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הספריה הלאומית
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THE ITINERARY

OF

BENJAMIN OF TUDELA.

VOL. II.

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THE ITINERARY

OF

RABBI BENJAMIN OF TUDELA.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED

BY

A. ASHER.

Vol. II.

NOTES AND ESSAYS.



LONDON AND BERLIN
A. ASHER & Co.
1841.

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PREFACE.

Every student must have felt with myself the entire want of a work on the Geography of the middle-ages. Whilst on one hand Herodotus, Strabo and the other *ancient* geographers have found editors and annotators without number, and on the other not only individuals but societies have labour'd to make us acquainted with the *present* state of the world, comparatively nothing has been done to throw light on that portion of geography, which comprises the ages, called the dark. Thus the curious in geography have abundant means of becoming acquainted with the political state of our planet in the times of Alexander and of Augustus, of Charles V. and Victoria I., but are at an utter loss for a work which treats on the same subject at the period of the crusades, and although these remarkable wars have found able *historians*, *geography*, the sister science or rather the hand-maiden of history, has been neglected in an astonishing degree. To remedy this neglect and furnish materials for a geography of the middle-ages, is the aim of the present work and the itinerary of R. Benjamin of Tudela

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has been selected for that purpose; not only because it contains more facts and fewer fables than any other contemporary production, which has come down to us, but also because it describes a very large portion of the earth known in the 12th. century.

I am fully aware that, what I now offer to the public, are but *scanty* contributions towards the science, the study of which I aim to promote, but I hope to continue these labors, and by the publication of subsequent volumes of notes,*) to make this work a book of reference, to the student of MIDDLE-AGE and COMPARATIVE GEOGRAPHY. The materials will be furnished as well by comparing unedited contemporary authors, both european and oriental, as by unremitting attention to those accounts, which may be published by travellers of *all* nations, and I hope that the distribution of copies of this work, which has been kindly promised by the London and Paris Royal Geographical Societies, will tend to promote my humble endeavours: a few more travellers like MAJOR RAWLINSON and a great portion of my aim will be accomplished!

I consider it necessary to state, that the striking similarity of this ITINERARY to that of MARCO POLO, has induced me to avail myself as much as possible of the

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*) The next volume of notes will contain the papers by the Revd. Rabbi Rapaport, Mr. S. Munk and Mr. Lebrecht, which from circumstances over which I had no control, it was impossible to introduce into the present volume, although I allude to them.

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plan and the researches of MR. MARSDEN, the able editor of the former, and I shall feel proud, if I succeed in establishing the title of a good imitator.

My kindest thanks are due to those gentlemen, who have been pleased to afford me their aid and to the number of whom, besides those who have enriched this volume with their notes and essays, I am proud to add the name of the Revd. ELY SMITH, the talented and amiable travelling-companion of Dr. Robinson; and that of DR. SPIKER, principal librarian of the Berlin Royal Library. I also acknowledge the valuable assistance of MR. ZEDNER, the editor of the '*Auswahl historischer Stücke*' without which I should not have been able to attain even that relative degree of perfection to which I humbly pretend.

BERLIN, DECEMBER 1840.

A. ASHER.

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INTRODUCTION.

I. THE AUTHOR. Rabbi Benjamin Ben Jonah of Tudela,[a] a Jewish merchant, began his travels about 1160 and his itinerary comprises a great portion of the then known world.

The only authority, which we can quote respecting *the Name* of this traveller, is the preface to this itinerary, the authenticity of which, though evidently by a later hand, we have no reason to doubt.

That Benjamin was a Jew, is too evident to require any further proof, and if we examine his work with any degree of attention, and compare it with similar productions, we shall be forced to admit, that it could only have been *a Merchant*, who would be induced to notice with so much accuracy the state of trade in the towns and countries he visited. That commerce was the vocation of our traveller, has been also advanced by Eichhorn and Pardessus, and a glance at the article 'commerce' of our index will be found strongly to corroborate this assertion.

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a. In Navarre, s. Edrisi II. 34. 35. 227. 234.

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II. HIS OBJECTS. ***The double object*** of his travels thus becomes evident; like many other mahommedan and christian pilgrims of the middle-ages, ***Rabbi Benjamin*** visited ***Jerusalem*** the city, and ***Bagdad*** the seat of the last princes, of his nation, and availed himself of this pilgrimage to collect such information as might be agreable and useful to his brethren. He was aware of their attachment to those sites and monuments, which attest their former grandeur and to which they still look up with sweet melancholy; he felt the existence of that magic, invisible tye, which even in our days of indifferentism, roused the sympathy of all european Israelites in favor of the oppressed at Damascus, but he also knew, that commerce was almost their only means of support and its success the surest way to gain influence with the princes whose yoke oppressed the Jews of his own, and alas! of many succeeding ages. These considerations gave the book its present form; the accounts of the state of the Jews in the countries he saw or heard of, are ever varied by excellent notices and business-like remarks upon the trade carried on in the cities he describes, and THE ITINERARY claims in as high a degree the attention of ***the historian***, as it does that of ***the theologian.***

III. PERIOD OF HIS TRAVELS. ***The Time*** at which our author wrote, has been ascertained in the course of the investigations, the results of which are contained in the following notes.

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It will be seen,[a] that his visit to Rome must have taken place subsequent to 1159, that he was at Constantinople probably in December 1161[b] and that his account of Egypt, which almost concludes the work, must have been written prior to 1171.[c] If we add to these dates, which have been obtained by an examination of the text, that of his return, as given in the preface, we shall find that the narrative refers to a period of about 14 years, viz. from 1159 or 60, to 1173.

IV. DIVISION OF THE WORK. ***One very peculiar feature*** of this work, by which its contents are divided into '***what he saw***' and '***what he heard***,' as the preface has it, requires particular notice.

In many towns on the route from Saragossa to Bagdad, Rabbi B. ***mentions the names*** of the principal Jews, Elders and wardens of the congregations he met with. That a great number of the persons enumerated by R. Benjamin, really were his contemporaries and that the particulars he incidentally mentions of them are corroborated by other authorities, has been proved in the biographical notes, with which Dr. Zunz has enriched this volume.[d] We therefore do not hesitate to assert, that R. Benjamin visited all those towns of which he names the Elders and principals and that the first portion of his narrative comprises an account of '***what he saw.***'

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a. note 33, p. 18. — b. note 99. p. 48. — c. note 345, p. 201. — d. See also his remarks on our author, p. 252.

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But with Gihiagin (I. 105.) the very first stage beyond Bagdad, all such notices cease, and except those of two princes (I. 114.) and of two Rabbies (128 and 154.) we look in vain for any other *names*. So very remarkable a difference between this and the preceding part of the work, leads us to assert, that R. Benjamin's travels did not extend beyond Bagdad, and that he there wrote down the second portion of our work, consisting of '*what he heard*.' Bagdad, at his time the seat of the Prince of the captivity, must have attracted numerous Jewish pilgrims from all regions, and beyond doubt was the fittest place for gathering those notices of the Jews and of trade in different parts of world, the collecting of which was the aim of R. Benjamin's labors.

V. LANGUAGE AND STYLE. *The language* in which Rabbi B.'s itinerary is composed, is that, which has been called *rabbinic hebrew*, an idiom in which a great many of the words of scriptural origin have entirely changed their primitive import, and which has been enriched by many other terms of comparatively modern date.

The style of our narrative proves that its author was without *any* pretensions to learning; it is the account of a very plain Jewish merchant, who probably preferred the idiom in which he wrote, because he understood still less of any other. The most learned of his translators have been puzzled by the language and the style, and we have had occasion to point out in the course of the following notes, a

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few of the most egregious blunders committed by them.

VI. HISTORY, AUTHENTICITY AND CLAIMS OF THE WORK.

1. ***The history*** of this itinerary is remarkable in many respects. It appears early to have gained much credit among Jews[a] and christians[b] and the multiplied editions of it, which have been enumerated in our Bibliography, prove that it has always been in request among the learned. Its general veracity was acknowledged by the numerous quotations from and references to its contents, and until within a comparatively recent period, nobody doubted the authenticity of the travels. But these favorable views underwent a change in the 17th. and 18th. centuries: ***Theologians*** saw in R. Benjamin's reports nothing, but an attempt to aggrandize the real number and to represent under bland colours the state of the Jews in remote countries[c] and although eminent ***Historians***[d] admitted and quoted Rabbi Benjamin's authority, Baratier,[e] the learned child, though but a beginner in theology, in his avowed religious animosity to Jews, ***attempted*** to prove, that these travels had never been per-

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a. We find it quoted in 1368 by Samuel Zarza, Mekor Chajim 123 c. See Dr. Zunz's essay p. 252. to whom we are indebted for this information. — b. S. L'Empereur's preface — c. See the dissertation of Baratier, II. 25. and its abridgement by Gerrans p. 14. We refer to our edition I. 54, 55. and several other instances for a refutation of this reproach. — d. Gibbon, Anderson (Hist. of commerce) Robertson, Eichhorn, Sprengel. — e. See our vol. I. p. 23.

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formed, but were the compilations of an ignorant Jew, who had perhaps never left Tudela.[a] Baratier's opinion was adopted, of course,[b] by Mr. Gerrans, and as the talents of the former commanded respect, his sophistical reasoning easily imposed upon Beugnot[c] and Jost,[d] who probably found it much more convenient to copy a few lines from Baratier's preface, than to examine the work and to form their own opinion.

We might claim in refutation of the ill-supported doubts of these authors, the high and undeniable authority of Rapaport, Zunz and Tafel and the labours of Mr. Lebrecht, who not only consider the work *authentic*, but have in their notes vindicated R. Benjamin against his accusers, yet, to use the words of Mr. Marsden,[e] 'it may with truth be insisted, that the least equivocal proofs of its being an honest, however incomplete account of what he actually saw or learned on the spot, are to be drawn from the relation itself. There numerous instances will present themselves of minute peculiarities and of incidental notices,[f] geographical, historical and biographical, reported

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a. We refer the reader to Mr, Lebrecht's able essay, p. 359, 368, 370, for a refutation of some of Baratier's attacks and many proofs of his childish ignorance. — b. See our vol. I. p. 18. — c. Les Juifs d'Occident, Paris 1824. 8vo. — d. Geschichte der Israeliten VI. 376. 377. and Allgem. Geschichte des Israelitischen Volkes. Berlin 1832. 2 vols. 8. II. 412. comp. the following notes 33. 48. 73. 74. — e. Introduction to Marco Polo, p. XXXV. — f. As *one* very striking instance we quote the account of the government of Byblos I. 60.

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by him and confirmed by the testimony of other ancient and modern authors and travellers, which he could neither have invented nor borrowed from others, and certainly it is the evidence of these coincidences rather than any force of argument, that is likely to produce conviction in the minds of those, who are unwilling to be thought credulous.' Instead therefore of entering upon a discussion in this place, of the objections that have been made to his credibility, we refer our readers to the notes which form the principal matter of this volume, in which these objections have been fairly discussed and the merit of our author has been vindicated. This vindication generally, is not founded upon arguments, but upon an impartial examination of the particular details which having been compared with and brought to the test of modern and contemporary observation, will be found remarkably correct.

3. ***The information contained in this work,*** and upon the merits of which it claims the attention of the learned, may be comprised under the following heads:

a) R. BENJAMIN's narrative contains the fullest account extant of the state and number of the Jews in the 12th. century.

b) It furnishes the best materials for the history of the commerce of Europe, Asia and Africa, at the time of the crusades.[a]

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a. Le document le plus ancien qui nous reste (de cette

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c) Our author is the first European, who notices with accuracy the sect of the Assassins in Syria and Persia, the trade with India, (of the produce of which the Island of Kish was the principal emporium), and who distinctly mentions China and describes the dangers attendant upon a navigation of the ocean, which intervenes between that country and Ceylon.

d) The whole work abounds in interesting, correct and authentic information on the state of the three quarters of the globe known at his time and in consideration of these advantages, stands without a rival in the literary history of the middle-ages, none of the productions of which period are as free from fables und superstitions as THE ITINERARY OF RABBI BENJAMIN OF TUDELA.

VI. STATE OF THE TEXT. An attentive study of the narrative *in its present state* however, has forced upon us the conviction that Arias Montanus' opinion[a] is well-founded and that what we possess, is but an abridgement of the original journal, which in this respect and in many others shared the fate of Pethachia's[b] and Marco Polo's works.[c] The most striking

époque), est l'Itinéraire du Juif Benjamin de Tudèle, son voyage offre des notions dont les voyageurs des siècles suivans ont confirmé la vérité. ***Pardessus***, collection des lois maritimes, II, XI. XII.

a. See the preface to his original edition (Antv. 1575) p. 12. — b. See Dr. Zunz's essay, p. 253. No. 40. — c. See Marsden's introduction.

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proof of our assertion will be found in the omission of those quotations, which, by the preface, we are led to expect in the course of the work and which we have pointed out in note 2, and in several other instances. It will further be observed that the descriptions of ten cities[a] and the two episodes[b] contained in the work, take up, in extent, more than one half of the whole, whereas about two hundred cities, some of which must have been of tantamount interest in many points of view, are noticed *so briefly*, that all the information concerning them, is disposed of in a very narrow space; nor is it likely, that Rabbi B. should have passed over in silence the commercial relations of Germany, where he mentions the city of Ratisbon and other towns, which at his time absorbed most of the trade of that country.

But these omissions are not the only disadvantage which we have to deplore, another formidable inconvenience arose from the ignorance of those transcribers, from whose copies the first editions were printed: 'By their misconceptions our author is often obscured, whilst their inaccuracies of orthography render it, in many instances, a matter of the utmost difficulty to recognise the proper names of persons and places.'[c] The letters of the idiom in which R. Benja-

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a. Rome, Constantinople, Nablous, Jerusalem, Damascus, Bagdad, Thema, Chulam, Cairo and Alexandria. — b. The history of El-Roy and the expedition against the Ghuz. — c. Marsden. ibid.

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min wrote, are not fit to express with accuracy french, italian, greek and arabic appellations and as the text was written of course, without the vowel-points, mistakes were not easily avoided.

VIII. Well aware of all these disadvantages we have spared no labour nor expense in our attempts to discover a complete, ancient and genuine manuscript. But neither in Europe nor in Egypt, where A. Montanus [a] heard of one and where Mr. Munk [b] took the trouble to make inquiries, have we been able to discover this desideratum. [c] Our labor in this respect has been confined necessarily, to comparing the two first, original editions, the second of which had not been consulted by any former editor or translator. We have also added the vowel points, by which the work becomes by far more intelligible to the general reader and we hope not to be taxed with presumption if we assert, that our text, faulty as it must necessarily be, is still superior to any hitherto published.

With respect to the notes [d] by which we have endeavoured to rescue an early and extremely curious

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a. l. c. — b. S. p. 302. No. 160. — c. A man at Brussels, who signs himself Dr. Carmoly, but whose original name was Getsch Sulz, pretended to possess such a copy, but considering what has been revealed of this man by Messrs. Lebrecht, Geiger and Zunz, we must express great doubts of the truth of this assertion. See Dr. Zunz's essay, No. 151. p. 298. of this volume. — d. The two objects I had in view, viz. the vindication of our author and the collecting of materials for comparative geography and the geography of the middle-ages, have induced me purposely to

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work from the imputations under which it has labor'd, we have avail'd ourselves of the advantages of our situation and have tried to obtain our object, by soliciting the aid of the eminent scholars, who have enriched this volume with notes and essays. If, therefore, we succeed in the attempt to remove from candid and reflecting minds any doubts respecting the honest spirit in which the work was composed, it will be due, more to the liberal support we have had the advantage of enjoying than to the humble personal talents we have been able to bring to the task.

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avoid in the notes and illustrations almost all reference to the works of ancient writers, who have described some of the countries visited by our author, or have alluded to their physical circumstances or the customs of their inhabitants. I refrained from indulging in this species of illustration, because, whilst it added to the bulk of the notes — already too great — it would not promote the two essential objects above alluded to, both of which, it is obvious, could only be obtained by bringing our author's statements to the test of and comparison with more *recent* authorities.

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The fact, that this work has been printed in Germany and without the assistance of a composer conversant with the english language, will, it is hoped, plead in excuse for the length of the following list of

ERRATA.

VOL. I.

p. 3 line 4. 5. for surroun-ded, read surround-ed.
" — " 16. 17. for mista-kes, read mistakes.
" — " 8. 9. f. prin-ted, r. print-ed.
" 6 " 13. 14. for na-mes, r. names.
" 12 " 8. no comma should be placed after the word style.
" 14 " 13. 14. for yee-res, r. yeeres.
" 18 " 19. for Rabi, read Rabbi.
" 19 " 5. 6. for li-kewise, read likewise.
" — " 17. 18. for Benjamins, read Benjamin's.
" 20 " 2. for Aron, read Aaron.
" — " 21. for to do so, read to have done so.
" — " — for yielded, read afforded.
" 23 " 15. 16. for vo-yages, r. voyages.
" 29 " 8. 9. for na-mes, read names.
" 36 " 2. for whole Provence, read whole of Provence.
" 37 " 4. for governs over, read governs it.
" 38 " 12. 13. for chri-stian, read chris-tian.
" 40 " 23. for fast, read fasting.
" — " 24. for to, read for.
" 41 " 15. 16. for remar-kable, read remark-able.
" — " 20. 21. for unhealthy, read unhealthful.
" 54 " 13. for comfortable, read comfortably.
" 66 " 25. f. which have, read which, they have.
" 72 " 2. f. metamorphosed, r. changed.
" — " 4. 5. f. pro-spect, r. pros-pect.
" 73 " 4. for commanded to, r. commanded them to.
" 74 " 22. 23. for infor-med, read inform-ed.
" 77 " 12. 13. f. bo-nes, r. bones.
" 81 " 8. f. in lake, r. into the lake.
" 82 " 5. f. je-wish, read Jewish.
" 84 " 1. 2. for be-auty, r. beau-ty.
" 87 " 20. 21. for li-ves. read lives.
" 94 " 20. for invisible to, read not to be seen by.
" — " 21. for which, read who.
" 96 " 6. 7. f. chai-ned, r. chain-ed.
p. 96 line 14. 15. for treasu-res, r. treasures.
" 97 " 2. f. inestim-able, read inestimable.
" — " 9. f. , princes, r. , by princes.
" 98 " 21. f. trea-ding, r. tread-ing.
" 101 " 24. f. gran-ting, r. grant-ing.
" 103 " 8. 9. f. mini-sters, r. minis-ters.
" 109 " 2. 3. for attracts, r. attract.
" — " 16. 17. for bequea-thes, read be-queathes.
" — " 18, for sepulchre, all, read sepulchre all.
" 110 " 9. for profanate, r. profane.
" 117 " 6. 7. f. ho-wever, r. how-ever.
" 142 " 1. 2. f. arri-ves, r. ar-rives.
" 143 " 20. for bullock's, r. bullocks'.
" 148 " 8. 9. f. pu-blic, r. pub-lic.
" 164 " 14. f. the beast, r. the animals.
" — " — for who, read which.

VOL. II.

" 24 " 20. 21. f. mista-kes, read mistakes.
" 38 " 18. 19. for mo-veable, read moveable.
" 54 " 4. f. rabbanitic, r. rabbinical.
" 69 " 2. for LXII., read LXX.
" 89 " 6. for vallie, read valley.
" 97 " 25. 26. for consider-able, read conside-rable.
" 98 " 17. 18. f. du-ring, r. during.
" 109 " 23. 24. f. ma-kes, r. makes.
" 134 " 17. 18. for re-esta-blish, read re-es-tablish.
" 138 " 5. 6. f. thous-and, r. thousand.
" 140 " 9. 10. f. mor-ning, r. morning.
" — " 12. 13. for described, read describ-ed.
" 144 " 10. 11. for an-other, read another.
" 147 " 17. 18. for descri-bes, r. describes.
" 159 " 10. 11. f. di-stant, r. dis-tant.
" 171 " 19. 20. f. ba-ked, r. baked.
" 201 " 5. 6. for annihil-ated, read annihilated.
" 208 " 10. f. histrorique, r. historique.
" 218 " 5. 6. for internatio-nal, read internation-al.
" 219 " 30. f. vidently, r. evidently.
" 224 " 23. 24. f. caus-ed, r. cau-sed.
" 232 " 1. for was, read ways.
" 248 " 16. for heath, read heat.

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THE ITINERARY
OF RABBI BENJAMIN OF TUDELA.

NOTES.

1. This 'Preface' was added evidently some time after the itinerary had been completed and by another hand than that of our author. Although it is impossible to ascertain when and by whom it was written, the very similarity of the style warrants the conjecture, that it was also composed about the end of the 12th. century. ***Both*** the MSS. from which the first editions were printed,[a] contained this preface, with a few, but immaterial variations and from it we derive the little we know of the author of this work. The authenticity of this information has never been doubted, but it has, on the contrary, been quoted by all authors, Jews and Christians, who have written on the subject. ***Ed.*** Hebrew Preface. p. 29.

2. ***By men of integrity whose names were known in Spain.*** There are but *two* men whose names are mention'd in the course of the work — R. Abraham (vol. I. p. 75.) and R. Moshe (p. 136.) — as being the infor- ibid.

a. See Vol. I. p. 1. and 2.

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mants of our author, and their names are so obscure, that it is not very likely they should have been 'known in Spain.' We have stated in the introduction, that we consider the work in its present state to be but an abridgement, and it is very probable that the *complete* text contained references, to which the words just quoted allude. *Ed.*

ibid. 3. *The year* 933 of the contracted or 4933 of the large number of the jewish calendar, corresponds with the year 1173 of the vulgar era, which is supposed by the Jews to have commenced 3760 years after the creation. By adding 240 to what is called the contracted or small number (omitting the thousands) the vulgar date will be found, thus 933 + 240 = 1133. *Ed.*

page 31. 4. *Saragossa*; hebr. Sarkosta. The names of the cities of Spain and France have been render'd in accordance with and upon the grounds of the high authority of Dr. Zunz.[a] *Ed.*

ibid. 5. *Tarracona.* This city, one of the most ancient of Spain is supposed to have been built by the Phoenicians. The walls were gigantic, and Benjamin, who saw it after its restoration by the archbishop of Toledo (in 1038) informs us in a few words, that the *ancient* city, destroyed by the Saracens in 719, dated its origin from times immemorial.[b] Edrisi (II. 235.) calls this city: Tarracona the jewish

طرقونة اليهود

and the english poetical itinerary of the holy land in

a. Zeitschrift p. 114. and foll. b. Bischoff and Moeller *sub voce.*

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Purchas[c] states that this part of Spain abounded with Jews. Edrisi's and our author's description of the walls of Tarracona are in strict conformity with one another. *Ed.*

6. ***R. Shesheth.*** We meet this name frequently as ibid. having been borne, between the 11th. and 14th. century, by the Jews of Catalonia, Aragon and Provence, but almost nowhere else. The following men of that name are the most remarkable:

Shaul B. ***Shesheth*** A. 1096 in Andalusia (פאר הדור N. 195).

Joseph Ben ***Shesheth***, a poet, probably about 1120; he is mention'd between Moshe B. 'Esra and Levi B. Taban (Thachkhemoni chap. 3); the latter was a contemporary of R. Jehuda Halevi (s. Luzzato in בתולת בת יהודה, Prag 1840. p. 19. 20.) and lived at Saragossa Aben 'Esra מאזנים, Preface).

Shesheth Nasi (R. Isaac in 'Ittur fol. 2. a.) about 1170;
Shesheth (Benjamin) a Nasi in Barcellona;
Shesheth, the great Nasi of Barcellona, who died before 1216, the time at which his nephew Isaac Nasi flourish'd. (Thachkhemoni chap. 46).

The above quotations probably allude to one and the same person.

Shesheth, see the letter of R. Jehuda Thibbon to his son R. Sh'muel. (Information furnished by Mr. H. J. Michael in Hamburg.)

Shesheth, prayers by this author are to be found in one of the MSS. of the Oppenheim Library, now in

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c. And Jewez ben Lordez of all that contray. II. 1230. line 51.

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Oxford, (Catal. Ed. 1826. p. 634. N. B. 729.) although they are not mention'd in the printed catalogues.

Shesheth, author of an elegy in the machasor of Avignon, (Zunz, Ritus der Synagoge von Avignon, in: Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums 1839. p. 454. and 682.)

Moshe B. ***Shesheth***, a poet, removed to Bagdad from Spain, commencement of the 13th. century. (Thachkhemoni chap. 18.)

Shesheth B. Joseph, in Huesca. Ao. 1232. (Letters of Maimonides. Prague, fol. 35 b.)

Shesheth B. Isaac Nasi, in Saragossa, author of a letter (vid. מלחמות ה' ed. 1840. p. 35, and Israelitische Annalen 1839. p. 309. 310. 317.)

Jacob B. ***Shesheth***, author of משיב דברים נכוחים, a work in 31 chapters, quoted by the author of מערכת אלהות chap. 14. and by Recanate (Zunz, gottesdienstliche Vorträge p. 400.)

Shesheth, a correspondent of Adereth (Decisions[d] I. No. 79.)

'Esra B. ***Shesheth***
Makhir B. ***Shesheth*** Halevi B. Moshe
Makhir B. ***Shesheth*** Chen
Serachia B. ***Shesheth*** Chen
Shesheth B. Shealthiel B. Isaac
Shesheth B. Ruben

signed in 1305 at Barcellona the well known prohibition against the study of philosophical books by persons under the age of 25. (Adereth. l. c. No. 415. and Minch. Kenaoth (Pressburg 1838) p. 61. 154. 157. 162.)

Joseph B. ***Shesheth*** ibn Latimi; in Lerida, 1308.

d. שאלות ותשובות.

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(Zunz, additamenta ad Catal. codd. Biblioth. Senat. Lipsiens. (Grimma 1838) p. 318.)

Shesheth B. Isaac Girondi, in Barcellona, about 1320, an author who appears to have written also on the calendar. (cod. Munic 46.) compare Zunz. ibid. p. 317.

Shesheth Barfat, the father of R. Isaac (ריב"ש) who lived at Saragossa in 1378 and removed from thence to Algiers. *Zunz.*

7. *Shealthiel.* One of the most respected and emi- ibid.
nent families of Catalonia was that of the name of *Shealthiel.* They were descendants of the celebrated R. Jehuda B. Barsillai who flourish'd about 1130. (Zunz, additamenta p. 321.) Charisi also found at Barcellona R. *Shealthiel*, the Nasi (Thachkhemoni chap. 46.) and praises him and his sons, probably the descendants of the man mention'd by R. Benjamin. Of the persons who signed the prohibition above alluded to, in 1305, we find the following members of this family: (Adereth l. c. Minchath Kenaoth p. 61. 74. 154.) Isaac B. Moshe; Jacob; Joshu'a B. Serachia; Ruben B. Barsillai; *Shealthiel* B. Sh'muel. Bonfus *Shealthiel*, a man who commanded universal esteem, lived at Barcellona in 1323 (Eben Bochan, end), and Serachia B. Isaac B. *Shealthiel* Chen, an author, in 1284. (Zunz, Analekten No. 6. in Geigers Zeitschrift, IV. 190. and f. and additamenta p. 322; compare Israelit. Annalen 1839. p. 86.) The following perhaps belong to the same family: *Shealthiel* B. Isaac B. Moshe Chen, in Barcellona Ao. 1305; Isaac B. *Shealthiel,* (in cod. Vatic. 297. No. 12.); *Shealthiel* Chen, about 1380, in the vicinity of Barcellona

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(Isaac B. Shesheth, decisions No. 369. 370. 414. 415.) Jehuda Chen of the house of *Shealthiel*, lived in Candia in 1528. (Joseph Caro, decisions No. 10.) Here we may also remark, that the words of de Rossi, Catal. MSS. ad cod. 269. 'ego minimus *exquirens deum*', ought to be alter'd into 'ego minimus *Shealthiel*'; the learned author did not perceive, that it was a proper name. ***Zunz.***

page 32. 8. ***Narbonne. Calonymos B. Theodoros*** at Narbonne was a teacher of the law of great distinction, (R. Isaac in 'Ittur fol. 95 c. Juchasin fol. 132. a. comp. Zunz Analecten No. 3. in Geiger l. c. II. p. 317.) The Nasi of that city in 1304 bore the same name. (Minchath Kenaoth p. 121. 130. 136. and seq. and 141.) The Nasi ***Moshe B. Theodoros*** ('Ittur fol. 87 c. Nissim in Baba Mezi'a fol. 56 c. Khol bo §. 20.) was probably a brother of R. Calonymos mention'd in the text; he is also called Moshe Nasi of Narbonne. (Sardi in תרומות fol. 226 b. 236 b.) ***Zunz.***

ibid. 9. ***A descendant of the house of David.*** Davidides or descendants of the house of David, although not confined to the family of Serubabel, were found among the Jews, in the persian, grecian and even as late as in the roman period. (Comp. Zunz, Analekten No. 5. p. 46. note 18.) But in consequence of the exterminating wars and the dispersion, the records of the old families were lost as early as the first centuries and even the families of the priests did not remain unpolluted. (Jerusalem Kidduschin c. 4. §. 1.) The weakness of boasting of noble descent is as old as the

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composition of spurious pedigrees; and several old books contain suspicious and imaginary genealogical accounts, e. g. book of Chronicles, Judith, the book Juchasin, the Thargumim, the Seder 'Olam sutta, the writings of the Caraïtes and others. (Zunz, gottesdienst. Vorträge p. 128.) Besides ***Mary***, Hillel was raised to a descendant of David by the female line, as he belonged properly to the tribe of Binjamin (Jerusal. Thaanith IV. 2., Jerusal. Khethuboth XII. 3. Bereshith rabba c. 33 and 98. Tractat Sabbath f. 56. a.) and although the more ancient Thosephta (comp. Pesachim fol. 66 a.) ignores such noble descent. Nothwitstanding this, Sa'adia Aben Danan of Granada (Decisions by Maimonides No. 225.) made Hillel a brother by the mothers side, of Hiskia B. Nearja (1 Chron, III. 23.), contrary to Seder 'Olam sutta and notwithstanding the latter's being his elder by nearly three centuries. (Comp. Zunz, gottesdienstl. Vorträge p. 31. Note e.) Pethachia, in the 12th. century, was shown a pedigree by somebody in Galilee (p. 149.), which reached up to Jehuda the Patriarch. The princes of the exile, which descended from Juda (Horajoth 11. b.), were acknowledged as Davidides, thus e.g. ***Hunna***, about A. 200. (comp. Jerus. Khethuboth l. c.), in consequence of which there exist pedigrees, evidently spurious, of the latest of these princes, which reach up to David, (see the Seder 'Olam sutta. Benjamin I. 101. Pethachia 175. Salomo Aben Virga No. 42. end.); and this sort of nobility was acknowledged as belonging to the Geonim, to Abraham Halevi and Maimonides. The Caraïtes boasted of the same noble

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descent and even the family of 'Anan is made to proceed upwards, unto David. Similar pedigrees are produced by the princes of the independent Jews of Arabia (Benjamin I. 114.), and by the last Geonim (Sherira in Juchasin 117. a.) and the davidic nobility being transferred to the eminent families of the Nesiim in Narbonne, (Benjamin I. 32. Thachkhemoni c. 46. Minchath Kenaoth 136. 137. 142.), Mosul, (Benjamin I. 92.), Damascus, (Thachkhemoni c. 1 and 46.) and Andalusia, (Aben Virga No. 50. Depping, hist. des Juifs p. 365.) and the Negidim in Egypt (R. David B. Simrah, decisions Vol. 3. No. 509.), was forced into the service of ornamenting other families, who partly adopted this embellishment of their own accord, e. g. the family of Nathan, (Zunz, Analekten 7. p. 204.) and Abarbanel (comp. de Rossi dizion. stor. s. v.); and partly, like *Maimonides*, were honor'd therewith by others. (Asulaï, Vaad f. 28. b. No. 2.) Even David, the traveller, of the tribe of Reuben, Ao. 1524, is called a descendant of King Solomon!

This hunting after nobility, reduced to nothing (Bereshith rabba c. 37.), and censured as early as by Paul (I. Timothy I. 4.) and Calonymos (Eben bochan c. 43.), was not confined to David; similar imaginary descents from biblical persons are mention'd by the Thalmud. (Jerus. Tha'anith IV. 1. 2.; Jerus. Pea, end; Gittin f. 57 b.) In the middle-ages somebody pretended to be an offspring of the prophet Samuel (Pethachia 175.) and Shela was assigned as the ancestor of the Gaon Sa'adia (Sefer ha-kabbala f. 40. b.) — In modern times, Parosh (R. Chajim Shabthai, decisions No. 44.) and Bezalel

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(Asulaï, Vaad f. 7. a.) were raised to the rank of patriarchs, and it is well known that jewish authors boasted of their descent from thalmudic authors. *Zunz.*

10. ***This man holds landed property.*** The information that R. Calonymos was allowed to hold landed property and that nobody could deprive him thereof 'by force' gives a striking picture of the political state of the Jews in France in our authors time. The permission to become a landed proprietor was granted as a favor, and the protection of the lord of the country was required, in order to shelter the Israelites against the tyranny of those who were jealous of their wealth. *Ed.* ibid.

11. ***R. Abraham*** is beyond doubt the well-known R. Abraham B. Isaac, surnamed Ab-beth-din, (President of the court of law) author of the book Eshkhol (on ritual and law) of decisions and thalmudic explanations. He died between 1171 and 1186. (comp. Zunz, Analekten No. 2. in Geiger l. c. p. 307 and seq.) *Zunz.* ibid.

12. ***R. Jehuda.*** In the book entitled 'Tholdoth' by R. Jerucham, 1516. fol. 37. b. we find mention made of 'R. Isaak, son of the Elder R. Jehuda, a brother of the celebrated R. Abraham B. Isaac.' I suppose that this is the very Elder of Narbonne, who consequently was a brother of the abovemention'd R. Abraham. *Zunz.* ibid.

13. ***Chalaphtha in Beziers.*** We meet with this name also at Montpellier, Argentière and Lunel about 1304. (Minchath Kenaoth p. 66. 103. 117.) I further consider the author Jechiskia B. *Chalaphtha* Ao. 1320. (MS. of H. J. Michael at Hamburg), to have been a native of Provence. Charisi (Thachkhemoni chap. 46.) ibid.

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mentions a *Chalaphtha* at Racca, and a copyist or translator of medical works of the name of *Chalaphtha* B. Abraham lived about 1434, (Catal. Oppenheim, MS.)

Zunz.

page 3. 14. *Har Ga'ash or Montpellier.* Baratier (I. 6. Note 10.) sneers at our authors proficiency in etymology; but 'the learned child' was not aware, that Montpellier bore among Jews the name of Har Ga'ash before and after Benjamins time. (See Zunz, Zeitschrift, p. 168.) *Ed.*

ibid. 15. *R. Sh'muel their Rabbi* is very probably *R. Sh'muel B. Moshe* who was in correspondence with R. Abraham B. Isaac. (S. Zunz l. c. p. 308.) The remaining part of the information on R. Gerson and his son, contained in the passage just quoted, must however be thus rectified: R. Gerson B. Sh'lomo of Beziers, grandson of R. Meshullam B. Moshe B. Jehuda, (S. Zunz l. c. p. 313.) author of the work השלמה, lived about 1240 and wrote: 1) the book השלמון, thalmudic decisions. 2) Decisions. The first book, called by mistake השולחן, was completed by his son R. Sh'muel. This author must not be confounded with R. Gerson B. Sh'lomo of Arles, who lived about the middle of the 13th. century and was the author of the wellknown work Sha'ar ha-shamajim, on natural history. I am indebted to my learned friend, H. J. Michael, for the information, which enables me to correct the statement above alluded to.

Zunz.

ibid. 16. *Shelemiah.* This uncommon name is met with in and near the south of France in a few more in-

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stances. R. Shemtob (Sefer ha-emunoth fol. 53 a.) mentions a R. *Shelemiah* in Arles. *Shelemiah* of Lunel is quoted by R. Isaac B. Shesheth (decisions No. 253.) who corresponded with his son Pinchas, of Xativa. I consider this Pinchas to be identical with a man of the same name, who was a copyist in Italy in 1397, (Cod. Rossi 501.) and suppose that he fled to that country on the breaking out of the persecutions, in Catalonia and Valencia in 1391. I further consider, that this was 'Pinchas B. *Shelemiah* Lunel', the copyist of cod. Rossi 150. and codd. Vatic. Urbin 19 and 47, and thus the date of these MSS. is ascertained. *Shelemiah* of our author is quoted Khol bo, ed. 1520. fol. 86. c. Juchasin fol. 130 b., in the latter place together with R. Jonathan ha-Cohen of Lunel. *Zunz.*

17. *Lunel. The celebrated Rabbi R. Meshullam.* ibid. Concerning this celebrated and exalted man and his five sons see the extended notice in Zunz, l. c. p. 310. 311. R. Meshullam died in 1170. Only the three last-mention'd of his sons are known from other authorities: R. Jacob is mention'd in the book 'Ittur; R. Aaron who died Ao. 1210. defended Maimonides prior to 1200, with much spirit against R. Meïr Halevi of Castilia. R. Asher wrote a book entitled המנהגות, probably on liturgy and prayers. Extracts of this book are met with in a MS. roman ritual (machasor) in the possession of Mr. S. D. Luzzato in Padua and in one of them we find the following remarkable passage: פירש אחי הגדול ר' יעקב נויר ז"ל 'this was explained by my elder brother R. Jacob Nasir', from which we con-

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clude that R. Jacob Nasir, who corresponded with R. Abraham B. Isaac and R. Abraham B. David (Zunz, l. c. 308. 311.) was identical with this R. Jacob B. Meshullam. The epithet Nasir probably denotes that he led a life similar to that, which procured for his brother R. Asher the appellation פרוש, ascetic. R. Jehuda Thibbon, in the letter to his son R. Sh'muel, praises and recommends both R. Aaron and R. Asher, particularly the former in consequence of his skill in chronology. (I am indebted to Mr. H. J. Michael for this information.) The sons in law of R. Meshullam were also universally respected. (Minchath Kenaoth 85.) *Zunz.*

page 34. 18. ***R. Moshe***, the brother-in-law of R. Asher is perhaps identical with the abovemention'd R. Moshe B. Jehuda, whose son, R. Meshullam B. Moshe, was the author of the book Hashlama. *Zunz.*

ibid. 19. גיסו his brother-in-law, being a rabbinic term so very common, it is most suprising to find that every one of the former translators could be guilty of such ignorance as to consider it a proper name. The whole passage appears to have puzzled my worthy predecessors, particulary Mr. Gerrans, whose ludicrous blunders I have pointed out Vol. I. p. 18. *Ed.*

ibid. 20. ***R. Sh'muel*** is probably 'R. Sh'muel of Lunel', a correspondent of R. Isaac. (1170.) (Thosaphoth Themura fol. 12 a. and b.) *Zunz.*

ibid. 21. ***R. Jehuda B. Thibbon,*** the celebrated translator, a native of Granada, who inhabited Lunel prior to 1161 and who died later than 1186. He was on friendly terms with the family of R. Meshullam, (Pre-

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face to the translation of Chobath halebaboth; Minchath Kenaoth 85.) and next to him the most celebrated Jew of Lunel of his time. His friend, R. Serachia ha-Levi (information derived from Mr. H. J. Michael) probably removed to his place at a later period. *Zunz.*

22. ***R. Abraham B. David,*** known under the name of ר"אב"ד, son-in law to the abovemention'd R. Abraham B. Isaac, lived sometimes at Beaucaire and at other periods in Montpellier, Lunel and Nimes and is immortalized by his numerous works; he died Novemb. 27. 1198. (Zunz l. c. 309—313.) *Zunz.* page 35.

23. ***R. Jitschak B. R. Moshe.*** A R. Isaac B. Moshe Narboni is quoted by Aaron Lunel, Orchoth Chajim fol. 80. d. *Zunz.* ibid.

24. ***Nogres or Bourg de St. Gilles.*** This town, the birthplace and first appanage of the celebrated Raymond, count of St. Giles and Toulouse, duke of Narbonne and marquis of Provence, was consecrated to St. Aegidius, whose name, as early as the first crusade, was corrupted by the french into St. Gilles or St. Giles. The church of St. Aegidius was a place of pilgrimage of the pious Christians of the middle-ages. R. Abba Mari was one of the household officers of Raymond V., Comte de St. Gilles and prince of Toulouse. [a] ibid.

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a. 'Raymond V., fils d'Alphonse et de Faydide (1148—1194.) se nommait le Comte de St. Gilles pendant la vie de son père.' Catel 198. — These princes took a very active part in the crusades and their names, either as Toulouse or St. Gilles, occur very frequently in William of Tyre and the other historians of those remarkable wars.

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A. Montanus, L'Empereur and Baratier misunderstood the text and instead of Count Raymond, read 'Sultan Damon, a name, which puzzled 'the learned child' but which was adopted *of course* by Mr. Gerrans. Another gross blunder of the translators will be detected a few lines lower, occasioned by their reading וְהוּא מֻקִּים instead of וְהִיא מְקוֹם — *Provence*, at our authors time included Auvergne and Languedoc. (Reymond de St. Agiles p. 144.) *Ed.*

ibid. 25. ***R. Jitschak B. R. Ja'acob.*** A R. Isaac B. Jacob in Montpellier is quoted by Aaron Lunel. (See Lamperonti in Pachad Jitschak, Reggio 1813, v. כהן fol. 50. c.) *Zunz.*

ibid. 26. ***R. Abraham B. R. Jehuda*** is perhaps the father of R. Jehuda B. Abraham, who flourished in Provence about the same period. (Zunz, l. c. 313.) *Zunz.*

page 36. 27. ***R. Abba Mari B. R. Jitschak***, is very probably the father of R. Isaac B. Abba Mari who wrote the work 'Ittur at Marseilles in 1179 and who appears to have been born about 1130. *Zunz.*

ibid. 28. ***Arles. R. Moshe of Arles*** was a contemporary of R. Calonymos (Mordechai in Tr. Shebuoth, chap. 7. §. 1174.); R. Jehuda B. Moshe of Arles lived at Mayence in 1100. (Shibbole haleket II. ms. §. 59.) *Zunz.*

ibid. 29. ***Marseilles. R. Shime'on B. R. Antoli, his brother R. Ja'acob.*** Pedigree:

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Antoli, uncle of Abraham hajarchi

Simeon	*Jacob*
Abba Mare	*Jehuda*
Jacob 1232.	about 1190.

This pedigree is composed upon the following grounds:

1) The three names are found combined in the person of R. *Jacob*, B. *Abba Mari*, B. *Simeon* (Simson in some MSS.) *B. Antoli*, (Antolio in some MSS. and Ed. of Benjamin of Tudela) the celebrated author of the book Malmad (comp. Geiger: Melo chofnajim, Berlin 1840. p. 54—56.)

2) R. Jacob was intimately connected with Narbonne, Beziers (Catal, Lips. p. 306.) and with the family of Thibbon, and a Provençal, a fact which is proved by the very name Abbamare.

3) R. Jehuda B. Jacob B. Antoli the Nasi (about 1204.) is mention'd by the Provençal author Abraham hajarchi (comp. Zunz, über den Zunamen Jarchi in Israelit. Annalen 1839, No. 42. p. 336.) as being his uncle. (Hamanhig, division Ghet §. 156.) We must not omit to mention that the author of the book 'Ittur, who lived at Marseilles as well as Antoli, was also related to R. Abraham. Another *Antoli* B. Joseph, corresponded with Maimonides. *Antoli* of Lepanto lived in 1304. (Cod. Vatic. Urbin. 11.) *Zunz.*

30. *R. Ja'acob Perpiano*, surnamed 'the rich'; the same man is called by another author (Shebet Jehuda, Amsterd. 1655. fol. 76. a.) the very nobleminded, libe- ibid.

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ral R. Jacob פרופייג'; he died in 1170. A. R. Abram פרופייג lived at Nimes in 1385. (Isaac B. Shesheth, decisions No. 266.) *Zunz.*

page 38. 31. ***Rome.*** R. Jacob B. Jehuda, who travelled in Provence 140 years later (Minchath Kenaoth letter 53, page 115.) reports, that no Jews were to be met with at his time from Provence to Rome; and even the small number found at Genoa, Pisa and Lucca by our author, had disappear'd. The latter city was also visited by Aben 'Esra. In the eastern and central parts of northern Italy however, jewish congregations were to be met with at Venice, Ancona, Rieti, Pesaro, Bologna, Fano, Forli, Ferrara, Fermo, Febriano, Ascoli, Perugia. R. Moshe Minz (1460) mentions the jewish teachers of Lucca. (Decisions No. 43.) *Zunz.*

ibid. 32. ***Pope Alexander.*** The Pope is mention'd by Benjamin and by the other early spanish Jews (Ohel Joseph, in Aben 'Esra, fol. 36. a. comp. Juchasin f. 142. b.) under the designation פפא, Papa. Josippon (p. 671. 672.) calls him הגמון הגדול — the great bishop, an appellation made use of by Benjamin also, in explanation of the term Papa; — and likewise פטרון 'Patron'. R. Levy B. Gerson (in Daniel VII. 11.) calls the Pope ישיש, the old, a term used by Josippon (p. 350.) for roman consuls. The french (Nitsachon, MS. of the 13th. century in cod. hebr. 80. No. 6. of the Hamburg city library) and the german Jews (R. Asher, decisions 8, 11.) translate Pope by אפיפיור, a word, which originally denoted a rank lower by two degrees than הגמון. S. 'Aruch v. נפר and Tract. 'Aboda Sara f. 11. *Zunz.*

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33. ***Pope Alexander.*** This was Alexander III., a native of Sienna, who succeeded in 1159, Adrian IV. (Nicholas Breakspare) an Englishman. Alexander was supported by the sicilian and opposed by the imperial party, at the head of which stood Frederic I. Barbarossa and had to encounter the opposition of three anti-popes, who were raised successively against him. The spirit, adroitness and resolution, which Alexander evinced during the time of the schism, were most astonishing and gained him the favor and support of the kings of France, Spain, England, Sicily and of the sovereigns of many other countries. Alexander took the part of the cities of Lombardy, with which Frederic was engaged in bloody warfare. Pisa embraced the party of the emperor and thereby renewed the strife, which almost continually raged between that republic and Genoa and to which our author alludes above. (Vol. I. p. 37.) Alexander was forced by the success and the progress of the arms of the emperor to quit Rome and Italy in 1161 and to fly to Sens in France, where he continued to reside until 1165, in which year he returned to Rome. After residing there about two years, he was once more forced to seek refuge at Benevento (in 1167) and did not return to Rome before 1177, after having made his peace with the emperor at Venice and having become reconciled to the last anti-pope, Calixtus. He died at Rome in 1181 and was succeeded by Lucius II. Thomas a Becket was Archbishop of Canterbury during Alexanders pontificate. ibid.

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The dates quoted above, prove that R. Benjamin must have visited Rome between 1159 and 1167.

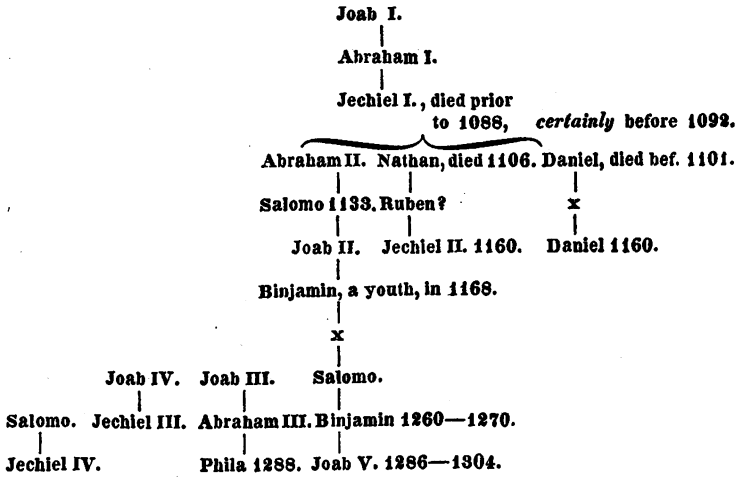
Notwithstanding our friendly feelings towards Dr. Jost, the learned author of the history of the Jews, we cannot but here express our astonishment at the passage, relating to this part of Rabbi B.'s travels, quoted below,[a] from the VIth. volume of the 'History' — where he tries to raise suspicions against Benjamin, 'because he does not mention the name of the pope who reigned at this time'; but as there exists *no* edition of these travels, in which that name is not clearly stated, we confess our distrust in the Doctor's judgement of our author, and assert that the conclusions of an historian who is guilty of such mistakes — we refrain from saying misquotations — ought not to be taken bona fide; even Baratier, though but a child, consider'd such attacks as below his dignity. *Ed.*

ibid. 34. ***R. Daniel — R. Jechiel — R. Joab B. Rabbi R. Sh'lomo.*** — The name of the celebrated author of the dictionary 'Aruch', was R. Nathan; he completed his work at Rome in 1101. His father, R. Jechiel B. Abraham, known by liturgical poems, which were discover'd by Luzzato, and by quotations in the 'Aruch', is probably identical with R. Jechiel B. Abraham B. Joab, whose compositions we meet with in the roman machasor. R. Nathan had two brothers: Daniel and Abraham. R. Sh'lomo, who is mentioned as a

a. Auffallend scheint mir die Nachricht, dass R. Jechiel in Rom der Vertraute des Pabstes gewesen sei, ohne dass der Verfasser des Pabstes Namen hinzufügt. VI. p. 376.

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thalmudic teacher (in Shibole haleket II. MS. §§. 59. 76. and in MSS. collection of decisions) was a son of the latter. The R. Joab mention'd by our author, is beyond doubt a son of this R. Sh'lomo; this is confirmed by the title הרב רבי, by which the latter is mention'd in our text. Our author further states that R. Jechiel was a grandson of R. Nathan, and his relation as cousin to the teacher R. Daniel, has been advanced with a high degree of probability by Rapaport (Life of R. Nathan, in Bikhure haïthim, Note 3). Aben 'Esra composed his commentary to Job, for R. Binjamin B. Joab of Rome (Cod. Vat. 84.), and I have proved (Analekten No. 5. Joab, p. 46. and foll.) that a female descendant of the elder R. Jechiel and a male descendant of R. Joab B. Sh'lomo, were contemporaries (1288) in Rome. These facts enable me to draw up the following pedigree, supported by all historic probability:



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Joab III. is a descendant of Jechiel I.; Jechiel III. a contemporary of R. Shabthai B. Sh'lomo (communicated by H. J. Michael) the latter of whom was a contemporary of R. Tsidkia B. Abraham (Shibole haleket MS. II. §. 157. comp. cod. Rossi 1237. No. 11. Zunz, Analekten No. 6. (l. c. IV. p. 190.) and flourished 1280. This Jechiel also appears to belong to the same family. *Zunz.*

ibid. 35. ***R. Menachem***, president at Rome, is perhaps the same who was celebrated in a poem by Aben 'Esra, (s. Kherem chemed, vol. IV. Prague 1839. p. 144.) ***R. Menachem B. Jehuda***, one of the rabbis at Rome mention'd in the MSS. collection of old decisions, is also perhaps the same. *Zunz.*

ibid. 36. ***R. Benjamin B. R. Shabthai.*** The name of Shabthai is met with, prior to the sixteenth century, principally in Italy, (Rome, Naples) Greece (continent, Crete, also among the Caraïtes), rarely in France and in Germany, more rarely still in Spain. Of those in Italy we mention:

Shabthai Donolo B. Abraham, 946. (S. Zunz, gottesd. Vorträge p. 93. 362. 378. 379., Geiger, Melo Chofnajim p. 95—99.)

Shabthai B. Moshe, of Rome, author of liturgical poetry, (roman machasor, MS.)

Calonymos B. ***Shabthai***, of Rome, in Worms about 1090. (s. Zunz, Raschi, p. 310. ראב"ן fol. 49. c. 53. b.)

Shabthai was the name of one of the sons of R. Nathan in Rome. (Shalsheleth ha-kabbala fol. 41. b.)

Binjamin B. ***Shabthai*** in Rome, teacher in our authors time.

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Mathathia B. *Shabthai*, teacher of thalmudic law in the same city, about 1250. (S. Zunz, Analekten 5. Joab p. 47.)

Sh'lomo B. *Shabthai*, Commentator of Sheelthoth of R. Acha, also at Rome, (comp. Oppenh. Catal. 624. 4to.)

Isaac B. *Shabthai*, at Capua, 1272, (s. Asulaï, Shem hagedolim II. fol. 36. b.)

Shabthai B. Mathathia in Rome, (s. Zunz, l. c.)

Shabthai B. Sh'lomo (see note 34. p. 20.)

Mordechai B. *Shabthai* is the author of penitential prayers in the liturgy of the roman Synagogue.

Shabthai B. Menachem Bozeco
Shabthai, brother of Menachem
} contemporaries of 'Immanuel at Rome, (comp. Zunz, Analekten, 4, p. 330. 7, p. 189.)

Moshe B. *Shabthai* B. Menachem at Rome, about 1340. (ibid.)

Shabthai B. Jehuda B. Binjamin Canroth, a copyist in Italy, Ao. 1322. (cod. Rossi 5.)

Shabthai the Parnass, a person mention'd in Calonymos 'Masekheth Purim', a work written at Rome.

Elia B. Jechiel B. *Shabthai* B. Avigdor Ao. 1374. (cod. Rossi 728.)

Mathathia B. *Shabthai* Ao. 1365. (cod. Vat. 71.)

Sh'lomo B. *Shabthai*, 14th. century, (cod. Rossi 1062.)

Jechiel B. *Shabthai*. Ao. 1389. (cod. Rossi 219.)

Shabthai B. Levi B. *Shabthai* B. Elia B. Moshe *Shabthai*, copyist of cod. Vatican 214. Ao. 1394.

Shabthai B. Menachem B. *Shabthai* B. Jehuda, Ao.

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1380—1403, a grandson of that Shabthai, who lived Ao. 1322. (comp. codd. Rossi 1070, 61.)

Shabthai B. Jechiel in Bologna, buys the cod. Laurent. (Biscioni Catal. in fol. p. 116.) in May 1383.

Shabthai B. Jechiel in Ancona, Ao. 1399. (s. R. Shesheth, decisions No. 127.)

Shabthai B. 'Immanuel in Perugia, a copyist Ao. 1477. Cod. Rossi 1126.

Mathathia B. *Shabthai* of Monte Poliziano; miscellaneous pieces by him in cod. Vatican. 258.

Elia Beer B. *Shabthai*, physician at Rome, 1420 (s. Zunz, Analekten. 5. p. 53. and 'on a medal' in Israelit. Annalen 1840. p. 49.)

Shabthai B. Jekuthiel in Sulmona, 1445, cod. Rossi 326.

Jehoseph B. *Shabthai* in Camerino, cod. Rossi 868. Identical with him is Jehoseph B. *Shabthai* B. Sh'lomo, the copyist of 'Immanuels commentary to Job in cod. Rossi 58. But another copyist of the same name (cod. Uri 1.) lived Ao. 1357.

Jehuda B. Sh'lomo B. *Shabthai* Levi, copyist in Lombardy 1493. codd. Rossi 1167 and 1168.

Moshe B. *Shabthai* of Palestrina, Ao. 1473. (Biscioni Catal. in 8vo. p. 427.)

Abraham B. *Shabthai*, Ao. 1490. (de Rossi Annal. sec. XV. p. 128.)

Shabthai B. Joel Chajim, copied several works of Jehuda Romano, in 1462. (MS. of H. J. Michael.)

Isaac B. *Shabthai*, copyist of cod. Oppenh. 791.

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Quarto. (Catal. MS.) The epithet בכמ"ר appears to decide his italian origin.

Shabthai in Naples Ao. 1469. (s. cod. Vatic. Urbin. 7 or cod. Kennicott 500.)

Shabthai B. Sh'lomo, 1471. (s. cod. Rossi 1077.)

Shabthai B. Serach, 1489, in Sicily, (cod. Vat. 207.)

Shabthai B. Jechiel Manoach, (cod. Vat. 90.) The name makes it very probable that he lived in central Italy.

Shabthai B. Chajim Jona, in Italy, (s. Biscioni Catal. in fol. p. 163.)

Jair B. ***Shabthai*** of Correggio, author of a polemic paper. (MS. of H. J. Michael). — The places of abode of the following are doubtful: Leon B. ***Shabthai***, She-m'aja B. ***Shabthai***, פפולמון B. ***Shabthai***, ***Shabthai*** B. Secharja, (about 1160. s. Hagahoth Maimonioth in אישות c. 23.) ***Shabthai*** (Thosafoth Nasir 3 b.) ***Shabthai*** the copyist (Ao. 1291, in a Nuremberg Codex) ***Shabthai*** B. Meshullam (Ao. 1316. in Cod. Rossi 738.) Jacob B. ***Shabthai*** (Ao. 1433, cod. Vatic. Urbin. 22.) ***Shabthai*** B. Jacob (R. Jacob Levi, decisions No. 81.) The poet Jehuda B. Isaac B. ***Shabthai*** Halevi (Ao. 1214) and Shaul B. ***Shabthai*** (s. משכיות כסף Amsterd. 1770. fol. 25. a.) are Castilians; the copyis ***Shabthai*** B. Jehuda Ao. 1144. (cod. Kennic. 293.) is a Spaniard; the martyr Shabthai in Erfurt (12 th. century, cod. hebr. 38. in Hamburg No. 154), the rabbi Isaac B. ***Shabthai*** (about 1270, s. Meïr Rothenb. decisions ed. Cremona No. 17.) and the Rabbi ***Shabthai*** B. Sh'muel (about 1460, s. Moshe Minz, decisions, No. 63.) are Germans. The copyist

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Joseph B. *Shabthai* B. Sh'lomo (about 1300. s. cod. Rossi 369.) is perhaps a frenchman, if he is not identical with the abovenamed Jehoseph. *Zunz.*

page 39. 37. ***Eigthy halls of the eighty eminent kings, who are all called Imperator, from king Tarquin &c.*** Benjamin evidently means to speak of Tarquinius Priscus and not of Trajanus, as Dr. Jost[a] must have read *by mistake.* This emperor was the first, who erected splendid and remarkable buildings at Rome, he also constructed the circus and among other celebrated temples, that of the capitol. I may remark here that other exaggerations, which occur in the course of this work and are stated by our author, partly upon his own authority and partly upon that of others, cannot affect the general importance of the work; not one of the old travellers is exempt from similar faults and upon a comparison with others, the balance must be much in favor of R. Benjamin. *Rapaport.*

ibid. 38. The following remarks of Gibbon[b] will be found to plead very forcibly in excuse of our authors mistakes, in reference to his historical notices of the monuments he saw at Rome and the other capitals he visited: 'when Petrarch first gratified his eyes with a few of those monuments, (of Rome) whose scatter'd fragments so far surpass the most eloquent descriptions, he was astonish'd at the supine indifference of the Romans themselves; he was humbled rather than elated by the discovery, that, except his friend Rienzi

a. l. c. b. Decline and Fall, Chap. LXXI.

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and one of the Colonna, a stranger of the Rhône was more conversant with these antiquities than the nobles and natives of the metropolis. The ignorance and credulity of the Romans are elaborately displayed in the old survey of the city, which was composed about the beginning of the thirteenth century; and, without dwelling on the manifold errors of name and place, the legend of the capitol may provoke a smile of contempt and indignation: 'The capitol', says the anonymous author, 'is so named as being the head of the world, where the consuls and senators formerly resided for the government of the city and the globe. The strong and lofty walls were cover'd with glass and gold, and crowned with a roof of the richest and most curious carving. Below the citadel stood a palace, of gold for the greatest part, decorated with precious stones, and whose value might be esteemed at one third of the world itself. The statues of all the provinces were arranged in order, each with a small bell suspended from its neck; and such was the contrivance of magic art, that if the province rebell'd against Rome, the statue turned round to that quarter of the heavens, the bell rang, the prophet of the capitol reported the prodigy, and the senate was admonish'd of the impending danger'. Gibbon adduces other instances proving the ignorance and absurdity of the learned of the thirteenth century and after perusing them, the charges of the credulity of the simple jewish traveller certainly lose their force. *Ed.*

39. The traditions respecting the eighty halls, the ibid.

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palace of Titus and of Vespasian etc. are moreover mostly copied from Josephus Gorionides, an author probably consulted by our traveller, when after his return he composed this narrative. These facts must have escaped the learned Dr. Jost, or he certainly would and should have abstained from making these mistakes a point of accusation against our author, who, we contend, is comparatively more exempt from mistakes than his reviewer. *Ed.*

page 41. 40. ***The ten martyrs.*** This appellation is given to ten ancient teachers of the mishna, who suffer'd violent death in the period between Vespasian and Hadrian. The later legend has not only connected these persecutions as one tragick fact (comp. Zunz, gottesd. Vorträge p. 142.) but has assigned to its victims a common sepulchre, at Rome. In the legend is contained a conversation of the ten martyrs with the emperor, in consequence of which Rome was made the scene thereof; history of course banishes such legends. Several of the ten were not buried in Rome, and the sepulchres of three, of Akiba, Jishma'el and Jehuda B. Thema were shown in Palestine in the 13th. and 16th. centuries. (R. Jacob in cod. Sorbonne 222. יחוס ed. Heidelberg p. 37. 59. 67.) the sepulchre of R. Akiba is said to be Antipatris by others (Seder Hadoroth fol. 140. c.) A more recent catalogue (אגרת מספרת יהוסתא Constantinople 1743.) notices as known in Palestine the sepulchres of R. Jehuda B. Baba and Simon B. Gamaliel, two others of the 'ten martyrs.' *Zunz.*

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41. ***Puzzuolo or Sorrento.*** The whole passage re- page 42.
lating to the history of this city and all the mistakes which occur therein, are copied either by our author or by a later scribe from Josephus Gorionides,[a] who also speaks of the petroleum which is gather'd in the vicinity, and of the causeway under the mountains 'constructed by Romulus who feared David', a tradition which arose probably from the numerous and widely extended caverns, with which this vicinity abounds. Our author mentions no names of any of the Jews of Puzzuolo and we therefore doubt whether he visited it (s. Introduction); it is likely however, that the remains of buildings, which are even yet found near that place, gave rise to the belief, that this city and Sorrento had been one and the same place. Mr. Leopold von Buch had the kindness to inform me, that these remains were the ruins of roman villas, which had sunk with the ground and were cover'd by the gulf; but that although there was no doubt of a great change, which had evidently taken place and had transformed the country, he did not think that there was any ground to suppose, a town had disappear'd on this spot. See: Hoffman's Bemerkungen über Italien und Sicilien, herausgegeben von H. von Dechen. Berlin. ***Ed.***

42. ***Naples,*** says Edrisi (II. 257.) 'is a handsome, page 43.
ancient, flourishing and populous town, which contains many bazaars and where you find excellent opportunities of speculating in merchandize and objects of all sorts.' ***Ed.***

a. Lib. I. Chap. III.

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ibid. 43. ***Originally built by the Greeks.*** This is correct; we find Naples mention'd by several of the greek geographers and latin authors under the name of Neapolis and also under that of Parthenope, from one of the Syrens, which was adored on the spot. The city was composed of the old town (Cuma), and the newer parts (Neapolis) and attained its large extent only during the middle ages. (s. Bischoff and Möller s. v.) ***Ed.***

ibid. 44. ***R. Jitschak from mount Hor,*** in Naples, was perhaps from Montpellier, as R. Abraham in Salerno from Narbonne; the name of Montpellier being also ההר, the former called himself מההר, which by some later scribe was corrupted into הר ההר. ***Zunz.***

ibid. 45. ***Salerno, the principal medical university of Christendom.*** 'The treasures of grecian medicine, says Gibbon (ch. 56.), had been communicated to the arabian colonies of Africa, Spainand Sicily; and in the intercourse of peace and war, a spark of knowledge had been kindled and cherished at Salerno, an illustrious city, in which the men were honest and the women beautiful. A school, the first that arose in the darkness of Europe, was consecrated to the healing art: the conscience of monks and bishops was reconciled to that salutary and lucrative profession; and a crowd of patients, of the most eminent rank, and most distant climates, invited or visited the physicians of Salerno'. ***Ed.***

ibid. 46. ***R. Malkhi Tsedek. R. Isaac*** of ***Siponto,*** or ***R. Isaak B. Malkhitsedek,*** whose commentaries upon several divisions of the mishna are still extant, is quoed by authors, who flourished from 1160 to 1200. e. g.:

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Rabenu Tham (Book Ha-jashar §. 648.), Hillel (Commentary to Sifra, MS. beginning and section אחרי), Serachja Halevi (Maor, end of Mo'ed Katan), Abraham B. David (who, by his quotations of 'the greek' in his Hagahoth, refers to our R. Isaac (opinion of my learned friend H. I. Michael) and not to R. Shabthai, as supported by the author of the paper in Israelitische Annalen 1839. p. 154.), Isaak B. Abbamare ('Ittur fol. 25. c.) Eli'eser of Metz (Sefer Jereim §. 23). R. Benjamin is the first to inform us, that the place of abode of R. Malkhitsedek, was Salerno and I am tempted to amend the text and to read: ורבי יצחק ברבי מלכי צדק, 'R. Jitzchak the son of R. Malkhi Tsedek,' because the son of R. Isaak is quoted as early as in the book 'Ittur. Moreover R. Malkhitsedek is not known as 'the grand Rabbi' and Moshe Rieti calls this author R. Isaak B. Malkhitsedek, not B. *Rabbi* (s. Kherem chemed IV. 26. and also Hagahoth Maimonioth ברכות c. 6.) The time at which R. Isaac flourished, between 1150 and 1170, is quite in conformity with his relative position in reference to the abovenamed contemporaries. *Zunz.*

47. ***Hajevani***, i. e. the greek. This appellation is borne by several eminent men, natives of southern Italy and Greece, e. g.: R. ***Baruch*** (about 1140, Piske Recanate No. 393.) ***Benjamin*** (s. Bartolocci bibliotheca I. 674.) ***Dosa B. Moshe*** (a commentator of Rashi, MS. with H. I. Michael) ***Elia*** (in Salerno) ***Joseph*** (Wolf, bibliotheca III. 377), probably identical with Joseph Kilti (Israelit. Annalen 1839. p. 163.) ***Joseph B. David*** (a grammarian, and native of Greece, s. Wolf. ibid.

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bibliotheca ib. 393.) *Isaac* (in Tadmor) R. *Isaac* of Siponto (s. above p. 29.) *Meir B. Moshe* in Rom (Shibole haleket II. MS. §. 41.) *Moshe* (s. Israelit. Annalen ibid. p. 162.) *Shabthai* (s. Derascha of Nachmanides, Prague 1595. 4to. towards the end; from which Carmoly interpolated the passage p. 109. of his ed. of Pethachia's travels, Paris 1831. 8vo.) *Schimei* (s. the poem by Aben 'Esra in Kherem chemed IV. 140.) *Serachja* (s. Asulai, Schem hagedolim II. fol. 26. b. de Rossi diz. storico II. 169.) *Zunz.*

ibid. 48. *Amalfi.* Dr. Jost finds the clearest proofs of this itinerary being a mere compilation in the account our author gives of Amalfi, and in order to support this opinion he thus misquotes him:[a] 'R. Benjamin maintains this city to be a commercial town, strong, powerful, inconquerable; Amalfi was all this before his time, but after the pillage, which it was subjected to by the emperor and the Pisans in 1135, it lost all these advantages and its splendour was lost for ever'. The fact however is, that the republic of Amalfi existed as such, down to 1310 (Ersch and Gruber Encyclopaedia, art. Amalfi). Even if the city had been pillaged and had lost much of its splendour, Benjamin only wrote down what he actually saw; to him it appear'd a fortress,

a. R. Benjamin behauptet, sie sei eine Handelsstadt, fest, mächtig, unbezwinglich. Das war sie freilich vor seinen Zeiten, aber seit dem sie 1135 vom Kaiser und den Pisanern geplündert ward, verlor sie alle diese Eigenschaften, und ihr Glanz war völlig erloschen als R. Benjamin dies schrieb. Jost, Geschichte der Israeliten VI. 376.

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surrounded by rocky mountains and thus he describes it, as an honest eye-witness. Possibly the city may have regained something of its former splendour after the pillage of 1135, and in fact Benjamin neither says that it is 'strong' nor 'powerful' but merely states, that the inhabitants were addicted to commerce and that it was difficult to attack them, because they could retreat into their mountain fastnesses. *Rapaport.*

48 a. Leaving it to the opinion of the reader, to decide what reasons can prompt an historian to argue upon a quotation, such as the learned Dr. has brought forward, we barely add to the above note, that Amalfi was a town of great importance in Benjamin's time[a] and even thirty years later (in 1190) had its own consuls at Naples. Documents which prove, that Benjamin's account is by no means exaggerated, will be found in Miltitz, Manuel des Consuls, Vol. II., partie I. p. 90. *Ed.* ibid.

49. *The benevolent or noble.* נדיב (nadib) means: 1) liberal, 2) important, noble, from which 3) rich. In consequence of this, the epithets nadib and 'ashir (rich) are placed parallel (Ma'aloth hammiddoth c. 19.) and R. Jacob, who is called 'the rich' by our author (p. 36.) is named 'the great nadib' by the author of the book Shebet Jehuda (fol. 76. a.) Liberality was consider'd an evidence of elevated rank and noble descent (Ma'aloth ibid.

a. Amalfi, says Edrisi (II. 258.) *is a flourishing town* and its port, well fortified on the land side, is only accessible by sea.

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hammiddoth c. 22.) so much so, that the quality of benevolence was absorbed in the epithet 'Nadib' used as an honorable distinction, and was applied only to those who were rich and of elevated rank in society. The nobles of high condition were called nedibim (combined with שועים in Josippon p. 843. Jehuda Levi in בתולת בת יהודה p. 48.); even if in consequence of some mean acts, they had the mortification of seeing the word נבל (mean, low), the exact contrary of nadib, affixed to their appellation, (Charisi, Thachkhemoni, c. 50.) We meet with the title nadib, which is to be explained in every instance by 'rich', 'noble', 'of high standing', in the 12th. and 13th. century, as an honorable distinction of several men in *Catalonia* (Serachja, preface to his translation of the canon, MS.), in *Lunel* (R. Aaron hacohen in Orchoth chajim fol. 102. b.), in *Beaucaire* ('R. Isaac B. Jehuda ha-nadib' in Kherem chemed IV. 35. being beyond doubt the poet Isaac Hasniri, of the ritual of the synagogue of Avignon, who lived in that city about 1220.), in *Marseilles* (Thachkhemoni c. 46. Shebet Jehuda fol. 76. a.), in *Chinon* (Hagahoth Maimonioth, decisions אישות No. 21.), in *La Rochelle* (cod. Kennicott 242.), in *France* generally (Rabenu Tham in the book ha-jaschar §§. 696. 699. 720. Themim Deim f. 8. b. R. Baruch in the book Hatheruma, division איסור והיתר §. 50, comp. רקח No. 475. Hagahoth Maimonioth, decisions שופטים No. 20. end), in *Lorraine* (Shibole haleket II. MS. §. 27.) in *Germany* (R. Joseph Cohen, chronicles s. 25 b. s. also cod. Vatic. Urbin 1.), in *Bohemia* (Adereth, decisions No. 386.), in *Eng-*

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land (Aben 'Esra, Jesod more c. 2.), in *Amalfi* (Benjamin), in *Bari* (Shibole haleket No. 4.) At p. 89 of our work Nadib is met with as a proper name. *Zunz.*

50. ***Melfi in Apulia, the Pul of Scripture.*** This is one of the mistakes, of which authors of more recent date are also guilty; a slight similarity in the name of a place, was to them sufficient evidence to identify it with some scriptural site; many years will yet elapse, before it will be possible to clear up all the confusion thus created in ancient geography. *Ed.* page 11.

51. ***The lecturer,*** i. e. a man who is conversant with the Hagada or the ancient manner of expounding the holy scripture; the hebrew appellation is 'darschan'. Comp. Zunz, gottesdienstliche Vorträge p. 287. 331. 337. 345. 416. 423. 424. 426.) *Zunz.* page 15.

52. ***St. Nicholas de Bari,*** which was taken and almost destroyed by the Greeks, during the reign of William of Sicily, was called St. Nicholas in honour of the celebrated church and priory of that name, which are its most remarkable ornaments. They were built in 1098 and richly endowed by Roger, duke of Apulia, and escaped the great and general destruction with which the city was visited; the church contains numerous splendid sepulchral monuments.[a] *Ed.* ibid.

53. ***R. Mali.*** The population of Calabria was greek, which accounts for the occurrence of the name of Mali among the Jews of Tarent and Otranto and which is met with also in the prayers of the Roman machasor (ms.); ibid.

a. Penny Cyclopaedia, Bari. Le Beau, Bas Empire 88. 11.

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perhaps Μαλιον instead of Μηλιον (malum), compare Ἄνδος (Flos) in cod. Rossi 12. ***Zunz.***

ibid. 54. ***Khaleb,*** is a name of more frequent occurrence among grecian Jews than among any others, e. g. Khaleb in Tarent, another in Negropont (below p. 47), Mikhael B. Khaleb in Thebes, (Charisi, Thachkhemoni chap. 18). The grecian machasor contains works by several poets of that name. Shabthai B. Khaleb lived at Arta about 1534, (תומת ישרים fol. 82. b.) and Khaleb B. Jochanan about 1520. (R. Samuel de Medina, decisions in Eben ha'eser fol. 58. a.) The caraïte Khaleb Afandopulo of Constantinople is well known. Khaleb B. Sh'muel is named in connexion with the four Shabthai in Hagahoth Maimonioth (s. above p. 23.) which gives ground to suppose that these teachers lived in Greece. — On a gaon of the name of Khaleb, s. Zunz, in Geigers Zeitschrift IV. p. 390. ***Zunz.***

ibid. 55. ***Corfu.*** This Island, though for some length of time subject to Roger and William, Kings of Sicily, was reconquer'd by Manuel, emperor of Greece, in 1149[a] and the words of our author: עד הנה מלכות are probably intended to express, that this was the first spot, at which he touched after leaving the kingdom of Sicily. The text reads קרופום, the greeks of B.'s time called the island 'Κορυφώ' à cause, says Ducange[b] d'une fortresse bastie sur le haut d'un rocher. ***Ed.***

page 46. 56. ***Greece.*** Rabbi Benjamin's route through Greece has puzzled former editors, principally in consequence

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a. ibid. 87. 45. b. Observations s. Villehardouin No. 56.

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of the corrupt spelling of the names of the stations mention'd here. These have been rectified as much as possible in the present edition by the kind assistance of Prof. Carl Ritter and by help of the learned commentary of Prof. Tafel.[a] *Ed.*

57. ***Arta***: — the text reads לבטה which is evi- ibid.
dently corrupted — on the gulf of Arta; for a detailed account of its history, antiquities etc. see Poucqueville II. 91. et seq. and Dr. C. Wordsworth's splendid and classic volume: Greece, pictorial, descriptive and historical. London 1839. 8vo. *Ed.*

58. ***Sh'lachjah*** in Arta. A poet of the name of Cha- ibid.
nanja B. Shelachjah occurs in the greek machasor. The correspondent of R. Abraham B. David who is mention'd in תמים דעים (decisions No. 8.) is perhaps Shelemia (s. above p. 11.) instead of Sh'lachjah. *Zunz.*

59. ***Achelous***: an ancient city of Aetolia, on the ibid.
river Achelous, Poucqueville II. 184. *Ed.*

60. ***Shabthai.*** One of the five teachers of this name, ibid.
mention'd by Benjamin (p. 46. 49. 50. 56. 57.) as living in Greece, is perhaps the contemporary of R. Hillel of Romania, quoted in 'lltur (fol. 15. a.) *Zunz.*

61. ***Anatolica:*** on the gulf, in a N. W. direction, near Missolunghi. Poucqueville III. 189. Leake I. 113. ibid.
III. 529. *Ed.*

62. ***Patras***: well known; the story of the origin of the city was copied from Josephus Gorionides,[b] it was ibid.

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a. De Thessalonica etc. p. 490. et seq. b. Lib. II. chap. XXIII. pag. 153.

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founded in fact by Patraeus. See Poucqueville III. 496. this author found only seventeen 'jewish families at Patras in 1820. *Ed.*

ibid. 63. ***Lepanto,*** Naupactus of the ancients, well known. Poucqueville III. 114. et seq. Leake II. 607. The former found hardly any Jews in this place and states that they had perished of the plague in 1756, during the time of which they had been walled in and left without nourishment by their christian brethren. *Ed.*

ibid. 64. ***Crissa,*** on the Crissaeus Sinus, the modern gulf of Salona, on the southern foot of Parnassus. Leake II. 566. 586. *Ed.*

page 47. 65. ***Corinth,*** well known. Poucqueville IV. 15. et seq. *Ed.*

ibid. 66. ***Thebes,*** is spelt תיבש by Benjamin; at a later period תבץ (s. Thachkhemoni chap. 18. Elia Misrachi, decisions No. 70.) *Zunz.*

66. a. This city, at our authors time, contained the greatest number of Jews of any in Greece, some among them were eminent manufacturers, principally of silk and purple cloths. Gibbon[a] states that artists employed upon these trades enjoyed exemption from personal taxes, 'These arts', he continues, 'which were exercised at Corinth, Thebes and Argos, afforded food and occupation to a numerous people: the men, women and children were distributed according to their age and strength; and if many of these were domestic slaves, their masters, who directed the work and enjoyed the

a. Decline and Fall. chap. LIII.

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profits, were of a free and honorable condition.' At present the whole population does not amount to above 3500 individuals![a] *Ed.*

67. ***Joktan.*** This name of rare occurrence is met with also in the greek machasor. (s. Kherem chemed IV. p. 38.) *Zunz.* ibid.

68. ***Negropont,*** spelt ארגירפו in the text, this reading is very similar to the corruption complained of by Gibbon (chap. 60.) who remarks that this modern name of Chalcis and all Euboea is derived from its ***Euripus***; ***Euripo***, ***Negri-po***, ***Negripont.*** On the recent state of Negropont see Poucqueville III. 162. *Ed.* ibid.

69. ***Emanuel***, is a name which became common among the Jews of the byzantine empire, from whence it spread to Tarent and Rome, but which was almost confined to these countries. *Zunz.* ibid.

70. ***Jabustrisa.*** The name sounds slavonic and the place was probably inhabited by Walachians; it is unknown at present and has probably been destroyed in the course of the continual warfare, carried on in this part of Greece. *Ed.* ibid.

71. ***Rabenica.*** This place is mention'd by several authors of the middle ages. Henri de Valencienne, Chronique, edited by Buch p. 259. 'Ensi comme jou devant vous dys, fut li parlemens ou val de Ravenique.' See Tafel p. 488. *Ed.* page 48.

72. ***Zeitún.*** The hebrew text is corrupted and probably means Zeitún Potamo 'Zeitun of the river.' This ibid.

a. On Lepanto, Corinth and Thebes, s. Edrisi II. 123.

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place is still of some consequence, a fair is held here every year in August, which lasts eight days; several Walachian villages belong to the dependencies of Zeitún. Poucqueville III. 255. 258. *Ed.*

ibid. 73. ***Walachia.*** The information, which may be derived from the study of the present work, is valuable and important, notwithstanding the attempt of the learned Dr. Jost, to make it suspected or to annihilate it altogether (see Geschichte der Israeliten VI. 376). Several of those facts, which the Dr. quotes, with the view of ridiculing our author, are fit, on the contrary, to prove his veracity. Thus, on the Walachians, whom Benjamin describes as living in the vicinity of Thebes and of whom he says that they are addicted to robberies and plunder, the Allgemeine Zeitung, July 16. 1839. p. 1531. contains the account quoted below, [a] which proves that R. Benjamin's statement is applicable to them even at this day. It is not to be wonder'd at, that the similarity of their names with those of the

a. At some distance from the road we inspected a moveable village of the people called Wlachi, i.e. herdsmen, it consisted of fifteen tents. The wandering herdsmen are often forced by robbers, during their stay in the mountains in the summer months, to become not only abettors, but also accomplices in crime; King Otho declared that although he was pleased to see them in Greece, it would be desirable that they should select fixed abodes and should remain within the boundary of his empire in order to be consider'd grecian subjects. Experience has taught that the small parties of robbers generally consist of Walachians, who easily escape the arm of avenging justice, by retreating into the adjacent turkish territory with their tents and families.

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Jews, should have given rise, *among the latter*, to the idea of their being of jewish origin, although the Walachians themselves pretend to be descended from roman colonies. *Rapaport.*

74. The account, which R. Benjamin gives of the inhabitants of Walachia, startled 'the learned child' Baratier, and led 'the learned Dr.' Jost into expressions,[a] rather strange in an historian[b] who has also written on style. In order to vindicate our author however we refer to the above note by the Revd. Rabbi S. L. Rapaport and add the following extract which, we hope, will tend fully to justify the traveller's statement. 'A cette epoque' says Poucqueville (II. 153.) speaking of the Walachians, 'on les voit aux prises avec les empereurs grecs, incédiant et désolant les plus belles contrées de la Thrace et de la Macédoine. Parfois vaincus, et plus souvent vainqueurs, ils brillent par des traits de courage et de férocité. Unis aux Romains et aux Scythes, ils descendent, comme des torrens dévastateurs, des sommets du mont Hémus et du Rhodope. Serrès, Philippolis, Ternobe, Rodosto, éprouvent leurs fureurs; et l'Orient, épouvanté, tremble au seul bruit de leur nom. Ils fomentent toutes les révolutions pour y prendre part; et ils se mêlent aux convulsions sanglantes de l'état, afin de la démembrer et de s'en partager les lambeaux. Enfin au mois de Mars 1205 ils portent un coup fatal à ce fantôme d'empire que les Latins voulaient soutenir.' For further quo- ibid.

a. Mit den Wallachen hat er Brüderschaft getrunken. l. c. 376. b. Tafel. l. c.

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tations in support of our author, collected from contemporary writers, see Tafel, l. c. p. 490. *Ed.*

page 49. 75. ***Gardicki*** or ***Cardicki***, on the coast of the gulf of Volo, a small town (bourgade)[a] and the seat of a bishop. The time at which it was ruined or the occasion upon which its destruction took place, cannot be ascertained.[b] 'Sur la route d'Amyrot a Zeitún,' says Poucqueville, (III, 72.) 'à la distance de sept heures, sont situés Vrignia, ***Cardicki***, Garrani et Kouphous.' *Ed.*

ibid. 76. ***Armyro***, also on the coast of the gulf of Volo, s. Wordsworth's Greece. By the writers of the middle-ages it was called Amire, Amiro and Almiro. Poucqueville (III. 72.) mentions it as the principal town of a district which bears its name. See also Leake IV. 333. 367, *Ed.*

ibid. 77. ***R. Shiloh.*** The orthography שילה is identical with שילא, and Charisi (chap. 18.) rhymes כלה, בעולה, with שילה, in consequence of which we must read ***Shilah.*** *Zunz.*

ibid. 78. ***R. Joseph the elder.*** פרנס, ***Parnas***, i. e. superior, (verbatim) fosterer, became the general title of the elders of the community and consequently a distinction, which was attached to the names of the persons bearing this dignity. Similar to the synonymous appellation of קצין, נדיב, זקן, ראש, Parnas has also become a family name, especially in Greece. Of the inhabitants of this country, with the name of Parnas, the following are known: Abia B. Joktan (Kherem chemed IV, 30.) Elia (R. Joseph Kolon, de-

a. Poucqueville III. 44. 222. b. Tafel l. c. 494.

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cisions No. 83. comp. Kore ha-doroth fol. 29. a.) Elia B. Sh'muel (Kherem chemed l. c.) Eliakim in Constantinople (Benjamin) Elkanan B. Sh'marjah (Kherem ch.) Joseph (Benjamin) Mathathia B. Joseph (Kherem chemed l. c.) Moshe (ib.) Moshe B. El'asar of the house of Parnas (a printer at Constantinople 1547—1550.), Moshe B. Elia prior to 1389 (MS. of H. I. Michael) Sh'muel B. Nathan (Kherem chemed l. l.) — In other countries, we find: El'asar Parnas, an Elder at Prague about 1470 (R. Joseph Kolon, decisions No. 78.); Eli'eser Parnas, Ao. 1598 in Calabria (Catal. of the hebrew MSS. at Munic No. 122. 276.); Eliakim the Parnas, beginning of 13th. century, in Germany (ראבי"ה, in Mordechai Tr. Jebamoth c. 4.); Heman the Parnas, in Damascus (Benjamin p. 86.); Jacob Parnas the Nadib, in Lorraine, about 1150 (Book ha-jashar §. 699.); Jehuda the Parnas in Rom, a contemporary of 'Immanuel, died prior to 1328 (Machberoth c. 28); the Parnas R. Jehuda (above p. 9.); the Parnas Jekuthiel Halevi in Germany 12th. century (s. commentary to the machasor, MS. in cod. hebr. 17. at Hamburg); Joseph B. Isaac the Parnas at Troyes, 13th. century (H. J. Michael); Calonymos the Parnas, uncle of R. Simcha at Spires, prior to 1200 (Or Saru'a, in Therumoth hadeshen, No. 341. Hagahoth Maimonioth, decis. קנין No. 1.); Moshe Parnas, author of the book called פרנס, 14th. century; Sh'muel the Parnas (comment. to the machasor MS. l. l.), Shabthai the Parnas (s. above p. 21.) ***Zunz.***

79. ***Bissina.*** This place, although at present unknown, is mention'd by several authors of the middle ibid.

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ages, under the name of Vissena, Vessena and Bezena.[a] As our author embarked at or near this station it cannot have been Velestino, which we meet with by following his route on a map of Greece, because, although in the vicinity of Armyro and on the road to Salonicki, it is an inland town. *Ed.*

ibid. 80. ***Salunki.*** The ancient Thessalonica, the modern Salonicki, contained at our authors time more jewish inhabitants than any town in Greece, Thebes alone excepted; it is stated by good authorities to contain at present 20,000 Israelites, a large proportion of the whole population, amounting altogether to but 70,000 souls. Some popular tradition probably induced our author to ascribe the origin of the city to Seleucus. 'The favorable situation of Salonicki, which has made it one of the most commercial towns of the turkish empire, was probably the cause of its considerable jewish population.' A charge similar to that of provost, which in Benjamins time was held in this city by R. Sh'muel, was entrusted in England by King John, to a Jew of the name of James, who obtained a charter as 'Presbyter omnium judaeorum totus Angliae.' *Ed.*

page 50. 81. ***Mitrizzi.*** This place, which has vanished from the modern maps of Greece, was correctly called Dimitritzi and was situated near Amphipolis, on the cercinian sea. Schaffarik supposes it to be identical with Domeras. See Tafel. l. c. 497. *Ed.*

ibid. 82. ***Drama.*** Villehardouin (No. 238) mentions this

a. ibid. 496.

