



Fig. 11.1: Țarțūs (Tortosa), Latin cathedral. Interior, showing the Marian shrine incorporated into the N arcade in a similar manner to the Virgin's House in the church of the Annunciation in Nazareth.

Denys Pringle

Chapter 11

Scandinavian Pilgrims and the Churches of the Holy Land in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries

The accounts of Scandinavian journeys to the Holy Land in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, whether preserved in sagas, chronicles, itineraries or charters, not only constitute a valuable source of information about travel, warfare, politics and the ideology of north European pilgrims and crusaders, but also contribute more specifically to the body of western European literature from this period reflecting the state of the Holy Land and its inhabitants at the time of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. This chapter focuses on just one aspect of the latter: the information that such texts give us about the condition of the Holy Places and their sanctuaries and churches.

Historical sources record a number of pilgrimages to Jerusalem from Scandinavian lands in the century before the First Crusade. While some, like that attributed to Olav I Tryggvason (r. 995–1000) following his disappearance during the sea battle of Svoldr in September 1000,¹ are purely legendary, others are more securely documented. These include the penitential pilgrimages made in 1052 and 1095 respectively by the fratricides Svend Godwinson, cousin of the Danish king Svend II Estridsen (r. 1047–1074), and Lagman Gudrodsson, king of Man and the Isles, neither of whom survived the return journey.²

After the First Crusade, the number of northerners visiting the Holy Land increased exponentially, though it is not always easy to distinguish which of them were pilgrims and which crusaders, especially as many of those who went to fight also visited the Holy Places. On his penitential pilgrimage in 1103, for example, Erik the Good of Denmark (r. 1095–1103) was accompanied by a company of knights, as well as by his queen, Bodil (d. 1103), whose marriage to him had been a cause of his earlier excommunication by the archbishop of Hamburg. After travelling overland to Constantinople, where he was received by Emperor Alexius Comnenus, he

¹ Paul Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages des Scandinaves en Terre Sainte au temps des croisades*, 2 vols. (Paris: impr. de A. Lainé et J. Havard, 1865–69), 1:102–19.

² Florence of Worcester (Florentius Wigorniensis), *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, 2 vols, ed. Benjamin Thorpe (London: English History Society, 1848), 1:209–10; *Cronica Regum Mannie & Insularum: Chronicles of the Kings of Man and the Isles*, BL Cotton Julius Avii, ed. and trans. George Broderick ([Douglas]: Manx Museum and National Trust, 1979), fol. 33v; Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages*, 1:125, 129

proceeded eastwards by sea but died in Paphos on 10 July 1103, leaving his companions to continue the pilgrimage without him.³ On the other hand, the participants in the Danish-Norwegian expedition to join the Third Crusade in 1191, described in the anonymous *De Profectione Danorum in Hierosolymam*, arrived in Acre a year after setting out to find that the fighting was already over, but were still able to visit the Holy Places in Jerusalem before returning home.⁴

An early reference alluding to one of the principal churches of medieval Jerusalem is the notice given in an epitomized version of Robert of Ely's life of Earl Knud that Queen Bodil, having proceeded to Jerusalem following the death of Erik the Good in Cyprus in July 1103, herself died there on the Mount of Olives and was buried in the Kidron Valley, or valley of Jehoshaphat.⁵ Paul Riant embellished this brief report by asserting that the queen was buried in the church of St Mary of Jehoshaphat, in the burial chapel to the left of the monumental staircase leading down to the tomb of the

3 Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum* 12.6.3–12.7.6, ed. Jørgen Olrik and Hans Ræder, 2 vols (Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard, 1931–62), 1:335–9; ed. and trans. Karsten Friis-Jensen and Peter Fisher eds. and trans., *Gesta Danorum: The History of the Danes*, 2 vols, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2015), 882–93; Eric Christiansen trans., *Danorum Regum Heroumque Historia*, Books x–xvi, 3 vols, BAR International Series 84 and 118.1–2 (BAR Publishing: Oxford, 1980–81), 1:98–104, 273–78; *Knýtlinga Saga* 79–81, ed. Carl af Peters, *Scavorum expugnatorens* and Emil Olson, *Sögur Danakununga* (Copenhagen, 1919–25), 188–95; Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards trans., *Knýtlinga Saga: The History of the Kings of Denmark* (Odense: Odense University Press, 1986), 119–23; Svend Aggesen, *Regum Daniae Historia* 6, in SRD, 1:42–64; Eric Christiansen; trans., *The Works of Sven Aggesen, Twelfth-Century Danish Historian*, Viking Society for Northern Research (London: University College London, 1992), 67–8; Robert of Ely, *Vita S. Canuti Ducis* 1, SRD, 4:256–61; *Excerpta ex Roberti Elgensis Vita Kanuti Ducis*, MGH SS, 29:9; Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages*, 1:152–63; Janus Møller Jensen, “Scavorum expuglator: Conquest, Crusade, and Danish Royal Ideology in the Twelfth Century,” *Crusades* 2 (2003): 68–70; Janus Møller Jensen, “Erik I of Denmark (d. 1102),” in *The Crusades: An Encyclopedia*, 4 vols, ed. Alan V. Murray (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2006), 2:406–7. It is not clear from which source Riant (*Expéditions et pèlerinages*, 1:157–63) derived the figure of 3,000 for the number of knights and footsoldiers who accompanied the king. Elsewhere he (Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages*, 1:163–66) suggests linking Erik's expedition with the arrival in Palestine in 1106 of an English, Flemish and Danish contingent and Baldwin I's aborted plan for attacking Sidon, as described by Albert of Aachen (10.1–7, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington, Oxford Medieval Texts [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007], 718–25); but the dates do not appear to agree. For King Erik the Good and his expedition, see also Chapter 8 (Lukas Raupp), 147–64.

4 SRD, 5:341–62 (for the description of Jerusalem, see p. 361). See also Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, *A Journey to the Promised Land: Crusading Theology in the Historia de profectione Danorum in Hierosolymam* (c.1200) (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2001); Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages*, 1.286–95; and Chapter 7 in this book (Ane Bysted), 132–9.

5 *Bothildis mortua in monte Olivarum, sepulta in valle Iosaphat*: Robert of Ely, *Vita Kanuti ducis*, MGH SS, 29:9; SRD, 4:257; cf. Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum* 12.7.6, ed. Olrik and Ræder, 1:339; ed. and trans. Friis-Jensen and Fisher, 2:892–3; Benjamin Z. Kedar and Christian Westergård-Nielsen, “Icelanders in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A twelfth-century account,” *Medieval Scandinavia* 11 (1979): 193–212, at 199.

