and Hereford are lightly rated; they have some 4,900 hides, 8,150 teams, and 5,450 *villani*, or for each team .61 of a hide and .66 of a villein.¹⁹ The west has only half as many landholders and is only half as heavily rated. We must not build much on this last evidence; it comes from 1086, the neat proportions do not run through the details, and it is at best inconclusive, but at least it harmonises with what we have seen in Somerset. This cannot be said of the Domesday ratings in East Anglia and Kent, but the former has had a stormy history, and Kent, even if it has not been reduced like Surrey, is an exceptional county.

To get as much as we can for wading through these dreary figures a word may be said as to the T.R.E. owners in Surrey, Middlesex, and Bucks. Not very many entries give more than one; in Surrey only half a dozen, in Middlesex about one in five, in Bucks about one in eight, of the lay entries, and not half of these give more than two owners. The number, therefore, of owners in each group does not differ very much from the number of entries, and is roughly given, though a little understated, by the small figures above the line. It is plain that in 1065 the land in these counties was much less subdivided than in Cambridgeshire. Yet there are not a few cases to suggest that it was not always so. Even in Surrey²⁰ there were six owners for 5 hides at Streatham, three for 6 hides at Betchworth, six for 12 hides at Wandsworth. In Middlesex²¹ four owners at Hatton held less than 5 hides; at Bedfont 12½ hides were held by two, but 7½ hides by six others, and Ichenham might be in Cambridgeshire, for its 15 hides were divided between seven or more holders and six different lordships.²² In Bucks²³ we have similar cases, not only on the north-eastern border, as at Lavendon, Woughton, Mulso, and Brickhill, but also at Chersley, Edgecot, and [Kings]ey.

F. BARING.

AN EASTERN EMBASSY TO EUROPE IN THE YEARS 1287-8.

SOME fresh light has been thrown on the history of the Mongolian kings of Persia, and especially on their relations with the Christian church in their dominions, by a little Syriac work first published at Paris in 1888—'The History of the Patriarch Mar Yabhalaha, and of Rabban Sauma.' The editor is M. Bedjan, to whom we have been in recent years indebted for the publication of numerous

¹⁹ Maitland, *op. cit.* 400. Ellis, *Introduction to D. B.* ii. 422 ff.

²⁰ D. B. 34, a 2; 35, b 1, 2.

²¹ *Ibid.* 129, a 1, and 130, a 1; 129, a 2, and 130, a 1; 129 a 1 and 130, a 2.

²² We may, however, note, as a caution, two cases in Bucks of brothers, presumably co-heirs, commended to different lords—Daceta, 152, b 1; Herouldsmede, 149, a 1, and another in Middlesex, Cerdentone, 130, b 1.

²³ D. B. 146, b 1; 148, a 1; 147, a 2, b 2; 150, b 1.

Syriac texts. The little book was printed from a single manuscript, the only one then known to exist, which was found and copied near Lake Urmia in 1887. The work itself was probably written in the same neighbourhood early in the fourteenth century. Since the first edition was published, two or three other manuscript copies have turned up, and with the help of these M. Bedjan produced an improved second edition in 1895. Of the entire biography a pretty full account was given by M. Duval in the *Journal Asiatique*, vol. xiii. (1889), pp. 313-54; and reviews by Nöldeke (*Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1889, coll. 842-4) and others appeared in foreign journals. In 1894 Dr. H. Hilgenfeld published 'Textkritische Bemerkungen' on the text of the book, and lastly M. Chabot in 1895 not only translated the whole into French, but accompanied his translation by interesting notes illustrating the statements of the author from other historical sources.

Apart from the general interest of the book it contains one chapter which deserves special notice from students of European history, viz. the account of a journey through Europe performed in the years 1287-8 by the Nestorian monk Rabban Sauma and his companions. They were sent as an embassy by the Mongolian king Arghon and the Nestorian patriarch Mar Yabhalaha to visit the pope and different European sovereigns, with a view to enlisting their support for an expedition which Arghon Khan proposed to make for the conquest of Palestine and the rescue of the holy places from the hands of the Moslems. Rabban Sauma, the leader of the embassy, during his visit to Europe made notes of how he was received, and what he saw at the different courts; and of this account, composed in Persian, our author supplies an abridged translation. It is thus a contemporary record by an eastern traveller of what he saw in Europe during the years 1287-8; and although the chapter is brief, and is largely occupied with the account of shrines and relics, which were the objects most interesting to the pious monk, it at all events possesses the charm of a sketch by an eye-witness, and one of whose honesty and high character we can have no doubt. Among the kings he visited was our Edward I; but he did not require to cross the Channel, as his visit occurred during the stay of Edward in Gascony. So far as I know, the book has not yet been directly brought under the notice of English readers. Without, therefore, attempting any fresh historical illustration (which is unnecessary after M. Chabot's exhaustive work), I here offer, after noticing some points of interest in the history of the patriarch and his friend, an independent English version¹ of the chapter in question, which may be justified by the appearance of a new edition of the Syriac original since M. Chabot's work was published.

¹ This version I made some years ago, but had not leisure to work out all the historical allusions. These can now be disposed of by reference to M. Chabot's work.

It may be convenient to begin by recalling a few facts of Asiatic history. The conquests of Jenghiz Khan and his successors brought the Mongol power to its high-water mark about the middle of the thirteenth century. In Colonel Yule's words, 'in Asia and eastern Europe scarcely a dog might bark without Mongol leave, from the borders of Poland and the Gulf of Scanderoon to the Amur and the Yellow Sea.' The whole of these dominions were united under the single rule of Jenghiz (who died in 1227), and thereafter of his successor, Ogotai or Ogdoi (1229-41), who assumed the title of *khakan*, or king of kings. But while the supreme power continued nominally in the hands of the *khakan*, the empire was really divided into four subordinate kingdoms, which eventually became independent. Of these the most important for their relations with western history are the kingdom of *Khatai*, or Cathay, in eastern Asia, founded by the great Khublai Khan, and the kingdom of *Adhurbaijan* (Atropatene), which comprised Persia, Babylonia, Mesopotamia, and Armenia. This latter kingdom was founded by Hulaghu, grandson of the great Jenghiz and brother of Khublai. His greatest achievement was the conquest of Baghdad in 1257, by which he put an end to the dynasty of the Abbasid khalifs, who had reigned over 450 years. In the frightful massacre that ensued the Christians were the only part of the population who found quarter and subsequent indulgence. Their condition under the Mongolian emperors Hulaghu and his successors was on the whole better than it had been under the government of the Abbasids. It was now the turn of the Mussulmans to be persecuted, and the *ilkhans*, as the Mongol rulers of Adhurbaijan styled themselves, were, with a few exceptions, more favourable to the Christians. The first ilkhan, Hulaghu, who reigned 1256-65, was by some believed to have professed Christianity; his mother and wife were both Christians; and although in public and private conduct alike he was far from conforming to the precepts of the church he steadily favoured the representatives of the faith in his realms. His successor, Abaka (1265-82), received baptism; and although a Mohammedan reaction took place in the short reign of Ahmad (1282-4) peace was restored to the Christians on the accession of Arghon in 1284.

