

ZUALLARDO'S TRAVELS.

By Colonel C. R. CONDER, LL.D., R.E.

CAPTAIN OLIVER, R.N., having kindly lent me a copy of this work, which was published in 1587 in Rome and is somewhat scarce, I find that it has particular value on account of the engravings of places in Palestine, from sketches made by the author, who claims to have been the first traveller to attempt such drawings. They are evidently genuine, though often very imperfect, and define some of the doubtful minor sites in a satisfactory manner.

Signor John Zualardo was born in Belgium, but writes in Old Italian. He left Venice on June 29th, 1586, and, in consequence of delays, only reached Jaffa on August 25th. Landing next day, the party visited Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and 'Ain Karim, and returned to Jaffa, leaving on September 11th, and reaching Tripoli on the 16th. Here they waited till October 13th, and arrived again in Venice on the 23rd, after a rapid but stormy passage. The party consisted of nine laymen and 11 clerical members. Three laymen were made Knights of the Papal Order of the Holy Sepulchre, including the author. The chief personage was Philip de Merodé, Baron of Frenz, from the Low Countries. Among the clerics was an Irishman named William Healy. They suffered much from Turkish and Arab exactions, and the book represents the state of Palestine 68 years after the Turkish conquest by Selim I, a time when Christian influence was at the lowest ebb in the country, and the Latins only represented by the Franciscan monks at Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth, whose presence was allowed by Saladin's treaty of 1192 A.D., as renewed by later Moslem rulers.

Wherever Zuallardo speaks of personal knowledge his work is of interest. The additions taken from such writers as Eugesippus, Brocardus, Adricomius, &c., whom he quotes as authorities, have, however, no value, representing the false geography of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the false sites originated by the Crusaders, or added by the Latin clergy and the Franciscans from the thirteenth century downwards.

The volume is called "Il Devotissimo Viaggio di Gerusalemme," and is divided into five books, of which the third is the most valuable.

BOOK I.

This is concerned with advice to intending pilgrims, and general information. They are counselled to select a large Venetian ship, and to tranship at Tripoli rather than at Cyprus. The horrors of the sea passage are minutely explained. The best passages, as a rule, occupied (as in the twelfth century) some 15 or 20 days from Venice to Jaffa, but they might last two months or more. The pilgrims on landing were to dress like Greek or Syrian Christians, but advised not to travel with them, and to beware of Jews as Turkish spies; or they might assume the

rough robe and cape of a palmer's dress. The whole country, except near Jerusalem, seems to have been in a state of anarchy, and unsafe for travellers. They were liable to have money and ornaments snatched from them, with the words "by your leave." The fondness of the natives for red silk (still the peasant bridal dress) is noted, and the wearing of green is to be avoided, as the Moslems reserved this colour for descendants of the Prophet. No arms were worn by pilgrims. The permission of the Papal Legate at Venice must be shown to the Latin Guardian at Jerusalem, and letters of recommendation to consuls, vice-consuls, merchants, and bankers are advised. The travellers were not allowed to inspect fortifications, and were objects of suspicion to the Turks especially, unless they came from Venice, France, and the north, as they might be spies from Christian lands at war with Turkey. They took assumed names, and were afraid to show themselves to be rich. They journeyed in constant danger of being either killed, imprisoned, or made slaves. The natives were armed with bows and arrows, and the horsemen with swords and spears. The drunkenness and brutality of the Turks is described, and the execution—four years previously—of a Spanish woman, Donna Maria, who had openly attempted to convert Moslem women to Christianity, and was burnt head downwards in the square before the south door of the Holy Sepulchre Church. The Franciscans on Zion were in danger of false accusation by their enemies. The journey was rendered expensive, not only by legitimate charges, but by presents to pashas, to Arab chiefs, to villagers demanding toll, and to the boatmen and donkey drivers, who might sell pilgrims as slaves in the ports, or denounce them to the ruling class. But after two unsuccessful attempts in native boats, from Cyprus and Tripoli, the party landed safely at Jaffa in the autumn.

BOOK II.

