and merchants, would have made up a great proportion of visitors to Holy Land shrines, as they took the opportunity to visit the sites whilst on crusade or trading.

Developments in European piety did affect Holy Land pilgrimage. Although the pilgrimage sites themselves were no longer directly controlled by the Latin Christian church, it is possible to see a relationship between the type of sites Latin Christian

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[1] Craig, 'Women and the Pilgrimages', p. 154.
[2] See chapter IX, pp. 248–50.

pilgrims expressed an interest in, and the main developments in popular piety in the thirteenth century, many of which paved the way for the fourteenth-century Franciscan operation in the Holy Land. The emphasis on the humanity of Christ, and a desire to replicate the lives of the Apostles can be seen in the way in which pilgrims travelled across the Holy Land despite the dangers, and in the mimicking of Gospel events at the holy places.[3] The mendicants themselves developed their role in the holy sites outside the Latin kingdom during this period as well.[4] Furthermore, although not necessarily a product of changes to popular piety, one sees in this period an increasing interest in *mirabilia*, as pilgrims and other travellers began to travel through curiosity, in a process that resulted in the travellers' tales of the fifteenth century onwards. This interest is reflected in the increased occurrence of marvellous flora, fauna and other natural phenomena in the pilgrim texts, such as ever-lasting red earth near Hebron, or the ash-filled apples of the Dead Sea.[5]

Essential Characteristics

Medieval pilgrims visited sites which they considered holy for three main reasons: a biblical event occurred there; a post-biblical sacred event occurred there; or the site held a sacred item. Sites might be more or less popular with pilgrims depending on whether or not visiting the site offered some tangible benefit, such as healing, or the acquisition of an indulgence or relic. The types of sites of interest to the Holy Land pilgrim can be divided into four categories: New Testament associations; Old Testament associations; post-biblical associations (such as links to martyrs); and association with a relic or miracle. The categories are not exclusive, and often sites might fall into one or more categories.

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[3] See chapter III, pp. 71–72.
[4] Hunt, 'Eastern Christian Art', p. 329.
[5] See chapter V, pp. 131, 145.

The most frequent holy associations in the thirteenth century were links to the New Testament, with every region of the Holy Land having at least some examples. Within this category there was a preference for those sites which were associated with Christ's life and death, a preference which can be connected to the increasing thirteenth-century interest in the humanity of Christ and the Holy Family.

Most New Testament events were located in the regions of Galilee, Judaea and Jerusalem. In these areas, sites associated with the life of Christ dominate, often to the exclusion of any other type of holy site, including the Old Testament, whose associations were given a subordinate position to New Testament ones. However, these regions were often difficult to access during the thirteenth century, as they were usually outside the bounds of the Latin kingdom. Galilee, where internecine warfare between the Latins and Muslim polities was common, could be particularly difficult to visit. By contrast, the Southern Coast and Northern Coast were more easily accessible and under Latin control for most of the thirteenth century. The twelfth-century pilgrim tradition, however, attributed very few pilgrimage sites to these regions. This was partly because, prior to the mid-twelfth century, pilgrims arrived in the Holy Land at Jaffa, and went straight to and from Jerusalem and Galilee from there, without travelling north along the coast towards Acre. It was also partly because the sites which were referenced in the New Testament tended not to be associated with the synoptic Gospels and the life of Christ. Caesarea, for example, features in the New Testament, but only in the Acts of the Apostles as the place where the centurion Cornelius was converted and eventually became a bishop; this was consequently not an association the twelfth-century pilgrim texts considered significant enough to record, when synoptic Gospel sites were just as accessible. This changed in the thirteenth century, and the pilgrim text tradition started to note more New Testament associations in the area. The intense interest of the

pilgrims in the life of Christ was not limited to sites which were directly linked to the New Testament; they were also interested in sites which had post-biblical traditions of Christ and the Holy Family, such as the forging of the nails of the Cross in *Anne* near Mount Carmel, and the place where the wood of the Cross grew, just outside Jerusalem. This type occurred across the Holy Land in the thirteenth century, but the sites were particularly focused in the areas within the Latin kingdom. Together with the newly-recognised New Testament sites, these served to make the regions of the Southern and Northern Coast viable alternatives to Judaea and Galilee when access to these regions was too difficult.