Virgin Mary.⁶ However, although Latin monks were already serving this church by 1102–1103, when they were seen there by the Anglo-Saxon pilgrim Saewulf,⁷ it is extremely doubtful whether the rebuilding of the destroyed Byzantine upper church and the addition of the monumental stair to the crypt would have begun by that date. The chapel referred to by Riant is more likely that built for Queen Morphia, the wife of Baldwin II, who died on 1 October in 1126 or 1127 and whose daughter, Melisende, the wife of King Fulk, was buried in a chapel facing it on 11 September 1161.⁸ None the less, even if the precise location of her tomb is uncertain, it may well be significant – as well as appropriate – that Bodil, like the later queens of Jerusalem, should have been laid to rest in close proximity to the tomb of the Virgin Mary.

The crusaders who accompanied King Sigurd Magnusson of Norway to the East between 1107 and 1112 participated in capturing Sintra and Lisbon in Portugal from the Muslims, as well as the Balearic Islands, before proceeding eastward to assist Baldwin I of Jerusalem in blockading and capturing Sidon in October–December 1110 and attempting to take Tyre. Before the attack on Sidon, Sigurd also undertook pilgrimages to the Holy Sepulchre and to the place of Christ's Baptism in the River Jordan, near Jericho.⁹ During the council of war in Jerusalem at which it was decided to lay siege to Sidon, Baldwin also gave Sigurd, with the agreement of the patriarch, Gibelin of Arles, a fragment of the True Cross, on condition (in Snorri Sturluson's words),

that he and twelve other men with him first swore that he would promote Christianity with all his might and establish in his country an archbishop's see, if he could, and that the cross should be kept there where the blessed King Ólafr lay, and that he should introduce tithes and pay them himself.¹⁰

This relic would evidently have been taken from the piece of the Cross kept by the Latins in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. In 1120–1121, Ansellus, the precentor of

6 Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages*, 1:88, 162–63; cf. Camille Enlart, *Les Monuments des croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem: architecture religieuse et civile*, 2 vols. + 2 albums, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 7–8 (Paris: Geuthner, 1925–28), 2:230.

7 Saewulf, *Peregrinationes Tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theodericus*, ed. Robert B.C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis* 139 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1994), 69.

8 William of Tyre, *Chronicon* 18.32, ed. Robert B.C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis* 63 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), 858; Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993–2009), 3:288–90, 98–300, pls CLIX–CLXI, figs 49, 51.

9 Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla* 3.10, trans. Alison Finlay and Anthony Faulkes, 3 vols, Viking Society for Northern Research (University College London: London, 2011–15), 3:151–52; cf. Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana* 11.26–34, ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington, 798–809; Fulcher of Chartres (*Fulcherus Carnotensis*), *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg: Winters, 1913), 543–48; Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages*, 1:172–215.

10 Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla* 3.11, trans. Alison Finlay and Anthony Faulkes, 3:152; cf. Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages*, 1:188–90. For this and other relics of the True Cross in Scandinavia, see Chapter 8 (Lukas Raupp), 156–65.

the church, recorded it as being at that time a palm in length and an inch square in section. Ansellus, however, is also recorded sending two other splinters from it to Paris and reliquaries containing others are known from the Holy Sepulchre's own churches in Barletta, Denkendorf and Kaisheim.¹¹ Assuming that the relic given to Sigurd did in fact reach St Olav's tomb in Nidaros (Trondheim), it would presumably have been lost or destroyed at the Reformation, when the shrine of the saint itself was removed to the archbishop's castle of Steinvikholm and eventually broken up by the troops of Christian III of Denmark in June 1537.¹² The main relic itself was lost at the battle of Hattin in July 1187.¹³

A small cluster of Scandinavian pilgrimage texts survive from around the middle of the twelfth century. One of these is incorporated into the chronicle that Albert, former abbot of the Benedictine house of St Mary in Stade near Hamburg, compiled between 1240, when he entered the Franciscan order, and his death around 1262. Albert presents his Holy Land itinerary as part of an imaginary discussion between two young noblemen, Firri and Tirri, held on Christmas Eve and dealing with a variety of mathematical and geographical topics.¹⁴ Although it is set out as a single expedition from Denmark to Jerusalem, it was evidently based on two separate texts. The first is a brief itinerary by sea, with timings between landfalls, which proceeds from Ribe in Jutland to Acre in Palestine and sails by way of Het Zwin [*Cinkfal*] at the mouth of the Meuse in Flanders, Prawle Point [*Prol*] in Devon, St-Mahé [*Sanctus Matthias*] in Brittany, Ferrol [*Far*] in Galicia, Lisbon, the Straits of Gibraltar [*ad strictum mare, scilicet Narewese*], Tarragona, Barcelona Marseilles, Messina in Sicily, and thence to Acre. The second text represents a more detailed description of the Holy Land, beginning from Acre. The two parts are linked by a short passage giving an alternative route from Marseilles to Acre, passing west of Corsica and Sardinia. As these texts were inserted into the chronicle between the entries for 1151 and 1152, Girolamo Golubovich assumed that they should date from

11 Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 34–35, 166–69, 290–94; Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 3:12–13, 69.

12 Øystein Ekroll, "St. Olavs skrin i Nidaros - myter og fakta omkring Nordens største helgenskrin," SPOR 2 (2000); Øystein Ekroll, "St. Olavs skrin i Nidaros," in *Ecclesia Nidrosiensis 1153–1537. Søkelys på Nidaroskirken og Nidarosprovinsens historie*, ed. Steinar Imsen, Senter for Middelalderstudier, NTNU, Skrifter 15 (Trondheim, 2003).

13 *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. Louis de Mas Latrie (Paris: Renouard, 1871), 155–56, 170–71; *Libellus de Expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum*, ed. Joseph Stevenson, RS 66 (London, 1875), 225–27.

14 Albert of Stade, *Annales Stadenses auctore Alberto*, ed. Johann Martin Lappenberg, MGH SS, 16:279, 341–4; Girolamo Golubovich ed., *BBB*, 1:181–85; Sabino de Sandoli ed. and trans., *IHC*, 4:1–9; cf. Reinhold Röhrich, *Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae* (Berlin: Reuther, 1890), 29–30, no. 72.

then.¹⁵ The argument is not of course conclusive, as Albert was writing a century later, though the content of both texts would be quite consistent with a mid twelfth-century date. Versions of both, however, also appear separately elsewhere. The sea itinerary, for example, also appears in a manuscript in Stockholm, which Riant dated to the late twelfth century,¹⁶ though Jacob Langebek's edition of it improbably places it much later, around 1270¹⁷; and the same itinerary is also found in a marginal note to the mention of Ribe in Adam of Bremen's history of the bishops of Hamburg, written before c.1085.¹⁸ This may well be an early addition to the text and was dated by Röhricht to the eleventh to twelfth centuries.¹⁹ As for the second text, an almost identical version of it, albeit incomplete and with the order changed, was copied by Vincent of Beauvais into his *Speculum Historiale* between c.1230 and 1264.²⁰ There is no obvious source for it, but the sequence of places mentioned and the information given about them suggest that it represents a heavily abbreviated summary of one of the versions of Rorgo Fretellus of Antioch's description of the Holy Land, dating from 1137/1138 onwards.²¹ It must in any case date after Baldwin I's foundation of the castle of Montreal in Transjordan in 1115 and after the fall of Tyre in 1124 and the construction of the chapel of the Saviour outside its walls.²²

A slightly later but more original account of an actual pilgrimage from Iceland to Rome, Jerusalem and back was dictated by a certain Abbot Nikulás in Icelandic in the early 1150s.²³ The text survives in an encyclopaedic miscellany from western Iceland of 1387 and was edited by Kr. Kålund in 1908.²⁴ English translations and

15 BBB, 1:185. However, de Sandoli, in IHC, 4:1 (followed by Denys Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187–1291, Crusade Texts in Translation 23* [Farham: Ashgate, 2012], 396), miscopies these dates as 1251–52.