This describes the voyage from Venice to Jaffa, and is of no importance to our subject. At Zante, in the Ionian Islands, four English sailors were found in danger of death, having cut to pieces a picture of the Madonna. It may be noted that Queen Elizabeth had founded the Levant Company three years before, and these were probably some of her Protestant "sea dogs." Cyprus was already held by the Turks, and Tripoli appears to have been the chief trading port of Syria, with communication through Aleppo into Central Asia. Reaching Jaffa, the pilgrims sent to Ramleh to announce their arrival, and slept among the ruins of the town, till shown some vaults used as magazines, where they were guarded, and the peasantry sold them eggs, fowls, and bread.

BOOK III.

A picture shows Jaffa in ruins, with vaults near the landing place, and two towers on the hill, in one of which were certain mangonels for defence. The Guardian no longer came down to the coast to meet pilgrims, who now only came a few at a time. Formerly, there had

been large parties, and a regular Venetian fleet to bring them in spring. The change seems to have been due in part to the "spread of heresy," as Zuallardo terms the Reformation, and to the decay of Latin Christianity.

Mounted on donkeys the party set off for Ramleh on August 29th, and thence reached Jerusalem next day. Iasor (*Fazâr*) is described as a fine village with olives and other trees, and near it, a little to the east, was a mosque with nine small domes, and a waterwheel and well. Another village (*Surafend*) had only a few sycamore figs by it. Ramma (*Ramleh*) had a hospice partly ruined, which had been built by Philip the Good of Burgundy, on the supposed site of the House of Nicodemus. The picture shows the dome of the Church of St. Mary (already made a mosque), and the tower of the "Forty Martyrs," as it was called by Christians (forty martyrs of Cappadocia, fourth century A.D.), which, however, is an Arab building belonging to the mosque of the "Forty Champions" (*Ar'bain Meghâzi*). The author knew that Rammola or *Ramleh* means "sandy," but doubts if the site be Arimathea or Ramathaim Zophim. In reality Ramleh appears to have been a purely Arab town, built in the time of the first Khalifs of Damascus, and not to be identified with any ancient site at all. Here the pilgrims met a young Arab chief who took toll, but did not accompany them, only sending his sword with them as a token.

Latrôn is, of course, described as the castle of the "Good Thief" (Boni Latronis) Dismas. It was really a castle existing before 1160 A.D., and rebuilt before 1292 A.D., then belonging to the Teutonic Knights, its name, Toron, signifying a "hill" in old French. The picture shows this castle in ruins, but much more complete than it now is. Not far off to the north was a mosque called the "Tomb of the Seven Maccabees," martyred with their mother by Antiochus in Antioch. This is mentioned by earlier writers, and is shown on Marino Sanuto's map (1321 A.D.). It is described as a bow-shot to the left of the road, and drawn as an arcaded building with a small dome. After passing *Latrôn* the party reached the well of Job (*Deir Eyâb*). Pictures are also given of Serith (*Saris*) with its tower, and of the Church of St. Jeremiah (at *Abu Ghosh*), the latter being a good representation. This some regarded (quite wrongly) as the site of Anathoth. The Franciscans had here been murdered, and the place was abandoned by the order. A little further on the supposed site of Modin was seen among the mountains, with ruins of a church. The site intended is possibly *Soba*, the mediæval castle of Belmont, which was not the ancient Modin (*el Medyeh*).

The Valley of the Terebinth was crossed at *Kolônîah*, and the picture gives the name Calonia, and the legend "Here Golias was killed." This was the false site of the Valley of Elah (*Wâdy es Sunt*) in the twelfth century, surviving among the more ignorant till to-day.

The next picture, of the approach to Jerusalem from the west, shows the minaret over the Jaffa Gate, and the little mediæval building close to *Birket Mamilla*, with other Moslem tombs. On the left was seen Ramathaim Zophim or St. Samuel (*Neby Samwil*), and the flat ground by Mamilla is called "The Fuller's Field." There were a few vines and

olives in this part. The pilgrims were not allowed to enter the city, but conducted south to the Franciscan Monastery of St. Saviour on Sion.

