

RICHARD POCOCKE IN LEBANON, 1738.

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TRAVELLERS AND SCHOLARS IN LEBANON

During the late 17th and early 18th century a number of European travellers and scholars travelled with pen and notebook to learn what they could of the countries east of the Mediterranean. For many, the focus was the Holy Land, and their handbook the Bible; but some travelled far more widely. For example, Cornelis de Bruyn travelled in 1681; the English title of his book (London, 1702) was *A Voyage to the Levant or Travels in the principal Parts of Asia Minor, ...and an account of the most considerable cities of Egypt, Syria and the Holy Land*. Some had a particular interest in the region that only in the twentieth century became the modern state of Lebanon. De Bruyn was followed in 1688-90 by La Roque, whose *Voyage de Syrie et du Mont Liban, contenant la description de tout le Pays compris sous le nom de Liban et d'Antiliban, Kesroan, etc.,...la description des ruines d'Heliopolis aujourd'hui Baalbak et une dissertation historique sur cette ville* was published in 1717. In 1697 Henry Maundrell journeyed from Aleppo to Jerusalem, along what is now the coast of Lebanon; on his return from Jerusalem he travelled via Galilee to Sidon, crossed the mountains to Damascus, and then travelled via Baalbek to Tripoli. His account of the journey was published promptly in Oxford and ran into seven editions in the next half century. Adrian Reland visited the Holy Land in 1708; his scholarly book *Palaestina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata*, incorporating (Vol.I, facing p. 320) a *Conspectus Libani et Antilibani* based on Maundrell's work, was published in 1714. In 1722 there followed an Oxford don, Thomas Shaw, whose work *Travels, or Geographical, Physical and Miscellaneous Observations relating to several parts of Barbary and the Levant*, which included 'Observations on Syria, Phoenice and the Holy Land', was published at Oxford in 1738. All these books would have been known to a later traveller, Richard Pococke, who explored Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, including modern Lebanon, in 1737-38, and

left his account in his *Description of the East and some other Countries*, published in London, 1743-45. Another traveller in Lebanon that same year was Jonas Korte, whose *Reise nach dem weiland gelobten Lande, Aegypten, Syrien und Mesopotamien* was published in Altona in 1741. Also published in 1743, and known to Pococke, was Charles Perry's *A View of the Levant, particularly of Constantinople, Syria, Egypt and Greece*.

RICHARD POCOCKE



1 Portrait of Bishop Richard Pococke as Bishop of Ossory (by permission of the Rt. Revd. J. W. R. Neill, Bishop of Ossory).

Richard Pococke was born as the son of an Anglican clergyman in Southampton, England, on 19 Nov. 1704, almost three hundred years ago. His father, the Revd. Richard Pococke, was born on 24 May 1666, and in 1690 became headmaster of King Edward VI School, Southampton. Richard's grandfather, born 1636, was again a Revd. Richard Pococke, the rector of Colmer, a small Hampshire

village; he died in 1619. The rector of Colmer's brother was one William Pococke, town clerk (1669), then sheriff (1689), then town clerk again (1699-1701) of Southampton. He was thus an important man locally; and he was great uncle of the later Bishop Richard

Pococke; but he died three years before Richard was born. It seems likely that there was some family connection with the great Oxford Arabist and Hebraist and collector of oriental manuscripts, Edward Pococke (1604-1691), though the precise link has not been demonstrated. Richard Pococke's mother also came from a clerical family; her maiden name was Elizabeth Milles, and her father and brother were both clerics. Richard's uncle, the Revd. Thomas Milles (presumably his mother's brother), a Professor of Greek at Oxford, was also chaplain to Thomas Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which is probably why Milles was appointed Bishop of Waterford and Lismore in Ireland in 1708. This is what took Richard Pococke to Ireland, for Bishop Thomas appointed his nephew to the ecclesiastical position of Precentor of Lismore in 1725 – a case of straightforward nepotism. Richard had a successful career in the Irish church; he held a series of benefices, became Archdeacon of Dublin in 1746, Bishop of Ossory in 1756, and finally Bishop of Meath in 1765. Had he lived longer, he might have become an archbishop. However, he died later that year, on 15 Sept., after taking a confirmation at Tullamore; 'he complained of a pain in his stomach, which he could impute to no other cause than a few mushrooms eaten the day before at Ballyboy' (from a diary by Major F. S. Stoney, quoted in J. B. Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, Enniskillen, 1933, p. 30).

Richard Pococke's ecclesiastical career, especially as Bishop of Ossory, is full of interest, and he commands four columns in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. But it was as an observant and scholarly traveller that Pococke made his name. His travels in what is now Lebanon in May - June 1738 were but a fraction of his eastern travels, which took him through Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, Cyprus, Crete, Greece before he returned home via Sicily, Italy, Germany, Switzerland, Bohemia and Hungary and the Danube region. Later in the 1740s and 50s, while Bishop of Ossory, he trav-

elled widely in England, Scotland and Ireland; in 1807 Richard Cumberland provides the following portrait of him on his journey:

That celebrated oriental traveller and author was a man of mild manners and primitive simplicity: having given the world a full detail of his researches in Egypt, he seemed to hold himself excused from saying anything more about them, and observed in general an obdurate taciturnity. In his carriage and deportment he appeared to have contracted something of the Arab character, yet there was no austerity in his silence, and, though his air was solemn, his temper was serene. When we were on our road to Ireland, I saw from the windows of the inn at Daventry, a cavalcade of horsemen approaching at a gentle trot, headed by an elderly chief in clerical attire, who was followed by five savants at distances geometrically measured and most precisely maintained, and who, upon entering the inn, proved to be this distinguished prelate, conducting his horde, with the phlegmatic patience of a Sheik. (Richard Cumberland, *Memoirs*, I, 228)

This suggests a rather forbidding, posed figure, and indeed when one reads his calculated and prosaic, matter of fact, description of places visited, it becomes clear that Pococke was not a light-hearted, easy-going person. He says rather dryly in the Preface to the volume describing his travels in Egypt (I, p.iv),

Such as delight only in reading travels, and the history of the several little accidents that happen, may pass over, with a transient view, the dry description of plans, buildings and statues, which others may esteem as the most valuable part of this book... Those persons will be much disappointed, who expect any ornaments of style in this book (p.v).

And indeed, years later in 2 Jan.1761, a Mrs Delany met him when staying with the Duke of Portland: 'The Bishop of Ossory has been here ever since Monday; he goes away tomorrow. We lose not much entertainment, for he is the *dullest man that ever travelled*, but he is a good man' (Mrs Delany, *Autobiography*, III, 627, on 2 Jan. 1761). Clearly, Pococke took his travel seriously, and was not a man for small talk or idle chatter.