Old Testament sites were also recorded in every region of the Holy Land. However, despite the potential wealth of references which could have been included in the pilgrim text tradition, associations with the Old Testament were significantly less common than those of the New Testament, and in the Southern and Northern Coast regions were less frequent than even links to post-biblical traditions. In most cases, links to the New Testament took precedence over the Old Testament, and there were few pilgrim sites which were exclusively associated with the Old Testament. When Old Testament references were included, it was generally either because that particular author was disposed to include all possible links to the Bible, or because these references prefigured or reflected later New Testament events. Mount Tabor is a significant example of this phenomenon, since its Old Testament associations were only noted in two of the fifteen pilgrim texts which included it. These associations were, in addition to being rare, subordinate to the New Testament associations.[6] Similar trends can be seen across the Holy Land with regard to the Old Testament; even the Temple Mount is described with respect to its role in the presentation of Jesus.

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[6] See chapter VIII, pp. 225–26.

Some pilgrim authors focused more on Old Testament sites than others. Burchard's text, for example, lists hundreds of sites with Old Testament associations, to the extent that the reader gains the impression that he is linking every rock with something holy. However, comparison with the other pilgrim accounts and *itineraria* shows that his level of interest in the Old Testament was unusual. It was probably as a result of his mendicant background; certainly, the average thirteenth-century pilgrim seems not to have shared his interest.

Holy places with direct links to events of the New or Old Testament are essentially a uniquely Eastern Mediterranean phenomenon. The majority of Latin Christian pilgrims would have been more familiar with the next category of site, which were those associated with post-biblical saints. The area of the Latin kingdom was not short of saints. The area was subject to the same Christian persecutions as most of the Mediterranean, so there were martyrs associated with many of the settlements in the area. In addition, the biblical associations of the area had long attracted the attention of hermits and monks, and Palestinian monasticism also had its fair share of saints. Finally, saints with Eastern cults figure relatively often in the crusade chronicles, and Greek military saints such as St George were adopted by the crusaders.[7]

Despite this, sites associated with post-biblical saints feature relatively rarely in the pilgrim texts. Like the rediscovered New Testament sites, they tend to be located within the Latin kingdom. Outside its borders, time constraints would have meant that pilgrims focused on the more important pilgrimage sites associated with the Bible, such as the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and less on lower priority sites, such as those associated with saints. However, pilgrims might spend a considerable amount of time within the Latin kingdom waiting for the opportunity to visit shrines beyond its confines, which

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[7] Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'The First Crusade and St Peter', in *Outremer*, pp. 41–63 (pp. 53–57).

would give them the opportunity to visit these places previously unknown to the pilgrim text tradition.

The sites associated with saints visited by thirteenth-century pilgrims generally had formal religious structures such as churches and monasteries. This contrasts with many of the New Testament associations, which were often located at rocks, or in otherwise unidentified areas, such as *Pastors*, the field in which the birth of Jesus was announced to the shepherds.[8] The saints which pilgrims sought out were a combination of saints which they had brought with them, and those which they had discovered in the Holy Land. Acre, for example, had a number of churches dedicated to the patron saints of the various merchant communities who lived there, which were visited by pilgrims, and the area around Mount Carmel had several religious institutions whose saints were of Eastern origin, and which were often run by non-Latin Christians.

Most holy places in Latin Christendom outside the Holy Land had some kind of relic or miracle attached to them, and this was often their reason for holiness. In the Holy Land, however, pilgrims rarely visited sites whose holiness was generated by the presence of a relic; instead, pilgrims visited sites where relics were created as a result of the pre-existing holiness of the site, such as at the Jordan, where relics were formed from the water which had also been used to baptise Jesus.

