II

PILGRIMAGES AND PILGRIM SHRINES IN PALESTINE AND SYRIA AFTER 1095

The flow of pilgrims to the shrines of the Near East long preceded and has long survived the era of the crusades; even today that flow has not ceased, as individuals and groups have followed one another throughout the centuries to the Holy Land. One means of transportation gave place to another; walking and riding horseback overland were abandoned for the quicker and safer passage by Venetian or Genoese galley; sail and oar were superseded by steam and electricity; and the ocean liner is now in its turn losing out to the jet airplane. But much has not changed, at least not beyond recognition.

Crusade and pilgrimage are quite different. Neither one begat the other, though at times the purpose of one blended with that of the other: a man who took the cross in order to deliver the sacred shrines from the "infidel" might also have it in mind to visit and pray at them for the good of his soul. But pilgrims had been going to Palestine long before Urban II proclaimed the holy war at Clermont in 1095,[1] and they continue to go today. Western crusading is dead; western pilgrimage is still alive.

These two manifestations of medieval Christianity were grouped together for the first time in Urban's speech. The pope twice used the term *peregrinari*, making clear that he looked upon the movement to which he was summoning the warriors of the west as an "armed pilgrimage." The ensuing First Crusade, which captured Jerusalem in 1099, set the background and to some extent determined the day-by-day procedure of subsequent pilgrimages, even those undertaken when the holy places were again under Moslem

1. For pilgrimages to Palestine before 1095 see the account by Sir Steven Runciman in volume I of this work, pp. 68-78.

rule. Possession of the holy city enabled the church to define the *loca sancta* and determine what measure of indulgence should be accorded supplicants at each one. And the completion of the church of the Holy Sepulcher by the crusaders about 1168 suitably enclosed the tomb of Christ, the chief goal of Christian pilgrims, and presented to newcomers from the west a church whose ground plan, ambulatory, and arched entry into the rotunda must have been familiar.[2]

Two other outgrowths of the crusaders' victory were to enhance the well-being of the voyaging pilgrim. One was a duty performed by the two religious orders, the Hospitallers and the Templars, the guardianship of the pilgrim routes to the holy city. Unescorted bands of pilgrims going to or returning from Jerusalem, and at times even armed volunteers for the Christian army, were attacked, robbed, and often murdered by beduin brigands. Such attacks the two orders undertook to prevent. The second improvement was the provision for housing, feeding, and medical care of so large a transient population making *le sainte voyage de Jherusalem*. The journey was long and arduous, particularly for those of advanced years. On the way there were no conveniences, so that pilgrims must often have arrived worn out from the fatigues of the journey, in need of rest and of medical attention. While *hospitia* existed in Jerusalem before the Latin kingdom, only under the crusading kings did the great Hospital of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem provide an infirmary for the sick and lodging for the healthy.[3]

In these ways the successful outcome of the First Crusade and the almost century-long possession of the holy city and Holy Land fostered pilgrimage, and determined and molded the form of its

2. At the beginning of the twelfth century the crusaders built a large Romanesque church which embraced all the chapels and holy places. Destructive acts were committed within this church in 1187, at the time of Saladin's capture of the city, and again in 1244 by Khorezmian Turks. The rotunda around the Holy Sepulcher on the west, and a church with a semicircular choir on the east, are remains of the church of the crusaders; see chapter III, below.

3. The early meaning of "hospital" is the same as that of "hospice," a house for the reception of pilgrims, not necessarily a place for the care of those who were ill. Such a building was authorized by pope Gregory the Great about 600, and was erected in Jerusalem in the locality immediately south of the church of the Holy Sepulcher, now known as the Muristān (Arabic, "madhouse." possibly used by the Moslems as a term of derision). If not destroyed by the Persian sack of the city in 614, it must have been in very bad repair. Two hundred years later Charlemagne had it restored or rebuilt. About 1023 the merchants of Amalfi obtained permission to found an asylum for pilgrims on the site of the previous building of Gregory I. On the arrival of the crusaders, Gerard of Provence, who had been rector of the asylum before the capture of the city, was promoted to the headship of a new order of Hospitallers. The mastership of his successor Raymond of Le Puy saw the erection of the new convent of the order.

expression. Without the support of Latin military power and of the church, its subsequent history would have been altogether different. True, the Moslem conquest of Palestine affected it adversely; pilgrims were no longer free to ramble within or roam around the city. Al-Ḥarām ash-Sharīf, the old Jewish Temple area, and all mosques were forbidden ground to them; they were not allowed to ride horses or to carry arms. They had to be prepared during their sojourn to put up with occasional insults and curses. And of course, they had to pay the head tax levied on every pilgrim who set foot in Palestine. They had to beware—as must every modern traveler in the Near East—of being overcharged, though probably the native Christians—Orthodox, Armenian, and Nestorian—were every bit as rapacious as the Moslems.

Allowing for all the changes, however, which Moslem suzerainty wrought in the life of the pious visitor, his daily round remained pretty much what the First Crusade had shaped for him. The governor of Jerusalem forbade the carrying of weapons, and prescribed for the infirm or sedentary the humble ass or donkey, but not the horse. Yet the pattern of pilgrim activity and procedure remained much the same through the centuries, and remains so today. The Roman Catholic pilgrim pays his devotions at the stations of the Via Dolorosa much as his fellow did eight centuries ago. The pilgrimage may be understood better, however, not by cumulating generalities, but by following in the footsteps of the individual pilgrim: walking beside him up the gangplank of his ship; enduring with him—in imagination—the poor rations and the seasickness on a Venetian or Genoese galley bound for Joppa (Jaffa); being amazed and daunted by the wild cries of the native vendors; suffering the internal rumblings and qualms produced by strange wines and victuals; and finally, if fortunate in escaping the diseases bred prolifically in Palestine, undergoing the anticlimactic stress of the long haul home.

Pilgrimage to Jerusalem, whether made singly or in groups, was never without its risks, but the risks were somewhat less if it was undertaken with the blessing of the church. The individual might initially be urged to visit the shrines of Palestine by the admonition of his own conscience or by the encouragement of his confessor,[4]

4. Runciman (*op. cit.*, p. 72) points out that the idea of pilgrimage was encouraged by the appearance of numerous little books written by churchmen recommending private penance, the *Poenitentialia.* The *Poenitentialia* helped spread the idea of pilgrimage as a means of penance, perhaps a more popular penitential exercise than many a confessor would impose. Runciman remarks that these little books did not recommend specific destinations for pilgrimage, but the absence of a destination in such a manual is in no way remarkable. The confessor, not the manual, was to indicate the destination of an imposed pilgrimage.

but having made his decision to go, he was in the hands of the church, and must receive permission from the pope, through his proper local officials, to depart.[5] Indeed, one who set out for the Holy Land without the *licentia Romani pontificis* was risking the loss of a number of benefits granted by law and the church: a three-year truce for the security of home and property; assurance against civil and criminal suits during his absence; the grant of stays in suits brought against him for debt; a letter granted by his diocesan bishop commending him to the hospitality and charity of hostelries and religious houses on his road; and access to special facilities for borrowing money.[6]

It is clear, therefore, that the church was the *fons et origo* of pilgrimage, regulating and supervising its practice;[7] at times inciting men to attain a higher state of holiness by taking the pilgrim staff and scrip; at other times commanding them publicly to assume the pilgrim habit if they wished to avoid the greater excommunication for heinous sins. Excommunication, however, was less and less resorted to as time went on. Their own fears, not public anathema, sent thousands on the *passage d'outre mer*. Many went to make sure of their salvation. Probably a greater number, such as Ogier of Anglure,[8] went because their confessors urged them so to do. Fewer, perhaps, were those whom sheer devotion, not contrition or anxiety, impelled; who went *pour l'amour de Dieu* to behold the places where Jesus suffered for their sake.

During the existence of the kingdom of Jerusalem there must have been many a mercenary or free companion who enlisted in the contingents of the crusading princes without bothering his head about the *benedictio crucis*. After its fall one can be certain that many a Venetian or Genoese entrepreneur sailed on one of his own trading ships to correct some business maladjustment at Jerusalem or Joppa with no thought whatever of episcopal license or priestly

5. There seem to have been, on nearly every trip from the Italian cities to Palestine, however, a few who, for one reason or another, had failed to obtain this papal permission. This they could belatedly receive from the Custos Terrae Sanctae, who was empowered to grant absolution for this fault of omission; see "Journal de voyage à Jérusalem de Louis de Rochechouart, évêque de Saintes (1461)," ed. C. Couderc, *ROL*, I (1893, repr. 1964), 239: "Primum quidem, absolvit eos qui, sine licencia Romani pontificis, ad Terram Sanctam appulerant."

6. See Émile Bridrey, *La Condition juridique des croisés et le privilège de croix* (Paris, 1900) for a full discussion of these and other benefits, especially as they applied to crusaders, but not excluding other pilgrims.

7. The correctness of this last statement is attested by the number and variety of the indulgences attached to Palestinian *loca sancta*; see below.

8. See H. L. Savage, "Fourteenth Century Jerusalem and Cairo through Western Eyes," in *The Arab Heritage*, ed. N. A. Faris (Princeton, 1944), pp. 200-202.

blessing. But despite their presence on many of the pilgrimages, this chapter has little to do with such mavericks: its concern is with the *bona fide* pilgrim, man or woman.

