

Crusades

Volume 13, 2014

Published by **ASHGATE** *for the*
Society for the Study of the Crusades
and the Latin East

Offprint from *Crusades* Vol. 13 (2014).
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Burchard of Mount Sion's *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*: A Newly Discovered Extended Version

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Abstract

With over a hundred surviving manuscripts and around twenty printed editions dating to before 1746, Burchard of Mount Sion's *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* is a text of extraordinary importance. And yet, many questions concerning the author and the text remain unresolved to this day. This article explores for the first time a hitherto unknown extended version of Burchard's *Descriptio*, shedding much light on this important figure and his activities and travels. This version, provided by MS London, British Library, Add. 18929, includes: (A) a text roughly parallel to that which appears in the modern critical edition by Laurent, albeit with numerous phrases lacking in the latter and providing significant information about Burchard; (B) a version of the description of Burchard's journey from Armenia to Egypt which is much more elaborate than its parallel in Laurent's edition; (C) a description of Burchard's visit to Egypt which has been printed several times but whose authorship remained hitherto questionable; (D) a completely unknown continuation. Exploring this version, this article shows, inter alia, that Burchard was a person of high standing rather than a simple pilgrim, that he was sent, more than once, on diplomatic missions and that he travelled – and described experiences he had – not only in the eastern Mediterranean but also in places like Sicily and Rome. It has also been possible to provide exact dating for his travels, using evidence from this version. Two appendices provide editions of sections (B) and (D).

Burchard of Mount Sion's *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* is a text of extraordinary importance. It has been recently described as the most detailed account of the Holy Land to have come down to us from the thirteenth century, and as belonging to a class of its own among the many medieval descriptions of the Holy Land.¹ Furthermore, over a hundred surviving manuscripts and around twenty printed editions dating to before 1746 testify to the *Descriptio*'s immense popularity in

I would like to express my gratitude to Charles Burnett, Denys Pringle, Iris Shagrir, Cornelia Linde and Ilya Dines for their help with various aspects of my work on this paper. I would also like to thank the anonymous readers for their valuable corrections and suggestions. The work on this paper was made possible by the generosity of the Yad Hanadiv Foundation and the Open University of Israel.

¹ Denys Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187–1291*, Crusade Texts in Translation 23 (Farnham, 2012), 46; Paul D. A. Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land* (London, 2012), 94. These two works, as well as Ingrid Baumgärtner, "Burchard of Mount Sion and the Holy Land," *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* 4.1 (2013): 5–41, include references to earlier literature with regard to Burchard and his *Descriptio*.

medieval and early modern times.² And yet, many questions concerning the author and the text remain unresolved to this day. It is usually proposed that Burchard was a Dominican, but that identification has hitherto been based only on rubrics and colophons.³ It had sometimes been suggested, but remained questionable up to now, that Burchard served as a diplomatic envoy or a member of a formal embassy.⁴ The dating of his travels has also been very difficult to establish and, in the most recent attempt to solve this problem, Pringle concluded that the text was written between 1274 and 1285 “even though Burchard could have begun his travels before that.”⁵ Even the scope of the original work remains a complicated matter. In some versions Burchard’s text ends with a section which describes a journey in Egypt. It has not been established, however, whether this was really an authentic part of the *Descriptio* or a later addition.⁶

Clearly, the existence of these open questions is strongly related to our very limited knowledge of the *Descriptio*’s textual tradition. In fact, almost everything we know about this tradition goes back to J. C. M. Laurent, who published a critical edition of the *Descriptio* and identified two recensions of the text: a short and a long one. Laurent provided the text of the long version, which is now widely accepted as closer to the original, while the short one is considered to be its abridgement.⁷ The main problem with Laurent’s work is that he used a very limited number of manuscripts: only six according to the introduction to his edition – two from Hamburg, one from Berne and three from Wrocław. Additionally, an appendix to the edition includes variants from a manuscript at Basel. Of these, however, the Berne manuscript includes only a part of the *Descriptio*, and the Wrocław manuscripts, as noted by Pringle, provide the short version of Burchard’s work, so that their value for this edition is questionable.⁸ It is thus clear that, as has been stated by several prominent historians in the last few years, a thorough study of the manuscript tradition is necessary in order to advance our knowledge of Burchard and his work.

This article, which should be seen as a first step in that direction, explores for the first time a hitherto unknown extended version of Burchard’s *Descriptio*, which

² Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, 46–47.

³ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, 47; Harvey, *Medieval Maps*, 94; Baumgärtner, “Burchard,” 12.

⁴ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, 47, 50; Baumgärtner, “Burchard,” 14–15.

⁵ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, 51.

⁶ Baumgärtner, “Burchard,” 14–15. Harvey does not discuss this problem, but refers to this section as if it were a part of Burchard’s work: Harvey, *Medieval Maps*, 95.

⁷ Johann C. M. Laurent, ed., *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor* (Leipzig, 1864), 3–94. For the short version see, for example: Jacques Basnage, ed., *Thesaurus monumentorum ecclesiasticorum et historicorum, sive Henrici Canisii lectiones antiquae*, vol. 4 (Amsterdam, 1725), 9–26. For recent discussions of the relation between the two versions, see: Harvey, *Medieval Maps*, 98–99; Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, 47–49; John R. Bartlett, “Burchard’s *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*: The Early Revision,” *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 145.1 (2013): 61–71.

⁸ Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, 5–7, 100; Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, 48–49; Harvey, *Medieval Maps*, 99–100.

sheds light on many of the above-mentioned questions.⁹ This version appears in MS London, British Library, Add. 18929 (referred to below as “MS London”), a quarto manuscript, written on vellum, which should be dated to 1380–1420. This manuscript, which seems to have been produced in Germany, previously belonged to the monastery of Saint Peter in Erfurt. The *Descriptio* appears in this manuscript on fols. 1r–50v with a diagram on fol. 51r.¹⁰

In order to facilitate the discussion, it would be expedient first of all to present the basic structure of Burchard's text as provided by this manuscript and define the basic units with which we shall be concerned:

- A. Fols. 1r – 42r (up to the words “Multa alia vidi”): This part of the manuscript includes Burchard's text in a manner that generally corresponds to that published by Laurent. We shall therefore refer to this part of the text as “the standard section.” As we shall see, however, this section does include, in several places, readings which differ considerably from those which appear in Laurent's edition, and which shed considerable light on Burchard's biography and travels.
- B. Fols. 42r (“Multa alia vidi”) – 42v (“hostia Nili fluminis”): This short section, referred to below as “the journey to Egypt” section, describes Burchard's voyage from Armenia to Egypt via Cyprus and the Syrian coast. It is much more elaborate than its parallel in Laurent's edition (p. 93, “multa alia vidi” – p. 94, “usque ad ostia Nili fluminis”). The London manuscript is also considerably more detailed here than its parallel as provided by Omont.¹¹ An edition of this section is therefore provided in Appendix 1.
- C. 42v (“hostia Nili fluminis”) – 44v (“dixi supra”): This section, referred to below as “the description of Egypt,” includes an account of Egypt which is not included in Laurent's edition, but which has been previously published in

⁹ Obviously, a wider study of the *Descriptio*'s manuscript tradition will enable us to gain even more knowledge with regard to Burchard and his work. My intention is to advance in this direction in the future.

