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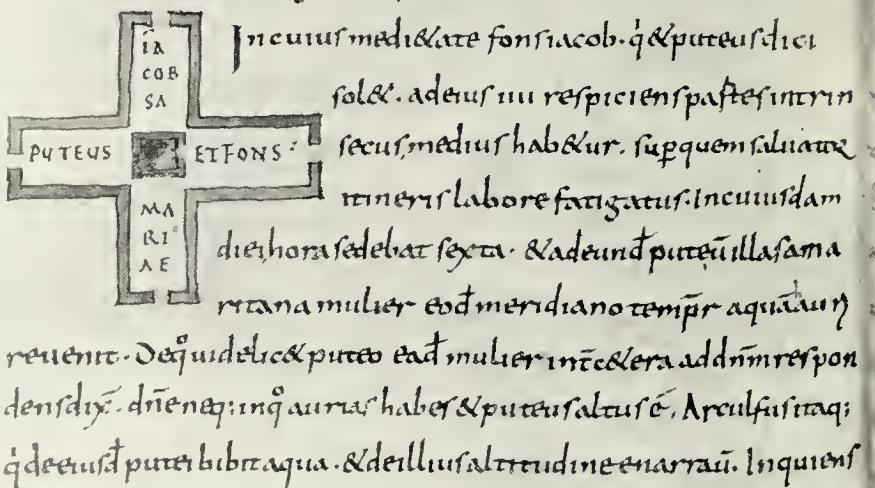


ADAMNAN'S  
*De Locis Sanctis*





Si quidem de palustris uiliginis erasū aliquid aut turpidū rēcepit,  
 qđ harenosus undiq; littore circūuenit, unde & puriora austus ē: ac  
 mollior ē ad usum. Generaqq; pisū gustū & specie nūsq; in aliolacu  
 præstantia repperiri poss̄. Haec brevia de iordanis exordio & lacu  
 cinereis pastim de iiii. iudaicae captiuitatis libro. pastim descīayut  
 experientia excepta dūlūmus. Quod ipse indubitan̄ refest ab eo lo  
 co, qđ defauicib; maris galileae iordanis regredit̄. usq; adeū locū ubi  
 mare mostuū intrat. viudierū it habuit. Qđ scilicet idem mare sal  
 fissimū. & demontis solū & is punctula sepius cicuti ipsenarrat sc̄. sp̄. ḡ.  
 arculfus. DE PUTEO SAMARIAE **A**rculfus sacerdos.  
 regiones samariae peragrans. ad eius pūnicae puenit ciuitatem.  
 quae hebraicē sīchem. grecā & latina consueudine. sicima no  
 minat. quae qđ libet uitiose & sichar vocari solet. Itaq; prope hanc  
 eadē ciuitatē. quandā extramurū uidit constructā & extam. qua  
 quadrificali in mundicardines fōntata getendit̄. quasi insimili  
 tudinē erat. Cuius figura inferior describitur.



Vienna, Cod. 458, f. 17v.  
 Book II, ch. 20-21, with sketch of Jacob's well at Sichem

*Admonition. Sicut.*

SCRIPTORES LATINI HIBERNIAE  
VOLUME III

ADAMNAN'S  
*De Locis Sanctis*

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## PREFACE

THE present edition of Adamnan's *De Locis Sanctis* was undertaken at the instance of Rev. Professor Aubrey Gwynn S.J. of University College, Dublin; and it was largely owing to his encouragement, advice, and assistance that it was brought to completion. Initially the early medieval period was quite an unfamiliar one to me, but his guidance and enthusiasm rapidly kindled interest. It has been my experience that the avenues of investigation opened up by the Hiberno-Latin literature which it is the purpose of this series to make available can become most absorbing.

I owe acknowledgement to very many people for advice and assistance on historical and topographical problems. To Doctor Ludwig Bieler principally I should like to record my indebtedness. He is responsible for the critical text and the indices, but that does not represent his full contribution. He was always most ready with relevant information and advice, and proved a most painstaking and congenial collaborator. Père P. Grosjean S.J., whose knowledge of this difficult period must be quite unrivalled, was good enough to correspond with me and to assist me on some historical points. He read the Introduction and Topographical Analysis in proof, and made a host of valuable suggestions, many of which I was very glad to adopt. If I have ventured to persevere in any statement against his advice, I have done so with the utmost diffidence and only because I felt it was the more honest procedure. Others to whom I owe a debt of gratitude for valuable historical suggestions, or for assistance on points of interpretation, are Père Doutreleau S.J. of Cairo, Rev. Chanoine Griffe of Toulouse, Professor J. H. Baxter of Saint Andrews, and Doctor Donald Nicol of University College, Dublin.

In the domain of Palestinian topography I received valuable advice and criticism from Right Rev. Monsignor Kissane and Rev. Professor John O'Flynn, both colleagues at Maynooth, and from Rev. R. North S.J. of the Biblical Institute. The authorities of the National Library, Vienna, have most kindly provided me with excellent photographs of the diagrams in their ancient manuscript of Adamnan, and have granted permission to reproduce them in the present volume. Other debts have been acknowledged I hope at the proper place in the course of the text. Finally, I should like to pay tribute to the printers and readers of the Oxford Press for the meticulous care with which manuscript and proofs were handled at every stage.

DENIS MEEHAN

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# INTRODUCTION

## I

THOUGH comparatively little known and little studied,<sup>1</sup> the *De Locis Sanctis* of Adamnan is a document of considerable historical interest. Of primary importance for the light it throws on conditions in Palestine and the near east in the early years after the Moslem conquest, this narrative of Arculf's journey has the unusual interest too of simultaneously bringing into focus the widely separated Celtic, Byzantine, and Moslem worlds at the very dawn of the Middle Ages. Arculf appears to have been a Merovingian Gaul.<sup>2</sup> His travels covered Moslem and Byzantine territories, and his experiences were recorded by an Irishman in the Celtic monastery of Iona.

Before entering into particular study of this record, it will be helpful to dwell momentarily on the political dispositions throughout these various areas during the second half of the seventh century A.D., especially during the decade 670–80. Of the three British kingdoms, that of Northumbria was in the ascendant, and was during all this period considerably exposed to Celtic influence from the Columban monks. The reigns of Ecgfrith (671–85) and Aldfrith (685–705) concern us.

Merovingian Gaul was in a period of decline. The era of the *rois fainéants* extended from 639 to 751, when the three kingdoms of Neustria, Austrasia, and Burgundy were controlled rather indifferently by the Mayors of the Palace. The Roman Italy of Justinian had long been very effectively broken up by the turbulent Lombard kingdom. The Visigothic kingdom of Spain was destined to fall easily to the Moslems early in the eighth century. Sicily, though the Moslems seem to have sent an attacking fleet as early as 664, remained all the time under Byzantine control.<sup>3</sup>

The expansion of Islam had changed the character of the near east, and Byzantine rule had come to an end over the whole south-eastern corner of the Mediterranean. Jerusalem had fallen in 638, Alexandria in 642, the naval base of Cyprus in 649, and every spring from 674 to 677 the combined Arab fleet appeared before Constantinople itself. The

<sup>1</sup> See bibliography in Kenney, *Sources*, 285. For commentaries add G. Brüning, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, xi. 213 ff. (notes on *Vita Columbae* incorporate some study of our text); *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne (DAL)*, Leclercq, *Pèlerinages*; *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques (DHG)*, Gougaud, *Arculfe*. There has been no systematic study of the text. Of translations, Mickley's (German) is the best, and has some topographical commentary. Beazley (*Dawn of Modern Geography*, iii (Oxford, 1906), 382–409) and Leclercq (art. cit.) have a good analysis of the contents.

<sup>2</sup> Below, pp. 6 f.

<sup>3</sup> Becker in *Cambridge Medieval History (CMH)*, ii. 380.

reign of the Syrian caliph Mu‘awiya ibn Abi Sufyan (660–80), mentioned in the text as Mauias, is important. He was the first of the Ommayads, was nominated governor of Syria in 639 by the caliph Omar, and proclaimed caliph at Jerusalem in July 660.

At Constantinople the reign of the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus (668–85) covers the period of Arculf's visit. He was observed by Arculf participating in the Easter liturgy at Hagia Sophia, and he presided at the sessions of the Council of Constantinople which condemned the Monothelite heresy. The popes of the period were Agatho (678–81), a Greek, and Leo II (682–3), a Sicilian.

Such then, in bare outline, was the world in which the journeys here described took place. Unfortunately we have no means of determining Arculf's exact point of departure or his itinerary for the European part of his journey (except that he visited Sicily and Rome on his way home); but his traveller's tale effects the sort of juxtaposition between widely diverging peoples and cultures that opens up fascinating possibilities. In particular it may well be that closer study of this commentary by an Irish monk upon the relatively well understood Roman buildings of the Holy Land, and of cities like Alexandria and Constantinople, could throw light on the pattern of organized living and housing in the Celtic monasteries, matters on which our knowledge is to date so scanty and conjectural.<sup>1</sup> The tract appears to have been widely known in medieval Europe, being used and quoted by subsequent compilers of itineraries.

## II

The author-editor was Adamnan, ninth abbot of Iona (679–704), better known as the biographer of its famous founder, Saint Columba.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ryan, *Irish Monasticism*, 285 ff. Some extant remains (as Innismurray—see *Survey* by Wakeman, London, 1893. Published for the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland) seem to provide excellent material for scientific excavation and study; but the only Celtic monastic site which has been thoroughly investigated to date is Nendrum (Lawlor, *The Monastery of Saint Mochaoi of Nendrum*, and exhibits in Belfast Museum). It seems to be generally accepted that all major monastic buildings were of wood. Possibly Celtic monks, as part of their ascetic system, deliberately avoided elaborate building. Cf. Bede, *History*, iii. 26, on Lindisfarne under Colman and his predecessors: ‘Quantae autem parsimoniae, cuius continentiae, fuerit ipse (Colmanus) cum predecessoribus suis, testabatur etiam locus ille, quem regebant, ubi abeuntibus eis, excepta ecclesia, paucissimae domus repertae sunt, hoc est illae solummodo, sine quibus conuersatio ciuilis esse nullatenus poterat’; and earlier (iii. 25) on the character of the church itself. Adamnan's terminology then is of prime importance, the use and application of terms like *ecclesia*, *basilica*, *uallum*, *platea*, *tegoriolum*, *domus*, *cella*, *uilla*, *exedra*, *maceria*, *pyramis* being especially interesting. *Memoria* (ii. 10; 30, 25) should be noted, in view of the considerable discussion concerning Christian tomb-terminology since the Vatican excavations of 1940–9. See Mohrmann, *Vigiliae Christianae*, viii. 3, 155–73; Ward-Perkins, Toynbee, *Shrine of Saint Peter*, appendixes B, C.

<sup>2</sup> Reeves, Adamnan (*Vita Columbae*), pp. xl–lx; Fowler, Adamnan (*VC*), pp. lxxx–lxxxvii.

He was born about 624 in south Donegal, probably in Tir-Aedha (Tirhugh), studied possibly at Clonard before admission to the Columban community, and being of the founder's family, became abbot in due course. His scholastic attainments, based on a training that appears to have been exclusively native, were undoubtedly high for the period, and won the weighty commendation of near contemporaries such as Bede and Ceolfrid.<sup>1</sup> Subsequent Irish chroniclers were, of course, over-extravagant in their praise. Of Latin works, besides the *De Locis Sanctis* and the *Vita Columbae*, the suggestion has been made that he may be the author of some extant scholia on Virgil's *Eclogues*.<sup>2</sup> The evidence for this is exceedingly slight. It is scarcely possible either that the so-called *Canones Adomnani*<sup>3</sup> have any elements from his pen.

Adamnan's high family connexions in Ireland and the predominance of his position as head of the Columban family of monks, then very widespread and influential, led him to undertake business of diplomatic or political import on more than one occasion in Ireland and Northumbria. In 686 he visited King Aldfrith of Northumbria (whom he had possibly known previously as a pupil) and obtained the restoration to their country of sixty Irish captives, who had been carried off from Meath under Aldfrith's brother and predecessor, Ecgfrith. He seems to have accompanied these captives to Ireland, returning, probably in the same year (686), to Iona. We find him again visiting Ireland in 692 and in 697; and from 697 to his death in 704 he seems to have been in Ireland all the time, only returning to Iona in the summer before his death. Very probably it was before the visit to Aldfrith in 686, when the responsibilities of abbacy were still new to Adamnan,<sup>4</sup> that Arculf, the Gaulish bishop of the text, sojourned at Iona and provided him with the material for *De Locis Sanctis*.

Bede's account of the work in question is worth quoting in full,

<sup>1</sup> Reeves, loc. cit., p. lvii. Bede's words are 'uir bonus et sapiens, et scientia Scripturarum nobilissime instructus' (*Hist. Ecc.*, v. 15); Ceolfrid describes Adamnan as 'sacerdos Columbiensis egregius qui tum . . . miram in moribus ac uerbis prudentiam, humilitatem, religionem ostenderet' (*ibid.* v. 21; ed. Plummer, p. 344).

<sup>2</sup> *Iunii Philargyri Grammatici Explanatio in Bucolica Vergilii* (ed. Hagen) in Thilo, *Seruui Commentarii*, iii, fasc. II (Leipzig, 1902). The ascription rests solely on the entry in two manuscripts (Paris, Lat. 11308, f. 23, and Paris Lat. 7960, ff. 5, 36–37) of the name Adananus or Adannanus. The name Fatosus in the colophon to *Codex Laurentianus* Plut. xlvi, Cod. 14 (see *Academy*, 21 July 1894; *Revue celtique*, xvi. 123) can scarcely be argued to be an equivalent. The material, which contains many very corrupt Irish glosses (see Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, ii. xvii. 46, 360) has clearly enough been rehandled by some Irish scholar (who shows a relatively wide acquaintance with classical authors) possibly as early as the seventh century. The vocabulary, however, shows little similarity with the Latinity of Adamnan as exhibited in the *Vita Columbae* and the present text.

<sup>3</sup> Kenney, op. cit. 245–6. For Irish works attributed to Adamnan, mostly of a considerably later date, see Kenney, 444.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. his remarks in the colophon: 'quamlibet inter laboriosas et prope insustentabiles tota die undique congregobatas eclesiasticae sollicitudinis occupationes'.

because of its relevance to the problem of dating, and because of his estimate of Adamnan's achievement.

Scripsit idem uir de locis sanctis librum legentibus multis utilissimum; cuius auctor erat docendo ac dictando Galliarum episcopus Arcuulfus, qui locorum gratia sanctorum uenerat Hierosolymam, et lustrata omni terra repromotionis, Damascum quoque, Constantinopolim, Alexandriam, multas maris insulas adierat; patriamque nauigio reuertens, ui tempestatis in Occidentalia Brittaniae littora delatus est; ac post multa, ad memoratum Christi famulum Adamnanum perueniens, ubi doctus in Scripturis sanctorumque locorum gnarus esse conpertus est, libentissime est ab illo susceptus, libentius auditus; adeo ut quaeque ille se in locis sanctis memoratu digna uidisse testabatur, cuncta mox iste litteris mandare curauerit. Fecitque opus, ut dixi, multis utile, et maxime illis qui longius ab eis locis in quibus Patriarchae uel Apostoli erant, secreti, ea tantum de his quae lectione didicerint, norunt. Porrexit autem librum hunc Adamnan Aldfrido regi, ac per eius est largitionem etiam minoribus ad legendum contraditus. Scriptor quoque ipse multis ab eo muneribus donatus patriam remissus est.<sup>1</sup>

Side by side with this should be set the colophon to Bede's own *De Locis Sanctis*, which is really an epitome of Adamnan's work.

Haec de locis sanctis, prout potui, fidem historiarum secutus exposui et maxime dictatus Arculfi, Galliarum episcopi, quos eruditissimus in scripturis presbyter Adamnanus lacinioso sermone describens tribus libellis comprehendit. Siquidem memoratus antistes desiderio locorum sanctorum patriam deserens terram repromotionis adiit, aliquot mensibus Hierosolimis demoratus est ueteranoque monacho nomine Petro duce pariter atque interprete usus cuncta in circuitu, quae desiderauerat, auida intentione lustravit. Nec non Alexandriam, Damascum, Constantinopolim Siciliamque percucurrit. Sed cum patriam reuisere uellet, nauis, qua uehebatur, post multos anfractus uento contrario nostram, id est Britaniarum, insulam perlata est, tandemque ipse post nonnulla pericula ad praefatum uirum uenerabilem Adamnanum perueniens iter pariter suum et ea, quae uiderat, explicando pulcherrimae illum historiae docuit esse scriptorem. Ex qua nos aliqua decerpentes ueterumque litteris comparantes tibi legenda transmittimus, obsecrantes per omnia, ut praesentis saeculi laborem non otio lasciui torporis, sed lectiōnis orationisque studio tibi temperare satagas.<sup>2</sup>

It is clear from this that Adamnan presented King Aldfrith with a copy of his work on the occasion of a visit. Whether this be the celebrated official visit of 686 or not, one cannot easily determine. The *Vita Columbae* mentions two visits—that of 686 and another two years later.<sup>3</sup> There may have been more.<sup>4</sup> The point is of some moment in the determination of

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Ecc.* v. 15; Plummer, p. 316.

<sup>2</sup> Geyer, *Itinera*, 323–4.

<sup>3</sup> ii. 46: ‘et in prima post bellum Ecfridi uisitatione, et in secunda, interiectis duobus annis.’

<sup>4</sup> Reeves, op. cit. 187, n. o.

the actual date of writing, and of Arculf's sojourn in the east. In any case it seems clear that the *Vita Columbae* had not been compiled at the time of the presentation to Aldfrith. Bede nowhere mentions the *Vita Columbae*.<sup>1</sup> As the *Vita* was certainly written before 697, and probably after 692, the presentation to Aldfrith must have been some years earlier than 697.

It is also clear that Bede was favourably impressed by the quality of Adamnan's work, impressed indeed to a degree that seems slightly surprising. For when due allowance has been made for the relative merits of Adamnan's Latinity, it must be admitted that his expository style compares unfavourably with that of Bede himself, and not so very favourably with other seventh-century texts of Irish provenance.<sup>2</sup> The long involved sentences, with their peculiar (and sometimes quite perverse) ordering of words, seem to derive from some sort of localized rhetorical trend, in which doubtless Adamnan was trained.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, there is a perceptible attempt to treat the rough and abbreviated notes of Jerome's *Onomasticon* as a model, and to erect a stylistic medium

<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere in the *History* (iii. 4) he refers to memoirs of Columba in terms which make it probable that Adamnan's biography was not known to him: 'de cuius uita et uerbis nonnulla a discipulis eius feruntur scripta haberi'; ed. Plummer, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> Reeves, generally so balanced, seems to fall to special pleading when appraising the Latinity of Adamnan, and he has been followed by Fowler and others. He speaks (p. lxi) of the flowing style of *De Locis Sanctis*, and considers it 'better written' than the *Vita Columbae*. I do not find it possible to agree with either judgement. Estimates must be relative of course; but seventh-century Latin documents of Irish provenance for purposes of comparison are not by any means wanting. Cf., for instance, Pseudo-Augustinus, *De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae* (*PL* 35. 2150 ff.; Kenney, 104), 655; Aileran, *Interpretatio Mystica Progenitorum Christi* (*PL* 80. 327 ff.; Kenney, 107), c. 650; Cogitosus, *Vita Brigidae* (*PL* 72. 775 ff.; Kenney, 147), seventh century; Cummian, Epistle to Segene (*PL* 87. 969 ff.; Kenney, 57), 632/3. In fact, for correctness, clarity, and expository power, the Latinity of Adamnan seems to me to fall short of that of the remarkable Pseudo-Augustinus (an unknown Irish monk, probably from the south. Grosjean, *Sacris Erudiri*, vii. 71 ff., suggests Lismore or Rathán). Cummian also seems rather better, and Cogitosus similar, in style. Structural similarity (sometimes remarkable) between Adamnan and Cogitosus may be evidence of a particular hagiographical medium. In *De Locis Sanctis*, in vocabulary and style, the influence of Jerome's *Onomasticon* is quite paramount. This is manifestly a collection of rough and unelaborated notes on Jerome's part, without any attempt at formal exposition. Identical phrases about distance and orientation naturally tend to recur, and Adamnan is at considerable pains to weave these into his own involved sentences. A proper analysis of the problems which arise (how far, for instance, Adamnan and contemporary authors used Latin as a vernacular) must, of course, await further study of the complete evidence. But I do not think that any case for Adamnan as a Latinist can be erected on the basis of *De Locis Sanctis*.

<sup>3</sup> The *Hisperica Famina* are evidence of the bizarre contortions of which the rhetorical groups, in isolation, were capable. Obscurity is mingled with flamboyance and turgidity: one gets the impression that glossaries of rare words are being freely used by someone of extremely immature taste and judgement. Some Irish schools may have been influenced by this tendency. Cf. Grosjean (*Celtica*, 1956, 35–85) where the view that such texts as *De Locis Sanctis*, the hymn *Altus Prosator*, and Aldhelm's Letter to Eahfrid show evidence of 'hisperic' influence is argued very persuasively, and where Iona itself is suggested as a possible centre of such trends. See below, p. 18, n. 1.

on the basis of recurrent phrases. Bede's phrase, *laciniosus sermo*,<sup>1</sup> is, in its etymological sense, an excellent description of the style affected.

There were, however, more adequate grounds for commendation of Adamnan, and for the enthusiasm shown by Bede. As well as being a highly absorbing traveller's tale of a type dear to the medieval mind, and almost devoid of the uncritical *naïveté* which came to characterize such tales, the tract made a notable contribution to the information previously available about the Holy Land. As a result of the presentation to Aldfrith it must have become known immediately in Anglo-Saxon circles, and it had a wide circulation fairly early on the continent.<sup>2</sup> In addition to the special abstract which he made, Bede thought it worth while to incorporate the salient features of the book in his *History*.<sup>3</sup>

The finished product reveals its compiler as a man of relatively high critical standards, good scriptural scholarship, and painstaking accuracy in the manipulation of his material. He is careful to check Arculf's findings against the written sources at his disposal, shows a reasonably good initial acquaintance with the topography of the near east, and an enlightened interest in the significance of Greek and Hebrew nomenclature. One might naturally expect considerably more wonder and incomprehension in his description of the elaborate Constantinian buildings than he actually displays. Such structures, one supposes, far transcended anything in his own physical environment or experience. Yet, for the most part, he is remarkably matter-of-fact, and not without occasional touches of patronage.<sup>4</sup>

### III

Of Arculf nothing is certainly known beyond what is conveyed in the text and in the two passages of Bede; and in fact Bede (whatever be the source of his information) tells us much more about him than Adamnan. Beyond the phrase *episcopus, gente Gallus*, and the reiterated testimonies

<sup>1</sup> The force of the epithet is really pejorative (derivative of *lacinia*, 'fold', 'corner', &c., of garment: see Ernout-Meillet, Lewis-Short, s.v.) 'full of folds, corners, lappets', hence figuratively 'redundant', 'overloaded', 'involved'. Bede manifestly uses it (but mistakenly) as a term of praise, though he may wish to convey some impression of prolixity. He probably read it in Jerome, *In Danielem*, xi. 22: 'haec Porphyrius . . . sermone laciniosissimo (latissimo?) prosecutus est', where it is not certain, and is in any case quite open to the pejorative interpretation. The only other instance listed, as applied to *sermo*, is Tertullian, *De Virginibus Velandis*, 4, where its force is unmistakable: 'naturaliter compendium sermonis et gratum et necessarium est, quoniam sermo laciniosus et onerosus et uanus est'.

<sup>2</sup> Copies were widespread at an early date, and as late as the fifteenth century the treatise is quoted by Felix Fabri of Zurich in his *Euagatorium in Terrae Sanctae . . .* See tr. A. Stewart in *Palestinian Pilgrims' Text Society*, London, 1892-3, i. 408-9. Cf. below, The Text Tradition, pp. 30 ff.

<sup>3</sup> v. 16.

<sup>4</sup> As, for instance, when he speaks of the dearth of vehicles in Palestine (ii. 12), the scattered dwellings at Jericho (ii. 13), the results of overcrowding in Jerusalem (i. 1), the building of the Saracens (i. 1; ii. 28).

to his trustworthiness and veracity, the Irish abbot has nothing to say. Bede, who describes him three times as *Galliarum episcopus*, explains his presence at Iona by shipwreck on the west coast of Great Britain, and hints at many vicissitudes before he finally reached the security of the monastery. I have not been able to discover any other contemporary reference to him.

The name seems Teuton, and such names are not uncommon in seventh-century ecclesiastical records of both Gaul and Britain. Where in Gaul he can have been a bishop is a matter for conjecture. In Gams' *Series Episcoporum* for the period 500–900, -ulf or -ulph names in Gaul are fairly frequent. Indeed, there are as many as thirty, mostly in dioceses within the Neustrian border, but also in Burgundy and Austrasia.<sup>1</sup> Arculf's association with the Burgundian monk Peter (of which again Bede seems to have more knowledge than mere perusal of Adamnan could give him) suggests a see in Burgundy; but, if that be so, it is difficult to understand why he should elect to travel homewards by sea from Sicily or Rome,<sup>2</sup> and, above all, how *en route* he could come to be shipwrecked off the west coast of Britain. The sea voyage points rather to some part of the northern seaboard. It is conceivable that a storm in the Bay of Biscay might have driven the returning pilgrim off his course and eventually on to the Scottish coast within striking distance of Iona.

That he was a man of fairly unusual attainments and good scholarship is clear from the accounts of both Adamnan and Bede; and, if he survived to return to Gaul, it seems strange that he failed to achieve mention, at least, in Gaulish ecclesiastical records. Records are scanty and confused indeed; but among the Gaulish bishops of the time a man of Arculf's qualities could hardly have failed to be remarkable. The date tentatively suggested for his sojourn in Constantinople (680–1)<sup>3</sup> coincides with the final sessions of the General Council at which Monothelitism was condemned. The only western signatories at any of these sessions

<sup>1</sup> *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae quotquot innotuerunt a beato Petro Apostolo*, P. B. Gams, Leipzig, 1931. The lists for Gaul in the second half of the seventh century are, of course, very incomplete. Roughly contemporary with Arculf are Arnulf, Châlons-sur-Marne, 682–8 (p. 534); Cardulf, Angers, c. 605–9 (p. 488); Gundulf, Bazas, c. 663 (p. 509); Hidulphus, Rouen, c. 602 (p. 614); Arnulfus, Sens, 654 (p. 629); Tondulphus or Landulphus, Soissons, between 573 and 614 (p. 632); Sindulphus or Landelinus, Vienne, 625–44 (p. 654). Arnulf of Châlons-sur-Marne may possibly be the man in question. In Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, iii. 97, he appears as Arulfus, and a slight mistake in name either by Adamnan, or a copyist, is a distinct possibility. The dates given by Gams, 682–8, coincide with our dating (see below) of Arculf's journey. There does not seem to be any basis for associating Arculf with Périgueux (see Tobler-Molinier, *Itinera*, p. xxx).

<sup>2</sup> John Archcantor travelled to Britain through Gaul in 680 (Bede, *Hist. Ecc.* iv. 18); also Theodore, Adrian, and retinue in 668, visiting Marseilles, Arles, Paris, and Étaples (*ibid.* iv. 1). If Arculf were making for Périgueux, the voyage is quite inexplicable: if, on the other hand, he can be localized at Châlons-sur-Marne, he may have thought to travel inland from one of the ports on the Channel.

<sup>3</sup> Below, p. 11, n. 3.

were the delegates of Pope Agatho;<sup>1</sup> but the preliminary synod at Rome was attended by one British and three Gaulish delegates.<sup>2</sup> Pope Agatho's delegates arrived back in Rome at the end of 681 or early in 682;<sup>3</sup> and Arculf, who according to our text left Constantinople *Roniam appetens*, may possibly have travelled with them. It is furthermore just barely conceivable that he was actually coming to Britain on business connected with the Monothelite controversy;<sup>4</sup> but we should certainly expect Bede to have known of such a mission and to have mentioned it.

As it is, Bede states specifically that he was *Galliarum episcopus*, that he was on his way home, and that he was shipwrecked off the west coast of Britain; and on the evidence available to us he cannot be rated as anything but an ordinary Palestinian pilgrim, though a particularly articulate and observant one. His see was probably near the coast in Neustria. Brittany seems by now to have been thoroughly peopled by Britons displaced in the Anglo-Saxon invasions,<sup>5</sup> and it is scarcely likely that his voyage can have been directed there.

There was, indeed, nothing at all unusual about the presence of a Gaulish bishop in the Holy Land at the end of the seventh century, unless it be the fact that so many of the holy places were by now under Arab control, or the fact that a bishop in the decadent Gaul of that period could have shown such enterprise. After the restoration of Jerusalem by Constantine in 320, the presence of pilgrims from every quarter of the Christian world, but mainly, of course, from the east, is well attested. The extant *Itinera*<sup>6</sup> compiled by western pilgrims reach back to the fourth century. Of these, the following certainly predate Arculf's: *Itinerarium Burdigalense* (333),<sup>7</sup> *Sanctae Silviae Peregrinatio* (c. 385),<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mansi, *Concilia*, xi, col. 193, and the signatures at subsequent sessions.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., col. 306, Lateran Synod, 680. Wilfrid of York was the British delegate: the Gaulish—Adeodatus (Leucorum), Felix (Arelatensis), Taurinus (Telonensis).

<sup>3</sup> Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici* (Theiner), xii. 51: 'certum est legatos uel superioris anni (681) fine, uel praesentis (682) initio Romam peruenisse; cum Ioannes Portuensis episcopus, qui unus ex illis erat, consecrationi Leonis II interfuerit.' As Leo II was not elected until 17 August 682, John would have ample time to make the journey even if he had spent Easter of that year in Constantinople. See below, p. 11, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> The celebrated Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury, had been actually invited to act as a papal delegate at the Council. He would have had much first-hand knowledge of the Monothelite controversy in the east, and could naturally be presumed anxious to keep in touch with proceedings in Constantinople. In 685 he summoned the synod of Canterbury to declare British orthodoxy (Mansi, loc. cit., cols. 1095–6). Bede, *Hist. Ecc.* iv. 18, points out that when John Archancor was sent by Pope Agatho to Britain (680) he brought with him a copy of an earlier decision about Monothelitism.

<sup>5</sup> Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands*, 109 ff.

<sup>6</sup> CSEL, vol. xxxix and *Itinera Hierosolymitana saec. IV–IX*, Tobler-Molinier, Geneva, 1879. I cite the titles as given by Geyer in CSEL.

<sup>7</sup> CSEL, vol. xxxix and O. Cuntz, *Itineraria Romana*, i, (Leipzig, 1929), 86 ff.

<sup>8</sup> This tract has been fairly widely studied, the most recent work being Pétré, *Éthérie, journal de voyage*, Paris, 1948. On the language see Löfstedt, *Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, Uppsala, 1911; on the writer's name (controversial) Pétré, op. cit. 9 ff., Vaccari, *Biblica*, xxiv. 388–97; on the date Pétré, 14 ff.,

Theodosius, *De Situ Terrae Sanctae* (c. 530),<sup>1</sup> Antoninus of Piacenza, *Itinerarium* (c. 570).<sup>2</sup> The survival of such accounts indicates an extensive traffic in pilgrims, and many names are known besides.<sup>3</sup> The Moslem conquest, in its early stages at least, must have radically altered the conditions under which western Christians could travel; but the enlightened rule of the Ommayad caliphs, beginning with the accession of Mu'awiya in 660, promoted good relations with the Christian world, and Byzantine culture received every encouragement in Palestine and Syria.<sup>4</sup> Mu'awiya concluded a treaty with Constantine Pogonatus in 678.<sup>5</sup> It was probably because of the consequent friendly relations that such a journey as Arculf's was possible at such a time.

## IV

The date of Arculf's sojourn in the east, and the duration of his stay, while not determinable with exactitude, can be conjectured within reasonable limits. The date usually suggested, 670–74,<sup>6</sup> is certainly too early. Apart from the known chronology of Adamnan's life, we depend exclusively on internal evidence. We have already seen that Adamnan had very probably completed the book and presented it to King Aldfrith before the year 692, possibly by 686 or 688.<sup>7</sup> If we suppose Arculf to have begun his voyage home by 674, we must allot a five-year period to the voyage and vicissitudes hinted at by Bede, because the character of the text and Bede's remarks go to show that Adamnan was already abbot when Arculf sojourned at Iona, and Adamnan did not become abbot until 679. Allowing for all possible mishaps, a five-year period seems excessive.

There are two important items of internal evidence. The miracle of the shroud, described in chapter nine of book one, took place, according to Arculf, *ante annos ferme ternos*, in the reign of the caliph Mu'awiya. Mu'awiya became caliph in 660 and died in 680. The text may conceivably mean that the miracle took place some three years before the time of writing; but the more natural interpretation is to refer the phrase to the occasion when Arculf heard the story in Jerusalem. Consequently his sojourn in Jerusalem cannot have been later than 683, but may have been some years earlier.

Dekkers, *Sacris Erudiri*, i. 181–205 (417 suggested, but see subsequently Davies, *Vigiliae Christianae*, viii. 93–100).

<sup>1</sup> CSEL, vol. xxxix. Cf. Pitra, *Anal. Sacra et Classica*, v. 118–21, Paris, 1888.

<sup>2</sup> CSEL, vol. xxxix. Cf. Bellanger, *In Ant. Plac. Itinerarium Grammatica Disquisitio*, Paris, 1902.

<sup>3</sup> DAL xiv. 90 ff. Leclercq, *Pèlerinages*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, i (Cambridge, 1951), 25.

<sup>5</sup> Baronius, op. cit. xii.

<sup>6</sup> Geyer, CSEL, vol. xxxix, p. xxxiii; Mickley, op. cit. i; Macpherson, op. cit. xi.

<sup>7</sup> Above, pp. 4–5.

Secondly, in his description of the church of Saint Mark in Alexandria,<sup>1</sup> Arculf gives no hint of reconstruction in progress (*occurrit grandis ecclesia structurae . . .*). The church in question was destroyed during the Arab conquest, and does not appear to have been restored, or fully restored, until 680.<sup>2</sup> It seems likely that Arculf, who was closely interested in churches all the way, would have mentioned ruin or reconstruction had he noticed it. Consequently his visit to Alexandria can scarcely have taken place before 680.

The duration of his stay can only be calculated from the various indications given in the text. These are: *in Hierosolimitana ciuitate per ueuses noueni hospitatus* (Praef.); *iter octo dierum* (from the sea of Galilee to the Dead Sea, II. 20, 5); *duabus hospitatus noctibus et totidem diebus* (in Nazareth, II. 26, 5); *una hospitatus nocte* (monastery of Mount Thabor, II. 27, 5); *per aliquot hospitatus dies* (Damascus, II. 28, 1; *iter septem dieruu* (Mount Thabor to Damascus, II. 29, 4); *XL dieruu iter* (Joppe to Alexandria, II. 30, 2); *per aliquot dies hospitatus* (Crete, III. 1, 1); *per aliquot demoratus menses* (Constantinople, III. 1, 1); *a paschali solemnitate usque ad dominicum permansit natalicium* (Constantinople, III. 5, 10); *per aliquot hospitatus dies* (Sicily, III. 6, 3).

All this is evidence of a fairly leisurely tour, and it is corroborated by other less definite indications. For instance, of Bethlehem the verb *frequentauit* (II. 1, 2) is used, in Egypt *euudem fluiuum sepe transueauit*

<sup>1</sup> II. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Some confusion arises from the fact that there seem to have been two churches of Saint Mark at Alexandria at the end of the seventh century, that containing the tomb of Saint Mark (the one Arculf mentions) on the west side, which was restored to the Melkite Greeks by the Moslems about 675, and a Coptic church on the south side built after the Moslem conquest (see Botti, *Ramleh, notes archéologiques*, 100-1; Butler, *The Arabic Conquest of Egypt*, 372, n. 2.) The matter is controverted.

It seems to be generally admitted that the restoration of the west church was not completed until 680 under the patriarch John III (677-86). The Arabic chronicler Makrizi (*Historia Coptorum*, tr. Wetzer, 1828, 91) attributes the reconstruction to the patriarch Agathon (661-77); but two other important ancient sources (History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria, Arabic text ed. and tr. Evetts in *Patrologia Orientalis*, Graffin-Nau, v. 18: Chronicle of Peter ibn Rahib, ed. Cheikho, *Scriptores Arabici*, Series III, i. 130) agree in attributing the work to John III. It seems likely in the circumstances that both patriarchs did some reconstruction; but it is reasonably certain that John's work was extensive: 'and after that they assisted him also in the rebuilding of the church of the glorious martyr and evangelist Saint Mark, and he completed it in three years with every kind of decoration' (Evetts, loc. cit.). This particular work could not have been begun before 677, or finished before 680, and could hardly fail to come under Arculf's notice.

An attempt to date the full reconstruction is rendered still more troublesome by the fact that the Coptic Synaxary, for the date of the ninth Hatour, states that the patriarch Isaac (686-9) reconstructed Saint Mark's; but that this work was on a relatively minor scale appears from its description in the History of the Patriarchs (Evetts, v. 24): 'so that he repaired the great church of the Holy Mark, when its walls were sloping in'.

In all, one seems justified in taking 680 as the earliest year at which the church would answer to Arculf's description; and in assuming further that it was sufficiently reconstructed by then to merit the description.

(the Nile, II. 30, 28), at Mount Thabor the haste of Peter, the Burgundian monk, seems to have disturbed him a little—*non ipsum sinebat in uno eodemque hospitio diutius immorari festinationis intuitu* (II. 27, 5). We know that he was on Mount Olivet for Ascension Day (I. 23, 18), and in Constantinople for Easter and Christmas.

Given these data, and assuming that, according to traditional Roman usage, winter was a closed season for navigation at least for such voyages as Alexandria to Constantinople or Constantinople to Sicily, we can scarcely allow less than two and a half to three years for the complete tour. The extensive journeyings in the Holy Land were probably accomplished during the nine months' stay in Jerusalem; but he seems to have left Jerusalem before touring Galilee, and he returned there again from Damascus, before sailing from Joppe for Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

If we are to assume that the book was already completed by Adamnan in 686, Arculf's visit to Alexandria, for which the year 680 has been suggested as one terminus, cannot be dated much later than that year on the other hand. The voyage to Constantinople was yet to come, the stay there (Easter to Christmas), the voyage to Sicily, a visit probably to Rome,<sup>2</sup> and the voyage home. And if we are to assume that the visit to Constantinople coincided with the General Council (which seems fairly likely) we must actually date Arculf's arrival there at the Easter of 680 or 681. The delegates had arrived back in Rome in July 682.<sup>3</sup> If we suppose him then to have sailed from Joppe for Alexandria about the autumn of 680, having spent somewhat more than a year in Palestine and Syria, his voyage to Constantinople falls naturally into the spring of 681, and his voyage to Sicily in the spring of 682. He could scarcely then have reached Iona before 683. Thus we can, with reasonable probability, date Arculf's sojourn in the Near East 679–82, and the composition of *De Locis Sanctis* by Adamnan at Iona 683–6.

## V

The manner in which Adamnan compiled the treatise is worth examination. It is clear from his preface that the main object is to provide a

<sup>1</sup> 'ab Hierosolimis descendens et ab Ioppe nauigare incipiens' (II. 30, 2). Leclercq (*DAL*, loc. cit.) has overlooked this detail.

<sup>2</sup> 'exinde Romam appetens enauigauit' (III. 5, 10).

<sup>3</sup> Baronius gives as his reason for placing the return of the delegates early in 682 the fact that one of them was present at the consecration of Leo II. In fact Leo was not consecrated until 17 August of that year, which leaves us open to suppose that the delegates (and Arculf, if he travelled with them) might have spent Easter 682 in Constantinople. That would extend the margins suggested by a year. We are certain at least that Arculf witnessed the Easter liturgy at Constantinople, and it is tempting to suppose that the Easter in question was 681, when Mass was celebrated in Latin, for the benefit of the western delegates, on Easter Sunday (Baronius, loc. cit. 41). For the date of the return of the delegates (July 682) see Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, III. 1, p. 514.

faithful record of the *experimenta* of Arculf, which he considers to be a notable addition to the information already available about the Holy Land. Arculf is, then, the principal, and for practical purposes, the exclusive source (*mihi haec uniuersa fideli et indubitabili narratione dictauit*). Conversations, presumably in Latin, took place between him and his host, or probably, at least sometimes, between him and the community in general.<sup>1</sup> Notes were made on *tabulae*,<sup>2</sup> and diagrams drawn, which formed the basis of the full treatise that Adamnan was to compile on parchment.

The phrase *breui textu* used of the finished product is merely a *façon de parler*, and does not really indicate abridgement.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, study of the text reveals that very probably the contrary was the case. Adamnan actually expands his notes by the use of other written sources, and by occasional personal reflections and digressions, mainly in order to elucidate passages in the New Testament. His treatment suggests that particular points of identification interested him, because perhaps of previous puzzlement or uncertainty; and it is interesting to notice the occasions in the narrative when he asks direct questions.<sup>4</sup> Everything goes to show that he was already reasonably well acquainted with the geography of the Mediterranean and the near east, and, as well as the collateral sources which he mentions or which have been identified, it is not too much to suppose that he had at his disposal previous pilgrim literature and a geographical manual or manuals of a type then not uncommon in the romanized world.<sup>5</sup>

Geyer has made a chapter by chapter analysis of the text to indicate

<sup>1</sup> The text uses both singular and plural of Arculf's audience. See below, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Tabulae ceratae* or *ceracula*. Cf. Reeves, op. cit. 358. These seem to have been the northern version of the notebooks, in codex form, of waxed wooden tablets (*pugillares*) in daily use for centuries in the Roman world (see Sandys, *Companion to Latin Studies*, 238). Cf. the description in *Hisperica Famina*, A 531 ff. (Jenkinson), and the remarkable example (Reg. No. 1914:2) in the National Museum, Dublin.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 'breuiter dicendum est' (I. 11, 1), 'quaedam breuiter succincteque intimanda sunt' (I. 18, 1), 'quaedam succincte ponam' (*VC Praef.* ii), 'quaedam breuiter succincteque descripta sunt' (*VC iii.* 1), 'breuiter scribendum arbitramur' (I. 27, 1); 'pauca breuiter craxanda sunt aliqua' (II. 1, 1); 'breuiter commemorandum estimo' (II. 3, 1).

<sup>4</sup> I. 2, 1 (houses in Jerusalem—a nobis interrogatus); I. 3, 2 (colour of the stone in the *tegorium* of the Sepulchre—a me interrogatus); I. 6, 3 (*plateola* between Anastasis and basilica—*mihi* interroganti); I. 23, 14 (miracle in the Church of the Ascension—*mihi* interroganti); II. 4, 1 (grave of David—a me interrogatus); II. 5, 1 (grave of Jerome—nobis inquirentibus); II. 6, 1 (graves of the shepherds—nobis breuem contulit relatiunculam); II. 7, 2 (road from Jerusalem to Hebron—*mihi* percunctanti); III. 6, 3 (volcano in Sicily—*haec mihi* scribenti dictauit).

<sup>5</sup> Leclercq (*DAL* xiv. 153) suggests that pilgrim literature was fairly abundant. For geographic literature see Schanz-Hosius-Krüger, *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, iv, Part II, 120 ff.: Vibius Sequester; Iulius Honorius. Cf. the advice given to monks by Cassiodorus at the end of the sixth century (*Institutiones Diuinarum et Humanarum Lectionum*, I. 25): 'Cosmographiae quoque notitiam uobis percurrendam esse non immerito suademus, ut loca singula, quae in libris sanctis legitis, in qua parte mundi sint posita, euidenter cognoscere debeatis.'

the extent of Arculf's contribution, the use of other sources, and the incidence of personal matter introduced by Adamnan.<sup>1</sup> Throughout the first and third books the information provided is almost exclusively the *experimenta* of Arculf; but, except for a few instances where his *ipsissima verba* seem to be recorded,<sup>2</sup> the language is clearly that of Adamnan. The first book is concerned almost exclusively with Jerusalem, and we are told that matters already treated in books by other writers will not be covered (quae in aliorum libris . . . repperiuntur a nobis pretermittenda sunt). The third book deals with Constantinople, a topic not so familiar evidently to the readers Adamnan envisaged, and though Geyer is of the opinion that Adamnan used a geographical manual for its first chapter at least,<sup>3</sup> the words of the text (haec itaque quae superius de Constanti- nopoleos situ et conditione nec non et de illa rotunda eclesia . . . et cetera *ab ore sancti sacerdotis Arculfi intente* dedicimus) indicate a fairly total reliance upon Arculf.

Apart from the preface and colophon, the portions which it seems possible to identify as contributions by Adamnan himself are pious reflections,<sup>4</sup> essays in scriptural exegesis or elucidation,<sup>5</sup> and mere explanatory notes about his use of sources or his questioning of Arculf.<sup>6</sup> Adamnan usually introduces contributions of his own by 'sed et hoc etiam notandum' or some such phrase.

It is in the second book principally, and in those chapters of the first book not concerned with Jerusalem and its churches, that there is evident use, sometimes explicit, sometimes implicit, of sources other than Arculf. Besides the Bible (a large proportion of the Vulgate text), Adamnan seems to have had at his disposal the commentaries of Jerome, some of his letters, the *De Situ et Nominibus Locorum Hebraicorum Liber* (which he used quite extensively and once quotes explicitly as *Locorum Liber*), and also probably the *Liber Interpretationis Hebraicorum Nominum* and the *Liber Hebraicarum Quaestionum*.<sup>7</sup> He makes considerable use of the *Chronicon* of Sulpicius Seuerus,<sup>8</sup> the *Historiae* of the so-called

<sup>1</sup> Programm (1894–5) des Gymnasiums bei St. Anna in Augsburg, 10, die Quellen Adamnans.

<sup>2</sup> I. 1, 8 ff.; I. 2, 1 ff. See above, p. 12, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit. 10, 39.

<sup>4</sup> I. 1, 13; III. 4, 31.

<sup>5</sup> I. 2, 9; I. 2, 13; I. 25, 2; II. 3, 1; II. 17, 4; II (23), 2; II. 27, 6.

<sup>6</sup> I. 2, 15; I. 23, 9; II. 20, 5; II. 29, 4; II. 30, 21; III. 5, 10.

<sup>7</sup> *Onomastica Sacra*, Lagarde, 2nd ed., Göttingen, 1887; *De Situ, &c.*, Nos. 82–159; *Liber Interpretationis*, Nos. 1–79. For Adamnan's title (*Locorum Liber*) cf. ninth-century St. Gall catalogue (Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui*, 1885, 22, 103, and 125).

<sup>8</sup> †c. 420. A native of Aquitaine and the friend and biographer of Saint Martin of Tours. His *Chronicon* extends to the year 400 and was published after 403. See Schanz–Hosius, op. cit. iv, ii. 472–80. Ed. Halm, *CSEL*, vol. i. According to Bischoff (*Sacris Erudiri* vi, 225) the *Chronicon* was little known outside Ireland in the early Middle Ages.

Hegesippus<sup>1</sup> (once explicitly as the ‘tertius liber Iudaicae captiuitatis’) and he quotes a line from the *Historia Euangelica* of Iuuencus.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, he mentions consultation of *libri Grecitatis*; and the *testimonia* appended to the text indicate the few other instances where it has been found possible to trace echoes of what he has read.

All this indicates a library of relatively wide resources at Iona. Most probably the readers Adamnan had principally in mind were the monks of his own allegiance throughout the vast *paruchia* of Columba; and he clearly supposes that the same resources have been available to all of them.<sup>3</sup> Practically the whole *corpus* of Jerome’s writings must have been known and studied throughout the Columban monasteries at this time.

## VI

It is clear from the character of the tract that two works by Jerome were constantly at Adamnan’s elbow while he was compiling it: a considerable portion of the Vulgate Bible, and the series of topographical notes which go under the name *Onomasticon*. In general it may be said that all scriptural quotations either correspond exactly with the Vulgate or exhibit such slight variations as to be explicable by the fact that Adamnan is quoting from memory. This is manifest for instance at II. 9; II. 13; and III. 4, where his text is really a rough paraphrase of Gen. xxiii. 17–18; Joshua ii. 1–6; and Lev. xxvii. 10. The Psalter, which he might reasonably be supposed to have memorized, he quotes three times, once, at III. 5, where he combines two psalms, with an interesting deviation from the Vulgate.<sup>4</sup> Other citations from both Old and New Testaments provide no really interesting variations, with the single exception of Isa. xxxiii. 16–17 at I. 2.

His version here is a literal translation of the Septuagint: ‘prophaeta uaticinatur dicens: *Hic habitauit in excelsa spelunca petrae fortissimae, et paulo post de ipsius domini resurrectione ad apostolos letificandos subinfert: Regem cum gloria uidebitis.*’ This is closely paralleled twice in Jerome’s commentaries, at Isa. *in loco*: LXX—‘Iste habitabit in excelsa spelunca petrae fortissimae. . . . Regem cum gloria uidebunt oculi uestri’, and at Matt. xxvii. 64 ff.: ‘Quod autem in sepulcro ponendus

<sup>1</sup> *Historiae* in five books. The name is argued to be a scribal corruption of ‘Ιωσηπος (Iosephus), the work being a Latin version of the *Bellum Iudaicum*. See Vogel, *De Hegesippo*, 48. Ed. Ussani, CSEL, vol. lxvi.

<sup>2</sup> c. 330. C. Vettius Aquilinus Iuuencus, a Spanish priest. See Schanz-Hosius, op. cit. iv. i. 209 ff. Ed. Huemer, CSEL, vol. xxiv. For a useful *Index Verborum* see Hansson, *Textkritisches zu Iuvencus*, Diss. Lund, 1950. The line from Iuuencus is quoted in I. 17; see also note to II. 23.

<sup>3</sup> The reference (I. 1) to *aliorum libri*, with which his readers will already be familiar, is almost certainly to be understood of Jerome’s *Commentaries* and *Onomasticon*. The special interest manifested in Jerome’s grave is also noteworthy (II. 5).

<sup>4</sup> Ps. lxxxviii. 21; xliv. 8. Cf. *Testimonia in loco*.

esset, prophetae testimonium est, dicentis *Hic habitabit in excisa* (excelsa?) *spelunca petrae fortissimae*. Statimque post duos uersiculos sequitur: *Regem cum gloria uidebitis.*<sup>1</sup> It seems very likely that Adamnan has the commentary on Matthew before him as he writes, and is using not alone the version, but the exegesis.

The influence of Jerome's *Onomasticon* is very pervasive, not alone as a check upon Arculf's information, but also in vocabulary, phraseology, and style. All the topographical phraseology, the manner of describing orientation, distance, and so on, is carefully imitated, and, very noticeably, the use of such verbs as *monstrare*, *cernere*, *ostendere*, *condere*, *pergere*. Whole passages are transcribed, paraphrased, summarized, or expanded as the occasion demands; and it is particularly interesting to observe how individual phrases, that might seem to suggest stylistic elevation, are borrowed *uerbatim*, or in some cases embroidered upon. For example: Jerome '(locus) ab illius regionis mortalibus miro cultu habitus'; Adamnan 'ab illius regionis mortalibus miro cultu et honorificentia habita honorificatur': Jerome 'licet uitiose ut Sichar legatur'; Adamnan 'quae, quamlibet uitiose, et Sichar uocitari solet': Jerome 'ciuitas sacerdotalis et fugitiuorum'; Adamnan 'quondam sacerdotalis ciuitas et fugitiuorum'; Jerome 'mons . . . mira rotunditate, sublimis'; Adamnan 'mons . . . mira rotunditate ex omni parte collectus'.

The following two passages, which constitute Adamnan's most elaborate citations from the *Onomasticon*, illustrate very well his manner of procedure:

Iericho urbs quam Iordane transgesso subuertit Jesus rege illius interfecto pro qua extruxit aliam Ozam de Bethel ex tribu Efraim quam dominus noster atque saluator sua praesentia inlustrare dignatus est. Sed et haec eo tempore quo Ierusalem obpugnabatur a Romanis propter perfidiam ciuium capta atque destructa est. Pro qua tertia aedificata est ciuitas, quae usque hodie permanet. Et ostenduntur utriusque urbis uestigia usque in praesentem diem. (Jerome, *Onom.* 131/31–132/5.)

Haec est autem eadem Chebron, olim metropolis Philistinorum et habitaculum gigantum, regnumque postea Dauid, in tribu Iuda, ciuitas

Hiericho urbis, quam Jesus Iordane transmisso subuertit rege illius interfecto, sanctus noster Arculfus conspexit locum, pro qua Oza de Bethel ex tribu Efraim aliam exstruxit, quam noster Saluator sua praesentia uisitare dignatus est; quae eodem tempore quo Hierusalcm Romani obpugnantes obsedebant propter ciuium perfidiam capta et distracta est; pro qua tertia condita est, quae post multa temporum interualla et ipsa subuersa est, cuius nunc quaedam, ut Arculfus refert, ruinarum uestigia monstrantur. (Adamnan, II. 13.)

Chebron, quae et Mambre, olim Filistinorum metropolis et habitaculum gigantum fuerat, et in qua Dauid septem regnauit annis; nunc, sicut

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jerome in *Ezech.* 47.

sacerdotalis et fugitiuorum. Distat ad meridianam plagam ab Aelia milibus circiter uiginti duobus. Et quercus Abraham, quae et Mamre, usque ad Constantii regis imperium monstrabatur, et mausoleum eius in praesentiarum cernitur, cumque a nostris ibidem ecclesia iam extracta sit, a cunctis in circuitu gentibus terebinthi locus superstitione colitur, eo quod sub ea Abraham angelos quondam hospitio suscepit. Haec ergo primum Arbe postea Chebron, ab uno filiorum Chaleb sortita uocabulum est. (*Onom.* 84/13–24.)

sanctus refert Arculfus, murorum non habet ambitum (II. 8) . . . ubi . . . lapidea magna fundata est ecclisia, in cuius dextrali parte inter duos grandis eiusdem basilicae parietes, mirum dictu, quercus Mambre exstat in terra radicata, quae et quercus Abraham dicitur eo quod sub ea quondam angelos hospitio recipit. Quam sanctus Hieronymus alibi narrat ab exordio mundi usque ad Constantini regis imperium pernansisse, et fortassis ideo non dixit penitus defecisse, quia eadem aetate quamuis non tota illa sicuti prius fuerat grandissima quercus monstrabatur, tamen aliqua pars eius permansit in suo stabilita loco. (Adamnan, II. 11.)