At the start of a typical pilgrimage the potential pilgrim, whether prompted by pure devotion or by the fear of spiritual penalty, announced his intention to his parish priest (probably after considerable family discussion and a careful analysis of his financial resources). Priest and parishioner settled the day on which his consecration as a pilgrim should take place in the parish church. In the interval the priest probably communicated with the diocesan bishop for the issuance of letters of commendation under the episcopal seal addressed to civil and ecclesiastical authorities to attest the bearer's *bona fide* character.[9]

On the day appointed the prospective pilgrim repaired to the parish church. There he first made confession, after which the service of consecration, *ordo ad servitium peregrinorum*, began. The candidate prostrated himself before the altar while Psalms 24, 50, and 90 were chanted over him, after which came the *Gloria Patri* and the *Pater Noster* and a number of pious ejaculations to the effect that God would protect his servant's footsteps. After the candidate had risen to his feet, there ensued the blessing of scrip and staff and the *Benedictio crucis pergentis Hierusalem* with its prayer *Deus invictae potentiae*. The priest then placed over the pilgrim's shoulders the pilgrim scrip, which hung down at his side, saying a prayer as he did so, and sprinkling his garb with holy water. If he was Jerusalem-bound the pilgrim next received a cowl with a red cross stitched to it, the priest praying as he gave it: "Accipe vestimentum, cruce Domini Salvatoris nostri signatum; ut per illud salus, benedictio et virtus prospere proficiscendi a sepulchrum ejus tibi comitetur. Qui cum Deo Patre, etc." He then put into the pilgrim's hands a staff,[10] uttering the prescribed prayer. The mass for pilgrims (*pro iter agentibus*) followed, during which the pilgrim made an offering. The mass over, the priest uttered two final prayers over the pilgrim, now prostrate before the altar, after which he partook of Communion, *et ita recedat in nomine Domini.*

9. One occasionally comes upon the statement that it was necessary for a lay pilgrim to secure the blessing and permission of his diocesan before setting out on his journey. There seems, however, to be no instance of such a requirement in the narratives of the travelers. Apparently all that was necessary was the sanction of the parish priest, who would in any case report to the bishop before the issuance of the letter of commendation; if the bishop disapproved of the journey, he had ample power to forbid it.

10. The *baculus,* a long staff having a metal point at one end, useful against unarmed footpads and aggressive dogs.

After leaving his parish church, the pilgrim need have been in no uncertainty as to the path to follow. Even if he were illiterate, those who had blessed his going forth could have directed the first few stages of his journey, and when he had arrived at the last of these, there were advisers to point out his next stopping-place. Wynkyn de Worde's *Information for Pilgrims unto the Holy Land*, printed about 1498, which charts the distances between the French and Italian towns on one's road to Rome, and from Rome to Venice, the most popular port of embarkation, is an epitome of previous guides no longer extant, as well as a printing of information handed down through the years by word of mouth. Sir Steven Runciman in a previous volume of this history has described the land routes taken by pilgrims up to 1095, through the Holy Roman and Byzantine empires and across the Fāṭimid frontier, and thence to Jerusalem. [11] But the pilgrims of the twelfth and later centuries pursued their journey by sea, and the chief ports they sailed from were Genoa, Marseilles, and Venice. These, though distant for northern French, German, Flemish, or English travelers, were accessible by well-known and marked roads, which were dotted with hospices for the reception of pilgrims on journeys of devotion. There were two main reasons for the greater popularity of sea transportation: the Turkish conquests in Anatolia and Syria, and a rapid growth in the capacity of the Mediterranean ports to handle passenger transportation to Egypt and Palestine.

In order to focus attention upon the experiences encountered by a pilgrim and the problems he was called upon to meet, let us follow two who went to Palestine, one in the fourteenth and the other in the fifteenth century, Leonard Frescobaldi of Florence (*fl.* 1384) and canon Peter Casola of Milan (1427-1507). Possibly they are not wholly representative cases, for their journeys were rendered somewhat easier by a wide acquaintance with influential fellow-countrymen. Casola, a Milanese, lodged with a compatriot, a merchant living in Venice, while Frescobaldi put up at a relative's house.[12] For the ordinary pilgrim who lacked friends or connections in Venice, the state provided the piazza guides or *tholomarii*, who met the pilgrim on his arrival at the Rialto or the Piazza San Marco. Their duty was to conduct him about the city, find him lodgings, aid him in the exchange of money, and introduce him to the *patroni* or shipmasters with whom he was to make an agreement for passage to

11. See volume I of this work, pp. 68-78.

12. L. Frescobaldi, *Viaggio in Terrasanta*, ed. Cesare Angelini (Florence, 1944), trans. T. Bellarini and E. Hoade in *Visit to the Holy Places of Egypt, Sinai, Palestine, and Syria in 1384*, pp. 29-90 (Jerusalem, 1948), p. 32.

Palestine and back; in brief, to help him in every possible way while he sojourned in the city, accepting only what the pilgrim gave of his own free will, without solicitation, and no more. Aristocrats who knew few or none of the Venetian nobility were careful to provide themselves with letters of introduction to members of the signory, which often obliged by assigning to the noble petitioner a galley for the use of himself and his retinue—of course for adequate compensation.[13]

"The pilgrims, whether Italian or ultramontane, who chose Venice as their port of embarkation, came on foot or on horseback as far as Pavia or Padua, Treviso or Mestre, according to the route selected, and then performed the rest of the voyage to the lagoon city by river or canal. Those who had come on horseback generally either sold their horses, or left them with an innkeeper, or a friend, to be kept for them till they came back."[14]

One of the first steps after arrival in Venice was to get one's money exchanged into currencies acceptable in the Levant. Indeed, after the fall of Jerusalem the Venetian commercial houses which had branches in Palestine struck a gold coin, the *byzantinus saracenatus,* for the express purpose of trade with the Moslem hinterland. Until 1249, when pope Innocent IV protested their issue, these coins bore Arabic inscriptions, a text from the Koran, a reference to the Prophet, and a date calculated from the Hegira.[15] But even though papal horror that Christians should pay such deference to "the false prophet and his accursed law" led to the discontinuance of the *byzantinus saracenatus*, the Moslems were not averse to the gold and silver ducats of Venice, which passed current everywhere in the Levant. Frescobaldi and canon Casola were well supplied with them.[16] Even when a pilgrim found that he had coins in his purse

13. J. Delaville Le Roulx, *La France en Orient au XIV^e siècle,* II (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, no. 45, Paris, 1886), 25, prints the request of Enguerrand VII, count of Coucy, to the senate (May 17, 1396, from the Misti, Reg. 43, fol. 127) for transportation from Venice to Segna (Senj) in Croatia; the request was granted on May 29 (*ibid.*, fol. 137). Enguerrand and his son-in-law Henry of Bar were going to join the crusading army which was to be defeated at Nicopolis.

14. Canon Pietro Casola's *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Year 1494,* ed. and trans. M. M. Newett (Manchester, 1907), p. 351.

15. Ernest Barker, "The Crusades," in *The Legacy of Islam,* ed. Sir Thomas Arnold and Alfred Guillaume (Oxford, 1931), p. 62.

16. The cavalier Santo Brasca of Milan, who journeyed to the sepulcher in 1480, insists that the gold and silver carried by the traveler should be fresh from the Venetian mint, "otherwise the Moors will not accept the coins, even if they were ten grains overweight," and that the shipmaster must be paid in new coins also, for he has to pay the same to the Moors (*Casola's Pilgrimage,* p. 13). This might be true of the tax and customs officials, but the Moors of the streets would assuredly accept any coin offered them.

that he had neglected to change into ducats at Venice, he could turn to the money-changer (*campsor*), who was to be found in any Mediterranean town or port of any size. Not only the pilgrim tours, but even large, well-organized crusades constantly depended upon the money-changers, as shown by the detailed financial records kept by Antoine Barbier, the accountant for the crusade of count Amadeo VI of Savoy in 1366-1367.[17] Frescobaldi informs his readers that he carried a letter of credit, issued by the Florentine banking house of the Portinari, which could be used in Alexandria and also in Damascus.[18]

The amount of money that a pilgrim carried with him varied with his social status, resources, wants, the comforts thought necessary, and the length of his proposed sojourn. Those who wished to visit not only the Palestinian shrines but also that of St. Catherine at Sinai would pay a good deal more than those who planned only the Jerusalem journey. What one paid would also depend upon how comfortably he wished to travel. Thus in 1382 bishop Paul of Agram (Zagreb, in Croatia) requested permission to equip a galley at his own expense for the Palestinian journey. The senate granted his request, though it made an alternate suggestion that if the bishop preferred to take passage in an unarmed sailing ship, instructions would be issued to the Beirut and Alexandrian trading fleets to bring him and his ménage back free of charge.[19] It is not known whether the bishop elected to pay for the return ticket or to plump for the one-way free trip.

From the accounts of travelers who journeyed to Jerusalem after the fall of the crusading kingdom, it is a safe assumption that the wise, affluent pilgrim boarded ship at Venice with not less than two hundred Venetian gold ducats in his purse.[20] Two hundred ducats was more than most pilgrims were able to put up, but Casola's family was a noble one. He had been secretary to the Milanese embassy at Rome, and certainly had private means. Frescobaldi, also of noble

17. Barbier's accounts are published in F. E. Bollati di Saint-Pierre, ed., *Illustrazioni della spedizione in Oriente di Amedeo VI (il Conte Verde)*, in *Biblioteca storica italiana*, V (properly VI, Turin, 1900).

18. *Visit to the Holy Places*, p. 35.

19. *Casola's Pilgrimage*, p. 32, from the Misti, Reg. 37, fol. 67^{v}, dated April 10, 1382.