The title of the Syriac work we are considering is 'The History of the Patriarch Mar Yabhalaha and of Rabban Sauma.' The main actors in the story, then, are two, both natives of China, and yet, strange as it may seem, both children of the Christian church. We have brought before us the interesting fact that the Nestorians had at this time spread their church organisation as wide as the Mongol empire itself.² From his seat on the Euphrates the catholicus, or

² The beginning of Nestorian missions in China, indeed, dates from a much older time. The famous Nestorian monument discovered in China in 1625, with its dated inscription of A.D. 781, records that a missionary named Olopun reached China in

patriarch,³ who was supreme head of the Nestorian church, exercised spiritual sway as far as the shores of the Pacific. Bar Sauma,⁴ the elder of the two men, was a native of Pekin, which our author calls Khan-Balik. His father held the office of *sa'ora*, or general visitor,⁵ in the church. He was carefully educated with a view to the priesthood, and from early years gave evidence of earnest piety. Against the wishes of his parents he became a monk; and after living apart for seven years in a cell he retired to a lonely mountain, one day's journey from Pekin, where the fame of his sanctity brought him many visitants. Here he was soon joined by a younger man named Markos, in after days to be famous as the patriarch Mar Yabhalaha. He also was a son of the church. His father was the archdeacon Bainiel: he was born in 1245 at *Kaoshang* (probably Marco Polo's *Cachanfu*, identified by Yule as P'uchanfu in the south-east corner of Shansi), fifteen days' journey from Pekin. Having, like Bar Sauma, obtained a good religious education, he joined the monk in his mountain retreat, and after three years' noviciate he too received the tonsure from the metropolitan Nestorius.

One day in their retirement the wish came upon them to visit the shrines and relics of the west, to see Jerusalem and receive perfect absolution. Bar Sauma would fain have dissuaded his younger companion from the danger and labour of the journey; but he refused to be left behind, and they agreed in all things to share one another's fortunes. And so, dividing their goods to the poor around, and entering Pekin to obtain companions and provisions, they set out on their long journey across the Asiatic desert. Their route lay through *Tangut*, *Khotun*, *Kashgar*—names familiar

A.D. 635; that the Christian religion spread to the Ten Circuits under Kao Tsung (650-83), whose reign was a period of great prosperity for the church, and that a missionary reinforcement arrived in 744. We learn from the history of Yabhalaha that the organisation of the Nestorian church in China still flourished in the thirteenth century. Professor Giles has called my attention to an interesting article in the *Chinese Recorder* (vol. vi. pp. 104-113) by the Archimandrite Palladius on 'Traces of Christianity in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth Century drawn from Chinese sources.' The best edition of the Nestorian monument is that by Père Havret, S.J., in the series called *Variétés sinologiques* (Si-ka-wei, 1895). For details respecting Nestorian organisation in the east, see Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, III. ii. chap. ix.

³ These titles are used by our author as interchangeable, though down to the time of the Nestorian schism *patriarch* denoted a higher dignity. See Assemani, *op. cit.* III. ii. 372 f.

⁴ *Bar Šaumū* means 'son of the fast,' i.e. born during Lent. The *Bar* is often dropped, and he is usually called *Rabban Šaumū*. *Rabban* is a prefix of respect = 'our master'; according to the Archimandrite Palladius (*loc. cit.* p. 107), it probably appears in Chinese in the form *Lie-pan*, a name for Christian monks.

⁵ Greek *periodeutes*—an assistant bishop, holding much the same office as the *chorepiscopus* or *suffragan*, although the former was itinerant, the latter stationary. The *sa'ora* was not regarded as of episcopal rank, but occupied a station intermediate between the bishop and the ordinary presbyter.

to us from the first book of Marco Polo's 'Travels.'* The perils of the desert were enhanced by a war which was then raging among the Mongolian khans: but our travellers, secure in the protection of God, passed safely through; and after at least a year of toilsome travelling arrived at *Tus* (Meshed), and 'deemed that they were born anew to the world, and thanked God, in whom they had trusted and hoped and been delivered.' After some days of rest and refreshment they journeyed on to Adhurbaijan, and met the Nestorian patriarch Denha at the city of Maragha, which was the chief seat of Mongolian power in the province. The reigning prince was Abagha or Abaka (1265-82), with whom the patriarch was on friendly terms. To his camp our travellers were despatched by the patriarch, after they had visited various shrines in Mesopotamia. The prince received them kindly, favoured their purpose of visiting the holy places of Palestine, and gave them letters which should help them on their way. They then advanced into Armenia and Georgia, but found that the proposed journey was for the time impossible, their route being completely interrupted by brigandage.

Sorely disappointed the two monks returned to the patriarch, who was eager to advance them to honourable office in the church. They were reluctant to quit their humble station, but found themselves unable to withstand his pressure. Markos received the name of *Yabhalaha* ('God gave,' i.e. 'Gift of God,' *Theodore*), which was chosen for him by lot, and was created metropolitan over two Chinese provinces. Bar Sauma was made general *sa'ora*, or visitor,⁷ in the same region. They then, as in duty bound, set out to return to their native land, where their new functions lay; but in this direction too they found the ways entirely blocked by a revolt of the khans. Thus cut off from east and west alike, they settled quietly in a monastery near Erbil, and spent two peaceful years. Towards their close *Yabhalaha* was visited by dreams which seemed to point to fresh honour awaiting him. In 1281 the catholicus Denha died at Baghdad, on the very day that *Yabhalaha* had come to visit him. On the morrow a council was held, consisting of various metropolitans and of the chief men of Baghdad, to nominate a successor to the patriarchal chair. Their unanimous choice fell on *Yabhalaha*, who was thus called to the highest office in the Nestorian church. He shrank from such a post, and sought to decline the honour, but he was earnestly pressed to accept it, especially on the ground of his acquaintance with the Mongolian language and customs, which must render him acceptable to the ilkhán. Returning to the

* It may be noted that our author's mention of a Christian community in Tangut is confirmed by Polo's statement that 'the people are for the most part idolaters, but there are also some Nestorian Christians and some Saracens.'—Yule, i. 207.

⁷ See above, note 5.

monastery he sought Bar Sauma's faithful counsel ; and his friend urged him to accept the office to which he had been called. Yielding to this advice he set out with Bar Sauma to the camp of Abaka at the Black Mountain, and there received the blessing of the sovereign and the tokens of his office—a pall, a mitre, an umbrella,⁹ a *paiza*,⁹ the customary diploma, and the seal of his predecessor. The prince also bestowed on him a sum of money for the expenses of his investiture. He then returned to Baghdad, and the ordination festival took place in the cathedral of *Koke* (Seleucia), the metropolitan of Elam, by ancient prescriptive right,¹⁰ taking the lead in the ceremony. This was in November 1281.¹¹

The royal favour at first enjoyed by the new patriarch was brought to an end by the death of Abaka in 1282. His successor, Ahmad (1282–4), was said to have apostatised, and was known to be hostile to the Christians. Accordingly plots were laid against the patriarch by emirs surrounding the king: he was deposed, arrested, and maltreated, being falsely accused of intriguing to depose Ahmad and deliver the crown to his nephew Arghon, who was friendly to the church. The patriarch's innocence was soon made clear, and he was released and restored to his former dignity. Ahmad reigned only two years: in 1284 he was slain in war with Arghon, who succeeded him. During the reign of this prince (1284–91) Yabhalaha was in high favour.

Such is a rapid sketch of the history of Yabhalaha and of Rabban Sauma up to the time when the latter undertook a mission to Europe at the request of his sovereign Arghon, and his friend and spiritual lord the patriarch, in order to stir up the Christian princes to a combined effort for the recovery of Palestine from the Moslems.¹² The ensuing narrative comes to us, as we have seen,

⁹ On the honour attaching to umbrellas see Yule's *Polo*, i. 345.