The paucity of relic-based holy sites visited by pilgrims was partly because the innate holiness of the region made it all a form of relic; partly because pilgrims were focused on seeing where events occurred; and partly because many of the relics discovered by the crusaders in the twelfth century had been sent back to Europe, to make some of the sacred power of the Holy Land accessible there.[9] The remainder, particularly in areas outside the Latin kingdom, were either lost or moved to safer locations as a result of the

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[8] See chapter V, pp. 120–121.
[9] Folda, *Crusader Art*, p. 28.

reconquest by the Ayyūbids in 1187. Relics could be used by institutions to manage pilgrimage and create new foci for pilgrims, and this can be seen in the location of Holy Land relics in the thirteenth century, most of which were in Acre and the Southern Coast, areas usually under the political control of the Latins.[10] This made them not only easier to access, but also ensured that any benefits conferred by the presence of pilgrims remained within Latin Christendom.[11]

Associated with the general scarcity of relics and limited number of saintly shrines in most of the Holy Land was the dearth of non-biblical miracles, which in the rest of Latin Christendom tended to be associated with relics and saints' shrines. There were some miracles, most famously the miracle of Easter fire at Jerusalem, and a few sites had miracles which proved or disproved pilgrims' worthiness. Some pilgrim texts generically recorded that certain sites had 'many miracles', and Acre seems to have had some healing shrines. However, with the exception of these, very few miracles were the sole focus of pilgrimage, and most pilgrims would have visited sites such as the tomb of the Virgin Mary regardless. Pilgrim sites with miracles do not demonstrate a specific geographical pattern. It is perhaps significant, however, that those miracle shrines which share the greatest resemblance to similar shrines in the rest of Latin Christendom were located in Acre, the settlement whose pilgrimage most resembled non-Holy Land pilgrimage patterns.

A key characteristic of Holy Land pilgrimage at this time was the migration of pilgrimage sites and provision of alternative locations. Whereas holy sites in the rest of Latin Christendom were relatively static, changing only as the result of the translation or acquisition of relics, the emphasis on locating events of the Bible meant that Holy Land sites were subject to a continuing process of (re)interpretation. The establishment

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[10] Stopford, 'Archaeology of Christian Pilgrimage', p. 61.
[11] Folda, *Crusader Art*, pp. 134–35.

of the Latin kingdom in the twelfth century led to an explosion in church-building and shrine maintenance, as the new arrivals sought to identify every significant biblical event with a physical location. In some cases the tradition was sufficiently interdenominational that it was maintained despite changes in the ownership of a site, but not always. The twelfth century saw, as discussed in the chapter on Jerusalem, a movement of traditions back from the church of the Holy Sepulchre, where they had drifted over centuries, to the Temple Mount, which was newly-accessible in the twelfth century.[12] The reduction of the Latin kingdom to a few cities on the coast, and the movement of the Latin Christian religious institutions into Acre disrupted the continuity of tradition, and further migration of holy sites occurred. These migrations generally occur outside the Latin kingdom of the thirteenth century, partly because there were more sites that might be affected, but also because Latin Christian access was not continuous, and the location of various events could be influenced by Eastern Christian traditions without being contested by the Latin Christian church. The process was most common in Jerusalem, as a result of the changes in access to the city and the myriad Christian denominations there whose traditions might be borrowed. It also occurred relatively frequently in the regions of Judaea and Galilee, although in Galilee movement of sites seems to have been as a result of a complete break in the transmission of traditions due to instability in the area. Duplicate and migrated sites were scarce in the areas of the Southern Coast, the Northern Coast and Samaria. With the Southern Coast and the Northern Coast, there was not a long enough history of Latin Christian pilgrimage here to generate duplicate sites; the primary process occurring here was one of additional or new sites. In the case of Samaria, the process did not place partly because there were very few sites in which it could take place, but mostly because Latin

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[12] See chapter VI, pp. 174–77.