20. The trip to Joppa and return cost forty-five ducats per person, payable half at departure, half on arrival. Casola, however, desired only the best, and so arranged to pay sixty gold ducats to be kept "by sea and by land" and seated at the captain's table (*Pilgrimage*, pp. 153-154). The advice to carry two hundred ducats occurs in the treatise on travel to the Holy Land by Santo Brasca (*ibid.*, p. 10); Casola had read the work and followed its author's advice about money. On the value of the ducat and other contemporary coins, see B. Bagatti's introduction to *Visit to the Holy Places*, pp. 7-9.

blood, was an important person in his native city; he had held a diplomatic post as Florentine representative on two occasions. Certainly both made the trip more comfortably than the average pilgrim. Yet the Jerusalem journey was by no means impossible to the pilgrim of modest means. He could quite likely obtain a donation for his expenses by promising to pray for the donor at the Holy Sepulcher. The red cross stitched on his garment would not infrequently bring him a meal or a night's lodging from a householder whose village he passed through. At certain spots on his road there were hospices or monastic houses where he would be welcome, and when he arrived at Venice, it might well be that when a shipmaster learned that he was poor, he would agree to carry him for thirty or thirty-two ducats, which would cover passage, hire of donkeys, duties, and tribute. The pilgrim would have to provide food out of his own purse, and perhaps could do so more economically than those with fatter purses. He would have been allowed access to the ship's galley to cook his own meals.[21]

Thus it was possible for rich and poor alike to make the *viaggio in Terra Santa*, the former with some comfort, the latter with less. But woe betide the pilgrim whose money gave out! If he became bankrupt before he reached the Holy Land, he was in serious trouble, but if caught penniless in Palestine, his lot was indeed unfortunate. A modern author draws a vivid picture of the hopeless crowd of famished European pilgrims congregated outside the gates of Jerusalem, through which entrance was denied them by the guards, because their money was gone. Their only hope was the gift of a gold piece by some charitable knight or devout bishop.[22] Though he describes a scene occurring before the First Crusade, the same was true of times long after the fall of the crusading kingdom. The Moslems regarded the fundless pilgrim much more unfavorably than we regard the stowaway, whom we brusquely return to his place of origin; the Mamluks gave themselves no such trouble, but treated him as one subject to their own laws and whims. Their usual custom seems to have been to force him to abjure his own faith and embrace theirs. Father Mariano of Siena utters this direful warning: "Let him not go to Palestine who has not means, or woe to his skin . . . . He would be sawn in twain, or other pilgrims would have to pay for him, or he would have to renege our faith."[23] The Egyptian sultans were

21. *Casola's Pilgrimage*, pp. 12-13.

22. C. R. Conder, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099 to 1291 A.D.* (London, 1897), pp. 1-2.

23. *Viaggio in Terra Santa* (Florence, 1822), pp. 13, 130, trans. B. Bagatti, *Visit to the Holy Places*, p. 7.

quick to realize that to forbid access to the holy places would be to deprive themselves of a rich revenue. They charged each pilgrim what the traffic would bear, and it would bear a good deal.[24]

Having escaped the clutches of the money-changers, who no doubt paid back to the pilgrim less than he paid in to them, he was ready to board his galley. As the most convenient point of departure for the Levant, Venice became, and for several centuries remained, one of the wealthiest cities of Europe. Its senate found it advisable to take under its close supervision the whole business of Palestinian pilgrimage, the protection and guidance of those who came to the city semi-annually, the construction of transport vessels, and the regulation of shipowners. To control the traffic, which increased steadily through the years, the senate decreed that each year there should be two *passagia ad Palestinam*, a *passagium vernale circa mensem Martium* and a *passagium aestivale in mense Junio aut Julio.*[25] Throughout the years these sailings varied as to the times of departure. Thus Theoderic, who was in Palestine in 1171-1173, went at the vernal sailing, rather than the summer sailing in August[26] (apparently a sailing booked for June or July did not leave port till the end of August). In 1441 the senate increased the price of licenses for galleys destined for the pilgrim service, and ordered the *passagium vernale* to run from January 1 to June 30, and the *aestivale* from July 1 to December 31.[27] Though these dates were well known beyond the bounds of Italy, and would probably apply to the majority of those going to Palestine in a particular year, one cannot help being struck by the number of those to whom the Venetian state offered transportation at times other than these biannual passage dates. Any person of importance from a foreign land that had trading relations with Venice, or any group of pilgrims who could exert influence upon the senate, appears to have been granted a galley, for which he or the group was duly billed, unless the senate deemed it advisable to favor persons "of such great power and reputation."[28]

24. They realized also that the barring of pilgrimage might lead to interruption of east-west trade. They probably were not greatly affected by the prospect of hostilities; crusading days were over.

25. For a description of these two *passagia,* see Charles du Fresne du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* (rev. ed., Paris, 1938), VI, 195.

26. "Theoderich's Description of the Holy Places," trans. Aubrey Stewart, *PPTS,* V-4 (London, 1896), ix.

27. M. M. Newett, introduction to *Casola's Pilgrimage,* pp. 69-71. The dates given cover each entire "passage" and do not imply that there were frequent passages, especially in the winter months.

28. *Ibid.,* pp. 31-36, 46-48.

On his arrival in Venice, as he walked across the piazza, the ordinary pilgrim would find himself heavily solicited by the sailors of the different galleys on the point of sailing to the Levant, to engage passage on some particular boat. Having selected his galley, he signed with the *patronus* (shipmaster) [29] an agreement for transportation to the Holy Land and return. The contract signed provided a good deal more than the mere return ticket. It covered all taxes imposed by the Moslem rulers, the price of the safe-conduct, the rental of donkeys for the several journeys, and the regular and expected tips to the Moslem guides and animal attendants. The contract signed, the pilgrim and shipmaster proceeded to the palace of the doge to register it and their names and ranks with the state prothonotaries.

These preliminaries over, the pilgrim went aboard. His vessel was a merchant galley, about 175 feet long and 70 feet wide, capable of carrying 170 paying passengers, or merchandise when the pilgrim season was over. The mainmast carried one large square sail, while a small bow mast, the *trinquetto*, and a stern mast taller than the *trinquetto*, the *mezzana*, were lateen-rigged. On either side of the deck were the rowers' benches, with thirty oars on the port and twenty-seven on the starboard sides. The deck between the benches was crowded with merchandise or supplies for the journey, or even with animals penned up and destined for consumption. Below the deck was the hold, reached by several companionway ladders. Within the hold the passenger set his mattress down on the planked floor, as near the middle of the galley as he could get it, and near the middle door, in order to breathe a little more fresh air.[30] In the stern of the vessel was a roofed superstructure of two floors called the "castle."

The first floor of this superstructure was on a level with the tops of boxes and crates so arranged in the middle of the ship that one could walk over them from bow to stern. Within the castle on its first floor were three tables, two at its sides and one in the center—the dining salon. When the trumpeters blew four blasts, there was a general rush to get seats. Nearly always someone was late and had to sit outside the castle on one of the rowers' benches and eat in whatever weather there was, sunshine, wind, or rain. After having dispatched, if he could, what was placed before him, he could enjoy (or not enjoy) the sight of the shipmaster, the captain, and others of influence sitting down to a better cooked and served repast at a table in the rear of the castle, farthest removed from wind and weather.

29. *Patronus* is often erroneously translated as "captain" (*capitaneus*); he was the owner's representative, the shipmaster.

30. *Casola's Pilgrimage*, p. 12, in Santo Brasca's advice.

When meals were not being served, the first floor of the castle served as the cabin for the captain and shipmaster. From the forward portion of the second floor, which was covered by a tent, the shipmaster and the officers could see all that was happening on the lower deck. At the rear of this floor was fixed the compass, whose observer sang out directions to the steersman.

Below the first floor of the castle a companionway descended to a lower deck, where some tackle and arms were kept, as well as the shipmaster's treasury, and into which female passengers were herded for the night—one imagines hardly to their comfort, for ventilation was of the poorest. On the starboard side of the galley was the kitchen, occupying a space from which the rowers' benches had been removed, quite open to the air, and near a pen for animals destined for eating. Probably the tempers of the cooks were none of the sweetest, for cooking two large meals a day under the sky, in hot weather or in rain, must have been a trying business.

But what of the pilgrims? There is little evidence that any pilgrim enjoyed the trip to Palestine, and a great deal of evidence that they positively hated it. Their sleeping quarters in the hold were cramped; one and one-half feet was the allowance for each mattress, and that space was chalked out on the deck of the hold. At each pilgrim's feet were his chest and chamber-pot, so two long lines of chests and chamber-pots running the length of the hold greeted the eyes of him who had climbed down the companionway ladder. There was little to attract anyone below during daytime, but at bedtime it was thickly populated. Each pilgrim with his lantern began the arrangement of his bed, and of bedmaking as of philosophy *quot homines tot sententiae*. In the process quarrels frequently arose, one pilgrim claiming that his fellow's mattress overhung part of his territory, and the second denying it. These sometimes led to fisticuffs, especially if drunken Flemings were a party to them. "Some," says Felix Fabri, "after all lights are put out, begin to settle the affairs of the world with their neighbors, and go on talking sometimes up to midnight." [31] Particularly irritating were the latecomers, who brought in their lanterns and got to bed with considerable conversation. Fabri had once seen an irate pilgrim throw his chamber-pot at an offensive lantern, an action which in itself did not foster quietness. In addition to these annoyances there were others: the excessive heat of the hold, causing one to sweat all night, which, Fabri assures us, "greatly mars one's rest"; smells of various origins; the presence and activity of

31. "The Wanderings of Felix Fabri" [trans. Aubrey Stewart], I, *PPTS*, VII (London, 1887), 155.

fleas, lice, rats, and mice; and the noise of restless sleepers who talked and snored, and of the sick who moaned, coughed, and cursed. Sometimes one had to rise in the night and take the long march to the latrine in the ship's bow, where there were two places only, both exposed to the wind.[32]

Often day was no more comfortable. If there was a fresh breeze blowing and much motion on, "the pilgrims are made dizzy and sick, and all within them is shaken so that they vomit up all that is in their stomachs, and their bowels are entirely upset."[33] When the ship heeled over, it was sometimes necessary for a pilgrim who was trying to enjoy a siesta to rise and shift his bed, placing his head where his feet had been. Any moderate wind would blow smoke from the kitchen into the hold. The meals were hurried affairs, cooked, as one would expect, in the Italian way, and therefore not to the liking of a German like Fabri. When on the high sea away from any harbor where fresh bread could be had, "twice-baked cakes" were served, "hard as stones." Wine was plentiful, "sometimes good, sometimes thin, but always well mixed and baptized with water."[34] The meat served left much to be desired, for it came from animals in the ship's pen which were quite noticeably dying, possibly diseased sheep. "They slaughter any animal which they see is sick and will soon die of itself."[35]

Under conditions such as these, a careful pilgrim brought with him extra foodstuffs and medicaments to piece out the inadequacies of the table d'hôte and to ease any indispositions or minor illnesses resulting from the sea voyage. Canon Casola, who journeyed to the Holy Land in 1494, was careful to provide himself with a large and well-selected larder and an adequate medicine chest. He had the great advantage of being a bookish man and living in a bookish town, Milan. He did not, therefore, have to learn what to take with him by bitter experience, since the written accounts of previous travelers were accessible to him in his native city. He must have read the *Viaggio in Terra Santa* (about 1459) of Robert of Sanseverino, who went as a pilgrim in 1458. It seems fairly certain that he had read carefully the account of the journey made in 1480 by his fellow townsman, Santo Brasca, which had been printed in 1481.[36] Indeed, Casola might have had no need to read Santo Brasca's book, for in

32. Jules Sottas, *Les Messageries maritimes de Venise aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles* (Paris, 1938), p. 169.