¹⁰ The official lettered tablet issued by the Mongol sovereigns in delegation of authority. See Yule's *Polo*, i. 342 ff.; Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, i. 271, 581.

¹¹ See Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* iii. i. 54.

¹² It may seem surprising that a stranger from the far east should thus easily have been advanced to the head of the Nestorian church; but it is to be remembered that it was above all things needful for the Christians that the head of their church should continue on good terms with their Mongolian rulers. Now Yabhalaha was of kindred race to the Mongols, born and bred among them, and therefore able to win favour and influence in the Mongolian court. Thus Barhebraeus says (in the passage quoted by M. Bedjan from his *Ecclesiastical Chronicle*): 'Mar Denha died. Then the emir Ashmot, who was of the same race, spoke of Yabhalaha to the sovereign, saying that the Christians desired him for catholicus. For indeed all those of Baghdad wished for him, that by his nearness to the Mongols in race and speech he might be of service to them. And so the royal decree went forth that he should be made catholicus. . . . This Mar Yabhalaha, though defective in Syriac culture and speech, was a good man in his disposition, and one in whom was found the fear of God; and he showed much love to us and our people' (i.e. the Jacobite church, to which Barhebraeus belonged).

¹³ In so far as Arghon was the author of the embassy his zeal was mainly due to a desire to see the Mongolian power established in Syria. At the same time there can

from the hand of Bar Sauma himself. Our Syriac editor, who translated it from the Persian and abridged it, generally speaks of Bar Sauma in the third person, though once or twice he has retained the 'we' of the original narrative.

Now Mar¹³ Yabhalaha, the catholicus, was advancing in his [Arghon's] favour, and day by day his honour was increasing before the princes and princesses. . . . Very warm was his love for the house of king Arghon, because with all his heart he [Arghon] loved the Christians. And it was his purpose to enter, subdue, and hold the regions of Palestine and Syria; 'but,' said he, 'if the western kings, who are Christians, will not help me my purpose will not be fulfilled.' He asked of the catholicus that he would give him a wise man, serviceable and fit for embassy, that he might send him to those kings. And when the catholicus saw that there was no man who knew the speech but Rabban Sauma, and he was qualified in this, he commanded him to go.

And Rabban Sauma said, 'I am willing and eager for this.' And straightway king Arghon wrote for him commissions to the kings¹⁴ of the Greeks and the Franks or Romans, and *yarliks*¹⁵ and letters and presents to every king apart. And to Rabban Sauma he gave two thousand gold pieces,¹⁶ and thirty goodly mounts, and a *paiza*.¹⁷

And when he came to the dwelling of the catholicus,¹⁸ that he might receive a letter also from Mar Yabhalaha and take leave of him, the catholicus gave him leave to go from him. But when the hour of parting came he was ill content. He said, 'How shall this be? Thou hast been governor of my house [lit. the *cell*], and thou knowest that by thy departure my affairs will be brought to confusion.' And when he had said such words they parted weeping. And he sent with him befitting letters and presents to the pope,¹⁹ gifts according to ability.

So Rabban Sauma set out, and there went with him honourable men of the priests and ministers of the patriarchal seat [lit. of the *cell*], and reached the Roman territory on the shores of the sea on this side,²⁰ and saw the church that is there. And he embarked on a ship, and his companions with him. There were on the ship more than three hundred souls; and daily he continued exhorting them with discourse about the faith. The greater number of those on the ship were Romans, and they honoured him not a little for the charm of his discourse. And after certain days he reached the great city of Constantinople. And before

be little doubt that he had a genuine regard for the Christian religion (cf. Chabot, p. 58, n. 1). Altogether he sent no less than four missions to Europe with the same purpose: Bar Sauma's was the second of these. A full account of them is given in Chabot's Appendice I, 'Notes sur les relations du roi Argoun avec l'Occident.'

¹³ Properly 'my lord' (*monseigneur*)—a title given to saints, fathers of the church, and high dignitaries.

¹⁴ I adopt Hilgenfeld's substitution of the plural for the singular.

¹⁵ *Yarlik* is a Mongolian word meaning an order or commission.

¹⁶ *Mathkālā* is a Syriac word akin to the Hebrew *shekel*: it may here mean a *dinār* (gold denarius), but is in itself an indefinite word = 'weight.'

¹⁷ See note 9, above.

¹⁸ Lit. 'the *cell*.'

¹⁹ In Syriac styled *Mār Pāpā*.

²⁰ This may mean the kingdom of Trebizond, and in that case the first part of their route corresponds with that pursued by Marco Polo in his homeward journey. See Yule, i. 36.

they entered he sent two young men to the king's ²¹ gate, to make known that an envoy from king Arghon had come. Now the king bade men go forth to meet them and bring them in with pomp and honour. And when Rabban Sauma entered he assigned him a separate house to lodge in. And after he had rested he entered the presence of king *Basileus*.²² And when he had greeted him the king asked him, 'How art thou after the toils of the sea and labour of the way?' He answered, 'At the sight of a Christian king labour has vanished and toil is taken away; for I was very eager for the sight of your royalty, which may our Lord establish.'

After they had refreshed themselves with meat and drink he besought the king that he might see the churches and shrines of the fathers, and the relics of saints that were there.²³ The king delivered Rabban Sauma to the nobles of his court, and they showed him all that was there. First he entered the great church of Sophia,²⁴ which has three hundred and sixty gates,²⁵ all built with blocks of white marble. Now the dome of the altar no man is able to describe to him that has not seen it, or to show the measure of its height and greatness. There is in the church the picture of St.²⁶ Mary that Luke the evangelist painted. He saw too the hand of St. John Baptist, and relics of Lazarus and of Mary Magdalene, and the stone that was laid on the tomb of our Lord, when Joseph the councillor had brought him down from the cross. And Mary wept upon that stone; and still the place of her tears is wet, and as often as it is wiped becomes wet again. He saw, moreover, the pitcher of stone in which our Lord changed water to wine in Cana of Galilee; and the coffin of one of the holy women, that is every year taken out, and every sick person who is laid in its place²⁷ is made whole; [also] the coffin of St. John Chrysostom.²⁸ And he saw the stone whereon Simon Peter sat when the cock crew; also the tomb of Constantine, the victorious king, which is red, and the tomb of Justinian, which is of green²⁹ stone; and the resting-place of three hundred and eighteen fathers who are all laid in one great church, and whose bodies are not corrupted because they held fast the faith. He saw also many shrines of holy fathers, and many talismans, and a picture embodied³⁰ in brass and stone.

So Rabban Sauma came into the presence of king *Basileus*, and

²¹ The emperor was at this time Andronikos II (1282-1332).

²² As Chabot points out, Bar Sauma (or his editor) erroneously regarded *Basileus* as the emperor's own name.

²³ On all points connected with churches, shrines, and relics interesting notes are supplied by Chabot. These I have not thought it necessary to reproduce or supplement.

²⁴ Syr. text *Esophiū* or *Asophiū*. The initial letter most probably indicates the Greek article.

²⁵ Thus Syr. text, but surely 'columns' must be meant.

²⁶ Lit. 'my lady,' the fem. form corresponding to *Mar* (n. 13). ²⁷ Or 'under it.'

²⁸ Hilgenfeld rejects this last clause as a gloss. ²⁹ Or 'grey.'