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place as belonging to the king of Thessalonica, he calls it '*Dramine* el val de Phelippe' 'Another MS., says his learned commentator, reads *Draimes*, which is more in conformity with the appellation given to it by Nicephoras Gregoras, who, like our author, frequently calls it *Drama*.' It stands in a valley, near the site of the ancient city of Philippi, the ruins of which are still to be seen and deserve more attention, than has been paid to them hitherto. *Ed.*

83. *Mikhael.* A name principally in use among the israelites of Greece, comp. antè p. 34. *Zunz.* ibid.

84. *Christopoli.* There can hardly be any doubt that our author wrote קנישתולי only because he did not like to mention the name of Christ; we observe this in several other instances in the course of this work.[a] Christopoli was on the direct road from Thessalonica to Constantinople,[b] it was situated on the frontiers of Macedonia and Thracia, on the european shore of the Propontis, opposite the island of Thaso. From hence travellers generally embarked, who like our author, journeyed from Macedonia to Constantinople;[c] they sailed along the coast, doubled the peninsula of Gallipoli (Chersonesus Thraciae) and made for the port of ibid.

85. *Abydos*, on the Hellespont; here the venetian pilots cast anchor, who under the command of Andrew Dandolo (in 1203) conveyed the heroes of the fourth ibid.

a. e. g. vol. I. p. 70. b. L'Empirères Baudoins cheuacha adés droit à Salenique, et vint à un chastel qui ot à nom Christopole (Christople), qui ère vns de plus fors del munde. (Villehardouin 149.) c. ibid. Notes by Ducange.

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crusade to Constantinople (Villehardouin 65.), hither also went Agnes the daughter of Boniface, marquis of Montferrat and king of Macedonia, when she was married to Henry, emperor of Constantinople, Ao. 1206. (Villehardouin No. 239). The place still exists and is called in turkish Nagara Bourum. *Ed.*

ibid. 86. ***Constantinople.*** The account which our author furnishes of this city and which appears to be one of the few descriptions, that have been preserved at full length,[a] shows him to have been a keen observer and faithful reporter of what he saw. This part of his narrative alone insures him a rank as a traveller which none of his contemporaries, or even his successors in the two subsequent centuries, can attain; his account abounds with a great number of important facts, and he avoids all reports founded upon questionable authority, advantages not always the characteristic of even modern travels, but of which *none* of those of the middle ages can boast. *Ed.*

ibid. 87. ***King Manuel,*** or Emmanuel Comnenus began his reign in 1143 and died in 1180. Gibbon[b] gives an admirable account of his accession and a description of his person in the 48th. chapter of the 'decline and fall'. *Ed.*

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a. See Introduction. b. The many attractions combined in Gibbon's immortal work, induce us to quote it, in preference even to the sources from which he derives his information; whilst the classic style of the narrative fascinates the amateur, the scholar will find gratification in consulting the learned notes and the authorities to which he continually refers in support of his statements.

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88. ***Twelve princely officers govern the empire.*** ibid. 'The successive casualties of inheritance and forfeiture had render'd the sovereign proprietor of many stately houses in the city and suburbs, of which *twelve* were appropriated to the ministers of state' Gibbon chap. LIII. *Ed.*

89. ***The first of these nobles bears the title etc.*** ibid. In the chapter just quoted, Gibbon treats at great length of the titles of the nobles of the grecian court, and to that work we refer the reader, who will find the passages alluded to, to explain and confirm our authors accounts. Tafel[a] remarks: Benjamin's

90. ***Praepositus magnus,*** was one of the principal ibid. officers, governor of the city and of the forces station'd therein. S. Ducange, Glossarium ad script. med. et inf. graec. 'Praepositus.'

91. ***Megas Domesticus:*** Commander in Chief of page 51. the Army. (s. Ducange 'Domesticos.')

92. ***Dominus:*** Court Marshall, Lord Steward of the ibid. Household, (s. Ducange 'Despotes.')

93. ***Megas Ducas***: Commander of the naval forces, id. Lord High admiral of the Empire, (s. Ducange notes to Villehardouin No. 71.)

94. ***Oeconomos magnus,*** a clerical officer of high ibid. rank. (s. Ducagne 'Oeconomos.')

95. ***The circumference of Constantinople,*** at our ibid. authors time is stated variously by different authors, (see

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a. l. c. 508.

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Gibbon, chap. XVII, and J. von Hammer, Constantinopel und der Bosporus I. 57.) *Ed.*

ibid. 96. ***The trade carried on at Constantinople,*** is described by our author in a few words, but with evident correctness and with that tact which is characteristic of the merchant. The wealth and luxury of Constantinople,' says Gibbon (chap. 60.) 'demanded the productions of every climate: these imports were balanced by the art and labour of her numerous inhabitants; her situation invites the commerce of the world; and in every period of her existence that commerce has been in the hands of foreigners.' Of the european nations, which Benjamin saw at Constantinople, he mentions the inhabitants 'of Pa'tzinakia and Budia;' by the former he alludes to a rude nation of scythian or sclavonian origin, which plays a prominent part in the history of the byzantine empire and which after the signal defeat they experienced in 1122, became cultivators of the soil and peaceful inhabitants of the provinces, which they and their forefathers had laid waste; they inhabited some of the provinces of modern Hungary (s. Pray Annales). 'The merchants of Budia' were probably Bulgarians (Tafel p. 508). See on this passage: Hüllmanns Geschichte des Byzantinischen Handels, my introduction and the notes to p. 157. *Ed.*

ibid. 97. ***St. Sophia.*** This celebrated church, the splendour of which was perhaps in its zenith at our author's time, is still one of the most magnificent buildings of Constantinople. Its history and present state are fully described in Hammer's work quoted above. Prof. Tafel

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(l. c. 509.) remarks that the word במות employed by our author might either refer to the immense number of churches, which the city contained at his time and which exceeded 360 (Ducange in Constant. Christ.) or by reading בבות, gates, to the old fable, according to which St. Sophia had as many gates as there are days in the year. To us it has appeared evident that neither of these explanations is correct and we have translated the word במות by 'altars,' being aware that every greek church contains numerous niches, in which the picture of some saint is invoked by the orthodox, before altars erected for that purpose. We refer the reader to the fortieth chapter of Gibbon's immortal work for a graphic description of this renowned temple; on the lamps with which it was adorned, see Ducange l. c. chap. 48. *Ed.*

98. ***Greeks who are at variance with the Pope.*** ibid. We again refer the reader to Gibbon's 'decline and fall', the 60th. chapter of which contains the history of the schisms of the greeks. It appears that the hatred and aversion of the greeks and latins was particulary manifest during the time of our authors visit to Constantinople. 'The Patriarch, says Gibbon, is accused of declaring, that the faithful might obtain redemption of all their sins by the extirpation of the schismatics'! *Ed.*

99. ***The Hippodrome,*** was, and is still the most page 52. celebrated of all public places at Constantinople. Its present name, a paraphrase of the greek appellation, is At-Maidan, or horse-market and it has lost much of its former extent, one part of it being taken up by the

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mosk Sultan Ahmed I. and another by a sort of menagery, in which those foreign animals are kept, which are presented to the porte by newly elected pashas. The hippodrome was the site chosen for the display of the games, by which the emperor Manuel entertained Sultan Azeddin Kilidscharslan, on his visiting Constantinople in 1159,[a] and Benjamin was probably an eye-witness of the public rejoicings, the games and exhibitions, which took place in honor of the celebration of the marriage of emperor Manuel with the beautiful Maria, daughter of the prince of Antiochia, on 'the birthday of Jesus' Ao. 1161.[b] *Ed.*

page 52. 53. 100. ***Besides the palace built by his predecessors.*** This palace was that called Bucoleon, situated on the banks of the Propontis and distinguished by the name of 'the great Palace' previous to our authors time; the history and extent of this superb and magnificent structure are discussed by Ducange, notes to Villehardouin No. 123 and 128. *Ed.*

ibid. 101. ***Blachernes.*** The byzantine historians do not inform us, says Ducange, who built this palace originally; Manuel Comnenus however restored and invested it with that splendour, in which it was seen and described by the crusaders. In the halls added by him were seen rich mosaics, composed of precious stones and gold, representing the deeds of his reign in peace

a. s. Lebeau, 88, 39. b. ibid. 88, 42.

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and war. See Constantinop. Christ II. 7.; Nicetas in Manuele, the authors quoted by Tafel l. c. 510. and Hammer I. 205. On the throne of the emperor see Cinnamus V. 3. and Gibbon chapter LIII. — The words our author employs in the description of the precious stones of this palace, betray the merchant, perhaps the jeweller, with whom similar phrases are familiar to this day, and the following quotation bears him out in his honest though metaphorical language: 'sur une haute estrade, couverte de tapis précieux, s'élevait un trône d'or enrichi de pierreries, et couronné d'un dais où brillaient les plus belles perles de l'Orient. Le prince, assis sur le trône, était vêtu d'une pourpre éclatante, semée de haut en bas de perles et de pierreries de diverses couleurs, plus artistement arrangées que les fleurs dans le plus beau parterre. Sur sa poitrine pendait, à des chaînes d'or, un rubis étincelant d'une grosseur extraordinaire; et la splendeur de cette rayonnante parure était encore surpassée par l'éclat du diadême..... cette salle semblait être le palais du soleil.' (Le Beau 88. 38. from Cinnamus and Nicetas). *Ed.*

102. ***The tribute collected at Constantinople.*** ibid. 'I must repeat the complaint,' says Gibbon, (l. c.) that the vague and scanty memorials of the times will not afford any just estimate of the taxes, the revenue, and the resources of the greek empire. From every province of Europe and Asia the rivulets of gold and silver discharged into the imperial reservoir a copious and perennial stream. The separation of the

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branches from the trunk increased the relative magnitude of Constantinople; and the maxims of despotism contracted the state to the capital, the capital to the palace and the palace to the royal person. A jewish traveller (our author) who visited the east in the 12th. century is lost in his admiration of the byzantine riches.' *Ed.*

page 54. 103. ***Silk dresses variously ornamented.*** 'Falcandus, the historian of Sicily, who lived about 1190. and who describes the greek manufactures, discriminates their price according to the weight and quality of the silk, the closeness of the tecture, the beauty of the colours and the taste and materials of the embroidery. The latter was raised either in silk or gold: the more simple ornament of stripes or circles was surpassed by the nicer imitation of flowers: the vestments that were fabricated for the palace, often glitter'd with precious stones; and the figures were delineated in strings of oriental pearls.[a] *Ed.*

ibid. 104. ***The country is rich etc.*** The emperors of Constantinople might assert, with dignity and truth, that of all the monarchs of Christendom, they possessed the greatest city, the most ample revenue, the most flourishing and populous state. The subjects of the byzantine empire were the most dexterous and diligent of nations; their country was blessed by nature with every advantage of soil, climate and situation; and in the support and restoration of the arts, their

a. Gibbon chap. 53.

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patient and peaceful temper was more useful than the warlike spirit and feudal anarchy of Europe. — By the assiduous study of the ancients, the byzantine Greeks have deserved, in some measure, the remembrance and gratitude of the moderns. From the original authors (Stobaeus, Suidas, Tzetzes, Eustathius) and from the numerous tribe of scholars and critics, some estimate may be formed of the literary wealth of the twelfth century: Constantinople was enlighten'd by the genius of Homer and Demosthenes, of Aristotle and Plato; and the general knowledge of the age may be deduced from the example of two learned females, the empress Eudocia, and the princess Anna Comnena, who cultivated, in the purple, the arts of rhetoric and philosophy. (Gibbon chap. 53.) *Ed.*

105. *The greeks hire soldiers.* The custom of employing foreign mercenaries in the defence of the empire and its monarchs appears to have been introduced into Greece at an early period. The byzantine authors frequently mention the Varangians as the most trustworthy and faithful of the imperial guards; these were a colony of english and danes, who fled the yoke of the norman conqueror and 'preserved till the last age of the empire, the inheritance of spotless loyalty, and the use of the danish and english tongue.'[a] Mr. Tafel (l. c. p. 512.) states that the Alani, the Khazars, the Russians, the Valachians and the Bulgarians also ibid.

a. Compare Gibbon chap. 58 and the authorities quoted by him, particulary Villehardouin, Notes by Ducange, No. 89, 95 etc.

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enlisted in the greek army, and that they occasionally hired sailors from some of the hellenic tribes. *Ed.*

ibid. 106. ***Wars with the turks.*** Our author mentions the Turks as the most annoying enemies of the emperor Manuel 'whose reign of thirty seven years is filled by perpetual though various warfare against the Turks, the Christians, and the hordes of the wilderness beyond the Danube[a] because the victorious arms of the Mahomedans presented a real and urgent apprehension of the loss of religion or liberty 'asserting in peace and war a divine and indefeasible claim of universal empire.'[b] *Ed.*

ibid. 107. ***They have no martial spirit.*** The effeminacy of the greeks, expressed so strongly by our author, is a reproach in which he is borne out by many of the byzantine historians.[c] 'Neither art, says Gibbon,[d] nor authority could frame the most important machine, the soldier himself;..... the tactics of Constantine (Porphyrogenitus) seldom soar above the means of escaping a defeat, and procrastinating the war. Nothwithstanding some transient success, the greeks were sunk in their own esteem and that of their neighbours. A cold hand and a loquacious tongue was the vulgar description of the nation.' — 'Effeminate greeks' is an expression of frequent occurrence in all authors of their history and the picture of the state of the Jews at

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a. Gibbon chap. 48. b. ibid. ch. 58. c. Cedrenus, Paris Ed. p. 711. 852. 856 and Zonaras 18, 20, quoted by Tafel p. 511—13. d. chap. 53.

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Constantinople is quite in conformity with that character; it shows that like true poltroons they feared every powerful enemy and annoyed the unprotected, because they could do it with impunity. *Ed.*

108. ***No Jew dwells in the city.*** The jewish quarter of Constantinople was at Benjamin's time beyond the tower of Galata and near the entrance of the port. 'La Juëvie que l'on appelle le stanor' says Villehardouin (No. 153.) 'ou il auoit mult bone ville, and mult riche.' Ducagne proves in his learned notes to this passage, that the banks of the Bosphorus, outside the port, were called stenum (stanor) and that our author's account of the situation of the jewish quarter is quite correct. We refer the curious to the note just quoted and to the same author's Constantinop. Christiana, X. 1., which contain many valuable observations respecting the Jews of Constantinople, their expulsion from within the city etc. *Ed.* ibid.

109. ***Rabbanites and Caraites.*** We have already explained in a note to the text, wherein consists the principal point of difference between these sects and it remains to be stated that the former are spread all over the world, whereas the Caraites are confined to a few congregations settled in Lithuania, Gallicia, the Krimea and at Constantinople, at Alexandria and in about twenty cities and villages of Syria. Dr. Clarke, who visited the Caraites of Dchufout-Kalé in the Krimea has render'd a copious and interesting account of them in the first volume of his travels (4to. Ed.) and Dr. Delitzsch of Leipzig has made us acquainted with their page 55.

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tenets religious, philosophic and moral.[a] From our personal knowledge we are enabled to state, that they are much more favor'd by the russian government than their rabbanitic brethren, advantages which they have gained by their proverbial honesty, industry and good behaviour.[b] *Ed.*

ibid. 110. ***R. Abtalion.*** A poet of Greece of the name of Moshe B. Abtalion is mention'd by Charisi (ch. 18.) and in the greek machasor we find a penitential prayer 'אויה לי', which was composed by Abtalion B. Sh'muel Mejuchas. *Zunz*

page 56. 111. ***Pera.*** On the origin and name of this suburb of Constantinople, which by the greeks was called Galata, at present the favorite quarter of the europeans, see Ducange Constant. Christ. X. 1. *Ed.*

ibid. 112. ***Rodosto,*** the ancient Bisanthe, called Rhadesta by Ptolemy is frequently mention'd in byzantine history: 'une cité qui siet sor mer, que l'on appelle Rodostoch' (Villehardouin No. 194). Rodestoc ser mer, qui mult ére riche, et forz, et granz (ibid. 216). Benjamin is the first author by whom it is named Rodosto. The town at present contains about ten thousand houses and has more greeks than turks for its in-

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a. Aron Ben Elia's 'Ez Chajim, Leipzig 1840. 8vo. b. In 1829 the Autocrat issued an Ukase, by which he forced upon the Jews of Russia the fearful obligation of becoming soldiers; the Caraites sued for an exemption and supported their petition with the fact, that during their stay in Russia, ***not one*** Caraite had ever been indicted of any crime!

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habitants; its commerce consists in the exportation of corn, wine, fish and wool to Constantinople.[a] *Ed.*

113. ***R. Abijah.*** On the name of Abija see note 36. p. 20. *Zunz.* ibid.

114. ***R. Elia Kapid at Gallipoli.*** Kapid probably means 'short' and is an epithet similar to those of the two following; the 'little' and the 'tall.' *Zunz.* ibid.

115. ***R. Shabthai the little,*** in the original text: ***Sutra***; on an old author of the name of Abraham Sutra, probably belonging to some part of Greece, see Shabthai in Sifthe-Jeshenim, lit. ת No. 103, and Asulaï, Vaad la-chachamim lit. א No. 63. *Zunz.* ibid.

116. ***Kales or Kilia,*** the Coela of Ptolemy, Celus of Pliny and Mela is a seaport-town on the eastern coast of the Peninsula of Gallipoli, south of Sertus; it still bears the turkish name of Kilia.[b] *Ed.* ibid.

117. ***Chio.*** This island still yields the best mastic[c] and the population of twenty of its villages are employed exclusively upon the cultivation of the tree and the gathering of its produce. These villages are situated in the mountainous parts and the christian cultivators of the mastic not only paid no tithe nor tribute, but also enjoyed the privilege of having bells on their tiers. The mastic is the produce of the ***pistacia lentiscus*** and is particulary abundant in this island. It is obtained by making transverse incisions in the trunks page 57.

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a. Clarke VIII. 120. b. Bischoff and Moeller. c. This commodity, according to Edrisi (II. 127.) was also cultivated at the neighbouring island of Samos.

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and branches of the trees, whence the mastic slowly exudes; about 1500 cwt. are annually exported from Chios.[a] In a subsequent volume of notes we hope to be able to give a copious history of the state of the Jews in the islands of the Archipelago, both ancient and modern. *Ed.*

ibid. 118. ***R. Abba, in the island of Rhodus.***[b] This thalmudic name is more frequent in the east than in western Europe. We meet with it in Saloniki (Cat. cod. Lips. p. 301.), Palermo (Giovanni, l'Ebraismo di Sicilia p. 109.), Candia (Geiger, in Melo chofnajim p. XXVII.). Combined with other names, we find it as Abba Mare (in Provence), Abba Nathan (in Trani, s. cod. Rossi 892.), Abba Shemaja (cod. Rossi 8.), Shemtob Abba in Adrianople (s. Salomo Amarillo, decisions in Choshen Ha-mishpat No. 17. 63.) *Zunz.*

ibid. 119. ***Cyprus.*** R. Benjamin mentions a heretic jewish sect who inhabit this island and thereby explains the expressions used by Abraham Ben 'Esra in his commentary to Levit. XVI. 25, where this author calls them 'unbelievers' and 'misled.' This passage was formerly supposed to relate to the Caraites; but it is universally known that this sect is more rigorous in the observance of the sabbath, than even the thalmudic Jews. It has been proved,[c] that Aben 'Esra was the author of a book entitled אגרת השבת 'letters

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a. Mac Culloch's Dictionary of commerce. b. From Samos to Rhodus, Edrisi (II. 128) like our author, makes the distance three days. c. Kherem chemed IV. 158.

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on the celebration of the sabbath' and from what our author reports, it appears as if this work was directed against the 'cyprians' who had published several books in defence of their irreligious tenets, and which Aben 'Esra labor'd to confute. ***Kaphrasin*** means 'cyprians,' thus יין קפרוסין,[a] cyprian wine, and Benjamin puns upon this epithet by calling them Apicorossin or Epicureans, which, according to the acceptation of the term in the language of the thalmud, denotes heretics, excluded from the jewish community. ***Rapaport.***

120. ***Heretic Jews.*** For an account of several ancient jewish sects, s. Zunz, gottesdienstliche Vorträge p. 395, 396, and consult, besides the authors quoted there: R. Bezalel, decisions No. 3. ***Zunz.*** ibid.

121. At Cyprus our author took ship on the north side of the island and crossed over to the nearest point of the continent of Asia minor (Edrisi II. 130), where he disembarked at the Port of ibid.

121 a. ***Corycus,***[b] which still, retains the name of Korghos. 'The ruins of the ancient city of Corycus still extend towards the sea-shore,[c] says Beaufort, 'and the present name is evidently a corruption of the ancient appellation.' Irby and Mangles,[d] who visited the site in 1818, found two towers, a street of ruined walls and buildings, and the remains of a magnificient palace, which still attest the splendour of the ancient Corycus. ***Ed.*** ibid.

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a. Thalmud Khrithoth 6 a. and Rashi ibid. s. also Bikhure ha-ithim 1830. p. 78. b. This place is called Kirkes by Edrisi (II. 130.) and his learned translator was not aware of the existence of Corycus. c. Caramania p. 47 and 147. d. p. 518.

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ibid. and 58. 122. ***Toros (or Thoros) king of the mountains.*** This prince first resided with the emperor Johannes Porphyrogenitus, with whom he became a great favorite. He was of a cheerfull disposition and uncommonly handsome person; generous to a fault and brave even to rashness. On the death of Johannes and the succession of Manuel Comnenus to the throne, Thoros left Constantinople, disguised as a merchant and proceeded by water to Antioch; from thence he went to Cilicia and with the assistance of the priests and nobles soon found himself at the head of a formidable army, with which he attacked and captured several castles and strongholds of the Greeks who were hated as tyrants and usurpers. His success was such that he soon saw himself established on the throne of his ancestors. When these news reached Constantinople, Manuel became highly incensed and raising a numerous force, sent Andronicus Cesar into Cilicia with the command to extirpate all Armenians, but the imperial general was defeated and Thoros after several encounters with the Greeks, in which he sometimes was defeated, became reconciled with the emperor, by whom he was honor'd by the title of Pansebastos; he died in 1167 after having govern'd 24 years.[a] On the events which occasion'd his reconciliation with the emperor and on his subsequent progress in the holy wars, see Wilken's classic work.[b]

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a. Chamick, II. 159. Le Beau, 88, 22, 23, 24. b. Geschichte der Kreuzzüge III. II. 61. 91. etc.

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123. ***Sovereign of Armenia.*** The term ארם em- page 58.
ployed in the text, means evidently Armenia; the arabian paraphrase of the bible invariably adopts this version. ***Rapaport.***

124. ***City of Dhuchia*** מדינת הדוכים. In my opi- ibid.
nion we aught to read הדובים and to translate: the country of the bears, viz. the countries bordering the two rivers of the little and great wolf or bear, זאב or דובא in syriac. This means the kingdom of Adiabene, which in the Thalmud bears the appellation of הדייב. (S. Rosenmüller Handb. I. II. 93. 112.) Ammianus Marcellinus (XXIII. 11. 6.) calls these rivers Diabas and Adiabas, which gave rise to the appellations דוכים and אדיאביני, הדייב, and although דוב is the hebrew for bear, דיב is the chaldaic for wolf. ***Rapaport.***

125. ***The boundaries of the kingdom of Armenia,*** ibid.
under the dynasty of the Rabenides, are nowhere distinctly described. Jadschidschear, geographia Armeniae, Venice 1822, 4to, p. 85, mentions a place called Dhuch, Tuch, or Thugh, in the province of Alzina, or Alznikh, the furthest southwestern province of great Armenia; this is probably Benjamin's דוכא, for although we find another 'Tucha' or 'Ducha' mention'd p. 387. of the abovenamed work, which is reported to have been in the province of Ararat, this is hardly the place referred to by B., because its vulgar name was Os'cha or Ochsa. ***Petermann.***

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a. Compare Ibn Haukal's account of the boundaries of Armenia p. 161. of Ouseley's translation.

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ibid. 126. ***Malmistras***, the ancient Mopsuhestia, on the Pyramus, at present Messis on the Jeihan; under the first name it appears also in William of Tyre and other contemporaries of our author; the identification of Messis, Malmistras and Mopsuhestia is proved to be correct by Rennell and Bischoff and Moeller. ***Ed.***

ibid. 127. ***Which is Tersoos.*** The text reads מלמיסטרש היא תרשיש, which might be render'd 'Malmistras which is Tharshish (of scripture)' but whether we adopt one reading or the other, our author must evidently have made a mistake: Malmistras was distant about 45 (engl.) miles from Tersoos and both these places are on his road, but neither is the Tharshish of scripture, which must be looked for in Spain. Tersoos or Tarsus is one of the most celebrated cities of Asia minor and from William of Tyre (III. 19.) it appears that our author's identification of it with the Tharshish of scripture was the prevailing opinion on this subject at the time he wrote. Both Malmistras and Tarsus had been reconquer'd in 1155 by Manuel Comnenus from Thoros king of Armenia. ***Ed.***

ibid. 128. ***Antioch.***[a] A city of very great import during the christian occupation of Palestine and Syria, stands on the Makloob, the ancient Orontes, which is generally understood to be the פיר of thalmudic writers. R. Benjamin's account of the course of this river and

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a. For an account of Antioch corrobating in many points that of our author, see Edrisi II, 131.

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of the history of the city, which has called down upon him the censure of the learned, appears to have been generally admitted in his time and even the accomplished and learned William of Tyre (IV .9.) advances the same opinions.

A large portion of the immense *walls* of ancient Antioch still remain, but authorities vary as to the circuit enclosed by them: Buckingham gives them a circuit of nearly four miles, but this is much less than the amount assigned by ancient authorities.

William of Tyre, in the description he gives of Antioch at his own and very near our author's time, also mentions (IV. 10.) the *aquaducts:* 'the waters of the well of Daphnis, which is distant three or four miles from the city, are conducted into it, and its waters are distributed at certain houses, by remarkably curious and ingenious machines.' The accounts of the jewish traveller and the christian prelate agree in most respects. Comp. Abulfeda Tab. Syriae p. 115. 116. vers. Reiske. *Ed.*

129. ***Prince Boemond Poitevin***, reigned at Antioch, during our author's time and from an impediment in his speech was nick-named 'le Baube' 'Le nom de Poitiers est donné à Poitevin, Comte de Valentinois, descendant de Guillaume de Poitiers.[a] Boemond III., Prince d'Antioche surnommé le Bambe ou l'enfant par les uns, *le Baube* ou le Bégue par les autres, suc- ibid.

a. Thaumas de la Thaumassière I. 275.

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céda, l'an 1163, à sa mère dans la principauté d'Antioche; l'an 1200 fut le terme de ses jours.'[a] *Ed.*

ibid. and p. 59. 130. ***Lega or Latachia,*** was founded by Seleucus Nicator, under the name of Laodicea, in honor of his mother; it is seated on the N. W. side of cape Ziaret, an elevated projection of the coast, in the neighbourhood are gardens, planted with olives, figs etc. in the manner of all towns of Syria. There is a fine old castle projecting into the sea at the point of a bed of rocks; the marina is built upon foundations of ancient columns.[b] *Ed.*

page 59. 131. ***Jebilee,*** the ancient Gabala is within less than *one* day's distance from Latachia, it stands in the rich plain, at the foot of the Ansanar mountains, the northermost branch of Lebanon,[c] which R. Benjamin calls by the name of the principal mount. — In the middle ages it was a bishop's seat, and as such was occupied sometime by Severian, the adversary of St. Chry-

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a. L'Art de vérifier les dates depuis J. C. (8vo. Ed.) V. 82. Deguignes, Huns, I. 448. It is curious to observe the strange blunders made by former translators in this instance. The letter ב of the name of Boëmond is omitted in the Constantinople edition, where it stands thus: אמונת and this misled them all. B. Arias Montanus translates: Estque munitissima urbs ditionis dissidentium e fide nostra; which l'Empereur *improved* thus: Estque totius imperii ferocium Pitivini Papae (Sotericus Panteuchenus Patriarchae Antiocheni) fides amplectentium munitissima; and this learned nonsense was thus adopted by Mr. Gerrans: The city is the best fortified of any part of the empire of those cruel people, who embrace the religion of Pope Pitivin! b. Edrisi II. 131. Irby and Mangles 223, Maundrell 11. c. Irby and Mangles l. c.

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sostom, at present 'it makes but a very mean figure.' [d] Our author was misled probably by the similarity of the sound to identify it with Ba'al Gad, the site of which, according to recent researches must be looked for near Belinas. (s. there.) *Ed.*

132.. ***Assassins.*** R. Benjamin's remarkably correct account of this sect, is corrobated by researches of the learned Dr. Gesenius, the results of which he has published in the form of notes, appended to his german translation of Burckhardt's travels in Syria, (Weimar 1823—24. 2 vols. 8vo.) I. 254. 514. — These notes will be found to contain an epitome of all the accounts furnished on this celebrated sect by Niebuhr, Griffith, Burckhardt etc. as well as of what we know of them from Mirkhond, Makrizi etc., and thus to form an excellent commentary on the account of our traveller. *Rapaport.* ibid.

133. For the information of the ***english*** reader we subjoin the following short account of the ***Assassins,*** a military and religious order, formed in Persia in the 11th. century. It was a ramification of the Ismaelites, who were themselves a branch of the great mahomedan sect of the Shiites, the supporters of the claims of Ali's posterity to the caliphate and who succeeded in placing on the throne of Egypt a pretended descendant of Ismael, the seventh Imaum in the line of Ali and from whom the sect had taken their name. This descendant, whose name was Obeid Allah Mehdee, ibid.

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a. Maundrell 13.

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was the founder of the fatemite dynasty, so called from Fatema, Mohammed's daughter, and under his protection and that of his successors a lodge of secret doctrine was established at Cairo, whose members spread over a great part of Asia. Hassan ben Sabah, one of the adepts of the order, got possession of the castle of Alamuth in the province of Rudbar (s. vol. I. p. 120) and there established (Ao. 1090.) an independent society or order, consisting of seven degrees with himself at the head as the Sheikh al Jebel, i. e. Sheikh of the mountain. Under him came three daï al kebir, the grand priors of the order, 3dly, the dais, or initiated masters; 4thly, the refeeks or companions; 5thly, the fedavees or devoted; (see below) 6thly, the laseeks, aspirants or novices; 7thly the prophane, or common people, Hassan drew out for the dais or initiated, a catechism consisting of seven heads, among which were: implicit obedience to their chief; secrecy; and lastly the principle of seeking allegorical and not the plain sense in the Koran, by which means the text could be distorted into any thing the interpreter pleased. This did away effectually with all fixed rules of morality and faith. The Assassins either by force or treachery gained possession of many other castles or hill-forts in Persia and spread into Syria, where they acquired strongholds in the mountains near Tripoli and where our traveller found them. It is a point which requires investigation, whether in R. Benjamin's time the head of the order resided in Persia or in Sy-

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ria.[a] The Assassins were sometimes on friendly terms, but oftener at variance with the christian princes of Syria and Palestine, as well as with their mahomedan neighbours. To accomplish their objects, they never scrupled to resort to assassination and the fourth Sheikh of the sect taught openly and without reserve the contempt and violation of all mahomedan laws, in consequence of which they were called Mulhedun (s. Mulehet vol. I. p. 120. and the note thereto in this volume), i. e. heretics. William of Tyre makes their number to amount to sixty thousand, in ten castles, and all historians are full of accounts, of the cunning and intrepidity with which these fanatics executed their designs, particulary assassination. The persian branch was conquer'd at the request of the Khaliph of Bagdad, by Mungu Khan, who sent his brother Hulakuh to exterminate the murderous sect (Ao. 1256.) and the stronghold of the syrian Assassins was destroyed by Bibars, the Mameluke sultan of Egypt in 1270. Many however found refuge in the mountains of Syria, and became mixed with the Yezed Kurds; and some of the tenets of the order are believed to linger still among them. At the destruction of the castle of Alamut in Persia, the books of the sect were found among the spoils and it is from them that Mirchond drew up the account, to which Professor Ritter refers in his 'Erdkunde.'[b] *Ed.*

134. ***Kharmath***, a famous impostor of whom Her- ibid.

a. See below note to page 120. b. VIII. 577.

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belot and Desguignes render a full account, was the founder of a sect very similar to that of the Assassins and which was called Carmathians. One of the tenets of this sect was, that the soul of the founder transmigrates into the body of his successor and that the person who held the office of chief among them, was the personification of the original founder of the sect. R. Benjamin appears either to have confounded the two sects or to have been of the opinion, that the Assassins held tenets similar to those of the Carmathians. *Ed.*

ibid. 135. ***Kadmus,***[a] which our author mentions as the seat of the Sheikh of the Assassins, is enumerated by Burckhardt[b] in a list of old castles, on the mountains of Szaffyta in the territory of the Anzeyry. *Ed.*

ibid. 136. ***The devotion of the Assassins goes far enough to risk their lives if commanded to do so.*** This apparently clear phrase requires a particular notice, because it has puzzled all former translators and has led them into the ridiculous error of rendering the hebrew words: מפני שהורגים את המלכים במסירה because they assassinate kings ***with a certain kind of saw!*** Arias Montanus who renders the sentence: suntque in omni loco terrori omnibus; *eo quod reges etiam ipsos serra occidant,* was followed by l'Empereur who ***improved*** the style! ***quia reges serra disse-***

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a. In several copies of the text, the ד of קדמוס (page 27. l.) has very much the appearence of a ר, with the reader is requested to correct. b. Syria. 161. 4to ed.

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cant and Gerrans of course fell into the same mistake with Baratier; the translation of the former is quoted above, that of the latter runs thus: *ils assassinent les rois avec une espèce de scie,* and so full were both at the discovery they had made, that in their introductions, each of them calls this curious piece of information, one of the most remarkable reports of our author! The subjoined note by the Revd. Rabbi S. L. Rapaport will prove however, the accuracy of our translation, which was adopted in conformity therewith:

We learn from Gesenius's notes to Burckhardt's travels in Syria, that the sect of the Assassins became formidable and dangerous even to the Khalifs, in consequence of their blind devotion to their commander, who often prompted them to commit murder by sudden violence, (an act thence called assassination) and that during the crusades they were called Assassins or more correctly Hashishin. This appellation was derived from the circumstance of their making frequent use of an inebriating plant called Hashish, which they took like the opium of our times, and which created a sort of intoxication bordering on phrenzy; they were also called Fedavees, 'the devoted,' i. e. those who risk their lives.' This appellation explains the words of Benjamin which have puzzled former commentators and which run thus in hebrew:

מפחדים בכל המקומות מהם, מפני שהורגין את המלכים במסירה

which means literally: they are much feared in those parts, because they even venture their lives to murder kings; the last word, במסירה, expresses: to venture one's

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life, being a contraction of מסירת הנפש (Thalmud Sabbath, 130 a.) this word sometimes also bears the meaning of: 'delivering over' and it might mean here that the kings are deliver'd into their power, but the first explanation seems to me nearer the truth. *Rapaport.*

page 60. 137. ***Count of Tripoli.*** These lords, descendants of 'Raymond, count of St. Giles and Toulouse, who added the prouder titles of duke of Narbonne and marquis of Provence'[a] were the fourth in rank of the feudal lords who held their fiefs from the kings of Jerusalem; at our author's time Raymond, son of Boemond III., who has been already mention'd,[b] possessed this principality; he succeeded Raymond II. in 1148 and died childless in 1188. For a description of the city we refer the reader to Edrisi I. p. 356. and to Maundrell 25 et seq. and add that the earthquake mention'd by our author as having taken place 'some time ago' happen'd in 1157. see below, note to p. 88. *Ed.*

ibid. 138. ***Djebail,[c] the Gebal of the children of Ammon.*** This city was called Byblos by the greeks, says Maundrell[d] and was once famous for the birth and temple of Adonis. It is pleasantly situated by the sea side and contains but little extent of ground, but yet more than enough for the small number of its inhabitants.' The same author also remarks that the translation of the authorized version of the bible varies con-

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a. Gibbon ch. 58. b. Vol. 1. p. 36 and page 13, note 24. antè. c. Edrisi, I. 356. d. p. 33.

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siderably in the three passages where this place occurs,[a] but that the LXII. always render it Byblus. The distance between Tripoli and Byblus is stated correctly to be about one days journey. For a concise account of the origin and state of Djebail, which was also visited and noticed by Irby and Mangles,[b] we refer the reader to Rosenmüller[c] whose opinions are adopted by Gesenius (Lexicon, article גְּבַל). On the temple and adoration of Adonis referred to by our author see Maundrell (34 and foll.) Strabo XVI. II. §. 18. and Cellarius, Orb. antiq. II. 377. *Ed.* ibid.

139. *Seven Genoese..... Embriaco.* The family of the Embriaci was one of the most ancient of the patricians of Genoa,[d] and one of its members, Guillelmus Embriacus, was named commander of the fleet, which was sent to aid the christian princes of Syria and in 1109 took Byblus and became its feudal lord upon condition of paying a certain annual sum to the state of Genoa. This privilege roused the jealousy of other patrician families, notwithstanding which the family of Embriaci contrived to retain their feudal tenure,[e] the supreme government of the city, however, at our author's time, appears to have been vested in a committee of seven persons; six of whom were delegated by the republic, and the place of president was al-

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a. See Vol. I. p. 60. note a. b. Travels p. 22. c. II. I. 17. d. Bizari Annales Genuenses. Antv. 1579. fol. p. 8. e. Varese, Storia della republica di Genova, Genova 1835. 8o. I. p. 57 et 99.

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ways filled by one of the Embriaci. William of Tyre (XI. 9.) relates the conquest of Byblus by the Genoese and informs us that the christian name of the Embriacus who govern'd at the time he wrote (about 1180) was Hugo, 'a grandson of the Hugo who conquer'd it,' but all other historians call the conqueror Guillelmus, and perhaps we ought to read גוליימן, which stands for William (Vol. I, 108. 2.) instead of גיליאנוס or יוליאנוס as our text or that of the Const. Ed. has it. Having thus vindicated the account of our author and the text and version of our edition, we cannot refrain from reprinting here the translation of this passage by A. Montanus and l'Empereur. Hinc uno itinere Gebal distat, altera illa, quae *filiorum Amon terminus* fuit;... Estque ditionis Ginolinorum, quorum princeps Gilianus Enbirenu vocatur, *Montanus*. L'Empereur also translates *'terminus filiorum Ammon'* and his *emendation* of the latter part of the sentence runs thus: in regno septem societatum, quarum princeps est Gilianus Imbiremus; but Mr. Gerrans tells us: (p. 65.) 'One days journey from thence there is another town, named Gebal, *the boundary* of the Ammonites, in which there are about 150 jews, who are divided into seven different societies. The Sultan's name is Gilianos Inbiremo' and this very translator had the presumption to pass judgement upon our author! *Ed.*

page 61. 140. *Beyrut which is Beeroth.* Edrisi who describes Beirout (I. 355.) makes it distant 30 *milles* from Djebail, and Maundrell as well as Irby and Mangles employed nearly two days in travelling from one

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place to the other. Modern investigations have confirmed the identification of Beyrut with Beeroth of scripture; it contained in 1839 about as many jewish inhabitants, 50 families, as in our author's time and was the scene of violence against them in 1840. For a survey of the city and the port early in the 15th. century see: de Lannoy in Archaeologia XXI. 345. and compare Maundrell p. 38. and Irby and Mangles 202. ***Ed.***

141. ***Saida, Tsidon of scripture, a large city.*** ibid. 'Saida, says Edrisi,[a] is large and well built, its markets are well furnished with all sorts of merchandize etc. — A detail'd account of this city and its port about 1425 will be found in the Archaelogia XXI. 342. and for modern descriptions we refer to Maundrell (45) and to Irby and Mangles (199. et seq.) It is admitted by the best authorities[b] that Saida is Tsidon or Sidon of scripture and the distance of one day from Beyrut is correctly stated. ***Ed.***

142. ***Druses.*** The hebrew text of *my* edition[c] reads ibid. דוגואין, which I consider to be a corruption and which I read נוסראין Nosariens, Nusairêjeh or Nosairi; a sect also mention'd by Burkhardt and of which the learned german translator of those travels, has given a concise account in his notes (p. 517.) I am led to adopt this version of the text by the striking coincidence of Benjamin's account with the remarks of Dr. Gesenius. 'The Nosairi,' says the learned german, 'are mention'd in

a. I. 354. b. Rosenmüller II. I. 20. et seq. Gesenius, Lexicon sub voce. c. See Bibliography No. 9.

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several passages of the catechism of the Druses (see Tychsen's Elementale arabicum p. 50—55.) as apostates of that religion. This fanatic sect was originally called *Karmats*, (see Herbelot under Carmath) and was founded by a native of Nasrana or Nasraya, near Kufa, from which they derived their name. This Carmath is alluded to by our author (Vol. I. p. 59.) They were one of the fanatic sects of the Shiites and were very nearly allied with the Ismaelites. They believed in the transmigration of souls, even into beasts, and disdained most of the positive commands of the Koran, such as the prohibition of eating pork, of drinking wine etc. by adopting an allegorical explanation of the words of Mahomed. Niebuhr and other authors have taxed them with lewdness and this vice prevailed among them to such degree, and its practice was arranged so systematically, that they were called 'cultores pudendi.' All these particulars are so strictly accordant with R. Benjamin's account that I have but little doubt of the correctness of my conjecture. *Rapaport.*

ibid. 142 a. With the deference due to the eminent authority of Rabbi Rapaport, we beg to state, that we have been prompted to translate ***Druses***, in conformity with the reading of the Ferrara edition, which, like our text has דורויאין. The information we possess of the history and religion of the Druses leads us to believe that the Nosairi, the Druses and the Assassins were all emanations of the great schism of the Ismaelites, and that their religious tenets differ'd but little. The Druses still occupy the chain of Libanon and the

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residence of their emir is in the vicinity of Beyrut, where R. Benjamin found them; and the atrocities committed by them very recently, in the marauding expeditions which they undertook in 1838 and 1839, are a proof that their habits have not much changed since our author's time. The religious tenets of this remarkable sect form the subject of the last work of the celebrated Sylvestre de Sacy: 'Religion des Druzes' (Paris 1838. 2 Vols. 8vo.), from which we learn that they believe in transmigration and are accused of licentious orgies in their secret meetings, and that they are divided into three classes; the Djahelin or ignorant, the partially initiated and the Akales, adepts, or fully initiated. On their social and political state see: Light, Travels in Egypt, Nubia etc. 1814, Jowett's christian researches 1832 and Hogg's visit to Damascus, 1833. *Ed.*

143. ***New Tsour, a very beautiful city.*** The name of this city is spelt variously, Sour, Sûr or Tsour; it is thus described by Edrisi (I. 349.) 'Sour is a handsome city on the sea-shore, with a port fit both for embarkation and the discharge (of merchandize); the city is ancient and surrounded by the sea on three sides. It has one suburb. Very fine glass and earthenware are manufactured here, etc.' — Our author calls it *new* Tyre, because it is of recent date compared to the ancient city of Tyre (Tsúr or Súr) founded by the Sidonians. This, the old city, stood on the continent [a] page 62.

a. Archaeologia XXI, 429.

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and upon an eminence now known by the name of Marshúk, whereas the *new* Tsour stands on the round headland which projects into the sea, the isthmus between which and the continent was not quite a mile across. *Ed.*

ibid. 144. *The port.* 'Four or five large and long rocks lie in the sea before the city..... these rocks form the port of Sur..... it is an excellent harbour and secure from all winds.'[a] — 'The opening of this basin is still defended by two towers.'[b] Mr. de Bertou, who visited this place in 1838, has published a 'Notice on the site of ancient Tyre'[c] which will be found confirmatory in a high degree, of the description given by our author. The plan of the port, referred to p. 294. of the 'Notice', might even serve as an illustration of R. Benjamin's account, which is further corrobated by Maundrell (50) and Irby and Mangles (197). *Ed.*

page 63. 145. *The Jews of Tsour are shipowners.* Our author mentions this circumstance as something extraordinary and even in our times, when the Rothschilds and their connexions are the most influential merchants in the world, we very rarely meet with an instance of a Jewish 'shipowner.' *Ed.*

ibid. 146. *Manufacturers of glass &c.* That glass was one of the manufactures of Tyre during the middle-ages is well known, see the extract from Edrisi quoted above.

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a. ibid. 427. 428. b. Volney II. 21. c. Journal of the R. Geographical S. IX. 286.

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The Murex, a shell fish which yields the purple dye, is still found near Tyrus, principally in the months of April and May, see Shaw's Travels, Mariti Viaggi, and Schicksale eines Schweizers II. 204. *Ed.*

147. ***The remains of Tyre the crowned.*** The remains of the ancient city of Tsur, which derived its name from its position on a rock, צור, Tsûr, in hebrew, were traced by Irby and Mangles (l. c.) who ascended for that purpose 'what is called the ladder of the Tyrians' probably the 'חומת צור' of our author; this road is cut in the side of the perpendicular cliff on the sea shore, several hundred feet above the level of the water,[a] and if we consider the changes that have taken place here, it is not unlikely that at our author's time the sea still cover'd the spot, over which recent travellers have walked dry-footed. *Ed.* ibid.

148. ***Acre, the Acco of scripture, on the confines of the tribe of Asher.*** The identification is correct. In the division of the country this city was allotted to Asher (Judges I, 34.) but never taken from the Canaanites. Some of the early Rabbies, mention'd in the Thalmud, did not consider this place as belonging to Palestine, but merely as the frontier town between that country and that of the gentiles; but the passages in Maccabees I. V. 15. IX. 1. 39. XI. 22. 24. XII. 54. 58., where it is mention'd under its more recent name of Ptolemaïs, leave no doubt that it did belong to the ibid.

a. This, according to Maundrell (52), was the work of Alexander the great.

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Jewish empire at the time of the hasmonean princes and that it was within its boundaries.[a] *Ed.*

page 64. 149. ***The port of Acre*** has been at all times the key to Palestine; when our author visited it, between the 2d. and 3d. crusade, its possession was of the utmost importance to the christians of Europe, who had learnt by dire experience hat the way to the holy land, by sea, was to be preferred to the long, tedious and and perilous route which led them across the hostile provinces of the greeks and turks and which way had been strewed with the bones of the first crusaders. In 1159, a few years previous to the visit of R. Benjamin, Ptolemais had seen arrive a number of vessels, equipped by Stephen, earl of Perche, with the crusaders of Mans and Angers, and Thierri, count of Flanders, with a large number of flemish pilgrims, a succour which arrived just in time, to save from utter destruction the king of Jerusalem and his knights,[b] and the importance attached to the possession of this port, during the whole time of those remarkable wars, is too well known, to need any further comment. After the loss of Jerusalem, Acre, which is distant about seventy miles, became the metropolis of the latin christians and it was the last place, from which the invaders of the land were expelled. Rosenmüller[c] and Clarke[d] have treated at length on the history of this celebrated town, which in modern times again

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a. Rosenmüller II. II, 61. b. Michaud II. 262. c. l. c. d. IV. 98 and foll.

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became famous as being the theatre of the first defeat of the irresistible arms of Napoleon Bonaparte, which were here successfully opposed by the turks, guided and seconded by Sir Sidney Smith and a few british seamen. The town at present contains only about 15 Jewish families.[a] *Ed.*

150. ***A river which runs near the city***, our author calls נחל קדומים; this appellation occurs but once in scripture, (Judges V. 20. 21.) and it is there applied as an epithet of the Kishon. It is evident that R. Benjamin must have meant either that river, the modern Nahr-el-Mukattua, which flows in the east of the bay of Acre, or the smaller Naaman (Belus), celebrated for its sands, which for centuries have been used in the manufactury of glass; the reader therefore is requested to correct the translation which we have adopted and which is decidedly erroneous, as the bed and mouth of Nahr-el-Kelb (Lycus) is many miles north of Acre. *Ed.* ibid.

151. ***Jewish inhabitants of Acre***, are also mention'd by Pethachia and Maimonides (Letters, Prague ed. fol. 64. a.) *Zunz.* ibid.

152. ***R. Jepheth in Acre***, whose full name was R. Jepheth B. Elia, was a judge and known as the friend of Maimonides, who made his acquaintance during his stay in the city in 1165 and was accompanied by him on his journey to Jerusalem. See Israelitische Annalen, 1839 p. 317. 1840 p. 45. *Zunz.* ibid.

153. ***Khaifa, which is Gath Hachefer.*** Modern ibid.

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a. Zeitung für das Judenthum, 1839. p. 100.

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critics do not agree in the identification of Khaifa with Gath Hachefer, but suppose it to be Ephah. (Isaiah, 60. 6.) The place is mention'd in the Thalmud:[a] ציידין חלזון מסולמות צור ועד חיפה, the purple fish is caught from the tyrian ladder to Khaifa', and it is not unlikely that our author wrote חיפה, which some scribe alter'd into חיפר. *Ed.*

ibid. 154. ***One side of this city is situated on the coast.*** Khaifa, says Edrisi, 'is situated at the foot of cape (or mount) Carmel and this cape advances so far into the sea as to form a port, where large and small vessels may ride at anchor with perfect security.' At present it is a miserable village, close to the sea side and opposite to Acre: it is of an oblong figure, its largest side parallel to the sea, being about two hundred yards; and its shortest one hundred and fifty yards in length.[b] *Ed.*

ibid. 155. ***Under (in) the mountain are many jewish sepulchres.*** 'Der Höhlen sind überaus viel im Karmel,' says Otto von Richter (65) 'vorzüglich an der Westseite; man sagt mehr als tausend, und vor Alters sollen sie von Mönchen bewohnt gewesen sein, welchen jedoch man ihre Anlegung nicht zuschreiben darf.' That some of these caverns might have been intended and used originally as sepulchres, is not unlikely, it having been the custom of the Jews in Palestine, to provide such receptacles for their dead. See Clarke, IV. 275. 276. *Ed.*

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a. Tractat. Sabbath 26 a. b. Clarke V. 6.

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156. ***Near the summit is the cavern of Elijahu.*** ibid. 'The friar showed us a cave, cut in the natural rock, where the prophet Elijah had his altar. In front of this are the remains of a handsome church in the gothic style, built by the empress Helena, at the time she made her pilgrimage to Jerusalem.' (Irby and Mangles 193). The guides take care, that the traveller should be able to behold even the very stones of which the prophet erected the altar, mention'd I. Kings, XVIII. 30., and there can hardly be any doubt, that in the course of time these stones have become more profitable and productive than any emerald or ruby! ***Ed.***

157. ***The river Mukattua runs down the mountains.*** page 65. 'The Mukattua, קישון in hebrew, cuts his way down the middle of the plain of Esdraelon, and then continuing his course close by the side of mount Carmel, falls into the sea, at a place called Caypha.' Maundrell 57. ***Ed.***

158. ***Four parasangs to Kh'phar Thanchum.... the Carmelite.*** ibid. There can be no doubt, but that R. Benjamin made a mistake, if the text I have before me (Zolkiew 6. b.)[a] be a correct reprint of his MS. My copy reads

ומשם ד' פרסאות לכפר נחום, והוא כפר נחום והוא מעין מקום על הכרמלי

which undoubtedly ought to stand thus:

ומשם ד' פרסאות לכפר חום [תנחום] והוא כפר נחום, והוא מעון מקום נבל הכרמלי[b]

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a. See Bibliography, vol. I. p. 8. No. 9. b. Our translation is in conformity with this reading.

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R. Benjamin confounded the *city* of Carmel,[a] with *mount* Carmel. Nabal was of the *city* of Carmel in the tribe of Juda, and *mount* Carmel is at a great distance from thence, in the tribe of Asher. R. B. thought that Maon, the birthplace of Nabal, was near *mount* Carmel, whereas it was near the *city* of that name. He committed a further mistake in placing Kh'phar Nachum in *this* vicinity and was probably led into this error by the circumstance, that Maon, near Tiberias, is also near Kh'phar Nachum. Three places are thus made to be near one another, when in fact they are separated by a great distance. It is evident from this circumstance, that R. B. being on the spot, took down merely the names of places, without any further remarks, and that he supplied the connecting information either from memory or from his scanty knowledge of scripture, when these short notes were arranged at a later period, so as to form a narrative. It thus happen'd that he remember'd the circumstances of Maon and Kh'phar Nachum being at no great distance from one another, and also that Maon was very near Carmel, although he had lost sight of the difference between the *city* and *mount* Carmel and thus was occasioned the confusion which disfigures his text.

Rapaport.

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a. 'Kurmel, the ancient Carmel, the scene of David's adventures with Nabal, is half an hour north of Main, anciently Maon; the latter is situated on a conical hill, overlooking the whole district.' Robinson and Smith.

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159 ***Kh'phar Nachum.*** This place is mention'd twice by the thalmudic authors, viz. Midrash Koheleth in Ecclesiast. VII. 26. 'whoso pleaseth god shall escape from her!' This verse is applied by the Midrash to persons who escaped the tricks or snares of certain sectarians, at that time resident principally at Kh'phar Nachum. I am inclined to think with Buxtorff, that by these 'sectarians' the Midrash alludes to christians, the village being the abode of many disciples of their founder, both during his lifetime and after his death. It is well known that this place was near Tiberias, and Burkhardt was shown the ruins of 'Kapernaum'[a] which bore the name of Tel-Hum, hill of camels (comp. Gesenius's notes to the german translation of Burkhardt's travels p. 1055.) According to my opinion, the place was called Tel-Hum from חום, heat, warmth, a quality of the waters near Tiberias and the grounds around it, so prominent, as to impart the epithet of חמתא or חמתי — the warm — to the whole district, which opinion is supported by Burkhardt's account. — Another mountain, visited by Burkhardt and which he calls Hum, no doubt derives its name also from the natural heat of its soil. Rabbi Parkhi states:[b] half an hour east of G'nussar, is ***Thanchum*** — half an hour north of G'nussar is Tiberias;' it appears that this ***Thanchum*** is Kh'phar Nachum, and we ought perhaps to read תל חום, Thal-chum, instead ibid.

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a. No traces remain among the arab population of Capernaum, Beth Zaide and Chorazin. Robinson and Smith 429.
b. כפתור ופרח ס"ו ע"ב

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of תנחום, Thanchum; as more recent travellers have dropt the נ (nun) of the word Thanchum, it is not unlikely that the village of 'Achum' which is mention'd as being near Chorazin, Thalmud, tract. Menachoth, fol. 85 a, is also this Kh'phar Nachum. *Rapaport.*

ibid. 160. *Cesarea*, pronounced as our author spells it: שיוריא, Tshisery, by the arabs of the country, was a handsome place at our author's time: 'Caïsarie, says Edrisi (348) is surrounded by a suburb and defended by a very strong fortress.' Herod not only enclosed the city by a wall, but also adorned it with several palaces of white marble and spent enormous sums in order to make its port safe and convenient. Twelve years were employed by him in making the various improvements of the city, after which he inaugurated it with great solemnity and called it Cesarea in honor of the emperor Augustus. At present it is a miserable village, near which Irby and Mangles found ruins of roman and saracenic origin.[a] *Gath of the Philistines*, which our author identifies with Cesarea, was probably situated in this neighbourhood, see Rosenmüller II. II, 273. *Ed.*

ibid. 161. *Kakun.* The text which reads ככון, has been transcribed Kakun in conformity with the suggestion of the Revd. E. Smith, the travelling companion of Prof. Robinson, and a place of that name is register'd by Berghaus (Map of Syria). We have not been able, however, to find any notice of the place, in those authors

a. Travels 189. 190.

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which were at our command. The notices of K'eilah in all works which treat on the geography of Palestine and the opinion of Mr. Smith lead us to suppose, that R. Benjamin's identification of this place with Kakun is erroneous. *Ed.*

162. ***St. George, the ancient Luz***, compare the note to St. George, p. 80. *Ed.* ibid.

163. ***Sebaste, the ancient Shomron.*** The identification of Sebaste with Shomron, as well as the description of the exceedingly beautiful country around, is in strict conformity with all modern authors. Sebasta, says Maundrell (p. 58.) 'is the ancient Samaria (Shomron), the imperial city of the ten tribes after their revolt from the house of David. It lost its former name in the time of Herod the great, who raised it from a ruined to a most magnificent state and called it in honor of Augustus Caesar, Sebasta' (under which name it is mention'd by Edrisi (I. 319. 360.) and by Abulfeda, (Annal. Moslem. IV. 62.) 'It is situated upon a long mount of an oval figure, having first a fruitful valley and then a ring of hills running round about it. This great city is now wholly converted into gardens; and all the tokens that remain, to testify that there has been such a place, are only, on the north side, a large square Piazza, encompassed with pillars, and on the east some poor remains of a great church, said to have been built by the empress Helena. It is not unlikely that these 'poor remains' which were passed off to the christians as ruins of a church, might have been shown to the Jew as the 'site of the palace of Achab.' *Ed.* ibid.

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page 56. 164. *Nablous, the ancient Sh'khem.* 'Nablous,' says Edrisi, (I. 339.) is the metropolis of the country of Samaria; you there see a well, dug by Jacob the Patriarch. The inhabitants of Jerusalem say, that the Samaritans are to be met with only here and at *one* other place, which is situated on the road to Egypt, about thirty miles from Gaza.' Maundrell came in two hours from Sebaste to Nablous, which he spells (59) Naplosa, the ancient Sychem or Sychar of the New Testament. 'It stands in a narrow valley between mount Gerizim on the south, and 'Ebal on the north; being built at the foot of the former: For so the situation both of the city and mountains is laid down by Josephus, Antiq. Jud. Lit. 5. chap. 9. Gerizim (says he) hangeth over Sychem; and Lib. 4. chap. ult. Moses commanded to erect an altar toward the east, not far from Sychem, between mount Gerizim on the right hand, (that is, to one looking eastward, on the south) and Hebal on the left (that is, on the north); which so plainly assigns the position of these two mountains, that it may be wonder'd how geographers should come to differ so much about it; or for what reason Adrichomius should place them both on the same side of the valley of Sychem. From mount Gerizim it was, that God commanded the blessings to be pronounced upon the children of Israel, and from mount 'Ebal the curses, Deut. II. 29. Upon the former, the Samaritans, whose chief residence is here at Sychem, have a small temple or place of worship, to which they are still wont to repair at certain seasons, for performance

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of the rites of their religion. What these rites are I could not certainly learn: but that their religion consists in the adoration of a calf, as the Jews give out, seems to have more of spite than of truth in it.

Upon one of these mountains also it was that God commanded the children of Israel to set up great stones plaister'd over and inscrib'd with the body of their law, and to erect an altar and to offer sacrifices, feasting, and rejoycing before the lord, Deut. 27. 4. But now whether Gerizim or 'Ebal was the place appointed for this solemnity, there is some cause to doubt. The hebrew Pentateuch, and ours from it, assign mount 'Ebal for this use; but the Samaritan asserts it to be Gerizim.

Our company halting a little while at Naplosa, I had an opportunity to go and visit the chief priest of the Samaritans, in order to discourse with him, about this and some other difficulties occurring in the Pentateuch, which were recommanded to me to be enquir'd about, by the learned Mr. Job Ludolphus, author of the Aethiopick history, when I visited him at Frankford, in my passage thro' Germany.

As for the difference between the Hebrew and Samaritan copy, Deut. 27. 4. before cited, the priest pretended, the Jews had maliciously alter'd their text, out of odium to the Samaritans; putting, for Gerizim, 'Ebal, upon no other account, but only because the Samaritans worshipped in the former mountain, which they would have, for that reason, not to be the true place appointed by God for his worship and sacrifice.

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To confirm this, he pleaded that 'Ebal was the mountain of cursing,[a] (Deut. 2. 29.) and in its own nature an unpleasant place; but on the contrary Gerizim was the mountain of blessing by God's own appointement, and also in itself fertile and delightful; from whence he inferr'd a probability that this latter must have been the true mountain, appointed for those religious festivals, (Deut. 27. 4.) and not (as the Jews have corruptly written it) Hebal. We observ'd that to be, in some measure, true which he pleaded concerning the nature of both mountains; for tho' neither of the mountains has much to boast of as to their pleasantness; yet as one passes between them, Gerizim seems to discover a somewhat more verdant fruitful aspect than 'Ebal. The reason of which may be, because fronting towards the north, it is shelter'd from the heat of the sun by its own shade, whereas 'Ebal looking southward, and receiving the sun that comes directly upon it, must by consequence be render'd more scorched and unfruitful. The Samaritan priest could not say that any of those great stones, which God directed Joshua to set up, were now to be seen in mount Gerizim; which, where they now extant, would determine the question clearly on his side.'

So far the learned Maundrell. With respect to the

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a. The thalmudic authors hold that the persons who had to pronounce the blessing (Deut. XI. 29.) did not stand *upon* mount Gerizim, but only turned their faces towards it, and they translate את הברכה, with Onkelos ית מברכיא, 'those that bless,' instead of 'the blessing.' *Ed.*

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history of this remarkable people we refer to Basnage's histoire des Juifs and Jost, Geschichte der Israeliten. According to our author's account, which may probably be relied on with more confidence than Edrisi, the Samaritans were found at his time at many towns he visited, besides those mention'd by the arabian geographer, although, no doubt, their number was but small. The latest Jewish traveller who visited the remnant of this ancient sect, consisting of about thirty families, was Dr. Loewe, whose letters will be found in the 'Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums' 1839. No. 39. 46. 47. 50. 56. and to which we refer the reader, who takes an interest in the subject. ***Ed.***

165. ***The tomb of Joseph.*** This tradition is still in existence, as I learned from the Revd. E. Smith, who visited the spot with Prof. Robinson in 1839. comp. Clarke IV. 275. page 67. ***Ed.***

166. ***The Samaritans do not possess the three letters.*** The statement of R. Benjamin, respecting the vicious pronunciation of these three letters, which with the Samaritans all sound like א, is confirmed by modern critics and travellers. See: Eichhorn, Einleitung in das alte Testament §. 97. 384.; Gesenius de Pentateuchi samaritani origine etc. §. 52.; Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums l. c., compare also Thalmud, 'Erubin p. 52. b. where the galilean pronunciation of these letters is ridiculed. The addition of this paragraph of our author (p. 67. line 12 'the He' to 'three letters' line 21.) appears to me to be of later date and to have been interpolated by some cabalistic copyist. ibid. ***Rapaport.***

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We add to the above remark of the learned Rabbi, that the same passage will be found in the extract from Makrizi published by de Sacy.[a] *Ed.*

page 68. 167. ***Mount Gilboa.*** This mountain, celebrated as the site upon which Saul and his sons fell in the battle against the Philistines,[b] is still called by the inhabitants Dshebel Dshilbo. (Richardson's travels II. 424.) *Ed.*

ibid. 168. ***Valley of Ajalon.*** From one of their excursions, Messrs. Robinson and Smith returned to Jerusalem by Lûd, (Lydda) Gimro, lower and upper Bethoron (now Beit Ur) and Gib or Gibeon 'looking down from upper Bethoron, a broad valley is seen in the S. W. issuing from the mountains and hills into the plain; while on the ridge that skirts its S. W. side is seen a village called Yâlo, the arabic form of the hebrew Ajalon. This then is probably the spot, were Joshua in pursuit of the five kings, having arrived at or near upper Bethoron, looked back towards Gibeon and down upon the valley before him and utter'd the command 'sun stand still upon Gibeon; and thou moon, in the valley of Ajalon.' *Ed.*

ibid. 169. ***Gran David, formerly the large city of Gib'on.*** The Ferrara edition reads גיב דוד, Gib David, which ought to have been noticed in the text and it is probable, that at our author's time 'Gib' near Jerusalem (see the preceding note) might have been called

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a. Chrestomathie arabe I. b. See the passages enumerated vol. I.

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'Gib Daoud.' It is not unlikely that it was identical with the 'large city of Gib'on' which was situated within less than two hours distance from Jerusalem. [a] 'Jib, the Gabao of Josephus and Gibeon of scripture, was evidently an ancient stronghold, situated on a rocky ridge, rising in the midst of a broad vallie or plains which form an extensive basin, full of cornfields, vineyards and orchards of olive and fig trees.' (Robinson and Smith). *Ed.*

170. ***Jerusalem.*** A paper, by Mr. Lebrecht, on the history and topography of Jerusalem, during the middle ages, illustrative of the text of our author (p. 68—75.) and in vindication thereof, will be found at the end of these notes. *Ed.* page 69.

171. ***Jews of Jerushalaim.*** After the murder of the Jews of Jerusalem, committed by the crusaders, the few that were saved from destruction, were dispersed in all directions. Those persons who mourned over these unhappy circumstances, were called 'mourners of Jerushalaim' (s. vol. I. p. 74. 113. 163.) and we find these mourners even among the Caraites about 1147. Of the danger incurred by the Jews, who visited Jerusalem during the christian reign, we read in Maimonides (see Sefer Charedim, fol. 66 a.) and Charisi (ch. 28.). Pethachia found only *one* Jew at Jerusalem, whereas Benjamin speaks of 200. A numerous congregation was again to be met with there about 1190 (Charisi, l. c.); but about 1216 great discord prevailed among them, in conse- ibid.

a. See Rosenmüller II. II. 178 et seq.

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quence of the pretensions of the different congregations; even later authors hint at this circumstance, s. R. Meier Rothenburg, Khol Bo No. 127. *Zunz.*

page 75. 172. ***Beth Lechem.*** 'This small place is about six (english) miles from Jerusalem, which distance, allowed by almost all authors, exactly corresponds with the usual computed measure, by time, of two hours. Rachel's grave is still shown here and although it is stated Genes. XXXV. 29. that 'Jacob set a pillar upon her grave' there can be no doubt that the monument which is shown at present, is a work of a ***comparatively*** recent period. The place however is held in veneration, not only by christians and Jews, but also by Arabs and Turks.'[a] R. Pethachia describes the monument at length and Edrisi says in speaking of it:[b] 'Upon this tomb are twelve stones, placed upright; it is surmounted by a dome constructed of stones.' It is a mohamedan building, resembling in its exterior the tombs of sheiks in Arabia and Egypt, being small, square, and surmounted by a dome. 'We enter'd it,' says Buckingham,[c] whose description is illustrated by a woodcut representation, 'on the south side, by an aperture, through which it was difficult to crawl, as it has no door-way, and found on the inside a square mass of masonry in the centre, built up from the floor nearly to the roof, and of such a size as to leave barely a narrow passage for walking around it. It is plaster'd

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a. Clarke IV. 345. b. Vol. I. 345. c. Palestine I. 336—38.

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with white stucco on the outer surface, and is sufficiently large and high to inclose within it any ancient pillar, that might have been found on the grave of Rachel. Around the interior face of the walls is an arched recess on each side, and over every part of the stucco, are written and engraved a profusion of names in hebrew, arabic and roman characters, the first executed in curious devices, as if a sort of Abracadabra.' The last Jewish traveller who published an account and drawing of this monument is Dr. Loewe (Zeitung des Judenthums 1839, p. 272.) *Ed.*

173. ***The country abounds with rivulets etc.*** Our author mentions particularly the numerous wells and springs, with which this part of Palestine abounded in his time and it is curious to observe the change, that has taken place in this respect since he wrote, the country, according to the account of the Revd. Ely Smith, being extremely barren and no fountain to be met with. *Ed.* page 76.

174. ***Chebron*** or ***Hebron,*** at present al-Khalil, the abode of the beloved (Abraham) is distant about 16 roman miles from Bethlehem, according to Eusebius.[a] 'From Bethlehem,' says Edrisi,[b] to the mosque of Ibrahim, or temple of Abraham, the distance is reckoned at eight miles, in a southern direction. This is a burgh, which is celebrated in consequence of the circumstance that the mortal remains of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are deposited in its mosque; every one of the pa- ibid.

a. S. Map in Reland's Palestine p. 423. b. I. 346.

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triarchs is interred opposite the wife which he called his lawful spouse. The town stands on the slope of a hill, which is cover'd with olive, fig, sycamore and other fruit trees.' This account appears to be copied from Ibn Haukal, who expresses himself almost in the same words.[a] Hebron formerly stood on a hill to the north, but it has gradually changed its site in the course of its various rebuildings.[b] We find the city mention'd under the name of St. Abraham during the time of the christian occupation: 'Ebron id est St. Abraham.[c] The church of which our author speaks and which at present is a mosque, impenetrable to any one except to mahomedans, was built by the empress Helena, according to d'Arvieux and Troilo; it is questionable whether our author's statement, 'that it was a Jewish synagogue' is correct, or whether this report is founded upon a legend, which states, that in the 8th. century the christians came in at one side of the building and the Jews by another, to pray on the sepulchres; see on this subject Robinson and Smith's travels. Prof. R. states that the lower part of the walls of the mosque appear to be very ancient, and similar in construction to the temple walls in Jerusalem.[d]

Our author's account of the *'sepulchres of the fa-*

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a. p. 40. b. D'Avrieux, memoires. c. Notit. ecclesiar. ed. K. Holstenii. d. My friend Mr. Munk found a very curious passage relating, to this building and its state under Saladin, in an unedited arabic MS. of the Paris Royal library, which will be communicated either at the end of this or in the succeeding volume of notes.

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thers' is confirmed by Pethachia, and but very recently by Mr. Monro,[a] but the cave under the mosque, which contains the real sepulchres, is inaccessible to any one. Dr. Loewe also visited Hebron and his account of the cave[b] will be found interesting. *Ed.*

175. The custom of the Jews of bringing the bones page 77. of their deceased parents and friends to Palestine arose from the construction put upon the meaning of the verse Deuter. XXXII. 43. This verse, וכפר אדמתו עמו, 'he will be merciful unto his land and his people', was translated by some of the thalmudists: 'the land will reconcile *the sins* of his people' and this led to the belief that being buried in 'the land' (Palestine) was sufficient to do away with all the sins committed during life and of course nothing could be more meritorious than to convey the remains of parents and friends to *such* a place of rest. *Ed.*

176. ***The house of Abraham.*** 'From the village ibid. of Sipheer we crossed a rugged road into another plain, where are ruins of a small convent; the Jews call this 'the house of Abraham.' It appears to be distant about one hour's ride from Hebron. Irby and Mangles 342. *Ed.*

177. ***Beith Jaberim,*** or Beit Jibrin is the Betho- ibid. gabris of greek and roman writers. Messrs. Robinson and Smith have shown[c] that it probably was the ce-

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a. I. 243. b. Allgem. Zeitung des Judenthums 1839. p. 272. c. Journal Geogr. S. IX. 303. American Biblical Repository 421.

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lebrated Eleutropolis, so well known in the times of Eusebius and of St. Jerom, as to be mention'd frequently by them as one of the cities, from which they measured the distance to other towns. It is not unlikely that Maresha was in the vicinity. *Ed.*

page 78. 178. ***Toron de los Caballeros.*** It is well known that during the christian occupation of Palestine, many strongholds were erected by the lords of the country and that vestiges of several of such buildings still remain.[a] Irby and Mangles (340) describe a ruin called 'Mount of the Franks' and on Wilken's map of Palestine (in the history of the crusades) we find a place called 'Garde blanche' both of which undoubtedly owe their origin and name to the crusaders, and as Toron de los Caballeros means 'the knights tower' our author's account probably refers to a town of some magnitude 'containing three hundred Jews' which took its name from the tower or fortress, erected therein or near it, by the knights crusaders. — A fortified castle of the name of ***Toron*** is mention'd by the historians of the crusades as lying

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a. J'arrivai à Fransaoukalaci, qui s'interprete le casteau des François, autrefois basti par nos genereux guerriers de la terre saincte, mais tombé entre les mains des Ottomans, avec plusieurs autres places par la division des Princes Chretiens' ***Boullaye*** p. 354. 'The frank mountain is a steep and lofty hill S. E. of Bethlehem, having the form of a trunculated cone, and rising above all the hills and ridges of the eastern slope. On its top are the remains of ancient fortifications; and at its foot on the north side are traces of an ancient town, probably Herodium, built by Herod the great, who was also buried there.' Robinson and Smith.

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in the plain between the mediterranean and mount Lebanon, but this cannot be meant by our author. Nor can his identification of this spot with Shunem of scripture be correct, as that place stood on the road from Jenîn to Nazareth, near Serain (Zer'in). *Ed.*

179. ***St. Samuel of Shiloh.*** A village called Nebi- ibid.
Samwill, or the sepulchre of Samuel, is in the near vicinity of Jerusalem. 'Half an hour S. E. of Gib, towards Jerusalem, the lofty ridge runs from N. E. to S. W. on the summit of which, in the most conspicuous spot of the whole country, lies Nebi-Samwill, a mosque, containing the supposed tomb of the prophet Samuel, and usually assumed as marking the site of his birth place, Ramathaim Zophim. The mosque was once a church, built in the form of a latin cross and evidently of the time of the crusades. After long research ¡we were disposed to regard this as the probable site of ancient Mizpeh, it is two hours from Jerusalem.' (Robinson and Smith). That this place could not have been 'the ancient Shiloh,' a town of the tribe of Ephraim, is evident and as this must have been well known even to our traveller, this assertion is a further proof that he quoted from memory.

A glance at a map of Palestine will show that it is not at all likely, that a traveller, who had to reach a certain point, should have visited the places described p. 78. and part of p. 79. in the order our author mentions them, nor do the distances at all agree with truth and we must suppose that R. Benjamin noted them merely, as being remarkable in some respect or

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other, taking the distances probably from Jerusalem, from whence his route led to the port of Ascalon and further on, in a N. E. direction, to Damascus, both towns of interest to the commercial traveller. *Ed.*

ibid. 180. ***Pesipua.*** The hebrew text reads:

ומשם שלשה פרסאות להר מוריה, לפשיפוה היא גבעת שאול .... והיא גבע בנימן

Here, as mount Moriah formed and still forms a part of Jerusalem, either the author, who quotes from memory, or some ignorant copyist must have made a mistake. The name Pesipua we have not met with in any contemporary or modern author. Giba Benjamin, which is also called Gebea Shaoul,[a] was within 30 stadia of Jerusalem, near Rama;[b] 'proceeding from Anathot (about one hour from Jerusalem) northwards and crossing two deep vallies, we came in 80 minutes to Jeba, the ancient Gibeah of Saul, situated also on high land with a deep valley on the north' (Robinson and Smith); this situation of the place, on the ridge of barren chalk-hills, which bound the plain of Saron and extend to Jerusalem, probably led to the mistake in the text (הר המוריה), which words we have omitted in the translation. *Ed.*

ibid. 181. ***Beith Nubi which is Nob.*** 'Nobe qui hodie vulgare appellatione dicitur Bettenuble, in descensu montium, in primis auspiciis Campestrium, via qua itur

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a. Compare I. Sam. XIII. 2. 15. II. Sam. XXIII. 29. Judges XIX. 14. XX. 4. and I. Sam. X. 26. XI. 4. XV. 34. Jesaiah X. 29. b. Josephus, de bello judaico V. 2. 1.

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Liddam' says William of Tyre (XIV. 8.) The thalmud[a] states in explanation of Jesaiah X. 32, that Sanherib, raised upon some materials put thither for the purpose, could overlook all Jerusalem from this place. It would almost appear, as if it had been the intention of our author to describe those places in the environs of Jerusalem, which were named to him, as having some connexion with the history of the old testament, and he here copies his notes, without any reference to geographical arrangement. *Ed.*

181 a. The rocks of Jonathan, mention'd I. Sam. XIV. 5. as being between Geba and Mikhmash and which formed a narrow pass between the two places, were also seen by Robinson and Smith: 'directly between Jeba and Mukhmâs, are two conical hills, not very high, which are probably the scene of Jonathan's romantic adventure against the Philistines, recorded in I. Sam. XIV.' *Ed.* ibid.

182. ***Ramleh, which is Harama.*** Rosenmüller[b] has shown that Ramleh is *not* Ramah, but even the learned Dr. Clarke (IV. 430.) adopted this erroneous, though common opinion, which was corrected by Büsching.[c] Ramleh at Edrisi's[d] time was one of the principal cities of Palestine, second only to Jerusalem, and our author's statement that is was *formerly* very considerable, probably means that previous to his time it was inhabited by a great number of Jews, witness 'the large cemetery in its vicinity,' whereas, when he visited page 79.

a. Sanhedrin 95. a. b. II. 358. c. V. I. 459. d. I. 389.

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Palestine, it contained only three Jewish inhabitants, very probably in consequence of its having fallen into the hands of the crusaders.[a] *Ed.*

ibid. 183. ***Jaffa, the ancient Japho.*** 'From Ramleh to Jaffa on the shores of the mediterranean, the distance is half a days journey' (Edrisi I. 339.) 'Jaffa, situated on the sea coast, is a small fortified town... we saw the place where the french enter'd the town on their advance into Syria and the hospital where Bonaparte poison'd his sick.'[b] The identification of Jaffa with the Japho of scripture is correct. *Ed.*

ibid. 184. ***Ibelin, Jabneh of antiquity.*** On the road from Asdoud to Jaffa, the same which was travelled by our author, Irby and Mangles also passed 'Yabne, the ancient Jamnia, situated on a small eminence' (p. 182). The city and fortress of Ibelin, which was situated near the site of Jabneh,[c] was held in feud, during the christian occupation, by Balian, brother of count William of Chartres and his descendants, who therefrom took the name of Ibelin. To one of them, Jean d'Ibelin, count of Jaffa and Ascalon, lord of Beiruth and Ramle, † 1266, we owe the restoration of the celebrated 'Assises de Jerusalem.'[d] Ibelin furnished ten knights for the army of the kings of Jerusalem. *Ed.*

ibid. 185. ***The schools.*** Before the formation of the last siege of Jerusalem, the members of the Sanhedrin, or

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a. compare William of Tyre X. 17. b. Irby and Mangles 184. c. s. Raumer 201. and the authorities quoted there. d. Gibbon chap. 58.

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supreme judicial authority of the Jews, had followed its Nasi, or prince, to Jabneh and continued there for a long period under the presidency of the most eminent thalmudic teachers. Pethachia also notices this place, which however is placed by an evident mistake of our author on the frontier of Ephraim, this tribe having been settled in the north of Palestine. *Ed.*

186. ***Palmis or Asdoud.*** The first name of this place appears of european origin and was probably current during our author's visit of Palestine; neither Ibn-Haukal, Edrisi, Abulfeda nor William of Tyre mention it, most probably because in their time it was, 'in ruins' as R. Benjamin states it to be. The distance of two parasangs from Jabneh appears to be correct.[a] It was called Azotos by the greeks and Azotus by the latins, but like many other places in Syria, has now regained its name of Asdoud. It consists at present of about a hundred miserable huts, scatter'd among interesting ruins of great antiquity. *Ed.* ibid.

187. ***Ascalon.*** A city on the shores of the sea of Syria; it is called Arous As-scham, the bride of Syria, in consequence of its beauty.[b] 'Ascalon, says Edrisi,[c] is a city enclosed by a double wall, it has markets, but there are neither gardens nor trees in its vicinity. The king of Jerusalem besieged and took it in the year 548 of the Hegira (1153) and it is still in possession of the christians.' The tradition of the ruins of a city, ibid. and p. 80.

a. comp. Irby and Mangles 182. b. Bakoui in notices et extraits II. 445. c. I. 340.

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which had been called Benebra, our author probably heard on the spot; we find no trace of it in any of the geographers or historians of the period, who all confirm however, that Ascalon was a place of considerable trade and importance. For a very minute description of the city, see William of Tyre, XVII. 22. The fountain of which R. Benjamin speaks, is noticed by Büsching.[a] The manner in which our author renders an account of this place and his enumeration of its principal Jewish inhabitants, which we again meet with here, leads us to suppose that he really visited Ascalon, prompted by commercial purposes. The distance of two parasangs from Asdoud is correct. At present part of a wall of enormous thickness and ruins of temples and theatres, denote the site of this ancient place. *Ed.*

ibid. 188. ***Jews of Ascalon.*** An ascalonitic congregation, settled at Jerusalem, is mention'd by Charisi (c. 46.). *Zunz.*

189. From Ascalon our author proceeded by the directest route to Damascus, another town of commercial importance and this explains his going back to

ibid. ***St. George or Lydda,*** which place contained a cathedral dedicated to St. George, whose relics are said to be deposited there.[b] *Ed.*

ibid. 190. ***Serain, the ancient Jisre'el,*** the identification is correct. The greeks called it Esdraela and in the

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a. l. c. 454. b. s. Mabillon acta ord. benedict. sacc. 3. p. 520. Paris 1672. Quaresmius II.

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historians of the crusades we meet with it under the name of Gerinum, little Gerinum and Zarain. The well or fountain mention'd by our author, is described by William of Tyre (XXII. 20.) under the name of Tubania.[a] Buckingham[b] calls it Zohareen; 'it is seated on the brow of a stony hill, facing to the north east, and overlooking a valley, into which the plain of Esdraelon seems to descend, and through the openings of which the mountains on the east of the Jordan are visible.' 'One of the fountains of this valley is now called Jalûd, the Tubania of the crusaders, and doubtless the ancient fount of Jesre'el.[c] *Ed.*

191. ***Sufurieh, Tsippori,*** or Sephoury was once ibid. the chief city and bulwark of Galilee and the seat of one of the five Sanhedrin of Judea. In later ages it bore the name of Diocaesarea, but has regained, like many other places, the appellation under which it is met with in the thalmud and the historians of the crusades. A full account of Sephoury 'at present a miserable village' will be found in Clarke's travels IV. 133—154. — The distances are correctly stated by our author. *Ed.*

192. ***The sepulchres.*** Rabenu Hakadosh is R. Je- ibid. huda the patriarch, the celebrated founder of the mishna and R. Chijah of the thoseftha or supplementary mishnas. At a later period the sepulchres of the sons and scholars of R. Jehuda were shown at Sufurieh,[d]

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a. see also I. Sam. XIX. 1. b. II. 381. c. s. Robinson and Smith. d. יחוס p. 63.

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whereas those of Chija and his two sons were removed to Tiberias.[a] The place which by more recent authors was assigned as the sepulchre of the prophet Jonah, is called by them Kh'phar כינה or כנה and is placed between Sufurieh and Tiberias.[b] They also mention his splendid sepulchral monument, of which a description will be found in Pethachia,[c] who calls the place Kh'phar עוא; this site must not be confounded with Kh'phar עזיז[d] a village situated beyond the boundaries of Galilee. *Zunz.*

page 81. 193. *Tiberias.* This celebrated place is described at more than usual length by Edrisi (I. 347.) 'Tabarie' est belle et construite sur une colline qui s'étend, en longueur plus qu'en largeur sur une espace d'environ 2 milles; au pied de cette colline, du côté de l'ouest est un lac d'eau douce. La longueur de ce lac est de 12 milles et sa largeur d'une égale étendue..... On y voit des bains d'eaux thermales, ces eaux sont chaudes en toute saison, sans qu'il soit nécessaire du feu pour les echauffer' (Jaubert's translation). During our author's visit the city of Tiberias, a fief of the kingdom of Jerusalem, was held by Hugh de Sancto Aldomaro.

'The modern town of Tiberias is very small; it stands close to the lake of Genesaret, and is walled round with towers at equal distances. At the northern

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a. ibid. p. 41. Jacob in cod. Sorbon. b. ibid. יחוס p. 63. Sikhron Jerushalajim ed. 1743. c. Ed. Wagenseil 196. 200. d. Ed. Paris 1831. p. 109.

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extremity of the ruins are the remains of the ancient town, which are discernible by means of the walls and other ruined buildings, as well as by fragments of columns, some of which are of beautiful red granite. South of the town are the famous hot baths of Tiberias; they consist of three springs of mineral water; we had no thermometer, but we found the water too hot to admit of the hand being kept in it for more than fifty seconds; we endeavoured to boil an egg, but without success, even out of the shell. Over the spring is a turkish bath, close to the lake's side, which is much resorted to, particularly by the Jews, who have a great veneration also for a roman sepulchre, which is excavated in the cliff near the spot, and which they take to be the 'tomb of Jacob.' Beyond the baths a wall runs from the lake to the mountain's side, which rather perplexed us, when we were taking the measures of the ancient walls of Tiberias; but it has since appeared evident, that the walls did not extend so far to the south, and that this was the fortification of Vespasian's camp, as appears from Josephus (see Jewish wars. b. 3. c. 10. §. 1.) who placed it in this position. The lake of Tiberias is a fine sheet of water, and the land about it has no striking features, and the scenery is altogether devoid of character; there is a current throughout the whole breadth of the lake, even to the shore; the passage of the Jordan through it, is observable by the smooth state of the water's surface in that part.' [a]

a. Irby and Mangles 293.

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Dr. Clarke has devoted a large portion of the 4th. volume of his travels, to the history and description of Tiberias and we refer the reader to that account, which will be found to contain the best illustration and vindication of our author. See also Burckhardt (II. 560—577. of the german translation) who found there about a thousand Jews. *Ed.*

ibid. 194. ***The astronomer.*** During the middle ages Jews were not unfrequently employed as astrologers by arabic princes; R. Isaac B. Baruch (Ao. 1080) appears among others to have render'd services of this kind to Almohammad.[a] King Alphonsus of Castile also entertained Jewish authors who were proficients in astrology. The surname חוזה, astrologer, was borne by: ***Abraham*** in Tiberias; ***Eli'eser*** author of an astrological book of chances[b] lived Ao. 1559;[c] ***Joseph***, astrologer of Seifeddin, the Sultan of Mosul;[d] R. ***Isaac***, 12th. century, in France;[e] ***Salomo*** in Ninive.[f] Our Benjamin is called חוזה, by del Medigo,[g] in jest, because he tells some fabulous stories as if they were true. *Zunz.*

ibid. 195. ***Synagogue of Khaleb B. J'phuneh.*** Instead of this synagogue 'in the vicinity of Tiberias' Pethachia mentions that of Joshua in the town itself. The sepulchres of both old gentlemen were shown near one

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a. Sefer ha-Kabbala f. 44. b. b. cod. Vatican 216. No. 6. c. H. J. Michael. d. Benjamin of Tudela I. 91. 126. e. Salomo Luria, decisions, ed. Lublin, No. 29. f. Pethachia g. Letter אחוז p. 23.