Of the other authors quoted, Sulpicius Seuerus, the so-called Hegesippus, and Iuuencus, it seems likely that the line from Iuuencus is an echo of early schooling.<sup>1</sup> Adamnan may have also made the acquaintance of the two chroniclers at that stage. The difference, however, in his handling of them is quite remarkable. Sulpicius is quoted directly only once,<sup>2</sup> but on that occasion at considerable length, and almost *verbatim*. Hegesippus, on the other hand, is quoted some six or seven times, once at very great length. On almost every occasion the language is modified, elaborated, explained, simplified. Once or twice the sense is badly mangled, either through misunderstanding, or because Adamnan wished to say something other than what he found before him, or because he was dependent upon a very defective text. The most notable instance is the description of the harbour of Alexandria at II. 30, where some very obscure passages in Adamnan's text can only be explained by misreading of Hegesippus. Thus, for instance:

Itaque directum cursum paulisper  
inflecti oporteat, ne cecis inlisa saxis  
ibi incurrat nauis periculum <ubi

Itaque directum cursum paulisper  
inflecti oportet, ne caecis inlisa saxis  
ibi incurrat nauis periculum, ubi

<sup>1</sup> Towards the end of the fourth century there are evidences of a concerted attempt to provide a Christian 'literature', especially in verse, which would supplant the pagan literature uniformly studied in schools. Iuuencus probably composed his hexameter versions of the gospels for this purpose. Cf. (*PG* 33. 1313 ff.) *μετάφρασις εἰς τὸν ψαλτῆρα*, metrical versions of the psalms by two Apollinarii of Laodicea (with the disapproving comment by Saint Basil, Ep. 244, and the Christian historian Socrates, iii. 16); also the dogmatic poems of Saint Gregory of Nazianzus (*PG* 37. 398 ff.). The exclusion of Christians from the schools by the Emperor Julian (360–3) probably gave impetus to the movement.

<sup>2</sup> I. 23; Sulp. *Chron.* ii. 33.

speratur effugium periculorum>.<sup>1</sup> Angustior enim aditus in portu, qui a dextera parte laterali artatur, a leua uero latus portus est. (Adamnan.)

Cui scilicet tali regioni, quae proculdubio pluuiarum indiga est, Nili inrigua spontaneos imbres ministrant: utrumque est, caeli ubertas et terrae fecunditas; arua temperat et solum opimat, nautis et agricolis usui. Hi nauigant, illi serunt; isti circumuechuntur nauigiis, illi excolunt, sine aratro serentes, uiantes sine carpento. Distinctam fluentis cernas regionem et quasi quibusdam excelsa moenibus nauigiorum totis domicilia terris, quae Nili fluminis riparum marginibus ex utraque parte coherent. (Adamnan.)

speratur effugium periculorum. Angustior enim aditus in portum, quia a dextra parte latere artatur, a laeua rupibus, quibus obstructum est sinistrum latus portus. (Hegesippus.)

Inadsueta imbris regio nec tamen pluuiarum indiga, cui Nili inrigua spontaneos imbres ministrant. Utrumque ei Nilus est, caeli ubertas terrae fecunditas. Arua temperat, solum opimat, nautis et agricolis iuxta usui. Hi nauigant, illi serunt, isti circumuehuntur sua rura nauigiis, illi excolunt; sine aratro serentes, uiantes sine carpento. Distinctam cernas fluentis et quasi quibusdam excelsam moenibus nauigiorum. Totis domicilia terris uagantur, quae Nilo circumfluunt. (Hegesippus.)

Indeed, although this whole chapter (II. 30) of Adamnan is in fact a reproduction of Hegesippus, iv. 27, it is not so much a quotation as a paraphrase or rewriting; the order of material and sentences in Hegesippus being reshaped, words sometimes changed, and explanatory phrases inserted. Such treatment suggests the use of an inferior text rather than anything else;<sup>2</sup> but one cannot exclude the possibility that another influence may have been at work: Adamnan's anxiety to have the Latinity conform to certain domestic standards of his own and of his readers. The other numerous citations from Hegesippus are handled in somewhat the same way, though not so obviously; and in the case of Sulpicius, and even of Jerome,<sup>3</sup> a few changes in word order, in the cases of nouns and moods of verbs, and minor omissions, might be argued to

<sup>1</sup> This phrase is missing in all the manuscripts of Adamnan.

<sup>2</sup> Since these comments were written, Dr. Bieler has published a study of Adamnan's treatment of Hegesippus (*Wiener Studien*, lxix. 344–9). His conclusions are of importance for the history of both texts; and in general corroborate what has been said.

<sup>3</sup> There is one instance where an apparent attempt to abbreviate or adapt Jerome in *Ezech.* 26 produces some obscurity:

'Quae nullum habuisse de terra introitum in Grecis barbarisque historiis legitur, sed postea a Nabocodonosor rege Caldeorum iactos esse aggeres nonnulli adfirmant et oppugnationi iaculis et arietibus locum fuisse praeparatum ac deinde insolam factam esse campi planitiem.' (II. 29.)

"Tyrum enim fuisse insulam et nullum habuisse de terra introitum in Graecis Latinisque et barbaris historiis legimus: sed postea a Nabuchodonosor rege Chaldaeorum, uel ut nonnulli affirmant ab Alexandro rege Macedonum iactos esse aggeres et oppugnatione uineisque et arietibus locum praeparatum; ac de insula factam esse paeninsulam." (Jerome.)

indicate this tendency too. If Adamnan were trained in a tradition of 'hispanic' Latinity,<sup>1</sup> and if this were the normal medium of communication between Columban monasteries, he would very naturally feel the need to adapt rather than quote his sources.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Bieler has kindly contributed the following note on Adamnan, *De Locis Sanctis*, and *Hisperica Famina*: 'Leaving aside basic Latin vocabulary, I count c. sixty words which Adamnan and HF have in common. Most of these are ordinary Latin words, including a few familiar Greek loan-words (*aether*, *eurus*, *lympha al.*) and a number of poetic words such as might be found in Virgil and the Christian poets. Some of these words occur in both texts with the characteristic Hibernian spelling, e.g. *camara*, *tegorium*. Typical 'Hispanic' words are only *astella* and *tollus*.

I find only three words which are common to Adamnan, HF, and Hegesippus: *anfractus*, *strues*, and *offensos scopulos* (B 185)—all three occur in *Heges. iv, 27*=Adamn. *De Locis Sanctis*, II. 30, 9; *offensos scopulos* seems telling: HF B. 185 *offensosque +formidabat (-bant) nautę scopulos* is possibly dependent on *offendat scopulos*, but whether the phrase is borrowed from Adamnan, or from Hegesippus directly, we cannot tell.

I further note: *adherere* with dative 'be close to' A 248; *poli centrum* A 222 (*centrum caeli*, Adamn. I. 11, 2, 3); *macerea* A 181 (*maceria Adamnan*); *prosapia progenies* C 59 (glossary; cf. Adamn. I. 9, 8).'

## TOPOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

IT has been already suggested that a period of two years at least, and possibly of three years, must be allotted to Arculf's travels in the near east; and the general direction of his wanderings can be followed easily enough in the text. In Palestine his itinerary did not materially differ from that pursued by the ordinary Palestinian tourist of today, and it is quite probable that the conditions under which he travelled compared very favourably with those prevailing now.<sup>1</sup>

The account of Jerusalem comes first: he was there, we are told, for nine months. After a thorough investigation of the city churches and relics he moved to the immediate environs, the valley of Josaphat, Mount Olivet, subsequently Bethany. He gives but general indications (I. 20) of the country west of the city and does not appear to have travelled it, and, curiously enough, his account of the city church of Mount Sion is reserved (I. 18) for the occasion when, apparently, he made a circuit of the city in a south-easterly direction, leaving by the gate of David.

Then follows an account of Bethlehem, where he may have stayed (*eam frequentauit*), and from Bethlehem he continued south to Hebron, visiting all the Old Testament sites in the neighbourhood (II. 9–12). At this stage it is likely (though not stated) that he returned to Jerusalem. We next find him in the lower valley of the Jordan, visiting Jericho, Gilgal, the Dead Sea; and he appears to have continued northwards up the Jordan valley to Galilee.

He must have spent some time in Galilee, staying perhaps at the monastery where he found his guide, Peter of Burgundy. Adamnan asserts that he made the circuit, practically, of Gennesareth (*ex maiore circumiit parte*); and there were journeys to various centres in the environs, Samaria (II. 21), Capharnaum (II. 25), Nazareth (II. 26), Mount Thabor (II. 27).

From Thabor he made his way, in seven days, to Damascus. The next chapter takes us back to Tyre, and he must have returned to Jerusalem from there before setting out for Egypt. His voyage of forty days from Joppe to Alexandria seems extraordinarily protracted, but there is no indication of detour or shipwreck. From Alexandria he sailed, via Crete, to Constantinople, and remained there from Easter to Christmas. Of his homeward journey all we learn is that he visited Sicily, and intended to visit Rome.

So much is conveyed in the narrative; but the very omissions and transitions suggest that the account is not meant to be exhaustive, and

<sup>1</sup> The amenities of the romanized province would still be available. See Abel, *Histoire de la Palestine* (Paris, 1952), Tome ii, and Avi-Jonah, Map of Roman Palestine (*Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, v, 1935).

that Arculf may very well have interfered with chronological sequence and telescoped his reminiscences in telling the story to Adamnan. Tyre may, for instance, have been his port of entry to Palestine, as Joppe was his port of exit. Manifestly the main purpose of the tract is to provide a record of his information about the sites, churches, relics, and other objects of interest in the Holy Land, above all, the churches.

To some extent it is possible to check that information against other sources, one or two of them roughly contemporary, and against the findings of modern archaeological research in Palestine.<sup>1</sup> On the whole, though problems of identification, and of omission, do arise, the comparison reflects much credit on Arculf's accuracy and powers of observation. The following analysis, which follows the order of the narrative, is designed to elucidate Arculf's descriptions of the Constantinian churches of the Holy Land, many of which survived the Persian and Arab wars, and some of which survive in part to this day.

### *Jerusalem*

The city described by Arculf is the reconstructed Constantinian Jerusalem, as restored by the *higoumenos* of the Emperor Heraclius, Modestus, about 625.<sup>2</sup> Jerusalem had been burned by the Persians in 614, and much of the building of Constantine, Eudocia, and Justinian seems to have been badly damaged. The Arabs, on the other hand, who entered the city in February 638, after a siege of seven months, do not appear to have caused any considerable damage.

He enumerates six gates.<sup>3</sup> *Porta David* is the present-day Gate of Jaffa

<sup>1</sup> There are two important topographical sources roughly contemporaneous with Arculf, the sixth-century mosaic map of Palestine discovered at Madaba in Transjordania in 1897 (see *DAL* x. 806 ff., s.v. Madaba; O'Callaghan, *Biblica*, 1951; *Dictionnaire de la Bible (DB)*, Supplément, s.v.); and the Georgian version of a seventh-century Jerusalem typicon first published at Tiflis in 1912 (see *Jerousalimskii Kanonaar*, ed. Kekelidze, Tiflis, 1912; *Über georgische Drucke und Handschriften, die Festordnung und den Heiligenkalender des altchristlichen Jerusalems betreffend*, Goussen, München-Gladbach, 1923; *Revue biblique (RB)*, 1914, 454 ff.; 1924, 611 ff.). These, with the pilgrim literature, the lists in *περὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως* (by the Persians) *τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ* (see *RB*, 1903, 492 ff.; *Anal. Bolland*. xxxi (1912), 301–18; xxxviii (1920), 143–7), and the *Commemoratorium de Casis Dei* of A.D. 808 (apud Tobler-Molinier, *Itinera . . . , 299–305*), constitute the main literary sources for the study of Palestinian topography from the fifth century to the crusades.

A very considerable literature has grown out of archaeological research in Palestine, and the bibliographies in *DAL* should be consulted for fuller information. Reference here will be confined to items that help to elucidate the history and origin of the churches mentioned by Arculf.

<sup>2</sup> See Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem, recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, Tome ii, *Jérusalem nouvelle (JN)*, Paris, 1914–26. The first volume of this monumental work has been supplemented somewhat by J. Simons, *Jerusalem in the Old Testament*, Leiden, 1952; but the second remains the authoritative work on the period that concerns us. Cf. Hamilton, *Jerusalem in the Fourth Century* in *Palestine Explor. Quart.* 1952, 83–91.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. in *JN* Abel's map of Byzantine Jerusalem and Vincent's of Aelia Capitolina.

(Bab-el-Khalil, Bab Mihrab Daoud). It led to the fount of Mamillah, directly west, the road veering south by the Roman aqueduct, which he mentions later (I. 16). *Porta uillae fullonis* was a small gate in the north-west wall, leading to Silo, Gabaon, Betharon, and was possibly that known as the Postern of Saint Lazarus by the Crusaders. *Porta sancti Stephani* (Gate of Neapolis, Gate of Galilee, present-day Gate of Damascus) opened on the main northern road to Caesarea. From the seventh century onwards the Arab name was regularly Bab-el-Amoud because of the column (*amoud*) on the piazza opposite. Arculf subsequently describes this *summa column*, and it is clearly discernible in the Madaba Mosaic. *Porta Beniamin* was probably in the north-east wall leading to Anathoth and Bethel.<sup>1</sup> The gate he calls *paruula porta* was the Gate of Jericho, towards the north end of the east wall. The flight of steps leading from it to the valley of Josaphat is mentioned also by Antoninus Placentinus (c. 570).<sup>2</sup> *Porta Tecuitis* was on the south side in the wall of Eudocia (which considerably extended the city boundary towards the south), now Bab-el-Magaribeh. The corresponding gate in the old wall was the Gate of Sion.

Of city churches he describes the following: Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Church of the Holy Mary, Church of Golgotha, Basilica of Constantine, and he provides a plan of the whole group. Besides that there is a brief description of a Saracen prayer-house on the temple site, and of the column facing the *Porta sancti Stephani*. The Saracen building, though very large, was clearly undistinguished. It was probably run up hastily immediately after the occupation in 638. The Dome of the Rock, for which Byzantine architects were employed, was built during the years 687–691, and would consequently post-date the sojourn of Arculf.

*Church of the Holy Sepulchre*. The church at present on the site really dates from 1048 (Constantine Monomachos). Arculf describes the original church erected by Constantine the Great, on which, following upon the fire of 614, extensive reconstruction had been carried out by Modestus in 627.<sup>3</sup> Anastasis, or Hagia Anastasis, seems to have been the regular name for the church at this period;<sup>4</sup> but Arculf does not mention it until the following chapter when describing the Church of Mary.

*Church of the Holy Mary*. Nothing now remains of this church, and its site seems indeterminable. According to Arculf's plan it lies just south of Golgotha, and he says 'a dextra coheret parte' (of Anastasis), looking east. The elliptical structure south of Anastasis-Golgotha in the Madaba

<sup>1</sup> Porte de Benjamin 2 in Abel's map.

<sup>2</sup> 'De Gessemanni ascendimus ad portam Hierosolima per gradus multos' (Geyer, 170. 18).

<sup>3</sup> Eusebius, *Vita Const.* iii. 33–40. Cf. with *JN in loco* Crowfoot, *Early Churches in Palestine* (London, 1941), 9–21; E. Wistrand, *Konstantins Kirche am Heiligen Grab in Jerusalem*, in *Acta Universitatis Gotoborgensis*, lviii (1952), no. 1; *JN* 218.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the usage of the Georgian Ritual, Abel, *RB*, 1914, 454; 1924, 611.

Mosaic is identified by Abel as the baptistery of the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>1</sup> In crusading times there was a Lady chapel in the environs of the Sepulchre, but on the north side.<sup>2</sup>

*Church of Golgotha.* A large and ornate atrium (described by Arculf as *platea*) separated Anastasis from the Basilica of Constantine (Martyrium), and at its south-east corner was the oratory of Calvary. The rock itself was surmounted by the ornate cross which Arculf describes, and which was the gift of Theodosius II in 417. It is probable that the restorations of Modestus extended to this area also.<sup>3</sup> Nomenclature, with regard to the oratory itself, and the area west and east of it, appears to have been confused in the sixth and seventh centuries.<sup>4</sup> Arculf's *platea* is regularly described as *ante crucem* by Siluia, and the oratory itself apparently as *post crucem*.<sup>5</sup> The designation *pergrandis ecclesia* seems somewhat exaggerated for the kind of oratory which Vincent-Abel,<sup>6</sup> or indeed Arculf's own plan, allow to have occupied the site; but he may be thinking of the whole intervening structure, atrium and oratory.

*Basilica of Constantine.* This church, regularly called *Martirium*, must have been the most remarkable building in Jerusalem, and one might naturally expect more expansive treatment from Arculf. Its dimensions were rivalled only by the unusually large basilica in Bethlehem.<sup>7</sup>

### Environs of Jerusalem

Arculf appears to have explored the east side of the city first, leaving by the Gate of Jericho for the valley of Josaphat. The narrative (I. 16 ff.) then suggests that he made a circuit of the wall of Eudocia in a south-easterly direction, and it is in this context that he gives his description of the Church of Mount Sion. The various relics, tombs, and other items of interest which he notes in the environs of Sion, Gethsemani, and Olivet are in many cases still pointed out to the Palestinian pilgrim, though not always with similar identifications. The tombs of Cedron, for instance, which he describes in chapters 13 and 14, are nowadays locally known as those of Absalom (probably the *turris Iosaphat* of

<sup>1</sup> DAL vii. 2345, 15. Ibid. xiv. 157; he appears to think that Arculf's church was built by Modestus at the south entrance to the atrium of Golgotha.

<sup>2</sup> JN 270.

<sup>3</sup> JN 184 ff. gives a detailed description of the character of the Constantinian building. Of Modestus the letter of Antiochus Strategios states ἀνήγειρε . . . τό τε ἄγιον κράνιον, which seems to designate this church.

<sup>4</sup> Abel, RB, loc. cit. (above, p. 21, n. 4).

<sup>5</sup> Pétré, *Éthérie*, 59. Other designations were πρὸ τοῦ Ἀγίου Γολγοθᾶ (Antiochus Strategios) or ἐμπροσθετοῦ Ἀγίου Κρανίου (Typicon).

<sup>6</sup> JN 189.

<sup>7</sup> Bethlehem is thought by modern authorities to have been slightly larger. Cf. Crowfoot, op. cit. 16.

Arculf), Saint James, and Zachary (probably the *monumenta Symeon et Joseph*). With the exception of the tomb of the Virgin, there is no basis for either ancient or modern ascriptions; but the Cedron tombs do date at least from New Testament times. The grotto of the Agony (I. 15) remains of course a sanctuary of the first importance. The aqueduct (*pons lapideus*) which he mentions ran through the valley of Hinnom, and the stone of Saint Stephen's martyrdom, which he notes in the basilica of Sion, may possibly be that venerated today in the Armenian chapel (called the House of Caiphas), sometimes alleged to be the stone of the Holy Sepulchre. No attempt is now made to identify the exact place of Judas' suicide (I. 17); but the tomb of Lazarus (I. 25) is still pointed out at El Azarieh.

He mentions or describes the following churches: church containing the tomb of Mary in the valley of Josaphat, church of Mount Sion, church of the Ascension, two churches in Bethany.

*Church with Mary's tomb.* There is some confusion and disagreement concerning the origin and nomenclature of this church, and concerning its possible relation to the so-called church of the Prayer (at the Agony).<sup>1</sup> The first church at or near the site, which is mentioned by Jerome, appears to have been built by Theodosius (378–95) as a sanctuary of the Lord's Agony. This was probably in ruins during the visit of Arculf. The church he mentions must have been a separate building, the one designated *Gethsemani* in the Georgian Ritual, and mentioned also by Theodosius (Geyer, 142. 16) and Antoninus Placentinus (*ibid.* 170. 16). The date of its construction is in dispute. It appears to have been built by either the emperor Marcian (450–7) or Maurice (582–602), or by both partially. Some fifth- to sixth-century remains uncovered by excavation at Gethsemani in 1919 probably belong to the Church of the Prayer.<sup>2</sup>

*Church of Mount Sion.* This (the Cenacle) was one of the principal city sanctuaries, being the scene of the Descent of the Holy Ghost on the Apostles. It may well have been a Christian *ecclesia* or meeting place since the first Pentecost,<sup>3</sup> and probably a small and unpretentious prayer-house occupied the site long before Constantine's reconstruction. The church was probably not Constantinian, however, not predating 345,<sup>4</sup> and rubrics of the Georgian Ritual make it clear that it was one of the churches restored by Modestus about 625. No trace of it now remains, though the ruins were visible long after the reign of Saladin, and only disappeared completely in the sixteenth century. The text makes a brief

<sup>1</sup> See *JN* 305 ff. (with subsequent important comments by Abel in *DAL*, s.v. Jérusalem, and *RB*, loc. cit.); *DB*, Supplément, s.v. Gethsemani.

<sup>2</sup> *RB*, 1920, 574–6; *DB*, Supplément, loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> *JN* 450.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly, according to Abel, during the reign of Archbishop John of Jerusalem, 386–417 (*RB*, 1924, 612. 4).

mention only; but Arculf's plan, it will be noted, gives details, purporting to mark the place of the Last Supper, the scourging of Our Lord, the Descent of the Holy Ghost, and the dormition of Mary.

*Church of the Ascension.* This ambitious octagonal church was built before 378 by the generosity of a pious matron called Poemenia or Pomnia on the very summit of Mount Olivet.<sup>1</sup> The name Imbomon, Inbomon,<sup>2</sup> is regularly given to it by Siluia; but at a later stage the name ἡ ἀνάληψις τοῦ Κυρίου was common. It appears to have escaped the fate of the city sanctuaries in 614; and, if one is to judge by the length of the description, its magnificence impressed Arculf more than that of any other building. Curiously, he makes no mention of the other celebrated sanctuary on Mount Olivet, the *Eleona* (οἱ Ἐλαιῶνες).<sup>3</sup>

*Bethany Churches.* Arculf associates the *grandis basilica* with the grave of Lazarus and the *monasterium*, while his second *celebrior ecclesia* on the south side commemorates Our Lord's discourse to the disciples concerning the last things. Two sanctuaries are also mentioned in the Georgian Ritual<sup>4</sup> (the *Lazarium* and a church of Mary and Martha), and by Siluia (*Lazarium*, church of Mary). According to Siluia the church of Mary is located 'euntibus de Jerusalem in Lazarium forsitan ad quingentos passus de eodem loco' (Geyer, 82. 5), and it is possibly to be identified with the *celebrior ecclesia* of Arculf. Jerome takes the sanctuaries of Bethany and Bethphage *en bloc*; but it is clear that there was a church at Bethany in his time, probably the *Lazarium*. Modern authorities locate Bethany slightly west of the village of El Azarieh.

#### *Bethlehem, Hebron, and environs*

His sojourn in the territory south of Jerusalem seems to have been fairly prolonged. His inventory of the sanctuaries and relics is exhaustive, and, while he is not at such pains to describe churches as he was in the case of the city sanctuaries, he goes into some detail in commenting on the various tombs. These, the graves of the shepherds, the tomb of Rachel, and the tombs of the four patriarchs, get frequent mention in pilgrim literature from Jerome onwards, as does the celebrated *quercus Mambre*, which appears on the Madaba mosaic. Today the tomb of Rachel remains a noted landmark, and the tombs of the patriarchs are enclosed in a *haram* on the west side of Hebron.<sup>5</sup>

Of churches he has mention, more or less passing, of the following: Basilica of the Nativity at Bethlehem, a church containing the sepulchre of King David, a church containing the sepulchre of Saint Jerome, one

<sup>1</sup> *JN* 360 ff., 379 ff., 397 ff. Vincent's reconstruction should be studied alongside the plan of Arculf.

<sup>2</sup> Probably corrupted from ἐν βωμῷ.

<sup>3</sup> *DAL* vii. 2318.

<sup>4</sup> *RB*, 1914, 461. 37 (Lazarium); 1924, 620. 43 (Mary and Martha).

<sup>5</sup> *DB*, s.v. Macpelah.

containing the sepulchres of the three shepherds (outside Bethlehem), and, at Mambre, one containing the remains of the *quercus Abraham*.

*Basilica of the Nativity.* This famous church remains one of the best preserved and most celebrated monuments of antiquity. It is the subject of an exhaustive monograph by Vincent and Abel (*Bethléem, Le Sanctuaire de la Nativité*, Paris, 1914), the conclusions of which were considerably modified by subsequent excavation.<sup>1</sup> Its Constantinian origin seems established (it is mentioned in 333 by the Bordeaux pilgrim—*ibi basilica facta est iussu Constantini*); but it was very considerably remodelled, if not totally rebuilt, by Justinian. Curiously enough both Persian and Arab occupations left it untouched.

The other churches in the environs of Bethlehem are not so easily identifiable. The church of the shepherds seems to be mentioned in the Georgian Ritual under the title *ποιμνιον*,<sup>2</sup> and is possibly to be identified with the ruins north-west of Bethlehem at Siar-el-Ghanem. A church containing the tomb of David is mentioned also by Antoninus Placentinus. In spite of the scriptural statement a persistent ancient tradition always placed David's grave at Bethlehem,<sup>3</sup> and the so-called Cisterns of David (Biar Daoud) at the extreme north of the modern village probably represent the site in question. Antoninus Placentinus places the grave of Jerome at the mouth of the grotto of the Nativity,<sup>4</sup> and it is still shown near the Chapel of the Innocents. Arculf is probably speaking of some sort of monastic church outside the village. Jerome's monastery for men appears to have been at some distance from the Basilica of the Nativity, though that of the women adjoined it.<sup>5</sup>

The church at Mambre is the Constantinian basilica, mentioned also by the Bordeaux pilgrim,<sup>6</sup> and appearing in the Madaba mosaic. It seems fairly likely that this is the church of which evidences were discovered in the excavations at Haram Ramet-el-Khalil (slightly north of the modern town of Hebron) in 1926–8.<sup>7</sup> The design was highly unusual, owing apparently to the builders' wish to reverence local relics of Abraham; and probably, as in the case of the other sanctuaries, there was some reconstruction by Modestus about 625. The church does not seem to have survived the Arab occupation by very long, and Arculf may have been one of the last pilgrims to see it.

### Jordan valley, Samaria, and Galilee

Before journeying northwards, Arculf in all probability returned to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *RB*, 1936, 544 ff.; *Pal. Explor. Quart.* 1936, 28; Crowfoot, op. cit. 77 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *RB*, 1914, 460. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Jerome, *Onom.* 101; Bordeaux Pilgrim, ed. Geyer, 25. 5–8.

<sup>4</sup> Geyer, 178. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Leclercq in *DAL* vii. 2261.

<sup>6</sup> Geyer, 25. 13: 'ibi basilica facta est iussu Constantini mirae pulchritudinis'.

<sup>7</sup> *DAL* x. 1351 ff.; *DB*, Supplément, iii. 344 ff.; *RB*, 1929, 707 ff.; Crowfoot, op. cit. 35 ff.

Jerusalem. He then visits Jericho, Galgala, the Dead Sea, and appears to take the Jordan valley route to Lake Gennesareth, and as far as the source of the Jordan. Subsequently, or in conjunction with this journey, he turns his attention to the sanctuaries of Samaria and Galilee, Sichem, Capharnaum, Nazareth, and Mount Thabor.

He mentions a church at Galgala, two churches at the site of the Baptism on the Jordan, the church with Jacob's well (near Sichem) of which he provides a plan, two churches at Nazareth, and three small oratories on Mount Thabor. Curiously enough, no church is mentioned at Capharnaum, or on the traditional site of the miracle of the loaves and fishes (Tabgha). According to Antoninus Placentinus the house of Peter at Capharnaum had become a basilica,<sup>1</sup> and excavation at Tell Hum has uncovered traces of such a church.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, a little southwest of Tabgha, the remains of a considerable basilica have recently come to light.<sup>3</sup> The Desert of Saint John (II. 22, 23) has been associated by tradition since the fifteenth century with the arid stretch west of Ain Karim, almost due west of Jerusalem. A fountain in that desert (which may be that of II. 22) is now called the Fountain of the Virgin.

*Church of Galgala.* The site of Joshua's camp is the modern village of Tell Djildjouleh, and fragments of mosaic nearby may well have come from the church of which Arculf speaks.<sup>4</sup> He terms it *grandis ecclesia*, and Antoninus Placentinus speaks of a basilica;<sup>5</sup> but some 50 years after Arculf the church is described by Willibald as *ligneae et non magna*. A fairly significant building appears on the Madaba mosaic.<sup>6</sup>

*Site of the Baptism.* From the Bordeaux Pilgrim onwards tradition identified as the place of the Baptism the present Qasr-el-Jehud, where there is a Greek convent. Arculf describes the church on the river bank as *parua quadrata ecclesia*, a pejorative phrase in contrast with his usual descriptions; and he distinguishes this (the church of the deposition of the vestments) from the church on the hill-top in honour of Saint John the Baptist, within the circuit of the monastery wall. Theodosius, on the other hand, describes as a church of John the Baptist the one on the brink of the river, built on arched piles.<sup>7</sup> He furthermore says that it was built by the Emperor Anastasius (491–518). Many pilgrims

<sup>1</sup> Geyer, 163. 6: 'uenimus in Capharnaum in domo beati Petri, quae est modo basilica.'

<sup>2</sup> See Abel in *DB*, Supplément, i. 1045 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Schneider, *Die Brotvermehrungskirche von Tabga am Genesarethsee*, Paderborn, 1934; Crowfoot, op. cit. 73 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Mickley, op. cit. ii. 21, n. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Geyer, 201. 24–25: 'lapides . . . positi sunt in basilica post altare'.

<sup>6</sup> It bears the legend ΓΑΛΓΑΛΑ ΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΛΙΘΟΝ.

<sup>7</sup> Geyer, 145. 24: 'ecclesia sancti Iohannis Baptistae, quam fabricauit Anastasius imperator, quae ecclesia super cameras maiores excelsa fabricata est pro Iordane, quando implet, in qua ecclesia monachi morantur.'

mention the cross in the stream,<sup>1</sup> which marked the actual spot of the Baptism.

*Church at Sichem.* The well of Jacob is still shown at the entrance to the valley between Mount Garizim and Mount Hebal, not far from the town of Nablous.<sup>2</sup> The cruciform church with the well at its centre, as drawn by Arculf, was probably erected in the early years of Theodosius' reign, c. 380.<sup>3</sup> Jerome records a visit by Paula to it.<sup>4</sup> Many Christian sanctuaries in the area suffered damage during the Samaritan revolts of 484 and 529, damage which was in general repaired under Justinian. Quite probably this church suffered with the rest. Persian and Arab occupations, however, seem to have left it untouched. It appears on the Madaba mosaic. In the twelfth century, by which time the church Arculf describes must have been in ruins, the Crusaders erected another basilica on the site.

*Nazareth.* Two churches are described here, the Church of the Nutrition, and the Basilica of the Annunciation. The existence and character of the second church are fairly well attested. Built over the grotto of the Annunciation, it may have had a Constantinian origin, though the evidence for this is slight.<sup>5</sup> It is mentioned by Antoninus Placentinus<sup>6</sup> and subsequent pilgrims. The time of its destruction (probably by the Arabs) is not known. Another basilica replaced it in the twelfth century, but only for a brief period, being destroyed by Sultan Bibars in 1263. The Franciscan church on the site today dates from 1730.

The Church of the Nutrition (built apparently on the site of the house of the Holy Family, distinct, according to the tradition, from the house of the Annunciation, that of Mary before her betrothal) gives some difficulty.<sup>7</sup> In fact the only evidence concerning this church is that of Arculf (Bede is dependent on him), and it is clear from his account that the church was built over the house of the Nutrition (or its site), and apparently over a spring. The only spring in the village of Nazareth is Ain Sitti Mariam (sometimes called the fountain of Saint Gabriel) at the north-west end. Almost certainly the church was at this site, which in the twelfth century was occupied by a church of Saint Gabriel. A claim, in 1884, to have discovered remains of the church of the Nutrition at another site did not receive much support.

*Mount Thabor.* This mount, 8 kilometres south-west of Nazareth, since the fourth century has been regarded as the scene of the Trans-

<sup>1</sup> Crux *ligneæ* according to Arculf. So Antoninus Placentinus (Geyer, 166, 20). Crux *ferrea*, Theodosius.

<sup>2</sup> RB, 1893, 242–4; 1895, 619–21; 1933, 384–402.

<sup>3</sup> See Abel in RB, 1933, 393–4; Crowfoot, op. cit. 89 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. 108, 13.

<sup>5</sup> See Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.* i. 2. 11 (PG 41, 425); Leclercq in DAL xii. 1025.

<sup>6</sup> Geyer, 161, 19–20.

<sup>7</sup> See Leclercq in DAL xii. 1027 ff.

figuration. It still remains a noted sanctuary, and traces of the Byzantine church which occupied the site may still be seen.<sup>1</sup> The first mention of it is by Antoninus Placentinus,<sup>2</sup> who, like Arculf (and the *Commemoratorium de Casis Dei*, c. 808), speaks of *tres basilicae*; though Willibald (c. 720) seems to mention only one. Very probably, in honour of the Transfiguration, the basilica had side chapels dedicated to Moses and Elias. A very late source<sup>3</sup> attributes the foundation to Saint Helena. It had become a ruin by the twelfth century and was restored by the Crusaders.

*Damascus, Tyre, Alexandria, Constantinople*

Arculf's subsequent travels entailed a wide circuit of the near east. His itinerary from Thabor according to the text was Damascus (in seven days), Tyre, Jerusalem again, Joppe, Alexandria, Constantinople, Sicily. It is, however, very probable that, from this point onwards, Adamnan's record is merely selective, and that he inquired concerning those cities and sanctuaries only in which he was specially interested. Indeed, the opening sentence of II. 28 (*Plurimarum peragror regiunum . . . etiam Tyrum introiit*) seems to suggest abridgement. That the narrative is here selective is suggested by the fact that there is no description of Crete, where he stayed *aliquot dies*; and it seems likely that his Palestinian journeys would have entailed visits to other cities of biblical import, such as the two Caesareas, though these visits are not mentioned. Three churches only are mentioned, those of Saint John the Baptist at Damascus, of Saint Mark at Alexandria, and the famous church of Hagia Sophia at Constantinople.

*Church of Saint John the Baptist.* This was one of the most interesting buildings of antiquity, with a curiously chequered history. Originally a sanctuary of the god Ramman,<sup>4</sup> it became a temple of Jupiter in the period of Septimius Seuerus (193–211) or Caracalla (211–17), and under Theodosius probably (378–95) a Christian church. It retained this character until the Arabs took Damascus in 635, and, as the Mosque of the Ommayads, remains one of the sights of Damascus today. During the period 635–705 (that of Arculf's visit) it appears to have been divided between the Christian and Moslem populations, the Christians occupying the west portion.<sup>5</sup> Thus the mosque (*ecclesia Saracenorum*), which Adamnan mentions as a separate structure, was really a portion of the same building. Complete appropriation as a mosque took place in the

<sup>1</sup> On the excavations there by the Franciscans see Meistermann, *Le Mont Thabor*, Paris, 1900; *RB*, 1922, 122 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Geyer, 162. 12.

<sup>3</sup> The fourteenth-century historian Nicephorus Callistus. See *PG* 146. 113.

<sup>4</sup> See *DB*, Supplément ii. 285 ff.; *Syria*, 1922, 219 ff.; Dussaud, *Le Temple de Jupiter damascénien*.

<sup>5</sup> Dussaud, loc. cit. 237–407.

eighth century under the Caliph Walid, and there were several subsequent destructions and rebuildings. Archaeological investigation has brought to light much information concerning this remarkable sanctuary; but it is difficult to determine its precise structure during the Christian period, or the amount of reconstruction carried out by Theodosius.

*Church of Saint Mark.*<sup>1</sup> This lay near the port at Alexandria in the quarter anciently called *βουκόλια*, and was the church to which the great heresiarch Arius had once been attached. It contained the remains reputed to be those of Saint Mark, which were removed to Venice in 823. The church was not by any means the most important of the Alexandrian churches; but since the Arab conquest most of the others seem to have been appropriated as mosques. Arculf was clearly impressed by its size, and by the marble tomb of Saint Mark.

*Church of Hagia Sophia.* Remarkably little reconstruction, even in the way of restoration, has been done on this celebrated building since Arculf saw and described it; and the various other early descriptions may be compared with his.<sup>2</sup> It was Justinian's (527–65) crowning achievement, and the main structure was completed between the years 532 and 537, Anthemius of Tralles being the architect. Earthquake damaged the east portion of the dome in 558, and the apse and dome were reconstructed, the dome being somewhat raised.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 10, n. 2 above (Introduction).

<sup>2</sup> Procopius, *De aedificiis* i; Euagrius, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 31; Paulus Silentarius, *PG* 86. ii. 2119–58.

<sup>3</sup> In June 1931 the Byzantine Institute of America received permission from the Turkish Government to uncover and preserve the many mosaics that had been painted over. To date a considerable amount of work has been done; but most of the mosaics that have been uncovered are of later date than those seen by Arculf. See *The Mosaics of Hagia Sophia at Istanbul*, Byzantine Institute, Paris, 1933, 1936, 1942.

## THE TEXT TRADITION\*

A CRITICAL study of the twenty-two manuscripts and fragments so far known<sup>1</sup> was made by P. Geyer.<sup>2</sup> Of these, Geyer singled out four manuscripts on which he based his critical edition:<sup>3</sup>

Y 1. Vindobonensis 458 (Salisburgensis 174), saec. IX med. (not, as Geyer says, saec. X), foll. 1<sup>r</sup>–26<sup>v</sup>. Written, as the scribe informs us in a distich on the verso of the fly-leaf, for a certain Baldo,<sup>4</sup> who was a teacher at the cathedral school of Salzburg about the middle of the ninth century. He had connexions with Ireland; an Irishman named Dungal was his friend and pupil.<sup>5</sup>

P 2. Parisinus Bibl. nat. lat. 13048 (Sangermanensis 844, formerly 665), from Corbie, saec. IX, foll. 1–28. The outer diploma of the first quaternio is lost, and so is the whole fourth quaternio except its second diploma (leaves 2 and 7), which is now inserted, as folios 7 and 8, after fol. 6 of the present foliation. The result is a loss of text at the beginning (preface and chapter headings down to vii); a lacuna after fol. 6 (the greater part of I. 9); and a larger lacuna between folios 24 and 25, extending from II. 27 to the middle of III. 4—except for parts of II. 29–30 and III. 3–4 in., which are preserved on the folios now numbered 7 and 8.

Z 3. Zürich Rheinau 73, saec. IX<sup>1</sup>, foll. 1–28.<sup>6</sup>

B 4. Brussels, Bibl. royale 3921–2, saec. IX, from Stavelot, foll. 1–52<sup>v</sup>.

All four manuscripts show insular symptoms: Y uses the ligatures of *li*, *mi*, *ni*, and once the *con*-symbol; P has several run-overs carried back to the preceding line after the insular fashion (1<sup>r</sup>, 15<sup>v</sup>, 23<sup>v</sup>); Z has the *autem*-symbol (I. 11; II. 3), and writes the title in Insular script; B has several times the *est*-symbol.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Professor B. Bischoff (Munich) has called my attention to a hitherto unknown fragment of *De Locis Sanctis* at St. Peter's, Salzburg (one folio saec. IX med.); its text is closely akin to that of the Vindobonensis (Y) and has no important variants of its own.

<sup>2</sup> Adamnanus: II. Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Schrift *De locis sanctis*. Programm des Gymnasiums, Erlangen 1897. Cf. M. Esposito, *Hermathena*, 1 (1937), 155 f.

<sup>3</sup> CSEL, vol. xxxix, Vienna, 1898. <sup>4</sup> *Hunc humilis librum fecit perscribere Baldo*.

<sup>5</sup> See W. Levison, *Neues Archiv*, xxviii (1902–3), 289–95. In another Baldo codex, Graz University Libr. 790, we find a similar entry: *Hunc humilis thomum Baldo craxare rogauit*, with the typically 'Hibernian' form of the infinitival verb.

<sup>6</sup> Geyer's late dating of this manuscript (*Adamnanus II*. 66 ff.) is unjustified. The entry on fol. 1, in the hand of Reginbert (d. 846), which connects this manuscript with Reichenau, is confirmed by the list of Reginbert's books (835–42), where the work of Adamnan is included in *xxx libello*: G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (1885), 21; P. Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, i (1918), 257, 261.

<sup>7</sup> The abbreviation *ñi* for *noster*, which occurs frequently, seems to indicate that the immediate exemplar of B was written in northern France, cf. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, 155 f.

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\* This section has been written by Dr. Bieler.

Suggestive of an insular archetype are also the following variants:

- I. 9 (235. 23 G.), II. 30 (280. 18 G.) *propter* for *populus*, *populi* in B.
- I. 16 (242. 18 G.) *fons* for *pons* in ZB.
- I. 17 (243. 4 G.) *montem* for *mortem* in YB\*.
- I. 23 (247. 1 G.) *contenuam* for *contenuari* in P.
- I. 23 (248. 13 G.) *tamen* for *tantum* in YPZ.
- II. 3 (256. 21 G.) *nam* for *nostra* in P.
- II. 18 (267. 13 G.) *inosaui l- ortui* for *mortui* in B. *qui* for *quod* in YPB.
- II. 29 (277. 6 G.) *aū* for *haec* in Y.
- II. 30 (282. 1 G.) *uel* for *inter* in B. (The same mistake occurs III. 4, 291. 20 G., in Y.)

The remaining manuscripts are almost all of late date; textually they are closely related to one or the other of the four manuscripts listed above. Even the two ninth-century fragments, Carlsruhe Aug. cxxix, foll. 9–10, with extracts of I. 3, 4, 7 and the corresponding diagrams, and Laon 92, foll. 163<sup>v</sup>–164<sup>v</sup>, containing chapters I. 21–23, yield nothing for the establishment of the text.<sup>1</sup>

Whereas Geyer's selection of his basic manuscripts is perfectly justified, his grouping of the manuscripts, and the preference given to P in building up his text, seem open to criticism. Geyer distinguishes three classes of manuscripts, headed by PY (Class I), Z (Class II), and B (Class III) respectively. This classification is based mainly on the chapter-division of Books I and II as it appears in the *capitula*. However, the chapter-division of Geyer's Class I is not uniform. For the *capitula* of Book II Geyer's Class I is represented by P alone; those of Y break off after xii. The *text* of Y is divided into 28 chapters as is that of Z (Class II), whereas P counts 29 chapters in both text and *capitulatio*. In the latter, however, we can still trace a different numbering. To the heading *De Nazareth* a numeral had been prefixed, which was subsequently erased; counting this entry as a separate chapter, we get 30 chapters as in B (Class III). The *capitulatio* of Book I counts 29 chapters in both Y and P. The text, on the other hand, is divided into 27 chapters in P,<sup>2</sup> but into only 25 in Y. The latter division seems more natural: (Y) xxiii *De loco dominicae ascensionis et ecclesia eius* corresponds to (P) xxiii, xxivii, and (Y) xxvii *De sepulchro Lazari* covers the two short, and closely connected, chapters (P) xxv, xxvi. It seems that the chapters of Book I were subdivided at some time prior to our manuscript tradition; the original state of things was preserved in the text of Y, whereas P (27), Z (26), and B (30) in their respective texts have more or less thoroughly

<sup>1</sup> The Carlsruhe fragment is related to Z, the Laon fragment to B. On the Salzburg fragment see above, p. 30, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The last two entries in the *capitulatio* of Book I, to which nothing corresponds in the text, are merely specifications of xxi and xxii.

carried out the new division. In the circumstances the *capitulatio* is no criterion for classification.

A different classification is borne out by the following facts:

1. Manuscripts YPZ and their allies (Geyer's Classes I and II) have the *capitula* prefixed to each book separately; B and its group (Class III) have them all assembled at the beginning, and followed immediately by the epilogue (*Obsecro uos . . .*). Also, the manuscripts of Geyer's Classes I and II have a number of diagrams of certain sites and buildings, which are missing in his Class III.

2. There is a close relationship between P (Class I) and Z (Class II). In both manuscripts *De Locis Sanctis* is followed by the verses of Venantius Fortunatus, viii. 3. 93–178.<sup>1</sup> Both have also in common an Irish gloss on I. 1 (*moll. i. slenion*).<sup>2</sup> Also, they frequently (over a hundred times) agree on variant readings against Y and B, and are almost always in the wrong.<sup>3</sup> All this tells strongly against the assumption that P and Z belong to different classes. P plus Z and its allies are, in fact, a subgroup of Class I,<sup>4</sup> which in its purer form is represented by Y.<sup>5</sup>

The basic relation of our four manuscripts is therefore

(Y+PZ): B.

This is best seen in some sections borrowed from Sulpicius Seuerus and Hegesippus, where an objective test is furnished by Adamnan's source. Except for some passages where the archetype was already corrupt, or where Adamnan does not reproduce his original literally, we invariably find the ancient author on the side of either YPZ against B, or B against YPZ, or YB against PZ, or PB against YZ, or PZB against Y; never on the side of PZ against YB! As a specimen, I give the relevant variants of I. 23 (246. 17–247. 8 G.), which is taken almost literally from Sulpicius Seuerus, *Chrouic.* ii. 33. 6–8.

246. 18 *iustiterant* PZB Sulp.: *institerunt* Y.

246. 19 *sublatu*s B Sulp.: *subleuatus* YPZ.

247. 4 *calcati Deo pulueris* PB\* Sulp.: *calcati a Deo pulueris* YZB<sup>2</sup>.

247. 6 *Domino calcata* Sulp.: *a Domino calcata* Adamnan codd.

247. 7 *harena* B. *arena* Sulp.: *area* YPZ. (*arena* Adamnan?)

247. 7 *sui speciem* YPZ Sulp. Bede: *speciem sui* B.

Doubtful is 247. 4–5 *perenne documentum est* YPZ Sulp.: *perenne est documentum* B. Adamnan, who is very fond of hyperbaton, might have changed the word-order; so, immediately after this: *uestigia*

<sup>1</sup> Geyer, op. cit. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *sclemon* Z. See Geyer, op. cit. 19 f.

<sup>3</sup> PZ are evidently right at Geyer, 224. 15 *quamlibet* (*quaelibet* YB); 247. 20 *quod* (*quia* Y. *que* B); 255. 12 *quod* (*quae* YB); 264. 12 *ad* (*ab* B. *et* Y); 278. 5 *nominatur* (*nominis* Y. *om.* B); 288. 12 *alio* (*aliquo* B. *quodam* Y).

<sup>4</sup> That the Z-text is not in a separate class follows also from the fact that no genuine variant of Z is demonstrably right against the consensus of YPB.

<sup>5</sup> That Geyer failed to see this seems due largely to his late dating of Y.

*impressa cernantur* Sulp.: *uestigia cernantur iupressa* all manuscripts of Adamnan.

In some places Sulpicius confirms the text which would seem to follow from our *recensio codicum*; in others, where YPZ stand against B, Sulpicius has the reading which on its own merits would appear to be genuine.

As a corollary it follows that B, in spite of its obvious shortcomings, deserves more consideration than it has received from Geyer. In addition to the striking *ippum* III. 4 (293. 6 G.). I list the following passages:

Title: *In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti craxare librum de locis incipio sanctis.* (For variants see apparatus under the text.)

Heading of Book I: *Primus de locis sanctis occupit<sup>1</sup> libellus.*

I. 1 (225. 3) *profatus: praefatus* PZ. *om.* Y.

(225. 12) *herentum: om.* YPZ.

(227. 13) *formulam: formam* YPZ (cf. apparatus).

I. 3 (232. 10) *cauatum habetur: cauatum* YPZ.

I. 23 (248. 13) *tantum* B: *tam* YP. *tamen* Z.

II. 17 (267. 10) *ibidem* B: *in Sicilia* YPZ.

In particular B has often the hyperbaton, so characteristic of Adamnan, where the ancestor of YPZ has substituted the normal word-order.<sup>2</sup>

It goes without saying that any of the four manuscripts may occasionally have preserved the true reading against the rest, especially where each manuscript goes its own way, e.g.

I. 2 (228. 3 G.) *ad uulturnum* Z. *ad ulternum* Y. *adulterum* P. *ad alternum* B. (Adamnan probably wrote *ad ulturnum*, cf. Vita s. Columbae, ii. 44.)

I. 25 (252. 1 G.) *styma* (for *scyma*, i.e. *schema*) P: *forma* YZB.

That the archetype was already faulty in places is evident in some passages taken over from Hegesippus: see apparatus under II. 19, 20, and 30.

There are traces of a fuller text of *De Locis Sanctis* than that of our manuscripts. Sedulius Scottus in his commentary on Matt. iii. 4 and xvii. 8 quotes, under the lemma *ĀR* (Arculfus), two passages which are parallel versions, and slightly more elaborate ones, of II. 23 and 27. Since it seems impossible to relate these passages in every detail to the text of our manuscript tradition, the version of Sedulius will be printed under the text where it belongs.

A word seems necessary on the subject of spelling. Geyer, contrary to his protestations,<sup>3</sup> has ruthlessly normalized. Yet a great number of

<sup>1</sup> *Occipit* for *incipit* is typically Hibernian: E. A. Lowe, *CLA* iii. 328; vi. 763.

<sup>2</sup> Not all of B's transpositions, however, are genuine. At II. 30, 3 for example, the word-order of YPZ is confirmed by the biblical text, Nahum 3. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *CSEL*, vol. xxxix, p. xxxix.

'irregular' spellings that are attested by one or the other of our manuscripts, and not seldom by more than one or even by all, conform to the constant or prevailing usage of Dorbbéne in the Schaffhausen codex of Adamnan's *Vita Sancti Columbae*, which was written shortly after Adamnan's death. I have felt justified in retaining spellings confirmed by this codex, or otherwise known as 'Hibernian' (including ablatives and adverbs in *-ae*), even though they may be preserved in only one of our four basic manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> An exception has been made in certain instances of *e* for *ae* in B, which may or may not be classed as 'Hibernian'. Here the normal spelling has been preferred unless there seemed to be some reason to the contrary. For example, B has seven times *celum*, *celestis*. These spellings do occur in the Dorbbéne codex as well as in other Hiberno-Latin manuscripts; Dorbbéne's prevailing usage, however, is *caelum*, etc., which I follow. Similarly I follow Dorbbéne in writing consistently *eclesia*, *sepulchrum*.

The apparatus of the present edition is restricted to the four basic manuscripts of Geyer's; it is built up on the *recensio* as outlined above. Special cases excepted, it lists no blunders but only variants. Within these limits it is strictly negative.

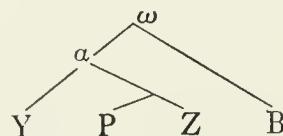
For groups of manuscripts I use the following symbols:

$$\begin{aligned}\omega &= Y(P)ZB. \\ a &= Y(P)Z.\end{aligned}$$

It follows from our *recensio* that agreement of *either Y or PZ* with B is the text of  $\omega$ ; in all these instances variant readings have not been given unless they seemed to be of interest on other grounds. Similarly agreement of Y with either P or Z has been deemed to represent a reading of  $a$ . Only the few instances of YP opposing ZB must be judged individually.

By way of conclusion it must be said that Geyer's apparatus contains a considerable number of misstatements which seem to be due mainly to some confusion of the manuscript symbols of his collations. In preparing this edition I have had constant recourse to photostats of Y and B, and microfilms of P and Z. Wherever the present apparatus contradicts Geyer's it may be assumed that a mistake of the latter has been corrected on the authority of the manuscripts.

#### *Stemma codicum*



<sup>1</sup> The evidence will be presented in the Index Orthographicus. For justification of this procedure see M. Esposito, *Hermathena* 1 (1937), 156.

## TEXT AND TRANSLATION

P. 221 G IN NOMINE PATRIS ET FILII ET SPIRITUS  
SANCTI CRAXARE LIBRUM DE LOCIS  
INCIPIO SANCTIS

Arculfus sanctus episcopus gente Gallus diuersorum longe remotorum peritus locorum uerax index et satis idoneus in Hierosolimitana ciuitate 5 per menses nouem hospitatus et loca sancta cotidianis uisitationibus peragrans mihi Adomnano haec universa quae infra craxanda sunt experimenta diligentius percunctanti et primo in tabulis describenti fideli et indubitabili narratione dictauit; quae nunc in membranis breui textu scribuntur.

10

### CAPITULATIONES

- i. De situ Hierusalem.
- ii. De eclesia rotundae formulae super sepulchrum Domini aedicata et de ipsius sepulchri figura et eius tegorioli.
- iii. De illo lapide qui ad hostium monumenti eius aduolutus est 15 <quem angelus Domini de caelo descendens post resurrectionem eius reuoluit α>.
- iv. De eclesia sanctae Mariae <semper uirginis B> quae rotundae coheret eclesiae.
- v. De illa eclesia quae in Caluariae loco constructa est. 20
- vi. De basilica quam Constantinus uicinam supradictae eclesiae in eodem fabricauit loco ubi crux Domini ruinis superata post multa tempora refosa inuenta est terra.
- vii. De alia exedra inter eclesiam Caluariae et Constantini basilicam sita, in qua calix Domini et spungia in eo recondita habetur de 25 qua in ligno pendens acetum suxerat.
- viii. De lancea militis qua latus Domini ipse pupungit.
- viiii. De sudario illo quo Domini caput sepulti cunctectum est.
- x. De linteo quod, ut fertur, sancta contexit Maria.

1 P uno folio caret      1–3 titulus sic in B: ORDITUR PRAEFATIO LIBRI ARCULFI EPISCOPI MAXIME DE LOCIS SANCTIS HIERUSALEM Y. PRIMUS DE LOCIS SANCTIS LIBER EXORDITUR PRAEFATIO Z      2 caraxare B      4 sanctus om. Y      5 iudex B 6 sancta om. B      7 adomnano Y, sic Bedae codd. MPV (p. 323, 18 Geyer) et semper codex Dorbbenei: adamnano ZB      10 scribuntur capitulationes B      11 INCIPUNT CAPITULATIONES Y: CAPITULA LIBRI SEQUENTIA Z. EXPLICIT INCIPIENT CAPITULA B, sed cf. adnotationem ad l. 10      13 domini om. B      14 et] iii B      15 iii B 18 v B      20 vi B      21 vii B      21 eclesiae . . . 23 om. B (21 De basilica constantini uicina supradictae B<sup>c</sup>)      24 viii B      intra B      24 et . . . 26 suxerat om. B      25 spungia Z: sponsia YB      26 suxerat et uinum Z, sed cf. titulum huius capituli in B      27 incipit P viii B      pupungit] conponxit B      28 x B cunctectum (-xtum ZB\*) est] tegebatur Y      29 xi B      contexit (contex̄ B) ω: contexit P<sup>c</sup>      maria uirgo α

# IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER, SON, AND HOLY GHOST, I BEGIN TO WRITE A BOOK CONCERNING THE HOLY PLACES

The holy bishop Arculf, a Gaul by race, versed in divers far-away regions, and a truthful and quite reliable witness, sojourned for nine months in 5 the city of Jerusalem, traversing the holy places in daily visitations. In response to my careful inquiries he dictated to me, Adamnan, this faithful and accurate record of all his experiences which is to be set out below. I first wrote it down on tablets: it will now be written succinctly on parchment.