Christian pilgrimage to this area was very limited during the thirteenth century. Descriptions of the region were generally lifted from earlier descriptions, or based on viewing the site from afar, leaving little opportunity for later changes.

Another unique characteristic of thirteenth-century Holy Land pilgrimage was the influence of non-Latin Christians. This term is used to cover the wide range of Greek Orthodox and Eastern Christians who were the main sources of influence, but also included Jews and Muslims, whose presence at syncretic sites might also have affected Latin Christian pilgrim belief. Many influences from non-Latin Christians had already occurred in the Holy Land prior to 1187, as most of the main pilgrimage sites were, after all, common to all denominations.[13] However, the rate of influence seems to have increased during the thirteenth century, and a number of sites explicitly associated with Greek Orthodox or Eastern Christians enter the pilgrim text tradition. These ranged from monasteries such as the monastery of the Holy Cross, to the alternative location of Cana. The presence of Muslim guards and guides was noted by pilgrims, and the occasional reference to the reverence with which Muslim visitors viewed some sites suggests that borrowing of Muslim traditions might also have occurred. There were certainly a number of Muslim-Christian shared traditions by the fourteenth century, and a greater Muslim presence at Christian events.[14]

It is also worth noting that Eastern Christians, Muslims and Jews also had a presence within the Latin kingdom, so the influence on pilgrimage may have occurred regardless of whether pilgrims left its confines or not. It is clear that the Latin Christians did more than simply visit the sites of Eastern or Greek Orthodox Christians; in some cases it is clear that they were actively exchanging traditions. Jacques de Vitry described how he

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[13] Andrew Jotischky, 'History and Memory as Factors in Greek Orthodox Pilgrimage to the Holy Land under Crusader Rule', in *The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History: papers read at the 1998 Summer Meeting and the 1999 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. by R. N. Swanson (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000), pp. 110–22 (p. 113).

[14] Jotischky, 'Ritual Encounters between Christians and Muslims', pp. 251–52, 256–57.

discussed John the Baptist's devouring of locusts with a Syrian monk, who delighted him by saying that it was the Syrian belief that the locusts mentioned were *langtistae*, locust beans, which the monks continued to eat. Thietmar discussed the miracle of the water into wine with a Saracen or Arabic-speaking Christian guide that he met at Cana.[15] Moreover, there is evidence for a shared Frankish and Eastern Christian settlements, parish churches, and cemeteries, which led to an exchange of traditions with those Franks resident in the East. Local holy traditions were respected by the Franks resident in the Latin East, and they seem to have built churches in connection with pre-existing beliefs.[16] It is likely that pilgrimage traditions were also affected in a similar way, and local tradition certainly had a large part to play in the duplication and migration of sites mentioned above.

However, although Greek Orthodox and Eastern Christians did influence some aspects of Latin Christian pilgrimage, the effect was not absolute. Greek Orthodox pilgrimage, for example, frequently included visiting monasteries dating from the early Christian period, associated with the early development of monasticism.[17] The use of monasteries as goals of pilgrimage was not a trend which was acquired by the Latin pilgrims. Although they did visit monasteries, it was primarily because the monasteries happened to be on holy sites, as at Mount Tabor, or because they had relics, as with the establishments on Mount Carmel. In addition, not every holy site was borrowed by the Latin Christians; the holy tombs outside Tiberias which had healing properties, for example, do not seem to have been part of the usual circuit of pilgrimage in this area.[18]

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[15] Jacques de Vitry, *H. Or*, pp. 220–22; Thietmar A (1217-18), p. 4; Thietmar B (1218-91), p. 20.
[16] Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*, pp. 120, 126–27.
[17] Jotischky, 'History and Memory', p. 79
[18] See chapter VIII, pp. 229–30.