POCOCKE IN PALESTINE

Whatever Pococke's social graces, his book *A Description of the East and some other Countries*, which was first published in London in 1743-45,

brought much new information about the Levant to the English reading public of the eighteenth century, and remains both fascinating and important for the modern scholar. Volume I describes his travels in Egypt. Volume II begins with his travels through Palestine and Syria,

and the opening pages give a clear picture of what it was like for a European (a 'Frank') to travel in the Levant in the 18th century. He landed at Joppa on 14 March 1738, but had no time to inspect it closely,

for when I went to the Latin convent the superior informed me, that a caravan was then setting out for Rama, and that the monks, who went with it, were to be at Jerusalem the next morning. So I put all my cash into the superior's hands, it being a rule never to carry any money, because, if the Arabs should chance to find it, it would often expose pilgrims to be searched, and ill-used for the same end. I went with the servant of the convent out of the town, where an ass being provided for me, I was accompanied by two Arabs on horseback, and came up with the caravan that had already set out; which consisted of a few camels, about twenty asses laden, and some persons either on asses or on foot; and among the former, four of the Latin monks, to whom I made myself known. I soon found we were got into a country under the influence of the Arabs, for as our beasts (that were not easily governed) went too fast, they came often, and slapped them with the butt end of their muskets, which they not only laid on the beasts, but also on the riders, especially on the monks, who thought it policy to pretend not-to understand the Arabic language, that they might not be troubled with their impertinence. After travelling three leagues, we arrived at the Latin convent in Rama, in which they are all Spaniards. The monks set out that night for Jerusalem, under the conduct of some Arabs, whom they usually imploy, who furnished them with horses; but they said they heard I was a rich merchant, and demanded a very extravagant price to carry me; on which it was thought advisable that I should wait for another opportunity. During the time I stayed in the convent, the superior thought it proper I should not stir out, or be so much as seen from the terrace on the top of the house, that the Arabs might not know that a Frank was there '. In fact, Pococke 'was kept in the harem for greater security, the wife being

always with me, no strangers ever daring to come into the women's apartment, unless they are introduced (pp.4-5)'.

After landing at Joppa, in March 1738, Pococke travelled up to Jerusalem and spent six weeks touring the regions of Jerusalem, Jericho, and the Dead Sea, before returning to Joppa and taking ship to Acre. From here he explored the coast south to Caesarea, and then the region of Galilee. His exploration of Palestine was thus limited to areas already fairly well known; he saw nothing of the Negeb region, nothing of the hills of Samaria, and nothing of modern Jordan. On 28 May 1738 he set off north from Acre along the coast, towards what is now Lebanon.

POCOCKE IN LEBANON

It is not difficult to follow Pococke's progress on the modern map (I have used the Arab World Map Library *Lebanon 1:200,000* map, published by GEO, Reading, UK, and Beirut, Lebanon, and the *Liban Carte Générale*, 1:200,000, Institut Geographique National 3615, Paris, 1994) and with the help of the pages of Karl Baedeker's *Palestine and Syria* (5th edition, 1912, based on the experience of Dr Immanuel Benzinger). Baedeker is particularly helpful, in that it refers to places and ruins now made much less obvious to the traveller by the destruction and development of the last century. Also very useful is the map constructed by Henry Kiepert (1856) from information furnished by Edward Robinson, Eli Smith and [J. L. Porter and published in the second edition of Robinson and Smith's *Biblical Researches in Palestine* (London: John Murray, 1857). Another less known but sometimes helpful map is that of 'Mountain Range of the Lebanon as surveyed by the staff officers in the British Expedition to Syria, 1840', in volume 1 of Charles Henry Churchill's *Mount Lebanon: A Ten Year's Residence from 1842 to 1852* (3 vols, London, 1853). It is interesting to compare Pococke's route with the routes taken by Jean de la Roque (1688-90), Maundrell (1697), Shaw (1722) and Perry (1743); Pococke names more places and gives more detail than the others.

FROM NAKOURA TO BEIRUT

Pococke entered what is now Lebanon on 28 May 1738 at the Scala Tyriorum, the 'white promontory' of Pliny, near *Nakoura* (Maundrell, Nachera; GEO en Naqoura) where he mentions a *Bourge*

**RICHARD POCOCKE
IN LEBANON**

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D I T E R

2 Portion of the map illustrating Pococke's route from R. Pococke, *A Description of the East*, II, 1745.



V E A N

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A



EXPLANATION

for the Maps in this Volume.

MARKS.	LETTERS.	WORDS.
○ Cities.	B. Bay.	Der. Mountain.
⬮ Fortified Towns.	C. Cape.	Der. Convent.

Nakoura (perhaps Baedeker's 'old watchtower', p. 271). He crossed the river *Dislemet*, passed a tower at *Kepher Latick*, and five miles from Nakoura saw the ruin of a temple 30'square with a colonnade (Baedeker's Umm el 'Amûd, p. 271), and a castle *el -*

Kepharlah (Baedeker's Kal 'at Shema', p. 271?) on the hills. He came to a fountain called *Scandaretta* and a tower called *Bourge-Scandarette* (which the Europeans there called Scandaloon), and a mile further on some ruins which he identified as ancient Scandalium and Alexandroschoene (Maundrell, Scandelium; GEO Iskandarouna). Here Pococke perceived himself to be entering the region of ancient Phoenicia. He mentions an *Elminten*, a spring *Ein el-Hamerah* (cf. Baedeker's Khân el-Hamrâ, p. 271), and a torrent *Shebria* (cf. Baedeker, 'the ruins of Shiberîyeh, p. 271), before reaching, one and a half leagues south-east of Tyre, the fountains supplying the aqueducts of Tyre called Talioun, 'the fountains of Solomon', ascribed to Solomon 'though I know not on what foundation' (p. 81). (Baedeker, p. 271, notes that the ascription was made on the basis of Song of Solomon 4.15). Both Maundrell and Perry mention the 'cisterns of Solomon'; Maundrell and Shaw name the place as Roselayn and Raselain (cf. GEO Ras el Ain). Pococke refers to several villages in the hills: *Emuran* (= GEO Aamrane?), *Elalily* (= GEO, IGN El Qlaile?), and *Shamah* (= IGN Es Smaiyé?) before reaching Tyre.

Pococke distinguished between 'New Tyre' (Sur; GEO Sour) on the former island, with the ruins of a large church 'with three naves, each ending in a semi-circle', and 'Old Tyre' (Palaetyrus) on the mainland. Maundrell (1697) had noted a castle and a cathedral; Perry (1743) described Tyre as a 'heap of sand and rubbish'. Pococke moves on towards Sidon, passing a spring *Bakwok* (he says 2 miles south of Tyre, but that this is an error for north of Tyre is shown by his map), and two leagues further meets the river *Casmy*, called *Casimir*, the modern Nahr el Litani, which Pococke refuses to identify (as some writers did) with the River Eleutherus, which he locates north of Tripoli (cf. Strabo 16.2.15). He suspects that the ancient city of *Ornithon*, presumably Strabo's *Ornithon polis* (Strabo 16.2.24) was near here, half way between

Tyre and Sidon; Baedeker suggests that this is modern 'Adlûn (GEO Aadloun). Pococke ascended to *Adnou*, presumably the same village, to the east of his path. (Is this the Ad Nonum of the Bordeaux Pilgrim?) The day's journey took him about 30 kms.

He set out on 29 May, passing a village called Serphant (GEO Es Sarafand), which he like Maundrell and Shaw and others since identified with the biblical Zarephath (1 Kgs 17.9) and Sarepta (Lk.4.26). He passed a spring called *Elborok* (Baedeker, p. 265, Khan el-Burâk, with a good spring and gardens), the foundation of an aqueduct, and a mile from Sidon a *Roman millitary*, 'a round pillar of grey granite' (milestone, Baedeker, p. 275). Pococke spent the remains of the 29th and all the 30th May in and about Sidon (GEO Saida). He speaks of a *castle of Louis IX* on the north side of the town, and an older, ruined *square castle* (presumably Baedeker's Khân Fransâwi, p. 277, now the Khan al-Franj). However, Pococke seems to have confused the two castles. Maundrell before him correctly noted the castle of Louis IX on the south side (i.e., the Qala'at el Mu'ezzeh). Pococke also notes a choked up port on the north side, a *Venetian khan* by the bed of the torrent *el-hamly* (the Khan ed-Debbagh of Baedeker, p. 277?), the *sepulchral grots* (i.e., the necropolis) to the south-east of the town (seen also by Perry; see also Baedeker, p. 277), and the hill of *Mar Elias* three-quarters of a mile to the east, with the village of *El-hara* (GEO El Hara) at the foot of it.