16 Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages*, 1:72.

17 SRD, 5:622, no. 160.

18 Adam of Bremen, *Mag. Adami gesta Hammenbergensis Ecclesias Pontificum 208* (Scholia 69), ed. Johann Martin Lappenberg, MGH SS, 7:368.

19 Röhricht, *Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae*, 29–30, no. 72.

20 Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale* 31.58–65 (Venice: H. Liechtenstein, 1494), fols 423b–424b.

21 In view of its brevity, it is difficult to tell which of the two broadly contemporary versions of Fretellus's description it is derived from: the version for Henri Sdyck (*Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth et sa Description de la Terre Sainte: Histoire et Édition du Texte*, ed. P.C. Boeren [Amsterdam, 1980]) or that for Count Rodrigo of Toledo (cf. fourteenth-century redaction in *Fretelli archidiaconi Liber Locorum Sanctorum Terre Jerusalem*, PL, 155:1037–54). On the dating, see Rudolf Hiestand, "Un centre intellectuelle en Syrie du Nord? Notes sur la personnalité d'Aimery d'Antioche, Albert de Tarse et Rorgo Fretellus," *Le Moyen-Âge* 100 (1994): 7–36.

22 See Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 2:304–14, 4:220–27.

23 For a presentation of the context and reception of this itinerary, see Chapter 12 (Stefka G. Eriksen), 218–43.

24 Copenhagen University, Arnamagnæan Manuscript Collection, AM 194 octavo, fols 11r–16r; Kristian Kålund, ed., *Alfaeði Íslensk: Íslandsk encyclopædisk litteratur 1, Samfund til Udgivelse af Gammel Nordisk Litteratur 37* (Copenhagen: Møllers, 1908), 12–23; Kristian Kålund, "En islandsk Vejviser for Pilgrimme fra 12. Århundrede," *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* 3.3 (1913): 51–105.

discussions of it were published by Benjamin Z. Kedar and C. Westergård-Nielsen in 1982 and by Joyce Hill in 1983.²⁵ A new edition by Rudolf Simek, noting variant readings from other manuscripts, also appeared with a German translation in 1990.²⁶ On the internal evidence of events recounted in the text, the pilgrimage should date later than the burial of Erik the Good in Paphos in 1103, the crusade of Sigurd I in 1110 (though the text wrongly attributes to him and Baldwin I the capture of Jaffa rather than Sidon), the foundation of the Frankish settlement of Magna Mahumeria [*Maka Maria*] around 1124–1128,²⁷ and the discovery of the relics of St John the Baptist in Sebaste in 1145²⁸; but it occurred before the fall of Ascalon to the Franks on 12 August 1153, as Nikulás describes the city as being still in Muslim hands. The pilgrimage would therefore have taken place sometime between 1145 and 1153. This seems to rule out the possibility of identifying the author as Nikulás Saemundarson, abbot of the Benedictine house of Þingeyrar, who travelled overseas between 1153 and 1154 and died in 1158.²⁹ More likely it was Nikulás Bergsson, who became abbot of Þverá (or Munkaþverá) in 1155 and died in 1159 or 1160.³⁰ From Acre, Nikulás lists the coastal cities lying to the south and to the north, without apparently visiting them. However, he himself seems to have travelled inland to Mount Tabor and Nazareth, and thence south to Janīn [*Gilin*] and through the hills of Samaria and Judaea to Sebaste [*Iohannis-kastali*], Nāblus [*Napl*], Jacob's Well, Sinjil [*Casal*, ca-sale S. Egidii], al-Bīra [*Maka Maria*, Magna Mahumeria] and Jerusalem (Fig. 11.2).

There, after describing the Holy Sepulchre, the Hospital of St John, the Tower of David, the *Templum Domini*, the *Templum Salomonis* and Mount Sion, he proceeded to Bethlehem and Bethany (making passing mention of the Dead Sea, the Virgin's tomb in

25 Benjamin Z. Kedar and Christian Westergård-Nielsen, "Icelanders in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem; A Twelfth-Century Account," *Medieval Scandinavia* 11 (1978–79): 193–212; Joyce Hill, "From Rome to Jerusalem: An Icelandic Itinerary of the Mid-Twelfth Century," *Harvard Theological Review* 76.2 (1983): 175–203; Joyce Hill, "Extract from Nikulás of Þvera," in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099–1185*, ed. John Wilkinson, Joyce Hill and W.F. Ryan, Hackluyt Society, series 2, 167 (London, 1988), 215–19; cf. Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages*, 1:80–85. A Latin translation by Erich C. Werlauff (*Symbolae ad Geographiam Medii Aevi ex Monumentis Islandicis* [Copenhagen, 1821], 9–54) is also reprinted with an Italian translation by de Sandoli in *IHC*, 2:207–22.

26 Rudolf Simek, *Altnordische Kosmographie: Studien und Quellen zu Weltbild und Weltbeschreibung in Norwegen und Island vom 12. bis zum 14. Jahrhundert*, *Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* 4 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1990), 264–80, 478–91. I am grateful to Lukas Raupp for drawing my attention to this edition.

27 Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 1:161–65.

28 Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 2:283–86.

29 Kedar and Westergård-Nielsen, "Icelanders in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," 195; Hill, "From Rome to Jerusalem," 176.

30 Hill, "From Rome to Jerusalem," 176–77; Wilkinson et al., *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, 17–18. Riant (*Expéditions et pèlerinages*, 1:80–81) and other earlier writers assumed the author was Nikulás Saemundarson, while Kedar and Westergård-Nielsen ("Icelanders in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," 195) suggest that the two abbots may have been the same person.