³⁰ Syr. *māḡushshēmū*, i.e. worked in a solid material, not merely painted. The corresponding expression in Arabic (*majassam*) is used of such ornamental stucco-work as is familiar to us from the walls of the Alhambra. Cf. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*; and particularly Ibn Khaldūn, *Proleg.*, ed. Quatremère, ii. 321. (For the references in this note and for some of those in notes 33, 34, below, I am indebted to the kindness of the late Professor W. Robertson Smith.)

said, 'May the king live for ever. I thank our Lord that I have been honoured to see these holy shrines. Now, if the king permit, I go to do the bidding of king Arghon; for he bade me enter the land of the Franks.' Then the king showed him kindness, and gave him gifts of gold and silver.

And from thence he went to embark, and saw on the shore of the sea a convent of the Romans, in the treasury of which lie two silver caskets. In one was the head of St. John Chrysostom, in the other that of the pope who baptised the emperor Constantine. And he embarked on the sea, and came into the midst thereof. He beheld on it a mountain³¹ from which all day smoke ascends, and by night fire appears in it. And no man can come near it for the stench of sulphur. They say there is a great dragon there, because (that sea is called the Italian) that sea is terrible; many shiploads of men have perished therein.³² And after two months he came to shore, after much toil and labour and anxiety, and went out to the city whose name is Naples. The name of its king is *Irid Shardalu*.³³ And he went in to the presence of the king, and showed him why they had come. He received him gladly and did him honour. It happened that there was strife between him and another king, whose name was *Irak Arkon*.³⁴ The forces of the latter king came in many vessels, and those of the former were made ready, and they joined battle one with another. And *Irak Arkon* defeated *Irid Shardalu*, and slew of them twelve thousand men, and sank their ships,³⁵ whilst Rabban Sauma and his companions sat upon the roof of a house, and marvelled at the usage of the Franks, how they hurt no man but the combatants. And thence they went by land on horseback, passing many towns and villages on the way. They were astonished that there was no plain

³¹ Probably Etna.

³² The syntax of the sentence is obscure, possibly owing to the process of abridgment, or Hilgenfeld may be right in supposing that the words 'because that sea is called the Italian' are a gloss.

³³ *I.e.* 'probably *Il re Charles d'Anjou*. So the Arab writer Nowairi, in his account of the imprisonment of St. Louis, calls him 'the king of France, *Reyda-fransa*.' See Dozy, *Dict. détaillé des Noms des Vêtements chez les Arabes*, p. 818, 'Nowairi semble considérer ces mots italiens comme le nom propre du roi de France. Les Orientaux semblent, pour la plupart, avoir appris les noms des croisés par les Italiens, car dans presque tous on remarque la prononciation italienne.' The titular king of Naples was at this time Charles II, le Boiteux (1285-1309). He, however, had, before the death of his father, Charles I, been taken captive by Roger de Loria, the admiral of the king of Aragon, at the battle which took place at Naples in 1284, and was at this time a prisoner in Catalonia. The 'king,' therefore, who received Rabban Sauma at Naples must have been either his son Charles Martel, a youth of fourteen or fifteen, who had assumed the government in his father's absence, or Robert, count of Artois, who acted as director to the young prince (Sismondi, *Republ. Ital.* iv. 52).

³⁴ Probably *Il re d'Aragon*. In Amari, *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula* (p. 339 of the Arabic text), the king of Aragon is called *Ilreydarghun*. In an Arabic mouth this would almost certainly be pronounced *Irreydarghun*. In the same source Charles I is called *Sharlun* or *Ilreyjar*. The king of Aragon referred to in our text is James II, who became king of Sicily in 1285, and succeeded to the throne of Aragon in 1291.

³⁵ This is the battle fought outside the harbour of Naples, 24 June 1287, in which Roger de Loria, the admiral of James II, completely defeated the ships sent out from the harbour by the count of Artois. See Giov. Villani, *Croniche*, bk. vii. ch. 117; Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, viii. 396; Costanzo, *Istoria di Napoli*, i. 181, &c.

empty of buildings. Now he heard on the way that the pope was dead.³⁶

And after certain days they came to Great Rome, and entered the church of Peter and Paul,³⁷ because there is the dwelling³⁸ of the papal throne. But after the death of the pope there are for the throne twelve men who administer it; and they are called *cardinals*.³⁹ And while they were in council about appointing a pope Rabban Sauma sent to them [saying], 'We are messengers from king Arghon and from the catholicus of the east.' The cardinals bade them come in, and the Frank who journeyed with Rabban Sauma instructed them that when they entered the pope's dwelling they should bow to the altar that was there, and from it go and greet the cardinals. And so they did, and those cardinals were pleased. When Rabban Sauma entered their presence no man stood up before him; for it is not the custom for those twelve, because of the honour that belongs to the throne. And they made Rabban Sauma sit with them; and one of them asked him, 'How art thou after the labour of the way?' He answered him, 'Through your prayers I am refreshed and rested.' He said to him, 'On what account art thou come hither?' He replied, 'The Mongols, with the catholicus of the east, sent me to the pope about the matter of Jerusalem; moreover they sent letters by me.' They said to him, 'Now rest, and afterward we will converse together.' And they assigned him a dwelling and had him conveyed thither.

And after three days the cardinals sent and called him. And when he entered their presence they began asking him, 'What is that region? and wherefore art thou come?' He said the same word. And they said to him, 'Where dwells the catholicus? And which of the apostles taught your region?' He replied to them, 'St. Thomas, St. Addai, and St. Mari taught our region; and the ordinances that they delivered to us we hold unto this day.' They said to him, 'Where is the throne of the catholicus?' He said to them, 'In Baghdad.' They answered, 'What art thou there?' And he replied, 'I am a minister of the patriarchal seat, and a teacher of disciples, and have the office of general visitor.'⁴⁰ They replied, 'It is strange that thou, a Christian and a minister of the patriarchal throne of the east, art come on embassy from the king of the Mongols.' He said, 'Know, O fathers, many of our fathers entered the countries of the Mongols and Turks and Chinese, and taught them.'⁴¹ And at this day the Mongolian Christians are many; yea, there are children of princes and princesses that are baptised and do confess Christ; and they have churches with them in the camp, and they greatly honour Christians; and believers are many among them. The king moreover, because he is united in love to the catholicus, and desires to take Palestine and the regions of Syria, demands of you help for the

³⁶ Honorius IV died on 3 April 1287. There ensued an interregnum of ten months; his successor Nicolas IV was elected on 22 Feb. 1288.

³⁷ *I.e.* old St. Peter's.

³⁸ *Lit.* 'the cell.'

³⁹ Here and elsewhere the Syr. has for *kardinālē* corruptly *kaltūnārē*, *i.e.* *cartularii*, 'secretaries.'

⁴⁰ See above, note 5.

⁴¹ See note 2, on the early beginning of Nestorian missions in China. So too M. Bedjan quotes from Barhebraeus (*Chron. Eccl.* sect. ii. col. 279) an account of the conversion of a whole people in Turkestan or Tartary about 1007 A.D.

taking of Jerusalem. For this reason he chose and sent me; for inasmuch as I am a Christian my word will find credence with you.'