¹⁰ For discussions of the diagram (in which, however, the unique text provided by this MS is not discussed), see: Baumgärtner, “Burchard,” 8, 16, 21, 22; Harvey, *Medieval Maps*, 95–96. I am very grateful to Ilya Dines for his help with the description of this manuscript. For additional information, see the British Library's online manuscript catalog, which dates the MS to the fourteenth century: http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?dscnt=1&dsmtp=1347625228936&vid=IAMS_VU2&fromLogin=true (last accessed: January, 2014). This manuscript is also mentioned in: Thomas Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1970–93), 1:258; Reinhold Röhrich, *Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae* (Berlin, 1890), 56.

¹¹ Henri Omont, “Manuscrits de la bibliothèque de sir Thomas Phillipps récemment acquis pour la Bibliothèque nationale,” *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 64 (1903): 490–553, at 498–99. Omont's text is easily accessible online: http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/bec_0373-6237_1903_num_64_1_452327 (last accessed: July 2014).

several versions.¹² While the authorship of this section has hitherto remained doubtful, its inclusion in the London manuscript, between sections which were clearly composed by Burchard, makes it clear that this account was authored by him.¹³

The London manuscript's version of this section is very close to that published by Omont, so that its inclusion here is unnecessary.¹⁴ It would, however, be worthwhile to describe here the last two paragraphs of Omont's text, which are absent from this section as it appears in MS London. Following the words "quod alias non fieret ullo modo," which appear, in slight variations, in both Omont's text and in MS London,¹⁵ the latter includes only one additional phrase before moving on to the next section: "De hiis bubus quomodo feriam servant in dominica dixi supra." Omont's text, on the other hand, includes two paragraphs.

The first of these refers to two phenomena related to the Balsam garden which Burchard visited. He recounts that the oxen used there refuse to work between Saturday at midday and early morning on Monday, and that the Saracens baptize (this is the word he uses) themselves and their children in the garden's fountain in order to eliminate their stench. Clearly, the above-cited phrase from MS London refers to the first of these two phenomena which, in fact, is described in Laurent's edition (p. 61) and in MS London (fol. 22r) where, discussing Eingedi, Burchard mentions his visit to the Balsam garden. The second phenomenon is not mentioned in Laurent's text or in MS London. The second paragraph, in which the custom of putting a relic chest in the Nile is described, is found in MS London in a slightly different place, and is included in the section edited below (fols. 44v–45r, here Appendix 1). These are, in all likelihood, traces of a process in which Burchard edited his own work.

- D. 44v ("De Babylonia recedens") – 49v ("sollempniter procurabar"): This part of the manuscript provides a completely unknown continuation of Burchard's work. It is edited here as Appendix 2, and will be referred to below as "the continuation."¹⁶

¹² Basnage, *Thesaurus*, 4:25–26; *Veridica Terre Sancte* (Venice, 1519) [no page numbering in this section]; *Novus orbis regionum ...* (Basel, 1537), 327–29; *De dimensione terrae ... autore Casparo Peucero et Descriptio locorum ... autore quodam Brocardo Monacho* (Wittenberg, 1587), T2–T4; *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae et regionum finitimarum auctore Borcharado Monacho* (Magdeburg, 1587), P–P3.

¹³ The development and reception of this section cannot be explored here but certainly merit a study of their own.

¹⁴ Omont, "Manuscripts," 499–503. Omont's parallel text begins with "hostiam Nili fluminis."

¹⁵ MS London, fol. 44v provides the phrase as cited above. Omont, "Manuscripts," 503, has: "quod non fieret alias ullo modo."

- E. 49v (“*Terram x tribuum*”) – 50v (“*quindecim dietarum*”): This part of the manuscript provides a text roughly parallel to that included in Laurent’s edition under the heading “*De longitudine et latitudine Terre Sancte*.”¹⁶

The Continuation: A Preliminary Description

As has already been stated, the continuation that is included in the London manuscript has never been described or published. It would therefore be useful to give here a general description of its content. The first part of the continuation includes information about Burchard’s visit in Egypt which is not included in the already known “description of Egypt” section. It starts with Burchard’s account of animals he saw in what seems to have been a kind of zoo. Particularly detailed is the account of the giraffe, which Burchard must have encountered there for the first time. The author then goes on to discuss various matters related to Egypt, paying particular attention to the presence of Christians there, to the country’s economic characteristics and to various archaeological monuments.

Having left Egypt, Burchard sailed to Sicily where he describes several sites he visited in Palermo. Recounting his voyage from there to Naples, he focuses mainly on volcanic sites he explored, describing in great detail the islands of Vulcano, Lipari and Stromboli. Burchard then goes on to relate his travels in Italy, first along its western coast up to Naples, then to Rome and, eventually, Bologna. His descriptions of Baia and Rome are particularly detailed. In Bologna he met the head of the Dominican order who received him very well but rejected his request to travel to Germany. Burchard then returned to Naples, and from there sailed via Crete, Rhodes and the coast of Asia Minor to Acre. From there, equipped with letters from the King of the Romans (Rudolf I, r. 1273–91), Burchard travelled to Armenia, in order to meet the Armenian king, who, at the time, was Levon III (r. 1269–89). Burchard describes the generosity of the king towards him, and informs us that he provided him with 70 Muslim captives in order to help him with the matter for which he had come, of which we unfortunately remain ignorant. Perhaps they were to be used for the ransom of Christian captives. Having completed his business there, Burchard sailed to Cyprus, where, he tells us, he was kindly received by the king, by which he must be referring to Henry II (r. 1285–1324). The continuation ends with his comment that he spent many days there in the Dominican house (he most probably refers to the Dominican convent in Nicosia) and that he was formally looked after by the royal court (*de curia regis sollempniter procurabar*).¹⁷

¹⁶ Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, 85–86.

¹⁷ It is possible, of course, that this is not the end of the text as Burchard wrote it and that another, as yet unknown, manuscript includes a further continuation.