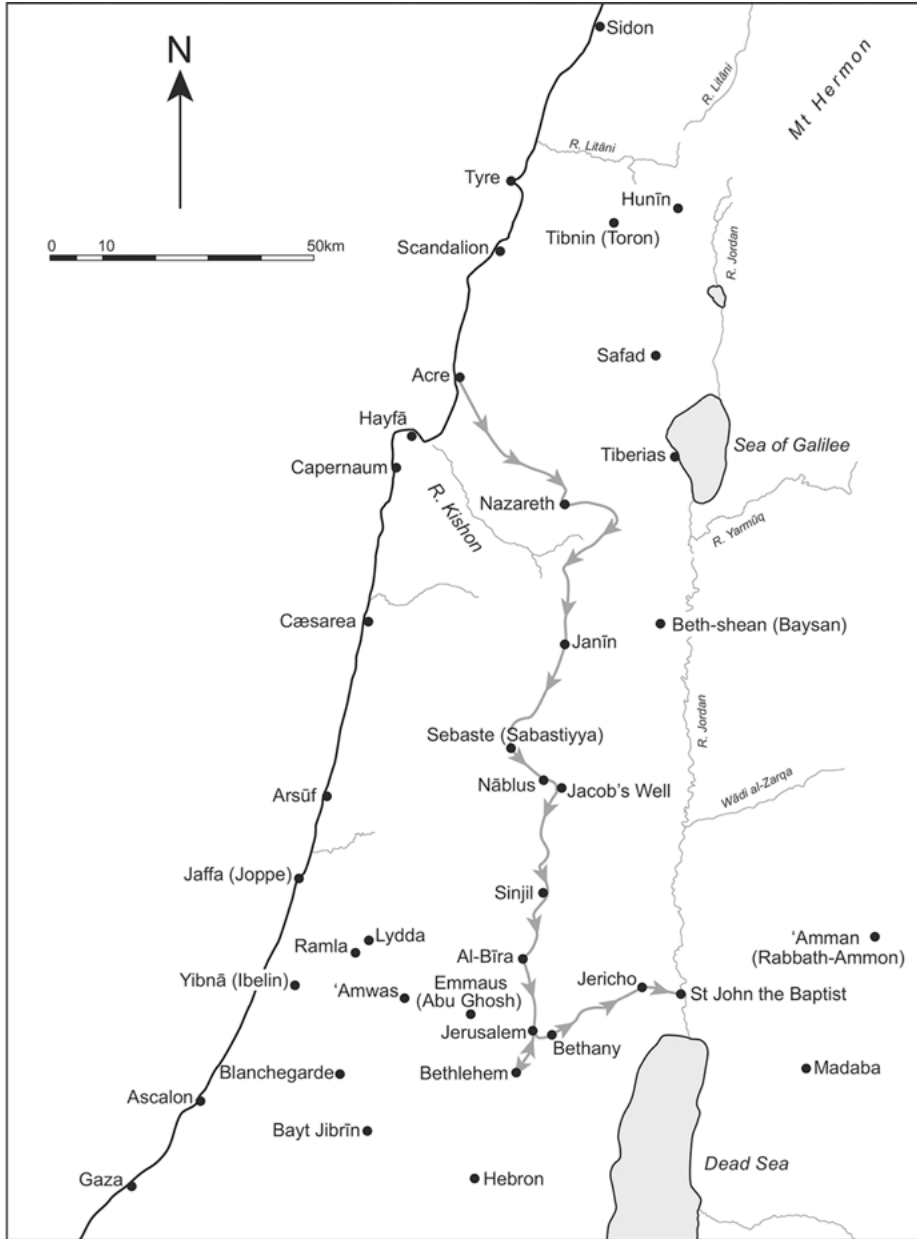


Fig. 11.2: Map of the Holy Land showing Abbot Nikulás's route from Acre to the Jordan, 1145–53. Drawing by Kirsty Harding.

Jehoshaphat and the Mount of Olives), and on to the Mount of Temptation, the castle of Doc [*Abrahams kastali*], Jericho, the Gardens of Abraham and the place of Christ's Baptism in the Jordan. The return journey from the Jordan to Aalborg [Alaborg] in Jutland took Nikulás a total of 105 days, or three and a half months, travelling by way of Bari, Rome, the Alps, Hedeby and Viborg.

It has been pointed out that Abbot Nikulás appears not to have noticed – or to have chosen not to mention – the paintings of St Knud, king of the Danes (r.1080–1086) and St Olav, king of Norway (r. 1015–1030), that decorate two of the nave columns in the church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (Figs 5.1 and 5.2).³¹ However, the consensus among art historians is that these columns paintings, of which a total of 29 depicting a variety of saints survive, were executed between the 1130s and 1160s as votive offerings, paid for by visiting pilgrims. Indeed, the painting of St Olav shows a female donor kneeling at his feet. That the donors were themselves in these two cases Scandinavian is suggested both by the subjects of the paintings and by the paintings' style, which although predominantly Byzantine also betrays western influences, such as the depiction of the cloaks or chlamys with white fur linings worn by the kings and donor, the cylindrical crowns decorated with inset stones, and the shape of the shields, which are typically Norman of the mid twelfth century.³² A date in the 1150s, which is also suggested by the location of the paintings in the general scheme,³³ would also place them effectively after Abbot Nikulás's visit but at the time of other northern pilgrimages and crusades, including that of Earl Rognvald of Orkney (St Ronald) in 1152–3, whose followers may have played a part in Baldwin III's eventual capture of Ascalon in August 1153.³⁴

The same manuscript also contains another text, possibly by the same author, which gives a more detailed description of Jerusalem.³⁵ In this case a date of

³¹ Kedar and Westergård-Nielsen, "Icelanders in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," 199.

³² Gustav Kühnel, Wall Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, *Frankfurter Forschungen zur Kunst* 14 (Berlin: Mann, 1988), 112–25, 45, pls. XXXII–XXXV. For further discussion of these paintings, see Bellarmino Bagatti, *Gli Antichi Edifici Sacri di Betlemme*, Pubblicazione dello Studium Biblicum Franciscanum 9 (Jerusalem: Tipografia dei PP. Francescani, 1952), 99, 104, fig. 26; T.S.R. Boase, "Ecclesiastical Art in the Crusader States," in *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, ed. Harry W. Hazard, A History of the Crusades 4 (Madison WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), 121–22; Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land*, 96, 163, 285, 315–17, 564 nn.118–25, 577 n.145, pls 8B.17–18; Louis-Hugues Vincent and Félix-Marie Abel, *Bethléem: Le sanctuaire de la Nativité* (Paris: Galbalda, 1914), 171–72, 175–76; and Chapter 5 (Øystein Ekroll) in this volume, 86–93.

³³ Kühnel, *Wall Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 145.

³⁴ William of Tyre, *Chronicon* 17.24, 793–4; Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages*, 1:235–37, 244–61. For a thorough discussion of Rognvald's crusade, see Chapter 6 (Pål Berg Svenungsen), 95–131.

³⁵ Kålund ed., *Alfaeði Íslensk*, 26–31; Kedar and Westergård-Nielsen, "Icelanders in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," 206–09; Joyce Hill trans., "Icelandic Guide," in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099–1185*, ed. John Wilkinson, Joyce Hill and W.F. Ryan, *Hackluyt Society*, series 2, 167 (London, 1988), 220–22; ed. and German trans. Simek, *Altnordische Kosmographie*, 491–500.