A bird's-eye view of Jerusalem is then given, and the names of 36 places in the city are marked. The author, as usual in the Middle Ages, considers that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was outside ancient Jerusalem, and included by Hadrian. He draws his theoretic line of ancient wall from the Jaffa Gate to the Damascus Gate, passing east of the cathedral, where he shows the Gate of Judgment, at the ruined archway still standing east of the church. This, however, is a Byzantine reconstruction, once belonging to the enclosure of the church itself. He shows also an Iron Gate, apparently in the lane leading from David Street, south and west, to St. Mark's and St. Thomas's Chapels, which are marked in relative position on Zion (*see P.E.F. Quarterly Statement*, October, 1895, pp. 320, 322). The House of Annas, the high priest, is shown west (or south-west) of the Church of St. James (the Great), as described by earlier mediæval writers. I am not aware that this site has been described as now existing in Jerusalem. This house is sometimes placed by pilgrim writers in quite another position, near the north side of the Temple. A line, as if of a wall, is shown on Sion, including *Neby Dád*, but from a picture given later it is doubtful whether this represents more than a dry-stone enclosure. It is, however, interesting as perhaps showing that the ruins of the wall here built about 1243 A.D. were still visible above ground.

The first day's excursion (August 31st) begins at the "House of Zebedee," a church converted into a mosque, at the north-west corner of the *Muristan*, and thence continues to the Iron Gate, to St. Mark (an old church), and St. Thomas (in ruins). St. James the Great is said to have been built by Spaniards—probably in error, Iberians being really Georgians, not Spaniards—but held by Armenians. A picture of the House of Annas is given, representing a church with a clerestory and aisles, in an enclosure. St. Saviour's (which was the supposed House of Caiaphas), between *Neby Dád* and the Sion Gate (and of which only a fragment of wall now remains) is shown with a pointed roof, surrounded by a courtyard with buildings. The pillar on which the "cock crew" was beside the west entrance, and the Latin graveyard outside to the west. Pope Sixtus IV had translated the sites of the Last Supper and descent of the Holy Ghost from the *Cenaculum* (*Neby Dád*) to the altars of this church when the older church had been seized by the Moslems; or, perhaps, had rather transferred the indulgences for visiting the old sites to the Franciscan centre at St. Saviour's. Round this centre were shown, as in the thirteenth century, various holy places. The Prison of Christ (*see Quarterly Statement*, October, 1895, p. 324) is mentioned as just to the right of the altar. Among the others, the place of the Virgin's death has become well known, since 1898, as the *Dormition* acquired by the Emperor of Germany for German Roman Catholics. It is connected with the Apocryphal account of the Virgin's death, which was famous in the Middle Ages. The remains of the stone

from the Holy Sepulchre were still shown in St. Saviour's. The other sites are those noticed by pilgrims of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which did not exist before the Latins took Jerusalem in the twelfth century.

Two pictures of Sion are given as viewed from the east. *Nebi Dāvid* already possessed its minaret. The Aceldama building is described as partly rock-cut, and shown as surmounted by several small domes. The bodies of persons there buried were visible in the vault.

In speaking of Siloam the existence of some remains of the church over the pool is noticed, which is not usual in other accounts of the Middle Ages. The view given of Sion from the west is also remarkable, as showing the scarp at the Protestant cemetery (the ancient south-west corner of Jerusalem). This is described as the remains of "David's Tower" (which is thus not placed at the Castle of the Pisans or present *Kal'ah*), and the *Birket es-Sultán* below is called the "Fountain of Bersabea" (*i.e.*, Bathsheba), where she washed, being visible from the tower on the hill above. This, of course, is apocryphal, since the pool in question was made late in the twelfth century A.D. The scarp in question does not appear to be described by other writers.