On 31 May Pococke set out north from Sidon along the coast towards Beirut. He mentions the fountains of *Elapher* and *Brias* and then, 2 miles north of Sidon, the rivulet *Elouly* (Maundrell's Awle, the modern Nahr Awuali; cf Baedeker, p. 278; IGN however names this wadi the Nahr el-Barouk). Pococke travelled before the discovery of the temple of Eshmun about 3 km from Sidon on the banks of the Nahr Awual early in the 20th century (Baedeker, p. 278), and before the discovery of the sarcophagus of Eshmun in Sidon in 1858, and again before Lady Hester Stanhope settled at Joun in the hills across the Awuali, and naturally says nothing of them. He passes a *Bourge-Romely* (cf. Er-Rumeileh and Nahr el-Burj, Baedeker, p. 278; GEO Er Rmaile), reaches a bay four miles across by the village *Jee* (GEO El-Jiye); he connects this area with Parphyryon of the Jerusalem

itinerary (the fourth century Bordeaux pilgrim); Baedeker (p. 278) notes that here the army of Ptolemy IV Philopator was defeated by Antiochus III in 218 BC. Pococke then crosses the river *Damour* (the ancient Tamyras, as noted also by Shaw) (GEO Nahr ed Damour). Following Strabo, Pococke suggests that somewhere here should be found the grove of Asclepius and the city of Leones (Strabo 16.2.22), but he offers no precise location. He next mentions the village of Carney, with ancient stone coffins cut from the rock. As he suggests its identification with the Heldua of the Jerusalem Itinerary, Carney is probably an error for Khalde, with its extensive necropolis (Baedeker, Khân el-Khuldeh, p. 279). Pococke next mentions a tower (*Bourge Hele*) and a rivulet (*Aoepha*), probably concealed by the modern airport of Beirut, with three large villages to the east called *Sukefet*, one inhabited by Druses, one by Christians and one by Muslim (cf. Maundrell's Druze village Suckfoat; probably Baedeker's esh-Shuweifat (p. 285), GEO ech-Choueifat). The next places named (*Itefe*, *Jebel Sewene*, *Edshaim*, *Elmelees*) seem to correspond with nothing on the modern map, though *Bourge Elgrage* may be the GEO map's Borj el Brajne in south Beirut. The *pine groves* described south of Beirut (cf Maundrell) appear on Baedeker's map of Beirut (between pp. 280 and 281) and today on the GEO map of Beirut ('Pine Forest').

Forty years before Pococke, Maundrell had seen Beirut, and had commented that 'at present it retains nothing of its ancient felicity, except the situation'. He had visited the palace of Faccardine (Fakhreddin, 1595-1634) on the north-east of the city and had enjoyed its orange garden (though regretting that it now served only as a fold for sheep and goats). He saw from a distance the former church of St John the Evangelist, 'now usurped by the Turks for their chief mosque', and he noted on the shore 'an old ruined castle and some remains of a small mole'. Pococke gives a different overview of

the city; to the west of the town, a small bay lay open to the north; the old port was a little bay; to the east of it lay a castle built on rocks in the sea, with a bridge to it; east of that another castle, and further east the remains of a large castle defended with a fosse. Which of these castles is to be identified with Maundrell's is hard to say. A furlong east of this Pococke found indifferent city walls, two miles in circumference, with small square towers; Maundrell had found the town wall entire on the south side. At the south gate Pococke copied a Greek inscription. Pococke, like Maundrell, describes Fekkerdine's (i.e., Fakhreddin's)



3 Map of the Coast of Syria, Phoenice and of The Holy Land, from Thomas Shaw, *Travels, or Geographical, Physical and Miscellaneous Observations relating to several parts of Barbary and the Levant*, 1738.

seraglio, now only the shell of a building, in the midst of which was 'a garden of very large lemon trees'. By the early twentieth century, however, most of this seems to have disappeared beneath nineteenth-century expansion, for Baedeker mentions virtually

nothing of it, and makes no attempt to identify the earlier buildings and defences.

FROM BEIRUT TO TRIPOLI

It was Pococke's habit in the Holy Land to visit and stay at monasteries, and in Beirut he stayed with a Capuchin convent. He set out from Beirut on 1 June 1838, noting after one league the mosque that was formerly a Greek church marking the legendary site of St George's fight with the dragon (cf. Baedeker, p. 285; not the modern St George's Cathedral). Here he notes a small incident:

In this mosque I saw an extraordinary ceremony performed on one of the Turks that was with me; who sitting down on the ground, the religious person, who had the care of the mosque, took a piece of a small marble pillar, in which, they say, there is an extraordinary virtue against all sorts of pains, and rolled it on the back of the Turk for a considerable time (p. 91)

He crossed the *river of Bayreut* (Baedeker, Nahr Beirut) on a seven-arched bridge (Maundrell says six arches, p. 38), suggesting that this was Pliny's R. Magoras. He turned north, passed along the beach under the cliffs, met 'the famous road cut like terraces', the *Via Antoniniana*, on the mountain side south of the *River Lycus* (Nahr el Kelb, an identification which appears earlier in de la Roque and Maundrell). Pococke noted the Latin inscription referring to Aurelius [Antoninus] (Maundrell gives the inscription in full, p. 37), and among other reliefs mentions one figure wearing 'a Phrygian cap' (perhaps Baedeker's n°. 11, of the Assyrian king Esarhaddon). He crossed the Nahr el Kelb by a four arch bridge which he attributes to Feckerdine (Fakhreddin), noting a 17-arched aqueduct on the north side of the valley (cf. Baedeker, p. 286)

At this point Pococke introduces (pp. 93-94) a lengthy description of the Castravan mountains to

the north of Nahr el Kelb. Though high and snow-covered for most of the year, they produce mulberries and vines, and are inhabited solely by Maronite Christians. Every village has its church, complete with bell. Pococke is particularly interested in the monasteries, mentioning monks of the order of St Anthony of Egypt (who performed their offices in Syriac, which they did not understand), a Greek Catholic nunnery following the rule of St Francis of Sales under Jesuit direction, an Armenian Catholic convent, the Latin Fathers of the Holy Sepulchre, Jesuit and Capuchin convents, and a Jesuit seminary. 'Many of these convents have been built within these fifty years past, and most of them have a nunnery adjoining, but they have usually only poor old woman in them for the service of the convents' (p. 93).

Pococke deviated from the main coast road to tour these mountains, beginning two miles east of the convent of *St Antony Elisy*, presumably modern Antelias. Here he was 'civilly entertained by the monks' (p. 95). He notes the village of *Ellisy* apparently one mile east of it, a nunnery three miles north at *Derbennady*, and a Jesuit convent at *Ontua* (= Ain Toura?, de la Roque's Antoura) one mile east, where he spent the night of 1 June. The next morning he came, four-five miles further on, to *Ajalton* (Aajaltoun), then to a convent and the residence of the bishop of *Patrone* (Batroun) at *Refond* (Raifoun), and descended north to the village of *Ashout* (Aachqout). He visits a place called *Einegratè*, and *Eirskeen*, where he is entertained by the Patriarch, before returning via *Ashout* to *Aosta* (Ghosta), on a hill not far from the seashore. He travels on two miles south to a new convent of the Holy Sepulchre at *Arisa* (Harissa; Pococke knew nothing of the modern *telepherique!*), where he stays the night of 2 June.