Fig. 11.3: Jerusalem, church of St Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. Monumental stair to the crypt, with the tomb of Queen Morphia (d. 1126/7) on the left and that of Queen Melisende (b. 1161) on the right. Photo by the author.

composition around 1150 is also indicated by the mention of the church of St Chariton, which is first attested in 1131/1135, the abbey for Benedictine nuns in Bethany, which was established between 1138 and 1142, and the extension of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, including its new choir and ambulatory, which had effectively brought all its chapels and holy sites below one roof by the time of its formal reconsecration on 15 July 1149, though some building work was probably still in progress at that time.³⁶ This text is also significant in being apparently the earliest to mention the wrought-iron screen with which the Franks enclosed the rock inside the Dome of the Rock, as well as the monumental stair leading down to the tomb of the Virgin Mary in the valley of Jehoshaphat (Fig. 11.3), though the latter would have existed in or soon after 1126–1127, when Queen Morphia was interred beside it.³⁷

Around the same time that Abbot Nikulás was visiting Palestine, the brothers Svend, bishop of Viborg, and Eskil, former commander of the fleet of Erik II the

³⁶ Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 1:122–24, 3:19–30, 46–58, 65–8, 158–60; Denys Pringle, “The Crusader Church of the Holy Sepulchre,” in *Tomb and Temple: Reimagining the Sacred Buildings of Jerusalem*, ed. Robin Griffith-Jones and Eric Fernie (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2018), 76–94.

³⁷ Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 3:298–300, 411, figs 49, 80, pls CLVI–CLXI, CCI–CCII.

Unforgettable of Denmark (r. 1134–1137), undertook their celebrated pilgrimage together to Jerusalem. This story of this is recounted in a history of the origins of the Cistercian Order written by Conrad of Eberbach (c.1140–1226).³⁸ It is a moral tale, portraying how the saintly Svend attempted to channel the violent bellicosity of his sibling into a more spiritual path, first by encouraging him, without success, to join the Second Crusade in 1147 and then by persuading him to accompany him on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1150. The two reached Jerusalem sometime in 1152 and after visiting together the Holy Sepulchre and venerating there the Holy Cross

they came to a place not far from Jerusalem, which is called by local people the *Paternoster*, because in that place Our Lord Jesus Christ is said to have given the disciples the form for praying and to have composed the same prayer on that spot. There was in that place a small poorly built church. When the two pilgrims learnt that this was the place from which the fount of prayer, springing into eternal life, first broke forth from the mouth of the Son of God . . . entering into the chapel and drawing from the fountain of the Saviour the spirit of piety and trust, they dug from the bottom of their pure hearts a prayer to the Lord, imploring Him to forgive them their sins and to free them from all evil.

Their prayer was subsequently answered, for after bathing in the River Jordan and praying for forgiveness, Eskil, the former sinner, realizing that his end was near and having confessed his sins and received the sacraments, yielded up his soul. After witnessing his brother's conversion and reconciliation with God, Bishop Svend was seized with a desire to follow him; but before doing so

he instructed those standing by to bear his body at the appropriate time along with the body of his brother back to the church already mentioned that is called the *Paternoster*, which through the Lord's inspiration they had chosen with sincere feelings of piety, and to see to their burial there.

With that he also expired and the two brothers thus ended their pilgrimage on the same day in the same place and were buried together. Afterwards, writes Conrad of Eberbach,

the little church, which before had been small and ruinous, was razed to the ground and, with the alms that they had generously set aside for the purpose, it was rebuilt in a larger and more elegant form. It is there that their bodies now lie, honourably interred.³⁹

38 Conrad of Eberbach, *Exordium Magnum Ordinis Cisterciensis* 3.25–26, ed. Bertrand Tissier, *Bibliotheca Patrum Cisterciensium* 1 (Bonefontaine 1660), 13–246, at 122–25; Martin C. Gertz ed., *Scriptores Minores Historiae Danicae Medii Aevi* 2 (Copenhagen: Gad, 1922), 426–42; cf. Angel Manrique, *Cisterciensium seu verius ecclesiasticorum Annalium a condito Cistercio (Annales Cistercienses)*, 4 vols (Leiden 1642–59), 2:152–53; Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages*, 1:226–29. See also Jens Vellev, “Bisp Svend af Thorgunna-sløgten og hans rejse til Det Hellige Land,” *MIV: Museerne i Viborg amt* 11 (Højbjerg: Hikuin for Viborg Stiftsmuseum, 1981), 70–81.

39 Author's translations from Conrad of Eberbach, *Exordium Magnum*, ed. Gertz, 438–41; cf. Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages*, 1:227–29.

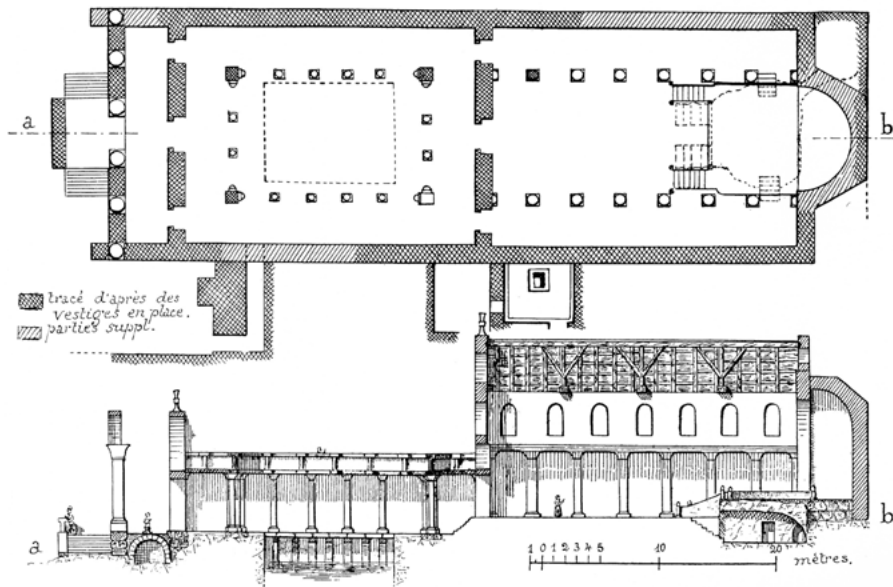


Fig. 11.4: Jerusalem, Mount of Olives. Constantinian church of the Eleona (Pater Noster), plan and section. From L.-H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, Paris 1914–1926, fig. 154.