New Evidence Concerning Burchard's Life and Travels

The *Descriptio*, as transmitted by the London manuscript, reveals much that was hitherto unknown about Burchard. Firstly, while, as was mentioned above, the evidence for Burchard's attachment to the Dominican order was thus far open to question, our version leaves no doubt that he was a Dominican friar. Near the beginning of the "standard section," in a phrase that describes the circumstances in which the text was composed, Burchard simply refers to himself as "ego burchardus ordinis predicatorum."¹⁸ Furthermore, in the continuation, while describing his visit to Rome, Burchard mentions two places as "ubi stant fratres." These are *Sancta Maria in Minerva* and *Sancta Sabina in monte Aventino*, both of which are well known as Dominican houses. Additionally, Burchard tells us that when he was in Bologna, the *magister ordinis* refused to send him to Germany (Teutonia) despite his request. Although Burchard does not tell us to which *ordo* the *magister* belonged, it is most likely that he is referring to the Dominican order since in 1285 the general chapter of the order was held in that city, and therefore the master of the order must also have been there.¹⁹

Burchard's connection with the Dominicans of Magdeburg, hitherto based solely on the dedication of the short version of the *Descriptio* as edited by Canisius/Basnage,²⁰ is also strengthened by a phrase which appears in the continuation provided by the London manuscript. Describing the giraffe, Burchard writes that he is certain that this animal is so tall that it could touch, with its mouth, "the roof of your church in Magdeburg."²¹ This is noteworthy, because it means that at least at some stage, the long version of Burchard's *Descriptio* was also addressed to a friar from Magdeburg.

The new text also teaches one much about Burchard's social status. While Laurent's text includes several pieces of information which present Burchard as a person of high standing rather than an ordinary pilgrim,²² and while some scholars have proposed that Burchard travelled as a formal envoy,²³ it has been impossible to state with any certainty that he indeed held some formal office.²⁴ Numerous

¹⁸ MS London, fol. 2r.

¹⁹ Georgina R. Galbraith, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order, 1216–1360* (Manchester, 1925), 254. For the dating of his travels, see pp. 180–81, below.

²⁰ "Dilectissimo in Christo Jesu Patri, fratri Burchardo, Lectori Ordinis Praedicatorum in Maydenburch ...": Basnage, *Thesaurus*, 4:9; See also: Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, 47; Baumgärtner, "Burchard," 12.

²¹ MS London, fol. 44v.

²² For example, Burchard tells us that he visited the sultan of Egypt (Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, 61); that he heard the Greek patriarch talking (Ibid., 89); that he spent 13 days with the Armenian Catholicos (Ibid., 91); and that he attended Mass with the Catholicos and the king and queen of Armenia (Ibid., 92).

²³ Pringle, *Pilgrimage*, 47, 50; Kaeppli, *Scriptores*, 1:257; Reinhold Röhrich, *Die Deutschen im Heiligen Lande* (Innsbruck, 1894), 129.

²⁴ Baumgärtner ("Burchard," 15) wrote that "it is not hard to believe that the later transcripts and early printed books produced new biographical details that seem more and more removed from the lifestyle of a modest travelling Dominican friar." Pringle (*Pilgrimage*, 50) is very careful in attributing

readings found in the “standard section” of the London manuscript but missing in Laurent’s edition provide significant additional evidence of Burchard’s prominent status. One passage shows that he was considered a sufficiently eminent member of the clergy to celebrate Mass in the presence of the queen of Jerusalem – by which he must be referring to Isabella of Ibelin (d. 1324), wife of Hugh III (r. 1269–84) – and an archbishop (probably that of Tyre).²⁵ In another place, the reading offered by MS London supports the impression that Burchard visited Egypt as an envoy on a diplomatic mission: where Laurent’s text reads “Hanc similiter vidi, cum venissem in Egyptum ad Soldanum,” the parallel text in the manuscript reads “Similiter vidi in egypto cum fuissem missus ad soldanum.”²⁶ Two other readings which appear in MS London tell us that Burchard was also personally acquainted with Jerusalem’s Latin patriarch who provided him with information on the great number of prostitutes found in Acre,²⁷ as well as with the Greek patriarch with whom he discussed the dimensions of the Dead Sea.²⁸

Another paragraph provides further evidence regarding Burchard’s relations with the Armenian Catholicos and the Armenian king. Whereas Laurent’s text portrays Burchard as someone who on several occasions attended events at which the king and the Catholicos were present, MS London shows that he also communicated with them:

Astante rege habui collationem cum domino katholico de sacramentis ecclesie ... et non inveni in eis aliquam dissensionem que mihi videretur periculosa quantum ad salutem. Quesivi in ipsa collatione rege annuente ab ipso domino katholico quos doctores maxime sequerentur ... Multum regi placuit collatio illa et fuit plurimum consolatus.²⁹

This impression is corroborated by several pieces of information included in the continuation. As we have seen, Burchard tells us that he brought letters to the king of Armenia, Levon III, from the King of the Romans, Rudolf of Habsburg, and that the king of Armenia provided him with 70 Muslim prisoners in order to facilitate the matter for which he had come (“lxx sarracenos captivos mihi dedit in subsidium negocii pro quo veneram”).³⁰ We have also seen that the continuation reveals

any special office to Burchard, writing that “it is not impossible that Burchard made the journey ... as a member of the embassy sent to Cairo ...”.

²⁵ See the quotation below, p. 181.

²⁶ MS London, fol. 21v; Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, 61.

²⁷ MS London, fol. 38r: “Dixit enim mihi patriarcha et verum fuit quod suo tempore inventa sunt et descripta 16 milia meretricum in sola civitate Acconensi preter alias et occultas et similes in matrimonio constitutas quarum statum solus novit deus.”

²⁸ MS London, fol. 21r: “Creditor tamen a quibusdam continuari cum mari rubro per aquas illas que in Exodo aque marath dicuntur et idem dixit mihi patriarcha Jerosolimitanus grecus qui sepe in partibus illis fuit.”

²⁹ MS London, fol. 41v. The parallel section is in Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, 93, where a variant of some of this description is provided: “Quesivi ab ipsis monachis, quos doctores maxime sequerentur ...”.

³⁰ MS London, fol. 49r.

Burchard's strong connections with the Cypriot court.³¹ This is further supported by a phrase which appears, in MS London in the "Journey to Egypt" section and which is not included in either Laurent's or Omont's texts: "navigavi Cyprum et applicui Salomine [i.e. Salamis]. Peractis negociis apud regem Cypri navigavi in Syriam."³² Thus, on the basis of the text provided by MS London, one can conclude that Burchard was by no means a simple pilgrim. He was certainly sent, more than once, on diplomatic missions, and enjoyed personal relations with several major ecclesiastical and lay leaders.

The new version contains also important information on the dating of Burchard's travels. The only place in which the *Descriptio*, in some versions, has been known to refer to the years in which Burchard travelled has to do with an anecdote he recounts when he describes his visit to the mountains of Gilboa.³³ While Laurent's text does not include the reference to the year in which this took place, he does refer in a note to early printed editions which mention that Burchard visited the mountains of Gilboa in 1283.³⁴ The text transmitted by MS London is quite close, in this case, to that provided by the 1519 and 1593 editions cited by Laurent:³⁵

Nec est verum quod dicunt quidam, quod nec ros nec pluvia veniat super Montes gel[17v]boe, quia cum in die beati Martini ibi essem, venit super me pluvia ita quod usque ad carnem fui madefactus sed et vallis de ipsis pluviis repleta fuit aquis. Alia etiam vice per noctem dormivi in eodem monte sub divo cum aliis multis et fuimus omnes infusi rore supra modum. Hoc fuit anno domini 1283.