Pococke continued his scenic ride through the mountains on 3 June. He returned to Ghosta, then to a Maronite convent at *Dir-morran-Keiroule*, to *Eran*, and *Lubsan* (Libta? [Murray], IGN Dlehta?) before descending near *Sdidieh* and *Aramost* (Aramoun?) to *Gasier* (Maundrell's Oozier, modern Ghazir), where he found a shut-up Maronite convent. Here Pococke met an Italian-speaking Maronite sheikh who had travelled in Europe and England, and who hinted that Pococke might accept his brother as a travelling companion. Pococke must have over-nighted here on 3 June, for the following morning, 4 June, he hired a man

here to take him to *Esbele* (Jebail). He descended, mentions a *Ouad Enamer* (IGN En Namoura?), and a *Ouad Eteheny*, and then crosses the river *Ibrim* (River Adonis, modern Nahr Ibrahim) by a bridge. His next stop is *Esbele* or *Gibele* (Maundrell's Gibyle,

modern Jbail), where he mentions the walls, the castle in the south-east corner, and the beautiful church which he dates (far too early) to the 4th-5th centuries. It was here that Pococke experienced local covertice, which he handled very coolly:

The sheik happened to cast his eye on a pair of my pistols, which he liked, and immediately ordered his man to propose an exchange for his, which I refused. When I returned from viewing the town, the sheik and the elders were sitting in the gate of the city, after the ancient manner, and I sat a while with them; but when I came to my place, I was informed that the sheik intended to take my pistols by force, if I would not agree to his proposal. The sheik himself came soon afterwards, took my pistols out of the holsters, and would have put his own in their place, which I would not permit; he then put his pistols into the hands of one of my men, whom I ordered to lay them down on the ground; they offered to give me some money also in exchange; but I intimated, that if they did not return them, I would complain to the pasha of Tripoli. I departed, and they sent a man after me to offer ten dollars; two or three messages passed, and when we were about a mile from the town, they sent the pistols to me; for, as they know the character of the pasha, it is probably that they apprehended, he would be glad of such a pretence to come and raise money on them (p. 98).

Three leagues further, Pococke was in *Patrone*, ancient *Botrus* (now el Batroun); Pococke thought (p. 98, note g) that it was probably Bruttosalia of the Jerusalem Itinerary (i.e., the Bordeaux Pilgrim), and saw only a large church with surrounding buildings, and a smaller church. He noted that the cliffs showed signs of tools, and speculated that a north-south canal had been cut between them and the sea. He passed a village called *Masid* (was this near the Musailha fort?), and located the ancient *Gigartum* (Strabo 16.2.18, *Gigartos*) nearby. Four-five miles from *Patrone* he passed the cape anciently called *Theoprosopon* (Strabo 16.2.18) (GEO Ras ech Chaqaa), crossed

the *Nahr el-Zehar* (probably the GEO Nahr el Assfour) on a bridge to a rock 100' high and 100 yards long called *Empsiles*. He lodged overnight (4 June) with a local Maronite priest.

On 5 June, Pococke set out for Tripoli along the sea plain. He passed a small town called *Enty*, which must be an error for Enfeh, where he found the remains of a church and a temple, and speculated that this was the Trieris of Strabo (16.2.15) and Tridis of the Jerusalem Itinerary (Bordeaux Pilgrim), 12 miles from Tripoli. Maundrell, passing the same area, had found no sign of Trieris. (In this identification, as in that of Botrus with Bruttosalia, Pococke was perhaps following the annotations of Petrus Wesselingius' edition of the *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum* published at Amsterdam in 1735). He passes the monasteries of *Bellemint* (Maundrell's Bellmount, Shaw's Belmont – and Shaw's candidate for Trieris – , Baedeker's Belment, and GEO Balamend), and *Der Nassour* (Baedeker, Natûr), and the village of *Calamon* (Pliny's Calamos, N.H. v.1; Maundrell's Callemone, Shaw's Kalemony, GEO El Qalamoun), and the monastery of *Mar Jacob* (Baedeker, Mâr Ya'kûb), where, he notes (p. 99), Europeans were usually buried. And so to Tripoli.

FROM TRIPOLI TO BAALBEK

Pococke arrived at Tripoli on 5 June and left it on 12 June, so he spent a full week there. He was probably quite glad of a rest from daily travelling. Following the ancient sources, as usual, he noted the three-fold nature of the city, locating the oldest part, the colony of Tyre, at the western point. He located the second city, the Sidonian colony, by the mouth of the river. The third city, the colony from Aradus, he placed perhaps between the other two, noting the six towers along the north coast, of which the Bourj es-Saba is one (cf. Baedeker, who dates these towers as medieval, p. 337). Pococke, in fact, was largely guessing. Pococke's 'present' city is what is now known as the medieval city, below the St Gilles citadel and west of the Nahr Abu Ali. Pococke noted the citadel, five or six mosques (which he says were previously churches; certainly the Great Mosque and the Taylan Mosque were built on the sites of earlier churches), the Greek cathedral (presumably St George's Church) and the Maronite church (presumably St Elie Church). He mentions that monks of the Holy Sepulchre, the Jesuits, and the Carmelites had con-

vents in Tripoli, and he describes a long aqueduct from the foot of Mount Lebanon built by Godfrey of Bulloign or Baldwin of Jerusalem (mentioned also by de la Roque, I, 268, and Maundrell, p. 26). He finally refers to Tripoli's importance in the silk trade to

Europe.

From Tripoli Pococke set out on 12 June 1738 to explore the valley of the river Abouali (GEO Nahr Abou Ali) and the mountains to the south-east on his way to Baalbek. Pococke describes his route with a mass of local names, not all easily identifiable from the modern map, but the general direction is clear enough. He must have passed modern Zgharta, which appears on his map as Sgurta but is not mentioned in his text. To summarise briefly: Pococke crossed the Abouali over a six-arched bridge, saw *Coura* (cf. GEO Wadi el Koura) on a hill to the right, and further south *Nakely* (GEO En Nakhle) and *Erkael*, and *Kephteen*, with a Greek convent, and *Kephercakey*, a castle. These two last are IGN Bkeftîne (Baedeker Keftîn, map Northern Lebanon, between pp. 332, 333;) and IGN Kfar Qahe, in the Abou Ali valley. Pococke passed *Boukpherhouah* to his left (IGN Kfar Haoura?, Baedeker, *ibid.*, Kefr Hayah). He saw *Argy*, in the valley of *Bisbath*, to the left, passed *Tursinah* also on the left, *Shinen* on the right, with the convent *Antoura* (Baedeker, 'Antura, p. 340) above it. Further on, he passed *Ibesar* to the right and above it *Ramaskah*. To his north, over the river *Gutban*, was *Mt Turbul*. He ascended a hill to *Caremsidy*, which is clearly Baedeker's Kerm Seddeh, GEO Karm Sadde. He saw *Enite* to the right, Aito (GEO, IGN Aitou) on the left. He descended to *Orby* opposite *Toursa* (Baedeker's Tirza, GEO and IGN Tourza). He then reached the convent of *St Antony Casieeh* (Baedeker, Mâr Antûn Kezhayâ, p. 335; GEO Deir Qouzhaiya, the Deir Mar Antonios Qoshaya, well known for its nineteenth-century importation of a printing press dated 1609 from Edinburgh). Above the convent was another monastery, *Marsakeis* (Baedeker, Mâr Serkîs, p. 334), below it *Aden* (GEO, IGN Ehden). From here he crossed the valley, passed *Ban* (Baedeker, Bân; IGN Bane), and descended past a church *Aouka* (Haouqa, GEO) to the monastery of *Cenobin* or *Cannobine* (Baedeker Kannobin), which Pococke had previously noted as the home

of the Maronite patriarchs (p. 93). Pococke then returned past *Ban*, *Capede*, *Achig*, *Bistureh* and over the river *Kalishe*, 'which below is called Abouali', which must be the Qadisha valley (La Roque's Nahr Kadiche).