The second excursion (1st September) was to Olivet and the Via Dolorosa. Some of the minor sites are shown on the picture of Olivet, in a manner which defines them better than the older descriptions. Thus the place where St. Thomas is said to have received the Virgin's girdle is placed at the junction of the two roads up Olivet, near the Virgin's tomb. The Latin site of Gethsemane is described. A picture of Absolom's tomb, and the bridge by it over the Kidron, shows certain hand and foot prints of Christ on the south side of the bridge, east of the stream. These are not described by earlier writers. The rock tomb adjoining Absolom's monument is said to be that of either Jehoshaphat or Manasseh. The Beni Hezir tomb is called the hiding place of St. James the Less, and the pyramidal tomb to the south that of Zechariah. The traditional names of these monuments (of which sketches are given) differ in accounts of various ages, and have no value, as the tombs belong to about the first or second century B.C. at earliest. It is remarkable that a heap of stones is shown by Absolom's monument, witnessing that the practice of throwing stones at it—among Jews and others—already existed. The carved lions at the present St. Stephen's gate are described as being contrary to Turkish (religious) law. They were probably erected in 1542 A.D., when the wall was rebuilt by the Turks. The "Stoning of Stephen" is placed outside this gate. In the twelfth century it was still shown—as in the fifth—outside the Damascus Gate. The tomb (properly speaking, the second tomb) of Stephen was shown on Sion. His remains were believed to be recovered in the fifth century at Caphar Gamala (near the present *Tell Zakariya*, recently excavated by Dr. Bliss) and then taken to Mount Sion.

Pictures of the Via Dolorosa define the stations very clearly. Pilate's house (including the Chapel of the Mocking) was the modern barrack, in

which the said chapel (the older St. Sophia of Justinian's time) still exists. It was believed that the groans of Jews awaiting the Day of Judgment could be heard here. This, in another form, is a very old superstition, since the Bordeaux pilgrim here speaks of the "place where Solomon tormented the demons." Herod's House seems to occupy the site of the present Chapel of Flagellation (north of the Via Dolorosa), to which the site in the barrack has been transferred, and which was in the twelfth century called *Le Repos*. The Scala Santa (transferred to Rome, and much increased in dimensions it may be mentioned) is said to have stood somewhere near the north-west corner of the *Ser'ai*. The Ecce Homo Arch is shown broken down on the north side, and with two arched windows above the arch. The site of the Spasma Virginis is described as a ruined chapel, south of the Via Dolorosa, and 100 paces west of the Ecce Homo Arch. This chapel seems now to have disappeared, and the site is transferred to a niche in the wall near the arch. The remaining stations seem to be described much as at present, namely :—"Simon the Cyrenian," at the corner opposite the Austrian Hospice ; "Daughters of Jerusalem," on the left hand immediately to the south ; "The House of Dives," further south at the next corner ; "The Pharisee's House" (one of the scenes of the unction by the Magdalen), also on the left near the same corner, on the south side of the Via Dolorosa ; "Veronica's House," by the arch as now, and finally the "Gate of Judgment," already noticed. All these stations were established by the Latins in the twelfth or thirteenth century at earliest, and are unnoticed by early pilgrims, excepting the Praetorium and Ecce Homo Arch.

The third excursion (September 2nd) was to the summit of Olivet and to Bethany, with the first of three visits to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The usual sites at Bethany and Bethphage, &c., are described, the majority of which are not older than the thirteenth century. A sketch of the small domed Chapel of the Ascension is given, and the picture of Olivet is repeated from the former p. 152 on p. 171. A careful plan of the Holy Sepulchre Cathedral and a full account of its details follow. Some of these are of historical interest, and the pictures are valuable. The sites shown were the same as in our own time, and in the twelfth century. The most remarkable difference was in the existence of the tombs of the Latin kings under Calvary. At this time the steps now leading up on the west to the Calvary Chapels did not exist, the only flight being on the north. The tombs of Godfrey and Baldwin I remained (though desecrated by the Kharezmians in 1243 A.D.) in front of the chapel of Adam, and a view of the two storeys of chapels, and of the two tombs, is given with larger drawings of the latter showing the well-known inscriptions. These have been reproduced by De Vogtié ("Églises de la Terre Sainte"). The tombs of other Latin kings and queens were against the south wall of the choir, close to that of Baldwin, which was north of that of Godfrey. A picture is also given of the south entry to the church, which is fairly correct, though omitting the windows over the gates. There is also a picture of the rotunda, showing the cedar