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another on mount Ga'ash,[a] R. Jacob[b] however and the author of the book Jichus place them in the neighboring K'phar Cheres, the biblical Thimnath Cheres, where St. Jerom also knew of a sepulchre of Joshua; it is not curious that tradition should waver between both. Jichus (p. 23.) calls the synagogue after R. Simeon B. Jochai (2d. century) and the Constantinople edition of the account of the sepulchres, mentions only one old synagogue in Tiberias. *Zunz.*

196. ***Jochanan B. Sakhai*** is a teacher of the mish- ibid.
na, of the time of Vespasian; the later catalogues also mention his sepulchre in Tiberias. *Zunz.*

197. ***Jonathan B. Levi*** is quite unknown; we must ibid.
avoid an emendationin to ***Joshua B. Levi,*** who was placed alive in paradise, by tradition.[c] *Zunz.*

198. ***Tebnin, the ancient Thimnatha.*** After an at- page 82.
tentive investigation of the subject, we have come to the conclusion, that either this account of Tebnin was misplaced here by some copyist, or that R. Benjamin mentions it, being on the subject of Jewish sepulchres, of which, like Tiberias, it contained several. The ancient Thimnatha was in Judaea, far to the southward of Tiberias[d] and could therefore not be Tebnin, which, according to the personal account of the Revd. Ely Smith, is still to be seen on the right of the road from Safed to Sûr, Gish,

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a. Pethachia. b. MS. c. See for an account of the sepulchres, Clarke IV. 210. 211. 275. d. s. the chapters quoted in the text and comp. Gesenius under תמנה.

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which is mention'd immediatly below, being about half way between Safed and Tebnin; there is some mistake however, in the distances, as quoted in the text. Tebnin is mention'd in the wars of the crusaders, it was taken from the christians by Sultan Bibars in 1266.[a] It is remarkable that neither Benjamin nor Pethachia mention Safed, a town so renowned among Jews, but we must suppose that its university, to which this celebrity is chiefly due, was instituted at a later period, probably after the christian invaders had been forced to evacuate this part of Palestine. *Ed.*

ibid. 199. ***Sh'muel the just.*** Samuel the prophet being buried in Ramah or Shiloh, R. Benjamin must refer to another person, or we must read here Shim'on, which would relate to the high priest of that name, mention'd and praised by Sirach. The thalmud[b] however, distinguishes the prophet Samuel by the epithet of 'the just.' It is possible however, that Benjamin would not pass over in silence two adverse accounts. According to later statements,[c] Tebnin contains the sepulchre of the judge Shamgar, which is adorned with two pillars of marble. *Zunz.*

ibid. 200. ***Gish, which is Gush chaleb.*** This place, which is mention'd in the thalmud as Gish chaleb, by Josephus very frequently as Gischala, by Josippon as Gissala, at present bears the name of Gish. — ***Ely Smith.*** It is register'd as Giskalaat on Berghaus's

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a. Wilken VII. 493. b. Chagigah, 4. b. c. Jichus, 51.

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map.[a] 'It is curious' remarks the Revd. Rabbi S. L. Rapaport,[b] that Josippon, who generally expresses the roman and greek words very appropriatly and correctly by hebrew letters, should have mis-spelt this name.' 'The place is mention'd in the thalmud,[c] continues the same celebrated author, as one which flourished in consequence of the considerable quantity of oil of olives, which it produced and which formed its staple commodity. The passages quoted from the thalmud further prove, that the inhabitants of this place became wealthy in the pursuit of this commerce and that Gish, 'Akhbera (עכברא) and Meroon were in near vicinity of one another. *Ed.*

201. ***Meroon,*** Marun of Berghaus's map. Meirûn is, ibid. according to the account of the Revd. E. Smith, at present a place of pilgrimage to the Jews of the vicinity, who resort thither on certain days, to say prayers on the sepulchres of some rabbies and this corrobates our text, according to which Hillel and Shamai, the two most celebrated teachers of the thalmud are interred in a cave near Merûn. This legend must have been very prevalent at our author's time, as it is also reported by Pethachia, who adds that a large stone vase, situated in the cave of the sepulchre, filled itself spontaneously with water, whenever a worthy man

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a. That Giskalat is the Gush Chaleb of the thalmud, appears evident from the slight change the name has undergone. b. Preface to Shalom Cohen's Kore Haddoroth. c. Menachoth 85. b.

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enter'd it for the purpose of devotion, but remained empty, if the visitor was a man of doubtful character.

The Revd. R. Rapaport has published his remarks on this place,[a] to which we refer; according to Berghaus's map there is a place 'Meru' a little east, and one 'Marun' north of Safed, which, if they retain their original names, may have given rise to the difficulties noticed by the revd. author. 'As yet,' he continues, 'etymologists have not accounted satisfactory for the origin of the word *merino*, which is applied to that celebrated species of spanish sheep, the wool of which is so universally celebrated. In my opinion it is of arabic origin and was adopted by the spaniards like many other words of that language. The arabs derived the word from the syrians, in the language of which sheep are called אמריא or אמרין, Im'ri or Im'rin. In the thalmud[b] we find that the inhabitants of Marun or Merun bred sheep, and the passage:

כל באי עולם עוברים לפניך ככבני מרון[c]

is explained by Rashi as referring to a species of very fat sheep, which were driven, one by one, up a very narrow and steep path. It further appears, that the natural properties of this part of Palestine were particularly favorable to the breed of sheep, bearing wool of extraordinary fine quality and thus it is not improbable that the spanish term *merino*, is derived from this locality.' *Ed.*

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a. l. c. b. Kiddushin 26. b. Babba Kama 156. b. c. Rosh hashana. 16. a.

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202. ***Hillel and Shamai*** were contemporaries of Herodes. R. Jacob,[a] Parchi[b] and Jichus[c] also mention their sepulchres as being near Merûn. Pethachia merely states them to be in lower Galilee. ***Zunz.***

203. ***R. Benjamin B. Jepheth,*** a teacher of Jewish law, lived in Palestine about 299; his sepulchre is mention'd also in Sikhron Jerushalajim. 12, a. ***Zunz.*** ibid.

204. ***R. Jehuda B. B'thera,*** a teacher of the law at Nisibis about 140, where Jichus (p. 69,) states his sepulchre to be. ***Zunz.*** ibid.

205. ***'Alma, correctly 'Ulma,*** is mention'd by Eusebius (Ουλαμιμοῦς); the place is distant 12 roman miles from Sephoris. Jichus (65 and foll.) also speaks of the large cemetery, R. Jacob (MS.) mentions several particular sepulchres and Sikhron Jerushalajim (11. a.) speaks of a ruined synagogue in Ulma. ***Zunz.*** ibid.

206. ***Kades, which is Kadesh Naphthali,*** this identification appears correct and in accordance with modern critical investigations. 'Kadesh in Galilee, in mount Naphthali,'[d] 'Kadesh in Galilee,'[e] is placed by Josephus[f] on the frontiers of Galilee and the principality of Tyrus. Both Eusebius and St. Jerome place it near Banias, or Paneas,[g] from which our author makes it 'a days journey.' We find a small rivulet traced in Berghaus's map, as running between Kadas, (Kadesah) and Azur (Hazur) which our author probably ibid.

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a. MS. b. Khafthor vaferach 67 a. c. p. 55. d. Joshua XX. 7. e. I. Maccab. XI. 63. f. Antiq. XIII. c. 5. §. 6. g. Rosenmüller II. II. 53.

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crossed on his way to Baneas and mistook for an arm of the Jordan. *Ed.*

ibid. 206 a. ***El'asar B. 'Arach,*** a teacher of the mishna in Emaus, about Ao. 90. R. El'asar B. 'Asariah, principal of the academy of Jamnia, about Ao. 100; according to R. Jacob (MS.) and Jichus (65. 68.) the sepulchre of both is at Ulma. *Zunz.*

ibid. 207. ***Choni Hama'agal*** was a contemporary of Hyrcanus the Hasmonaean (70. b. Chr.) and was celebrated for his piety. Jichus (p. 51.) places his tomb at ***Pharan.*** *Zunz.*

ibid. 208. ***R. Shim'on B. Gamaliel,*** the father of R. Jehuda the patriarch, flourished in the latter half of the second century. More recent authors[a] place his tomb at Kh'phar Manda. *Zunz.*

ibid. 209. ***R. Jose Haglili,*** a native of Galilee and teacher of the mishna about 120; according to others he is buried at Dalata (Jichus p. 53.) *Zunz.*

ibid. 210. ***Barak,*** is known by the book of Judges (ch. 4.). Jichus (p. 51.) adds the sepulchres of Deborah and Jaël, and Sikhron Jerushal. those of Abinoam (the father of Barak) and of Cheber, the husband of Jaël. *Zunz.*

ibid. 211. ***Belinas the ancient Dan,*** Belinas,[b] Caesarea Philippi, at present Banias or Paneas, 'is small, the ground it stands on is of a triangular form, in-

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a. Jichus p. 63. and Sikhron Jerushalaim. b. 'Ista est Paneas, quae vulgari appellatione Belinas dicitur; olim ante introitum filiorum Israel in terram promissionis, dicta Lesen; quam postea filii Dan acceperunt in sortem et vocaverunt Lesen Dan, v. Joshua XIX. 47.' William of Tyre XV. 9.

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closed by the Jordan on one side, a rivulet on the other and the mountain at the back; from this situation, we think the ancient Panias could not have been of great extent.'[a] *Ed.*

212. ***The ancient Dan.*** This identification although adopted by many ancient and modern authors, is not *quite* correct, the ancient Dan having been situated on another small rivulet, called Dan to this day, and distant about 4 roman miles west of Paneas, on the way to Tyrus. Comp. Gesenius's note to Burckhardt, p. 495. Raumer 124. Rosenmüller II. II. 49. and the thargum Jerushalmi Gen. XIV. 14. who like William of Tyre (l. c.) identifies Dan with Caesarea. *Ed.* page 83.

213. ***A cave, from which the Jordan issues.*** 'The apparent source of the Jordan flows from under a cave at the foot of a precipice, in the sides of which are several niches with greek inscriptions.'[b] We refer the learned reader to Burckhardt's text and to the notes by which Prof. Gesenius has enriched his translation, (p. 495.) for a concise account of the sources of the Jordan; Prof. Gesenius's paper is an excellent illustration of our author, who appears to have miscalled Arnon one of the smaller rivers which form the Jordan. *Ed.* ibid.

214. ***The altar of Mikha's image.*** An inspection of the cuts which accompany Burckhardt's and Irby and Mangles' account of the niches of the cave, whence the Jordan issues, will prove that even a person, more ibid.

a. Irby and Mangles 288. b. ibid. 289.

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conversant with grecian and roman antiquities, than our author, would have been easily led to call the niches, altars; especially as it is not unlikely that at his time these niches contained images. *Ed.*

ibid. 215. ***Here were the confines of the land of Israel.*** 'From Dan to Beersheba' is the expression which scripture uses[a] in order to express the confines 'of the land of Israel,' and whenever this country was threaten'd by war from Syria, the report of it first reached Dan.[b]

ibid. and 84. 216. ***Damascus.*** R. Benjamin's description of this city is fully borne out and confirmed by contemporary as well as by modern authors. Damascus was occupied at his time by Noureddin Chothbeddin.[c] 'This prince who justly feared that the Franks might try sooner or later to get possession of this city, enter'd into correspondence with some of the inhabitants and taking advantage of the period of the siege of Ascalon, which occupied all the troops the crusaders could muster, he made himself master of the city, by the aid of some of the citizens who open'd the eastern gate, Ao. 1145.[d] 'Demeshk, says Ibn Haukal,[e] is a chief city, the right hand of the cities of Syria. It has ample territories among the mountains; and is well water'd by streams which flow around. The land about it produces trees, and is well cultivated by husbandmen. There is not in all Syria a more delightful place. There is a bridge

a. I. Sam. III. 20.; II. Sam. III. 10.; XVII. 11.; XXIV. 2.; 15.; I. Kings IV. 25.; Judges XX. 1.; 1 Chron. XXXII. 2.; II. Chron. XXX. 5. b. Jerem. IV. 15. 16. VIII. 16. c. see Aleppo. d. Desguignes III. a. 178. e. Ouseley's Ed. 41. 42.

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in the midst of the city, by which a horseman may pass over the water, which goes on to the neighbouring villages and runs among their inns and hot-baths and shops. Edrisi, who confirms all this, adds[a] 'la situation en est admirable, le climat sain et tempéré, le sol fécond, les eaux abondantes, les productions variées, les richesses immenses, les troupes nombreuses, les édifices superbes.'

The country so rich in gardens, mention'd by our author, was called el-Ghanta, and extended, according to Ibn-Haukal 'one merileh by two' according to Edrisi 'la longueur est de deux journées de marche et la largeur d'une journée' and contained many villages as considerable as towns. The rivulets which water this district, originate in a source, says Edrisi, called el-Faïdja, which is situated on the top of a mountain and from which they rush down like a great river, with surprising rapidity and so much noise, that the sound thereof is heard at a great distance. One of these rivulets only appears to exist at present, 'one of them, says Maundrell,[b] was probably the same stream that now runs through the *ager Damascenus*... the other I know not well, where to find; but it's no wonder, seeing they may and do turn, and alter the courses of this river, according to their own convenience. See Rosenmüller on this subject.

Both the arabian geographers give a short history and description of the large mosque of Damascus, which

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a. I. 349. Jouberts translation. b. 122.

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even at present is described as a magnificient building by all who have seen it. The title of Ben-Hadad was given to most kings of Damascus and the glass wall of which our author speaks as being made by witchcraft, was new to him, who came from Spain, although this manner of building had been taught long before his time and in China was improved so much as to enable the inhabitants to erect saloons of glass, large enough to hold a hundred persons.[a]

The present city of Damascus, or al Sham, as the inhabitants call it, is still a considerable town, beautifully situated and said to contain about 120,000 inhabitants.[b] The distant prospect of the city is imposing and the sight is still more gladdening as one draws near. Her full domes and burnished minarets tower above the rich forest of fruit trees in which she is embosom'd. Here every tint of nature's livery combin'd, from the sombre leaden olive to the livelier hues of the apricot and the orange, relieve the eye from the dreary waste that disfigures all beyond and all around. The deluded imagination conjures up visions of the past, the fancy brightens at every step and the enraptured traveller seems to be approaching the 'city of joy' whose splendour once earned for her the title of 'Queen of Syria.'[c] The rivers Amana and Parpar, diverging into seven principal streams, are conveyed through the city by numberless minor ducts and supply each divan

a. Desguignes l. c. b. Monro II. 55. c. l. c. 63.

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in every house with a fountain, as well as every public building.[a] *Ed.*

117. ***President of the university of Palestine.*** The presiding teachers and judges of Palestine, were elected in our author's time by the prince of the captivity at Bagdad; this fact is stated distinctly by Maimonides, about 1167, in his commentary to the mishna.[b] 'The authority to fill the office is granted by the prince of the captivity of Babel; it is not necessary that the person elected president in Palestine be a חכם (Chacham) or a principal of an academy, but in his knowledge of the law he must exceed all other persons there present at the time. The authority of the warrant, granted to a judge by the president of Palestine, is confined to that province only, whereas it is of *universal* validity, if it emanates from the prince of the exile; because the latter are officers, invested with the rights of sovereigns, whereas the former are only 'wise men' (חכמים) and learned in the law, and are exalted to their office only after passing an examination, which does not take place with the princes of the exile. Whoever possesses a complete knowledge of the ***whole of the thalmud***, is fit for the office of president, may choose his place of abode and may become everywhere a teacher and a judge.' This is in conformity with Pethachia's account. 'In Mossul, Damask, Persia, Media and Babylon they have no other judges than such as have been appointed by the babylonian prince, whose page 85.

a. l. c. 86. b. Bekhoroth c. 4. §. 4.

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signature is respected everywhere, even in Palestine.' During the 11th. century, the seat of the academy was at Jerusalem,[a] it was annihilated in the course of the wars which soon afterwards emptied all Palestine of Jews, and was suspended until its regeneration under the saracenic princes who govern'd the flourishing city of Damascus. Here it existed under the superintendence of ten persons, in imitation of the academy of Bagdad (I. 100.) from whence R. 'Esra the principal, had been appointed.[b] The names of the third and fourth teachers are omitted however in the text of R. Benjamin. The titles of two of the officers in the colleges of Damascus and Bagdad closely resembled one another: the sixth teacher in Damascus, like the fifth in Bagdad, bears the title of ראש הסדר, master of the studies; the former is at the same time a preacher, the latter a singer of the synagogue; moreover the title borne by the seventh officer at Damascus was: 'ornament of the learned,' that of the sixth at Bagdad; 'ornament of the wise'. But even the appellations of Nasi, Chaber (fellow of the learned), Rosh Jeshiba (principal of the academy), which denote the possession of offices and honors, were sunk to mere empty titles, even in Palestine.[c] About 1216 the office of president at Damascus was filled by the Nasi ***Joshia B. Jishai B. Salomo***;[d] in 1286 by R. ***Jishai***

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a. ראב"ן fol. 69. d. b. Pethachia. c. Maimonides in Bekhoroth c. 4. §. 4. and his son Abraham in the letters of Maimonides, end. d. Thachkhemoni c. 1. and 46.

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B. Hiskia B. Jishai;[a] both bear the title of prince of the exile, which during the first half of the 14th. century was alter'd into Nagid, an appellation used in Egypt,[b] and borne by a descendant of Maimonides. But even as late as Ao. 1388 we meet with ***Salomo Nasi B. Jishai Nasi*** in Brusa[c] whose name and title lead us to suppose that he was descended from the ancient houses of Damascus. In the following genealogy, the father of the family is consequently supposed to be a contemporary of R. Benjamin:

Salomo 1167.
|
Jishai
|
Joshia 1216.
|
Jishai.
|
Hiskia.
|
Jishai 1286.
|
A
|
B
|
Jishai
|
Salomo 1388.

Zunz.

218. ***R. Heman***, Parnas and teacher at Damascus; a distinguished man of the name of He- page 86.

a. Kherem chemed III. 171. b. Ohel Joseph, preface.
c. Wolf Bibliotheca III. 1048.

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man lived at *Nisibis*, in the first half of the 10th. century.[a] *Zunz.*

ibid. 219. *All these sects.* Maimonides[b] also mentions Caraites in Damascus; at Pethachia's time the whole Jewish population amounted to ten thousand; the same traveller also mentions two synagogues in the outskirts of the town, one of which was named after the prophet Elish'a, the other after R. El'asar B. 'Asarja, a teacher of the mishna, the latter was the largest of the two and was used for the performance of divine service.[c] According to Jichus (p. 67.) the synagogue in the village of Djubar, near Damascus, was built one half by Elish'a and the other by R. Eli'eser B. 'Arach. Israel Nagara,[d] a native of Damascus, R. Moses Alshech[e] and Asulai[f] mention this village, and the book Sikhron Jerushalaim speaks of a cave of Elijahu, which is to be found in its vicinity. Comp. Büsching, Erdbeschreibung (V. 303.) which states that all the inhabitants of this village are Jews. *Zunz.*

ibid. 220. *Jela'ad*, which is Gil'ad. Burckhardt and Irby and Mangles visited this place which is a poor village at present; it retains its original name, spelt Gilhad by Irby and Mangles, which has also been communicated to the mountains on which it is situated. The country round about is still, as our author de-

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a. Juchasin fol. 122. b. b. Letters fol. 60. b. c. Ed. Wagenseil p. 199. Ed. 1831, p. 107, where 'encore aujourd'hui' is interpolated. d. Meme Israel, Venice, fol. 163. b. e. Decisions No. 43. f. Vaad I. 42. b. g. p. 322.

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scribes it 'abounding with vineyards and olivegroves;' I. and M. found here the finest raisins they had seen in Syria. *Ed.*

221. ***Half a days journey further stands Salkhat.*** A glance at the map will show that our author does not give an itinerary or 'routier' but that he merely describes those places round Damascus, which had been mention'd to him as being connected with biblical history; this becomes quite clear by the manner in which he includes Thadmor in his narrative, of which he avowedly speaks only incidentally and this also accounts for the mistakes he makes with respect to distances. Gilhad could never be reached in one or even two days from Damascus, and ***Salkhat,*** or Shalkhat, which, according to Gesenius,[a] is identical with Salkah of scripture, is situated not within 'half a days journey' from Gilhad, but in the near vicinity of Boszra, more than two days distant in a north east direction. Irby and Mangles and Burckhardt describe ***Szalt,*** a place of some extent, in the near vicinity of Gilhad, but this is not 'Salkhah of scripture.' We suppose that Rabbi B. travelled from Damascus to Aleppo by Ba'albeck and Hamah. *Ed.* ibid.

222. ***Ba'albek,*** Benjamin spells בעלביק, Juchasin (149. a.) בעלבינ, Alshech (decis. No. 104.) and the arabians write בעל בק. Perhaps שום בעל בבי (Mishna Maaseroth end) is nothing but garlick of Ba'albeck and ibid.

a. Notes to Burckhardt p. 507.

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if this is the case, the onions of רכפא (ib.) would be found near the syrian *Raphana* (Jos. bell. 7. 24.)

Zunz.

ibid. 223. *Baalbek.* [The distance from Damascus to the remains of this ancient city is computed as ten days by Edrisi,[a] and our text must have been corrupted here by transcribers. It is the opinion of Rosenmüller[b] that the name of Ba'alath was also given to Ba'al Gad and that Ba'albek is thus correctly identified by our author. The inhabitants, according to Volney, ascribe the origin of the place to Solomon and the account of it as given by Edrisi[c] is in conformity with that of our author, even the river which works several mills being mention'd by the arabian geographer; and it is quite in the style of the orientals to ascribe the astonishing structures at Ba'albek to superhuman powers, to genii, fairies, or Ashmedai. 'The valley of Ba'albek, or of Kosmia, or the Bekaa Methooalis, has an excessively rich soil, but it is put to little advantage, being very partially cultivated, and having no trees except in the immediate neighbourhood of Ba'albek itself. As Wood and Dawkins in particular, as well as Volney, have given correct descriptions of this remarkable place, illustrated with plates, it would be superfluous here, to enter into minute detail.'[d] *Ed.*

page 87. 224. *Thadmor in the desert, far from any inhabited place.* 'On opening the ruins of Palmyra, as seen

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a. I. 353. b. I. II. 281. c. I. 355. d. Irby and Mangles 212.

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from the valley of the tombs, we were much struck with the picturesque effect of the whole, presenting altogether the most imposing sight of the kind we had ever seen; and *it was render'd doubly interesting by our having travelled through a wilderness destitute of a single building*, and from which we suddenly open'd upon these innumerable columns and other ruins on a sandy plain.'[a] The circumstances alluded to by Rabbi B., respecting the warfare carried on in his time in this part of Syria, are confirmed by Desguignes,[b] upon the authority of other contemporary authors. 'Les francs avoient profité des circonstances que toute la contrée de Damas étoit dégarnie des troupes, pour faire une expédition dans ses environs... Quelque tems après ils vinrent dans la vallée de Bacar proche Damas. C'est dans ces contrées que l'on trouve une ville célebre par ses monumens et par ses superbes édifices, on croit qu'elle est la même que l'ancienne Palmyre.[c] Les habitans des environs furent faits prisonniers, leurs biens pillés et leurs territoires ravagées..... Telles furent les suites des divisions qui régnoient parmi les musulmans.' Some remains of buildings erected or inhabited originally by Jews, were noticed by Irby and Mangles: 'Passing down the great avenue of columns, there is a doorway standing on the right hand, and within it

a. ibid. 267. b. III. a. 226. 227. c. The etymology of this word is explained by the khethib I. Kings IX. 18. where it is written תמר, Palm, Palmyra; in the instance of the spanish city Palma, this rule was reversed, it being called Thadmira by the Arabs. *Gesenius.*

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are the remains of the building it belonged to, having an hebrew inscription on the architrave, interesting on three accounts, as the foundation of Tadmor was built by Solomon, second as Zenobia is said to have been of the Jewish religion, and third as Bishop Riddle sets down two thousand Jews at Tadmor in his day.' *Ed.*

ibid. 225. '*Usiel* in Tadmor, is perhaps related to '*Usiel* the nasi, who was a man of much importance, at Aleppo, about 50 years later. (Charisi c. 46.) *Zunz.*

ibid. 226. *Cariateen*, 'is one day from Tadmor;'[a] two cities of the name of Kiriathaim are mention'd in scripture, one in the confines of R'uben, Numb. XXXII. 37. and Joshua XIII. 19. the other, belonging to Naphthali, I. Chron. VI. 61, neither of which can be identical with the present city. The name denotes double-city, perhaps the old and new town. *Ed.*

page 88. 227. *Hamah*. This city is one of remote antiquity and is correctly set down by Rabbi B. as the Chamath of scripture. The earthquake, of which our author speaks, visited this part of Syria in 1157, at which period Hamah, Antiochia, Emessa, Apamia, Laodicea and many other cities were laid in ruins. The Nighiaristan reports, that a schoolmaster who had fortunately been absent during the earthquake, upon his return found his house ruined and all the children buried under the ruins, but neither friend nor parent was left to enquire after them.[b] 'Hamah is delightfully situated in a hollow,

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a. Irby and Mangles, 237. b. Herbelot: Hamah; Desguignes c. XIII. 180.

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between and on the sides of two hills, near the west bank of the Orontes, but in itself presents nothing worthy of notice at this day.[a] *Ed.*

228. ***Orontes.*** R. Benjamin calls the river: Jab- ibid.
bok; the arabians call it ***Oroad*** or ***Asi.*** It is also called מרוד (Uri catal. Bodlej. cod. 14. or cod. Kennicott 6.) i. e. rebellious, (translation of Asi); s. Ritter, Erdkunde, 1 st ed. part 2, p. 449. ***Zunz.***

229. ***Umokhatar,*** in the original ומוכתר, which ibid.
ought to have been translated 'and Mukhtar;' we meet with this name frequently among oriental Jews. ***Zunz.***

230. ***Reiha*** or ***Rieha,*** is a name still borne by a place and mountain in this part of the road from Damascus to Aleppo; see Burckhardt, who mentions ruins of numerous towns, still visible on the mountain, among which we must look for

231. ***Lamdin,*** mention'd in our text, but by no other ibid.
traveller or geographer. The road from Damascus to Aleppo or vice versa, pursued even by all modern travellers, goes by Homs and Tadmor; even Seetzen had taken this route and Burckhardt was the first to deviate from it. *Ed.*

232. ***Aleppo.*** Both Ibn-Haukal and Edrisi are very ibid.
brief in their description of the state of this city at their time, and we have not been able to ascertain, whether the strong fortress, of which recent travellers speak as 'frowning upon the brow of an immense artificial mound'[b] be a modern structure, or that men-

a. Irby and Mangles 244. b. Monro II. 222.

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tion'd by our author. There is a curious discrepancy however, between R. Benjamin's and Edrisi's statements, with respect to the scarcity or abundance of water at Haleb. Whilst our text states that 'the inhabitants are obliged to drink rainwater' because there is 'neither spring nor river' Edrisi[a] informs us 'that the river Koïk which runs near the gates of the city, supplies the streets, the bazars and even the houses with water by means of aquaducts, built for that purpose' and the latter statement is supported by Bakui[b] and by modern travellers. Otto von Richter,[c] to whose classic account of the present state of this city and its society the reader is referred, states the number of its Jewish inhabitants to be about 5000. *Ed.*

ibid. 233. ***Aram Tsoba.*** This name, applied by the Syrians to Nisibis, in Jewish authors designates Haleb; thus R. Benjamin and Pethachia (ed. Wagenseil p. 193.) That this is the Tsoba, which is praised by Maimonides and Charisi, has been proved to evidence by Rapaport, in the 'life of R. Nathan' (p. 76.) Maimonides however makes a difference, in Hilchoth Therumoth, c. 1, between ***Tsoba*** and ***Achlab*** and in a later author[d] we meet with 'Zoba' in the country subject to the prince of Haleb. The words 'of scripture' are not to be found in the text of R. Benjamin, as little as those: 'dans l'écriture' in that of Pethachia.[e] ***Zunz.***

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a. II. 136. b. Notices et extraits I. 434. c. 240 et seq. d. Alshech, decisions No. 57. e. See the ed. 1831. p. 86.

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234. ***Nureddin Cothbeddin***, who has been mention'd above as master of Damascus, resided generally at Aleppo, to the government of which he succeeded in 1149. See Herbelot under 'Noureddin.'[a] ***Ed.***

235. ***Bales***, says Ibn Haukal,[b] is a town on the river Euphrates, on the confines of the desert,[c] it was taken by the crusaders under Tancred in 1111,[d] but was reconquer'd by the turks under Zenghi; the name is spelt Beles by Irby and Mangles and Buckingham. The identification of the place with the scriptural P'thora, was probably occasioned by the legend attached to a tower, like those mention'd in several instances of these travels and which tradition attributed to Bileam, of whose abode we know nothing more than that it was situated on the Euphrates. ***Ed.*** ibid.

236. ***Kala' Jiaber.*** According to Gesenius it is not this place, but Petra, which is mention'd as סלע in scripture. In the history of the crusades, Kalat,[e] or fort, Jiaber, is often mention'd and the circumstances alluded to by our author are told at length by Desguignes,[f] to whom we refer the learned reader. At Abulfeda's time it was but a ruin 'nostro tempore devastata jacet et aedificiis omnino destituta,'[g] but the castle, built on a mound of marl and gypsum, still stands, thirty five miles below Bir, on the left bank of the page 89.

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a. Nureddin died in 1173. s. Juchasin 149. b. ***Zunz.*** b. p. 44. c. Edrisi I. 355. d. Desguignes III. a. 110. e. William of Tyre calls this place Calegembar. f. III. a. 164. g. p. 240.

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Euphrates and is surrounded by a town of about a thousand houses and tents.[a] *Ed.*

ibid. 237. ***Racca which is Khalneh.*** In the darkness which prevails in biblical geography, we do not venture to decide whether this identification is correct and whether with Rosenmüller and Gesenius we must consider Ctesiphon to have been Khalneh. None of the instances, where the city occurs in scripture, furnishes any clue to its geographical position; and it will be admitted that Eusebius and St. Jerome, who are quoted by the abovemention'd authors, require more support than their bare assertion, when they speak of the site of a place of such remote antiquity. Racca is briefly noticed by Ibn Haukal[b] and Edrisi[c] and appears to have carried on a considerable trade at the time of the latter author, but it must have rapidly fallen into decay if Abulfeda is correct.[d] The history of Racca and of its transfer from conqueror to conqueror will be found in Desguignes, Huns, vol. III. 'From Giabar to Racca is eight hours; it has only about thirty houses and stands on the left bank of the Euphrates near the junction of the Belich or Belejich with this river.'[e] 'On the northern side of Thapsachus two ancient castles and the remains of a causeway are met with on the road which the macedonians held in their way to Nicephorium, *formerly Calne*, but subsequently Calo-

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a. Journal geog. society. III. 233. b. p. 58. c. I. 335. 360. II. 136. d. 'Est urbs hodie desolata', p. 240. e. Journal geogr. soc. III. 233. 234.

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nicos (Abulfaragius) and Callinicum (Strabo, Pliny) and Rakkah under the caliphs.'[a] The ruins of this place were examined by the Euphrates expedition and astronomical observations, probably the first since the days of Al-Bátáni, were taken within the walls of Harun al Rashid's palace. *Ed.*

238. ***Sakhai,*** is a name much in use in the east, ibid.
e. g.: R. ***Sakhai*** the Nasi in Mosul (I. 91.); ***Sakhai*** B. Bosthenai in Bagdad (I. 101.); ***Sakhai,*** one of the principals at Racca; ***Sakhai***, a man of distinction in Haleb;[b] the nasi ***Sakhai*** B. Joseph in Mosul;[c] the author R. ***Sakhai.***[d] ***Zunz.***

239. ***Nadib.*** This was the name (s. above p.) of ibid.
the principal of a city, the inhabitants of which, with few exceptions, are described as extremely parsimonious by Charisi, Thachkhemoni c. 46. ***Zunz.***

240. ***Charan.*** 'Harran est la ville principale des page 90.
Sabéens; ils y possèdent une colline sur laquelle est un oratoire qu'ils vénèrent beaucoup et dont ils attribuent la fondation à Abraham, sur qui soit salut.'[e] ***Ed.***

241. 'Harran (seu Charrae, aut Carrae) erat olim ibid.
urbs magna, sed hodie vasta jacet.' Abulfeda (239). ***Ed.***

242. 'Harran,' says Niebuhr,[f] 'actuellement un petit ibid.
endroit à deux journées au sud sud-est d'Orfa, que

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a.. ibid. VII. 425. b. Thachkhemoni c. 46. c. 13th. century, s. cod. Rossi 166. d. In cod. Uri 189. (prior to 1305.) comp. Wolf bibliotheca II. 1403. R. Perachjah and R. Jehuda Ha-Cohen I consider to have been two rabbies of Palestine, 1250—1286. s. Kherem chemed III. 171. 172. ***Zunz.***
e. Edrisi II. 153. f. Voyage, II. 333.

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les juifs vont encore fréquenmment visiter, étoit selon toute apparence, la ville qu'Abraham quitta pour aller au pais de Canaan;' for an extended account see Buckingham, Mesopotamia, I. 161. 162. From Aleppo to Racca, our author like most modern and ancient travellers, followed the course of the Euphrates, but being probably attracted, like Marco Polo, by the considerable trade then carried on at Mosul, he proceeded thither from Racca by way of Charan, Nisibis and Jezireh, a route pointed out as probably used by Alexander, on Rennel's map of the retreat of the ten thousand. *Ed.*

Ibid. 243. *'Esra the scribe.* Besides the several synagogues ascribed to 'Esra, we find the account of a school at הוצל which bears his name, in Sherira Gaon ap. Juchasin 115 a. *Zunz.*

ibid. 244. Two days journey from thence is .... *on the sources*[a] of the river Khabour. It appears that the name of a city is omitted here; our author probably wrote 'from thence to Ras-el-Ain (Edrisi II. 150, Abulfeda 241.) at which place the Khabour becomes a formidable river.[b] The information respecting the course of this river is corrupted by later copyists, which is evident as well from the variations in the original MSS. some of which read בהר and others בנהר as from the omission noticed above. *Ed.*

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a. The translation, which reads *on the mouth* of the river, is incorrect. *Ed.* b. Near three hundred streams proceed from this spot, which are collected together and are the source of the river Khabouran. Ibn-Haukal p. 57. Edrisi l. c.

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245. ***Nisibin,*** a place which in our own time has again become remarkable, in consequence of the signal victory, gained in its vicinity by the egyptian troops over those of the sultan, is mention'd by Ibn-Haukal,[a] Edrisi,[b] Abulfeda[c] and Ibn-Batuta.[d] These authors describe it as a delightful place 'abounding in water and gardens and surrounded by a river as with a bracelet and carrying on a considerable trade. R. Pethachia also visited it and found there 'a numerous Jewish congregation'[e] and several ancient synagogues. In Niebuhr's time is was a very poor place of about 150 houses[f] and even these had disappear'd, according to Rousseau, in 1812: 'il n'en restent aujourd'hui que quelques masures, qui servent seulement à indiquer le lieu où a existé le célèbre Nisibin.'[g] For a detailed account of the history and antiquities of this city see also Buckingham, Mesopotamia I. 431—440. and Journ. G. S. IX. 421. ***Ed.*** ibid.

246. ***Jezireh*** or Djeziret ebn-Omar (Zabdicena) is also noticed by the arabian geographers[h] above alluded to, and according to Edrisi was the market for the exchange of the goods brought from Mosul and intended for Armenia; it is even in its present state a place of some magnitude called Kora or black, by the turks, in consequence of its buildings, which, like those of Diarbeck, are all constructed of black basalt and give it a dark appearance. ***Ed.*** ibid.

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a. p. 56. b. II. 150. c. p. 244. d. p. 49. e. ed. Wagenseil p. 170. f. II. 307. g. Description du Pachalik de Bagdad p. 92. 93. h. Ibn Haukal 57. 60. Edrisi II. 153. Abulfeda 244. Ibn Batuta 49.

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page 91. 247. ***The place on which the ark of Noah rested.*** This tradition seems to have been very popular in the days of our author, we meet with it both in Ibn Haukal and in Edrisi: (l. c.) Joudi, says the former, is a mountain near Nisibin, it is said that the ark of Noah ('on whom be peace') rested on the summit of this mountain', and our author, like a good Jew, of course called the mountain Ararat, in conformity with Genesis VIII. 4. and with the belief of the natives.[a] ***Ed.***

ibid. 248. ***Mosul.*** In the vicinity of this ancient city stood the metropolis of Assyria, which circumstance is alluded to by our author when he calls it 'Ashur the great.' 'The city was considerable and its buildings all of stone and mortar' in Ibn Haukal's time,[b] 'the metropolis of all Mesopotamia'[c] and a strong place[d] in the 13th. century. Its eventfull history will be found ably treated in the 1st and 2d. part of Desguignes histoire des Huns,[e] and from that source we learn, that at the time of our author it was in possession of Cothbeddin Maudoud, who had succeeded his brother Seifeddin in 1149 and died, universally lamented in 1170. R. Pethachia, in 1175 or 1180 found at Mosul two cousins, both 'of the royal house of David,'[f] who probably were descendants of the house of the R. Sakhai, mention'd by Benjamin; one of these, David by name, is also immortalised by Charisi.[g] ***Ed.***

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a. Rich, Koordistan, II. 123. b. p. 59. comp. Edrisi II. 148. c. Abulfeda 247. d. Ibn Batuta 49. e. III. a. 170. 190. 211. f. Ed. Wagenseil p. 171. g. Thachkhemoni, Constantinople edition, p. 66.

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249. ***R. Joseph*** surnamed Borhan al Phulk (بوهان الفلك) must have been astronomer or astrologer royal to Seifeddin, who as well as Cothbeddin and Noureddin king of Aleppo, were sons of Zenghi and are known in history by the title of Atabeks of Syria. Another astrologer of Mosul is mention'd by R. Pethachia,[a] who found about 6000 Jews in that city. *Ed.* ibid.

250. Niebuhr[b] has left us a plan and description of Mosul, which Buckingham[c] pronounces to be correct 'The general aspect of the town is mean and uninteresting: the streets are narrow and unpaved, and with one exception only, there are neither fine bazars, mosques or palaces, such as one might expect in a city, the population of which is thought by the people of the place to exceed a hundred thousand.' We refer the reader also to Mr. Rich's account of Mosul and its vicinity[d] from which we learn that the Jews still visit Alkosh and come on pilgrimage to the tomb of Nachum the Elkoshite, who they say is buried there. 'Nebi Junes,' says Mr. Rich, 'or the prophet Jonah, is even at present the name of a village in the immediate vicinity, containing a sepulchre which the turks revere as that of the prophet Jonah.' *Ed.* ibid.

251. ***Niniveh***, was situated, as described by our author, directly opposite Mosul,[e] on the eastern bank of the Tigris; the villages Ninive, Nunia or Nebbi Junes, ibid.

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a. ed. Wagenseil p. 172. b. Voyage II. 289. c. Mesopotamia II. 27. et seq. d. Koordistan II. e. comp. the arabian geographers quoted above.

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Nimrod and Kalla Nunia are built upon the ruins and preserve in their names almost the only memorial of this ancient city, for a full description of which we refer to Mr. Rich's able volumes and to Niebuhr's travels. *Ed.*

page 92. 252. From Mosul on the banks of the Tigris, which, as we have stated above, was probably visited by R. Benjamin for some commercial purpose, he returns to the banks of the Euphrates and crossing the desert in three days, arrives at

ibid. 253. ***Rahabah,*** which he correctly identifies which 'Rechoboth on the river' of scripture. Ibn-Haukal[a] calls it Rahabah Malek ben Tawk and like our author describes it as 'a town, well-water'd and planted with trees' but in Abulfeda's time it was ruin'd and nothing but a small place which however contained a few old monuments. Captn. Chesney spells the name Rahabat and places it on the right bank, about two miles from the river, in a fruitful plain. This account however does not agree with Rauwolff's report and there appear to be some difficulties about Rahabah. *Ed.*

ibid. 254. ***Karkisia which is Kharkh'mish.*** Modern orientalists of celebrity, including Rosenmüller and Gesenius agree with our author's identification of Karkisia (Cercusium, Circesium, Circessum) with Kharkh'misch. 'Karkisa, says Ibn Haukal[c] is on the banks

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a. p. 59. comp. Edrisi II. 145. b. Journal geogr. Soc. III. 235. Rennel, comp. geography of western Asia I. 42 and foll. c. p. 59.

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of the river Khabour, it abounds in fine prospects, cultivated lands and gardens. 'The navigation from Deir to Kerkisia, lay through a level country, chiefly marsh, with districts of tamarisks and some cultivated lands.[a] The river Khabur (Araxes) falls into the Euphrates near this place.[b]

A glance at the map will show that no traveller, whose sole object it is to reach a certain point, would take the route described by the Rabbi, who first descends to Rahaba and then reaches Bagdad in a zigzag and we refer to our introduction and to the following note for an explanation of this seeming incongruity. *Ed.*

255. ***Juba which is Pumbeditha in Neharde'a.*** ibid. Sura and Pumbeditha, the two celebrated seats of the geonim,[c] were situated near one another and at a short distance from Bagdad. R. Benjamin however[d] mentions between both places: Shafjathib in N'harde'a. It is correct beyond doubt[e] that this place was situated in N'harde'a, but it is mention'd as a separate town, only by Rashi[f] and Benjamin, whereas the geonim[g] and R. Pethachia[h] only know it as the name of a synagogue. The Town of N'harde'a was situated on the Euphrates,[i] above Sura[k] and in the vicinity of the lat-

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a. Journal geog. Soc. VII. 425. b. comp. Abulfeda p. 243 c. s. Basnage, histoire des Juifs. (ed. 1706.) II. 755. d. I. 111. 112. e. Megillah 29 a. Rosh hashana 24 b. Nidda 13 a. f. in Rosh hashana l. l. g. Sherira ap. Juchasin 115 a. 'Aruch v. שף. h. p. 183. i. Josephus Arch. XVIII. 11. k. 'Aruch, v. על.

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ter town. Here R. Sh'muel taught in the third century, at which time his disciple, R. ***Jehuda B. Jecheskel,*** filled the office of teacher at Pumbeditha. It is clear therefore that our author's 'Juba in Neharde'a,' can be but Neharde'a proper, but this paragraph is misplaced here and ought to follow Pumbeditha (I. 112.) That it has stood thus originally in our author's account, is further proved by the expression 'Pumbeditha in Neharde'a' for although there existed two towns of the name of Sura,[a] there was but one Pumbeditha; moreover it is impossible that Sh'muel should be buried in two Pumbedithas, and it is evident that what is here called Juba, is identical with el Jubar, I. 112. — Baratier (I. 167.) has noticed the identity but he has not solved the difficulty arising therefrom. By transferring this paragraph, as Neharde'a, to its appropriate place and connecting Juba with Pumbeditha, we also re-establish the equilibrium in two other points: 1) the enumeration of the *sepulchres,* which ceases at Kadesh in Palestine, begins correctly again at Ras el Ain, and 2) the account of living teachers ceases at the latter place. Thus R. Chen and others lived at a place (Al-jubar?) near Kirkesium; the sepulchres however were in Nehard'ea or Pumbeditha. ***Zunz.***

page 93 256. ***R. Bosthenai,*** a prince of the exile and gaon in Pumbeditha about 660, who was much esteemed by Omar; comp. Rapaport in the life of Hai Gaon, 83. 84; Jost, history V. 317; the same name occurs

a. Rashi in Moëd-katon 20. a. 24. b. Baba Metsia 61. 6.

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p. 101. — R. ***Nathan*** is perhaps the prince of the exile ***Nathan Tsutsitha,*** who flourished in the beginning of the second century; comp. Rapaport in the life of R. Nissim, note 39. ***R. Nachman B. Papa*** is mention'd in the babylonian thalmud,[a] and is one of the eleven sons of Papa the elder, who were killed Ao. 663. Seleuc. (Ao. 351.)[b] and whose names are consider'd as strengthening the memory.[c] ***Zunz.***

257. ***Chardah,*** probably Al-Hadr, reading חדרה for חרדה, a place of great celebrity,[d] and of which splendid ruins still attest its former grandeur. An account of a visit to its site and a description of its ruins will be found in the ninth volume of the Journal of the R. geographical society, in which[e] we also find mention of the ruins of ***Ed.*** ibid.

258. ***'Okbera,*** called Akbera by Ibn-Haukal,[f] on the Tigris, a city of note during the caliphate,[g] on the supposed site of Apis. Abulfeda[h] sets it down as ten parasangs above Bagdad, which distance our author makes here two days, comp. however Edrisi II. 146, ***Ed.*** ibid.

259. ***Jekhoniah,*** this king of Judah, who was carried into Babylon Ao. 597 a. C. is consider'd to have been the ancestor of the Jewish patriarchs and princes of the exile and of the heads of the Caraites; he is also believed to have founded Okbera, Shafjathib and ibid.

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a. ibid. 80 b. Chullin 60 b. b. Seder Thenaim in Kherem chemed IV, 186. c. Juchasin 88 a. d. Abulfeda 246. e. p. 444. f. p. 71. g. Rennell's retreat of the ten thousand 126. 128. h. p. 258.

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the sepulchre of Ezechiel (J'cheskel). His sepulchre is shown at Kufa (I. 111.) *Zunz.*

ibid. 260. ***Bagdad.*** The illustration of our author's account of this city, of its caliphs and princes of the captivity will be found in one of the two papers by Mr. Lebrecht, at the end of these notes. *Ed.*

page 105. 261. ***Gihiagin which is Resen.*** Modern orientalists have confessed that it is impossible to fix the exact geographical position of Resen and it certainly must be erroneous to identify Resen and Ras-al-Aien, as has been done by Bischoff and Moeller, who, under Gehiagen refer to 'Resen or Ras-al-Aien.' According to Buckingham,[a] 'Gehiagen, which Benjamin reached in two days from Bagdad, would seem to be the Felugia of the present maps; he (Benjamin) did not however conceive this to be Babylon as has been supposed, but took it for Resen of the scripture, which is said to have been a great city, and there are still extensive ruins here, to bear out the supposition.' It was

page 106. a days journey from hence to the ancient

262. ***Babel,***[b] and if the passage were by boats and on the stream of the Euphrates, on whose banks both these places stand, the distance might be easily accomplished in that space of time. R. Benjamin here vaguely alludes to the palace of Nebuchadnesar, which could not be enter'd on account of its being the abode of dragons and wild beasts; but as he speaks of a pa-

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a. Mesopotamia II. 426. b. Babel is a small village, but the most ancient spot in all Irak. The whole region is denominated Babel, from this place. *Ibn Haukal* p. 70. Comp. Edrisi II. 160.

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lace and fixes it at a place which the people of the country still make the abode of demons and evil spirits, as well as numerous reptiles of all kinds, he no doubt alluded to the mounds of the mujellibé where the palaces and hanging gardens appear to have been, and which is the only part of the whole territory that is called Babel even to the present day.' The mujellibé or mugellibah has been supposed by Rennel and Mignan to be the tower of Belus described below by Rabbi B. and we refer for more information on this disputed point to the authors quoted above and to Mr. Rich's able volumes. The account of the twenty thousand Jews, by which our author interrupts his narrative, was probably misplaced here by one of his copyists. *Ed.*

263. ***Synagogue of Daniel.*** This place of worship, of which R. Pethachia also renders an account, is of remote antiquity; I find it mention'd in the Thalmud, tract. 'Erubin 21. a.; at which place it is stated that extensive ruins are met within three miles of it. *Rapaport.* ibid.

264. The tradition of ***the burning furnace*** is alluded to by Ibn Haukal and Edrisi (l. c.); the former states that the ashes still remain and a similar tale is met with in the midrash. *Ed.* ibid.

265. ***Hillah,*** distant about five miles from the ruins of Babel, is an ancient place, which according to Abulfeda[a] was inclosed by a wall in the 495th. year of ibid.

a. p. 256.

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the Hedjra (1101—2.) it contained a celebrated mosque, that of the last Imam.[a] It is meanly built and its population does not exceed between 6 and 7000, consisting of Arabs and (1000) Jews, who have a synagogue.[b] At R. Benjamin's time there were ten thousand Jews here, the number at present at Bagdad; and the number of one thousand, given as the amount then residing at Bagdad, is about that now inhabiting Hillah, so that there seems to have been only a change of place, without an augmentation or diminution of actual numbers in both. *Ed.*

ibid. 266. ***R. Meier.*** Nothwithstanding the account of R. Meier's flight to Babylon,[c] it is to be concluded from other authorities that his abode was properly in Palestine. There is no doubt that he died in Asia minor and was buried in Palestine.[d] R. Benjamin and Pethachia however both mention his sepulchre at Hillah; and the latter adds distinctly:[e] this is R. Meier of the mishna;' Jichus,[f] Iggereth Jichusta,[g] Sikhron Jerushalaim,[h] on the contrary place the sepulchre of R. Meier at Tiberias, the place of his abode.[i] — The misplacement of the tomb to Hillah, is occasioned by the legendary account of the penance of R. Meier,[k] in which he also appears in Babylon, whereas a ***R. Meier*** בעל הנס, i. e. one who was the object of a wonder, is

a. Ibn-Batuta p. 45. b. Rich, Babylon, p. 49. c. 'Aboda Sara 18. b. d. Jerusal. Khilaim, end, which has been wholly misunderstood by Carmoly, notes to Pethachia p. 56. e. p. 183. f. p. 41. g. ed. Mantua 1676. h. ed. 1759. i. Midrash Koheleth 101. c. k. Tales by R. Nissim.

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said to be buried at Giskâla[a] and a R. Meier Kazin in Tiberias.[b] *Zunz.*

267. ***R. Seiri B. Chama*** lived in Palestine[c] and page 107.
his death in Babylon is not confirmed historically. — ***R. Mari*** (not M'iri) is probably the contemporary of Rava, in the first half of the 4th. century. *Zunz.*

268. ***The tower of the dispersed generation,*** is at ibid.
present called ***Birs Nemroud*** by the turks, arabs and Jews of the vicinity. It is, as our author correctly states, about five miles from Hillah, constructed of bricks called Al-Ajurr.[d] The foundations, says our author, were two miles long, perhaps rather in circuit, and intended to include the ruined temple and its mounds of rubbish. The whole height of the Birs above the plain, to the summit of the brick wall is two hundred and thirty five feet, as measured by Mr. Rich (p. 167.) The spiral passages up its sides are not now apparent, but our author probably meant to point out the eight stages which are mention'd and described by Rich[e] and Buckingham.[f] 'The form of its ascent is pyramidal, and four of the eight stages, of which its whole height was composed, are to be distinctly traced, on the north and

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a. Jichus p. 57. b. Cod. Sorbonne No. 222. c. Joma 78. a. d. A word of persian origin and adopted by the arabs, which means bricks. R. Thanchum in Habakuk II. 11. and in Morshid rad. כפס translates כפים upon the authority of Abulwalid by אלאגר which, he adds, means לבן מטבוך, a baked stone, a mass formed into stone by art, in contradistinction of אבן, which means חגר מקטוע, a stone formed by nature. ***S. Munk.*** e. l. c. 167. 168. f. l. c. II. 368. 381.

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east sides, projecting through the general rubbish of its face. Being mounted on the summit, continues Rabbi B. the view is extended to the distance of twenty miles around, more particularly as the country there is an extensive and perfect level, all which is strictly accurate; 'there is a very fine view from the face of the tower and summit of the mound. We saw Kefel, or the tomb of Ezekiel, and were informed that Meshed Ali, which is ten hours off, is visible early in the morning.[a] The tradition still exists that the place was destroyed by fire from heaven and it originated probably in the appearance of the large vitrified masses described by Rich and the other authors quoted above. *Ed.*

ibid. 269. *Napacha* is perhaps the place mention'd by Ptolemy under the name of Nachaba,[b] it is not to be found on any modern map and the only traveller who mentions it, is Buckingham, who says that the sepulchre and synagogue of Napheus, near which reside two hundred Jews, and which was half a days journey from the Birs, according to Benjamin of Tudela, as well as the tomb of Ezechiel, three leagues from thence, *agree* in name and distance, *with the place still known as such.*[c] *Ed.*

ibid. 270. *R. Jitschak Napacha,* flourished in the 3d. century, about 280, in Galilee, where his sepulchre is shown at Khaïfa; we learn however from the thalmud, Sabbath 126 d. and Moed Katon 24 b., that he has

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a. Rich p. 34.; Forbes, Mesopotamia II. 24. b. s. Hudson's Geogr. min. III, 9. c. Mesopotamia II. 428.

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also been in Babylon, which may have been the country of his birth. *Zunz.*

271. With respect to the sepulchres and other similar monuments it may be here remarked, that generally these sites are pointed out by traditions which in most instances have no better foundation than the desire of extorting money from pious visitors; and if we read in Ibn Batuta of the mahomedan, and consider that the 53 folios of the Acta Sanctorum are devoted solely to christian saints, we cannot but admire the modesty of R. Benjamin, who, as a Jew, belonged to a religious sect of much longer standing than the other two combined. *Ed.* ibid.

272. *Sepulchre of J'cheskel* (*Ezechiel*). This sepulchre has been for ages a place of pilgrimage to the Jews and mahomedans [b] of the vicinity. It is placed on Rennell's map in strict accordance with the subjoined account from Niebuhr. Pethachia [c] and Alcharizi [d] have both described it, the former in bad prose, the latter in beautiful, elegiac verse; both have interwoven local traditions with their descriptions, whereas that of R. Benjamin has nothing of the miraculous and is such as a sober Jewish merchant of his day would give it. We find no mention of the monument in any of the contemporary authors who have been quoted frequently in illustra- p. 107—110.

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a. Iggereth Jechustha. b. Ezekiel is venerated by the mahomedans under the name of Khazkil. *Herbelot.* c. p. 197. et seq. d. c. 35.

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tion of our text, and of modern travellers it is, in the first instance, Niebuhr who has described it.[a]

'Au 25 décembre je voyageois de Meshed Ali 4½ lieues au nord, jusqu'à Kefil, et en suite encore autant au nord nord-est, jusqu'à Helle. La distance de ces deux villes est par conséquent de neuf lieues ou sept milles d'allemagne. Kefil est le nom arabe d'Ezechiel, dont des milliers de juifs viennent encore annuellement visiter ici le tombeau; mais ce prophète n'a point de trésors, ni d'argent ni d'or, ni de pierreries; car quand aussi les juifs voudroient lui faire pareils présens, les Mahométans ne les lui laisseroient pourtant pas longtems. Ils doivent se contenter de la permission, de faire ici des pelérinages. Dans la chapelle du prophète, qui est sous une petite tour, on ne voit rien autre chose, qu'un tombeau muré. Le propriétaire ou le gardien de ce sanctuaire, est une famille arabe, qui a ici une jolie petite mosquée; avec une minare, et ne paye presqu'aucune contribution aux Turcs, uniquement pour l'amour du prophète. Outre cela cette famille arabe, gagne encore considérablement des voyageurs, qui aiment à se reposer ici. Le tombeau d'Ezechiel, la mosquée et le peu de mauvaises demeures des arabes, qu'il y a, sont environnés d'une forte muraille, haute, passé les trente pieds et de deux cent cinquante pas doubles, ou environs douze cens pieds de circonférence. On prétend, qu'elle a d'abord été bâtie, sur les frais d'un juif de Cufa, nommé Soleiman et se-

a. Voyage II. 216.

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lon toute apparence, elle est encore entretenue par les juifs; car ceux là en retirent la plus grande utilité.'— 'Entre Imam Hussein et Imam Ali,' says Rousseau,[a] 'se voit une espèce de rotonde, que les habitans du pays prennent pour la sépulture du prophète Ezéchiel, et qui est très-fréquentée par les plus devots de la nation juive.' — 'It is a large, clumsy building, without beauty or ornament, and is much frequented by Jewish pilgrims by the voluntary contributions of which it is kept in repair.'[b] According to Rennel's map, the Nahrsares, an ancient arm of the Euphrates, now dry, runs along near the site of the sepulchre, which Niebuhr places about 18 engl. miles to the east of the Euphrates. This circumstance has led us to adopt the translation in its present form and to apply R. Benjamin's description (p. 102. line 10.) of a site which could not be that of the sepulchre, to the prison of the Jewish king.

Fairs, like those described by our author, were instituted in consequence of so great a conflux of people from all parts of the world and in catholic countries of Europe, similar markets are generally held in the vicinity of celebrated places of pilgrimage,

We hope to be able to give, in the subsequent volumes of these notes, a full account of the present state of this celebrated sepulchre, and request those travellers, who may happen to visit the site, to forward notes of their observations through the medium of the english or french geographical society. *Ed.*

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a. Description etc. p. 77. b. Kinneir p. 282.

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page 110. 273. ***The sepulchres of R. Papa &c.*** ***R. Papa,*** principal of the academy at Nerash near Sura, died Ao. 372. R. ***Huna,*** president at Sura, died Ao. 290. R. ***Joseph,*** called ***Sinai,*** died in Pumbeditha Ao. 323. R. ***Joseph B. Chama,*** father of the well known thalmudic teacher Rava, flourished in Babylonia about 310. ***Zunz.***

ibid. 274. ***'Ain Japhata,*** and two villages which contained the sepulchres of Jewish rabbies, and the site on the river Lega, remarkable as a place containing another sepulchre, cannot be traced at present, and appear to have shared the fate of many other and more populous towns and villages which at Benjamin's time lined the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris,[a] and the space between the latter and the desert 'je ne vis pas de mosqué sur ce chemin, mais bien, comme près des villages et en plaine campagne sur l'Euphrate, beaucoup de ***Kubbets*** ou petits édifices sur des tombeaux de pretendus saints, près desquelles il y avait eu selon toute apparence, autrefois des villages.'[b] ***Ed.***

ibid. 275. ***Sepulchre of Nachum the Elkoshite.*** Colonel Shiel found a tomb which was described by the natives as that of Nachum, near Elkosh, east of the Tigris, on the foot of the mountains which border Kurdistan.' 'I then proceeded to view the synagogue. No Jews

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a. 'Le pays compris entre Bagdad et Koufa est couvert d'une infinité de villages et de campagnes.' ***Edrisi*** II. 157. b. Niebuhr Voyage, II. 206. comp. Keppel I. 118. 119. 120.

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now reside in Elkosh, but it is much frequented by them as a place of pilgrimage. The synagogue is a large building, quite as substantial as the church, and, like all synagogues which I have seen, perfectly plain. No Jews are now attached to it; but at certain seasons they assemble from the neighbouring districts to visit the tomb of Nahum Peïghember, 'the prophet Nahum,' whose tomb is in the synagogue. The walls are covered with small hebrew inscriptions on paper; there was a large bible on two rolls of parchment, inclosed in a wooden cylindrical case, which opened in the middle; the writing was beautiful, or the printing, for I could not distinguish which it was; there was an abundance of books in the synagogue in beautiful hebrew characters.'[a] *Ed.*

276. ***R. Chisdai.*** No other ***R. Chisdai*** is known, who can be meant here, than the father of Salomo, prince of the exile, who flourish'd at the time of the removal of the Khalifate from Damaskus to Kufa (Ao. 750.) Doubtless Chisdai was also a prince. The two following names are not less doubtful: R. Sherira Gaon[b] indeed mentions a R. *'Akiba B. Dosa*, of the 2d. century, but the thalmud knows only of a ***Jacob B. Dosa*** who resided in Palestine.[c] Akiba and Dosa, the teachers of the mishnah, cannot be meant here. A son of Saadia Gaon was called Dosa, about 960. An emendation of ***Chisda*** (died 308 in Sura) instead of ibid.

a. Journal Geogr. Society VIII. 93. b. Juchasin 108 a. c. Seder ha-doroth 123 a.

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Chisdai, is inadmissible in consequence of the character of the two other names; moreover R. Chisda is said to be buried at Abnit in Galilee.[a] *Zunz.*

page 111. 277. ***R. David &c.*** The name of ***David*** occurs only since the last centuries of the epoch of the geonim, and three of the nine known persons, who bore the name[b] prior to 1000, were princes of the exile.[c] We have no means of ascertaining the person alluded here to; but in G'lilot erets Jisrael we read instead of: ***Abba B. Jehuda***, of a R. ***Abba B. Judan***, who lived in the 4th. century and is mention'd Vajikra rabba c. 7. Kubrah (קובריה) is a corrupted reading, in G'lilot we find it spelt 'Obadia (עובדיה), the name of a disciple of Rava[d] (about 350). Sachora was the teacher of Rava.[e] It is remarkable that we find mention made of Joseph B. Chamah, the father, Joseph and Sechora, the teachers, Obadia and Papa, the disciples, and Mari, Abba, Nachman B. Papa and Abba B. Judan, the contemporaries of Rava, whereas Rava himself and his colleague Abaje is passed over in silence. The statement of 'Emek hamelekh[f] and of Iggereth Jachsutha, according to which they are said to be buried in 'Okbera or in Paneas, is without any foundation. *Zunz.*

ibid. 278. '***Kufa*** is smaller than Basra,' says Ibn Haukal,[g] but resembles it in some respects. The air and water of Kufa are better than those of Basrah. It is

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a. Jichus 63. b. Zunz, Namen der Juden 39. c. Juchasin 118 b. 121 a. d. Baba bathra 22 a. e. ibid. 128 a. f. fol. 11 a. g. 65.

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situated near the river Forat.' Edrisi[a] and even Abulfeda[b] speak of it as an important and exceedingly handsome place, in the vicinity of which the sepulchre of Ali Ben Abi Taleb attracted devotees from all parts of the earth, but as early as in Ibn Batuta's time, it appears to have fallen into decay.[c] — The site of this ancient city was pointed out to Niebuhr, about 5 engl. miles E. N. E. of Meshed Ali. 'Le pais aux environs,' says this celebrated traveller,[d] 'est entièrement désert et la ville n'a plus du tout d'habitans.' The arabic characters have been named Koufic or Cufic from this city, of which at present there remains little more than the mosque, were Ali was assassinated and which is held in peculiar veneration by the mahomedans. *Ed.*

279. *Sura.* Living at Bagdad and making this city ibid.
the centre of his observations,[e] our author first describes Babylon, Hillah and the other places of interest, south, and then returns to those, north of Bagdad, among which Sura claims his attention in a very high degree, as having been during nearly eight hundred years, the seat of one of the most celebrated universities of the Jews, which boasted of eminent thalmudic scholars. We refer to Note 255. antè, regarding the site of this town and remark that Edrisi[f] calls it صرصر, Sura Sura, a place on the banks of one branch of the Euphrates and mentions another Sura,[g] سورا

a. I. 366. b. 257. c. 43. d. II. 213. e. s. Introduction. f. II. 138. 142. g. ibid. 158.

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situated on another branch of the same river; the latter was below Bagdad, whereas the former, which is here alluded to, was above that city and is identified by Büsching with Erry of Rauwolf, and the Corsate of the classic authors. This opinion has been adopted by Bischoff and Möller and Rosenmüller (map). Compare also Rennel's western Asia I. 39. ***Ed.***

ibid. 280. ***R. Sh'rira, Hai, Saadia,*** are three celebrated principals of the academies (Geonim) of the 10th. century. The first died about 998, the 2nd. 1039, the 3d. 942. Full information on the lives of these men is furnished in Rapaport's biographies and in Munk's notice sur Saadia. ***Sh'muel B. Chofni*** was the father in law of R. Hai and died 1034.[a] ***Zunz.***

ibid. 281. ***Shafjathib.*** The tradition respecting this synagogue is copied from the thalmud.[b] Pethachia,[c] more correctly places it at N'harde'a and we suppose that the word (ושם) 'in this place' was interpolated. See Note 255. ***Ed.***

p. 112—116. 282. ***Al-Yemen.*** For the illustration of that portion of our text which treats of Arabia, we refer the reader to the Revd. S. L. Rapaport's paper 'on the independent Jews of Arabia' which will be found at the end of these notes. ***Ed.***

page 116. 283. ***Waseth.*** Naseth of Benjamin's text, appears to me to be Waseth. ***Ritter.***

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a. comp. Rapaport's life of R. Hai 86, 88, Addition 10. Life of R. Chananel 20. Zunz, in Geiger's Zeitschrift IV. 386 et seq.
b. Megillah 28 a. c. p. 188.

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284. ***Waseth,*** says Ibn-Haukal,[a] 'is situated on the two banks of the Dejleh.... It is strongly built, is a populous town, and well supplied with provisions.' Edrisi[b] confirms these observations and Abulfeda[c] remarks 'Waseth est urbs bipartita ad utramque Tigridis ripam.... Waseth (seu mediam) eam appellatam esse prohibet Ahmadus, fil. Jakubi, 'lKateb (seu secretarius) quod quinquaginta parasangis a quatuor maximis urbibus aequaliter distet; ab al Basrah, ab al Cufa, ab al Ahwaz, a Bagdado tandem.' At present the name of ancient ***Waseth,*** of which even no remains are known, has been transferred to another place, situated on what is now only ***a principal branch*** of the Tigris, running parallel to it, at the distance of 6 or 7 miles.[d] ***Ed.***

285. ***R. N'dain.*** Generally R. Benjamin's ביניהם (among them) is followed by a plural, as: Jews (I. 92.) rich (ib. 3. 23. 72.) learned (ib. 30. 53. 60. 76. 77. 83.) learned and rich (ib. 48. 73. 76. 82). As we find however an instance where a single person is named (ib. 98.) and where the narrative nevertheless continues: 'and one of them is R. N'thanel etc. the reading N'dain is justified, although the name does not occur anywhere else, and we might suspect a corruption from ודיין (and judge). ***Zunz.*** ibid.

286. ***Bassora,*** was a place of great importance in the time of Ibn Haukal,[e] Edrisi,[f] Abulfeda[g] and Ibn-Batuta,[h] and it is still a great city, which absorbs ibid.

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a. p. 65. b. I. 367. c. 261. d. Rennel's Western Asia I. 58. e. 63. f. I. 367. g. 269. h. 47.

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nearly all the foreign commerce of Persia and the Euphrates. It is seven miles in circumference, a part of which is laid out in gardens and plantations and intersected by canals, navigable for small vessels. The inhabitants are estimated at 60,000, a heterogenous mixture of arabs, turks, indians, persians, Jews and all the people of the east.[a] The number of Jews at Bassora is said to amount to 7000. *Ed.*

ibid. 287. ***Two days to*** (Korna?) ***on the river Samarra.*** Our author places Bassora on the Tigris, and Korna, near which is the tomb of 'Ezra, described here, on the Samarra, although both are at present on the Shat-el-Arab and thus furnishes one of the many concurring testimonies, of the alteration, which has taken place in the course of that river, which perhaps even in our author's time, kept a distinct course to the sea.[b] *Ed.*

ibid. 288. ***Samarra,*** River, is the lower Diyala (Delos) or Diala, in the vicinity of Bagdad, where we find the old city of Samarra, or Tamara, Robinson, not. p. 29. *Ritter.*

ibid. 289. ***Sepulchre of 'Ezra.*** This sepulchre, like that of Ezechiel (J'cheskel) I. 107. has been noticed by Pethachia and Charisi, both of whom communicate several legends attached to it; the latter adds that the river, on which it is placed 'is called in hebrew Ahava' a remark which may tend to throw light on a passage in Ezra (VIII. 21. 31.) where that river is mention'd

a. Murray 915. b. s. Rennels Xenophon 75.

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as a place of rendezvous of those Jews, who returned to Jerusalem from Babylon. The tomb still exists and is mention'd by several modern travellers. Niebuhr [a] like Macdonald Kinneir[b] places it 'on the bank of the Tigris, a short way above Korna.' Rousseau[c] says it is 'vis à vis de Korna et proche de la rivière de Senné, dans le pays de Haviza' and adds that it is 'une vieille bâtisse, qui passe pour être le tombeau du prophète Esdras; monument honoré par les turcs et les juifs, qui vont souvent s'y acquitter de leurs pieux devoirs.' Keppel[d] remarks 'we passed a building called Il Azer (Ozeir?) (Ezra) reported by tradition to be the tomb of that prophet. It is surmounted by a large dome, cover'd with glazed tiles of a turquoise colour. The tomb is held in veneration both by Jews and Mahometans, and is said to contain great riches, the offerings of pilgrims; particulary those of the former persuasion.' Mignan[e] who accompanies his notice by a woodcut, states: a good burnt brick wall surrounds it, in passing which I found a spacious domed cloister, inclosing a square sepulchre, containing the ashes of Ezra. The interior is paved with the same sky-blue tile, as adorns the dome, which affords a very brillant appearance, particularly when the sun shines upon it. Over the doorway are two tablets of black marble, filled up with hebrew writing. Hither the Jews perform a yearly pilgrimage from Bassorah.' *Ed.*

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a I. plate XI. b. p. 282. c. p. 58. d. I. 92. e. p. 8.

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page 117. 290. ***Khuzestan***, 'Elam of scripture. The identification is correct, according to Rosenmüller[a] and Gesenius, who both adopt the same opinion. Our author describes in a few words the state of the province in his time — and in our own! *Ed.*

ibid. 291. ***Ruins of Shushan and sepulchre of Daniel.*** The tradition respecting this tomb and the strife to possess it, of which our author speaks, appear to date from very remote times;[b] and strange to say, the most celebrated scholars of our own days have continued to spill as much ink on the subject, as the Jews of old, according to Benjamin's account, spilt blood. Ten noble champions of english, french and german origin have carried on the warfare upon paper, five of whom are arranged on either side: Rennel, Ouseley, Barbié du Bocage, Kinneir and Hoek contend for the place called at present Chouch, Chouz or Sous,[c] whereas d'Herbelot, d'Anville, Vincent, Mannert and Hammer maintain that Shuster[d] be the Susa of scripture. The most recent battle has been fought in the pages of the

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a. I. 1. 300. b. Aasim of Cufah, a venerable historian, who preceded Ibn Haukal by two hundred years (for he died 735) mentions the discovery of Daniel's coffin at Sus. Ibn Haukal, who travelled in the 10th. century, speaks of it and ascribes to the possession of the bones of Daniel, the virtue of dispelling all sorts of distress, particularly that of famine from want of rain. Ouseley's travels I. 422, where that author remarks, that the earliest notice of this tomb, published in Europe, seems to have been given by Benjamin of Tudela. c. lat. 31° 55′ long 83° 40′. d. lat. 31° 30′ long 84° 30′, both according to the authorities quoted by Rennel, Western Asia I. 229.

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Recueil de Voyages et mémoires publié par la société de géographie, vol. II.,[a] Paris 1835. and to the authorities quoted there, we refer the learned reader. Ample proof has been furnished in the course of the controversy, that the legend of the tomb of Daniel and of its removal from another place, is of very remote date; that a certain tomb has been consider'd to be that of the prophet by mahometans and Jews from times immemorial, and that to the possession of the ashes of Daniel were ascribed virtues far surpassing those mention'd by our own sober traveller and even by R. Pethachia. The latter who found at Susa only two Jews, dyers by profession, also reports the coffin to have been suspended from the bridge, inclosed in another coffin, made of higly polished copper, which from afar had the appearance of beautiful glass. The most recent account of this celebrated place, from personal observation, is contained in a very able paper by Major Rawlinson, inserted in the 9th. vol. of the journal of the royal geographical society, to which we refer. Major Rawlinson advances that 'Shushan the palace' is 'the present Súsan on the Kuran or Eulaeus, the U'lai of scripture, which actually laves the base of the great ruin found there.'[b]

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a. p. 324. 335. 337. et seq. b. Rosenmüller remarks that the palace mention'd by Josephus (Antiq. b. X. c. 11. §. 4.) as being situated at Ecbatana and which had been constructed by Daniel, was probably at Susa. This he proves from a passage of St. Jerom, and has no doubt that this latter name ought to be substituted for Ecbatana, Josephus calls the palace βαρις,

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The history of the sacred fish, of which our author speaks (I. 120.) is also to be met with in the persian work Nuz-halu-lKulúb (MS.)[a] and in Pethachia, who ascribes to the suspended coffin, the power of destroying all wicked people who pass under it.[b] *Ed.*

ibid. 292. ***Sanjar Shah Ben Shah,*** or rather Ben Melikshah, of which our author speaks here, was born in the year 1086 at Sanjar in Syria, from which circumstance he derived his name,[c] and died at the age of 72 years and 8 months, a few years prior to the date of our author's travels. 'Twenty years he govern'd the province of Chorassan and during forty one years his autocracy was extended over the greater half of the inhabited world' says Mirkhond, who extols his prowess and virtues in truly oriental style. ***Sanjar*** extended his empire over Samarkand, which city he conquer'd in 1140, and was one of the most powerful monarchs of Asia, whose memory must have been very fresh at our author's time. See: Herbelot S. V.

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which is beyond doubt identical with בירה, an epithet always applied to the palace at Susa and which is probably the building mention'd by R. Benjamin (I. 117). It was, and is still customary to employ Jews as keepers of budilings of that kind, with which office was probably combined the distribution of gifts of pious pilgrims. It is very likely that ר' אחא שר הבירה, mention'd thalmud, Khethuboth 22 a, and 88 a. was a keeper of this place; he appears to have removed to Palestine from Babylonia ('Eruchin 22 b.) see also Jebamoth 45 b. מורחין לטבריה and in Rashi's commentary לאנטוכיה. We also find: Jonathan, Lord of the palace. (ר' יהונתן שר הבירה) ***Rapaport.*** a. Rawlinson, l. c. b. p. 186. c. See Vullers Mirkhond 117, note 17, on the controversy, respecting the origin of this name.

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Sangiar, Desguignes hist. des huns, Mirkhond c. XXVIII to XX. and Hammer, Geschichte des osmanischen Reichs, 2d. Ed. I. 45 et seq. *Ed.*

293. ***Rudbar.*** 'The tents were pitched, says Major Rawlinson[a] 'on the banks of the broad and deep stream of the Abi-Sirván, at the head of the district of ***Rúdbár***, which extends from hence along the valley of the river, a distance of about 6 farsakhs, to the point of its confluence with the Kerkah. I heard at that spot of the ruins of a very considerable town, similar in appearance to Sírván, which was called the ***Shari-Rúdbár***: this would appear to be the ***Robadbar*** of Benjamin of Tudela, where he found 20,000 families of Jews; for the names are too nearly similar to allow us to attach much weight to his measurement (perhaps incorrect in the numbers) of 3 days march from Susa.' *Ed.* page 120.

294. ***River Holwan.*** The text of the first editions reads לנהר ואנת and we have expressed in a note our conjecture that it might have stood thus: לנ׳ הלוון or לנ׳ הלוונת in the ms. according to which we render it: river Holwan. This river rises and flows in the direction of the route described by our author, and near its banks resided numerous colonies of Jews. See below. *Ed.* ibid.

295. ***Mulehet.***[b] It is curious to observe the coincidence of our author's account of the persian ibid.

a. Journal R. G. S. IX. 56. b. For 'of Mulehet' read 'of the Mulehet.

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branch of the Assassins, with that of Marco Polo. 'Having spoken,' says the latter[a] 'of this country, mention shall now be made of the old man of the mountain. The district in which his residence lay, obtained the name of *Mulehet*, signifying in the language of the saracens, the place of heretics. The venetian traveller then gives an account of the allurements practised by the Sheikh — misnamed old man — of the mountain upon those youth, whom he thought fit objects to execute his plans, the manner in which he made them his instruments *and mere* instruments of his will. 'All deemed themselves happy to receive the commands of their master and were forward to die in his service. The consequence of this system was, that when any of the neighbouring princes, or others, gave umbrage to their chief, they were put to death by these disciplined Assassins; none of which felt terror at the risk of losing their own lives, which they held in little estimation, provided they could execute their masters will: on this account his tyranny became the subject of dread in all surrounding countries' Mr. Marsden, the learned editor of Marco Polo, remarks on the above passage: The appellation so well known in the histories of the crusades, of 'old man of the mountain' is an injudicious version of the arabic title Sheikh-al-Jebal (or Sheikh-al-Chashishin, as our author has it) (I. 59.) signifying chief of the mountainous region (or chief of the Hashishin). But the word 'Sheikh' like 'signor' and some other european

a. p. 112. of Marsden's edition.

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terms, bearing the meaning of 'Elder' as well as 'Lord or Chief' a choice of interpretations was offer'd and the less appropriate adopted by christians and Jews, probably from the accounts of the two authors, whose reports we have here placed together.

With respect to their name of *Assassins* we may add here, that contrary to the opinion of most authors who have written on the subject[a] Mr. Marsden[b] and Colonel Monteith[c] derive it from Hassain or Hassan ben Sabbah, one of of their most celebrated leaders.

It has also been advanced that the chief of all the Assassins had his seat in Persia, at the place mention'd here, the ruins of which are so ably described by Col. Monteith (l. c.); but although even Professor Ritter adheres to this opinion and states that the Sheikh who resided in Syria and who is mention'd by our traveller (I. 59.) was but 'the principal of a western priorate of his order, whose superior throned here, at Rudbar',[d] this point requires closer investigation before we can give up the assertion of our author, which clearly makes *another* Sheikh the principal of the sect and states his residenee to have been 'in the country of the Assassins,' which here probably means Syria.

In order to complete the brief account of this remarkable sect which will be found p. 60. anté, we here give a list of the most esteemed works on the subject: *Am. Jourdain,* notice de l'histoire de la Dy-

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a. See page 63. anté. b. Notes to Marco Polo, l. c. c. Journal R. G. S. III. 16. d. Erdkunde VIII, 577.

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nastie des Ismaeliens en perse; (also) in: Notices et extraits IX. 143. et seq.; through this work, says Prof. Ritter, the account of the Assassins has first become the property of history; ***Kadi Beiduni***, ibid. IV. 686. — ***Makrizi***, in de Sacy's Chrestomathie arabe I. 130. — ***Rashid Eddin***, histoire des mongoles en Perse, par Quatremère. Paris 1836. — ***Abulfeda***, in his annals, ed. Reiske and Adler III. 330. — ***De Sacy***, mémoire sur la dynastie des Assassins. Paris 1809. — ***Rousseau***, in Malte-Brun's annales de voyages. Cah. 42. 271. et seq. — ***Quatremère***, notices sur les Ismaeliens (Mines de l'Orient IV. 339). — ***Marsden***, in his notes to Marco Polo. — ***Hammer***, Geschichte der Assassinen 1818. — ***Wilken***, Geschichte der Kreuzzüge, II. 240. — ***Gesenius***, notes to Burkhardt's travels, I. 515. (this is our source). — ***S. de Sacy***, religion des Druzes, Paris 1838. — ***Ritter***, Erdkunde, VIII. 577. et seq. ***For RABBI BENJAMIN we claim the distinction of having been the first european who gave a full account of this remarkable sect.*** ***Ed.***

page 121. 296. ***The Jews of this country acknowledge the authority of the prince of the captivity***, this remark of our author is one of those, which leads us to suppose that it was at Bagdad, that he collected his information, a place to which the Jews of all parts of Asia resorted, in order to get their officers elected, their disputes settled and which might in some respects be called the Rome of the Jews of Rabbi B.'s time. ***Ed.***

ibid. 297. ***Five days from thence to Amaria.... mountain of Chaphton.*** The illustration of this passage is

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contained in the memoir of Major Rawlinson, an enlightened traveller, to whom in 1840 was awarded the medal of the royal geographical society and who has taken great pains to elucidate our author. Speaking of the mountains of Zagros and the 'Ali-Iláhís by which they are inhabited, Major Rawlinson continues thus:

'The town of Zoháb has been usually consider'd the representative of the city of Holwán, but this is incorrect. The real site of Holwán, one of the eight primeval cities of the world, was at Sar-Púli-Zoháb, distant about 8 miles south of the modern town, and situated on the high road conducting from Baghdád to Kirmánsháh. This is the Calah of Ashur, and the Halah of the Israelitish captivity. It gave to the surrounding district the name of Chalonitis, which we meet with in most of the ancient geographers. Isidore of Charax particularises the city, under the name of Chala, and the emperor Heraclius appears to allude to the same place as Kalchas.

By the Syrians, who established a metropolitan see at this place, soon after the institution of the Nestorian hierarchy of Assyria, in the third century of Christ, it was named indifferently Calah, Halah and Holwán; to the Arabs and Persians it was alone known under the latter title. The etymological identity is, I believe, the best claim which Holwán possesses to be considered the representative of the Calah of Ashur; but, for its verification as the scene of the Samaritan captivity, there are many other curious and powerful reasons. We find in Strabo that this region along the skirts of Zagros

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was sometimes adjudged to Media, and sometimes to Assyria, and we are thus able to explain the dominion of Shalmaneser, the Assyrian king, over the cities of Media. Some of the christian Arabs, in their histories, directly translate the Halah of the captivity by Holwán. Jewish traditions abound in this part of the country, and David is still regarded by the tribes as their great tutelar prophet. If the Samaritan captives can be supposed to have retained to the present day any distinct individuality of character, perhaps the Kalhur tribe has the best claim to be regarded as their descendants. The Kalhurs, who are believed to have inhabited, from the remotest antiquity, these regions around mount Zagros, preserve in their name the title of Calah. They state themselves to be descended from Rohám, or Nebuchadnezzar, the conqueror of the Jews; perhaps an obscure tradition of their real origin. They have many Jewish names amongst them, and, above all, their general physiognomy is strongly indicative of an Israelitish descent. The Il'iyát of this tribe now mostly profess mohamedanism; but a part of them, together with the Gúráns, who acknowledge themselves to be an offset of the Kalhurs, and most of the other tribes of the neighbourhood, are still of the 'Alí-Iláhí persuasion, a faith which bears evident marks of Judaism, singularly amalgamated with Sabaean, Christian, and Mohamedan legends. The tomb of Bábá Yádgar, in the pass of Zardah, is their holy place; and this, at the time of the arab invasion of Persia, was regarded as the abode of Elias. The 'Alí-Iláhís be-

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lieve in a series of successive incarnations of the godhead, amounting to a thousand and one. Benjamin, Moses, Elias, David, Jesus Christ, 'Alí, and his tutor Salmán, a joint development, the Imám Huseïn, and the Haft-tan (the seven bodies), are considered the chief of these incarnations; the Haft-tan were seven Pírs, or spiritual guides, who lived in the early ages of Islám, and each, worshipped as the Deity, is an object of adoration in some particular part of Kurdistán. Bábá Yádgár was one of these. The whole of the incarnations are thus regarded as one and the same person, the bodily form of the divine manifestation being alone changed; but the most perfect development is supposed to have taken place in the persons of Benjamin, David and 'Alí.

The spanish Jew, Benjamin of Tudela, seems to have considered the whole of these 'Ali Iláhis as Jews, and it is possible that in his time their faith may have been less corrupted. His mountains of Hhuphthon, where he places a hundred synagogues, are evidently Zagros; the name being borrowed from the Hafthan of the 'Alí Iláhís; and he states himself to have found some 50,000 families of Jews in the neighbourhood. Amaria, also, where the false Messias, David Elroi, appeared, with whose story the english reader is now familiar, was certainly in the district of Holwán. I am not quite sure from whence Benjamin derived this name Amaria; but there are some circumstances, which lead me to believe the district of Holwán to have been call-

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ed at one time 'Amráníyah; and the geographical indications will suit no other place.'[a]

For an account of the descendants of another branch of the tribes, carried into captivity by Shalmanesser see below, note to page 129. *Ed.*

page 122. 298. ***They pay a tribute to the king of Persia.*** This remark of our author, respecting the tribute paid by the Jews 'of all mahomedan countries,' and which on account of their number must have amounted to a very large sum, is a striking illustration of the customs of his time. Its being paid in coin and not in agricultural or other produce, shows, that even in the 12th. century money was the medium by which the Jews purchased the protection of the law and the permission of residence, a custom adhered to by many 'enlighten'd' (!?) christian governments even to this day. One Maravedi-bueno, being during the middle-ages equal to about 2 shillings and 3 pence, the tribute, per head, amounted to about 3 shillings of our money which in Rabbi B.'s time represented the value of at least about 15 shillings of modern currency! *Ed.*

ibid. 299. ***David el Roy.*** Maimonides observes in his letter on astrology, written in 1194,[b] and sent into France, that 22 years[c] ago he had written to Arabia on the subject of a pretended messiah; consequently the date of the *iggereth theman*, in which this enthusiast is mention'd, would be 1172, i. e. nearly 20 years later

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a. F. G. S. IX. 35 — 37. b. Geiger, Zeitschrift III. 287. c. Iggereth to Marseilles.

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than the appearance of ***David*** in Persia, of which Maimonides probably remained ignorant. This cannot surprise us if we consider, that the account of another impostor, who appear'd about 85 years[a] earlier in France, is quite unknown to all authors of Rashi's time and country. Aben Virga[b] calls David el Roy, ***David el David***, and appears to know and to avail himself of R. Benjamin's account. Benjamin having been in Persia in 1163, we must fix the year 1153 as the period of the event of Elroy, i. e. 6 or 7 years prior to the date of the letter of the father of Maimonides, of Fez.[c] Although Aben Virga fixes the epoch of Eldavid 7 years prior to 1146, the year of the persecutions in Barbary, I still consider this account to be a corrobation of R. Benjamin. Aben Virga has evidently confounded events in the account of the thirtieth persecution, for he not only makes *one* person of the two impostors in Persia and Arabia, but also mis-states the period of the flight of Maimonides to Cairo, which took place about 1167, as having happen'd at the same time and even combines therewith M.'s epistle to Arabia. Very probably A. V.'s paragraph 'seven years prior to this misfortune' refers to the persecutions of the year 1160 and foll.; which occasioned as well the flight of R. Maimon, as his consolatory epistle. The apellation ***El-David*** is correct as it seems. David probably usurped this name, in order to prove his davidic descent

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a. Iggereth theman in Noblot chochma f. 103 a. b. Shebet Jehuda No. 31. c. cod. Bodlejan. 364 in Uri cat. codd. hebr.