10

## THE CHAPTERS

- (1) Concerning the site of Jerusalem.
- (2) Concerning a church of round shape that is built over the Lord's sepulchre, and concerning the shape of the sepulchre itself and of its domed structure. 15
- (3) Concerning the stone which was rolled to the door of the monument, *⟨which the angel of the Lord, descending from heaven, rolled away after his resurrection⟩.*
- (4) Concerning a church of the Holy Mary *⟨ever virgin⟩*, which adjoins the round church. 20
- (5) Concerning the church which is built in the place of Calvary.
- (6) Concerning a basilica which Constantine erected near to the church mentioned above, in the place where the cross of the Lord was found buried under debris, when after a long lapse of time the ground was dug up. 25
- (7) Concerning a chapel, situated between the church of Calvary and the basilica of Constantine, in which is kept the chalice of the Lord, containing the sponge from which he sipped vinegar while hanging on the cross.
- (8) Concerning the soldier's lance, with which he pierced the side of 30 the Lord.
- (9) Concerning the shroud with which the Lord's head was covered when he was buried.
- (10) Concerning a mantle which the holy virgin Mary is said to have woven. 35

- xi. De alia summa columna in illo sita loco cruce Domini superposita ubi mortuus reuixit iuuenis.
- xii. De eclesia sanctae Mariae in ualle Iosaphat fabricata, in qua monumentum eius habetur.
- xiii. De turre Iosaphat in eadem constructa ualle. 5
- xiv. De monumentis Symeon et Ioseph.
- xv. De spelunca in rupe montis Oliueti habeta contra uallem Iosaphat <in qua .iiii.<sup>or</sup> mensae et putei sunt duo α>.
- P. 223 G xvi. De porta Dauid.
- xvii. De illo loco in quo Iudas Scariothis laqueo se suspendit. 10
- xviii. De forma grandis basilicae in monte Sion fabricatae et de ipsius montis situ.
- xviii. De agellulo illo qui Ebraice Acheldemag uocitatur.
- xx. De asperis et petrosis locis ab Hierusalem usque ad ciuitatem Samuhelis late patentibus et usque ad Cessariam Palestinae 15 occasum uersus succendentibus.
- xxi. De monte Oliuarum.
- xxii. De altitudine et qualitate terrae illius.
- xxiii. De loco Dominicae ascensionis.
- xxiv. De eclesia in eo aedificata. 20
- xxv. De sepulchro Lazari et eclesia super illud constructa.
- xxvi. De monasterio eidem adherente.
- xxvii. De alia eclesia ad dexteram Bethaniae partem constructa.
- xxviii. De uineis et segetibus montis Oliueti.
- xxviii. De superioribus locis eius. 25

### PRIMI TITULI LIBRI HUCUSQUE.

1 xii B      2 ubi ante 1 cruce *transp.* α      cruce Domini om. B      3 xiii B      mariae  
 semper virginis B      iosafath B      5 xiiii B      iosaphad Y. iosafath B      6 xv B  
 7 xvi B      8 iosaphad Y. iosafath B      in qua sunt putei duo et mensae iii<sup>or</sup> Y      9  
 xvii B      10 xviii B      scariothes Y      11 xviii B      et] xx B      13 xxi B      acheldemag  
 (-a Z) α; aceldemach (ach-B<sup>c</sup>) B      uocitatur] dicitur B      14 xxii B      et de B      locis  
 ab Hier.] ab Hier. locis B      15 late] xxiii. De late B      17–18 xxiiii De latitudine  
 et qualitate terrae illius. xxu De monte oliuarum B      17 et de uineis et segetibus  
 eius minoribus litteris add. Z      19 de capitibus xxiii–xxviii u. *Praefationem*, p. 31.  
 xxvi B      20 xxvii B. In textu nouum capitulum indicatur in PZ solum, praecedens  
 continuatur in YB; cf. pp. 64 sq.      21 xxviii B      22 xxvi] et Z. xxviii B.  
*Hic titulus cum praecedit coniungitur in Z; cf. adn. ad p. 68, 30 sqq.*      23 xxvi  
 Z. xxx B      24 xxxi B      24–25 om. Z; cf. 17      25 xxxii B. *Ultimis duobus*  
*capitibus nihil in textu respondet*      26–p. 40, 1 sic B: libri primi tituli hucusque. DE  
 LOCIS SANCTIS OCCIPIT LIBELLUS P. libri primi tituli hucusque. INCIPIT LIBER PRIMUS  
 Z. FINIUNT CAPITULA INCIPIT LIBELLUS ARCULFI Y. Sequuntur in B capitula librorum II  
 et III; deinde: EXPLICIUNT. INCIPIT PROLOGUS. Obsecro—neglegat (*i.e. epilogus totius*  
*operis*, p. 120); deinde: FINIT PROLOGUS. IN NOMINE DEI PATRIS ET FILII ET SPIRITUS  
 SANCTI. INCIPIT IPSE LIBER

- (11) Concerning a high column situated in the place where a young man  
who was dead came back to life when the cross of the Lord was  
placed upon him.
- (12) Concerning a church of the holy Mary, containing her tomb, which  
is built in the valley of Josaphat. 5
- (13) Concerning a tower of Josaphat constructed in the same valley.
- (14) Concerning the tombs of Symeon and Joseph.
- (15) Concerning a grotto in the rock of Mount Olivet, opposite the  
valley of Josaphat, <in which there are IV tables and two wells>.
- (16) Concerning the gate of David. 10
- (17) Concerning the place where Judas Scariothis hanged himself with  
a halter.
- (18) Concerning the shape of the great basilica built on Mount Sion, and  
concerning the site of the mount itself.
- (19) Concerning the plot which is called Acheldamag in Hebrew. 15
- (20) Concerning rough and stony regions which stretch out from  
Jerusalem as far as the city of Samuhel, and towards the west reach  
as far as Caesarea in Palestine.
- (21) Concerning the mount of Olives.
- (22) Concerning the altitude and character of that region. 20
- (23) Concerning the place of the Lord's ascension.
- (24) Concerning a church built there.
- (25) Concerning the sepulchre of Lazarus and a church built over it.
- (26) Concerning a monastery adjoining it.
- (27) Concerning a church built at the right-hand side of Bethany. 25
- (28) Concerning the vineyards and crops of Mount Olivet.
- (29) Concerning its upper regions.

THUS FAR THE TITLES OF THE FIRST BOOK.

## P. 224 G PRIMUS DE LOCIS SANCTIS OCCUPIT LIBELLUS

## I. DE SITU HIERUSALEM

1. De situ Hierusalem nunc quaedam scribenda sunt pauca ex his quae mihi sanctus dictauit Arculfus; ea uero quae in aliorum libris de ciusdem ciuitatis positione repperiuntur a nobis prtermittenda sunt. 5

2. In cuius magno murorum ambitu idem Arculfus lxxxiiii numeravit turres et portas bis ternas, quarum per circuitum ciuitatis ordo sic ponitur: 3. Porta Dauid ad occidentalem montis Sion partem prima numeratur. Secunda porta uillae fullonis. Tertia porta sancti Stephani. Quarta porta Beniamin. Quinta portula, hoc est paruula porta; ab hac 10 per grados ad uallem Iosafat discenditur. Sexta porta Tecuitis. 4. Hic itaque ordo per earundem portarum et turrium intercapidines a porta Dauid supra memorata per circuitum septemtrionem uersus et exinde ad orientem dirigitur. 5. Sed quamlibet sex portae in muris numerentur celebriores tamen ex eis *<tres>* portarum introitus frequentantur, unus 15 ab occidentali, alter a septemtrionali, tertius ab orientali parte. 6. Ea uero pars murorum cum interpositis turribus quae a supra descripta Dauid porta per aquilonale montis Sion supercilium, quod a meridie supereminet ciuitati, usque ad eam eiusdem montis frontem diregitur quae praerupta rupe orientalem respicit plagam nullas habere portas 20 conprobatur.

P. 225 G 7. Sed et hoc etiam non esse praetereundum uidetur quod nobis sanctus Arculfus de huius ciuitatis in Christo honorificantia profatus narrauit inquiens: 8. Diuersarum gentium undique prope innumera multitudo duodecimo die mensis Septembris anniuersario more in 25 Hierosolimis conuenire solet ad commercia motuis uenditionibus et emtionibus peragenda. 9. Unde fieri necesse est ut per aliquot dies in eadem hospita ciuitate diuersorum hospitentur turbac populorum; quorum plurima camelorum et equorum asinorumque numerositas nec non et boum masculorum, diuersarum uestores rerum, per illas politanas plateas stercorum abominationes priorum passim sternit, quorum nidor herentum non mediocriter ciuibis inuehit molestiam, quae et ambulandi inpeditionem praebent. 10. Mirum dictu, post diem supra memoratarum recessionis cum diuersis turmarum iumentis nocte subsequente immensa pluuiarum copia de nubibus effusa super eandem 35 discendit ciuitatem, quae totas abstergens abominabiles de plateis sordes ablutam ab inmunditiis fieri facit eam. 11. Nam Hierosolimitanus ipse situs a superculo aquilonali montis Sion incipiens ita est molli a

I. cf. Beda, *De Locis Sanctis*, c. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Titulum om. α <sup>4</sup> mihi id est adamnano B <sup>sanctus . . .</sup> Arculfus om. B  
<sup>8</sup> ponitur id est porta B <sup>10</sup> portula α Beda: porta B (*Beda<sup>M</sup>*) <sup>11</sup> gradus YZB  
 iosaſad Y. iosapfat<sup>b</sup> B decuitis Z. t<sup>h</sup>ecuitis B <sup>14</sup> quaelibet YB <sup>15</sup> tres  
*Beda: om. ω* <sup>17</sup> supradescripta YP: suprascripta Z. supradicta B <sup>18</sup> aquilonale

THE BEGINNING OF THE FIRST BOOK  
CONCERNING THE HOLY PLACES

(1) CONCERNING THE SITE OF JERUSALEM

I now propose to write a little of what the holy Arculf told me concerning the site of Jerusalem, omitting the matter that is contained in the 5 books of others about the position of that city. In the great compass of its walls Arculf counted eighty-four towers and six gates, their order in the circuit of the city being thus. The gate of David at the west side of Mount Sion is the first, the second the gate of the fuller's house, the third the gate of the holy Stephen, the fourth the gate of Benjamin: the 10 fifth is a *portula* (a little gate, that is) from which steps lead down to the valley of Josaphat, and the sixth is the gate of Tecua. That is the order then when you make the circuit from the above-mentioned gate of David, northwards and then eastwards, through the spaces between the various gates and towers. But though the number of gates in the walls is six, 15 nevertheless of these, <three> entrances are in common use, one on the west side, the second on the north, the third on the east. That portion of the walls then, with towers at intervals, which extends from the gate of David described above, over the northern summit of mount Sion (which dominates the city from the south), as far as that side of the 20 mountain where a cliff looks out eastwards, is certainly without gates.

This item too which the holy Arculf related to us concerning the special honour in Christ of this city ought not, it seems, to be passed over. On the twelfth day of the month of September, he says, there is an annual custom whereby a huge concourse of people from various nations every- 25 where is wont to come together in Jerusalem to do business by mutual buying and selling. Consequently it happens inevitably that crowds of different peoples are lodged in this hospitable city for some days. Owing to the very great number of their camels, horses, asses, and oxen, all carriers of divers merchandise, filth from their discharges spreads every- 30 where throughout the city streets, the stench proving no little annoyance to the citizens, and walking being impeded. Wonderful to relate, on the night of the day on which the said bands depart with their various beasts of burden, there is released from the clouds an immense downpour of rain, which descends on the city, and renders it clean of dirt by purging 35 away all the abominable filth from the streets. For the site itself of Jerusalem is so arranged by God, its founder, on a gentle incline, falling

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Y: aquilonalem PZB    quod] quae B       19 eam *om.* B       20 quae  $\alpha$  Beda: qui a B  
 22 hoc opus B    nobis] noster B       23 profatus B: praefatus PZ. *om.* Y       24 in-  
 numerā prope B       25 duodecimo Y: xv PZB       30 uestores Y. uectorum PZB  
 32 herentum *om.*  $\alpha$        37 inmundis P       38 a (1) *om.* B       molli] glossa  
*i.* sclemon *praecedit* in P, id est sclemon *sequitur* in Z

P. 226 G conditore Deo dispositus cliuo usque ad humiliora aquilonalium orientaliumque murorum loca ut illa pluuiialis exuberantia nullo modo in plateis stagnantium aquarum in similitudinem superscdere possit sed instar fluuorum de superioribus ad inferiora decurrat. 12. Quae scilicet caelestium aquarum inundatio per orientales influiens portas et omnia 5 secum stercuralia auferens abhominamenta uallem Iosaphat intrans torrentem Cedron auget, et post talem Hierusolimitanam baptismationem continuatim eadem pluuiialis exuberatio cessat.

13. Hinc ergo non neglegenter annotandum est quanti uel qualis honoris haec electa et praedicabilis ciuitas in conspectu aeterni genitoris 10 habeatur, qui cam sordidatam diutius remanere non patitur, sed ob eius unigeniti honorificantiam citius eam emundat, qui intra murorum eius ambitum sanctae crucis et resurrectionis ipsius loca habet honorifica.

14. Ceterum in illo famoso loco ubi quondam templum magnifice constructum fuerat in uicinia muri ab oriente locatum nunc Saracini 15 quadrangulam orationis domum, quam subrectis tabulis et magnis trabibus super quasdam ruinarum reliquias construentes uili fabricati P. 227 G sunt opere, ipsi frequentant; quae utique domus tria hominum milia, ut fertur, capere potest.

## II. DE ECLESIA ROTUNDAE FORMULAE SUPER SEPULCHRUM DOMINI AEDIFICATA (ET DE IPSIUS SEPULCHRI FIGURA ET EIUS TEGORIOLI)

20

1. Arculfus itaque de ipsius ciuitatis habitaculis a nobis interrogatus respondens ait: Memini me et uidisse et frequentasse multa ciuitatis eiusdem edificia plurimasque domus grandes lapideas per tctam magnam 25 ciuitatem intra moenia circumdata mira fabricatas arte sepius considerasse. 2. Quae omnia nunc a nobis sunt praetermittenda, ut estimo, exceptis eorum edificiorum structuris quae in locis sanctis, crucis uidelicet et resurrectionis, mirifice fabricata sunt. De quibus diligentius sanctum interrogauimus Arculfum, praecipuae de sepulchro Domini et 30 eclesia super illud constructa, cuius mihi formulam in tabula cerata Arculfus ipse depinxit.

3. Quae utique ualde grandis eclesia tota lapidea mira rotunditate ex omni parte conlocata, a fundamentis in tribus consurgens parietibus, inter unum quemque parietem et alterum latum habens spatium uiae, 35 tria quoque altaria in tribus locis parietis medii artifice fabricatis.

14-19 cf. Beda, c. 2, p. 306, 1-6 Geyer.

11. cf. Beda, c. 2.

5 influens <i>Bieler</i> ] interfluens P.	interfluens YZ.	influens B	6 iosafrath <sup>h</sup> B
7 cedronaget Z	8 pluuiialis] fluminalis α	cesset B	10 iudicis et genitoris B
11 sordidam B	12 quae B	13 honorificata B	15 uicinia Z <sup>c</sup> B: uicina α
15 saraceni Y: sarraceni ZB		16 quadrangulum YPB*	

away from the northern summit of mount Sion to the low-lying regions at the northern and eastern walls, that this great flood of rain cannot by any means lie stagnant on the streets, but flows like torrents from the higher regions to the low-lying. The flood of heavenly waters, then, pouring through the eastern gates, and bearing all the filth and nuisance 5 with it, enters the valley of Josaphat, swells the torrent of Cedron, and after such a baptism of Jerusalem straightway the copious flood ceases. Thus one should carefully note the magnitude and character of the honour which this chosen and famous city has in the sight of the eternal father, who does not suffer it to remain soiled for long, but quickly 10 cleanses it out of reverence for his only begotten son, who has the honoured places of his holy cross and resurrection within the compass of its walls.

However, in the celebrated place where once the temple (situated towards the east near the wall) arose in its magnificence, the Saracens 15 now have a quadrangular prayer house. They built it roughly by erecting upright boards and great beams on some ruined remains. The building, it is said, can accommodate three thousand people at once.

(2) CONCERNING A CHURCH OF ROUND SHAPE THAT IS  
BUILT OVER THE LORD'S SEPULCHRE, (AND CONCERNING 20  
THE SHAPE OF THE SEPULCHRE ITSELF AND OF ITS  
DOMED STRUCTURE )

Arculf then, when we questioned him about the dwellings of the city itself, said in reply: 'I recall seeing and visiting many buildings in the city, and often studying several great stone mansions built with wondrous 25 skill throughout the whole great city within the surrounding walls.' But I think we must now pass over all these, except for those structures which have been wondrously raised in the holy places, the places that is of the cross and resurrection. We questioned the holy Arculf carefully concerning these, especially concerning the sepulchre of the Lord and the 30 church built over it, the shape of which Arculf himself depicted for me on a waxed tablet.

Well, this extremely large church, all of stone, and shaped to wondrous roundness on every side, rises up from its foundations in three walls. Between each two walls there is a broad passage, and three altars too 35 are in three skilfully constructed places of the centre wall. Twelve stone

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20-22 DE . . . AEDIFICATA leguntur in B: om. α ET . . . TEGORIOLI ex capitulationibus  
suppl. Geyer 23 initium capitinis littera capitali grandiore indicatur in Y 24-25  
eiusdem ciuitatis B 25 domos B 27 pretermittenda P 28 sanctis om. B  
29 II De quibus . . . P diligenter B 31 formam α; sed cf. p. 46, 13 33  
hic cap. II incipit in Z 36 fabricata Y

4. Hanc rotundam et summam eclesiam supra memorata habentem altaria, unum ad meridiem respiciens, alterum ad aquilonem, tertium ad occasum uersus, duodecim mirae magnitudinis sustentant columnae.

P. 228 G 5. Haec bis quaternales portas habet, hoc est [.iiii.or] introitus, per tris e regione interiectis uiarum spatiis stabilitos parietes, ex quibus .iiii.or 5 [exitus] ad ulternum spectant, qui et caecias dicitur uentus, ali uero .iiii.or ad eorum respiciunt.

6. In medio spatio huius interioris rotundae domus rotundum inest in una eademque petra excisum tegorium, in quo possunt ter terni homines stantes orare, et a uertice alicuius non breuis staturaे stantis 10 hominis usque ad illius domunculae camaram pes et semipes mensura in altum extenditur.

7. Huius tegorioli introitus ad orientem respicit; quod totum extrinsecus electo tegitur marmore; cuius exterius summum culmen auro ornatum auream non paruam sustentat crucem. In huius tegorii aquilonea 15 parte sepulchrum Domini in eadem petra interius excisum habetur. 8. Sed eiusdem tegorii pauimentum humilius est loco sepulcri. Nam a pauimento eius usque ad sepulchri marginem lateris quasi trium mensura altitudinis palmorum haberi denoscitur. Sic mihi Arculfus, qui sepe sepulchrum Domini frequentabat, indubitanter emensus pronuntiauit. 20

9. Hoc in loco proprietas siue discrepantia nominum notanda inter P. 229 G monumentum et sepulchrum. Nam illud sepe supra memoratum rotundum tegorium alio nomine euangelistae monumentum uocant; ad cuius hostium aduolutum et ab eius hostio reuolutum lapidem resurgente Domino pronuntiant. 25

10. Sepulchrum uero proprie dicitur ille locus in tegorio, hoc est in aquilonali parte monumenti, in quo Dominicum corpus linteaminibus inuolutum conditum quieuit; cuius longitudinem Arculfus in septem pedum mensura mensus est manu. 11. Quod uidelicet sepulchrum non, ut quidam falso opinantur, duplex et quandam de ipsa maceriolam petra 30 habens excisam duo crura et femora duo intercedentem et separantem, sed totum simplex a uertice usque ad plantas lectum unius hominis capacem super dorsum iacentis prebens, in modum speloncae introitum a latere habens ad austalem monumenti partem e regione respicientem

23 Matth. 27, 60; 28, 8; Marc. 15, 46; 16, 2 sqq.; Luc. 23, 53. 55; 24, 1. 9. 12; Ioh. 19, 41 sq.; 20, 3 sqq.

+ .iiii.or et 6 exitus *Bedam secutus deleui* 6 ad ulternum Y. adulterum P. ad alternum B. ad uulturnum *recte interpretatur* Z: ulturnus *Vita s. Columbae ii*, 44 Dorbb. caecias *Gretser*] calcias α. caltias B alii α 7 post respiciunt: III. DE IPSIUS SEPULCHRI FIGURA ET EIUS TEGURIOLI. De eius sepulchri petra et tegurioli B 9 ter om. ZB, *nescio an recte* 14 exterioris B 15 tegorioli B aquilonalia B 18 post mensura add. a poplite usque ad auriculam B 19 IIII B in margine, addito signo quo ad calcem paginae refertur; ibi, iterato signo: IIII. DE ILLO LAPIDE QUI AD OSTIUM MONUMENTI EIUS ADVOLUTUS EST sepe om. B 21 hoc

columns of wondrous magnitude support this round and lofty church, where are the altars mentioned, one looking south, the second north, the third towards the west. There are two fourfold portals ([four] entrances that is), which cut across the three solid walls facing one another with passageways in between. Four of these [exits] face the Vulturnus wind 5 (which is also called Caecias): the other four face Eurus.<sup>1</sup>

Centrally placed in the interior of this round building is a round domed structure, carved out of one and the same rock, in which it is possible for thrice three men to pray standing, and from the top of a fairly tall man's head, when standing, to the roof of the domed structure there is 10 a space measuring a foot and a half. The entrance of this domed structure faces east. Outside, it is completely covered with choice marble, and its summit, adorned on the outside with gold, supports a fairly large golden cross. The sepulchre of the Lord is in the northern part of the domed structure, carved out of one and the same rock, but the floor of the 15 domed covering is lower than the place of the sepulchre. For from its floor to the side-edge of the sepulchre one can perceive a space of about three hands' height. Arculf, who used often to visit the sepulchre of the Lord, and made the measurement, told me this definitely.

At this juncture, one should note the propriety, or rather the dis- 20 crepancy of nomenclature, as between *monumentum* and *sepulchrum*. That round domed structure that has been often mentioned above, the evangelists call by another name, *monumentum*, to the door of which they state the stone was rolled and rolled away from its door when the Lord arose. The *sepulchrum* properly so called is the place inside the 25 domed structure, in the northern portion of the *monumentum* that is, in which was laid the body of the Lord, wrapped in linen cloths. The length of this, as Arculf measured it with his own hand, made seven feet. The *sepulchrum* then is not, as some people wrongly think, a double structure, with a kind of border cut out of the rock itself to separate and 30 divide the two legs and the two thighs: it is undivided from head to foot, providing a pallet large enough for one man lying on his back. It is in the shape of a cave, with the entrance on the side, directly facing the southern portion of the *monumentum*, and with a low, man-made vault

<sup>1</sup> This troublesome passage may have been subsequently glossed for clarification. It is not clear whether A. wishes to say (*a*) that each of the two fourfold entrances is constructed by means of transverse walls built across the concentric walls (taking *tres stabilitos parietes* to designate the transverse walls), or (*b*) simply that the entrances are fourfold and cut through the three concentric walls (taking *tres . . . parietes* to designate the concentric walls). And supposing (*b*), whether each of the two entrances is equipped with four portals, or with two portals in the outside wall (*exitus*), and two in the inside wall (*introitus*). Taking Bede's corresponding passage into account (Geyer, 304, 12–14) and the plans in the text, the latter version of (*b*) seems the most likely.

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... 22 sepulchrum *om.* Y      21 siue] sine PZ, uel B      22 supra saepe YZ      26 uero  
*om.* B      30 maceriolam petia P. petra maceriolam Y. maceriola petram ZB

culmenque humile desuper eminens fabrefactum. 12. In quo utique sepulchro dudae lampades iuxta numerum duodecim sanctorum apostolorum semper die ac nocte ardentes lucent, ex quibus .iiii.or in imo illius lectuli sepulchralis loco inferius positae, aliae uero bis quaternales super eius marginem superius conlocatae ad latus dexterum oleo 5 nutritae praefulgent.

13. Sed et hoc etiam notandum esse uidetur quod mausoleum Saluatoris, hoc est sepe supra memoratum tegorium, speleum siue P. 230 G spelonca recte uocitari possit; de quo uidelicet Domino Iesu Christo in ea sepulto propheta uaticinatur dicens: *Hic habitauit in excelsa 10 spelunca petrae fortissimae*, et paulo post de ipsius Domini resurrectione ad apostolos letificandos subinfert: *Regem cum gloria uidebitis.*

14. Supradictae igitur rotundae eclesiae formulam cum rotundo tegoriolo in eius medio collocato, in cuius aquilonali parte Dominicum habetur sepulchrum, subiecta declarat pictura, nec non et trium aliarum 15 figuras eclesiarum, de quibus inferius intimabitur. 15. Has itaque quaternalium figuras eclesiarum iuxta exemplar quod mihi, ut superius dictum est, sanctus Arculfus in paginola figurauit cerata depinximus, non quod possit earum similitudo formari in pictura sed ut Dominicum monumentum licet tali uili figuraione in medietate rotundae eclesiae 20 constitutum monstretur aut quae huic propior eclesia uel quae eminus posita declaretur.

### III. <DE ILLO LAPIDE QUI AD HOSTIUM MONUMENTI EIUS ADVOLUTUS EST>

1. Sed inter haec de illo supra memorato lapide qui ad hostium 25 P. 232 G monumenti Dominici post ipsius Domini sepulturem crucifixi multis trudentibus uiris aduolutus est breuiter intimandum esse uidetur; quem Arculfus intercisum et in duas diuisum partes refert, cuius pars minor ferramentis dolata quadratum altare in rotunda supra descripta eclesia ante hostium sepe illius memorati tegorii, hoc est Dominici monumenti, 30 stans constitutum cernitur, maior uero illius lapidis pars aequa circum-dolata in orientali eiusdem eclesiae loco quadrangulum aliud altare sub linteaminibus stabilitum exstat.

2. De illius ergo petrae coloribus in qua illud sepe dictum tegoriolum dolatorum ferramentis interius cauatum habetur Dominicumque 35 sepulchrum in aquilonali loco ipsius habens de una eademque petra

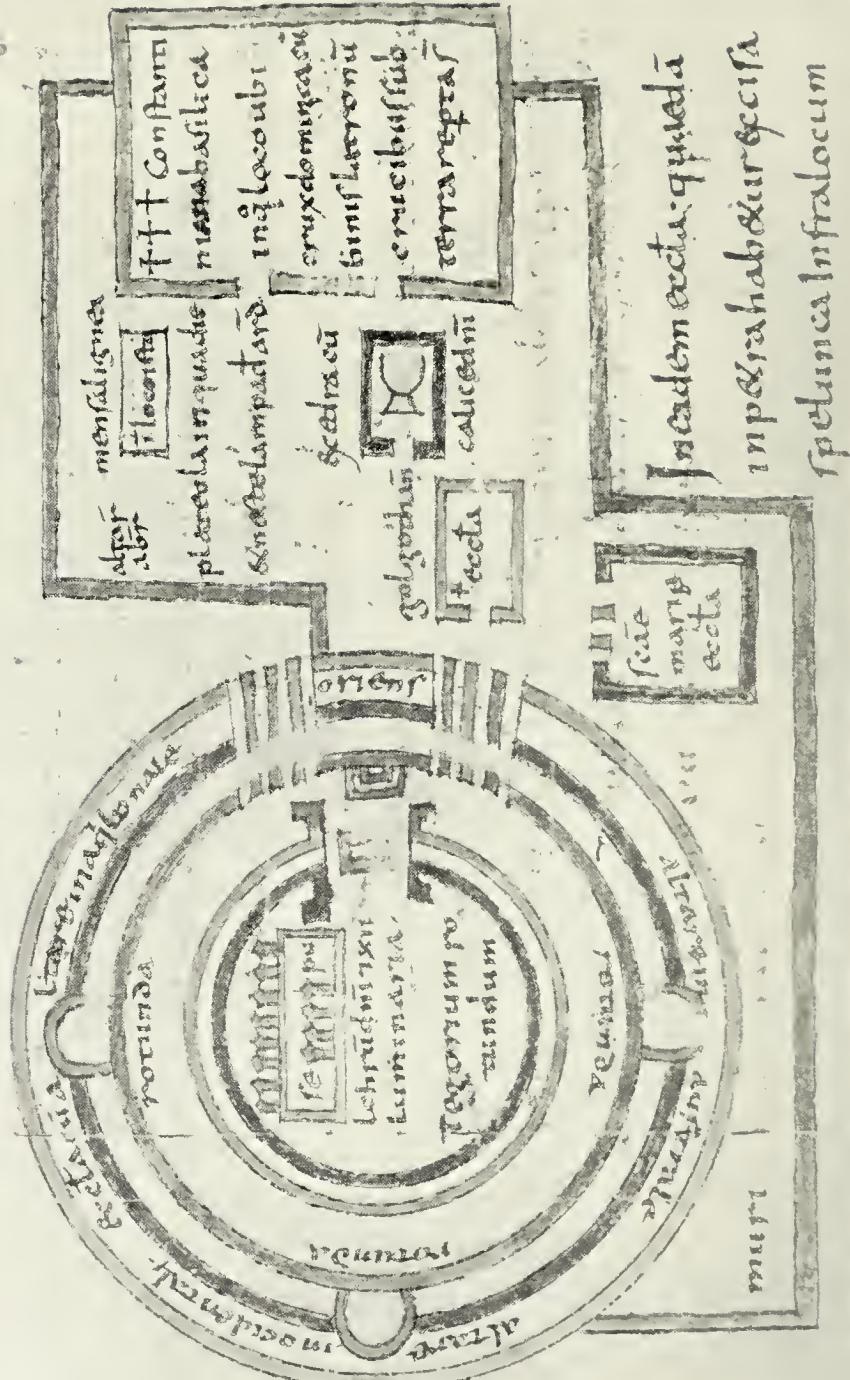
10-11 Isa. 33, 16 (=LXX, cf. Hier. in Matth. 27, 64 sqq.; in Isa. *ad loc.*; in Ezech. 47). 12 Isa. 33, 17. III. cf. Beda, c. 2.

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1 fabrefactum] fabricatum B 3 ac] et B 5 marginem eius α 6 prae-fulgentes Y 7-12 om. Y 7 quod mausoleum] quod magis oleum P. quod maius oleum Z\*. qui ama<sup>u</sup>solum (u s.l. et i corr. in e B<sup>2</sup>) B 12 subinfertur PZ



nem & trum aliarum figuris ecclenicarum: De quibus  
inferus intima huius.



rising above. Now in this *sepulchrum*, according to the number of the twelve holy apostles, twelve burning lamps shine always day and night. Four of them are placed low down at the bottom of the sepulchral bed: the other eight are placed higher up above the margin towards the right-hand side. They are fed with oil and shine brightly.

5

It seems noteworthy moreover that the mausoleum of the Saviour, the domed structure that has often been mentioned above, might correctly be called a cavern or cave; and doubtless the prophet prophesies concerning the burial of the Lord Jesus Christ in it when he says 'he shall dwell in a high cave of the strongest rock', and shortly afterwards 10 (concerning the resurrection of the same Lord), in order to make the apostles rejoice, he adds: 'you shall see the king with glory'.

This drawing appended indicates the shape of the round church mentioned above, with the round domed structure placed in the centre of it, in the northern portion of which is the Lord's sepulchre. It 15 exhibits also plans of three other churches, of which there will be an account below. We have drawn these plans of the four churches after the model which (as already stated) the holy Arculf sketched for me on a wax surface. Not that it is possible to exhibit their likeness in a drawing, but in order that the *monumentum* of the Lord might be shown, placed 20 as it is in the middle of the round church, albeit in a rough sketch, or that it might be made clear which church is situated near or far away from it.

### (3) <CONCERNING THE STONE WHICH WAS ROLLED TO THE DOOR OF THE MONUMENTUM >

25

At this juncture a brief account seems desirable of the stone (mentioned above), which was rolled to the door of the Lord's *monumentum* with the assistance of many men, after his crucifixion and burial. According to Arculf it is split and divided into two parts. The smaller portion, dressed by tools and set up as a square altar, can be seen standing in the 30 round church mentioned above: the larger portion of the stone, similarly dressed on all sides, forms another quadrangular altar covered by linens in the eastern part of the same church.

Then, concerning the colouring of the rock, in which is the domed structure often mentioned, hollowed out inside by the chisels of the 35 dressers, and containing in its northern portion the Lord's *sepulchrum*

<sup>13</sup> V. DE ECCLESIA SANCTAE MARIAE SEMPER UIRGINIS. QUAE ROTUNDAE COHERET ECCLESIAE Supradictae . . . B <sup>14</sup> medio eius α aquilonari B <sup>16</sup> intimabitur] *hic legitur in α*: In eadem . . . misteria; *quae uerba cum Delpit, Tobler, Geyer post p. 48, 21 transponenda sunt* <sup>17</sup> superius] saepius Y <sup>23</sup> III. *hic PZ. Titulum ex capitulationibus suppleui* <sup>26</sup> crucifixi sepulturem YZB <sup>29</sup> descripta] scripta α <sup>32</sup> eiusdem] eius eius B <sup>35</sup> habetur *om. α*

excisum quā et monumentum, hoc est ipsum tegorium, Arculfus a me interrogatus dixit: 3. Illud Dominici monumenti tegorium nullo intrinsecus ornatū tectū usque hodie per totam eius cauaturam ferramentorum ostendit uestigia, quibus dolatores siue excisores in eodem usi sunt opere. Color uero illius eiusdem petrae monumenti et 5 sepulchri non unus sed duo permixti uidentur, ruber utique et albus, unde et bicolor eadem ostenditur petra. Sed de his ista sufficient.

#### IV. DE ECLESIA SANCTAE MARIAE UIRGINIS QUAE ROTUNDAE COHERET ECLESIAE

Caeterum de sanctorum structuris locorum pauca addenda sunt 10  
 P. 233 G aliqua. Illi rotundae eclesiae supra sepius memoratae, quae et anastassis, hoc est resurrectio, uocitatur, quae in loco Dominicae resurrectionis fabricata est, a dextera coheret parte sanctae Mariae matris Domini quadrangulata eclesia.

#### V. DE ILLA ECLESIA QUAE IN CALUARIAE LOCO CONSTRUCTA EST

15

1. Alia uero pergrandis eclesia orientem uersus in illo fabricata loco qui Ebraicae Golgotha uocitatur; cuius in superioribus grandis quaedam aerea cum lampadibus rota in funibus pendit, infra quam magna argentea crux infixa statuta est eodem in loco ubi quondam lignea crux in qua 20 passus est humani generis Saluator infixa stetit.

2. In eadem uero eclesia quaedam in petra habetur excisa spelunca infra locum Dominicae crucis, ubi super altare pro quorundam honoratorum animabus sacrificium offertur; quorum corpora interim in platea iacentia ponuntur ante ianuam eiusdem Golgothanae eclesiae usquequo 25 finiantur illa pro ipsis defunctis sacrosancta mysteria.

#### VI. <DE BASILICA QM CONSTANTINUS UICINAM SUPRADICTAE ECLESIAE IN EODEM FABRICAVIT LOCO UBI CRUX DOMINI RUINIS SUPERATA POST MULTA TEMPORA REFOSA INUENTA EST TERRA >

30

1. Huic eclesiae in loco Caluariae quadrangulata fabricatae structura  
 P. 234 G lapidea illa uicina orientali in parte coheret basilica magno cultu a rege

III. cf. Beda, c. 2, p. 305, 4-5 Geyer.

VI. cf. Beda, c. 2, pp. 303, 20-25; 305, 10-12 Geyer.

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3 cauaturam] camaraturam B, *nescio an recte* 5 usi] uisi PB\* 6 ruber  
 PZ: rubor B. rubeus Y 8 IIII α: *textus continuatur in B. Titulus in B solo, sed*  
*supra p. 46, 13* 11 anastassis Y\*, anastasis Y<sup>c</sup>. B ex corr. anathasis P. anathasis Z  
 13 Domini om. B 15 VI. DE . . . EST. VII. ET DE BASILICA CONSTANTINI B: *titulus*  
*deest in α* 17 fabricata est α; sed cf. pp. 42, 33 sqq.; 44, 29 sqq., alibi 20  
 crux . . . lignea om. familia Z 21 est passus B 22-26 post p. 46, 16

(which is cut out of the very same rock as the *monumentum*, that is the domed structure itself), Arculf when questioned by me said: That domed structure which constitutes the Lord's *monumentum* is devoid of ornament on the inside, and up to this day shows the traces of the tools which the dressers or cutters used in their work. However, the colour of the rock 5 (which is one and the same for *monumentum* and *sepulchrum*) is not one. Two colours seem to be mixed, red that is, and white, and as a result the same rock presents a two-coloured aspect. But let the foregoing remarks suffice on this topic.

#### (4) CONCERNING A CHURCH OF THE HOLY VIRGIN MARY 10 WHICH ADJOINS THE ROUND CHURCH

Some few remarks, however, should be added concerning the buildings of the holy places. On the right-hand side adjoining the round church often mentioned above, which is also called Anastasis (that is, resurrection), and which is built in the place of the Lord's resurrection, there 15 is a quadrangular church of the holy Mary, mother of the Lord.

#### (5) CONCERNING THE CHURCH WHICH IS BUILT IN THE PLACE OF CALVARY

Towards the east, in the place that is called in Hebrew Golgotha, another very large church has been erected. In the upper regions of 20 this a great round bronze chandelier with lamps is suspended by ropes and underneath it is placed a large cross of silver, erected in the selfsame place where once the wooden cross stood embedded, on which suffered the Saviour of the human race.

Now in this church, beneath the place of the Lord's cross, there is 25 a grotto cut out of the rock where sacrifice is offered on an altar for the souls of certain privileged persons. Meanwhile their remains are laid out in the court before the door of this church of Golgotha, until such time as the holy mysteries for the deceased are completed.

#### (6) (CONCERNING A BASILICA WHICH CONSTANTINE 30 ERECTED NEAR THE CHURCH MENTIONED ABOVE, IN THE PLACE WHERE THE CROSS OF THE LORD WAS FOUND BURIED UNDER DEBRIS, WHEN AFTER A LONG LAPSE OF TIME THE GROUND WAS DUG UP)

On the eastern side, adjoining this church in the place of Calvary 35 (which is built of stone in quadrangular shape) there is the neighbouring

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intimabitur in α: om. B      25 Golgothaneae P      27 vi PZ. *Textus continuatur in*  
YB. *Titulum ex capitulationibus suppleuit Geyer*

Constantino constructa, quae et martirium appellatur, in eo, ut fertur, fabricatum loco ubi crux Domini cum aliis latronum binis crucibus sub terra abscondita post ducentorum triginta trium ciclos annorum ipso Domino donante reperta est. 2. Inter has itaque duales eclesias ille famosus occurrit locus in quo Abraham patriarcha altare conposuit, 5 super illud inponens lignorum struem, et ut Isaac suum immolaret filium euaginatum arripuit gladium; ubi nunc mensa habetur lignea non parua, super quam pauperum elimosinae a populo offeruntur.

3. Sed et hoc mihi diligentius interroganti sanctus addidit Arculfus inquiens: Inter anastassim, hoc est illam sepe supra memoratam 10 rotundam eclesiam, et basilicam Constantini quaedam patet plateola usque ad eclesiam Golgothanam; in qua uidelicet plateola die et nocte semper lampades ardent.

## VII. DE ALIA EXEDRA IN QUA CALIX DOMINI ET SPONGIA IN EO RECONDITA HABETUR QUA IN LIGNO PENDENS 15 ACOETUM SUXERAT

1. Inter illam quoque Golgothanam basilicam et martirium quaedam inest exedra, in qua calix Domini, quem a se benedictum propria manu in caena pridiae quam pateretur ipse conuiua apostolis tradidit conuiuan-  
P. 235 G tibus; qui argenteus calix sextarii Gallici mensuram habens duasque in 20 se ansulas ex utraque parte altrinsecus contenens compositas. 2. In quo utique calice illa inest *spungia* quam *aceto plenam hisopo circumponentes* Dominum crucifigentes *obtulerunt ori eius*. 3. De hoc eodem calice, ut fertur, Dominus post resurrectionem cum apostolis conuiuans bibit. Quem sanctus Arculfus uidit, et per illius scrinioli ubi reconditus 25 habetur operculi foramen pertusi manu tetigit propria osculatus. Quem uidelicet calicem uniuersus ciuitatis populus cum ingenti ueneratione frequentat.

## VIII. DE LANCEA MILITIS QUA LATUS DOMINI IPSE CONPUNXIT

30

Idem Arculfus nihilominus et illam conspexit lanceam militis qua latus Domini in cruce pendentis ipse percusserat. Haec eadem lancea in

vii. cf. Beda, c. 2, p. 305, 5-10 Geyer. 18 cf. Canonem Missae Sacramentarii Gelasiani et Missale Stowense fol. 27<sup>v</sup>. 22-23 Ioh. 19, 29. viii. cf. Beda, c. 2, p. 305, 16-18 Geyer.

2 Domini om. B 3 ducentorum et B trium] .ū. s.l. B ciclos] circulos Y, cf. p. 52, 16 4 VII. Inter . . . Z 6 Isac P 9 vi Sed . . . Y 10 ana-  
stassim Y\*B\*: anastasim B<sup>c</sup>, anathasim P. anasthasim (h s.l.) Z; uide supra, ad p. 48, 11  
12 et] ac P, fortasse recte, cf. p. 46, 3 14 VIII B. Numerus hic deest in Z. Titulus deest  
in α 17 marti(-y-YP)rium α; testimonium B 25 scrinuli B 26 pertusi]  
perforatu B 27 calicem om. B 28 frequentabat B 29 VIII B. Titulus  
deest in α CONPUNXIT: pupungit in capitulationibus α

basilica, constructed with great elegance by king Constantine. It is called the *Martyrium*, and is said to be built in the spot where, after the lapse of two hundred and thirty-three years, by the favour of the Lord himself the cross of the Lord, with the crosses of the two thieves, was found hidden beneath the earth. Then, between these two churches,<sup>5</sup> comes the celebrated place where the patriarch Abraham set up an altar, placing upon it a heap of brushwood, and seized the unsheathed sword that he might sacrifice his son. There is a fairly large wooden table there now on which alms are offered by the people for the poor. In answer to my careful inquiry the holy Arculf added the following<sup>10</sup> item, saying: Between Anastasis (that is the round church often mentioned above) and the basilica of Constantine, there is an open court which stretches as far as the church of Golgotha, and in this court night and day there are always lamps burning.

(7) CONCERNING A CHAPEL IN WHICH IS KEPT THE<sup>15</sup>  
CHALICE OF THE LORD, CONTAINING THE SPONGE  
FROM WHICH HE SIPPED VINEGAR WHILE HANGING  
ON THE CROSS

Also, between the basilica of Golgotha and the *Martyrium*, there is a chapel<sup>1</sup> in which is the chalice of the Lord, which he himself blessed<sup>20</sup> with his own hand and gave to the apostles when reclining with them at supper the day before he suffered. The chalice is silver, has the measure of a Gaulish pint, and has two handles fashioned on either side. It contains the sponge which was soaked in vinegar, placed on hyssop by those who crucified the Lord, and put to his lips. After the resurrection the<sup>25</sup> Lord drank from this same chalice, according to the story, when supping with the apostles. The holy Arculf saw it, and through an opening of the perforated lid of the reliquary where it reposes, he touched it with his own hand which he had kissed. All the people of the city flock to it with great veneration.

30

(8) CONCERNING THE SOLDIER'S LANCE WITH WHICH HE  
PIERCED THE SIDE OF THE LORD

Arculf saw the soldier's lance as well, with which he pierced the side of the Lord when he was hanging on the cross. This lance is in the porch of the basilica of Constantine, inserted in a wooden cross, and its haft<sup>35</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Roman building from the classical period onwards, *exedra* regularly designated an alcove, recess, or hall suitable for meetings and discussions. Such alcoves were a common feature in the gardens of ornate villas (there is a good example in the so-called Flavian amphitheatre on the Palatine Hill). Here (and in *VC*, iii. 19) it clearly means a side-chapel or separate chamber of some kind.

porticu illius Constantini basilicae inserta habetur in cruce lignea, cuius astile in duas intercicum partes; quam similiter tota Hierusolimitana frequentans osculatur et ueneratur ciuitas.

#### VIII. DE SUDARIO ILLO QUO DOMINI CAPUT SEPULTI CONTECTUM EST

5

1. De illo quoque sacrosancto Domini sudario quod in sepulchro super capud ipsius fuerat positum sancti Arculfi relatione cognouimus, qui illud propriis conspexit obtutibus, hanc quam nunc craxamus narrationem, quam totus Hierusolimitanus ueram esse protestatur populus; plurimorum namque testimonio fidelium Hierusolimitanorum ciuium

P. 236 G hanc pronuntiationem sanctus dedit Arculfus, qui sic ipso intentius audiente sepius pronuntiarunt dicentes:

2. Ante annos ferme ternos sacrosanctum linteolum, quod quidam satis idoneus credulus Iudaeus de sepulchro Domini statim post eius resurrectionem furatus multis diebus apud se occultauit, ipso donante 15 Domino post multorum circulos annorum repertum in notitiam totius populi uenit. 3. Ille igitur felix et fidelis furax illud Dominicum sudarium quod in primis furanter abstulit in extremis constitutus duobus filiis manifestans accersitis detulit dicens: 4. ‘O filioli mei, nunc obtio uobis datur. Dicat ergo quisque e duobus quid potius obtare desideret unus, 20 ut et ego indubitanter scire possim quis ex uobis erit cui iuxta propriam obtionem aut omnem substantiam meam quam habeo commendare debeo aut hoc solummodo sacrum Domini sudarium.’ 5. Quibus auditis ex ore patris uerbis unus qui obtauit genitoris diuitias accipere uniuersas suscipit eas a patre iuxta promissionem sub testamento commendatas. 25 6. Mirum dictu, ex illa die omnes eius diuitiae et patrimonia omnia propter quae sudarium Domini uendidit decrescere coeperunt et uniuersa quae habuit diuersis casibus perdata ad nihilum redacta sunt. 7. Alter uero supradicti beati furacis filius beatus, qui sudarium Domini omnibus pretulit patrimoniis, ex qua die illud de manu morientis 30 accipit genitoris magis ac magis crescens donante Deo terrenis etiam opibus est ditatus nec fraudatus caelestibus. 8. Et ita hoc Dominicum P. 237 G sudarium patres filiis de eiusdem ter beati hominis semine nati quasi hereditario iure fideles fidelibus secundum eorum prosapiae seriem

VIII. cf. Beda, c. 4.

2 intercicum] intercicum est α: scisum (*altera s.s.l.*) B      4 x B. *Titulus deest*  
in α      10 testimonio P: csse testimonium ZB, om. Y      11 dedit Z\*, dedit P\*:  
didicit YPcZcB      12 pronuntiauerunt B      14 post Domini uno folio mutilus P  
17 illum B      18 inprimis ω: *distinx*      19 arcersitis Z, arcessitis B      filii B  
25 suscipit B\*: suscepit YZBc      27 quae] que B: quas YZ      29 beati om. B  
31 accipit B\*: accepit YZBc      crescens om. B      32 celestibus B      34  
fidelis Y

is split in two parts. To it too in like fashion the whole city of Jerusalem flocks to kiss and venerate it.

### (9) CONCERNING THE SHROUD WITH WHICH THE LORD'S HEAD WAS COVERED WHEN HE WAS BURIED

Concerning the holy shroud of the Lord also, which was placed over 5 his head in the sepulchre, we learned from the holy Arculf (who saw it with his own eyes) the following account which we now set forth, and which all the people of Jerusalem assert to be true. For the holy Arculf got this statement on the testimony of very many of the faithful of Jerusalem, who often told it to him in these terms while he listened intently: <sup>10</sup>

The holy cloth, which a decent believing Jew had stolen from the Lord's sepulchre immediately after the resurrection and hidden at home, about three years ago, by favour of the Lord himself, was discovered after the passage of many years, and came to the knowledge of the whole people. For when he was in his last extremity that fortunate <sup>15</sup> and believing thief summoned his two sons, showed them the Lord's shroud that he had originally stolen, and offered it to them saying: 'My sons, you now have a choice. Let each one of you say then what his wish is, so that I can know for certain to which one of you, according to his wish, I ought to bequeath either all the substance I have or just this <sup>20</sup> sacred shroud of the Lord.' On hearing these words from the lips of his father, one, whose wish it was to get all his father's wealth, took this from his brother, his father bequeathing it to him by will according to his promise. Wonderful to relate, from that day forward all his wealth and patrimony for which he had bartered the Lord's shroud began to dwindle, <sup>25</sup> and everything that he had was dissipated in one way or another and reduced to nothing. The other, however, blessed son of the above-mentioned blessed thief, who preferred the shroud of the Lord to all the patrimony, from the day that he received it from the hand of his dying father, by God's favour grew more and more prosperous, and was <sup>30</sup> enriched even with earthly goods while not being deprived of heavenly ones.<sup>1</sup> And so fathers born of the seed of this thrice-blessed man kept handing on the Lord's shroud faithfully to their sons, from one believing custodian to another up to the fifth generation, by a sort of hereditary

<sup>1</sup> The phrase 'terrenis . . . caelestibus' appears to be an echo of some liturgical formula, cf. 'terrena caelestibus sociare' (*Sac. Greg.* p. 303 Wilson; Mozarabic *Liber Sacramentorum*; Euseb. Gall. *Hom.* 647 C; Benedictional of Archbp. Robert, HBS xxiv. 85), and 'terrestria cum caelestibus pacificare' (Mozarabic *Lib. Sac.*; Gregor. Illibert. *Tract.* 205, 17). The two ideas are contrasted rather than harmonized in the postcommunio *Dom. II Adv.* (*Sac. Gel.* and *Sac. Greg.*) and in the collect *fer. V post Dom. IV Quad.* (*Sac. Greg.* = collect *fer. IV post Dom. V Quad.* in *Sac. Gel.*). Cf., too, the collects for *Dom. IV post Pent.* in *Sac. Greg.*; for Wednesday of Advent Quarter-tense; for Wednesday of Easter Week; *Sac. Gel.*, collect *fer. II post Dom. V Quad.*; *Missale Gothicum* (HBS), nos. 166, 241, 302.

fideliter usque ad quintam commendabant generationem. 9. Sed post quintae tempora generationis annorum multis processibus transactis eiusdem cognationis deficientibus hereditariis fidelibus sacrum linteolum in manibus aliquorum infidclium deuenit Iudeorum; qui et ipsi quamlibet indigni tali munere tamen illud honorifice amplexi diuina donante largitione nimis diuersis locupletati opibus dites facti sunt. 10. Iudei uero credentes orta in populo de sudario Domini certa narratione coepcrunt cum infidelibus Iudeis de sacro illo linteamine fortiter contendere totis uiribus illud appetentes in manus accipere; quae subnixa contentio Hierusolitanam plebem in duas dirimit partes, hoc 10 est fideles credulos contra infideles incredulos. 11. Unde et Saracinarum rex nomine Mauias ab utrisque interpellatus partibus ad eos incredulos Iudeos qui sudarium Domini pertinaciter retinebant coram praesentibus Iudeis Christianis inter utrosque deiudicans dixit: 'Sacrum quod habetis linteolum date in mea manu.' Qui regis uerbo obtemperantes 15 illud de scrinio proferentes regnatoris in sinum deponunt. 12. Quod cum magna reuerentia suscipiens rex in platea coram omni populo rogum fieri iussit; quo nimia inflammatione ardente surgens ipse et ad ipsum accedens rogum eleuata uoce ad utrasque discordes dixit partes: 13. 'Nunc Christus mundi Saluator, passus pro humano genere qui hoc 20

P. 238 G quod nunc in sinu conteneo sudarium in sepulchro suum super capud habuit positum, inter uos de hoc eodem linteo contendentes per flammam iudicet ignis, ut sciamus cui parti horum duum excrcituum contentiosorum hoc tale donum condonare dignetur.' Et haec dicens sacrum Domini sudarium proiecit in flamas. 14. Quod nullo modo ignis 25 tangere potuit, sed integrum et incolome de rogo surgens quasi aus expansis alis coepit in sublimae uolare et utrasque desidentes contra se populi partes et quasi in procinetu belli consertas sedentes acies de summis prospiciens †duas in uacuo aere per aliquorum interuallum momentorum circumuolans proinde paulatim descendens Deo gubernante ad partem Christianorum interim Christum iudicem exorantium declinans in eorum conscdit sinu; 15. qui Deo gratias leuatis ad caelum manibus agentes cum ingenti laetatione ingeniculantes sudarium Domini magna cum honorificentia suscipiunt ad se de caelo uenerabile emisum donum ymnificasque laudes Christo eius donatori refferunt et in scrinio 30 eclesiae in alio inuolutum linteamine recondunt. 16. Quod noster frater Arculfus alia die de scrinio eleuatum uidit et inter populi multitudinem illud osculantis et ipse osculatus est in eclesiae conuentu, mensuram longitudinis quasi octonos habens pedcs. De quo haec dicta sufficient.