In other words, we have here evidence from a relatively early manuscript that at least some of Burchard's travels in the Holy Land took place in 1283.³⁶ That Burchard spent Saint Martin's Day (11 November) 1283 on Mount Gilboa is highly probable, but not certain, since it is possible that the mention of the year refers to the second incident rather than to both.

Fortunately, MS London enables one to explore further the exact period in which Burchard visited the East, as it provides several additional precise dates. Thus, in the "Journey to Egypt" section one reads:³⁷ "Anno domini 1284 in die nativitatis beate virginis (8 September) intrans Egiptum veni in Pharamiam ...".

³¹ MS London, fol. 49v: "et steti ibidem in domo fratrum nostrorum per plures dies et de curia regis [Cypri] sollempniter procurabar."

³² MS London, fol. 42r. Cf. Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, 93: "et inde navigavi Cyprum, et perambulavi pro magna parte regionem. Inde navigavi in Syriam ..."; Omont, "Manuscripts," 498: "et inde navigavi Cyprum et veni in Salaminam, et perambulavi pro magna parte regionem. Inde navigavi in Syriam...".

³³ Harvey (*Medieval Maps*, 95), who cites Pringle's attempt to date Burchard's work, mentions this reference. Pringle makes no mention of it.

³⁴ Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, 52.

³⁵ MS London, fols. 17r–17v.

³⁶ This confirms Harvey's suspicion that "it seems more likely that it [the mention of 1283] is to be found in manuscripts that Laurent did not see": Harvey, *Medieval Maps*, 99.

³⁷ MS London, fol. 42r. It is noteworthy that the parallel text in Omont's edition includes no reference to the date in which Burchard entered Egypt.

Another paragraph, which does not appear in Laurent's edition, but is in the "standard section" as provided by MS London, presents additional information. In this paragraph Burchard mentions a chapel built by the lord of Tyre in 1283 in the place where, according to Luke 11.27, a woman from a crowd raised her voice to Christ.³⁸ Burchard's phrasing indicates that the chapel was dedicated on the third Sunday in Lent (*in Dominica oculi mei*) and that he celebrated Mass there a number of times before Palm Sunday, three weeks later. This must mean that Burchard was also there in 1283, between 21 March and 11 April.³⁹

Anno tamen domini 1283 Dominus Tyri edificavit capellam in eodem loco, et posuit lapidem illum recepto altare super columnam quandam marmoream multum honeste, et fuit dedicata ipsa capella in dominica oculi mei semper, et ego ante ramos palmarum in eodem loco pluries dixi missam presente regina iherusalem et domino Tyri et archiepiscopo cum multis aliis.

Consequently, assuming that, as the text implies, the travels described in the continuation directly followed Burchard's journey to Egypt, one can propose a detailed chronological sketch of his journey:

| | |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 21 March–11 April 1283 | Present in the vicinity of Tyre |
| 11 November 1283 | Visits Mount Gilboa |
| 6 May–20 July 1284 | Visits Armenia |
| 1 September 1284 | Boards a ship in Acre |
| 8 September 1284 | Enters Egypt |
| 2 April 1285 | Leaves Messina |
| 25 April 1285 | Arrives in Acre |
| 13 May 1285 | Sarepta Sidoniorum |
| 24 June 1285 | Armenia |

To conclude, the London manuscript provides a version of Burchard's work which, in many cases, is much more detailed than that presented by Laurent's edition. Furthermore, it includes a substantial hitherto unknown continuation. Consequently, this text sheds much new light on this important author and his travels. Obviously, however, what is presented above is only a first step towards a better acquaintance with the *Descriptio*. Given the findings of this study, it is most

³⁸ Laurent's edition does mention the place outside the city where this occurred and the stone on which Jesus stood, but not the chapel: Laurent, *Peregrinatores*, 25. It should be noted that the account in Luke 11.27 implies that this event took place not near Tyre but somewhere along Jesus' way from Galilee to Jerusalem. The tradition described by Burchard may have resulted from some confusion with the Canaanite/Greek woman of Matthew 15.21–28 and Mark 7.24–30. One also wonders whether this chapel is the same one that several sources mention as having been built in the 1130s (see: Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1993–2009), 4:220–27). If so, Burchard is perhaps referring to its rebuilding.

³⁹ MS London, fol. 5r. In 1283, the *Dominica oculi mei* was celebrated on March 21 and Palm Sunday on April 11.

likely that the exploration of other manuscripts will provide additional information not only on Burchard and his travels, but also, and no less importantly, concerning the processes by which the text was edited and re-edited by Burchard, as well as by later scribes and publishers. Such studies will reveal, *inter alia*, how it came about that so much information concerning Burchard lay hidden for so long.

Editorial Note

I closely followed the readings provided by the manuscript. [] = my addition; < > = redundant letters/words in MS; * = a letter/symbol I was unable to decipher. My choice between “c” and “t” is in some cases based on the standard Latin spelling rather than on what the MS seems to provide. When the form of a word, as provided by the manuscript, is clearly corrupted, I provide its standard form in the text and its actual form in a footnote. The manuscript includes both Roman and Arabic numerals; they are presented here as they appear in the manuscript.

Appendix 1: The Journey to Egypt (MS London, BL, Add. 18929 fol. 42r–v)

[fol. 42r] ... Multa alia vidi et perambulavi in terra illa que per omnia scribere longum esset. Steti autem hac ultima vice apud regem a festo Iohannis ante portam lat[inam]¹ usque in crastinum Margarete² et sic redii in Aycium³ civitatem maritimam, et ascensa navi processi iuxta Mamistram⁴ in Mallotam⁵ civitatem opinatissimam,^a de qua legitur in Iudith,⁶ et inde per Adenam⁷ et Tharsum Cilicie⁸ veni Kurcum⁹ ubi habundat crocus bonus. De Curco veni Seleuciam Maritimam que est in Capadocia, transitaque Capodocea navigavi Cyprum et applicui Salomine.¹⁰ Peractis negociis apud regem Cypri navigavi in Syriam. Veni Thyrum et inde Ptholomaidem transactis 7 ebdomadibus postquam de Armenia navigavi. In kalendis Septembris ascensa galea ut navigarem in Egiptum de Ptholomaide veni ad montem Carmeli in Caypham inde Dothan que nunc Castrum Peregrinorum dicitur, inde Cesaream Palestine. [Inde navigavi] per Antypatridem et Ioppem et Iamniam,¹¹ per Azotum¹² et Ascolonem, per Gazam et Dorre,¹³ que est principium solitudinis, et inde ad gulfum Larisse,¹⁴ ubi est primus portus Iudee. De gulfo isto in Rasencasse,¹⁵ que est prima civitas Egypti in solitudine Pharan, et inde Pharamiam civitatem pulcram et munitam, sed non habitat in ea homo quia serpentes eiectis habitatoribus eam penitus possederunt. Anno domini 1284 in die nativitatibus beate virginis,¹⁶ intrans Egiptum veni in Pharamiam ubi sunt [fol. 42v] hostia Nili fluminis.