33. Fabri, in *PPTS*, VII, 156.

34. *Ibid.*, VII, 153.

35. *Ibid.*, VII, 154.

36. *Casola's Pilgrimage*, pp. 7, 9-10.

the year that Casola left for Jerusalem its author was living in Milan, a man of note, twice quaestor of Milan and ducal chancellor under Ludovico (il Moro) Sforza.

Brasca laid down clear instructions for the traveler who wished to make his journey with reasonable ease and safety:

> Let him take with him a warm long upper garment to wear on the return journey, when it is cold; a good many shirts, so as to avoid lice . . . and also tablecloths, towels, sheets, pillowcases, and suchlike.
>
> He should go to Venice, because from there he can take his passage more conveniently than from any other city in the world. Every year one galley is deputed solely for this service;[37] and although he may find it cheaper to go on a sailing ship, he should on no account abandon the galley. He should make an arrangement with the captain [that is, the shipmaster], who usually requires from fifty to sixty ducats.
>
> Next he should cause to be made an overcoat reaching down to the ground to wear when sleeping in the open air, and buy a thin mattress instead of a bed, a long chest, two barrels—to wit, one for water, the other for wine—and a night-stool or covered pail.
>
> Let him take a supply of good Lombard cheese, and sausages and other salt meats of every sort, white biscuits, some loaves of sugar, and several kinds of preserved sweetmeats, but not a great quantity of these last because they soon go bad. Above all he should have with him a great deal of fruit syrup, because that is what keeps a man alive in the great heat; and also syrup of ginger to settle his stomach if it should be upset by excessive vomiting, but the ginger should be used sparingly, because it is very heating. Likewise he should take some quince without spice, some aromatics flavored with rose and carnation, and some good milk products.
>
> When he goes ashore in any place, he should furnish himself with eggs, fowls, bread, sweetmeats, and fruit, and not count what he has paid the [shipmaster], because this is a voyage on which the purse must not be kept shut.[38]

It is easy to see that Brasca's advice was addressed to those whose purses were well filled. The poorer pilgrims, embarked by the shipmaster at a reduced rate, did without ginger, aromatics, and fresh eggs. We have few accounts of how they fared, for most of the *Viaggi in Terra Santa* were written by well-educated clerics. It is obvious that if wealthier shipmates suffered discomfort, the poor did so too, and to a worse degree, and that they waited even more eagerly for the lookout's cry that he saw the twin towers of Joppa.

The duration of the run from Venice to Joppa varied from four to six weeks, depending upon the weather and the necessity of taking

37. Santo Brasca is evidently mistaken in his statement. In 1483 two galleys carried pilgrims from Venice to Palestine, and such appears to have been the regular procedure until 1518, when the senate reduced annual sailings from two to one (cf. M. M. Newett, introduction to *Casola's Pilgrimage*, pp. 98, 108).

38. *Casola's Pilgrimage*, pp. 11-12.

on fresh supplies or of delivering dispatches from the Venetian senate to the governors of the republic's island possessions. Casola's galley, running into a heavy storm and making a number of stops, took a month to reach Joppa (June 17 to July 17), as against twenty-six days by Agostino Contarini's galley, which bore Fabri on his second trip.[39] Then, as now, there was no harbor at Joppa, nothing in the way of docking facilities. Ships had to lie off from the shore; communication was by rowboat.

Arrival at Joppa, however, did not mean immediate debarkation for any group of pilgrims. Indeed, Casola and his grumbling fellow passengers were not allowed to land until after ten days in harbor, though usually the interval between arrival and debarkation was less. The reason for such a delay was the necessity of obtaining a safe-conduct from the governor of Jerusalem, the representative of the sultan at Cairo. The safe-conduct required the pilgrims (after names and residences had been checked off) to proceed, always accompanied by the shipmaster of their galley and a dragoman, who collected such taxes as were levied on a pilgrim,[40] regulated the movement of the caravan, preserved good order among the pilgrims, and enforced discipline in the Moslem escort. In the case of Casola's journey, the Moslems were evidently determined to play a little game for their own advantage. The governor of Ramla had authority to allow the pilgrims to land, but he warned them that they would not be allowed to depart until the arrival of the governor of Gaza. On the 25th of July, taking advantage of the permission to land, the captain dispatched two boatloads of passengers to shore, but the scribe whose duty it was to count and register them said he could stay no longer in the sun and that other pilgrims must not be landed. Before reaching shore, the pilgrims had found as they left the vessel that the chief officer of the galley, the shipmaster's clerk, the pilot, the trumpeters, the drummers, the chief rowers, the crossbowmen, the stewards, and the cooks came forward, each with a cup in his hand, and that it was advisable to give something to each of them. Verily, tipping for "service" aboard ship is no new practice.

Had they only known more, the pilgrims on shipboard would not have been eager to leave. Nearly all pilgrims who wrote accounts of their journeys speak quite strongly about the reception-place at

39. Sottas, *Les Messageries*, p. 183: "c'était un record; je n'ai pas trouvé d'autre example d'une pareille célerité." It is interesting to note that both Casola and Fabri sailed with Agostino Contarini, a somewhat sharp and unscrupulous shipmaster, but a splendid seaman.

40. Upon embarkation the pilgrim had paid these to the shipmaster, who acted in Palestine as paymaster for the whole group.

Joppa. It was a cave in the hillside into which they were herded before they set out for Jerusalem. It was dark and filthy with Saracen ordure, and armed guards at its mouth permitted no wandering from it. The writer of the account of the journey of Ogier of Anglure, recalling that Joppa was the scene of the activities of St. Peter, remarked, "Pilgrims are accustomed to sleep in a chapel of St. Peter, where there's nothing in a decent condition."[41] Once in the cave, the pilgrim found that his bedstead was the native rock, and uncleanly rock at that. Before he put his mattress down he had to scrub and brush. The Saracens, Jews, and native Christians of the locality were quick to seize the opportunity of making money, and flocked to the cave with drinking water, fruit, and straw for bedding, which last must have proved quite saleable. The reason for such protracted incarceration was that it took a considerable time to register the pilgrims, to compute the tax due for admission, the tax on the safe-conduct, and the amount due for hire of the riding animals, and to present the bill to the shipmaster of the pilgrim vessel. It may be added that canon Casola, who had cultivated friendly relations with the *patronus*, had heard all about the cave, and preferred to pass the time on the galley until notified to land.

At last the great hour arrived. Sometimes it came early in the morning, at others late in the afternoon.[42] But whatever the hour, the Mamluk guards herded the pilgrims together and marched them off to a spot where their mounts were assembled. Their arrival produced great confusion; three or four donkey boys would surround one pilgrim, each asserting his own merits and those of his beast and denigrating those of his rivals. Many of the pilgrims, unused to donkeys with makeshift saddles, were thrown, so that the scene must have resembled a badly run rodeo, with mounted riders on unfamiliar animals dashing about and running into their comrades, and dismounted riders sitting on the sand or being helped up by the donkey boys, who asked a tip for their efforts. Finally, however, the party moved off in a cloud of dust, the dragoman and officials riding ahead, then the pilgrims on their donkeys,[43] and finally the servants of the Saracen officials bringing up the rear.

It was a three-hour ride to their first halting place, Ramla (Rama, ar-Ramlah). Before reaching it they were forced to dismount

41. Savage, in *The Arab Heritage*, p. 204.

42. Canon Casola's caravan departed at vespers (*Pilgrimage*, p. 236).

43. Asad-ad-Dīn Shīrkūh (about 1167) forbade Christians to ride on horses or mules in Egypt. The law was not repealed by the Mamluk dynasty, who ruled Palestine from Cairo; see A. S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and their Non-Moslem Subjects* (Oxford, 1930), p. 121.

and carry their baggage on their shoulders.[44] At Ramla they found more comfortable housing in the hospice donated by Philip III the Good, duke of Burgundy (1419-1467), and served by the Franciscans of Mt. Sion. It had a narrow entrance, but within its layout was of caravansary style, with a central courtyard, a fountain in the center, and roofed apartments on all sides. In these they put down their mattresses on straw peddled by the people of Ramla and prepared to spend the night. An important figure now enters the scene, the Custos of the Holy Land, *le Père Gardien*, the head of the Franciscan religious house on Mt. Sion. This official was to be regarded as the guide, counselor, and friend to all pilgrims. He had some influence with Moslem officialdom, and his experience with thousands of pilgrims made his counsel to the newcomer invaluable. The friars under him acted as guides to the sacred sites, and were prepared to admit serious cases of illness to their infirmary.