'What,' said they, 'is thy confession, and which way⁴² dost thou hold—that which the pope to-day holds, or another?' He replied, 'To us easterns no man has come from the pope; the holy apostles of whom I spoke were our teachers, and till now we hold what they delivered to us.' 'How,' say they, 'believest thou? Recite thy creed.' [*The creed of Rabban Sauma, which the cardinals asked of him.*] He answered, 'I believe in one God, hidden,⁴³ eternal, without beginning, and without ending—Father and Son and Holy Spirit, three persons,⁴⁴ equal and undivided, in whom there is no before and after, nor young and old; in nature they are one, but in persons, three—the Father that begetteth, the Son that is begotten, the Spirit that proceedeth. In the end of the times one of the persons of the royal Trinity—to wit, the Son—clothed himself in⁴⁵ a perfect man, Jesus Christ, from Mary the holy virgin, and was united to him in *prosopon*,⁴⁶ and in him redeemed the worlds. In his Godhead he is begotten eternally from the Father; in his manhood, temporarily⁴⁷ from Mary. It is a union inseparable, indivisible, and everlasting: a union without mixture, and not of confusion and composition, and this Son is in union⁴⁸ perfect God and perfect man—two *natures* and two *persons*, one *prosopon*.

They say to him, 'Does the Holy Spirit proceed from the Father or from the Son?'⁴⁹

⁴² This recalls the use of *ôôô* in the New Testament.

⁴³ 'Negant Divinam naturam ab hominibus, ab Angelis, ab ipsa Christi humanitate intuitive videri posse.' So Assemani translates the words in which Barhebraeus sums up a Nestorian heresy concerning God, here expressed by the word 'hidden.'

⁴⁴ I use 'person' to render *kṛnīmū*, which equals *ὁρῶσταις*, *substantia* ('subject' or 'person'). The *kṛnīmū* is that which manifests itself in the *attribute* or *property* (Syr. *dilūtū*). On the other hand *parōpī*, which occurs below, equals *πρόσωπον*, *persona* ('character' or 'function'): as no English rendering is quite suitable I keep the word in Greek form, *prosopon*.

⁴⁵ A Nestorian expression, the orthodox form being that the Son 'took' flesh.

⁴⁶ In opposition to the catholic doctrine that in Christ the two *natures*, divine and human, are united in one *kṛnīmū* or *hypostasis* (see n. 44), the Nestorians hold that there are two *hypostases*, one *prosopon*. Some light may be thrown on this obscure subject by the words of a Nestorian exponent of the Nicene Creed, quoted by Assemani (*Bibl. Orient.* iii. ii. 213 f.) This writer distinguishes seven kinds of unity: (1) of *nature*, as the unity of an element; (2) of *mixture*, as of water and wine; (3) of *confusion*, as of different kinds of grain in bread; (4) of *composition*, as of soul and body, 'which make up the single human person, while the nature of each and its properties continue as before;'; (5) of *will*, 'as those who believe in Christ are said to be of one heart and soul;'; (6) of *operation*, as of iron and wood in an axe; (7) of *prosopon* (character or function), as of a king and his representative. 'The unity of Christ,' he says, 'is not of *nature*, nor of *mixture* and *confusion*, nor of *composition*, but it is a union of *character* (*prosopon*) and *will*, of *honour* and *exaltation*: not a borrowed character, like that of a king's ambassador, nor one of temporary use, like that of the prophets whom God sends, nor a unity of mere *will*; but there is one and the same character (*prosopon*) of Christ continually in the heights and in the depths. The *natures*, therefore, are truly maintained with their attributes; but there is truly one will and one operation, and one power and dominion incomprehensibly.'

⁴⁷ *I.e.* within time.

⁴⁸ Or 'this united Son is.'

⁴⁹ I here omit two words which have crept in erroneously from the context.

He replied, 'Are the Father, the Son, and the Spirit sharers in respect of nature, or separate?'

They answered, 'Sharers in respect of nature, separate in properties.'

'What,' said he, 'are their properties?'

They say, 'Of the Father, begetting; of the Son, being begotten; of the Spirit, proceeding.'

He said, 'Which of them is cause of another?'

They say, 'The Father is cause of the Son, and the Son is cause of the Spirit.'

He said, 'If they be alike in respect of nature, and in operation, and in power, and in authority, and be three persons (*kenome*) merely, how can one be cause of another? For then the Spirit too must needs be cause of some other, and the reasoning will end in the creed of secular philosophers.⁵⁰ And, moreover, we find no example that agrees with this *your* reasoning. For see, the soul is cause of reason and life, but reason is not cause of life, and the sun's orb is cause of light and heat, but heat is not cause of light. So too we deem it true that the Father is cause of Son and Spirit, and they two effects of him. From Adam Seth was begotten, and Eve proceeded; and they are three in respect of *begetting* and *proceeding*, but in respect of *humanity*⁵¹ are in no wise distinct.'

They say, 'Our confession is that the Spirit proceedeth from the Father and the Son—not as we said: we did but test thee with argument.'⁵²

'But,' said he, 'it is not right that for one thing there be causes two, or three, or four: nay, I deem this agrees not with our creed.'

And they refuted his reasoning by many arguments, yet honoured him for his speech.⁵³ And he said to them, 'I am come from far-off lands, not to discuss or make known matters of belief, but to receive a blessing from the pope and from the shrines of holy men, and to make known the message of the king and the catholicus. If it be good in your eyes let us leave discussion; and do you provide and appoint a man who shall show me the churches that are here, and the shrines of holy men. Great thanks will ye earn of your servant and disciple. So they called the ruler⁵⁴ of the city, and certain of the monks, and bade them show him the churches and the places of holy men that were there. And they went out forthwith, and saw the places that we now will mention. First they entered the church of Peter and Paul. Now below the throne is the shrine, and in it is laid the body of St. Peter; and above the throne is the altar.⁵⁵ The altar that is within that great temple has four gates,

⁵⁰ The allusion would seem to be to some doctrine of evolution or emanation and return to the Absolute.

⁵¹ Humanity here stands for the *nature* as opposed to the *properties*.

⁵² *I.e.* they were not really expressing their own view when they said above, 'The Father is cause of the Son, and the Son is cause of the Spirit.'

⁵³ Nöldeke has justly commented on the pleasing absence of theological bitterness which characterises this work.

⁵⁴ *Lit.* 'the emir.'

⁵⁵ In old St. Peter's the pontifical chair was placed in the centre of the curve of the apse, on a platform raised several steps above the presbytery. . . . At the centre of the chancel stood the high altar beneath a ciborium, resting on four pillars of porphyry. Beneath the altar was the subterranean chapel, the centre of the devotion

and in every gate wrought-iron doors. And upon the altar the pope consecrates, and no man but he may stand upon the platform of that altar. And afterward they saw the chair of St. Peter, whereon they set the pope when they invest him with his office. And again they saw the piece of pure linen on which our Lord inscribed his likeness, and sent it to Abgar, king of Urhai.⁵⁶ The greatness of that temple and its splendour cannot be told: it stands upon a hundred and eight pillars,⁵⁷ and there is in it another altar at which their king of kings receives investiture, and is proclaimed *emperor*, king of kings, by the pope. They say that after prayers the pope takes the diadem with his feet and invests him—that is, places it upon his head—in order that priesthood may be shown to rule over kingship.