¹ May 6.

² The feast of St. Margaret is July 20.

³ Ayas.

⁴ Mopsuestia, Misis.

⁵ Mallos, Karatas, port 49 km south of Adana.

⁶ Cf. Iudith 2.13: "... effregit autem civitatem opinatissimam Meluthi ...".

⁷ Adana.

⁸ Tarsus.

⁹ Corycos. Cf. Patrick Gautier Dalché, *Carte marine et portulan au XIIIe siècle* (Rome, 1995), 131, 171.

¹⁰ Salamis.

¹¹ Yavne, Yibna, Ibelin.

¹² Ashdod.

¹³ Al-Darum?

¹⁴ Al-Arish.

¹⁵ Ras Kasrum, *olim* Casius mons. See Gautier Dalché, *Carte*, 124, 125.

¹⁶ September 8.

^a MS: operiatissimam?

Appendix 2: The Continuation (MS London, BL, Add. 18929, fols. 44v–49v)

[fol. 44v] ... De Babylonia recedens ductus sum ad locum ubi erant 6 leones et 6 elephantes et 60 strutiones in curia et onageri plures. Vidi etiam ibi quoddam mirabile animal, quod scraph¹ Arabica [*sīc*] dicitur, dispositionis mirabilis super modum. Habet enim in longitudine pedes 16 vel amplius, pellem sicut iuvenis capreolus maculosam, s[cilicet] rubeum colorem albo permixtum. Priores pedes et crura ita sunt alta, et collum ita longum, quod pro certo dico quod tectum ecclesie vestre in Magedeburc tangere posset ore. Posteriora vero crura demissa sunt, et corpus similiter, ita ut modico ibi sic altius quam camelus. Est autem animal in multis terris rarum et invisum.

Item vidi ecclesiam Sancti Iohannis Baptiste ibidem, in qua sunt reliquie eius. Ista tollunt sarraceni cum soldano singulis annis in festo eius, et portant eas ad v leucas infra civitatem Babiloniam, et astante soldano ponunt eas in fluvium Nilum, qui est impetuus supra modum, et mox, ipso soldano cum toto populo vidente, scrinium in quo sunt ipse reliquie cum tanta celeritate contra impetum aque [fol. 45r] currit usque in Babyloniam in pristinam ecclesiam redeundo, quod nec soldanus cum suis potest tam cito in equis illuc currere ullo modo. In hoc facto Sarraceni praeostentantur fluvium amplius crescere et terram uberius irrigare.

Multi christiani sunt in Egipto, et dixerunt mihi 8 sacerdotes Christiani in Ramesses² presentibus Sarracenis, et Sarraceni hoc verum esse fatebantur, quod essent ibi pro certo 6000 milia Christianorum, qui sunt devoti satis et multe abstinentie, et pro nomine Ihesu multi in Egipto hodie martirio coronantur. Quidam videlicet nolentes negare nomen Christi usque ad mortem flagellantur. Quidam et crucifiguntur, quidam comburantur, quidam decollantur, perfodiuntur et ceteris suppliciis affecti regna celestia assecuntur.

Videtur autem mihi et idem est iudicium plurium quod Babylonia duplo excedit magnitudinem Parisiensis civitatis adiuncta Kayro preter campum qui coniungit eas. In populositate non est comparatio, nec credo sub celo in una civitate tantum esse populum sicut in Babylonia. [I]mmo dicunt mercatores pro certo quod tota Tuscia non habet tantum populum, et miror quod tota Egiptus potest tantum populum sustentare. Certissimum tamen est quod nec ipsa posset subsistere si non esset subsidium aliarum regionum.

Nichil autem habundat in Egipto nisi panis et aqua et fructus et sal. Fructus dico poma, arangia, lemons, poma paradisi, cucurbite,^a cucumeres, cytrulli, pepones, cepe et allium. Ceterum, pira, poma, nuces, cerasa,^b brunella penitus non sunt ibi. Ligna pro edificiis vel pro navibus fabricandis non sunt ibi, nec posset tota Egiptus de suis lignis construere navem unam, nisi ligna ab extraneis portarentur, vel etiam ipse naves, et ideo lata est sententia contra tales. Lapides penitus non sunt ibi, nisi in Babylonia [fol. 45v] et in Kayro, nec habet tota Egiptus domum lapideam nisi ille due civitates. Tamen edificia sunt ibi quantum ad apparentiam pulcra nimis, sed materia eorum vilis est. Sunt enim parietes edificiorum in civitatibus facti de harundine et calce optime liniti intrinsecus et extrinsecus supra lutum et desuper picti auro et lazurio et opere musivo ita pulcre quod stupor est videre, et domus que foris apparet vilissima, postquam intraveris eam crederes paradysum. Monete auri,

¹ Giraffe. The Arabic term is zarāfa.

² This city, mentioned in Exodus 1.11, is usually identified with the village of Qantir.

^a MS: cocrobite.

^b MS: cerusa.

argenti, stagni,^c plumbi, ferri, cupri, non sunt ibi. Oleum, mel, vinum, panni lanei non sunt ibi. Certissimum est quod nisi mercatores de Veneciis, Pysis, Genua, Massilia, Messana, Brundusio, et civitatibus aliis maritimis ista apportarent, Egyptus non posset habitari, et si isti cohiberentur non posset subsistere uno anno. Hoc mercatores ipsi fatentur. Ville non possunt habere domos harundineas, sed de luto in modum clibani faciunt sibi domos, nec est in tota Egypto aliqua municio civitatis vel castrum quod c militibus posset resistere dimidio die, nisi Alexandria, Babylonia et Kayrum, et una ex istis capta, Egiptus perdita esset tota.

Horrea Ioseph ibi vidi excelsa supra modum ita ut ad dietam et ad ½ miliare videantur. Incole vocant ea Horrea Ioseph, sed mihi videntur esse sepulcra sive tytuli sepulcrorum. Sunt enim pyramides triangule tres in uno loco habentes ab angulo usque ad angulum 180 cubitos virilis stature et tante altitudinis quod nullo modo potest arcus usque ad summum iacere licet sit sepius attemptatum. Ego credo esse pyramides Alexandri Magni qui in veritate ibi fuit mortuus et sepultus et quorundam regum aliorum. Horrea tamen Ioseph credo iuxta [fol. 46r] eundem locum fuisse quia adhuc apparent ibi signa quedam edificii amplissimi que sunt fere arena obruta, vento eam illuc iacente de deserto Thebaydos, quod ibidem incipit ad unum miliare. In quo sancti patres antiquitus morabantur. Facte sunt pyramides de maximis lapidibus ita quod non vidi maiores in edificio unquam poni. Distat autem a Babylonia fere per 3 miliaria teutonica.³ Multa miranda alia vidi in Egipto que scribere longum esset.