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and this attracted the enmity of the princes Chisdai of Bagdad and of Saccai in Mosul. It is well known that Chija Daudi, a descendant of David, died in Castile in 1154.[a] Gedalja Jachia,[b] known by his superficiality, calls him David Almusar, but dates the event 1164, which may be supposed to be the date of R. Benjamin's notice. *Zunz.*

ibid. 300. ***David El-Roy.*** R. Benjamin of Tudela and R. Sh'lomo B. Virga are the only ancient authorities who have preserved a detailed account of this famous impostor. The latter is the author of a work which bears the title: Shebet Jehuda,[c] 'the rod of Judah' and which contains an historical and chronological account of all the calamities of the Jews in their dispersion. The history of David, whom R. Sh'lomo calls David-el-David, is stated to have taken place in 1146, but as the 'Shebet Jehuda' was composed as late as the beginning of the 16th. century, R. Benjamin, who lived so much nearer the time and the scene of this 'Calamity,' is probably more correct in dating the event about 1151 or 1155.[d] The account of R. Sh'lomo, which is preceded by a short introduction, appears, in fact, to have been copied from R. Benjamin, of which the author probably possessed a ms. the text of which

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a. Sefer ha-kabbala f. 41 a. b. Shalsheleth ha-kabbala, ed. Venet. f. 45 a. c. For a brief notice of the history and the value of this work see 'Auswahl historischer Stücke. Berlin 1840. p. 96. note 1. d. The reader is requested to correct a mistake in the translation, which instead of 'about fifteen years' ought to read *ten* years.

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differ'd from our own. The manner in which this impostor closed his career, is told differently by Sh'lomo B. Virga, who quotes as his authority: 'being asked by the king what proof he could give of really being a prophet, David answer'd: cut off my head and thou shalt see that I will still retain my life; the king fulfilled this request and those who had been credulous enough to trust in the impostor, still expect the fulfilment of his promise.'

Since the above was written, my friend Mr. S. Munk, of the royal library, Paris, discover'd among the treasures of that institution, an unedited and unknown arabic ms. which he supposes to have been composed by a Jewish renegade of the 12th. century and which contains the history of David the impostor; it is brought forward by the renegade as an accusation against the nation, whose faith he had forsaken, and is related very circumstantially. A translation of this curious fragment will be inserted at the end of this or in one of my succeeding volumes of notes. *Ed.*

301. ***The influence of the prince of the captivity.*** page 125. The circumstances mention'd here incidentically by our author, prove that the princes of the captivity deserved the name of 'Princes' among their own nation, which appears to have implicitly submitted to their commands and their influence extended at least as far as that of the Khalifs of Bagdad. By a subsequent passage (p. 127.) it seems as if this prince and his council were in correspondence with the sovereigns of Asia. *Ed.*

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page 127. 302. *Hamadan*, says Ibn-Haukal[a] is a considerable city of about one farsang in length and breadth. It has four iron gates, the buildings are of clay; it abounds in gardens and orchards.' Edrisi[b] adds that the commerce of this place was very considerable, an assertion which is corrobated by other authorities[c] and which perhaps accounts for the great number of Jews, the city is stated to have contained. The inhabitants were very numerous and wealthy and when Mardavigh took Hamadan by assault, it required two mules to carry the silk trowsers of those who were killed by the Dilemites. Abulfeda was a native of Hamadan and the city was generally the summer residence of the kings of Persia, who chose it in consequence of its beautiful situation. 'It evidently was once an immense city, says Morier, but at present it is a confused and melancholy heap of ruins. The roads which lead to its inhabited parts, wind through a succession of broken walls, which, by the appearance of their fragments, attest the former existence of fine buildings.' Fraser, the last european traveller, who has published a description of Hamadan[d] visited it in winter and found it dismal and melancholy. — Hamadan is said to stand upon or near the site of the ancient Ecbatana. *Ed.*

page 128. 303. *The sepulchre of Mord'khai and Esther.* According to Jichus (p. 71.) the sepulchre of Mord'khai is not in Hamadan but in Susa, and that of Esther

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a. p. 169. b. II. 162. c. Herbelot s. v. d. Koordistan and Mesopotamia.

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between Baram and Safet in Galilee; according to other authors[a] the latter is buried in the town of Baram. *Zunz.*

304. ***Sepulchre of Mord'chai and Esther.*** All travellers have noticed this sepulchre, which is still shown in this city and the fullest description of it, will be found in Ker Porter's travels (I. 108 et seq.) Malcolm,[b] Morier[c] and Frazer[d] add very little to the information furnished by Ker Porter and it is to be regretted that neither of these authors has given a ***correct*** copy of the hebrew inscription which is 'rudely carved on a stone and inserted in the wall of the inner chamber' and which contains dates, evidently corrupted in the transcriptions, which Ker Porter and Morier have communicated. We hope, a copy of ***this*** book may fall into the hands of an intelligent traveller, who may visit the spot and we would be thankful for a correct copy of this remarkable inscription, which might be forwarded through the medium of the english or french geographical society. We suppose that the assistance of the Jews of Hamadan, might be enlisted for this purpose and are satisfied that they will grant it readily ***if shown the passage relating to the subject, vol. I. p.*** 81; and we will engage to publish the information thus derived, in a subsequent volume of notes, with the name of the parties who shall have com- ibid.

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a. Jacob in cod. Sorbonn. 222. Iggereth Jachsutha, ed. Mantua. b. Persia I. 260. c. Second journey, 265. d. Koordistan and Mesopotamia.

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municated it. Further information on the present state of the Jews in different parts of the world could be collected, we have no doubt, by similar means, as the sight of this remarkable itinerary must be to them highly gratifying. *Ed.*

ibid. 305. ***Dabaristan***, is mention'd here and p. 123, anté, in the latter instance with the distinct epithet of town or city. We ought to conclude from the very form of the name that it was applied to a province and not to a town, but we find in Edrisi: Djordjan et Tabaristan 'sont *deux villes* situées entre les dépendances de Reï et celle du Khorassan' and we conjecture that our author as well as Edrisi alluded to Farahabad, which city at their time probably contained the building alluded to p. 123. comp. Ritter VIII. 532 and the authors quoted there. On the ***Kizil Ozein***, see ibid. p. 613 et seq. *Ed.*

ibid. 306. ***Isbahan***, Esfahan, Isphan or Isfahan, Spaan of Marco Polo, situated in the southern part of persian Irak, is well known as the magnificent capital of the kings of the Sofi family, which, especially during the reign of Shah Abbas II, exceeded in splendour as well as in extent, most asiatic cities.[a] Chardin describes it as being twenty four miles in circumference; but, says Morier,[b] were it to be weeded (if the expression may be used) of its ruins, it would now dwindle to about a quarter of that extent. One might suppose that God's curse had extended over parts of this city as it has

a. II. 180. b. Second Journey 184.

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over Babylon. Houses, bazars, mosques, palaces, whole streets, are to be seen in that abandonment; and I have rode for miles along its ruins, without meeting with any living creature, except perhaps a jackall passing over a wall, or a fox running to his hole!'

That this city must have been inhabited by a great number of Jews, is evident from Edrisi who states:[a] 'Ispahan se compose de deux villes, dont l'une se nomme el-Jehoudia (the Jewry) and l'autre Chehriana, situées à la distance de deux milles l'une de l'autre... el Jehoudia (the Jewry) est deux fois plus grande que la seconde;' this 'Jewry' remained even after old Ispahan was partly destroyed. *Ed.*

307. ***Shiraz or Fars.*** An able memoir on the history of this celebrated city by Prof. Ritter, containing a digest of all the information furnished by ancient and modern authors, collected and arranged in his own admirable and classic style will be found in his Erdkunde VIII. 847 et seq. to which we refer the reader. *Ed.* ibid.

308. ***Giva.*** This is undoubtedly the city of ***Khiva,*** which has of late again attracted universal attention, by the attempt of the russian autocrat to subdue it. My friend, Lieut. Zimmermann, has published an excellent map and memoir to accompany it,[b] which contains whatever could have been gather'd on the history and the state of the country from ancient and modern au- ibid.

a. II. 166. b. Versuch zur Darstellung des Kriegstheaters Russlands gegen Chiwa. Berlin 1840.

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thorities. We refer to that clever work, which has had the advantage of being revised and approved of by Baron Alexander von Humboldt, and is being translated into english by order of the royal geographical society. The name of *Chiva* has been corrupted into *Kheiwah*, *Chereh* and *Heira* in Ouseley's Ibn-Haukal pp. 278 and 241 and into *Hannah*, in Hartman's Edrisi 109.[a] *Ed.*

ibid. 309. *Samarcand*, 'is a noble city, adorned with beautiful gardens, and surrounded by a plain, in which are produced all the fruits that man can desire' says Marco Polo p. 147. It was the capital of the province of Maweralnahar or Transoxania, 'one of the most flourishing and productive within the region of Islam.' Both Ibn-Haukal[b] and Edrisi[c] have left us descriptions of unusual length of this celebrated city, of which we at present know comparatively little. *Ed.*

page 129. 310. *Tibet.* 'Musk is brought from Tibbet and sent to all parts' Ibn-Haukal 233, see also Edrisi I. 189. A very able account of what was called Tabbat or Tibet in the middle-ages will be found in the excellent work of Stüwe p. 244. *Ed.*

ibid. 311. *The mountains of Khazvin* (Cazwin[d] or Cazween of modern travellers) of our author are probably those mountainous regions, which form the natural boundary of the modern provinces of Ghilan and Mazanderan, separate these provinces from Iran, inclose the Caspian sea and extend in many ramifications to Nishapoor, in

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a. Stüwe 195 note 1. b. I. 233. c. II. 197. d. Edrisi II. 168.

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persian Khorassan. In the north of Meshed they are lost in the desert of Khorassan. In the neighbourhood of Sultanea and Cazween this range bears the name of Khoi Cancasan and in the vicinity of Tehran it is called Elbourz.

Many indications seem to authenticate R. Benjamin's reports, which would make these mountains the place of abode of a part of the Jews carried into captivity by Shalmanesser. Abhor (Abher of Edrisi II. 168.) is the name of a place situated in a westerly direction from Cazween, which Rennel[a] supposes to be the Chabur mention'd in scripture and quoted in our text. The opinion of this distinguished geographer is supported by Morier,[b] who calls Abhor 'a town in comparison with the other places he passed coming from Casween' and who adds that he remarked 'some ruined walls, which occupy an height, called by the natives *Caleh Darab*, or castle of Darius. Their materials are large mud bricks, mixed up with straw, ba-ked in the sun, the same which he remarked at Rey, at the *Atesh Gah* at Ispahan and the same also perhaps as those at Babylon.' These circumstances, observes Morier, 'will give greater force to the reasoning of Major Rennel, who, as far as I can judge, only wanted the attestation of some existing remains of antiquity on the spot, to prove it to be the ancient Ha-

a. Geogr. system of Herodotus 2d. ed. I. 521—22. b. Second Journey 207.

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bor.[a] Habar will also be found on the map of Persia, published by Mr. Long in 1831, placed between Sultaniah and Cazween, by which it appears that this distinguished author had adopted the opinion so ably argued by Rennel and which tends to establish the veracity of our text.

We have not been able to learn whether any Jews are to be met with among the inhabitants of these districts, which according to Kinneir are in possession of the rival tribes of Kahliz and Afshar and we shall feel greatly obliged for information on this subject, which may be embodied in a subsequent volume of notes. *Ed.*

page 130. 312. ***The country of Cuth.*** The country is mention'd II. Kings XVII. 24 and 30, as the abode of a people which was transplanted by the king of Assyria into the deserted cities of Samaria. They mixed with those of the original inhabitants, who had been left in their country and from these intermarriages sprung the sect of Samaritans, which are called Cutheans by the thalmudists[b] and by our author. Josephus[c] places Cotha in Persia, but we have no means of ascertaining the exact geographical position of this province. *Ed.*

ibid. 313. ***Caphar Tarac,*** a term which frequently occurs in this portion of our text, as an epithet applied

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a. compare Ouseley's travels III. 572. b. רבותינו ז"ל קראו לשומרונים כתיים שבאים מכותה. — כתי: הם השומרונים הדרים בשומרון אשר באו מכותה. ערוך: כתי. c. Antiq. IX. 14. §. 3.

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to the Ghuzes, is also used by Hartman, in his translation of Edrisi and has been render'd by Mr. Jaubert (Edrisi I. 181.) *turcs infidèles.* Hammer[a] states that 2000 families of this race, embraced Mohamedanism in 960 and were called *Turcmans*, i. e. Turc-iman, believing, or converted turcs, in contra-distinction to their unconverted brethren, who bear the name of *infidel turks* in our author's narrative and in Edrisi, from which author[a] we extract the following paragraphs, as throwing probably some light on the scene alluded to by our author in his narrative of the expedition of Sanjar: Tout autour (Seïkend) habitent des tribus turques et ghozzes qui ont depuis long-tems embrassé l'islamisme et qui élèvent des bestiaux dans ces paturages. Taran est un lieu de passage pour les musulmans qui y ont établi des fortifications contre les Turcs; car ce pays est borné du côté du nord par celui des turcs Khizildjis, *avec lesquels les musulmans sont la plupart du tems en état de guerre*..... Kend..... est une jolie ville, *environnée de vignobles et de jardins.* Il n'y a, dans ce canton, d'autre ville que Kend, qui se compose de maisons, et de jardins épars au milieu desquels on voit une citadelle..... Le fleuve coule toute auprès.' The following note which has been kindly furnished by His Excellency Baron d'Ohsson, the celebrated author of the history of the Mongols, will throw much light on the history of the Ghuz and on the events alluded to by our author:

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a. Osmanische Geschichte I. 37. 44. b. II. 208. 209.

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Les nomades dont il est fait mention dans le passage cité de Benjamin, sont les ***Gouzes***, dont le vrai nom est ***Ogouzes***, peuple turc, alors payen, qui avait émigré, dans le douzième siècle, des contrées au nord de l'Oxus. Il habitait deux cents ans auparavant, selon le géographe arabe Haoucal, qui florissait à cette époque, le pais de plaines arides qui environne le lac d'Arat, et le Khorazan. Ayant obtenu du souverain du Khorassan, la possession d'un district, dans la province de Tokharistan, à l'est de la ville de Balkh, il passa le Djihoun et alla s'y établir. La population de ces Turcs-Gouzes, était d'après l'historien persan Mirkhond, d'environ quarante mille familles ou tentes, qui payaient annuellement un tribut de 24 mille moutons à leur Suzerain, le Sultan Sindjar, de la dynastie des Seldjuks, qui regnait sur le Khorassan. Mais dans l'année de l'hégire 548 (1153) les Gouzes se révoltèrent et défirent le gouverneur de Balkh. Sindjar marcha contre eux en personne. Le jour du combat, ses troupes prirent la fuite. Il fut poursuivi et fait prisonnier. Les Gouzes vainqueurs entrèrent dans la ville de Merv, résidence du Sultan et la saccagèrent. Ils marchèrent de là sur Nischabour, qui éprouva le même sort, puis les nomades se répandirent dans tout le Khorassan, qu'ils mirent à feu et à sang, hors la ville de Balkh, trop bien munie pour se laisser prendre. A la suite de cette dévastation, une famine cruelle acheva de désoler le pais. Sindjar, prisonnier, s'évada en 551 (1156) et revint à Merv, où il mourut peu de mois après, en juin 1157.

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En 554 (1159) les Gouzes s'emparèrent une seconde fois, de Nischabour; en 556 (1161) ils défirent le roi de Taberistan. Depuis cette époque il n'est plus question de ces nomades dans l'histoire de Perse, et l'on n'y trouve point qu'ils aient saccagé la ville de Raï, dans le royaume de l'Irac, qui appartenait à une autre branche de la dynastie des Seldjouks. —

The astonishing deeds of Sanjar, which have been mention'd and his expeditions against the barbarian hordes, who inhabited the countries adjoining those which acknowledged his authority, must have been the theme of conversation during the time of our author's stay at Bagdad; just as the deeds of Napoleon Bonaparte are told in the present day to the rising generations of the countries, which that great conqueror subdued by his genius and his prowess. The story of the spy, which occurs in Rabbi B.'s narrative, is told with somewhat alter'd circumstances by Hammer[a] from oriental sources and it appears from our text (p. 136.) that this whole episode is the account of one R. Moshe, whom our author probably met at Bagdad. If therefore the particulars of the story are incorrect, the blame falls not on our author but on his informant. *Ed.*

314. ***From thence I returned.*** We suppose these words to have been interpolated by a later copyist, see introduction. *Ed.* page 136.

315. ***Island called Kish.*** This island, which has attracted but little of that notice which it deserves in ibid.

a. ibid. 43.

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the history of commerce, claims our particular attention, because of its being in our author's time the great emporium for the exchange of the produce of India and for that of central Asia and Africa. We know from Renaudot's anciennes relations that in the 9th. century the Chinese visited Siraf, for purposes of trade, although they never ventured further west, and from Ibn-Haukal, that in the 10th. commerce still flourished there. In the 15th. century we find Ormuz[a] mention'd as the great mart in almost the same terms, which are applied to Siraf in the 10th., and during the period between the decline of the one and the rise of the other, KISH became of the greatest importance and Ormuz rose only after its fall, perhaps on its ruins.[b] Two persian authors of pre-eminent authority, Hamdallah Mastoufi or Cazvini and Hafiz Abru, ascribe the decay of Siraf to the rise of KISH under the Dilemite sovereigns, whose dynasty terminated in the 11th. century,[c] and Marco Polo, who travelled during the latter half of the 13th. century, mentions the island as a station, at which travellers touch before they proceed

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a. See on this note Ritter's Geography VIII. 772 et seq. b. Shelabeddin, prince of Ormuz, bought this island in 1311, from the sovereign lord of Kish; the favorable position of the town he built upon it, soon attracted the trading vessels and Kish fell before Ormuz, as Siraf had fallen before Kish. Ritter. l. c. 777. b. Ouseley I. 178. c. Cazvini adds that in the 13th. century it was the resort of ships from Persia, India and Arabia and that the merchants frequented it for commercial purposes.

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to sea. Our author travelled in the 12 th. century and collected his information probably at the moment of its greatest splendour. The description he gives of the barter carried on there, is as correct as it is concise and throws much light on the history of the intercourse with India.

The name of the island, it appears from Abulfeda, is not settled, even among orientals, some of them naming it *Kaïsh*, others *Kish*, whilst the arabs call it *Keis*; Niebuhr spells it *Qäs* and *Küs*, d'Anville, *Keish*, Ives, *Kyes*. It is curious that Sir William Ouseley should not have known Edrisi's account of the island, which is very circumstantial, but appears, like Abulfedas', to have been copied from an earlier author. Sir William has furnished an excellent history and description of *KISH*, from which we learn that it was the Cataea of Nearchus' Journal (preserved by Arrian) and that, according to a persian MS. Chronicle of the 13 th. century, it took its name in the 10 th. century from a man of the name of Keis, who had made his fortune by a cat and thus became the prototype of Whittington.

The extent of the island and its features are described by Cazvini and Hamdallah (the former of the 13 th., the latter of the 14 th. century) much in conformity with our author's account; they state it to be 'four fursangs' in circumference and that the water used here is rain, collected in reservoirs or cisterns. — R. Benjamin's list of commodities, which formed the staple articles of barter at *Kish*, is correct, as will be

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found on referring to the authorities quoted above and to those authors who have treated on the commercial intercourse of Arabia and India, and of which Renaudot, Vincent, Robertson and Stüwe deserve the first rank. The most recent description of the island, will be found in the Journal of the geographical Society, [a] being a report accompanying a survey by Lieut. Kemptborne and to which we refer the learned reader.

All former editors of this work, have experienced great difficulty in the translation and explanation of this passage in consequence of a mistake in the edition they translated from, and which reads נקרוקיש Nekrokish instead of nikra (called) Kish. ***Ed.***

page 137. 316. ***El Cathif***, is a well known place, on the arabian coast of the Wahabis. ***Ritter.***

ibid. 317. ***El Cathif*** or ***Katiff***, on the arabian shore of the persian gulf, was a considerable city in our author's and Edrisi's time.[b] Ibn-Batuta[c] calls it ***Kotaif*** and remarks that it is 'a large and handsome place, inhabited by arabs of the Rafiza sect, extremely enthusiastic, who publish their sentiments and fear no one.' 'Katif,' says Malte Brun[d] paraît être l'ancienne Gerra, bâtie en pierre de sel. Les habitants de cette ville subsistent principalement par la pêche des perles. 'La ville est fortifiée et protegée par une citadelle; le Capt. Sadler ne lui accorde que 6000 habitants; c'est la place la plus commerçante de cette partie de l'Arabie.' Balbi. ***Ed.***

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a. V. 281. b. I. 371. c. p. 66. d. II. 204.

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318. ***Our author's notions on the origin of the pearls***, appear to have been universally adopted at his time and we find a similar statement in the 'anciennes relations,'[a] 'Les perles commencent à se former d'une matière à peu près comme la plante appellée Angedané, cette première matière nage faiblement sur l'eau, où elle devient dure avec le tems, elle s'accroist et s'endurcit en se couvrant d'éscaille..... Lorsque les huitres sont devenues pesantes, elle tombent au fond de la mer....' Edrisi's account[b] is still more in conformity with that of our author: 'cette production, d'après le rapport des riverains du golfe persique, résulte principalement des pluies de février; s'il ne pleut pas dans cette saison, les plongeurs n'en trouvent point de toute l'année. C'est un fait, considéré comme incontestable et dont la réalité ne forme, dans le pays, la matière d'aucun doute.' ***Ed.*** ibid.

319. ***Choulan*** is beyond doubt the Koulam of Marco Polo and Ibn-Batuta, see my Erdkunde, eastern Asia, indian world, IV, 1. 594 and ibid. II. 58. Coulan, at present Quilon, 8° 53′ north lat. ***Ritter.*** page 138.

320. ***Choulan.*** This portion of Rabbi B.'s itinerary has puzzled all former translators; Baratier has labor'd hard to show that it referred to Ceylon, but it will be easy to prove that our author speaks of a different country, viz. of that part of the coast of Malabar pointed out by Prof. Ritter. Marco Polo's account[c] and the notes of his learned editor, fully confirm our author's descrip- ibid.

a. p. 129. b. I. 377. c. p. 677.

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tion: 'Upon leaving Maabar and proceeding five hundred miles towards the south-west, you arrive at the kingdom of Koulan (66). It is the residence of many christians and Jews, who retain their proper language (67). The king is not tributary to any other.... The heat during some months is so very violent, as to be scarcely supportable (71) yet the merchants resort thither from various parts of the world, such for instance, as the kingdom of Mangi and Arabia (72) attracted by the great profits they obtain, both upon the merchandize they import and upon their returning cargoes..... Among them are many astrologers and physicians well versed in their art. All the people both male and female are black' Mr. Marsden remarks on this passage: (66) ***Koulam*** or ***Kulam***, the ***Coulan*** of our maps, was a place of much celebrity, when India was first visited by the Portuguese, who received asistance from its princes against the king of Calicut, or the Samorin, as he was styled. In modern times, its importance, as a place of trade, seems to be lost in that of ***Anjengo***, in its neighbourhood (67). It is well known, that colonies of Jews have been settled, from an early period, on the Malabar coast 'Gli Ebrei, i Baniani e li Cettes o Canarini, i Mahumedani' says Paolino, speaking of Cochin, i hanno multo magazeni.' p. 38. — Barbosa also, in his account of Crangalor, near Cochin, says, Habitano in quello Gentili, Mori, Indiani, Giudei, Christiani della dottrina de San Tomaso, fol. 311. 2. — The probity of this nation in commercial

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affairs is attested by Edrisi.[a] 'La ville de Nahrawaru est frequentée par un grand nombre de négocians qui s'y rendent pour leurs affaires. Ils sont honorablement accueillis par le roi et par ses ministres et y trouvent protection et sureté. Les Indiens sont naturellement portés à la justice, et ils ne s'en écartent jamais dans leurs actions. Leur bonne foi, leur loyauté, leur fidélité aux engagemens sont connus, ils sont si renommés pour ces bonnes qualités, qu'on accourt chez eux de partout.' The port of Choulan must have been very frequented, Ibn-Batuta landed there at four different times in the course of his pilgrimage. (s. p. 166. 174. 194. 223.) The following extracts from his travels will tend to confirm the account of our author. 'The country of Malabar is the country of black pepper, its length is a journey of two months along the shore from Sindobar to Kowlam. They put a thief to death for stealing a single nut, or even a grain of seed of any fruit, hence thieves are unknown among them, and should any thing fall from a tree, none, except its proper owner, would attempt to touch it.' Stüwe, without any reference to our author, confirms our text respecting the security enjoyed by the merchants who enter'd the port: 'As soon as the vessels from Sin and Sind enter'd the port of Beruh (Beroah) the cargoes were loaded upon small carts and were transported to the metropolis. Here they were deposited in spacious magazines, upon the king's special command, and his

a. I. 177.

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care extended even to the careful inspection of the bartering business, wherein the strangers were protected against every injury! The motives which prompted the government to act thus honorably towards foreign merchants, are ascribed by Depping[a] to the enormous amount of revenue they derived from this commerce and of which the king stood in great want. 'Le harem du roi contenait mille à quinze cent femmes et cette cour volupteuse était interessée à favoriser les spéculations des maures; car le revenu de la douane, qui prélevait cinq pour cent à l'entrée et à la sortie des marchandises, étaient la principale ressource du prince.' *Ed.*

page 139. 321. ***The pepper grows in this country.*** 'Their country, says Ibn-Batuta (p. 168.) is that from which black pepper is brought; and this is the far greater part of their produce and culture..... The pepper tree resembles that of a dark grape..... When the autumn arrives it is ripe; they then cut it and spread it, just as they do grapes, and thus it is dried by the sun. ***As to what some have said***, that they boil it, in order to dry it, it is without foundation.'

The very contradiction contained in the arabian report is a proof of the popularity of our author's account. *Ed.*

page 140. 322. ***Cinnamon***, ***Ginger***, הקנה והזנגביל hebr. The english for the hebrew קנה is 'cane' and although cinnamon is commonly understood by it, it may here be

a. I. 29.

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meant for sugar cane, which is enumerated as well as ginger among the productions of this country by Ibn-Batuta (169). *Ed.*

323. ***These people worship the sun.*** Our author ibid. states the ancient inhabitants of 'Chulam' to be fire-worshippers. Edrisi however, (I. 176.) says of the king 'il adore l'idole de Boudha' and Ibn-Batuta (l. c.) reports him to be 'an infidel.' Although the latter appellation was applied by the mahometans to the fire-worshippers,[a] we have no sufficient proof to show that Edrisi's information be wrong or that the majority of the population adored the sun as a deity. There is no doubt however that Malabar became the asylum of this ancient sect, after it had been vanquish'd by the mahometans and had been forced by persecution, not only to seek refuge in the mountainous and less accessible parts of Persia (Kerman and Herat) but to toil on, to distant regions. They found a resting place, beyond the Indus, which they crossed in fear of their unrelenting pursuers and here we still find their descendants, the Parsis, who form 'a numerous and highly respectable class of the population.'[b] Very able papers on the history, religion and worship of the Guebres, will be found in vol. I. and III. of Ouseley's travels and in Ritter's Erdkunde V. 615. *Ed.*

324. ***The black Jews of Malabar,*** as well as their p. 140—141. white brethren on the same coast, have attracted the attention of those interested in the subject, by the ac-

a. Ouseley's travels I. 105, note 7. b. ibid. I. 97.

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count of Dr. Claudius Buchanan, who visited them in 1806, 7, 8. and published an account of them in his Christian Researches.[a] The former are beyond doubt the more ancient of two classes which settled near Quilon, but R. Benjamin's information that they even possessed 'some little knowledge of the Thalmud and its decisions,[b] raises some doubts against the claims of the white Jews and against the early date of the documents which they produced and by which it would appear that they settled in the country Ao. 231[c] of the christian aera. Many doubts have been raised respecting the interpretation of the dates which are found on the brass tablets preserved by the white Jews, on which their privileges are engraved and of which Anquetil Duperron, Dr. Buchanan and the Asiatic Journal (l. c.) render an account; if it should even be found true by further investigations, that the dates be indeed correct, it still remains a question whether the privileges were originally granted to the black or white Jews, or whether the latter came into possession of these tablets by stratagem or accident. We hope to have proved that Benjamin of Tudela is no mean authority and it certainly remains difficult to explain why *he* should not have mention'd the white Jews also, had they been established in his time; he, who so diligently collected all information respecting his brethren would certainly

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a. 3d ed. Edinburg 1812. b. דבר מועט מתלמוד והלכה.
c. Asiatic Journal VI. 6.

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not have omitted to give an account of this remarkable Colony.

We refer the reader to the work[a] of Prof. Ritter, who has condensed all available information respecting both colonies down to 1835, and merely add that all the family names of the white Jews[b] *now* living on the spot, viz. Mizri, Alegna, Kodese, Sarphaty, Rottenburg etc., at once prove their origin to have been either egyptian, spanish or german. That this colony, for a length of time, has been in correspondence with Europe, is stated by Ritter (l. c.) and further proof of this assertion is furnished by the fact that a book of prayers used by them, was printed at Amsterdam, two years after the dutch occupation of the coast, and reprinted at the same place in 1743. A copy of the first, very rare edition, is preserved in the Oppenheim collection at Oxford.[c] *Ed.*

325. ***The island of Khandy.*** All former editors ibid. have made very curious mistakes in transcribing this name and these blunders have led to others, more curious still, which will be detected by whomsoever will take the trouble to examine their notes. The edition from which both Arias Montanus[d] and Const. L'Empereur[e] made their translations (Constantinople 1543.) reads כנרג, the ד was mistaken by the former for a ר and he transcribed the word ***Chenerag***. In this error he was followed by L'Empereur; Baratier reads Cin-

a. Erdkunde V. 595 et seq. b. Jewish expositor 1822. c. Catalogue p. 550. No. 253. d. I. 12. e. ibid. p. 9.

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rag and the *learned* Mr. Gerrans: ***Chenerag.*** It will be seen by the following remarks that Bochart's opinion[a] was quite correct and that it is Ceylon of which our author gives an account. The reading adopted in our text being in accordance with the Ferrara edition, can leave but little doubt on the subject.

Prof. Ritter has devoted a part of the 6th. volume of his celebrated 'Erdkunde' to the history of this island; from him we learn that the name by which 'this star of the first magnitude on the arched blue mirror of the indian ocean' became first known, was ***Taprobane.*** It was thus called by the contemporaries of Alexander the Macedonian and compared by Aristotle (de mundo chap. 3.) to Britain, in point of position. The more ancient names of ***Simundu***, corrected by Renaudot ***Silan-div,*** the oriental ***Serendib, Salike,*** from which originated the modern name of ***Seilan, Selan, Seilon, Ceylon,*** are fully discussed by the celebrated father of comparative geography[b] and to his pages we refer the etymologist. But although the name of Khandy, used by our author, is met with nowhere else, the fact, that the residence of the native princes of the island still bears that name, and that even Knox[c] calls them ***kings of Kandy,*** is sufficient proof that it may have been known thereby to those persons or authors from

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a. Quoted by Baratier I. 208. note 9. b. Erdkunde VI. 62. et seq. c. The first is the city of ***Candy,*** so generally called by christians, probably from Conde, which in the Chingulay's language, signifies hills, for among them it is situated. Knox p. 8.

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whom R. Benjamin derived his information. Some of the great number of Jews (23,000) whom he states to have inhabited the island, may have had commercial or religious intercourse with Bagdad, where, we suppose, he collected his information and it may have been from them, he learned what he wrote down. This supposition is founded upon the different accounts we possess of the connexion of the merchants of Arabia with those of India, and it does not appear unlikely that some enterprising Jewish merchant should have been curious and bold enough to visit the prince of the captivity, of whom he might have heard at ***Kish***, and to bring home authentic information of the last princes of the house of Judah.[a] In fact, whoever has studied the character of the Jews of the middle ages and who remarks even in our own days the almost magic link which still connects this most remarkable of nations, will find sufficient grounds to admit the high probability of such an undertaking.

Our information on the history of Ceylon during the middle ages and prior to the arrival of the portugueze, is so scanty, that it will be difficult to bring forward much ***direct*** authority in support of our author. R. Benjamin calls the inhabitants דוגבין . דוגבי"ין ***Druzes***, probably because he was told that like this

a. Professor Ritter's classic account of the intercourse which was kept up without interruption between the Mahometans of Ceylon and those of Spain, is certainly to be consider'd as further evidence in support of our supposition. comp. Erdkunde VI. 44.

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sect, which he became acquainted with in Syria, they believed in metempsychosis.[a] That there were Jews in Ceylon and that they must have been very numerous and of great influence, we learn from the contemporary Edrisi,[b] who tells us: 'Le roi de cette île a seize vizirs, dont quatre sont de sa nation, quatre chrétiens, quatre musulmans and *quatre Juifs*! Il leur a assigné un lieu où se réunissent les personnes appartenant à ces nations et où l'on écrit leur actes judiciaires et leur histoire. Auprès des docteurs de toutes ces sectes (je veux dire des Indiens, des Grecs, des Musulmans et *des Juifs*) se réunissent de divers individus et grand nombre d'hommes (de races différentes) qui apprennent de bonne heure à écrire les actes de leurs prophètes et l'histoire de leurs anciens rois, et qui s'instruisent dans la science des lois et en général des choses qu'ils ignorent.' The facts related here show that the Jews were consider'd equal not only to the other colonies settled on the island, but even to the natives themselves and the institutions described by Edrisi, the study of theology and history carried on under the superintendence of their own doctors, certainly attest that their number could not have been small. We have not been able to ascertain whether Ceylon, under the british government, contains any Jews, and will insert in a future volume of our notes, any information which may be kindly forwarded to us on this subject.

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a. Anciennes relations 85 & 165. b. I. 72.

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The custom of burning themselves alive and that of causing the bodies of the dead to be consumed by fire, was probably introduced from the neighbouring continent of India, where it prevailed, even in the 9th. century. This we learn from the anciennes relations,[a] many passages of which tend to confirm our author's account. *Ed.*

326. ***Passage to China.*** The fabulous account which Rabbi B. gives of the sea between Ceylon and China, is probably extracted from some oriental work. The story of the wonderful bird has also been told, with a few variations, by Marco Polo, who calls it Rukh or Roc and Edrisi's[b] account of the navigation of these seas is enriched by fables, not less marvellous than R. Benjamin's. ***Our author however is the first European who mentions China.*** *Ed.* page 143.

327. ***Gingaleh is but three days distant by land &c.*** This passage has been misunderstood by L'Empereur, wonder'd at by Baratier[c] and preverted into nonsense by Gerrans.[d] It simply means that Gingaleh could be reached by land in three days, whereas by embarking at the port nearest the capital and navigating round the coast, fifteen days would be necessary to attain it. *Ed.* page 144.

328. ***Gingaleh,*** is beyond doubt Cingala, see my 'Erdkunde' vol. 6. p. 16. (190.) *Ritter.* ibid.

329. The spelling of the name in the text is quite in conformity with that of the arabian travellers. 'L'o- ibid.

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a. 88—89. b. I. 96. 97. c. I. 216. d. p. 145.

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pinion commune est que les Chinois ont peuplé une partie de cette île (Ceylon) et que le nom de Chingola ou Chingala vient d'une colonie chinoise établie à la pointe de Gale, par quelques chinois, qui y furent portez par la tempeste.[a] Baratier[b] in a long note to this passage, tries to prove, that R. Benjamin visited 'les iles Gangarides qui sont à l'embouchure du Gange' we consider it superfluous to refute 'the learned child' and merely mention this note because it is written with a view of vindicating the reality of travels, which in his dissertations the same author labours to prove, had never been undertaken! *Ed.*

ibid. 330. ***Khulan.*** I am inclined to look for this place on the entrance of the persian gulf, or on the island of Socotra; this last route would lead direct to Zebid, identical with Sabitha or Sabatha, the great emporium mention'd by Ludovicus de Barthema († 1500). ***Ritter.***

ibid. 331. ***Sebid*** says Edrisi[c] est grande, très-peuplée très-opulente. Il y a un grand concurs d'étrangers et de marchands de l'Hedjaz, de l'Abyssinie et de l'Egypte supérieure, qui y arrivent par les bâtiments de Djidda. Les Abyssins y amènent des esclaves. On en exporte diverses espèces d'aromates de l'Inde, diverses marchandises chinoises et autres. Cette ville est située sur les bords d'une petite rivière à 132 milles de Sana'a. For information on the modern state of this city see Niebuhr's Arabien p. 225. *Ed.*

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a. Anciennes relations. b. I. 216. c. I. 49.

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332. ***Middle-India which is called Aden.*** This passage offers another curious coincidence of our author's text with that of Marco Polo.[a] The latter divides India into the 'greater, lesser and middle India. and then treats of *middle India* named Abascia (Habesh or Abyssinia) and as well the text as Mr. Marsden's learned notes will tend to illustrate our author. 'The appellation of middle, continental, or second India, Marco Polo applies expressly to Abyssinia, but seems to intend that the coast of Arabia also, as far as the persian gulf, should be comprised in the division. It is difficult to account for such a distribution as more correct notions might have been obtained from Ptolemy, through the medium of the Arabian navigators; but it may have been occasioned by an ambiguity; in the first instance, respecting the name of Ethiopians, which was not uncommonly given by the ancients to the natives of India, particularly those of the Malabar coast, whom Pomponius Mela terms 'atrae gentes et quodammodo Aethiopies;' and in the next by a custom of the Persians to apply to the people of Abyssinia the term of 'black Indians.' 'Habasch et Habaschi' says d'Herbelot 'signifie un Abissin ou Ethiopien, le pluriel de ce nom est Habousch et Hobschán, les Ethiopiens, que les Persans appellent Siah Hindou, les Indiens noirs.' ibid. and 145.

Marco Polo[b] then proceeds to inform us that 'Abascia is an extensive country govern'd by three christian and three mahomedan kings and *that the Jews*

a. p. 717. b. p. 719.

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are numerous in this country. The dominions of the saracen princes lie towards the province of *Aden!* Mr. Marsden remarks that the country here spoken of is intended for *Adel* a kingdom, adjoining to Abyssinia on the northern side and not for *Aden*, which is divided from it by the red sea or persian gulf' and we may reasonably suppose that our author and Marco Polo, were guilty of the same mistake. Benjamin of course carried it further, prompted by his desire to identify the countries he described with those mention'd in scripture. According to Rosenmüller,[a] Thelassar was in Mesopotamia and the only means of explaining our author would be by supposing that 'the children of Aden' mention'd II. Kings XIX. 12. and Isaiah XXXVII. 12. were Africans who had removed to Mesopotamia.

That there existed and still exist independent Jews in this unexplored part of Africa is a fact too well known to need any proof. What is known of their history is collected and admirably condensed in the Revd. Rabbi S. L. Rapaport's paper alluded to above (Note 282. p. 148.) and which will be found in a subsequent volume of notes: compare *Balbi Géographie* p. 907, and Pallmé's account in *the Athenaeum* 1840. We hope that Pallmé or some other enterprising traveller may furnish further information on this subject. The source from which our author derived his information, viz. that 'of some persian Jew who visited Bagdad', may be de-

a. I. II. 153.

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tected by the words with which he concludes his accounts. *Ed.*

333. ***Ma'atum is also called Nubia, a christian kingdom &c.*** We find no trace of the appellation of ***Ma'atum*** for ***Nubia***, in any of the contemporary authors we have been able to consult, and suppose that it must have been a term current among Jews only. ***Maris*** or ***Makara*** were the names of the two divisions of ***Nubia***, according to Massoudi. ***Nubia*** was govern'd by christian kings 'les peuples de la Nubie et du Makarrah embrassèrent la religion chrétienne'[a] and the inhabitants of ***Assuan*** adhered to the same religion 'les peuples d'Alouh sont chrétiens jacobites; leurs évêques comme ceux de la Nubie, sont subordonnés au patriarche d'Alexandrie.'[b] *Ed.* ibid.

334. ***To the country of Assuan twenty days journey.... on the banks of the Nile.*** Assuan or Assouan, one of the most remarkable kingdoms and cities of Africa, has been identified with the celebrated Syene of the ancients and is situated a short distance north of the first cataract of the Nile, on the eastern bank of that river. — It was remarkable not only as being the limitary town of Egypt and Ethiopia, but chiefly as one of the grand points, upon which the geographers of the Alexandrian school measured the forms of the earth and the relative position of its parts. The ancient Syene is in a great measure buried under the remains, first of a roman and then of an arab town, erected on the ibid.

a. Quatremère I. 17. b. ibid. 23.

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same site. The modern town is closely adjoining, and, though populous, is very poor. Ibn-al-Ouardi,[a] Ibn-Haukal,[b] Edrisi and Massoudi[c] all mention it as a place of considerable commerce, to which it was raised by its favorable situation. The governor of the city and province, a vassal of the sovereign of Nubia, was called 'Lord of the mountain'[d] by his subjects, and probably Sultan-al-Chabash by the arabians[e] or Jews, from whom our author derived his information. *Ed.*

ibid. 335. ***The Nile is named*** פישון in the text. That this name was applied by the Jews of the middle ages to the Nile, will be found by referring to the commentary of Rashi and Sa'adia to Genesis II. 11. The latter author, being a native of Egypt, is certainly no mean authority for this traditional adoption of a name, which originally belonged to the waters of another, distant country. Comp. Rosenmüller I. 1. 192. and Gesenius Lexicon, v. פישון. *Ed.*

ibid. 336. '***Dans la Nubie,*** dit ailleurs Massoudi, dans la partie supérieure de l'Abyssinie, près des sources du Nil, on trouve une espèce de singes que l'on appelle ***Nubiens.*** Ils sont de petite taille, et d'une couleur noire peu foncée, comme le teint des Nubiens. C'est cette espèce de singe que les batteleurs mènent avec eux' etc. (Quatremère II. 30.) — If we compare this extract with the text of R. Benjamin (p. 145. line 9.) 'the inhabitants are called Nubians' and line 21. 'some

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a. Notices et Extraits II. 31. b. I. 35. 37. c. Quatremère II. 4. et seq. d. ibid. 9. e. Ritter I. 77.

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of the inhabitants resemble beasts' we are inclined to suppose, that our author made a ludicrous mistake by misunderstanding his source, and applying to men, what was originally stated in reference to beasts. *Ed.*

337. ***From Assuan to Chalua, twelve days.*** Cha- page 146.
lua or Aloua, the Ghalua of Edrisi (I. 33.), was according to Abdallah Ben Hamed[a] 'la capitale d'un royaume extrémement vaste. Les habitants sont chrétiens jacobites.' Edrisi, and after him, Stüwe, confirm that this was the starting point for the caravans, which traversed (*Saharah*)[b] the desert and carried on the trade with northern Africa. ***Zavila, Zuila, Zuela*** of our maps, ***Zavila*** of Edrisi (I. 258—9.) was remarkable for the splendour of its bazaars and buildings as well as for its beautiful streets and thoroughfares. 'On y compte beaucoup de négociants riches et intelligents.... leur connaissances commerciales sont très étendus et leur régularité dans les affaires est au-dessus de toute éloge.' From Zuila the caravans proceeded almost due south to Gana, in the interior of Africa. The city which bears this name, says Ibn-al-Ouardi, 'est une des plus grandes des pays des noirs. Tous les marchands des autres contrées s'y rendent pour y avoir de l'or que l'on trouve sur la terre.... on y porte des figues, du sel, du cuivre, de l'ouada et on n'en retire que de l'or.' Stüwe (91) gives an elaborate

a. Quatremère I. 33. b. In the translation, three omitted words must be supplied. It should be (I. 146. line 16.) traverse the desert ***which is called*** (or) Al-Tsahara.

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description of the splendour of this city and confirms the account of the important commercial transactions carried on there. Ibn-al-Ouardi's report coincides almost literally with that of our author, whose description of the horrors of the desert is concise as it is true. *Ed.*

page 147. 338. ***Kuls, a city on the frontiers of Egypt.*** Golius and Schultens assert, that this city is identical with or stands upon the site of ancient Thebes or Diospolis Magnus; d'Anville and several other eminent scholars, however, identify it with Appolinopolis parva (Strabo XVI.) Kous, says Abulfeda, is situated in the Saïd, on the east of the Nile and was after Fostat the largest city of Egypt and the resort of the merchants who came from Aden. 'C'est le premier endroit où s'arrêtent les caravanes qui viennent des mers de l'Inde, de l'Abyssinie, du Yêmen et du Hedjaz, en traversant le désert d'Aïdab. Kous renferme un grand nombre de fondouks, de maisons particulières, de bains, de colléges, de jardins, de vergers et de potagers. Sa population se compose d'artisans de toute espèce, de marchands, de savans et de riches propriétaires.'[a] *Ed.*

ibid. 339. ***To Fajulm five days.*** This ancient city, spelt ***Fajoum*** by Edrisi,[b] is described by that author as being of very considerable extent and situated in a fertile country. 'On voit à Fajoum des vestiges de grandes constructions' adds Edrisi, who like all other

a. Makrizi, quoted by Quatremère I. 194. b. I. 308—9.

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arabian authors mentions particularly the construction of a canal, said to owe its origin to Joseph. R. Sa-'adia Gaon, who has been mention'd several times in the course of these notes, was a native of this city, which is still flourishing. Ritter's classic account[a] will be found to embrace all information which could be collected. That this place was identical with Pithom of scripture, is doubtful. See Rosenmüller III. 169 and Gesenius v. פתום. *Ed.*

340. ***Mitsraim or Memphis.*** The ***Misr*** of our author like that of Abdallatif,[b] denotes ***Misr-al-atik***, or ***Fostat***, which europeans erroneously call ***old Cairo.*** The history of this city is treated of at length by Niebuhr[c] to which author we refer our reader and confess that our translation would have been more literal, if the words 'or Memphis' had been omitted. That ***Fostat*** always contained many Jews, is stated by Niebuhr upon the authority of the arabian geographers, but we reserve for a succeeding volume of notes, a detailed account of the history and present state of that colony, which in R. Benjamin's time appears to have been independent of the authority of the princes of the captivity at Bagdad. 'R. Nathanel, says the text (p. 148.) is primate of all Jewish congregations of Egypt and elects the officers of the synagogue, (Rabanim)' and it is not unlikely that the schism, which divided the fatimite and abasside dynasties, and the hatred which ibid.

a. I. 801. b. p. 424. c. I. 36. 37, see also Note 247. p. 202.

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prevailed between the rival courts of Misr and Bagdad, caused the election of a 'Primate of the egyptian Jews.' These '*Lords of Lords*' exercised that authority and probably enjoyed that rank in Egypt, which made the *Princes of the captivity* respected in Asia and gave force to their decrees, wherever the power of the Khalifs of Bagdad was acknowledged. *Ed.*

ibid. 341. *Here are two synagogues.* Vers la fin du 3e volume de la description de l'Egypte par Makrizi se trouvent quatre chapitres sous les titres suivants: 1. Des synagogues des Juifs. 2. De l'ère des Juifs et de leurs fêtes. 3. Des opinions et de la croyance primitive des Juifs et de quelle manière il est survenu parmi eux des changements. 4. Des différentes sectes qui partagent aujourd'hui les Juifs. Dans le premier de ces chapitres il est dit que les Juifs ont un grand nombre de *Kenaiss* en Egypte, et l'on observe que *Kenisset* est un mot hebraïque significant: *Lieu où l'on s'assemble pour la prière.* L'auteur fait mention de plusieurs des ces synagogues; dans l'article *Kenisset Demouh* (دموه) il rapporte la vie de Moïse, et dans celui de *Kenisset Djaoudjer* (جوجر) se trouve la vie du prophète Elie. *d'Ohsson.*

ibid. 342. The following is the list of synagogues enumerated by Makrizi:

1.	كنيسة دموه	—	כניסה דמוה	s. Abdallatif p. 245.
2.	جوجر	—	גוגר	— synagogue of Djaujar, dates from the time of the prophet Elias.

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3. كنيسة المصاصة	כניסה אלמצאצה		in the street of Maççaça in Misr.
4. الشاميين —	אלשאמיין	—	see below.
5. العراقيين —	אלעראקיין	—	- -
7. الجودريّة —	אלגודריה	—	in the street of Djondariyya in Cairo.
8. القرايين —	אלקראיין	—	synagogue of the Caraites.
9. درب الرايض —	דרב אלראיץ	—	in the street of Darb-al-Rayedh, in the quarter of Zoweila.
10. الربانيين —	אלרבאניין	—	synagogue of the rabbinites.
11. ابن سميح —	אבן סמיח	—	a caraitic synagogue in the quarter of Zoweila.
12. السمرة (l. السامرة) —	אלסמרה	—	synagogue of the samaritans in the same quarter.

Extract from Makrizi (MS. de la bibliothèque royale No. 673. Tom. III. fol. 202. recto:

Kenicet-al-Schamiyyin. This synagogue is situated in the street of Kaçr-al-schema (قصر الشمع) in Misr. It is a very ancient synagogue. A hebrew

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inscription, engraved in wood over the gateway, states that it was erected in the year 336 after Alexander, i. e. about 45 years before the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus and about 600 years before the flight (of Mahomet). In this synagogue is preserved a copy of the Thora (Pentateuch), which is universally acknowledged to have been written entirely by the prophet 'Esra, called in arabic Ozeir.

Kenicet al Irakiyyin. This synagogue is also situated in the street of Kaçr-al-schema. ***S. Munk.***

page 148. 343. ***The king resides in the fortress of Tso'an.*** 'Benjamin de Tudèle, says Niebuhr,' appelle Soan, le château situé entre la ville et la montagne Mokáttam, sur un rocher séparé de cette montagne, et il semble par conséquent que les Juifs d'Egypte du tems de Benjamin aient cru, que la ville de Zoan, dont il est fait mention dans l'écriture sainte, avoit été située dans cet endroit.' ***Ed.***

page 149. 344. ***All the inhabitants of Egypt are called rebels.*** The hatred which prevailed between the Khalifs of Bagdad and those of Egypt, of which our author speaks here, has been pointed out by all historians: 'Quoique de même foi que les Khalifs de Bagdad, la diversité des sentimens mit une telle haine entre ces deux princes, que dans les prières publiques on prononcoit à Bagdad l'anathème contre les Khalifs d'Egypte, pendant qu'au Caire on faisait la même cérémonie contre ceux de Bagdad.'[a] ***Ed.***

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a. I. 92. b. Desguignes in mém. de l'académie XXXVII. 491.

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345. ***R. Benjamin's account of the government of*** page 149. ***Egypt*** and the fatimite Khalifs, proves that his information dates prior to 1171. Adhed, the last of the Khalifs of the fatimite dynasty, died in that year, and even some time before, his authority had been annihilated by the conquests of the armies of Noureddin, under the command of Shirkou and his nephew, the celebrated Saladin, the latter of whom retained this prize to himself. The name of the Khalif of Bagdad was substituted for that of Adhed in the public service on the first friday of Mouharrem, 567 Heg., in the largest mosque of Cairo, and as nobody appear'd to notice the change, Saladin order'd it to be introduced into all other mosques of Misr and Cairo. This decree was executed the succeeding friday and all Egypt, following without murmur, the authority of the Khalif of Bagdad was re-established even before the demise of Adhed, who had been confined to his bed for some time and was happy enough to be merely a passive spectator of the downfall and utter ruin of his race. The facts stated by R. Benjamin, relative to the rare appearance in public of the fatimite Khalifs, are confirmed by other authors;[a] these princes in the 12th. century were the mere shadow of royalty, and all real power had passed into the hands of their Viziers; 'Tsoan' was as much their prison as their voluntary residence. ***Ed.***

346. ***The appearance in public of the sovereign,*** ibid. on the occasion of the rising of the Nile, appears to

a. Comp. Gibbon, chap. 59.

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have been practiced also by the successors of the fatimites. 'Quand la rivière vient a. xvj. pickes dehaut ou dit piller, le peuple de Kaire fait y'oie et monte le soudan sur une gallée ache ordonnée et va lui meismes retaillir et ouvrir la bouche d'un grand fosse fait a la main qui part de la riviere et passe parmi babilonne .... est communement Mescow au environ l'entrée de juing quand elle vient à xvj. pickes que le soudan va ainsi retailler lesdiz fossez.' S. Gilbert de Lannoy in Archaeologia XXI. 327. *Ed.*

ibid. 347. ***The city*** (of Fostat) ***is large &c.*** We refer the reader to the description of Fostat by Edrisi,[a] which will be found fully to confirm that of our author and by the kindness of H. E. Mr. d'Ohsson are enabled to add the following extract from Makrizi, on the same subject:

Voici ce que Makrizi rapporte sur la ville de Fostat à la fin du 1er vol.[b] de sa description de l'Egypte:

'Selon El-Djerheri (auteur d'un dictionnaire arabe très estimé) El-Fosttatt est une tente faite de poil. Le même dit que Fosttatt est la capitale de l'Egypte.

'Sachez que le Fosttatt d'Egypte fut fondé après la conquête de l'Egypte par les Musulmans, et devint sa capitale. Ce païs était antérieurement au pouvoir des Roums et des Coptes. Après la fondation de Fosttatt par les Musulmans, le siège du gouvernement y fut transféré d'Alexandrie, qui avait été pendant plus de 900 ans la capitale de l'Egypte. Dès lors El-

a. I. 301. 2. 3. b. Abdallatif p. 7.

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Fosttatt fut la résidence des gouverneurs de ce païs, et continua à l'être jusqu'à ce que dans la voisinage de cette ville eut été bâti *El-Asker* qui devint le lieu ordinaire de leur séjour; néanmoins quelques uns d'entre eux demeuraient souvent à Fosttatt. Mais lorsque l'Emir Aboul Abbas Ahmed, fils de Toutoun, eut fondé El-Cattaï, près d'El Asker, il y fit sa résidence, et ses successeurs, jusqu'au dernier des Toutonides, suivirent son exemple. Après eux, les gouverneurs de l'Egypte résidèrent à El Asker jusqu'à l'invasion du païs par l'arrivée de Moïzz-li-din-illahi le Fathimite, sous les ordres de son chancelier Djerher el-Caïd. Djerher bâtit *El-Cahiret* (le Caire) et y demeura avec ses troupes. Moïzz, à son arrivée, habita son palais dans le Caire, et cette ville fut la résidence des Khaliphet; mais Fosttatt n'en devint pas moins si florissante que pour la quantité de ses édifices et le nombre de ses habitants, aucune autre ville du monde ne pouvait lui être comparée, hors Bagdad. Elle conserva cet état de prospérité jusqu'à l'invasion des francs. Lorsque Méri (Amauri, Amalrich), roi des francs, eut posé son camp sur les bords du petit lac de Habesch (non loin du Caire), le vézir Schaver, jugeant qu'il ne pourrait pas défendre à la fois les deux villes de Fosttatt et du Caire, ordonna aux habitants de la première de l'évacuer et de s'enfermer dans la seconde, pour s'y mettre en sureté contre les francs. Le Caire était alors une ville très-forte et bien défendue, en sorte que les habitans de Fosttatt obéirent sans grande répugnance et passèrent tous au Caire. Schaver fit mettre le feu à

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Fosttatt, et dans l'espace de cinquante et quelques jours cette ville fut en grande partie consumée. Lorsque Méri se fut retiré et que Schircouh se fut emparé du Vézirat, les habitans retournèrent à Fosttatt; mais cette ville ne put jamais se relever de ses ruines. Cependant elle est encore appelée de nos jours la cité de l'Egypte. (c'est le vieux Caire.) *d'Ohsson.*

ibid. 348. ***The river overflows once every year &c.*** The Nile is here called יאור, ***Sea.*** 'En Egypte, says de Sacy, on donne au Nil le nom de ***Mer***, en sorte que quand on veut designer réellement la mer, soit la mediterranée, soit le golfe arabique, on y ajoute l'épithéte salée.' The same appellation is employed in the bible, Gen. XLI. 1, Lev. I. 22, II. 3, VII. 15 etc. See Gesenius יאור. *Ed.*

page 150. 349. ***A marble pillar, constructed with great skill.*** Respecting the Nilometre we refer the reader to Edrisi (l. c.) and add that the facts, relating to the history of this machine, have been carefully collected by Langlés[a] and by Ritter (I. 835.) *Ed.*

ibid. 350. ***A certain officer measures the rise of the river every day.*** 'Et y'a un propre maistre, says de Lannoy[b] pour se cognoistre aux gaiges du Soudan, qui va crier parmi le Kaire le cruchon de leaue pour resioir le peuple.' The officer who is charged with the observation of the Nilometre, is always under the influence of the police of Cairo, it being suitable to the

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a. Notice historique sur les Nilometres, in Norden, Voyage p. 218 et seq. b. Archaeologia, XXI, 327.

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political considerations of the government, sometimes to add suddenly some inches in the statement of the height of the waters. By means of this artifice, the hope of an excellent harvest is raised with the people, and the consequences of this belief are felt immediately. An extract, translated from Ritter's admirable work, which will be found at the end of these notes, will not only throw much light on the history of this curious instrument, but will also show the english reader, how the father of comparative geography handles his subjects. *Ed.*

351. ***The proprietors of lands cause ditches to be dug.*** 'On fermait' observes Abdallatif[a] 'les ouvertures pratiquées dans les chaussées, et les arches de pontes au moment où le Nil avait cessé de croître, afin d'empêcher les eaux de se retirer vers le fleuve, et de les forcer de s'accumuler du côté voisin des terres. Alors on plaçait des filets et on laissait l'eau prendre son cours. Le poisson entraîné par le courant de l'eau, arrivait aux filets qui l'empêchaient d'aller plus loin et de redescendre avec l'eau: il s'amassait donc dans les filets. On le tirait ensuite à terre, on le déposait sur des tapis; on le salait, et on le mettait dans des vases: et, lorsqu'il était suffisament fait, on le vendait sous le nom de *salaisons* et de *sir*. On ne préparait ainsi que le poisson qui était de la taille du doigt et au-dessous. Cette même espèce, quand elle est fraiche, se nomme *absaria*; on la mange rotie et frite.' *Ed.* ibid.

a. p. 283—4.

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page 151. 352. ***Those who eat fish and drink nile water after it &c.*** 'Dedans la rivière du Nil y'a la plus grande habundance de poissons du monde, mais il n'est pas sain à lui en plente a sasier. Mais leaue est si saine que on en peut trop boire.[a] The injurious qualities of the fish are attributed, by Sandys, to the mud of the river. On the salubrious properties ascribed to the waters of the Nile, see Ludolf hist. aethiop. l. I. c. 8. No. 53. Sonnini's travels c. 22. Rosenmüller l. c. III. 204. and the authorities quoted there. ***Ed.***

ibid. 335. ***Persons who inquire at the reason of the rise of the Nile.*** On this passage see the extract from Ritter alluded to Note 350. ***Ed.***

ibid. 354. ***Abyssinia, the Chavilah of scripture.*** This identification appears to be correct. S. Gesenius חוילה 2. ***Ed.***

page 152. 355. ***On the fruits of Egypt,*** much information will be found in Abdallatif's celebrated work, l. 1. ch. II. ***Ed.***

ibid. 356. ***Above Mitsraim the Nile divides into four arms.*** Although there is an hiatus in our text, which names only three of the four arms of the nile, which at our author's times conveyed its waters into the mediterranean, the information is valuable and available for the history of the gradual rise of the nile-delta which has been so admirably treated of by Ritter. (l. c.) Edrisi[b] also speaks of four outlets, two of which he names 'branches' and the two others 'canals' and

a. Archaeologia l. c. 333. b. I. 312.

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we refer the reader to that passage, which deserves so much more of our attention, at it is the account of a contemporary. *Ed.*

357. ***The third takes the direction of Ashmoun.*** page 153. Our author evidently refers to the well known canal of Ashmoun, near the entrance and on the banks of which John of Brienne pitched his camp and S. Louis wasted his time and strength in useless skirmishes with the saracens. The city of Ashmun is called a 'small town' by Edrisi[a] and it is possible that the informant of our author, in calling it העיר הגדולה confounded this place with another of the same name. S. Quatremère I. 490. *Ed.*

358. ***The banks of these four arms are lined on both sides by cities.*** ibid. 'Cette contrée est tellement peuplée, que les villes ne sont distantes entre elles que d'une journée, ou de deux au plus, et que les villages s'y touchent pour ainsi dire, de tous côtés et sur les deux rives du fleuve, sur ces divers canaux on voit de toutes parts des villes florissantes et des bourgs très peuplées.'[b] *Ed.*

359. ***From new-to old-Mitsraim is a distance of two parasangs,*** ibid. this and the following passages to: ***'old Mitsraim is three miles in extent*** (p. 154.) will be best illustrated by the following extract from Abdallatif,[c] to which we add the notes of his learned editor.

'Moïse faisoit sa demeure dans un village au terri-

a. ibid. 124. b. ibid. 129 et 313. c. p. 284 and 245.

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toire de Djizeh, peu éloigné de la capitale, et qui se nommoit Dimouh (61). Les Juifs y ont aujourd'hui une synagogue. Les ruines de Memphis occupent actuellement une demi-journée de chemin en tout sens.

(61) Dimouh est une dénomination commune à plusieurs lieux en Egypte; il y a trois villages de ce nom dans le Fayyom; celui dont il est question ici, appartient au territoire de Djizeh, et il en est fait mention dans les cadastres de l'Egypte.

Makrizi, dans le chapitre de sa description histrorique et topographique de l'Egypte et du Caire, intitulé: des synagogues des Juifs dit:

'Du nombre des synagogues qu'ont les Juifs en Egypte est celle de Dimouh à Djezèh. C'est le principal objet de la vénération des Juifs en Egypte; car ils croient tous, sans hésiter, que ce lieu est celui où Moïse fils d'Amran faisoit sa demeure, à l'époque où il rapportoit à Pharaon les ordres qu'il recevoit de Dieu, pour les lui annoncer, pendant tout le temps de son séjour en Egypte, depuis son retour du pays de Madian jusqu'à l'instant où il sortit d'Egypte avec les enfants d'Israel. Les Juifs disent aussi que l'édifice que l'on voit aujourd'hui à Dimouh, fut bâti quarante ans après la dernière destruction de Jérusalem, par Titus, plus de cinq cents ans avant l'Islamisme: dans cette synagogue est un arbre de *rizlaght* d'une grandeur immense. Les Juifs ne doutent aucunement que cet arbre ne soit du temps de Moïse; ils disent, que ce prophète ayant planté son bâton en cet endroit, Dieu fit naître de ce bâton cet arbre; qu'il demeura dans

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toute beauté, couvert de branches vertes, avec un tronc égal, épais et parfaitement droit, qui s'élevoit vers le ciel, jusqu'au temps où Mélic-alaschraf Schaban fils de Hosein bâtit au dessous de la citadelle le collège qui porte son nom. Ce prince à qui l'on avoit vanté la beauté de cet arbre, donna ordre qu'on le coupât pour le faire servir à la construction de cet édifice. Lorsqu'on vint le lendemain matin pour exécuter l'ordre du prince, on trouva que l'arbre étoit devenu tortu, s'etoit courbé et n'avoit plus qu'un aspect affreux. On le laissa donc, et il demeura en cet état pendant un assez long espace de temps. Ensuite il arriva qu'un Juif commit une fornication avec une femme Juive sous cet arbre. Dès ce moment ses branches s'inclinèrent vers la terre, ses feuilles tombèrent, et il sécha; ensorte qu'il n'y resta pas une seule feuille verte. C'est en cet état qu'on le voit encore aujourd'hui. En un certain jour de l'année, les Juifs viennent en pélerinage avec toute leur famille à cette synagogue; ce jour est celui de la promulgation de la loi, au mois de Siwan: cela leur tient de l'obligation où ils étoient d'aller à Jérusalem.

Benjamin de Tudèle fait mention de cette synagogue, quoiqu'il en désigne l'emplacement d'une manière peu exacte. Après avoir décrit les pyramides, il dit: 'En ce lieu, hors de la ville (il parle de l'ancienne capitale, qui doit être Memphis), est la synagogue de Moïse notre maître, bâtiment d'une haute antiquité. Là est un vieillard qui dessert cette synagogue; c'est un disciple des sages; on le nomme le cheïkh Abou-naser.'

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page 154. 360. ***From thence to the land of Goshen eight parasangs, it is called Belbeis.*** 'La ville de Balbeis est la même que la terre de Gosen,' says Makrizi,[a] dont il est fait mention dans le Pentateuque et où habita Jacob, après qu'il se fut rendu auprès de son fils Joseph.' A very elaborate article on Goshen, will be found in Rosenmüller III. 246. Our hebrew text reads בולסיר בלבים, ***Bulsir, Balbis,*** the former appellation being a prefix to many names of egyptian towns. S. Quatremère I. 112. et seq. ***Ed.***

ibid. 361. ***Ain al Shems,*** says Ibn-Haukal (36.) or fountain of the sun lies to the ***south*** of Fostat; it is said to have been a villa or pleasure house of Pharao. Edrisi (I. 306.) places it to the ***north*** of Fostat 'au nord de Fostat est la ville dite Ain-Chams, on dit que c'était une des lieux de plaisance de Pharaon.' Neither Rosenmüller nor Gesenius agree with our author in the identification of Ain-al-Shems with Ra'amses, but the student of biblical geography will do well to compare the remarks on this place in Jablonski opuscula II. 138. with those of Ibn-Haukal, quoted above. ***Ed.***

ibid. 362. ***Al-Butidj, Aboutidg or Boutidj,*** 'is situated, according to Abulfeda,[b] on the eastern bank of the Nile, within a few hours distance of Osiout. The country round about produces a great quantity of poppy of which opium is made. ***Ed.***

ibid. 363. ***Sefita,*** according to Edrisi ***Zefita,*** 'bourg où se rassemblent tous les navires destinés à la pêche du

a. Quatremère I. 53. b. Descriptio Aegypti.

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gros poisson, et située à l'extremité supérieure de l'île où le Nil se partage en deux branches, vis à vis de la ville de Sautouf (ou Chautouf, corrected Shatnouf by Quatremère I. 437). See Niebuhr I. 59. Sufety and Quatremère l. c. The Constantinople Ed. of our text reads מנוּפתא, which probably means Miet or Miniet Sefita, see Niebuhr's map to vol. I. p- X. 'village de Sefita.' *Ed.*

364. ***Damira***, 'petite ville située sur la rive occi- ibid.
dentale du canal, où l'on fabrique de jolies étoffes destinées à l'exportation et où se fait beaucoup de commerce.' *Ed.*

365. ***Mahaleh.*** This word which denotes burgh ibid.
(borough) is common to many towns in Egypt, in combination with other appellations, e. g. ***Mahaleh Damia***; ***Mahaleh Sa***, ***Mahaleh Sard &c.***, one of these towns however, is mention'd by Edrisi (I. 322.) as *the* Mahaleh, from which the canal of ***Mahaleh*** derived its name.

We may observe here, that it appears to have been the object of our author, to enumerate merely such cities of Egypt, as contained Jewish inhabitants; no *traveller* could follow his extremely irregular steps. *Ed.*

366. ***Alexandriah.*** 'Quant à Alexandrie, says Edrisi, [b] ibid.
c'est une ville bâtie par Alexandre, qui lui donna son nom. 'Alexandre fils de Philippe, étant monté sur le trône, et étant venu en Egypte, il y bâtit la ville

a. I. 297.

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d'Alexandrie,' Makrizi quoted by de Sacy.[a] 'Malgré, says Mr. Langlés[b] l'opinion *généralement adoptée*, qui attribue la fondation de cette ville au conquérant dont elle porte aujourd'hui le nom, je n'hésite pas à lui contester le titre de fondateur.' That this city was '*extremely strong and handsome*' is attested by the contemporary authors, quoted above and by William of Tyre XIX. 24. *Ed.*

page 155. 367. ***In the outskirts of the city was the school of Aristotle.*** This tradition which Baratier attempts to ridicule, must have been very current in R. Benjamin's time. 'Je pense, says Abdallatif,[c] que cet édifice étoit le portique où enseignoit Aristote et après lui ses disciples; et que c'étoit-là l'académie qui fit construire Alexandre quand il bâtit cette ville et où étoit placée la bibliothèque que brûla Amrou-ben-Alâs avec la permission d'Omar.' *Ed.*

ibid. 368. ***The city is built upon Arches.*** 'Les eaux du Nil qui coule à l'occident de cette ville passent par des aqueducs au-dessous des maisons.' (Edrisi I. 297.) That '*the streets are straight*' and of great extent, is confirmed by ancient and modern authors.[d] *Ed.*

ibid. 369. ***The port is formed partly by a pier, which extends a mile into the sea.*** 'Between the new and old part, *projecting about a mile from the city into the sea*, is a spot, which forms the enclosure of the two parts.'[e] *Ed.*

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a. In Abdallatif p. 209. b. Notes to Norden p. 155. c. p. 183. d. comp. Niebuhr Voyage I. Prokesch I. 19. e. Archaeologia XXI. 356.

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370. *The lighthouse, in arabic Minar of Alexandria.* 'La petite tour, située à l'entrée du port d'Alexandrie, n'offre plus aucun vestige du monument dont elle a conservé le nom. Malgré la diversité d'opinion des auteurs arabes, grecs et latins touchant le fondateur du phare, malgré les contes hyperboliques auxquels il a donné lieu,[a] on ne peut douter qu'il n'ait existé, et qu'il ne méritât même une place parmi les merveilles du monde. Le voile impénétrable qui nous en dérobe l'origine m'autorise en quelque sorte à croire que la fondation a dû suivre de près, peut être même précéder celle de Rayoùdah; car il est difficile de décider si le phare a été construit pour la sûreté de la ville ou pour celles des vaisseaux. Néanmoins il remplissoit ce double objet par le moyen des feux qu'on y entretenoit pendant la nuit, et d'un miroir ou espèce de télescope placé au dessus d'une dôme qui couronnoit son sommet. Les merveilles que l'on raconte touchant ce miroir pourroient inspirer des doutes fort plausibles sur son existence, si l'on ne connoissoit l'époque de sa destruction et de celle du phare. En outre, les observations des astronomes arabes et la description de ibid.

a. Les orientaux ne sont pas les seuls auteurs de ces hyperboles; un scholiaste inédit de Lucien, cité par Vossius in Melam p. 762 de l'éd. de 1782, dit que le circuit du phare est égale à celui des pyramides, et d'une telle hauteur qu'on l'apperçoit à la distance de cent milles; c'est aussi l'opinion de quelques auteurs arabes. Certains se bornent à soixante-dix milles. Ils disent qu'avec le miroir on voyoit les vaisseaux sortir des ports de la Grèce etc. Je donne ces assertions pour ce qu'elles valent.

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leurs instruments ne permettent pas de douter qu'ils ne fissent usage de verres ou lunettes à longue vue, à travers lesquelles on regardoit les objets, ou qui les réfléchissoient de très loin, comme le miroir dont il s'agit. Si l'on en croit les Arabes, le fameux observatoire d'Alexandrie étoit placé dans le phare. Ce miroir avait cinq palmes (environ trois pieds neuf pouces) de diamètre; certains auteurs disent qu'il étoit de crystal, d'acier de la Chine poli, ou de différents métaux fondus ensemble. Suivant d'autres, des vedettes, munis d'une cloche et placés auprès de ce miroir, y découvroient les vaisseaux en haute mer et les signaloient aux habitants de la ville. En temps de guerre, ceux-ci pouvoient se mettre sur la défensive, et ne craignoient point d'être surpris. Ce miroir paraît avoir long tems résisté aux differents échecs que le phare eprouva.

El Oùâlyd ben-A'bdoul-Melekh ben Meroùân, le 6e Khalife des Ommyades, vecut dans une guerre continuelle avec les empereurs grecs. L'un d'eux,[a] connoissant l'avidité et la stupide crédulité d'êl-Oùâlyd, voulut en profiter pour détruire un monument qui contribuoit à la sûreté de la principale ville de l'Egypte. Il chargea de cette opération importante un de ses fa-

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a. Ni Al-Maqryzy ni Ben-âjâs ne donnent le nom de cet empereur grec et n'indiquent point même l'année où cet évènement arriva: je ne puis décider s'il s'agit de Justinien II, de Filépique ou d'Anastase II, qui occupèrent successivement le trône de Constantinople depuis l'an 705 jusqu'en 716, c'est-à-dire pendant le règne d'êl-Oùâlyd, qui commença en 705, et finit à sa mort en 715.

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voris plein d'adresse, à qui il donna des instructions particulières. Ce personnage aborda en Syrie comme un favori disgracié que son souverain irrité vouloit faire périr. Il accompagna cette imposture de détails également controuvés, et capables cependant de lui attirer la confiance du Khalife; enfin il poussa la fourberie jusqu'à embrasser l'islamisme en présence d'êl-Oùâlyd. Pour se rendre encore plus agréable, il lui annonça des trésors cachés à Damas et autres lieux de la Syrie, lesquels étoient indiqués et représentés dans un livre qu'il avoit apporté avec lui. Les richesses et les bijoux qu'êl-Oùâlyd trouva en effet dans ces trésors exaltèrent son imagination et ne firent qu'exciter son avidité. Le Grec sut adroitement profiter de ces dispositions pour lui insinuer que sous le phare d'Alexandrie on trouveroit des richesses entassées par Alexandre, qui en avoit hérité de Chédâd, fils de A'âd, et d'autres rois d'Egypte. Le prince des fidèles, seduit par ses récits, résolut de faire des fouilles, et chargea son nouveau favori de les diriger. Il le mit à la tête d'un certain nombre d'ouvriers. Leurs traveaux avancèrent rapidement. La moitié du phare fut bientôt démolie, et le miroir enlevé. Cet évènement causa la plus vive indignation, et l'on s'apperçut alors de l'insigne fourberie du Grec. Mais, dès que celui-ci se vit découvert et sut que le Khalife étoit instruit de ce qui venoit d'arriver, ayant d'ailleurs rempli ses projets, il s'enfuit pendant la nuit sur un bâtiment qu'il avoit fait préparer.' We have inserted the above long extract from Mr. Langlé's edition of Norden (Voyage III, 162.) in order to

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refute the accusations brought forward against R. Benjamin by some of his reviewers; it is evident from Mr. Langlé's remarks that the history of the mirror and of its destruction is not invented by our honest traveller, but is merely another version of a very popular tradition. *Ed.*

page 157. 371. ***The lighthouse is still a mark &c.*** 'Cet edifice, says Edrisi (I. 298.) est singulièrement remarcable, tant à cause de sa hauteur, qu'à cause de sa solidité; il est très utile en ce qu'on y allume nuit et jour du feu pour servir de signal aux navigateurs durant leurs voyages; ils connaient ce feu et se dirigent en conséquence, car il est visible d'une journée maritime 100 ***milles***, de distance. Durant la nuit il apparaît comme une étoile; durant le jour on en distingue la fumée.' *Ed.*

ibid. 372. ***The city is very mercantile.*** The description of the commerce carried on at ***Alexandria***, and the enumeration of the nations who frequented its port for the purposes of trade, are a further proof of Rabbi Benjamin's objects and of his spirit of observation. ***Alexandria*** at his time, was the chief staple place of the commodities of the east, which were so much coveted by all european nations. 'Les Egyptiens étoient les seuls qui allassent dans l'Inde sur la mer rouge, ils n'avoient point de rivaux de ce côté. On faisoit également le commerce par le golfe persique, mais il étoit plus concentré dans l'intérieur du pays des musulmans; celui d'***Alexandrie*** se répandait dans toute l'Europe et par conséquent étoit beaucoup plus consi-

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dérable, parcequ'il étoit plus aisé aux Européens de se rendre dans cette ville, qu'ils y recevroient plus directement les marchandises et qu'ils y trouvoient un gain plus grand.'[a] — This commercial intercourse between Egypt and Europe, so strikingly described by R. Benjamin, is perhaps the most remarkable feature in the history of the epoch. The enterprises of the crusaders were directed against the power of the sovereigns of this country, who consequently might be said to be at war with the whole of Europe; and it might have been reasonably supposed, that all commercial and other intercourse should have ceased, but mutual interest and political considerations produced different results. The importation of asiatic goods had become a source of so much profit to the inhabitants and of revenue to the government, that the Sultans never contemplated the idea of closing their ports to the Europeans, who not only purchased, but also imported and paid duty upon those articles, which were made available objects of exchange in Arabia and India. Thus do we see religious prejudices waived in consideration of pecuniary profit, by the most inveterate enemies, by two sects, who took up arms in defence of the religions they professed! Such indeed was the eagerness of the commercial towns of *Italy*, of *France* and of *Spain*, to share in the advantages, which hitherto had been enjoyed almost exclusively by *Venice*, *Genua* and *Pisa*, that the popes were induced to prohibit the intercourse

a. Mémoires de l'académie XXXVII. 511.

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by several bulls. These prohibitions having been found unavailable, however, the court of Rome at length not only gave way but even went so far as to despatch an embassy to the Sultan[a] with the offer of a treaty, founded upon principles of reciprocity and international law! *Ed.*

ibid. 373. ***Rakuvia &c.*** As the author observes very little order in the enumeration of the countries, but probably follows some list of the fontecchi or hostelries for captains (I. 158.), I read וסקוטיה וברטניה, ***Scotland*** and ***England***, instead of ורקופיה וקרטויה; רוסייא is ***Russia***, not Roussillon. גלאץ are perhaps the inhabitants of Galecia, or the kingdom of Galicia, in Spain, but it is certainly not England, which is always called ברטניה or אנגילטירה or ארץ האי. — היטר no doubt a corrupted word, must not be translated by Hainault, as is the case in the text; Baratier (I. 236. et seq.) who makes many mistakes in this paragraph, guesses at Gueldres without grounds. מדיאנה, is perhaps Meduana, i. e. ***Maine***, which might deserve a place as well as Anjou and Gascogne. ***Zunz.***

ibid. 374. R. Benjamin enumerates 28 ***christian*** states, natives of which were met with at Alexandria. As this notice is of great value for the history of commerce in the 12 th. century, we here copy this list of traders and subjoin a few remarks, which may tend to elucidate this paragraph:

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a. Raynaldi annales ad ann. 1247. Chrestomathie arabe II. 48.

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1.	בלינסייא	render'd	Valentia.
2.	טוסכנה	—	Tuscany.
3.	לומברדיאה	—	Lombardy.
4.	פוליה	—	Apulia.
5.	מלפי	—	Amalfi.
6.	סקילייה	—	Sicily.
7.	רקופיה	—	Rakuvia.
8.	קרשויה	—	Catalonia.
9.	אספנייא	—	Spain.
10.	רוסייא	—	Roussillon.
11.	אלמאנייה	—	Germany.
12.	שושנאה	—	Saxony.
13.	דנאמרקא	—	Denmark.
14.	גלאץ	—	England.
15.	פלנדריש	—	Flanders.
16.	היטר, תישר	—	Hainault.
17.	לרמנדיה	—	Normandy.
18.	פראנציה	—	France.
19.	פייטו	—	Poitou.
20.	אנגו	—	Anjou.
21.	ברגונייה	—	Burgundy.
22.	מדיאנה	—	Mediana.
23.	פרובינצא	—	Provence.
24.	גינואה	—	Genoa.
25.	פישא	—	Pisa.
26.	גשקוניא	—	Gascogne.
27.	ארגון	—	Aragon.
28.	נבארה	—	Navarra.

Remarks: 1. Valencia, as we have render'd it, is vidently erroneous, that province or kingdom being in

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the hands of the spanish arabs at our author's time; perhaps we ought to read Florence. 7. ראקופיה, Rakuvia, perhaps ראגוזיה, Ragusa. Comp. Miltitz II. 1. 166. — 8. Sprengel proposes to read Coralita, i. e. Sardinia. 10. With all deference due to the opinion of Dr. Zunz, expressed in the preceeding note, we have adopted the translation suggested by Sprengel, first because the russians never traded to Alexandria at our author's time, whereas we might reasonably suppose that with the other provinces, Anjou also took part in this lucrative commerce, and secondly because R. Benjamin spells Russia, רושיה, רוסיה, רוסיא, whereas the country here alluded to is spelt in both first editions רוסייה, probably corrupted from רוסייאן. 12. שושנאה, Saxony. We find vessels from Lubek and Bremen mention'd in the history of the first and third crusade and by Edrisi. 14. גלאץ, we consider this word to have been corrupted from אנגליץ; that englishmen took part in the crusades and thus became acquainted with the commerce of Alexandria, is a fact, too well known to require any further proof. 16. היטר has been translated Hainault in conformity with Deguigne's celebrated memoir in mémoires de l'académie XXXVII. 521., which is also the case with 17. לרמנדיה, 20. אנגו, Anjou and 26. Gascogne.

In a subsequent volume of notes we intend to insert a paper 'on the state of commerce in the 12 th. century,' in which we shall have occasion to treat more at length on this passage and on Notes 96. 145. 315 &c. *Ed.*

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375. The term פונדק, ***Pundak***, ***Fontecchio***, evidently page 158. of the same origin with the greek παυδοχειον or παυδοκειον, has puzzled etymologists, the opinions of some of whom are quoted I. 158. note a. None of these learned scholars have been aware however, that this word is frequently used in the thalmud and the rabbinic authors. The original author of the 'Aruch assigns to it an arabic origin and the syrian paraphrast translates Joshua II. 1. בית אשה זונה (render'd an harlot's house by the authorized version) by פונדקיתא, ***Pundakitha***. Although this application of the term reminds us of Marco Polo's description of the 'houses of entertainment' in Tibet,[a] we abstain from farther etymological remarks and merely state that the ***Fontecchi*** alluded to, contained warehouses and shops, a chapel and sometimes even a church, a bake-house, a bath and a tavern; it was the market place, where foreign nations had the right to expose their goods for sale, to carry on their commerce and to provide themselves with food and other necessaries of life. ***Ed.***

376. ***On the sea shore is a marble sepulchre.*** ibid. This account probably refers to one of the numerous catacombs near the seashore, which have been noticed by all travellers. See Nordens travels p. 24. 25. and Niebuhr I. 40. ***Ed.***

377. ***Damietta, which is Khaphthor.*** This iden- ibid. tification does not bear the test of criticism. See Rosenmüller III. 385. and Gesenius *s. v.* ***Ed.***

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a. s. Marsden's ed. p. 413. and Mr. M.'s notes.

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ibid. 378. ***Sunbat, the inhabitants of which sow flax.*** Edrisi (I. 317,) speaking of Sunbat, says 'ville dont les habitants cultivent le lin, se livrent au commerce et sont fort riches.' ***Ed.***

page 159. 379. ***Four days to Ailah, which is Elim, it belongs to the Bedouin arabs.*** '***Ailah***, says Edrisi (I. 322.) est une ville fréquentée par des arabes qui y sont les maîtres.' That Elim really was in this vicinity, has been supposed by several travellers.[a] Messrs. Robinson and Smith, who travelled from mount Sinai to Akabah, descended the coast near the eastern gulf at the fountain Nuweibia and near this coast; bearing W. S. W. from the castle of Akabah, they saw the small island cover'd with ruins, formerly the citadel of Ailah. It is called by the Tawara arabs, Kureijeh, which signifies a town, whether inhabited or in ruins.' ***Ed.***

ibid. 380. ***R'phidim***, the site of this place, according to Raumer, is unknown.[b] ***Ed.***

ibid. 381. ***Mount Sinai.*** The existence of the christian 'place of worship' on this mount in the 12th. century, is also reported by Edrisi;[c] the most recent description of this interesting spot is that furnished by Messrs. Robinson and Smith.[d] ***Ed.***

ibid. 382. ***Back to Damietta.*** It would almost appear as if our author had copied the account of some an-

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a. S. Rosenmüller III. 145. and the authorities quoted there. b. Zug der Israeliten 28. 29. c. I. 332. See also Ibn-Haukal 29. d. American biblical repository l. c. 404.

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cient pilgrim to the holy land, who generally went from Egypt to mount Sinai and from thence returned to Cairo or Damietta in order to embark for Gaza and Palestine. This ancient custom prevailed even to within a very recent period and has been abandoned only in consequence of the discovery of Petra. *Ed.*

383. ***Tennis, the ancient Chanes.*** 'Tennis est une ville située dans une île du lac Menzaleh, lac qui porte aussi le nom de Tennis.'[a] This city and its port was very much frequented by small vessels and it is probable that the traveller, whose account was copied by our author, embarked at this port for Sicily. 'Item le port de Tenes très bon pour petis vaisseaux..... il y'a tous jours gens barques et cameux et marchandises qui passent ou repassent par terre ou par eaue en che lieu là.'[b] Chanes is identified by modern critics with the ancient Herakleopolis, Ahnas of Edrisi,[c] Hnes or Ehnes of the copts.[d] *Ed.* ibid.

384. ***Messina on the island of Sicily &c.*** 'La ville de Messine, says Edrisi,[e] est une des plus remarquables, des mieux bâties et ***des plus frequentées par les allants et les venants.*** On y construit des vaisseaux et on vient y jetter l'ancre de toutes les parties maritimes de la chrétienté. C'est là qu'on trouve réunis les plus grands vaisseaux, ainsi que les voyageurs et les marchands des pays chrétiens et musulmans ***qui y ar-*** ibid.

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a. de Sacy in Abdallatif 160 b Archaeologia XXI. 334. 335. c. I. 128. d. Rosenmüller III. 297. and the authorities quoted there. e. II. 81.

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rivent de toutes parts.' — Although this quotation from Edrisi strongly confirms our author's description of Messina in 1170, we are at a loss to account for the origin of the appellation 'Lunir' which he employs in speaking of the small strait, which divides this island from the continent and for which even Edrisi, has no particular name; in Mr. Joubert's translation it is simply 'le détroit.' *Ed.*

page 160. 385. ***Palermo.*** We again refer to Edrisi for a corroboration of our author's account and this the more willingly because this celebrated geographer lived and wrote his book on the island. His full account of Palermo occupies pp. 76, 77, 78, of the second volume of his work, in the edition we are so much indebted to, and it appears as if Edrisi calls the palace, which we have named Al-hacina, in conformity with Mr. Munk's conjecture, *el-Cassar.* The hebrew perhaps was קלצ"ר from which it became corrupted into קלציה or קלטיניה *Ed.*

ibid. 386. ***The city is the seat of the viceroy.*** William the second of Sicily began his reign in 1166 when twelve years of age. During his minority, Gentilis, the Queen Dowager, was the regent of the kingdom and she caused her uncle, the Archbishop of Rouen, to send over Stephen of Rotrou, son of the count of Perché, whom she elected chancellor of the empire. This Stephen, by the influence of the queen, also became Archbishop of Palermo and invested with clerical and secular

a. See Burigny vol. I. p. 481 et seq.