It was customary for the Custos to meet all pilgrim ships at Joppa, and at the hospital at Ramla to deliver a lecture about conduct and wise behavior in a country ruled by infidels. Felix Fabri, standing beside the Custos, Francis Suriano, translated his Latin into German for the benefit of his fellow pilgrims, most of whom were of that nation. The advice given was most pertinent, and indeed the manuals issued to troops who served in Algeria and Tunisia in World War II largely repeat the Franciscans' instructions. (1) The Custos was empowered to absolve from excommunication anyone who had failed to obtain permission from ecclesiastical authority to make the journey; any so situated should present himself at the close of the lecture. (2) No pilgrim should walk alone about the holy places without a Saracen guide. (3) Pilgrims should avoid stepping over Saracen graves, an act offensive to the Moslems, who believe it disturbs the dead. (4) A pilgrim must never return a blow struck by a Saracen; if struck, one should complain to the Custos or the dragoman. (5) Pilgrims must not chip off souvenirs from the Holy Sepulcher or other sacred buildings, or deface walls by drawing their coats of arms or writing their names upon them. Saracens resent such conduct and regard the offenders as fools. (6) Pilgrims should visit holy places in an orderly manner, not attempt to outrun one another to get there first. There is time enough for all to pay devotion. (7) Pilgrims should not laugh together as they walk about, as Saracens are suspicious of laughter. Above all, one must not laugh at or with the

44. Casola (p. 237) says that it was because they were passing a Moslem cemetery; Fabri (VII, 246), because infidels will not endure Christians entering their town mounted, unless at night.

Saracen men and boys; mischief may arise. (8) Pilgrims should not gaze upon any woman, as all Saracens are exceedingly jealous. (9) Should a woman beckon to a pilgrim to enter a house, he must not do so, lest he be robbed or slain. (10) It is dangerous to give a Saracen wine to drink, even when he asks for some, as he is likely to become mad and attack the giver. (11) Each must keep the ass assigned, and not exchange it for another, unless with the driver's consent. (12) A nobleman should beware of revealing his nobility to Saracens: it is imprudent. (13) No pilgrim should ever wear a white turban or wind a white cloth about his head, since that color is worn by Saracens alone. (14) No pilgrim may carry arms or even have a knife about him, as the infidels will relieve him of either. (15) It is dangerous to form a friendship with Saracens, for they are treacherous. One must not, even in jest, ever touch the beard of a Saracen or his turban, for this is a disgrace among them. (16) If any possessions are left lying around, they will vanish. (17) Pilgrims should never drink wine in the presence of a Saracen. To see one doing so arouses envy, because wine is forbidden them. (18) Pilgrims should have no financial dealings with Saracens, German Jews, or native Christians, all of whom cheat and rob unwary pilgrims. (19) When pilgrims make agreements with Saracens, let them never lose their tempers, but rather maintain the character of a Christian. (20) No pilgrim should ever enter a mosque. (21) One should not laugh at a Saracen at prayer, for they do not laugh at Christians so engaged. (22) Pilgrims should not blame the Custos if they are detained at Ramla or anywhere else. This is the fault of the Saracens "who do what they please in these matters, not what is convenient to us." (23) One should not grudge paying money to free oneself from annoyances, but give without grumbling. (24) The pilgrims must give something to the hospice where they now are (Ramla), for its upkeep. (25) The pilgrims must make a donation to the poor convent of the Franciscans at Mt. Sion, whose inmates act as their guides into and out of the Holy Land, who dwell among the infidels for the benefit of their fellow Christians, and who are prepared to nurse sick pilgrims in their own infirmary.[45]

Having received this good advice from one thoroughly conversant with the country, its customs, and its people, the pilgrims, after several days' delay, rode over the stony and hilly road to Jerusalem. To men and women of the present age, separated by the passage of

45. Fabri, in *PPTS*, VII, 247-255.

centuries from medieval ways of thinking and feeling, the first sight of the holy city would be exhilarating, but those who first gazed upon it in those days were stirred to their very depths. Some fell upon their knees, while tears of happiness ran down their cheeks. In Fabri's party the priests and monks raised the *Te Deum*. George Gucci's party took off their shoes and went barefoot.[46] Canon Casola, however, gave way to no such emotional displays. "God willing, at an early hour we reached the holy city of Jerusalem, almost dead of heat and thirst, and those dogs made us dismount outside the city."[47] Quite clearly the good canon loved his comfort. Before entering through the Fish Gate (Gate of Joppa) below the Tower of David, all pilgrims were again rechecked by the dragoman and the Moslem gatekeepers. With all present and accounted for, the party, preceded by some of the religious of Mt. Sion, entered the city, and eventually reached the church of the Holy Sepulcher. There they were told by one of the Franciscans that the place where they were was the holiest in the world. Many gave way completely to their emotions; tears, prostrations, screams, and breast-beatings echoed in the narrow court before the doorway. Fortunately entrance at that time was not on the agenda.

The final stop on the day of entry was at what had once been the hospital of the Knights of St. John, and is now the Muristān. Saladin had lodged there after the fall of the city, but in subsequent years it had been allowed to fall into decay. While not the most comfortable of domiciles, it was the only place capable of housing 250 people. It did have a roof and many chambers or stalls.[48] In these stalls the pilgrims placed their mattresses, often upon the straw they had purchased, and took their meals in small groups, paying local merchants to cater for them. More influential or wealthier pilgrims were able to arrange accommodations through the dragoman. Priests of the party were always guests of the convent of Mt. Sion, where they fared well.

The day after their arrival, having assisted at an early mass, the pilgrims, led by two Franciscans and the dragoman, began the visits of the "holy circuit." Setting out before dawn from the porch of the

46. "Pilgrimage of Giorgio Gucci to the Holy Places," trans. T. Bellerini and E. Hoade, in *Visit to the Holy Places . . . in 1384*, pp. 91-156 (Jerusalem, 1948), p. 127.

47. *Pilgrimage*, p. 244.

48. Cf. Nicholas of Martoni, *Liber peregrinationis ad loca sancta*, ed. Léon Legrand as "Relation du pèlerinage à Jérusalem de Nicolas de Martoni, notaire italien (1394-1395)," in *ROL*, III (1895, repr. 1964), 613: "quod hospitale alias . . . erat hedeficium magnum et mirabile . . . modo vero est tantum una lamia magna et longa ac larga, cum columpnis in medio et cum pluribus cameris in quibus manent peregrini."

church of the Holy Sepulcher, they proceeded along the Via Dolorosa to the Gate of Ephraim (or of St. Stephen), crossed the Kidron to the garden of Gethsemane, and descended the Mount of Olives. Coming down, they passed the tomb of Absalom and continued to the pool of Siloam, whence, passing south of the city through the vale of Hinnom, they ascended to Mt. Sion.[49] All through the journey there were halting-places to be visited by the devout, at which indulgences were to be secured. Some spots possessed greater spiritual significance than others less notable in sacred history. A halt at one of the former carried a plenary indulgence (*absolutio culpae et poenae*) for past sins; at one of those of less significance, a temporal indulgence of 7 years, 320 days. Both kinds of indulgence were dependent on the recipients' *vere penitentibus et confesses*.

The following sites on the "holy circuit" were visited by all pilgrims (spots that provided a temporal indulgence are designated "T", with a "P" against those affording a plenary [50]): (1) the entry into the holy city (P); (2) the spot where the three Marys cried out at the sight of Jesus bearing the cross (T); (3) the house where the Virgin had gone to school (T); (4) the spot where the Virgin fainted as her son bore the cross (T); (5) the house where the Virgin was born (T); (6) the house of Herod (T);[51] (7) the valley of Kidron (Jehoshaphat?) (T); (8) the site where Stephen was stoned, at the upper end of the valley (T); (9) the church containing the tomb of the Virgin on the farther side of the valley; payment for entrance was demanded by the Saracens (P); (10) the grotto of the Agony (T); (11) the spot in the garden of Gethsemane at which Jesus left his disciples in order to pray (T); (12) the place where the Jews captured Jesus (T), and the place nearby where Peter cut off the ear of the high priest's servant (T); (13) the place where the Virgin ascended to heaven, throwing, as she did so, her girdle to St. Thomas (T); (14) the spot on which Jesus stood as he wept over the fate of Jerusalem (T); (15) the spot where the angel announced to the Virgin her approaching death, and gave her a palm leaf as spiritual comfort (T); (16) the mount of "Galilee," where Jesus appeared to the

49. Sometimes the order of visitation was varied, possibly because of Moslem objections at a particular time to the usual order. Nicholas of Martoni, Frescobaldi, and Casola followed, with very minor variations, the path described above. Other pilgrims, as Sottas tells us (*Les Messageries*, pp. 191-192) followed another order, going first to the convent of Mt. Sion, and to the Holy Sepulcher in the evening of the same day. Cf. Bagatti, *Visit to the Holy Places*, pp. 9-17.

50. The source for this marking is Nicholas of Martoni, in *ROL*, III, 613-619.

51. "Domus Herodis que non sunt integre, sicut fuerunt, ad quas non potuimus intrare" (*ibid.*, III, 613).

disciples after his resurrection (T); [52] (17) the Mount of Olives, from which Jesus ascended into heaven (P); (18) the spot where the apostles composed the creed (T); (19) the spot where Jesus taught the apostles the Lord's Prayer (T); (20) the spot where St. James the Less died (T); (21) Bethphage, where Jesus mounted the ass's colt (T); (22) the spring in the valley of Kidron in which the Virgin washed the garments of the infant Jesus (T); (23) the pool of Siloam, where Jesus sent the blind man to wash his eyes (T). Near this was the place where the Jews were alleged to have sawed the prophet Isaiah asunder with a wooden saw (T).

It never seems to have occurred to any of the authors who describe their journeys in the Holy Land that some of the shrines or sites they visited were fraudulent. Thus Nicholas of Martoni visited a spot near Hebron where Adam was said to have been created, and solemnly reports that he did so. [53] Frescobaldi assures us that "at the beginning of the ascent to Mt. Olivet, is where Our Lady gave the cincture to St. Thomas, when she went into heaven." [54] Nicholas of Martoni explains that St. Thomas, arriving "de partibus Indie," was late for the funeral, but the Virgin in her ascent to the skies "projecit suam zonam beato Thome." [55] The pilgrim came piously inclined to the Holy Land. When shown a shrine or site mentioned in Holy Writ, or around which a tradition had formed, he was in no position, nor had he any inclination, to disagree with his Franciscan guide. Indeed, the Franciscan himself was in no position to question sacred tradition. He had been sent to his present post not to question but to believe, and to lead others to believe, and his monastic education had taught him not to criticize but to accept. Among the authors who wrote of their Palestinian journeys there was no disposition to question the authenticity of any *locus sanctus*, and where the more literate took no exception to what was told them others were scarcely likely to. There need be no doubt that the pilgrims "believed all they were told, and would have believed more had it been told them." [56]

52. The northern crest of the Mount of Olives is said to have been called "Galilee," and was (wrongly) believed in pilgrim times to have been the spot at which Jesus directed his disciples to meet him after his resurrection; see S. Merrill, "Galilee, Mountain in," in James Hastings, ed., *A Dictionary of the Bible . . .*, II (New York, 1899), 102.