And after they had seen all the churches and monasteries of Great Rome they went outside the city to the church of St. Paul the Apostle.⁵⁸ His tomb also is below the altar;⁵⁹ and the chain is there with which Paul was bound when he was brought up thither. Also in that altar is laid a golden casket, in which is the head of St. Stephen the martyr, and the hand of St. Ananias, who baptised Paul. And also the staff of the apostle Paul is there. And from thence they went to the place where the apostle Paul was martyred.⁶⁰ They say that when his head was cut off, three times it leaped up and each time was crying 'Christ, Christ,' and from the three places where it fell there issued waters in that place, and they avail for healing and help to all that are distressed. In that place moreover is a great shrine, and in it are the bones of illustrious martyrs and fathers; and they sought a blessing from them. Again, they entered the church of St. Mary⁶¹ and of St. John Baptist,⁶² and saw there the tunic of our Lord which was without seam. And in that church is the board on which our Lord consecrated the offering and gave to his disciples; and the pope every year on that board performs the paschal rites. In that church are four pillars of bronze, each six cubits thick: they say that the kings brought them from Jerusalem. They saw there the font of polished black stone at which Constantine, the victorious king, was baptised. The pillars of that temple are a hundred and forty, of white marble; for the church is great and wide. They saw the place where Simon Peter disputed with Simon, where he [Simon Magus] fell and his bones were broken. And from thence they entered the church of St. Mary; and they brought out to them a beryl casket in which was the clothing of St. Mary, and a piece of the wood on which our Lord slept when a child. They saw also the head of the apostle Matthew in a of so large a portion of the Christian world, believed to contain the remains of St. Peter' (*Encycl. Brit.*, s.v. 'Basilicas').

⁵⁶ I.e. Edessa.

⁵⁷ 'The church was entered through a vast colonnaded atrium, 212 by 235 feet. . . . The church was 212 feet wide by 380 feet long; the nave, 80 feet in width, was six steps lower than the side aisles, of which there were two on each side. The four dividing colonnades were each of twenty-two Corinthian columns' (*Encycl. Brit.*, s.v. 'Basilicas').

⁵⁸ S. Paolo fuori i muri.

⁵⁹ 'The high altar rose above a crypt, or *confessio*, traditionally believed to be the catacomb of Lucina, a noble Roman Christian matron, to which the body of the apostle Paul had been removed 251 A.D. (*Encycl. Brit.*, s.v. 'Basilicas').

⁶⁰ Tre Fontane.

⁶¹ S. Maria Maggiore.

⁶² S. Giovanni in Laterano.

silver casket, and the foot of the apostle Philip, and the arm of James son of Zebedee, in the church of the Apostles⁶³ which was there. And after this they saw buildings of which it would be too long to tell; for the accounts of the buildings would hinder the purpose of the history, and they are therefore passed over.

And afterward Rabban Sauma and his companions returned to the cardinals, and he thanked them for having deemed him worthy of the sight of those shrines and of blessings from them; and Rabban Sauma asked leave of them to go to the kings beyond Rome. They suffered him to go, but said, 'We cannot give you answer⁶⁴ until a pope be appointed.' And thence they went to the region of Tuscany, and were honourably entreated. And from it they went to Genoa, a place where there is no king, but the people appoint as chief over them for government whomsoever they please. When they heard that an envoy of king Arghon had come, their chief went out with the whole multitude, and with honour brought him into the city. There was there a church with the name of St. Laurence,⁶⁵ and in it the holy body of St. John Baptist in a casket of pure silver. And they saw, again, a hexagonal emerald dish; and those men said to them, 'This is that on which our Lord ate the passover with his disciples, and when Jerusalem was taken it was brought away.' And from thence they went to the district of *Onbâr*,⁶⁶ and perceived that the people there did not observe the first week of the fast.⁶⁷ And when they asked them, 'Why do ye this and separate yourselves from all Christians?' they answered, 'This is our custom; when we were first taught our fathers were weak in faith, and unable to keep the fast, so their teachers bade them fast [but] forty days.'

And afterward they went to the region of Paris to king *Francis*.⁶⁸ And the king sent out many men to meet them, and they brought them in with honour and much pomp. His territories were a month's journey or more across. And he assigned them a place, and after three days king *Francis* sent to Rabban Sauma one of the nobles and called him. And when he came he rose up before him and showed him honour. And he said to him, 'Why art thou come, and who sent thee?' He said to him, 'King Arghon and the catholicus of the east sent me about the matter of Jerusalem.' And he told him all he could by word of mouth, and gave him the letters that were with him and the presents which he brought. King *Francis* replied to him, 'If it be so that the Mongols, though they are not Christians, contend with the Arabs for the taking of Jerusalem, still more ought we to contend, and to go out in force, if our Lord will.' Rabban Sauma said to him, 'Now that we have seen the glory of your royalty, and beheld with bodily eye the splendour

⁶³ SS. Apostoli.

⁶⁴ *I.e.* regarding the proposal for a crusade.

⁶⁵ S. Lorenzo: now the cathedral of Genoa.

⁶⁶ The name is, as M. Bedjan suggests, probably a corrupt form of 'Lombardy.'

⁶⁷ Bar Sauma cannot have been there during Lent, but may (as M. Chabot suggests) have been led to inquire into the matter, owing to some other of the Nestorian fasts falling at the time.

⁶⁸ So our Syriac text; but, as the king of France was at this time Philippe le Bel, who was crowned in 1285, we must assume either (1) that our editor has mistaken one king for another or (2) that 'Francis' has come in through a corruption of *d'Afransa*, *i.e.* of France. Cf. above, p. 307, note 33.

of your strength, we ask of you that ye bid the citizens show us the churches, shrines, and relics of the saints, and all that is found with you and is in no other country; that when we return we may show and make known in our own lands what we have seen in yours.' So the king bade his nobles, 'Go show them all the wonders that we have, and afterward I will show them what I have.' And the nobles went out with them.

And they stayed a month in that great city of Paris, and saw all that it contains. There are in it thirty thousand scholars, who study church doctrines and commentaries, and secular learning—to wit, all interpretations and expositions of Holy Scripture, and wisdom or philosophy and dialectic, with medicine and geometry and arithmetic, and the doctrine of the orbits of the stars which they continually describe.⁶⁹ And all these receive provision from the king. They saw, again, in a great church there⁷⁰ the coffins of deceased kings, with their effigies in gold and silver upon their tombs. And there are in the service of the burial place of those kings five hundred monks, who receive meat and drink from the king, continuing in fasting and prayer at the sepulchre of those kings. And the crowns of those kings and their armour, with their clothing, are upon those tombs. In fine, all that was noble and splendid they saw.

And afterward the king sent and called them, and they went to him to the church.⁷¹ They saw him standing at the side of the altar, and greeted him. And he asked Rabban Sauma, 'Have ye seen what we possess, and does nothing remain over?' He thanked him, and immediately went up with the king to a gilded upper room; and the king opened it, and brought out thence a beryl casket in which was the crown of thorns that the Jews put upon the head of our Lord when they crucified him. And the crown was visible within the casket before it was opened, from the transparency of the beryl, and there was in it, again, a portion of the cross; and the king said to them, 'When our fathers took Constantinople and plundered Jerusalem they brought these relics from it.' So we⁷² thanked the king and besought that he would give us leave to return. And he said to us, 'One of the great lords who are with me I will send with you to give answer to king Arghon.' And he gave him presents and costly garments.

So they went out thence—that is, from Paris—to go to king *Ilnūghtar* in Gascony.⁷³ And when in twenty days they had reached their city the

⁶⁹ The last clause is obscure. I have adopted Hilgenfeld's emendation.

⁷⁰ St. Denis.

⁷¹ La Sainte Chapelle.

⁷² In this and one or two other sentences the 'we' of Bar Sauma's original narrative has maintained itself.