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power, was the governor and viceroy of the kingdom, to whom our author refers. *Ed.*

387. ***Coral*** (arab. ***Bessed.*** Pers. ***Merjan.***) A marine production, well known to the ancients. Its value depends upon its size, solidity, and the depth and brilliancy of its colour, and is so very various, that while some of the Sicilian Coral sells for 8 or 10 guineas an ounce, other descriptions of it will not fetch 1 s. a pound. The produce of the fishery at Messina is stated by Spallanzani (Travels in the two Sicilies, vol. IV. p. 308. etc.) to amount to 12 quintals of 250 lbs. each. See Mc. Culloch, article Coral. page 161.

Edrisi (I. 266 et 267.) mentions the fishery of this production to have been carried on by the Sicilians and states that it was inferior to the species found on the African coast. This paragraph is a further proof of our author's avocation and his minute description of the island has led us to suppose that he visited it. *Ed.*

388. ***Maurienne,*** at our author's time the earldom of Maurienne included almost all modern Savoy. We find a count of Maurienne and Turin in the list of the noblemen who took part in the second crusade, and the name, which originated from the invasion of the arabs in the 9 th. century, is still retained in that of ***St. John Maurienne,*** a town on the foot of mount Cenis. *Ed.* ibid.

389. ***Germany.*** Our author's account of the cities of this country is in most instances so corrupted by the ignorance of the transcribers, that it becomes almost impossible to recognise the towns he refers ibid.

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to.[a] Rabbi B. of course heard that many Jews lived along the banks of the Rhine and of the Moselle, for the cruelties which had been committed against this defenceless people by the crusaders, must have become the conversation and the dread of their brethren, particularly of the country to which he returned and where the Jews enjoyed tranquillity and considerable privileges. *Ed.*

page 162. 390. ***In fact the Jews are dispersed.*** This paragraph, which here is evidently misplaced, as it disconnects the account of Germany, was written by Rabbi B. or by some good imitator of his style. In either case it goes far to prove, that the work in its present form, differs from the original: Rabbi B. would have interspersed his narrative with more than *one* passage of this kind, or so good an imitator may have added much, which at present we cannot distinguish from the original. A genuine MS. only, can clear up these doubts. *Ed.*

page 164. 391. ***Khna'an,*** was stamped a slave for life by Noah (Gen. IX. 25.) and the Khna'anites by the Jewish law (Lev. XXV. 46.) As slavery was found predominant to such a degree in Sclavonia, which includes Bohemia, that Sclave (Sclavonian) became synonymous with ***Slave***, the Jews of the country, by a reversed rule applied the expression of Khna'an to Sclavonia [b]

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a. Edrisi's work met a similar fate, see the account of Germany in the 2d. vol. of his work. b. R. Baruch (Ao. 1200.) calls the serfs כנעניים and R. Avigdor (1240) סקלאבי. See

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and particularly to Bohemia; consequently the latter country received the appellation ארץ כנען. In the course of time the belief became prevalent, that the Sclavonians were descendants of the fugitive Khna-'anites (Josippon chap. 1.); this opinion was adopted *partly* by Aben 'Esra, (in 'Obadiah v. 20.) who renders כנענים in that instance by 'Allemania.' David Kimchi is a little more correct in his connecting Germany (Ashkhenaz) with Sclavonia, which countries, however, are always distinguished, as two countries of two different idioms.[a] Chisdai, who wrote two hundred years prior to Benjamin, also names Ashkhenaz next to Sclavonia,[b] which latter is called גבלים, probably because גבל (Psalms LXXXIII, 8.) is preceeded immediately by הגרים, an expression render'd *Hungary* by the thargumist and by later commentators. Two of Rabbi B.'s contemporaries, Pethachia[c] and an editor of the machasor Vitry,[d] also enumerate Bohemia and Russia next to one another. A fourth, Elieser B. Nathan, a witness of an unconsiderably earlier period, gives an account of the images of saints, exposed upon

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שבלי הלקט No. 31. An author who was a native of Moravia, about 1470, informs us that in the language of Khna-'an 'beauty' is expressed by בילא (bella), thus either employing the term Khna'an, not only in speaking of his countrymen but of gentiles generally, or in allusion to the slavonic word 'biala' white.

a. Rashi in Deuteron. III. 9. Meir Rothenburg, decisions, in 4to. No. 117. b. Zedner, Auswahl p. 29. c. p. 185. d. s. Kherem chemed III. 201.

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the doors and walls of the russian houses, and speaks of travellers to that country,[a] which leads us to suppose that he must have visited it. He states distinctly[b] his having visited the land of Khna'an and renders some account of its Jews.[c] Besides R. Benjamin, the principal witness, Josippon and Kimchi who may be called half-witnesses, and the analogy which is corroborated by ר״בן, R. Nathan[d] and R. Shlomo[e] have left us specimens of words of the language of Khna'an, which are sclavonian, e. g.

מקום, Poppy, polish Mak.
שניר, snow, pol. snieg.
קרוקים, beetle.
פרינום, cushion, russ. perina.
אקדון, bason.

No other is the 'country of the Khna'anim' which Rashi mentions in 'Obadia together with Zarfat (France), and S. D. Luzzato very appropriately remarks, that Rashi alludes to the trade with sclavonian serfs, in his comment. on Gen. IX. 29. 'even after the dispersion of the sons of Shem (Israelites) slaves of the sons of Khna'an will be sold to them.' R. Isaac of Vienna, author of the work '*Or sarua*,' calls his country justly 'the empire of the land of Khna'an,[f] because Austria, under Ottokar II. (1253 et seq.) belonged to the crown

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a. ר״בן §. 291. fol. 74 b. §. 5. fine. b. §. 8. c. f. 70 a. d. Aruch v. פרגין. e. in Bereshith rabba c. 68. Deuteron. l. c. Aboda Sara f. 28 b. 51 b. f. Hagahoth Asheri in Chullin cap. 3. No. 31.

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of Bohemia. Even in later times 'Khna'an' was consider'd an opprobrious epithet and was synonymous with 'slave.'[a] Maimonides however, alludes in his epistle to Yemen, to the *Morabethun*, Syrians, who invaded Africa, by the words: 'the Khna'ani in the country of Magreb.'[b] — By the present analysis, I have partly corrected and partly supplied what has been advanced on this subject by myself[c] and by Rapaport.[d] *Zunz.*

392. *Vaiverges*, polish wiewiórka, the white squirrel, a quadruped, the skins of which were consider'd to be of great value. 'The tribute in skins of the white squirrel was paid by the russians to the norman invaders, whom they saluted with the name of Varangarians or corsairs.'[e] *Ed.* ibid.

a. s. Nimmukin by Menachem Merseburg fol. 85 c. b. s. Zunz, über hispanische Ortnamen, in Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums p. 158. 159. c. *Rashi*, in the abovemention'd '*Zeitschrift*' p. 329. 330. d. Life of R. Nathan p. 30. e. Gibbon ch. 55.

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ESSAY

ON THE GEOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE OF THE JEWS, FROM THE REMOTEST TIMES TO THE YEAR 1841.

By Dr. Zunz.

(Translated from the German by the Editor.)

In the whole range of Jewish literature no branch of knowledge appears to be cultivated more scantily, or to be less known, than that of Geography. The necessity and the desire to become acquainted with foreign countries grew simultaneously with the extension of universal commerce and the increase of civilisation; greek science and roman power prepared the way to geographical knowledge, but no such science could ever prosper among the Jews. Isolated, dispersed, regarded with ill-will or oppressed almost universally, they of necessity became indifferent towards every object, not strictly Jewish, and the hatred, which inclosed them on every side, pointed out their own nation as the only study, worthy of being pursued. If an interest in the knowledge of the earth was excited now and then by books or by reflection, it was confined to that, which elevated the spirit to the creator,

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to the direct work of God, unalloyed by business or institutions of man. Thus natural philosophy, astronomy and mathematical geography have always found cultivators among the Jews, whereas the political and statistical elements were ever neglected.

During the darkness, which bare of every knowledge beyond aristotelean nomenclature, cover'd the nations of the middle-ages and kept them ignorant of one another, the Jews also number but few individuals, who studied the earth and its inhabitants. In the encyclopaedias of ***Shemtob Palquera*** (Ao. 1264.)[a] and of an ***anonymous*** author (Ao. 1308.)[b] Geography is omitted and even by the more enlighten'd spirit of ***del Medigo***[c] it is placed in the background; the geographical labours are particles so concealed in ***the whole*** of the literature, that de Castro,[d] who names 20 astronomers and 18 historians among the Jewish authors of Spain, does not mention even *one* geographer. Two departments only could prosper during those centuries: ***the Jewish*** and ***the practical.*** Among ***the Jewish*** I include all those works, which treat either of the knowledge of the holy land or of the fate and the habitations of the dispersed Israel; among ***the practical*** that information, which was communicated either in the interest of commerce and trade or with a view to mere entertainment. It could not be otherwise than

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a. המבקש ed. Hague and in ראשית חכמה MS. — b. s. cod. Rossi hisp. 5. — c. Melo chofnajim, Berlin 1840. p. XLV. and 35. — d. Bibliotheca española, Madrid 1781. t. 1.

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that both was led to the discovery and cultivation of general knowledge, as we have seen a real and precise knowledge of the earth and its inhabitants grow gradually out of the multiplication of business and the growth of civilisation and liberty.

Thus it does not appear superfluous, to pass in review Jewish works and authors, which have contributed from the earliest times to the present day to enrich and to diffuse geographical knowledge in reference to man and earth, — were it but for the sake of that justice upon which those have claims, who have been forgotten and those who, with greater injustice still, have been misapprehended. At the end of this voyage through all bygone centuries, the space which we have traversed will admit of several views, which are only to be enjoyed at distance, and in which we shall behold the moving spring of the passing spirits.

To the end of the first Century. 1. *The holy scriptures of the hebrews*, which furnish geographical information, reach down to the middle of the third century before the christian era. Being the most ancient sources of israelitic history, they give us an account of the land of Israel, in reference to the geographical extension[a] and to separate parts and cities, among which Jerusalem is noticed most copiously. They further embrace the bordering countries of Egypt, Arabia, Idumaea, Moab, Ammon, Phoenicia, Syria and

a. s. Gen. XV. 18—21. Num. XXXIV. 2—15. Deuter. XXXIV. 1—3. Jos. XII. XIII. XV—XIX. Ezech. XLVII. 15—20. 1 Chron. II. 42 et seq. ibid. IV. V. VII. VIII.

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Mesopotamia, with the inhabitants of which the Jews came in closer contact. The accounts of Javan (Jonia), Assyria, Babylonia, Persia and India, are rarer and more barren. Information of more distant countries and nations reached them by means of their intercourse with the Phoenicians, in the commerce of which they participated occasionally, of which the two most important proofs are, the tenth chapter of Genesis[a] and the 27th. of Ezechiel. In the first, the nations known to the relator, are divided into three classes: Jafetites, Hamites and Semites. The first embrace the northern countries, Cimmerians, Ripaeans, Armenians, Scythes, Medes, Ionians, Hellenists, Tartessians, Cyprians, Rhodians, Tibareneans, Mossians and Tyrrhenians. Hamites are the nations of the south, the inhabitants of Ethiopia and Meroë, the eastern Africans, the western Arabians, the people of Saba, Dedan, Babylonia, Egypt, Lybia, Thebais, Colchis, the Philistines, Cretes, Canaanites or Phoenicians. Besides the Hebrews, the following are consider'd to be Semites, viz. the Elymaeans, Assyrians, Lydians, Aramaeans (Syrians), the people of the countries which reach to the confines of the Arian's (Arrapachitis) and finally, those of south and southeastern Arabia (Hadramaut, Sanaa, Ofir, Mesene, Nedsjd). Ezechiel enumerates the merchandize of about 30 nations, which are met with in the markets of Tyre, 20 of which are also enumerated under the same appellations in the list of nations

a. Comp. Fr. Tuch, Commentar über die Genesis. Halle 1838. p. 196—265.

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in Genesis; the remaining are: the country of Israel, Gebal, Charan (Gen. XI. 31.), Eden, Damask (ibid. XIV. 15.), Kedar (ib. XXV. 13.), Arabia, Kilmad and Persia. Particular mention of Ninive is made in Nahum and Jona.

2. ***The Alexandrian version***, by the manner in which it renders hebrew words, shows occasionally an acquaintance with the names and properties of different countries, e. g. with Egypt,[a] Ammon;[b] it also attempts with varying ability the explanation of geographical names.[c]

3. 4. ***The two books of the Maccabees***, which contribute to the geography of Palestine;

5. ***The book of Wisdom***, which is well versed in the manners of the Egyptians;

6. ***Aristeas***, who communicates topographical notices of Jerusalem; and

7. ***Philo of Alexandria***, with occasional notices of the Jews. All these works belong to the period of about 270 before, to 42 after the vulgar era.

8. ***Josephus, son of Matathia***, of the sacerdotal

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a. Jerem. XLVI. 14, Memphis; Jes. XIX. 11, Tanis; ibid. 6, Papyrus; ibid. 7 and Gen. XLI. 2, Achi; Amos V. 26, Raiphan; Jerem. XLVI. 15. this version reads נס חקף 'Apis flew' instead of נסחף — b. II. Sam. XII. 30. and Jerem. IL. 1. 3. Malkom is render'd 'Deity'; whereas in Amos I. 15. 'their kings.' — c. Lydians and Libyans (Jerem. XLVI. 9. Ezech. XXVII. 10.), Phoenicia, Carthage (Jes. XXIII. 1.), Crete (Ezech. XXV. 16.), Hellas (ib. XXVII. 13.), Miletos (ib. ib. 18.), Rhodians (Gen. X. 4.), Byblos (Ezech. XXVII. 9.), Botrus (Amos IX. 7.)

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race, who was born at Jerusalem Ao. 37, and died in Rome after Ao. 97, by the eminent post which he filled in the Jewish war (Ao. 66.) and by the favor of Titus which he enjoyed, is highly fit to furnish important contributions to the topographical knowledge of Palestine. His four works, the life, the Apology of the Jews against Apion, the archaeology and the history of the Jewish war, are rich storehouses of information; he not only illustrates many passages of the holy scriptures, but also furnishes circumstantial descriptions of Palestine, particularly of Galilee, of the temple, of the siege of Jerusalem, of Jewish sects and customs, of the state of the Jews in different towns and countries and incidentically also mentions numerous other cities and nations. The table of contents of Haverkamp's edition embraces nearly 1100 geographical articles and makes us deplore the loss of the aramaic original, by which we are deprived of a most important work on topography and of the means of comparing modern, middle-age and ancient names. The credibility of Josephus, which has been acknowledged by the most eminent men, has lately found an apologist even in Raumer.[a] With him closes, in this department, the jewish-greek and commences the hebrew-aramaic literature.

2d. Century. 9. *'Akiba Ben Joseph*, one of the most celebrated authorities of the mishnah, who suffer'd violent death in consequence of the terrible insurrection under Hadrian, about Ao. 135, visited many countries, probably

a. Palestine, 2d. ed. p. 427—434.

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in the interest of his suppressed people.[a] We find him in Zephyrion[b] and Mesaca[c] (Cilicia), in Nehardea[d] in Media,[e] Arabia,[f] Italy,[g] Gaul and Africa.[h] In consequence of the destruction of the whole literature of those times, we have to regret that of those travels nothing but scanty notices[i] have come down to us.

10. ***Baraitha's***;[k] thus are called, as is well known, those collections connected with the mishna, which contain the materials of the halacha and hagada. Many of them, besides the Thosephtha, form part of the thalmud, or have been otherwise preserved. The following examples will show how the geographical elements are deposited in these Baraitha's:

1) The twenty four sacerdotal divisions, which are mentioned in the book of Chronicles, had their stations in different towns of Judaea and Galilee. This is proved by a Baraitha, the contents of which have been preserved by an elegy of Kalir,[l] and in which the commentators have ignorantly mistaken the names of towns for words of poetical import.[m]

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a. Comp. Rapaport, on independent Jews, in Biccure haittim, IV. 70—72. — b. זפורין Jerusal. Aboda sara 2, 4. — c. מגיזה, Jerus. Jebamoth 15. 4. s. Rapaport l. l. — d. Mishna Jebamoth, end. — e. Aboda sara 34 a. 39 a. — f. Rosh hashana f. 36 a. — g. Brundusium (Mishna 'Erubin 5, 1.) and Rome (s. Rapaport l. l.) — h. Rosh hashana l. l. — i. Compare to these quotations Tract. Berachoth f. 8 b. on the Medes. — k. comp. Zunz, gottesdienstl. Vorträge 49 etc. 86 etc. — l. איכה ישבה חבצלת השרון for the ninth of Ab, in the roman and german machasor. — m. Probably as early as by R. Elieser B. Nathan (Ao. 1150.) in אבן העזר No 39.

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2) The frontiers of Palestine are described in a Baraitha which contains the names of more than 40 towns. This Baraitha is extant in four various texts,[a] but has not as yet been explained and properly commented upon.[b]
3) R. Gamaliel gives an account of the qualities of the persians. Tract. Berachoth f. 8 b. comp. Midr. Koheleth f. 104 a.
4) An account of the character of 13 different nations and townships is communicated in the name of R. Nathan (Ao. 200.)[d]
5) 'Egypt is 400 parasangs long and as broad: it is the sixtieth part of the earth.'[e]
6) Geographical quotations of the Mechiltha:[f] from Raamses to Succoth the distance is 120 parasangs — Africa is a superior country. — Of the desert of Kub. — From mount Sinai to Rephidim, the distance is 400 parasangs.[g]
7) 'The romans possess only four provinces fit for the residence of the king: Asia, Alexandria, Carthage, Antioch.'[h]

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a. Sifre, division עקב. Jalkut Deuteron. f. 273 d. Tosephtha Shebiith ch. 4. Jerus. Shebiith ch. 6, — b. Lighfoot (centuria chorographica p. 170.) and Reland (Palestina p. 133.) know only the last recension of the text. — d. Midrash Esther f. 119 c. Aboth R. Nathan ch. 27. commencement. Tr. Kiddushin 49 b. — e. Pesachim 94 a. Thaanith 10 a. compare Midrash cant. f. 32 d. — f. Comp. Zunz l. c. p. 47. — g. Mechiltha, division בא 14. 18; ויסע 1; ויבא 1. — h. Sifre, בלק, commencement.

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3d. CENTURY. 11. ***Mishna*** and 12. ***Thosephtha.*** These two works, composed in hebrew, the elements of which reach back to the first century, have acquired their present form in the third,[a] and although devoted only to matters of law and religious customs, they contain many notices in reference to the extent of the holy land,[b] of its separate cantons,[c] its lakes, rivers, hills and valleys,[d] various topographical data and definitions,[e] of the places inhabited by the Jews,[f] particularly Judaea and Galilee,[g] names of towns in general,[h] geographical distribution of produce of the soil and of merchandize,[i] things peculiar to other countries,[k] and customs of the heathens.[l] The division of the mishna entitled Middoth, treats exclusively of the description of the temple of Jerusalem.

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a. s. Zunz, gottesd. Vorträge 45. 46. 50 etc. 86 etc. — b. ***Mishna*** Challa 4, 8. Gittin commencem. ***Thosephtha*** Therumoth 2. Shebiith 4. Challa 2. — c. ***M.*** Shebiith 6, 1. 9, 2. 3. Khethuboth end. ***T.*** Shebiith 7. Baba kamma 8 end. Oholoth 18. — d. ***M.*** Para 8, 10. 11. Rosh hashana 2, 4. ***T.*** Sabbath 13. Baba kamma 8 end. Bekhoroth 7. Rosh hashana 1. Nidda 3. — e. ***M.*** Maaser Sheni 5, 2. 'Erubin 10, 9. Rosh hashana 2, 5. Joma 6, 4. Succa 4, 5. Gittin 4, 7. Arachin 9, 6. Thamid 3, 8. Oholoth 18, 9. ***T.*** 'Erubin 4. 5. 6. Sota 8. Gittin 1. Maccoth 2. — f. ***T.*** Pea 4. Shebiith 4. Sanhedrin 2. — g. ***T.*** Gittin 5. — h. ***M.*** Challa 4, 10. 11. Edujoth 7. Menachoth 10, 2. ***T.*** Kilajim 1, 2. Aboda sara 7. Bekhoroth 7. — i. ***M.*** Khethuboth 5, 8. Baba kamma 10, 9. Menachoth 8, 1. 3. 6. Khelim 2, 2. 4, 3. 5, 10. 13, 7. 15, 1. 16, 1. 17, 5. 8. 23, 2. 26, 1. 29, 1. Thebul jom 4, 6. Machshirin 6. 3. ***T.*** Menachoth 9. — k. ***M.*** Maaseroth 5, 8. Pesachim 3, 1. ***T.*** Maaseroth 3. Sabbath 2. — l. ***T.*** Sabbath 7, 8.

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13. ***Abba B. Aibu,*** better known under the name of ***Rab,*** founder of the academy of Sura (died Ao. 247.) has left us several notes on rivers,[a] on frontiers,[b] on heathen temples,[c] on the palace of Nimrod[d] and on holy days and idols of the Babylonians and Medes.[e]

14. ***Jochanan,*** president of the academy of Tiberias, (died 259), one of the principal authorities in both thalmuds, furnishes frequently geographical notices,[f] principally relating to Palestine.[g]

15. ***Abba B. Barchana,*** a disciple of Jochanan, accomplished travels by sea and land, he visited several places in Palestine and Babylonia, saw and communicated several things, but he has also entertained his readers with fables.[h]

4th. Century. 16. ***The Thalmud of Palestine,*** commonly called of Jerusalem. Although this work did not ex-

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a. Bekhoroth 55 a. b. — b. Menachoth 110 a. — c. Aboda sara 11 b. — d. ibid. 53 b. — e. Jerus. Aboda sara c. 1. §. 2. Tr. Sanhedrin 7 b. — f. s. Jerus. Khethuboth 1, 2. on coins. Tr. Jebamoth 63 b. on the magicians. Sanhedrin 92 b. the plain of Dura. ib. 93 a. Swine of Alexandria. Midr. Thren. f. 51 c. on Damascus. — g. on the mount of the temple: Sebachim 104 b. Menachoth 78 b. On other matters s. Jerus. Khilajim c. 9. end. Jerus. Sota c. 7. §. 5. Tr. Joma 20 b. Sota 10 a. (according to the reading of the 'En Jacob, the editions read R. Chanin). Sanhedrin 108 a. Baba bathra 74 b. Bekhoroth 55 a. Bereshith rabba c. 19. commencement. — h. See Berachot 44 a. 'Erubin 55 b. Rosh hashana 26 b. Ta-'anith 22 b. 25 b. Joma 75 b. Khethuboth 111 b. Baba bathra 73 a to 74 a. (the principal quotation, communicated in Fürst: Perlenschnüre, Leipzig 1836. c. 31 et 32. to which belong the scholia p. 117—119.) Sebachim 113 b.

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ist in its present form prior to the last third of the fourth century,[a] it consists of traditions and fragments of a much earlier date and communicates occasionally very valuable notices of biblical geography,[b] on babylonian towns,[c] on Jewish relations with Syria and Arabia,[d] and principally in reference to Palestine, e. g. its cantonments,[e] its lakes,[f] its fertility,[g] towns and markets,[h] the topography of Galilee[i] and the samaritans.[k] It also mentions occasionally the produce of different countries and towns,[l] heathen gods and holy days,[m] and a great number of names of towns, and thus contains materials, by which our knowledge not only of Palestine may be enriched, but also that of other places, e. g. of Alexandria, Tyrus, Nisibis &c.

5th. CENTURY. 17. ***The babylonian Thalmud*** was collected and written down in the commencement of the sixth century, several parts of it, even later. But we must place it in the epoch named in the margin, because its contents do not reach down beyond the third quarter of the fifth century (475) and because a considerable portion, particularly its geographical notices, belong to a period even prior to this. It contains: illustrations of

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a. See Zunz l. c. 52 et seq. — b. Shebiith 6. Megilla 1, 9. — c. Kiddushin 4, 1. Jebamoth 1, 6. — d. Kilajim 5 end. Khethuboth 10, 3. — e. Shebiith 6, 9. Megilla 1, 1. — f. Khethuboth 12, 3. — g. Pea 7. Sota 1, 8. — h. Tha-'anith 4. Aboda sara 1, 4. — i. Sabbath 6, 2. 'Erubin 5, 1. 7. — k. Pesachim 1. Aboda sara 5, 4. — l. Demai 2. Sabbath 5, 1. Jebamoth 15, 3. Nidda 2 end. — m. Aboda Sara 1, 2. 7. 3, 2. 3. 6.

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geographical data of the holy scriptures,[a] and notices on the state and condition of the Jews of several countries, which are dispersed through the whole work, principally on the colonies of Babylonia[b] and Alexandria.[c] Not only are many babylonian (persian) towns mention'd purposely,[d] but above 200 of these towns occur incidentally and partly as the birth-places of the teachers and their places of abode. Of several geographical points we find the position and distances,[e] sometimes localities are mention'd, and productions[f] and strange customs[g] are described. We also find notices on the Medes,[h] Magicians[i] Palmyrenes,[k] on Rome,[l] on Cappadocia[m] and other nations and countries. The unconnected sentences on the structure of the world, the seventy nations, the fables of the depths of the sea, of the river Sambatjon, of the dark mountains etc. grant us sometimes a view of the state of geography in that period.

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a. e. g. Joma 10 a. Megilla 5 b. Jebamoth 16 b. 17 a. Kiddushin 72 a. Sota 10 a. Baba bathra 91 a. below. — b. Sabbath 145 b. 'Erubin 21 a. Sebachim 113 b. — c. Joma 66 b. Succa 51 b. Jebamoth 80 a. — d. 'Erubin 57 b. Kiddushin 70 b. 71 b. 72 a. b. Jebamoth 17 a. — e. Pesachim 93 b. — f. Berakhoth 44 a. Khethuboth 111 b. 112 a. 'Erubin 19 a. Pesachim 42 b. Baba kamma 55 a. — g. Sabbath 67 a. b. Thaanith 5 b. 'Aboda sara f. 11. 18. and in other places. — h. Rosh hashana 23 a. Baba kamma 117 a. Baba metsia 28 b. Aboda sara 11 b. Kiddushin 72 a. Bekhoroth 60 a. — i. Kiddushin 72 a. Gittin 17 a. — k. Jebamoth 16 a. — l. 'Aboda sara 11 b. Chullin 60 a. Megilla c. I. (in 'En Jacob) in the name of *'Ulla*, a great traveller. — m. See Baba bathra 58 b.

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6th. CENTURY. 18. ***Midrash***, viz. ***Bereshith rabba*** (in Genesin),[a] ***Vajikra rabba*** (in Levit.)[b] and the ***Midrashim*** to the five megilloth,[c] all of which have been collected since that century, contain names of towns, parallels to many of the works already mention'd and original communications and views.[d]

7th. CENTURY. 19. ***The palestine Thargum to the pentateuch***, generally called jerusalemic, or erroneously jonathanic,[e] not only renders single geographical names, like its predecessors Onkelos and the Samaritans, but tries to make itself understood by clearer data and descriptions. Besides the names of several towns in Palestine,[f] Syria,[g] Arabia,[h] Egypt,[i] Armenia,[k] Europe,[l] we must mention 1) the list of the Jafetites and Hamites[m] and 2) the description of the frontiers of Palestine,[n] of which we possess two readings.

20. ***The Baraitha of R. Elieser***[o] contains in the 30th. chapter[p] a sketch of the government and

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a. See Zunz, l. c. p. 174. — b. ibid. 181. — c. ibid. 173. 179. 263—266.— d. Bereschith rabba c. 13. 16. 33. 37. 45. 48. (Saracens, Nubataeans) 52. 58. 75. (germans) 76. 86. Vajikra rabba c. 5. 17. 22. 23. 27. — Midr. Cant. f. 8 d. 9 c. 16 c. 26 c. above. Midr. Thren. f. 58 d. 66 d. 67 a. 69 b. 71 d. et seq. 78 (Customs of Jerusalem). Midr. Koheleth f. 86 c. et 91 c. 88 b. Midr. Esther f. 118 c. above. 120 d. 121 a. (Cuthaeans). — e. See Zunz l. c. 66. et seq. particularly p. 75. notes c. d. f. — f. Numb. 32, 3. 34—38. Deut. 1, 7. 2, 14. 3, 9. 14, 17. 33, 22. 23. — g. Num. 13, 22. — h. Num. 33, 34—37. — i. Exod. 1, 11. 12, 31. 37. — k. Gen. 8, 4. — l. Num. 24, 24. — m. Gen. 10, 2—19. — n. Num. 34, 3—12 et 15. — o. See Zunz l. c. 271—278. — p. ibid. 276, where the original will be found.

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the administration of the Arabs, in which several facts are stated, e. g.: they (the Arabs) survey the territory, they graze their sheep on the cemeteries (of Palestine), they restore ruined cities, they make roads, plant gardens, repair the rents in the walls of the temple and erect a building in the sanctuary. Some other historical data, contained in this passage, are too dark to be fully understood.

8th. CENTURY. 21. In the *great halachoth*, which were founded by the babylonian geonim,[a] we meet with a passage,[b] in which several asiatic nations are mention'd in reference to their claims to the privileges of a Jewish citizenship.

9th. CENTURY. 22. *Isaac*, one of the members of the embassy sent by Charlemagne to the Khalif Harun al Rashid, returned to Aix-la-Chapelle from his journey to Bagdad, in the summer of the year 802, apparently alone, and there presented the account of his travels to the emperor. As France is first mention'd in the decisions of the Geonim[c] about 850, it is not unlikely but that the connexion of its Jews with the babylonian academies owes its origin to this journey.

23. *Seder Olam Sutta* is a short chronicle, composed Ao. 805, on Jewish princes and teachers in Babylonia, in which will be found several geographical notices[d] of importance.

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a. See Zunz, Raschi p. 298. gottesd. Vortr. p. 56. — b. ed. Vened. f. 108 b. Chapter on the law of inheritance. — c. Sha'are Tsedek ed. Salonicki 20 b. No. 12. — d. This is the first witness that in the Thargum 'Obadia אספמיא, Spain,

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24. ***Jacob Aben Sheara,***[a] was sent to India, about the first quarter of this century by an arabian or turkish prince, with orders to buy astronomical books. He visited the countries under the Equator.

25. ***Eldad,***[b] was the name of a man, who made his appearance in the last quarter of this century in Kairowan, Fez and Spain and, pretending to be of the tribe of Dan, entertained his hearers by curious details of the independent arabic Jews, many of which are fabulous. The editor of 'Relation d'Eldad le Danite' (Paris 1838. 8vo.) permitted himself further interpolations of this account, and we must caution against his edition.

10th. CENTURY. 26. ***Sa'adia Gaon*** of Fajoom in Egypt, who died in Sura Ao. 942, a man rich in talents and knowledge, the creator of Jewish theology, of hebrew grammar and exegesis, explains frequently in his arabic version of the biblical books, the names of nations, of countries and of towns. The utility of his work has been defended notwithstanding the attacks of Aben 'Esra,[c] by Parchi,[d] and Munk;[e] several geographical notices occur also in the work 'Emunoth ve-de'oth.[f]

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stood for the hebrew ספרד, but we must read אפמיא (Apamaea); the next witnesses are: R. Nathan, ('Aruch s.v.), Rashi, Aben 'Esra, Abraham Halevi (Dibre malkhe bajith sheni f. 79 a). The chronicle also mentions several names of towns and contains other important information, comp. ***Zunz*** gottesd. Vortr. 135—139.

a. Aben 'Esra in Cod. Rossi 212. — b. See ***Zunz*** l. c. 139 et seq. 290. note b. ***Zedner***, Auswahl, p. 22—27. — c. in Genes. 2, 12. — d. Khafthor va-ferach c. 10. end, c. 11. f. 59 b. — e. Notice sur Saadia p. 53. — f. Preface and chapter 3. (India).

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27. ***Memoirs of the Geonim.*** From the Geonim in Persia emanated decisions, explanations of the halacha and dictionaries,[a] but particularly historical memoirs, [b] which contain many geographical data.

28. ***David Mokamaz***, was well versed in arabic and christian authors, and in his ***Apology of Judaism***, has described all sects known to him.[c] He is probably the source of the notices on Jewish sects, which we meet with in arabian writers.[d]

29. ***Nathan ha-Cohen B. Isaac***, surnamed the babylonian, a contemporary of Ibn-Haukal (950—960.), described as an eye-witness the academies of Sura and Pumbeditha. In this description, of which we only possess fragments,[e] he also mentions several persian and arabian towns.

30. ***Chisdai B. Isaac B. 'Esra, surnamed Ibn-Sprot***, or ***Shefrut*** or ***Bashrut,***[f] bore the title of Nasi, was physician and minister of Abdarahman II. king of Cordova, and collected information on the state of the Jews in the different countries from all embassies, which were sent to the court of his sovereign. About

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a. Names of towns in ***Tsemach***'s dictionary, see Juchasin f. 35 b. 56 b. 86 b. — b. Sherira: Theshuba MS., and in Juchasin f. 117 b. — c. Comp. Choboth Halebaboths preface, R. Jed'aja Bedrashi, Apology. Eshkhol hakhofer MS. Michael. Trigland de Karaeis p. 46. 108. Wolf bibliotheca hebr. IV. 1090. — d. De Sacy, chrestomathie arabe (Paris 1826) I. 307. and from this authority, Jost (Geschichte der Israeliten vol. IX. Index p. 156 et seq.) and Delitzsch (Orient 1840, Lit. Bl. Nr. 46.) — e. Juchasin f. 120—124. — f. See Zedner l. c. 26 et seq. Comp. Wüstenfeld, Geschichte der arab. Aerzte p. 87 No. 152.

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959 he wrote to ***Joseph***, prince of the Khazars, gave him an account of Andalusia aud demanded information on the Jewish-khazarian kingdom. ***Saul*** and ***Joseph***, two men in the suite of the slavonic embassy, took charge of the epistle, which reached its destination through the medium of ***Jacob B. Elieser***,[a] a german Jew, and in return king Joseph's answer shortly afterwards furnished the desired information. Translations and extracts from Chisdai's letter, are given by Buxtorf, Basnage, Baratier, Jost and Zedner; but it is with injustice that some have tried to question its authenticity.[b] Beyond doubt R. Chisdai, in answer to a similar inquiry, also received an historical letter from R. ***Dosa***, the son of Sa'adia Gaon.[c]

31. ***Josippon B. Gorion***, called ***Gorionides***.[d] This is the name assumed by the translator and editor of Josephus, whose book, from this circumstance, is generally called the hebrew Josephus. The work has been translated into latin and jewish-german, and several extracts[e] have also appear'd in german. The author lived in Italy, about the middle or the latter half of the tenth century and his accounts of several na-

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a. See Zedner p. 37. The 'aventures de Jacob de Nemez' are nothing but a complete fiction by the inventive editor of Relation d'Eldad, p. 86. — b. Wolf (l.l.I. 388.) Baratier, Jost, Grässe (Literärgeschichte II. 333.) — c. Abraham B. Daud, sefer hakabbala f. 40 b. — d. Zunz, gottesd. Vorträge p. 146 et seq. The data in Israelit. Annalen 1839., No. 19. p. 150 are erroneous. — e. Zedner p. 16 et seq.

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tions of his time are as important as his orthography of italian towns[a] is remarkable.

32. ***Sherira B. Chanina***, Gaon or principal of the academy of Pumbeditha (967—997), wrote two dissertations on the theory and tradition of the Thalmud, which contain important historical notices, reaching down to his time, and which Ao. 986 he adressed to ***Jacob B. Nissim***, the principal in Kirwan. Of the one, the shorter of these papers, we possess a fragment only;[b] the larger is extant in print and in several ms. copies.[c] This ***Theshuba*** or ***Iggereth***, which has been translated partly into german,[d] contains incidentical notices on babylonian localities.

11th. Century. 33. ***Assaf*** is the author of a work, of which MSS. are preserved in Florence, Paris, Oxford and Munich.[e] Elieser B. Nathan[f] quotes an explanation given in this work, which is in conformity with the decisions of the Geonim[g] and with R. Chananel,[h] and from this we conclude that this author belongs to the tenth or eleventh century. This is probably the work on the elements, on cosmography and on the properties of matters, from which the brief dissertation on the elements and on the quarters of the globe, noticed below[i] has been ex-

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a. Zunz, l. c. p. 151. note a et b. — b. 'Aruch v. אב"י, comp. Rapaport: R. Nathan, note 32. — c. Cod. Rossi 117. No. 2. Cod. Oppenh. 844. Q. — d. Creizenach: Dorshe haddoroth (1840) p. 250 et seq. — e. See Zunz, Analekten No. 7. (Geiger, Zeitschrift IV. 199.) — f. Eben ha-'eser No. 270 end. — g. 'Aruch v. שברתא. — h. Thosefoth Chullin f. 107 b. — i. Wolf bibl. hebr. IV. 789. Cod. Paris.

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tracted by a christian author. In the introduction to the abovemention'd medical book,[a] that science is traced to Sem, the son of Noah, to whom the work was entrusted by an angel and from which source it was communicated gradually to the Indians, Chaldaeans, Egyptians and Macedonians; an elevation of the science to a dogma, similar to that of cosmogony and intercalation in the same period of the geonim. It is stated even, that the Egyptians had studied the 'Midrash' of Kangar B. Ur B. Kesed,[b] the chaldaean. In the days of Aesculapius, a period, which according to the old Jewish chronology, coincides nearly with the time of Jephtha the judge, forty wise men journeyed down the Euphrates, with the view of discovering the tree of life in paradise. But beyond India they were consumed by the violent heath of the 'flaming sword which turned every way' (Gen. III. 24.) and there was an end to medical art, until its restoration by Hippocrates.[c] The name of Assaf, common in the middle-ages in Syria also,[d] proves the author's oriental origin.

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lat. 6556, fol. 7. et seq. Incipit distinctio mundi secundum magistrum Asaph Hebraeum qualiter terra permanet ordinata et qualiter dividitur in tres partes etc.

a. Zeitung des Judenthums 1838. Beibl. 34. pag. 158. No. 231. — b. Ur is evidently invented, after the 'Ur Khasdim' of Genesis. In the book Hajashar f. 22 a. no mention is made of such a son of Kesed. — c. Nachmanides, Sha'ar hagemul, f. 17 b. Mose de Leon in Hamishkal §. 2. end, and therefrom in the second part of Abkath Rokhel, which is entirely copied from Hamishkal, ed. Venet. f. 20 b.; for later quotations see: Zunz l. c. — d. Assemanni biblioth. orient. II. 313.

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Assaf, whose teacher in medicine appears to have been Jochanan of Jericho, adjudges the preference in point of odour, taste and medicinal powers to the wines of Lebanon, Hermon, Kharmel, Jerusalem, Samaria and Damiat,[a] from which it may perhaps be concluded, that he was a native of Palestine.

34. ***Nathan B. Jechiel*** in Rome, whose genealogy has been treated of in the notes to Benjamin,[b] although no personal visitor of Babylonia,[c] has nevertheless noticed the names of towns, in his work 'Aruch, which was finished in the summer of 1101. He has collected the information relating thereto from the Thargum, the Thalmud and the Midrash and communicates incidentally geographical information, principally according to the Geonim; thus e. g. on Italy and Greece,[d] the Albanese,[e] the Alexandrian lighthouse,[f] Palestine,[g] Syria,[h] Arabia,[i] Babylonia,[k] Persia,[l] India[m] etc.

12th. CENTURY. 35. ***Abraham B. Chija,*** the nasi, a celebrated astronomer in Barcellona, in the first 30 years of the 12 th. century,[n] in his book 'Tsurath haarets' or on the figure (and the motion) of the earth, gives a short survey of the countries, divided into seven climates.[o]

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a. David Kimchi in Hosea 14, 8. — b. See above p. 18 to p. 20. — c. an opinion of Juchasin f. 88 a. — d. s. v. קמי, אסלא, אשלקי. — e. לשון. — f. פרן. — g. towns s. v. אליותרופולים, ארך 4, גמזו, טר 3 — rivers s. v. ירדן, פגה, קרמיון — customs v. בשש. — h. דפני, אפמיא, סריא, סרס. — i. דכן, קלב. — k. ברסיף, על. — l. — קרמן, חבר, קווק. — m. הנדוי, הנדיקי. — n. See Zunz, additamenta in catal. codd. Lips. p. 323. and remarks in Geiger's Zeitschrift IV. 387. — o. צורת הארץ ed. Offenbach, chap. 7.

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36. ***Abraham B. Meir Aben 'Esra*** of Spain, a genius who commanded all the knowledge of his time, visited Rome as early as 1140,[a] and died in that city in 1168. In the intervening time he had been in several other italian towns, in Provence, in France, England, Africa,[b] Rhodus, perhaps also in Palestine,[c] and according to some authors even in India.[d] This great traveller, who was well versed in literature, an excellent observer of what passed under his eyes and a profound astronomer, has left us in his theological works, and very likely also in the astronomical Reshith Chokhma,[e] important remarks on Egypt,[f] Gadames,[g] Arabia,[h] Palestine,[i] Persia and India;[k] the tables which he computed in Narbonne and in Lucca,[l] also contain statements of the situation of cities etc. — The commentary on Daniel is particularly rich in geographical information.

37. ***Jehuda B. Elia Hadasi,*** a caraite author, who was versed in greek and arabic and whose (MS.) work Eshkhol Hakhofer was begun in Constantinople in the autumn of 1147, treats therein of all religions he knew,

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a. See the poems before and after the commentary in Koheleth. — b. Parchon, Lexicon ms. preface. — c. comp. Ohel Joseph f. 9 a. 90 b. — d. Abudraham in the Easter Hagada, commencem. — e. Khafthor va-ferach f. 35 a. — f. S. comment. in Genes. 2, 11. Exod. 7, 15. 12, 8. 31. 20, 7. Numb. 13, 18. — g. Exod. 25, 5. — h. Gen. 32, 4. Exod. 16, 13 (Zebid). 23, 19. 28, 36. 29, 2. 30, 23. — i. Exod. 10, 19. — k. Esther 7, 8. 1, 1. Genes. 24, 2. Exod. 8, 22. — l. Ohel Joseph f. 32 b.

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and on the zoology of different countries.[a] He particularly notices physical geography and furnishes sketches of different sects.[b]

38. ***Abraham Halevi B. David*** (***Daoud***) wrote Ao. 1161 several historical works at Toledo, e. g. Sefer hakabbala (on the history of tradition), history of Rome, extract from Josippon (Jewish history). These books contain as well accounts of the Jews of different countries as a great number of names of towns.

39. ***Benjamin B. Jona*** of Tudela, travelled in 1160[c] and the following years from Saragossa by way of Catalonia, the south of France, Italy, Greece, the Archipelago, Rhodus, Cyprus and Cilicia, to Syria, Palestine, the countries of the Khalif and Persia. From thence he returned by the indo-arabic ocean, the towns of the coast of Yemen, Egypt and Sicily, to Castile, where he is said to have died in 1173.[d] If even the object of R. Benjamin's travels were of a mercantile character, it is evident that he also purposed to become acquainted with the state of his brethren in distant countries. This object prompted him to mention the Jewish principals and teachers in every town, which he visited upon his outward journey and which contained a Jewish congregation. Of such men, he names 248 on

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a. comp. נוצר אמונים ch. 96. דוד מרדכי ch. 3. et ch. 11 Wolf IV. 1090. et seq. — b. Jost, Geschichte der Israeliten vol. IX, Index 101. 157. et seq. — c. This date which has been established historically, is first mention'd by Bartolocci and not by Jachia (f. 51.), as stated by Baratier (II. 4.) — d. Juchasin f. 131 a.

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the route from Barcellona to Bagdad; whereas of the more distant countries, of Persia, Chorassan, Khiva, the Indian islands, Chaibar, Yemen, Nubia and Abyssinia, he only mentions four, and even those upon hear-say. Except these he speaks of one man in Ispahan and of two in Egypt. He has visited, beyond doubt, all those towns, in the abovemention'd route, whose Jewish principals he mentions by name; and the history of Jewish names as well as that of Jewish literature agree exactly with Benjamin's account, as has been shown in the notes. As we find also the historical and geographical data to be fully authenticated, and as the fables must be charged, not to his own account, but to that of his time, a sound critique has rejected with justice all those suspicions and attempts at derogation, which have been directed against this, our first traveller. The first authors who mention Benjamin, are: Samuel Zarza[a] (1368), Isaac Arama[b] (1490), Isaac Abravanel[c] (1496), Salomo Aben Virga[d] (1500), Abraham Zacut[e] (1502) and Abraham Parissol[f] (1524). Of the first edition of his itinerary (Const. 1543.) the Heidenheim copy is at present in the library of H. J. Michael in Hamburg. — R. Benjamin's Voyage to the Oasis, with four episodes in J. Ch. de Montbron's 'essais

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a. Mekor chajim f. 123 c. — b. 'Akeda c. 33. f. 92 d. — c. Ezechiel preface and Secharja chap. 12. — d. Shebet Jehuda No. 31. f. 34. is copied from Benjamin. — e. Juchasin f. 71 a. 131 a; that he calls Benjamin 'a great light' is a mistake of Baratier (l. l.) — f. Geography or itinera mundi chap. 3.

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sur la litérature des hébreux' (Paris 1819, 4 vols. 12o.) is an innocent fiction.

40. ***Pethachia*** of Ratisbon, lived in Prague, like his brother R. Isaac halaban B. Jacob,[a] and from that city set out upon his travels, prior to 1187, and probably between 1170 and 1180. He visited Poland, Kieff, little Tartary, the Krimea or Khazaria, the country of the Turkmans, Armenia, Hesna Khaifa, Nisibis, Mosul, Bagdad and Susa. He returned by way of Nehardea, Hella, Mosul, Nisibis, Haran, Edessa, Hamah, Haleb and Damascus and proceeded through Galilee to Jerusalem. He came back to Bohemia by way of Greece and visited Ratisbon, where his countryman R. Jehuda B. Samuel, surnamed the pious, wrote down his notes, though incomplete and without any order. A list of sepulchres in Babylonia had been forgotten in Bohemia by R. Pethachia; but the places, which he had visited and their distances, which he had also noticed, have been omitted by the editor, as useless![b] These notes, which are of much less importance than those of R. Benjamin, have been translated into latin, jewish-german[c] and french.[d]

41. ***Hibetallah ibn Dshemi*** of Fostat, a disciple

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a. Kherem chemed III. 201. Zunz, additamenta l. l. p. 320., where read to cod. 30. No. 1. line 9: 'eum (Jehudam pium) praeceptorem fuisse Isaaci Albi' which is incorrect. — b. ed. Wagenseil p. 185. 193. — c. Wilmersdorf 1736. — d. Tour du monde etc. Paris 1831, 122 pp. in 8vo in the 'Journal asiatique' and also printed separately, with the (interpolated) original and notes.

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of the physician Abunassar ibn el Ainzarbi, who died in 1153, was the physician of Saladin and wrote a work on the condition of Alexandria and its inhabitants.[a] Perhaps this is the R. Nathanel mention'd by R. Benjamin (p. 148.)

42. ***Mose B. Maimon B. Joseph***, known under the name of ***Maimonides***, born at Cordova 30th. March 1135, died in Cairo December 13. 1204, was forced to quit his country in consequence of the religious persecutions of the king of Marocco, who reigned in Andalusia. His father addressed in 1159 from Fez a consolatory epistle to his brethren;[b] the son quitted his — unknown — place of abode in 1165, took ship the 4th. of Ijar, i. e. Sunday, April 18th., and reached Acre Mai 16th., 3 days prior to the feast of pentecost. On the 12th. October of the same year, he began his journey to Jerusalem, which was not without danger, offer'd his prayers on the ruins of the temple, on the 14th., and proceeded the 17th. of the same month, Sunday 9th. Cheshvan 4926, to Hebron, from whence he travelled to Alexandria. He removed to Cairo, however, prior to the summer of 1167.[c] He has preserved important notes on the opinions and customs of the Zabians[d] and has constructed a map of the frontiers of Palestine.[e]

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a. See Wüstenfeld, Geschichte d. arab. Aerzte p. 102. No. 183. comp. Israel. Annalen 1839. p. 181. — b. Cod. Bodlej. Uri. 364. No. 2. — c. Samuel Sekili in Sefer Charedim f. 66 a. Maimonides decisions No. 152. comp. Israelit. Annalen 1840, p. 45. Geiger, Zeitschrift I. 121. — d. More, part 3, chap. 29 et 30. — e. Decisions No. 4.

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In his commentary on the mishna[a] he incidentally mentions the productions of Magreb, Palestine and Egypt.

13 th. Century. 43. A ***R. Hillel*** visited Palestine and composed a description, which was brought to France by a ***Nathan*** or ***Amram*** and of which the following fragment[b] only has been preserved: 'I Hillel have seen the sepulchres of Eldad and Medad and upon their tomb-stones were inscribed the words 'brothers of Moshe' (another recension reads: of Aharon) by the fathers, but not by the mothers side.' The contrary is stated by the palestine thargum (in Numb. 11, 26.) and by Thanchuma; in a later midrash[c] they are said to be descended from Benjamin and by a still later tradition[d] their sepulchre was in Edrei.

44. ***Samuel B. Simson*** visited Palestine in 1210 and composed a list, which is still extant, of the sepulchres of the pious,[e] which he had seen. He was probably the precursor of more than 300 french and english rabbins, who in 1211 emigrated to Jerusalem and of the number of whom 1) the well-known teacher R. ***Jehonathan B. David ha-Cohen*** of Lunel was

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a. See Pea 1, 5. (comp. Dernburg in Geiger's Zeitschrift I. 418) Khelim 15, 1. 16, 5. Makhshirin 6, 3. Para 12, 8. comp. Khilajim 8, 5. (he quotes 'those who speak of the curiosities of the world.') — b. Commentary in Pentateuch, MS. in 4to. in Numb. 11, 26. Da'ath sekenim, Livorno 1783. fol. 67 a. — c. comp. Bechai, comment. in this place and Esfa, in Jalkut Numeri f. 220 d. — d. Jichus p. 71. — e. cod. Rossi 563. No. 18.

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one.[a] It is very likely that upon this occasion the following rabbins also undertook the journey to Palestine. 2) ***Simson B. Abraham*** of Sens, the celebrated author of Thosephoth, commentaries to the mishna and decisions. He settled at Acre, where he died prior to 1235, and was buried at the foot of mount Carmel. His grandson Salomo also lived at Acre about 1260.[b] 3) ***Joseph B. Barukh***, who travelled from France to Jerusalem[c] by way of Egypt and who has become known by decisions and biblical and thalmudic commentaries.[d] He is generally quoted under the appellation 'of Jerusalem'[e] or 'of the holy land.'[f] I consider him to have been the same, who took along with him to England a part of the hebrew translation of the Khusri, which had been made by Jehuda B. Kardinal.[g] 4) ***Meir B. Barukh***, the brother of the above. Both brothers, who were met a few years later, by Charisi, as principals of the new congregation of Jeru-

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a. Shebet Jehuda f. 76 b. — b. See Abraham B. Maimonides מלחמות ה' p. 10. Juchasin fol. 133 a. — Sal. Luria decisions No. 29. — Rapaport note in Kherem chemed IV. 24. — c. Charisi: Thachkhemoni c. 46., Abraham B. Maimon. l. l., Thos. Nedarim f. 3 b. — d. Thos. Shebuoth f. 46 a. Thos. 'Aboda sara f. 49 a.; Hagahoth Maimon. decisions in קנין No. 31; comment. in Pent. MS. in 4to. division פנחס (Num. c. 25. et seq.) — e. Thos. Pesachim 16 a. Thos. Megillah 4 a, 5 a. Thos. Nasir 10 a. 37 b (יוסי for יוסף) מנחת יהודה f. 21. — f. Thos. Kiddushin 34 a. Da'ath sekenim f. 20. Comment. in Pentat. ms. in 4to. division וישב (Genes. c. 37—40.) — g. See cod. Rossi 625, S. D. Luzzato introd. to Khusri, ch. 3. (ed. Prague 1839, 8vo.); Orient 1840, Literat. Bl. p. 588.

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salem, are honorably mention'd by the son of Maimonides. Perhaps this R. Meir, is the R. Meir of England, author of the halachoth on the customs of mourning.

45. ***Jehuda Charisi B. Salomo***, the celebrated translator and imitator of Hariri, undertook a journey to the east prior to 1216,[a] in which year the Jews expected their restoration.[b] He set out from moorish Spain and visited Toledo, Calatajud, Lerida, Barcelona, Narbonne, Beaucaire, Marseilles, where he took ship for Alexandria. From thence he proceeded by Damira, Fostat and Gaza to Jerusalem, where he sojourned during one month of the year 1216 and visited the sepulchres in the vicinity. He travelled on to the Shat-el-arab in Persia, the site of the sepulchres of 'Ezra and J'cheskel, which he celebrated in song, and in this journey visited Ascalon, Acre, Safet, Damaskus, Homs, Hamah, Haleb, Maraba, Serudj, Edessa, Haran, Racca, Arbil, Mossul, Bagdad and Tauk. He returned by way of Greece, but does not appear to have been at Constantinople, which at his time was in possession of the latins; Thebes being the only place mention'd by him.[c] The journey was concluded probably in 1218.[d] Charisi gives an account

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a. Thachkhemoni, Constantinople 1578. 4to. chap. 28: the year 1148 of the destruction, i. e. Ao. 1216. — b. comp. Maimonides in his epistle to Yemen. — c. Thachkhemoni chap. 12. 18. 24. 28. 35. 50 and especially 46. comp. Jost Gesch. d. Israel. VIII. 12 et seq. — d. ib. chap. 5. where he mentions the year 1150 of the destruction (i. e. 1150 + 68 = 1218); see also chap. 50.: זה לי שנת אלף יקר.

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of the places he visited and of their Jewish inhabitants and mentions a great number of persons, whose acquaintance he made and the characters of many of whom he draws with much spirit and wit. At a later period he also translated the philosophical apophthegms (Musarim) and died prior to 1235.[a]

46. ***Jacob*** B. ***Abba Mari*** B. ***Simeon Antoli*** of Provence,[b] lived at Naples in 1231 and has translated Almagest[c] from Averroes edition; a work which treats on the climates and the inhabitants of the earth. The same author also added a 32 d. chapter to Alfargani's work: on the geographical longitude and latitude of different towns.[d]

47. ***Jacob,*** was deputed by R. Jechiel B. Joseph, a principal of an academy in Paris, which consisted of 300 scholars, to collect contributions towards the support of this institution. He visited Acre and the other towns of Palestine and wrote an account[e] and a list of 28 towns containing sepulchres.[f] Little later than 1257[g] ***R. Jechiel*** set out upon a similar journey and

a. See מלחמות ה' p. 10. — b. see my note to Benjamin, above p. 15. No. 29.; Delitzsch in catal. MSS. Lips. p. 306. Geiger, Melo chofnajim p. 54. note 49. — c. Cod. Vatic. 384. Wolf IV. 952. — d. cod. Vatic. 389. No. 2. — e. comp. Tour du monde etc. Paris 1831. p. 57. 96. 110. Relation d'Eldad ib. 1838. p. 9. — f. After an extract from cod. Sorbonne 222 communicated by my learned friend Mr. S. Munk. The author of Juchasin perhaps refers to this list (s. the Cracow ed. f. 68 a.) — g. Khafthor va-ferach c. 6. f. 22 b, where for חנגאל read יחיאל. comp. the formula of the letter of separation in Semag, dated Nov. 7. 1257, at which period R. Jechiel undoubtedly still was in Paris.

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proceeded to Acre[a] by way of Greece.[b] His sepulchre is at Kaifa.[c]

48. ***Mose B. Nachman Girondi,*** better known under the name of ***Nachmanides,*** left his country Catalonia and proceeded to Jerusalem, where he arrived Ellul 9. (Sept. 1.) 1267. In his commentary on the pentateuch, which was completed in 1268, he gives an account of the holy city, where he met only one Jew, a dyer by profession; of the tomb of Rachel; of Kutha and of ancient hebrew coins.[d] He died soon afterwards in Acre and his sepulchre was shown in Kaifa, or according to other accounts near Jerusalem.[e]

49. ***Chajim B. Israel*** in Toledo, of the illustrious family of ***Israeli,*** lived in 1272 and 1277[f] and composed a dissertation on the situation of paradise.[g]

50. ***Gerson B. Salomo*** of Catalonia, a grandson of Nachmanides, lived about 1290 and describes in his natural history 'Sha'ar hashamajim,' the productions and natural phenomina of different countries.

14 th. CENTURY. 51. ***Isaac B. Joseph*** in Toledo, of the abovementionn'd family of Israeli flourish'd

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a. Semak No. 184. — b. Asheri Jebamoth c. 4. No. 6. הורה ה"ר יחיאל ב"ר יוסף מפריז ז"ל מארץ היון 'Thus taught R. Jechiel B. Joseph of Paris o. b. m. during his stay in Greece.' — also Semag, command 63: פסק רבינו שמשון מארץ ישראל 'thus taught R. Simson, during his stay in Palestine.' — c. Jichus p. 47. — d. see commentary pentateuch. in Genesis and in the epilogue. — e. מאירת עינים MS. Jichus p. 47. Conforte in Kore haddoroth f. 19 a. — f. comp. cod. Paris 26. cod. Rossi 782. — g. cod. Rossi 168. Motot in Aben 'Esra 11 a, 12 b.

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1310—1330 and is the author of the well-known astronomical work Jesod 'Olam, in the second division of which (chap. 3.) we find some geographical data. He also added a list of towns to this work, which list however has never been printed.

52. ***Esthori***[a] ***B. Mose ha-Parchi,*** a contemporary of Maundeville, is the first and most important author on the topography of Palestine. His parents were of Florença in Andalusia,[b] from which circumstance he took the family name of Parchi, from Perach, i. e. Flower. Our author was born in Provence and had the advantage of a liberal education; besides the thalmud he studied several sciences, medicine and the arabic language. His father Mose[c] was a well-informed man; his grandfather R. Nathan of Trinquetaille,[d] as well as his great-grandfather R. Meir of Carcassone,[e] (about 1220) were men of acknowledged merit and renowned as authors and teachers. His teacher was R. Elieser B. Joseph of Chinon,[f] the martyr, and he was

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a. אישתורי, so he calls himself in the preface. About the same period a man of the name of Esthor lived near l'Isle, s. cod. Rossi 140 (who writes ***Astor*** by mistake) comp. below p. 261. note d. — b. Khafthor f. 438a. — c. ibid. 58b, 78 b. — d. ibid. 7 b. 446 b. he wrote שערי התפיסה see ספר התרומות, ed. Venet. 45 a. 57 b. 283 b. 307 a. 313 b. comp. Orient 1840, Literaturblatt p. 705 (Quotation from Meiri). — e. Meiri, in Orient l. c. Khafthor 7 b. 13 a. 17 a. 406 a. 421 b. De Lattes in Sha'are Zion, MS. Michael, also in Shalsheleth 54 b. and Asulai, Shem hagedolim II. 65 b. Vaad 34 b, (where the apparent mistake of Khafthor, 7 b, noticed in the Orient is corrected). — f. Khafthor 51 b.

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related to the wellknown author Jacob B. Makhir B. Tibbon[a] of Montpellier. The young *Esthori*[b] left France with many other of his brethren, who were expelled from that country by command of Philip the fair, the 10th. of Ab (friday, July 22.) 1306. He proceeded by way of Perpignan, to Barcellona,[c] where he translated into hebrew[d] a medical work, of Armengab Baldo of Montpellier. At a later period he visited Egypt and was at Cairo in 1313;[e] but removed shortly afterwards to Palestine and settled in Bisan (Scythopolis). Prompted by the desire of acquiring an accurate knowledge of the holy land and of the real position of biblical sites, he spent seven years in exploring the country in all directions, two of which he devoted to Galilee,[f] and he carefully compared his own observations with the statements of the ancient national works. His own work, which in allusion to his name[g] he called Khafthor va-ferach, was finished in 1322,[h] and contains not only numerous collections and remarks in reference to the laws of Palestine, but also a list of places visited by him, enriched with important investigations on frontiers, extent, cantons, situation and distances. He also treats of other geographical matters, of the situation of

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a. ibid. 80 b. 430 a. — b. ibid. 430 a. and preface. — c. comp. Minchath kenaoth p. 179. letter 100, where several exiles bend their steps to Perpignan. — d. s. cod. Rossi 347, where the name is mis-spelt Astodi and de Rossi was not aware that our Parchi was meant. — e. Khafthor 18 b. 20 b. — f. ibid. 2 b. and 66 a. — g. כפתור alluding to איש תור and פרח to פרחי. — h. ibid. c. 51. p. 428 b.

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Jerusalem, of the topography of the temple and of the botany of Palestine.[a] This rare book was printed at Venice about 1549, 182 sheets 4to. (number'd erroneously 448) and is divided into 60 chapters; it was known to few contemporary authors, e. g. David B. Simra,[b] Levi B. Chabib,[c] Menachem Babli,[d] Aben Susan,[e] Asaria de Rossi,[f] Jomtob Heller.[g] In the 17 th. century the book and its author fell into oblivion, the name of the latter was correctly written only by Conforte,[h] but corrupted into Isaac Cohen,[i] by others, even to the present day. In the 18 th. century we see the work appear again in the learned world,[k] although omitted in the Dizionario of de Rossi, and it gains its due share of attention only in the 19 th. century.[l] Parchi, whose further history is unknown, edited also: Bothe hannefesh, a work on the duties, and Shoshanath hamelekh, probably comments on the scientific notices contained in

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a. the latter in chap. 48. 56. 58. — b. Decisions part 1 & 2. No. 73. 229. 563. 633. 659. 665. 691. 731. 796. part 3. No. 531. part 4. No. 30. 219. 296. part 5. No. 2206. 2276. — c. Decisions of R. Mose Trani part 1. No. 21. — d. Jos. Karo decisions No. 10. — e. עיבור שנים f. 5 a. — f. Meor 'Enajim c. 56 end. — g. in Shebiith c. 6, beginning. Challa 4, 10. — h. Kore haddoroth 22 b. — i. this mistake which was first committed by Cat. Lugd. Bat. Ao. 1674. 4to. p. 268. No. 40, was repeated by Bartolocci (III. 910. No. 967.) and Shabthai (v. כפתור), arose from the remark on the title that the book was edited from a MS. of the library of *Isaac Cohen Sholal.* — k. see Jacob Emden decisions No. 30 & 99. comp. Aron Jaroslav Biur numer. c. 34. Asulai Vaad 34 b. &c. — l. by Rapaport, Zunz and others.

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the thalmud.[a] Of other men of the family of ***Parchi*** we know Jomtob Parchi, in Calatajud, 1380;[b] Isaac B. Parchi, about 1530;[c] Joseph B. Elia Parchi 1531;[d] Samuel Parchi 1626;[e] Isaac Parchi 1822,[f] also Isaac Aben Ferach about 1520;[g] Joseph Ferach 1551;[h] they were all inhabitants of the ottoman empire. I have edited an ample specimen of the topographical labours of our Parchi.[i]

53. ***Joseph B. Eleasar*** of Spain, beyond doubt the same who edited astronomical tables[k] at Saragossa in 1335, spent some time in Palestine, Syria and Damascus. In accordance with the wishes of R. David B. Joshua, a descendant of Maimonides and president of those congregations, he wrote in Jerusalem a supercommentary to the commentary in Pentat. of Aben 'Esra, which he entitled Tsofnath Paneach[l] and which has appeared, though incomplete, under the new title of Ohel Joseph. This work contains valuable notices on Pa-

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a. Khafthor 19 b. 409 a. — b. Isaac B. Shesheth decisions No. 331. — c. see cod. Vatic. 177. cod. Rossi 1231. Sal. Alcahes in Asulai Shem hagedolim II. 33 a. Menachem Asaria in חקור דין part 3. c. 20. p. 5. c. 9. (ן' פרחי). In Reshith Chokhma, Amsterd. 215 a, he is called Isaac B. Perachja; he is the author of a טעמי המצות. Bartolocci & Wolff (No. 1262.) both mis-spell בן פרלי — d. Decisions זקן אהרן No. 168. — e. see Chaim Shabthai decisions in Eben haëser f. 207 a. — f. Israelit. Annalen 1840. p. 288. — g. Elia misrachi, decisions No. 2. — h. Joseph B. Leb. decisions part 1. No. 62. — i. see my essay at the end of this volume. — k. cod. Vatic. 387. comp. cod. Rossi. 137. — l. see Melo chofnajim p. 77. note 96.

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lestine and the adjacent countries,[a] and occasionally other geographical data.[b]

54. ***Aben Chisdai*** of Barcellona, brought home from his travels stones from mount Sinai, which showed a thornbush as well in the whole as in fractions.[c] At a later period these stones were shown in Perpignan.[d]

55. ***An anonymous author*** compiled a little work, in 1345,[e] which is an extract from a french[f] cosmography, perhaps of the 'image du monde'[g] of the 13 th. century and which treats in 69 chapters of man, of the world, of the seven liberal arts, of nature and its productions, of the motion of the earth and the planets, of paradise and hell, of India, Europe, Africa and of sundry curiosities, e. g. of the cold elephants who extinguish the fire; of women with bristles in India.[h] In Ireland birds grow upon trees; beyond Britain people have tails, and there are fountains, the waters of which blind per-

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a. Ohel Joseph, Amsterd. fol. 9 a, 26 a, 31 b, 32 b, 90 b, 133 b. — b. Ohel Joseph 51 b. (Nilometer), 16 b. (inundation at Bagdad), 36 a. (title of the regents), 25 b. (Noserings); comp. also 88 a, 109 a, 148 a. — c. Narboni and Shemtob in more nebochim 1, 66. — d. Mekor chajim, ed. Mantua f. 55 d. — e. Division III. chap. 14. where read ק"ה instead ה, in order to find 7150 — 2045 = 5105. — f. The days of the week and several other objects, bear french appellations, e. g. Arches (20 b), Cubèbe (10 b.), eméraude (9 a.), Escosse (11 a.), Georgiens (10 a.), girofle (גילופרא 10 b.), gregeois, the greek fire (14 a.), Grèce (10 a.), grues (אגורים 8 a.), hérison (12 a.), horloge (19 a.), la houppe (12 a.) — g. צל העולם is the hebrew translation of 'image du monde; comp. on the latter: notices et extraits t. 5. — h. Division II. chap. 4. 7. 10.

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jured thieves. In France there is a people with horns; [a] an assertion of the 'image' in reference to single families of that country.[b] Great confusion prevails in the account of the european countries. Compare No. 75, 16 th. century.

56. ***Meir B. Isaac Aldabi*** in Toledo, communicates a list of countries, in the order of climates; see his book 'Shebile Emunah' written in 1360, division 2, chapter 2.

57. ***Anonymous authors.*** A MS. of the Sorbonne contains unedited geographical papers.[c] In the Oppenheim library at Oxford is preserved a compendium in questions and answers on 1) logic, 2) natural philosophy and philosophy, 3) psychology, 4) natural history, 5) the world and the elements, 6) miscellanies. [d]

15 th. CENTURY. 58. ***Portuguese Jews*** were the informants to whom the ***infante*** Don Henry of Portugal applied for intelligence respecting the interior of Africa;[e] the portuguese in general are indebted to the learned Jewish inhabitants of their country, for their first scientific acquirements, particularly of geography.[f]

59. ***An anonymous author*** wrote an essay on the seven climates.[g]

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a. ibid. chap. 15. 20. — b. Notices et extraits l. l. p. 263. — c. Wolf, III. 1176, No. LXIV. b. — d. Catal. Oppenh. ed. 1782, division 2, fol. 18 b.; ed. 1826. Q. 1165. — e. Maltebrun, histoire de la géographie p. 479. — f. Depping, les Juifs du moyen age p. 453. — g. cod. Vatic. 194.

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60. ***An anonymous author*** published a letter of Prestre John, which this person was said to have addressed in 1442 or 1460 to Pope Eugen or the emperor Frederic III.[a] and which contains many fables; [b] it also repeats the old legend,[c] that in Ethiopia are neither liars nor thieves, and states that the king of these states pays a yearly visit to the Jewish king Daniel. We also find in this letter, which was printed at Constantinople 1519. 4to., some mention of Silkworms and of cloth of asbestos.

61. ***Daniel B. Salomo Rofe*** (the physician) wrote down the accounts of a traveller, who visited Candia in 1473;[d] this traveller is perhaps ***Jochanan B. Ephraim,***[e] who touched at that island on his return from the east in 1478, and the difference of 5 years in the second date, is perhaps one of those frequent mistakes, which I have treated of in another place.[f] A ***Mordekhai B. Daniel Rofe*** lived in Candia in 1456,[g] and another author of the same name, ***Daniel B. Salomo Rofe***, near Fano, about 1430, 1448, 1470.[h]

62. ***Isaac Latef B. Meir,*** wrote a letter from Je-

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a. cod. Rossi 166 (No. 4.) and 402 (No. 9.) Shalsheleth f. 99 a. — b. Bartolocci I. 126. — c. Aben'Esra short commentary in Exod. (Prague 1840) p. 71. — d. Cod. Rossi 402. — e. Cod. Vatic. 254. No. 3. — f. Zunz, Jahrzahlen (Israelit. Annalen 1840. pag. 116. 125 et seq.) — g. Bartolocci I. 5. — h. חיבור MS. H. J. Michael. S. D. Luzzato in Kherem chemed III. 174. IV. 132.

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rusalem.[a] ***Meir B. Mose Latef*** lived in 1420[b] and ***Samuel Latef B. Meir*** about 1490—1513.[c]

63. ***Anonymous*** are the authors of two letters on the ten tribes, one of which is dated Jerusalem and the other Frejus.[d]

64. ***Meshullam B. Menachem***, of Volterra in Tuscany, travelled from Naples to Jerusalem and returned to Venice by way of Damascus, which journey is computed at 5703 Miliaria or $1536\frac{3}{4}$[e] geographical miles. The MS. account of this journey, which occupies 20 quarto leaves, is preserved in the Medicean library.[f]

65. ***David Jachia B. Salomo***, known as a grammarian and by his commentary on the Proverbs, has left an account of his journey from Lisbon to Turkey,[g] in a letter which he addressed from Corfu to ***Jesaia Messini B. Joseph.***

66. ***R. 'Obadia*** of Bertinoro (in the papal states) a celebrated commentator of the mishna, removed in 1488 from Italy to Jerusalem and was there elected first Rabbi. In an account of his journey, which he addressed from thence to his father, he relates, that he had proceeded by way of the Archipelago to Alexandria and Cairo, gives an account of the red sea, of the Sinai,

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a. Cod. Rossi 402. — b. Cod. Rossi 99 et 1161. — c. See de Rossi in cod. 798. and Annal. secul. XVI. p. 7. — d. cod. Rossi 402. — e. Ohel Joseph f. 32 b. states $55\frac{2}{3}$ of these miliaria to be equal to one degree of latitude; perhaps we must read $56\frac{2}{3}$, s. Boeckh, Metrologische Untersuchungen p. 251. — f. Biscioni catal. Medic. in fol. p. 128. — g. According to Israelit. Annalen 1840, p. 393. No. 10.

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Gaza, Hebron and of Rachel's sepulchre, and praises the fertility of Palestine. He also mentions the Jews, who came to Jerusalem from remote south-eastern countries.[a] He appears to have died between 1500 and 1510;[b] the common opinion, which supposes his death to have been taken place in 1530,[c] is erroneous.

67. ***Anonymous.*** John the second of Portugal derived accurate information respecting India from two portuguese Jews, who had passed many years of their lives at Ormuz and Calicut.[d]

68. ***R. Joseph,*** a physician, cosmographer and astronomer of Lisbon, recommended (1480) to king John the use of the Astrolabium in navigation; he was one of the commission, who had to try the projects proposed by Columbus.[e]

69. ***Salomo Aben Verga,*** the author and collector of 'Shebet Jehuda,' one of the portuguese emigrants, has left us in his work a considerable number of names of places, as well as descriptions of customs.

16th. Century. 70. ***Abraham Zacut B. Samuel*** of Salamanca, an astronomer, lexicographer and literary

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a. Elia Chajim de Monte Alcino, in Shalsheleth f. 43 a. Asulai (Shem hagedolim II. 64 b.) has seen a copy of this account. — b. He corresponded with R. Joseph Kolon (decisions No. 70.) and had been dead 'not fully 40 years' shortly after 1539. (s. David B. Simra, decisions, part IV, ed. Livorno No. 94. 108.) — c. Kore haddoroth f. 30 b; *contra* Shalsheleth f. 63 b. — d. Barros, in Maltebrun, hist. de la géographie p. 484. — e. W. Irving's life of Columbus. (Paris 1829.) I. 76. 81.

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historian, gives an account, in his work 'Juchasin' of a great many nations and countries and mentions also a considerable number of geographical names. He wrote this work at Tunis in 1502.

71. ***Abraham Farissol B. Mordekhai,*** born at Avignon about 1451, and who in 1468 still lived in that city in the house of Joseph Abraham Farissol,[a] proceeded shortly afterwards to Mantua and from thence to Ferrara, where he filled the office of minister to the synagogue and until 1520[b] employed much of his time as a copyist. MSS. of his handwriting are known, which bear date 1472,[c] 1473,[d] 1478,[e] 1479,[f] 1481,[g] 1482,[h] 1487,[i] 1500,[k] 1515,[l] 1525.[m] In 1474 he was in correspondence, from Ferrara, with several intelligent persons,[n] and in 1485 he was presented, in Florence,[o] to Lorenzo de Medici. In 1500 he wrote notes to the Pentateuch,[p] and shortly afterwards his polemical work 'Magen Abraham' in which he treats of the independent Jews of northern India. In his commentary to Job, which dates prior to 1517,[q] he mentions the new discoveries in the southern regions. Lastly he wrote, in the autumn of 1524, his geography 'itinera

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a. Cod. Rossi 145. — b. cod. Rossi 395. — c. cod. Taurin. 52, comp. Wolf IV. 1472. Cod. H. J. Michael. — d. Catal. Biscioni in fol. p. 155. — e. cod. S. D. Luzzato. — f. cod. Rossi 1129. — g. cod. Kennicot 125. — h. ibid. — i. cod. Rossi 1118. — k. cod. Rossi 201. — l. cod. Rossi 474. — m. cod. Rossi 48. — n. cod. Rossi 145. — o. see itinera mundi c. 21 et 29. — p. entitled פרחי שושנים in cod. Rossi 201. — q. in Job. 26, 10.

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mundi;'[a] this work, which he undertook in conformity with the request of one of his patrons, is founded upon original accounts;[b] and upon those of Bergomas (Supplementum) and Amerigo (Cosmographia). Six editions of it have been published. Incited by the discoveries of the preceding forty years and by the appearance of David of Arabia (s. No. 73, below) the author, with enthusiastic love of his science[c] and of his brethren in faith, treats on these recently discover'd countries and on the abodes of the independent Jews. He has not enriched his work by a map.[d] He mentions Columbus as the discoverer of Hispaniola and places the paradise in the mountains of Nubia.[e] Of the later years of the life of Farissol, we know only that in 1525 he wrote a commentary on Koheleth and that he was alive the 6th. Adar (19. February) 1526.[f] His father Mordekhai was alive in 1482. A man of the name of David B. Mose Farissol lived at Capestan in 1303.[g]

72. An *anonymous author*, who in 1521 and 1522 visited the sepulchres of the pious in Palestine, has left an account of his journey[h] which will be found in a little work, entitled 'Shibche Jerushalaim' (s. below No. 123). Mr. H. J. Michael, to whom I am indebted for

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a. ארחות עולם; a specimen in: (Zedner) Auswahl historischer Stücke, Berlin 1840, 8vo. No. 16. — b. itinera ch. 25. — c. ib. preface. — d. *contra* Ths. Hyde, ib. p. 39. — e. ib. ch. 18 et 30. — f. s. cod. Rossi 48 et 300. — g. Minchath kenaoth, letter 93. — h. פרשת אלה מסעי.

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this information, supposes that the traveller's name was ***Barukh***; perhaps the R. Barukh, who corresponded with R. Tham Aben Jachia.[a]

73. ***David Reubeni,***[b] or more properly: David, son of king Salomo, and brother of Joseph, king of the tribes of Reuben, Gad and the half of Manasseh in the desert of Chabor (Chaibar), travelled from thence to Djidda by way of the desert. Here he crossed the arabian gulf, landed at Suakem in Abyssinia, travelled through deserts, probably with a caravan, until he reached מלאול in the Sabaean (Nubian) empire. He left this country Decemb. 3. 1522, and proceeded to Cairo, which he reached February 16. 1523, by way of Sennaar, the country of the Gallas, crossing mount Takaki,[c] Dongola, Alchabir (?) the desert of ברוק and Girge. At Cairo he became acquainted with ***Isaac,*** [d] one of the elders of the Jews, and with Abraham, the wealthy farmer of the mint. By way of Gaza he travelled on to Hebron and visited the sepulchres of

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a. Decisions No. 44 et seq. 195. — b. ראובני, prince or ambassador of the Reubenites; he is also called שר הצבא, commander of the host. Comp. itinera mundi by Farissol c. 14. Joseph ha-Cohen, chronicles f. 90 b. 91 b. 93 b. 95 b. 96 a. de Rossi, Meor 'enajim add. to ch. 13. Jachia in Shalsheleth f. 45 b. who erroneously states, that David appear'd in 1534, perhaps the date of his death. Bartolocci and Hyde p. 91. have shown little critical tact in their attempt to raise suspicions against the reports on David, comp. below p. 272, note. De Rossi dizion. stor. *s. v.* Malcu, calls David: Lemlein, without any grounds. — c. in the MS. אטאקקי; it is a cataract of the Nile, s. Ritter, Erdkunde, 1st. ed. I. 266. — d. This is the well-known R. Isaac Cohen Sholal. (***H. I. Michael***).

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the fathers, at noon of the 10th. of March. He reached Jerusalem the 12th. of March and descending below the ground visited the site of the temple. During the five weeks of his stay in Jerusalem, he took no nourishment except on the sabbath. He returned to Alexandria by way of Damiat, where he spent the new year (10th. Sept.). In the following year he proceeded to Venice, by way of Candia, and from thence to Rome, *via* Pesaro and Castelnuovo; he had heen above eight months at Rome in October 1524. But according to David's own account, he reached Rome, — perhaps in a second journey, — 15th. Adar rishon 285 (February 8. 1525.) and quitted it a year later, Febr. 28. 1526, with the intention of visiting Portugal. He proceeded to Viterbo, Bolsena, Siena, Pisa, Leghorn, embarked for Cadix, and by way of Tavira, Beja and Evora reached אלמרינו (?) whither king John III. had come from Lisbon. After having had an audience of the king, he journeyed by way of Coimbra and Evora, to Fano, embarked for Almeria, visited several towns in Granada, where the newly converted christians consider'd him as their Messiah, but he was imprisoned in the port of Carthagena by order of the Inquisitor-General of Murcia. It appears however, that he must soon have regained his liberty, as we find him pursue his journey to Italy, visiting Bologna, Ferrara, Mantua and again making some stay at Rome. The account of David's travels,[a] was completed by his steward Salomo B.

a. MS. H. J. Michael, who was kind enough to commu-

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Abraham Cohen, the 24 th. Ab (22. July) 1527, and reaches down to the middle of Ijar, about the 19 th. April[a] of that year. David, who is described as a little, weak, spare man, of the age of forty, spoke arabic and hebrew, pretended to be the envoy of his brother and his seventy counsellors and demanded from Pope Clement VII, arms and support against the arabs, the ennemies of the Jews; he also offer'd the king of Portugal the assistance of his brethren against Soliman II. and urged him to undertake the conquest of Palestine from Soliman II. He pretended a lineal descent from king David, and in the letter to John III inserted his pedigree,[b] up to that biblical person. He also produced letters from his brother, which however met with but little credit.[c] During his travels in mahomedan countries, he concealed even from Jews, the fact of his being one of their brethren; but in Europe he proclaimed, that his brother was the sovereign of 300,000 subjects and that nine tribes and a half resided in four (?) places in Abyssinia. Of these Simeon and Benjamin, who inhabited a part of Nubia between the black

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nicate some extracts therefrom. The Ms. contains 190 leaves in 8vo. and deserves to be printed. In the account David speaks in the first person.

a. It is well known that Rome was taken and ransacked by the germans shortly afterwards, May 6 th. 1527. — b. see my note 9 to the itinerary of R. Benjamin. — c. 'He invented a letter or epistle, which he pretended to be sent by his brother, but this imposture was discover'd and he then forfeited all confidence.' (Joseph ha-Cohen f. 90 b.) Farissol expressed doubts as early as 1524.

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and white Nile, under the government of king Barukh B. Jefeth, were said to be the nearest neighbours of his own country; further that the descendants of Mose lived on the Sambatjon etc. etc. The only conquest, which David made in Portugal, consisted in the adherence of Salomo Molcho, a man who returned to Judaism and proceeded with him to Italy in 1530. Both travelled to Ratisbon in 1532, where they requested an audience of Charles V.; this sovereign however order'd them to be imprison'd and carried them along with him to Italy, whither he proceeded towards the end of that year. Molcho was burned publicly by Charles' command at Mantua and David was sent by way of Bologna to Spain, where he died in prison after enduring a confinement of several years.

74. An *anonymous author* composed in 1537[a] a description of the sepulchres of the pious in 61 places in and 10 out of Palestine. Speaking of Jerusalem, the author also mentions the monuments raised and the buildings constructed at his time by Soliman. See below No. 79.

75. ***Mathathia B. Salomo Delakrat,*** was a polish rabbi,[b] who like his younger contemporary Hendel B. Shemarja[c] (died 1585) showed much interest for the astronomical and geographical sciences. In 1550 he lived in Italy, principally at Bologna[d] and abridged the

a. Jichus p. 13. 75. — b. comp. Zunz, additamenta p. 317. — c. see his commentary to Choboth ha-lebaboth, preface. — d. see the prefaces to Sha'are Orah and Mareh ha-Ofanim; comp. Wolf bibliotheca III. 1018.

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work Tsel ha'olam, a geographical production of the 14th. century.[a] This abridgement enriched by Mathathia's additions[b] appear'd at Amsterdam in 1733.

76. ***Joseph ha-Cohen B. Josua***, the son of portuguese exiles, was born at Avignon Decemb. 20. 1496. and wrote in 1554 a chronicle, which contains a great number of names of towns, particularly italian. The work has been translated into english by Bialloblotzky, London 1835, 2 vols 8vo.

77. ***Mose Basola***, Grand-Rabbi of Ancona (died Ao. 1560.) visited Palestine at an advanced age. The account of his journey was in possession of R. Samuel Marli, where Asaria de Rossi (ch. 56.) saw it.

78. ***Gerson B. Asher Scarmela*** published at Mantua in 1561 a list of the sepulchres of the pious[c] with an account of the places[d] where they exist; the latter occupied a separate leaf.[e] This pamphlet, which has been frequently reprinted,[f] contains also the prayers, which the pious pilgrims used to recite. The visits generally take place between the feasts of easter and pentecost.

79. ***Uri B. Simeon*** of Biel, resident at Safet in Palestine, visited most of the holy sepulchres and copied in 1564, thursday February 24, the corrected ac-

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a. see above p. 264. No. 55. — b. see Melo chofnajim p. 88. note 114. — c. ייחוס הצדיקים 'list of the pious.' — d. אגרת מספרת יחוסתא דצדיקי וכו'. — e. Bartolocci, bibl. rabb. III. 832. — f. Venice 1590 and 1626. 8vo. 1640. 12mo. (by Jechiel Teshuba); Verona 1646. 8vo. Mantua 1676. 4to. (see below No. 109.); comp. Catalogue of Dubno's library No. 177, p. 45.

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count of the year 1537 (mention'd No. 74.), which copy was published afterwards by Hottinger with a latin translation and notes.[a] The figures of the sepulchres are represented on a woodcut belonging to the work. The same Uri also published in 1575, a calendar for forty years, which was translated into latin by Christman. The second[b] edition of Jichus appear'd at Venice, 1599. 12mo.[c]

80. ***Isaak Akrish B. Abraham*** in Constantinople, published a book on the independent Jews, shortly after his return from Egypt, whither he had travelled in 1562. In this small work, which also treats of the ten tribes, the author relates, that Soliman Pacha intended to make war upon the arabian Jews, but that he was dissuaded therefrom by his counsellors; Sinan Pasha had expended too much money in his wars in Yemen and was thus unable to invest the fortress in possession of the Jews. This work, which was reprinted several times,[d] also contains the first edition of the correspondence between Chisdai and the king of the Khazars, mention'd above No. 30.

81. ***Mose B. Barukh Almosnino,*** born at Salonichi in 1523, was sent to Constantinople as the envoy of the Jews of his birthplace, in order to obtain cer-

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a. יחוס האבות 'Jichus ha-aboth,' genealogia patriarcharum etc. seu cippi hebraici by Hottinger, Heidelberg 1659. — b. The first edition is mention'd nowhere, but probably also appear'd at Venice. — c. Heydenheim's Catalogue No. 746. — d. קול מבשר 'the proclaiming voice' Constant. s. a. 8vo.; Cracow s. a. 8vo. Offenbach 1712. 12mo.

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tain privileges; he succeeded in the objects of his mission the 25 Sh'bat (January 25.) 1568, and wrote in spanish a description of his journey and an account of the business by which it was occasion'd.[a] Prior to that period, April 24. 1567, he finish'd in hebrew, a description of Constantinople, in which he treats of the extent, the state, the productions and the customs of that city and of the reign and death of Soliman. This book has been translated into spanish, see No. 94.

82. ***Jonadab.*** Andrew Thévet, a frenchman, who had spent several years in foreign countries, published a cosmography in Paris, Ao. 1575. In this work he gives an account of a Jew of Marocco of the name of ***Jonadab,*** who had been made a slave, possessed an extraordinary memory and understood twenty-eight languages. Among the papers of this Jew was found a description of all the kingdoms of Africa, of their customs, their productions and their atmospheric properties.[b] Every further trace of this work is lost.