53. *ROL*, III, 611: "In illis partibus dicti montis est locus ubi Deus creavit primum hominem Addam."

54. *Visit to the Holy Places*, p. 72.

55. Nicholas of Martoni, in *ROL*, III, 614.

56. Savage, in *The Arab Heritage*, p. 207. An exception to this generalization must be made in the case of Louis of Rochechouart; see "Voyage à Jérusalem," *ROL*, I, 242, 246, 248.

The pilgrim's path ended at Mt. Sion, with the Franciscan convent on its summit. In its church were a few sacred spots which the pilgrims would feel obliged to see because of the indulgences there to be acquired, and outside that sanctuary were many more holy places. Inside the church was the altar where Jesus gave his disciples holy communion (T); to its left was the place where he washed their feet (P). Outside the church were the place where the Holy Ghost descended upon the apostles at Pentecost (P), the spot where St. Thomas professed his belief in the resurrection (P), the place of prayer where the Virgin resorted for the fourteen years she survived Jesus (T), the place where St. Matthew became an apostle (T), the spot where St. John the Evangelist celebrated mass before the Virgin (T), the place where the Virgin was translated to heaven (P), and many others accorded temporal indulgences, such as the spot where the water used in the washing of the disciples' feet was heated.

Inspiring and awesome as such sites must have been, the goal and crown of every pilgrim's journey was the tomb of Christ. Generally two visits were made to the church of the Holy Sepulcher, their timing probably having been dependent on the convenience of the Moslem guardians of the building. As they entered, the pilgrims were enumerated by the Saracens and their own interpreter. One of these two visits was made at nightfall, for they were to be at their devotions all night long. When they were all safely in, the Moslem guardians locked the doors. The candles with which they had been furnished were lit and, led by the friars of Mt. Sion, the devout visitors formed a procession to visit the many holy sites, starting with the reddish and black stone on which the Savior's body was laid preparatory to its anointing (P), the chapel of the Virgin (P), and the spot where Mary Magdalen beheld Jesus, whom she took for a gardener (T).[57] On leaving the chapel the procession, singing appropriate anthems and chanting litanies, entered the body of the church.[58] They visited the *Carcer Christi* (T), the chapel of the Dividing of the Vestments (T), the chapel of the Column (T), and the sloping subterranean spot where Helena found the three crosses (P).[59] The procession next wound its way up the stone staircase to

57. The various relations of the pilgrimages differ from one another as to the order in which the sacred sites were visited. Nicholas of Martoni evidently visited the Holy Sepulcher both before and after the trip to the Jordan. Father Fabri visited the Sepulcher, walked the Via Dolorosa, and made a second visit to the Sepulcher after his walk. Canon Casola went first to the Sepulcher, then to Bethlehem, and again to the Sepulcher.

58. In the church the Holy Sepulcher itself was under the dome of the apse, so that the procession was at this point entering the nave.

59. Nicholas of Martoni (*ROL*, III, 618) reports that the three crosses were brought to

the elevated rock of Calvary,[60] where are the cavities in the rock into which the three crosses were thrust. One part of the small chapel belonged to the Greek Orthodox, the other to the Roman Catholic church. Within the former was the orifice in which the Savior's cross was inserted (P).[61] At the altar of that part of the chapel that belonged to the Romanists, mass was celebrated and the party received communion (P).

The high point of the pilgrimage was the entry into the Holy Sepulcher itself. Present-day guidebooks often describe the appearance of the Sepulcher as it was in crusading and post-crusading days. One entered the little vestibule to the tomb called the chapel of the Angel (10 by 7 feet), because it was believed that on that spot the angel announced to the holy women the fact of the resurrection. At the end of this chapel there is an opening four feet high by which one enters the Sepulcher chamber, which had room for four or five persons and no more (P).[62] The tomb of the Savior is covered by a marble slab, to guard against such souvenir hunters as James of Verona or Leonard Frescobaldi.[63] On that slab it was allowable to say mass, as canon Casola did on August 8, 1494.[64] When a large body of pilgrims visited the church, it was necessary for the Franciscan guides to separate the group into three companies, select from each a priest to say mass, and allot to each company one of three altars, that of Calvary, that of the chapel of the Virgin, or that of the Sepulcher. One can well believe that the traveler who heard mass at the Sepulcher of his Lord enjoyed the *summum bonum* of his entire journey—perhaps of all his life. But all great moments pass, and early in the morning the Moslem guardians of the church opened its doors and ordered them out.

After following the pilgrims in some detail as they trudged about Jerusalem, our accounts of two side trips, to Bethlehem and to the Jordan and Dead Sea, will be brief. Bethlehem, distant some five

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the chapel of the Virgin and a corpse was placed on each one in turn. When placed upon the true cross, the corpse revived, proving its genuineness.

60. Casola (*Pilgrimage*, p. 260) says the staircase was of wood.

61. James of Verona, *Liber peregrinationis*, ed. Reinhold Röhricht as "Le Pèlerinage du moine augustin Jacques de Vérone (1335)," in *ROL*, III (1895, repr. 1964), 186, describes how he stole pieces of the rock of Calvary as relics by getting his fellow pilgrims to lead the two Greek Orthodox guardians away temporarily.

62. Nicholas of Martoni (*ROL*, III, 618): "non est capax nisi forte quinque hominum"; Casola (*Pilgrimage*, p. 277): "When four persons are in the said little chapel there is no room for more. It is entered by a hole, as there is no door, and a man has to stoop greatly in order to enter there."

63. *Visit to the Holy Places*, p. 71.

64. *Pilgrimage*, p. 261.

miles from Jerusalem, the pilgrims would reach after a short ride; canon Casola assures us that it was a hot one. In the basilica dedicated to the Virgin, the usual masses were offered at the grotto of the Nativity and at the Manger, cradle of the newborn babe. Plenary indulgence was to be had at both places. The trip to Bethlehem lasted not more than three days.

A trip to the Jordan was a more serious affair. The road to it ran through the stony passes of the Judean mountains, the very locality where thieves attacked the traveler whom the good Samaritan rescued.[65] The existence of such thieves infesting the route necessitated a military escort under the command of a Mamluk. A stop was made at the Fountain of the Apostles (some two miles from Jerusalem), but there was no long tarrying anywhere, for their Moslem guards hurried them on.[66] Jericho (twenty-two miles from Jerusalem) did not detain them, and the convoy pushed on to the Jordan, six miles distant. Those who wished were allowed to bathe in the river, and nearly all filled bottles with the holy water to carry back with them (T). Sometimes the trip to the Jordan was extended to its outlet in the Dead Sea, the sight of which filled the pilgrims with horror, for they remembered the submerged cities and *peccatum sodomiticum*. Gucci reports that "they say that this water holds up nothing, and that every living thing sinks, wood and the lightest thing."[67] The convoy returned home, stopping at the fountain of Elisha, who had changed water once bitter to sweet, and the Mount of Quarantine, where Jesus had fasted in the wilderness. Then, after passing through Bethany, they reached Jerusalem, thoroughly exhausted from two strenuous days. But fatigued though they were, they were eager to reach Joppa and see the galley that would take them home.

One must conclude that, between Venetians, Moslems, and Franciscans, the pilgrimage business was on the whole well run. Despite all the complaints about delays and illicit charges, the pilgrim saw what he had come to see, and saw it in a brief time. Canon Casola was just nine days over a month in the Holy Land. Nicholas of Martoni, who made the much longer pilgrimage by visiting Cairo and Sinai, was ashore just over three months. James of Verona visited not

65. Nicholas of Martoni, in *ROL*, III, 620: "per montes et valles montium petrosas et ruginosas ultra quam dici potest."

66. *Ibid.*: "ambulantes quasi tota nocte et die."

67. *Visit to the Holy Places*, p. 134. A. H. M. Jones, "Dead Sea," in *Chambers' Encyclopaedia*, new ed., IV (London, 1963), 400, says "the water is so buoyant that bathers cannot sink"; evidently Gucci never bathed in it.

only Jerusalem but Sinai and Cairo as well, and finished his travels by taking ship from Beirut, after having visited Damascus and passed through Galilee, yet his stay lasted only a few days over two months.

Quite frequently there were delays in the plans for the return. Often the Moslems, reluctant to let such wealthy paying guests escape, invented pretexts that halted the exit from Jerusalem. Or there arose misunderstandings between the shipmaster and the Custos of the Holy Land on one part and the governor of Jerusalem on the other. One is unable at times to decide whether the misunderstanding was accidental or intentional.[68] Casola and his fellow travelers waited eight days with their luggage packed before their galley was allowed to sail, passing six of those days at Ramla uncertain whether or when they would be allowed to leave the country. But finally clearance was given, and the galley hoisted sail, weighed anchor, and pointed its prow westward. It did not leave, however, with all those it had brought, for some remained under the care of the Franciscans of Mt. Sion, too ill to travel; others, more frail and elderly, would never return. Heat, exhaustion, and the crowded schedule had been too much.

It is difficult to assess with precision the effect upon Europe of these centuries of pilgrimage. Did those who returned bring back with them ideas that would radically alter for their fellow countrymen accustomed ways of thinking and living? In minor ways the answer is yes. Small conveniences which the east had revealed to them were acquired for their own lives. Fashions, appetites, and desires which their journeys had shown them were adopted or transplanted. By and large, however, the answer must be no. The pilgrim went out a Catholic Christian and returned a more rigid one. Certainly there was not much meeting of minds between Christian pilgrim and Moslem inhabitant. To the pilgrim the occupants of Palestine were either "Moors" or "Saracens," two terms which served to characterize all Moslems with whom they came in contact, regardless of whether they were Arabs, Kurds, or Turks, or the natives of Palestine, descendants of the Canaanites. The pilgrims were not interested in distinctions of language or nationality.