The church that the brothers found and in which they were eventually buried after their deaths on 30 March 1152 occupied the site of an earlier one, built sometime before AD 333 by the emperor Constantine and St Helena, his mother (Fig. 11.4). This stood on the Mount of Olives above a cave, which was associated with the place where Christ was held to have taught his disciples the “mysteries” concerning the destruction of the Temple, the second coming and the end of days (Matt 24:3). In the later fourth century it was known as the Eleona, from ‘ο ’Ελαιών, meaning “the Olives,” and in the sixth century as the *Matzi*, or *Matheteion*, meaning “of the disciples.” By the end of the fourth century, another church, associated with the place of Christ’s Ascension, was built a short distance north of it and in the 430s St Melania the Younger built monasteries for monks and nuns to serve both churches. The Eleona was destroyed by the Persians in 614 and in the early tenth century Sa’id ibn al-Baṭrīq (Eutychius), patriarch of Alexandria, wrote that at that time it was still a pile of rubble.⁴⁰ However, it seems that the church – or at any rate the cave – may have been restored in some form by Abbot Modestos, who rebuilt a

⁴⁰ Eutychius (S’aid ibn Biṭrīq), *Annales* 16.26, PG, 111:889–1156, at 1083; Bartolomeo Pirone trans., *Gli Annali*, *Studia Orientalia Christiana*, Monographiae 1 (Cairo: Franciscan Centre of Christian Oriental Studies, 1987), 306–7.

number of Jerusalem churches immediately after the Persian occupation,⁴¹ and a Carolingian document listing the churches of Jerusalem and the monks and priests serving them in the early tenth century records it as having three monks and a priest.⁴² Accounts from the first decade of the Frankish kingdom, including those of Bartolf of Nangis (1099), Saewulf (1102–1103) and the Russian Abbot Daniel (1106–1108), suggest that the chapel, which was now specifically associated with Christ's teaching of the Lord's Prayer to his disciples, occupied no more than the cave or crypt, while Constantine's building was still in ruins. The Romanesque church, as rebuilt following Svend and Eskil's patronage of it, was first noted by Muḥammad al-Idrīsī in 1154 and pilgrims in the 1170s mention a stone below the altar on which the Lord's Prayer was written and a crypt thirty steps below the nave. Today all that is left are some remains of the crypt (Fig. 11.5), which came to light in 1870–1872 during the construction of a convent for French Carmelite sisters from Carpentras. At the time of its discovery, traces of frescoes, including fragmentary depictions of heads and wings of angels, were still discernible on the walls, but the excavation was backfilled and was reopened only in 1927–1928, as part of an abortive scheme to rebuild Constantine's church. The cave lay directly below the apse of Constantine's church, but in its present form it is mostly medieval apart from the apse, with stairs to the north and south to allow pilgrims to pass through it in the same way as in the cave of the Nativity in Bethlehem. Of the medieval upper church, however, nothing now survives.⁴³

Scandinavian pilgrims and crusaders continued to visit the Holy Land in the later twelfth century and early thirteenth, notably at the time of the Third and Fifth Crusades and during the period of Frederick II's visit in 1228–1229, when Danish and Frisian crusaders helped to refortify Sidon and Caesarea.⁴⁴ The next

41 Gérard Garitte, ed., *Le Calendrier palestino-géorgien du Sinaiticus 34 (Xe siècle)* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1958), 110–11; Michel Tarnischvili, ed., *Le Grand Lectionnaire de l'église de Jérusalem (V^e–VIII^e siècle)*, 2 vols., *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 189, 205 (*Scriptores Iberici* 10, 14) (Louvain, 1959–60), 2.56 §1414; cf. John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster: Aris & Philips, 1977), 8–9.

42 *Commemoratorium de Casis Dei vel Monasteriis*, ed. Titus Tobler and Augustus Molinier, *Itinera Hierosolimitana et Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae* 1, *Publications de la Société de l'Orient latin, série géographique* (Geneva, 1879), 302; Michael McCormick, *Charlemagne's Survey of the Holy Land* (Washington DC: *Dumbarton Oaks*, 2011), 206–7.

43 On the church, see Louis-Hugues Vincent and Félix-Marie Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, 4 fascs with album, *Jérusalem: Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire* 2 (Paris: Gabalda, 1914–26), 337–60, 383–87, 396–97, 401–4, 407, 410–12, 968, figs 148–54, pls XXXIV–XXXIX; Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 3:117–24, fig. 19, pl. lv; Klaus Bieberstein and Hanswulf Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem: Grundzüge der Baugeschichte vom Chalkolithikum bis zur Frühzeit der osmanischen Herrschaft*, 3 vols, *Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B*, 100 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1994), 3:286–92.

44 Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages*, 1:335–38.

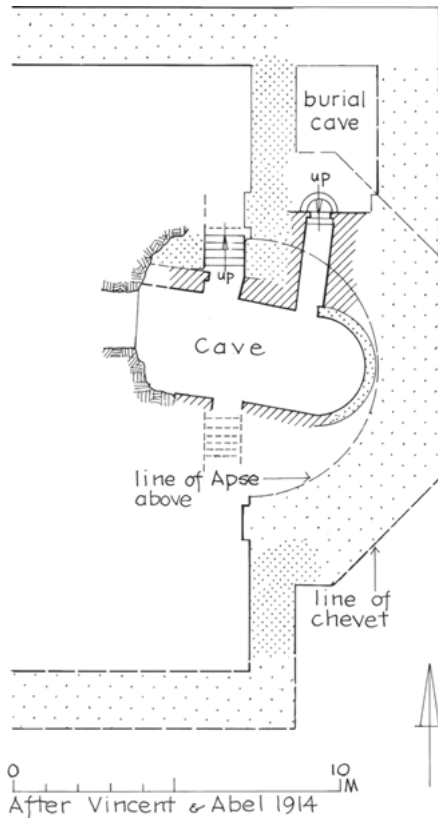


Fig. 11.5: Jerusalem, Mount of Olives. Church of the Eleona (Pater Noster), plan of the medieval crypt. Drawing by Peter E. Leach, after Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, Paris 1914–1926.

significant text describing a journey to the East, however, is that of the Franciscan Friar Maurice in 1271–1273. Maurice was a Franciscan from Bergen who acted as chaplain to the Norwegian baron Andres Nikulasson on his Crusade to the East, departing from Selje, north of Bergen, on 17 January 1271. Andres himself probably died on the return journey. Maurice’s account survives in a manuscript, now in the Norwegian state archives in Oslo, which was first published by Gustav Storm in 1880.⁴⁵ Unfortunately much of the text is missing and all that we have are two fragments. The first describes the sea passage from Cape St Vincent, passing recently captured Cadiz to the Straits and proceeding thence to Cartagena, Ibiza, Marseilles and St Peter’s island off the south-west coast of Sardinia (Fig. 11.6).

⁴⁵ Oslo, Norwegian State Archive (NRA), Ms. 29 (c.1300), fols 139–144; Gustav Storm ed., *Monumenta Historica Norvegiae: Latinske Kildeskrifter til Norges Historie i Middelalderen* (Kristiania: A. W. Brøgger, 1880), 165–9; BBB, 2:413–15; IHC, 4:88–93; Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land*, 46, 237–40; Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages*, 1:72, 357–58; Röhrich, *Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae*, 55, no. 139.