83. ***Asaria de Rossi B. Mose*** of Mantua, born about 1514, died Ao. 1577, wrote a work, entitled Meor 'enajim,[c] which is of interest to the student of ancient geography, and in a separate chapter thereof he describes the earthquake which visited Ferrara, Novemb. 18, 1570 and the following days.[d]

84. ***Abraham Halevi B. Isaac Aben Megas*** in

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a. מאמץ כח fol. 5 b. — b. comp. Wolf Bibl. III. 370. — c. Mantua 1574. 4to. — d. an extract therefrom see in: Zedner, Auswahl No. 18.

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Constantinople, a man who was fond of study,[a] accompanied the army of Soliman to Haleb in the quality of physician and communicates valuable information on the customs of the population of Constantinople, on the Curds, the Druses[b] and on independent Jews.[c] The latter are found in Habesh, Yemen and the Wadi el Karnein, two days journey north of Mecca, where they inhabit 1500 houses and call themselves descendants of Manasseh;[d] the Ben el Ashbat reside between Mecca and Bostra.

85. ***Gedalja B. Joseph Jachia.*** His well-known work 'Shalsheleth ha-kabbala', Venice 1587, contains not only many names of towns but also many geographical extracts from other works.

86. ***David Gans B. Salomo,*** born in Westphalia about 1540,[e] pursued the thalmudic studies in Francfort on the Maine and Cracow and settled at Prague about 1564,[f] where he died Ellul 8. (Aug. 25.) 1613.[g] He is the first german Jew of that epoch, who took a lively interest in the study of history, of geography and of astronomy. He corresponded with John Müller and Keppler[h] and enjoyed the personal acquaintance of Tycho de Brahe[i] for whom he render'd into german,

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a. s. כבוד אלהים (Constant. 1585. 4to.) f. 18 b. 119 a. comp. 25 b. 114 a — b. ibid. f. 138 a, 139 a, 106 a. — c. ib. f. 124 a. — d. s. above No. 73. — e. see Tsemach David, division II, Ao. 801. 1540 and 1556. — f. comp. ibid. divis. I. the years 5260 and 5323. — g. According to his epitaph. — h. Nechmad §§. 130, 240; 14, 25, 99, 108, 113, 203, 218, 241. — i. ib. preface f. 9 b. and in many other instances.

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several extracts from a hebrew translation of the tables of Alphonsus, composed in 1260. He is the author of the following works: 1) 'Tsemach David,' Prague 1592, a compendium of history in the form of annals, in the second division of which he renders an account of several countries and towns, particularly of Bohemia and Prague[a] and of the ancient secret criminal courts (Vehmgerichte) of Westphalia.[b] 2) 'Gebuloth haarets' a geography, the second part of which he quotes,[c] and which is probably the greater cosmographical work, which he had promised at an earlier period.[d] This is beyond doubt the work 'Tsurath haarets' entitled cosmography of David Absi (אבזי) which is said to have been printed at Constantinople;[e] Absi is Avsa (אווזא, i. e. Goose, german Gans) an appellation which was sometimes assumed by this author[f] and of which Wolf[g] erroneously created a new 'David Ausa.' 3) 'Nechmad vena'im' Jesnitz 1743,[h] an introduction to mathematical geography, the preface of which has been

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a. In Ao. 2455. — b. in Ao. 801; see (Zedner) Auswahl hist. Stücke p. 126—133. — c. Nechmad §. 71. — d. Tsemach David, div. I, Ao. 3205, div. II. Ao. 1533. — e. Plantavitius bibliotheca rabbinica No. 595. Bartolocci II, p. 20. No. 413, after the Catalogue of Queen Christina of Sweden; Shabthai in Sifthe Jeshenim s. v. A book under the same title by Elia Misrachi, which is quoted by Shabthai, does not exist; de Rossi (Annal. No. 288 ad A. 1540.) was misled by Shabthai. — f. Tsemach David, both prefaces: אווזא הנקרא דוד נאנו — g. IV. 803. — h. Hartmann's Catalogue No. 1722, states 1612, but this is the year of the composition of the work.

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translated into latin by Hebenstreit.[a] Mr. H. J. Michael informs me, that a part of this work consists of the astronomical treatise 'Magen David' of which a MS. copy is preserved in the Hamburg city library[b] and which has also been published in print, Prague 1612. R. David also promised 4) a complete map.[c] His two treatises on arithmetic and on geometry, entitled 'Maor hakaton' and 'Migdal David' are not extant at present; the latter is probably identical with the work 'Prosdor' of which he lost the MS.[d] and the work on the calendar, which he promised,[e] has perhaps never been written.

17 th. CENTURY. 87. ***Abraham B. David de Portaleone***, born in 1542 at Mantua, died in Padua, July 29. 1612, has collected in his work 'Shilte ha-gibborim' Mantua 1612, sundry notices on the productions of several countries. An extract from the work was composed by a german Rabbi shortly afterwards under the title 'Beër ha-golah.'[f]

88. ***Salomo Schlimel B. Chajim*** of Lautenburg, born 1574, arrived at Safet in October 1602, and has left us some statistical accounts of Palestine in his letters, written from thence in 1606 and 1609.[g]

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a. comp. Hirt, orient. Bibliothek VII. 22. — b. MS. of the year 1598, 48 leaves 4to. Comp. preface to Tsemach David. — c. Nechmad §. 69. — d. Comp. Tsemach David preface, with Nechmad §§. 98. 105. 203. 242. 270. — e. Tsemach David div. II. Ao. 1583. — f. Zunz, additamenta, p. 319? 320. — g. see Matsref la-chokhma (Basil. 1629.) f. 39 to 48 a.

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89. ***Jacob 'Usiel,*** D. M. is the author of an heroic poem in spanish, David (Venice 1624. 4to.) The fifth Canto describes the universe and the ninth is devoted to the description of ancient Spain.

90. ***Joseph Salomo B. Elia Delmedigo,*** D. M. born in Candia, June 16, 1591, died in Prague, October 16,[a] 1655, had seen many countries (Egypt, Italy, Poland, Germany, Holland), had read many books and inquired into all branches of knowledge;[b] he has left us however nothing but fine fragments, collected during his travels and dispersed in his writings; these contain among others a list of towns with the indications of their latitudes and longitudes.[c]

91. ***Jacob Tsaddik*** (Justus) ***B. Abraham*** composed in latin a Chorography of Palestine accompanied by a map, with the names of places in hebrew. Both appear'd at Amsterdam 1631; the book is mention'd by Hottinger,[d] Pinedo,[e] Bartolocci,[f] the map by Shabthai.[g]

92. ***Gerson B. Eli'eser,*** published in 1635 at Lublin[h] or Amsterdam,[i] a book of travels in jewish-german. This work, though approved by Joel Sirks,

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a. According to his epitaph, the date is: Sabbath, I. Succoth 416 (תמ"ו). — b. see Geiger's Melo chofnajim, particularly the introduction XXIV. et seq. — c. see חקות שמים p. 137 et seq. — d. hist. oriental. l. 1. c. 8.; cippi pp. 12. 13. 26. 34. 63. 66. — e. Annot. ad Steph. Byzant. ed. 1825. p. 12. — f. Bibl. rabb. III. 863. — g. Sifthe Jeshenim מ', No. 271. — h. Esperança de Israel §. 41. — i. Titlepage of the edition of 1723.

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grand Rabbi of Cracow, who had probably seen only part of the MS., was burned publicly at Warsaw; it has gone however through several later editions.[a] The author mentions the several routes to Jerusalem[b] and also gives an account of his journey by way of Salonichi, Alexandria, Mecca and Djidda, to the countries on the shores of the river Sambatjon and the states of Prester John, where in 1630 he saw several curiosities, e. g. beasts with three eyes and a living man without a head.

93. ***Pedro Texeira***, who had visited India and Persia and died in Verona, wrote a 'Journey to India,[c] and an account of the kings of Persia,[d] from persian sources.

94. ***Jacob B. Chajim Cansino***, of a distinguished family of Oran,[e] died Sept. 19. 1666, translated Almosnino's description of Constantinople (see No. 81.) into spanish. This translation appear'd at Madrid 1638, under the title of 'extremos y grandezas de Constantinopla.'

95. ***Simcha Luzzato B. Isaac***, a learned Rabbi

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a. Fürth 1691. 8vo. Amsterdam 1705. 8vo. 1723 in 4to. (as an appendix, of two sheets, to the 'Maaseh-Buch'). Rubinstein quotes an edition printed at Prague in the 2d. part of Sifthe Jeshenim, p. 13. — b. This occasioned the author to entitle his work גלילות ארץ ישראל 'the cantons of the land of Israel.' — c. Barrios apud Wolf III. 922 and IV. 953. — d. Esperança §. 26. Th. Pinedo ad Steph. Byzant. p. 9. de Boissy, dissertations etc. 1785, II. 59. — e. Wolf III. 525. S. D. Luzzato in Kherem chemed IV. 34. 35.

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of Mantua, died in Venice 1663, speaks in the 18 th. and last chapter[a] of his 'discorso circa il stato de gl'hebrei' (Venice 1638.) of the state and number of the Jews in the different states of his time.

96. ***Menachem Tsion Cohen***, called also '***Emanuel Porto***, of Triest, published a geographical compendium 'breve institutione della geographia,' Padua 1640. 4to. a copy of which is preserved in the Königsberg city library.[b]

97. ***Samuel B. David Jemsel***, a Caraite, undertook in the summer of 1641 a journey from Poland to Palestine. He embarked at Koslof (Eupatoria in the Krimea) visited Constantinople, Gallipoli, Rhodus, Alexandria, Rashit, Boolak and Cairo. His account, of which only a fragment, comprising the first three or four months, has become known,[c] contains some important information.

98. ***Aaron Levi***, called ***Antonio de Montesinos***, of Villaflor, who had spent many years in the dungeons of the inquisition, supposed, in 1642, to have discover'd in South America the descendants of the ten tribes. His account was published in the preface of the work 'esperança de Israel' and has called forth many controversial papers.[d]

99. ***Hirts B. Jacob Elchanan*** of Francfort o. M.

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a. Translated into latin in Wolf, Bibliotheca hebraica IV. 1131—1135. — b. ib. III. 878. — c. See Wolf, III. 1081—1094. — d. Basnage, hist. des Juifs VII. 67 et seq.

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who studied Kabbala in Palestine, gives accounts of Damascus, Sichem and the ruins of Jerusalem.[a]

100. ***Mordekhai B. Jesaia Littes*** describes in jewish-german the routes and the towns passed in the journey to Jerusalem, in 'the Roads to Jerusalem'[b] Amsterdam 1649. 4to.[c]

101. ***Mose B. Israel Nafthali*** of Prague published 'Darkhe Tsion', 'the ways of Tsion' Amsterdam[d] 1650, in jewish-german. The book is divided into three parts and contains the description of the route to Jerusalem, prayers, a description of the manner the study is carried on at Jerusalem and of several customs.[e]

102. ***Menasse B. Israel***, born in Lisbon 1604, died at Middelburgh in Holland 1657, published in 1650 the well-known work 'Esperança de Israel.' He attempted thereby to discover the ten tribes and to console his brethren in Poland, who at that period, had to endure severe persecutions. The book not only contains many statistical accounts, but also numerous extracts from books of travels and other geographical works.

103. ***Jehuda Löb B. Josua,*** secretary to Simon Spira, principal Rabbi of Prague, composed an account of the siege of this city by the Swedes in 1648 and of the sufferings of the Jews upon this occasion. This

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a. עמק המלך Amsterd. 1648. f. 13. 14. — b. תוצאות ארץ ישראל. — c. Opp. 1232. 4to. Catal. Oppenh. MS. s. v. Shabthai and Wolf (I. 794. III. 717.) state it to be in 8vo. — d. The place of publication Francfort o. M. is only mention'd in Opp. 1267. 4to. — e. Catal. Oppenh. MS. s. v. Tychsen's Catalogue (1817) II. 17, No. 36.

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book has been printed several times and bears the title of 'war in peace.'[a]

104. ***Benjamin Musafia B. Immanuel***, died in Holland, 1675, furnishes in his supplement to the 'Aruch (s. No. 34.) Amsterd. 1655, geographical information on Egypt, Arabia,[b] asiatic[c] and european[d] countries. His remarks will be found to be generally correct.

105. ***Meir***, composed a small book on the ten tribes, which is preserved in MS. in the Oppenheim library.[e]

106. The ***anonymous author*** of the work 'Sketches of the earth'[f] describes the continent and the islands, and the particularities of the different countries; this is also preserved in MS. in the same collection.[g]

107. An ***anonymous author*** wrote or translated a work on the figure of the earth, which Wolf obtained from the Uffenbach collection.[h]

108. ***Simchah B. Gerson Cohen***, Rabbi of Belgrade, composed in 1657, a work on the Orthography

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a. מלחמה בשלום, Prague s. a. 8vo. See Dubno's Catalogue page 47. No. 248.; with a latin translation in Wagenseil's exercitationes sex, 4to.; reprinted in Biccure ha-'ithim IV. (1823.) 103 et seq. compare also Zedner, Auswahl No. 21. — b. Compare the articles: נבט, סרק, גפתית. — c. קלקי, דפני, סווסטי, פנקיה, מספוטמיא, גסטר, חבר, חדיב, פונדק, פנטום. — d. ibid. אספמיא, ברדיניקום, קלניא, פרנדסין, סרן, סמרטין, מקדון, גרמן, גרממיא. — e. see Wolf III. 666. Cat. Opp. ed. 1782. II. 13a; ed. 1826. 4to. 1706, although nothing thereof is mention'd. — f. צלמות הארץ. — g. Catal. Oppenh. MS.; Catal. ed. 1782, II. 19.; ed. 1826. 1166. 4to. — h. תמונת הכדור, see Wolf, IV. 1066. —

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of Jewish proper names,[a] two leaves of which are devoted to names of towns.[b]

109. ***Joseph Shalit Riqueti B. Eli'eser***, lived at Safet and at a later period removed to Verona, where in 1646, he published Gerson's book 'Jichus' (s. No. 78.) and in 1647 a collection of tales. He also published at Amsterdam a map of Palestine,[c] which was intended perhaps, as an illustration of an edition of the Hagada.[d] In the spring of 1676 he prepared in Mantua a second edition of Jichus with additions, in which the sepulchres of 59 places are enumerated. Of mount Hor he reports, that Arabs had lately shown the site on the mount, where Aaron was buried, and inscriptions were found in a cave, which was within another cave.

110. ***Thomas de Pinedo***, educated at Madrid by learned Jesuits, at a later period publicly professed Judaism in Holland. He completed Sept. 29. 1676, his valuable notes to Stephanus Byzantinus which were published Amsterd. 1678. fol. and Leipzig 1825. 4to.

111. ***Salomo B. David de Oliveyra***, Grand Rabbi of the portuguese congregation of Amsterdam, died 1708, composed prior to 1680, a spanish work in seven divisions, the first of which contains a table of the geographical position of all inhabited countries.[e]

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a. ספר שמות Venice, s. a. — b. ib. 112—114. de Rossi diz. II. 129. expresses himself incorrectly, by calling the geographical part equal to the other contents. — c. חכמת המשכן preface; with respect to this work of Riqueti, Wolf III. 1186. forgot what he had stated ib. 425. — d. הגדה, Amsterdam 1712, has a similar map, s. Wolf II. 1286. Opp. 1125 Fol. — e. s. Shabthai s. v. תקופת השנה.

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112. ***Daniel Levi de Barrios***, furnishes important accounts of the spanish Jews settled in Holland, in his miscellaneous works,[a] Amsterdam 1683.

113. ***Shabthai Bas B. Joseph*** of Kalish, born 1641, died 21. July 1718, at Krotoshin, the well-known author of the bibliographical work 'Sifthe Jeshenim,' has edited a jewish-german hand book for merchants etc., the 3d. division of which contains post-routes and tables of distances.[b]

114. ***Mose Pereyra de Paiva***, had visited Malabar and Cochin for commercial purposes and caused the publication of 'Noticias de Judios de Cochin' Amsterdam 1687. 4to. This account of the Jews was translated into jewish-german and was published under the title of 'Zeitung aus Indien' Prague 1688 and Amsterdam 1713. 8vo.[c]

115. ***Simcha B. Pesach*** of Brzesc, described in jewish-german the pilgrimage to the sepulchres of Palestine.[d]

116. An ***anonymous author*** collected accounts of the independent Jews, in jewish-german.[e]

18 th. CENTURY. 117. ***Meir B. Loeb Neumark***, whose father, a native of Hanau, was settled at Berlin

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a. s. Wolf, III. 213. — b מסכת דרך ארץ, Amsterd. 1680, 16mo. comp. Wolf, III. 1006. Cat. Oppenh. p. 682. No. 165. — c. Wolf, IV. 925. Cat. Opp. 903. 8vo. where קושין (Coshin) is erroneously render'd Aethiopia (כוש). — d. סבוב קברי הצדיקים Francf. o. M. s. a. 8vo. s. Wolf, II. 1254. 1377. Opp. 709. 8vo. also Cat. Opp. MS. — e. מעשה ממלכי ישראל, Amsterdam s. a. 8vo. s. Eisenmenger entd. Judenth. II. 536.; Opp. 885. 8vo. also Cat. Opp. MS.

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and known as a gramarian, translated in 1703, a copious cosmography,[a] and a mathematical geography,[b] the former of which he dedicated to the well-known R. David Oppenheimer. Both these works are preserved in the Oppenheim library at Oxford.

118. ***Tobia Cohen B. Mose***, born at Metz 1652, and the son of the Rabbi of that place, proceeded in 1659, after the death of his father, first to Poland, the country of the latter, and then to Francfort on the Oder, where the great Elector of Brandenburg, not only granted him and his friend Gabriel the permission of frequenting the university, but also supported him by a yearly stipend. He pursued and completed his medical studies at Padua, whither he had gone by way of Inspruck, and at last settled at Constantinople.[c] In this city he gained great renown and many patrons, e. g. Prince Maurocordato; the Vezier Rami Pacha and even the Tartar Chan Selim Dsherai became indebted to his art. After a visit to Brusa, Jambol and several other cities,[d] he died, very aged, at Jerusalem in 1729. In the first division of his encyclopaedic work 'the work of Tobia,'[e] the third chapter is devoted to a

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a. תכן הכדור, Cat. Opp. ed. 1782. II. 23b.; ed. 1826. 1144 in fol. Wolf (III. 325.) erroneously considers the father to be the author. — b. תכונת ההויה, s. Cat. Opp. MS Opp. 1677. 4to. does not mention the translator. — c. s. the recommandations and the preface of his book Ma'ase Tobia. — d. ibid. f. 88a. 63d. 57c. 58b. 62b. 58b. 100c. comp. f. 82c, that he was not physician to the Sultan. — e. מעשה טוביה, Venice 1707, Jesnitz 1721, with his portrait.

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description of the seven climates, accounts of the ten tribes in Yemen and India, of America, of the Chinese wall, of some recently discover'd officinal plants, of Chocolate, Coffee and Tobacco. Further geographical accounts will be found in the chapters on earth and on water. He describes the cure of the *plica polonica* and several other local diseases. He saw at Danzig a small pair of twins, which were grown together, and in the inhabitants of the northern climes he believes to have discover'd the Pygmies.

119. ***Mose B. Abraham*** collected from different works, particularly from Farissol and Gedalja Jachia, whatever had been stated on the seat of the ten tribes; his little work, in jewish-german, appear'd at Halle 1712. [a]

120. ***Jehuda Gedalja*** of Semiecz in Lithuania, who had visited Palestine, published at Berlin 1716, an account of the history and the ruins of Jerusalem, with a list of the sepulchres and some elegies. [b]

121. ***Abraham B. Jacob,*** who had been a christian preacher, published a map of Palestine, with the names of towns in hebrew, Amsterdam 1720. [c]

122. ***Raphael Levi,*** an able mathematician and astronomer, who lived at Hanover (died May 17. 1779.) published a table of the geographical position of 34

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a. תלאות משה, also called 'Weltbeschreibung'; s. Schudt, jüd. Merkwürdigkeiten I. 517. Wolf, II. 1451. Opp. 916. 8vo. Catal. Opp. ms. — b. שאלו שלום ירושלים, s. Wolf, IV. 801. Opp. 907. 8vo. Cat. Oppenh. ms. — c. Wolf, III. 39.

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towns, in an astronomical work, which was composed in 1734.[a]

123. An *anonymous author* published a new edition of the Jichus by Gerson, under the title of 'Remembrance of Jerusalem',[b] Constantinople 1743. In this edition are enumerated the remarkable sepulchres of Damascus and 62 other towns of Palestine, and also those of modern rabbies, but the latter not from personal inspection. A reprint of this book was edited, Amsterd. 1759, by *Jacob Babani* of Safet, and a third edition, under the title of 'the renown of Jerusalem',[c] by Jacob Barukh B. Mose Chajim, appear'd at Leghorn 1785. Mr. H. J. Michael informs me, that it was again reprinted, Wilna 1817, with the omission of several pages towards the end.

124. *Salomo B. Mose*, successively Grand-Rabbi of Chelm, Lemberg and Saloniki, where he died in 1777, was a patron of science. He wrote a work[d] on the cantons of the holy land, which does not appear to have been published.

125. *Joseph Sofer*, who had visited Safet, describes his journey and the sufferings of the Jews of Palestine in a work,[e] which appear'd in hebrew, Francfort on the Oder 1765, and in jewish-german, ibid. 1767.

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a. תכונת השמים Amsterd. 1756. 4to. §. 51 and f. 37 b. — b. זכרון ירושלים, 8vo. — c. שבחי ירושלים, 8vo. comp. Dubno's Catal. No. 402. p. 51. — d. חוג הארץ, s. Asulai, Vaad f. 18 b. No. 13.— e. עדות ביוסף and אגרת יוסף, see Tychsen's Catal. p. 181.

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126. ***Chajim Feibel B. Israel*** of Tarnigrod, is the author of a work on the division of the land of Israel,[a] Zolkiev 1772.

127. ***Elia Wilna B. Salman,*** a celebrated Rabbi in Wilna, born April 2. 1722, died October 10. 1797. of whose numerous works 23 have been printed,[b] has published short notes on the geography of Palestine, accompanied by a map, in a paper on the topographical accounts of Joshua[c] and in a commentary on the mishnical order Sera'im.[d]

128. ***Barukh B. Jacob*** of Sklov, lived some time at Berlin, studied mathematics, astronomy and medicine and died in Sluck. He edited the work 'Jesod 'Olam' and has promised geographical tables of longitude and latitude.[e]

129. ***Salomo Dubno B. Joel,*** died in Amsterdam 1814, shows by his commentary on Genesis,[f] undertaken by the express desire of Mendelssohn, an intimate knowledge of geography. The copious treatise on this subject, which he had promised,[g] was not found among his papers.

130. ***Nafthali Hirts (Hartwig) Wessely,*** born in

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a. קצוי ארץ, s. Sifthe Jeshenim part II. — b. H. J. Michael. — c. צורת הארץ, Sklov 1802. 4to. reprinted in the hebrew bible, Wilna 1820. — d. Lemberg 1799. fol. comp. J. Kaplan in Erets k'dumim I. XXXI—XXXVII. — e. יסוד עולם edit. Berlin 1777, chap. 5, 12. fol. 92 a. — f. ביאור על ספר בראשית (Berlin 1783.) comp. in Gen. X. XV, 18. XXV, 18. XXXII, 3. XXXV, 19. XXXVI, 20. XLIX, 13. — g. קונטרים אחרון.

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Hamburg 1725 and died in that city March 23. 1805, a celebrated poet and author of ethical works, as early as 1782[a] directed public attention to the necessity of geographical knowledge and of its being made a branch of school-instruction. His hebrew translation of the account of the Jews in Cochin[b] is enriched by additions and appear'd at Berlin in 1790.[c]

131. ***Barukh Loeb Lindau*** in Berlin, born 1757, published in 1789, an elementary work[d] in hebrew, the eleventh chapter of which is devoted to geography.

132. ***Samuel Romaneli*** of Mantua, who lived in Berlin 1791 and 1792, edited in the latter year an account of his journey from Gibraltar to Algiers and Marocco,[e] which is rich in striking and lively descriptions.

133. ***Pinchas Elia B. Meir Wilna***, a Pole, is the author of an hebrew encyclopaedia, the scientific parts of which are almost all extracted from christian authors. He began this work at Betshatsh, prior to 1790, continued it in Lemberg, Hague, London, Presburg (1794) and Ofen and had it published 1797 in Brunn.[f] Besides several incidental notices,[g] the ninth section of the first division is wholly devoted to geography.

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a. דברי שלום ואמת Berlin 1782, Supplement 1785. — b. s. Eichhorn oriental. Bibliothek 1789. II. 567. comp. Sulamith V, 417. Jost's Geschichte der Israeliten VIII. 157, Append. 480. — c. מגיד חדשות, also in מאסף 1790, pp. 130—160, 257—276. and reprinted at Prague. — d. ראשית למודים Berlin and Dessau. — e. משא בערב, 2d. ed. Vienna 1834. comp. Jost, l.c. VIII. 45. Zedner, l. l. No. 29. — f. ספר הברית 2 parts, 4to. first part ib. 1801. 8vo. — g. s. division 8. c. 6. f 41 b. 42 a (the seas) and div. 13 and 14 (plants and animals).

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134. ***Isaac B. Salomo***, a Caraite of Djufut Kalé in the Crimea, edited in 1800 a list of 60 towns, with indications of their geographical position.[a]

19th. CENTURY. 135. ***Mikhael Friedlaender***, D. M., born at Königsberg in 1769, died in Paris, April 1824. His 'Entwurf einer Geschichte der Armen', Leipzig 1804, contains copious accounts of the asylums of the poor and the hospitals of Paris. Among his papers was found a history of the german prisons and institutions to aid the poor.

136. ***Joseph Wolf***, teacher and minister in Dessau, where he died March 17. 1826, is the principal editor of the edition of the twelve smaller prophets,[b] which appear'd in 1805. In the introduction[c] to this work a large portion of the geographical names, which occur therein, are brought into alphabetical order and illustrated. He also founded, in July 1806, 'Sulamith' a german periodical, a leading feature of which are the reports on Jews of different states and towns.

137. ***Moritz Loewe Schlesinger*** wrote: 'Das Wissenswürdigste der Erdkunde' Breslau 1809. 8vo.

138. ***Jon. Dav. Meyer***, born at Arnheim, Sept. 15. 1780, died Decemb. 6. 1834, held several offices of importance in Holland and was a fellow of many learned societies in and out of his own country. His

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a. in אור הלבנה, s. ***Jost*** in Israelit. Annalen 1839. p. 138 et seq. — b. מנחה טהורה, Dessau, 2 vols. 8vo. Dr. G. Salomon was also one of the contributors. — c. סלת למנחה; see the third division, contains about 82 names.

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letter on the Jews, who hold offices in Holland, was inserted in the Globe of April 15. 1830 and his 'esprit, origine et progrès des institutions judiciaires,' Hague 1818—19. 8vo. contains many statistical notices of importance to the student of geography.

139. ***Salomo Loewisohn*** of Moor in Hungary, who died at Vienna in 1821, at the early age of five and twenty, and who had written a work on hebrew poetry, composed in 1817[a] the first[b] biblical geography in hebrew; it was printed in 1819[c] and two years later was translated into german.[d]

140. ***Mendel B. Chajim Jehuda Breslauer*** is the author of a geography of Palestine,[e] with an introduction in hebrew and german (with hebrew letters). In the hebrew list of towns, several places have been enumerated upon the authority of the Thalmud and the Midrash.[f]

141. ***Marcus Jost***, D. P., born at Bernburg Febr. 16. 1793, in Berlin from 1814 to 1835, and since that time at Francfort o. M., the author of the 'Geschichte der Israeliten';[g] this work not only contains incidental notices, statistical and geographical, but also a descrip-

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a. See the preface, dated Cheshvan 578 = Novemb. 1817. — b. Notwithstanding which, he only is omitted in the literary sketch Orient 1840, Literatur-Blatt No. 40. — c. מחקרי ארץ, Vienna 1819. 8vo. — d. Biblische Geographie mit einer Karte des Schauplatzes der Bibel, Wien 1821. 8vo. — e. גלילות ארץ ישראל, Breslau 1819. 8vo. with two maps. — f. Most of these are enumerated in Orient, l. c. — g. Geschichte der Israeliten, Berlin 1820—28. 9 vols. 8vo.

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tion of Palestine,[a] accounts of travels,[b] tables of towns[c] with illustrations[d] and notices of geographical works.[e]

142. ***Mordekhai Aaron Ginzburg*** of Polangen, published 1821—23 the discovery of America; in 1835 a universal[f] history for the young. Both works are translated from the german into hebrew and have been printed at Wilna.[g] His epistle to the editor of Erets k'dumim (our No. 158.) treats on the importance of geography.

143. ***Simson Bloch ha-Levi B. Isaak*** of Brody, established at Zolkiev, a disciple of Nachman Krochmal,[h] began a geographical compendium as early as 1820 and the two first parts of his work, comprising Asia and Africa, appear'd in 1822 and 1828.[i] This is the first systematical geography, written by a modern Jew. The work treats on customs, antiquities, natural history, historical notices of Jews,[k] illustration of thalmudic data, and the second part contains also valuable contributions to literary history; Palestine proper occupies only 6 leaves of the work and it is to be re-

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a. I. 1—38. comp. 204—207 (Herod), II. 170—216 (Jerusalem), III. 257 (Aelia), Appendix p. 6. — b. s. VI. 47. 48. VIII. 10. 12—16. — c. VI. 112. 231. 232. VIII. 23. 24. Append. 184. 192. 246. 259. 376. 428. 429. 452. 453. s.also IX. Index; comp. our No. 134. — d. Appendix 184. 373 et seq. Index 118. — e. VI. 116. Appendix 365 et seq. 480 et seq. — f. תולדות בני אדם, one volume only has appear'd. — g. see Israelitische Annalen 1840. p. 81. — h. see the dedication of vol. I. — i. שבילי עולם, Zolkiev, 8vo. (both vols. contain 293 leaves). — k. s. I. 3. 20 a. 62 b. II. 7. 8 a. (Caraïtes) 28. 38. 69 seq.

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gretted, that the author did not know Ritter's works. Bloch has also promised an essay on the Jews of Aethiopia.[a]

144. ***Leopold Zunz***, D. P., born at Detmold, Aug. 10. 1794, has directed the attention of the public towards jewish-geographical literature as early as 1818,[b] and published: 1) illustrations of the names of spanish and provençal towns,[c] 2) illustrations of sundry, principally french names of towns,[d] 3) Outlines of Jewish statistics,[e] 4) the article 'Jews' in Brockhaus 'Conversations Lexicon';[f] 5) Notes to the itinerary of R. Benjamin of Tudela; 6) Essay on the geographical literature of the Jews, 7) On the geography of Palestine, from hebrew sources.

145. ***Salomo Jehuda Cohen Rapaport***, born at Lemberg July 15. 1786, fills at present the office of Grand Rabbi of Prague, and is celebrated as a man of letters and a critic; he published papers 1) on the independent Jews of Arabia;[g] 2) on sundry names of towns

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a. נדחי ישראל 'the disowned of Israel', s. II. 7 a. — b. s. 'Etwas über die rabbinische Literatur p. 17 seq. — c. Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums (1822), 114—176, from which the notes in Orient 1840, Literaturblatt No. 3. p. 35 and 36 have been copied. — d. in several works, s. Rashi 284, 285, 345; gottesdienstl. Vorträge, preface p. XV, p. 364. Analekten (in Geiger's Zeitschrift) No. 2. p. 310. No. 6. p. 190.; Additamenta in cat. codd. Lips. 314. 315. 316. 322. 324. 326. comp. the notices in Delitzsch Jesurun p. 255. 258, and in Israelit. Annalen 1839, p. 341. Notes to Benjamin No. 373. 391. — e. Zeitschrift 523—532. — f. eighth edition (1836) t. 5. p. 800—807. — g. Bikhure ha'ithim IV. (1823) 51—77, transl. into german, Orient 1840. No. 25.

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mention'd in 'Aruch;[a] 3) a geographical and historical investigation;[b] 4) four geographical articles on the galilean towns of Safet, 'Akhbara, Meron, Giskhala[c] extracted from his MS. Encyclopaedia 'Erekh Millim.' 5) On לבדקם (the Lybianass).[d] 6) Notes to R. Benjamin's itinerary.[e] 7) On the ten tribes, the Caraites and sundry geographical notes on both Thalmuds.[f]

146. ***Isaac Samuel Reggio***, born Aug. 15. 1784, resident at Görz, has published three essays on Sambatjon, Ofir and Tiberias;[g] in his writings he illustrates biblical topography[h] and treats on geography in general.[i]

147. ***Joseph Schwarz***, published a map of Palestine, Würzburg 1827, and ten years later an account of Jerusalem, which he inhabits since 1833.[k]

148. ***Moses Lemans***, born Novbr. 5. 1785, died October 17. 1832 at Amsterdam, translated and revised in 1829, J. D. Mayer's work on maps and charts.[l]

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a. Life of R. Nathan p. 71. 72. 74—79. — b. additions to life of R. Chananel, Note 17. — c. In a letter, introductory of the work קורא הדורות, Warsaw 1838. comp. notes to Benjamin No. 200 and 201. — d. Geiger's Zeitschrift II. 53 seq. — e. see above p. 24, 30 etc. — f. Kherem chemed V. No. 17; ib. 200 a more extended essay, in english, is promised for the present work. — g. s. Bikhure ha'ithim VIII. 49—55. X. 4—7. and XI. 18—21. — h. in his commentary to the Pentateuch, Vienna 1821. — i. התורה והפילוסופיאה Vienna 1827, p. 62—64. — k. s. Geiger's Zeitschrift t. 4. p. 156, 303. transl. in Archives israélites 1840, p. 193 seq. 379 seq. 422 seq. and in Orient 1840 No. 3 and 4. comp. Hallische Lit. Zeitung 1839 No. 162 p. 76. — l. s. Israelit. Annalen, 1840 p. 140.

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149. ***Beer Schlesinger*** in Kollin has published contributions to biblical geography. [a]

150. ***Louis Marcus*** of Dessau, at present in Paris, has edited, besides remarks to Pancoucke's edition of Pliny,[b] 1) a history of the foreign colonies in Abyssinia and Sennaar[c] (as yet incomplete); the prospectus,[d] specimens and reports[e] of this work appear'd in 1830 and two papers, on the gold trade of the ancients with Sudan[f] and on the emigration of the Jews in Abyssinia[g] were published in the Journal asiatique 1829. — 2) History of the Vandals,[h] completed in 1836. This author has also promised a history of the Barbary states and the Alani;[i] all the above works are in french.

151. ***Eljakim Carmoly*** of Colmar, resident at Brussels, published: 1) Pethachia's travels, in hebrew and french with notes and an index, Paris 1821.[k] 2) El-

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a. Bikhure ha'ithim X. 52—54. XI. 121—123. — b. Pline le naturaliste, Paris 1829, July. — c Histoire des colonies étrangères, qui se sont fixées dans l'Abyssinie etc. suivie de dissertations et de plusieurs traités, to form 3 vols 8vo. and an Atlas. — d. Histoire etc. Paris 1830. 8 pp. 8vo. — e. Bulletin de la société de Géographie, 1830, Jan. and Févr. Nouveau journal asiatique, 1830, Sept. — f. Essai sur le commerce que les anciens faisaient de l'or avec le Soudan. — g. Notice sur l'époque de l'établissement des Juifs dans l'Abyssinie et dans le Sennaar, printed also separately. — h. Histoire des Wandales, Paris 1836, 2d. ed. ibid. 1838. comp. Journal des savans 1836, Sept. — i. Histoire des états Barbaresques etc. suivie d'une hist. des Alains in 2 vols. (according to the 'Avis' on the hist. des Wandales). — k. Tour du monde de Pethachia, see No. 40. of this essay.

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dad the Danite, with the hebrew text, Paris 1838.[a] The 'discours préliminaire' treats on the services render'd to geography by Jews and enumerates about twenty authors.[b] The editions of both these works are interpolated and are not founded upon MSS. as the author would make us believe.[c] Carmoly has written a 'Notice sur Benjamin de Tudèle'[d] and not only promised an edition of this itinerary,[e] but also a chaldaic journey in central Asia,[f] and a collection of hebrew

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a. Relation d'Eldad le Danite; the hebrew part, dated 1828, contains: printer's preface, the hebrew text of Eldad and a chaldaic letter, pretended to have been addressed to Saul of Bagdad; compare No. 25. of this essay. — b. the first 4 pages comprise the ancients, down to the 9th. century; 8 pages to 1500, 3 pages for the last 300 years. — c. The pretended MS. of Pethachia is subscribed by Meir Carmoly, Ao. 1650. (Tour du monde p. 6.112.); but this man could not have existed at the time, as Eljakim was the first, who metamorphosed his family name of Sulz, into Carmoly (anagrammatic of Colmari). Other falsehoods of this grandfather Meir are published in Israelit. Annalen 1839 p. 94. and Orient 1840 No. 13. The pretended MS. of Eldad, was forwarded to the editor by David Sabach of Marocco (Relation p. 19.); this is the same Sabach, who addressed several questions to Carmoly, respecting 'Meir Rothenburg' (Israel. Annalen l. l. 348.), but as this latter article is a plagiarism, Sabach also dwindles into nothing. — d. Brussels 1837. — e. Relation p. 57, Isr. Annal. 154; the pretended MS. is stated at times to be of the 14th., at others of the 15th. century and to have been discover'd in Germany (s. Journal asiatique X. 383.), perhaps under the tombstone of Meir Carmoly! — f. This was reported by Mr. Burnouf, April 29. 1832, Journal asiat. XI. 513. This journey is said to be of the 10th. century and probably belonged originally to the other ancestor (Urvater), Judah Carmoly! s. Israel. Annal. 1840 p. 25. 26.

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geographical miscellanies[a] none of which however have as yet appear'd.

152. ***David Caro***, born at Fordon about 1782, died at Posen, Dec. 25. 1839, an author of great merit, among whose MSS. was found 1) the prussian geographer, combined with prussian history, a book for schools. 2) additions to Finke's: die Provinz Posen, Lissa 1832.[b]

153. ***Julius Loewenberg***, a native of the duchy of Posen, at present in Berlin, edited 1832—1835 several geographical sketches,[c] and translations of the works of Alexander von Humboldt. Of his other publications, we only mention here: Africa, Berlin 1835.; historical and geographical Atlas to illustrate Rotteck's universal history, Freiburg 1840; History of geography,[d] with a map, Berlin 1840.; the study of geography 1831.[e]

154. — ***Cohen*** of Boston, a Colonel in the service of the U. S., accomplished in 1833, a journey from Adana to Constantinople, by way of Smyrna, partly in company with a body of the egyptian army; his itinerary is mention'd in J. G. S., vol. IX. p. LXIII.

155. ***L. Traub*** published: Palestina, or ancient geography of the holy land, Augsburg 1836, an ele-

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a. Relation p. 16. Carmoly also pretends to have published: 'Notices sur les Khazars' (Brussels 1833) and on Isaac Sprot (ibid. 1834.), s. the cover of the 'Relation.' — b. see Dr. Lippmann: Leben und Wirken des David Caro. Glogau 1840 p. 33 seq. — c. 'Das Meer', 1834.; 'die Schweiz' 1835. — d. comp. Lüdde: Geschichte der Erdkunde (Berlin 1841) p. 23. — e. A paper in the 'Gesellschafter' No. 116—121.

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mentary work, after Jost and Raumer, calculated for the use of schools.[a]

156. ***L. Loewe***, D. P., a native of the duchy of Posen and resident in London since 1834, has twice visited Egypt, Palestine etc. (1837 and 1840). Some account of his travels appear'd in the form of letters in the allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums,[b] but the descriptions, which he promised, have not yet appear'd.[c]

157. ***C. S. Polack*** of London. His book: residence in New-Zealand 1831—37, has appear'd in London, in 2 vols. 8vo.

158. ***Jacob Kaplan B. Salomo Cohen*** of Minsk, completed in 1838 his edition of and additions to Loewisohn's biblical geography (No. 139) which was printed under the title of Erets k'dumim, Wilna 1839, in the hebrew language.[d] Instead of a preface, the editor introduces his book by a list of authors, comprising: original authorities,[e] commentators and lexicographers,[f] and geographical authors properly. Of the latter he

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a. ***M. Elkan***'s Leitfaden beim Unterricht in der Geschichte d. Israeliten (Minden 1839, 9 sheets 8vo.) also contains strictures of the geography of Palestine. — b. 1839. No. 18—79 in 18 nos. Of some letters to his correspondents in London s. Kherem chemed IV. 240. — c. ibid. 71. 83. 326; p. 124 the loss of some MS. copy is deplored. — d. ארץ קדומים, (title in hebrew (russian) and german) 2 vols. 8vo. with an index of the names of towns. — e. among them even Sohar and Jalkut. — f. Rashi is called Salomo ***Jarchi!*** a mistake of which Gutmann, the translator of the apocrypha, is also guilty.

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only enumerates 13[a] since the 9th. century. A map is also added, of which the good intention only is worthy of praise. The treasures of thalmudic literature have hardly been noticed in this work;[b] which, however has afterwards been much improved and enlarged by the editor.[c]

159. ***M. S. Freystadt***, D. P. in Königsberg, has advertised an universal biblical geography, with particular reference to rabbinic sources, after the improved Erets k'dumim, with an entirely new map of Palestine! A prospectus,[d] containing 6 specimen articles, has been published in August 1840.

160. ***Salomo Munk***, born at Glogau in 1802, resident in Paris since 1824, where he is one of the assistant-librarians of the MSS. department of the royal library, has been employed for several years upon that volume of Didot's Univers pittoresque, which will comprise Syria, and upon the illustration of the letter of Chisdai (No. 30.) He returned in December 1840, from Egypt, which he had visited in company with Messrs. Crémieux and Montefiore, and where his presence has been conducive to the promotion of cultivation among the Jews of Cairo.

In this journey through ages, we have observed science manifest itself among Jews, wherever their abodes were surrounded by liberty and cultivation

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a. Among these also R. ***Isaak Haparchi***, a disciple of Rashi (!), whose work however the author did not know at the time. comp. No. 52 of this essay. — b. see Orient 1840 Lit. Bl. No. 40. p. 627. — c. see the succeeding No. 159. — d. Königsberg, Borntträger, 4 pp. 4to.

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and have seen it decline, wherever man was depressed. Three times did the Jews encounter the hellenic spirit, the emancipator of nations. First under the Seleucides and Ptolemies, embodied in the people of Greece, a domineering, haughty foe; grecian knowledge found its way to the higher classes, its language spread among the people: but the gift of the enemy was received with hatred and apprehension. The knowledge of foreign nations was imposed by distress, enforced by self-defence, was rarely pursued without reluctance and scarcely ever appears spontaneously in the Book of wisdom, the Maccabees, Philo, Josephus, the Thosephtha's and both Thalmuds. Palestine only, the holy home, the topography of which was intimately connected with ancient traditions and existing law, was sufficiently known. When, in the eighth century, the victorious arabs were subdued by the books of the conquer'd, syrian and arabian authors introduced a second time grecian knowledge among the Jews of moslemic countries: Astronomy, Philosophy, Medicine, and by degrees Geography. German and french Jews, on the contrary, partook of the darkness of the middle-ages, although they still retained advantages over the christians, not only by more ancient cultivation, but also by the gradual introduction and influence of the hebrew-arabic literature. The geography of these ages, however, was almost entirely confined to Palestine, or to a toilsome search after branches of their own brethren, independent of foreign sway. Universal ignorance prevail'd, even in the fifteenth century, with regard to foreign, and particularly to remote nations and countries; in the form of cosmo-

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graphy, only can the germs of a future geography be traced, and even here the Jews have just pretentions to honorable distinction, particularly with regard to their material knowledge; the fables in their geography, emanated from christian and arabic sources. Great voyages, enterprises of importance could of course not be expected from the excluded, the persecuted. And the greeks, a third time, became the cultivators of nations; science celebrated its resurrection and as far as unabated misery allowed, the Jews manifested a zealous desire to avail themselves of its progress, particularly in Italy and in liberal Holland, at long intervals also in Germany. But the developement of intellectual liberty, supported by civil emancipation, dates only from the last quarter of the preceding century and ever since, the attainment of a high rank in literature and science has become the object of Jewish endeavours. Thus the bare accounts of Jews are converted into history and statistics, the reports of the holy land into archaeology and biblical Geography. Ancient geographical productions are submitted to critical investigation and the whole range of this literature is exposed to our view. Eighteen german Jews, more than during the preceding ten centuries, have contributed to the literature of geography, within this short period. Those however, who are inclined to expect extraordinary productions in this department, ought to consider, that as yet Jews have no station and consequently no call to devote their energies to geography, either in Poland and in Hungary, where they are most numerous, or in Germany,

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where they are best informed. Hitherto their uncalled for efforts, have been incited solely by piety and the thirst of knowledge. Of the 140 persons, who, since 740 have left us traces of their geographical studies, we find at the utmost 7,[a] who have acted in the capacity of officers or commissioners. The remainder consist of 17 Geonim and Great-Rabbies,[b] 9 physicians, 5 of whom had taken the degree of D. M.,[c] 4 doctors of philosophy (19th. century), 3 caraïtes,[d] 1 proselyte,[e] 3 adventurers[f] and 96 merchants, students, lower clergymen, teachers, printers and — paupers.

Thus in the ancient period there existed no geographical science and no idea of the necessity of information on the state of nations. Even in *Josephus*, — except in reference to his own country, — the ethnographic results are only incidental; and this remark is still more forcibly applicable to the succeeding period, the aramaic-hebrew. Even *Assaf* is confined almost entirely to the physical portion, and the only aim of the describers of the climates — 12th. to 15th. century — may be called the mathematical result, the knowledge

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a. Prior to Ao. 1000: Isaac, Aben Sheara, Chisdai; in the 17th. century Cansino and Menasseh Ben Israel, in the 19th. J. D. Meyer, S. Munk. — b. No. 21. 26. 27. 32. 34. 38. 42. 48. 66. 75. 77. 95. 108. 111. 124. 127. 145. — c. prior to 1200: Assaf, Hibetallah; in the 15th. century Daniel and Joseph. Drs. since the 17th. century: No. 87. 89. 90. 118. 135. — d. No. 37. 97. 134. — e. No. 121. — f. Eldad in Africa, Reubeni in Asia, Gerson B. Eli-'eser in Europe.

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of the sun's motion, or the astrological, the planetary influence. The necessity of becoming acquainted with *man*, the inhabitant of the earth, is hardly perceptible, even in the translator of 1345 (No. 55). It is only with the dawn of science, after India and America had become accessible and civilisation had chased the shadows of barbarism, that monsters disappear from cosmography and that geography, supported by reality, arises out of the mists of the middle-ages. In *Abraham Farissol* (No. 71) we hail the first Jewish geographer, the first harbinger of geography: 'They shall not disturb me,' says he, 'the stupid scoffers, who prefer much derision to even little knowledge of this science which is praised by the wise and may present itself before kings, to teach them the wonders of the Lord, in the distinction of zones and the nature of his creatures. For even holy scripture contains circumstantial descriptions of frontiers, cantons and journeys; and although the eaters of onions and of garlick (Numb. XI. 5.) pay no attention to it, because of their lack of understanding, nevertheless the word of God is not in vain, especially as it tends to diffuse the knowledge of the inhabited world and the particularities of his miracles.'[a] But at this period geography can by no means boast of being an independent science, and we hardly *trace* it even in an encyclopaedia[b] which appear'd at Salonichi in 1567. In the succeeding two centuries *Gans* (No. 86.) and *Neumark* (No. 117.)

a. Itinera mundi, preface. — b. גדרים, reprinted with additions: Berlin 1798. 4to. compare the articles ישוב and קושט.

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must be mention'd among its adherents. ***Wessely*** was the first to make it a branch of education, ***Pinchas Elia*** to devote to it an article of his encyclopaedia. ***Simson Bloch***, an able advocate, introduced the science into modern hebrew literature, under a form worthy of the subject. Even R. Samuel Landau, the ancient Grand-Rabbi of Prague, in 1824 praised our science and its appearance in a hebrew dress,[a] ***Reggio***[b] acknowledges geography to be an indispensable science; and simple is he who abandons it.

The Jewish contributions to Geography may be comprised under the following heads: 1) General contributions to geography and topography; 2) ancient geography; 3) cosmography and geographical elementary works; 4) the holy land; 5) travels; 6) ethnography; 7) information on the state of Israel; 8) history and literature of geography. 1. The first class includes: *a*) descriptions of countries and climates, (prior to 1500: Assaf, Abraham B. Chija, Antoli, Aldabi, anonymous authors; after 1500: Delakrat, Pinchas Elia); *b*) Tables of latitude: (Aben 'Esra, Israeli, Delmedigo, Oliveyra, Raphael Levi, Barukh Sklov, Isaac B. Salomo; also in M. Kornik: System der Zeitrechnung, Berlin, 1825. fol.); *c*) Chorography and Topography (Chisḍai, Joseph prince of the Khazars, Hibetallah, Chajim B. Israel, Almosnino, David Caro, Munk); *d*) Sundry specialities (Gerson No. 50, Joseph B. Ele'asar No. 53,

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a. Approbation of the 2d. part of Bloch's 'Shebile 'Olam.' — b. התורה והפילוסופיאה, p. 62.

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Portaleone No. 87, Tobia Cohen No. 118.) *e*) Names of places, (considerable numbers of, s. the writings of the Geonim, Josippon, Abraham Halevi, Aben Verga, Zacut, Joseph Hacohen, Ged. Jachia); *f*) Maps. (s. Lemans No. 148. Löwenberg No. 153). — 2. The works of the class of ***ancient geography***, are either original, comprising all before 700, or illustrative. The latter order during the middle-ages included, besides Rashi and several other commentators, who can boast but of scanty geographical information: Sa'adia, Maimonides, Parchi (No. 52.); in the 16th. century de Rossi; in the 17th. 'Usiel, Musafia, Pinedo; in the 18th. century Dubno; in the 19th. Löwisohn, Rapaport, Marcus, Kaplan. Names of places are enumerated or illustrated by: Tsemach Gaon (No. 27), Nathan B. Jechiel (No. 34), Musafia (No. 104), Simchah Cohen (No. 108) and recently by Jost and Zunz. — 3. ***Geography properly speaking*** occupied only the following authors: Farissol, Jonadab (?), Gans, Porto, the anonymous authors No 106 and 107, Neumark, Schlesinger (No. 137), Bloch and Löwenberg. — 4. The contributions to ***geography*** of ***Palestine*** are: *a*) original authorities, which division comprises besides the holy scriptures and the two first books of the Maccabees, particularly Josephus, the Mishna and the Thosephtha, several Baraithas, the fragments of Rab (No. 13) and Jochanan (No. 14), numerous passages of both Thalmuds and the more ancient midrashim and partly also the Palestine Thargum. *b*) Chorographies etc. by Benjamin of Tudela, Pethachia, Parchi, Jacob Tsadik,

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Salomo Chelm, Feibel, Löwisohn, M. Breslauer, Jost, Traub, Elkan, Kaplan. *c*) Contributions to biblical geography are furnished by Saadia, Rashi, Maimonides and recently by Elia Wilna, Jos. Wolf, Rapaport. *d*) Lists of the sepulchres of the pious. Besides the eminent persons of all ages, who resided and died in Palestine, tradition also enumerates those of Jews of other countries, particularly of Babylonia. If authenticated tradition[a] can be quoted only in support of a few of remote ages, and if even most of them, in imitation of other nations, owe their origin to the inventions of conceit, vanity and selfishness, we must still admit the antiquity[b] of the custom of transporting to Palestine the bones of persons deceased beyond its limits, and that sepulchres of eminent Jews in Persia and Palestine are enumerated by christian, arabic[c] and Jewish authors, as early as the 9 th. century.[d] These sepulchres have occasioned pilgrimages to Palestine and to them we are indebted for the lists of cities of Benjamin of Tudela, of Pethachia, Samuel B. Simson, Jacob (No. 47), Parchi,[e] Zacut,[f] and the multiplied editions of the 'Jichus books' by Barukh, Gerson B. Asher,

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a. See my notes to Benjamin No. 40. 192. 277. — b. Khilajim Jerush. c. 9. Bereshith rabba c. 33. 96. Hai Gaon in Parchi f. 50 a. David B. Simra, decisions No. 611. 741: bones of persons deceased in Egypt were brought to Palestine. — c. see above p. 105. 152. Notices de la bibliothèque du Roi II. 494. — d. Seder 'Olam Sutta: of the sepulchre on the hill Beth-Arbel; Geonim in Rashi Sabbath f. 19 b. — e. f. 33 a. 67 a. b. 68 b. 87 a. — f. Juchasin f. 68 a.

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Uri B. Simeon, Riqueti (No. 109), Simcha B. Pesach (No. 115), Jehuda Gedalja (No. 120), Jacob Barukh and others. *e*) Maps of the holy land have been published since the 17th. century by Jacob Justus, Riqueti, the editors of the Hagadah, Abraham the Proselyte, Elia Wilna, M. Breslauer, Schwarz; Kaplan. *f*) Travels, s. the following paragraph. — 5. Of ***Travellers*** we will first enumerate those, who are consider'd to have really visited Palestine. To many of those comprised in the former paragraph, we must add: Maimonides, Hillel (No. 43), Nachmanides, Meshullam B. Menachem (No. 64), Bertinoro, Basola, Schlimel (No. 88), Hirts (99), Littes, Mose B. Israel, Joseph Sofer (125), Schwarz, whose travels have produced results. Persons who have travelled are: before Ao. 300, Philo, 'Akiba, Abba B. Barchana, 'Ulla; from 800 to 1500: Isaac, Aben She'ara, Aben 'Esra, Benjamin of Tudela, Pethachia, Charisi, Parchi, Joseph B. Ele'asar, Aben Chisdai, Daniel B. Salomo, David Jachia; since 1500: Reubeni, Texeira, Jemsel, Montesinos, Romaneli, Cohen, Loewe, Munk. — 6. ***Ethnography*** was for a length of time, only forced upon the Jews. Dispersed among strangers, hated and oppressed, they were obliged to study the customs of the ruler and to comply therewith. To this were added the exigencies of commerce, commercial travels, and the correspondence entertained with their co-religionists in remote, particularly islamitic, countries. Persecutions and expulsions transferred the Jews from state to state, and posterity retained the acquaintance with their former abodes. Even the never

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ceasing provocation of the anti-judaic element and the efforts to combat it, effectually produced a knowledge of these foreign elements; the books which they were forced to read, taught them more than they desired to know: the polemics combined as effectually as they appear'd to separate. A length of time indeed was necessary, to bring knowledge, thus acquired, to philosophical maturity. Besides the ancient, original works, we must mention prior to Ao. 1000: the Baraitha of R. Eli'eser, Mokamaz, Josippon; in the 12th. century: Aben 'Esra, Jehudah Hadasi, Benjamin of Tudela, Abraham Halevi, Pethachia, Maimonides; in the 14th.: Kalonymos B. Meir, the translator of the fables of the society of Achvan-ul-Zafa;[a] in the 15th.: Isaac Abravanel, whose works contain many notices on ancient nations and on the christian and other contemporary sects. In the 16th. century the science became more cultivated, witness the writings of Zacut, Farissol, Joseph Hacohen, Jonadab, Aben Megas, de Rossi, Jachia and Gans. 'Usiel, Texeira, Pinedo, belong to the 17th., the editors of the hebrew periodical M'assef to the 18th. century. Of the most recent period we mention: Michael Friedländer, J. D. Meyer, Jost, Ginzburg, L. Marcus. — 7. ***Information on the state of Israel,*** was the object of many travellers and students; notwithstanding which it appears to have been reserved

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a. אגרת בעלי חיים sectio III. ch. 2 to 8 (sundry nations), s V. ch. 9 (sects), 10 (continents and seas); s. Zunz, Additamenta ad Catal. MSS. Lips. p. 325, and the Cat. p. 328.

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for our own times and even in them only for Jews of philosophical accomplishments, to ascertain authentically the history, condition, state, cultivation and literature of the Jews, particularly of remote countries. Christian travellers generally labour under a lack of knowledge and inclination for this task and rarely meet with the requisite impartiality and confidence. *a*) Information on the Jews in the middle-ages is supplied by the writings of the Geonim, Nathan Hacohen (No. 29), perhaps Dosa B. Sa'adia (No. 30), Abraham Halevi, several travellers (s. p. 310.) and Aben Verga; since 1500 particularly Zacut, Ged. Jachia, Luzzato, Menasse B. Israel, Loeb B. Josua, de Barrios, Pereyra, Wessely, Jos. Wolf, Jost, S. Bloch, Marcus; the periodicals Sulamith (since 1806), 'für Cultur und Wissenschaft der Juden' (1822, 1823), der Jude (1832), wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für jüdische Theologie (1835), Jaarboeken (dutch) (1835), allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums (1837), Israelitische Annalen (1839), Archives israélites (1840), Orient (1840); and the caraitic authors Jehuda Hadasi, Samuel Jemsel, Mordekhai B. Nisan. *b*) On the ten tribes and the Sambatjon we possess: the accounts of the thalmudic age, of Eldad, Josippon, of anonymous authors of the 15th. century, Reubeni, Akrish, Gerson B. Elieser, Aaron Levi, Meir (No. 105), an anonymous author about Ao. 1700, Mose B. Abraham (No. 119), and most recently Mose B. Isaac Edrei of Marocco.[a] But within the preceding three centuries, a

a. Author of a book, which appear'd in hebrew מעשה

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critical tact has been manifested by scholars also in reference to this branch, witness the writings of Farissol,[a] de Rossi,[b] David Gans,[c] Simcha Luzzato[d] and in our own times those of Jost,[e] Reggio,[f] and particularly of Rapaport.[g] Only Mordekhai Noah of New York,[h] still upholds the opinion of Menasse B. Israel, that the ten tribes must be looked for in America. — 8. The cultivation of *geographical literature* is of very recent date and the few contributions to this branch, belong entirely to the most recent period. Jost, Munk, Rapaport, Asher,[i] Zunz have either illustrated and reviewed ancient works, or have contributed to bibliography and literary history. As yet nothing has been done for the history of geography. But a view of this

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נכים Amst. 1818, and in english under the title of: historical account of the ten tribes, London. 8vo. s. Israel. Annalen 1840 p. 144. 218.

a. Itinera mundi ch. 9. 14. 15. 24. 25 end, 28. — b. Meor 'enajim c. 13. ed. Mantua 70b — 71b., additions f. 186 a. — c. Tsemach David I. 14 b. seq.; he promised to treat the subject more at length in his geographical work. — d. 'in quanto alle dieci tribu — non si sa di loro certa novella ancor che sia il mondo hoggidi tutto indagato e scoperto' (discorso f. 89 b.) — e. Geschichte der Israeliten IV. append. p. 219—221. — f. Bikhure ha'ithim VIII. 49 seq. — g. see above p. 296 etc. and Kherem chemed V. 207. 214. 228. — h. Beweis, dass die amerikanischen Indianer die Abkömmlinge der verlornen Stämme Israels sind, Altona 1838. 8vo. The author finds even a similarity between the languages. — i. Bibliographical essay on the collection of voyages and travels, edited and published by Levinus Hulsius and his successors. London and Berlin 1839. 4to. 118 pp.

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literature, cultivated in many languages,[a] is not only interesting with respect to its reference to the history of civilisation, but is also an act of justice, render'd both to Jewish literature in general, which is as yet much neglected[b] in literary manuals, as to particular authors, e. g. Benjamin of Tudela, and also to science, which cannot thrive under the oppression of ignorance[c] and the animosity[d] manifested against Jews.

Many isolated facts and statements, regarding geography and its history, may indeed be still concealed in the numerous commentaries and collections of decisions, many productions may still be unknown; but the present review (which for the sake of easy reference we conclude by an alphabetical list) will tend towards promoting a correct notion on the state of the GEOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE OF THE JEWS.

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a. In hebrew (aramaic), greek (No. 2. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8.), latin (91. 110.), spanish (81. 89. 93. 102. 111. 112. 114.), portuguese (No. 68?), french (138. 150. 151. 160.), italian (95. 96), jewish-german (92. 100. 101. 113. 115. 116. 119. 125.), german (135. 137. 140. 141. 144. 147. 152. 153. 155. 159.), english (144. 154. 157.) and arabic (24. 26. 28. 41. 42. 82?) — b. in *Grässe*'s literary history, we hardly find a trace of jewish geography; but also in other branches the productions of Jews are a *terra incognita* to this author. — c. *Yung*, the author of an obsolete list of Jewish authors, entirely copied from Jöcher's Gelehrten-Lexicon, mentions (p. 342.) a Moses Decimo Quinto, who visited Jerusalem and Constantinople and that his work, which had been translated into italian, Venice 1456, contained notices on the customs and laws of the places he had seen; the author is reported to have died in 1468. — d. see my essay on the geography of Palestine.

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AN ESSAY

ON THE STATE OF THE KHALIFATE OF BAGDAD, DURING THE LATTER HALF OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

In illustration of the episode in R. Benjamin's itinerary p. 54—59.

BY MR. F. LEBRECHT.

(Translated from the German by the Editor).

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.

§. 1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS. R. BENJAMIN'S description of the east refers to the period at which, though Bagdad was still the centre of the Khalifate, this dignity had long ceased, to be the centre of power, magnificence and splendour. If the student of the history of Harun-errashid's court or of one of his immediate successors, could have been transplanted suddenly into that of a commander of the faithful of the twelfth century, though established in the same city, he would have hesitated to believe, that he really was at the court of a Khalif. Even two centuries prior to that of which we treat, the weak ***Radhi*** created an omnipotent regent of the empire and thus originated the germ of that decline, which with irresistible pro-

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gress, developed its influence. The complete fall of the empire could only be deferred for a period, by special circumstances, but it was not to be avoided, and even the state of the Khalifate in the middle of the *eleventh* century, compared to that under Harun-errashid is like a weak aurora borealis compared to the most powerful sunshine.

§. 2. R. BENJAMIN'S DESCRIPTION COMPARED WITH OTHER ACCOUNTS. In order fully to comprehend that part of R. Benjamin's narrative, which treats of the state of the Khalifate in his time and to be enabled as well to appreciate the accuracy of his account, as to distinguish what thereof remains questionable, it will be necessary to direct the attention of the reader, to the origin and the importance of the arabian government, of those rulers who not only appear with so wonderful a splendour in the charming tales of the thousand and one nights, but whose fame also embellishes the annals of universal history. In the following review I have carefully avoided the partiality of eastern sources, nor have I admitted in untried evidence those accounts which directly or indirectly emanated therefrom, but on the contrary, I have carefully studied the former and have diligently compared them with one another and with the information furnished by european authors.

§. 3. THE NAME OF THE CHIEF OF THE MUHAMMEDANS. Since the foundation of the great union of the Muhammedans by the islam, its chiefs are distinguished by three different appellations, which are sanctified by law, tradition and inheritance. These epithets were borne

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almost[a] exclusively by the rulers of the house of Koraisch, i. e. by those of the family of Muhammed; and they were a mark of distinction, which was not assumed by other princes, who had seized upon separate countries of the Khalifate, or who govern'd in the name of the rightful sovereign. These names were consider'd holy even by usurpers, and its bearers were treated with reverence even by those, who acknowledged no superior *secular* power.

If we consider these three names with reference to the time of their introduction and of the universality of their adoption by the nations, particularly by those, who do not confess Muhammedanism, we must place them in the following order:

1. Khalif خليفة
2. Emir-al-Mumenin امير المومنين
3. Imam - al - Moslemin[b] امام المسلمين

Considering that even the most esteemed historical works, do not afford sufficient information on these titles, that many erroneous assertions have consequently been made and that our author may be essentially illustrated thereby, we shall treat separately on every one of them.

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a. I say almost, because the Ommajades in Damascus and those of Spain, from Abderrahman III. downwards, assumed all the titles and honours of the rightful Khalif. The Fatimites of Egypt, as well as several other dynasties, in single instances, usurped the same privileges.

b. The epithet Khalif is universal, Emir-al-Mumenin is less so and Imam-al-Moslemin we very rarely meet with in european authors.

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§. 4. The epithet 'Khalif.' The word Khalif, which is pronounced in arabic Khalifé or Khalifá signifies '*Vicarius, substitutus, successor.*' Under the signification of *representative,* the word and the dignity is met with in the first years of the Islam, even during the life of the prophet. Muhammed had named a Khalif for the city of Medina, during his absence in the second year of the Hegira and when, stretched upon his deathbed, he felt the approach of his last hour and the impossibility of excercising any longer his spiritual duties, he transferred them to his father in law Abubekr, who was to be his *Khalif.* This circumstance was important, because in consequence of it, Abubekr, was chosen commander of the faithful immediately after the death of the prophet, although the claims of the valorous, wise and learned *Ali* were of much greater weight, not only by the combination of those splendid qualities in his person, which constitute the ruler, but also by his being the consort of Fatima, the beloved daughter of Muhammed and his only heir. With Abubekr we consequently have the first Khalif of history in the signification of the highest dignity in the empire of the Moslemin. Abubekr was too meek to assume royal titles and preferred the appellation of Khalif Ressul Allah,[a] i. e. proxy of the apostle of god, of the prophet Muhammed. Under this title he received the homage of all distinguished friends and assistants of the prophet and of the inhabitants of Medina. Thus the

a. خليفة رسول الله

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unassuming modesty of Abubekr and the prevailing circumstances of the times gave birth to a title, which notwithstanding the simplicity of its origin, became at a later period, the expression of a power, which included the unbounded autocracy in the spiritual and secular affairs of the great arabian empire.

A learned arabian, ***Ibn Dshemaat,*** who treats on the constitution of the Khalifate, thus expresses himself on the Khalif: He who receives the homage, is called Khalif, i. e. successor of the prophet, for he is his successor among his people, also representative of god,[a] because he is his representative among his people, but it is more precise to call him successor of the prophet. And this is why Abubekr said to those who addressed him as the Khalif of god: this I am not, but I am only the successor of the prophet.

On the hebrew orthography of the word Khalif, we must remark, that the Jews who lived under the Arabs, wrote it exactly like their countrymen, viz. בַּלִיפַּת (the כ without the dagesh lene)[b] or, as they generally expressed the arabic ة by an ה or הּ, and pronounced it like the arabs, בַּלִיפָּה. Both these forms occur in our text and we must read as we have stated, as it

a. See J. von Hammer, über die Länderverwaltung unter dem Chalifate p. 177. The term: ***Nachfolger*** (l. l.) is probably to be alter'd into ***Stellvertreter*** because we can hardly speak of a ***successor*** of God, but may suppose a human being to be his ***representative*** upon earth.

b. In our text the dagesh in the כ must be consider'd a misprint.

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would be erroneous to consider the form כליפת as standing in the *status constructus* with אמיר אל מומנין. It is well known, that the arabic خ is expressed by the hebrew כ, and that they generally add a — above, the sign of its being *rafe*, in order to avoid its being confounded with the כ.

§. 5. The epithet Emir-al-Mumenin. After the demise of Abubekr the noble Omar was elected chief by the assembled leaders. The dying Abubekr had chosen him silently to be his successor, by transferring to him those sacerdotal functions, which he held as a bequest from the dying prophet. But he also by his last will *distinctly* designated him to the succession, and as Omar was not only *worthy*, but even *the worthiest*, among the number of the noble minded Moslemin, his elevation was effected without a struggle and even without an intrigue. And in fact the effort in this instance was not on the side of the elected, but on that of the electors, who found it very difficult to obtain Omar's assent to the choice they had made of his person. [a]

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b. Omar was one of the greatest princes, not only of the Arabs, but of all nations. During his reign, which lasted hardly above ten years, 36,000 hostile towns were subdued and new cities constructed. He is always cited by the Arabs as a pattern of virtue and magnanimity; and notwithstanding this, Abulfaradj ventured to ascribe to this Khalif the destruction of the Alexandrian library. We have however already shown that these treasures were destroyed not by Arabs but by christians; and we shall most probably soon have occasion to treat on this subject at greater length.

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Omar, who was at last persuaded to accept the dignity, would by no means assume the title thereof. He founded his refusal upon the argument, that, according to the analogy of Abubekr, he must be called *successor of the successor* of the prophet, a custom by the adherence to which, the title in the course of time would grow to an indefinite length and which would occasion that upon naming a Khalif, all his predecessors should be mention'd.[a] Upon this rose Mogaira the son of Shaab and thus spoke to the assembly: Omar is our *Emir*,[b] (i. e. our prince and conductor) we are the believers, (Mumenin) I propose therefore that he be called: 'Emir-al-Mumenin.' This proposition was agreed to, and Omar also yielded. Since that period the title of Emir-al-Mumenin has been borne by all those princes, who were recognised as successors of the prophet, or who in their opinion had claims upon that distinction; the title of Khalif nevertheless not being abandoned. These two titles always bore a holy character with the Arabs and the princes who had made themselves independent of the Khalifate of Bagdad did not dare to assume it immediately. Even the

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a. If the word خليفة had implied only our *substitute* or *proxy*, Omar might have called himself Khalifa Ressul Allah.

b. Emir includes the whole signification of the german Fürst, the english prince, and was assumed both by sovereigns and by chief commanders. At a later period it was extended to the sons of the princes, and the persian *Mirza* is only a contraction of *Emir-zade*, son of a prince.

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Ommajades of Spain, the descendants of the legitimate Khalifs of the house of *Moavia*,[a] hesitated until the accession of the splendid *Abdarrahman* III. to claim this title, although the Abassides of Bagdad were their inveterate enemies and forbearance consequently could not be the motive. They were deterred from taking this step partly by their own reverence of the prince of Bagdad, the acknowledged seat of muhammedan glory, and partly by the fear, lest their own subjects might consider them rebels and usurpers. It was reserved for *Abdarrahman*, who by conquest and wisdom had won the entire confidence of his subjects, and who had the address to give more firmness to his throne by leagues with Byzantium and with the princes of the west, it was for him, boldly to complete the work of independence and to assume the *form* of that dignity, the *substance* of which had been long in his possession. And in fact no period ever was more favorable for the accomplishment of this design, than the days of *Abdarrahman* III., for in his time the last diamond fell from the rich crown of the Khalifs, when the weak *Radhi-billa* resigned all real power into the hands of an *Emir-al-Omra* (s. below) created by him. So striking a manifestation of weakness naturally encouraged the spanish prince, to abandon all those considerations, which

a. Moavia and his successors, down to the middle of the 8th. century, were Khalifs by their power and by common consent, although their legitimacy was not admitted by the *pious* moslems.

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had been sanctified by time. We must remark that although many princes in the course of time assumed the title of Emir-al-Mumenin, this prerogative was claimed rarely by any other than by such persons s, being descendants of the prophet, consider'd themselves real and legal ***Khalifs***. The Moravides called themselves ***Emir-al-Moslemin***, and of those Sultans, who govern'd for and were the tyrants of the Khalifs, only a few Seldjukian princes (like Malek Shah) dared to add the sanctified name to the usurped power.

§. 6. THE NAME IMAM IN GENERAL. In the religious life of the muhammedans, إمام signifies '(spiritual) head of the congregation during its assembly in the mosque'; his duty obliges him to act as priest and particularly to recite aloud the public prayer. But the Imam is also expected, to assist the people by word and deed in *all* religious concerns, those happening without the mosque not excepted. Thus the sphere of the activity of the Imam is constituted even to this day and thus it was at its origin, by the command and the custom of Muhammed. The prophet was the first Imam, it was he personally, who to his death performed the public prayer before the assembled believers and who addressed the people from the pulpit.

The number of the Imams was multiplied of course in equal proportion with that of the mosques: every congregation requiring naturally a minister, preacher or spiritual head, a person in fact whose station corresponds with that of our clergyman, and the custom of

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an Imam being attached to each mosque, is a custom almost coëval with the rise of muhammedanism. At present the Imams, in the whole muhammedan world, are spiritual officers with salaries, whose office in the mosque corresponds with that of Rabbi or minister of the synagogue and clergyman of the church.

The Khalifs of the earlier period officiated personally in the principal mosque of their residence, even Mamún exercised these functions and was very much incensed, when upon his being too late on a certain occasion, he found his place in the pulpit filled by an influential member of the congregation; he even went so far as to consider this act an infringement of his regal prerogatives. The title of Imam became an honorable epithet, which was awarded as a mark of respect to eminent scholars, either because they really filled the office or were consider'd particularly fit for it; the same course was adopted by the Jews with respect to the epithets of רב and מורינו.

§. 7. THE IMAM OF THE BELIEVERS CONSIDER'D AS CHIEF. In the preceding paragraph I have spoken of the Imam in general and of the manner in which its functions were practically developed; the import of the term, however, is by far a more exalted one, if applied to the *Imam of the Moslems.* This functionary is not the principal of *one* congregation, the minister of *one* mosque, he is the principal of *all* congregations and of *all* mosques of the believers, i. e. the chief of the whole religious community.

We have seen above, that Muhammed was the first

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Imam and that he exercised the functions of this office; his legitimate successors and representatives consequently became not only secular chiefs, but they also assumed the prerogatives of supreme clerical power. Those Khalifs, who in virtue of their descent from the prophet, might be consider'd his legitimate successors, called themselves: 'Imam of the believers' and the pious Moslems conceded this title to the house of Ali exclusively. Even Moavia who retained his place on the throne not only together with Ali but even after the latter's death, was forced to admit the claims of Hassan and his successors, who assumed the appellation of Imam, and it appears that neither Moavia, nor any of the oriental Ommajades ever usurped this title. The Abassides however, who were in fact kinsmen of the Koraishides, were the first to call themselves *Imam-al-Moslemin* [a] and one of this dynasty, *Moktafi billah Ali* (the 17th. Abasside) claimed even the title of *Imam al Hak*, the only lawful and legitimate Imam. Some of the

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a. It is foreign to our present investigation, to treat of the dogmatical and mystical discussions respecting the legititimacy and number of the real Imams, and we only remark that the Shiites acknowledge twelve lawful Imams of the house of Ali, eleven of whom have already appear'd; the twelfth under the name of *Mahadi*, though born long ago (255 of the Hegira) dissappear'd in the 9th. year, but will re-appear at the end of the world, in connexion with Christ, to save mankind. Several *Mahadis* have already appear'd and have created much confusion in the heads and the countries of the believers, Buonaparte had also to contend against one in Egypt.

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Abassides however, prompted by scruples of their conscience, were on the eve of relinquishing their honors in favor of the house of Ali, the descendants of which are the only legitimate holders of the dignity.

§. 8. COMPARATIVE IMPORTANCE OF THE THREE TITLES. We have seen above that ***Emir-al-Mumenin*** denotes a high ***secular*** authority and that its possessor is consider'd king and general of the nation. He is supported by the ***Imam-al-Moslemin***, the judge, the interpreter, in fact the chief of all affairs of a religious tendency. But the situation of the clerical chief of the Moslems, cannot be compared to that of a christian prince, who combines in his person the dignities of king and chief of the religion of the state. If we contemplate the situation of Henry VIII. of England, who after having thrown off the yoke of Rome, declared himself chief of the english church and transmitted this prerogative to his successors unto this day, we find that the king gave laws to the ministers of the church, but that he was not himself its chief dignitary; that the religion and its laws were put under the protection of the state and its laws: it was neither the province of the monarch at the head of the state, to interpret an old religious law, or to introduce into the church any new ordinance, without the consent of its ministers.[a] But the Khalif, in his capacity of principal Imam, was really

a. It is hardly necessary to state, that acts of violence, such as were committed by Henry VIII, cannot be consider'd as an argument against this illustration.

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the chief priest and may be best compared with the pope of the catholic church, not however with those of modern times, but rather with the roman bishops prior to the 8th. century. Rome being consider'd the metropolis of the universe and the last scene of the life of the apostle Peter, its bishop was considered to be primate, although not possessed of any temporal sovereignity, a dignity which he only acquired at a later period, by the grant of king Pipin. In fact, in the golden age, the Khalif was also the temporal chief of all or at least of the greatest proportion of the Muhammedans, but this he was in his dignity of ***Emir-al-Mumenin.***

Almost all Sultans and independent princes submitted to the authorities of the Imam-Khalif, whereas they resisted that of ***Emir-al-Mumenin*** and even usurped this title. R. Benjamin's expression והוא עליהם כמו הפפא על הנוצרים is remarkably correct and striking for his time and his public, although the comparison must be confined to the pope as head or primate of the church, but not as the sovereign prince of what we call the papal states. The Khalifs at the most flourishing period of their power, bore the most complete resemblance to the popes of the middle-ages, the latter possessed states of their own in which they swayed both the spiritual and the temporal supremacy, being at the same time the acknowledged spiritual chiefs of almost the whole of the christian world. The Khalifs however who succeeded Radhi, were with few exceptions devoid of any temporal power, even in their

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own residence of Bagdad and thus resembled in respect to the spiritual supremacy, which they still retained, those popes who reigned prior to Pipin's celebrated donation.

We have mention'd exceptions, because there existed indeed several Khalifs, as will be seen below, who, conscious of their descent and their noble task, had the spirit to emancipate themselves from the oppressing and degrading power of the Emir-al-Omra; and as the time of our author's travels falls into a period of *such* a Khalif, his comparison of the latter with the pope is perfect.

After this copious explanation of the terms ***Emir-al-Mumenin*** and ***Imam-al-Moslemin***, it is hardly necessary to say much on their connexion with that of Khalif; what has been stated above, shows that ***Emir*** and ***Imam*** are not so much titles and dignities combined with that of ***Khalif***, but rather its two principal attributes. ***Khalif*** is successor, representative of the prophet in all affairs, spiritual and temporal, i. e. it comprises the characters of Imam and Emir, of a pope and an emperor in one person.[a] We cannot imagine any Khalif, who should not have been at the same time ***chief Emir*** and ***chief Imam***, although there existed princes, who without pretending to the honor of Khalif still assumed the title of ***Emir-al-Mumenin***,

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a. A very striking similarity exists between the Khalifs and the first maccabean princes, the latter partaking of the double character of high-priest and king.

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and in fact even at the present day, every muhammedan sovereign, is an *Imam*, although the title of Khalif is extinct. It is important to state that the title *Imam*, which was assumed by the Khalifs, was less frequently used than that of *Emir*. The latter, being the expression of unlimited supremacy over the life and death of the subject and of the autocracy in temporal affairs, was also used in addressing the sovereign; the arab, from the first officer to the lowest Bedouin, upon these occasions, used the words: يا امير المومنين (o! prince of the believers!). Imam, on the contrary, is more usual in the books and the discourses of the clergy. This remark will sufficiently explain, why Benjamin, who compares the Khalif to the Pope, passes over in silence the term 'Imam' although it be the proper *tertium comparationis*.

§. 9. REFUTATION OF BARATIER. We will now avail ourselves of the above explanation of the titles borne by the chiefs of the Moslems, in order to rectify, what has been stated on the subject by Baratier. By his translation of our author and by the notes and the dissertations, which accompany this translation, Baratier has gained an authority with the learned world, which, though deserved in many respects, has blinded christian scholars to such a degree, as to cause their overlooking the numerous mistakes of the admirable, manly child (Mannknabe). As moreover his statements have been used as weapons of attack against well-founded opinions, we consider it necessary to prove,

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that Baratier[a] is no authority, that can be quoted without care and precaution. 'Le titre de Caliphe, says Baratier, II, 44, signifie proprement grand prêtre, prêtre; les persans donnent encore aujourd'hui ce nom aux moindres docteurs de l'Alcoran, ce qui montre

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a. The extraordinary learning and the logical manner in which Baratier thought and concluded, would have done honor to a man of mature age and in a child of 12 years of age, they not only call forth our astonishment, but make it pardonable, if we doubt whether in his edition of R. Benjamin's itinerary he was not assisted by somebody else. His youthfulness must atone for many mistakes and that he has committed many, every one will admit who has examined the original. Many pages of his book will prove, that he even *creates* the opportunity of displaying the real or fictitious splendour of his ingenuity. We will avail ourselves of this opportunity to examine only one fact in Jewish history, which assumes the character of a true fact, in consequence of Baratier's frivolous statements, although only a very small portion of the whole tale, can be consider'd as founded upon truth. We speak of the assertion that ***Rabbi Sherira Gaon was hung***. The first and only author who speaks of the misfortune of the Gaon, thus expresses himself after having mention'd his accusation and imprisonment: ונתלה רב שרירא גאון בידו אחת, which *literally* means: ***he was hung on one hand***; but how can this be reconciled to the words: ולא הוסרו מגאונות which follow immediately? It is more remarkable still, that no other Jewish or arabian author mentions the execution of Rabbi Sherira: would not the martyrdom of a man, so eminently and universally respected, have been lamented by hundreds of the pious, in prose and in verse? But it is very probable that we are correct in rendering the sense of the quotation: After the tyrannic Sultan or Emir had seized all the property of the Gaon, he caused him to be tied to a stake as a sort of pillory. Baratier

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qu'originairement caliphe est un simple docteur.' He has heard that functions of high priest were exercised by the Khalif and in order to find a name and a ground for every thing, the خليفة is burden'd with the title of '*grand Prêtre.*' He evidently thought of the 'Imam' which, in his dilemma not to know every thing he confounded with that of Khalif. He then continues thus: Il est appellé Caliphe ou grand prêtre, entant qu'ecclesiastique et seigneur spirituel et Emir Almumenin ou prince des fidéles entant que seigneur temporel des Mahomedans..... Les titres de Caliphe ont été

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however, speaks of the execution as if he had been an eye-witness and adorns it with feathers, which appear as if they had been gather'd from the very birds, which according to his story, picked the flesh of R. Sherira.

It is certainly not the least wonderful in Baratier that he should have taken so many pains to illustrate an author, whom at last he declares to be an ignorant impostor and of whom he says II. 32. 'on peut selon les lettres initiales de son ouvrage משרב (qui doivent signifier מסעות של רבי בנימן *Voyages de Rabbi Benjamin*) l'appeller משך של רבים בדים (sic!) Tissu de plusieurs mensonges.' If even R. Benjamin has not seen all the cities he describes and if his account be even disfigur'd in some instances by superstition and fables, his work nevertheless deserves respect as an estimable treasure for the geography and history of his time; Marco Polo is certainly not free from similar blemishes and even our modern travellers do not always satisfy us. If Baratier had placed the abbreviation משרב on the title of his edition, we might have been tempted to read it משך שניאות רבי בַּרְטִיר, which would have been more in accordance with the spirit of hebrew grammar than his משך של רבים בדים.

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pris par les Caliphes de Bagdad tant Ommiades[a] (sic!) qu'Abbassides depuis Mohavia..... The meaning with which he erroneously invests the word: خليفة has led him into a train of mistakes, which have been but too readily admired and repeated by superficial scholars, but which we hope have been utterly refuted by our exposition of the true state of the question; ***Khalif***, is not a term distinct from Emir-al-Mumenin (not Mumnin as Baratier spells it) but includes this office together with that of Imam.

CHAPTER II.

View of the rise, progress and decline of the great empire of the Khalifs.

§. 10. Rise of the Empire. The history of the renowned empire, whose foundation was laid by the efforts of the prophet, and towards the developement of which he had by his dogma deliver'd the directions and secrets to his disciples; this history, we say, like

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a. There were never any Ommajades at Bagdad! This city was erected by an Abasside *after* the fall of the eastern Ommajades, and the titles of Khalif and Emir-al-Mumenin were assumed, as we have seen, at a period of much earlier date than that of the Abassides and the successors of Moavia. What would Baratier have said if he had detected even a hint in R. Benjamin's narrative, stating that the Ommajades reigned at Bagdad! This undoubtedly would have proved that Rabbi B. had never been at Bagdad and that he was nothing but an ignorant liar. But whoever presumes to pass judgement upon others in the manner adopted by Baratier, must carefully avoid to lay bare any vulnerable point.

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that of almost every other empire of historical importance, comprises three epochs, of an entirely distinct character; and the phases of the Rise, Decline and Fall of no other power can be so nicely defined and so distinctly traced to their sources, as those of the Khalifs.

This history may be properly divided into:

1. An epoch of power without splendour,
2. An epoch of splendour without power, and lastly,
3. An epoch devoid of either.

We shall review very briefly these periods in order to elucidate the state of the Khalifate in the time of our traveller, who saw it in its last and waning light. [a] The youthful epoch of the Khalifate comprises the time of the reign of the first Khalif, Abubekr, to the fall of the Ommajades in the east. During more than two centuries the Khalifs were both heroes and patriarchs, judges and spiritual advisers of the people, and the

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a. This is not the place, nor have we the space requisite to unfold the gigantic annals of the eastern arabian empire, written partly in letters of gold or marked by traces of blood. This rich shaft of universal history has not yet been explored sufficiently nor always by able hands. Although the history of the western arabs has been cultivated by eminent scholars, among whom we honor a Shakespear, a Lembke and Pascual de Gayangos, the translator of Al-Makkari, that of their eastern brethren may be said not to have made any material progress since the middle of the last century. Even our *best* historians still consider the inaccurate and fictious annals of Abulfaradj an oracle and are generally devoid of all resources, wherever — with the exception of Abulfeda and a few other native authors — they are abandoned by Deguignes and d'Ohsson.

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historian may with justice apply to every one of them the honorable epithet of 'Augustus.' Who can contemplate the first four, the *legitimate*[a] Khalifs, without being filled with admiration of their virtues and of their real unostentatious grandeur? Notwithstanding the bloody contentions in the interior, we find the Ommajades of the 8th. century, sovereigns of an empire, the boundaries of which were marked by the Atlantic and the Ganges! the richest provinces of Asia and Africa and some of the most beautiful of Europe obeyed the command of the Khalifs.

But this government was cherished because it was mild, and beloved, because it promoted the happiness of its subjects. How dark appears the state of the christian morals, of the wisdom and the political cultivation of the greeks, the goths and the franks, compared to the universal toleration, the virtue and the prudence display'd by the muhammedans! This excellence on the side of the disciples of the Islam and the imperfections of those, whom they were called to conquer, made the issue of the conflict less doubtful, but it enhances the merit of that forbearance, which characterizes the conduct of the moslems towards their vanquished foes, although this forbearance could not always be accompanied by respect.