Lege Ultra. Accedentes ad Siciliam venimus in Panormium,⁴ ibi vidi sepulcrum Friderici imperatoris et uxoris et patris et matris eius et avi materni, facta de conchis porfiretici pretiosa valde; ecclesiam pulcrum nimis; castrum et palatium in eo pulcherrimum et capellam de opere musivo totam, quorum omnem ornatum non possum facile explicare; domum et locum nativitatis beate Agathe.

Inde per Tephaldum,⁵ Melacium⁶ et per Farum^{7d} intravimus Messanam.⁸ Tunc non erat tuta navigatio, eo quod esset November^e mensis, nec ibi poteramus hiemare propter paupertatem fratrum. Ascensa galea quadam de Portu Veneris⁹ ut veniremus in terram laboris in Neapolim, navigantes per [S]cillam, hora diei nona flante austro valide, cum non possemus niti in ventum ut apprehenderemus Calabriam, data flatibus galea, proiecti sumus subito vento contrariam in ollam Vulcani¹⁰ circa horam noctis tertiam, ubi stetimus nocte illa et vidimus tota nocte fumum et ignem usque ad celos ascendentem. Mane cum sociis fere xx reptando manibus et pedibus ascendi summitatem montis eiusdem unde exiit flamma. Est autem insula maris mons idem, distans a terra firma per miliaria 60, altus valde et rotundus, dispositus in aspectu, quasi sit aptus pro castro maximo construendo, et [fol. 46v] cum ad summitatem perveneris videbis vallem preruptam in medio, profundam nimis, que fere habet i miliare per dyametrum, ubi vidi torrentes sulphuris decurrere, qui perforato monte in mare fluunt. In hac valle sunt campi Elisii de quibus scribunt poete. Stridorem magnum ignis

³ The use of this measurement obviously supports the argument that Burchard was of German origin.

⁴ Palermo.

⁵ Cefalù.

⁶ Milazzo.

⁷ Capo di Faro.

⁸ Messina.

⁹ Porto Venere, see Gautier Dalché, *Carte*, 162.

¹⁰ Vulcano, the southernmost of the Aeolian Islands.

^c MS: stagni.

^d MS: perfarum.

^e MS: Noverber.

et aque et sulphuris invicem pugnancium audivi ibidem. Sulphur nobilissimum collegimus in monte eodem, et est mons totus concavus, quia pulsatus quasi tympanum resonat, et ignis de ipso in diversis locis erumpit. In medio vallis est bucca quedam, cuius diameter quasi iactum lapidis habet. De hac exit fumus et ignis usque in celum, ita ut per c miliaria videatur ignis per noctem et fumus in die, et si ruptus fuisset mons sub pedibus nostris, credo quod descendissemus viventes in infernum, quod etiam plurimum timebamus. Fetor est maximus ibi et intolerabilis. Duobus diebus steti ibi et consideravi locum totum quantum potui diligenter. Vidi ibi rupes maximas que ita erant combuste quod de vehementia caloris lapides erant resoluti et confluxera[n]t quasi plumbum. Multa pertranseo que possent de loco isto dici.

Ad dimidium miliare de loco isto est mons alius qui dicitur Vulcanellus,¹¹ cui adheret rupes quedam que navigantibus periculosa erat valde. In qua beatus Gregorius legitur demonium relegasse in penam, quod in periculum ibi multos miserat, precipiens illi ut ipsum exspectaret de Sicilia redeuntem. Qui usque hodie ibi stat et cum navis aliqua appropinquat loco in quo est periculum, premuniendo clamat, querens an sit cum eis Gregorius monachus et cum responderint quod non, “O O” inquit “wardate vos de monacho et non credatis monacho quia monachus me deceptit.”

Inde ad unum miliare est Lipparis insula,¹² que ignem similiter evomebat sed ante annos [fol. 47r] xiiii terre motu concussa subsedit et modo fere tota est deserta. Comedi tamen in ea cum monachis dicta missa ad Sanctum Bartholomeum. Ibi terribile est videre quomodo ignis similis Vulcano totam insulam concavam reddiderit, et pars insule maior introrsum^f ceciderit quoniam scissi sunt montes. Hyatus terre maximi pateant. Insula ista cum terremotu caderet totum mare replevit lapidibus maximis, qui de nimia combustione leves facti sunt adeo et porosi quod super aquas natant sicut spuma, et adhuc in presenti multi occurrerunt nobis in medio mari. De istis lapidibus pro maiori parte edificate sunt civitates maritime in Sicilia. De terre motu illo, ut dixerunt indigene Lipparis, multe ville et anime hominum absorte sunt. De vapore vero terre motus illius 4 milia hominum subito perierunt. Pisces etiam in mari quamplurimi mortui sunt, et super aquas fluebant.

De Lippari navigantes per miliaria lx venimus in Strongoli¹³ qui est mons altus valde et rotundus in medio mari, distans de terra firma per c miliaria. Iste similiter evomit ignem et altius eum proicit quam cetera loca. Ibi stetimus duabus noctibus et uno die. Sed non ascendi montem propter eius altitudinem nimiam. Testatus est nobis dominus galee in qua navigamus, Brigatus nomine, et cum eo plures alii in eadem navi, quod eis circa eundem montem nocte navigantibus anime defunctorum, que ipsa nocte migraverant de seculo, locute sunt, quos etiam viventes noverant, quorum unus dicebatur Thalanario et erat de partibus Lucanorum, alter erat de confinio Januen[si],^g mandantes per eos uxoribus et amicis ut pro eis satisfacerent levis ut possent liberari, quia in penitentia hoc eis iniunctum fuerat, sed morte preventi non fuerant exsecuti. Propter devotionem tamen quam ad beatam virginem habuerant [fol. 47v] hoc eis concessum erat, ut ibi loqui possent et per eorum adiutorium liberari. De monte

¹¹ Vulcanello, at the northern end of the island of Vulcano.

¹² Lipari.

¹³ Stromboli, Greek: Strongule.

^f MS: introrsum.

^g MS: Jenuen.

isto similiter ignis eicit lapides multos parvos et magnos, qui levitate sua volantes per aera videntur nocturno tempore esse ignis. Isti lapides colligunt[ur] in mari ab incolis Calabriae et Siciliae pro edificiis quia sunt dolabiles valde et apti pro testudine in domibus.

De Strongoli igitur moventes vela et sperantes nos tenere propositum, iterum vento contrario proiecti sumus in Calabriam ad portum qui dicitur Paranoria¹⁴ et inde in Scalam civitatem Calabriae contra quam in ipso mari est insula Scarioth, de qua, ut ibi dicitur, proditor ille Iudas Scharioth appellatur. Inde intravimus principatum Salerne ubi vidimus corpus beati Mathei apostoli. Inde venimus in A[ma]phiam ubi vidi^h corpus beati Andree apostoli, et sequenti die venimus Puteolos,¹⁵ quo dicit etiam Lucas in actibus se venisse,¹⁶ ibi fiximus anchoras ad manendum.