2 generationis tempora YZ	3 linteum YB	4 manus Y <sup>c</sup> B	iude-
orūm deuenit Y	6 diuites YZ (ditem <i>bis Dorbb.</i> )	10 dirimit] disrupt Z	orūm
11 contra . . . incredulos <i>om.</i> B	sarracenorum ZB	12 mauias ( <i>i.e. Moawiya</i>	
<i>I, d. 680)] nauias B</i>	15 meam manum YZ	16 sinu B	19 discordes
<i>denuo incipit P</i>	21 in sinum teneo B	24 tale] tollere Y	28 populi]

right according to the sequence of their line. But after the time of the fifth generation when, with the passage of many years, believing heirs of this line began to fail, the sacred shroud came into the hands of some Jewish unbelievers. They too indeed, however unworthy of such an office, cherished it honourably and by divine generosity became enriched 5 to a high degree with goods of various kinds. But when the true story of the Lord's shroud became known among the people, the believing Jews began to contend boldly with the infidel Jews about the sacred cloth, seeking with all their might to get it into their hands. The rivalry aroused divided the people of Jerusalem into two factions, the faithful believers, 10 that is, against the infidel unbelievers. Upon this the king of the Saracens, Mavias by name, when invoked by both sides, in judgment between them said to the infidel Jews (who stubbornly held on to the Lord's shroud) in presence of the Christian Jews: 'Give into my hand the sacred cloth that you have.' They obeyed the behest of the monarch, 15 took it forth from its reliquary, and laid it in his lap. The king took it with great reverence, and bade a pyre be prepared in the court before all the people. When it was burning with great intensity, he got up, went right up to the pyre, and said in a loud voice to the dissident parties: 'Now let Christ the saviour of the world, who suffered for the human race, who 20 had this shroud (which I now hold in my arms) placed on his head in the sepulchre, judge by the flame of the fire between you who contend for this cloth, that we may know on which of these two contending bands he will deign to bestow such a gift.' And so saying he cast the Lord's sacred shroud into the flames. But the fire was completely unable to 25 touch it. Whole and unimpaired it arose from the pyre, and began to flutter on high like a bird with outstretched wings gazing down from above on the two factions of the people thus at variance with one another, two armies set as it were in battle array. For a space of some minutes it fluttered about in the empty air, then gradually coming down it swerved 30 by God's guidance towards the Christian party, who meantime kept beseeching Christ the judge, and it settled in their midst. Lifting their hands to heaven they give thanks to God with great rejoicing, and falling on their knees they receive with great honour this venerable gift sent down to them from heaven. They render hymns of praise to Christ its 35 donor, and wrapping it in another cloth deposit it in a reliquary in the church. One day our brother Arculf saw it raised up from its reliquary, and in the crowded church kissed it himself amongst the multitude of people who were kissing it. It measures about eight feet in length. Let these remarks concerning it suffice.

40

positas B            29 duas *mihi suspectum*            31 christo iudice Y            32 sinu  
 consedit α        33 le(-e)-tatione PB: laetificatione Y, leticia Z            35 ymnificasque Z:  
 hymnificasque Y, ymnificansque P, himnificasque (n.s.l. B<sup>2</sup>) B            37 alio P            39  
 octenos (-us) P) PZ        dicta ita Y, *an legendum ista?*

P. 239 G X. DE ALIO SACRO LINTEO QUOD SICUT FERTUR  
SANCTA MARIA UIRGO MATER DOMINI CONTEXERAT

1. Aliud quoque linteamen maius Arculfus in eadem Hierusolimitana ciuitate uidit, quod, ut fertur, sancta contexit Maria, et ob id magna reuerentia in ecclisia habetum totus ueneratur populus. 2. In quo 5 uidelicet linteo duodecim apostolorum formulae habentur intextae et ipsius Domini imago figurata. Cuius linteaminis una pars rubei coloris et altera e regione in altero latere uiridis habetur in modum uiridium herbarum.

XI. DE ALIA SUMMA COLUMNA IN ILLO SITA LOCO 10  
(CRUCE DOMINI) SUPERPOSITA UBI MORTUUS REUIXIT  
IUUENIS

1. De aliqua ualde summa columnna quae a locis sanctis ad septemtrionalem partem in medio ciuitatis stans pergentibus obuiam habetur breuiter dicendum est. 2. Haec eadem columnna in eo statuta loco ubi 15 mortuus iuuenis cruce Domini superposita reuixit mirum in modum in aestiuo solistitio meridianu[m] tempore ad centrum caeli sole perueniente umbram non facit, solistitio autem transmisso, quod est viii kalendas Iulias, ternis diebus interiectis paulatim decrescente die umbram primum facit breuem, deinde processu dierum longiorem. 3. Haec 20 itaque columnna, quam solis claritas in estiuo solistitio meridianis horis stantis in centro caeli e regione desuper circumfulgens ex omni parte P. 240 G circumfusa perlustrat, Hierusolimam orbis in medio terrae sitam esse protestatur; 4. unde et psalmografus propter sancta passionis et resurrectionis loca quae intra ipsam Heliam continentur uaticinans canit: 25 *Deus autem rex noster ante saeculum operatus est salutem in medio terrae,* hoc est in Hierusalem, quae mediterranea et umbilicus terrae dicitur.

XII. DE ECLESIA SANCTAE MARIAE SEMPER UIRGINIS IN  
UALLE IOSAPHAT FABRICATA IN QUA MONUMENTUM  
EIUS HABETUR 30

1. Sanctorum locorum sedulus frequentator sanctus Arculfus sanctae Mariae eclesiam in ualle Iosaphat frequentabat; cuius dupliciter fabri-

x. cf. Beda, c. 4 ex. xi. cf. Sulp. Seuerus, *Chron.* ii. 34; Beda c. 2, p. 307, 3-8 Geyer. 26 Ps. 73, 12 (saeculum Corb Cypr Moz<sup>c</sup> GALL: saecula uetera *Psalteria plurima*, VULG; utrumque in LXX). 27 Hieron. in *Ezech.* 5, 5. XII-XIII. cf. Beda, c. 5.

1 XI B 1-2 sic Y, (*litteris minusculis*) P: om. Z. DE LINTEO QUOD UT FERTUR SANCTA CONTEXIT (-UIT B<sup>c</sup>) MARIA UIRGO B 4 contextit α: conteξ-B 8-9 in... herbarum om. α 10 XII B Titulus deest in α CRUCE DOMINI om. B, suppleuit ex capitulationibus Geyer 14 obuia (obia P) α 17, 18 solstitio α 17 celi cen-

(10) CONCERNING ANOTHER MANTLE WHICH IT IS SAID  
THE HOLY VIRGIN MARY MOTHER OF THE LORD HAD  
WOVEN

In the same city of Jerusalem Arculf saw another larger cloth too, which it is said the holy Mary wove, and which for that reason is kept 5 with great reverence in the church, venerated by all the people. Now in this cloth likenesses of the twelve apostles are interwoven, and the image of the Lord himself is depicted. One side of this cloth is red in colour, and the other part, on the opposite side, is green like green plants.

(11) CONCERNING A HIGH COLUMN SITUATED IN THE 10  
PLACE WHERE A YOUNG MAN WHO WAS DEAD CAME BACK  
TO LIFE WHEN <THE CROSS OF THE LORD> WAS PLACED  
UPON HIM

A summary account must be given of a very high column which stands in the centre of the city to the north of the holy places facing the passers- 15 by. It is remarkable how this column (which is situated in the place where the dead youth came to life when the cross of the Lord was placed upon him) fails to cast a shadow at midday during the Summer solstice, when the sun reaches the centre of the heavens. When the solstice is passed, however (that is the 8th day before the kalends of July), after 20 an interval of three days, as the day gradually grows shorter it casts a brief shadow at first, then as the days pass a longer one. And so this column, which the sunlight surrounds on all sides blazing directly down on it during the midday hours (when at the Summer solstice the sun stands in the centre of the heavens), proves Jerusalem to be situated at 25 the centre of the world. Hence the psalmist, because of the holy places of the passion and resurrection, which are contained within Helia itself, prophesying sings: 'God our king before the ages hath wrought our salvation in the centre of the earth', that is Jerusalem, which is said to be in the centre of the earth and its navel. 30

(12) CONCERNING A CHURCH OF THE HOLY MARY EVER  
VIRGIN, CONTAINING HER TOMB, WHICH IS BUILT IN  
THE VALLEY OF JOSAPHAT

A sedulous frequenter of the holy places, the holy Arculf used to visit the church of the holy Mary in the valley of Josaphat. It is two-storied, 35

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trum B      21 solisstatio Y: solstitio Z. (-cio) P      22 caeli] poli B      24 psalmo-  
grafus YP      26 sclā B      27 hoc] id B      28 XIII B. *Titulus in B*, (De . . .  
Mariae) YP: *om. Z*      31 sanctorum] sanctorumque Y. et sanctorum Z. *an legendum*  
*sanctorum quoque?*

catae inferior pars sub lapideo tabulato mirabili rotunda structura est fabricata; 2. in cuius orientali parte altarium habetur, ad dexteram uero eius partem Mariae saxeum inest uacuum sepulchrum, in quo aliquando sepulta pausauit. 3. Sed de eodem sepulchro quo modo uel quo tempore aut a quibus personis sanctum corpusculum eius sit sublatum uel in 5 quo loco resurrectionem exspectat nullus, ut refert, pro certo scire potest. 4. Hanc inferiorem rotundam sanctae Mariae eclesiam intrantes illam uident petram ad dexteram parieti insertam supra quam Dominus in agro Getsamani illa nocte qua tradebatur a Iuda in manus hominum peccatorum flexis orauit genibus ante horam traditionis eius; in qua 10 uidelicet petra duorum uestigia genuum eius quasi in caera mollissima P. 241 G profundius impresa cernuntur. 5. Ita nobis noster sanctus frater Arculfus pronuntiauit sanctorum uisitator locorum, qui haec quae nos describimus propriis conspexit oculis. In superiore igitur aequa rotunda eclesia sanctae Mariae iiiii altaria inesse monstrantur. 15

### XIII. DE TURRE IOSAPHAT IN EADEM CONSTRUCTA UALLE

In eadem supra memorata ualle non longe ab eclesia sanctae Mariae turris Iosaphat monstratur, in qua ipsius sepulchrum cernitur.

### XIIII. DE MONUMENTIS SYMEON ET IOSEPH

20

Cui uidelicet turriculae quaedam lapidea domus a dextera coheret parte de rupe excisa et separata montis Oliueti, in qua intrinsecus ferramentis cauata duo monstrantur sepulchra sine aliquo ornatu; quorum unum illius Simeonis iusti uiri est qui infantulum Dominum Iesum in templo ambis complexus manibus de ipso profetauit, alterum 25 uero aequi iusti Ioseph sanctae Mariae sponsi et Domini Iesu nutritoris.

4-7 cf. Ps. Hieron. Epistula ad Paulam et Eustochium de resurrectione beatae Mariae (Hieron. Epist. 9, 2, *PL* 30, 123 CD). Scriptorem aeuī Carolini ex Adamnano hausisse iudicat M. Jugie, *La mort et l'assomption de la Sainte Vierge*, Romae 1954, p. 277, adn. 2.

3 eiusdem B sanctae Mariae Y, fortasse recte 4 pausauit] requieuit et sanctis pertinet B (pausare dicitur *Beda*) 5 in om. PZ 6 refert] fertur α 8 parietis B super YZ 9 getsamani Y, (h s.l.) P: gethsamani Z. gezamani B 10 orauit genibus α: genibus orauit sanctis B eius om. B 11 uestigia duorum B 12 arculfus frater B 15 iiiii] tria Y 16 xiii B Titulus in B, (om. in . . . UALLE) P: deest in YZ add. xv. ET DE MONUMENTIS SYMEON ET IOSEPH B IOSAFATH B 19 iosaphat ZB: iosaphad Y. iosaphath P 20 xiii om. B Titulus deest in ω 25 ambabus YZ complexus B: complexans Y. amplexis (u.s. i) P. amplexus Z prophetizauit PZ

and the lower story, which has a stone ceiling, is built with wondrous roundness. In the eastern portion of it is an altar, and at the right-hand side of the altar is the empty stone sepulchre of the holy Mary, where she was once laid to rest. But how, or when, or by what persons her holy remains were removed from this sepulchre, or where she awaits the 5 resurrection, no one, as it is said, can know for certain.<sup>1</sup> People who enter this lower round church of the holy Mary see on the right, inserted in the wall, the rock on which the Lord prayed on bended knees in the garden of Gethsamani before the hour of his betrayal, on that night on which he was betrayed by Judas into the hands of sinners. Now the 10 imprints of his two knees are visible in this rock, deeply implanted as on the softest wax. So our brother Arculf, a visitor of the holy places, stated to us, who saw the things that we describe here with his own eyes. Then in the upper church of the holy Mary, likewise round, 4 altars are on view.<sup>2</sup>

(13) CONCERNING THE TOWER OF JOSAPHAT CON- 15  
STRUCTED IN THE SAME VALLEY

In the same valley mentioned above, not far from the church of the holy Mary, the tower of Josaphat is pointed out, in which his sepulchre can be seen.

(14) CONCERNING THE TOMBS OF SYMEON AND JOSEPH 20

Adjoining this tower, on the right-hand side, is a stone chamber cut out of the rock of mount Olivet and severed from it. It is vaulted with chisels on the interior, and two unadorned sepulchres are on view there. One of them is that of Symeon, the just man who held the Lord Jesus in his arms as a little infant and prophesied concerning him. The other is that 25 of the equally just Joseph, spouse of the holy Mary, and foster-father of the Lord Jesus.

<sup>1</sup> In view of the recent definition of the Dogma of the Assumption, the implications of this interesting passage deserve analysis in so far as they reveal the attitude of Adamnan (and presumably Arculf) towards an important Christian belief. The remarks imply (a) the belief that Our Lady did in fact die and was buried, and that her resurrection has not yet taken place, (b) possibly the belief that her body did not suffer corruption, (c) agnosticism on other points—the time, manner, and agency of the removal of her body and its present location. All of the points raised are of signal importance in the history of the Dogma. See Jugie, *La Mort et l'Assomption de la Sainte Vierge*, Studi e Testi, 114, Rome, 1954.

The position taken was in fact a normal attitude, maintained by many Christians in the churches of the West from the seventh to the ninth century. Cf. Isidore of Seville (Jugie, 271), Pseudo-Jerome (dependent upon Adamnan, ibid. 279), Adon and Usuard (ibid. 284). The most interesting feature of Adamnan's remarks is that he leaves no room for belief that the resurrection of Mary has already taken place (cf. Jugie, 212). Bede's abridgement of the account in his own tract ought to be noted. He adds a positive statement of the tradition (*ut perhibent*) that the Dormition of Mary took place on Mount Sion (*ibique Sancta Maria obierit*), follows Adamnan's agnosticism on the other points, but omits the phrase 'quo loco resurrectionem exspectat' (*monumentum vacuum, in quo Sancta Maria aliquamdiu pausasse dicitur, sed a quo vel quando sit ablata nescitur*).

In fact the title *Assumptio* for the festival of 15 August does not make its appearance in the western church until the end of the eighth century (Jugie, 202). The primitive title, which is reflected in Adamnan's language, was *Dormitio*, with the variations *Pausatio* or *Natale*. Cf. *Felire of Oengus* (*i mórféil a haithmit* (commemoration)/ *firmáthir ar nathar* and, glosses, *gein Maire dormitatio Marie*), *Martyrology of Gorman* (*etsecht Maire moire, mathair Isu*), but *Martyrology of Tallaght* (*Assumptio Mariae Virginis*).

<sup>2</sup> Taking *sanctae Mariae* with *eclesia* rather than with *III altaria*.

XV. DE SPELUNCA IN RUPE MONTIS OLIUETI HABITA  
 CONTRA UALLEM IOSAFATH, IN QUA QUATUOR MENSAE  
 ET PUTEI SUNT DUO

1. In latere montis Oliueti quaedam inest spelunca haut procul ab  
 P. 242 G eclesia sanctae Mariae in eminentiore loco posita contra uallem Iosafat; 5  
 in qua duo profundissimi habentur putei, quorum unus sub monte in  
 altum infinita profunditate productus extenditur, alter uero in speluncae  
 paumento, cuius uastissima, ut fertur, cuitas in profundum dimersa  
 descendens recto tractu diregitur; qui duo putei semper supercluduntur.  
 2. In eadem ergo spelunca <sup>iiii</sup> insunt lapideae mensae, quarum una est <sup>io</sup>  
 iuxta introitum speluncae ab intus sita Domini Iesu, cui proculdubio  
 mensulae sedes ipsius adheret, ubi cum dudenis apostolis simul ad alias  
 mensas ibidem habetas sedentibus et ipse conuiua aliquando recumbere  
 sepe solitus erat. 3. Illius putei os conclusum, quem in paumento  
 speluncae inesse supra describsimus, apostolorum mensis proprius <sup>15</sup>  
 haberি monstratur. Huius speluncae portula ligneo, ut refert sanctus  
 Arculfus, concluditur hostio, qui eandem Domini speluncam sepius  
 frequentauit.

XVI. DE PORTA DAUID

Porta Dauid montis Sion molli cliuo ab occidentali adheret parte per <sup>20</sup>  
 eandem de ciuitate egredientibus portam, et montem Sion proximum ad  
 sinistram habentibus pons occurrit lapideus eminus per uallem in  
 austrum recto tramite directus, arcibus suffultus.

XVII. DE LOCO IN QUO IUDAS SCARIOTH SE  
 SUSPENDIT

25

Ad cuius medietatem ab occasu ille uicinus habetur locus ubi Iudas  
 P. 243 G Scariothis disperatione coactus laqueo se suspendens disperierat. Ibidem  
 et grandis hodieque monstratur ficus, de cuius, ut fertur, uertice  
 inlaqueatus pependit Iudas, ut de ipso Iuda Iuuencus presbiter uersificus  
 cecinit:

30

Informem rapuit ficus de uertice mortem.

xvii. cf. Beda, c. 3. 31 Iuuencus iv, 631.

1 XVI B 1-2 sic titulus in B: DE SPELUNCA DUORUM PUTEORUM P. Titulus deest in  
 YZ 5 posita] est B iosafad Y. iosaphat B 10 spelunca om. B mensulae Z,  
 fortasse recte, cf. infra l. 12 12 dudenis Y: duodenis PZB 14 solitus sepe B  
 conclusum] clausum B 15 proprius PZB 19 XVII B. Titulus in  
 PB, deest in YZ; add. XVIII ET DE LOCO IN QUO IUDAS SCARIOTH SE SUSPENDIT B

(15) CONCERNING A GROTTO IN THE ROCK OF MOUNT OLIVET, OPPOSITE THE VALLEY OF JOSAPHAT, IN WHICH THERE ARE FOUR TABLES AND TWO WELLS

There is a grotto in the slope of mount Olivet, not far from the church of the holy Mary, situated on high ground opposite the valley of Josaphat, 5 and there are two very deep wells in it. One of them stretches in to a depth of infinite extent beneath the mountain: the other is in the floor of the grotto, and it is said that its immense shaft sinks down dead straight into the depths. Both wells are always closed over. Then in the grotto too there are 4 stone tables, one of which is that of the Lord Jesus 10 (situated near the entrance to the grotto on the interior), and his own seat actually adjoins the little table, where once he used often recline at meals with the twelve apostles, all sitting at the other tables in the same place. The closed well-mouth, the one in the floor of the grotto that we have described above, is closer, it will be observed, to the apostles' 15 tables. According to the account of the holy Arculf, who often visited this grotto of the Lord, its opening is covered by a wooden hatch.

(16) CONCERNING THE GATE OF DAVID

Close by the gradual slope of mount Sion, on its western side, is the gate of David. As one emerges by it from the city, keeping mount Sion 20 nearby on the left, one is confronted by a stone bridge, propped high upon arches and running directly south through the valley.

(17) CONCERNING THE PLACE WHERE JUDAS SCARIOTH HANGED HIMSELF

Half-way along this, hard by on the west, is the place where Judas 25 Scariothis perished when, driven by despair, he hanged himself with a halter. In that spot even today a huge fig tree is pointed out, from the top of which, according to the story, he hung in a noose. As the poet-priest Juvencus sang concerning this same Judas:

He snatched a monstrous death from the top of a fig tree.

30

<sup>22</sup> pons] fons ZB      <sup>23</sup> directus tramite B      <sup>24</sup> Numerus deest in Z. Titulus  
hic deest in w, adest superiore loco (l. 19) in B paragrapho tantum hic adscripta      <sup>26</sup>  
locus om. B      <sup>27</sup> xvii. Ibidem . . . Z      <sup>29</sup> de ipso Iuda] ipse B sapiens  
uersificus Y. uersidicus B      <sup>31</sup> mortem YB\*

XVIII. DE FORMA GRANDIS BASILICAE IN MONTE SION  
FABRICATAE <ET> DE IPSIUS MONTIS SITU

1. Et quia paulo superius montis Sion mentio intercessit, de quadam pergrandi basilica in eo constructa quaedam breuiter succincteque intimanda; cuius sic discribitur formula:

2. Hic petra monstratur super quam Stefanus lapidatus extra ciuitatem obdormiuit; extra hanc supra discriptam grandem basilicam, quae intrinsecus talia sancta complectitur loca, alia memorabilis exstat ad occidentalem partem petra, super quam, ut fertur, flagellatus est Dominus. 3. Haec itaque apostolica eclesia, ut supra dictum est, in montis 10 Sion superiore campestri planitiae lapidea est fabricata structura.

XVIII. DE ILLO AGELLULO QUI EBRAICE ACHEDEMACH  
UOCITATUR

Hunc paruum agellulum ad australem montis Sion plagam situm noster Arculfus sepe frequentans uisitabat, lapidum maceriam habentem; 15 P. 245 G in quo diligentius plurimi humantur peregrini. Alii uero ex ipsis aut pannis aut pelliculis tecti neglegentius relinquuntur inhumati super terrae faciem putrefacti iacentes.

XX. DE ASPERIS ET PETROSIIS LOCIS AB HIERUSALEM  
USQUE AD CIUITATEM SAMUHELIS LATE PATENTIBUS ET 20  
USQUE AD CAESAREAM PALESTINAE OCCASUM UERSUS  
SUCCEDENTIBUS

1. Ab Helia septemtrionem uersus usque ad Samuhelis ciuitatem, quae Armathem nominatur, terra petrosa et aspera per quaedam monstratur interualla; ualles quoque spinosae usque ad Tamniticam regionem 25 patentes. 2. Aliter uero a supradicta Helia et monte Sion qualitas regionum monstratur usque ad Cesaream Palestinæ occasum uersus. Nam quamuis aliqua repperiantur angusta et breuia aspera loca interposita, precipue tamen latiores plani monstrantur campi interpositis laetiores oliuetis.

xviii. 6-7 cf. Beda, c. 2, p. 307, 1 sq. Geyer. 8-9 cf. Beda, c. 2, p. 306,  
20 sq. Geyer. xviii. cf. Beda, c. 3. xx. cf. Beda, c. 5, pp. 308, 24-309,  
5 Geyer.

I XVIII B I-2 DE FORMA GRANDIS BASILICAE IN MONTE SION Y. DE BASILICA  
MONTIS SION P. om. Z 2 ET in capitulationibus α: XX B 5 intimanda sunt  
PZ cuius . . . formula litteris maiusculis Y scribitur B 6 stephanus PZB  
9 partem eius PZ supra B 9-10 dominus flagellatus est YB 12 XXI B.  
Titulus litteris minusculis scriptus in Y. om. Z AGELLULO ILLO B acheldemag Y



De quadā pergrandibasilica in eo constructa. quædā breuit̄ sūc  
einstetq. intimanda. Cuius sic DISCRIBITUR FORMA ILA.



Hic p̄tra monstra  
tur. sup quāstē  
lapidatus & tra  
ciutatē obdormuit.  
Extrahanc sup  
descriptā grande  
basilicā. quae in  
tris ecclesiasticā  
compl&tit loca alia.

memorabilis gestat ad occidentalem partem eius p̄tra. sup quam ut

Vienna, Cod. 458, f. 9v.

Sketch of the Basilica on Mount Sion



Sed & hoc & iā scī arcu fulgret  
one didicim⁹ qđine adān & cū  
da & etā ad consu& vnlā pa  
darū sup̄ m̄noratārū. noctu  
intrinseus refulgentiū luci  
narū p̄p̄ innumerabiles. In  
nocte festua dominc⁹ ascensio  
m̄saliae adic̄ isolat⁹ lampades.

Quarū terribili & ammirabili coqu  
catione. putreas fenestrarū ualua  
habundant̄ effusa. monsolu& n̄ solu

Vienna, Cod. 458, f. 11v.

Sketch of the Church of the Ascension

(18) CONCERNING THE SHAPE OF THE GREAT BASILICA  
BUILT ON MOUNT SION, <AND> CONCERNING THE SITE  
OF THE MOUNT ITSELF

As mention has occurred a little previously of mount Sion, some summary information ought to be given about a huge basilica built on it.<sup>5</sup> This sketch shows its structure. (*See plate.*)

Here is pointed out the rock on which Stephen died by stoning outside the city. Outside this great basilica, described above, which includes such holy places on the inside, there is (on its western side) another memorable rock, on which according to the story the Lord was <sup>10</sup> scourged. This apostolic church then, built as stated above on the upper level plateau of mount Sion, is a stone structure.

(19) CONCERNING THE PLOT WHICH IS CALLED  
ACHELDEMACH IN HEBREW

Our friend Arculf was a frequent visitor to this small plot which is <sup>15</sup> situated towards the southern area of mount Sion. It has an enclosure of stone. A good many pilgrims receive careful burial here; but others are carelessly left lying on the face of the earth in a state of putrefaction, covered by mere rags or skins.

(20) CONCERNING ROUGH AND STONY REGIONS WHICH <sup>20</sup>  
ARE WIDESPREAD FROM JERUSALEM AS FAR AS THE  
CITY OF SAMUHEL, AND TOWARDS THE WEST REACH AS  
FAR AS CAESAREA IN PALESTINE

Northwards from Helia as far as the city of Samuhel, which is named Armathem, one sees at intervals rough and stony country, with thorny <sup>25</sup> valleys that spread as far as the region of Tamnis. Towards the west however of the above-mentioned Helia and mount Sion, as far as Caesarea in Palestine, one sees country of a different character. Now and again indeed there are some rugged defiles, short and narrow, but for the most part one sees broad level plains, enriched here and there by olive groves. <sup>30</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> UOCITATUR (UOCATUR P) α: DICITUR B      <sup>14</sup> sion plagam montis B      <sup>19</sup> XXII B.  
*Titulus deest in YZ*      DE . . . LOCIS P. DE . . . SAMUHELIS. XXIII. DE LATE . . . PALESTINE  
 occasum uersus succendentibus; (*paragraphus; in marg.: XXIIII*) De latitudine et  
 qualitate terre illius B. Cf. *Capitulationes*      <sup>24</sup> ar(ra- B<sup>2</sup>)mathea B. *post nominatur*  
*add.* Terra ab hierusalem usque ad ciuitatem samuhelis lata (-ae B<sup>2</sup>) patentibus et  
 usque ad cesaream palestine occasum uersus succi(-e- B<sup>2</sup>)dentibus B      <sup>25</sup> pinosae  
 PB tamnicam Y      <sup>28</sup> asperaque Y      <sup>30</sup> oliuetis laetiores (latiores Y) α

## XXI. DE MONTE OLIUARUM

Aliarum arborum genera exceptis uitibus et oliuis in monte Oliueti,  
ut refert sanctus Arculfus, raro repperiri possunt; segetes uero frumenti  
et ordei in eo ualde laetae consurgunt. Non enim bruscosa sed herbosa  
et florida illius terrae qualitas demonstratur.

5

## P. 246 G XXII. &lt;DE ALTITUDINE ET QUALITATE TERRAE ILLIUS&gt;

Altitudo autem eius equalis esse montis Sionei altitudini uidetur,  
quamuis mons Sion ad montis Oliueti comparationem in geometricae  
demensionibus, latitudine uidelicet et longitudine, paruuus et angustus  
esse uideatur. Inter hos duos montes uallis Iosaphat, de qua superius 10  
dictum est, media interiacet a septemtrionali plaga in australem porrecta  
partem.

XXIII. DE LOCO DOMINICAE ASCENSIONIS ET ECLESIA  
IN EO AEDIFICATA

1. In toto monte Oliueti nullus alias locus altior esse uidetur illo de 15  
quo Dominus ad caelos ascendisse traditur, ubi grandis eclesia stat  
rotunda, ternas per circuitum cameratas habens porticos desuper  
tectas. 2. Cuius uidelicet rotundae eclesiae interior domus sine tecto et  
sine camera ad caelum sub aere nudo aperta patet; in cuius orientali  
parte altare sub angusto protectum tecto constructum exstat.

20

3. Ideo itaque interior illa domus cameram supra collocatam non  
habet ut de illo loco in quo postremum diuina institerant uestigia cum  
in caelum Dominus in nube sublatus est uia semper aperta et ad ethera  
caelorum directa oculis in eodem loco exorantium pateat. 4. Nam cum  
haec de qua nunc pauca commemorantur basilica fabricaretur, idem 25  
P. 247 G locus uestigiorum Domini, ut alibi scriptum repertum est, contenuari  
pauimento cum reliqua stratorum parte non potuit, siquidem quaecum-  
que adplicabantur insolens humana suspicere terra respueret in ora  
adponentium excussis marmoribus. 5. Quin etiam calcati Deo pulueris  
adeo perenne est documentum ut uestigia cernantur impressa, et cum 30

xxi–xxv. cf. Beda, c. 6. 14–p. 66, 3 cf. Sulp. Seuerus, Chron. ii. 33, 6–8;  
Paulinus Nolanus, Epist. xxxi (ad Seuerum).

1 XXV B. *Titulus sic in Y, (OLIUETI) PB: om. Z. Sequitur* XXVI. DE LOCO DOMINICAE  
ASCENSIONIS. XXVII. ET DE ECCLESIA IN EO AEDIFICATA B 2 oliueti monte B  
3 Arculfus] ille B 4 ualde] ualle ZB laetae YZ. lateque P: lateque B XXII  
Non . . . P bruscosa Meehan: brucosa α Beda (brucus *codd.* *praestantiores* VULG.  
Leu. 11, 22). bruchosa B 6 Numerus hic desideratur in PB, titulus in ω; legitur  
*titulus superiore loco* (p. 62, l. 19) in B. *Suppl. ex capitulationibus Geyer* 7 altitudini  
sionei montis α 7–8 uidetur quamuis uidetur B 8 oliueti montis B geometriae PZ  
10 iosaphath P 13 XXIII om. B. *Titulus sic superius* (l. 1) in B:

## (21) CONCERNING THE MOUNT OF OLIVES

As the holy Arculf relates, it is rare to find any other tree on mount Olivet except vines and olives; but there is an exceedingly luxuriant growth of corn and barley, for the character of the soil is evidently grassy and full of flowers, not covered with brushwood.<sup>1</sup>

5

## (22) &lt;CONCERNING THE ALTITUDE AND CHARACTER OF THAT REGION &gt;

Its altitude appears to be equal to that of mount Sion, although in the dimensions of geometry (that is in length and breadth) mount Sion in comparison with mount Olivet seems small and narrow. The valley of <sup>10</sup> Josaphat, of which we have spoken above, lies in the centre between these two mountains running north to south.

## (23) CONCERNING THE PLACE OF THE LORD'S ASCENSION AND A CHURCH BUILT THERE

On all mount Olivet no place appears to be higher than that from <sup>15</sup> which the Lord is said to have ascended to heaven. A great round church stands there, which has within its circuit three arched porticos roofed in over. Now of this round church the central area lies wide open to heaven under the clear air without roof or vaulting, and in its eastern portion an altar is erected which is sheltered by a narrow covering. <sup>20</sup> The reason the central area has no vaulting placed over it is this: so that, from the place where the divine feet rested for the last time when the Lord was raised up to heaven in a cloud, there should always be an open passage leading to the ethereal regions for the eyes of those who pray there. Because, when this basilica (of which a few details are now <sup>25</sup> being recorded) was being built, the place of the Lord's footprints (as is found written in another source) could not be incorporated in a pavement with the rest of the floor. For the ground (unwont to bear anything human) would reject whatever was laid upon it, casting the marble into the faces of those who were laying it. Nay more, so lasting <sup>30</sup> is the proof that the dust was trodden by God that the imprints of the

<sup>1</sup> *Brucosus* (see *Thes. Ling. Lat.* s.v. *bruchus*) can only mean 'subject to locusts'. The context suggests *bruscosus* (late medieval *brusca*=brushwood—see Baxter, *Medieval Latin Word List*, s.v.), which is Plummer's conjecture for Bede, *History*, v. 17, who is citing Adamnan (*Beda Opera Hist.* ii. 305).

DE . . . (A)ECCLESIA EIUS YP. om. Z      16 a uoce ubi nouum caput incipit in PZ,  
numero XXIIII in margine adscripto; cf. *Capitulationes* stat ecclesia B      17 porticus YZB  
19 sine om. B      23 sublatus B *Sulp.*: subleuatus α      25 commemorauit B<sup>2</sup>  
26 est om. B      contenuari *Bieler*: contenuam P: continuari YZB      29 deo PB\**Sulp.*:  
a deo YZB<sup>c</sup>      30 documentum est α *Sulp.*      impressa cernantur *Sulp.*

cotidie confluentium fides a Domino calcata diripiat, damnum tamen arena non sentit et eandem adhuc sui speciem ueluti in prae signata uestigiis terra custodit.

6. In eodem igitur loco, ut sanctus refert Arculfus, sedulus eiusdem frequentator, aerea grandis per circuitum rota desuper explanata collata est, cuius altitudo usque ad ceruicem haberi monstratur mensurata. 7. In cuius medietate non parua patet pertussura, per quam desuper apertam uestigia pedum Domini plane et lucide impressa in puluere demonstrantur. 8. Illa quoque in rota ab occidentali parte quasi quaedam semper patet porta, ut per eam intrantes facile adire locum sacratum pulueris possint et per apertum desuper eiusdem rotae foramen de sacro puluere porrectis manibus particulas sumant.

9. Igitur nostri Arculfi de loco uestigiorum Domini narratio cum aliorum scribtis recte concordat, quod nec culmine domus nec aliquo speciali inferiore et uiciniore tegmine ullo quoquo modo protegi potuerit, ut semper manifeste ab uniuersis eius frequentatoribus conspiciatur et Dominicorum uestigia pedum in eiusdem loci puluere depicta clare demonstrantur. 10. Haec enim eadem Dominica uestigia ingentis P. 248 G claritudine lampadis supra eandem rotam in trocleis pendentes die et nocte flammantis inluminantur. 20

11. Illius itaque supra memoratae rotundae eclesiae in occidentali parte bis quaternales superne fabrefactae habentur finistrae ualeras habentes uitreas; quibus utique finistris eiusdem numeri uicinae lampades intrinsecus e regione positae in funibus pendentes ardent, quae uidelicet lampades sic collocatae ut unaquaeque lampas nec superius 25 nec inferius pendeat sed quasi adhercns eidem finistrae uideatur cui interius e regione positae propinqua specialiter cernitur. 12. Quarum utique lampadum in tantum claritas refulget ut earum lumine quasi de superiore Oliueti montis loco coruscantium per uitrum habundanter effuso non tantum ea eiusdem montis pars quae occasum uersus eidem 30 adheret rotundae et lapideae basilicae sed etiam ciuitatis Hierosolimae de ualle Iosaphat ascensus per quosdam grados in altum sublimatus clare quamlibet in tenebrosis noctibus mirabiliter inlustretur et maior eiusdem pars urbis anterior e regione positae similiter eadem inluminetur claritudine. 13. Haec fulgida et praedicabilis octenalium magnarum 35 coruscatio lucernarum de monte sancto et de loco Dominicæ ascensionis noctu refulgentium maiorem, ut Arculfus refert, diuini amoris alacritatem credulorum respicientium cordibus infundit quendamque pauorem mentis cum ingenti interna conpunctione incutit.

1 a om. *Sulp.* 2 harena B. arena *Sulp.*: area α sui speciem α *Sulp.* *Beda*: speciem sui B in prae signata Z\*. impressis YPZ<sup>c</sup>: hinc pressis B 5 per circuitum grandis B 8 aperta ZB; sed cf. l. 11 9 in rota] rotunda B 14 quod PZ: quia Y. que B 15 quo/quomodo Y. quoque modo PB. modo Z. Cf. p. 68, 7 17 in . . . 18 uestigia om. Y 20 post inluminantur add. Haec enim eadem dominica uestigia in eiusdem loci puluere depicta clare demonstrantur Y 22 fabrefactae]

feet are visible; and, though crowds of the faithful daily plunder the earth trodden by the Lord, still the spot suffers no perceptible damage, and the ground goes on keeping the semblance as it were of footprints.

Thus, in this spot, as the holy Arculf (a sedulous visitor of it) relates, a huge bronze circular structure has been set up, levelled out on top, 5 the height of which measures up to the chin. In the middle of it is quite a large perforation, and when this is open the footprints of the Lord are pointed out plainly and clearly stamped on the dust. Also, at the western side of the structure, there is a sort of door always open, so that people entering by it can easily approach the place of the sacred dust, 10 and take particles of it by stretching in their hands through the open perforation in the circular structure.<sup>1</sup>

Our friend Arculf's account then of the place of the footprints of the Lord is perfectly in accordance with the writings of others, to the effect that the area can by no means be covered over by a roof or by any special 15 covering lower down and nearer, with the result that there is a clear view for all the people who frequent it, and the footprints of the Lord impressed in the dust of the place can be clearly pointed out. For these footprints of the Lord are illuminated by the light of a huge lamp which hangs above the circular structure on pulleys, burning day and night. 20

Then, on the western side of the above-mentioned round church there are eight windows, constructed high up, with glass shutters. Now near these windows and straight opposite them on the inside, there burn eight lamps hanging by ropes. The lamps are so placed that each lamp hangs, not above or below, but so as to seem fastened to the particular 25 window, opposite to which it is hung at close quarters, one observes, on the inside. So radiant is the brightness of the lamps, that as their light pours out copiously through the glass from the high vantage point on mount Olivet, not alone that area of the mountain which adjoins the round stone basilica on the western side, but the stairway mounting 30 steeply up to the city of Jerusalem from the valley of Josaphat, is illuminated with a wondrous clarity on nights however dark. Indeed the greater portion of the city, the portion in the foreground straight opposite, is likewise illuminated with equal clarity. The bright and remarkable glow from the eight great lamps shining by night from the holy mount 35 and the place of the Lord's ascension, as Arculf relates, pours into the hearts of the faithful who behold it greater eagerness for divine love and imbues them with a sense of awe coupled with great interior compunction.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bede's description of the tomb of Chad (*Hist. Ecc.* iv. 3): 'Est autem locus idem sepulchri tumba lignea in modum domunculi facta coopertus, habente foramen in pariete, per quod solent hi, qui causa devotionis illic adueniunt, manum suum inmittere, ac partem pulueris inde adsumere.'

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fabricate B	26 eiusdem B	27 posite B: <i>om. α</i>	29 montis oliueti PZ
30 tantum B: tam YP. tamen Z	32 iosophath P	gradus YZB	36 de (2)
<i>om. B</i>	37 ut sanctus refert Arculfus B	38 alacritatem uel claritatem B	

14. Sed et hoc nobis non esse tacendum uidetur quod sepe memoratus  
 P. 249 G Arculfus de hac eadem rotunda eclesia mihi diligentius interroganti  
 retulit dicens: 15. In anniuersaria diei Dominicae ascensionis sollemnitate  
 per omnem annum ualidissimi flaminis procella meridianis horis  
 post peracta in eadem basilica sacrosancta missarum sollemnitas fortis 5  
 impetu inruere in tantum solet ut nullus hominum stare uel etiam sedere  
 in illa eclesia et uicinis ei locis quoquo possit modo sed omnes tamdiu  
 in terra prostratis uultibus superstrati iacent donec illa terribilis procella  
 pertranseat.

16. Huius terrifici flatus causa facit ut illa pars domus habere camaram 10  
 non possit quae supra locum in presorum Domini uestigiorum, qui  
 intra supra dictae rotae medium foramen aperte monstratur, ad caelum  
 semper patefacta appareat. 17. Nam quascumque materias desuper ad  
 camaram conponendam si quando humanae manus ars edificare cona-  
 batur supra memorati diuinitus emisa uenti ualiditas distruebat. 18. De 15  
 hac itaque formidabili procella sanctus Arculfus taliter nobis enarravit,  
 qui eadem hora qua in die Dominicae ascensionis ille ualidissimus  
 inruit flatus et ipse presens in eadem eclesia Oliueti interfuit montis.  
 19. Cuius uidelicet rotundae eclesiae figura uili quamuis pictura sic  
 depicta declaratur, aereae nec non in eius medietate collocatae formula 20  
 rotae hac discriptiuncula demonstratur subiecta.

20. Sed et hoc sancti Arculfi relatione didicimus quod in eadem  
 rotunda eclesia ad consuetum octo supra memoratarum noctu intrinsecus  
 refulgentium <lumen> lucernarum prope innumerabiles in nocte festiva  
 Dominicae ascensionis aliae adici soleant lampades, quarum terribili et 25  
 P. 251 G ammirabili coruscatione per uitreas finistrarum ualuas habundanter  
 effusa mons Oliueti non solum inluminari sed etiam ardere totus uidetur  
 totaque ciuitas inlustrari in humiliore et uicino sita loco.

#### XXIII. DE SEPULCHRO LAZARI ET ECLESIA SUPER ILLUD CONSTRUCTA <ET> DE MONASTERIO EIDEM 30 ADHERENTE

Arculfus sanctorum supra memoratorum frequentator locorum  
 quendam Bethaniae campulum magna oliuarum silua circumdatum  
 uisitauit, ubi grande inest monasterium et grandis basilica supra illam  
 edificata speluncam de qua Dominus quatriduanum mortuum suscitauit 35  
 Lazarum.

1 nobis <i>om.</i> B	2 sancta ecclesia B	3 anniuersario Y. -i P die B
4 omnes annos α	7 quoque ( <i>e in ras.</i> ) B	12 foramen aperte (-e Z) α:
aperte foramen B	17 qui... ascensionis <i>om.</i> B	20 aereae] aere B 20-21
formule rote B. rotae formula α	22 relatione arcufi P	24 lumen add. Bieler

This item too, we think, ought not to be suppressed. The oft-mentioned Arculf told it to me when I questioned him carefully about this round church. He said: On the anniversary solemnity of the day of the Lord's ascension, after the celebration of mass in the basilica, at midday every year a blast of the strongest wind is wont to burst in with such force,<sup>5</sup> that no one can manage to stand or even sit in the church or in places adjacent to it, but all lie stretched face downward on the ground until the terrible tempest passes. It is because of this terrific blast that part of the structure cannot have a roof, the part over the place of the Lord's footprints (visible through the perforation in the open circular structure<sup>10</sup> mentioned above) which appears always open to heaven. For whenever the skill of human hands attempted to lay any sort of material as roofing over it, the intensity of that divinely sent wind, mentioned above, destroyed it. Concerning this formidable tempest then the narrative of the holy Arculf was thus. He himself was actually present in the church<sup>15</sup> on mount Olivet at the very hour when that intense blast rushed in on the day of the Lord's ascension. The structure of the round church is displayed in a drawing, albeit a rough representation, and the character of the circular bronze structure situated in its centre is shown too in the little diagram appended. (*See plate after p. 62.*)<sup>20</sup>

This too we learned from the account of the holy Arculf. In the round church, to the customary <light> of the eight lamps, which, as mentioned above, shine in the interior by night, on the night of the feast of the Lord's ascension it is usual to add innumerable other lamps; and under the terrible and wondrous gleaming of these, pouring out<sup>25</sup> copiously through the glass shutters of the windows, all mount Olivet seems not alone to be illuminated, but even to be on fire, and the whole city, situated on the lower ground nearby, seems to be lit up.

### (25) CONCERNING THE SEPULCHRE OF LAZARUS AND THE CHURCH BUILT OVER IT <AND> CONCERNING<sup>30</sup> A MONASTERY ADJOINING IT

Arculf, a frequenter of the above-mentioned holy places, visited a field in Bethany surrounded by a great grove of olive trees. There is a great monastery there, and a great basilica is erected over the grotto from which the Lord raised Lazarus, who had been dead for four days.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>26</sup> finistrarum (fene- YZ): *om. B*      <sup>29</sup> XXIIII Y: XXV PZ. XXVIII B. *Titulus deest in Z*      <sup>29-31</sup> ET . . . ADHERENTE *om. YP*      <sup>30</sup> ET *scripsi: XXVIIII B. Cf. adnotacionem ad p. 38, 22*      <sup>34</sup> *ante ubi add. XXVI P: in marg. XXVIIII B*

XXV. DE ALIA ECLESIA AD DEXTERAM BETHANIAE  
PARTEM CONSTRUCTA

1. De alia celebriore eclesia ad australem Bethaniae partem in eo montis Oliueti loco fundata in quo Dominus ad discipulos suos habuisse sermonem dicitur breuiter scribendum arbitramur. 2. Hinc non neglc- 5 genter inquirendum est qualem sermonem et quo tempore uel ad quas speciales personas discipulorum Dominus sit loquutus. 3. Quae tria, si trium euangelia scriptorum aperire uoluerimus, Matheum Marcum Lucam, nobis manifeste clarebunt. 4. Qui de sermonis qualitate concin-

P. 252 G nentes loquuntur; de loco ipsius conuentionis nemo dubitare poterit et 10 de sermonis styma qui Mathei euangelium legit, ubi de Domino ipse commemorat euangelista dicens: *Sedente autem eo super montem Oliueti accesserunt ad eum discipuli secreto dicentes: 'Dic nobis quando haec erunt et quod signum aduentus tui et consummationis saeculi;'* 5. de personis interrogantium hic Matheus tacuit, sed Marcus non tacet, qui ita scribit 15 dicens: *Interrogabant eum separatis Petrus et Iacobus et Iohannes et Andreas;* qui interrogantibus respondens qualitatem habeti sermonis iuxta tres supra memoratos euangelistas ostendit ita dicendo: *Uidete ne quis uos seducat. Multi enim uenient in nomine meo dicentes quia ego sum* et cetera sequentia de nouissimis temporibus et saeculi consummatione; 20 6. quae Matheus prolixo sermone prosequitur usque ad locum quo et de tempore huius protracti sermonis manifeste idem euangelista ex uerbis Domini ostendit ita scribens: *Et factum est cum consummasset Jesus sermones hos omnes dixit discipulis suis: 'Scitis quia post biduum pascha fiet et filius hominis tradetur ut crucifigatur,'* et cetera. 7. Aperte 25 ergo ostenditur Dominum in die quartae feriae biduo restante usque ad primam azimorum, quae dicitur Pascha, supra commemoratum prolixum sermonem ad interrogantes fuisse loquutum .iiii. supradictos discipulos.

P. 253 G 8. In loco itaque habitu illius sermonis superius memorata ob recordationem fundata eclesia in magna habetur honorificentia. 30

9. Hucusque de locis sanctis Hierusolimitanae ciuitatis et montis Sion, montis quoque Oliueti et uallis Iosaphat interiacentis iuxta sancti Arculfi corundem frequentatoris locorum certam narrationem sufficiat discripsisse. HIC PRIMI LIBELLI TERMINUS FIAT.

12-14 Matth. 24, 3. 16-17 Marc. 13, 3. 18-19 Marc. 13, 5. 6 (quia ego sum Christus GR<sup>a1q</sup> b c 1 Cypr H Ep D Q Theodulf) 23-25 Matth. 26, 1. 2.

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I XXV Y; xxvi Z, xxvii P, xxx B. *Titulus deest in α* 4 suos om. B 8 trium euangeliorum scriptores Y 8-9 mathei marci lucae PZ 9-10 concinentes Z, continentes B. *De scriptura u. L. Traube, Karolingische Dichtungen, Berolini 1888, p. 40* 11 de (1) om. B styma P: forma YZB. *De uoce q.e. stigma stima stema u. P. Grosjean, Latomus XXIII, 1956, p. 133 sqq.; cf. etiam Glossarium Cantabrigiense Collegii Corporis Christi (cod. 144, ed. W. M. Lindsay, The Corpus Glossary, Cantabrigiae 1921)* S 545 stigmata scema uel figura 17 qui] quibus α 18 supra] superius P memoratos YP 19 sum christus PZ 22 de tempore] tempus B 22 manifeste . . . 23 Domini post huius (22) transp. PZ 23 ita om. B 24 discipulis . . . 25 cetera om. B 26 .iiii. farie Y. quarte (om. feriae biduo) P: quarta feria B

(27) CONCERNING ANOTHER CHURCH BUILT AT THE  
RIGHT-HAND SIDE OF BETHANY

We think we ought to write briefly about another notable church towards the southern part of Bethany, founded in the spot on mount Olivet where the Lord is said to have given a discourse to the disciples.<sup>5</sup> Hence careful inquiry should be made concerning the character of the discourse, its time, and to what special persons among the disciples the Lord spoke. These three things become quite clear for us if we are willing to open the gospels of the three writers Matthew, Mark, and Luke, who speak in harmony concerning the character of the discourse. Concerning<sup>10</sup> the place of meeting itself, or concerning the form of the discourse, no one who reads the gospel of Matthew can have any hesitation, where the evangelist makes mention of the Lord saying: 'As he was sitting on mount Olivet, the disciples came to him saying: tell us when shall these things be and what is the sign of thy coming and of the consummation<sup>15</sup> of the world.' Matthew at this point made no mention of the persons who asked the question, but Mark does, who writes thus saying: 'Peter and James and John and Andrew were asking him separately.' Replying to these questioners he shows the character of the discourse given (according to the three evangelists mentioned above) by speaking thus:<sup>20</sup> 'See to it that no one seduce you. For many will come in my name saying I am Christ' and the rest that follows concerning the last things and the consummation of the world, which Matthew sets forth in copious language, as far as the place where the same evangelist clearly shows from the words of the Lord also the time of this long discourse. He speaks<sup>25</sup> thus: 'And when Jesus had finished all these words, it so happened that he said to his disciples: you know that after two days it will be the pasch, and the son of man will be handed over to be crucified' and so on. Therefore it is clearly shown that the Lord spoke the long discourse mentioned above in answer to the question of the<sup>4</sup> above-mentioned disciples, on<sup>30</sup> the day of the fourth *feria*, there being yet two days before the first day of the *azimi*, which is called the pasch. Thus in the spot where that discourse was held the above-mentioned church was founded in remembrance, and it is held in great honour.

Thus far let it suffice to have written concerning the holy places of the<sup>35</sup> city of Jerusalem, of mount Olivet, and of the valley of Josaphat which lies between, according to the accurate account of the holy Arculf, a visitor of these places. LET THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK BE HERE.

<sup>27</sup> azimorum diem ZB    quae] quē P. qui B    dicitur pascha om. P                      34 dis-  
scripsisse Y: descripsisse PZB    subscriptio sic (HINC Y) in YP: EXPLICIT LIBER  
PRIMUS Z. FINIT LIBER PRIMUS in marg. B. Sequitur in B excerptum ex Hieronymi De  
situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum, in duo diuinum capita, quorum alterum perperam  
intitulatur XXXI. DE UINEIS ET SEGETIBUS MONTIS OLIVETI. Deinde: EXPLICIT LIBER I.  
INCIPIT LIBER SECUNDUS.

ABHINC SECUNDI SEQUUNTUR  
KAPITULATIONES LIBRI

- i. De Bethlem ciuitatis situ.
- ii. De loco nativitatis Domini.
- iii. De illa petra extra murum sita super quam aqua primae lauationis 5  
eius post nativitatem effusa est.
- iv. De alia eclesia in qua illud Dauiticum conspicitur monumentum.
- v. De alia eclesia in cuius interiore parte sancti Hieronimi habetur  
sepulchrum.
- vi. De monumentis illorum trium pastorum quos nascente Domino 10  
caelestis circumfulsit claritudo.
- P. 254 G vii. De sepulchro Rachel.
- viii. De Chebron.
- ix. De ualle Mambre.
- x. De sepulchris .iiji. patriarcharum. 15
- xi. De monte et queru Mambre.
- xii. De illo pineto ex quo ligna in camellis ad ignis ministeria in  
Hierosolimis perficienda uechuntur.
- xiii. De Hiericho.
- xiv. De Galgalis. 20
- xv. De .xii. lapidibus quos filii Israhel transuadato Iordanis fluuo  
siccato detulerunt profundo.
- xvi. De illo loco in quo Dominus ab Iohanne baptizatus est.
- xvii. De Iordanis colore.
- xviii. De mare mortuo. 25
- xviiii. De fontibus Iordanis.
- xx. De mare Galileae.
- xxi. De puteo Samariae.
- xxii. De quodam solitudinis fonticulo.
- xxiii. De locustis et melle siluestri. 30
- xxiiii. De illo loco in quo Dominus quinque panes et duos benedixit pisces.
- xxv. De Cafarnaum.
- xxvi. De Nazareth et eclesiis eius.
- xxvii. De monte Thabor.
- P. 255 G xxviii. De Damasco. 35
- xxviiii. De Tyro.
- xxx. De Alexandria et Nilo flumine et corcodrillis eius.

1-2 *Sic, omissa uoce LIBRI, Y: ABHINC SECUNDI CAPITULATIONES LIBRI SEQUUNTUR P.*  
 CAPITULA LIBRI SECUNDI Z. *Post capitulationes libri primi: INCIPIUNT CAPITULA LIBRI*  
*SECUNDI B 3 betleem B 5 muros P ante quam una littera erasa in B*  
*6 post . . . est om. B 7 alia] illa α 8 alia] illa Y 9 sepulchrum (-crl*  
*B\*) habetur PZB 10 trium om. B 13-14 De cebron et de ualle mambre Z*  
*14 mambre P 15 viiiii Z 16 x Z 17 xi Z illo om. B pinneto PZ\**  
*camelis YZB 18 hierosolimis B uehuntur PZB 19 Capita xiii sgg. desunt*  
*in Y, ubi additur: HINC AD ALIA IN SECUNDO TRANSIBIMUS. In huius . . . (p. 74, 3) xii Z*

THE CHAPTERS OF THE SECOND BOOK  
FOLLOW FROM HERE

- (1) Concerning the site of the city of Bethlem.
- (2) Concerning the place of the Lord's nativity.
- (3) Concerning the rock situated outside the wall, over which was 5  
poured the water of his first washing after the nativity.
- (4) Concerning a church in which the tomb of David is on view.
- (5) Concerning a church in the interior of which is the sepulchre of the  
holy Jerome.
- (6) Concerning the tombs of the three shepherds, around whom the 10  
heavenly brightness shone at the nativity of the Lord.
- (7) Concerning the sepulchre of Rachel.
- (8) Concerning Chebron.
- (9) Concerning the valley of Mambre.
- (10) Concerning the sepulchres of the 4 patriarchs. 15
- (11) Concerning the mount and oak of Mambre.
- (12) Concerning the pine forest from which wood is carried by means  
of camels for making fires in Jerusalem.
- (13) Concerning Hiericho.
- (14) Concerning Galgal. 20
- (15) Concerning the 12 stones carried off by the sons of Israhel from  
the dried bed when they crossed the river Jordan.
- (16) Concerning the place in which the Lord was baptised by John.
- (17) Concerning the colour of the Jordan.
- (18) Concerning the Dead Sea. 25
- (19) Concerning the source of the Jordan.
- (20) Concerning the sea of Galilee.
- (21) Concerning the well of Samaria.
- (22) Concerning a spring in the desert.
- (23) Concerning locusts and wild honey. 30
- (24) Concerning the spot in which the Lord blessed the five loaves and  
two fishes.
- (25) Concerning Capharnaum.
- (26) Concerning Nazareth and its churches.
- (27) Concerning mount Thabor. 35
- (28) Concerning Damascus.
- (29) Concerning Tyre.
- (30) Concerning Alexandria, the river Nile, and its crocodiles.