⁷³ The proper names have been misunderstood, and their forms distorted, as often happens with western names in the mouths of orientals (cf. above, notes 22, 33, 34, 66, 68). For 'of England' we have *Ilnūghtar* (Angleterre), and this is mistaken for the king's own name. Gascony is represented by *Csonū* (the initial *Gua* or *Wa* having disappeared, and the *s* and *c* become transposed—the latter no unusual phenomenon). M. Bedjan (in his first edition), followed by M. Duval, takes the two names together (with the intervening preposition *la*) as *Ilnūghtarlacsonū*, understanding thereby Anglo-Saxony, i.e. England. But the compound is an impossible one; and we know from the contemporary annals (e.g. Rishanger's *Chronicle*, the *Annales Londonienses*, *Flores Historiarum*, &c.) that Edward I was at this time in Gascony. Thus, according to

citizens came out to meet them and asked them, 'Who are ye?' They answered them, 'We are envoys, and are come from beyond the eastern seas, and are charged with a message from the king and the patriarch and from the Mongol princes.' So those men went in haste to the king and told him, and he joyfully received them, and they brought them in to him. Rabban Sauma and his companions forthwith gave him the message of king Arghon and the presents that he had sent him, with the letter of the catholicus,⁷⁴ and he was greatly pleased. And yet more, when they began to speak on the matter of Jerusalem his pleasure was increased; and he said, 'We, the kings of these cities, wear a cross upon our bodies,⁷⁵ and we have no thought apart from this matter; and my purpose is renewed, since I have heard that what I planned king Arghon also has devised.' And he bade Rabban Sauma celebrate the eucharist, and he performed the holy rites, the king and his princes standing up; and the king received the sacrament. And the king made a great banquet on that day. Then said Rabban Sauma, 'We pray, O king, that whatever churches and shrines there be in this region thou bid them show us, that when we go to the men of the east we may tell of them.' He replied, 'Thus shall ye say to king Arghon and to all the men of the east: We have seen a thing more wonderful than any, that in the lands of the Franks there are not two confessions, but one confession, which confesses Jesus Christ, and all of them [are] Christians.' And he gave us many gifts and grants.

And from thence we came to winter in the city of Genoa. And when we reached it we saw a garden like Paradise; its winter is not cold, nor its summer hot; and there is greenness all the year round. There are trees whose leaves do not fall, nor are they ever devoid of fruit. There is one sort of grape whereof the vine bears seven times in the year; but wine is not made from it.

At the end of winter there came from the region of *Almādān*⁷⁶ an eminent man, who was the *periodentes* of the pope. He was on his way to Rome; and when he heard that Rabban Sauma was there (in Genoa), he went to him to greet him. And when he came in they greeted one another, and kissed one another in Christian love. And he said to Rabban Sauma, 'To see thee I have come; I heard of thee that thou

Riahanger, the king crossed to France in 1280, and after doing homage at Paris proceeded to Gascony, where, with the exception of a visit to Aragon in 1287, he remained till 1289 (returning to England in July of that year, according to the *Annales Londonienses*).

⁷⁴ On occasion of the later embassies sent by Arghon for the same purpose in 1289-90 and in 1290-91 letters were sent by the pope (Nicolas IV) to Edward I, commending to him the leader of the embassy. These letters are to be found in Rymer (vol. i. part ii. pp. 713, 742), and have been reprinted by M. Chabot, pp. 233, 236 f. There is also extant a reply conveyed from Edward I to Arghon by Buscarel, the Italian who led the embassy of 1289-90. On Buscarel's embassy see Turner's papers on 'Unpublished Notices of the Times of Edward I,' in *Archaeological Journal*, viii. 45-51.

⁷⁵ The historical character of this account is confirmed by the mention in contemporary annals of the fact that Edward, in 1288 (or according to the *Flores Historiarum* in 1287), assumed the cross in Gascony on his recovery from a severe illness.

⁷⁶ Apparently a corruption of Alemania or Allemagne.

art a good man, and a wise, and also thou purposest to go to Rome.' Rabban Sauma replied, 'What shall I say to thee, beloved and honoured? I came on embassy to the pope, from king Arghon and the catholicus of the east, on behalf of Jerusalem. Behold, I have been a full year, and no pope has taken the seat. What answer am I to carry to the Mongols? They, whose heart is harder than flint, wish to take the holy city; but those whose business it is bring it not into their mind, nor think at all about this matter. What message we are to carry we know not.' But the visitor said to him, 'Thy words are true; I will go and deliver exactly to the cardinals all the words that thou hast spoken, and will press them to appoint a pope.'

So the visitor parted from him, and went to Rome, and showed the matter to the king, that is to the pope.⁷⁷ That day he sent a messenger to them, bidding Rabban Sauma and his companions proceed on their way. They, on the arrival of the messenger, straightway set out towards Rome, and reached it in fifteen days. And they asked, 'Who is this pope they have appointed?' They say to him, 'That bishop who talked with you when ye came before: his name is Nicolaus.'⁷⁸ And they were very glad. And when they arrived the pope sent out men to meet them, the metropolitan and many with him. And Rabban Sauma forthwith entered the presence of the pope, and he was seated on his throne. And with obeisance he approached him and kissed his feet and hands, and he went back with his hands folded. And he said to the pope, 'May thy throne be established, O our father, for ever, and be blessed over all kings and peoples; in peace may it reign in thy days over all the church unto the ends of the earth! Now that I have seen thy face mine eye is lightened, for that I have not gone to our own lands broken-hearted. I thank God that he counted me worthy the sight of thee.' And he offered to him the gift of king Arghon, with his letters, and also the gift of Mar Yabhalaha, the catholicus, and his letters. And the pope was glad and pleased, and showed to Rabban Sauma unwonted honour. And he said to him, 'It were good that thou shouldst keep the festival with us, and see our use.' Now that day was the middle of the Lord's fast. He replied, 'Your bidding is high and exalted.' And the pope assigned him a house to dwell in, and appointed him attendants to give him whatsoever he needed.

And after certain days Rabban Sauma said to the pope, 'I wish to celebrate, that ye too may see our use.' He gave him leave to celebrate, as he asked. And on that day much people assembled, to see how the envoy of the Mongols used to celebrate; and when they saw they rejoiced and said, 'The tongue is different, but the order is the same.' The day on which he celebrated was the Sunday of *Ainau Asiā*.⁷⁹ And when he had performed the rites he went in to the pope and saluted

⁷⁷ Nicolas IV had been elected pope on 22 Feb. 1288, after twice refusing the dignity, which was first offered him on 15 Feb. The interregnum had lasted ten and a half months.

⁷⁸ Before he became pope his name was Jerome. He had been, since 1281, cardinal bishop of Palestrina.

⁷⁹ Apparently a Nestorian name for the Sunday preceding Palm Sunday. The Syriac words mean 'who is the physician,' and may have had some place in the services of the day.

him. He said to Rabban Sauma, 'May God receive thine offering and bless thee, and absolve thy trespasses and sins.' And Rabban Sauma said, 'Besides the absolution of trespasses and sins that I have received from thee, O father, I entreat of thy fatherhood, O holy father, that I may receive the sacrament from thy hands, and so may have perfect forgiveness.' He said, 'It shall be so.'

And on the following Sunday, which was the festival of Hosannas,⁸⁰ at dawn of day there assembled thousands and tens of thousands without number before the throne. And they brought olive branches, and he blessed them. He gave to the cardinals,⁸¹ and then to the metropolitans and bishops, and then to the governors,⁸² and then to the magnates, and then he cast [his blessing] over all the people. And he rose from the throne, and in solemn procession they brought him to the church. And he went into the apse and changed his garments, and put on the ministering vestments of red interwoven with gold and gems, jacinths and pearls, even to the shoes on his feet. Then he went in to the altar, and came forth to the *bema*, and preached and admonished the people. And he consecrated the elements, and gave the sacrament to Rabban Sauma first, after he had confessed his sinfulness, and he gave him absolution of his trespasses and sins, and those of his fathers. And he greatly rejoiced at receiving the sacrament from the hand of the pope; and with tears and weeping received the sacred rite, thanking God and reckoning up the mercies that were poured out upon him.