Egressi itaque de galea venimus Boyas¹⁷ de quo loco dicit Oracius “nullus in orbe sinus bays preluceat amenis.”¹⁸ Quod utique verum est, secundum quod tunc fuit sed hodie non est ita, quia tanta et talia edificia non credo fuisse in orbe terrarum sicut adhuc ruine ostendunt. Roma quidem habet magis sumptuosa sicut capitolium, palacium maius, fornicem triumphalem, coliseum, sed magis delicata et amena et commoda videntur mihi fuisse Bays. Est autem situs eius talis: mare sinum quemdam facit cuius semicirculus habet miliare et ½ teutonicum, et iste sinus circumdatur montibus altis, inter quos et ipsum mare est campus spaciosus et delicatus valde et habundans commodis indefinitis. In pede montium istorum per totum circuitum et in latere eorundem usque ad summitatem erant pa[fol. 48r]lacia multa marmorea et su[m]ptuosa valde, fontes scaturientes in si[n]gulis, et aqueductus nu[n]c de aquis calidis nunc de frigidis in singulis officinis. [Habebat Boyas etiam] pomeria, ortos, oliveta, ficeta, vineas, aerem saluberrimum, prospectum in mare, et de mare iocundissimum, templa ydolorum in rupibus maris, et in littore multa valde et su[m]ptuosa balnea Virgillii numero 45 medicabilia contra omnium infirmitatem, de quibus factus est unus liber metricae breviter dicendo. Accedentibus de mari ad istum locum videtur locus fuisse pulcherrimus quam umquam habuit mundus. Nec credo quod tam rara tam pretiosa et inaudita habeat totum residuum huius mundi sicut ab isto loco usque in Neapolim poterunt vel tunc poterant inveniri. ⁱ ** est perforatus habens *** mille et 80 passus ut ego mensuravi. Ibi sunt porte Averni per quas Sibilla duxit Eneam ad inferos.

In Neapoli, in Castro Salvatoris, vidi Ovum Virgillii in phiala vitrea que habet os strictum et fundum latum et amplum super quem est tabula lignea rotunda interius, et super tabulam nidus quasi de graminibus et in eo est ovum minus ovo gallinae sed modico maius columbae et pendet ad trabem per katheram ferream. In Neapoli steti X diebus. Inde per Aversam,

¹⁴ I am not sure to what port Burchard referred here. Possibly, he had Palinuro in mind, but that does not fully fit the direction in which he was travelling. See Gautier Dalché, *Carte*, 114, 158, 159, 176.

¹⁵ Pozzuoli.

¹⁶ See Acts, 28.13–14; which, however, refers to Paul rather than to Luke.

¹⁷ Baia.

¹⁸ See Horace, *Epistles*, Book i, ed. Roland Mayer (Cambridge, 1994), 57.

^h “Vidi” is followed by the letters “mus” which have been expunged. In other words, the manuscript originally had “vidimus,” later corrected into “vidi.”

ⁱ Following the word “inveniri,” the rest of the line was left empty.

Montem Cassinum, Sanctum Germanum,¹⁹ Aquinum,²⁰ Cyperanum,²¹ Ferentinum,²² Anagniam,²³ Montem Fortinum,²⁴ veni Romam.²⁵

Ibi primo visitavi Sanctum Iohannem in laterano, Sanctam Crucem, Sanctum Sixtum, Iohannem ante portam latinam, palatium Antonini, Sanctum Sebastianum in cathacumbis, Domine quo vadis, Palacium Vespasiani, Sanctum Paulum, pyramidem Remi, Sanctam Sabinam in monte Aventino ubi stant fratres, Alexium, palatium maius, coliseum, ypodromium,²⁶ Clementem, Papissam Parientem,²⁷ Sanctam Mariam de nive, scilicet Mariam maiorem, Laurentium, et Stephanum, Agnetem cum annulo, Constan[fol. 48v] ciam filiam Constantini, Petrum ad vincula, palacium Dyocleciani, Iohannem et Paulum, Gregorium, columpnam saxonom nimis mirabilem,²⁸ omnia gesta saxonom continentem, Sanctam Mariam rotundam que et pantheon, Sanctam Mariam in Minerva ubi stant fratres, capitolium cum suo monte, forum Traiani, castrum crescentis, pyramidem Romuli. Ultra Tyberim: Sanctum Crisogonum, Ceciliam,²⁹ Cosmam et Damianum, Anastasiam, Sanctam M[ari]a[m] ubi fluxit oleum.^j Inde veni ad Sanctum Petrum super cuius corpus dixi missam. Palacium pape ibidem. Breviter, non reliqui locum in civitate quem non viderim, preter Aquas Salvias que tamen sunt extra.

De Roma per Arcium³⁰ et Florentiam³¹ veni Bononiam³² ad magistrum ordinis qui benigne me recepit et quidquid ab eo petivi, totum fecit, excepto quod ad Teutoniam me ad

¹⁹ San Germano.

²⁰ Aquino.

²¹ Ceprano.

²² Ferentino.

²³ Anagni.

²⁴ Monte Fortino, Artena.

²⁵ The next paragraph includes the list of sites Burchard visited in Rome. It can be studied against the background of the numerous descriptions of pilgrimage to Rome that have reached us from the medieval period. References to the great majority of the sites mentioned here can easily be found using an online searchable database devoted to medieval descriptions of Rome: <http://romamedievale.italianistik.unibas.ch/>. Concerning these, I do not refer the reader to parallels in other texts. I have included references with regard to sites which I have been unable to find in the database.

²⁶ The hippodrome, also referred to as Circus Maximus, or, in the abovementioned database, Circus Prisci Tarquinii.

²⁷ For “Clementem, Papissam Parientem,” not found in the abovementioned database, cf. Edward Maunde Thompson, ed. and trans., *Chronicon Adae de Usk, A.D. 1377–1421* (London, 1904), 90, where one reads: “Ad detestationem tamen pape Agnetis, cuius ymago de petra cum filio suo prope Sanctum Clementem in via facta existit ...”.

²⁸ I have been unable to find this term in contemporaneous descriptions of Rome. It could refer either to the column of Marcus Aurelius or to Trajan’s column.

²⁹ San Crisogono and Santa Cecilia, not found in the abovementioned database, are referred to in the itinerary of Archbishop Sigeric in 990. See Massimo Miglio, ed., *Pellegrinaggi a Roma* (Rome, 1999), 50.

³⁰ Arezzo.

³¹ Florence.

³² Bologna.