dome open in the centre which had been restored by the Franciscans in 1550 A.D. The tombs of Godfrey and Baldwin were removed by the Greeks after the great fire of 1808 A.D., and the present dome of the rotunda was built in 1868. The old twelfth century chapel of the Sepulchre is well drawn by our author (and this has also been reproduced by De Vogüé). He states that the flat roof of the same was covered with lead, and that small water channels were provided to carry off the rain—the rotunda being then open above the little belfry-like cupola of the tomb. This older chapel was architecturally much more picturesque than the present heavy building.

The walls of the rotunda, just under the dome, retained the mosaics on gold grounds, which the author ascribes to the Crusaders, and which were erected in the twelfth century; Constantine and Helena (and we may add Heraclius) were represented among the prophets. The position of these pictures is shown in Zuallardo's drawing.

Three of the pilgrims were made knights of the Holy Sepulchre, being "dubbed" with a sword said to be Godfrey's, and wearing gilt spurs also supposed to be his, as they knelt with their heads on the Sepulchre. This sword and the spurs were, perhaps, the same still shown by the Latins as those of Godfrey of Bouillon. An ancient picture of the Resurrection is mentioned as painted above the tomb itself, and is shown in a picture of the interior of the Sepulchre.

The journey to Bethlehem is next described, with a view of the whole route. St. Cyprian's (probably *Deir Abu Tör*) is not noticed, but a terebinth is shown on the road near it as one where the Virgin used to rest. The "Tower of St. Simeon" was at or near *Kusr esh Sheikh*. Then follows the Well of the Magi (*Bir Kadismu*), and afterwards *Már Eliás*, with a small, open, domed building to the west called St. Habacuc. Further south, as usual, are noticed "the field of peas" and "Jacob's House," which latter seems now to have disappeared. Rachel's tomb is shown with open arcades on another sketch, and surrounded with an enclosure containing a small *Kubbeh* either side of the main structure. The cenotaph was visible within. The arches have now been built up solid. The Bethlehem sites are the same now shown. Hardly any of these holy places are noticed by pilgrims before the twelfth century. The Frank mountain is called by Zuallardo a Christian fortress of Betrulia (not the Bethulia of Judith, we learn).

The visit to *'Ain Kárim* follows, with pictures of the church of St. John the Baptist and of the House of Elisabeth. The latter was in ruins, with remains of pictures on the walls. Thence the party went to the "Desert of St. John" (*el-Habs*), west of *'Ain Kárim*, and the picture shows this cave with a ruined monastery above. On the way back, near Philip's Fountain (*Ain Hanniyeh*), were shown the impossible sites of Ziklag and Eshcol, as in the fourteenth century. At the Convent of the Cross are noticed the paintings of saints on the walls, which still remain. This monastery was then held by the Georgians.

After another visit to the Greek Monastery beside the Holy Sepulchre Church, and (on September 8th) to St. Anne, the party finally left for Ramleh on the 9th, having passed 10 days in the hill country. The personal account of Palestine proper thus closes, and only when speaking of Tripoli is Zuallardo again describing what he had seen.

BOOK IV.

This is a compilation from older accounts, of the topography of Palestine generally, repeating all the errors of Burchard of Mount Sion, and of other mediaeval travellers or compilers. Zuallardo often either took careless notes of what the Franciscans may have told him, or misunderstood the older writers. His account is therefore sometimes very confused. Bezet (or Bezek) he places (wrongly as regards both names, which were distinct) somewhere near *Beit Jâla*, like other writers. Adullam he mentions at the traditional site near *Teko'a*. Achille (Hachilah) was placed in the Middle Ages at Masada (*Sebbâh*), which is impossible, and our author does not clearly state where it was. "Sarah's room" (*camera*) near Hebron is apparently *'Ain Sîra*; at the celebrated "Field of Damascus" close by (where Adam was said to have been made of the red earth, which some pilgrims used to eat) we find notice of a regular trade with Egypt and Abyssinia in this earth, conducted by Turks. It was also taken to Europe for rosaries and crowns (*corone*). In connection with Solomon's Pools the aqueduct to Jerusalem is mentioned (and is shown in a picture, passing above the *Birket es-Sultân*); it appears to have been then in use, as also in 1192 A.D. (see "Life of Saladin," Pilgrims' Text Society's translation, p. 351).