20 xiii Z      21 xv om. Z, ubi sequens titulus praecedenti adiungitur      22 profundo  
om. B      23 xiiii Z ab]a YZ      baptizatur P. fortasse Adamnarus suppressa copula  
scripsit in quo Dominus ab Iohanne baptizatus      24 xv Z      25 xvi Z mari α  
26 xvii Z      27 xviii Z      28 xviiii Z      29 xx Z      30 xxi Z mel siluestri  
(-e B<sup>c</sup>) B      31 xxii Z in quo] ubi ZB      pisces benedixit B (sic titulus in  
YB)      32 xxiii Z      33 numerus erasmus in P xxiiii Z      34 xxvi P xxv Z  
tabor α      35 xxvii P. xxvi Z      36 xxviii P. xxvii Z      37 xxviiii P. xxviii Z

## INCIPIT LIBER SECUNDUS

## I. DE SITU BETHLEM

1. In huius nostri secundi exordio libelli de situ Bethlem ciuitatis in qua noster Saluator ex uirgine sancta dignatus est nasci pauca breuiter craxanda sunt aliqua. 2. Quae ciuitas non tam situ grandis, sicuti nobis 5 Arculfus retulit, qui eam frequentauit, quam fama predicabilis per uniuersarum gentium eclesias defamata in dorso sita angusto undique ex omni parte uallibus circumdato; 3. quod utique terrae dorsum ab occidentali plaga in orientalem partem quasi mille passibus porregitur. 4. In cuius campestri planitiae superiore humilis sine turribus murus in 10 circuitu per eiusdem monticuli extremitatis supercilium constructus ualliculis hinc et inde circumiacentibus supereminet mediaque intercapidine intra murum per longiorem tramitem habitacula ciuium sternuntur.

P. 256 G

## II. DE LOCO NATIUITATIS DOMINI

15

1. In eiusdem uero ciuitatis orientali et extremo angulo quasi quaedam naturalis dimedia inest spelunca, cuius interior ultima pars presepe Domini nominatur, in quo natum puerum reclinavit mater. 2. Alius uero supradicto contiguus presepio introeuntibus propior locus propriae natiuitatis Dominicæ traditur fuisse. 3. Illa ergo Bethlemitica spelunca 20 presepis Dominicæ tota intrinsecus ob ipsius Saluatoris honorificantiam marmore adornata est pretioso. 4. Cui utique semiantro †super lapideum caenaculum sanctæ Mariae eclesia supra ipsum locum ubi Dominus natus specialius traditur grandi structura fabricata fundata est.

## III. DEILLA PETRA EXTRA MURUM SITA SUPER QUAM 25 AQUA PRIMAE LAUATIONIS EIUS &lt;POST NATIUITATEM EFFUSA EST&gt;

1. De illa petra extra murum posita super quam aqua primæ post natiuitatem Dominicæ ablutionis corpusculi de muri summitate inclinato in quo fuit effusa uasco[u]lo breuiter commemorandum estimo. 2. Quae 30

1. cf. Hieron. Onom. ed. Lagarde, p. 101, 5.

1-VII. cf. Beda, c. 7.

1 Sic PZB. *De Y uide ad p. 72, 19*      2 i. ēp̄ in marg. P. *Titulus sic* (H s.l.) in P: DE BETHLEEM SITU B. *Titulus deest in YZ*      3 libelli exordio PZB      (hierusalem parrochia id ÷) Bethlem B      4 nasci dignatus est PZB      5 betleem ciuitas B 6 quam PZB<sup>2</sup>: quae Y. quem B      7 sita est Geyer cum Beda, *Hist. eccl. v. 16* angusto] angulo B      8 circumdata B      quod PZ: quae V. que B      13 muros YP      15 .ēp̄.ii. P. *Titulum om. α*      20 dominicæ natuuitatis B      bethlemitica Y      22 fortasse <superstructum> super, cf. Petrus Diaconus *De locis sanctis*, p. 111, 10-12 Geyer      23 mariae semper uirginis B      supra] super Y      24 speci-alius B Beda: specialiter α      fundata om. B, sed cf. p. 84, 22 sq.      25 ēp̄ iii P. *Titulus in B solo, desinit in EIUS QUAM: AQUĀ* B, cf. adn. ad p. 72, 5.      26-27 POST . . . EST ex capitulationibus suppl. Geyer      28 supra B      30 effusa est α

## BOOK THE SECOND BEGINS

## (1) CONCERNING THE SITE OF BETHLEM

In the beginning of this our second book some few things should be set down briefly concerning the site of the city of Bethlem, in which our Saviour deigned to be born of a holy virgin. Now this city, according 5 to the account of Arculf, who frequented it, is not so notable by reason of its site, as it is celebrated by report spread throughout the churches of all nations. It is situated on a narrow ridge, which is surrounded by valleys on every side, and from west to east this ridge of earth stretches for about a mile. On the level plateau on top a low wall without towers 10 has been constructed right round the very edge of the hill. It overlooks the little valleys which lie here and there round about, and the houses of the citizens are scattered in a lengthwise direction within its circuit.

## (2) CONCERNING THE PLACE OF THE LORD'S NATIVITY

In the extreme eastern corner of that city is what seems to be a natural 15 half-grotto. The very innermost portion is called the manger of the Lord in which the mother laid the child when he was born; another spot, however, close by the above-mentioned manger, but nearer the entrance, is the traditional place of the actual nativity of the Lord. Accordingly the whole of that cave of Bethlem, with the Lord's manger, is completely 20 covered on the interior with precious marble in honour of the Saviour; and the half-grotto, covered by the stone cenacle,<sup>1</sup> is surmounted by the church of the holy Mary, a magnificent structure built exactly over the spot where the Lord is said to have been born.

## (3) CONCERNING THE ROCK SITUATED OUTSIDE THE 25 WALL, OVER WHICH (WAS POURED) THE WATER OF HIS FIRST WASHING (AFTER THE NATIVITY)

I think that brief mention should be made of the rock situated outside the wall, over which the water of the first ablution of the Lord's little body after the nativity was poured from the vessel in which it was, which 30 was tilted over from the top of the wall. This water of the sacred washing,

<sup>1</sup> *cui utique semianstro . . .* Cf. Petrus Diaconus (Geyer, 111, 10–12): ‘In ecclesia uero quae est in Bethleem, est mensa in qua comedit sancta Maria cum tribus regibus Christum dei filium requirentibus.’ A.’s *caenaculum* appears to be the *mensa* in question; and presumably he means to say that the stone *caenaculum* is erected immediately over the grotto of the nativity, then the church over the *caenaculum*. The construction, however, is quite harsh and elliptical.

sacri lauacri aqua de muro effusa in petra inferius iacente quasi quandam natura cauatum inuenit fossam, quae eadem undula in primo Dominico repleta natalicio ex eadem diae ad nostra usque tempora per multos saeculorum circuitus purissima plena monstratur limpha sine ulla defectione uel deminutione, nostro Saluatore hoc miraculum a die 5

P. 257 G natuitatis sua peragente; 3. de quo profeta canit: *Qui eduxit aquam de petra*, et apostolus Paulus: *Petra autem erat Christus*, qui de durissima contra naturam petra in deserto sitienti populo consulatoriam produxit undam. 4. Idem ipse est Dei uirtus et Dei sapientia, qui et de Bethlemitica illa petra aquam eduxit eiusque lacunam plenam semper limphis 10 conseruat. Quam noster Arculfus propriis obtutibus inspexit et in ea faciem lauit.

#### IIII. DE ALIA ECLESIA IN QUA ILLUD DAUITICUM CONSPICITUR MONUMENTUM

1. Arculfus de sepulchro Dauid regis a me interrogatus hoc nobis 15 responsum dedit inquiens: 2. Sepulchrum Dauid regis in terra humati ego ipse non neglegenter inquirens frequentabam; 3. quod in parte media pauimenti eclesiae sine aliquo habetur superposito ornamento, humilem lapideam habens pyramidem illud supra circumdantem lampademque semper superpositam clare lucentem. 4. Haec ergo eclesia 20 extra ciuitatis murum in ualle contigua est fundata, quae Bethlemitico in parte aquilonali monticulo coheret.

#### V. DE ALIA ECLESIA IN CUIUS INTERIORE PARTE SANCTI HIERONIMI SEPULCHRUM HABETUR

1. De sepulchro quoque sancti Hieronimi simili nobis sollicitudine 25 inquirentibus Arculfus sic ait: 2. Sepulchrum sancti Hieronimi, de quo inquiritis, ego ipse conspexi; quod in alia habetur eclesia, quae extra P. 258 G eandem ciuitaculam in ualle est fabricata, quae in meridiano latere sita supra memorati dorso monticelli est contermina Bethlemitici. 3. Quod uidelicet Hieronimi sepulchrum simili opere ut Dauiticum monumen- 30 tum conpositum nullum ornatum habet.

6-7 Ps. 77, 16.      7 1 Cor. 10, 4.

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6 propheta ZB. prophetes P	8 produxit] prouexit B	9 aquam l- undam B
est om. B	de om. B	10 educē Y. <i>Fortasse in exemplari scriptum erat</i> educxit
-que om. B	11 inspexit obtutibus B	12 lauauit B
<i>sic</i> B: DE SEPULCHRO DAUID YP. om. Z	13 dauid sepulchro B	16 dedit
responsum B	21 muros P	beethlenitico P
SEPULCHRO HIERONIMI Y. om. PZ	23-24 <i>sic in</i> B: DE	25 sollicitudine nobis (nos B*) PZB
27 ipse om. α conspexi arculfus B	28 ciuitatulam Z. ciuitatem B	29 con-
terminata B betlemitici P		

when poured from the wall, found a sort of channel hollowed out by nature in the rock lying beneath; which channel, filled by that flow on the first birthday of the Lord, from that very day up to our time through the cycles of many centuries one sees to be full without any failing or diminution of the purest water, our Saviour from the day of his nativity 5 performing this miracle, of which the prophet sings: 'Who brought forth water from the rock' and the apostle Paul: 'Now the rock was Christ'—he who, contrary to nature, brought forth a consoling flow for the thirsting people from the hardest rock in the desert. It is the same power and wisdom of God which brought forth water from the rock of Bethlem 10 too, and always keeps its channel filled with water. Our friend Arculf saw it with his own eyes and washed his face in it.

#### (4) CONCERNING A CHURCH IN WHICH THE TOMB OF DAVID IS ON VIEW

Arculf, when questioned by me about the sepulchre of David, gave 15 us this answer saying: Seeking diligently I myself used to visit the sepulchre of king David buried in the earth. It is in the centre of the pavement of the church without any ornament superimposed. There is a low stone coping<sup>1</sup> around it, and it has a brightly shining lamp always placed above it. This church is erected outside the walls of the city in a 20 valley nearby which adjoins the hill of Bethlem on the northern side.

#### (5) CONCERNING A CHURCH IN THE INTERIOR OF WHICH IS THE SEPULCHRE OF THE HOLY JEROME

About the sepulchre of the holy Jerome also, when we inquired with like anxiety, Arculf spoke thus: I saw the sepulchre of the holy Jerome 25 of which you inquire. It is in a church which is built in a valley outside the little town, the valley that is which situated on the south side is coterminous with the ridge of the above-mentioned hill of Bethlem.<sup>2</sup> The sepulchre of Jerome is constructed in the same style as the tomb of David, without any ornament. 30

<sup>1</sup> *Pyramis* occurs twice (cf. below II. 7) in our text and once in *VC* i. 3 ('quamdamque de lignis pyramidem erga sanctum deambulantem constringentes, a quattuor uiris aequo ambulantibus supportari fecerunt') of the monks at Clonmacnoise coming out to escort Columba. In *VC* it can scarcely mean canopy in the usual sense (cf. Reeves, Glossary; Du Cange s.u.), as the purpose is not to put an awning over the saint, but to protect him from overcrowding. In the three instances A. seems to be describing an oblong enclosure or barrier of some kind. Cf. *Vita Ruadani* (Plummer, *Vita SS. Hib.* ii. 248, 17) 'tuam pyramidem (aper) perfodiet' where it appears to designate a grave-enclosure also.

<sup>2</sup> Taking *quae in meridiano . . .* to qualify *uallis* rather than *ciuitacula*.

VI. DE MONUMENTIS ILLORUM 〈TRIUM〉 PASTORUM  
QUOS NASCENTE DOMINO CAELESTIS CIRCUMFULSIT  
CLARITUDO

1. De monumentis illorum pastorum quos nocte Dominicae nativitatis caelestis circumfulsit claritudo Arculfus nobis breuem contulit 5  
relatiunculam inquiens: 2. Trium illorum in eclesia pastorum trea frequentauit monumenta iuxta turrem Gader humatorum, quae mille circiter passibus contra orientalem plagam distat a Bethlem, quos in eodem loco nascente Domino, hoc est prope turrem gregis, angelicae lucis claritas circumdedit, in quo eadem eclesia est fundata eorundem 10  
pastorum contenens sepulchra.

VII. DE SEPULCHRO RACHEL

1. Rachel in Effrata, hoc est in regione Bethlem, et liber Geneseos sepultam narrat sed et Locorum liber in eadem regione iuxta uiam humatam refert Rachel. 2. De qua Arculfus uia mihi percunctanti 15 respondens ait: Est quaedam uia regia quae ab Helia contra meridianam plagam Chebron dicit, cui uiae Bethlem uicina sex milibus distans ab Hierusolima ab orientali plaga adheret. 3. Sepulchrum uero Rachel in P. 259 G eiusdem uiae extremitate ab occidentali parte, hoc est in dextro latere, habetur pergentibus Chebron coherens, uili operatione collocatum et 20 nullam habens adornationem, de lapidea circumbatum piramide. 4. Ibidem et nominis eius titulus hodieque monstratur, quem Iacob maritus eius super illud erexit.

VIII. DE CHEBRON

1. Chebron, quae et Mambre, olim Filistinorum metropolis et 25 habitaculum gigantum fuerat, et in qua Dauid septem regnauit annis; nunc, sicut sanctus refert Arculfus, murorum non habet ambitum, quaedam solummodo dirutae olim ciuitatis in reliquis uestigia ostendit ruinarum. 2. Uicos tamen quosdam uili opere constructos et uillas, alias intra et alias extra illas muralium reliquias destructionum per campestrem 30 habet collocatos planitiem; in quibus uidelicet uicis et uillis multitudo populi inhabitat.

7 Hieron. *Onom.* p. 101, 8. 9–10 cf. Luc. 2, 9. VII. cf. Hieron. *Onom.* p. 117, 16; 101, 6. 13 Gen. 35, 19. VIII–X. cf. Beda, c. 8. VIII. cf. Hieron. *Onom.* p. 84, 14.

1–3 Titulum om. α TRIUM ex capitulationibus suppl. Geyer 5 breuem] breuiter B 7 gazer Y. sader B 13 effratha Y 15 arculfus uiam B. uia arculfus α 16 elia YB\* 17 cebron Z betlem B sex] quinque B 19 dextero B 20 cebron B\* opere uel operatione B 21 de om. α 22 demonstratur B

(6) CONCERNING THE TOMBS OF THE <THREE>  
SHEPHERDS, AROUND WHOM THE HEAVENLY BRIGHTNESS  
SHONE AT THE NATIVITY OF THE LORD

Concerning the tombs of the shepherds around whom the heavenly brightness shone on the night of the Lord's nativity, Arculf gave us a 5 brief account saying: I visited the three tombs of those three shepherds (who are buried beside the tower of Gader) in a church. They are about a mile distant from Bethlem, towards the east. It is in this very place, near the tower of the flock, where the church containing the sepulchres of the shepherds is built, that, at the Lord's nativity, the brightness of 10 angelic light surrounded them.

(7) CONCERNING THE SEPULCHRE OF RACHEL

The book of Genesis states that Rachel was laid to rest in Effrata, that is in the region of Bethlem, and according to the *Liber Locorum* also Rachel is buried in this region beside the road. When I asked about this 15 road Arculf said in answer: There is a royal road which leads from Helia southwards to Chebron. Bethlem, 6 miles distant from Jerusalem, adjoins this road on the eastern side. Now the sepulchre of Rachel is at the end of this road on the western (that is the right-hand) side, close by as one goes to Chebron. It is of crude workmanship, without any adorn- 20 ment, surrounded by a stone coping. The title of her name too, which her husband Jacob erected over it, is pointed out even today.

(8) CONCERNING CHEBRON

Chebron, which is also Mambre, once the metropolis of the Philistines and the dwelling place of giants, and in which David reigned for seven 25 years, nowadays, as the holy Arculf relates, has no surrounding walls; and amongst the ruined remains a few vestiges only are to be seen of the city long ago destroyed. There are, however, some crudely constructed streets and detached houses too, some inside and some outside the broken-down walls, all along the level ground. These streets and 30 houses provide dwellings for a great number of people.

<sup>24</sup> HEBRON Y. *Titulum om.* Z      <sup>25</sup> hebron Y. cebron Z      quae PB: quod Y. quoque Z  
mambre Y      <sup>27</sup> sanctus refert arculfus α: arculfus dicit B      <sup>29</sup> quosdam  
tamen B      agellos et uillas B      <sup>29, 30</sup> alias *utroque loco* PZ      <sup>30</sup> reliquias P.  
reliquis Y. reliqui B      <sup>31</sup> habet *om.* α

VIII. X. DE UALLE MAMBRE ET DE SEPULCHRIS  
 IIII<sup>or</sup> PATRIARCHARUM

1. Ab orientali vero plaga eiusdem Chebron ager ille occurrit speluncae duplicitis respiciens Mambre quem emit Abraham ab Effron Aetheo in P. 260 G possessionem duplicitis sepulchri. (x.) 2. In huius agelli ualle sanctus 5 ille Arculfus locum sepulchrorum Arbe uisitauit, hoc est .iiii. patriarcharum, Abraham, Isaac, Iacob et Adam primi hominis; 3. quorum plantae non sicut in aliis orbis regionibus ad orientem humatorum conuerti moris est sed ad meridiem uersae, et capita contra septemtrionalem plagam conuersa. 4. Horum locus sepulchrorum quadrato humili 10 circumuenitur muro. 5. Adam protoplaustus, cui peccanti continuo post perpetratum peccatum a Deo creatore dictum est: *Terra es et in terram ibis*, separatus a ceteris tribus haut longe ad borealem illius extremam quadrangulati lapidei ualli partem non in saxeо in petra exciso sepulchro super terram ut ceteri de semine eius honorati quiescunt 15 sed in terra humatus humo tectus et ipse puluis in puluerem uersus exspectans resurrectionem cum uniuerso semine suo pausat et sic de tali sepulchro eius ad ipsum de se ipso prolati expletur diuina sententia. 6. Et iuxta exemplum primi parentis sepulchri caeteri tres patriarchae et ipsi uili puluere tecti dormientes pausant. Quorum .iiii. sepulchra 20 habent circumcisas et dolatas de singulis lapidibus superpositas quasi ad formam alicuius basilicae paruas memorias fabricatas iuxta mensuram longitudinis et latitudinis unius cuiusque sepulchri formatas. 7. Abraham, Isaac et Iacob tria sepulchra uicina tribus superpositis duris can- P. 261 G didis lapidibus ad hanc de qua scribsimus figuram formati, ut superius 25 dictum est, proteguntur; Adam uero sepulchrum superposito quidem sed obscurioris lapide coloris et uilioris operis protegitur. 8. Trium quoque feminarum uiliores et minores memorias ibidem conspexit Arculfus, Sarrae uidelicet, Rebeccae et Liae, humatarum in terra. 9. Illorum itaque patriarcharum sepulcralis agellus a muro illius antiquis- 30 simae Chebron in unius stadii spatio orientem uersus distare dinoscitur. 10. Quae utique Chebron, ut fertur, ante omnes non solum Palestinae ciuitates condita fuerat sed etiam uniuersas Aegiptiuas urbes in sua praecessit conditione; quae nunc misere monstratur distracta.

11. Hucusque de sepulchris patriarcharum sufficiat craxasse. 35

3-5 Gen. 23, 17-19. 5 sqq. Hieron. *Quaest. Hebr.* (iii. 340 Vall.). 12-13 Gen. 3, 19. 16-17 cf. Gen. 3, 19. 32-34 Heges. iv, 23, p. 277, 3-7 Uss.; cf. Hieron. *Onom.* p. 112, 5.

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1-2 *Titulus deest in α, numeri in Y.* VIII. DE UALLE MAMBRE. X. ET DE SEPULCHRIS IIII<sup>or</sup> PATRIARCHARUM B 3 hebron Y 4 habraham B efron Y aetheo Y. cedheo (d corr. in t) Z: etheo B (eetheo B\*). hetheo P 5 post sepulchri add, que non uidetur super terram sed sub terra putantur bina sepulchra B x hic P 6 ille om. α 7 abraham (habraham P) et isaac (isac Y) et iacob α 13 ad

(9) (10) CONCERNING THE VALLEY OF MAMBRE AND  
THE SEPULCHRES OF THE 4 PATRIARCHS

East of Chebron, looking towards Mambre, one finds the field of the double cave, which Abraham bought from Effrom the Hethite for the possession of a double sepulchre. (10) In the valley in this field the holy 5 Arculf visited Arbe, the site of the sepulchres, of the 4 patriarchs that is, Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and Adam the first man. In burial their feet are not turned towards the east as is customary in other regions of the world, but towards the south, and their heads are turned northwards. The site of the sepulchres is surrounded by a low square wall. Adam, the 10 first man, to whom when he sinned God the creator spoke this word immediately after the sin was committed: 'Earth thou art and to earth shalt thou go', is at a small distance from the other three towards the extreme northern end of the square stone enclosure. He does not rest, like the other honoured men of his seed, in a stone sepulchre hollowed 15 out in the rock above the earth's surface; but is buried in the earth, covered by the turf, and dust that he is, to dust returned, he rests awaiting the resurrection with all his seed. And thus is fulfilled the divine sentence about him pronounced to himself concerning the character of his sepulchre. And according to the example of the sepulchre of 20 the first parent, the other three patriarchs, covered too in vile dust, rest sleeping. Their four sepulchres have small memorials placed over them, dressed and shaped from single stones, and constructed rather after the fashion of a basilica according to the measure lengthwise and crosswise of each sepulchre. The three sepulchres of Abraham, Isaac 25 and Jacob, which adjoin one another, are protected, as was said above, by three white stones placed over them, which are shaped according to the pattern we described. The sepulchre of Adam is likewise protected by a stone, but of darker colour, and the work is cruder. There too Arculf saw the smaller, and cruder, memorials of three women, Sarra 30 that is, and Rebecca and Lia, who are buried in the earth. One finds the burial field of those patriarchs to be at a distance of one stade east of the wall of the most ancient city of Chebron. Chebron indeed, it is said, was founded not only before all the cities of Palestine: it preceded even all the Egyptian cities in its foundation—the city that one now sees in 35 miserable ruin.

Let that amount of writing suffice about the sepulchres of the patriarchs.

borealem (abborealem Z) α: aborialem B\* (-ealem B<sup>c</sup>)      14 ualli B: uali PZ. uili Y  
 17 pausauit B      17-18 de tali sepulchro] talis de sepulchro Y      18 post eius add.  
 quod in terra sepultus est (*glossema*) B      diuina expletur B      24 et isaac (isac Y) α  
 25 scribimus B. scripsimus YZ      29 et rebecca P      31, 32 cebron Z. hebron Y  
 33 aegiptias B      35 sepulchris patriarcharum α: patriarcharum sepulcra B

## XI. DE MONTE ET QUERCU MAMBRE

1. Nunc de Mambre colle. Mambre collis mille passibus a monumentis supra descriptis ad boream separatus distat, herbosus ualde et floridus, respiciens Chebron ab Africo sibi occurrentem. 2. Idem itaque monticellus Mambre nominatus habet in cacumine campestrem planitiem ubi ad aquilonalem ciudem cacuminis partem lapidea magna fundata est ecclcsia; in cuius dextrali parte inter duos grandis eiusdem basilicae parietcs, mirum dictu, quercus Mambre exstat in terra radicata, quae et quercus Abraham dicitur eo quod sub ea quondam angelos hospitio P. 262 G reciperit. 3. Quam sanctus Hieronimus alibi narrat ab exordio mundi usque ad Constantini regis imperium permansisse, et fortassis ideo non dixit penitus defecisse quia eadem aetate quamuis non tota illa sicut prius fuerat grandissima quercus monstrabatur, tamen aliqua pars eius permansit in suo stabilita loco. 4. Ex qua, ut sanctus refert Arculfus, qui eam propriis conspexit oculis, adhuc quoddam truncatum remanet 15 spurium radicatum in terra sub eclesiae protectum tegmine, mensuram quasi duum longitudinis uirorum habens; 5. de quo uidelicet conroso spurio et ex omni parte securibus circumciso astellarum ad diuersas orbis prouincias particulae asportantur ob eiusdem quercus uenerationem et recordationem, sub qua, ut superius commemoratum est, angelorum 20 quondam conuento ad Abraham patriarcham famosa et praedicabilis fuerat condonata. 6. In circuitu eiusdem eclesiae, quae ibidem ob loci illius honorificantiam constructa habetur, pauca quaedam relegiosarum habitacula fabricata monstrantur. Sed de his ista sufficient dixisse; ad alia pergamus.

25

XII. DE PINETO EX QUO LIGNA IN CAMELIS AD IGNIS  
MINISTERIA IN HIEROSOLIMIS PERFICIENDA  
UEHUNTUR

Egredientibus de Chebron in campi latitudine sita ad aquilonalem plagam haut procul a margine uiae ad sinistram occurrit pinosus non 30 grandis mons tribus milibus a Chebron distans, de cuius pineto pinea ad P. 263 G Hierosolimam usque in camellis uechuntur ligna ad focos nutriendos; nam in omni Iudea, ut Arculfus refert, plaustra uel etiam currus raro repperiri possunt.

8-10 Hieron. *Onom.* p. 84, 17 sqq.; 114, 16 sqq.; cf. Heges. iv. 23, p. 277, 7-9 Uss. 10 cf. *Onom.* 114, 16-20. 10 sq. cf. *Onom.* 84, 16 ('Constantii') XII. cf. Beda, c. 8, p. 313,8-11 Geyer.

1 x Z. numerum om. Y. Titulus deest in α 2 NUNC (om. Y) DE MAMBRE COLLE  
ut titulus capit is in YP 4 floridus] flores habens B chebron Z. hebron Y  
6 aquilonalem] aquilonem PB 7 grandes YB 8 extat B. existit Z  
13 tamen post propriis (15) legitur in B; sed hic s.l. B<sup>2</sup> 14 remansit B suo  
stabilita] suae stabilitatis Y refert sanctus Z. sanctus om. YP 16 sub om. P  
17 duorum Z quasi duum om. P 18 astellarum] aut stellarum B\* (astellara-  
rum ω?) 19 ansportantur P 21 habraham B 23 rele(-li- ZB)giosarum]  
religiosorum Y 24 sufficiat B 24-25 ad alia pergamus *initium capit is XII in*

## (11) CONCERNING THE MOUNT AND OAK OF MAMBRE

Now concerning the hill of Mambre. The hill of Mambre is towards the north, separated by a distance of a mile from the tombs described above. It is very grassy and flowery and looks towards Chebron which faces it from the south-west. This little mount called Mambre has a 5 level plateau on top, and at the northern extremity of the summit a large stone church is erected. At the southern side of this, between the two walls of the great basilica, wonderful to relate, there stands rooted in the earth the oak of Mambre, which is also called the oak of Abraham, because once upon a time he entertained angels under it. The holy Jerome tells 10 elsewhere that it remained from the beginning of the world up to the reign of Constantine. It was for this reason perhaps that he did not say it had perished completely, because at that time, though the whole huge oak was no longer on view (as it was formerly), yet a portion of it remained fixed in the site. Of this, as Arculf relates, who saw it with his own eyes, 15 there still remains a truncated spur<sup>1</sup> rooted in the earth. It is protected under the roof of the church, and its measure is about the size of two men. Now this cropped spur is hewn about on every side by axes, little splinters being carried away to the divers provinces of the world, out of veneration and remembrance for the oak, under which, as 20 was mentioned above, the famous and noteworthy meeting with the angels was once vouchsafed to Abraham the patriarch. Round about the church which is built there out of veneration for the place, one may view a few dwellings which have been set up for nuns. But let that suffice about these: let us hasten to other things.

25

## (12) CONCERNING THE PINE-FOREST FROM WHICH WOOD IS CARRIED BY MEANS OF CAMELS FOR MAKING FIRES IN JERUSALEM

On leaving Chebron, on the level expanse situated towards the north, on the left, not far from the roadside, one comes upon a fair-sized pine- 30 clad hill at three miles distance from Chebron. From this pine grove pines for firewood are transported by means of camels as far as Jerusalem. Camels I say, for in all Judea, as Arculf relates, wagons, or chariots even, are rarely found.

<sup>1</sup> *Spurium*: there is no known instance of this use as a substantive before Adamnan. Possibly he derives it from Vulg. Wisdom, iv. 3, 'spuria uitulamina non dabunt radices altas'. I am indebted to Dr. Ehlers, Director of *Thes. Ling. Lat.*, for this reference, and for Albertus Magnus, *Veget.* vii. 35 (ed. Meyer-Jessen), 'propter pinguedinem nimiam luxuriabit in spuria diuersarum plantarum (sc. ager satius)'. This seems to suggest later technical usage as substantive in botany.

B. om. Y      26 xi Z. *Titulus deest in α*      29 cebron ZB. hebron Y      30  
marginie uiae] marginetenę P (tene est fortasse glossa *Hibernica uocis ignis*). marginie  
uenae Z      31 cebron P\*Z      de] á P      33 ante nam glossema: in camelis inquam  
P. in camelis Y. inquam B      34 possunt sanctus noster arculfus conspexit B

## XIII. DE HIERICHO

1. Hiericho urbis, quam Jesus Iordane transmisso subuertit rege illius interfecto, sanctus noster Arculfus conspexit locum, pro qua Oza de Bethel ex tribu Effraim aliam exstruxit, quam noster Saluator sua praesentia uisitare dignatus est; 2. quae eodem tempore quo Hierusalem 5 Romani obpugnantes obscdebat propter ciuium perfidiam capta et distracta est; pro qua tertia condita est, quae post multa temporum interualla et ipsa subuersa est, cuius nunc quaedam, ut Arculfus refert, ruinarum uestigia monstrantur. 3. Mirum dictu, sola domus Raab meretricis pos trcs in codem loco distractas ciuitates remansit, quae 10 duos exploratores, quos Iesu ben Nun transmisit, in solario eiusdem domus suae lini stipula abscondit; cuius lapidei parietes sine culmine permanent. 4. Locus uero totius urbis ab humana desertus habitatione nullam domum habens commorationis segetes et uineta recipit. 5. Inter locum eiusdem distractae ciuitatis et Iordanen fluuium grandia insunt 15 P. 264 G palmeta, in quorum medio campuli interpositi habentur in quibus quorundam Cananeae stirpis homuntionum prope innumerae sunt fabricatae habitantium domus.

XIV. XV. DE GALGALIS ET DE DUODECIM LAPIDIBUS  
QUOS FILII ISRAHEL TRANSUADATO IORDANIS FLUUIO 20  
SICCATO DETULERUNT 〈PROFUND〉

1. Arculfus sepe memoratus quandam grandem eclesiam fundatam uidit in eo loco constructam in quo filii Israhel Iordane transgresso castrametati primam in terra Chanaan habuere mansionem. (xv.) 2. In qua uidelicet eclesia idem sanctus Arculfus illos considerauit dudenos 25 lapides de quibus ad Iosue Dominus pos transitum Iordanis locutus est dicens: *Elege tibi duodecim uiros singulos per singulas tribus et praecipe eis ut tollant de medio Iordanis alueo, ubi sacerdotum steterunt pedes, duodecim durissimos lapides, quos ponetis in loco castrorum ubi fixeritis hac nocte tentoria.* 3. Hos, inquam, Arculfus uiderat; e quibus senos in 30 dextera eclesiae parte in pauimento iacentes et alias eiusdem numeri in aquilonali, omnesque inopolitos et uiles conspexit; quorum unum quemque, ut ipse refert Arculfus, huius temporis duo iuuenes uiri fortes uix possunt de terra subleuare. 4. Ex quibus unus (quo cassu accende

XIII. cf. Hieron. *Onom.* p. 131, 31. XIII–XV. cf. Beda, c. 9. 9–12 Ios. 2, 1–6. 27–30 Ios. 4, 2–3 elige duodecim uiros singulos per singulas tribus et praecipe eis ut tollant de medio Iordanis alueo ubi steterunt sacerdotum pedes duodecim durissimos lapides quos ponetis in loco castrorum ubi fixeritis hac nocte tentoria.

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1 XII Z. *Numerus erasus in Y. Titulum om. Z* IERICHO P. 2 hierico B  
3 sanctus . . . conspexit (*om. locum*) *in fine capitinis praecedentis* (cf. p. 82, 34) B 5  
quae . . . tempore] tempore que eodem B 10 meretricis *om. α* post YZB;  
cf. *infra*, l. 26 11 iesu PZ: iosue YB ben] filius Y (Iesue ben Nun *Vita s. Columbae*

## (13) CONCERNING HIERICHO

Our holy Arculf saw the site of the city of Hiericho, destroyed by Jesus when he killed the king after the crossing of the Jordan. Oza of Bethel, of the tribe of Effraim, raised another city in its place which our Saviour deigned to visit with his presence. Because of the perfidy of its 5 citizens it was taken and destroyed at the same time as the Romans attacked and besieged Jerusalem. In place of this a third city was built, which was also destroyed after a considerable interval, and of which, as Arculf relates, some ruined remains are now to be seen. After the destruction of three cities on the same site, wonderful to relate, the house 10 of Raab alone remained, the woman who hid the two spies that were sent over by Iesu Ben Nun in the upper room of her house by means of linen straw. Its roofless stone walls are extant. Crops and vineyards cover the site of the whole city, which is bare of human habitation and without a single dwelling. Large palm groves lie between the site of the 15 ruined city and the river Jordan, and in the midst of them, at intervals, are little clearings in which some miserable folk of Canaanite stock have very numerous houses.

## (14) (15) CONCERNING GALGAL AND CONCERNING THE TWELVE STONES CARRIED OFF BY THE SONS OF ISRAEL 20 FROM THE DRIED &lt;BED&gt; WHEN THEY CROSSED THE RIVER JORDAN

The oft-mentioned Arculf saw a great church in Galgal. It is built in the place where the sons of Israel first pitched their tent and dwelt in the land of Canaan when they had crossed the Jordan. (15) Now in this 25 church the same holy Arculf inspected the twelve stones concerning which the Lord spoke to Josue after the passage of the Jordan saying: 'Choose twelve men, one from each tribe, and tell them to take twelve very hard stones from the centre of the bed of the Jordan, where the feet of the priests have rested, and these do you place in the camping ground 30 where this night you will have pitched your tents.' These, I say, Arculf noted, six of them in the southern portion of the church lying on the floor, and the other six he noted in the northern portion, all unpolished and rough. Each one of them, as Arculf himself relates, two strong young men of the present day could scarcely lift from the earth. One of them 35

I. 1 Dorbb.) misit B 14 recepit B 15 iordanem YZ 17 c(ch-P)annaneae  
 PZ homunctionum (-rum Z) PZ\*B: homuncionum YZ<sup>c</sup> 18 inhabitantium Y  
 19-21 XIII. DE GALGALIS. XV ET etc. (omissa uoce PROFUNDO, sed cf. capitulationes) B:  
 XIII in marg. P. XIII Z. Numerum om. Y. Titulus DE GALGALIS tantum in YP: om. Z  
 22-23 uidit fundatam Y 23 iordanne B 24 channan P. chanan Z mansionem  
 habuere & habere PB\* 26 iosuę P post & (post transitum P) 27 tibi om.  
 & cum textu Bibliorum 32 omnesque] omnes PZ 34-p. 86, 1 quo . . . ne-  
 scitur post in (2) (p. 86, 4) transp. B

P. 265 G nescitur) in duas confractus partes iterum ferro condensatus manu artificis coniunctus est.

5. Galgal itaque, ubi supra memorata fundata est eclesia, ad orientalem antiquae Hiericho plagam cis Iordanen est in sorte tribus Iuda in quinto ab Hiericho miliario, ubi et tabernaculum fixum multo tempore fuit, 5 in cuius loco, ut traditur, constructa supra dicta eclesia, in qua illi dudeni supra memorati habentur lapides, ab illius regionis mortalibus miro cultu et honorificantia habita honorificatur.

## XVI. DE ILLO IORDANIS LOCO IN QUO DOMINUS AB IOHANNE BABTIZATUS EST

10

1. Ille sacrosanctus et honorabilis locus in quo Dominus ab Iohanne baptizatus est semper aquis fluminis tegitur Iordanis; 2. et, sicut Arculfus refert, qui ad eundem peruererat locum hucque et illuc per eundem transnatuauit fluuium, in eodem sacrosancto loco lignea crux summa infixa est, iuxta quam aqua usque ad collum longissimi uenit stantis 15 uiri aut alio in tempore nimiae siccitatis aquis inminutis ad mamellas usque, inundatione uero facta maiore illa tota crux aquarum adiectione protegitur. 3. Locus itaque eiusdem crucis, in quo, ut superius dictum est, Dominus baptizatus est, citra alueum fluminis habetur; a quo usque in alteram ripam in parte Arabiae homo fortis iactare lapidem potest 20

P. 266 G funda inpellente. 4. Igitur a loco supra memoratae crucis pons lapideus arcibus fultus ad aridam usque porregitur, per quem ipsam adeuntes crucem per cliuum homines descendunt, ad aridam reuersi ascendunt.

5. In extremitate uero fluminis quaedam habetur parua quadrata eclesia, in eo, sicut traditur, fundata loco ubi Dominica uestimenta hora illa 25 custodita sunt qua baptizatus est Dominus. 6. Haec .iii. lapideis suffulta cancris stat super aquas inhabitabilis, quia sub ipsam hinc et inde subintrans aquae. Haec desuper coctili protegitur creta. 7. Inferius uero, ut dictum est, cancris et arcibus sustentata haec talis eclesia in locis inferioribus illius uallis exstat per quam influit Iordanis fluuius; 30 8. in superioribus uero locis quoddam inest grande monachorum monasterium, quod supra discriptae supereminet eclesiae in supercilio monticuli e regione constructum, ibidemque et eclesia in honore sancti baptizatoris Iohannis fundata eodem monasterii circumdatur muro quadratis constructo lapidibus.

35

3 sqq. Hieron. *Onom.* p. 126, 21 sqq.

xvi. cf. Beda, c. 12.

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1 ferro om. B      3 galgal itaque] galgalis uero Y    est fundata Y      4 hierico  
P      5 fuit tempore B      6 constructa . . . eclesia] est constructa s.d. ecclesia  
Y. est eccliesia s.d. constructa P. est fundata uel constructa s.d. ecclesia B      9 xv P.  
XIII Z. *Titulus deest in Z*    LOCO IORDANIS B    IN QUO] UBI Y    AB] A Y      14 trans-

(it is unknown by what mischance) was broken in two, but was clamped by iron and joined again artificially. Galgal, then, the site of the church mentioned above, is east of the ancient Hiericho, on this side of the Jordan, in the portion of the tribe of Iuda, at the fifth milestone from Hiericho, where the tabernacle too was stationed for a long time.<sup>5</sup> According to tradition the above-mentioned church (in which are the twelve stones already mentioned) is built on the site of the tabernacle, and it is honoured with wondrous cult and reverence by the folk of that region.

(16) CONCERNING THE PLACE ON THE JORDAN IN WHICH <sup>10</sup>  
THE LORD WAS BAPTIZED BY JOHN

The sacred and honoured spot in which the Lord was baptized by John is always covered by the waters of the river Jordan; and, as Arculf relates, who reached the actual spot and swam to and fro across the stream, in this sacred spot a tall wooden cross is implanted. Beside it the <sup>15</sup> water comes up as far as the neck of a very tall man standing, or, at other times of great drought, to his breast. When a greater flood comes, however, the whole of the cross is covered by the increased waters. The site of the cross then, where, as has been said above, the Lord was baptized, is on the near side of the river bed. It is possible for a strong <sup>20</sup> man to cast a stone with a sling from there to the other bank on the Arabian side. And a stone bridge supported on arches stretches from the site of the cross mentioned above as far as the dry land. People approaching the cross by means of it come down a slope and climb up again to the shore. At the brink of the river there is a small square church, <sup>25</sup> founded, according to tradition, in the place where the Lord's clothes were kept at the hour in which he was baptized. Supported on 4 stone piles this stands at a habitable level above the water, because the waters slide in under it from either side. It is covered with a tiled roof, but underneath, as has been said, it is supported on arches and piles. That <sup>30</sup> is the kind of church then which stands in the lower part of the valley through which the Jordan flows, but on the higher ground there is a great monastery of monks. It is built exactly above, on the brow of the hill, and overlooks the church already described. There is a church in honour of John the Baptist too in the same place. It is built with square <sup>35</sup> stones and is embraced in the circuit of the monastery wall.

natauit P: natauit Y. intravit Z. transiuit B; *in archetypo fortasse legebatur* tranauit  
<sup>15</sup> quam aqua] aquam quae B      16-17 mam(-mm-PZ)illas usque α: usque ad  
mamellas B      21 memorato B      27, 29 cancris PZ Beda. caneris Y: canchris B  
<sup>30</sup> Iordanis influit B      33 honorem YZ

XVII. XVIII. DE IORDANIS COLORE <ET DE MARE  
MORTUO >

1. Iordanici color fluminis, sicut nobis Arculfus intimauit, albidus in superficie quasi lac uidetur; cuius talis color mare salinarum intrantis longo tramite a colore maris mortui per alueum eius facile discerni potest.

2. Quod uidelicet mortuum mare in magnis tempestatibus conlisione fluctuum ad terras sal efficit per illius circuitum maris habundanter P. 267 G haberi, quod non solum undique uicinis sed etiam longe positis nationibus ualde magnum profectum prebet solis calore satis sufficienter siccatum. 10

3. Aliter uero sal in quodam Siculo monte haberi solet. Nam illius montis lapides de terra euulsi naturaliter salsissimum sal esse gustu conprobantur, quod proprie nominatur sal terrae. 4. Aliter ergo sal maris atque aliter sal terrae uocitari solet, unde et Dominus in euangelio per similitudinem ad apostolos dixisse creditur: *Uos estis sal terrae.* 15

5. De hoc itaque sale terrae in Siciliae monte reperto nobis sanctus intimauit Arculfus, qui illud per aliquot dies ibidem manens uisu et tactu atque gustu conprobauit esse uerum salsissimum sal. (XVIII.)

6. Idem nobis et de maris mortui sale narrauit, quod similiter hisdem tribus supra dictis sensibus a se conprobatum nuntiauit. 7. Qui etiam 20 eiusdem superius memorati lacus maritimam frequentauit oram; cuius longitudo ad Zoaros Arabiae stadiis quingentis octuaginta dirigitur, latitudo stadiis centum quinquaginta usque ad uiciniam Sodomorum.

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XVIII. DE FONTIBUS IORDANIS

1. Arculfus noster et ad illum peruenit locum in prouincia Fenicis ubi 25 Iordanis ad Libani radices de duobus uicinis fontibus emergere uidetur, quorum unus nomine Ior et Dan alter uocitatur; qui simul mixti compositum Iordanis accipiunt nomen. 2. Sed notandum non esse in Panio exordium Iordanis sed in Traconitide terra cxx interiectis stadiis usque ad Cesariam Philippi, quae nunc Panias a Panio monte tractum 30 nomen accipiens uocitatur. 3. Est ergo illius fontis nomen, qui est in Traconitide, Fiala, plena aquarum semper, unde Iordanis subterraneis meatibus diriuatur, et in Panio diuisis aquarum duabus effusionibus

3–6 cf. Beda, c. 10, pp. 315, 22–316, 2 Geyer. 15 Matth. 5, 13. 21–23 Heges. iv, 18, p. 271, 8–10 Uss.; cf. Ps. Eucherius in IV Reg. 25. XVIII. cf. Hieron. (ed. Vall.), iv. 73; *Onom.* p. 131, 25; Eucherius, *Instruct.* ii. 153 Wotke; Heges. iii. 26; Beda, c. 10.

I XVI P. xv Z. *Numerus deest in Y.* Titulus: DE IORDANIS COLORE B: DE COLORE IORDANIS YP: om. Z. *Duo capita ut unum continuantur in YZ.* Nouum caput incipit ab Aliter (l. 13) in B, ab Idem (l. 19) in P 7 XVI Z in marg. 12 lapides montis B 13 XVIII. DE MARE MORTUO. Aliter . . . B 15 terrae et cetera PZ 17 ibidem B: in Sicilia α 18 gustu atque tactu α 18–19 XVII. Idem . . . P 19 narrauit] nuntiauit B 20 nuntiauit] narrauit B 22 quincentis PB\* octoginta

(17) (18) CONCERNING THE COLOUR OF THE JORDAN  
AND CONCERNING THE DEAD SEA

The colour of the Jordan river, as Arculf informed us, seems white like milk on the top; and, as it enters the salt sea, for a considerable stretch along the bed one can easily distinguish this particular colour 5 from that of the Dead Sea.

During great storms, by reason of the beating of waves against the land, the Dead Sea strews salt abundantly throughout the surrounding area, and this, when it is sufficiently dried by the heat of the sun, is of very great benefit not alone to the local people everywhere but even to 10 peoples situated far away. There is another way of getting salt in a mountain in Sicily. The stones of this mountain, when torn away from the earth, are found on tasting to be genuinely the purest natural salt, which is properly called salt of the earth. Thus it is customary to distinguish the names sea salt and salt of the earth. Whence the Lord in the 15 gospel is believed to have said to the apostles by means of a similitude: 'You are the salt of the earth.' Accordingly the holy Arculf told us about this salt of the earth, which is found in a mountain of Sicily. While tarrying for some days in Sicily, by sight and taste and touch he proved it to be genuinely the purest salt. He told us also about the salt of the 20 Dead Sea, which likewise, he asserted, was proved by him by means of the three senses mentioned. He used actually to visit the shore of the lake in question. Its length as far as Zoari in Arabia measures five hundred and eighty stades, and its breadth, as far as the environs of Sodom, one hundred and fifty stades. 25

## (19) CONCERNING THE SOURCE OF THE JORDAN

Our friend Arculf also reached the place in the province of Phoenicia where the Jordan seems to emerge from two neighbouring springs at the foot of Libanus. One is called Ior, and the other Dan. Flowing together they are given the compound name, Jordan. But it should be 30 noted that the rising of the Jordan is not in Panium but in the land of Trachonitis, at a distance of 120 stades from Caesarea Philippi, which is now called Panias, a name derived from mount Panium. The name of the spring in Trachonitis is Fiala: it is always full of water. The Jordan derives from it by means of subterranean wanderings, and breaks 35 forth in Panium in divided jets of water, which, as has been said already,

YB      23 stadiis cl α. *Heg.*: centum quinquaginta stadiis B      uiciniam Z:  
uicinam YPB; cf. *adn. ad p. 42, 15 et ad Heges. p. 271, 10 Uss.*      24 xviii P. xvii  
Z. Numerum om. Y. Titulus: DE FONTIBUS IORDANIS B: DE IORDANIS BINIS FONTIBUS P.  
deest in YZ      26 iordan B      27 alter dan α      28 accepit B      29 troconitide  
B      terre P\*. terre B      30 paneas Y. panias PZ. pannias B      pannio B      32 tra-  
chonitide P      fiola B      33 pannio B      diuisus P

ebullit, quae, ut supra dictum est, Ior et Dan nominari solent. 4. Inde quoque emergentes et in unum confluentes fluuium coeunt, qui exinde suum diregens cursum cxx stadia sine ulla interfusione usque ad urbem cui nomen est Iulias progredivit, postea lacum istum qui Genesar dicitur medio transit fluento; quibus ex locis plurima circumuagatus deserta 5 Asfaltio suscipitur lacu atque in eum conditur. Itaque duos lacos uictor egressus in tertio heret.

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## XX. DE MARE GALILEAE

1. Noster sepe memoratus sanctus Arculfus mare Galileae, quod et lacus Cinereth et mare Tiberiadis nominatur, ex maiore circumiit parte, 10 cui magnae finitiae adherent siluae. 2. Lacus ipsius ueluti quodam maris ambitu amplissimus <sinus> in longitudinem cxl stadia extenditur, latitudine xl difunditur; 3. cuius aquae dulces et ad potandum habiles, siquidem nec palustris uliginis crassum aliquid aut turbidum recipit, quia harenoso undique litore circumuenitur, unde et purior austus eius 15 ac mollior est ad usum. 4. Genera quoque piscium gustu et speciae nusquam in alio lacu prestantiora repperiri possunt.

5. Haec breuia de Iordanis exordio et lacu Cinereth partim de tertio Iudaicae captiuitatis libro partim de sancti Arculfi experientia excerpta detulimus, qui, ut ipse indubitanter refert, ab eo loco quo de faucibus 20 maris Galileae Iordanis egreditur usque ad eum locum ubi in mare mortuum intrat octo dierum itiner habuit; quod scilicet idem mare salsissimum et de montis Oliueti specula sepius, sicuti ipse narrat, sanctus prospexit Arculfus.

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## XXI. DE PUTEO SAMARIAE

25

1. Arculfus sacerdos sanctus regionem Samariae peragrans ad eiusdem prouinciae peruenit ciuitatem quae Ebraicae dicitur Sichem, Greca uero et Latina consuetudine Sicima nominatur; quae quamlibet uitiose Sichar uocitari solet. 2. Itaque prope hanc eandem ciuitatem quandam extra murum uidit constructam eclesiam quae quadrifida in .iiii. mundi 30 cardines formata extenditur quasi in similitudinem crucis; cuius figura inferius describitur.

3. In cuius medietate fons Iacob, qui et puteus dici solet, ad eius .iiii. respiciens partes intrinsecus medius habetur, super quem Saluator

xx. cf. *Heges.* iii. 26; *Beda,* c. 10.      xxii. cf. *Hieron. Onom.* pp. 154, 30; 152, 5; *Quaest. in Genes.* c. 48, 22; *Beda,* c. 14.

1 inde YB<sup>c</sup> *Heg:* unde PZB\*; sic fortasse *Adamnarus*      4 istum ex *Hegesippo Geyer:* situm ω genesar Y. geresar B: genazar PZ (Gennesar *Heg.*)      6 asfalteo P lacu α *Heg.: om.* B      8 xviii P. xviii Z. om. Y. *Titulus litteris minusculis in Y. om. Z*      10 cinnereth Z      12 amplissimus YB. amplissimis PZ. sinus amplissimus *Heg.*      per cxl B, sed cf. *Heg., Beda*      15 quia P *Heg.* quod YZ:

are wont to be called Ior and Dan. It is there also that they emerge, and join together to form one river, which from this point onwards follows its course for 120 stades without any interfusion as far as the city named Iulias. Afterwards it streams through the middle of the lake called Genezar. From these regions it meanders through many desert places,<sup>5</sup> and is gathered into the Asphalt lake and there absorbed. Thus having emerged victorious from two lakes it is caught fast in the third.

### (20) CONCERNING THE SEA OF GALILEE

Our holy Arculf, often mentioned, travelled round the greater part of the sea of Galilee, which is also called the lake of Cinereth and the sea <sup>10</sup> of Tiberias. Large woods adjoin its shores. The wide *< sweep >* of the lake itself, like an expanse of ocean, extends to a length of 140 stades, and spreads to a width of 40. Its waters are sweet and suitable for drinking, in that it has no coarse or muddy deposits from bog or marsh, being surrounded on every side by a sandy shore. Consequently the <sup>15</sup> water is the clearer and sweeter for use. Species of fish too can be found, as handsome and as tasty as in any lake anywhere.

This brief account of the origin of the Jordan and of the lake of Cinereth we have assembled partly from the third book of the Jewish Captivity, and partly from the experiences of Arculf. According to his <sup>20</sup> own accurate statement, Arculf made a journey of 8 days from the place where the Jordan emerges from the mouth of the sea of Galilee, as far as the place where it enters the Dead Sea. Often too, he tells us, from the vantage point of mount Olivet, the holy Arculf gazed out at that very salt sea.

25

### (21) CONCERNING THE WELL OF SAMARIA

The holy priest Arculf, traversing the region of Samaria, came to the city of that province called in Hebrew Sichem, by Greek and Latin usage Sicima. It is wont to be called Sichar too, though wrongly. Close to this city he saw a church built outside the wall, which is so shaped as <sup>30</sup> to branch into four parts extending towards the 4 cardinal points of the world, in the likeness of a cross as it were. A plan of it is given below.<sup>1</sup>

In the interior, as its centre, facing all of the 4 wings, is the fount of Jacob, which is wont to be called a well too. One day at the sixth hour

<sup>1</sup> See frontispiece.

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que (que m.2) B harenoso YZ Heg.: arenoso PB Beda (excepto cod. M). Cf. *adv. ad p. 66*, 2 17 et in B 18 cinneret Z. cineret B 22 itiner B: iter α 25 xx P. xviii Z. Numerum om. Y. Titulus deest in Z 26 sanctus sacerdos Y 27 ebraice Z: hebraicae P. ebraice B. hebraice Y [sic hem] sethim B 30 quadrifica Y: -am B\* 31 crucis similitudinem B 31-32 figura inferius] inferius forma B

iteneris labore fatigatus cuiusdam diei hora sedebat sexta, et ad eundem puteum illa Samaritana mulier eodem meridiano tempore aquam aurire uenit. 4. De quo uidelicet puteo eadem mulier inter cetera ad Dominum respondens dixit: *Domine, neque in quo aurias habes et puteus altus est.* 5. Arculfus itaque, qui de eiusdem putei bibit aqua, et de illius altitudine enarrat inquiens: Ille quem aspexi puteus altitudinis habet bis uicinas orias, hoc est xl cubitos. Oria ergo siue cubitus utriusque manus a latere extensio utroque.

6. Sichem ergo, quae et Sicima, quondam sacerdotalis ciuitas et fugitiuorum habebatur in tribu Manasse et in monte Effraim, ubi et ossa Ioseph sunt humata.

P. 272 G XXII. XXIII. DE QUODAM SOLITUDINIS FONTICULO.  
DE LUCUSTIS ET MELLE SILUESTRI

1. Arculfus sepe memoratus quandam in deserto lucidum aspexit fonticulum, de quo, quemadmodum traditur, sanctus Iohannis bibebat 15 borbitor, lapideo protectum tecto calce perlito.