Some comments reveal Christian opinion of the religion and manner of their unwilling hosts. One pilgrim, an Englishman who was in Palestine in 1345, said that he would be willing to narrate

68. Sometimes there was conflict of authority between the governor of Jerusalem and his counterpart of Gaza, and although in the end the latter had to give way, the pilgrims waited on shore until he did.

briefly their habits and appearance to any one who wished to hear about them.

Their clothing is linen exclusively. They do not comb or smoothe their hair, nor do they put on shoes. The upper part of their thighs are swathed down to the curve of the leg. They wear stuff of carpet material instead of shoes, so that this stuff does not cover the heel or the rear portion of the sole of the foot, so that their shoes as they walk always make their feet clatter; and this was prescribed to them by that worst counterfeit of sanctity, Mohammed . . . . At head or neck they wear no covering unless a linen cloth wound around thickly many times. Wherever they may be, at certain hours of the day, on bended knees they prostrate themselves to the ground and facing south they worship God devoutly. And if I may trespass upon nature's secrets, they urinate as women do. In their mosques five or six loud-mouthed fellows mount up through the day and night hours, and to three directions of the compass, the last being omitted, shout out with strong voices, instead of bells. They [the Saracens] check all worldly vicious appetites.[69]

Few pilgrims ever saw the inside of a mosque. They were ignorant, therefore, of what went on within it. Any who were caught inside its walls had the alternative of embracing Islam or death.[70] The westerners were quick to notice in Jerusalem the absence of bells, to whose ringing so much of their religious life was attuned; Fabri tells us that there is a commandment in the Koran not to use them. The functions of the bell were taken over by the muezzin five times a day and once in the evening.[71] The Romanticists loved to dwell upon the musical and penetrating resonance of the muezzin's call, as it echoed from the minaret at sunset. It had no such charm for the medieval pilgrim. Canon Casola, while admiring the bell tower of the lord of Ramla (then quite useless), tells us that during the night a man stood on it, "who, to my hearing, did nothing but yelp."[72] James of Verona had an equally unpleasant experience, for at the hour of compline he heard from the same tower "clamare tres Sarracenos

69. "Itinerarium cuiusdam Anglici Terram Sanctam . . . visitantis (1344-45)," in *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa . . .*, ed. G. Golubovich, IV (Quaracchi, 1923), 450-451.

70. See the account of the "martyrdom" in Cairo (1345) of one Livinus, a French Franciscan, who entered a mosque to bid the congregation turn Christian (in *Biblioteca . . . della Terra Santa,* ed. Golubovich, IV, 390-392). The chronicler of the pilgrimage of Ogier of Anglure recounts that his party was astonished by the beauty and cleanliness of the mosques in Cairo, and by their lamps and marble doors, and admitted that Saracen *oratoires,* "unlike Gothic chapels in the entire absence of sculpture, painting, or gilding, could still be beautiful in the simplicity of white unpainted plaster" (Savage, in *The Arab Heritage,* p. 211).

71. "Mag. Thietmari peregrinatio," ed. J. C. M. Laurent as appendix to *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor* (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1873), p. 12: "Loco campanarum preconè utuntur, ad cuius vocationem solent sollempniter ad ecclesiam convenire."

72. *Pilgrimage,* p. 240.

terribiliter illam legem pessimam et execrabilem Mahometi."[73] The anonymous fourteenth-century Englishman is no less severe: "in their mosques five or six ribald fellows ascend through the hours of night and day, turning to all directions of the horizon, except the last, shouting with resonant clamorings, instead of bells."[74] Frescobaldi is no less censorious: "and on the steeples stand their chaplains and clerics day and night, who shout when it is the hour, just as we ring. And their shouting is to bless God and Mohammed; then they say: increase and multiply, and other dishonest words."[75] His companion Gucci tells the same story: "all their churches have steeples but no bells: and when the hour comes, a man mounts the steeple, and that of the principal church of the city begins to shout and to praise God, and so do all the others on the other steeples: and so many are they throughout the city that when they all begin to shout, it would seem a riot has broken out in the city. They halt several times, and then they begin again."[76] Gucci objected to the noise; Simon Sigoli was more affected by the moral content of the muezzin's message: "when they wish to notify that it is the ninth hour, the priests of the mosques go up the towers, and there where the cupola of the tower begins there is outside a wooden gallery, and they go around this gallery three times, shouting at the top of their voices that it is nine, at the same time recounting something of the dishonest life of Mohammed and of his companions . . . . Then they shout: do such a thing, which would be dishonest to write down just as distinctly as they say it: increase and multiply so the law of Mohammed increases and multiplies."[77] One may observe that Sigoli's church encouraged the same practice which the muezzins urged, but with more propriety and reticence.

Another practice disgusted the pilgrim historians. Moslem law enjoins perfect bodily cleanliness before one prays. Consequently they proceed to wash any part of the body they believe in need of washing—to the disapproval of the westerners: "Sarraceni nunquam loquuntur mingendo et reputant pro magna iniuria sic loqui, et quando mingunt curvantur sicut mulieres, et habent ex lege, et tergere anum cum lapide, et multas alias stulticias faciunt."[78] James of Verona is no less shocked by these habits of ablution: "ante oracionem servant illud turpissimum documentum, quod dedit eis,

73. James of Verona, in *ROL*, III, 181.

74. In *Biblioteca . . . della Terra Santa*, ed. Golubovich, IV, 451.

75. *Visit to the Holy Places*, p. 41.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 144.

77. *Viaggio al Monte Sinai*, ed. Cesare Angelini (Florence, 1944), trans. T. Bellarini and E. Hoade in *Visit to the Holy Places . . . in 1384*, pp. 157-201 (Jerusalem, 1948), p. 166.

78. Louis de Rochechouart, in *ROL*, I, 273.

quia primo lavant manus, postea pedes, postea faciem, postea virilia sua et membrum genitale, et hoc publice coram omnibus, et alio modo non orarent, nise prius facerent hanc enormem ablucionem, quod est abhominabile in natura et in omni lege." [79] Thietmar, who made the voyage to Palestine and Sinai in 1217, is more objective and laconic: "Religiosi vero Sarraceni ad quamlibet horam solent se lavare aqua, vel sabulo, si defuerit aqua. Incipientes a capite, faciem lavant, deinde brachia, manus, crura, pedes, pudibunda et anum. Postea vadunt orare, et numquam orant sine venia.[80] Multas venias faciunt. Versus meridiem orant. Tundunt pectora sua, et in pupplico [81] et altis vocibus. Super pannos quadratos, quos semper sub cingulo suo secum portant, venias querunt, et in veniis terram fronte pulsant." [82]

Most pilgrims, however, did not bother to describe the religious or social customs of the folk whose land they visited. Canon Casola has one word for any and all Moslems—"dogs." Gucci complains of his scurvy treatment at Damascus, and Sigoli corroborates him.[83] Louis of Rochechouart, bishop of Saintes, has no stories of overcharging or insult; apparently he experienced little difficulty in going where he wanted to go when he wanted to go there, but he saw little good in Moslems: "Sarraceni qui habitant in Siria et Egipto Barbarica, usque ad Asiam Minorem, sunt gentes bestiales." [84] A more fair-minded observer is Ricold of Monte Croce. He says that he will speak briefly of certain works of perfection among the Saracens, more to the shame of Christians than to the commendation of those heathens. He praises their zeal for study, their faithfulness and devotion in prayer, their charity and kindness to the poor, and their legacies to provide ransoms for captives held by Christians. He is struck by their reverence for the name of the deity, their extreme gravity and the propriety of their bearing, their affability to strangers, their perfect hospitality, and the peace they maintain with one another, and concludes, "the words written above we have not put down for the commendation of the Saracens, but for the shame of the Christians, who are unwilling to perform for the law of life, what the damned do for the law of death." [85]

79. "Liber peregrinationis," in *ROL*, III, 264.

80. *Venia*, defined by Thietmar's editor Laurent as *genuum flexione* (p. 12, no. 136).

81. Laurent (p. 12, no. 137) comments: "Lingua Latina cadente reviviscebant formae antiquae."

82. "Peregrinatio," p. 12.

83. *Visit to the Holy Places*, pp. 143-144 (Gucci) and 181 (Sigoli).

84. "Voyage," in *ROL*, I, 272. The bishop comments (I, 239) on the death of Mamluk sultan Inal: "obierat soldanus a quadragesima, mortuus quidem et sepultus in infernum."

85. "Fratris Ricoldi de Monte Crucis . . . liber peregrinacionis," ed. J. C. M. Laurent in *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor*, pp. 131-135.

All pilgrims, to whom the fasting enjoined by the Roman church meant real deprivation, express their surprise and horror at Moslem behavior during the feast of Ramadan. Bishop Louis informs us that "they [the Moslems] eat nothing until a star appears in the sky . . . but through the whole night they eat and are given over to riot and wantonness, eating flesh and fish at the same time." James of Verona is equally horrified at the Moslem idea of a fast. "He [Mohammed] taught that they should fast on the first moon of the month of May because Moses fasted on that moon . . . and when the Saracens fast, they eat or drink nothing the whole day, but at evening they begin to eat and drink the whole night through flesh and any kind of food they wish, following those most vile teachings of that Mohammed."[86] Sigoli is less reticent than the bishop and James: "The Saracens make one Lent a year, which begins with the first quarter of the moon which comes after the month of September and lasts 30 days, and all the day they neither eat nor drink; then in the evening, when the stars appear in the sky, everyone begins to eat meat and everything they like, and they eat all night. And each priest of every people goes about three times in the night with a small drum playing for his people, calling his faithful by name, saying Eat and sleep not, and do such a thing well, that is of luxury, that the law of Mohammed be increased; and so they live like animals."[87]

Though viewing Moslem customs, the Moslem way of life, and Moslem religion with virulent disapproval, the westerners were surprised by the beauty of Moslem architecture. Indeed, it is astonishing that priests and laymen who were so contemptuous of things Islamic, and who had grown up in a culture featuring Gothic or Romanesque, should be so admiring of and so sensitive to Saracenic architecture. The chief object of this admiration was, of course, the Qubbat aṣ-Ṣakhrah, the Dome of the Rock,[88] though since entrance was forbidden, it could be viewed only from a distance. Enough of it could be seen, however, to compel the beholder to acknowledge that it was the most beautiful building in the city. Thietmar, apologizing for his brevity, states that it was *mirifice adornatum.*[89] Gucci's allusion to it, though brief, is

86. "Liber peregrinationis," in *ROL,* III, 263. Ramadan is the ninth month of the lunar Moslem year, which is about eleven days shorter than a solar year; thus it may fall within any season.