This must have been a tiring day, up and down over the mountains. The following day, 13 June, was no less tiring. He again passed *Aden* (Ehden), where he noted a number of cascades, and a Carmelite monastery of St Sergius, and set out for the cedars of Lebanon. He found them in a grove of about one mile in circumference, with 15 large cedars standing with a large number of young cedars and some pines. He visited the cedars north of the modern Tripoli-Baalbek road (p. 105), ascending from here for three hours 'to the very highest summit of Mount Libanon, passing over the snow'. Of the snow, Pococke comments that

Though all the people about Libanon drink of the snow water, yet they have not that swelling in the neck which people are subject to who drink of the snow water of the Alps; which may be owing to a greater freedom of perspiration; and possibly this snow may not be charged with so great a quantity of nitre as it is in northern parts (p. 105).

The GEO map suggests that this was Jebel el Mekmet, rising to 3083 metres, which was no mean climb. From the summit Pococke could see his next important destination, Baalbek. Pococke descended, passing the small *Lake Lemoun* (IGN Lac de Yammoun; GEO El Yammoune) to the south of the road. He noted that this lake was mentioned as having extraordinary properties, but he does not elaborate. He reached the Maronite village of *Delehameit*, presumably Deir el Ahmar, and speculated on its identification as Apheka. He thought to stay the night there, but was warned of the danger of being plundered and pressed on, arriving very late at Baalbek.

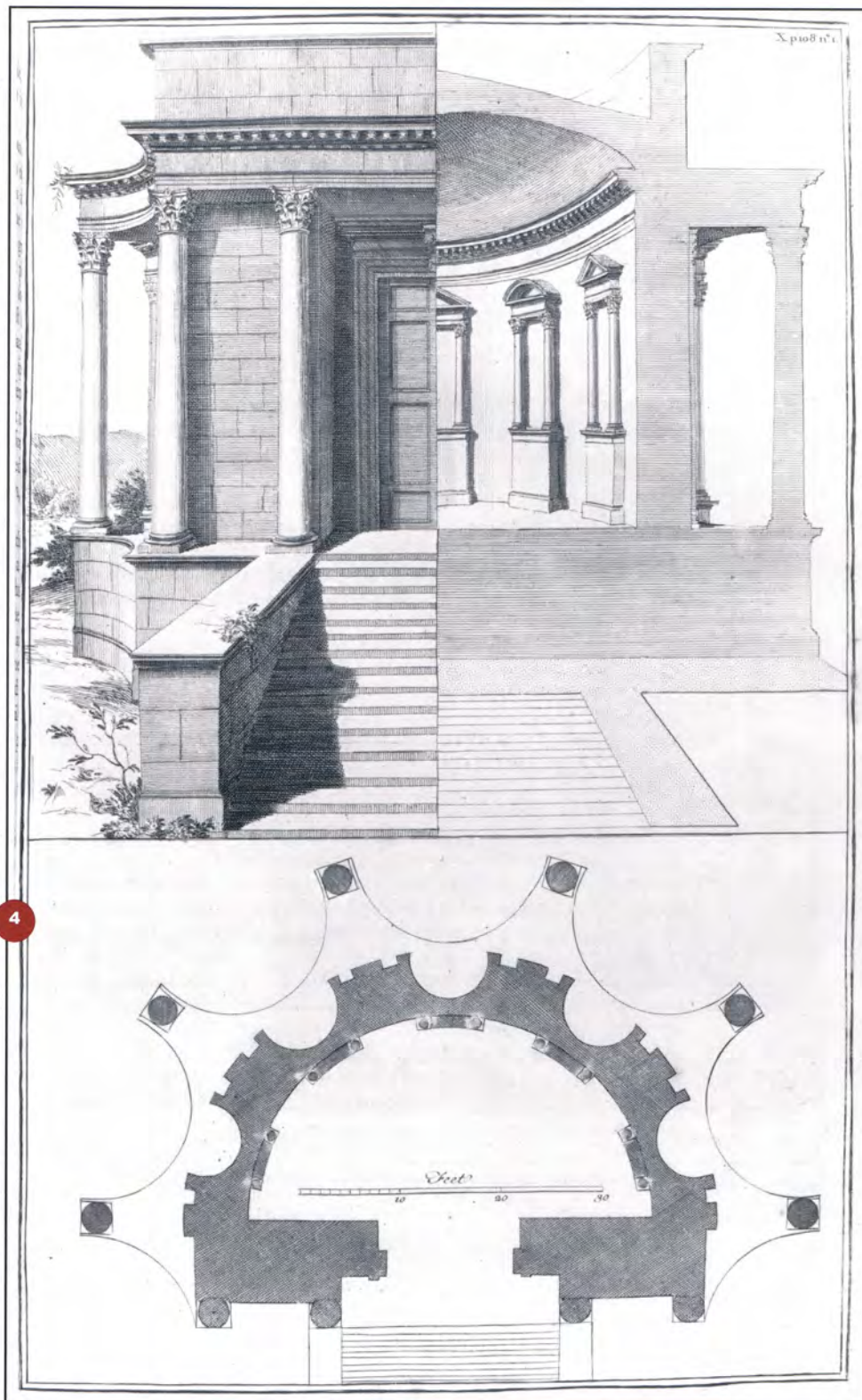
BAALBEK

Pococke's description and assessment of what he saw at Baalbek needs much more detailed study than can be attempted here. Pococke begins by noting the city walls, 4 miles in circumference; a pillar with Corinthian capital called Hamoudiade two leagues west of the city; and an Islamic octagonal sepulchre with dome. He then describes a beautiful small temple east-southeast of the main temple. In a note, he dismisses de la Roque's

description (I. 152) of this temple as octagonal inside and circular

outside, and Pococke's plan (Pl. x) shows this building as semi-circular; but Maundrell in 1697 had seen this building and thought it circular (p. 135) and Robert Wood's plates, published in 1757, clearly demonstrate this (Pls. xlii, xliiv)(though one can see why Pococke was deceived). Pococke next described (pp. 109-10; Pl. xii, xiii) the beautifully preserved temple now known as the Temple of Bacchus (though some think it was dedicated to Venus or Astarte). His plan of the temple (Plate xii) shows a temple with 8 columns across the front and rear, with 14 along each side (as also does Maundrell's plan, at page 135); Wood noted the bases of an extra row of pillars across the front of the porch, and his plan (Plate xxiii) and reconstruction (Plate xli) show 15 columns along each side, with a different arrangement at the porch. Again, it is not difficult to see how Pococke was deceived.

Pococke then turns to the Temple of Jupiter, which he supposed was unfinished (he offers a plan in his Plate xvii). He describes a grand entrance (cf. Plate xviii), leading through an octagonal court (in fact, it is hexagonal, as de la Roque [I. 125] perceived and as Wood's plan [Pl. xlii] shows) into a large square court (where he does not perceive that a 4 Christian basilica was later superimposed), which



A plan, view and section of a temple at Baalbeck, from Pococke, *A Description of the East*, II, Plate X.

in turn led up a staircase into the huge temple. Pococke found nine pillars standing, with the base of a tenth, and evidence of a further six eastwards in the same row, and therefore supposed that the side ran to sixteen pillars (Wood's researches revealed a total of nineteen). (Volney in 1784 found only six pillars standing, as today, and commented that the fall of the other three was due to the earthquake of 1759.)