Speaking of the journey to Jericho, our author places Baturim (Bâhûrîm) near the Fountain of the Apostles. He speaks of the "Desert of St. Jerome" as containing a church and monastery ruined by the Saracens, but adorned with pictures, including the figure of St. Jerome. Apparently he refers to the pictures at *Kasr Hajlah* (twelfth or thirteenth century), now destroyed, but among these figures—which had their names above them—I did not find that of Jerome. He distinguishes the Mount of Temptation (*Esh el-Ghurâb*) from Quarantania (*Koruntul*), and mentions two chapels at the latter site, with pictures such as that of Christ treading on Satan. A picture of St. Michael and the dragon survives in one of these two chapels, which may be what is really intended, as the account was taken second-hand from the Franciscans. The pictures are wrongly attributed to the fourth century, being really of the twelfth century A.D. at earliest. The corpses of hermits, in various attitudes of devotion, are said to have been buried in a cave on this mountain.

Zuallardo, like his predecessors (and even like William of Tyre), confuses Montreal (*Shobek*) and Crac (*Kerak*) with Petra (*Wâdi Mâsa*), and places Emmaus wrongly at Nicopolis (*'Amwâs*), and Kirjath Jearim (*'Erma*) wrongly on the road from Jerusalem to Lydda. Gibeah is also confused with Gibeon (*Jeb'a* and *el Jib*), and Michmash or Magnas with

Btreh, as in earlier writers. In Galilee Menla is apparently the same as Burchard's Abel Mehola (*Ain Mâhil*), north of Nazareth. I find that I have omitted to note the latter in annotating Burchard (p. 39). The other sites in the north are mostly mediæval Latin sites, not those of the Greeks which are sometimes much older and more correct. In Lebanon our author speaks of the Maronite Monastery of Canobin, and of another of St. Antony where mass was said in Chaldee (*i.e.*, Syriac). This book generally is of little value and contains no pictures.

BOOK V.

This describes the voyage to Tripoli, and gives a valuable account, with a picture, of the latter town, where Zuallardo spent four weeks waiting for a Venetian ship. As regards the disputed site of Nephin, Zuallardo clearly identifies it with Anefe (*Anfeh*), and shows it on his picture as a town by the sea, north of Capo Pozo (*Râs Shakkah*): hence Ritter appears to be incorrect in supposing the latter promontory to be the site of Nephin.

At Tripoli there was little cultivation in the plain between the town and the Marina, excepting the mulberry trees for silkworms; but the lands at the foot of Lebanon were fully utilised for vines, &c. The sand of the dunes at the Marina (*el Mineh*) were taken to Venice to make glass. The making of such glass had been learnt by the Italians in Syria. The women are described wearing the white *Izâr* and black face veil as at present, with red or yellow Saracen boots. The children carried on their shoulders had bracelets and anklets of silver. Italians, Frenchmen, and Englishmen had *funduks* or inns in the city, and the Jews a large one by the Bazaar. The mosque with tame fish (*el Bedawiyeh*, once a church of St. Antony of Padua) is noticed, and the *jereed* games of the Janissaries. The Turks were richly dressed in cloth of silver and gold, but only formed a small official class. The Moslems wore large white turbans, and the tall hat of the dervishes (who have a monastery to the east) is mentioned. The Greeks adopted French and Italian costume. The Maronites wore black caps and the Jews red ones. The latter were not allowed to wear the pale yellow turban, which it seems they then wore at Ancona and in Venice.

On the return journey the St. Elmo's fire (S. Hermo) was seen on the masts of the ship, and considered a good omen, as was the shoal of dolphins accompanying the vessel.

These notes comprise, I believe, all that will be found of any particular interest in this volume of travels.