87. *Visit to the Holy Places,* p. 167.

88. To one standing on Mt. Sion the Dome of the Chain (Qubbat as-Silsilah) must have been invisible, and only the upper part of the Aqṣâ mosque, including its cupola, could have been seen.

89. "Peregrinatio," p. 26.

sufficient to distinguish it as an outstanding piece of architecture: "then you find the place where stood the temple of Solomon: and today it is a Saracen mosque,[90] where entrance is forbidden to the Christians; but to see it from the outside it appears a great building and a work of art, and so it looks when seen from the Mount of Olives." Even the carping Casola cannot refuse his tribute of praise: "As it was on our way we afterwards saw the mosque which they say stands on the site of the temple of Solomon. It is a beautiful building to look at from the outside, and strong compared with the greater part of the habitations in Jerusalem. It is wonderful to see the courts—so well paved with the whitest marble—which are built around at the base of the mosque." Indeed, Casola cannot forget the impressive beauty of the great structure which loomed up so impressively even at a distance. He alludes to it twice more: "The city has one beautiful building; that is its mosque. Neither Christian nor Jew can enter there. Outside one can see what a beautiful place it is with those courts round it as I mentioned above. I heard from the Moors that there are neither paintings nor images inside. They say that there are a thousand lamps within, which on certain occasions are all lighted at the same moment.[91] . . . It is a stupendous thing; and it appears to me that the Moors do not lack good master workmen for their buildings."[92]

It would be quite unfair to leave the reader with the impression that pilgrims were consistently insulted, robbed, or maltreated by the natives of Palestine. The governor of Jerusalem advised them that in making their visits to the holy places they should always have some Saracen with them, so that they would not be annoyed by "rude boys," whom the authorities found it difficult to control.[93] Indeed, it can be safely said that when a formal complaint of assault on a pilgrim or one of overcharging reached the administative officials of the sultan, justice was quick, and the guilty summarily punished. Thus when a Saracen assaulted and beat two Franciscan monks traveling from their convent on Mt. Sion to Bethlehem, the governor promised that he "would so deal with him that he would never trouble any Christian again." He also said in the case of the doorkeeper of the church of the Ascension, who had demanded bakshish for the privilege of entry, that they should have given him

90. Actually it is not a mosque, having none of the fittings for worship, but simply a building over the sacred rock—the Qubbat aṣ-Ṣakhrah.

91. The dragoman of Ogier of Anglure told him that 12,000 lamps were regularly lit, except twice in the year, when 36,000 shone forth; Savage, in *The Arab Heritage,* p. 206.

92. The last three quotations come from pages 249, 251, and 253 of Casola's *Pilgrimage.*

93. In *PPTS,* IX (London, 1893), 113.

nothing, and "that henceforth he would never demand anything" more.[94] There are many such examples of Moslem correctness of feeling and conduct. One who reads Fabri's account of the journey to Sinai closes the book with the firm belief that the second dragoman, Elphahallo, was in wisdom, faithfulness, courtesy, tolerance, and kindness superior to any one of those he guided, not excepting Felix Fabri himself.

Probably many of those who traveled to the Holy Land after the fall of the crusaders' kingdom were less single-minded than their earlier predecessors, for many of them journeyed to obtain for themselves the indulgences attached to the several shrines and sites, whereas the earlier visitors had come out of sheer devotion to the saints and the Savior. That the church did not overexert itself to induce a higher motive than mere safety from future punishment is apparent in a number of *Viaggi in Terra Santa* where the several sites have the amount of their indulgences marked down by the author. Still, a reading of the numerous accounts of pilgrimages which began to appear in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries proves that devout Christians were not extinct.

The surviving evidence suggests the conclusion, paradoxical as it may seem, that pilgrimage to the Holy Land during the two centuries after the fall of the crusaders' kingdom surpassed all previous records. Behind this growth were the naval supremacy and commercial policy of Venice. The aristocracy who dictated that policy saw that if Venice were to prosper, she must trade, and that Egypt and Syria were her best markets. With the increase of sea traffic, especially in the era of the crusades, the state began to take over its regulation. The demands of the west for the silks, spices, and paper of the east led to more frequent voyages, so that doge and senate asked themselves whether they could not kill two birds with one stone, and add passenger to commercial service for the benefit of the thousands who yearned to pay their devotions to the holy places and to secure by doing so some mitigation of the punishment for their sins; the benefit their action conferred upon their fellow Christians would also redound to the advantage of the Venetian state. After the defeat of Genoa in 1380 Venice held the monopoly of passenger and freight service, a monopoly that resulted not only from the victories of her superbly handled fleet, but also from the fact that the Moslem powers of the Levant were astute enough to encourage commercial relations with the "queen of the Adriatic" and to sanction the very profitable *peregrinatio ad Terram Sanctam*. In the thirteenth century the annual number of those who visited Palestine amounted to many

94. *Ibid.*

thousands: in the next two centuries it had hardly shrunk.[95] To estimate the numbers who embarked at Venice for Joppa or Alexandria during the years of Venetian maritime supremacy would be fruitless, for one must remember that twice a year numbers of vessels crowded with pilgrims left for the Levant. As a result of this policy, wealth came to the republic and to the Mamluk sultans of Egypt, and thousands of westerners saw what they ardently wished to see, and would not otherwise have seen.

But dark days lay ahead for the republic, for the Egyptian sultans, and for prospective pilgrims. The small principality of the Osmanli Turks had become an aggressive "Ottoman" empire. Under Mehmed II, the conqueror of Constantinople, Selim I, who captured Cairo, and the great Suleiman I the Magnificent, the eastern Mediterranean had become almost a Turkish lake. The Venetian navy was unable to withstand the fleets of Selim and Suleiman, and since it could no longer protect its carrying trade and pilgrim galleys, commercial and passenger traffic ceased. Though Selim did allow Venice some trading privileges in Egypt, Turkish policy was to divert the valuable Indian traffic to Constantinople, now called Istanbul. Since Venetian seapower had been driven away from the Levantine and North African seaports, those who meditated a pilgrimage had to weigh the chance of safe voyage to Palestine against the likelihood of dangers run after landing there, or of capture at sea and toil as a galley slave at a Turkish oar. Indeed, had they reached Palestine, they would have found their former protectors in disfavor, for in 1551 Suleiman I had ordered the expulsion of the Franciscans from Mt. Sion. The belief had been promulgated that the tomb of David was beneath the lower hall of the Cenacle (the "upper room" of the Last Supper), and as the Moslems reverenced David, Suleiman finally enforced an earlier edict which had been allowed to lapse, and commanded "the expulsion of the infidels from the convent and church of the Cenacle."[96]

Thus pilgrimage fell off because of the rise of Turkish and the decline of Venetian naval power. There was, however, another, and a most important, reason for its lapse. This lay not in political events, but in the spread of another and different way of thinking about the motives and results of a visit to *alia loca ultramarina*. After Luther

95. Albert Hauck, "Pilgrimage," in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., XXI (1911), 608.

96. In addition to the assertion that their presence desecrated sacred territory, the friars were charged with collecting and secreting weapons of war; Barnabas Meistermann, *New Guide to the Holy Land* (London, 1907), p. 125. The Franciscans were finally domiciled in the Holy Savior convent, where they still are.

had nailed his ninety-five theses to the door of the castle church at Wittenberg, the opening gun of the Reformation, the validity of many of the pious practices and procedures of the western church came under serious questioning, among them pilgrimage. Milton succinctly phrased the gist of the reformers' thinking on the practice in his description of Chaos:[97]

> Here Pilgrims roam, that stray'd so farr to seek
> In Golgotha him dead, who lives in Heav'n;
> . . . . . .
> then might ye see
> Cowels, Hoods, and Habits with thir wearers tost
> And fluttered into Raggs; then Reliques, Beads,
> Indulgences, Dispenses, Pardons, Bulls,
> The sport of Winds: all these upwhirld aloft
> Fly o'er the backside of the World farr off . . . .

The first couplet strikes at the essence of the idea of pilgrimage. If Christ is risen and near to all men, why journey at such expense, to such a distance, with such risks of disease, captivity, and possible death? The question thus posed convinced many of the uselessness of going to Palestine to get what could be had at home. Pilgrimage almost died. It ceased to concern diplomats and historians. It seemed to have flown "o'er the backside of the World farr off."

Yet there were, and are today, a few who felt that a piety and grace that they knew they did not possess could be kindled in their hearts by the penance of the journey and the sight of the spots where Jesus and his disciples had walked and died. So no historian can write the epitaph of pilgrimage to the Holy Land. True, the mighty stream of Palestinian pilgrims shrank in the sixteenth century to the mere trickle that it is today. But that trickle has not gone dry; it still meanders on in our own century.

97. *Paradise Lost,* book III, lines 476-477, 489-494. Needless to say, there were others, even in the medieval period, who questioned the spiritual value of pilgrimage. Wyclif considered it "blind," for "Christ is in every place of the world," ready to take away sin; Herbert B. Workman, *John Wyclif: a Study of the English Medieval Church,* II (Oxford, 1926), 18.