In Baalbek Pococke noted and measured the three large stones in the town wall north-west of the 'unfinished' temple, finding them each 60' long



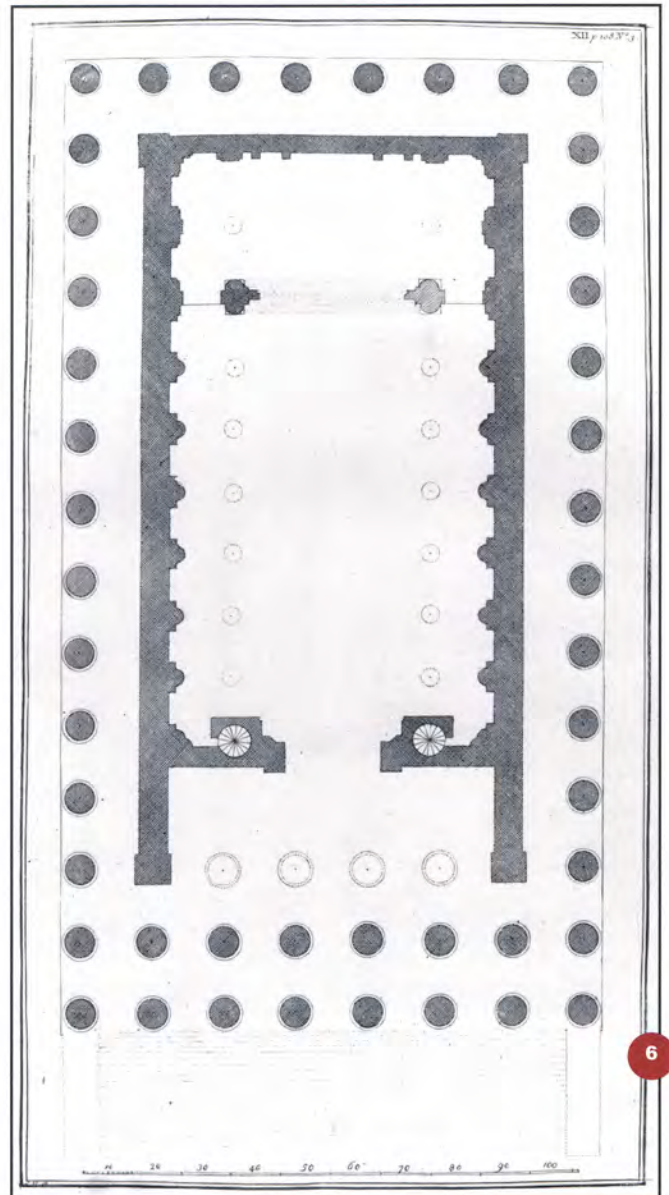
5 Plan of the circular temple, from Robert Wood, *The Ruins of Balbec, otherwise Heliopolis, in Coelosyria*, 1757, Plate XLII.

(Maundrell, p. 138, noted that two of them were 20 yards long and the third 21 yards), and then measured the rectangular stone block left unseparated from the bedrock in the quarry half a mile from the town. He gave its dimensions as 68' long, 17'8' wide, and 13'10' high (Baedeker, p. 331, gives 17', 14' and 13'). Finally, Pococke visited a village called Nead (probably a mistake for

Maundrell's Ye-ad, Baedeker Ya'ât, GEO Iaät) on the Tripoli Rd., and inspected a pillar one league further on (also described by Maundrell, p.139).

In his book *Baalbek* (London, 1980), Friedrich Raguette comments critically (p. 87) on Pococke's *A Description of the East*: 'It contains eleven engravings of Baalbek, based upon his observations on the spot from 15 to 21 June, 1737. Unbelievably inaccurate and unreliable, they do not merit much attention'. As Raguette makes clear, Pococke was far from being the first European scholar to visit Baalbek. Raguette points especially (pp. 82-83) to the earlier work of Balthazar Monconys, who visited Baalbek 20-23 December 1647 and from observation of an

inscription on a column base confirmed the identification of Baalbek with Heliopolis, and praises the contribution of Maundrell, who spent only one day in Baalbek in 1697. It is true that Pococke's work does not stand up well to comparison with Wood's, but it should be noted that Wood, with his companion James Dawkins, travelled to Syria with Stuart and Revett, the authors of *The Antiquities of Athens* (1762-1816), and with an Italian architect named Borra. Wood was therefore much more professionally equipped than Pococke, who was writing a travelogue, not an architectural treatise.



6 A plan of the temple at Baalbeck, from Pococke, *A Description of the East*, II, Plate XII.

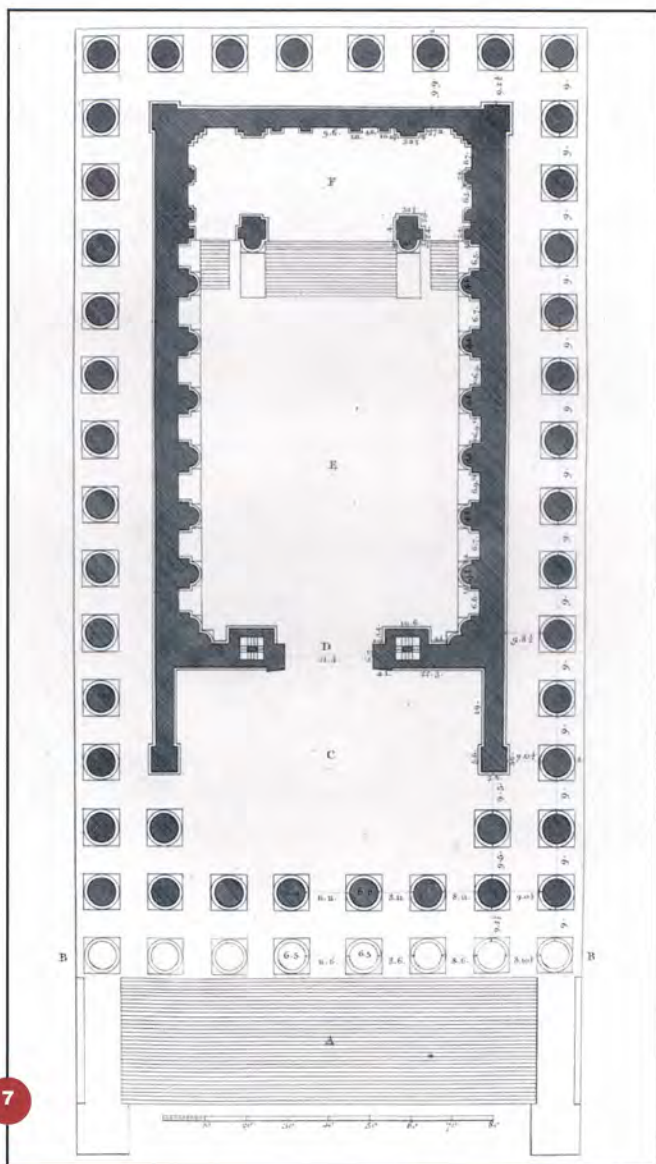
Pococke began and ended his visit to Baalbek in style, with a visit to the Pasha: after seeing the temple on the first day, in the evening, I was elegantly entertained by the secretary in an open mocot in his court, a fountain of water playing into a basin in the middle of the court. We had for sup-

per a roasted fowl stuffed, pilaw, stewed meat with the soup, a dulma of cucumbers stuffed with forced meat, and a desert [sic] of apricots, apples, and mulberries, both red and white, for here they have not the black kind (p. 113).

FROM BAALBEK TO DAMASCUS

The final section of Pococke's path in Lebanon is fairly easy to trace. He seems to have followed fairly closely the route taken earlier by Maundrell (in the reverse direction) and later by the railway line shown on Baedeker's maps of Northern and Southern Lebanon (Baedeker, between pp. 290/291, and 332/ 333). The route begins by running south-west of Baalbek down the Litani valley, turns east at Rayak with the Wadi Yahfoufa, which it crosses at Jisr Rummânî, and then runs south through the Sahel er Ramli before turning south-east towards Damascus with the Nahr Barada. This was the natural route for an eighteenth-century traveller to take; the modern road, however, continues southwest from Rayak for some distance before turning off southeast to Damascus.