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a. Abulfeda enumerates five legitimate Khalifs, viz. 1) Abubekr; 2) Omar; 3) Othman; 4) Ali; 5) Hassan Ben Ali; but the latter cannot properly be consider'd a Khalif, because he resigned the government in favour of Moaviah and retired into private life.

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We have stated that this period was one of *power without splendour*; if, guided by the authentic records, we follow a Khalif of this epoch into his palace, if we examine his domestic and public actions, we shall meet with nothing but patterns of temperance and moderation. With few exceptions only, the power they possessed and extended was not abused, but conscientiously applied to the promotion of justice, of legislation and the welfare of their subjects. At the death of a Khalif prior to the 8th. century, the *frontiers* of the dominions which he had inherited, had generally become their *centre*. This extension indeed was not always due to the personal merit of the sovereign; it was rather the glowing enthusiasm for the doctrine of the islam, in its fullest vigour, and the ungovernable desire to make with these doctrines an *armed voyage round the world.*[a] But this very doctrine was also the palladium of the people, the centre which attracted all believers; and the Khalif, the interpreter and defender of the

a. The reader is requested to excuse the expression *round* the world; we are aware that at the period of which we treat, that expression could not be used so appropriately as when Mirabeau applied it to the french revolution. But it is certain that the islam would have accomplished his journey *in* the world with success, if the Arabs had not too soon employed the fire of their religious enthusiasm to ignite the fabric of the state, which they had but just erected. The marseillaise in the mouth of the french republicans and the ideas of liberty in their hearts, wrought by no means as many miracles, as the sentences of the Koran in the mouth of the moslem and the prospect of paradise in their hearts!

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dogma, could dispense with all outward show and glittering splendour, in his endeavours to inspire foreign nations with respect. Clothed in the humble garb, and conforming to the simple manners of a Bedouin, he could issue a word of command, which would be respected in three quarters of the globe.

§. 11. THE KHALIFATE IN THE STATE OF SPLENDOUR WITHOUT POWER. To the four '*legitimate*' Khalifs we may adjudge the title of '*Augustus*' in its most noble acceptation; they were sovereigns distinguished by innate excellence. But we cannot consider their successors, the fourteen Khalifs of the dynasty of Ommajah, in the same favorable light. Usurpers themselves, they were obliged, like all upstarts, to pass off as *wisdom*, that which in reality was only *prudence*; they were forced to develop virtues in the councils and on the field of battle in order to deafen the ears of the multitude against the curses, which the pious believers called down upon the usurpers and upon the crimes committed on the house of the prophet. The throne, which had no foundation in the legitimacy of the title, was compelled to seek support in heroic deeds, in order to screen by splendour, the ruins upon which it was founded.[a] The actions of

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a. On the ruins of the Hashemite dynasty, the Ommajades built their throne, and in their ascent to it, strode over the corpses of the children of Ali. The death of Hosein by the hand of Ommajadic mercenaries, is to this day the theme of devout songs and the spot of the deed, the most holy

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Ommajades frequently remind us of the plain, simple grandeur of Omar and Ali and notwithstanding the inferiority of several of them, we meet with deeds which silenced the outraged sense of justice, although they never entirely succeeded in reconciling the pious moslems.

With the elevation of the Abasside dynasty to the throne of the Khalifs, in the middle of the 8th. century, the order of things underwent very material alterations. The Abassides, near relatives of the prophet, considered themselves the legitimate sovereigns and without any great efforts and except by the Ommajades, were acknowledged as such by all other arabs. As such, they acted as we have seen in our days the Bourbons act, after their restoration in France, Spain and Naples. Napoleon was declared an out-law, his family was exposed to all sorts of persecution, but his conquests and his institutions were seized and adopted by the 'only legitimate heir.' The Abassides found themselves masters of an immense empire, which, with the employment of

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place of pilgrimage of the disciples of Ali. Concurring events have made the last struggle of Hosein one of the most sublime episodes of arabian history: we will only mention one circumstance. With less than 50 men, he defended himself against 5000 soldiers of the Khalif Jezid. His assailants cursed their fate, which compelled them to fight against the beloved grandson of Muhammed, but they fought in submission to the command of their Khalif. But when Hosein, exhausted by innumerable wounds, and after displaying wonders of prowess, appeared to be irretrievably lost, 30 Arabs deserted the standard of the enemy in order to die the death of martyrdom on the side of the holy champion.

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proper energy, they could have extended, or at least preserved; but no! the legitimate Abassides, needed independent power as little as the legitimate Bourbons; raised to the throne **by the Grace of God**, their only aim was the creation of a voluptuous court, in the interior of which they could debauch and rage, and courtiers were much more easily found, than the able generals and ministers of their predecessors.

§. 12. DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE UNDER THE ABASSIDES. From the house of Abbas sprung all those Khalifs, who bore this title legitimately and the last scion of which died in Egypt in 1540. The superficial multitude consider this dynasty the representatives of arabian greatness of the middle-ages; but the unbiassed student, who investigates their history with more attention, will admit that they prepared the fall of the morals and the empire and at last sealed its doom. In order to obtain our end, we must consider the reign of the Abassides under two very distinct periods:

the first, from the founder, Abdallah Abul Abbas, to Radhi, the 20 th. Khalif of this dynasty, (750—934.)

the second, from Radhi to Mostassem, the 37 th. Khalif, (934—1258.)

Abul Abbas Assapha,[a] was the founder of this dynasti, but by the appointment of the *first vezir* also the founder of the moral debasement of the Khalifs, who now lavished most of their time in debauch and in the

a. The bloodspiller ابو العباس السفاح

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harem. With the establishment of this dynasty, we see armed religious sects make their first appearance on the stage. The danger which arose from them, was not as imminent however as the revolt of Spain, and the irretrievable loss of this, their fairest province, to the Abassides. Africa also, soon divested itself of their authority and gained its independence of their power even under the much-extolled Harun Arrashid, and this hero in truth and fiction, was fain to submit to it. Harun Arrashid is the centre of glory, the symbol of all eastern grandeur and magnificence; his court was the place of rendezvous of the gifted, the scholars and the artists. Himself noble, full of intellect and generosity, his exterior appearance betokened his splendid qualities and he was beyond doubt the most eminent of his dynasty. He and his courtly display in a high degree resemble Louis XIV. and his court. But if we must admit that France was not happy under Louis, notwithstanding the encouragement offer'd by him to literature and art, the same must be maintained of the government of Harun Arrashid, but let this suffice! We have designedly selected the greatest prince of the house of Abbas, in order to show that his dynasty caused the ruin of the Khalifate[a] and we now proceed to the second period.

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a. The exploits of Harun are limited almost entirely to the humiliation of the wretched and effeminate byzantines. That these were no very formidable foes, is apparent from the contemptuous answer with which Harun dismissed an em-

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§. 13. The Abassides since Radhi. We have seen that by the appointment of a vezir the first Abasside had led the Khalifate upon the road to ruin. The Khalif Radhi Billah[a] however, who found it far advanced upon this road, imagined that he should retrieve its fortunes, by a violent remedy, like the physician,

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bassy sent by Nikephoros, to apprize him of his resolution to cease paying any further tribute: It runs thus in the original:

من هارون امیر المومنین الی نیقفور کلب الروم
وقد قرات کتابك یا بن الکافرة والجواب ما تراه لا
تسمعه

'From Harun the commander of the faithful, to Nikephoros, the dog of Roum: I have read thy letter, son of an infidel mother. Thou shalt not hear, but shalt behold my reply.'— He indeed made preparations personally to lead an army to Constantinople. The following trait will demonstrate the debasement of his successor ***Amin***: His army had experienced a signal defeat and the messenger who was sent to communicate the rueful news, found the Khalif employed in angling, in company of an emancipated slave. After hearing the message the Khalif rejoined: keep thy peace, man, I have not yet caught a single fish, whereas my friend here has already killed two! This involuntarily calls to mind the emperor Honorius, who was extremely fond of a hen, which he had called ***Roma***. Upon being apprized that Rome was lost, he was very much terrified, but his terror abated entirely, when it was explained to him, it was only the city of Rome, which had fallen into the hands of the barbarians, but that his beloved hen ***Roma***, was safe and sound.

a. At length ابو العباس احمد راضی بالله. He was the 20 th. Abasside and, according to the unanimous testimony of the arabian chroniclers, an accomplished and amiable prince, who encouraged, protected and cultivated arts and sciences.

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who in cases of extreme danger, has recourse, in the last instance, to dangerous antidotes. He created in the person of Ibn Raik,[a] the first ***Emir al Omrah***[b] i. e. unlimited commander, who was to restrain with his powerful hand, the revolt of the provinces and the ruin of the empire. Radhi was led to adopt this measure, not only by the desire to shake off the burden of the government, but he imagined, that, like the republic of Rome under similar circumstances, he should save his inheritance by the appointment of a Dictator, who by his energies should restore unity in the administration of the scatter'd provinces. But his dangerous experiment not only failed, but in time wrought the entire destruction of the dignity of the Khalifs. The power of the ***Emir al Omrah***, exceeded that of the ***major domus*** of the french kings and whilst the latter suc-

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a. Baratier incorrectly calls him Raice and even in the writings of best french and german authors, he appears under the name of Raik, but his real name is Ibn Raik, the Raikide, or at full length ابو بكر محمد بن رايق, Abu Bekr Mohammed Ben Raik. Abulfaradj reads راتق (Ratek) but we suppose that some copyist mistook the ي for a ت and thus occasioned this vicious reading.

b. In the Index historicus of Reiske and in Adler's Abulfeda (V. 485.) we meet with the following, incorrect statement: Emir al Omarah: Primus hoc titulo et numero a Radio ornatus fuit Bahcam.... Post eum summi Emiri dignitate gaudebant Raiecides etc. Raik or Ibn Raik however was the first and Bahcam the second. Here we again observe the difference of Abulfeda's and Abulfaradj's orthography: the latter reads بحكم the former بكحم

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ceeded to the throne of their sovereigns only after a display of personal merit and by the purchased countenance of the popes, the former proceeded at once and without any foreign aid.

From Radhi dates the real extinction of the Khalifate, the doom of which was slightly retarded by the merits of a few of its possessors (s. below, Moktafi) With few exceptions only, the Khalifate from 934, the date of the creation of the first ***Emir al Omra***, to the times of R. Benjamin, was nothing more than the empty name of a dignity, which in reality existed no longer. We will not trespass upon the time and patience of the reader, by remarks upon the reigns of any of these shadows of royalty, nor does it enter into our plan to rectify here several errors, which have crept into the received version of the history of events prior to R. Benjamin's time, and the limits of this essay admitting but of a review of this remote period, as far as is necessary to demonstrate the course of the decline and fall of the Khalifate, we will compress into one paragraph, the sketch of the two centuries from Radhi, to the period of the traveller we aim to illustrate.

§. 14. The Khalifate from Radhi Billah to Moktafi 935—1150. '***Radhi Billah*** was the last of the Khalifs, who had the command of the army and the treasure, the last who held the Khotbah on fridays, the last who had the means of making presents, the last who had servants and an own household like his predecessors.' Thus Elmacin; Abulfeda coincides with him in general; he thus expresses himself:

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وهو اخر خليفة له شعر يدوّن واخر خليفة خطب كثيرا على منبر وان كان غيره قد خطب فانة كان نادرا لا اعتبار به وكان اخر الخلفاء جالس المجلساء واخر خليفة كانت نفقتة وجرايانة وخزانته ومطابخه وامورة على ترتيب الخلفاء المتقدمين ۞

'He (Radhi) was the last Khalif, of whom poems are collected; the last who frequently read the Khotbah... He was the last of the Khalifs who frequented the society of gay companions; the last Khalif whose expenditure for stipends, cellar and kitchen etc. may be compared to that of former Khalifs.'[a] Abulfaradj (Hist. dynast. p. 302.) expresses himself in a similar manner.

If we compare the situation of the Khalif with that of the contemporary popes, this parallel must be confined to very narrow limits:[b] The authority of the Sultan and the Emir al Omrah, not being supported by any other title than that of the sword and every Khalif having the option to reconquer as much as his courage and circumstances permitted, this comparison is not equally applicable to every Khalif. Some of them may be considered similar to a weak, constitutional king of England, whose power is limited to the appointment of the executors of those laws, which have been framed and prescribed by the Sultan People, others were like the clerical, in opposition to the temporal Dalai Lama of Japan. Most of them however

a. My translation of this quotation differs from that of Reiske (II. 413.) and I have omitted several words, because the text requires investigation.

b. R. Benjamin is justified in making this comparison, see below.

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resemble the fabulous ***Grand-Electeur***, proposed by Sieyes in the rejected plan of the french constitution of 1799, and who, according to the idea of this philosopher, was to have been assisted by two Consuls, the latter to be responsible for all acts of government, the former merely to reside in the royal palace of Versailles, to have a body guard of 3000 men and to spend a yearly salary of 6 millions of francs; several Khalifs are nothing but such fatten'd figures. [a]

§. 15. CONTEMPORARY ASIATIC DYNASTIES. We consider it necessary to say a few words on several other asiatic dynasties, in order to gain a clear point of view and to illustrate the apparent confusion, created by the names of many other monarchs, mention'd by R. Benjamin.

We have seen that the Abassides are consider'd the representatives of the grandest period of arabian history; but we have also seen that this grandeur was not real but fictitious. The history of the Khalifs from Abubekr to the first Abassides may be compared to prose, simple, unadorned, but of exuberant intellectual power, the annals of the Abassides, to a romance, puffed up with flowery language and dressed in polished verses. [b]

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a. According to the design of the subtle politician, Napoleon was to represent this figure; his sentiment on the subject is very expressive. 'Et comment avez vous pu imaginer', said he to Sieyes; 'qu'un homme de quelque talent, et d'un peu d'honneur voulût se resigner au rôle d'un cochon à l'engrais de quelques millions?'

b. That these verses frequently delight by their exceeding

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Hardly had these princes been invested with the mantle, staff and seal of the prophet, when several portions of the colossal empire began to loosen their bonds; Spain immediately, Africa under the much-extolled Harun Arrashid. But more pernicious than either, was the emancipation of the asiatic provinces in the very vicinity of Bagdad.

The struggle for the fragments of the empire was not only a contest for dominion but also for principles; certainly only for *religious* principles, not for those of liberty or of the authority 'by the grace of God.' Three nations enter'd the lists, Arabians, Persians and Turks. The first, inheritors of the institution of Muhammed, were independent and great, as long as they retained their simplicity and orthodoxy as Sunnides. Against them rose the persian Shiites and these were again supplanted by turkish (seldjukish) Sunnides. The following dynasties appear and disappear from the stage: 1. *Thaherides*, in Chorasan, from 825 (from 820 according to others) to 872. — 2. *Soffarides*, supplanted the former in Chorasan and reigned till 902. — 3. *Samanides*, reigned in Persia and Transoxania from the commencement of the 10th. century. — 4. *Dile-*

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euphony, and that we often meet even poetical depth, who can deny? But the whole grandeur and dignity of the empire of the Abassides must be compared to their historical and poetical gospel, '*the tales of the thousand and one nights*;' its beauties enrapture youth, the adult can consider it only a charming fanciful production, full of vision and extravagance.

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mides, on the Caspanian sea, from 927 — 1080. — 5. *Buides*, reigned from 933 to the middle of the 11th. century, divided into several branches; their power extended over the greatest portion of the Khalifate and over the Khalifs — they were the Emirs al Omrah at Bagdad. — 6. *Seldjuks*, whom we see appear so powerfully in the crusades. We shall have to speak more at length below on this dynasty and also on 7. *the different dynasties in Syria and Mesopotamia.* Besides the above, we mention 8. the splendid empire of the *Gasnavides* in India, who reigned from the end of the 10th. to that of the 12th. century. The dominions of the petty Emirs on the arabian peninsula, the Gurides etc. are too insignificant for this review.[a]

In spite of the decay of the empire, of the numerous revolts and the low degree to which the authority of the Abassides had sunk, Bagdad, during the whole period, conserved the distinction of being the principal seat of science and art, in the entire east; the christian west possessed at this period no city which could bear comparison with Bagdad. But there existed a muhammedan town in Europe, which not

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a. Even the Assassins have been omitted here as too insignificant, but as R. Benjamin is the first european who mentions them, I refer to my remarks on this sect in Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes, 1840, No. 130. The party attacked by me in that paper, is Professor Schott, a well-known oriental scholar, who, in a note to the article, has declared himself convinced by my arguments.

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only could stand this test, but which even surpassed its rival in many, if not in every respect. *Cordova* was from the 9th to the 12th. century the ornament of the cities, the source of science and the seat of urbanity.

§. 16. TABLE OF SUCCESSION OF THE ABASSIDE KHALIFS. In order to complete this essay, we insert a correct list of the Khalifs of the house of Abbas, and we consider this to be necessary, because Herbelot, the real source of oriental learning, is guilty of great confusion in his article on this subject and because several commentators of R. Benjamin have attempted to find in a much earlier period, the Khalif who reigned at the time of our traveller; but we have omitted those Khalifs who reigned from 1170 to 1258, because the period of their existence is more recent than that of the author we intend to illustrate.

I. Abul Abbas Essafah (the bloody). † 754.	I. ابو العباس السفاح
II. Abu Dshafer Abd Allah Ben Mohammed El Mansur, called generally Abu Dshafer El Mansur. † 775.	II. ابو جعفر المنصور
III. Mohammed El Mohdi Ben Abu Dshafer, called generally El Mohdi, or El Mahadi. † 785.	III. المهد (محمد)
IV. Musa El Hadi Ben El Mohdi, called generally El Hadi. † 786.	IV. الهدى (موسى)
V. Harun Arrashid Ben El Mohdi. †. 809.	V. هارون الرشيد
VI. Mohammed Musa El Amin Ben Harun, called generally El Amin. † 813.	VI. الامين (محمد موسى)
VII. Abul Abbas El Mamun Abu Dshafer Abd Allah Ben Harun, called generally El Mamun. †833.	VII. المامون

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VIII. Abu Ishak Mohammed Ben Harun, called El Motassem billah, [a] (the pure through God) † 842. — VIII. المعتصم بالله

IX. Abu Dshafer Harun Ben El Motassem, called El Wathekh billah (the trusting in God). † 847. — IX. الواثق بالله

X. Abul Fadhl Dshafer Ben El Motassem, called El Motewakkel Alallah[b] (the relying upon God). † 861. — X. المتوكل على الله

XI. Abu Dshafer Mohammed Ben Motewakkel, called El Montasser billah (the conquering through God), † 862. — XI. المنتصر بالله

XII. Abul Abbas Achmed Ben Mohammed Ben El Motassem, called El Mostain Billah (the implorer of God's assistance). † 866. — XII. المستعين بالله

XIII. Abu Abd Allah Mohammed Ben Motewakkel, called El Motass Billah (the flourishing in God). † 869. — XIII. المعتز بالله

XIV. Abu Abd Allah Mohammed Ben El Wathek, called El Mohtadi Billah (conducted by God). † 870. — XIV. المهتدى بالله

XV. Abul Abbas Achmed Ben El Motewakkel, called El Motamed Alallah (the relying upon the support of God). † 892. — XV. المعتمد على الله

XVI. Abul Abbas Achmed Ben El Mowaffek Ben El Motewakkel, called El Motadhed Billah (the powerful through God). † 902. — XVI. المعتضد بالله

XVII. Abu Mohammed Ali Ben El Motadhed, called El Moctafi Billah (contented in God.) † 908. — XVII. المكتفى بالله

XVIII. Abul Fadhl Dshafer Ben El Motadhed, called El Moktader Billah, (the powerful through God). † 932. — XVIII. المقتدر بالله

XIX. Abu Mansur Mohammed Ben El Motadhed, called El Kaher Bil- — XIX. القاهر بالله

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a. This was the first Khalif who assumed a pious epithet, wherein he was imitated by his successors. It has been erroneously compared to our 'by the grace of God', nor does it bear comparison with the titles of those christian princes, who still call themselves 'apostolic' or 'catholic Majesty.'

b. Erroneously Billah.

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lah (conquering through God). † 934.

XX. Abul Abbas Achmed Ben El Moktader, called Erradhi Billah (the submitting to God). † 940. — XX. الراضى بالله

XXI. Abu Ishak, Ibrahim Ben El Moktader, called El Motaki Billah (the spared by God). † 944. — XXI. المتقى بالله

XXII. Abul Kassem Abd Allah Ben El Moktafi, called El Mostacfi Billah (the implorer of God). † 946. — XXII. المستكفى بالله

XXIII. Abul Kassem El Fadhl Ben El Moktader, called El Moti Lillah (the obeyer of God). † 974. — XXIII. المطيع لله

XXIV. Abul Fadhl Abd El Kerîm Ben Mothî, called El Thâi Lillah (the obedient to God). † 991. — XXIV. الطايع لله

XXV. Abul Abbas Achmed Ben Ishak Ben El Moktader, called El Khâder Billah (the powerful of God). †1031. — XXV. القادر بالله

XXVI. Abu Dshafer Abd Allah Ben El Kader, called El Kajem Beamr Illah (the fixed upon the command of God). † 1075. — XXVI. القايم بامر الله

XXVII. Abul Kassem Abd Allah Ben Mohammed Ben El Khajem, called El Moktadi Beamr Illah (the submitting to God's commands). †1094. — XXVII. المقتدى بامر الله

XXVIII. Abul Abbas Ahmed Ben El Moktadi, called El Mostadher Billah (the implorer of the assistance of God). † 1118. — XXVIII. المستظهر بالله

XIX. Abu Mansur El Fadhl Ben El Mostadher, called El Mostarshed Billah (the praying for God's guidance. † 1135. — XXIX. المسترشد بالله

XXX. Abu Dshafer El Mansur Ben El Mostarshed, called Errâshed Billah (the acting righteously through God). † 1136. — XXX. الراشد بالله

XXXI. Mohammed Ben El Mostadher, called El Moktafi Beamr Illah (the obeying of God's commands) † 1160. [a] — XXXI. المقتفى بامر الله

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a. We write this name Moktafi, with k, which represents the arabic ق more appropriately than c, kh, or ch. By this ortho-

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XXXII. Abul Modhaffer Jussuf Ben El Moktafi, called El Mostandshed Billah (the implorer of God's assistance). † 1170. XXXII. المستنجد بالله

CHAPTER III.

The Khalifate and the Khalif of R. Benjamin's times.

§. 17. POLITICAL STATE OF WESTERN ASIA. The events which we behold upon the theatre of western Asia, in the middle of the 12th. century, offer a remarkable difference from those of the preceding age; the lights and shadows of the picture have undergone a material change. The crusades roused anew the religious efforts of the Saracens; a spirit of enthusiasm again diffused itself and was effectual in re-uniting those energies which had been separated and directing their joint efforts against the common enemy. The ideas and the deeds of this period, remind the observer of the virgin times of the islam, of its golden age under the four *'legitimate'* Khalifs.

Two events of this remarkable era claim our particular attention: *the Emancipation of the Khalifs* and *the appearance of the Atabeks*; both effects of the weakness of the seldjukian government, they be-

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graphy this Khalif is also distinguished from the 17th. Abasside (Moktafi). Reiske renders both Moktafi, but he distinguishes them always very accurately by the addition of the epithet *Billah* or *Beamrallah*, a precaution disregarded by most historians; we generally find both مقتفى and مكتفى render'd by *Moktafi*, or *Moctafi Billah*.

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came at a later period, the principal agents of the annihilation of that power.

About the middle of the 11 th. century, we see warlike turkish hords emerge from the unbounded wilds of central Asia, they call themselves Seldjuks[a] and within an incredibly short period, they subdue under their chief Togrul Bek,[b] all the possessions of the Khalifs. Full of martial virtue, they were stimulated by the fanaticism of the islam, the dogma of which they had but recently embraced; both combined made them victorious, for a time even invincible, until we see them, like all savage conquerors, work their own destruction by the dissensions which arose upon the distribution of the spoil. The fatal result was accelerated by the introduction of the custom of entrusting the education of the young princes entirely to foreign governors, who gained first the favor and confidence of their pupils and made these acquirements the means of depriving them of their inheritance, which they erected into independent states and govern'd under the title of Atabeks.[c]

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a. سلجوقية, the dynasty of the Seldjuks: الدولة السلجوقية.

b. طغريل بك.

c. More correctly Atabeg, being composed of the turkish *Ata*, father, and *Beg*, master, prince; Herbelot translates *père du prince*. Abulfeda للوالد الامين *the loyal father*. Vullers (in Mirkhond's Geschichte der Seldschuken, Giessen 1837. p. 73. note) gives another explanation of this word; according to this authority *Nitham-al-Mulk*, was the first

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The Seldjukian princes were not content with the title of ***Emir al Omrah***, but under those of Sultans and Grand-Sultans, ruled the Khalif and his empire and by matrimonial connexions, into which they forced their nominal masters, they had even obtained an alliance with the sacred blood of the prophet. It is not our intention to enter into a description of the empires, the wars and conquests of these princes,[a] but we introduce them to the reader, at a period when their power had been fully developed, but was on its wane; we at once proceed to the time of our traveller.

§. 18. SELDJUKIAN PRINCES AND THE KHALIFS ABOUT

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who bore this title, the creation of which Mirkhond ascribes to Alp Arslan, Abulfeda to Malekshah. We suppose however that, in remuneration of their services in the education of the princes, they were elected governors of a city or lieutenants of a province, either by the father, or when arrived at maturity, by their pupils. Most emirs of the seldjukian Sultans, shook off the allegiance to their lords and the almost uninterrupted warfare, in which the reigning dynasties were mutually engaged, favored their ambitious designs. The Atabeks imitated the other emirs, but bringing to the task more talents and more justice and favored generally by fortune, we meet, at the period we speak of, several independent branches of these Atabeks. The crusaders knew and feared those of the Euphrates and Tigris and the names of ***Zengi*** and ***Nureddin*** are renowned not only in the history of the holy wars, but in that of the middle ages generally.

a. It cannot be our design to speak of the battles and the feuds of the Seldjuks, which offer no interest to the student of history and have no reference to the illustration, which is the object of the present essay.

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1150. Three powerful sovereigns govern'd about this epoch and ruled the fate of western and in a great measure also that of central and southern Asia. 1. ***Sandjar***,[a] by whose powerful sway almost the whole of eastern Persia was subdued. 2. ***Masud***,[b] the grand Sultan, who resided and guarded the Khalif at Bagdad and from thence commanded western Persia and along the banks of the Tigris. 3. ***Zenki***,[c] or rather his sons Nureddin and Seifeddin, on the Tigris and Euphrates and as far as the shores of the Mediterranean.

We shall devote a few lines to the Atabeks of the family of Zenki, which R. Benjamin mentions repeatedly. The dynasty was founded by Emad-eddin Zenki, one of the most valiant princes of his time. Sultan Mahmud II., in 1130, elected him to the place of governor of his son Alp-Arslan, who possessed several prin-

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a. سنجر R. Benjamin calls him סניגר שאה בן שאה, corrupted from סנגיאר בן מלך שאה, the י after the ג to mark its pronounciation to be like the italian gi, but it is probably more correct to read שאה הן שאה, instead of שאה בן שאה, which would be simply, Shah-hensha, i. e. king of kings. This reading not only expresses Sanjar's real dignity, but is in conformity with the words of the text immediately following, המולך על כל מלכי פרס, which appear intended to explain its meaning. The ה of הן was probably changed into a ב by some over-wise copyist and the title is still assumed by the turkish Sultan, although even a viceroy would lord it over him!

b. مسعود.

c. زنكي, called sanguinus by the historians of the crusades. Upon this erroneous version of his name, was founded the erroneous opinion of his having been a sanguine tyrant.

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cipalities in Syria and on the Tigris. The Atabek ruled these possessions in the name of this weak prince, but soon declared himself independent and his prince a prisoner. Zenki fell by the hands of assassins, after a reign of twenty years, distinguished by wisdom and those qualities which constitute the greatness of a sovereign and by that formidable prowess and bravery, which gained him the epithet of 'the bloody' from the historians of the west. On the receipt of the news of Zenki's death, Alp Arslan attempted to liberate himself at Mosul, the garrison of which city proclaimed him Sultan, but the hero had left two sons, by whom his design was easily frustrated. ***Nureddin***, the greatest prince of his time, resigned to his brother ***Seifeddin*** the government of Mosul and of a large portion of the provinces on the Tigris, the latter reigned with much sagacity, but died early, in 1149. This prince is mention'd by our author under the name of זין אלדין a corrupted reading for זיף אלדין.[a] The branch of Zenki, which reigned at Mosul, numbers two Seifeddin, among its members. The first, as we have just stated, died in 1149, about ten years, before the arrival of Rabbi B. in the east, the second reigned 1170—80 and it is very improbable that our author should allude to him.[b]

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a. The ل of the arabic article ال is assimilated with the dental and labial letters of the succeeding word. For this reason هارون الرشيد = أرشيد and سيف الدين is not pronounced Seifeldin, but Seifeddin. R. Benjamin by adding אחיו של נור אלדין removes every doubt on the subject.

b. Desguignes histoire des huns, l. XIII. p. 169. where

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In the account of David el Roy (I. 81.) Rabbi B. thus expresses himself: עד שקם מלך אחד ושמו זין אל דין מלך תוגרמים עבד מלך פרס 'until a certain king who was named Seifeddin, king of the turks (i. e. Seldjuks) and vassal to the king of Persia' and this passage will aid us to ascertain the period of R. Benjamin's travels. It cannot possibly be a ***Zeineddin***, who held the office of commander of the citadel of Mosul immediately after the accession of Seifeddin,[a] but our author refers to Seifeddin I. successor of Zenki, king (Atabek) of the turkish Seldjuks, who however required the confirmation of the Grand Sultan of ***western Persia***. History also informs us that ***Masud***, the Grand Sultan, still was or at least pretended to be the sovereign of the Zenkides and that he invested Seifeddin with the insignia of office. In this sense the Atabek is called by Rabbi B. 'vassal of the king of Persia,' because the Rabbi consider'd him dependent either on Masud or on Sandjar, the Grand Sultan of ***eastern Persia*** and the latter appears the more probable from the manner in which he speaks of this Sultan (I. 74. 75.) and which

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our author is quoted and which passage has been referred to by the editor of this work I. 127.

a. Between the first and second Seifeddin, Kotbeddin reigned at Mosul, 1149—1170. The following list of the princes of Mosul, will show that R. Benjamins visit to the east falls within the time of the latter. سيف الدين غازى Seifeddin Gazi, reigned 1145 to 1149. قطب الدين مودود Kotbeddin Maudud, brother of the former 1149—1170. سيف الدين غازى Seifeddin Gazi (Almoez) II. 1170—1180.

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shows that Rabbi B. consider'd him to have been the supreme lord of all Sultans and Atabeks. The event of the pseudo-messiah Alroy, says the Rabbi, *happen'd ten years ago*; Seifeddin died in 1149, and if he was an actor in the tragic exit of the impostor, Rabbi B., according to the passage just quoted, must have visited the country in 1160.

The second passage which illustrates this question runs thus

ושם רבי יוסף... חווה למלך זין אל דין אחיו של נור אל דין

(l. 82.), this may be understood to imply, that R. Joseph was the royal astronomer, to which office he had been promoted by king Seifeddin, and it *must* be thus understood, if we wish to avoid difficulties in the explanation of synchronical events, because Seifeddin died in 1149 and Rabbi B. can not have visited the east prior to 1159.

We will now examine Baratier's attack on the veracity of our author, which he founds upon this passage. 'Benjamin dit encore, says he II. 31. que de son temps regnoit à Mosul Zinaldin. Cependant dans un autre endroit il dit que ce Zinaldin vivoit du temps d'El Roi, d'ou il s'ensuit que c'est Zenghy ou Zenghin (sic!) Roi de Mosul..... Or ce Zenghin étant mort l'an 1134 (sic!) etc. From this apparent contradiction Baratier, exposing at the same time his own gross ignorance of history, accuses Rabbi B. of being an impostor and an ignorant compiler! We have shown that the contradiction is by no means inexplicable; besides we may conjecture that our author wrote קשב אל דין which some

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ignorant scribe or over-wise scholar changed into זין אל דין because ***Kotbeddin's*** name was not as familiar to him. But the impartial reader must admit that R. Benjamin's mistake by no means justifies the abuse of his french commentator; happy even the modern traveller who is exempt from more solid reproach![a]

§. 19. MOKTAFI, THE FIRST INDEPENDENT KHALIF. If, during the middle of the preceding century, the Khalif was a mere political cipher, at whose left hand the Seldjukes were placed, a powerful unity: we observe in the present, the 12th. age, the atabeks usurp the place of the latter and the Seldjukian sultans descend into that of the former. And thus do we behold about this period one of the

a. In the note on the passage just quoted (I. 184.) Baratier blunders even more extravagantly: On s'etonnera un peu, de ce que Benjamin parle ici d'un Roi des ***Turcs***, Vassal de celui de ***Perse***, les ***Turcs*** étant alors eux mêmes maitres de ce royaume....' He does not know that the turkish Seldjuks were masters of Persia. The ignorance displayed by this note is such, as almost to justify the withdrawing of all confidence, which in other instances he deserves by the extraordinary abilities he displays. He concludes the note by the following passage: 'Si c'est Zenghi, on peut encore dire qu'au lieu de זין אלדין ***Zin*** ou ***Zen Aldin***, il faut lire זין אלגין, ***Zin*** ou ***Zen Alghin***. Alors comme Benjamin de ***Nourdin*** ou ***Nouredin*** fait ***Nouraldin*** avec l'article arabe, ainsi aussi de ***Zenghin*** il aura fait ***Zinalghin***.' It is evident that Baratier here displays his ignorance of the arabic language, which indeed forms no part of the polyglott he holds on the frontispiece. But it is not becoming in one, who knows so little of the composition of names and of history, so to judge and to abuse.

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most remarkable events of eastern history. ***We see the Khalifate rouse its energies and reclaim its independence, by shaking off that oppression and feebleness, which during two centuries almost annihilated it.***

The Seldjuks, after subduing western and central Asia, fell into that lethargy, so common to all uncivilised conquerors, who sit down, intoxicated by success to enjoy the spoil. The Sultans, adepts in the art of war, were but tyros in that of administration. The respect and obedience of the vanquished provinces was limited to those victorious princes, who by their presence overawed discontent and revolt; but the Sultans almost continually lived in the field, engaged in feuds over the spoils or in warfare against the crusaders, at times restraining, at others encouraging the aspiring spirit of the Atabeks. The watchful Khalifs, construing the weakness of their jailors into a hint of providence, seized the favorable moment and employed their power and ability to regain their original station.

Mostarshed was the first to avail himself of the dissensions of the Sultans and to liberate himself by the force of arms, and the first who revived the almost obsolete custom of leading his forces into the field. The warriors under Zenki beheld with astonishment and dismay in the camp of the enemy the black tent of the Abassides, and when the courageous Khalif advanced, their general bravery gave way before deeply rooted veneration and they deserted their standard and the field. ***Mostarshed*** however did not enjoy the fruits of his prowess; he became a captive by treachery in a

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battle against *Masud* (Ao. 1135.) and was deliver'd by the Sultans into the hands of cruel assassins.[a] His successor *Rashed* underwent a similar fate, he was deposed and slain. *Moktafi*[b] however, who combined with determination in the field, the prudence to veil his intentions until their maturity, like the Maccabean high-priests of old, availed himself of the strife which divided the power of his tyrants, and succeeded at last, in shaking off the thraldom which held him in subjection.

In the political life of this remarkable Khalif, we must however signalize two distinct periods. The first, from his succession to the throne, 1136, to the death of the Grand-Sultan *Masud*, 1152; the second from that time to his own death in 1160.

Sultan *Masud* was a prince, whose civil virtues are much extolled by oriental authors, but he possessed none of those qualities which constitute the grandeur of the regent. It is not to be determin'd, whether he and his relative *Sanjar* were the instigators of the murder committed on *Mostarshed* or whether they merely sanctioned it tacitly, but it is certain that *Masud* witnessed the deposition of two Khalifs, and oppressed the third, Moktafi, who had been elected by his consent. During the life of *Masud*, the Khalif manifested but the signs

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a. The *Assassins* are accused of having committed this foul act, but almost every similar crime of the period is ascribed to this sect. Sanjar took charge of the insignia of the Khalifate and returned them to Moktafi at a later period.

b. See a short sketch of his life at the end of this essay.

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of his reestablished independence and the Khalifate remained what it had been since Radhi, a spiritual, more than a temporal, power, acknowledged in the empire of the Emirs or Sultans.

The sun of the house of Seldjuk set with the death of Masud (547 Hej. 1152 Ch.) The numerous princes were deprived of a powerful head, of the centre round which they could rally; the want of that source from which the distant members of the gigantic body of the empire were to derive life and vigour, was deeply felt. *Sanjar* indeed, the powerful Sultan of eastern Persia, could have concentrated in his person the scatter'd forces of the empire of Seldjuk, and by the eminent degree of universal respect, which his age, dignity and personal talents, had acquired for him, was even more qualified to fill this high station, than *Masud*; but he was prevented from assuming it by a war with the Guzes (Gazes) and by the fatal results of a great battle in which he was defeated and became a prisoner. His liberty was restored and he regained his throne and his country after a confinement of some years, but the magnanimous prince, harassed by the disorders which had meanwhile almost annihilated the empire, died broken-hearted.

The fatal consequences, into which the house of Seldjuk was plunged by the death of Masud, are thus expressed by Abulfeda:

وماتت معه سعدة البيت السلجوقى ولم يقم لهم
بعده رايه يعتمد بها ۞

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'With him (Masud) died the fortune of the house of Seldjuk, for they were deprived of the standard round which they could rally.

§. 20. THE KHALIFATE FROM 1152—60. Moktafi remained a tranquil spectator during the entire period of the reign of ***Masud***; he abstain'd from any interference in the broils of the Sultans and Atabeks, although many favorable opportunities offer'd themselves, thus to avenge the murder of his brother and nephew. Various considerations prompted him to act as he did: the fate of his kinsmen, who found their death in the attempt at liberty; the prospect that the petty princes and tyrants would mutually destroy each other and that their own drums beat the funeral march of the house of Seldjuk; perhaps also the more noble motive of gratitude to ***Masud***, who had raised him to the Khalifate, and who, by this very conduct is perhaps entitled to be acquitted of guilt in the murder of his predecessor.[b]

But with the death of ***Masud***, Moktafi was entirely changed and appear'd almost another man. He shook off the yoke of the Sultans, acknowledged no authority besides his own at Bagdad and became an independent prince, not only of the great capital which still claimed the distinction of being the most civilised of the world,[a] but in a great measure also of Irak and probably also of Arabia. With him a new era com-

a. Cordova, which in a prior age could vie with Bagdad, had lost much of its importance in consequence of the civil wars of Spain.

b. They were also related to each other.

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mences in the history of the Khalifate and the improvement held out, with little interruption, until the final dissolution of the Abasside empire under ***Holagu.*** Under ***Moktafi,*** the Khalifate retrieved upon a smaller scale, the character of its primitive splendour. The great day of its existence, so full of the clearest sunshine and of clouds and tempests, sets with a soft beautiful beam and vanishes from the stage of history. And by this becoming exit it engaged the sympathy of posterity, which it hardly would have acquired, if it had left us at a moment, when the brutal force of a turkish soldier could depose, blind, beggar or kill the successor and representative of the prophet.

The advantages which ***Moktafi*** obtained by patience, skill, valour and fortune, were preserved by his successor ***Mostandshed*** (s. below) almost without requiring any effort, because the Seldjuks and their own petty princes were too weak to molest the power of which the Khalif had again possessed himself. This state of things continued under ***Almostadhi Beamrillah,*** who followed Mostandshed and this prince enjoyed the satisfaction, not only of witnessing the ruin of the odious Fatimites, but also the re-establishment of his own spiritual supremacy in Egypt. But it being very unlikely that R. Benjamin should allude to this Khalif, we do not consider it necessary to enter more at length into the history of his reign and shall only mention him briefly in the biographical sketch of his father.

§. 21. The Khalifate in 1158—70. From what we have stated above, it is evident that the condition

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of the Khalifate after the demise of ***Masud***, can by no means be compared with that of the period preceding it, and this difference is important in a critique of the statement of R. Benjamin in general, but particularly in an impartial scrutiny of his description of Bagdad and its princes. By the establishment of this difference, many arguments brought forward by Baratier will be entirely deprived of force and we shall be justified in numbering them among those frivolous attacks, which the learned youth brought forward in the embarrassment created by his prejudice and which he advanced with so much clamour and satisfaction, because he ***desired*** to represent as a ***Fourbe***, the simple Jewish traveller.

We have dated from the year 1158 the new period, and improved condition of the Khalifate, because ***Sanjar*** died a short time prior to it and by his death the power and authority of the Seldjuks was deprived of its last prop and support. The authority of the Khalifate rose in exact proportion to the decline of the power of the conquerors and ***Moktafi*** was too prudent not to seize the advantages offering themselves by the unsteadiness and wavering of the Seldjukian administration. ***Sanjar*** was succeeded by his nephew ***Mahmud***, a mere ***titular*** Sultan, whose country was devastated by the Gazes and whose authority was usurped by his own slave, the Mamluk ***Ibeh***. The nullity of the Sultan was such, that none of the arabian authors mention any circumstances, regarding either his life or death, but we learn from them that ***Ibeh***, the Mamluk,

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reigned with alternate success of arms, until 1172, and that the Khalifate was exempted from his attacks.

The west-persian Sultanate shared in general the same fate; in some instances its decline was even more rapid. ***Mahmud***, the successor of ***Masud***, was engaged in warfare against an antagonist who had been elected to the Sultanate by ***Moktafi***, and whom the latter supported with an army. The condition of the Khalifate had improved in such a degree, that the Sultan instead of being its tyrant, became dependent upon it for support! and the latter had not only to defend himself against the pretensions of his rival, but also against those of his own successful brother.

The most powerful government was that of the Zenkides in Syria and Mesopotamia, but neither ***Nureddin*** nor his brother ***Khotbeddin*** bore any enmity towards the Khalif;[a] the noble ***Nureddin*** was a good Moslem and desired to see the ***Imam-al-Moslemin*** free and independent; he was also a good politician and understood the utility of maintaining a spiritual head of the Islam, in whose name its votaries could unite and combat against the invasion of the christians, who threaten'd the east and were checked by his immortal valour and prudence.

§. 22. APPLICATION OF THIS STATEMENT IN ILLUSTRATION OF OUR AUTHOR. Having thus proved, that the

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a. In the years 1154 and 1155, some differences prevail'd between Moktafi and Khotbeddin, which led to hostile encounters.

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Khalifate regained its independence with the death of ***Masud***, and that the Khalif's ***spiritual*** and ***temporal*** authority was established in Irak and his ***spiritual*** supremacy acknowledged in ***all*** moslemic countries,[a] the principal passage of our author (p. 54 et seq.) is vindicated against the attacks of Baratier; 'ce que Benjamin dit de l'autorité du Caliphe, says Baratier, p. 31, est une faute grossière.... Il faut necessairement que Benjamin ait copié cela ou sur des mémoires anciens, écrits vers le IX. ou même le commencement du X. siècle lorsque l'autorité du Caliphe étoit encore en son entier, s'imaginant que cela étoit encore ainsi de son tems; ou sur des mémoires que lui fournissoit son imagination dereglée.' And again II. 47, 'Benjamin attribue au Caliphe de Bagdad une gloire et une autorité qu'il avoit à la verité jusques au X. siècle, mais qu'il n'avoit plus lorsque ce voyageur doit être allé à Bagdad....'[b] With

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a. The spiritual supremacy of the Abassides, was acknowledged at an earlier period in Spain and northern Africa; the powerful Joseph ben Tashfin, even sent a solemn embassy to Bagdad, to request investiture from the hands of the Emir-al-Mumenin.

b. The mistakes of which Baratier is guilty, who reproaches our author of ignorance, will be best seen by referring to the passages above alluded to; he states that the Khalifs preceding the Abassides had resided at Kufah and ***Bagdad***! 'L'an 756' he continues, 'Muhavia fils de Hescham conquit l'Espagne et Abdurrahmann son fils s'en fit proclamer Caliphe et Imiralmumnin l'an 759.' Bagdad was founded by the second Abasside and could not have been the

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these presumptions, which are as audacious as they are false, he considers himself justified, not only in questioning the authenticity of R. Benjamin, but even in declaring him an impostor, too ignorant even to varnish his falsehoods with an appearance of probability. But we have shown, that at Rabbi B.'s time the Khalifate had obtained its emancipation; that the splendid colours with which the traveller paints the person and the court of the Khalif, are true and employed without exaggeration, is proved by other witnesses, who speak of the luxury displayed by the influential princes of Irak. A glance at the real state of affairs at Bagdad, will prove that our author is not guilty of so gross an anachronism, as that imputed by Baratier and that, if he has even described, the condition of the Khalifate not from personal observation, but from other sources, he has studied the latter with more assiduity, love of truth and fortune than his frivolous assailant.

We could maintain with more reason, that R. Benjamin has committed a contrary anachronism, by describing the Khalif and his authority:

והוא הממונה על דת הישמעאלים, וכל מלכי ישמעאל מודים לו, והוא עליהם כמו הפפא על הנוצרים [a]

which description is applicable to his dignity of *Imam-*

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residence of the Khalifs preceding them; the name of the conqueror of Spain was *not* Muhavia, that of his son was *not* Abdurrahmann and he did not assume the title of Imiralmumnin (read Emir-al-Mumenin) in 759.

a. See the translation p. 93.

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al-Mumenin (or *al-Moslemin*) only, but not to that of *Emir-al-Mumenin*. But the comparison of the author is happy, and strikingly adapted to his period and his public, because in strict truth, it is fully applicable in its whole extent. Like the pope, who reigned in his own states, an independent prince with temporal and spiritual authority, the Khalif exercised an exactly similar prerogative in Irak, and as the spiritual authority[a] of the pope was acknowledged by the christian world, so was that of the Khalif respected by all true believers.[b]

With our *exposé* of the political state of Irak, another of Baratier's attacks is also defeated: 's'il eût été réellement a Bagdad, says Baratier, auroit il parlé comme il fait du Caliphe sans faire la moindre mention des Rois de cet état, qui le tenoient, pour ainsi dire, captif sous leur puissance.' But it has been proved above that after the death of Sultan *Masud* (1152) the Khalif *Moktafi* tolerated no tutelar Sultan at Bagdad; that Sultan *Mahmud* advanced upon Bagdad in order to defend the power usurped by his house, against Moktafi, but that he met with an able antagonist, and that the Khalif repulsed the Sultan with con-

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a. The influence of this authority which at Rabbi B.'s time was exercised by Alexander III., was deeply felt even by the powerful emperor Frederic Barbarossa.

b. Even the muhammedan princes of Spain, acknowledged the spiritual supremacy of the Khalifs; Egypt only was subject to the power of the schismatic Fatimites.

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siderable loss of men and respect. Moktafi even elected an Anti-Sultan, whom he supported not only by the appeal to the pious belief in the authority of the Khalif, but also by a considerable armed force, which he led personally into the field. His immediate predecessors, it is true, had also the right of investiture; the Sultans and Emirs applied to the *spiritual* head, for *formal* investiture with the insignia of power. But the Khalif could console himself, over a mess of turnips, with the sentence of that celebrated roman, who preferred commanding kings to being a king himself. More than such a consolation the Khalifs hardly could lay claim to, nor had some of them more than a pot of turnips, others had even less. But Moktafi not only commanded kings by spiritual influence, but he was a king, commanding both gold and power; under these circumstances can we imagine another 'Roi de Bagdad?' Baratier, by this new attack has certainly not furnished any new evidence against the veracity of Rabbi B. but he proves that one mistake causes many more.

The inferences, which Baratier wishes to draw from the imperfections of the description of Bagdad, are inadmissible and they prove by no means that the Rabbi had not visited the city. Many a Jew may visit Bagdad and the east, even at this day, without being capable of describing correctly all muhammedan ceremonies or of comprehending their real import. If we consider the seclusion of the Jews and the fanaticism which prevailed among them, the Muhammedans and the christians, it is not to be expected that a Jew

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should be minutely accurate in his descriptions of Rome, Constantinople or Bagdad. These mistakes are common to arabian and christian travellers and authors of the period; old Herodotus was no liar, but he reports circumstances of men and things, which have generally been caracterized with the indulgent name of 'fables.' A traveller into distant countries, the language of which he understands, at best, only imperfectly, dependent upon circumstances which limit the circle of his connexions and of his leisure, cannot possibly examine thoroughly all the objects which he beholds, nor does time allow him to study their real importance; these observations applicable to all travellers and all times, plead forcibly in extenuation of our simple traveller, who is guilty of many mistakes in his attempt to explain the ceremonies he observed. And notwithstanding our desire to repulse the attacks directed against the Rabbi, we cannot honestly pass in silence one of his explanations. 'Over his turban is thrown a black veil' says Rabbi B. (I. 97.) as a sign of humility, and as much as to say: See all this wordly honor will be converted into darkness on the day of death,'[a] thus representing the black turban only as a sign of mourning. But whoever visited Bagdad or Asia at the period of which we treat, ought to have known, that the black colour was adopted by the Abassides and that it was exclusively worn by them, their officers and adherents as the *official* color; opposed to it was the green, worn by

a. ועל המצנפת סודר שחור בשביל צניעות העולם כלומר תראו כל הכבוד הזה חשך...

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the Alides or Fatimites of Egypt. The prevalence of black was so universal, that in arabian works we meet frequently with the expression: 'such an officer was forced to assume the white habit' instead of: he was dismissed from his office (s. de Sacy, Chrestomathie I. 50.) and R. Benjamin would probably have remarked this, if the circumstances under which he travelled, had permitted him to observe more closely what passed beyond the sphere of Judaism. A less impartial defender of R. Benjamin might quote the following passage in justification of our traveller 'Les descendants d'Abbas commencèrent à prendre des vêtements noirs, lorsque Merwan eut fait mourir l'imam Ibrahim.... ils prirent alors les habits noirs *comme marque de la tristesse* que leur causait sa mort, et cette couleur devint le signe distinctif de leur parti.... (Soyuti in de Sacy Chrestomathie I. 51.) Thus the main part of R. Benjamin's explanation of the black turban, would have gained an historical ground, but we confess that we are not so far blinded by our desire of vindicating the Rabbi, as to advance that this historical origin, was alluded to by the words of our author; we prefer maintaining that his explanation was given דרך דרש, although the דרך פשוט would have been much preferable. The Rabbi merely imitated his contemporaries and the ancient commentators of the bible, who very frequently committed similar mistakes.

§. 23. Which Khalif does R. Benjamin allude to? Two questions arise in reference to the investigation, which Khalif was alluded to by our author:

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1. which Khalif corresponds with the period of the journey,
2. which of them is conformable to the description given by R. Benjamin.

Rabbi B. *may* have visited the east as early as 1159[a] and *may* have been there as late as 1170, but probably at no later period, because in Egypt he still found the Fatimites and does not mention Saladin. The period of 1159 to 1170 is filled by the reign of the following Khalifs: one year,[b] the first, by ***Moktafi***; ten years by ***Mostandshed***;[c] and lastly, a very short time, at the end of the period, by ***Mostadhi***. Our traveller therefore alludes *possibly* to ***Moktafi***, *probably* to ***Mostandshed***, but very *improbably* to ***Mostadhi***. The Rabbi's description of the person, the court and the power of the Khalif is *again* most applicable to ***Mostandshed*** and also to the condition of ***Moktafi*** in

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a. The principal argument, viz. that he speaks of Pope Alexander III. and consequently could not have visited Rome prior to 1159, is not entirely incontrovertible. The account was drawn up after the Rabbi's return and *second* visit to Rome (I. 161.) and he may have mention'd the name of the *then* reigning Pope. Another objection to this argument is the date given in the introduction to the history of David El Roi (p. 74.) where Seifeddin caused the assassination of the Pseudo-Messiah 'some ten years ago' (והוא עשר שנים). The death of Seifeddin having taken place in 1149, Rabbi B. must have visited the east in 1159. We might perhaps read 'עשר (i. e. עשרים) for עשר, but there is no ground for this conjecture.

b. † 11. March. 1160.

c. † 13. Dec. 1170.

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1159, but by no means to Mostadhi, and we shall have occasion to advert below, in the sketch of the life of the two former Khalifs, to several particulars of the description of our author.

But I hear the inquiring reader impatiently utter the question: has not the traveller *named* his Khalif? Certainly! he *has* named him, according to the testimony of the copyist and the printer; but the names which are mention'd, do not tend to alleviate the doubts, but on the contrary, to entangle the question. Two names have been transmitted to us by tradition, through the learned pen of Constantin L'Empereur, viz. תאפצי or האפצי and אחמד.

It is important for the critique of the text, to give the history of these names in the words of this scholar: 'Quum excusorum codicum antiquissimum nactus, qui M. T. Erpenii fuerat, in margine notatum invenissem Achmed, et in textu linea subductum nomen תאפצי; tanti viri auctoritatem, qui Chalipharum in suo Elmacino historiam ac successionem ignorare, vix poterat, seculus fueram: ideoque ipsius אחמד pro altero substitueram. Verum jam accuratius illam Chalipharum seriem examinans, utrumque, puta Benjaminem et eum qui in margine nomen immutaverat, sive Erpenius fuit, sive potius (uti omnino jam credo) alius a quo ille librum acceperat, utrumque inquam errare deprehendo....[a] (p. 184.)

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a. According to the above quotation, L'Empereur investigated the question which of the two names was correct

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The result of this history may be comprised in a few words: the Constantinople edition reads האפצי for which Erpenius or a previous possessor of his copy substituted that of אחמד. If we inquire however, which of the two be correct, we must answer conscienciously: one is as correct as the other, or more distinctly: both are interpolations. R. Benjamin, either from negligence or from forgetfulness has entirely omitted the name of the Khalif; this is evidently the case here as well as below (I. p. 149.) where in speaking of the Sultan of Egypt he merely mentions the name of the dynasty: he consider'd it sufficient *here* to distinguish the sovereign by the name of (אלעבאסי) *Abasside, there* by (אמיר אל מומנין עלי בן אביטלב) *Emir of the sect of Ali.*

Both חאפצי and אחמד are interpolations by a later hand, the first is entirely devoid of any meaning, the latter, though evidently erroneous, is deserving of an emendation. L'Empereur and Baratier who both suppose the reading of the Constantinople first edition, חאפצי, to have been written by the author, have made very ridiculous mistakes in their attempts to adapt this

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and he declares the result of his inquiry to have been, that neither was accurate, but that Moktafi must have been the Khalif of Rabbi B.'s time. Here he commits the gross blunder, of considering the muhammedan lunar years, equal to our solar years and of placing Moktafi's succession to the throne in 1152, because, according to Juchasin, this was 530 of the Hedshra — his death is stated to have taken place in 1177 = 555!!

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reading to the history of the period (s. their respective notes to our author). Basnage, in his Histoire des Juifs, takes a more correct view of the state of the question, in ascribing the various reading to the copyists, but it is extremely improbable that מוסטנגד should have been corrupted into האפצי and the only conjecture which we offer is this, that it is probably a corrupted pronunciation of the word Abbassi (Abbaside). The ignorant copyist waver'd between עבאסי and אפצי, or rather האפצי and as we have said before, the latter is but a various reading for אל עבאסי. The form אחמד, however, possesses more claims to be admitted, although the only Abasside who bore that name (the 28th. of our list) had died in 1118; and by supposing that the מ was mistaken for and corrupted into an א, we read מחמד, the common manner of spelling Mohammed, one of the names, perhaps the popular one, borne by *Moktafi*, whom the western writers generally call Mohammed VII. Being convinced that the Rabbi wrote *no* name, we refrain from offering any further conjectures and have advanced the preceding only because our edition has admitted the name אחמד.[a]

Having completed our task by showing that the condition of the Khalifs had been much improved immediately before his arrival in the east, we proceed to give a sketch of the two Khalifs, who with a great degree of probability, are alluded to by Rabbi B.; we

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a. In ( )! see prefatory remarks vol. 1. p. XII. *Ed.*

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refer to Moktafi and Mostandshed and the following outline of their history, founded upon national sources and combinations, will tend to show, how far the real character of these princes coincides with the descriptions of our traveller. Each of these Khalifs offers a particular interest, ***Moktafi*** as the founder of the regenerated independence; ***Mostandshed*** as being the one most probably alluded to by Rabbi Benjamin; we begin with

§. 24. MOKTAFI. The memorable year 1096—97, the 489th. of the Hedshra, was that of the birth of one of the most remarkable princes of the east. Khalif Moktafi was called in his infancy ***Mohammed***, and probably the honorary name of Abu Abdallah,[a] was also bestowed upon him at his birth. His father was the Khalif ***Al-Mostadher***, his mother was a concubine. The father being a protector of literature and the arts, it is likely that the son had the advantages of a liberal education. Mostadher had very little more to do, than to superintend the education of his children, the power of the Seldjuks was in its zenith and deprived the Khalif of any political influence or activity.

No notices of the early life of Moktafi have been transmitted to us; no mention is made of him at the death of his father (1118) nor at his brother Mostar-

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a. His full name prior to his elevation to the Khalifate, is:
ابو عبد الله محمد بن المستظهر
It is by no means rare that the children of the great were distinguished at their birth with the honorary name of Abu (father).

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shed's or his nephew Rashed's succession to the throne. He appears first upon the scene of history after the latter had incurred the displeasure of Sultan ***Masud***, a resentment which occasioned his deposal. ***Masud's*** anger was provoked by the refusal of a sum of money which had been previously promised by ***Rashed*** and because the latter made demonstrations towards assuming an independent station. The Sultan convoked an assembly of nobles in Bagdad, who were to judge the Khalif, and eventually to depose him and to elect another in his stead. The judgment and deposal of ***Rashed*** were instigated entirely by ***Masud*** and succeeded in conformity to his wishes, but the election of a successor was less favorable to the ambitious views of the Seldjuk. The choice fell upon ***Moktafi***, whose character had been penetrated by the sagacious Sultan, and who had awaken'd fears for the continuance of seldjukian supremacy. Abulfaradj tells us that the vezir was assailed with reproaches in consequence of his mismanagement of the election and of not having directed the choice upon another less able and ambitious individual. This probably is the import of the words directed to the vezir, although this sense is not quite clear.[a] At his election the Khalif assumed the names ***Al-Moktafi leamrillah.***[b] He was forced, of course, to submit entirely to the will of his protector ***Masud*** and

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a. See Chronicon Syriacum p. 326.

b. Many historians read Beamrillah; Abulfeda however always writes ﷺ

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this prince exerted himself to procure for him acknowledgement and respect. Many provinces adhered to the deposed Khalif; the celebrated ***Zenki*** recognized neither the Khalif nor the Sultan, and all ***Moktafi*** could gain by the cession of ten towns, was the acknowledgement of his own authority. ***Zenki***, in a truly noble spirit, was proof against all tempting offers and did not give up Rashed, who had claimed his protection.

This took place in the year 1136. In the same year the newly elected Khalif married ***Fatimeh***, the sister of ***Masud*** and three years later, ***Masud*** became the son in law of the Khalif. This double affinity materially promoted the harmony between the two princes which had been threaten'd with interruption, a short time before the latter mariage took place: contentions had arisen between the Khalif and the intendant of the Sultan in Bagdad, who raised difficulties against all measures of the former, probably by command of his master; but ***Moktafi*** persevered and the intendant was removed in consequence of his representations.

In the year 1140 an embassy from Sultan ***Sanjar*** arrived at Bagdad, which presented the Khalif with the cloak and staff of the prophet, insignia of office which had fallen into the Sultan's hands at the death of ***Mostarshed*** (s. p. 362, n. a.) ***Sanjar*** had not deliver'd these insignia to Rashed and he delayed entrusting them even to ***Moktafi***, until the double intermarriages between his house and that of the Abassides had taken place. He was pleased to see the Khalif restored to the full enjoyment of his dignity aud was instrumental in pro-

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moting it, in order to create an efficient check upon the ambition of his nephew *Masud*.

From 1140 to 1152 history has preserved but *one* memorable act of *Moktafi*. In 1145 he imprisoned several of his kinsmen, of whom his brother *Abu Taleb* in particular had to endure great hardships.[a] We dwell principally upon this fact, because R. Benjamin tells us in describing the condition of the Khalif, that his brothers and relatives were put in irons. He represents it indeed, as if this had been an established custom, 'because', says he, 'of an occurrence which took place some time ago, and upon which occasion the brothers rebelled and elected a king among themselves' (I. 96.); but this passage may tend to explain the fact reported by Abulfeda. The latter states no motive which justifies the imprisonment of *Abu-Taleb* and as we find him at a later period, play a conspicuous part, we conclude that his guilt had not been proved, but that he had been confined in consequence of a conspiracy to raise him to the throne.

Historians mention nothing which could lead us to suppose that *Moktafi* contemplated the design of emancipating himself from the bondage of *Masud*; nor do we deem it likely that he should have harbour'd inimical designs against the life of his son and brother-in-law. A passage of *Mirkhond* however, accuses the Khalif of having concerted with the lieu-

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a. وفيها اعتقل الخليفة المقتفي اخاه ابا طالب وضيق عليه وكذلك احاط على غيره من اقاربه Abulfeda.

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tenant *Abbas*, the assassination of the Sultan: 'when *Abbas*', says Mirkhond,[a] who had been formerly lieutenant of Rai, heard of this fate of his friend and ally, he also conceived suspicion and concerted a plan with the Khalif Moktafi, to withdraw the sword of vengeance from its sheath and to slay the Sultan on a holiday, when proceding to the mosque.' This design, having been detected by hazard, was frustrated by hazard and Abbas was hung[b] publicly, on the shore of the Tigris.

This participation in crime would throw an unfavorable light upon the character of Moktafi, but we have grounds to declare Mirkhond's tale improbable in the highest degree. Not only do we find no hint of *Masud's* remonstrations with the Khalif, but it is clear that he only aimed at disposing of the dangerous *Abbas*, against whom the most questionable accusation was consider'd acceptable. The only witness was an intoxicated servant of the Khalif!

With the death of Masud (1152) the Khalifate celebrated its resurrection. New life and vigour manifested itself in its actions and *Moktafi*, in most instances, proved its worthy representative. He emulated the courage of his two predecessors and was not dishearten'd by their cruel fate; he bore no longer the yoke of the Sultans, he no longer permitted their stay at Bagdad, nor did he allow them to exercise the least

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a. Vullers, Mirchonds Geschichte der Seldschuken, p. 190.

b. The execution by the rope is still consider'd the least dishonoring in the east, because no blood is spilt.

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influence on the affairs of arabian Irak. And in such a degree did this able prince improve his station, that the Khalif, whose election and deposal had depended upon the will of the Sultans, decided upon the existence or annihilation of his former masters.

Masud was succeeded by ***Mohammed,*** who had to contend however against the pretensions of his kinsman ***Soliman Shah***; the contest was carried on with success by the former and the fugitive Soliman claimed and obtained the protection of ***Moktafi.*** Upon receiving the news of the death of ***Masud,*** the Khalif had taken possession of the palace of the Sultans at Bagdad and had prohibited the mention of the name of his successor in the public prayer; the arrival of ***Soliman,*** in distress, offer'd him a favorable opportunity of assuming the office of arbiter and to defy the Sultan ***de facto.*** He caused ***Soliman's*** name to be inserted in the public prayer and recognised the legitimacy of his claims. But the Khalif was aware that the time had passed at which the public prayer worked miracles and that the hundred thousand warriors of Mohammed would be more efficient in settling the question of the rival claims, than even a million of devout prayers offer'd in the mosques; he determined therefore to support the prayers by an armed force.

Mohammed, who had to contend against numerous enemies, was detained by them until 1157, and after ***Soliman*** had been vanquished, the victor aimed at punishing the Khalif and at subduing him to his original state of dependence. ***Moktafi*** caused the whole district to

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be laid waste through which the army of the Sultan approached Bagdad, and prepared himself for a siege. *Mohammed* appear'd before Bagdad, with a numerous host and the valiant *Zaineddin*, general of Khotbeddin, the atabek of Mosul. The troops of the Khalif not only resisted the attack manfully, but harassed and vanquished the army of the Sultan in several skirmishes; the Seldjuk was moreover surprized by the fatal news of his brother *Malekshah's* successes and the loss of his residence, and was thus forced to seek safety in an ignominious retreat. Pursued by the troops of the enemy, the Sultan lost his baggage and his army and shortly afterwards died of a broken heart and of grief at seeing revenge, his most ardent desire, thus frustrated.

And the Khalif understood the art of preserving the independence and the respect which he had gained by his tactics and personal prowess and the fruits of which he enjoyed until his death. We pass over in silence several other warlike expeditions which he undertook, his disputes with the Zenkides and his other political acts; but though they offer no particular interest, they prove the decision and the wisdom which characterize this able prince.

Moktafi who appears to have been on friendly terms with the great Nureddin enjoyed in peace the last years of his life. In 1157 he adorned the temple of Mecca with a new splendid gate and order'd his coffin to be made of the materials of the ancient doors. This double act of piety raised his respect with the moslems to a very high degree and it appears that he

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prompted by a desire to show his gratitude for the deliverance from the imminent danger, with which he had been threaten'd by ***Mohammed.*** This measure not only proves that ***Moktafi*** must have exercised great influence at Mecca, without which he would never have been permitted to employ the holy doors for the purpose mention'd above, but is also a testimony that, by wise economy he had found means to construct gates of silver, ornamented with gold, notwithstanding the war with the Sultan, the devastation of the country round Bagdad and a frightful conflagration, which destroyed a great portion of the city and even the palace of the Khalif.[a]

Abulfeda[b] also informs us that he entertained spies in many towns, who informed him of all passing events of interest.[c] He died in 1160, of pleurisy[d] (علة النزاقى) in the 65th. year of his age, during 24 of which he had occupied the throne of the Abassides. During the first two thirds of this reign, he only sowed in silence, concealing from his seldjukian lord, what he desired to reap during the last third. He enjoyed and improved a number of accidents, which his predecessors had not had the fortune to meet with: the captivity of Sanjar, the revolutions in the palace of Ha-

a. Abulfedae Ann. Mosl. III. 546. 560.

b. ibid. 576.

c. وكان يبذل الاموال العظيمة لاصحاب الاخبار فى جميع البلاد حتى لا يفوته منها شى Abulfeda.

d. So Abulfeda; but Abulfaradj says בכאבא דחנוקא morbo suffocationis.

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madan, the aspiring power of the Zenkides, whose interests squared with those of the Khalifs and above all the powerful influence of the crusades. The muhammedan princes were so dangerously occupied by the latter event, that they lost sight of the Khalif, and when at a later period his power again attracted their attention it was too late to crush it. The christians thus involuntarily became the instruments of the regeneration of the Khalifate, ***Moktafi*** possessed the dexterity to value and turn these vicissitudes to his own advantage and he was fortunate enough to see his efforts crowned with success.

The last political act of ***Moktafi*** was the election of a younger son — Jussuf — to the succession in the Khalifate. The elder — Abu Djafar — acquiesced in this arrangement, but a turkish wife of the Khalif, [a] who desired the dignity to be settled upon her son,

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a. Abulfaradj (Chronicon p. 357.) styles her 'uxor .... patris sui ... gente turca', in another work (Historia compendiosa Dynast. p. 262.) she is called by the same author 'concubina,' textually however حظية the sense of which is rather honour'd consort, than concubine, and we must either admit this version or accuse Abulfaradj of another contradiction. Perhaps this turkish lady was ***Fatime***, the sister of ***Masud***, who consider'd the pretensions of her son, being of the blood of Seldjuk, to be of a higher rank than those of any other child of the Khalif; the forbearance with which she was treated, appears to justify our conjecture. A similar occurrence is reported in the instance of the Khalif ***Moktadi***, who was married to a sister of ***Malekshah*** and had to combat against the pretensions of the Sultan, to raise his nephew to the throne.

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Abu-Ali, conspired with several female slaves, and attempted to murder the appointed heir. This plan was discover'd, the slaves suffer'd death and the instigator and her son were condemned to prison. The details of this transaction are reported by Abulfaradj in the Chronicon Syriacum and, though in contradiction to the Historia Compend. appear to be true — see our note. It was perhaps stipulated by the Sultan upon the Khalif's marriage with his sister, that her progeny should succeed to the throne. It is evident that this sedition and the imprisonment of the kindred of the Khalif is alluded to by R. Benjamin.

If we draw the picture of *Moktafi* from the traits before us and according to the above details, we shall find that he was a man of great abilities; we say *abilities*, because he certainly did not possess great *virtues*. The art of dissimulation which he practised in a high degree, does not rank among virtues. His reign was troubled by wars and destructive natural phenomena and he enjoyed the fruits of his activity only during a short period towards the end of his life. This picture, we admit, is not conformable to our author's account, who moreover must be supposed to have visited Bagdad in 1159—60, in order to reconcile the description given by him, with historical truth, but it is much more aplicable to the

§. 25. Life of Mostandjed. Abul Modhaffer Jussuf, the son of *Moktafi* by a concubine,[a] was

a. ام ولد says Abulfeda, her name was طاووس (Pea-hen).

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born in the year 510 of the hedjra (1116.) and in the 44th. year of his age ascended the throne of his father. The courage and resolution, with which he encounter'd the frantic murderers hired by his stepmother, reflect a favorable light upon his character, but also upon that of his father, whose penetration had led him to settle the succession not upon the first born of his children, nor the one who was related to the mighty Seldjuk, but upon the most fitted and best qualified among them. That he really deserved this character, is demonstrated by the acts of his reign, an epoch of ten years rich in beneficial results for his subjects. All arabian authors agree in praising him as one of the most noble and efficient princes of the house of Abbas. Immediately after the death of his father he received the homage of the nobles of the empire and of the city of Bagdad, among them, his uncle ***Abu Taleb*** and his elder brother ***Abu Djafer***; upon this occasion he was honor'd by the sirname of المستنجد بالله About the same period the Sultan ***Arslan Shah*** despatched an embassy, whose object it was to obtain the insertion of his name in the public prayer. But ***Arslan*** had entirely mistaken the character of the new Khalif, who haughtily declined a request, which the Sultan was afraid to enforce.

The reign of ***Mostandjed*** was peaceful; his sword was not drawn against exterior enemies, but its edge was felt by those who disturbed the internal peace, e. g. the lawless Asadides in 1162. The following characteristic trait will show how uncompromisingly crime

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was punished by the Khalif: A courtier offer'd him 2000 gold dinars for the liberation of a criminal 'I cannot accede to thy request' said the prince, 'but I will give thee 10,000 dinars, if thou canst deliver into our custody another, similar criminal; I desire to deliver my states from them at any price.'[a]

Abulfeda[b] praises his having abolished many taxes and reducing sundry duties. After a reign so salutary, peaceful and glorious, it was not to be expected that the Khalif should die by the hands of his own subjects, but still such was the case. A few criminals, afraid of the just punishment, which awaited their crimes, dyed their hands in the blood of the noble Abasside.

The evil deeds of the Emir ***Koth-beddin Kaimaz***, who from a simple Mameluk had risen to the station of first Emir, became known to the Khalif and he was on the eve of his punishment. and fall; but he forestalled the crisis. Conspiring with one of the inspectors of the palace and with Abu Galeb Ibn Safia, the christian[c] physician of the prince, the latter prescri-

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a. Herbelot s. v. Mostanged; Abulfaradj Hist. Compend. p. 265, translation.

b. Annales p. 630.

c. Prior to this period the office of physician to the Khalif was filled by ***Abul-Beracat***; this man, a Jew by birth, was so celebrated as an author and a practitioner, that he acquired the sirname ***Auhad-al-Zaman*** i. e. unicus seculi. He changed his religion for that of the islam, but the Khalif signed a document by which the considerable property of the physician was guaranteed to his daughters, although they retained the Jewish faith. The abovemention'd christian phy-

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bed a hot bath for the indisposed Khalif, in which he was strangled.[a]

With the death of this Khalif, in December 1170, we must conclude our remarks on the history of the Khalifate in the time of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela; we cannot extend them to his successor *Mostadhi*, because our author had probably left the east prior to his accession, and we shall add but a few remarks in order to show the accordance of the hebrew account with the historical facts.

Abu Osaiba (*apud Reiske* l. l.) informs us that *Mostandjed* was sagacious, active and severe, others speak of his accomplishments and kindness, but all agree in the praises of his excellent character and superior qualities. And this is in conformity with the picture drawn by Rabbi B. of his Khalif; he exaggerates, it is true, several particulars, but this fault is so general in his time and so common to all oriental authors, that notwithstanding it we do not hesitate to identify his account of the Khalif with *Mostandjed*.

We shall supply this essay, in a paper on the to-

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sician is represented in a very unfavorable light by Ibn-Abu Osaibia.

a. See Reiske ad Abulf. Annal. IV. 644. Bar Hebraei Chron. Syr. 373. and the same author's Hist. Comp. 265 of the transl. In the particulars the authors contradict one another and Abulfaradj as usual contradicts himself, but they all state the death of the Khalif in the bath. Bar Hebraeus confirms the fact, reported by our author, that the brothers of the Khalif were kept in confinement during the whole period of Mostandjed's reign.

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pography of Bagdad, which will appear in the third volume of this work and shall conclude the present by two remarks:

1) The passage I. p. 55, below: ובאותה שעה ירים ומניח כנף בגדו must not be taken literally. The following is a correct account of the circumstances: from one of the windows or balconies of the palace (دار الخلافة) was suspended a piece of black velvet, generally a fragment of the hangings of the mosque of Mecca; it was nearly twenty yards long and came down low enough to be within reach of any grown man. This piece of velvet was called *the sleeve of the Khalif.* The nobles of the court kissed this sleeve every day, so did all persons who passed the balcony from which it was suspended; a similar mark of veneration was paid to the threshold of the palace, which was composed of the black stone of the kaaba and was greeted by being respectfully touched with the forehead.

2) A passage I. p. 57. runs thus:

ובאים עמו ... ושרי ארץ טובות מערב מהלך שלשה חדשים

Our text reads מְעֻרָב and the editor translates like his predecessors: Tibet, a country distant three months journey from Arabia; but as we are at Bagdad, how does it happen that the distance of a certain country is measured from Arabia? it would have been much more appropriate either to say merely מהלך שלשה חדשים and every one would have understood that the princes of Tibet had to travel three months in order to reach Bagdad; or to add the name of the country which was the aim of their journey. But with a slight alteration

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of the present reading, we may still retain the text, as it stands. Tibet was divided at a very early period into two parts, the *western*, round the sources of the Indus and Ladak, and the *eastern*, upon and on the sides of the Himalaya mountains. The first division, the modern little Tibet, towards the northwest, was subject in the 12th. century to muhammedan princes and it is not unlikely, these princes might undertake the journey to Bagdad in order to pay their respects to the Emir-al-Mumenin and such a journey, from the northwestern parts of Tibet, at the rate of our travellers marches, must have consumed three months, and I propose to read either ארץ טוכות מַעֲרָב or א' ט' מַעֲרָב either of which signifies the western Tibet. A third reading which perhaps appears more forced, because it requires an emendation, is perhaps nearer the truth than either of the above; if we put a ק in the place of the ב, we have מַעֲרָק 'the princes of the country of Tibet, which is distant three days journey from Irak.'

May the reader judge this essay with that indulgence, to which the oriental student has some claims, considering that the sources, from which he has to draw his information, are by no means as accessible and as clear as those from which we study the history of the west.

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ON THE GEOGRAPHY OF PALESTINE,

FROM JEWISH SOURCES.

By Dr. Zunz.

(Translated from the German by the Editor).

The most ancient, most important sources for the topography of Palestine, are beyond doubt the writings of the Jews. A series of works, indigenous to that soil, succeeds in direct line the biblical books, and like the written monuments of classic antiquity, illustrate the topography of their country. This class comprises not only several works, generally called Apocrypha and the descriptions left by the most ancient christian Jews (Matthew), but also and principally Josephus and the extensive, national collections known by the name of Midrash, Mishna and Thalmud. This fact has been acknowledged by the scholars of the 17th. century, by L'Empereur, Buxtorf, Hottinger, Bochart, Lightfoot, Wagenseil, Hyde and others, and they excluded no ancient sources from their studies. The pinnacle was reached by Reland, to whom all literatures became tributary; when he undertook to explore Palestine, he devoted an equal degree of attention to the Thalmud and

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the fathers of the church. When in the course of time Jewish literature shared the neglect, which the Jews had suffer'd for centuries, their national works were consider'd unworthy of being noticed, and the writers on biblical geography only quoted Reland in lieu of all Jewish sources, and the longer they quoted, the less did they understand their subject. At last, a professor[a] of our own days made the discovery, that it was much easier still, to pass over in silence the 1100 years of Jewish antiquity, from Josephus to Benjamin of Tudela. His book does not mention a single place, which Reland has register'd from Jewish sources only, probably *in order to facilitate the study* he passes them over in silence, as if they had never existed, although a great number of names of cities are enumerated and illustrated, which have become known only since the crusades.[b]

But among the sources of information, which he pretends to have studied,[c] he enumerates the Thalmud,[d] which however is dismissed very briefly. Considering the general disposition of the author, it is by no means astonishing, that his whole work does not contain one single original quotation from the Thalmud; and we express our surprise to see this Thalmud mention'd at all, by

a. ***Karl von Raumer***, professor of Erlangen: Palestina, 2d. ed. Leipzig 1838. XVI and 488 pp. 8vo. — b. Belveir (p. 120), Castelletum (123), Scandalium (135), Toronum (140), Assur (146), Athlit (ib.), Bilin (180), Blancha guarda (181), Cavan (237), Cedar (ib.), Kanneitra (242), Sueida (247), Suite (248), Szanamein (ib.), Szalt (258). — c. 'Ich studirte die Quellen', first preface. — d. p. 4.

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a scholar who quotes it after Burckhardt.[a] The idiosyncracy of Jewish books is carried so far by this pious christian, that he passes over in silence many of Reland's illustrations,[b] in order to conceal, that Jews have contributed to the general stock of knowledge. Instead of this we are regaled with catholic hymns,[c] with a fragment of Tasso's Jerusalem,[d] the fable of the 72 Alexandrian translators,[e] the inimical passages of the ancients against the Jews,[f] praises of the crusades,[g] and the opinions of two blockheads on the fictious sterility of Palestine.[h] It must be admitted, that ancient and modern accounts praise the soil of the holy land and its ancient cultivation, that this happy condition was enjoyed by Galilee even in the third century, that the country fell into its miserable state only in consequence of the barbarism of the nations, who subdued the Jews — all this must be admitted,[i] but nevertheless these provinces are cursed in consequence of the sins of the Jews. The chapter 'Jews and Romans'[k] treats only of the latter, not a syllable does it contain of the first; the author praises, consequentially, the iron va-

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a. pp. 59. 139. Of the four holy cities Tiberias etc. particularly of Safet, nothing is mention'd in the Thalmud. — b. e. g. p. 33 (Reland 323) the snowy mountain, 120 (Rel. 575) Arbel. 126 (Rel. 813, 817) Gush Chaleb. 175 (Rel. 641) Beth Gubrin. 184 (Rel. 750) on Eleutheropolis. 212 (Rel. 907) Neara etc. — c. p. 317—319. — d. p. 359—361. — e. p. 372. — f. p. 405 seq. — g. p. 358 seq. — h. p. 91. 92. — i. p. 88. 89. 90. 92. 413. 414. 418. — k. p. 405—407.

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lour of the Romans, who, 'executed' the destruction of the temple;[a] he has avoided to tell us, that all Jews were massacred when the city was taken by the crusaders in 1099!

To judge by this procedure, Mr. von Raumer appears to be as excellent a geographer as he is a good christian; he retrogrades in both respects. But as we mean it honestly with science and as we are happy to derive information from every one, be he the subduer or the subdued, we beg to request that favor of congenial minds, which is due to honest endeavours, for the following extracts from the abovemention'd[b] Khafthor va-ferach of *Esthori ha-Parchi*, the contemporary of Abulfeda. Parchi, we admit, was no Professor, was supported or paid by no party, he was a man loaded by the Raumerian curse, a poor, exiled Jew. 'In the midst of my studies they drove me away from my parental house and from my native land; naked did I go forth, stripped of every thing did I pursue my way. Cast about from nation to nation, I was exiled among a people whose language I did not understand; I found no rest, until the king, whose is the peace, led me into his apartments, and set me down in the admirable, the holy, land, that I may live in its shadow. His benevolence provided there for me the means of subsistance, through the sage of a great king,[c] thus fulfilling my desire; and he showed me the country

a. p. 354. — b. See p. 260 etc.. — c. Perhaps he was a physician in the service of some nobleman.

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of the righteous even during the time of my life upon earth.'[a] Parchi's communications, however, and his remarks on Palestine, being scatter'd through several chapters of his book and mixed up with thalmudic matters, it appear'd more convenient, to arrange the most important under the following seven heads:

1. *Jerusalem*; 2. *Bethsan, Gadara;* 3. *Transjordanic provinces;* 4. *Hor or Amana;* 5. *Chorography;* 6. *the division of the tribes;* 7. *sundry remarks.*

The notes, which here and there accompany the text, are only guides to the past, and in a few instances may be acceptable as hints to further investigations.[b]

I. Jerusalem.

(ch. 6. f. 24.) What we see at present still remaining of the ancient walls [of the sanctuary], are fragments of the structure on the mount of the temple. We distinguish as yet the gate of *Shushan* on the eastern side; it is closed by large square stones. If we divide this wall into three parts, the above-mention'd gate forms a portion of the south-eastern extremity. We further recognise the gate *Chulda*, southand the gate *Kephinus*, west-wards; but this is not the case with the northern gate, *Tadi*, because this

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a. Khafthor, preface, fol. 2 b. — b. If Rosenmüller (I. 96.) supposes all thalmudic data to be exhausted by Lightfoot's labours, he is mistaken in a high degree.

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side is demolish'd. At the distance of a bow-shot from the closed gate, towards the north, we see in the wall two very high gates, vaulted from the outside and always closed by two iron doors, which are called by the vulgar and by the arabs, gates of mercy.[b] Those may be the two gates, mention'd in *Tract. Soferim*, built by Solomo, one of which was destined for bridegrooms and the other for mourners and those who suffer'd under excommunication. — Before these two gates, the people say their prayers.

(ib. f. 25.) Outside of the gate of Jerusalem, called the gate of the tribes[c] and which lies in a north-east direction from the mount of the temple, the ground is of an ashy nature; perhaps this is the 'valley of the ashes' mention'd Jeremia XXXI, 40. — The position of Jerusalem is higher than that of the other districts of Palestine. Whoever travels to Jerusalem from the Jordan near Bethsan, turns his face westward and for two hours ascends a gently rising plain,[d] bounded by mountains, which he climbs and proceeds towards Jerusalem in a southerly direction, continually ascending. — The extent of

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a. See on these gates: Jehuda Leon de templo Hierosol. (1665) p. 44. — b. s. Baraitha of R. Eli'eser c. 17. Benjamin of Tudela I. p. 70. Jichus p. 21 (on the eastern side are two gates of ancient israelitic structure, which are never opened, and are partly sunk into the ground). Edrisi (I. 341.) also mentions this gate, which is only open'd on the feast of palms. The same is also reported by Ibn-el-Wardi (excerpta p. 180). — c. Bab alasbat, apud Edrisi (ib. 344.); according to Jichus (p. 23.) this is the gate of Benjamin. — d. s. below section V.

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ancient Jerusalem having been three parasangs,[a] we cannot wonder that the sepulchre of Chulda, formerly within the city,[b] should be at present upon the mount of olives.[c]

(ib. fol. 26 a.) Jerusalem is situated in the fourth climate, in the centre of the inhabited earth, under the 32d. degree of latitude, 113 degrees of eastern, or 67 of western[d] longitude. The meridian altitude of the sun, in the equinox is 58, and on the longest day exceeds a little 82 degrees. The curve of the ecliptic on the longest day is 214 degrees, the length of the day 14 hours 16 minutes, of the night 9h. 44m.

(ib. 28a.) We and our brethren of Tarablous, Hamah, Damask, Tsoba,[e] Kahira and Alexandria used to visit Jerusalem at the time of the holy days; it tended only to enhance our grief.

(ib. 29 a.) Within the walls of Jerusalem, towards the north, is the entrance to the cave of Hiskia, mention'd in the Thalmud.[f]

(chapter 41. end) The tent which was erected by David for the holy ark, is still in a vault, south

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a. Baba bathra f. 75 b. — b. Thosephtha Neg'aim 6. Baba bathra 1. — c. Jichus p. 27. David B. Simra, decisions No. 633. — d. According to Ibn Said: 32′ n. l. 56′ 31″ w. l. The real position is: 31′ 47¾″ n. l. 53′ 21″ w. l. Parchi must have been misled in this instance by an erroneous statement; perhaps he read קינ for קכנ. — e. i. e. Haleb, comp. above note 233. Parchi (f. 42 a.) confirms this also. This צובא originated probably from שהבא (steel colour'd) an epithet applied to this city by the arabs; comp. Reiske in Ibn-el-Wardi p. 187. No. 93. — f. Baba kamma f. 16 b.

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of mount Moria, and is generally called the temple of David.[a] In front of it, towards the north-west, is a place, which beyond doubt belongs to Tsion, it is very near the synagogue erected there and near the place of abode [of the Jews]. — Perhaps both the synagogue and the abodes are on mount Tsion.[b] But what can we do, the ways of Tsion being in mourning, its streets desolate, and its sites not to be determin'd with a degree of certainty; yea, the town is more elevated at present, than mount Moria, consequently even more so than the synagogue and the abodes, certainly because it has been so frequently destroyed and rebuilt again on the same site, even so that remains of old vaulted roofs are found under the houses and serve as foundations of these recent structures.[c] The mount of the temple[d] was elevated and above the town.

II. BETHSAN, GADARA.

Preface f. 2 b.) Favor'd by the Lord, I travelled through the cities and towns of the land of Israel, most of them have I visited; I found therein balmy

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a. Adjacent to Jerusalem stands Tsion; there is the temple of David, in which lies the holy ark and of which a part is still extant (Jichus p. 25.). This passage which is elucidated by Parchi, was misunderstood by Hottinger (cippi hebraici p. 24.), because he thaught, that there were remains *of the ark.* — b. The Jews-town outside the city is called Tsion (David B. Simra, decis. No. 633.) — c. Conformable with David B. Simra (dec. No. 639.) and Niebuhr (Reisebeschreibung III. 51.) — d. More particulars on the site of the temple, in David B. Simra l. l. No. 691, where it is remark-

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mountains, like ***Bethsan*** in Manasseh, which I have chosen to be my place of abode during my present labours. It is situated on rich waters, is a blessed, beautiful land, bearing fruit like the garden of God, a very entrance to paradise.[a] I have renounced living in fortresses and in troubles.