(XXIII.) 2. De eodem namque Iohanne euangelistae scribunt: *Esca autem eius erat locustae et mel siluestre.* Idem noster Arculfus in illa solitudine ubi Iohannis inhabitabat quoddam locustarum uidit minimum genus, quarum corpuscula in modum digiti manus exilia et breuia sunt; 20 et quod eorum breuis ualde uolatus, similis leuium saltibus ranarum, facile in herbis capiuntur. Coctae per oleum pauperem praebent uictum.

3. De melle uero siluestri hanc ab Arculfo experientiam didicimus ita dicente: In eodem deserto quasdam uideram arbores quarum folia lata et rotunda sunt lactei coloris et saporis mellei; quorum utique 25 foliorum natura fragilis ualde est, et qui ea in escam sumere cupiunt primum manibus confricant deinde comedunt. Et hoc est siluestre mel in siluis sic repertum.

P. 273 G XXIIII. DE ILLO LOCO IN QUO SALUATOR QUINQUE PANES ET DUOS PISCES BENEDIXIT

1. Ad quem locum noster sepe memoratus peruenit Arculfus, cuius herbosus et planus campus ex qua die in eo Saluator quinque milia

4 Ioh. 4, 11. 9–11 Hier. *Onom.* p. 152, 8; cf. 148, 20. 11 Ios. 24, 32. XXIII.  
cf. Beda, c. 13. 17–18 Matth. 3, 4; cf. Mc. 1, 6. 18–27 Sedulius Scottus in *Matth.* iii.  
4 (P = *Cod. Berol. Phillipps* 1660, f. 25<sup>r</sup>; V = *Cod. Vindob.* 740, f. 22<sup>r</sup>): Est autem locusta, ut Archulfus refert, paruum animal uolatile in modum pollicis manus seu pedis, serratas habens pennas, quibus segetes dissipat (*leg.* dissecat?) uolando. Ex his autem animalibus oleo decoctis aesca (= *VULG<sup>DEK</sup>*) praebetur heremitis. Idem de melle siluestri. In eodem, inquit, deserto quasdam uideram arbores quarum folia lata et rotunda sunt, lactei coloris et saporis mellis (*melliti P<sup>c</sup>, cf. Hrabanum*); quorum utique foliorum natura ualde fragilis est, et qui in aescam sumere cupiunt primum manibus confricant deinde comedunt. Et hoc est quod mel siluestre uocant. Cf. Hraban. Maur., PL cvii. 768. 22 cf. Iuuencus I. 325. XXIIII. cf. Beda, c. 15, p. 319, 11–16 Geyer.

1 in cuiusdam Y

2 haurirc Z, (h s.l.) Y

4 haurias ZB. auries P

6 enar-

the Saviour, wearied by the toil of the journey, sat by this well; and the Samaritan woman came at the same noonday hour to the well to draw. Now concerning this well, amongst other things, the woman said in answer to the Lord: 'Lord, thou hast not wherewith to draw, and the well is deep.' Arculf, who drank of the water of this well told about its 5 depth saying: 'That well which I saw, has a depth of twice twenty oriai, that is 40 cubits.' Now an oria or cubit is the measure formed by both arms extended on either side.

Sichem then, which is also Sicima, a priestly city at one time and a city of refuge, is in the tribe of Manasse and the mount of Effraim, where 10 also are buried the bones of Joseph.

#### (22) (23) CONCERNING A SPRING IN THE DESERT. CONCERNING THE LOCUSTS AND WILD HONEY

The oft-mentioned Arculf saw a clear spring in the desert, from which, according to tradition, the holy John the Baptist used to drink. 15 It has a white-washed stone covering. (23) Now concerning this John the evangelists write: 'His food was locusts and wild honey.' In the solitude where John used to live our friend Arculf saw a very small type of locust, the body being thin and short like one's finger. As their range of flight is very short, like the leaping of light frogs, they are 20 easily captured in the grass. When cooked with oil they provide meagre sustenance. Concerning the wild honey we learned this much from Arculf's experience. This is what he said: 'In that desert I saw certain trees, the broad round leaves of which are of milky colour and have the flavour of honey. Now the nature of these leaves is very fragile, and those 25 who wish to take them as food first grind them in their hands and then eat them. And this is the wild honey which is so found in the woods.'<sup>1</sup>

#### (24) CONCERNING THE SPOT IN WHICH THE LORD BLESSED THE FIVE LOAVES AND TWO FISHES

Our friend Arculf, often mentioned, came to this place, a level grassy 30 plain which has never been tilled from the day our Saviour filled five

<sup>1</sup> This information is quoted in Fabri's *Euagatorium* (cf. Introduction, p. 6, n. 2), *Pal. Pil. Text Society*, xx, part 2, pp. 30–31.

rauit Y      10 manesse P\*      12 XXII. XXIII unum capitulum sunt      21 P. XX Z.  
Numerum om. Y      DE QUODAM SOLITUDINIS FONTICULO (FONT. SOL. P) PB. DE LUCUSTIS  
ET MELLE SILUESTRI hic Y. Titulus deest in Z      15 bibebat iohannes B      16 babi-  
tizator P: baptizator YZB      17 XXII P. XXI Z      DE LOCUSTIS ET SILUESTRI MELLAE.  
De . . . P      18 eius om. B cum VULG<sup>c</sup> erant PBC      19 habitabat PZ      20  
quorum YZ      21 breuis . . . uolatus] breuis euolatus P. breuis <est> ualde uolatus  
Geyer. De copula omissa u. Ind. gramm.      22 coctaeque Y      23 XXIII. DE LOCUSTIS  
ET MEL SILUESTRE. De . . . B      24 eo ita B      quosdam Y\*P      25 mellis B Sed.  
26 ea om. B      27 confricant PZ<sup>2</sup> Sed: confringunt YB      29 XXIII P. XXII Z.  
Numerum om. Y. Titulus deest in Z      IN QUO] ubi B      30 DUO P. II Y      BENE-  
DIXIT PISCES P

quinque panibus et duobus piscibus saturauit numquam aratus est. 2. In quo nulla cernuntur edificia; quasdam solummodo columnas paucas Arculfus aspergit lapideas super marginem illius fonticuli iacentes de quo illi eadem biberunt, ut fertur, die qua Dominus esurientes eos tali refectione recreauit. 3. Qui uidelicet locus citra mare Galileae est, 5 respiciens ciuitatem Tiberiadem ab australi plaga sibi occurrentem.

### XXV. DE CAFARNAUM

1. Qui ab Hierosolimis discendentes Cafarnaum adire cupiunt, ut Arculfus refert, per Tiberiadem uia uadunt recta, deinde secus lacum Cinereth, quod est mare Tiberiadis et mare Galileae, locumque superius 10 memoratae benedictionis peruum habent, a quo per marginem eiusdem supra memorati stagni non longo circuitu Cafarnaum perueniunt maritimam in finibus Zabulon et Neptalem. 2. Quae, ut Arculfus refert, qui eam de monte uicino prospexit, murum non habens angusto inter P. 274 G montem et stagnum cohartata spatio per illam maritimam oram longo 15 tramite protenditur, montem ab aquilonali plaga lacum uero ab australi habens ab occasu in ortum extensa diregitur.

### XXVI. DE NAZARETH ET ECLESIIS EIUS

1. Ciuitas Nazareth, ut Arculfus, qui in ea ospitatus est, narrat, et ipsa ut Cafarnaum murorum ambitum non habet *supra montem posita*, 20 grandia tamen lapidea habet edificia, ibidemque dueae pergrandes habentur constructae eclesiae. 2. Una in medio ciuitatis loco super duos fundata cancros, ubi quondam illa fuerat domus edificata Dominus in qua noster nutritus est Saluator. 3. Haec itaque eadem eclesia duobus, ut superius dictum est, tumulis et interpositis arcibus suffulta habet 25 inferius inter eosdem tumulos lucidissimum fontem conlocatum, quem totus ciuium frequentat populus, de illo exauriens aquam; et de latice eodem sursum in eclesiam superedificatam aqua in uasculis per trocleas subregitur.

4. Altera uero eclesia in eo fabricata habetur loco ubi illa fuerat domus 30 constructa in qua Gabriel archangelus ad beatam Mariam ingressus ibidem eadem hora solam est locutus inuentam. 5. Hanc de Nazareth experientiam a sancto dedicimus Arculfo, qui in illa duabus hospitatus est noctibus et totidem diebus, et idcirco in ea diutius hospitari non poterat quia ipsum cogebat locorum peritus Christi miles festinare de 35

xxv. cf. Beda, c. 15, p. 319, 16–22 Geyer. 13 sqq. Hieron. *Onom.* p. 111, 23. xxvi. cf. Beda, c. 15, pp. 319, 22–320, 5 Geyer. 20 Matth. 5, 14.

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1 saturauit hominum B	3 aspergit] conspergit B	5 citra] contra B
7 XXIIII P. XXIII Z. <i>Numerus deest in Y</i>	10 cineret P. cinnereth Z <sup>2</sup>	locumque]
locum namque B	13 refert arculfus B	14 prospexit uicino B
		16 leg. montem-

thousand in it with five loaves and two fishes. There are no buildings to be seen in it. Arculf saw a few stone columns only, lying on the brink of the fountain, the one from which it is said the people drank on the day on which the Lord refreshed them with such a repast. The place is on the other shore of the sea of Galilee, facing the city of Tiberias which 5 bounds it on the south.

### (25) CONCERNING CAPHARNAUM

Travellers from Jerusalem who wish to go to Capharnaum, as Arculf relates, take the straight road through Tiberias, then along by the lake of Cinereth, which is also the sea of Tiberias and the sea of Galilee. 10 They use the place of the blessing, mentioned above, as a thoroughfare by means of which, along the brink of the lake already mentioned, they reach Capharnaum by a fairly short circuit. It is on the lake shore, in the territory of Zabulon and Neptalim. As Arculf relates (he saw it from the neighbouring mountain) the city has no wall; but, confined as it is 15 between the mountain and the lake, stretches for a considerable distance along the seashore, and runs from west to east, with the mountain to the north and the lake to the south.

### (26) CONCERNING NAZARETH AND ITS CHURCHES

The city of Nazareth, as Arculf who lodged in it tells, is situated on a 20 mountain, and, like Capharnaum, has no surrounding walls. It has, however, large stone buildings, and there are two very large churches, one in the centre of the city raised on two piles, where once upon a time was the house in which the Lord, our saviour, was brought up. This church then, as has been said above, is supported upon two mounds with 25 arches between, and there is a very clear fountain underneath, between the mounds. The whole community of citizens come to draw water from it, and from the same source vessels of water are raised up to the church above by means of pulleys. The second church is constructed on the site of the house, in which Gabriel the archangel, going in to the 30 holy Mary, talked to her alone as he found her there in that hour. We got this information concerning Nazareth from the holy Arculf, who lodged there for two nights and two days, and was unable to tarry there longer because a soldier of Christ, Peter by name, a native of Burgundy,

〈que〉? ab (1) α Beda: om. B 17 extensa dirigitur (diregitur Z\*) α: dirigitur  
extensa B i 18 xxv in marg. P. XII (leg. XXIIII) Z. Numerus deest in Y. Titulus deest  
in Z. ET . . . EIUS om. YP 21 pergrandes] grandes B 23 Dominus om. Y  
24 itaque om. B 25 tumulis] tabulis B 28 superedificatam post ibi (l. 32) B  
31 gabrihel P 32 ibidem] ibi superedificatam B solam . . . inuentam P:  
solamen locutus inuentam Z. locutus solam est inuentans Y. sola locutus est inuenta B  
nazareht P. nazaret B 33 in illa] ibi B

P. 275 G Burgunnia ortus uitam ducens solitariam, Petrus nomine, qui post eundem circuitum ad illum in quo prius est commoratus reuersus est solitarium locum.

### XXVII. DE MONTE THABOR

1. Mons Thabor in Galilea tribus milibus a lacu Cinereth distat, mira 5 rotunditate ex omni collectus parte, a plaga boreali respiciens supra dictum stagnum, herbosus ualde et floridus; in cuius amoena summitate ampla planities silua pergrandi circumcincta habetur, cuius in medio campo monachorum inest grande monasterium et plurimae eorundem cellolae. 2. Nam illius montis campestris uertex non in angustum 10 coartatur cacumen sed in latitudinem dilatatur stadiorum xxiii; altitudo autem eius xxx stadiis sublimatur. 3. In eadem quoque superiore planicie non parui edificii ternae sunt fundatae celebres eclesiae iuxta illorum tabernaculorum numerum de quibus in eodem sancto monte Petrus caelesti laetificatus uisione et ualde pauefactus ad Dominum 15 locutus ait: *Bonum est nobis hic esse et faciamus tria tabernacula, unum tibi et unum Moysi et unum Heliae.* 4. Itaque supra memorata monasterii et trium eclesiarum edicia cum cellulis monachorum lapideo omnia circumueniuntur muro. 5. Ubi sanctus Arculfus una hospitatus est P. 276 G nocte in eiusdem sancti montis celsitudine; nam Petrus Burgunnio 20 Christicola in illis terris semitarum eius ductor non ipsum sinebat in uno eodemque hospitio diutius inmorari festinationis intuitu. 6. Sed inter haec et hoc etiam notandum quod illius famosi montis nomen Grecis litteris sic oporteat scribi, per Θ et ω longum ΘΑΒΩΡ, Latinis uero litterulis cum aspiratione Thabor, producta o littera. Huius 25 ortografia uocabuli in libris Grecitatis est reperta.

### XXVIII. DE DAMASCO

1. Damascus ciuitas regalis magna, ut Arculfus refert, qui in illa per aliquot hospitatus est dies, in campo posita lato, ampio murorum ambitu circumcincta, insuper etiam et crebris turribus communita, plurima 30

4-17 Sedulius Scottus in Matth. 17, 8 (P f. 120<sup>v</sup>, V f. 101<sup>v</sup>): Haec autem Saluatoris transfiguratio in monte Thabor. viii. (vii. V) idibus Augusti facta est. Ubi ut Archulfus refert tres sunt ecclesiae, hoc est Christi et Moysi et Heliae constructae et quarta Helisei; sed ecclesia Saluatoris in altiori posita loco minor, quamuis formosior (s.l. speciosior PV) quam sit ecclesia Moysi. Est autem mons Thabor in Galilea, tribus milibus distans a lacu Cinereth, mira rotunditate ex omni parte collectus, a plaga boreali respiciens supra dictum stagnum, herbosus ualde et floridus, in cuius amoena sublimitate ampla planities silua grandi circumcincta habetur, cuius campestris uertex non in angustum coartatur cacumen sed in latitudinem stadiorum xxiii, altitudo eius xxx stadiis sublimatur.

xxvii. cf. Hicron. *Onom.* p. 156, 33; Beda, c. 16. 10 Heges. iv. 4, p. 247, 2-3 Uss. 16-17 Luc. 9, 33. 26 in libris Grecitatis sancti Hieronymi *explanat* Geyer p. 353; *de exemplari quodam bilingui Psalterii cogitat* B. Bischoff, cf. Ps. 88, 13. xxviii. cf. Beda, c. 17.

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1 burgunnia Y: burgunia P. bugunia Z. burgundia B qui iam post Y

2 est

who was leading the solitary life and had a good knowledge of the country, urged him to hasten. After the tour Peter returned to the solitary place where he formerly resided.

### (27) CONCERNING MOUNT THABOR

Mount Thabor is three miles from the lake of Cinereth, and is<sup>5</sup> gathered into a wondrous roundness on every side. On the north it looks towards the above-mentioned lake and is exceedingly grassy and flowery. There is a wide plateau on its beautiful summit surrounded by a very large wood, and in the central plain of this there is a large monastery with many cells for the monks. The level top of the mountain is not<sup>10</sup> narrowed to a point, but spread to a width of 23 stades, and it stands at an altitude of 30 stades. There are notable churches also of considerable size on this upper plateau, three in number, according to the number of the tabernacles, concerning which Peter on the same holy mount, rejoicing in the heavenly vision and greatly fearing, said to the Lord:<sup>15</sup> 'It is good for us to be here, and let us make three tabernacles, one for thee and one for Moses and one for Elias.' The buildings of the monastery mentioned above, and of the three churches, with the cells of the monks, are all surrounded by a stone wall. The holy Arculf lodged for one night on the lofty summit of that holy mount; for Peter of Burgundy, a follower<sup>20</sup> of Christ and the guide of Arculf's journeys in these parts, in his regard for haste would not allow him to tarry longer in one and the same lodging. At this juncture it should be noted also that the name of that famous mountain ought to be written in Greek letters with Θ and long ω thus, ΘΑΒΩΡ. Whereas in Latin letters it ought to be written with<sup>25</sup> aspiration and long o—Thabor. The orthography of this word was found in Greek books.

### (28) CONCERNING DAMASCUS

The great royal city of Damascus, as Arculf relates, who lodged for some days in it, is situated on a broad plain, surrounded by an ample<sup>30</sup> circuit of walls, and fortified moreover by several towers, with several

(1) *om. PZ* est (2) *om. P* 3 sanctum *ante* locum add. B 4 *uno folio caret* P  
 xxv Z. *Numerus deest* in Y. *Titulus deest* in Z 5 tabor BZ 6 parte collectus  
 Z Sed. 11 coartatus B latitudinem B *Sed.: latitudine α* 12 autem *om.* B  
 13 planicie] platea BZ sunt ternae Y 16 est *om.* B et *om.* Z faciam B  
 18 et *om.* B 20 burganio Z. burgundio B<sup>2</sup> 22-23 sed inter *om.*, haec et *del.* B  
 24 grecis ZB: gregorii Y Θ] e Z. t B ΘABIUP Y. HABωP B ea siuis litteris  
*(fragmentum glossae?)* Z 25 litterulis] litteris B adspiratione B\* o] or B  
 26 ortografia (-phia Z) α 27 XXVI Z. *Numerus deest* in Y. Post DAMASCO add. B:  
 XXVIII. ET DE TYRO. XXX. ET DE ALEXANDRIA (*sequitur textus trium capitum uno tenore*  
*scriptus*) 28 in illa *om.* B

extra muros in circuitu habens oliueta, quam et magna quatuor flumina interfluentia gaudenter laetificant. 2. In qua Saracinorum rex adeptus eius principatum regnat. Et in honore sancti Iohannis Baptistae ibidem grandis fundata eclesia est, et quaedam etiam Saracinorum eclesia incredulorum et ipsa in eadem ciuitate quam ipsi frequentant fabricata est.

## XXVIII. DE TYRO

1. Plurimarum peragrator regionum noster Arculfus etiam Tirum P. 277 G Fenicis prouinciae metropolim introiit, quae Ebreico et Siro sermone Soar appellatur. 2. Quae nullum habuisse de terra introitum in Grecis 10 barbarisque historiis legitur, sed postea a Nabocodonosor rege Caldeorum iactos esse aggeres nonnulli adfirmant et oppugnationi iaculis et arietibus locum fuisse praeparatum ac deinde insolam factam esse campi planitiem. 3. Haec pulchra et nobilis ualde erat, quae non inmerito Latine interpretatur angustia; nam eandem terrae demensionem angusta habet 15 insula et ciuitas haec in terra Chanan possita, de qua mulier Chananea siue Tirofenissa in euangelio fuerat commemorata.

4. Notandum itaque est quod sancti Arculfi de situ Tiri relatio per omnia concordet cum his quae ipsi superius de sancti Hieronimi commentariis excerpta detulimus; similiter et ea quae supra de montis 20 Thabor situ et forma iuxta sancti Arculfi narrationem discripsimus nullo discrepant modo ab his quae de situ eiusdem montis et mira rotunditate sanctus Hieronimus narrat. A quo uidelicet Thabor monte usque ad Damascum iter septem dierum Arculfus habuit.

1. Grandis illa ciuitas, quae quondam metropolis Aegipti fuerat, Ebraicae olim No uocitabatur, urbs ualde populosa, quae ab Alexandro

XXVIII. cf. Hieron. in Ezech. c. 26 (in Amos c. 1; in Abacuc c. 1; *Onom.* pp. 30, 20; 63, 27; 71, 27). XXX. cf. Heges. iv. 27; Beda, c. 18; Hieron. in Oseae, c. 9; in Nahum 3, 8. V. etiam K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres* (*Klio*, Beiheft 14), pp. 132–8 (Lipsiae 1923).

2, 4 sarracenorum Z 3 eius] est B honorem α baptistae α: baptist/⟨te B<sup>2</sup>⟩ gulorum B; leg.: baptistae xp̄icolorum? 4 est ecclesia P 5 et om. α 7 XXVII, sine titulo, Z. Numerus et titulus desunt in B 8 thyrum Y: tyrum PZ 11 barbarisque B historiis] litteris B nabocō Y. nabucodonosor Z. nabugodonosor B (u corr. in o B<sup>2</sup>) 12 iactatos B oppugnationi scripsi] oppugnatione ω (ab obpugnatore, sine adnotatione, Geyer) 13 esse] fuisse Y. Nescio an sic scripsit Adamnanus deinde . . . campi] de insula paeninsulam factam esse et campi (cf. Hieron. in Ezech. c. 26) Geyer 13–14 planitiem. Haec] planities (-es in ras.) autem Y. ab Haec (l. 14) denuo incipit P (f. 7) 14–15 Latine interpretatur] iam Y. latine preter B (corr. B<sup>2</sup>) 15 angustia] angusta Y 16 channan P cananea Y. channanea P 17 tiro fenissa B. tiro (tyro Z) finissa PZ: sirofinissa Y commorata α 18 per YP: super Z. post B 19 concordat PZ ipsi superius scripsi] ipsius B. superius α 20 supra] superius Y 21 di(de- PZ)scripsimus] descriptam Y 22 his]

olive orchards in the territory surrounding the walls. Four great rivers too, which flow through it, bless it with happy increase. The king of the Saracens holds the principality and has his court there, and in the same place a great church has been raised in honour of the holy John the Baptist. In this city too, which they frequent, even the unbelieving 5 Saracens have constructed a church.

## (29) CONCERNING TYRE

Our friend Arculf, a wanderer over several regions, entered Tyre too, the metropolis of the province of Phoenicia, which in the Hebrew and Syriac tongue is called Soar. One reads in Greek, Latin, and barbarian histories that it had no entry from the land; but some assert that subsequently mounds were thrown up by Nabuchodonosor, king of the Chaldeans, that a place was prepared for missiles and battering rams with a view to a siege and the island thus made into one stretch of land.<sup>1</sup> It was a beautiful and very noble city, and not without reason is it rendered 15 in Latin ‘narrowness’; for the city is commensurate in extent with the narrow island. It is situated in the land of Canaan, whence the Canaanite, or Tyrofoenician, woman in the gospel gained her mention.

It is to be noted then that the narrative of the holy Arculf concerning the site of Tyre corresponds completely with those extracts above which 20 we have taken from the commentaries of the holy Jerome. In like manner what we have written down above concerning the site and shape of Mount Thabor according to the account of the holy Arculf differs in no wise from what the holy Jerome relates concerning the site of this mountain and its wondrous roundness. From this mount Thabor as far 25 as Damascus Arculf’s journey took seven days.

## (30) CONCERNING THE SITE OF ALEXANDRIA AND THE RIVER NILE

That great city, which had once been the metropolis of Egypt, was formerly called in Hebrew No. It is a very populous city, and is called 30

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Introduction, p. 17, n. 3. A.’s meaning is obscure and need not necessarily convey what Jerome says: ‘we read in Greek, Latin, and foreign histories that Tyre was an island, without any entry from the mainland; but that subsequently mounds were thrown up by Nabuchodonosor the Chaldaean king (or, as some say, by Alexander, king of the Macedonians) and the terrain prepared for penthouses and battering-rams during a siege, and a peninsula formed out of the island (*In Ezech. 26*)’. Geyer has restored the passage radically from Jerome. Yet A. might have misread Jerome to the extent of believing that the preparations were the work of the besieged, not the besiegers.

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aliis Y      25 XXVIII in marg. P. XXVIII (corr. ex XXVIII) Z. Numerus deest in Y. Titulus sic in YP      De allexandria egypti manu saec. XIII in marg. Z. De B u. adn. ad c. XXVIII      26 aegypti YZ. egypti P      27 ebraicę P. ebraice Z. hebreice B: hebreorum Y      olim. no. B. olimno P: olim Z. olim noua Y

rege Macedone eiusdem conditore famoso Alaxandria noto per uniuersas gentes nominatur uocabulo, et magnitudinem urbis et nomen accipiens ab eodem reedificatore. 2. De cuius situ etiam Arculfus enarrans ab his quae prius lectione didicimus nullo discrepat modo. Qui ab Hierosolimis descendens et ab Ioppe nauigare incipiens xl dierum iter usque ad 5 Alaxandriam habuit. 3. De qua breuiter Naum profetae sermo habetur ita dicentis: *Aqua in circuitu eius, cuius diuitiae mare; aquae muri eius.* 4. Ab australi namque parte hostis Nili fluminis cingitur, ab aquilonali uero plaga lacu Mareotico. 5. Sic itaque descriptus aperte situs monstratur eius quod super Nilum et mare posita hinc et inde aquis ambiatur; 10 quae quasi obclaustrum inter Aegiptum et mare magnum interiacet ciuitas importuosa et ab externo difficilis accessu. 6. Cuius portus ceteris difficilior quasi ad formam humani corporis: in capite ipso et statione P. 279 G capacior, in fauibus uero angustior, qua meatus maris ac nauium suscipit, quibus quaedam spirandi subsidia portui subministrantur. 7. Ubi 15 quis angustias atque ora portus euasserit, tamquam reliqua corporis forma ita difusio maris longe lateque extenditur. 8. In eiusdem dextera portus parua insula habetur, in qua maxima turris est, quam in commone Greci ac Latini ex ipsis rei usu Farum uocitarunt eo quod longe a nauigantibus uideatur, ut prius quam in portum adpropinquent nocturno 20 maxime tempore terram finitimatam sibi esse flamarum incendio cognoscant, ne tenebris decepti in scopolos incedant aut ne uestibuli limitem non queant comprehendere. 9. Sunt itaque illic ministraores per quos subiectis facibus ceterisque lignorum struibus adoletur ignis quasi terrae prenuntius et index portensium faucium, demonstrans ingrediendi 25 angustias, undarum sinus et uestibuli anfractus, ne tenuis carina praestringat cautes et in ipso ingressu offendat interopertos fluctibus scopolos. 10. Itaque directum cursum paulisper inflecti oporteat, ne cecis inlisa saxis ibi incurrat nauis periculum <ubi speratur effugium pericu- P. 280 G lorum>. 11. Angustior enim aditus in portu, qui a dextera parte laterali 30 artatur, a leua uero latus portus est. 12. Circa insulam quoque instructae ingentis magnitudinis moles deiciuntur, ne adsiduo adsurgentis impetu maris conlisa insulae cedant fundamenta atque uetere iniuria soluantur. 13. Unde proculdubio fit ut in aduerso inter scrueas rupes molesque

## 7 Nahum 3, 8.

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1 alexandria α	2 nominatur PZ: nominis Y. om. B	3 reedificatore (-aed-PZ) α: aedificatore B
6 alexandriam α	4-5 hierosolimis PB. hierusalem Y	5 ab om. B
17 eiusdem] eius B	7 in . . . mare] in eius in circuitu	iope P
22 decepti tenebris Heg. Beda	diuitiae cuius mare	8 cingitur om. B
Geyer	8 cingitur α	9 uero om. B
25 pre(p- Y)nuntius et YB: pronuntiet Z	10 est turris B	11 mare otico ω
interopertos Uss. in Hegesippo: inter o(a- Z)pertos ω	12 rei usu α: forad B (forma B <sup>c</sup> )	16 portus
oportet Heg <sup>uulg</sup> Geyer	13 inde ab aut quattuor folia desunt in P	17 oras B
	23 non queant] nequeant Z Beda	18 est turris B
	24 itaque α Heg.: utique B	19 rei usu α: forad B (forma B <sup>c</sup> )
	25 Heges. corr.	20 illi ω: ex Heges. corr.
	26 Geyer	21 in α Heg.: om. B
	27 in α Heg.: om. B	22 interopertos
	28 oporteat ω Heg <sup>z</sup> .	23 Uss. in Hegesippo: inter o(a- Z)pertos ω
	29-30 ubi . . . periculorum ex Hegesippo suppl. Geyer	24 oportet Heg <sup>uulg</sup> Geyer

Alexandria after its famous founder Alexander the Macedonian king, a name known throughout all nations, deriving from him as rebuilder at once its name and its magnitude as a city. Concerning the site of this too the account of Arculf differs in no wise from what we learned previously by reading. He went down from Jerusalem and beginning 5 his voyage from Joppe had a journey of 40 days to Alexandria. Concerning it there is a brief passage of Naum the prophet. He speaks thus: 'the water is round about it, its riches are the sea, the waters its walls'; for on the southern side it is surrounded by the delta of the river Nile and on the northern side by the Mareotic lake. This description makes its 10 situation clear: poised over the Nile and the sea, on either side it is lapped by water. It forms a sort of bar between Egypt and the great sea—an ill-harboured city, difficult to approach from the outside. Its port is more difficult than others, being shaped rather like the human body: it has its greater capacity at the very head, in the dock, but is rather 15 narrow at the neck, where it takes in the flotsam of sea and shipping, these providing the breathing material for the port. Once one has passed the narrows at the mouth of the port, the expanse of sea stretches far and wide as if it were the rest of the body. At the right-hand side of the port is a small island, on which there is a great tower which both Greeks and 20 Latins called Farus because of its very function. Voyagers, that is, can see it at a distance, so that before they approach the port, particularly at night-time, the burning flame lets them know that the mainland adjoins them, lest they be deceived by the darkness and hit upon the rocks, or lest they should be unable to recognize the limits of the entrance. 25 Accordingly there are keepers there who put in torches and other fuel to tend the fire that acts as a presage of landfall and a mark for the harbour mouth. It marks the narrows as one enters, the swell of the waves and the curves of the harbour mouth, lest the slender keel should graze the rocks, and in the very act of entering come to grief amongst the 30 sharp edges hidden in the waves. Thus one must veer slightly off the straight course, lest the ship should encounter danger (precisely where it hoped for deliverance) and be crushed on the blind rocks. For the entrance to the port is quite narrow, being confined on the righthand side by the breakwater (*laterali?*), but on the left the port is wide. 35 Around the island too moles of considerable mass are sunk, for fear its foundations should give way under the continual pounding of high seas and disintegrate through constant wear. Consequently, the mid-channel

30 qui a Geyer] quia Z: quod Y. qui B (*Heg.*: qui a T<sup>a.c.</sup> & V: quia a uulg.) *laterali*] latere *Heg.* (= χειροκυήτοις σκέλεσιν, *Ioseph. Bell. Iud.* iv. 613 ?) leg. (pariete) *laterali*? 31 artatur Y *Heg.* aptatur B: oritur Z est portus B est om. Z a leua . . . est corruptum uidetur, sed fortasse *Adamnanus in exemplari suo sic legit*: a laeua rupibus, quibus obstructum est sinistrum latus portus *Heg.* 33 insulae conlisa B 34 post ut lacunam probabiliter indicat Geyer: ut illidentibus se in partem insulae fluctibus et recurrentibus in aduersum *Heg.* fluctibus hinc inde confidentibus *Beda* aduerso ω: aduersum *Heg.*

disruptas canalis ille medius semper sit inquietus atque exasperato transitu periculosus fiat nauis ingressus.

14. Amplitudo autem portus stadiorum xxx patet dimensione. Et quamvis maxima tempestate fit intus tutissimus portus compensatione qua supra memoratis angustis atque obiectu insulae a se maris repellit undas, quia per easdem portuensis oris angustias totius portus defenditur sinus et submouetur a tempestatibus, placidatur a fragoribus, per quas ingressus exasperatur. 15. Nec inmerito uel tutamen uel magnitudo est portus huiusmodi cum in eum quae ad usum totius orbis proficiant conuectari necessarium sit. 16. Nam et populi innumerabiles eorundem locorum ad usum sui totius orbis expetunt commercia, et frugum regio ferax caeterorumque terrae munerum uel negotiorum habundans totum frumento alit atque instruit necessariis mercibus orbem terrarum. 17. Cui scilicet tali regioni, quae proculdubio pluuiarum indiga est, Nili inrigua spontaneos imbres ministrant: utrumque est, caeli ubertas et terrae fecunditas; arua temperat et solum opimat, nautis et agricolis usui. 18. Hi nauigant, illi serunt; isti circumuechuntur nauigis, illi excolunt, sine aratro serentes, uiantes sine carpento. 19. Distinctam fluentis cernas regionem et quasi quibusdam excelsa moenibus nauigorium totis domicilia terris, quae Nili fluminis riparum marginibus ex utraque parte coherent. 20. Nauigabilis enim est usque ad urbem ut appellant Elephantorum; ulterius nauem procedere kataractae, hoc est fluminales aquarum tolli, non sinunt, non defectu gurgitis sed totius fluminis praecipitis et quadam ruina currentium aquarum.

21. Sancti igitur Arculfi relatio de Alaxandriae situ et Nili non discrepare conprobatur ab his quae in aliorum libris scripta ex lectione cognouimus, de quibus quaedam breui textu excerpta in hac presenti

<sup>2</sup> periculosius B nauitis *scripti*: nauigiis (s. nauigantibus B) Heg. 4 quamvis ω *Heg<sup>B</sup>* (quauis *Heg<sup>uulg.</sup>*) maxime B fit Y Heg.: sit B. om. Z est portus ZB compensatione Heg.: conuersatione (i.e. conbensatione?) ω; corr. Geyer 5 qua Y: quia Z Heg. quę B memoratas B 6 quia cum Heg. *scripti*: quod α. quam B 7 et . . . fragoribus *nescio an transponenda sint post* 6 undas et in Hegesippo et in Adamnano quas ω *Heg<sup>VT\*</sup>*: quos *Heg<sup>uulg.</sup>*. 9 portus huius (huius portus YB) modicum ω: ex Heg. corr. Geyer urbis ω *Heg<sup>A</sup>*: orbis *Heg<sup>uulg.</sup>* Geyer 11 orbis ZB\* Heg.: urbis YB<sup>2</sup> 12 negotiatorum B 15 imbres ministrant spontaneos Z et om. Y Heg. 16 opimat Heg.: opime Y. optime Z. opimene B Pro 15 utrumque . . . 17 usui (cf. Heg.) in codicibus legitur: ubi utrumque arua temperat (-et B) hoc (haec B) est caeli (celi B) ubertas et (om. Y) terrae fecunditas et ubi opime (uar. lect. ut *supra*) nautis et agricolis solum usui (sui B) commodum habetur; *equidem uoces* ubi . . . ubi ex una parte, hoc (haec) et habetur ex altera signa omissionis fuisse mihi persuasi, quae librarius archetyp*i* male interpretatus est; uerba q.s. est celi ubertas et terrae fecunditas et solum in margine adscripta alieno loco in textum irreperunt; commodum *pro glossa uocis* usui habeo. Cf. Wiener Studien, lxix. 348 sq. 17 hi om. B 18 carpentis Z 19 excelsa ω *Heg<sup>AV</sup>*: excelsam *Heg<sup>uulg.</sup>*. 21 coherent parte B 18–21 sic in Hegesippo leguntur: Distinctam cernas fluentis et quasi quibusdam excelsam moenibus nauigorium. Totis domicilia terris uagantur, quae Nilo circumfluunt 22 kataractę Y. cataracte Z. kateracte B 23 aquarum. tolli non sinunt ω: recte distinxit Geyer, cf. Stowasser, Hisperica Famina, p. 22 24 p̄cipitis B. praecipitiis Heg<sup>Z</sup>: praecipiū α (praecipitio *Heg<sup>uulg.</sup>*) 25 alexandriae α

stretching between the sharp rocks and broken moles is of course always rough, and entry becomes hazardous for sailors as they make the choppy passage.<sup>1</sup>

The whole harbour spreads to a width of 30 stades, and no matter how great the storm, by compensation the interior haven is absolutely safe 5 inasmuch as it keeps out the waves by reason of the narrow entrance mentioned above and the shelter afforded by the island. The narrows at the mouth of the port mean that the whole sweep of the bay inside is protected and removed from storms, and it is free from the rough swell that makes the entrance choppy. Indeed, there is good reason both for 10 the size of the port and for protecting it, for all merchandise of use throughout the whole world has to be transported there. The considerable populations of these regions seek the commerce of the whole world for their own use. The area is corn-producing and abounds in the other riches and products of the earth, and it supplies corn and 15 necessary merchandise to the whole world. Such territory of course needs rain, and rain is furnished gratuitously by the overflowings of the Nile. It renders a twofold service there, providing at once fertility of soil and moisture of climate; it waters the ground and enriches the soil, an advantage both to sailor and farmer. The former voyages, the latter 20 sows, sailors move about on boats, farmers carry on their cultivation: there is sowing without a plough, and travel without a carriage. One sees a country studded with canals, while the hulls of boats which serve as dwellings throughout the whole land give the impression of high walls. They adjoin the banks of the river Nile on both sides.<sup>2</sup> For the river is 25 navigable as far as the city of the Elephants, as they call it: the cataracts, that is moving masses of river water, do not allow a ship to proceed farther, not for lack of depth, but by reason of the headlong rush of the whole river and the waste of falling water.

Thus the account of the holy Arculf concerning the site of Alexandria 30 and of the river Nile certainly does not differ from what we learned by reading from the books of others. From these we have inserted some brief extracts in this description, that is concerning the ill-harboured

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Introduction, 16–17; Bieler, *Wiener Studien*, Ixix. 346–8. This, and the passage below beginning *Distinctam fluentis cernas . . .* are most obscure, and the versions are merely tentative. Hegesippus reads: ‘For the entrance to the port is quite narrow, being confined on the right-hand side by the breakwater (*latere*), and on the left by the rocks with which the left-hand side of the port is beset. Around the island too moles of considerable mass are sunk for fear its foundations, under the continual pounding of high seas, should disintegrate through time. Consequently, as the waves dash themselves towards the island side and recoil again to the other side, the channel between the sharp rocks and the built-up piles is always rough, and entry becomes hazardous for boats as they make the choppy passage.’

<sup>2</sup> Hegesippus reads: ‘One sees a country studded with canals, and the hulls of boats give the impression of high walls. The (boat) dwellings make their way throughout the whole country, moving around by means of the Nile. For the river is navigable as far as the so-called city of the Elephants.’

discriptione interposita inseruimus, hoc est de illius importunitate urbis,  
P. 282 G de portuensi difficultate, de insula et turre in ea constructa, de Alaxan-  
driæ inter mare et hostia fluminis Nili terminata possitione, et de ceteris;  
22. quae proculdubio causa facit ut eiusdem ciuitatis locus, qui ita ex  
duabus coartatus partibus strangulatur, longo ualde et angusto tramitis 5  
spatio ab occasu in ortum protenditur. 23. Quod etiam Arculfi narratio  
demonstrat, qui, ut ipse refert, hora tertia cepit intrare ciuitatem mense  
Octobri, per longitudinem deambulans urbis, et uix ante uespertinum  
tempus ad extremitatem longitudinis eius peruenire poterat. 24. Haec  
longo ambitu murorum crebris insuper turribus commonitorum per 10  
marginem fluminis et oram culpi maris ambitur conpossitorum. 25. Item  
de parte Aegipti aduentantibus et urbem intrantibus Alexandrinam ab  
aquinonali latere occurrit grandis ecclæsia structurae, in qua Marcus  
euangelista in terra humatus iacet; cuius sepulchrum ante altare in  
orientali eiusdem quadrangulæ loco ecclæsiae memoria superposita 15  
marmoreis lapidibus constructa monstratur.

26. Haec itaque Alexandria, quæ priusquam ab Alexandro Magno  
inmanis aucta edificaretur No, ut supra dictum est, uocabatur, cui, ut  
superius dictum est, hostium Nili fluminis coherens quod Canopecon  
nominatur, Asiam cum Aegypto et Libiam disternat. 27. Ob cuius 20  
itaque Niloei fluminis inundationem Aegyptiui excelsos aggeres circa  
ripas eius construunt; qui si custodiae neglegentia uel nimia aquarum  
P. 283 G eruptione rupti fuerint, subiacentes campos nequaquam rigant sed  
obprimunt et populantur. 28. Ob quam causam plurimi qui plana  
Aegypti incolunt, ut sanctus refert Arculfus, qui eundem fluuim in 25  
Aegypto means sepe nauigio transmeauit, in domibus transuersis  
trabibus suffultis aquas supra inhabitant.

29. Corcodrilli, ut Arculfus refert, in Nilo fluuio aquatice commoran-  
tur quadrupedes bestiae non grandes, ualde edaces et in tantum ualidae  
ut una etiam ex eis, si forte aequum aut asinum uel bouem iuxta ripam 30  
fluminis herbas carpentem inuenire potuerit, subita inruptione emergens  
iuadat et uel etiam animantis unum pedem mordens et sub aquas  
trahens penitus totum deuoret animal.

2 de p. difficultate] uel potuensis deficitate B      2-3 alexandrie α      3 inter]  
uel B      4 facit] fuit B      6 protendatur Y      9 uenire B      10 communitorum  
α. commonitorum B      11 ambitu compossitorum B. ambitur conpositorum Z.  
compositorum ambitur Y      12 alexandriam B      13 propinquo *ante latere add.* B  
17-27 om. B.      18 No Geyer: nomen Y. non ex nomen Z. Cf. p. 98, 27 dictum] descri-  
ptum Z      19 dictum est om. Y      19-20 canopecon nominatur Z: canope cognomina-  
tur Y      20 libia Y      21 aegyptii Z      22 custodię Y: custodum Z      27 supra inhabi-  
tant aquas Y      28 DE CORCODRILIS *titulus in* Y corcodrilli Y. corchodylli B refert  
sacerdos B      aquatice B\* (-ę B<sup>c</sup>)      30 etiam una B      aut] uel B      31 poterit  
B      32 et om. Y      uel] uelut B      33 trahens om. B      totum om. B      post  
animal: FINIT B. EXPLICIT LIBER SECUNDUS Z

character of the city, concerning the hazards of the port, concerning the island and the tower built on it, concerning the position of Alexandria bounded by the sea and the delta of the river Nile, and so on. Of course this is the reason why the city, narrowly compressed as it is on two sides, is extended in a very long narrow belt from west to east. This is 5 even made evident by the account of Arculf, who began to enter the city (as he tells himself) at the third hour of the day in the month of October, and traversing its whole length was just able to get to the very end before evening time. The area is encompassed by a lengthy circuit of walls, fortified moreover by many towers, which are con- 10 structed along the brink of the river and the shore of the bay. Further, when approaching from the direction of Egypt and entering the city of Alexandria from the northern side, one encounters a church of considerable size, in which Mark the evangelist lies buried. His sepulchre is on view in the eastern portion of this square church, before the altar, with 15 a memorial placed above it built of marble stones.

This Alexandria then, which (as was said above) used to be called No before it was enlarged and rebuilt by Alexander, adjoins, as said above, the mouth of the river Nile (which is called Canopicum), which is the boundary between Asia, including Egypt, and Libya. Because of the 20 flooding of the river Nile, the Egyptians build high embankments about its banks; and if by reason of the carelessness of those who tend them or because of an excessive outrush of water these burst, so far from irrigating the underlying plains they devastate and destroy them. For this reason, as the holy Arculf relates who during his wanderings in Egypt 25 often crossed the river by boat, many people who inhabit the plains of Egypt live in houses that are propped above the waters by transverse beams.

There dwell in the river Nile, as Arculf tells, crocodiles, aquatic four-footed beasts, not very large, but very voracious and so strong that 30 even a single one, if by chance he is able to find a horse or an ass or an ox grazing by the bank of the river, comes out with a sudden rush and falls upon it; and even though he may seize the animal only by one foot, he drags it beneath the water and devours it completely.

## TERTII LIBELLI CAPITULATIONES

- i. De Constantinopolitana ciuitate.
- ii. De conditione eiusdem ciuitatis.
- iii. De illa eclesia in qua crux Domini habetur.
- iv. De Georgio confessore.
- v. De imagine sanctae Mariae.
- vi. De monte Uulgano.

5

## INCIPIT LIBER TERTIUS

## I. DE CONSTANTINOPOLITANA CIUITATE

1. Arculfus sepe memoratus ab Alexandria reuersus per aliquot dies 10  
 P. 284 G in Creta hospitatus insula et ab ea nauigans Constantinopolim appetiuit,  
 in qua per aliquot demoratus est menses. 2. Quae proculdubio Romani  
 est metropolis imperii, undique mari circumdata excepta aquilonali  
 parte illius, quod mare lx milibus passum a mari magno erumpens ad  
 murum usque ciuitatis extenditur. 3. A muro uero Constantinopoleos 15  
 usque ad hostia Dànuuii fluminis xl milibus hoc idem protenditur mare.  
 4. Haec itaque imperatoria ciuitas non paruo murorum ambitu per  
 duodecim milia passum circumcineta angulos iuxta situm maris habens  
 per maritimam, ut Alexandria siue Kartago, constructos oram et ad Tiri  
 similitudinem crebris insuper turribus commonitos muros, domus intra 20  
 ciuitatis moenia numerosas, ex quibus plurimae mirae magnitudinis  
 lapideae instar Romae habitaculorum fabricatae consurgunt.

## ⟨II. DE CONDITIONE EIUSDEM CIUITATIS⟩

1. De cuius conditione hanc traditionem ciues a maioribus promul-  
 gatam enarrant dicentes: Imperator Constantinus infinita hominum 25  
 multitudine congregata et undique infinitis sumptibus pene nuditate  
 omnium ciuitatum collectis urbem sui participem nominis in parte  
 Asiae, hoc est in Cilicia, interiecto mari quod in illis finibus inter Asiam  
 et Europam disterminat edificare caepit. 2. Quadam uero nocte, cum  
 P. 285 G innumerabiles operariorum exercitus per immensam castrorum latitu- 30  
 dinem in papilionibus dormirent, omnia ferramentorum genera quibus  
 diuersorum operum artifices uti consueuerant subito quomodo sunt

I-III. cf. Beda, c. 19.

<sup>1</sup> sic Y: INCIPIUNT CAPITULA LIBRI TERTII Z. (*Post capitulationes libri II:*) INCIPIUNT  
 CAP LIBRI TERTII B      3-4 Tituli capitum ii et iii mutatis locis leguntur in ω      8 om.  
 Y      9 Titulus deest in Y      .I. DE CONSTANTINOPOLITANA CIUITATE. II. ET DEILLA  
 ECCLESIA IN QUA CRUX DOMINI HABETUR. III. SEU DE CONDITIONE EIUSDEM CIUITATIS B  
 10 ab om. B      11 hospitatus est Y      13 undique Y: unde Z. uidelicet B

## THE CHAPTERS OF THE THIRD BOOK

- (1) Concerning the city of Constantinople.
- (2) Concerning the foundation of that city.
- (3) Concerning the church in which is the cross of the Lord.
- (4) Concerning George the confessor. 5
- (5) Concerning the image of the holy Mary.
- (6) Concerning mount Vulgan.

## BOOK THE THIRD BEGINS

## (1) CONCERNING THE CITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Returning from Alexandria the oft-mentioned Arculf lodged in the 10 island of Crete for some days, and sailed from there for Constantinople, where he stayed for some months. This is assuredly the metropolis of the Roman Empire, and it is surrounded everywhere by the sea except on its northern side. The sea in question, an inlet from the great sea, stretches for 60 miles right up to the wall of the city. And from the wall 15 of Constantinople as far as the mouth of the river Danube is a further stretch of 40 miles by the same sea. A considerable circuit of walls, 12 miles in extent, surrounds this imperial city, with angles constructed to follow the line of the sea coast, like Alexandria or Carthage. Moreover, as in Tyre, the walls are strengthened with several towers, and there are 20 numerous dwelling houses within the city walls, of which many are in stone and arise in wondrous magnitude like the houses in Rome.

## &lt;(2) CONCERNING THE FOUNDATION OF THAT CITY&gt;

Concerning its foundation the following tradition is related by the citizens as proclaimed by their ancestors. The emperor Constantine 25 (they say) collected a countless horde of men and unlimited money from every quarter, practically impoverishing all nations, and began to build a city under his own name on the Asiatic side, that is in Cilicia, beyond the sea which is the boundary in that area between Asia and Europe. Now one night, when throughout the whole camp the huge armies of 30 workers were asleep in their tents, all kinds of tools which the artisans of

14 quod Z: quoque Y. quam B      14-15 ad murum *om.* Y      15 ciuitatem YB

16 danuui (-bii B<sup>2</sup>) B *Beda:* danai YZ      xl YB *Beda:* lx Z      19 alexandria α

cartago α      20 domos Z      23 numerus deest in B. iii in marg. Y. *Titulus deest*

*in w*      27-28 asiae parte B      28 inter *om.* Z      assiam B      29 cepit B: coepit α

30-31 latitudinem: longitudinem B      31 papillionimq[ue]bus B      32 consuerant Z  
sunt *om.* B

sublata nescitur. 3. De quorum subitanea et occulta sublatione cum primo mane ad ipsum imperatorem Constantinum plurimi operatores mestitia molestati querimonium detulissent rex consequenter inquirit ab eis dicens: 'Si alias res de castris subtractas audistis?' 'Nullas,' aiunt, 'exceptis omnibus operum ferramentis.' 4. Tum deinde rex precipit 5 inquiens ad eos: 'Ite citius et circumeuntes ultra citra per maritimas regionum oras conterminarum lustrate et si in aliquo agrorum loco forte uestra reppereritis ferramenta ibidem interim ea custodite et illa huc non reportetis sed ad me aliquos ex uobis reuerti facite, ut pro certo scire possim de ferramentorum repertione.' 5. Quibus auditis 10 operarii obsequuntur sermonibus a rege dictis et exeuntes sicuti fuerant iussi lustratis hinc et inde ponto uicinis agrorum terminis, et ecce, in parte Europae ultra mare ferramentorum congeriem repperiunt inter duo maria in uno congregatam loco. 6. Quo reperto ad regem ex eis aliqui uenient remisi et inuenta nuntiant ferramenta in tali loco. 7. Quo 15 conperito rex continuo tubicines per castrorum circuitum tubis iubet canere et exercitum mouere castra dicens: 'Emigremus hinc ad edificandam ciuitatem in loco nobis diuinitus designato', simulque praeparatis

P. 286 G cum uniuerso exercitu nauibus ad locum repperitorum transfretauit ferramentorum, quem uidelicet locum in tali eorum translatione co- 20 gnouit sibi a Deo praeparatum designari; 8. in quo et ipse continuo ciuitatem condidit, quae composito nomine ex proprio eius uocabulo et appellatiua ciuitatis Greca nominatione Constantinopolis uocatur, ut conditoris uocamen in priore talis inhæreat compositionis parte. Haec de situ et conditione illius regiae urbis discripta sufficient.

25

〈III. DEILLA ECLESIA IN QUA CRUX DOMINI  
HABETUR〉

1. Ceterum de celeberrima eiusdem ciuitatis rotunda mirae magnitudinis lapidea eclesia silere non debemus; quae, ut sanctus refert Arculfus, qui eam non breui frequentauit tempore, ab imo fundamento in tribus consurgens parietibus triplex super illos altius sublimata rotundissima et nimis pulchra simplici consummatur culminata camara. 2. Haec arcibus suffulta grandibus inter singulos supra memoratos parietes latum habet spatium uel ad inhabitandum uel etiam ad exorandum Dominum aptum et commodum. Interioris domus aquilonali in 35 parte pergrande et ualde pulchrum monstratur armarium, in quo capsula habetur recondita lignea, quae similiter ligneo supercluditur operculo; 3. in quo illud salutare habetur reconditum crucis lignum in quo noster

5 p̄cepit Y      6 inquiens: dicens Y      8 repperiatis Y. repperietis Z      11  
discriptis uel dictis B      sicuti fuerant: securi quae (s.l.) fuerant Z      13 europe  
parte B      reppererunt Z. resperint B\*      14 congregatum ω: -am Z<sup>c</sup>B<sup>c</sup>      quo  
om. B      19 exercito B      repertorum Z. reportatorum Y      19-20 ferramentorum

the various trades were wont to use were suddenly removed in some unknown way. Early in the morning several worried and harried workers complained to the emperor Constantine himself about the sudden and unexplained disappearance, and the king then asked them saying: 'Have you heard whether anything else was taken from the camp?' 'Nothing', 5 they say, 'except all the working tools.' Thereupon the king gave orders saying: 'Go quickly, traverse and search all the places bordering on the sea on the other side and on this. And if you find the tools in any quarter, guard them there meantime and do not bring them back here, but have some of your number come back to me so that I may know exactly about 10 the discovery.' When they heard this the workmen obeyed the king's behest, and going forth as they were bidden, they searched the area bordering on the sea on both sides, and, lo, on the European side, beyond the sea, they found the heap of tools gathered into one place between two seas. Upon the discovery some were sent back to the king and they 15 told him the tools had been found in that place. On learning this the king immediately ordered the trumpeters to sound their instruments throughout the whole circuit of the camp, and he ordered the army to move saying: 'Let us go forth from here to build a city in the place divinely indicated to us.' And simultaneously setting ships in readiness, 20 he made the crossing with the whole army to the place where the tools had been found, realizing that by transporting the tools God was indicating the place prepared for him. Straightaway he founded a city there which is called Constantinople, a name formed by combining his own name with the word for city in Greek, in such wise that the name of the 25 founder comprises the first part of the composition. Let this suffice as a description of the site and foundation of that royal city.

### *<(3) CONCERNING THE CHURCH IN WHICH IS THE CROSS OF THE LORD >*

However, we must say something about the very celebrated round 30 stone church in that city. According to the account of the holy Arculf, who frequented it for a considerable time, it is triple in character, rising up from the very foundations in three walls, and above them it is rounded off on high by a single dome, exceedingly round and beautiful. This is borne upon great arches, and between each of the walls mentioned 35 above there is a wide space quite suitable for dwelling in, or even for praying to the Lord. In the interior in the northern part a very large and very beautiful repository is on view. It encloses a wooden chest, and that in turn encloses a wooden reliquary, where the salutary wood of the cross is kept on which our Saviour was suspended and suffered for the 40

transfretauit B      21 et ipse om. α  
37 recondita . . . 38 habetur om. B

26 II Y. Numerus deest in ZB, titulus in ω

Saluator pro humani salute generis suspensus passus est. Quae uidelicet P. 287 G predicable capsula, ut sanctus refert Arculfus, in tribus continuis diebus post expletum annum super altare aureum cum tali pretioso eleuatur thesauro. 4. Quod utique altarium in eadem habetur rotunda eclesia, duos longitudinis habens cubitos et unum latitudinis. 5. In ternis, 5 inquam, tantummodo anniuersariis sibi succidentibus diebus Dominica crux super altare eleuata ponitur: 6. Hoc est in caena Domini, qua die imperator et exercitus militum eclesiam intrantes et ad illud accedentes altare aperta illa sacrosancta capsella salutarem osculantur crucem. 7. Primus ante omnes imperator orbis illam inclinato osculatur uultu; deinde 10 iuxta conditionum uel aetatum ordinem unus post unum accedens honorabile osculatur patibulum. 8. Proinde crastino die, hoc est sexta feria ante Pascha, reginae, matronae et omnes populi mulieres obseruato supra memorato accedunt ordine omni cum ueneratione osculantes. 9. Tertia die, 15 hoc est sabbato paschali, episcopus et uniuersus post eum clerus cum ti- more et tremore et omnigena honorificantia accedunt ordinatim uictoriale osculantes lignum in sua positum capsula. 10. Finitisque sanctis et laetificis talibus sacrosanctae crucis osculationibus illa uenerabilis capsula supercluditur et ad suum cum tali honorifico thesauro reportatur armarium.