Pococke set out from Baalbek for Damascus on 21 June 1738. He noted the *Jebel Cheke* (i.e., the Jebel esh-Sherki) to his left. He mentions to the south (in fact, the southwest) the village of *Doris* (GEO Douris) on the plain. He turned east over the river *Neytane*, which must be the Litani somewhere near Rayak; after two hours, probably along the wadi Yahfoufa, he turns south over a *bridge* (Baedeker, Jisr er-Rummâneh, p. 297). Hereabouts he crossed what is now the Lebanese-Syrian border, but for the sake of completeness we may note that he passed the village *Ainhour* on the *rivulet Ainhour* running south (Baedeker, 'Ain Haur, p. 323, 'Ain Hôr, map. Pp. 290-91; IGN Ain el Haour). Here he experienced a tiresome incident with a soldier from Damascus, who picked a quarrel with Pococke's servant, taking his furry cap and gun; a 'very obliging Mohamedan youth' came to the rescue; he asked for some wine from Pococke, 'and he and the soldier both grew cheerful with it; and the youth brought us what the fellow had taken' (p. 114). Pococke went on past the village of *Septany* or *Zebdaine* (Baedeker's Ez-Zebedânî, p. 297, GEO Zebedani), to *Modoia* (GEO Madaya), where he stopped overnight in the open air, and so reached Damascus along the valley of the *Barrady* (Nahr Barada) via *Dummar* on 22 June 1738. He had been in Lebanon for nearly four weeks, and had seen nearly all its coastline, a considerable part of its mountains, and had crossed the Beqa'a valley.



7 Plan of the most entire temple, from Robert Wood, *The Ruins of Balbec, otherwise Heliopolis, in Coelosyria*, 1757, Plate XXIII.

On his final call, the Pasha (who had recently seen diplomatic service in Ragusa, where his son's portrait had been drawn) showed Pococke a young tiger, recently captured in the mountains, and was keen to talk about war with the Germans, repeatedly asking who was the greatest prince in Europe. He presumably had Frederick II of Prussia in mind, for it was only two years later that Frederick II invaded and captured Silesia.

CLASSICAL SOURCES AND SCHOLARLY PREDECESSORS

Pococke, as one might expect, knew his classical sources and used them critically. He quotes regularly from Strabo's *Geography*, especially Book xvi, which includes his description of Syria and Lebanon, from Josephus, from Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*.v. 17, and from the Antonine Itinerary and the Jerusalem Itinerary (i.e., the Bordeaux Pilgrim, A.D.333). Pococke may have known the *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti et Burdigalense*, published at Coloniae Agrippinae in 1600, and he almost certainly knew and used the *Vetera Romanorum Itineraria*, which included both itin-

eraries, edited by Petrus Wesselingius, and published in Amsterdam in 1735. Pococke also uses the ancient geographer Ptolemaeus, Jerome, and the church historians Eusebius and Socrates. The sale catalogue of Pococke's library, dated 10 March 1766 (National Library of Ireland, LO 1385), includes among other works Sandys' *Travels* (London, 1673), Reland's *Palestina* (Traj.Bat., 1714), Shaw's *Travels* (London, 1757; but originally published in Oxford, 1738) and the *Supplements* to them (Oxford, 1746), Kortens' *Reise nach dem weiland gelobten Lande* (Berlin, 1741), Perry's *View of the Levant* (London, 1743), and Wood's *Ruins of Balbec* (London, 1757). One wonders what had happened to Pococke's copies of de la Roque and Maundrell, which he certainly used and must surely have possessed.

ANCIENT SOURCES AVAILABLE TO POCOCKE

Strabo	Pliny	Ptolemaeus	Antonine Itin.	Bordeaux Itin.
				Alexandroschene
	Promontorium album			
Palaityrus	Palaetyrus			
Tyre	Tyrus	Thirus	Tyro	Tyro
	Sarepta			
Ornithon polis	Ornithon oppida			
				Ad Nonum
Sidon	Sidon	Sidon	Sidona	Sidona
				Parphirion
				Heldua
Leonton polis, Asclepius Grove				
Tamyras River		Leon F.		
	Magoras Fluvius			
Berytus	Berytus	Beritus	Beryto	Berito
	Leontos oppidum			
Lycus River	Flumen Lykos	.		
Palaibyblus	Palaebyblus			
Mt Climax				
Adonis River	Flumen Adonis	Andonis.f[lumen].		
Byblos	Byblos	Biblus	Byblo	
Botrus	Botrys	Botris		Bruttosalia
Gigartus	Gigarta			
Theouprosopon		frons		
Trieres	Trieris			Tridis
	Calamos			[Calamon]
Tripolis	Tripolis	Tripolis	Tripoli	Tripoli
Eleutherus River	Eleutherus Fl.			

OTHER TRAVELLERS KNOWN TO POCOCKE

De La Roque (1688-90)	Maundrell (1697)	Reland (1708)	Shaw (1722)	Perry (1743)	Modern Name
	Nachera				En Naqoura
	Scandelium	Castrum Alexandri			Iskandarouna
	White promontory		Promontorium album		Ras el Biyada
Rassoulain/ Les Puits de Salamon	Roselayn/Cisterns of Solomon		Raselain	Cistern of Solomon	Ras el Ain
Tyr (Sour)	Tyre	Tyrus	Tyre	Tyre	Sour
Kasamiech	R.Casimir	Casimir Fl.		R.Cassemir	Nahr el Litani
Sarepta	Sarphan	Sarepta	Sarepta		Es Sarafand
	Korie				
Seyde	Sidon	Sidon	Sidon	Sidon	Saida
	R.Awle	Awle R.			Nahr Awuali
R. d'Amour	R.Damer /Tamyras	Tamyras R.	Fl.Tamyras		Nah ed Damour
	Suchsoat				Ech Choueifat
Baruth	Berytus	Berytus	Berytus	Barut	Beirut
	R. Beroot	N.Berut			Nahr Beirut
R.du Chien/ Nakr Khalb	R.Lycus/Canis/ Nahr Kelp	Lycus Fl.			Nahr el Kalb
	Oozier				Ghazir
	Junias Bay				Jounié Bay
	Mt Climax				
R.Adonis/ Nhar Abraham	R.Adonis/ Nahr Ibrahim	Adonis Fl.	Adonis R.		Nahr Ibrahim
Gebail/Gibel	Gibyle/Byblos	Byblus	Byblus	Gibei	Jbail
Patron	Patrone/Botrus	Botrys	Botrus		El Batroun
	Temseida fort				
	Theouprosopon	Theo- prosopon	Theouprosopon		Ras ech Chaqaa
	[Trieris]		Trieris		
	Bellmount		Bellmont		Balamend
Calmont	Callemone		Kalemony		El Qalamoun
Tripoli	Tripoli	Tripolis	Tripoly	Tripoli	Tripoli
	R.Eleutherus		R.Eleutherus (Nahr el Berd)		Nahr el Kebir

From Tripoli to Damascus via the Cedars

Tripoli	Tripoli		Tripoli
Eden	Eden		Ehden
Canubin	Canobine		Deir Qannoubin
	Ayn il Hadede		?
Les Cedres	Cedars		Al Arz
	Lake Limone		Lac de Yammoune
	Yead		Iaat
Balbec	Balbeck	Baalbec	Baalbek
	Valley Boqat		Beq'aa
	Surgawich		? Sergaya
	Ayn il Hawra		Ain el Haour
	Maday		Madaya
	Sinie		?
	R.Barrady		Nahr Barada
	Dammar		Dummar
	Damascus	Damascus	Damascus

The above tables show, first, what place names Pococke would have found for Lebanon in the ancient sources, and, secondly, places mentioned by Pococke's immediate scholarly predecessors in Lebanon. It is clear from this last table that of Pococke's predecessors Jean de la Roque and Henry Maundrell were much the best informed, and that Pococke had relied on them greatly. However, Pococke gives more place names than any of his predecessors, especially in the mountainous region north of the Nahr el Kalb and in the valley of the Nahr Abou Ali southeast of Tripoli.