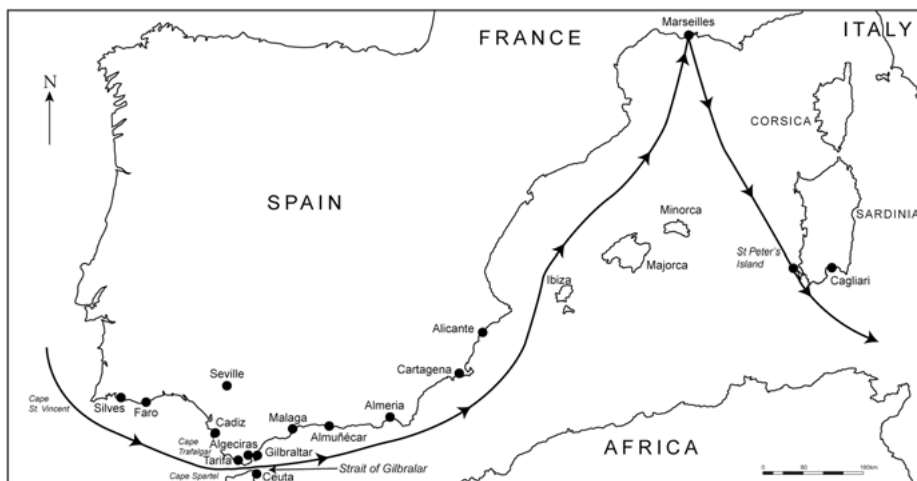


Fig. 11.6: Map showing the route of Friar Maurice's voyage through the western Mediterranean in 1271. Drawing by Ian Dennis.

The second fragment begins with mention of the Syrian castles of Jabala and Crac des Chevaliers, which had fallen to Sultan Baybars in 1268 and 1271 respectively, and goes on to describe the legends associating the Virgin Mary and St Peter with the foundation of the cathedral church and, more surprisingly, the castle chapel of Țartūs. From what Maurice writes, it appears that the Templars, to whom the castle belonged (though he does not mention this), were claiming at that time that their chapel had initially been built by St Mary herself; but, knowing that it would later be enclosed within a castle, she thoughtfully exchanged it with St Peter for the one that he had built in what later became the cathedral church, so as to make it easier for future pilgrims to visit her shrine (Figs 11.1 and 11.7). He also repeats another legend, which is also recorded in early Christian sources, concerning the supposed visit to the nearby island of Aradus (al-Ruwād) by St Peter and St Clement, the fourth bishop of Rome after Peter. Maurice concludes his book at this point, explaining that as no Christian territory lay between Marqab, a mere six leagues away, and Armenia, he and his companions returned to Acre by land the same way that they had come. Somewhat exasperatingly, the description of that part of the itinerary as well as those of Acre and Palestine itself, must therefore have been in the section of text that is now lost.

By the 1260s, after the fall of Jerusalem in 1244 and the start of the Mamluke campaigns that eventually resulted in the Muslim reconquest of the whole of Palestine and Syria, the ability of Western pilgrims to travel freely around the Holy Land was considerably curtailed. In order to compensate for this, by the 1260s there developed within the city of Acre itself a circuit of Latin churches offering indulgences to visitors. These are listed, along with the tariff of indulgences, in a guide



Fig. 11.7: Țartūs (Tortosa), Latin cathedral. From the SW. Photo by the author, 1984.

entitled *Pelrinages et Pardouns de Acre* (c.1258–1263).⁴⁶ Many of the sites listed in this document also occur among the lists of religious establishments to which bequests were made in contemporary wills, including those of visiting pilgrims and crusaders. Three in particular, those of Saliba, a *confrère* of the Hospital (1264), Odo, count of Nevers (1266) and Hugh de Neville (1267), while not identical, have a sufficiently high degree of overlap amongst their beneficiaries to suggest that lists of Latin religious houses in Acre suitable for receiving bequests may have been available to serve as guides for those drafting wills.⁴⁷

One such person was Henrik, bishop of Linköping in Sweden (1258–1283), who in 1282, having occupied his see for some twenty-five years, made a vow to go to

⁴⁶ Henri Michelant and Gaston Raynaud, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem et Descriptions de la Terre Sainte rédigées en français aux XIe, XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, Publications de la Société de l’Orient Latin, série géographique 3 (Geneva, 1882), XXX-XXXI, 227–26; Fabio Romanini and Beatrice Saletti, *I Pelrinages communes, i Pardouns de Acre e la Crisi del Regno crociato: Storia e testi / The Pelrinages communes, the Pardouns de Acre and the Crisis in the Crusader Kingdom: History and texts, Storie e Linguaggi* (Padua: libreriauniversitaria.it, 2012); Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land*, 15–17, 44–46, 229–36, table 2, fig. 7; cf. Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 4:21, table 1; David Jacoby, “Pilgrimage in Crusader Acre: The Pardouns d’Acre,” in *De Sion exhibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem: Essays on Medieval Law, Liturgy and Literature in Honour of Amnon Lindner*, ed. Y. Hen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 105–17.

⁴⁷ Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 4:23, table 2.

Jerusalem.⁴⁸ His example was followed by Brynjolf Algotsson (d. 1317), bishop of Skara, the entire chapter of Linköping and others, including knights. The party set out through France, but in Marseilles Henrik fell ill and made his will in the infirmary of the Dominicans on 11 April 1283.⁴⁹ After making various bequests to his household staff, the bishop set out in this document a list of gifts to a number of Latin houses and institutions in Acre, which he had still to reach (see Appendix below). They included 20 *livres* (or pounds) of Marseilles to the Patriarch and another 5 *livres* for ‘the redemption of the Lord’s Cross,’ 10 *livres* each to the Dominicans, Franciscans, Hospitallers, Templars and Teutonic Knights, 20 *livres* to the Brothers of the Holy Trinity to be divided between ransoming captives and feeding those still in prison, and 5 *livres* each to the Benedictine abbesses of St Mary of Tyre (formerly St Mary the Great) and St Lazarus of Bethany. Three other houses that received bequests, including the “monasteries of the sisters [*dominarum*] . . . in the same place,” are difficult to interpret, but the list ends with the stipulation that what remained of the total of 400 *livres* was to be divided between the “widows, wards, orphans and beggars.” A similar provision is found in the wills of the count of Nevers and Hugh de Neville.

It seems that the bishop recovered sufficiently from whatever ailment had beset him in Marseilles to continue his journey, for on 28 June 1283 he issued a charter in Acre setting out the last testament of Finnvid, rector of the church of Nässjöhult [*dominus Finnvidus Rector ecclesie de Nessioholt*], who had recently died.⁵⁰ On 27 August 1283, however, he made a supplementary will on his own account in the house of the Holy Trinity in which he was then lodging in Acre, confirming the one made previously in Marseilles and including some additional provisions, among them the stipulation that seven gold *solidi* (or bezants) should be placed on his bier after his death and given to the Friars Minor, with whom he has chosen to be buried.⁵¹

Eight years after Bishop Henrik’s death, on 28 May 1291, Acre fell to the Mamlukes and the churches to which he and others had made donations were destroyed – though in some cases the institutions survived in Cyprus or the West. None the less, pilgrims from northern Europe continued to visit the Holy Places, including St Birgitta of Sweden in 1372,⁵² and the Greenlander Björn Einarsson *jórsalafari* between 1406 and

⁴⁸ Hans Eberhard Mayer, “Ein Bischof geht einkaufen: Heinrich von Linköping im Heiligen Land,” *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 124.1 (2008): 51–60.