11. Sed et hoc non neglegenter intuendum quod non duo sed tria 20 ibidem crucis habeantur breuia ligna, hoc est transuersum lignum et longum incisum et in duas aequas diuisum partes; 12. e quibus tripertitis honorificabilibus lignis, quando illa aperitur capsula, miri odoris flagrantia ac si omnium florum inibi collectorum mirabili plena suauitate exoritur, satians et letificans omnes in propatulo intra illius eclesiae parietes 25 P. 288 G interiores qui eodem temporis spatio intrantes stant; 13. nam de nodis eorundem trinalium lignorum liquor quidam odorifer quasi in similitudinem olei expresus talem facit uniuersos intrantes ex diuersis gentibus aggregatos supra memoratam sentire suauissimi odoris flagrantiam. 14. Cuius uidelicet liquoris si etiam paruula quaedam stillula super egro- 30 tantes inponatur qualicumque languore uel morbo molestati plenam recuperant sanitatem. Sed de his ista sufficient discripsisse.

#### III. DE GEORGIO CONFESSORE

1. Arculfus homo sanctus, qui nobis haec omnia de Dominica cruce narravit, quam ipse propriis conspexit oculis et osculatus est, aliam 35

<sup>23-24</sup> cf. Greg. Magnus, *Dial.* iv. 47 (*PL* 77, 408B).

1 salute humani α passus *om.* Z 3 aureum] aereum Z aureum altare B  
 6 inquam *denuo incipit* P (f. 8). 7 supra α 12 crastina YZ 13 obser-  
 uato *om.* B 14 ordine accedunt α cum omni α 15 paschali sabbato B  
 16 omnigena] omni α ordinatim accedunt B 21 ibidem inter B 26 positos  
 ante qui add. PZ 27-28 olei similitudinem B 32 recuperant PZ: recipient  
 Y: recipientes recuperant B, sic fortasse *Adamnarus* discripsisse] discripsi P. scri-  
 psisse Z. discripsisse B. *om.* Y 33 CONFESSORE *om.* P. Titulum *om.* Z

salvation of the human race. Now, according to the holy Arculf, for three consecutive days after the lapse of a complete year this famous chest, together with its precious treasure, is set up on a golden altar. The altar is in the round church, and is two cubits in length and one in breadth. It is only on three days each year, I say, three successive days, that the cross of the Lord is set up and placed on the altar, that is the day of the Lord's supper, on which the emperor and the soldiers of the army enter the church, approach the altar and kiss the salutary cross when the holy chest is opened. First of all the emperor of the world bows down and kisses it, and then according to their various stations or ages, one after another, the rest approach and kiss the gibbet of honour. So too on the morrow, that is the sixth feria before the pasch, the royal ladies, matrons, and all the women of the people, observing the order mentioned above, approach and kiss it with all veneration. On the third day, that is the paschal sabbath, the bishop and after him all the clergy approach in procession with fear and trembling and with every reverence to kiss the victorious wood as it lies in its chest. And when these holy and joyous kissings of the holy cross are finished, the venerable chest is closed and together with its honourable treasure carried back to its receptacle.

This fact, however, should be carefully observed. There are three, not two, short beams, the transverse beam that is, and the long one which is cut into two equal parts. From these three pieces of honoured wood, when the chest is opened, there arises the fragrance of a wondrous odour, as if the marvellous sweetness of all flowers were collected there. It sates and rejoices everyone who has a position in the space within the interior walls of the church, for during this period people enter and take their stand there. The knots in the three beams exude a fragrant liquid somewhat like oil which makes all the crowds inside of various nations perceive the most sweet fragrance that was mentioned. If even a small drop of the liquid be applied to sick people, whatever kind of disease or illness they be troubled with, they recover full health. But let that description of the matter suffice.

#### (4) CONCERNING GEORGE THE CONFESSOR<sup>1</sup>

The holy man Arculf, who told us all these things about the cross of the Lord, which he saw with his own eyes, and kissed, brought us

<sup>1</sup> This appears to be the earliest account of George in any northern source; and it seems quite possible that the cult of the saint in Britain really begins with Celtic influence in Northumbria. Notice of George appears in other Irish sources. He is mentioned in the *Felire of Oengus* (c. 800) under 24 April: pais Giurgi, grian buadae, co trichait mórlfíle (cf. Epilogue, 265: drong airdirc Giurgi, ni dedbul fri fethim, and glosses at 17 April). Also in *Martyrology of Tallaght* (early tenth century) under the same date: Passio Georgii cum xxx in ddclxxix; and in *Martyrology of Gorman* (twelfth century) under 23 April: Georgius leo in lérglic. There are Passions in Egerton, 91, fol. 11a (cf. Catalogue Irish MSS. in Brit. Mus. ii. 438 ff.; Atkinson, *Passions and Homilies from Leabhar Breac*, Todd Lect. Ser. ii. 71; *Book of Fermoy*, RIA, 44) and in the St. Gall MS. Stiftsbibliothek, 550, 3-28 (ninth century); and a Passion is mentioned in the

[continued at foot of p. 113]

nobis de alio confessore Georgius nomine relationem contulit, quam in Constantinopoli urbe a quibusdam expertis dedit ciuibus, qui hoc modo narrare soliti eidem dicebant: 2. In Diospoli ciuitate cuiusdam confessoris Georgii in quadam domu statuta marmorea in columna, contra quam alligatus persecutionis tempore flagellatus est, formola 5 depicta est; qui tamen post flagellationem e uinculis absolutus multis uixit annis. 3. Quadam uero die cum quidam duricors et incredulus homuncio in equo sedens eandem intrasset domum, eadem uidens marmoream columnam ab his qui ibidem inerant interrogat dicens:

P. 289 G 'Cuius est haec imago in marmorea columnna formata?' 4. Quibus 10 respondentibus et dicentibus: 'Georgii confessoris haec figura est, qui ad hanc uinculatus et mastigatus est columnam'—quo audito ille stolidissimus homunculus ualde iratus contra insensibilem rem sancti confessoris formulam instigante diabulo lancea percussit. 5. Quae uidelicet eiusdem aduersarii lancea quasi per globum niuis mollem mirum in modum 15 facile penetrans lapideam illam perforauit columnam exteriore parte eius; 6. cuius ferrum interius inherens retentum est nec umquam quo modo retrahi potuit, astile autem eius ad sancti confessoris conlissum marmoream imagunculam exterius confractum est. 7. Illius quoque misselli homuncionis aequus in quo sedebat eodem momento sub eo 20 in pauimento domus cecidit mortuus; ipse autem simul missellus in terram cadens manus in illam marmoream misit columnam eiusque digiti quasi in poline uel luto intrantes in eadem impressi inheserunt columnam. 8. Quod uidens miser, qui retrahere denos duarum digitos manuum ad se non poterat in marmorea sancti confessoris inherentes 25 formola conligatos et insertos, nomen Dei aeterni eiusdemque confessoris agiens paenititudinem inuocat et ut ab eodem absoluueretur uinculo inlacrimatus praecatur. 9. Quam eius lacrimosam paenitentiam misericors Deus suscipiens, qui non uult peccatoris mortem sed ut conuertatur et uiuat, non solum ab illo praesenti marmoreo uisibili absoluit uinculo 30

P. 290 G sed etiam a peccatorum inuisibilibus alligamentis fide saluatum subueniens misericorditer liberauit. 10. Hinc itaque manifeste ostenditur quantae et qualis fuerit honorificantiae apud Dominum Georgius suus inter tormenta confessor, cuius toracedam in re natura inpenetrabili

29–30 cf. Ezech. 18, 23, sim.

1 alio PZ: quodam Y. aliquo B georgio PZ: geurgio B 2 quibus B  
 4 post domu unum folium deest in P in (2) om. Y 8 homontio B. homo Y  
 eandem (2)] eandemque α 9 interrogavit Z 10 est om. B 12 uinculatus  
 . . . columnam] columnam uinculatus est Y. columnam uinculatus et mastigatus est  
 Z. uiuinculatus inastigatus columna B 13 homunculis B. homo Y 15 niuis  
 Z; nimis YB 16–17 exteriore . . . eius] cx interiore eius parte B 17 quo]  
 quoquo B 18 confessoris conlissum α: conlissum confessoris B 20 homun-  
 cini Z (-cii Z<sup>c</sup>): omunctionis B equus in quo Z: equus quo Y. aequo B 24 quod  
 Z: quam B. tunc Y qui Z: quasi B. quod Y 26 dei] domini B -que om. ZB  
 27 solueretur Y. abseueretur B 34 toracedam, i.e. thoracidam, *scripti*: torace  
 clam Y. toraclicam Z. toracletam B

another story concerning a confessor, George by name. This he learned in the city of Constantinople from some well-informed citizens, who used to tell it to him in the following terms: In the city of Diospolis, in a certain house, the likeness of the confessor George is depicted set on a marble column. He was bound to the column and flogged during the 5 time of persecution. After the flogging, however, he was released from his bonds and lived for many years. Now one day a hardhearted wretch, an unbeliever, entered that house mounted on horseback, and on seeing the marble column he questioned the inmates saying: 'Whose image is this depicted on the marble column?' They answered saying: 'It is the 10 picture of the confessor George who was bound to this column and flogged.' On hearing this the stupid fellow became very angry with the insensible object, and at the instigation of the devil struck at the likeness of the holy confessor with his lance. And the lance of this adversary easily penetrated the column, passing through the outer surface in a 15 wondrous fashion as if it were a soft mass of snow. Its point stuck fast in the interior and could not possibly be withdrawn, while the haft which had struck against the marble likeness of the holy confessor was broken off on the outside. Simultaneously the miserable fellow's horse too, on which he was mounted, fell dead under him on the pavement of 20 the house; and as he was falling himself he placed his hands against the marble column, and his fingers sank into it as if it were fine dust or mud and remained fast. When the unfortunate fellow perceived this, that he was unable to withdraw the ten fingers of his two hands, which remained stuck fast in the marble likeness of the holy confessor, he did 25 penance and invoked the name of the eternal God and of the confessor, begging with tears to be freed from the bond. The merciful God, who does not wish the death of the sinner but that he be converted and live, accepting this tearful repentance, released him not just from the visible marble bond of the moment, but absolved him also from the invisible 30 fetters of sin, mercifully succouring him now saved by faith. This clearly shows the character and magnitude of the honour George, His confessor amid tortures, has before the Lord. The figure, in a material

[continuation from p. 111]

Reichenau catalogue of 822, No. 129 (see Lehmann, *Mittelalterl. Bibliothekskataloge I.* 247, 259). It was doubtless pilgrims such as Arculf who popularized the cult, Diospolis probably being a normal stage in the itinerary of the Holy Places (cf. Theodosius: Geyer, 139, 5, 7 and Antoninus Plac. ibid. 176, 19).

The first indications of George-cult in strictly English sources appear in Northumbria. He is not mentioned by Bede, but is commemorated in the early-tenth-century Durham Ritual (Durham Cathedral MS. A. IV. 19. This is in large part a Latin martyrology, with interlinear version in Anglo-Saxon, and was published by the Surtees Society, vol. x, in 1840. See Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, 1939, 25, under ix kal. Maii. A *Passion* was written by Aelfric, Archbishop of York, 1020-51 (ed. Hardwick, Percy Society, 1850). The Council of Oxford in 1222 ordered that the feast of Saint George be kept as a national festival; but it was not until the fourteenth century under Edward III that he became the official patron.

penetrabilcm potentia fecit lanceamque aduersarii aequo naturaliter inpenetrabilem mirabiliter efficit penetrabilem digitosque eiusdem homunculi infirmes in eadem natura inpenetrabili re potenter penetrales fecit; 11. quos in marmore uinculatos primule et ipse durus retrahere non potuit, sed eodem momento ualde perterritus et exinde mitigatus 5 paenitens Deo miserante retraxit. 12. Mirum dictu, usque in hodiernum diem eadem bis quinorum eius uestigia digitolorum apparent usque ad radices in marmorea insertorum columna; in quorum loco sanctus Arculfus suos denos proprios inseruit digitos similiter ad radices usque intrantes. 13. Eiusdem quoque homulli sanguis equi, cuius coxa in 10 pauimento mortui cadentis in duas confracta est partes, nullo modo ablui aut deleri potuit sed indelebilis in pauimento domus usque ad nostra permanet tempora idem aequinus crux.

14. Aliam quoque de eodem Georgio confessore certam relationem nobis sanctus Arculfus intimauit, quam ab expertis quibusdam satis 15

P. 291 G idoneis narratoribus in supra memorata Constantinopolitana urbe indubitanter dedit, qui hoc modo de illo sancto confessore pronuntiare soliti erant dicentes: 15. Quidam homunculus saecularis Diospolim ciuitatem in equo sedens ingressus eo in tempore quo ad expeditionem faciendam multa populorum milia undique conueniebant collecta illam 20 accedens intrauit in domum in qua supra memorata marmorea exstat columna in se sancti confessoris Georgii habens depictam imaginem; 16. ad quam quasi ad praesentem Georgium loqui cepit dicens: 'Me tibi Georgio confessori et meum commendo aequum, et ut per orationum uirtutem tuarum ab uniuersis bellorum atque morborum aquarumque 25 periculis liberati ambo ad hanc usque urbem post expeditionis tempus incolomes reuersi perueniamus; 17. et si tibi ita Deus misericors nostram reuersionem donauerit prosperam secundum obtionem nostre paruitatis, ego hunc meum quem ualde amo ippum tibi pro munere donandum offeram in conspectu tuae adsignaturus formulae.' 18. Quis sermunculis 30 ocius terminatis domum egressus inter exercitus multitudinem cum ceteris contubernalibus commeans idem homuncio in expeditionis comitatu emigrat. 19. Qui post multa et diuersa bellica pericula, inter quae misella plurimorum milia homunculorum constituta disperierant,

P. 292 G ipse in eodem suo sedens dilecto aequo ab omnibus infestis cassibus 35 iuxta supra memoratam talem exemptus commendationem Christicolac Georgio Deo condonante Diospolim prospere reuertitur (20.) illamque domum in qua eiusdem sancti confessoris habebatur imago secum defferens aurum in equi praetium sui gaudenter intrat sanctumque

2 effecit Z      penetralem Z      3 infirmes Z\*B:-os YZ<sup>c</sup>      inpenetrabili] penetrabili B      penetrabiles Z      4 primule] prime B      6 hodiernam Z      7 eadem denuo incipit P      digitolorum Z. digitorum P      8 loca B      10 homulli B. homuli PZ<sup>c</sup>: humili Y. humili Z\*      12 ad om. B      15 ab expertis] ex peritis B 17 sancto georgio conf. B      18 homollus P      19 eo tempore B      23 ad quam]

naturally impenetrable, he rendered penetrable by his power, and likewise the lance of the adversary, impenetrable by nature, he wondrously made penetrable, and the fellow's weak fingers he powerfully made to penetrate into that substance by nature impenetrable. At first when the fingers remained fast in the marble the hardened man was unable to 5 withdraw them; but he became instantly very frightened, and then softened and penitent, and by the mercy of God he withdrew them. Wonderful to relate, to this day there remain in the marble column the prints of his ten fingers inserted up to the roots, and into their place the holy Arculf inserted his own ten fingers, they likewise penetrating up to 10 the roots. The blood of the wretch's horse too, whose thigh was broken in two as he fell dead on the pavement, could not be cleansed or wiped away by any means, but there it remains indelibly on the pavement of the house up to our times.

The holy Arculf gave us another true story also about this confessor 15 George, which he learned accurately in the above-mentioned city of Constantinople from some well-informed and quite reliable narrators. This was the tale they used to tell about the holy confessor: At a time when many thousands from every quarter were coming together to form an expedition, a certain fellow, a layman, mounted on horseback, 20 entered the city of Diospolis. He approached the house where the above-mentioned marble column is, which has depicted on it the likeness of the holy confessor George, and entering it began to address the image as if George were present, saying: 'I commend myself and my horse to thee, George the confessor, that by virtue of your prayers we may 25 both return safe from the expedition and reach this city, delivered from all dangers of wars and pestilences and waters. And if, according to the prayer of our littleness, the merciful God grant to thee our successful return, I will bestow on thee as a gift this steed of mine, which I love exceedingly, assigning him in the presence of thy image.' Speedily 30 terminating these remarks, this fellow left the house, mingled with his other companions in the multitude of the army, and went off with the expedition. Then after many and divers dangers of war, in which thousands of unfortunate people perished, he got back safely to Diospolis mounted on that same beloved horse of his, having by God's grace 35 escaped all evil chances, since he commended himself, as mentioned above, to George the servant of Christ. He joyously entered the house where the image of the holy confessor was, bearing with him gold as the price of his horse, and he addressed the holy George as if he were

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atque B      24 georgi (ex -ii) B      et ut per P: ut per Y. ut Z. et per B      28 ob-  
tionem YP: oblationem ZB      29 ippum *Geyer*] ipsum YB: equum PZ, s.l. B.  
*Cf. p. 116, 21, 30, 34*      30 quis PB: qui Y. quibus Z      33 bellica pericula  
PZ: belli pericula B. bella periculosa Y      38 habeatur P. habetur Y

Georgium ac si praesentem alloquitur dicens: 21. 'Sanctae confessor, Deo aeterno gratis reffero, qui me per tuae celsitudinis firmitudinem orationis sospitem reduxit. Propterea hos tibi xx solidos auri adfero equi pretium mei, quem tibi primulae commendatum mihi usque in hodicrnum conseruasti dicm.' 22. Haec dicens supra discriptum auri 5 pondus ante pedes sancti formulae confessoris deponit, plus equum amans quam aurum, et cgressus foras ingeniculatione expleta tale iumentum supra sedens ad emigrandum instigat quidem sed nullo modo mouere potuit. 23. Quod ille homunculus uidens descendit de equo reuersusque domum intrat, alios x adfert solidos inquiens: 'Sanctae 10 confessor, mansuetus quidem mihi aequiti tutor in expeditione inter pericula fuisti, sed tamen, ut video, durus et avarus es in commercio equi.' 24. Haec dicens x super xx adiciens solidos ad sanctum dicit confessorem: 'Et hos tibi addo solidos, ut mihi placabilis fias et meum ad ambulandum resolvas equum.' 25. Hoc dicto egressus iterum 15

P. 293 G ascendens aequum ad mcanum incitat; qui quasi infixus in eodem stabat loco nec etiam unum poterat mouere pedem. 26. Quid plura? Post equum ascensum discensumque per .iiii. singulas uiccs intrans in domum x secum solidos adferens et ad inmobilem reuersus aequum iterum in domum regressus huc atque illuc currebat et tamdiu illius 20 ippus nulla instigatione remoueri poterat usquequo numerus solidorum lx adimpleretur simul congregatorum. 27. Tum deinde supra commemoratem repetens sermonem de sancti confessoris mansueta humanitate et tuta in expeditione custodia et de eius quasi duritia uel etiam in commercis avaritia commemorans, quae talia uerba, ut fertur, et per 25 quaternales singulas uiccs in domum reuersus repetebat, ad ultimum hoc modo sanctum alloquitur Georgium dicens: 28. 'Sanctae confessor, nunc tuam pro certo cognosco uoluntatem. Hoc itaque iuxta id quod desideras totum auri pondus, uidelicet lx solidos, tibi munus offero. 29. Ippum quoque meum, quem tibi prius commisseram post expeditio- 30 nem condonandum, nunc tibi licet inuisibilibus alligamentis uinculatum condono sed mox, ut credo, resoluendum per tuam in Deo honorificantiam.' 30. Hoc terminato sermone egressus domum eodem horae

P. 294 G momento absolutum repperit ippum, quem secum deducens in domum sancto donatum adsignauit confessori in conspectu imaginis ipsius 35 indeque letabundus Christum magnificans discessit. 31. Hinc manifeste collegitur quod *omne quodcumque Domino consecratu*, siue homo erit siue animal, iuxta id quod in Leuitico scriptum est libro, nullo modo redemi possit aut motari; nam *si quis motauerit, et quod motatum est et pro quo motatum est sanctificabitur Domino et non redimetur.***

37-40 Leu. 27, 10. 20. 28. 33.

2 grates PZ: gratias YB<sup>c</sup> 4 mei om. B 5 diem conseruasti B 7  
ingeniculatione] ingenti locutione Y 11 aequiti tutor] aequititii (aequitanti B<sup>2</sup>)  
tutor B. equiti tutor P: equique tutor Y. equitator Z 18 in om. PZ 19 x lege  
denos? secum x B 20 regressus] reuersus B 21 ippus Geyer] ipsius α: equus B

present, saying: 'Holy confessor, I give thanks to the eternal God, who by the steadfast prayer of your loftiness brought me back safe; and because of that I give thee these twenty gold sovereigns as the price of my horse, which thou hast conserved for me to this day since he was first commended to thee.' While saying this he laid the said sum of gold before 5 the feet of the holy confessor's image, loving his horse more than the gold. His devotions completed, he went out, mounted the beast in question, and spurred him onward. But nothing would induce him to move. Realizing this the fellow dismounted, went into the house again, and offered ten sovereigns more saying: 'Holy confessor, thou wast indeed 10 a gentle protector to me as I rode amid the perils of the expedition; but nevertheless, I see, in horse dealing thou art hard and greedy.' With this remark he added 10 sovereigns to the 20, and said to the holy confessor: 'I am giving thee these sovereigns too that thou mayst be appeased and set my horse free to walk.' Then he went out again, mounted the horse, 15 and urged him forward; but he kept standing as if fixed in that place, and could not move even one foot. To cut the story short: after mounting and dismounting fully four times, going into the house with 10 sovereigns, coming back to the immovable horse, and again back to the house, he kept running from one point to the other, and all the time nothing could 20 succeed in moving his steed, until finally the collected sum of sovereigns amounted to 60. Then he would repeat too the above-mentioned remarks about the gentle kindness of the holy confessor and his safe guardianship during the expedition, mentioning also his hardness, as it were, or even greed, in dealing. According to the story he would repeat such 25 language on his return to the house on each single occasion of the four. On the final occasion he addressed the holy George as follows: 'Holy confessor, now I know thy will for certain, and accordingly I offer thee as a gift the whole sum of gold thou askest, that is 60 sovereigns, and my steed too which I originally promised to donate to thee after the expedi- 30 tion, I now donate bound as he is by invisible bonds, but soon, I believe, to be released through thy honour before God.' After these remarks he went out of the house, and at that moment found his steed released. He led him into the house and assigned him as a gift to the holy confessor in the presence of his image and he went away from there joyfully, magnifying 35 Christ. The clear conclusion from this is that whatsoever is consecrated to the Lord, whether it be man or animal, according to what is written in the book of Leviticus, can by no means be redeemed or changed. For if anyone change it, both that which is changed and that for which it is changed shall be consecrated to the Lord and shall not be redeemed.<sup>1</sup> 40

<sup>1</sup> For the moral cf. *Penitential of Pseudo-Cummean* (eighth century) iv. 1 (p. 475 Wasserschleben): De pecunia ecclesiastica furata . . . reddatur quadruplum.

24 in (2) om. B      25 et om. PZ      per] post B      30 ippum B: ipsum α      meum  
(equum) PZ      prius promiseram (-misseram Z\*) α, commiseram prius B      34 re-  
periit B      ippum B: ipsum α      39 possit α: poterit B      mutari YZ. mutuari B

## V. DE IMAGINE SANCTAE MARIAE

1. Arculfus sepe memoratus et de sanctae matris Domini Mariae toracida certam nobis relationem, quam in Constantinopolitana urbe ab expertis quibusdam testibus dedicit, indubitanter enarravit inquiens: 2. In eadem metropolitana ciuitate imago beatae Mariae in breui tabula 5 figurata lignea in pariete cuiusdam domus suspensa pendebat. 3. De qua cum quidam stolidus et duricors homo percunctaretur cuius esset propriae, a quodam respondente dedicit quod esset sanctae Mariae semper uirginis figura faciei. 4. Quod audiens ille Iudeus incredulus diabulo instigante eandem de pariete ualde iratus tulit imaginem et ad 10 uicinam cucurrit domum ubi humana stercora per longarum foramina tabularum egesta supra sedentium uentribus degeri solent (5.) ibidemque ob Christi ex Maria nati dehonorationem imaginem matris eius per P. 295 G foramen super humanum stercus inferius iacens proiecit et ipse supersedens per idem foramen aluum purgans proprii stercus uentris super 15 toracidam beatae Mariae paulo ante inibi depositam dimittens stolidissime agens effudit et post turpissimam illam uentris purgationem ille infelicius discessit homo. 6. Quid uero postea gessit aut quo modo uixit uel qualem uitiae terminum habuit incompertum habetur. 7. Igitur post illius discessum maligni alias de Christianorum plebe 20 superuenit felix homo zelotipus Dominicarum rerum sciens quod factum fuerat, imaginem sanctae Mariae requisivit et inter humana stercora absconditam inueniens subleuauit et diligenter abstergens et lauans aquis emundauit mundissimis secumque in domu honorificae collocatam habuit. 8. Mirum dictu, ex eadem beatae Mariae imaginis tabula uerum 25 ebulliens distillat semper oleum; quod Arculfus, ut referre solet, propriis conspexit oculis. 9. Hoc mirabile oleum honorem protestatur Mariae matris Domini nostri Iesu Christi, de quo pater ait: *In oleo sancto meo linui eum.* Item psalmigraphus ad ipsum filium Dei loquitur dicens: *Uncxit te Deus Deus tuus oleo laetitiae p[ro]e participibus tuis.* 30

10. Haec itaque quae superius de Constantinopoleos situ et conditione nec non et de illa rotunda eclesia in qua salutare lignum reconditum habetur et cetera ab ore sancti sacerdotis Arculfi intente dedicimus qui in eadem primaria Romani imperii ciuitate a pascali sollemnitate usque ad Domi- P. 296 G nicum permanxit natalicium, postea exinde Romam appetens enauigauit. 35

28-29 Ps. 88, 21 <in R G Moz<sup>o</sup>> oleo sancto meo (*om. Corb Moz<sup>L</sup> Hil*) unxi (liniui Corb<sup>2</sup> Hil in Ps. 131, p. 676, 15 Zingerle; linui Moz<sup>L</sup>) eum 30 Ps. 44, 8 unxit te Deus Deus tuus oleo exultationis (Aug R Cypr: laetitiae Liber Prom. VULG.) p[ro]e participibus (Aug R Liber Prom.: super particeps Cypr) tuis (consortibus tuis VULG.) =Heb. 1, 9 (laetitiae DFM d e t).

1 Titulus deest in Z 2 Domini Mariae om. B 3 toracica α. tolaclita B  
 3 urbe . . . 5 metropolitana om. B 8 propriae P: imago propriae B. proprie Y.  
 propria Z 16 toracidam PZ: torciclam Y. torclicam B 18 aut] uel B  
 28 ait per prophetam Y 29 linui YPB\*: linui ZB<sup>c</sup> 30 oleo . . . tuis:  
 &rl- B 31 hoc B 34 a pascali sollemnitate om. P

(5) CONCERNING THE IMAGE OF THE HOLY MARY<sup>1</sup>

The oft-mentioned Arculf gave us an accurate rendering also of a true story about an ikon of the holy Mary, mother of the Lord, which he learned from some well-informed witnesses in the city of Constantinople. On the wall of a house in the metropolitan city, he said, a picture 5 of the blessed Mary used to hang, painted on a short wooden tablet. A stupid and hardhearted man asked whose picture it was, and was told by someone that it was a likeness of the holy Mary ever virgin. When he heard this that Jewish unbeliever became very angry and, at the instigation of the devil, seized the picture from the wall and ran to a building 10 near by, where it is customary to dispose of the soil from human bodies by means of openings in long planks whereon people sit. There, in order to dishonour Christ, who was born of Mary, he cast the picture of His mother through the opening on the nuisance lying beneath. Then in his stupid folly he sat above himself and evacuated through the opening, 15 pouring the nuisance of his own person on the ikon of the holy Mary which he had just deposited there. After that disgraceful action the hapless creature went away, and what he did subsequently, how he lived, or what sort of end he had, is unknown. After the scoundrel had gone, one of the Christian community came upon the scene, a fortunate man, 20 zealous for the things of the Lord. Knowing what had happened, he searched for the picture of the holy Mary, found it hidden in the refuse and took it up. He wiped it carefully and cleaned it by washing it in the clearest water, and then set it up in honour by him in his house. Wonderful to relate, there is always an issue of genuine oil from the tablet with 25 the picture of the blessed Mary, which Arculf, as he is wont to tell, saw with his own eyes. This wondrous oil proclaims the honour of Mary, the mother of the Lord Jesus of whom the Father says: 'With my oil I have anointed him.' Likewise the psalmist addresses the Son of God himself when he says: 'God thy God hath anointed thee with the oil of joy 30 beyond thy companions.'

The matter given above concerning the site and foundation of Constantinople, and concerning the round church too in which the salutary wood is stored, and the rest, we diligently learned from the lips of the holy priest Arculf, who stayed in the principal city of the 35 Roman empire from Easter until the Lord's nativity, and subsequently took ship from there for Rome.

<sup>1</sup> Both this and the preceding narratives seem to indicate the first rumblings of the Iconoclast controversy, which was to manifest itself with such virulence under Leo the Isaurian (716–41). Opposition (sometimes active) to Christian image-cult had of course been operative in Jewish and Saracen circles for a considerable time. The classic statement of the case for image-cult, the *Apology* of Leontius of Cyprus, had been directed against the Jews in 600; and in Moslem territory persecution of image-worshippers began at Damascus under Yezid I, 680–3. It is noteworthy that in Arculf's

[continued at foot of p. 121]

## VI. DE MONTE UULGANO QUI SEMPER INTONAT

1. Quaedam insula in mari magno habetur ad orientalem plagam xii milibus a Sicilia distans, in qua Uulganus mons quasi tonitruum totis diebus et noctibus in tantum intonat ut Siciliae terra longius positae terrifico tremore submoueri putetur, sed maius sexta feria et sabbato 5 intonare uidetur. 2. Qui omni tempore noctibus flammare monstratur, diebus uero fumare. 3. Haec mihi Arculfus scribenti de eodem dictauit monte, qui propriis illum oculorum aspergit obtutibus noctu ignitosum diae uero fumosum, eiusque tonitrualem sonitum propriis aurium audiuit auditibus in Sicilia per aliquot hospitatus dies.

10

4. Obsecro itaque eos quicumque hos breues legerint libellos ut pro eodem sancto sacerdote Arculfo diuinam praecentur clementiam qui haec de sanctis experimenta locis eorum frequentator libentissime nobis dictauit; 5. quae et ego quamlibet inter laboriosas et prope insistentabiles tota die undique congregatas eclesiasticae sollicitudinibus occupationes 15

P. 297 G constitutus uili quamuis sermone describens declaraui.

6. Horum ergo lectorem ammoneo experimentorum ut pro me missello peccatore eorundem craxatore Christum iudicem saeculorum exorare non neglegat.

LIBER TERTIUS HIC TERMINATUR.

20

I QUI . . . INTONAT om. B 4 post intonat uerba sed . . . sabbato (5) iterumque suo  
loco leguntur in B 7 hoc B 9 eius quoque B 11 obsecro . . . 19 neglegat,  
praemisso titulo INCIPIT PROLOGUS, supra post capitulationes trium librorum B 16 di-  
scribens declaraui] descripsi B 17 misello YPZcB. misselo Z\* 20 subscriptio sic  
in P: FINIT Y. EXPLICIT LIBER TERTIUS Z. FINIT PROLOGUS B

## (6) CONCERNING MOUNT VULGAN WHICH ALWAYS THUNDERS

Towards the east from Sicily, at 12 miles distance, there is an island in the great sea, in which day and night mount Vulcan gives forth a sort of thunder, with such vehemence that one would think the land of 5 Sicily (which is situated a considerable distance away) was being shaken by a terrific earthquake. But it seems to thunder more on Friday and Saturday. One notices that all the time at night it is blazing, whereas during the day it smokes. Arculf dictated these things to me about the mountain, while I wrote. He beheld it with the sight of his own eyes, 10 fiery by night and smoky by day, and with the hearing of his own ears he heard its thunderous noise when he was lodged for some days in Sicily.

I beseech then those who will read these brief books to implore divine mercy for the holy priest Arculf, who being a frequenter of the holy 15 places, most willingly dictated to us his experiences of them. And I have set them forth, albeit in a lowly style, though daily beset by laborious and almost insupportable ecclesiastical business from every quarter. Thus I admonish the reader of these experiences that he neglect not to pray Christ the judge of generations on behalf of me, the writer, a 20 wretched sinner.

HERE ENDS THE THIRD BOOK.

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[continuation of note on p. 119]

narratives the iconoclast in the first case is *duricors et incredulus homo*, and in the second *stolidus et duricors . . . Iudaeus incredulus*.

Adamnan displays a rather arbitrary variety of nomenclature in his description of the images: *formula*, *formula depicta*, *marmorea formula*, *imago*, *depicta imago*, *imago formata in columna*, *marmorea imaguncula*, *figura*, *thoracida* for George; and for the BVM *imago*, *imago figurata in brevi tabula lignea*, *figura*, *tabula imaginis beatae Mariae*, *thoracida*. *Thoracida* (v. Ducange s.v.) appears to designate the sculpted Roman portrait bust. The image of the BVM was clearly an ikon on wood; but in the case of George it is not easy to determine whether he means a sculpted bust placed on top of a pillar perhaps, or a picture painted on the pillar. In the context the latter seems more probable.



# INDICES

Indices qui sequuntur ad libros capita paragraphos referunt, excepto indice orthographicō, ubi ad paginas et uersus huius editionis refertur. Vocabulū scripturas damus eas quas, ut opinamur, Adamnano restituimus, eo tamen semper fere ordine alphabeti qui secundum scripturam Latinam in scholis acceptam seruandus erat.

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## II. INDEX ORTHOGRAPHICUS

a–au: protoplaustus (-pla<sup>v</sup>stus P) ω 80, 11 (*sic passim in codicibus uetustioribus*). cf. aurietibus Y 98, 12. faucibus pro facibus B\* 100, 24; facium pro faucium Z 100, 25.

a–e: alaxander, alaxandria B saepius in II. 30, *semel* p. 106, 19. camara, -am PZB 44, 11; B 68, 10, 14; YB 108, 32 (*deest* P); camaraturam B (cauaturam α) 48, 3; *alibi* camara, -atus ω. honorificantia, etc. B\* 40, 23; 42, 12; B 74, 21; 82, 23; PB 86, 8; 110, 16; B 112, 33; PB 116, 32 sq.; *sed* -entia ω 54, 34; 70, 30. ortagrafia B\* 96, 26.

ae–e–oe: acoetum B 50, 16 (*deest* α); 50, 22 (*cod. Aug.*). (re-, super-) edifico, -ator, edificium, *sim.* P 42, 25. 28; PB 68, 14; YPB 68, 35; YP 94, 2; Y 94, 21. YP 23, 28; Y 96, 13. 18; 100, 3; 104, 18 (*deest* PB); YB 106, 29 (*deest* P); B 108, 17. egrotantes ω 110, 30 sq. (*sic Dorbeneus*). egyptus, etc. P *semper in II. 30.* equalis Y 64, 7 (*sic Dorbb.*). aequiti 116, 11 (*u. adn. crit.*). aequus, etc., *pro* equus ZB\* 104, 30 (*deest* P); B 112, 20; 114, 24; et saepius. aequinus P (aequibus B) 114, 13. erea P 48, 19 (*eneam Dorbb.*, *Vita s. Columb. II. 44.*) estimo P 42, 27; 74, 30 (*sic Dorbb.*). estiuo B 56, 17 (*esteus Dorbb.*, *Vita s. Columb. II. 3.*) estate P 82, 12; -um B 110, 11. ethera PB 64, 23. aetiam P 64, 29. cecis YB 100, 28 (*deest* P). caelebriores P 40, 15. celum, etc. B solus quater; celestis, etc. B solus ter. caena YZ 50, 19; Y 110, 7 (*sic saepe codices Euangeliorum familiae Celticae*); cae(cę- B)naculum PB 74, 23. cepit *pro* coepit B 106, 29; cepit B 104, 7; YB 114, 23. caera P 58, 11. cessariam P, cesaream YZ, cesaream B 38, 15; cesaream (-iam P) ω 62, 27; cesariam P, cesaream YB 88, 30. caeterum B 48, 10; cęteri P 80, 19; caeterorum Z 102, 12 (*sic Dorbb.*). eclesia *semper fere* Z *cum Dorbeneo*. aec(c)lesia, ecclesia, *sim. passim* P, raro Z. ecclesia *semper fere* YB. fenicis YB 88, 25; 98, 9 (cf. feno Dorbb., *Vita s. Columb. I. 41.* grecus (gregus), etc. *semper cum Dorbeneo codices aut omnes aut plur.* (ad-, co-, in-) hereo, etc. *semper fere* YPB, rarius Z; *sic semper Dorbb.* inpraeis Z 66, 2. iudeus, etc. Z 52, 14 *et saepius*; B 82, 33; α 118, 9. letabundus PB 116, 36. letatione B 54, 33. letificare, etc. P 46, 12 (*deest* Y); B 96, 15;

98, 2; 110, 25. letificis B 110, 17. leua YZB 100, 31 (*deest* P). laeuatis Z 54, 32. mestitia Y (mistitia B) 108, 3 (mestus saepissime Dorbb.). palestinae ω 38, 15; 62, 27; 80, 32; B 62, 21 (*deest* α). pene YZB 106, 26 (*deest* P); *sic semper Dorbb.* penitens, -entiam, -udinem B 112, 27 (poe- Z). 28; 114, 6 (poe- Z). paenitus P 82, 12; poenitus Z 104, 33 (*deest* P). pre-, preter(-) saepe PB, rarius Y (pre-ies tantum Dorbb.); *notamus* pretermittenda PB 40, 5. prebens YP 44, 33 (p-Z); prebet YB (p-P) 88, 10. pre (p-P) cipue ω 62, 29. presens PB 68, 18. prestantiora (-ci- P) YPB 90, 17. presepe, etc. PB 74, 17. 19; B 74, 21. praecatur Z 112, 28; -entur B\* 120, 12. praetium Z\* 114, 39. propha&a B 46, 10. que, quedam saepe PB. saepulcrum, -i B\* 36, 13 sq. sepe, sepius *cum Dorbeneo semper fere* PZB. speleum ω 46, 8.

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- prolixus sermo I. 25, 6. 7. cf. protracti  
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- pronuntiare = declarare, narrare: I. 2,  
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- \*pronuntiatio I. 9, 1.
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- prope = fere, paene: III. 6, 5.
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- \*putrefacti iacentes I. 19.
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Vita s. Ruadani c. 17.
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YPB\*) domum I. 1, 14. -a eclesia  
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- quadrifida eclesia II. 21, 2.
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- quasi = uelut: quasi hereditario iure I.  
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 \*sepultio I. 3, 1.  
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   *Vita s. Columbae*)  
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   et II. 29, 4.  
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   -inem *c. gen.* I. 1, 11. II. 21, 2. III. 3,  
   13. ad -inem III. 1, 4.  
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   inquirere II. 5, 1.  
 sors: in -te tribus Iuda II. 15, 5.  
 specialiter I. 23, 11. -ius (-ter  $\alpha$ ) II. 2, 4.  
 speleum siue spelonca I. 2, 13.  
 spinosae ualles I. 20, 1.  
 spontanei imbræ II. 30, 17 (*Heg.*).  
 spurius (?) truncatum *quercus Mambre*  
   II. 11, 4. *cf.* de quo conroso spurius  
   *ibid.* 5.  
 stabilire: -os parietes I. 2, 4. -um altare  
   I. 3, 1. pars *arboris* in suo -a loco II.  
   11, 3.  
 \*stagnum ('loch') II. 25, 2; 27, 1.  
 statio *portus* II. 30, 6 (*Heg.*).  
 statutus: confessoris Georgii in domu -a  
   formula III. 4, 2.  
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 stillula III. 3, 14.  
 stolidissimus homunculus III. 4, 4.  
   stolidus et duricors homo III. 5, 2.  
   stolidissime agens III. 5, 5.  
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   II. 30, 22.  
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   lata I. 6, 1. *sim.* I. 18, 3. II. 2, 4. de  
   sanctorum locorum -is I. 4.  
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   I. 23, 19.  
 subinferre I. 2, 13.  
 subintrant aquae II. 16, 6.  
 sublatio subitanea *ferramentorum* III. 2, 3.  
 \*sublimare: ascensus per . . . grados in  
   altum -tus I. 23, 12. altitudo *montis* xxx  
   stadiis -tur II. 27, 2. eclesia -tur III.  
   3, 1.  
 sublimis: in -ae uolare I. 9, 14.  
 submouere 'to shake from underneath'  
   III. 6, 1.  
 subnixa contentio I. 9, 10.  
 subregitur aqua per trocleas II. 26, 3.  
   subrectis tabulis I. 1, 14.  
 substantia 'property' I. 9, 4.

- subterranei meatus *Iordanis* II. 19, 3.  
 substrahere 'steal' III. 2, 3.  
 subuertere 'destroy' II. 13, 1. 2.  
 succincte I. 18, 1.  
 sudarium Domini I. 9, 1. *cf.* 3. 4. 6. 7. 8.  
 10. 13. 15.  
 sufficenter II. 17, 2.  
 \*suffulcire: domus transuersis trabibus  
 suffultae II. 30, 28.  
 summitas muri II. 3, 1. *montis* II. 27, 1.  
 superedificare II. 26, 3.  
 superare: crux ruinis -ta *cap.* et *tit.* I. 6.  
*superclivium* montis, monticuli, *sim.* I. 1,  
 6. 11. II. 1, 4; 16, 8.  
*supercludere* I. 15, 1. III. 3, 2. 10.  
*\*supereminet* mons I. 1, 6. monasterium  
 II. 16, 8. murus II. 1, 4.  
*superne* I. 23, 11.  
*superpositus* *cap.* et *tit.* I. 11; I. 11, 2.  
 II. 4, 3 *bis*; 10, 6. 7 *bis*; 30, 25.  
*supersedere* III. 5, 5.  
*superstrati* iacent I. 23, 15.  
*superuenire* 'come afterwards' III. 5, 7.  
*supra* sedere III. 4, 22 (super Y); 5, 4  
 (*sed supersedens* 5, 5). — *variant*  
*codices* I. 12, 4. III. 3, 1. 14. *u.* *etiam*  
*super in ind. gramm.*
- \*tabernaculum *sacrum Veteris Legis* II.  
 15, 5. -a II. 27, 3.  
*tabulae* = pugillares: *praef.* t. subrectae I.  
 1, 14.  
*tabulatum lapideum* I. 12, 1.  
*talix pro hic*: I. 1, 12; 2, 15; 9, 9; 18, 2.  
 II. 10, 5; 17, 1; 24, 2. III. 2, 6. 7. 8;  
 3, 3. 10 *bis*. 13; 4, 19. 22. *hic* (qui) *talix*  
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*taliter* I. 23, 18.  
*tamdiu . . . donec*: I. 23, 15.  
*tantus*: in *tantum* = *adeo*: I. 23, 15. II.  
 30, 29.  
*tegmen* I. 23, 9. II. 11, 4.  
*\*tegoriolum* *cap.* et *tit.* I. 2; I. 2, 7. 14;  
 3, 2.  
*\*tegorium* I. 2, 6. 7 (-ioli B). 8. 9. 10. 13;  
 3, 1. 2. 3.  
*ter terni* I. 2, 6.  
*terminare*: liber -tur III. 6, 6. -ta possitio  
 II. 30, 21. sermunculis -tis III. 4, 18.  
*terminus*: agrorum -i III. 2, 5. uitae t.  
 III. 5, 6. (libri uel) libelli *subscr. lib.* I.  
*in YP.*  
*terrificus* flatus I. 23, 16. tremor III. 6, 1.  
*\*thesaurus* III. 3, 3. 10.  
*toraceda*, -ida III. 4, 10; 5, 1. 5; *cf.*  
*Aldhelm, De uirg.* 38, p. 287, 5 *Ehwald;*  
*Aethelwaldus, De transmarini itineris*  
*peregrinatione* (ante a. 706) 87, *MGH*  
*Epist. Aei Merouing.* I. 245, 3.
- \*titulus: nominis t. II. 7, 4.  
*tollus* (*uox Hibernica tolla[e]*): fluminales  
 aquarum -i II. 30, 20; *cf.* *Vita s.*  
*Cainech* c. 13, *Vita s.* *Cronani* c. 2.  
*tonitrualis* sonitus III. 6, 3.  
*tonitruum* III. 6, 1.  
*traditio* 'betrayal' I. 12, 4. 'tradition':  
 -nem enarrare III. 2, 1.  
*trames*: per longorem -item II. 1, 4.  
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 30, 22. recto -ite I. 16.  
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*\*transmeare* fluuium II. 30, 28.  
*transmissio* (= *transactio*) solistitio I. 11,  
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*cf.* 14, 1.  
*transnatare* fluuium II. 16, 2.  
*transuersae* trabes II. 30, 28.  
*tripertita* ligna III. 3, 12.  
*troclea*: per -as II. 26, 3. -is I. 23, 10.  
*tubicines* III. 2, 7.  
*turma idem fere quod turba*: I. 1, 10. *cf.* 9.  
*turricula* I. 14.  
*tutamen* II. 30, 15 (*Heg.*).  
*tutor* III. 4, 23.  
*uadere* = ire: II. 25, 1.  
*ualde c. adiectiuo*: *ualde grandis* I. 2, 3. *u.*  
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*consurgunt* I. 21. *u.* magnum II. 17, 2.  
*u.* populosa II. 30, 1. *u.* edaces II. 30,  
 29. *u.* pulchrum III. 3, 2. *u.* pauefactus  
 II. 27, 3. *u.* iratus III. 4, 4; 5, 3. —  
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 3. *herbosus* *u.* et *floridus* II. 11, 1; 26,  
 1. *longo* *u.* et *angusto* II. 30, 22. *nobilis*  
*u.* II. 29, 3.  
*ualditas* *uenti* I. 23, 17.  
*ualdissimus* flatus I. 23, 18. -um flamen  
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*uallicula* II. 1, 4.  
*\*uasculum* II. 3, 1; 26, 3.  
*uector*: cameli uectores rerum I. 1, 9.  
*uersificus* (-dicus B) I. 17.  
*uertex hominis* I. 2, 6. *ficus* I. 17. *montis*  
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*\*uespertinum tempus* II. 30, 23.  
*uestibulum* portus II. 30, 8. 9. (*Heg.*).  
*uiantes sine carpento* II. 30, 18. (*Heg.*).  
*uices*: per .iiii. (quaternales) singulas *uices*  
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*\*uictoriale* lignum III. 3, 9.  
*uili* figuraione I. 2, 15. *uili* pictura I. 23,  
 19. *uili* puluere tecti II. 10, 6. *uili*  
*opere* I. 1, 14. II. 8, 2. *operatione* II.  
 7, 3. *uilioris* operis lapis II. 10, 7.  
*uiliores* memorias II. 10. 8. *uili* sermon  
 III. 6, 5.  
*uinculare* III. 4. 4. 11. 29.

- uinetu II. 13, 4.  
uligo II. 20, 3.  
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umbilicus terrae *Hierusalem* I. 11, 4.  
undula II. 3, 2.  
uocabulum II. 30, 1.  
\*uocamen conditoris III. 2, 8.  
\*uocitari = nominari: *cap. et tit.* I. 19; I. 2, 13; 4; 5, 1. II. 17, 4; 19, 1. 2; 21, 1; 30, 1. 26. III. 2, 8. — uocitarunt II. 30, 8.  
uolatus breuis locustarum II. 23, 2.  
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\*ulturnus uentus I. 2, 4.  
uultus = facies: prostratis -ibus I. 23, 5. inclinato -u III. 3, 7.  
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**recompositio:** collegitur PZ\*B\* p. 116, 37, contene*re*, etc. PZ\* 54, 21 (*teneo B*); P 50, 21; 78, 11. contenuam P 64, 26 (*continuari cett.*). dimedia PZB 74, 17. diregitur P 40, 19; 60, 9; Z\* 94, 17. diregens P 90, 3. *sed dirigitur* ω 88, 22. elege α 84, 27. obsedebant YP 84, 6. porregitur P 74, 9; 86, 22. redemi (*inf.*) PZ\*B 116, 39. relegiosarum P 82, 23. subregitur YP 94, 29.

**deminutiua:** agellulus *cap. et tit.* I. 19; I. 19. agellus II. 10, 2. 9. ansula I. 7, 1. astella II. 11, 5. campulus I. 24. II. 13, 5. capsella III. 3, 6. cellola, -ula II. 27, 1, 4. ciuitacula (*u. adn. crit.*) II. 5, 2. corpusculum I. 12, 3 ('remains'). II. 3, 1; 23, 2. digitolus III. 4, 12. discriptiuncula I. 23, 19. domuncula I. 2, 6. filiolus (o filioli) I. 9, 4. fonticulus *cap. et tit.* II. 22; II. 22, 1; 24, 2. formula *cap. et tit.* I. 2; I. 2, 2. 14; 10, 2; 18, 1; 23, 19. III.

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**Graeca, Hebraica, Hibernica** (*non notamus uoces ecclesiasticas communes quales sunt apostolus, baptizare, ecclesia, sim.*): ethera I. 23, 3. anastas(s)is, -im I. 4; 6, 3. archangelus II. 26, 4. azimi I. 25, 7. basilica (18<sup>ies</sup>). caecias uentus I. 2, 5. Canopecon II. 30, 26. kataractae II. 30, 20 (*Heg.*). craxo, -tor u. *ind. uerb.* culpus II. 30, 24. ciclus I. 6, 1. diabulus III. 4, 4; 5, 4. elimosina I. 6, 2. eurus I. 2, 5. exedra *cap. et tit.* I. 7; I. 7, 1. Farus II. 30, 8. Geneseos liber II. 7, 1. gigantes II. 8, 1. isopum I. 7, 2 (*Ioh.* 19, 29). ippus III. 4, 17. 26. 29. 30. lampas *septies*. martirium I. 6, 1; 7, 1. metropolis II. 8, 1; 29, 1; 30, 1. III. 1, 2. -tanus III. 5, 2. misterium I. 5, 2. oria II. 21, 5. orta-, ortografia II. 27, 6. Pascha I. 25, 7. III. 3, 8. paschalis III. 3, 9; 5, 10 (*pascalis*). patriarcha 10<sup>ies</sup>. Fiala II. 19, 3. protoplaustus II. 10, 5. psalmografus I. 11, 4. (-ph-) III. 5, 9. piramis II. 4, 3; 7, 3. sabbatum III. 3, 9. styma (*u. adn. crit.*) I. 25, 4. thesaurus III. 3, 3. toraceda, -ida III. 4, 10; 5, 1. 5. troclea I. 23, 10. II. 26, 3. zelotipus III. 5, 7. — tollus II. 30, 20. *Glossa Hibernica legitur ad I.* 1, 11 (*molli* i. slemon P, id est sclemon Z); *u. etiam adn. crit. ad II.* 12 (*tene*).

**substantiuorum formatio:** (1) baptizator II. 16, 8; 22, 1. confessor III. 4 *passim*. craxator III. 6, 6. dolator I. 3, 2. 3. donator I. 9, 15. ductor II. 27, 5.

excisor I. 3, 3. frequentator I. 12, 1; 23, 6, 9; 24; 25, 9. III. 6, 4. ministrator II. 30, 9. narrator III. 4, 14. nutritor I. 14. operator III. 2, 3. peragrator II. 29, 1. reedificator II. 30, 1. regnator I. 9, 11. tutor III. 4, 23. uector I. 1, 9. uisitator I. 12, 5.—(2) obiectus II. 30, 14 (*Heg.*). procinctus I. 9, 14. profectus II. 17, 2. situs *undecies*. uolatus II. 23, 2. —(3) ablutio II. 3, 1. abhominatio I. 1, 9. adiectio II. 16, 2. ascensio I. 23, 15, 18. 20. aspiratio II. 27, 6. baptizatio I. 1, 12. k(c)-apitulationes *librorum*. commoratio II. 13, 4. conlisio II. 17, 2. compunctio I. 23, 13. conuentio I. 25, 4. II. 11, 5. coruscatio I. 23, 13, 20. defectio II. 3, 2. dehonoratio III. 5, 5. discriptio II. 30, 21. eruptio II. 30, 27. exuberatio I. 1, 12. festinatio II. 27, 5. figuratio I. 2, 15. flagellatio III. 4, 2. generatio I. 9, 8, 9. habitatio II. 13, 4. inflammatio I. 9, 12. ingeniculatio III. 4, 22. impeditio I. 1, 9. instigatio III. 4, 26. interfusio II. 19, 4. inundatio I. 1, 12. laetatio I. 9, 15. lauatio *cap. et tit.* II. 3. nominatio III. 2, 8. operatio II. 7, 3. III. 3, 10. osculatio III. 3, 10. recessio I. 1, 10. recordatio I. 25, 8. II. 11, 5. repertio III. 2, 4. reuersio II. 4, 17. sepultio I. 3, 1. sublatio III. 2, 3. traditio I. 12, 4. III. 2, 1. translatio III. 2, 7. ueneratio I. 7, 3. II. 11, 5. III. 3, 8.—(4) experientia II. 20, 5; 23, 3; 26, 5. exubrantia I. 1, 11. honorificantia, -entia I. 1, 7, 13; 9, 15; 25, 8. II. 2, 3; 11, 6; 15, 5. III. 3, 9; 4, 10, 29.—(5) importuositas II. 30, 21. medietas I. 17; 23, 7, 19. II. 21, 3. numerositas I. 1, 9. paruitas III. 4, 17. proprietas I. 2, 9.—(6) celsitudo II. 27, 5. claritudo I. 23, 10, 12. *cap. et tit.* II. 6; II. 6, 1. firmitudo III. 4, 21. paenitudo III. 4, 8. —(7) cauatura I. 3, 3. —(8) decliuum (PZ: cliuo YB) I. 1, 11. praeципitum II. 30, 20 (*Heg.*). querimonium III. 2, 3. tegorium *nouies*. tonitruum III. 6, 1. —(9) abhominamentum I. 1, 12. alligamentum III. 4, 9. fluentum II. 19, 4. —(10) flamen I. 23, 15. linteamen I. 2, 10; 9, 10, 15; 10, 1, 2. tegmen I. 23, 9. II. 11, 4. tutamen II. 30, 15 (*Heg.*). uocamen III. 2, 8.