The Pilgrim Experience

Whereas, prior to the attacks of Saladin in the 1180s, pilgrims could have arrived at Acre or Jaffa and left within a few days to continue their pilgrimage, pilgrims in the thirteenth century would have spent far more time in Acre because of the frequent difficulties in leaving. The city itself changed radically, undergoing an extensive rebuilding and extension around 1200, and because of this, and because the numbers of people visiting the Holy Land seem to have increased during the thirteenth century, pilgrims would have found Acre far busier than previously.[19] In addition, the intermittent access to the holy places outside the Latin kingdom makes it quite likely that when access did open up, large numbers of pilgrims would have left together at the same time, all of whom would have competed for supplies, guides, and space on the roads.

Pilgrims were much more limited in their access to sites in the thirteenth century, and there was greater control over where they went. This was effected through the use of guides, guards and treaties outside of the Latin kingdom, and through papal policy and the efforts of religious institutions within the Latin kingdom. It is thought, for example, that *Pardouns* was created to try and provide alternatives to Holy Land pilgrimage for pilgrims stuck in Acre.

Twelfth-century pilgrims to the Holy Land were visiting holy sites undergoing physical renewal. By contrast, thirteenth-century pilgrims would often be confronted with damaged or ruined sites, both outside the Latin kingdom where it was not permitted to repair Christian sites, and within it, particularly in border areas which were subject to frequent raids. Jerusalem had been devastated following the attacks of 1187;

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[19] Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'Guy of Lusignan, the Hospitallers and the Gates of Acre', in *Dei gesta per Francos: Etudes sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard*, ed. by Michel Balard, Jonathan Riley-Smith, and Benjamin Z Kedar (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 111–15 (p. 111).

thirty years later Wilbrand described seeing many monasteries and holy sites which were still ruined.[20] Riccoldo, travelling around Galilee in 1288 to 1290, was so used to seeing damaged sites that when he came across a whole one, he emphasised the fact that it was not ruined, as was the case with the church at Magdala.[21] He noted that Jerusalem, when he finally visited it, was a 'city of ruin and destruction'.[22]

Obvious Christian practices, such as bell-ringing and processions, were no longer a regular public feature of the Holy Land. Hermits who had apparently colonised the walls of Jerusalem disappeared as Christianity became an increasingly unseen religion.[23] The people who managed the holy sites changed; and the presence of non-Latin Christians would have made the pilgrim experience very different to that in the rest of Latin Christendom. Pilgrims would have witnessed different liturgical practices, and seen different traditions. They might not have been aware of the theological differences between the denominations, but they would have noticed differences in behaviour and in how they were treated. Eastern Christians in particular were granted a tax exemption when they visited the Holy City, and access to the holy sites was often easier for them.[24] The presence of Jews and Muslims at syncretic shrines would probably have been strange for many pilgrims, and was certainly a peculiar characteristic of Holy Land pilgrimage. References to such sites are slightly more common in thirteenth-century pilgrim texts, and given the change of political rule, it is likely that pilgrims were confronted with non-Latin Christians more often at sites in the thirteenth century than the twelfth century. Certainly, the ratio of Latin Christians to non-Latin Christians would have changed noticeably in those sites outside the Latin

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[20] Wilbrand A (1211-12), p. 184; Folda, *Crusader Art*, p. 42.
[21] Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 42.
[22] 'ciuitas ruine et destructionis.' Riccoldo (1288-89), p. 48.
[23] Benjamin Z Kedar, 'A Second Incarnation in Frankish Jerusalem', in *The Experience of Crusading*, pp. 79–92 (p. 81).
[24] Hunt, 'Eastern Christian Art', p. 329.

kingdom, which again would have affected the Latin Christian pilgrim experience.

Pilgrimage in the Holy Land in the thirteenth century shared many of the unique characteristics of the twelfth century, particularly the emphasis on visiting the events of the New Testament, and especially those associated with the life and death of Jesus. However, as this thesis has demonstrated, the specific and continually changing geopolitical circumstances it operated under gave post-1187 pilgrimage a distinctive character which was typified by: the ongoing changes in the locations of holy sites; the inclusion of sites previously unknown in the Latin Christian pilgrim text tradition; and the visiting of a broader range of sites by pilgrims, most of which were shared with non-Latin Christians.

280

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