As a Christian clergyman, Pococke was naturally interested in the monasteries of the Holy Land and Mount Lebanon. He took careful note of every one he passed, and regularly used their hospitality, staying overnight at some, or merely accepting food at others, as at Refond, where he was entertained 'with roasted eggs, soup made with kidney beans, sower milk, and excellent white wine' (p. 95), and at Eirskeen, where, after sharing bread, wine and coffee with the patriarch under a tree, he was summoned into the cloister where he dined off 'pilaw, fried eggs, homney and other things', followed by coffee (p. 95), and at a Catholic Armenian convent called Elerem, below Aosta, where they set before him 'an elegant collation of dried sweetmeats, prunellas and pistachio nuts', with coffee and wine (p. 96). At Gasier, the Italian-speaking local sheik entertained him with 'a fowl roasted in quarters, a kind of European dish, the rest being after the Arab manner' (p. 97). He was certainly well fed on this excursion into the moun-

tains. He seems to have been particularly interested in the Maronite Christians (cf. p. 93). He notes the presence of Syrian monks and independent nunneries, of a Greek Catholic nunnery founded by ladies of Aleppo under the rule of St Francis of Sales, of an Armenian Catholic convent, of the Latin fathers of the Holy Sepulchre, of Jesuit and Capuchin convents and a Jesuit seminary (p. 94), all in the Castravan mountains. He is equally interested in the Druse, and offers an interesting paragraph on them (p. 94):

If any account can be given of the originals of the Druses, it is, that they are the remains of the Christian armies in the holy war; and they themselves say that they are descended from the English. They are esteemed men of courage, and of greater probity than any others of these eastern parts. As they, and their prince, are protectors of the Christians that live among them, so they seem to have the best opinion of Christians, and the greatest regard for them; tho', in reality, it is to be feared that they have little or no religion at all; they occasionally profess themselves Mohametans, which they do only to enjoy the privileges of established religion.

Pococke was an able scholar, but not a great one. He was not primarily concerned to identify, with scholarly learning, the places and antiquities of the East. He was not a Reland, a Robinson, or even a George Adam Smith. He was not an architect, concerned for precise measurement and carefully drawn plans. He was a hardened and determined traveller, an intelligent observer, and a clear writer,

though his notes have not always developed into his final text without some minor errors and confusions. It is worth listening to his 'Conclusion, with reflections on travelling, on customs and manners, and the great change of things'. He notes the different aims of trav-

el, including its usefulness to the young in learning modern languages.

Some, who turn their travels to the greatest advantage, endeavour to mix with the people of the country, and with all strangers, in order to make proper observations on customs and manners; get over the prejudices of education, of being bigotted to their own... From observing the many inconveniences which attend different sorts of government and manners, they learn to value their own, which is real happiness; and whatever they have suffered abroad, makes them enjoy with greater pleasure that liberty, ease and affluence which falls to their share when they are settled in their own country...

Their observation of the rise and fall of great states and cities, Pococke goes on, may lead them to consider if it is not reasonable to think that they are the effects either of their virtue or their immorality.And if they are convinced that the extraordinary revolutions of great empires have certainly been foretold, and have come to pass accordingly; this may be a sure proof, that they are neither the effect of chance, nor even of natural causes alone, but must be widely directed by that being who has this foreknowledge (vol II, pp. 277-78).

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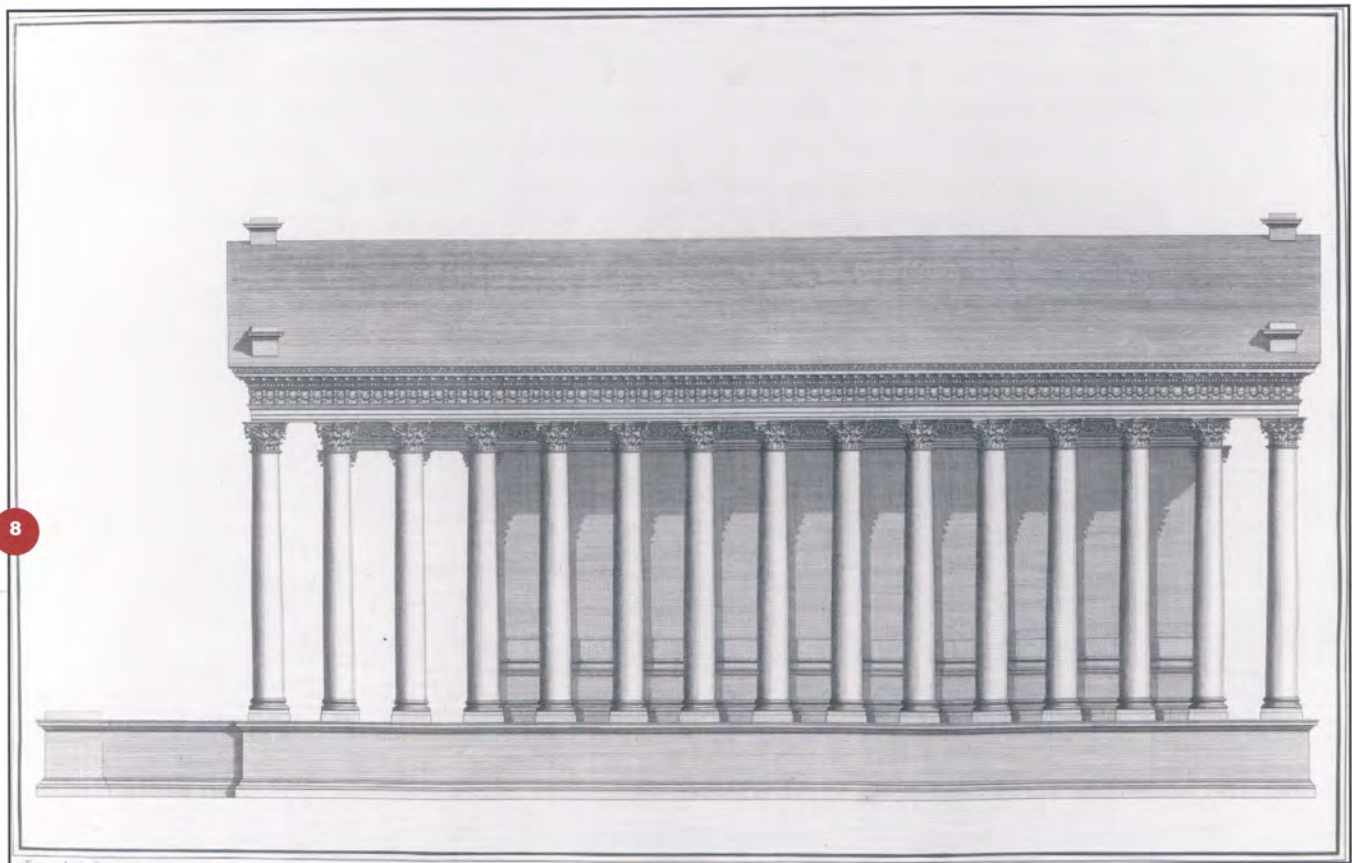
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8 Upright of flank of the same, from Robert Wood, *The Ruins of Balbec, otherwise Heliopolis in Coelosyria*, 1757, Plate XXVI

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