⁴⁹ Riksarkivet, no 1237; DS, 1:620–22, no. 761; cf. Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages*, 358, 369–70.

⁵⁰ Riksarkivet, no. 1246; DS, 1:629, no. 769.

⁵¹ Riksarkivet, no. 1248; DS, 1:633–34, no. 771.

⁵² Sabino de Sandoli, ed., *Viaggio di Santa Brigida di Svezia da Roma a Gerusalemme 1372*, *Quaderni de “La Terra Santa”* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1991). St Birgitta’s Holy Land experience is the topic of Chapter 13 (Maria H. Oen), 245–67. Another brief description of Jerusalem is contained in the fourteenth-century Kirialax Saga: see Kedar and Westergård-Nielsen, “Icelanders in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem,” 197, 209–11 and Chapter 12 (Stefka G. Eriksen) in the present volume, 235–9.

1415.⁵³ The Arnamagnæan Manuscript Collection of Copenhagen University also contains no less than three idealized circular plans of Jerusalem drawn in Iceland in the fourteenth century from twelfth to thirteenth century exemplars.⁵⁴ These and other sources dating after 1291, however, are beyond the scope of the present discussion.⁵⁵

⁵³ Simek 1990, *Altnordische Kosmographie*, 295–7.

⁵⁴ AM 544, 4to, fol. 19v. (c.1305–7); 732b, 4to, fol. 8v. (first half 14c.); 736 I, 4to, fol. 2r. (early 14c.); Simek, *Altnordische Kosmographie*, 297–315 (esp. 304–05), 513–17, figs 44–6.

⁵⁵ These plans, however, are examined in Chapter 20 (Kristin B. Aavitsland), 424–53.

Appendix: Extract from the will of Henrik, bishop of Linköping, made in Marseilles, 11 April 1283 (Stockholm, Riksarkivet, no 1237; DS 1: 620–22, no. 761)

The document is not easy to read, having been badly damaged in places, apparently by water, and the right-hand edge is missing altogether. The following extract is taken from the published version, amended in the light of what it was possible to see from the on-line scan available from the Riksarkivet.

<i>Item domino patriarche Iherolimitano viginti. lb. mr.</i>	To the Lord Patriarch of Jerusalem, ⁵⁶ £20 <i>marseillais</i> .
<i>Item eidem domino [.] Quinque. lb. mr. pro redempcione crucis [domini].</i>	To the same Lord [Patriarch], £5 <i>marseillais</i> for the redemption of the Cross [of the Lord]. ⁵⁷
<i>Item fratribus predicatoribus In Acon. decem. lb. mr.</i>	To the Preaching Friars in Acre, ⁵⁸ £10 <i>marseillais</i> .
<i>Item fratribus minoribus In Acon decem. lb. mr.</i>	To the Friars Minor in Acre, ⁵⁹ £10 <i>marseillais</i> .
<i>Item hospitalariis decem. lb. mr.</i>	To the Hospitallers, ⁶⁰ £10 <i>marseillais</i> .
<i>[Item t]emp[lariis decem] lb. mr.⁶¹</i>	[To the T]emp[lars], ⁶² £[10] <i>marseillais</i> .
<i>Item fratribus qui sunt de domo theotonica decem. lb. mr.</i>	To the brothers who belong to the German House, ⁶³ £10 <i>marseillais</i> .
<i>Item fratribus [sancti Trinitatis, decem. lb. mr. pro] redimendis captivis.</i>	To the Brothers [of the Holy Trinity, ⁶⁴ £10 <i>marseillais</i> for] ransoming captives.
<i>Item eidem decem. lb. mr. pro pascendis captivis Incarceratis.</i>	To the same, £10 <i>marseillais</i> for feeding imprisoned captives.

56 The Latin patriarch of Jerusalem at this date was Elias of Périgueux, who would also have been bishop of Acre, with effectively two official residences in the city (Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 4:38–41, 54).

57 The principal relic of the Holy Cross had been lost to Saladin at the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn in 1187 and was never recovered. The Holy Cross was also the dedication of the cathedral church of Acre, of which the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem was also bishop (Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 4:35–40).

58 On the Dominican house, see Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 4:46–48.

59 On the Franciscan house, see Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 4:48–50.

60 On the church and hospital of St John the Baptist, see Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 4: 82–114.

61 mr.] marc. DS.

62 On the house of the Temple, see Pringle 1993–2009, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 4:166–72.

63 On the house of St Mary of the Germans, see Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 131–36.

64 On the house of the Holy Trinity and Captives, see Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 4:56–57.

(continued)

<i>Item domino patriarche Iherolimitano viginti. lb. mr.</i>	To the Lord Patriarch of Jerusalem, ⁵⁶ £20 <i>marseillais</i> .
<i>Item Monasteriis dominarum ibidem [.] lb. mr.</i>	To the monasteries of (the) sisters ⁶⁵ [.] in the same place, £[. . .] <i>marseillais</i> .
<i>[Item . . .]</i>	
<i>Item Abbatisse beate Marie de Ferro,⁶⁶ quinque. lb. mr.</i>	To the abbess of St Mary of Tyre, ⁶⁷ £5 <i>marseillais</i> .
<i>Item abbatisse S(anci) Lazari de Bethania] lb. mr.</i>	To the abbess of St [Lazarus of Bethany ⁶⁸], £[5] <i>marseillais</i> .
<i>Item [.] quindecim lb. mr. [.] residuum autem de Quadringentis lb. mr. executores nostri distribuunt [. . .] viduis pupillis orphanis [. .] mendicantibus.</i>	To [. . .], £15 <i>marseillais</i> . [.] moreover, the residue of the £400 <i>marseillais</i> our executors are to distribute [amongst] the widows, wards, orphans [and] beggars.

65 It is unclear which house of dominae is referred to here, as the term could be applied both to nuns and to regular or secular canonesses. The missing word might have given the answer, though it seems as likely to have been a participle qualified by *ibidem*, such as *constitutis* or *existentibus* if relating to *monasteriis*, or *servientium* if relating to *dominarum*.

66 *Ferro*] *Skro* DS.

67 This is probably the abbey of St Mary of Tyre, representing the exiled abbey of St Mary the Great, formerly in Jerusalem. The designation *de Ferro* may be the result either of simply miscopying *de Tyro/Tirro* or, more possibly (given the similarity of F to a capital long S), miscopying and latinizing the French form of the name, *Nostre Dame de Sur*. On the abbey in Acre, see Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 4:22–23, 142–44.

68 St Lazarus was the only known Latin church with a male patron in Acre to have been presided over by an abbess. On the abbey of St Lazarus of Bethany in Acre, see Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 4:120–21.