But afterward, on the day of the holy Passover,⁸³ the pope entered the church of St. John Baptist,⁸⁴ after much people had assembled, and went up to the great upper room there, that was furnished and adorned, and in front of the room was a great space. And there went in with him the cardinals and metropolitans and bishops, and they commenced prayer. And when it was finished the pope preached and admonished the people, as he was wont. And from the multitude of people no voice was heard but the sound of the *Amen*; and when the *Amen* was said the earth trembled at their responses. And from thence he descended to the front of the altar, and consecrated⁸⁵ the anointing oil, and afterward he consecrated the atoning sacrament, and gave to the people. And he went out thence and entered the great temple,⁸⁶ and he distributed to the reverend fathers, to each two leaves⁸⁷ of gold and thirty *parpare*⁸⁸ of silver, and went out. And the pope gathered together those of his own household,⁸⁹ and washed the feet of them all, and wiped them with a towel that was girded about his loins. And when he had fulfilled all the order of the passover, in the middle of the day he set forth a great table. And the attendants placed before every man his

⁸⁰ Palm Sunday.

⁸¹ See note 39.

⁸² Lit. 'emirs.'

⁸³ Thursday in Holy Week.

⁸⁴ S. Giovanni in Laterano.

⁸⁵ The Syriac word is obscure and perhaps corrupt.

⁸⁶ The expression is ambiguous. In the Syriac, and particularly the Nestorian terminology, the *haikt li* (lit. temple) is in monastic churches the *πρόναος*, or place of the laity outside the choir (cf. Budge's *Thomas of Marga*, i. 1 f.) Possibly, therefore, the church, as opposed to the part separated off as an upper room, may be here intended. Or it may mean some other edifice, as M. Chabot takes it.

⁸⁷ Possibly 'coins.'

⁸⁸ The meaning of the word is unknown.

⁸⁹ Lit. 'the sons of his cell.'

measure of food. The guests were about two thousand. And when they took up the bread from the table there remained three hours of the day.

And on the next day, which was the Passion of our Saviour, the pope put on a black hood, and all the bishops likewise. And they went out barefoot, and proceeded to the church of the Holy Cross.⁹⁰ And the pope bowed down and kissed it [the cross], and gave it to each one of the bishops. And when the multitudes saw it they bared their heads and bowed upon their knees and did obeisance to it. And he preached and admonished the people, and made the sign of the cross in the four directions. And when prayer was at an end he brought of the Paschal offering and set wine by it; the pope alone partook of that offering, for it is not the custom for Christians to hold the sacrament on the day of our Saviour's Passion. And he returned to his palace.

And on the Saturday of Illumination⁹¹ the pope went to the church, and they read the Scriptures of the prophets and the prophecies about Christ. And he set a basin and put round it branches of myrtle; and the pope himself hallowed the baptism and baptised three children, and signed them. And he entered the apse and changed his garment of the Passion and put on his vestments of ministry, whose preciousness cannot be told, and he celebrated the eucharist.

And on the Sunday of the Resurrection the pope entered the holy church of St. Mary;⁹² and he, the cardinals, metropolitans, bishops, and people, saluted and kissed one another. And he administered the sacrament; they partook, and he then entered the palace. And he held a great banquet, and rejoicing without end. And on New Sunday⁹³ the pope held an ordination, and ordained three bishops. And Rabban Sauma and his companions saw their use, and partook in the blessed festivals with them.

And when these things were done he besought of the pope leave to return; but he said to him, 'We would that thou mightest stay with us, and thou shouldst be with us, and we would keep thee as the apple of our eye.' But Rabban Sauma replied, 'I came, O father, on an embassy for your service. Had my coming been of my own accord, I should finish in your service at the outer door of your palace the days of this my life of vanity; but when I return and show to the kings there the kindnesses that ye have wrought for my feebleness, I deem that the Christians will have much content. Howbeit I ask of your sanctity that ye bestow upon me somewhat of the relics that ye have.' The pope said, 'If it were our wont to give to any man of these relics, even if they were in myriads like mountains, they would come to an end. Howbeit, since thou hast come from a far land, we will give thee a little.' And he gave him of the garment of our Lord Christ a small portion, and of the kerchief or covering of St. Mary, and small relics of the saints that were there. And he sent to Mar Yabhalaha, the catholicus, a crown of his own wearing, of pure gold garnished with stones of price; and his ministering vestments of red with gold embroidery; and boots sewed with small pearls, and shoes, and a ring from his own finger. He sent, moreover, letters patent conveying the authority of patriarch over all the men of the east; and to Rabban

⁹⁰ S. Croce in Gerusalemme.

⁹¹ The day preceding Easter Sunday.

⁹² S. Maria Maggiore.

⁹³ The first Sunday after Easter.

Sauma he gave letters patent declaring him visitor over all Christians, and he blessed him, and he assigned him for the cost of the journey fifteen hundred mathkals⁹⁴ of fresh⁹⁵ gold. And to king Arghon he sent a present. And he embraced and kissed Rabban Sauma, and sent him away; and Rabban Sauma thanked our Lord that he had counted him worthy of such blessings.⁹⁶

And he returned over the seas to that place whence he had set out, and reached king Arghon in peace, in health of body and soundness of mind. And he gave him the letter of salutations, and the presents that he had brought from the pope and all the kings of the Franks. And he showed with what kindness they received him, and how they gave ear to the request that he brought. And he recounted the wonders which he had seen, and the royal might. So king Arghon was glad and pleased, and thanked him, and said to him, 'We have much wearied thee, since thou art an old man. Henceforth we suffer thee not to part from us, but will set up a church at our royal gate, and thou shalt be ministering therein and praying.' But Rabban Sauma said, 'May it be that my lord the king will bid Mar Yabhalaha, the catholicus, come and receive the presents that were sent him from the pope, and the vestments of service which he bestowed on him; and he may be founder of the church which the king will set up in his royal gate, and consecrate it.' These things were so done.

And because it was not our set purpose to repeat and set in order everything that Rabban Sauma did and what he saw, we have much shortened that which he himself wrote in the Persian tongue; and these things that are here recorded have been treated at greater or less length according to the aim of our work.

And so we leave Rabban Sauma, at the close of his long and toilsome journey, rejoicing to see again his beloved friend the patriarch. The rest of his days were spent in 'ministering and praying,' first in the church attached to Arghon's camp, and then, as the growing burden of years compelled him to leave the camp, in a new and splendid church at Maragha, to the charge of which he was appointed by Arghon's brother and successor Kaikhatu. Zealous to the last, he proceeded in 1298 to Baghdad on business for the patriarch, but fell ill on the way and died at Baghdad on the night of the Sunday after Epiphany 1294, to the sore grief of the friend to whom he had so long been bound by the closest ties.

NORMAN McLEAN.

A LETTER OF WILLIAM PULTENEY, EARL OF BATH.

THE following letter was written by Pulteney to Dr. Thomas Newton, afterwards bishop of Bristol and dean of St. Paul's, and the portion from 'In every thing I did' to 'oeconomy and Honour'

⁹⁴ See note 16.

⁹⁵ Lit. 'red.'

⁹⁶ Happily copies of some at least of the pope's letters which were carried by Bar Sauma have been preserved in the archives of the Vatican. These are given by M. Chabot, p. 195 ff.