**substantiuorum uariatio:** exubrantia—exuberatio I. 1, 11, 12. rex—regnator I. 9, 11, 12. linteamen—linteum I. 10, 1, 2. turris—turricula I. 13, 14. mensae—mensulae I. 15, 2. montis Sionei—mons Sion I. 22. flamen—flatus I. 23, 15, 16. presepe—presepium II. 2, 1–3. sepulchrum—monumentum II. 5, 3. ager—

agellus II. 9, 1. Nili fluminis—Niloei fluminis II. 30, 26, 27. nomen—uocamen III. 2, 8. operarii—operatores III. 2, 2, 3. paenitudo—paenitentia III. 4, 8, 9. uinculum—alligamenta III. 4, 9. *al.*

**substantiuorum formae minus usitatae:** ciuitaculum YP (-tulam Z. -tem B) II. 5, 2. itiner (iter  $\alpha$ ) II. 20, 5. solistitio (solstitio  $\alpha$ ) I. 11, 2 *bis*. (solisstitio Y. solstitio PZ) *ibid.* 3.

**genus substantiuorum:** dies *masc.*: duodecimo (Y: xv PZB) die I. 1, 8; crastino (-a YZ) die III. 3, 8. in hodiernum diem III. 4, 21. *fem.:* I. 9, 6, 7, 16. II. 3, 2; 24, 1, 2. III. 4, 3; 6, 5. *incertum ter et decies.* sal *neutr.:* II. 17, 2, 3, 5. (*incertum* II. 17, 4.) styma (= schema) *fem.* I. 25, 4.

**numerus substantiuorum:** foramina = foramen III. 5, 4 (*sing.* 5, 5 *bis*). materiae (pl.) I. 23, 17.

**declinatio substantiuorum:** non flectuntur nomina Hebraica plurima, uelut Abraham (quercus Abraham II. 11, 2), Adam (Adam primi hominis II. 10, 2. *cf.* 7), *al.*; sed: Heliae II. 27, 3. Iordanis, -e *passim*. Lazari I. 24. Liae II. 10, 8. Moysi II. 27, 3. Rebeccae II. 10, 8. Samuhelis I. 20. Sarrae II. 10, 8. Scariothis I. 17. Simeonis I. 14. ad Zoaros II. 18, 7. —*heteroclitia:* domu  $\omega$  (-o P<sup>2</sup> in marg.) III. 4, 2; (-o PZ) 5, 7. domus ( $\alpha$ ) I. 2, 1. (-os Z. deest P) III. 1, 4. exercito B III. 2, 7. grados P I. 1, 3; 23, 12. lacos Y II. 19, 4. porticos P I. 23, 1. Hierusolima *fem. sing.* I. 11, 3; 23, 12. II. 7, 2; 12. *neutr. pl.* I. 1, 8; *cap. et tit.* II. 12; II. 25, 1; 30, 2. styma *abl.* I. 25, 4. —*declinatio Graeca:* anastassim I. 6, 3. Constantinopoleos III. 1, 3; 5, 10. -im III. 1, 1. -i III. 4, 1. Diospolim III. 4, 15, 19. -i III. 4, 2. Geneseos liber II. 7, 1. metropolim II. 29, 1. —*notamus praeterea:* animabus I. 5, 2. gratis (*acc. pl.*) III. 4, 21 (*u. adn. crit.*). mare *abl.* (B: -i  $\alpha$ ) *cap. et tit.* II. 18. ( $\omega$ ) *cap. et tit.* II. 20. passum (*gen. pl.*) III. 1, 2, 4.

**substantiuum in appositione:** peccatores homines I. 12, 4. iuuenes uiri fortes II. 15, 3.

**in appositione nominatiuus extra constructionem legitur:** de alio confesore Georgius (Y: -o PZB) nomine III. 4, 1. *cf.* camelorum et equorum . . . numerositas . . . , diuersarum uestores rerum I. 1, 9.

**genetiūus:** *obiectiuus:* pauperum elimosinae I. 6, 2. transitus Iordanis II. 15, 2.

**—qualitatis:** ecclisia rotundae formulae

*cap. et tit.* I. 2. breuis statuae homo I. 2, 6. obscurioris lapide coloris et uilioris operis II. 10, 7. folia laetei coloris et saporis mellei II. 23, 3. mirae magnitudinis columnae I. 2, 4. domus III. 1, 4. eclesia III. 3, 1. non parui edificii eclesiac II. 27, 3. ingentis magnitudinis moles II. 30, 12 (*Heg.*). grandis celesia structuae II. 30, 25. ualidissimi flaminis proeella I. 23, 15. — altitudinis habet bis uicinas orias II. 21, 5. duos longitudinis habens eubitos et unum latitudinis III. 3, 4. — ager speluncae duplieis II. 9, 1. solitudinis fonticulo *cap. et tit.* II. 22. *u. pleonasmum.* — *genetiuus 'inhaerentiae'*: particulae astellarum II. 11, 5; cf. III. 4, 18. — *possessiuus*: moris est II. 9, 3. — *genetiuus ex adiectiuo pendet*: leetum unius hominis eapacem I. 2, 11. frugum regio ferax II. 30, 16 (*Heg.*). monticelli contermina II. 5, 2. pluuiarum indiga II. 30, 17 (*Heg.*). locum benedictionis peruum II. 25, 1.

**datiuus auctoris:** caleati Deo pulucris I. 23, 5 (*Sulp.*). *u. adn. crit.* — *u. praepositiones* (ad).

**accusatiuus:** maius intonare III. 6, 1. — adire Cafarnaum II. 25, 1. crucem II. 16, 4. locum I. 23, 8. — domum egressus III. 4, 18, 30. (egredi de ciuitate I. 16.) — ex stadia extenditur II. 20, 2 (*Heg.*). alias semper ablatiuus legitur.

**ablatiuus modi:** simili nobis sollicitudine inquirentibus II. 5, 1. pene nuditate omnium eiuitatum III. 2, 1. — *absolutus pro instrumentalis*: iactare lapidem funda inpellente II. 16, 3. — *limitationis*: pes et semipes mensura I. 2, 6 (*nisi uox mensura pro nominatiuo accipienda est*); sed cf. amplitudo . . . stadiorum xxx patet dimensione II. 30, 14. difficilis aceessu II. 30, 5 (*Heg.*). — *mensurae*: mille eirciter passibus distat II. 6, 2; cf. 7, 2; 11, 1; 12; 27, 1. III. 6, 1. — in unius stadii spatio distare II. 10, 9. — stadii quingentis oetuaqinta dirigitur II. 18, 7. lx milibus passum extenditur III. 1, 2. cf. 3. — *ablatiuus temporis pro accusatiuo*: multis diebus occultauit I. 9, 2. septem regnauit annis II. 8, 1. tabernaculum fixum multo tempore fuit II. 15, 5. duabus hospitatus est noetibus II. 26, 5; cf. 27, 5. multis uixit annis III. 4, 2. — *adiectiuum plenus semper (quater) cum ablatiuo construitur*.

**accusatiuus et ablatiuus mutuo ponuntur:** de patriarcharum sepulehra B II. 10, 11. de lueustis et mel siluestre B *cap. et tit.* II. 23. in manibus (-us

Y<sup>c</sup>B) deuenit I. 9, 9. date in manu *mea* (-um -am YZ) I. 9, 11. in sinum (-u B) deponunt I. 9, 11. conuenire in Hierosolimis I. 1, 8. in poline uel luto intrantes III. 4, 7. eclesia in honore (-em YZ) sancti Iohannis fundata II. 16, 8; (honorem α) 28, 2. *u. ablatiuum temporis*.

**structura praepositionalis e nomine pendet:** ascensus de ualle Iosaphat I. 23, 12. altera ripa in parte Arabiae II. 16, 3. conlilio fluctuum ad terras II. 17, 2. suus inter tormenta confessor III. 4, 10. tuta in expeditione custodia III. 4, 27. per tuam in Deo honorificantiam III. 4, 29.

**adiectiuorum formatio:** (1) abhominabilis I. 1, 10. ammirabilis I. 23, 20. formidabilis I. 23, 18. honorabilis II. 16, 1. III. 3, 7. honorificabilis III. 3, 12. indelebilis III. 4, 13. indubitabilis *praef.* inhabitabilis II. 16, 6. inpenetrabilis III. 4, 10 bis. insensibilis III. 4, 4. insustentabilis III. 6, 5. memorabilis I. 18, 2. plaebialis III. 4, 24. praedicalibilis I. 1, 13; 23, 13. II. 1, 2; 11, 5. III. 3, 3. uenerabilis I. 9, 15. III. 3, 10. — (2) letabundus III. 4, 30. — (3) dextralis II. 11, 2. dualis I. 6, 2. fluminalis II. 30, 20. lateralis II. 30, 11 (*u. adn. crit.*). muralis II. 8, 2. penetratalis III. 4, 10 (*u. adn. crit.*). pluialis I. 1, 11, 12. quaternalis I. 2, 4, 12; 23, 11. III. 4, 27. regalis II. 28, 1. saerotalis II. 21, 6. sepulc(h)ralis I. 2, 12. II. 10, 9. stereuralis I. 1, 12. trinalis III. 3, 13. tonitrualis III. 6, 3. uictorialis III. 3, 9. — (4) laeteus II. 23, 3. marmoreus octies. melleus II. 23, 3. pineus II. 12. rubeus I. 10, 2. saxeus I. 12, 2. scrupelus II. 30, 13 (*Heg.*). — (5) bruscosus I. 21. famosus I. 1, 14; 6, 2. II. 11, 5; 27, 6; 30, 1. fumosus III. 6, 3. herbosus I. 21. II. 11, 1; 27, 1. ignitosus III. 6, 3. importuosus II. 30, 5 (*Heg.*). laboriosus III. 6, 5. laerimosus III. 4, 9. petrosus I. 20, 1. pinosus II. 12. populosus II. 30, 1. spinosus I. 20, 1. tenebrosus I. 23, 12. — (6) politanus I. 1, 9. metropolitanus III. 5, 2. Constantinopolitana urbs, *sim. cap. et tit.* III. 1; III. 5, 1. — *praeterea*: hospita ciuitas I. 1, 9. odorifer III. 3, 13. omnigena honorificantia III. 3, 9. port(u)ensis II. 30, 9, 14, 21 (*Heg.*). quadrifidus II. 21, 2. tripertitus III. 3, 12. uersificus (-dicus B) I. 17.

**adiectiuorum formeae:** dites I. 9, 9. infirmes (-os YZ<sup>c</sup>) III. 4, 10. penetrale Z III. 4, 10; -les YB 4, 10 *ex*.

**adiectua ui substantiui usurpata:** ad aridam II. 16, 4. contubernales III.

4, 18. creduli 'the faithful' I. 9, 10; 23, 13. desertum II. 3, 3; 22, 1; 23, 3. dextera portus II. 30, 8. fugitiuorum ciuitas II. 21, 6. furax I. 9, 3. 7. geometrica I. 22. hereditarii I. 9, 9. honorati I. 5, 2. increduli I. 9, 10. mortales II. 15, 5. operarii III. 2, 2. 5. peregrini I. 19. profundum *cap.* II. 15. religiosae 'nuns' II. 11, 6. — *neutrum adiectui:* Nili inrigua II. 30, 17 (*Heg.*). ab imo fundamentorum III. 3, 1. in medio ciuitatis I. 11, 1 (*cf.* II. 26, 2). orbis in medio terrae I. 11, 3 (= Ps. 73, 12); *cf.* 2, 14. II. 13, 5. de summis I. 9, 14. ad ultimum III. 4, 27. in altum I. 15, 1; 23, 12. in profundum I. 15, 1. in propatulo III. 3, 12. in sublimae I. 9, 14. in tantum I. 23, 15. II. 30, 29.

**adiectiuum pro genetiuo:** dominicus *passim:* ascensio, corpus, corpusculum, crux, monumentum, natalicium, natuitas, pedes, presepe, res, resurrectio, sepulchrum, sudarium, uestigia, uestimenta. aequinus crux III. 4, 13. humana habitatio II. 13, 4; stercora III. 5, 4. port(u)ensis difficultas, -e os, -es fauces II. 30, 9, 14. 21 (*Heg.*). *u.* Bethlemiticus, Constantinopolitanus, Dauiticus, Golgothanus, Hierosolimitanus, Iordanicum flumen, Niloeum flumen, pasc(h)alis, Siculus, Sioneus in *ind. nominum*.

**aduerbia:** habundanter I. 23, 12. 20. II. 17, 2. aliter I. 20, 2. II. 17, 3. 4. breuiter I. 3, 1; 11, 1; 18, 1; 25, 1. II. 1, 1; 3, 1. consequenter III. 2, 3. diligenter III. 5, 7. (-ius *u. comparationem.*) duplíciter I. 12, 1. furanter I. 9, 13. gaudenter II. 28, 1. III. 4, 20. indubitanter I. 2, 8; 9, 4. II. 20, 5. III. 4, 14; 5, 1. mirabiliter I. 23, 12. III. 4, 10. misericorditer III. 4, 9. naturaliter III. 4, 10. neglegenter I. 1, 13; 25, 2; II. 4, 2. III. 4, 11. pertinaciter I. 9, 11. potenter III. 4, 10. specialiter I. 23, 11. II. 2, 4 (-ius B.). sufficienter II. 17, 2. — artifice I. 2, 3. honorifice I. 9, 9. III. 5, 7. magnifice I. 1, 14. mirifice I. 2, 2. — continuatim I. 1, 12. ordinatim III. 3, 9. — diuinitus I. 23, 17; III. 2, 7. ferme I. 9, 2. fortassis II. 11, 3. intente III. 5, 10. -ius I. 9, 1. manifeste I. 23, 9; 25, 3. 6. III. 4, 31. primul(a)e III. 4, 11. 21. succincte I. 18, 1. superne I. 23, 11.

**circumlocutiones aduerbiales:** in modum *c. gen.* I. 2, 11. II. 23, 2. mirum in modum I. 11, 2. III. 4, 5. hoc modo = sic, ita III. 4, 1. 14. 27. (ullo) quoquo modo I. 23, 9. 15. nullo modo *septies*, *u. negatio.* multo tempore = diu II. 15,

5. per .iiii. (quaternales) uices III. 4, 26. 27.

**aduerbium pro adiectuo:** aliter (= alia esse) qualitas regionum monstratur I. 20, 2. aliter sal maris atque aliter sal terrae uocitari solet II. 17, 4.

**comparatio:** *comparatiuus pro positiuo:* altius sublimatur III. 3, 1. citius I. 1, 13. III. 2, 4. diligentius humantur I. 19 (*opp.* neglegentius relinquuntur); percutanti *praef.*; *cf.* I. 2, 2; 6, 3; 23, 14. diutius I. 1, 13. exterius III. 4, 6. inferius I. 2, 12. 14; 23, 11. II. 3, 2; 16, 7; 21, 2; 26, 3. III. 5, 5. intentius audiente I. 9, 1. interius I. 3, 2; 23, 11. III. 4, 6. longius III. 6, 1. ociosus III. 4, 18. profundius impresa I. 12, 4. sepius I. 2, 1; 4; 9, 1; 15, 3. superius 15ies. specialius (-ter α) II. 2, 4. — *semel tantum in adiectuo:* per longiorem trahitatem II. 1, 4. — *comparatiuus pro superlatiuo:* celebriore I. 25, 1. — *superlatiuinstar est ter beati I. 9, 8 (Verg. Aen. i. 94). u. ualde in ind. uerborum.*

**pronomina:** (1) *pronomen reflexiuum:* ad ipsum de se ipso prolata sententia II. 10, 5. secum collocatam habuit III. 5, 7. sed (Deus) ob eius unigeniti honorificantiam *urbem Hierusalem* citius emundat I. 1, 13. — contra se 'against each other' I. 9, 14. — (2) *pronomen possessiuum:* proprius = suus I. 1, 9; 7, 1. 3; 9, 4. III. 5, 5. propriis obtutibus (oculis), *sim.* I. 9, 1. 4; 12, 5. II. 3, 4; 11, 4. III. 4, 1; 5, 8; 6, 3. ex proprio eius uocabulo III. 2, 8. suos denos proprios digitos III. 4, 12. — (3) *pronomen demonstratiuum:* hoc est 18ies legitur, id est *nusquam.* — eius *postponitur:* *cap.* et *tit.* I. 29; I. 7, 2 (*Ioh.* 19, 29); 12, 4. *cap.* et *tit.* II. 30; II. 17, 1; 30, 5. III. 4, 5. illius *postponitur* III. 1, 2. — ipse = is *cap., tit., text.* I. 8; I. 14. ipse = idem: ipsius Domini I. 2, 14. de ipso Iuda I. 17. — idem ipse II. 3, 4. — idem *abundat:* illius eiusdem petrae I. 3, 3. de hoc eodem calice I. 7, 3. haec eadem lancea I. 8. de hoc eodem linteo I. 9, 13. haec eadem columna I. 11, 2. haec eadem uestigia I. 23, 10. de hac eadem eclesia I. 23, 14. *cf.* II. 26, 3. prope hanc eandem ciuitatem II. 21, 2. hoc idem mare III. 1, 3. quae eadem undula II. 3, 2. — unus idemque I. 2, 6; 3, 2. II. 27, 5. — hunc meum ippum III. 4, 17. in eodem suo aequo III. 4, 19. quam eius paenitentiam III. 4, 9. — talis = hic *u. ind. uerborum.* hic (qui) talis I. 9, 13. II. 16, 7; 30, 17. 21. III. 4, 27. — (4) *pronomen relativum saepe*

*ad uocem longius remotam refert*, e.g. cuius (*i.e.* sepulchri) longitudinem I. 2, 10. cuius (putei) cauitas I. 15, 1. portula ligneo, ut refert Arculfus, concluditur hostio, qui (*i.e.* Arculfus) eandem frequen-tauit I. 15, 3. *sim.* II. 6, 2; 13, 3; 24, 1; 27, 1; 30, 14 (*u.adn.crit. et Heg.*) III. 4, 6. quis = quibus III. 4, 18. — (5) *pronomen indefinitum*: pauca aliqua I. 4; II. 1, 1. pauca quaedam I. 1, 1. II. 11, 6. quasdam colum-nas paucas II. 24, 2. — nec aliquo tegmine I. 23, 9. sine aliquo ornatu I. 14. *cf.* II. 3, 3. si in aliquo loco III. 2, 4. — alias = qui-dam: *cap. et tit.* I. 7; 11 (*sed aliqua I. 11, 1*); I. 9, 16. *cap. et tit.* II. 4; 5; II. 5, 2. III. 4, 1 *bis*; 5, 7. — crux Domini cum aliis latronum binis crucibus I. 6, 1. — qualis-cumque = quilibet: III. 3, 14. quicum-que = quilibet: I. 23, 17. — quoquo modo = ullo modo I. 23, 9, 15. — ad utrasque dixit partes I. 9, 12. *cf.* II. 1 *bis*. 14. — quisque = uterque I. 9, 4 (*similiter* quis = uter I. 9, 4. 13).

**numeralia:** *formae, declinatio*: ambis (*abl.*) I. 14. dudeni, -ae I. 2, 12; 15, 2. II. 15, 2, 5. duum I. 9, 13. II. 11, 4. tris *acc.* I. 2, 4. octuaginta PZ II. 18, 7. — *numeralium usus*: unus post unum III. 3, 7. — bis terni, -ae I. 1, 2; 2, 6. bis quaternales I. 2, 5. 12; 23, 11. bis quinorum digitolorum III. 4, 12. bis uicenae II. 21, 5. — *distributiva pro cardinalibus*: bini I. 6, 1. terni I. 9, 2; 23, 1. II. 27, 3. III. 3, 5. seni II. 15, 3. octoni I. 9, 16. deni III. 4, 8. 12. dudeni, -ae I. 2, 12; 15, 2; II. 15, 2, 5. — duales = duo I. 6, 2. trinalia (= tria) ligna III. 3, 13. quaternales = quattuor I. 2, 15. III. 4, 27. = quaterni *u. supra*. octenales = octo I. 23, 13. — eiusdem numeri = totidem I. 23, 11. II. 15, 3.

**uerbum auxiliare:** *ellipsis copulae*: I. 2, 3. 9; 2, 15 (*intellege: sit!*); 5, 1 (B); 7, 1 (YB). 8 (B); 18, 1 (YB); 23, 4 (B); 25, 1. II. 1, 2; 3, 1 (B); 4, 4 (B); 10, 3; 23, 2; 26, 2; 27, 6; 28, 1; 30, 6 (*Heg.*). III. 1, 1 (*est add. Y*). — est = sita est: Galgal . . . cis Iordanen est II. 15, 5. — *pro uerbo esse substituuntur alia uerba*: patefacta appareat I. 23, 16. cernitur, -untur I. 3, 1; 12, 4; 23, 5. II. 12. uideri I. 3, 3; 23, 11. II. 17, 1. exstare I. 3, 1; 18, 2; 23, 2. II. 11, 2; 16, 7. III. 4, 15. haberi = esse *u. ind. uerborum*. declaratur I. 23, 19. (*de-)monstratur*, -ntur I. 20, 1, 2; 21; 23, 7. II. 10, 10; 11, 6; 30, 25. repperiantur I. 20, 2. — *pro participio uerbi esse usurpantur*: constitutus I. 3, 1; 2, 15; 9, 3. III. 4, 19; 6, 5. habitus

*cap. et tit.* I. 15; I. 15, 2. positus II. 17, 2; omnes . . . intra parietes interiores *(positos PZ)* III. 3, 12. statuta III. 4, 2.

**uerborum formatio:** honorificare II. 15, 5. l(a)etificare I. 2, 13; II. 27, 3; 28, 1. III. 3, 12. magnificare III. 4, 30. — culminare III. 3, 1. ingenericari I. 9, 15. placidare II. 30, 14 (*Heg.*). quadrangulatus I. 4; 6, 1. II. 10, 5. radicare II. 11, 4. uinculare III. 4, 4. II. 29.

**composita pro simplicibus:** adornare II. 2, 3. comedere II. 23, 3. communire II. 28, 1; 30, 24. III. 1, 4. condonare I. 9, 13. II. 11, 5. *cf.* III. 4, 19. 29. confringere II. 15, 4. III. 4, 6. 13. conlidere III. 4, 6. conligare III. 4, 9. conlocare: -tus II. 26, 3. III. 5, 7. consurgere I. 2, 3; 21. III. 1, 4; 3, 1. contegere: -ctus *cap. et tit.* I. 9. conte(-i-)nere I. 7, 1; 9, 13; II. 4. II. 6, 2. contextit, -erat *cap. et tit.* I. 10; I. 10, 1. demonstrare I. 21; 23, 7. demorari III. 1, 1. de(di-)noscere I. 2, 8. II. 10, 9. depingere I. 2, 2; 14; 23, 9, 19. III. 4, 2, 15. de(di-)scribere *praef.*; I. 15, 3; 25, 9. II. 29, 4; 30, 26. III. 3, 14. (= depingere) II. 21, 2. eligere: electo marmore I. 2, 7. eleuare I. 9, 16. III. 3, 3, 5. emetiri I. 2, 8. (*cf.* mensus 10.) emittere I. 9, 15; 23, 17. emundare: I. 1, 13. III. 5, 7. enarrare *quinquies*. enauigare III. 5, 10. exhaustire: exauriens II. 26, 3. exorare I. 9, 14. exorare Dominum = orare (ad) Dominum III. 3, 2. (*Christum*) III. 6, 6. expandere I. 9, 14. inesse = esse *12ies*. inmorari II. 27, 5. intonare III. 6, 1 *bis*. pertransire I. 23, 15. prae fulgere I. 2, 12. protegere *quinquies*. refulgere I. 23, 12. 13. 20. remanere I. 1, 13. *cf.* II. 11, 4; 13, 3. requirere III. 5, 7. resoluere III. 4, 24. 29. — *simplicia pro compositis*: estimo = existimo I. 2, 2. II. 3, 1. notare = annotare *quinquies*. rigare = irrigare II. 30, 27.

**frequentatiua pro simplicibus:** ad-uentare II. 30, 25. conuetare II. 30, 15 (*Heg.*). uocitare *cap. et tit.* I. 19; I. 2, 13; 4; 5, 1. II. 17, 4; 19, 12; 21, 1; 30, 1. 8. 26. III. 2, 8. (*uocare I. 2, 9.*)

**genus uerbi:** culminare *trans.* III. 3, 1. — declinare *intrans.*: ad partem Christianorum I. 9, 14. — interpretari *pass.* II. 29, 3. Iordan transgresso II. 14, 1 (*trans-misso* II. 13, 1). — cerni 'to be seen': I. 3, 1; 12, 4; 13; 23, 11. II. 24, 2. — ut mihi placabilis fias (*cf. Hib. tá*) III. 4, 24.

**coniugationis formae:** contextit (-uit P<sup>2</sup>) *cap. et* (B) *tit.* I. 10; (*contež-* B) I. 10, 1. contexerat YP *tit.* I. 10. dedicit *sim.*

Z\* I. 9, 1, *al.* pendit (= pendet) YPB\* I. 5, 1. pupungit (conpunxit B) *cap.* I. 8. retulit I. 23, 14. II. 1, 2. *u. ind. orthogr.* — habuere II. 14, 1. pronuntiarunt I. 9, 1 (α). uocitarunt II. 30, 8. — influens I. 1, 12 (*u. adn. crit.*).

**coniugatio analyticā:** constructum, -a fuerat I. 1, 14. II. 26, 4. fuerat positum I. 9, 1. fuisse loquutum I. 25, 7. condita fuerat II. 10, 10. fuerat condonata II. 11, 5. fixum fuit II. 15, 5. fuerat edificata II. 26, 2; constructa II. 26, 4; commemorata II. 29, 3. rupti fuerint II. 30, 27. fuerant iussi III. 2, 5. factum fuerat III. 5, 7. — collocatam habuit III. 5, 7. habuit positum I. 9, 13.

**tempora:** *plusquamperfectum pro perfecto:* suxerat *cap. et tit.* I. 7. percusserat I. 8. contexerat *tit.* I. 10. institerant I. 23, 3. fuerat II. 8, 1; 30, 1. condita fuerat II. 10, 10. fuerat condonata II. 11, 5. peruererat II. 16, 2. uiderat II. 15, 3. uideram II. 23, 3. fuerat edificata II. 26, 2. constructa II. 26, 4. commemorata II. 29, 3. fuerant iussi III. 2, 5. factum fuerat III. 5, 7. — *perfectum pro plusquamperfecto:* uendidit I. 9, 6.

**modi:** *indicatiūs:* quae causa facit ut . . . protenditur (-atur Y) II. 30, 22. *u. enuntiata interrogatiū obliqua.* — *coniunctiūs:* 1) *potentialis:* cernas II. 30, 19 (Heg.). — 2) *finalis in enuntiatiā temporalibus:* usquequo finiantur I. 5, 2. adimpleretur III. 4, 26. donec pertranseat I. 23, 15. priusquam adpropinquent II. 30, 8 (Heg.). edificaretur II. 30, 26. — 3) *coniunctiūs post quod in enuntiatiā declaratiūs:* hoc notandum esse uidetur quod . . . uocitari possit ('could be called?') I. 2, 13. hoc etiam didicimus quod . . . adici soleant I. 23, 20. hoc etiam notandum quod . . . oporteat II. 27, 6. et hoc intuendum quod . . . habeantur III. 3, 11. — notandum est quod . . . concordet (-at PZ) II. 29, 4. collegitur quod . . . nullo modo redemi possit (poterit B) III. 4, 31. dedit quod esset III. 5, 3. concordat quod ('as to . . . ') . . . potuerit I. 23, 9. — eo quod . . . reciperit ('is supposed to have received') II. 11, 2. eo quod . . . uideatur II. 30, 8. sic situs monstratur eius quod . . . ambiatur II. 30, 5. — non quod possit formari I. 2, 15.

**uerbum infinitū:** *infinitiūs:* aquam haurire uenit II. 21, 3. — conprobari *c. nom. et inf.* I. 1, 6. II. 17, 3; cf. 18, 6; 30, 21. monstrari *c. nom. et inf.* I. 12, 5; 15, 3; 23, 6. tradi *c. nom. et inf.* I. 23, 1. II.

2, 2. — *gerundium:* ostendit dicendo I. 25, 5. — *gerundiuūm pro participio futuri passiuū:* mox resoluendum III. 4, 29. — *participiuūm perfecti pro part. praeſ.:* reuersi II. 16, 4. locutus ait II. 27, 3. hospitatus (?) III. 6, 3. — *participiuūm praesentiſ pro participio aoristi:* mordens . . . trahens . . . totum deuoret animal II. 30, 29. exeunteſ . . . lustratis . . . terminiſ . . . repperiunt III. 2, 5. intranteſ et accendeſ . . . osculantur III. 3, 6. ascendens aequum . . . incitat III. 4, 25. intrans . . . et reuersus . . . currebat III. 4, 26. inueniens subleuauit III. 5, 7.

**praepositiones:** (1) *praepositio postponitū:* (ad) occasum, orientem, septemtrionem uersus *septiē;* cf. aquas supra II. 30, 28. *u. usque in ind. uerborum.* — (2) *praepositio ponitū in constructione nominis Hierusalem:* ab Hierosolimis II. 25, 1; 30, 2. ad -am II. 12. in -is *cap. et tit.* II. 12; I. 1, 8. — (3) *AB:* locus ab humana desertus habitatione II. 13, 4. ab oriente locatum I. 1, 14; *sim. passim.* interrogare ab aliquo III. 4, 3. ab intus I. 15, 2. — *AD:* angelorum conuentio ad Abraham (= Abrahae) fuerat condonata II. 11, 5. — *CIS Iordanen* II. 15, 5. (citra II. 16, 3; 24, 3.) — *CONTRA:* alligare c. columnam III. 4, 2. spelunca habita (posita) contra uallem Iosaphat *cap. et tit.* I. 15; I. 15, 1. iratus c. insensibilem rem III. 4, 4. c. orientalem, meridianam, septemtrionalem plagam II. 6, 2; 7, 2; 10, 3. contra se 'against each other' I. 9, 14. — *CORAM praesentiſbus Iudeis* I. 9, 11. — *DE:* excisus de petra I. 2, 11; 14. de manu accipit genitoris I. 9, 7. ceteri de semine eius II. 10, 5. de sacro puluere particulas sumere I. 23, 8. bibere de calice I. 7, 3. de fonticulo II. 22, 1; 24, 2. *partitiū:* de aqua bibere II. 21, 5. *cum notione instrumentali:* de lapidea circumdata piramide II. 7, 3. — *IN:* emit in possessionem sepulchri II. 9, 1 (cf. Gen. 23, 18). in escam sumere II. 23, 3. in equi pretium III. 4, 20. — pendere in funibus, in trocleis I. 5, 1; 23, 10. in suo stabilita loco II. 11, 3. in quinto ab Hiericho miliario II. 15, 5. in tribus diebus eleuatur III. 3, 3. cf. 5. in aestiuo solstitio I. 11, 2. alio in tempore II. 16, 2. eo in tempore III. 4, 15. in unius stadii spatio distare II. 10, 9. in septem pedum mensura mensus est I. 2, 10. in tribus consurgens parietibus I. 2, 3. III. 3, 1. in tali translatione . . . designari III. 2, 7. — *IUXTA* 'according to': I. 2, 12. 15; 9, 4. 5; 25, 5. 9. II. 10, 6. III. 3, 7.

(secundum III. 4, 17.). ‘beside’ I. 15, 2. II. 16, 2. — ob eius unigeniti honorificantiam I. 1, 13. cf. II. 2, 3; 11, 6. ob id I. 10, 1. ob recordationem I. 25, 8. ob eiusdem quercus uenerationem et recordationem II. 11, 5. ob cuius . . . inundationem II. 30, 27. ob quam causam II. 30, 28. ob Christi dehonorationem III. 5, 5. — PER tuam . . . honorificantiam III. 4, 29. coquere per oleum II. 23, 2. — pos tres II. 13, 3. pos transitum II. 15, 2. post c. acc. pro ablativo absoluto: p. peracta sollemnia I. 23, 15. p. perpetratum peccatum II. 10, 5. pos tres distractas ciuitates II. 13, 3. p. expletum annum III. 3, 3. p. equum ascensum discensumque III. 4, 26. cf. post expeditionis tempus III. 4, 16. — SUPER illud inponens I. 6, 2. s. capud fuerat positum I. 9, 1. cf. 13. super quam Saluator sedebat II. 21, 3. s. dorsum iacere I. 2, 10. locatus, constructus, fundatus super I. 2, 2. 12. II. 2, 4 (supra PZB). III. 3, 1. super altare eleuare III. 3, 3. 5 (supra α). titulum super sepulchrum erexit II. 7, 4. non super terram sed in terra humatus II. 10, 5. lapidatus super petram I. 18, 2 bis (supra secundo loco B). decem super uiginti solidos adiens III. 4, 24.

**coniunctiones:** (1) *in enuntiatis pri-*  
*mariis:* AC: die ac (et B) nocte I. 2, 12. die et (ac P) nocte I. 6, 3; 23, 10. Greci ac Latini II. 30, 8 (Heg.). magis ac magis I. 9, 7. — ATQUE II. 19, 4; 30, 12. 13. 14 (Heg.); II. 17, 5 (et — atque). III. 4, 16 (atque — -que). aliter — atque aliter II. 17, 4. hic atque illuc III. 4, 26. (hucque et illuc II. 16, 2.) — hodieQUE ‘even at present’ I. 17. II. 7, 4. — ET = etiam *decies*. sed et II. 7, 1. sed et hoc I. 6, 3; 23, 14. 20. III. 3, 11. sed et hoc etiam I. 1, 7; 2, 13. sed inter haec et hoc etiam II. 27, 6. — UEL = et: iuxta conditionum uel aetatum ordinem III. 3, 7. — C(A)ETERUM cum notione transitionis: I. 1, 14; 4. III. 3, 1. — NIHILMINUS = etiam I. 8. — AC SI = uelut III. 3, 12; 4, 20. — ERGO secundo loco ponitur (\* = post demonstrativum): I. \*1, 13; 3, 2; 9, 4; 15, 2; 25, 7. II. 2, 3; 17, 4; 19, 3; 21, 6. — ITAQUE secundo loco: I. \*1, 4; 2, 1. \*15; \*11, 3; \*18, 3; 23, 3. 11. \*18; 25, 8. II. 10, 9; 11, 2; 16, 3; \*17, 5; 21, 5; \*26, 3; (sic itaque) 30, 5. 9 (Heg.). \*26. 27. III. \*1, 4; \*4, 10; 6, 4. (IGITUR primo loco I. 23, 9. II. 16, 4. III. 5, 7.). cf. qui itaque II. 30, 27. qui et dicitur, nominatur octies. sim. qui idem II. 3, 2; 20, 5. — NAMQUE enclitice II. 23, 2; 30, 4. — QUASI

in caera mollissima I. 12, 4. quasi tonitruum intonat III. 6, 1.—SI *in interrogative directa* III. 2, 3. simili opere ut II. 5, 3. — (2) *in enuntiatis secundariis:* siquidem ‘since’ I. 23, 4. quamlibet = quamuis, etsi (c. coni.) I. 1, 5. quando = cum III. 3, 12. tamdiu donec I. 23, 15. usquequo = donec (c. coni.) I. 5, 2. III. 4, 26.

**particulae:** *post pronomen relativum legitur* scilicet I. 1, 12. II. 30, 17. uidelicet I. 2, 11. 13; 7, 3; 10, 2; 12, 4; 14; 23, 2. 11. 19. II. 5, 3; 8, 2; 11, 5; 15, 2; 17, 2; 21, 4; 24, 3; 29, 4. III. 2, 7; 3, 3. 14; 4, 5. utique I. 1, 14; 2, 3. 12; 7, 2; 23, 12. II. 1, 3; 2, 4; 10, 10. III. 3, 4. — *funguntur uice particularum:* licet I. 2, 15. III. 4, 29. quamlibet I. 9, 9; 23, 12. quamlibet constitutus III. 6, 5. quamlibet uitiose II. 21, 1. quamuis I. 23, 19. II. 30, 14. cf. II. 11, 3.

**negatio:** haut procul I. 15, 1. II. 12. haut longe II. 10, 5. — nequaquam = non II. 30, 27. — nullo modo = non I. 1, 11; 9, 14. II. 29, 4; 30, 2. III. 4, 13. 22. 31. nec umquam quo modo III. 4, 6. — non reportetis (‘do not . . .’) III. 2, 4. ut nullus I. 23, 15. ut non neglegat III. 6, 6. — nec etiam = et ne . . . quidem III. 4, 25. — aut ne II. 30, 8 (aut Heg.).

**inconcinnitas iuncturae:** qui argenteus calix sextarii Gallici mensuram habens duasque ansulas contenens (*part. pro ind.*) I. 7, 1. ad cuius hostium aduolutum et ab eius (sic) hostio reuolutum lapidem . . . pronuntiant I. 2, 9. Chebron olim Filistorum metropolis . . . fuerat et in qua Dauid septem regnauit annis II. 8, 1. exeentes . . . lustratis . . . agrorum terminis et ecce . . . repperiunt III. 2, 5. quibus respondentibus . . . quo auditio III. 4, 4.

**enuntiata declarativa a quod incipientia:** u. *coniunctuum.* (Ante quod saepe legitur uox qualis est hoc, eo, sic.)

**enuntiata interrogativa obliqua:** quomodo sunt sublata nescitur III. 2, 2. quomodo uixit incompertum habetur III. 5, 6. — quantae et qualis fuerit honorificantiae III. 4, 10. — quomodo sit sublatum uel in quo loco resurrectionem exspectat nullus scire potest I. 12, 3.

**collocatio uerborum:** *positio obiecti pronominalis:* fieri facit eam I. 1, 10. qui obtauit genitoris diuitias . . . suscipit eas I. 9, 5. — *hyperbaton:* diuersorum longe renitorum peritus locorum *praef.* post dieni supra memoratarum recessionis cum diuersis turmarum iumentis I. 1, 10. ad

sepulchri marginem lateris I. 2, 8. trium mensura altitudinis palmorum *ibid.* nimis diuersis locupletati opibus I. 9, 9. orbis in medio terrae I. 11, 3. in huius nostri secundi exordio libelli II. 1, 1. aqua primae post nativitatem Dominici ablutionis corpusculi II. 3, 1. homunctionum prope innumerae sunt fabricatae habitantium domus II. 13, 5. quibusdam excelsa moenibus nauigiorum totis domicilia terris II. 30, 19. eadem bis quinorum eius uestigia digitolorum apparent . . . in marmorea insertorum columna III. 4, 12. *et multa similia.* — *reiectio coniunctionis:* in illo sita loco cruce Domini superposita ubi mortuus reuixit iuuenis *cap. et tit.* I. 11.

**chiasmus:** duo crura et femora duo I. 2, 11. beati furacis filius beatus I. 9, 7. quorum unus Ior et Dan alter uocitatur II. 19, 1.

**asyndeton:** per cliuum homines descendunt, ad aridam reuersi ascendunt II. 16, 4. ultra citra III. 2, 4.

**polysyndeton:** uisu et tactu atque gustu II. 17, 5. aequum aut asinum uel bouem II. 30, 29. bellorum atque morborum aquarumque III. 4, 16. — *Sed:* Abraham, Isaac et Iacob II. 10, 7 (et Isaac α, cf. var. *lect. ad Exod.* 6, 3, al.). Sarrae . . . (et P) Rebeccae et Liae II. 10, 8. et in enumeratione quinto tantum loco II. 30, 21. reginae, matronae et omnes . . . mulieres III. 3, 8.

**pleonasmus:** *abundat genitiuus:* eodem horae momento III. 4, 30. per aliquorum interuallum momentorum I. 9, 14. (post multa temporum interualla II. 13, 2.) longo tramitis spatio II. 30, 22. murorum ambitus *u. ind. uerborum.* portarum introitus I. 1, 5. expeditionis comitatus III. 4, 18. miri (sauissimi) odoris flagrantia III. 3, 12, 13. astellarum particulae II. 11, 5. imaginis tabula III. 5, 8. muralium reliquiae destructionum II. 8, 2. edificiorum structurae I. 2, 2. ualidissimi flaminis procella I. 23, 15. propriis oculorum obtutibus, aurium auditibus III. 6, 3. turbae populorum I. 1, 9. — breuem relatiunculam II. 6, 1. paruum agellulum I. 19. — coram praesentibus Iudaeis I. 9, 11. similiter eadem claritudine I. 23, 12. numerus solidorum ix simul congregatorum III. 4, 26. valde perterritus III. 4, 11. undique ex omni parte II. 1, 2. — ideo itaque I. 23, 3. tum deinde III. 2, 4; 4, 27. uel etiam I. 23, 15. II. 30, 29. III. 3, 2; 4, 27. — aperte ostenditur I. 25, 7.

gaudenter laetificant II. 28, 1. sepius frequentauit I. 15, 3. sepe solitus erat I. 15, 2. — c(a)epi (i.e. coepi) *abundat:* edificare caepit III. 2, 1. cepit intrare II. 30, 23. loqui cepit dicens III. 4, 16. cf. nauigare incipiens II. 30, 2. — cui commendare debo = cui commendem I. 9, 4. — posse *abundat:* discerni potest II. 17, 1. inuenire potuerit II. 30, 29. peruenire poterat II. 30, 23. repperiri possunt I. 21. II. 12; 20, 4. ut scire . . . possim I. 9, 4. III. 2, 4. — uideri *abundat:* esse uideatur, uidetur = sit, est I. 22; 23, 1. emergere uidetur II. 19, 1. — *præterea:* habere conprobatur I. 1, 6. non discrepare conprobatur II. 30, 21. dixisse creditur *Dominus* II. 17, 4. distare dinoscitur II. 10, 9. haberu*n* dinoscitur I. 2, 8. fieri facit I. 1, 10. obtare desideret I. 9, 4. *similiter usurpantur:* monstrari I. 12, 5; 15, 3; 23, 6. cerni *u. supra (uerbum auxiliare).* — *abundat uerbum dicendi:* respondens ait I. 2, 1. II. 7, 2. locutus ait II. 27, 3. describens declaraui III. 6, 5. respondens dixit II. 21, 4. cf. III. 4, 4. narrare soliti dicebant III. 4, 1. uaticinans canit I. 11, 4. — alloquitur dicens III. 4, 20, 27. *sim.* I. 2, 13; 9, 1; 23, 14; 25, 4. 5. (cf. scribens 6). II. 15, 2; 30, 3. III. 2, 1, 3. 7; 4, 3. 14, 16; 5, 9. ostendit dicendo I. 25, 5. addidit inquiens I. 6, 3. (e)narra(u)it inquiens I. 1, 7. II. 21, 5. III. 5, 1. precipit inquiens III. 2, 4. responsum dedit inquiens II. 4, 1. contulit relatiunculam inquiens II. 6, 1. — excerpta detulimus II. 20, 5; 29, 4. interposita inseruimus II. 30, 21. scriptum repertum est I. 23, 4. scripta . . . cognouimus II. 30, 21. — accedens intrauit III. 4, 15. (dixit I. 9, 12.) aperta patet I. 23, 2. ardentes lucent I. 2, 12. aucta edificaretur II. 30, 26. circumfusa perlustrat I. 11, 3. coartata strangulatur II. 30, 22. condensatus . . . coniunctus est II. 15, 4. conditum quieuit I. 2, 10. constructum exstat I. 23, 2. dimittens effudit III. 5, 5. dormientes pausant II. 10, 6. ebulliens distillat III. 5, 8. eleuata ponitur III. 3, 5. extensa diregitur II. 25, 2. fabricata consurgunt III. 1, 4. eccl<sup>esi</sup>a . . . fabricata fundata est II. 2, 4. formata extenditur II. 21, 2. cf. I. 15, 1. humatus iacet II. 30, 25. infixa statuta est, stetit I. 5, 1. inherens retentum III. 4, 6. inlaqueatus pependit I. 17. impressi inheserunt III. 4, 7. instructae deiciuntur II. 30, 12 (cf. Heg.). intrantes stant III. 3, 12. lapidatus obdormiuit I. 18, 2. perdata ad nihilum redacta sunt I. 9, 6. præparatum desi-

gnari III. 2, 7. praesens interfuit I. 23, 18. sepulta pausauit I. 12, 2. stans obuiam habetur I. 11, 1. statuta . . . depicta est III. 4, 2. superstrati iacent I. 23, 15. suspensus passus est III. 3, 3. suspensa pendebat III. 5, 2.

**polyptoton:** beati furacis filius beatus I. 9, 7. fideles fidelibus I. 9, 8. ipse puluis in puluerem uersus II. 10, 5. ad ipsum de se ipso prolata sententia II. 10, 5. utriusque manus a latere extensio utroque II. 21, 5.

**Iusus uerborum:** ambiri ambitu II. 30, 24. ipse conuua apostoli tradidit conuiuantibus I. 7, 1. interfluentia flumina II. 28, 1. honorificantia habita honorificatur II. 15, 5. means . . . transmeauit II. 30, 28. in septem pedum mensura mensus est manu I. 2, 10. aquis emundauit mundissimis III. 5, 7. praerupta rupe I. 1, 6. protectum tecto I. 23, 2. II. 22, 1. tegmine II. 11, 4. eruptione rupti II. 30, 27. salsissimum sal II. 17, 3. 5.

**litotes:** non breui tempore III. 3, 1. non longo circuitu II. 25, 1. non paruam crucem I. 2, 7. mensa non parua I. 6, 2. non parua pertussura I. 23, 7. non parui edificii II. 27, 3. non paruo murorum ambitu III. 1, 4. non (nec) inmerito II. 29, 3; 30, 15 (*Heg.*). non mediocriter I. 1, 9. non neglegenter I. 1, 13; 25, 2. II. 4, 2. III. 3, 11. haut procul I. 15, 1. II. 12. haut longe II. 10, 5. nec non I. 23, 19. nec non et I. 2, 14. III. 5, 10.

**allitteratio:** felix et fidelis furax I. 9, 3. habundanter haberii II. 17, 2. misere monstratur distracta II. 10, 10. pannis aut pelliculis I. 19. solis calore satis sufficienter siccatum II. 17, 2. cum timore et tremore III. 3, 9. terrifico tremore III. 6, 1. uicos et uillas II. 8, 2.—adsiduo adsurgentis II. 30, 12. circumfulgens . . . circumfusa I. 11, 3. contenens compositas I. 7, 1. depicta declaratur I. 23, 19. impressi inheserunt III. 4, 7. obpugnantes obsedebant II. 13, 2. profunditate productus I. 15, 1. prolixo sermone prosequitur I. 25, 6. refectione recreauit II. 24, 2. reuersus repetebat III. 4, 27.

**formulae:** (1) Arculfus: sanctorum locorum frequentator I. 12, 1. sedulus eiusdem loci frequentator I. 23, 6. *sanc-*torum frequentator locorum I. 24. eorumdem frequentatoris locorum I. 25, 9. eorum (locorum) frequentator III. 6, 4. sanctorum uisitator locorum I. 12, 5. plurimarum peragrator regionum II. 29, 1. — diuersorum longe remotorum peritus locorum *praef.* cf. (Petrus de

Burgunnia) locorum peritus II. 26, 5. — conspexit, inspexit, uidit *passim*. propriis conspexit obtutibus, *sim.* I. 9, 1. II. 3, 4; 11, 4. III. 4, 1; 5, 8; 6, 3 *bis*. — hospitatus (*semper fere cum indicatione temporis*) *praef.*; II. 26, 1. 5; 27, 5; 28, 1. cf. III. 1, 1; 6, 3. (manens) II. 17, 5. (demoratus est) III. 1, 1. — diligentius percunctanti (*Adamnano*) *praef.* interroganti I. 6, 3; 23, 14. cf. diligentius interrogauimus I. 2, 2. a nobis interrogatus respondens ait I. 2, 1. mihi percunctanti respondens ait II. 7, 2. nobis inquirentibus sic ait II. 5, 1. — mihi haec experimenta dictauit *praef.* quae mihi dictauit I. 1, 1. haec mihi A. scribenti dictauit III. 6, 3. cf. 4. — ut Arculfus refert I. 23, 13. II. 12; 13, 2; 25, 1. 2; 28, 1; 30, 29. ut sanctus refert A. I. 23, 6. II. 11, 4; 30, 28. III. 3, 1. 3. ut refert sanctus A. I. 15, 3; 21. ut ipse refert A. II. 15, 3. ut ipse refert II. 30, 23. ut ipse indubitanter refert II. 20, 5. ut refert I. 12, 3. ut referre solet III. 5, 8. sicut A. refert II. 16, 2. sicut sanctus refert A. II. 8, 1. sicuti nobis A. retulit II. 1, 2. ut A. . . . narrat II. 26, 1. sicut ipse narrat II. 20, 5. sicut nobis A. intimauit II. 17, 1. nobis sanctus intimauit A. II. 17, 5. sancti Arculfi narratione cognouimus I. 9, 1. didicimus I. 23, 20. A. nobis relatiunculam, relationem contulit II. 6, 1. III. 4, 1. intimauit III. 4, 14. narrauit III. 5, 1. — certa narratio I. 9, 10. relatio III. 4, 14; 5, 1. — a quibusdam expertis dedit ciuibus III. 4, 1. ab expertis quibusdam narratoribus dedit III. 4, 14. ab expertis quibusdam testibus dedit III. 5, 1. — (2) *de traditione incerta:* ut fertur I. 1, 14; 6, 1; 7, 3; 10, 1; 15, 1; 17; 18, 2. II. 10, 10; 24, 2. III. 4, 27. ut traditur II. 15, 5. sicut traditur II. 16, 5. quemadmodum traditur II. 22, 1. — (3) *scriptores a teste oculato uera dicere probantur:* non discrepare conprobatur II. 30, 21. nullo discrepat modo II. 30, 2. Arculfi narratio cum aliorum scribitis recte concordat I. 23, 9. — (4) *de structuris aut structurarum reliquiis:* manifeste conspicitur I. 23, 9. ambitus murorum I. 1, 2. II. 8, 1; 26, 1; 28, 1; 30, 24. III. 1, 4. murus in circuitu II. 1, 4; cf. 28, 1. crebris turribus communita II. 28, 1; 30, 24. III. 1, 4. ostendit uestigia I. 3, 3. II. 8, 1. ruinarum reliquiae I. 1, 14. uestigia II. 8, 1; 13, 2. — grande monachorum monasterium II. 16, 8; 27, 1. eccliesia fabricata rotunda (quadrangulata, lapi-dea, grandi) structura I. 6, 1; 12, 1;

- 18, 3. II. 2, 4. arcibus suffultus I.  
 16. II. 16, 4. (sustentata 7.); 26, 3.  
 III. 3, 2. suffulta canceris II. 16, 6. in  
 tribus consurgens parietibus I. 2, 3. III.  
 3, 1. — (5) *de fama et honore terrae  
 sanctae*: famosus locus I. 1, 14; 6, 2.  
 famosa et praedicabilis conuentio II. 11, 5.  
 fama praedicabilis II. 1, 2. (et praedica-  
 bilis *post aliud adiectuum etiam* I. 1, 13;  
 23, 13.) quanti uel qualis honoris I. 1, 13.  
*cf.* III. 4, 10. — (6) *admiratio*: mirabili  
 rotunda structura I. 12, 1. suauitate III.  
 3, 12. -e oleum III. 5, 9. mirabiliter  
 inlustretur I. 23, 12. mirificae fabricata  
 I. 2, 2. mira . . . arte I. 21. miro cultu  
 habita II. 15, 5. mirae magnitudinis  
 columnae I. 2, 4. domus III. 1, 4. eclesia  
 III. 3, 1. miri odoris flagrantia III. 3,  
 12. *cf.* 13. mira rotunditate (eclesia) I.  
 2, 3. (mons Thabor) II. 27, 1; 29, 4.  
 mirum in modum I. 11, 2. III. 4, 5.  
 mirum dictu I. 1, 10; 9, 6. II. 11, 2; 13,  
 3. III. 4, 12; 5, 8. — (7) *Adamnanus de  
 suo libello*: quae nunc in membranis breui  
 textu scribuntur *praef.* breui textu  
 excerpta II. 30, 21. hos breues . . . libel-  
 los III. 6, 4. haec breuia excerpta  
 detulimus II. 20, 5. — breuiter intimandum  
 esse uidetur, *sim.* I. 3, 1; 11, 1; 18, 1;  
 25, 1. II. 1, 1; 3, 1. — quaedam scribenda  
 sunt pauca, *sim.* I. 1, 1; 4; 23, 4. II. 1,  
 1. — sed de his ista sufficient I. 3, 3. de  
 quo haec dicta (*leg. ista?*) sufficient I. 9,  
 16. hucusque sufficient discripsisse I. 25,  
 9. sed de his ista sufficient dixisse II. 11,  
 6. hucusque . . . sufficient craxasse II. 10,  
 11. haec . . . discripta sufficient III. 2, 8.  
 sed de his ista sufficient discripsisse III.  
 3, 14. — sed et hoc nobis non esse tacen-  
 dum uidetur I. 23, 14. sed inter haec et  
 hoc etiam notandum II. 27, 6. sed et  
 hoc non neglegenter intuendum III. 3,  
 11. — excerpta detulimus II. 20, 5; 29,  
 4. inseruimus II. 30, 21. — notandum  
 esse uidetur I. 2, 13. non esse praeterun-  
 dum uidetur I. 1, 7. *contra*: a nobis  
 praetermittenda sunt I. 1, 1. quae nunc  
 a nobis sunt praetermittenda I. 2, 2. —  
 sepe (sepius) supra memorata eclesia I.  
 4; 6, 3. -um tegorium I. 2, 9, 13; 3, 1  
 (supra superius (com-)memoratus, supradictus, (de-)scriptus *passim*) — ut dictum  
 est II. 16, 7. ut supra dictum est I. 18, 3.  
 II. 19, 3; 30, 26. ut superius dictum est  
 I. 2, 15; *cf.* 22. II. 10, 7; 16, 3; 26, 3.  
 ut superius discriptum est II. 30, 26. ut  
 superius commemoratum est II. 11, 5. —  
 8) *uaria*: herbosus ualde et floridus II. 11,  
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