(c. 7. f. 30 b.) Rabbi Simeon B. Lakish says: If paradise is situated in the land of Israel, is entrance is ***Bethsan***; if in Arabia, ***Bethgerem***; if between the rivers, ***Damask***.[b] — I have made researches on ***Bethgerem***; it stands a day's journey and a half, in a direct easterly direction from Gaza, is called מגול גרם[c] contains a running fountain and is inhabited by Arabs.

(ib. f. 30a) R. Meir says: I have seen that in the valley of Bethsan, one seah of seed-corn yielded 70 Khor.[d]

(ib.) The synagogue of Bethsan, mention'd in the jerusalem Thalmud,[e] lies in ruins at present; it con-

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ed that the small gate, left of the porch ***Bab el Katanin***, is nearest the place of the holy sanctuary; a subterraneous way led unto a certain place under this holy sanctuary, the entrance to which was on the western side. — David Reubeni pretends to have spent several days on the spot. — a. Baisan is small, has many date trees and the plant saman of which the saman mas are manufactured, grows only there (Edrisi I. 339). Baisan is small, without walls, has gardens, rivers and wells and a fruitful territory; one of the rivers runs through the town, which is situated on the foot of a mountain (Abulfeda, Syria, 84, 85) — b. 'Erubin 19 a. — c. 'with a faint Gimel (Dji), suppressed Resh.' — d. Khethuboth 112 a. — e. Megillah c. 3. §. 3. dates from the commencement of the 4th. century.

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tains three niches for the holy ark, directed towards Jerusalem.

(ib. f. 31 a.) ***Bethsan***, which the Lord's favor has permitted me to inhabit, is situated near the centre of the holy land, being distant from the centre Tiberias only half a day's journey, in a southerly direction.[a]

(c. 10. f. 55.) From Tiberias to Sichem is a long day's journey, and Bethsan stands midway.

(c. 7. f. 30 b.) One hour's way to the east of Bethsan flows the Jordan.

(c. 10. f. 46 a.) The passage of the Thalmud where the ladder of Tsor[b] is mention'd and מחתנא of Gadar, became intelligible only after I had seen these two places; the first, called Alnavakir[c] in arabic, is a very high, narrow pass, which does not admit turning aside either to the right or left and where men must proceed like sheep, one by one; it has the appearance of a gate and is situated perpendicularly over the Mediterranean. The descent is called מחתנא, i. e. the north western declivity of the mountain upon which stands Gadara; you descend into the plain, your face turned towards the sea Genezareth, into the valley of the hot wells. The length of this valley is a sabbath-way and reaches from Gadara unto Hamthan,[d] called at present *Alcha-*

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a. The same c. 5 f. 16 b. and c. 11. f. 66 b; according to Josephus 120 Stadia, i. e. 6 hours way; according to Abulfeda (p. 85) 18 miliaria. Modern travellers make it 4 hours. — b. Scala Tyriorum, the tyrian ladder, see 'Erubin 22 b. — c. See Edrisi 1. 348. they consist of three high white hills, 30 miliaria from Acre, 20 from Tyrus — d. חמתן, see Tr

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mi,[a] and is situated near the hot wells. The valley has the form of a great, round hall, open towards the west; in its southern extremity it forms the receptacle of the Jarmukh, a rivulet which comes down from the eastern hills of Golan; it lies northerly from Gadara, below the walls, and the wells are on the northern side of the valley. At the distance of a bow-shot, west, they are met by the Jarmukh, which empties itself into the Jordan, an hour's distance [from the sea]. Gadara contains remarkable buildings,[b] it is said to have been the residence of 'Og. According to R. Jochanan[c], Gadara, Beder and Charim are distant eight parasangs from each other. Beder stands easterly from Gadara, upon a hill, the western valley of which is at present called *Badar*.[d] East of Badar is חרים, on a hill, south of which is a valley with a good well, called חברם. The respective distance of these places is about two hours; they are all to the south of the Jarmukh. Gadara (גדר) is also called Gedor (גדור), like Tsaida (צידן) and Tsidon (צידון).

(c. 7. f. 30 b.) The author of the 'Arukh[f] takes the

'Erubin 61 a. Bereshith rabba, c. 41. Jerus. 'Erubin 5, 7. mentions. חמתה near Tiberias, which in the course of time has been combined with the city. — a. Burckhardt 435. Rosenmüller II. 20 knows only the ten wells. Is this perhaps the Elchai (אלחי) of Edrisi (I. 339), or is the latter as much as village (s. Kimchi Lexicon v. חיה)? — b. Midrash Esther 119 d. mentions the hall of justice at Gadara. — c. Rosh hashana 23 b. where read בדר for בייר — d. Obder, Burckhardt 425. — e. El Hereimy (ib.) — f. v. קרמיון; in the text of Khafthor read פירש for פר"שי.

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Jarmukh to be a river on the way to Damask. This proves that he has not seen the Jarmukh, for this river coming from the east,[a] from Golan in Bashan, receives the hot wells near Gadara and empties itself into the Jordan, an hour's way after its issue from the sea of Tiberias. It is correct however that it is crossed near its mouth, by travellers from southern Palestine to Damask. The Kishon, which comes down in a westerly direction from mount Thabor, falls into the Jordan, about half an hour's way further south.[b]

III. TRANSJORDANIC PROVINCES.

(chapter 11. fol. 70.) Reuben, Gad and half of the tribe of Manasseh comprise the country conquer'd by Moses. Two days journey south east of Bethsan, on the eastern bank of the Jordan, stands ***Cheshbon,*** at present ***Husban.*** One day's journey south of Cheshbon, stands ***'Aroër,*** at present ***'Arar,***[e] above the great river Arnon. From Cheshbon, which is about one day's Journey east of Jericho, you travel eastward about a day's journey through inhabited land, which is bordered by a desert called ***Tiah bene Israil.*** Half a day's journey south of Cheshbon stands ***Dibon,*** at present ***Diban;***[d] from thence you proceed to ***'Elat,***

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a. for שהרי הוא ירדן read שהרי הוא יורד. — b. Parchi either refers to the ***Wad el Byre,*** or to one arm of the Kishon, which, according to Brochard, falls into the sea of Tiberias. — c. עֲרֹעֵר, Burckhardt (633): عرعاير, in the jerusal. Thargum לְחַיִת — d. The jerusal. Thargum renders Dibon מדבשתא (Onkelos מלבשתא), which is perhaps the neighbouring עקב אלדבם mention'd by Burckhardt l. l.

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from 'Elat by ***Rabbat***, to ***Argob***, at present ***El Mudjeb***;[a] the name of the city which stands in the valley is אל עגאב. From Argob you proceed to the hill-point of ***Pisgah*** i. e. Moab, called ***El Karak***. Two days south from Pisgah is mount Seir, called ***El Shaubek***. ***Jahtsa*** is on the north-east of the mountains, which separate the inhabited land from the desert, and on these mountains stands ***Salcha***,[b] which retains its name to the present day. — Mount Hermon is called Djebel el Teldj (snowy mountain). East of the Jordan, a day and a half's journey in a southerly direction from Bethsan, stands ***Gile'ad***, at present[c] ***Djerash*** [Gerasa]..... Meon, Nebo .... northerly about four hours[d] ..... ***Ba'al Me'on*** called ***Zanamein*** i. e. images, arabic צנם;[e] both are at present large, celebrated towns. ***Beth Nimra***, called נאמר,[f] is about an hour south of

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a. From Karak Moab [instead of: bourg de Mona] to 'Aman [textually עשאן, which I correct however after MS. A. of 1344, p. 338] you proceed by the mountain pass ***El-mudjeb;*** the mountains which bound this deep river, are so near one another that persons standing on the opposite sides may converse together (Edrisi I. 341.). — b. Here appears to be a mistake in the text, Salcha being in a north-east direction of those mountains; see the passage p. 409. — c. גרש is perhaps an abbreviation of יגר שהדותא, which is the ancient appellation of Gile'ad (s. Gen. XXXI. 45.) and is also mention'd in the old list of frontiers (s. above p. 237) of the Thosephtha. The real town of Gilead (Burckhardt p. 600) is a different place. Comp. Ritter 1st. Ed. II. 365. — d. Hiatus in the text. — e. Thus also Abulfeda p. 97; it is the ancient ***Aere***, s. Gesenius in Burckh. p. 500. — f. نمرين Burckh. נמרין jerus. Thalmud Shebi'ith 6. בית נמרין ibid. 9.

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Ja'aser,[a] which is called זרעה. A day's journey north-east of Ja'aser, stands ***Sibmah***, called ***Shobah***,[b] also ***Kirjathajim*** at present קרייתין[c] and ***Kenat***, the modern אלקונייא.[d] The canton of Ja'aser appears to be the land of 'Uz, because it contains a place dedicated to Job, of the name of ***Dar Ajub***,[e] an hour south of Nebo. This district is called ***Elguta*** and Sa'adia also mentions it under that name; like אל חולה[f] it is south of Damask and north of Nebo and Ba'al Me'on. This district is also called 'land of the east' in reference to the land of Israel, particularly Tiberias; others however designate Charan under this appellation. — A day's journey west of ***Salcha***, in a straight direction, stands ***'Edreï***, which has retained its original name.[g] About

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a. Conformable with Burckh. p. 609: a beautiful well of the name of غبين حازير perhaps Jazer, which turns several mills and empties itself into the Wady Shoeb. The latter flows into the Jordan near the ruined city of Nemrein. זערא (Edrisi I. 338) on the dead sea, is Tsoar. — b. שאהבה, Parchi erroneously took Shohba (s. Gesen. in Burckh. p. 503.) for Sibmah near Hesbon. — c. This name is extinct at present; Burckhardt (626) calls the place ***El Theim***. The palestinic Thargum in Num. XXXII, 37 reads בירושא; or does the author allude to ***Kereyat*** near Nebo? — d. ***Kanuat***, see the particulars in Burckhardt 157 seq. — e. ***Kherbet el Deir***? — f. The district Hawala حولة belongs to Damaskus (Edrisi I. 361.) and must be distinguished from Ard el Hule near Dan. — g. Even at present ***Drah*** (Burckh. 385); also Adsraat, Bathania (Batanea), Edrisi I. 354. 361. 'Edrei was distant 25 roman miles from Botsra and the latter 16 arabian miles from Salcha (Abulf. Syria, 99); thus the distance from Salcha to 'Edreï by Botsra, amounts to more than 60 miliaria. Actually a

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four hours north-west of 'Edreï stands Susim, called ***Sisin,***[a] near many rivers. From thence it is about half a day's journey to Ashtharoth called קרן אל חארה; Susim is south of Ashtharoth. The hamlets ***Jair*** are in the land of Gilead, they are used at present as pasture-grounds called חוארה, four hours west of 'Edreï; Between both stands ***Remtha.***[b] ***Betser*** in the desert, about half a day's journey east from Edreï, is called ***Botsra; Kamon*** stands on the eastern bank of the Jordan, opposite Bethsan distant five hours in a southerly direction and is called קומימא;[c] Jair is buried there.

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common day's journey is only 40 miliaria (Parchi 67 b.), conformable with Edrisi (I. 339. 348) who uses 'half a day's journey' and '20 miliaria' promiscuously. One Parasang being equal to 4 miliaria (comp. Parchi 68 b. beginning) 5 Parasangs are half a day's journey, and thus both Abulfeda (l. l. 131) and R. Benjamin (I, 89) agree fully in their statement respecting the distance from Bales to Kalat Djaber. בטנן (jerusal. Aboda Sara 1 and Bereshith rabba c. 47) is probably this 'Edreï.

a. זיזין. Reland 228, 231, 1065, mentions Ziza, Zozoyma, Zizium; the Thalmud (Chullin 62 b) mentions צוצייני and זיזון near Tyrus (jerus. Demai c. 2, Thosephtha Shebiith c. 4.) — b. רמתה (Thosephta Shebiith c. 7.) or בית רמתה (jerus. Shebiith c. 9) in the valley, is ***Beth Haran*** on the Jordan; our author can only allude to ***Remtha,*** on the common road of the pilgrims, near 'Edrei (Burckh. 393.) — c. This town must consequently have been situated near ***Amata*** (Burckh. 596.); Gesenius (ib. 1059.) correctly identifies this place with ***Amathus*** of Josephus (comp. Reland 559). According to the jerus. Thalmud (Shebiith 9) עמתו is identical with the biblical ***Tsafon.*** Marathus being called מרת in the language of the Phoenicians, and גבתון being also spelt גבת (Kaplan I. 85), עמתו is synonymous with Amathus (ὁ Ἀμαθος)

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(ib. 71 a.) The territory of the king of 'Arad, a day's journey south of Cheshbon, is called עורד with Dsal; near it stands *'Elale,* called 'Ala.[a] — ***Bithron***[b] is אל אתרון, ***Machnajim*** is מחנה and stands about half a day's journey in a due eastern direction from Bethsan; not far from thence, about an hour south, stands the town אלאסתיב, which is consider'd to have been the place of abode of the prophet Elia the Thishbite; this town is situated in the canton of Dan, to which tribe he belonged; perhaps Elia's house was therein. North of this town flows during all seasons the ואד אליבאם,[c] i. e. dry brook, the banks of which are adorned by gardens. Astonished at the contradiction which lies in this appellation, I learned upon inquiry its real name to be ואד אליאם, i. e. brook of Elias. It is not likely that it should have derived this name from the very distant ***Jabesh*** in Gilead. — ***Jabesh,*** three hours due east of Bethsan, is called גופן, the arabic for 'dry'.[d] Bithron is south of Machnajim. What we, the inhabitants of Bethsan, see east and north of the plain unto the sea Genezareth belongs to the district of Dan. — Know that the district of Gile'ad contains at

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and thus the position of Tsafon is determin'd. (Add this to Raumer 252 and Kaplan II. 180.) The Thalmud l. l. renders ***Succoth*** by תרעלה, beyond doubt the Batanaic ***Tharsila*** mention'd by Eusebius. Comp. Reland 559, whose conjecture is correct.

a. עלה near Hesbon, at present ***'Elaal*** (Burckh. 623)— b. II Sam. II. 29. ***Beiterren?*** (Burckh. 448). — c. ***Wadi Jabes,*** s. Burckh. 451. — d. The geographical works do not mention these towns.

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present a town of the name of ***Eglon*** [Adjlun],[a] which must be distinguished from the town of similar name in the canton of Juda.[b]

(c. 8. f. 34 a.) Between the river Arnon on the southern and mount Hermon on the northern confines, stand Salcha and 'Edrei, a short distance from Damascus. Salcha is situated on the top of the mountains, a day's journey east of Edrei; ***Jahtsa***[c] about half a day's journey south of Salcha. .

(c. 47. fol. 414 b.) The south of Palestine includes a spacious district, called by the Arabs ***Bald el Shaubek***, which is Edom (Idumea); it stretches four days journey from south to north and contains a plain, similar to that between the sea Genezareth and Jericho. North of this district stands ***Ar Moab***, at present ***Alkarak***,[d] a high substantial mountain, and also ***Rabbath***, at present ***Rabbah***. About a day's journey north of Ar, flows the river Arnon, on the northern bank of which stands ***'Aroer***; a day's journey further north stands Cheshbon, called ***Husban***, the city of Sichon. About a day's journey north of Cheshbon runs the river Jabbok, called ***Wadi el Serka***; half a day's journey still further north stands Gile'ad with its mountains. The desert is east of all these districts; the Jordan, the country of Sodom and its sea, are west. Northwards

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a. Burckh. 420. — b. A mistake of Reichard's, corrected by Gesenius. — c. Consequently more north than laid down by Berghaus, s. above p. 405. — d. Three days journey from Shaubek stands Alkarak (Abulfeda 90.)

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Gile'ad, Bashan, Golan and mount Hermon succeed one another. East of these districts you find the mountain-chain of ***Djebel bene Hellel,***[a] called by grammarians Djebel bene Israil. — Moab which was situated north and south of the Arnon[b] or ***Almudjeb,*** border'd on 'Ammon.

(ib. f. 415 a.) This is the succession of the districts from the Arnon to mount Hermon: from the Arnon to the Jabbok, extending three days journey, is Moab; the territory of the Jabbok, extending a day's journey and a half, is 'Ammon; from the Jabbok to the Hermon, nearly three days journey, is Bashan and Golan or the kingdom of 'Og. Sichon the Emori possessed nothing but what he had conquer'd from Moab. — Under 'the land of 'Ammon and Moab' our teachers designate that part of the country, which stretches from the northern banks of the Arnon to the north of the Jabbok and the mountain towns; beyond, unto the Hermon, is the land of Sichon and 'Og. — Properly speaking, Moab possessed nothing north of the Arnon; his territory on the south of the Arnon, however, was conquer'd neither by Sichon nor by Israel, and there stand ***'Ar*** and ***Rabbat.***

(ib. 416 a.) What the Thalmud generally calls ***Transjordanensis,***[c] is the country of Sichon and 'Og.

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a. This mountain is on the eastern extremity of the Hauran, in the vicinity of Salcha (Abulfeda 106). — b. The description of the rocks which enclose the Arnon, Burckhardt 633 seq., is in conformity with that of Thanchuma (division חקת) and Jalkut f. 240 d. — c. עבר הירדן.

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The conquests of Mose, I found to be of an extent almost similar to that of the land of Israel: the Arnon is opposite Beersheba, the Hermon opposite Beroth, so that districts still remain [therein] northward to mount Hor, southward unto the brook of Egypt. The breadth however, comprises two days journey, i. e. double the distance from the Jordan to the Mediterranean.

(c. 10. f. 57 b.) The west of Moab is the eastern frontier of Edom; its north the southern boundary of the land of Sichon and 'Og; the east- and south-side is bounded by the desert. The land of Sichon is south of that of 'Og. — Mount Se'ir, or the land of Edom i. e. the plains of Edom or the hills of Esau, ***Elkarak***[a] in arabic, are southwest of Moab and are called ***Bald-Belka*** i. e. the country of Balak.

Between Edom and Charan the distance is about 15 days journey, and Charan stands on the opposite side of the Euphrates. — It appears that our ancestor Jacob did not return from Charan by the inhabited part of the country. Whoever travels from Charan to southern Palestine, passes the Euphrates near ***Rechoboth-Ir***,[b] from thence proceeds to Damascus, crosses the Jarmukh and the Jordan near its issue from the sea of Tiberias, crosses the plain in its breadth, and ascends the mountains of Ephraim, near Sichem. He however travelled through the desert in a south-

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a. ***Karak***, 31′ n. l. not far from the southern extremity of the dead sea. — b. ***Rahaba***.

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west direction, unto the territory of Ammon and going to Sichem, crossed the Jordan near Jericho.[a]

IV. HOR OR AMANA.

(c. 11. fol. 59 b.) The brook*) of Egypt forms the southwestern boundary of the land of Israel; it is not the Nile, but the Shichor. Thus R. Solomo Isaaki explains it; R. Sa'adia Gaon renders it in Tafsir in Num. XXXIV. 5. by ***Wad el Arish.***[b] Travellers on the road from Gaza to Egypt reach the brook about the third day or sometimes earlier; the road passes it at the distance of about a bow-shot from its mouth. It has retained its original name, which means brook of tents i. e. brook of Succoth. This is perhaps Socho (Josua XV. 35.) But a day's journey south of Hebron, stands a town called ***Socho*** and in the near vicinity of it Jattir, called '***Ether.***[c] At this place the eastern mountains

a. This is too far south, Jacob indeed passed the Serka, but touched no point further south than Succoth. — b. Reland (p. 285.) mentions this, but Raumer (26 and 55.) passes it over in silence. 'Over the brook of Egypt, at present Wad-el-'Arish, I crossed the first time at its height, and a second time at its lowest ebb, it being quite dry; this brook forms the frontier between Egypt and Bald el Shamija (Palestine). From Kahira it is distant eight days journey, from Damiat three, and from Gaza two. The present name of the desert Etham, is ***Tiah bene Israil'*** (David B. Simra, decisions V. No. 2206). Of ***El Tieh*** see Edrisi I. 360; another apud Parchi, above p. 404. — c. עתיר, s. Jos. XV. 48.

*) The authorized version, without any grounds, renders נחל by river, and thereby annuls the distinction between the Wad-el-Arish and the Nile, נהר מצרים, which Gen. XV. 18. is also translated by river of Egypt. ***Ed.***

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are distant nearly a thousand yards from the sea. This brook is generally consider'd the boundary between El-Sham and Mizr. — The northwestern boundary is formed by mount ***Hor***,[a] render'd by Sa'adia Djebel el Hor; this mountain, the סמנוס[b] of the thalmudic authors, is not the Hor of Aaron, the latter is situated in an entirely different direction, to the south-east of Palestine; nor does the four-named Hermon belong to this region. After much trouble to find this mountain, I have at last discover'd it by the help of God. From the Kharmel, the well-known mountain near 'Acco, branches extend northward, into the Mediterranean, which become flat,

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a. 'The unknown mount Hor,' Raumer p. 26. — b. The following orthography of this mountain occurs in the Jewish authors: אמנה (Cant. IV. 8. Mishna Shebiith 6, 1. Challah 4, 8. Jerus. Thalmud in these passages; Shemoth rabba c. 23. f. 140 a. Jalkut Cant. f. 179 b.), אמנון (Gittin f. 8 a. Rashi ibid. and in Cant. l. l.), אמנם (Maimonides in Shebiith l. l. and Parchi fol. 62 a.), אמנוס (R. Simson in Shebi'ith l. l. R. Eli'eser B. Nathan, Eben ha'eser No. 54; Maimonides in Hilchoth Therumoth c. 1. §§. 7. 8.), אומנוס (Jerus. Thargum Numer. XX. 22. 23. 25. 27. Deuteron. XXXII. 50.), אומנים (ib. XXI. 4. XXXIII. 37. 38. 39. 41. XXXIV. 7. 8. 12.), מנוס (Jerus. II. Thargum Num. XXXIV. 7. 8. Parchi fol. 35 a.), מונוס (Midrash Cant. fol. 26 b.), סמנים (apud R. Nathan, in 'Arukh s. v.), ימנים ('Arukh s. v. שר, 3, where perhaps the י in the commencement of the name, is a repetition of the end of the preceding טורי. The author of הפלאה שבערכין, Breslau 1830, f. 68 a. gives no explanation), סמנוס (Maimonides, decisions No. 4. Parchi f. 16 b. 34 b. 56 b. 58 a. 59 b. 62 a). These notes will tend partly to correct and partly to complete Buxtorf (Lex. thalmud. p. 117.) Lightfoot (Chorograph. c. 66.) Bochart (Canaan p. 359.)

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like Tsor, Sidon, Beroth. [Further] one point, called in arabic ***Wedj-ul-Hadsjar*** i. e. ***stony face***;[a] upon this follows the ***Ras-ul-Wasit*** [the middle-peak], and then succeeds a very high mountain, ***Djebel-ul-Akra'a***,[b] the bare mountain. Upon this mount, which stands separated and the peak of which reaches into the sea, grow cedars of extraordinary height and Pistachio-trees; fountains and villages prove its fertility. Its circuit extends one to two days journey. Half a day's journey distant therefrom stands the town of Laodicea, called ***Ladakia*** and frequently mention'd in the Thalmud; it is called Allega by the Franks. Between this town and the above-mention'd mountain, is situated a hill, called אל הורי אדה,[c] and also a city

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and Reland (Palestina p. 119. 320.) Maimonides took this mountain for Banias (dec. l. l.), Gersonides (in Cant. cantic. c. 4.) for the source of the river Amana near Damasc. But according to Abulfeda (Syria 163—166.) Hermon, Libanon and ***Djebel Lokham***, form only one mountain, stretching from south to north; the latter name it assumes beyond Hamath and Shaizar, opposite Sehjun, between 35′ 10″ n. l. [i. e. between Gabala and Ladakia] and 37′. In that vicinity the 'Aasi (Orontes) divides it from the mountains of Rûm (Cilicia). Golius in Alfergani has correctly taken the Lokham for the Amanus.

a. Cape ***el-Hadsjar***, is distant 5 miliaria from Batrun, and eight from Tripoli (Edrisi I. 356.), it was called formerly Θεοῦ προσωπον (God's-face) and the Jews perhaps called it: Dog's-face, conf. Jerus. 'Aboda sara c. 3. §. 6. and Tract. Themura 28 b. (where אלה is soften'd into המלך). — b. Mons aridus, טורא זהיא syriac. (Assemanni bibl. oriental. I. 249. note), גבל אלאקרע arabic., mons casius, of the ancients. See Burckhardt 223, Wiener Jahrbücher vol. 74. p. 50. — c. Pro-

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קבותיא,[a] about half an hour from the sea-shore. This mountain I consider to be the one which I made enquiry after, because the other peaks are no mountains; we also find the several towns, mention'd in the different tribes, stretching unto this vicinity, and its position is exactly opposite Hamath, this east, the other west, distant three days journey from one another. '*Ummah*[b] of the tribe of Asher, stands at present half a day's journey east, and almost north of this mountain and is called עים; south, about two days journey from this mount stands the town of *Chelbah*, belonging also to Asher and still bearing the name; also *Rechob*, called רחב and *Chammon* called Hammam,[c] besides the above mention'd קבותיא. I should have taken this for קפלוריא, if Rashi had not stated קפלוריא,[d] to be a town on the declivity of the mount. R. Jehuda[e] probably has thus expressed himself, because this place is situated near the mount and because both lines are to run in an equal direction, not one from the extremity of the brook of Egypt and the other from the peak of this mount. South of this mountain is also situated the town of *Gebal*, mention'd in the book of kings (I. v.

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bably mount *Rieha* (comp. Burckh. 225 seq.) and read: אל הור ריאחה.

a. Unknown. — b. Josua XIX. 30. — c. Raumer passes over in silence these four places. Kaplan (I. 142.) erroneously identifies Chelbah with Gush Chaleb. Hammam is Edrisi's (I. 357.) Hissn el Hamam, near Arca. — d. Gittin f. 8 a. — e. see ib.

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18) and Ezechiel (XXVII. 9.); its present name is Djibla, in the Thalmud[a] it occurs under that of Gabala.

And know, that whoever stands on the summit of this mount and turns his face eastward, beholds Hamath in a southerly direction. Between the observer and the sea, are the following, wellknown towns, viz. Sehjun,[b] Hessn Alakrad[c] and Massiat.[d] About two days journey[e] south of the mountain, on the sea-shore, stands the large city of ***Tarablus-el-Sham***, called ***Sin***[f] in scripture; further off ***Arka***, still named thus. — Two days journey further south stands ***Beirut*** on the sea. I consider this to be the Berotha of Ezechiel (XLVII. 16.) although there is a considerable distance between this city and Hamath and ***Sibrajim***, because I take the latter to be ***Sheizar***,[g] situated about half a day's journey west of Hamath. If we commence on the shore of the Mediterranean, these towns thus evidently succeed one an-

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a. גוולנה (Jerus. Megillah 3, 1.); גבלא (Khethuboth fol. 112 a.); גובלנה (Jerus. Aboda sara 2, 4.) — b. צהיון, about a day's journey from Latakia, s. Abulfeda Syria, 62 and 122. — c. חצאן אלקראת (castle of Curds) between Tripolis and Homs. ib. 19. 52. 102. — d. מציאתו, in the vicinity of Hamath, spelt also Massiad and Massiaf; s. cod. Kennicott 57, dated 1335, Abulfeda l. l. 19. 20; Burckh. 254. and Gesenius ib. 517. — e. c. 9. f. 35 b. the distance is stated at three days journey, and the north latitude stated at 34′ (more correctly at $34\frac{1}{2}'$) in conformity with Abulfeda p. 52. — f. סיני according to Bereshith rabba c. 37, is identical with ***Orthosia***; the moderns (David B. Simra, decis. No. 634. and others) call Tripolis סינים. — g. סייואר 9 miliaria from Hamath, Abulf. ibid. 26. 56. 109. 110. comp. Burckh. 245 and Gesenius ib. 514.

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other: Beirut, Sibrajim, Hamath. In the chapter of the pious,[a] Beirut is mention'd; it is two or three days journey from Hamath. People distinguish in the pronounciation this Berotha from the ***Beeroth***[b] of Benjamin, they call the latter ***Elbera***, the former ***Beirut.*** As scripture[c] mentions the land of the Kh'na'ani and that of Libanon, this is the land of Libanon and we find the Arki and the Sini,[d] near together in the north, the Ashdodi and the Askaloni in the south of the land of Israel.

Thus we have, by God's favour, genuine information on this mount, from which, according to the Pentateuch, the land of Israel stretched south, unto the brook of Egypt, its frontier in that direction. Between these two points the following places succeed one another from north to south, along the shores of the Mediterranean: This excellent mount, Laodicea, Gebal, Sin, Berota, Sidon, Tsor, Acco, Khaifah, Joppe, 'Ekron, Ascalon, Gaza, Darun,[e] 'Aseka, the brook of Egypt. Gaza and 'Aseka however are distant two, and 'Ekron about four hours from the sea.

(ibid. fol. 60 b.) The line of frontier runs in a south-easterly direction from mount Hor, touches Hamath after a distance of three days journey and ends at ***Chatsar 'Enan***, at the fourth or north-easterly point.

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a. Thus do the more ancient authors call the third chapter of the babyl. Tract. Tha'anith, see there f. 24 a: אלעזר איש בירת. — b. This differs from R. Benjamin of Tudela's statement p. 61.. — c. Deut. I. 7. — d. Genesis X. 17. — e. see below, section V, end.

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This town, a day's journey south-west of Hamath, is called Hessn Alakrad[a] and stands upon a low hill. Four days in a due southerly direction from Hamath stands Damascus. — The northern corners are the following: from Hor to Hamath a straight line, the western point of which turns north, the eastern south; another line from Hamath to Chatsar-'Enan, and another from Chatsar-'Enan to Dan or Sefam, which line thus extends four days journey. The two lines form a very obtuse angle, and what is situated east [and] south of this square, is called *Syria*: Homs, Baalbek, Damascus etc. belong to this country. This will illustrate the passages Ezechiel XLVIII. 1. and Numb. XXXIV. 9. — From Chatsar-'Enan we proceed along the eastern frontier in a direction south, inclining somewhat west, until we reach Sefam; from thence the frontier runs on to *Ribla*, east of 'Ajin, and continues in a southerly direction unto the eastern bank of the sea of Tiberias. (Num. XXXIV. 11.) — This Ribla stands south from Sefam; but Hamath, wherein stands the Ribla,[b] mention'd in Jeremias, is north-east of Sefam.

(ib. f. 62 a.) The Israelites who left Egypt, conquer'd the land of Israel within the boundaries enumerated in Num. XXXIV. from south to north; the Mishna (Shebi'ith and Challah) considers the town *Khesib* to be the centre of this territory, and according to

a. חצן אלאקרט. See p. 416. note c. R. Benjamin (I. 88.) also found a *Chatsor* near Hamath; the latter appears however to have been further south. — b. See Kaplan II. 209. 240.

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the Thalmud all that is to be consider'd as belonging to the land of Israel, which is situated within the 'Amana; it also includes the islands comprised within a line, drawn from the 'Amana to the brook of Egypt. [a]

(ib. 63 b.) Tiberias stands in the centre of the land of Israel, [b] the distance from thence to the brook of Egypt and to mount Hor being of equal length, [c] whereas to Dan it is but one, to Beersheba four days journey [d] from Tiberias. 'Acco also is opposite to Tiberias, the former west, the latter east, a day's journey asunder, [e] 'Acco forming nearly the central point between Hor and the brook of Egypt. Whatever is situated between the dead sea, Hamath, Chatsar-'Enan, Hor and this brook, is the promised land of the pentateuch.

(ib. f. 65 b.) Between Hamath and the district about mount Hor is a great desert and pasture-ground, called עאמק אל חארם; [f] Antiochia is east of mount Hor, about

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a. See Gittin f. 8 a. — b. Megillah f. 6 a. — c. Say seven to eight days journey. — d. The distance from Tiberias to Rafah is five days journey (Abulf. 33. comp. Edrisi I. 346. 362.); consequently six days from Rafah to Dan. It could therefore be said, that Juda and Galilee were six days asunder; s. Shemtob (Parchi's contemporary, who lived at Safet) in Migdal 'Os in Hilchoth 'Abodath Elilim c. 4. — e. From Acre to Tiberias 24 miliaria (Abulf. 82.), two short days journey (Edrisi I. 347.) or two days journey (ib. 348.). — f. Between mount Shachshabu and the western Lokham is a ghor, of the circumference of half a day's journey (Abulf. 165.); comp. Burckh. p. 231. A city of the name of ***Harim*** stands in the district of Haleb.

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half a day's journey more north and at an equal distance from the sea,[a] three days north-west of Hamath. After the destruction of the temple that town and Laodicea were inhabited by Jews. — From Hor to the brook of Egypt the distance is 400 parasangs of two miliaria each.[b]

V. CHOROGRAPHY.

(c. 11. f. 66a—69b.) With the assistance of God I will now inform our contemporaries of what they know not, viz. of the towns of the single cantons of the tribes; these are known in Palestine although the visitors know nothing thereof. — For I have explored Galilee during two years and during other five years have employed every hour in travelling through the rest of the country. Let us now travel from north to south, thus have I already enumerated the best known places from Hor to Tsor; let us begin therefore with Dan. ***Dan*** is Leshem, Sefam, Laish, Paneas, arabic Banias. — Half a day's journey further south, stands ***Kedesh*** on mount Naphthali, called ***Kades***;[c] ***Geba***[d] stands two hours west of Dan, and is still called ***Geba***. A day's journey south of Kedesh stands a city on the summit of a mount, ***Tsefath***,[e]

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a. Not in conformity with other accounts. — b. See above p. 237. 407. — c. See Benjamin of Tudela I. 82. II. 109. — d. The same f. 63 b. It stands on Libanon and contains the sepulchre of Tsephania (Jichus p. 51.); in a later list it is called צפיתא. — e. ***Tsefath*** or ***Safet*** in Galilee, mention'd already in Kalir's Elegy (s. above p. 236.) but perhaps even in the Thalmud (s. below p. 422.) occurs again in the historians of the crusades (William of Tyre). In

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which is not Chormah[a] (Jud. I. 17.) which was situated in the country of Jehuda, in the territory of Sime'on, but a new town with an alter'd name. In the vicinity stands another town of the name of ***Tsefath***, sirnamed עדי.[b] Not fully two thousand yards north of this Tsefath, stands ***Beri***, called ***Beria***, on a hill[c] .... ***Dama***[d] is two hours west of Beri..... I desired to point out to which tribe it (Tsefat) belonged, because it contains a large [congregation of Jews]. ***Chukkok*** of the tribe of Nafthali, not to be confounded with the northern ***Chukkok*** of the Chronicles (I. VI. 60.) in the canton of Asher, appears to me to be a town situated two hours south-west of Safet, it is north-east of

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the 12th. century it probably contained no Jews (see above p. 106.), but in the 13th. century it is mention'd by Charisi (c. 46.), in the cod. Sussex. No. 4. of 1266, in which year the christians lost the castle, and in the transactions respecting the disputes on Maimonides of A. 1286. R. Solomo of Barcellona corresponded with Safet. In the 14th. century the town is mention'd by Sanutus (Secr. fid. crucis, in Bongarsius gesta dei II. p. 166), Parchi, Shemtob Gaon (1325), Abulfeda (p. 82: צפר), Maundeville, in a Bodleyan MS. dated 1337 (Uri catal. cod. 231) and in the dec. of R. Nissim (No. 5). The town is about 4 hours from Tiberias; neither Rosenmüller nor Reland mention it. It contained 13 synagogues in the 17th. century.

a. These mistakes occur in Loewisohn p. 100 b. s. v. צפת. — b. Of this place nothing else is known. — c. With a ruined Synagogue; a cave on a mount tradition assigns as the sepulchre of Abba Saul (Riqueti); perhaps ***Berotha*** of Josephus (Arch. V. 1, 18). — d. Parchi quotes כפר דמן דמא, ex 'Orla 2. Juchasin (f. 55 a.) reads כפר דמאי and כפר יתמא, our editions read only כפר יתמה.

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Thabor and bears the name of ***Jakuk.***[a] The prophet Habakuk is said to be buried there; we also saw there a synagogue with an ancient pavement..... If we draw a line from Thabor to Chukkok, Sebulun will be north, the [mountain] south, Asher west, Akshaf being much further south.[b] Thus we have the four corners of the district of Nafthali. If we draw a second line from Chukkok south, and a third from thence north, we will find this triangle to comprise: ***Arbel, Tsereda, Gennesar, Thanchum, Tiberias, Ma'on*** and northerly: ***'Akhbara,*** the above-mention'd ***Tsefath,*** ***'Amuka***[c] and ***Kedesh*** המקלון;[d] from thence the way leads to the Jordan. Besides these there are many other towns and villages. The Jordan flows half a day's journey east of this city, which, though not identical with Chukkok, must still belong to Nafthali and not to Asher, because ***Gush Chaleb*** is much further north-west. It further appears to me, that Tsefath is the Tsofia (צופיה) of the Thalmud, the name being derived from צופה (watch),[e]

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a. In Jakuk is the sepulchre of the prophet Habakuk (Jacob MS. and Jichus p. 63.) — b. See below p. 433. Parchi takes Akshaf for Arsuf. — c. s. this section, end. — d. A few lines further on it says 'Thou knowest at present the situation of Thabor and Jordan; southwards is the southern [confine] of the sea of Tiberias; northwards it reaches at least unto Kedesh המקלון, this also thou knowest.' This place, according to the context, can only be Kades, and we must read המקלט (s. Jos. XXI. 32.) the refuge. — e. See Rapaport, introduction to Kore haddoroth, s. v. צפת, and the next note. Some believe that אילין דחמיין צפת (Jerus. Rosh hashana 2, 1. end) alludes to Safet.

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because of its elevated situation on a high mount; these mountains afford good pasturage and much honey; this is also in conformity with the Thalmud. We further conclude from the Thosephta Shebi'ith[a] that ha-Tsofia stands in the district of *Susitha,* which latter we identified with סמאיע[b] and

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a. c. 4: Towns which are subject to tithes, in the district of Susitha: עושית, יערים, עין, [ed. Amst. עין תרעא] דנב, כפר יערים [also Thosephta Demai 1.] הצפיה [edit. Amst. חצפיא] כפר צמר [צמח in jerus. Demai 2]. Parchi f. 63 a: The above-mention'd כפר צמר stands an hour north of 'Acco and not far from the sea, and is called צומריא. But this is improbable, comp. the following note. — b. This is a mistake; Parchi has identified Kefar סמי with סמאיע, but not Susitha, if he does not suppose Kefar סיסאי, which is identical with Kefar סמי, to be סוסיתא, which is certainly erroneous. The passage f. 63 a runs thus: We learn from the parallel passages of the Thosephta and the Gemara Gittin [6 b.] that Kefar סיסאי is identical with Kefar סמי. I have inquired after this village and have found it an hour north of שזור; from 'Acco you may reach שזור by travelling half a day in an eastern direction, and Tiberias is distant about three hours from this place. Sepphoris is eight hours south of 'Acco and from שזור to Sepphoris the distance is less than half a day's journey south; consequently Kefar סמי, at present Kefar סמאיע, is nearer Sepphoris than 'Acco, as demonstrated by the above quotations. — This is consequently the village of Sammak (صمغ), situated on the southern extremity of the sea of Tiberias. s. Burckh. 432 seq. ***Susitha*** stood near Tiberias, not far from Bethsan, and the inhabitants, consisting principally of gentiles, were not favorably disposed towards the Jews. s. Midr. Cant. f. 14 a. Midr. Threni f. 69 b. Beresh. rabba c. 31. 35. Vajikra rabba c. 23. Jerus. Rosh hashana 2, 1. Josephus tells us (vita c. 65. bell. 2, 18, 5. comp. Reland p. 821.) that Hippus, which he mentions near Gadara, stands 30 Stadia from Tiberias, east of Galilee and is inimical towards

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this סמאיע is four hours west of this Tsefath. — Half an hour due south of this town stands '*Akhbara* which is mention'd in the jerusalem Thalmud[a] and of which we shall speak below. Half an hour south by south-west of this place stands *Tsereda*,[b] called *Serin;* an hour in a southerly direction therefrom stands *Gennesar;*[c] half

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the Jews. The name also is so very similar, that Lightfoot was led to identify Susitha and Hippus; and we cannot look near Acre for a village, which stands in the district of Susitha. The Hippeneans (היפני) are mention'd together with the Bethsanians (בישיני) Megilla f. 24 b. Kefar סאמא also Midr. Kohel. f. 104 d. — a. Jerus. Therumoth c. 10. הורי רבי יוסי בר בון בהדין עכברא (comp. מכריע No. 36 and 'Arukh s. v.). Some authors did not know that עכברא was the name of a village and translated it 'in the case of a mouse'. But the correct meaning was known in the 12th. century (Mordekhai in Aboda sara 1354) and to later authors (R. Asher in Therumoth f. 58 a. David B. Simra, Decisions No. 717 Comp. Rapaport's introduction to Kore hadoroth s. v.) The term בהדא or בהדין is also met prefixed to: 2. 'Acco (Bereshith rabba c. 13.) 3. Beth Ma'on (jerus. Sota 1.) 4. Caesarea (Midr. Cant. 9 a. Ed. 1519: בהדא מדינתא ד') 5. Gischala (Midr. Koheleth f. 113 c.) 6. Gufna (Midr. Threni f. 72 a.) 7. Platana (Ber. rab. c. 32. 81; in midr. Cant. f. 24 c. חד erroneously for הדא) or Neapolis (jerus. Aboda sara c. 5. §. 4.) 8. Susitha (jerus. Rosh hashana c. 2. §. 1.) 9. Syria (jerus. Aboda sara 1, 9.). Reland however is correct on 'Akhbara, s. Palestina p. 542. — b. Is also mention'd in Jichus (p. 49) and by Riqueti, the latter spells it Kefar חמאם, comp. Kaplan II. 190. seq. — c. גנוסר (Thosephta Shebiith 7, Khelim 3, 5. jerus. Megilla 1, Shebiith 9, Sifré towards the end, Megilla f. 6 a.) the valley of which was celebrated for its fertility, is probably a more modern town, which rose after the old Kinnereth did not exist any longer, or was at least fallen into ruins; this probably occasion'd the Thalmud to render Kinnereth by Gennesar. comp. Bereshith rabba c. 98.

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an hour east of this stands ***Thanchum.***[a] Half an hour south of Gennesar stands ***Tiberias***: a sabbath-way west of Tiberias stands ***Ma'on,***[b] and this is the Ma'on mention'd in David's history. — About half an hour north of Tiberias is ***Arbel;***[c] west-north-west of Arbel stands perhaps Kefar עתים, mention'd in Bekhoroth, it is called at present חטין, and is perhaps identical with Kefar חיטיא, mention'd in Chagigah[d] (c. 1.). About half a day[e] south of Tiberias stands ***Bethsan***; mid-way is the brook Kishon, called Kison. If you proceed from Bethsan in a southerly direction, leaving the plain at your east, you begin to ascend, after an hour's travel-

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a. s. Rapaport note 159, above. Under the name of Thanchum the place occurs also in Jichus (p. 47) and in Riqueti; it is probably identical with Kefar תחומין (jerus. Thaanith 1. 7.) and differs from Capernaum. — b. s. Rapaport note 158, above; Parchi is guilty of the mistake committed by R. Benjamin. The place also bears the name of Beth Ma'on. — c. comp. Reland p. 575. Kaplan I. 29. Raumer 120, it is also mention'd in Seder 'Olam sutta, Juchasin 65 a and Jichus p. 47 (In the vicinity is a cave, which is reached by descending steps and which contains a fountain.). See jerus. Berachoth 1, Sota 1. Bereshith rabba c. 19. Jacob (MS.) makes it the burial place of Jokhebed, and Nachmanides (Com. in pent.) that of Dinah. — d. This is stated distinctly by Jichus (p. 63). Tradition states that it contains the sepulchres of Jethro and R. Joshua B. Perachjah (80 a. Ch.). According to jerus. Megilla c. 1. this village stands on the site of the town of Tsiddim (Jos. XIX, 35) in Nafthali, and Reland (p. 687) considers it to be identical with the Kaparkotia of Ptolemy (ib. 461). Jacob (MS.) spells it ***Kefar Chetim*** and Burckhard (559) ***Hottein*** (حتّين) — e. See above p. 402.

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ling, and two hours further you reach ***Besek***, at present ***Absik***;[a] proceeding further south in the same direction, you reach in an hour ***Tebez***, at present תאבץ[b] and three hours further ***Sichem***, between the two mountains of Garisim and 'Ebal. This appears to me to be the village of ***Balta***, and not ***Nablus***[c] which stands a sabbath-way further west, because the monument of Joseph stands fifty yards north of Balta; this monument stood in front of Sichem (comp. Jos. XXIV. 32.) and Nablus is distant therefrom. Since I am engaged exploring the country, I have avoided visiting the field in which Joseph is buried, and the square which is inclosed by a stone wall, and this on account of its sanctity, it having contained an altar. — West, about two hours in a southerly direction from Sichem stands ***Pir'aton***, at present פרעתא.[d]

We have reached this point, in travelling from Dan, from north to south, on the eastern-or Jordan-side. At present we also set out from Dan southwards, but proceed along the west, on the sea-shore. From Dan to ***Sidon*** the distance is about one day and a half's jour-

a. Eusebius (v. Βεζεκ) states: 17 miles on the road from Neapolis to Scythopolis are two places of the names of Besek; 21 roman miles being stated as the whole distance between these two towns, this is conformable with Parchi, who correctly makes it 4 to 5 from Bethsan. — b. ***Tubas***, comp. Raumer p. 163. — c. נפולין Bamidbar rabba c. 23. Debarim rabba c. 3. ניפולים jerus. 'Aboda sara 5, 4. A sabbath-way distance from Sichem stands the village of Balata (בלאטה) which contains the sepulchre of Joseph (Jichus 35). Eusebius was of Parchi's opinion, s. Reland 1004, but comp. Raumer 160 seq. — d. Not to be found on the maps.

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ney; a day south of Sidon, the royal ***Tsor;*** a day south of Tsor stands ***'Acco***; about two hours north of 'Acco the desert ***Tsif***, of which we read: 'the Tsiffim came to Saul.' It is called זיף.[a] About four hours south of Tsor, eastward, stands ***Thimnath***, on the summit of a hill, it is called ***Temnin;***[b] an hour south of Thimnath: ***Adullam***[c] which still retains that name; two hours south of Thimnath: ***Gush Chaleb***, at present ***Gush***,[d] which according to tract. Menachoth belongs to the tribe of Asher, although it is almost a day east of 'Acco. But it is well known that the several cantons of the tribes intersected one another. Half an hour due south of Gush Chaleb stands ***Merun***,[e] which is the place mention'd in Baba metsia. It contains a place which is said to be the site of the school of R. Sime'on B. Jochai, it is situated above the cave of Hillel and Shammai and contains the sepulchres of R. Simeo'n and of his son R. Ele'asar. ***'Akhbara***, mention'd in the same passage of the Thalmud is situated lower, an hour south of Merun, has a good fountain and according to tradition contains on the south-side, the sepulchres of R. Jannaï, R. Dosthaï and R. Nehoraï; both cities have retained their original names. About

a. Apud Josephus (bell. 2. 25): Σέφ. Parchi's mistake is treated on by Rapaport v. צפת. — b. The name varies between Temnin (Jichus sic) and Tebnin. Comp. notes 198 and 199, p. 105. seq. — c. Adullam cannot allude to the town of that name in Judea; the town however is called by Parchi: 'a well-known place upon hills, about half a day south-east of Tyrus' (f. 65 a.) — d. ***Gischala***, s. note 200, comp. Dibre malkhe bajith sheni f. 71 a. Reland's conjecture (p. 813. 817) is correct. — e. See notes 201. 202. p. 107—109.

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an hour westwards stands ***Kefar Chanina***, mention'd Mishna Shebii'th c. 9, its present name is ***Kefar 'Anan;***[a] an hour west thereof stands ***Shesur***,[b] which retains is original name; two hours further south ***'Usha***, at present ***Husha***,[c] and near it ***Shefaram***,[d] name unalter'd. About two hours north of Usha, stands ***Khabul***,[e] name unalter'd; 'Acco stands two hours west of Khabul. Near 'Acco, southward, flows the ***Shichor***

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a. In our editions ***Kefar Chananja***, mention'd also Bereshith rabba c. 86. The village Kefar 'Anan (ענן) is mention'd by Jacob (MS), Jichus (p. 57), Riqueti and others. Near it are shown the caves which contain the sepulchres of many teachers of the Mishna, particularly those of Abba Chalaftha and of R. Elie'ser B. Jacob. In a cave which bears the name of Magart-el-Aish, are nine sepulchres. Zacuth (Juchasin f. 57 b.) identifies this place with ***Kefar Kenna***, the frontier of lower Galilee. — b. This place which is frequently mention'd as sirname of teachers (שזורי) in the Mishna and Thosephta, is first mention'd by Pethachia and Jacob (MS), Parchi however is the first who distinctly states its position. Zacuth knew it from the lists of sepulchres (Juchasin 68 a.), and Reland (p. 990.) copied it from him; Jichus mentions it also (p. 59.). R. Simeon Shesuri is buried there (Parchi c. 44. f. 410 b.). comp. p. 423, above. — c. Reland (p. 1062.) has correctly placed Usha in Galilee; but ***Elous*** of the maps is too far north. — d. Mention'd several times in the Thalmud (Rosh hashana f. 31 b.); first again by Pethachia; after Parchi again by R. Chija (מעשה חייא f. 13 a.). Riqueti mentions that it contains a synagogue; it is probably the modern village of Shufamir near Khaifa, see Wiener Jahrbücher LXXIV, 83. modern travellers, Palestine p. 329. — e. See Josua XIX. 27, beyond doubt the Chabolo of Josephus, comp. Reland 668, 701, 1062. Rosenmüller II, 48. It is also mention'd Jerus. Tha'anith c. 4. §. 5. Megilla c. 4. §. 5. Thosephtha Sabbath c. 8. Vajikra rabba c. 21. The vicinity to Ptolemais is stated by Parchi; the city of

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libnat, called ***Ramla Bitsa*** (רמלא ביצה) i. e. white sand;[a] south of which is mount ***Kharmel.*** Between both stretches the bay on the shore of which stands ***Khaifah,***[b] on the foot of the mount, the name is perhaps derived from its situation [Chof 'the coast']. The valley commencing south of 'Acco is very large, extending to that of Iisreël. — If we return to Bethsan, we find ***Jisraël*** of the tribe of Jissachar, distant an hour and a half in a due western direction, its present name is ***Serain.***[c] Due east of Jisreël, as far as a horse runs,[d] is a well near which Israel encamped in Saul's last battle; the well origi-

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Tsabulon, which is mention'd nowhere else, must be erased; Raumer p. 135, who does not admit any names of places, authenticated by the Thalmud, into his holy circle, has done the contrary. According to Jichus (59) the place contains the sepulchres of the three great spanish authors: Abraham Aben 'Esra, Jehuda Halevi, Salomo Hakaton [Gabirol]. The second is omitted in the more recent lists.

a. The more modern name, which is not to be found on the maps, is exactly conformable to the biblical. The identity with the river Belus of Pliny, is thus established; its present name is Nohman. — b. Mention'd frequently in the Thalmud (Megilla 24 b.) and the Midrash (see the quotations above p. 423 note b. and Reland 697, 699, 702, 718, 819, 957, 1024.) חיפה is identical with שקמונה (Demai commencement. Sifre, divis. בהעלותך and פנחס) because according to Eusebius (Rel. p. 1024) ***Sykaminos*** on the Kharmel, is the modern Hefa; the latter name consequently was not usual in the period of the mishna. The distance from Ptolemais to Sykaminon is stated sometimes at 15, at others at 24 miles, probably the former is the distance by land, the latter by sea, Edrisi (I. 348) computing the way from Acre to Khaifah by land at 30, by sea at 18 arabian miles. — c. זרעין, from which Gerin [Djerin] apud William Tyr. Brochard calls it Zaraim. — d. מרוצת

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nates on the south side of mount Gilbo'a and is called ***Djeluth***.[a] The Arabs erroneously consider this site to be the spot on which David conquer'd Goliath, it is really however between Socho and 'Aseka in Juda. East of this well.... yards, is ***Tubania***, which is mention'd Tract. Pesachim, and is also called ***Tabenia***,[b] it stands on a river which derives its origin from this well. The Arabs commit a mistake by identifying ***Kefar*** מנדי[c] near Sepphoris with Midjan. Mount Gilboa is called by them ***Djelbun***.[d] ***Modiith***[e] mention'd Tract. Kiddushin, is east of these mountains and an hour west of Bethsan, it must not be confounded with ***Mo-***

המוס, with the Arabs שוט פרס (Abulf. p. 7. 12. 92.), is the distance which a horse can run at once before getting tired and is said to comprise a station or an arabian mile (ib. addenda ad not. 27.). Abulfeda (p. 7.) uses this measure in stating the distance from Lod to Ramla, which Parchi makes 1500 yards; a second statement (ib. p. 79) of three parasangs is therefore incorrect. As early as the palestinic Thalmud (Pesachim 3, 8) we meet with the statement of a distance 'as far a horse runs, without throwing a shadow'; this dates from the third century.

a. ***Ain Djeluth*** (גילות), s. Rosenmüller II. 111.; according to Richardson four hours from Djennin, 2 from Bethsan. — b. Consequently ***Tubania*** is different from Ain Djeluth and Rosenmüller (l. c.) must be corrected. The place is mention'd in the following instances: Thosephta Shebiith 6, Erubin f. 28 b., Pesachim f. 23 a, always with reference to the dates which grow in its vicinity. I here remark that ***Tob*** (טוב Judges XI. 3.) which Michaelis (in I. Macc. V. 13.) combines with ***Tubnin***, is render'd Susitha (s. above p. 423.) by the Jerus. Thalmud (Shebiith c. 6.) — c. ***Kafr Mendah*** north of Sepphoris, s. Jichus 63. — d. גלבון, again confirmed by Richardson. — e. מודיעית Kiddushin f. 66 a. but the Hasmonean Modein was situated near the sea-shore, the

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diim[a] near Jerusalem; it is spelt מידעה. — Half an hour north of Jisreel stands ***Shunem***, a very handsome place; in the middle of the city a well issues from the northern rock, the same near which the Philistines encamped in their battle against Saul. Above that well I saw a house, open on all its four sides, which I take for the house of the Shunamite (II. Kings IV. 12.) — ***Tabun***, mention'd Tract. Makhshirin [1, 3.] stands about half an hour east of Shunem and retains its original name,[b] whereas Shunem is called ***Salem.***[c] An hour and a half north-east of the above mention'd well near Jisreel, is ***'Endor***, the residence of the witch consulted by Saul, it is called אן דאר;[d] two hours north of 'Endor stands mount ***Thabor***, it stands alone, is very high and has the form of a helmet. — About half an hour east of Thabor is a place called ***Denah,***[e] where an old sepulchre, north of the brook, is called Danah el Hakim; Hakim means judge, and I suppose therefrom that it contains the remains of Dan the son of Jacob. — East of Thabor, and near it, is Dobrat, at present ***Daburia***;[f] two hours in a due east direction,

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one near Bethsan is consequently a third place of that name; comp. Rosenmüller II. 346 seq. — a. מודיעית or מודיעים see Mishna Pesachim 9. — b. טבעון, also Megillah 24 b. טבעין Thosephta Nidda 4. — c. סולם' the Samech with Pathach (a) the vow suppress'd, the Lamed with Segol (e)' adds the author, consequently not: Sulem. — d. Burckh. (590.) saw only ruins; the distance from Thabor is in conformity to Eusebius (Reland p. 762.) — e. ***Dena*** (دنّه) and Kokhab, two villages between Wadi Oshe and Wadi Byre (Burckhardt 591.) — f. At present ***Dabury*** (Burckhardt

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stands ***Chofraim***, at present כפרה, higher than its environs. Half an hour south of Chofraim, on a hill stands ***Jibleam***, called יבלה.[a] In front of it is a brook, and the waters of this district do not flow in summer. An hour west of Thabor, stands ***Kislot Thabor*** at present כסל;[b] ***Kishon***[c] where the river originates, is distant an hour due south. ***Ne'oran***, at present נעורה,[d] which is mention'd in Chullin and Sota, is distant about an hour south-west on foot of a hill. In its immediate vicinity east, is ***'Anem***[e] of the tribe of Jissachar, its present name is . . . . . About two hours north of Thabor stands ***Sepphoris***, called Kitron[f] in Megillah. About an hour south of

579.) ***Dabeira*** ap. Eusebius (Rel. 737.). Parchi confirms Pocoke's conjecture that this is identical with Dobrat and censures the error ascribing the origin to the prophetess Deborah, which occurs even at a later period. — a. Of these two places we find no mention elsewhere. — b. This appears to be the ancient ***Exalus*** or ***Chasalus*** (Rel. p. 534, 700, 706, 768), the modern Eksall, mention'd by Buckingham as being exactly at the same distance north-west from Thabor. — c. Mention'd nowhere. In Arvieux's time the castle near which the Kishon rises, was called: Ain-el-tudjar, i. e. the merchant's-well. — d. נעורן, see Chullin 5 a. Sota 46 b. Na'aran or Na'ara is mention'd Jos. XVI. 7.; I. Chron. VII. 28. No'aran stood near Jericho, ap. Josephus: Neara, s. Rel. 907. Consequently the new form of this name approaches again the original appellation. — e. Parchi mentions ***'Anem*** and ***'En Gannim*** as two distinct places, contrary to Reland (566); unfortunately the hiatus in the text deprives us of the modern appellation. — f. Kitron, Judges I. 30. is render'd Sepphoris, Megilla f. 6 a.; the most ancient form of the name is צפורים; so in jerus. Tha'anith c. 4. §. 5. and in Kalir's elegy.

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Sepphoris stands ***Betshemesh*** of Jissakhar, called at present שומשיה,[a] also ***Rimmon*** of Sebulun, called רומנה.[b] ***Simonia***[c] is a place about two hours south-west of Sepphoris; ***Rumi***[d] stands three hours due north of Sepphoris.

We return to Shunem. Two hours from thence, west, stands ***Megiddo*** at present ***Ledjun;***[e] an hour south of Megiddo stands ***Ta'anakh,***[f] name unalter'd. ***Akhshaf,*** at present ***Arsuf,***[g] stands about four hours south of Ta'anakh, on the sea-shore. All these places are situated in the valley of Jisreël and in the plain of Thabor, at present ***Merdj-bene-'Amer;***[h] mount Kharmel is west of this valley. Two hours south of Jisreël stands ***'En Gannim,*** with a well of similar name, at present ***Djenin;***[i] half an hour west of 'En Gannim is ***Barak,*** called ברקין.[k] About two hours east of 'En

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a. Jos. XIX. 22, is mention'd only by Reland p. 657. — b. Jos. XIX. 13. I. Chron. VI. 62. Perhaps we must read רמנה for דמנה Jos. XXI. 35. — c. סימוניא see Reland 717, 1017, Bereshith rabba c. 81. Nidda f. 24 b. Jerus. Megilla 1. 1. at present ***Sammuni.*** — d. רומי, mention'd Jichus 61. ***Rumani?*** — e. לגון, the ancient ***Legio***; Ledjun is 20 arabian miles from Tiberias (Abulf. Syr. in addendis ad not. 28), comp. Rosenmüller II. 101. 102. Parchi's conjecture respecting Megiddo, is older by 514 years than that of the 'Münchener Anzeigen' (Raumer 156 note 114). In Edrisi I. 360, we must read beyond doubt: Ledjun for Lahoun. — f. Probably ***Tennak.*** — g. Arsuf, a sea-port town, 12 arab. miles from Ramla, 6 from Joppe, 18 from Kaisarie (Abulf. 81) can hardly have been the Akhshaf of Asher. — h. Burckhardt 579: Along the southern and western side of Thabor stretches a great plain, called Merdj-ibn-Aamer. — i. ***Ginaea*** ap. Josephus, ***Ginum*** ap. Brochard; whether Kefar גנם ap. Jichus 63? — k. ***Berkin***; but the

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Gannim, on the mountains of Gilbo'a, southwards, stands ***Meron***, one of the 31 kh'na'anitish royal cities; it stands on the mountains which are situated west of the plain, south of Bethsan, and is called ***Dar Meron***.[a] South of 'En Gannim, distant about two hours, stands ***Geser*** of Efraim, called at present ***Gansur***,[b] upon a hill surrounded by a plain. Half an hour south of Geser, is ***Dothan***, at present ***Dotha***,[c] with a good fountain; it is situated about four hours north of Sichem. Ascending from thence in a southerly direction, you reach the mountains of Efraim, and four hours further in a westerly direction, ***Shomron*** called ***Sebaste***.[d] From Shomron to Sichem, which is situated further east, the distance is two hours. — Two hours south of Sichem, stands a city of the name of גית,[e] upon a low, single hill; a plain stretches towards the west. ***Thimnath Cheres***, called ***Kefar Cheres***,[f] is two hours south of Sichem; due east, two hours from Sichem stands ***Gibe'ath Pinchas***, where El'asar, Ithamar, Pinchas and the 70 Elders are buried. Even there is the

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biblical ***Bne Berak***, the place of abode of R. 'Akiba, was certainly in Judaea.

a. Kaplan (II. 236) confounds this place with Merun of Galilee. — b. Comp. Raumer 188. 189. — c. This and the preceding place are laid down in a quite different direction in Berghaus' map. — d. סבסטי s. Mishna 'Arachin 3, 2. Sifra ed. Venet. p. 232. — e. ***Gitta*** in Samaria (Rel. 813) the situation of which was unknown. — f. Jichus 33 states the same. This Kefar Cheres is already mention'd by Jacob (MS). It is said to contain the sepulchres of Josua, of his father Nun and of Khaleb.

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village עברתא,[a] perhaps the thalmudic ***Kefar Thimnatha.***[b] ***Shiloh*** is three hours south of Sichem, in an easterly direction, on the road from Sichem to Jerusalem: it is situated to the left of the traveller, towards the end of the first third of the way, and bears the name of ***Sailun.***[c] You still find every thing quite in conformity with the account of the book of Judges (XXI. 19): You first find, on your right, ***Lebona***, at present ***Lubin***;[d] a thousand yards further on you find on your left a well, near which runs a path, this path you follow in a south-east direction about an hour's way and thus reach Shiloh. This place still contains a vault, called קובה אל סכינה[e] and near it a place called ***Maida*** (מאידא) i. e. the tables of the children of Israel. South

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a. The position of this Gibe'a is mention'd nowhere else, (comp. Geba, Rel. 816, Raumer 152 note 108). But the sepulchres which are stated here, to be at Gibeat, are mention'd by Jacob (MS) and Jichus (33) as being in the adjacent עורתא ('Urata). 'There is the school of Pinchas, son of the priest El'asar, in a temple of the gentiles; El'asar is interred upon a steep hill, Ithamar below the village among the olive trees; upon his sepulchre is a large monument. Near the barns the moslems have a mosque in a vault; the 70 Elders are said to be buried in the cave,' (according to others only two of them. Riqueti). — b. Our editions read: Kefar תמרתה jerus. Rosh hashana 2, end; jerus. Chagiga, end, and in other instances. — c. סאילון, in our maps Silo is to the right of the traveller. The place Sailun is not mention'd again. A trace of Silo is found in Troilo, s. Rosenmüller II. 139. Jacob (MS) states, that 'Eli and his sons are buried in Silo. — d. The present ***Leban***, Lemna of Brochard, appears to me to be a different place. — e. ***Kubbet-es-Sekhina***, house of the Lord.

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of Shiloh stands ***Bethel,*** at present ***Bethai*** (ביתאי) without the final Lamed. Of Sichem, Lebona, Shiloh, Bethel each place stands in a more elevated situation than the preceding one. — Know that there existed two Bethel, as has already been remarked by Rashi in Josua (XVIII. 13): one near 'Ai in the tribe of Benjamin, and another, formerly Lus, on the southern frontier of Efraim; the former stood in the plain, the latter upon hills — from this to Rachel's sepulchre is nearly eight hours.[a] — From Shiloh to Jerusalem the distance is not a full day's journey. About two hours west of Shiloh, in a somewhat southerly direction, stands ***Beth Gufnin,*** called ***Gofna***, where the vine is still cultivated.[b] From Lebona to ***Beeroth*** of Benjamin, the distance is three hours; the place is called at present ***Elbera*** (אלבירה). From Beeroth to ***Ramah*** about an hour; the same distance to Jerusalem.[c] From Jerusalem to ***Akrabath,***[d] קרבה, in the north, the distance is a day's journey; same distance to Jericho, east. — Jericho is at the southern point of the plain.

Rachel's sepulchre[e] is an hour south of Jerusalem and two thousand[f] yards further stands ***Bethlehem.***

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a. Comp. Kaplan I. 52. II. 61. — b. Thoseftha Oholoth c. 18: בית גופנין. Berakhoth f. 44 a: גופנית. A Gofna-Synagogue was in Sepphoris (Jerus. Berakhoth 3, Nasir 7); comp. Reland 350, 493, 816. — c. From Jerusalem to Beeroth St. Jerom makes the distance about two hours and a half. Rel. 618. — d. עקרבה (Maa'ser sheni c. 5.) from which the district took the name of ***Akrabatene***, at present 'Akrabi. — e. The same c. 10. f. 53 a. — f. i. e. one מיל,

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From Jerusalem to *'Asasel*[a] the distance is three hours; *Chalchul*[b] and *Theko'a*[c] are situated there, not far asunder. *Hebron* is distant from Jerusalem a winter-day's journey; half an hour west of Hebron is *Migdal 'Eder;* the valley of *Eshkhol* is north of the mountain upon which Hebron stood, and the cave of Makhpela is east thereof. A bow-shot west of the cave is the sepulchre of Abner the son of Ner.[d] At present however the town is no longer situated upon the hill, but about the cave;[e] the mount they call חברא and the town El-Khalil, i. e. the beloved. — A high square of stones is raised about the cave; these stones had formerly belonged to the temple and tradition assigns to the square the age of Solomo.[f] — About half a day east of Hebron stands *'Engedi;* the distance from Hebron to Beersheb'a, at present *Birsaba*, is about a day's journey in a south-westerly direction. West of Hebron, distant half a day's journey and mid-way to Gaza stands *Beth*

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thus also Abulwalid (s. Kherem chemed V. 35). R. Benjamin states the distance at half a mil, because an arabian mile contains 4000 yards. s. Emunoth vede'oth c. 7.

a. עזאול (Levit. XVI. 8); is omitted in the geographical manuals because Reland (Lib. I. c. 53) erased it. Parchi however mentions it also f. 416a. as a mount. The distance appears shorter according to jerus. Joma 6, 7. — b. Called even so at present; it contains the sepulchre of the prophet Gad (Jichus 9); s. Zeitung des Judenthums, 1839. p. 288. — c. According to St. Jerom it contains the sepulchre of 'Amos, according to Jacob (MS) and Jichus (p. 11.) that of Jesaiah. — d. Sic Jacob (MS) and Jichus (9) who add that of Jisai. — e. Comp. R. Benjamin I. 76. II. 92. — f. 'of David', Jichus p. 7.

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Gubrin,[a] the name of which remains unalter'd. West of Jerusalem, three hours south, stands ***Bether***[b]; half an hour north, ***ha-Ramah***, which contains the house of Samuel.[c] Three hours from thence west, stands ***Nob***, the city of the priests; three hours north-west of Nob, stands ***Lod***. — I have found in my travels that

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a. Edrisi (I. 360) mentions this place together with Gaza. Known to the Midrash (see Reland 641.) as well as ***Eleutheropolis*** (ib. 750.), we consequently suppose them to be two different towns (comp. above p. 93.). The latter appears to be the ברת חוורן, near the valley of Sephela (שפלה) mention'd Mishna Shebiith 9. Jerus. Thalmud ib. Jer. Ma'aser sheni 5., Shekalim 1. etc. comp. Rel. 187. 305. 372. The conjecture that it is identical with ***Capharoria*** (Münchener Anzeigen apud Raumer 184) is conformable to Bereshith rabba (c 42.), where ἐλευθερο is combined with חרי. According to this, the city must have borne successively the names of: Lechi, Berat-Chawran, Kefarchori, Eleutheropolis. — b. Parchi alludes to the celebrated ביתר, more correctly ביתתר which was destroyed by Hadrian's general and was perhaps identical with בית צור; but he appears to mention the village of ***Betur*** near Bethlehem. — c. Formerly the sepulchre of Samuel was shown near the Jewish synagogue (R. Benjamin I. 78.). Many devotees, who bear wax candles and vows, walk in pilgrimage to the house or sepulchre which is pretended to be that of Samuel, — but where the prophet is not buried. The procession takes place every year about the time of the feast of weeks, the way is accomplished amidst singing of hymns and prayers and accompanied by rolls of the pentateuch from Jerusalem (Jichus 33.). David B. Simra (dec. No. 608.), however, states, that the custom of offering oil etc. in this venerated place, has been discontinued, the access to it being prohibited to Jews. It appears that the turks seized the place and built a mosque over it, which mosque is mention'd by Riqueti.

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Akrabath is farther distant from Jerusalem than Lod.[a] According to Tract. Khethuboth the distance from Lod to ***Ono*** is three milliaria.[b] About two hours east of Lod, stands ***Chadid***, on the summit of a round hill, it is called חדתא.[c] The distance from Nob to ***Jabneh*** amounts to nearly four hours; the way leads west, in a somewhat southerly direction. ***Tserifin***, at present ***Tserfan***[d] is three hours west of Nob; within a sabbath-way's distance from Tserifin stands ***Ramla***[e] called ***Felistin***,[f] and which is perhaps identical with Gath. — Jabneh contains a handsome building upon

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a. Refers to the distances in Mishna Ma'aser sheni. — b. See Khethuboth fol. 111 b., Chullin f. 56 b. wherewith Raumer's question (p. 213. note 235 a.) is answer'd. — c. At present ***Chadite***; comp. Rel. 546. perhaps חדתא is identical with Chadasha, Josua XV. 37. — d. About two hours east of Ramla stands Nob; about an hour south, Jabneh; westward in the sabbath-way [of Ramla] Tserifin, at present צרפאן (Parchi f. 31 a.) This fully confirms Reland's conjecture (867, 987) of the identity of ***Tserifin*** (Menachoth c. 6.), ***Sariphaea*** and the modern ***Serfend***, a place which is situated about half an hour from Ramla. The name of ***Serfan***, and the period to which it belongs, form a link in the history of this town. — Tsarfat (I. kings XVII. 9.) stands on the way from Sidon to Tsor, in a westerly direction, nearer Sidon, on the sea-shore, and is called צרפאן (Parchi 65 a.) or ***Zarfand***, is ten arabian miles from Saida (Edrisi I. 349.) — e. Ramla stands a day's journey from Jerusalem (Parchi c. 7. f. 31 a.) two from Rafah, three from Tiberias, 18 arabian miles from Askalon, 66 from Saida (Abulf. 33, 78, 93), three roman miles from Lydda; according to Parchi (ib.) 1500 yards. — f. The Arabs call Ramla: Felistin, the Jews: Gath (Parchi l. l.). The town of Felistin is

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the sepulchre of R. Gamaliel, the grandfather of Rabbi [Jehuda the holy]. — The sepulchre of the latter is in Sepphoris in a cave cover'd by a flat stone; half an hour north-east of Sepphoris is another cave which is likewise called after R. Gamaliel, and near it a second, called after his brother R. Sime'on, who consequently must be the two sons of Rabbi.[a] ***Beth She'arim,***[b] two hours east of Sepphoris, at the same distance west of Tiberias and a sabbath-way from mount Thabor, is called אשערה; it stands on a river. I have already mention'd ***Kefar Lubin.***[c] Two hours west of Lod stands ***Jafo*** (Joppe). North of Lod, in the moun-

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also mention'd by Ibn-el-Wardi (s. tab. syr. p. 176.), Abulfeda (Annales p. 135) and Edrisi (1. 340). The latter states the distance from Askalon to be a long day's journey, and the translator, by mistake, translates 'Palestine' and marks in note: 'sic.'

a. Benjamin (l. 79.) saw in Jabne the site of the school. The sepulchre of the executed R. Sime'on is said to be in Kefar Kenna (Sikhron Jerushalajim, where Gamaliel is printed by mistake), that of his son Gamaliel in Jabne, of his son Sime'on according to some in Kades (R. Benj. I. 82.) according to others (Jichus 63.) in Kefar Menda. The sepulchres of the two sons of Rabbi near Sepphoris are also mention'd by Jichus (l. l.) and Riqueti. — b. Identical with ***Sehara.*** See Khethuboth 103 b. Thoseftha Th'rumoth 7. — c. ***Kefar Lodim*** mention'd mishna Gittin, commencement, is north-west of Lod. Afterwards I found upon inquiry after this place, during my stay at Lod, that it was only ***Kefar Lubin***; I went there and found it two hours north-west of Lod (c. 7 f. 31 a.). Between Lod and Jafo stands Kefar Lodim, which does not belong to the land of Israel. The three places stand within wo hours of each other (c. 10. f. 55 b.).

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tains, stands ***Kefar Dikhrin***[a] which still bears that name and near it ***Maresha.***[b] From Lod to Jabneh the distance is two hours,[c] ***Pekiin***[d] stands mid-way between both. Three hours south-east of Lod, stand ***Tsarea*** and ***Eshthaol,***[e] which still bear those names. Proceeding from Jabneh south, you reach in three hours[f] ***Ashdod***, called ***Asdud***; from Jafo to 'Ekron the distance is five hours; the latter is east of Jabneh. From 'Ekron to Ashdod the distance is nearly three hours. ***'Ekron*** which is called עקרון,[g] is identical with קסרי;[h] consequently the towns of Kesre, Lod and Jabneh form an equilateral triangle,[i] each side of which measures two to three hours. This explains the facility with which the teachers of the law could proceed from one place to the other, as it appears from Tr.

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a. Gittin f. 57 a., Jerus. Tha'anith 4. This may perhaps tend to ascertain the situation of mons regius in Jehuda (comp. Rel. 306 — 309.) — b. Maresha must be situated further south. — c. Not quite that distance, see c. 12. f. 75 a. — d. This situation is assigned to the place in Thosephtha Sota c. 7 (Parchi fol. 31 a.) and Jerus. Chagiga, commencement. — e. According to the map of distances apud Rel. 422, these two places would be about 11 rom. miles or $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours from Lydda. Neither of them nor of the three preceding occur anywhere else. — f. Sic Irby and Mangles. — g. Said to be Hessn Akhar mention'd by Bohaddin (tab. syr. 82, note); it is 4 hours from the sea-shore (Parchi 60 b., above p. 417); modern travellers mention a village of the name of Tukrair. — h. According to Megilla 6 a. Parchi distinguishes here and f. 60 b. particularly this Kesre from Caesarea (Palestinae); the Thalmud (Succa fol. 27 b.) distinguishes קיסרי from קיסריון. — i. Abulf. tab. p. 19. also remarks that Hamah, Massiaf and Homs form an equilateral triangle.

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Sanhedrin. — ***Askalon***, at present '***Askalan***, stands on the sea-shore, four hours further south than Ashdod. From Askalon to ***Gaza*** the distance is three hours, south. Two hours further south of Gaza, stands a town which bears the name of ***Darom*** or ***Daron*** and is mention'd in the Thalmud[a] under the appellation of ***Kefar Darom***. Two hours from thence stands ***Chatserim***, called ***Rafiah***,[b] which has been translated thus by Sa'adia (Deuter. II. 23.). '***Aseka*** called זעקה,[c] is a day's journey from Gaza; from 'Aseka to the furthest southern point, the brook of Egypt, the distance is about two days journey. ***Beersheba***, south-west of Hebron and south-east of Gaza, is about equally distant from both places, viz. not fully a day's journey; whereas it is a full day's journey from Gaza to Hebron.[d] ..... hours, name unalter'd; also ***Jattir***[e] south.... i. e.... המם and it is called עיור.

(c. 10. f. 45 b. c. 12. f. 75 a.) Near 'Acco stands Kefar עמיקון.[f] Half a day's journey north of Sepphoris stands ***Sekhnis***[g] in upper Galilee.

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a. See Tract. Sota f. 20 b., Sifre divis. נשא, at present: ***Dair***. Comp. Rel. 688: certo non dixerim in Palaestina fuisse. — b. Or ***Rafah***, two to three days journey from Ramlah, a pleasing town, s. Edrisi I. 337. 340. 362. — c. The modern ***Sueche***? The biblical 'Aseka must have been further north. It also appears that Parchi took the former for Socho, see above p. 412. 430. — d. Here and in the following lines the text is defective. — e. Or 'Ether near Sueche. — f. See Tract. Tha'anith f. 21 a.; perhaps עמוק Jerus. Tha'anith 4 or 'Amuka (עמוקה) ap. Jacob (MS.), Parchi (s. above p. 422.) and Jichus p. 53. The place is not mention'd by Reland. — g. ***Sekhnin***, Jerus. Joma 4, 1. and in other instances

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VI. The cantons of tribes.

(c. 11. f. 69 b. — 70 a.) ***Jehuda*** is south; from the brook of Egypt it extends unto north of Jerusalem. After this territory follows that of ***Benjamin***, extending unto Shiloh; after this ***Efraim***, unto Geser; then ***Jissakhar***, which extends nearly to Sepphoris, this town however belongs to Sebulun. ***Sebulun*** following next upon the preceding, extends at least to above Tsidon; it also includes the district of 'Acco. ***Nafthali*** is east of Sebulun, south of the sea of Tiberias and reaches at least unto Kedesh of Galilee. ***Dan*** is north of Nafthali. ***Asher*** is situated on the Mediterranean, it extends from Akhshaf unto the furthest frontier, the mount of Hor. The district of ***Simeon*** is west of northern Jehuda, in the direction of Tsarea and Eshthaol. — One half of ***Menasseh*** is inclosed by Asher and Jissakhar, as explained in scripture [Josua XVII. 10. 11.]. Consequently Jehuda has not possessed the whole of the western territory assigned to him, Simeon is the cause of this. — Benjamin and Efraim extend from the Jordan to the Mediterranean; — but Jissakhar did not possess the whole of his western frontier, Akhshaf, in the south, being excluded. His territory necessarily commences south between 'En Gannim and Geser, which towns are two hours asunder; a line, which intersecting both, is prolonged to the Mediterranean, leaves Akhshaf south. The

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frequently; or סכני ***Sekhni***, Sifre, div. haasinu, Rosh hashana f. 27 a. is rich in honey of dates; comp. Rel. 1003; it is also mention'd in Jichus (59).

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same is the case with Menasseh, with this difference only that it extends east unto the Jordan, viz. stretching between Jisreel and Shunem and including Bethsan it extends an hour further, unto the Jordan. Thus Menasseh borders upon Asher on the west, upon Jissakhar on the east. The passage Josua XVII. 11. proves Akhshaf to be Arsuf, because Arsuf stands south of Ta'anakh and further south still of Megiddo. Consequently Akhshaf and Meron, two towns of Kh'na'anite kings [mention'd together Josua XII. 20.] are opposite to one another: the former, on the shores of the sea, the latter, east near the Jordan, Akhshaf however being somewhat more south. Jissakhar also extends unto the Jordan.[a] — If proceeding from Bethsan to Tiberias, you take the road by the plain, you travel to the southern point of the sea of Tiberias in the district of Jissakhar, after having crossed that of Menasseh. An hour and a half distant from Bethsan, on the way to Tiberias, stands a town called ***Djebul***, it is on the left, in the brook; also two hours west of the brook a second ***Djebul***. The former is also called upper-the latter lower-Djebul, they are an hour and a half asunder. If you proceed by the southern road, you also enter the district of Jissakhar, after crossing the breadth of that of Menasseh, until you reach the point opposite Geser. Interrupted by Nafthali, the east of Sebulun does not reach the Jordan, Nafthali being situated

a. I have not render'd the words: כי מה יעיק לו לזה which follow here, because I do not understand them.

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in the east of Sebulun as Simeon is in the west of Jehuda; Sebulun however extends west to the Mediterranean, north of 'Acco. The purple fish is indigenous in this district which intersects Asher, in a similar manner as Simeon intersects Jehuda, and Menasseh Jissakhar. All this proves that the district of Asher forms the northern border; there stand Chelbah and other towns unto mount Hor. All the country south of Tsidon was distributed among the other tribes, except a strip of coast, commencing near Akhshaf, which could not satisfy Asher. — The breadth of the respective cantons of the tribes in day's journeys is about as follows, viz. Jehuda 5, Benjamin 1, Efraim 2, Jissakhar 1, Sebulun 3, Nafthali 2, Dan 1, Asher 5 (beginning from Sebulun), Simeon and [half of] Menasseh among their brethren. The length from the Jordan to the Mediterranean is about two, from mount Hor to Hamath about four days journey. Thus thou knowest, in travelling, where thou art and whither thou proceedest and knowest the district of the places mention'd in the Thalmud, e. g. Barak in Jissakhar, Rumi in Sebulun, Tabun in Menasseh. Most of the places mention'd in the bible are moreover well known. The entrance to the land of Israel is from the west between the brook of Egypt and the Hor; from the east, between the dead sea and Hamath; from the north, between Hor and Hamath; from the south between the dead sea and the entrance of the brook of Egypt into the sea.

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VII. SUNDRY REMARKS.

(c. 10. f. 59 a.) The names of the rivers and towns mention'd both in written and traditional law, have been but slightly alter'd by the Arabs.

(c. 56. f. 438 b.) Only the Arabs of the desert, and not the settled tribes, pronounce Khaf and Kof like Gimel; this is the reason why we read in correct MSS. of the mishna (Challah, Shebiith) for ***Khesib***: ***Gesib***. גרקים in Tract. Berakhoth (f. 43 b.) and Thargum cant. (2, 1.) is spelt גרגים by R. Hai Gaon and Maimonides.

(c. 11. f. 65 a.) ***Khesib*** is three miles distant from the tyrian ladder, as the Gemara teaches in 'Erubin;[a] it is undecided however, whether north or south; the Thosafoth uphold the former opinion. There is no doubt however, that the place stands south of the district of Tyre, toward Galilee.[b]

(ib. f. 64 a.) Khesib is about one day's journey south of 'Acco.

(c. 51. f. 426 a.) ***Lod*** celebrates only one of the holy-days; but Gath [Ramla], though but 1500 yards distant therefrom, keeps two days [like the other countries]. ***Adshlun***, a town situated on the other side of the Jordan, keeps only one day; but in the adjacent חברם i. e. חרים,[c] two days are celebrated. (c. 14. fol. 79 a.) ***Usha***, ***Shefaram***, ***Lod***, ***Jabneh***, ***Nob***, ***Tiberias*** celebrate only one holy-day.

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a. f. 64 b. — b. Bereshith rabba c. 85. illustrates Khesib by פסקה. It is called גויב also in Jerus. 'Aboda sara 1, 9. — c. Comp. above p. 403.

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(c. 16. f. 87 a.) The cave which is said to contain the sepulchre of R. Cohana, is still to be seen in *Tiberias*; a bow-shot south thereof is the cave called after R. Jochanan. — Both caves are among those of the disciples of R. 'Akiba, among which is also the sepulchre of R. Meir.[a]

(c. 5. fol. 15 a.) The sepulchral monument of Shem'aja and Abtaljon is in *Gush Chaleb*, adjacent to that of Adramelekh and Sharezer, the sons of Sancherib.[b]

(c. 5. f. 17 b.) I witness, that there exists no division of the Pentateuch, which has not been interpolated by the Samaritans.

(c. 5. f. 20 b.) The Caraïtes, who prohibit the marrying of the brother's daughter, have learnt this from the Samaritans, who again adopted it from the Arabs.

(c. 16. f. 92 b.) I possess a denar of fine silver, with a samaritan inscription,[c] one side of it shows a coal-pan, the other an almond-tree with three blossoms. Its exact weight amounts to $4\frac{9}{16}$ dirhem; the biblical Shekel consequently amounts to $6\frac{27}{32}$ dirhem.

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a. 'Near Tiberias on the south-side are the sepulchres of R. Cohana and R. Jochanan B. Sakhai; they are buried in caves; also those of R. Moses B. Maimon and his father and his grandson David, and of R. Chija with his two sons; near the warm springs that of R. Meir.' (Jichus p. 39 seq.). Jacob (MS.), Parchi f. 33 a. Jichus 37 seq. report that R. 'Akiba and his — 24,000 — disciples are buried in Tiberias. This is the great Rabbi alluded to by Burckhardt p. 571. — b. The same Jacob (MS.) and Jichus p. 57. — c. R. Hai Gaon, commentary in Mishna Jadajim (MS.), remarks, that the Jewish coins bear inscriptions in samaritan characters.

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(c. 16. f. 90 a.) The Dirhem of Palestine, Syria and Egypt is of silver which contains pure silver in the proportion of $10\frac{2}{3}$ to 16. It is round and contains sixteen Hoba or 64 copper Plus. (ib. 91 a.) The gold denar here in the country of Kh'na'an, weighs always $1\frac{7}{16}$ Dirhem and generally bears the value of 23 silver Dirhem.

(ib. f. 95 a.) The sextarius (קסטא) weighs 1350 Dirhem; according to Ibn Gianach 'Bath' and 'Efa' are measures exactly alike, the first for fluids, the second for dry materials; each contains the weight of 7200 Sus. The litra of Palestine, Egypt and Syria is equal to twelve ounces. The ounce of Damascus weighs 50, of Jerusalem, Lod and Sichem $66\frac{2}{3}$, of Bethsan and Tiberias 75,[a] of Gile'ad 100, of Babylon and Egypt [one hundred and] $12\frac{1}{2}$ Dirhem.

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a. Thus the sextarius contains 18 ounces. Comp. Boeckh Metrolog. Untersuchungen p. 17.

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