^j The word “oleum” is followed by the words “papissam parientem” crossed out. This is followed by a line left empty, and then almost three lines which were crossed out. While these are not entirely legible, they seem to be saying: “Papa, pater *** papisse dicito partum et tibi tunc eadem de corpore quando recedam.” These lines are clearly related to the myth of the lady-pope giving birth. See a very similar phrase in Sabine Baring Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages* (London, 1877), 176.

presens remittere noluit. Quinque diebus apud eum mansi circa festum Lucie.³³ Recedens de Bononia per Pistorium³⁴ veni Lucam.³⁵ Ibi vidi crucem Lucanam que dicitur dedisse iaculatori calceum aureum, cuius ymaginatio utinam in tenebris mihi non occurrat, quia posset utique me terrere, nec aliqua mulierum civitatis illius quia sunt teterrime^k larue^l quas habet mundus.

De Luca iterum redii Romam et de Roma veni Albanum³⁶ ab Enea constructum. Inde per Velletrum,³⁷ Terrathynam,³⁸ Fossam Novam,³⁹ Nymphas⁴⁰ et Fundonam⁴¹ veni Gaietum,⁴² Sessam,⁴³ Capuam, Aversam. Redii Neapolim et sic per mare veni Messaniam. Unde post octavas pasche⁴⁴ navigantes, dimisimus Calabriam ad sinistram et altum mare legentes preter navigavimus quandam insulam que vocatur Cauda,⁴⁵ et venimus Cretam ad locum qui [fol. 49r] vocatur Calolimena,⁴⁶ i. boni portus, et sic dimittentes Salmonem⁴⁷ ad sinistram et Scarpant⁴⁸ et Rodum, venimus Turkyam et Frigiam et A[n]thaliam.⁴⁹ Et cum venissemus contra Cyprum dimittentes eam ad sinistram, venimus contra Tyrum et inde Tholomaydam que est Akkon, in xxiii diebus de Messana. Deinde in vigilia penthecostes, iturus ad reges Armenie et Cypri, iterum veni Tirum et in die sancto⁵⁰ Sareptam Sidoniorum. Inde per Sydonem, Beritum et Nephin,⁵¹ Tripolim, Archas ante Rodum,⁵² Margat, Valaniam, Laodiciam Sirie ubi stetit beatus Allexius, quando est locuta ymago paramonario^m ecclesie, quem etiam locum vidi.⁵³ Inde per Anthiochiam veni ad montana magna que sunt promunctoriumⁿ Sicilie quod dicitur Ratzgenerz, i. caput porci,⁵⁴ et sic applicuimus in portu Pal[lorum]⁵⁵ et venimus ad Ayaz. Rex autem Armenie et Cilicie cum adhuc essem

³³ December 13.

³⁴ Pistoia.

³⁵ Lucca.

³⁶ Albano Laziale.

³⁷ Velletri.

³⁸ Terracina.

³⁹ Fossanova.

⁴⁰ Ninfa. The order of the last four locations seems to be wrong. One would have expected to find: Velletri, Ninfa, Fossanova and Terracina.

⁴¹ Fondi.

⁴² Gaeta.

⁴³ Sessa Aurunca.

⁴⁴ April 2.

⁴⁵ Gavdos.

⁴⁶ Kali Limenes.

⁴⁷ Cape Sidero.

⁴⁸ Karpathos.

⁴⁹ Antalya.

⁵⁰ May 13.

⁵¹ Enfeh.

⁵² Tall Arqa, Antaradus.

⁵³ Cf. *Acta Sanctorum*, July 17.

⁵⁴ Ras el-Khanzir. See Gautier Dalché, *Carte*, 112, 130, 131.

⁵⁵ Regarding this identification, see: T. S. R. Boase, *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia* (London, 1978), 177.

^k MS: terrine.

^l MS: laxue.

^m MS: paramenareo.

ⁿ MS: promunctorium.

in Ackon audierat quod venturus essem ad eum, cum litteris reg[is] romanorum et iam scripserat fratribus hospitalis Sancti Iohannis in Mallota, que est non longe a Tharso Cilicie, ut ubicumque applicarem sollempniter me reciperent, ad suam presenciam me deducentes.⁵⁶ Ego vero in Ayacio, sicut dictum est, applicui, quod statim capitaneus civitatis scripsit regi. Rex autem statim scripsit fratri **** domus theutonice ut mihi occurreret et me reciperet in Manistra. Misit etiam militem unum et equos quibus duceret usque Sysam.⁵⁷ Deinde post duos dies venimus ad ipsum ubi erat in venatione constitutus. Qui me recepit honorifice, et reverenter per iiii septimanas me tenuit, et lxx sarracenos captivos mihi dedit in subsidium negocii pro quo veneram. Expensas largissimas mihi dedit, cottidie iiii equos in hospitio presentari fecit ut mane et vespere, quando placeret, possemus sollaciari^o per campos et iardinos equitando. Inde in die Ioh[annis] bap[tiste]⁵⁸ celebravi missam sollempniter coram eo, presente preside et vicario Tartarorum.⁵⁹ Qui etiam vicarius [fol. 49v] immediate post regem optulit et statim ad pedes meos procidens, et genibus meis osculatis et manibus, ipsas devotissime super oculos et caput suum posuit. Prandium cum rege et ipso Tartaro feci. Deinde rex mihi et socio meo nongentas dracmas argenti misit et xeniis aliis pluribus nobis datis optime dimisit nos et usque ad mare in equis per nuntios suos misit. De Ayacio itaque navigantes legimus litus Cilicie et venimus Malatam⁶⁰ deinde Thorsum⁶¹ deinde Kurkum⁶² et cum apparuissemus Seleucie maritime irruerunt in nos pyrante lx in medio mari. Qui nobis visis et salutatis abierunt. Attamen post paucos dies capti sunt a rege Cypri omnes et suspensi. Cum autem venissemus Seleuciam maritimam, inde navigantes sicut et beatus Paulus fecisse legitur, pervenimus Salaminam Cypri, et milites Cyprenses qui ibi era[n]t statim regi Cypri me venisse nunciavit [*sic*]. Qui statim mihi transmisit equos ut venirem et benigne me recepit et steti ibidem in domo fratrum nostrorum per plures dies et de curia regis sollempniter procurabar.

⁵⁶ The Hospitallers were granted the casale of Vaner, in the territory of Mallos, by Levon II in 1214: *Cart Hosp*, 2:1426.

⁵⁷ Sis, now Kozan.

⁵⁸ 24 June.

⁵⁹ I have been unable to find a reference for this specific visit of a Mongol official to the court of Levon III. However, such an occurrence fits neatly into what is known concerning the relations between Levon and Il-Khan Arghun: Levon visited Arghun in 1285 and was well received in his court. Furthermore, Arghun sent missions to the Latin West jointly with Levon. For a detailed discussion of the Mongol–Armenian relations at the time, see: Bayarsaikhan Dashdondog, *The Mongols and the Armenians, 1220–1335* (Leiden and Boston, 2011), 179–84.

⁶⁰ *Sic*. This in all likelihood refers to Mallos.

⁶¹ Tarsus.

⁶² Corycos.

^o MS: sollaciani.